‘Business as Usual’: Critical Management Studies and the Case of Environmental Sustainability Education.

Seb Dianati

*University of Queensland, Brisbane, Australia*

Grant Banfield

*University of South Australia, Adelaide, Australia*

**Abstract**

The inclusion of sustainability and ethics teachings in management education for many seems a positive step forward for creating more environmentally just and ethically sound managers. However, the type of knowledge that is privileged and the lack of history in these courses often greenwash the underlying problems inherent with neoliberal capitalism. The current paper traces the management movement as part of the Second Industrial Revolution and the capitalisation of labour alongside recent enthusiasm for the scientific management of labour. It argues that the scientific management movement - expressed in its dominant ‘Taylorist’ form – has come to provide management education theory and practice with its ideological base resting upon scientifiity and individualism. This leads to a dual contradiction and exploitation. One of nature by capital and one of human labour. The crisis of nature, is the crisis of sustainability education that has arisen since the 1970’s. The constant contradiction with labour is enduring. The expansion of capital demands the exploitation and degradation of labour and the natural environment. By historically and ideologically situating management education and sustainability education offers space to trace, track and question their epistemological underpinnings in an
effort to argue current sustainability management education is a myth and does little to question the status quo. It identifies the emerging field of Critical Management Studies (CMS), with its explicit commitments to social justice and an ethic of sustainability, as being important to this development and as a new way forward. While CMS has its own theoretical limitations, which are identified within, it is positioned as a socially progressive development of the broader field of Management Studies offering a challenge to ‘business as usual’.

**Keywords:** Critical Management Studies, metabolism, sustainability education, critical pedagogy, scientificity, individualism

“…all progress in capitalistic agriculture is a progress in the art, not only of robbing the labourer, but of robbing the soil; all progress in increasing the fertility of the soil for a given time, is a progress towards ruining the lasting sources of that fertility”.

– Karl Marx, Capital vol 1.

**Introduction**

This paper explores the emergence and competing forms of management education in higher education as a feature of crises of capitalism. From within a Marxian view of social change, these crises are identified as arising from fundamental contradictions around the nature-capital and labour-capital relations. The former is expressed in a trend since the 1980s that gives focus to ecological sustainability within management education programs. The latter is seen in the development of the field of critical management studies where, for example, participatory workplace arrangements are advanced. While both offer a challenge to what we describe as a traditional - ‘business as usual’ - understanding of management practice, they do not necessarily offer a fundamental challenge the logic of capital. Rather, we argue that management
education is realistically grasped as a site of struggle around twin contradictory tendencies to accommodation and transformation. Furthermore, it is from this understanding of management education as a contested space that socially transformative pedagogy becomes possible. It is via a consideration of the emerging field of Critical Management Studies (CMS) in higher education that this argument is developed. While specific in its focus, we hope the general thrust of the argument will provide critical educators broadly with ways to think about their practice.

The paper is organised into six sections. The first situates management education in the historical emergence of the Second Industrial Revolution drawing from the historical capitalisation of labour and Marx’s conception of metabolism. This serves to historically and ideologically contextualise management education as a product of structural changes to global capitalism and its increasing enthusiasm for the scientific management of labour. Drawing from Taylorism, insight is offered as to how the exploitation of the human-to-human relationship provided the right breeding ground to catalyse the exploitation of nature. This provides room for sustainability management education to be understood within a historical and ideological lens. In doing so, it exposes the roots of ‘scientificity’ and individualism as its core ideologies. The latter half aims to introduce the rise of CMS within an ethic of sustainability and the various methods in which sustainability is often taught in management education. These trends are examined in relation to current epistemological underpinnings of sustainability education to better conceptualise the dual crisis of capital in labour and in nature that helps frame the methodological approaches of CMS. Drawing on current debates in the field of CMS offers a new rethinking of CMS in sustainability education. The last section outlines how Critical Participatory Action Research (CPAR) can leverage CMS to allow for a deeper problemitisation of sustainability education.
in management that exposes its histories and ideologies. Here, the intent was to emphasise the importance of the field of management education knowing its own history, its ideological foundations and, in the end, its ethical commitments.

**Management Education and the Capitalisation of Labour**

As we will show below, the rise and ideological necessity of Management Education at the time of the Second Industrial Revolution cannot be understood outside the broader historical process of the capitalisation of labour. Our reference to ‘capitalisation’ signals an intent to capture what Marx referred to as the subsumption of labour to capital while framing it within his dialectical concept of metabolism. For Marx, metabolic process aptly described what he understood as the inter-dynamic relations of society-to-nature and human-to-human. Developed from his emphasis on human labour as both the source of economic value and the point of mediation between human beings and nature, it was through the labour process that Marx saw those metabolic relations actualized or denied. While the actualization of those relations is essential to being human, capitalism continually denies their development. As Marx (1976, 1978, 1981) meticulously revealed in his three volumes of *Capital*, the essential logic of capital demands the dual exploitation of nature and human labour. And furthermore, capitalist exploitation rests in a radical separation of the natural and the social i.e. the alienation of ‘human being’ and ‘natural being’ (Ollman 1976). Marx called this a ‘metabolic rift’

to capture the material estrangement of human beings within capitalist society from the natural conditions which formed the basis for their existence - what he called the everlasting nature-imposed condition[s] of human existence (Foster, 2000, p. 163).
But to stress the point again, the metabolic rift to which Marx refers is not simply an ecological rift. It is not a product of nature. Rather, it is “the product of a social rift: the domination of human being by human being (where the) driving force is a society based on class, inequality and acquisition without end” (Foster, 2010, p. 47). The great contradiction here is that the force that drives capital – its need to expand exchange value – threatens its own survival. Capitalism consumes its own flesh and lifeblood. Instructively, we can see the concept of metabolic rift encompassing Harvey’s three dangerous (end game) contractions of capitalism: endless growth, nature-society split and universal alienation (Harvey, 2014). For those of us pushing against ‘business as usual’ in all its guises, the prime problematic resides not in pursuing the restoration of some imagined nature-society or human-human unity but in grasping the reality of their historical and material separation. Marx put it this way:

> It is not the unity of living and active humanity with the natural, inorganic conditions of their metabolic exchange with nature, and hence their appropriation of nature, which requires explanation or is the result of a historic process, but rather the separation between these inorganic conditions of human existence and this active existence, a separation which is completely posited only in the relation of wage labour and capital (Marx, 1993, p. 489).

Simply put, against business as usual approaches to Management Education - and even ecologically aware CMS developments - sustainable capitalist development is a myth. To keep the myth alive, the subsumption of labour to capital must be nurtured and maintained. However, subsumption must be, in Marx’s terms, real and not simply formal. Distinguishing formal subsumption from real subsumption is important in understanding the historical capitalisation of the metabolic exchange between nature, labour and society. Marx associated formal subsumption with the extraction of surplus value from labour without knowledge hegemony being wrested from the worker or craftsperson. It begins
in the sixteenth century with only a financial relationship between producer and capitalist established. Existing feudal relation are not disturbed. The compulsion that brings the former to the subsumptive service of the latter does not entail a change in the mode of production:

As regards capital in the formal mode of subsumption, its productivity consists in the first instance only in the compulsion to perform surplus labour. This compulsion is one which it shares with earlier modes of production, but in capitalism it is more favourable for production. (Marx, 1976 p. 1054)

However, with the real subsumption of labour to capital

The general features of the formal subsumption remain, [... but] on this foundation there now arises a technologically and otherwise specific mode of production – capitalist production – which transforms the nature of the labour process and its actual conditions. Only when that happens do we witness the real subsumption of labour under capital. (Marx, 1976, p.1034)

The process of real subsumption commences with the first industrial revolution i.e. the arrival of industrial capitalism. Its growing tendencies to delineate intellectual and manual labour, to impose time as measure of productive efficiency and to organise production into bundles of repeatable tasks led to what we now call ‘Fordism’. It is in this context that the modern discipline of economics has its origins. It emerged at a time (and consequence) of significant social change requiring significant ideological reorientation. Religious doctrine enforcing feudal order was to be replaced with a quasi-religious economic doctrine justifying a new market order. The belief that the ruling monarch was God’s material representative on earth (and that the social hierarchy flowing from this relation was its natural reflection) could no longer hold hegemonic sway. A new ideology justifying the growing influence of the merchant and
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industrial capitalist classes was required. The world was introduced to capitalist economics. Ultimately packaged as a ‘science’ (in what we know as its ‘classical’, ‘neoclassical’ and ‘neoliberal’ forms), bourgeois economics provides the ideological justification for its fundamental assumption that “social order would arise naturally in a market system in which each individual followed his own self-interest” (Keen, 2011, p. 171).

The beginnings of Management Education¹ can be traced to the emergence of MBA programs in North American universities amidst the technological fervor of the Second Industrial Revolution². Established to meet the new organisational demands of industrial capitalism, an appropriately trained managerial class was required to discipline labour (Hudson, 1983). This took the form of, what historian David Noble referred to as, a cadre of ‘professional engineers’ who oversaw the imposition of a social order

… dominated by the private corporation and grounded upon the regulated progress of scientific technology. Forces of production and social relations, industry and business, engineering and the price system … collapsed together in the consciousness of corporate engineering, under the name of management. (Noble, 1977, p. xxiv)

However, to understand the historical possibility of a ‘corporate engineering consciousness’ and the perceived need for ‘professional engineers’ the influence of the ‘efficiency movement’ arising out of the Second Industrial Revolution cannot be ignored. The work U.S. mechanical engineer Frederick Winslow Taylor is significant at this point in history. In The Principles of Scientific Management (Taylor, 1911), he outlined a theory of management directed to increasing labour efficiency. It was as a theory of overt social control whereby
managers held exclusive knowledge of the labour process in both its parts and in its totality. If, as Harry Braverman observes,

> the first [Taylorist] principle is the gathering and development of knowledge of labour processes, and the second is the concentration of this knowledge as the exclusive preserve of management […] then the third step is the use of this monopoly over knowledge to control each step of the labour process and its mode of execution. (Braverman, 1974, p. 119)

Braverman reminds us that to deny anyone access to knowledge and the opportunity to make knowledge is to deny them control over their work and existence. The fundamental intent of any such scheme can only be alienation and de-humanisation. Therefore, we should not be surprised that Taylor’s science was not just crudely mechanistic but also animalistically reductionist. On this point, Taylor was explicit. His principles of scientific management were the same as those used by animal trainers. Raising worker efficiency required nothing more than the application of techniques designed, as Taylor (1911) put it, “to train an intelligent gorilla” (p. 40). Furthermore, he believed that his principles could “be applied to all classes of work from the most elementary to the most intricate” (p. 40). Whatever the task, it was impossible for a worker to proceed “without the aid of a man better educated that he is” (p.41). Taylor provided managers and management education with a positivist base³: a science presented as value-free and operating from natural, universal, laws.

Contrary to Taylor’s claims that his principles for the management of labour were universal in their scientificity, they arose from specific historical conditions imbued with particular ideological interests. His approach was both bourgeois and gripped by a boundless enthusiasm for science as a tool for social engineering and social efficiency. Writing in the early 20th Century, Italian
revolutionary Antonio Gramsci recognised the scientific management movement as a particularly “American phenomenon” representing “the biggest collective effort to date to create, with unprecedented speed, and with a consciousness of purpose unmatched in history, a new type of worker and of man” (Gramsci, 1971, p. 302). We can say that Taylor was a man of, and for, his times:

Taylor is in fact expressing with brutal cynicism the purpose of American society – developing in the worker to the highest degree automatic and mechanical attitudes, breaking up the old psych-physical nexus of qualified professional work, which demands a certain active participation of intelligence, fantasy and initiative on the part of the worker, and reducing productive operations exclusively to the mechanical, physical aspect. (Gramsci, 1971 p. 302)

Interestingly, Elizabeth Esch and David Roediger argue that what put the U.S at the early forefront of the Taylorist and de-humanising approaches to management was the way its path to industrial capitalism was paved with a racialised history. This enabled a ‘white management impulse’ to thrive because the “factory and plantation coexisted as the most spectacular sites for management of labour in the Americas with, if anything, the latter providing models for the former” (Esch & Roediger, 2009, p. 9).

While the U.S. origins of Taylorism - and the particular U. S. historical forms it has taken - must be acknowledged, it must also be recognised that de-humanising (including racist) approaches to the control of labour stretch beyond geographical and temporal boundaries. Exploitation is at the heart of the logic of capital and deeply embedded in capitalist class relations (Callinicos, 1993).

In drawing attention to the historical origins of bourgeois economics, this first section sets a broad explanatory context for the rise of management education as
we know it today. ‘Scientificity’ as an ideology has been used as a tool for the removal of bourgeois economics from society and thus from social critique. This has provided space for the de-historicisation and naturalisation of capitalism to be understood as if there were no other alternative. While apologists of bourgeois economics appeal to this scientificity, we have argued that the drives to capitalise labour and naturalise ‘the market’ are historically conditioned and ideologically charged. The roots embedded in the capitalisation of labour offer a deeper understanding of the developments that management education embodied as a result. Recognising the crucial role of education in the reproduction and dissemination of ideology, we now turn to a critical consideration of Management Education in an effort to connect the roots of its ideological footprint. A second ideology that will be examined later in the context of scientificity is the ideology of individualism. Where the former naturalises (and de-socialises, de-historicises) capitalism and the latter naturalises (and de-socialises, de-historicises) the human individual. For the purpose of our paper we can talk about the twin ideologies of scientism and individualism.

II. Situating Management Education Historically and Ideologically

Once ideologies of individualism are normalized, its practice in the field becomes propagated as innate, rather than historically situated, open to critique and change. For instance, in management textbooks, it is commonplace for managerial text to consider its practice as ‘natural’ and ‘ahistorical’. As a means of example, we can take a popular management text by Ricky Griffin and Gregory Morehead (2013). Its cover depicts a herd of Zebras. On the first page of their book, the authors explain their choice:

if we look a bit closer we can see that while all Zebras look similar to one another, in reality the markings and patterns on each are unique. They are social animals that live
and travel in groups. In each group there is a well-defined hierarchy based on power and status, and each group has a leader. (Griffin and Moorehead, 2013, p. 1)

From their observation that a herd of zebras needs a ‘leader’, Griffin and Moorhead (2013) take a leap of faith that the same must apply to human beings. In hierarchically structured human environments or organisations, the ‘leader of zebras’ becomes the ‘manager of people’. For Griffin and Moorehead, along with other holders of the management faith more generally, the rise of managers is seen as the inevitable unfolding of nature: the realisation of a natural impulse that has existed though human history. As Thomas Klikauer perceptively notes: “advocates of management studies claim that management dates back to the pyramids, since such a large project would have demanded managerial skills for its accomplishment. This is pure ideology” (2015, p.197).

We agree with Klikaur, describing managers as reflexes of the natural world is ideological. The impulse to naturalise what is social and reduce what is political and historical, hides more than it illuminates. It does not occur to advocates of management studies that ‘managers’ might not be doing the job of nature but, rather, working to secure certain social and economic interests over others. The social reductionism that the ideology of individualism fosters, de-historicises managerial practice and obscures its political purpose: the defence of bourgeois economics.

By 1961, education in ‘management’ started to hold managerial and international currency, as quality assurance standards developed and the term ‘MBA’ was coined (Porter & McKibbin, 1988). In 1955, Melbourne’s Business School in Australia offered its first management education program. As demand increased for the MBA qualification and its prestige grew, it became a symbolic force powerfully shaping what it meant to be - and what it took to
become - a manager (Hopkins, 2012). The following section aims to expose how management education has become to consider the individualistic ideologies of management as being deterministically natural. This develops later connections to sustainability education and how various perceptions of what is considered socially just sustainability approaches.

While many management education programs profess to develop ethical and responsible individualised managers (Rasche, Gilbert, & Schedel, 2013), their ideological framing put significant limits on what it meant to act ethically. Critical teachings often contradict management teachings (Fenwick, 2005), which created difficulties for critical educators. Sumantra Ghoshal (2005) puts this sharply insisting, “by propagating ideologically inspired amoral theories, business schools have actively freed their students from any sense of moral responsibility” (p. 76). Furthermore, Marianna Fotaki and Ajnesh Prasad (2013) argue that academics working in MBA programs must ethically and critically reflect on their practices for greater critical understanding. The connection of amoral theories with positivism lies with the view that proper science removes the human being from consideration (Peters, 2009). In this way, the sole focus is what is ‘natural’ and ‘ahistorical’. Working hand in glove with individualism the social being is erased and replaced with the abstract individual or what Helena Heizmann and Helena Liu (2017) refer to as individualistic hyper-agency. This demands that the social world is naturalised and is beyond human intervention. Moral responsibility therefore is asocial and ahistorical. It simply involves the technical administration of things. Efficiency is paramount and usurps any deep ethical commitments. A central and underlying feature of this force was a commitment to the ideology of individualism.

Hence, social injustices and environmental degradation, for example, can be constructed as part of ‘doing business’. Other examples of how ideologies have
charged and controlled other domains in management are also evident in Entrepreneurial Studies (Ogbor, 2000); Corporate Social Responsibility (Willers & Kulik, 2011); Human Resource Management (Townley, 1993); International Business (Westwood, 2006); Marketing (Morgan, 1992); and Organisational Behaviour (OB) (Burrell, 1997). For instance, Collins (2013) contends that management literature is often full of buzzwords or jargon to create ‘synergies’ that suppress the realities of caring individuals, living real lives. Burrell (1997) makes a similar point, claiming that the management subject domain ‘Organizational Behaviour’ deforms, rather than informs, management practices as it denies the lived realities of experiences.

So far, the roots of management education and their inherent ideologies have shed light on the importance of deep interrogation of the teachings of management. It is timely to offer a brief account of the teaching approaches to sustainability in the literature to locate the socio-political position inside the broader field of sustainability-management education. It does so to highlight how the ideologies of management education have spilled over into the teachings of what is considered ‘good’ social, environment and economic sustainability.

**Situating Sustainability Management Education Historically and Ideologically**

The purpose here is to outline the fundamental contradictions of capital in relation to the natural environment. The rise of sustainability in public policy and in management education coincides with the rise of environmental awareness and environmental movements. Hence, it is fruitful to trace the movements of sustainability in management education in an effort to intersect the historical developments of three interconnected movements to highlight how this has impacted teaching and classroom practices in the section that follows. Since the 1970s, various signed agreements between and within universities⁵
and governments\textsuperscript{6} have promoted the teaching of sustainability (Grindsted & Holm, 2012). However, it was not until the 1990s that sustainability became a curriculum reality.\textsuperscript{7} For example, in 2005, UNESCO embarked on a global effort to integrate sustainability into student learning (UNESCO Education Sector, 2005). While generally praised, the UNESCO initiative has been criticised for lacking measurable evaluation procedures for others to adopt and apply their strategies (Mula and Tilbury, 2009). The United Nations Principles for Responsible Management Education has also been criticised for lacking evidence of being a catalyst for curriculum redesign (Burchell, Kennedy, & Murray 2014; Millar & Price, 2018). In the absence of precision, the idea of sustainability was therefore left open to multiple interpretations and applications of Corporate Social Responsibility (Banerjee, 2008). The danger with loose accountability is the potential to leave open, the door to a kind of common sense that emphasises economic efficiencies over other values. The Triple Bottom Line (TBL) of the social, economic and environmental (Elkington, 2004) becomes skewed to the interests of the economy. This goes some way to explaining the popularity of the TBL in sustainability education. Paula Schmitt Figueiró and Emmanuel Raufflet (2015) identified the TBL as a predominant teaching concept in most business programs, but the extent to which the economic is favoured over the social and environmental in these programs is the underpinning impetus for this paper.

As the TBL’s neutrality is rarely questioned, however, it is susceptible to positive and often unreserved conceptual adoption. According to Laura Erskine and Scott Johnson (2012, p. 199), “if businesses are embracing a Triple Bottom Line (TBL), business schools need to prepare students for triple-bottom-line thinking”. However, TBL is conceptually and ideologically charged. Its motives depend upon which bottom line is prioritized. Behind the apparent simplicity of
the TBL lie deeper complexities that are captured in the idea of 'strong' and 'weak' sustainabilities.

Delyse Springett (2003) suggests a ‘strong’ perspective in sustainability focuses on the environmental and social components of TBL. In contrast, he claims weak sustainability emphasises the economic bottom-line. Springett’s point is that weak sustainability occludes the political, historical and economic forces driving the reality of sustainability. However, missing from both are the historical and political forces that have shaped current understandings and practices of sustainability.

Wendy Stubbs and Chris Cocklin (2008) identify these influences in their analysis of sustainability. In emphasising the importance of historical and political forces in shaping the possibility of sustainability, they identify the roots of sustainability as grounded in ideas of ecocentrism, neoclassical economics and economic modernism. The first describes the value of the environment in terms of its intrinsic worth; the natural world has limits and these must be respected. In contrast, the second describes the value of the environment resting in its economic worth; any detrimental impact on the environment can be appropriated by technological developments (Stubbs & Cocklin, 2008). Even environmental issues and problems can ultimately be solved via mechanisms of the market. Consequently, the ingenuity of the market ensures there are no real limits to growth and, as Milton Friedman has argued, no need for business to show any environmental responsibility (Friedman, 2007). The third that Stubbs and Cocklin (2008) identify compromises between the first two. The ecological modernizers look to balance the economy and the environment. They see the economy as dependent on the success of the environment and vice versa. Needless to say, this does not suggest that these distinct ideas are sites of struggle in the capitalisation of nature, however, they
provide a framework in which how exploitation has been conceptualised in modern teachings of sustainability in business education. Hence, the rise of Sustainability Management Education and CMS are not to be seen unproblematically as part of a movement towards a more socially just world or a post-capitalist society, but rather demonstrates the historical examples of the fundamental dual crisis of capitalism.

Since the Brundtland Commission, The United Nations World Commission of Environmental Development has been a strong advocate for ecological modernism. For example, their famous definition of sustainable development (SD) insists on meeting “the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (Brundtland, 1987, p. 8). In positioning sustainability alongside development opens the door for economic development to trump sustainability. As Stubbs and Cocklin (2008) soberly note, it is “business [that] controls both the language and practice of sustainable development with its own, usually economic, interests” (p. 206). The following discussion of CMS aims to expose ideologies ingrained in business education and offers a counter to struggles against neoliberal teachings in sustainability education.

**Critical Management Studies: Towards an ethic of sustainability**

While the ideologies behind management teaching practices vary considerably, Robert French and Christopher Grey (1996) suggest three general pedagogical methods are employed by educators. In their consideration of teaching practices in Management Education, French and Grey (1996) identify three common pedagogical approaches to sustainability education: the ‘disciplinary approach’, ‘case-scenario approach’ and ‘critical approach’. While their observations come initially from the 1990s, they remain relevant for our explanatory purposes. In their schema, the most traditional method is the ‘disciplinary approach’. It has a
focus on the transmission of content. With the teacher positioned as the
knowledge expert, this approach runs the risk of encouraging student passivity
and stifling critical thinking. The ‘case-scenario approach’ draws from humanist
psychology and aims to be team focussed. It is focussed on encouraging active
student engagement in process and concept development. The ‘critical
approach’ does not reject the other two but, rather, builds upon them. It takes
both content knowledge and pedagogical process as important. Born from CMS
(Adler, Forbes & Willmott, 2007), the key identifying features of the ‘critical
approach’ are its epistemological commitment to social criticality and its
pedagogical intent to foster student critical consciousness. The goal of critical
sustainability education is the development of active, critically conscious,
citizens (French & Grey, 1996). While their research was not specifically
related to sustainability in management teachings, it offered a conceptual frame
to draw how sustainability knowledge is constructed.

To better conceptualise the dual crisis of capital in labour and nature a broader
epistemological understanding assists in framing the methodological approaches
of CMS. If French and Grey’s (1996) summation of approaches to management
education appear familiar in sustainability education it might be because they
closely align with German critical theorist Jugen Habermas’ historical critique
of knowledge and human interests. Habermas (1971) identified the three kinds
of knowledge from which different ‘sciences’ draw. Drawing on Friesen (2008,
p. 5), we summarise Habermas’ typology of scientific knowledge as:

(a) Instrumental knowledge corresponding to technical human
interests. This is principally the domain of positivist science.
(b) Practical knowledge referring to interpretive ways of knowing through social human activities. Habermas saw this as the domain of hermeneutics.

(c) Emancipatory knowledge about relations of power and control directed to liberation from systems of oppression. This is the domain of critical social science.

At the heart of Habermas’ work was a critique of positivism and the naturalistic reductionism that, for example, we described earlier as founding bourgeois economics and scientific management. It is interesting that, in his review of Critical Management Research (CMR), Klikauer (2015b, p. 501) observes an absence of critical theory and a commitment to emancipatory interests. In particular, he notes “CMR seems to avoid Habermas’ critical emancipatory interests that highlights domination with the telos of human emancipation.” (2015b p. 501). This suggests a critical rethink of CMS pedagogy is warranted.

Friesen (2008) draws from Habermas (1978) and provides examples of each type of knowledge construct. For example, science is a type of instrumental knowledge because it derives from empirical ‘objective’ scientific reason. Hence, the ‘disciplinary approach’ is an example of instrumentalism.

Knowledge in these classrooms appears instrumental toward reaching an end technical goal, such as developing green-reporting accounting standards. Habermas (1974) warns that much of knowledge has become monolithic, with a narrow focus on what scientific inquiry is and is not. However, this dominant positivity tends to breed a technical society that sees little connection or concern with theory and its relationship to practice. According to Habermas, “modern industrial society is threatened by the splitting of its consciousness, and by the splitting of human beings into two classes social engineers and inmates of
closed institutions” (1974, p. 282). Instrumental knowledge best describes the traditional disciplinary approach to sustainability education to management, which has focused on efficiency, reports and control. Instrumental knowledge deprives student’s involvement and connection with the curriculum as their time, worth and questions are not considered or involved with them, but to them.

However, practical knowledge supports the science of hermeneutics through interpretation group work and real-life case scenarios. In this space, students would be engaged through practical, personal and organisational activities, consistent with mainstream teachings in management education (Zald, 2002). The ‘staff development’ approach shares many similarities with the construct of practical knowledge in the ways in which knowledge is made through real-life case studies. Lastly, emancipatory knowledge supports the critical sciences, with an end goal of liberation, social justice, empowerment and emancipation. The critical approach best describes knowledge with a critical conscious raising objective (Inglis, 1997). Some critical scholars, such as Joseph Raelin (2008), suggest that this critical method in management still does not go far enough to disrupt the structures of power and privilege. Rather, the intent is for students to develop higher order critical thinking skills through critique (Hagen, Miller, & Johnson, 2003b). The examination of CMS is important here. While it is broadly considered to be embedded within critical theory, its theoretical basis draw more so from practical knowledge derived within hermeneutical underpinnings than from truly a critical-emancipatory ideal (Klikaeur, 2015).

V: Rethinking Critical Management Studies
While CMS has been important in developing an ethic of sustainability, it unfortunately lacks a deeper theorisation that is needed to problematise sustainability education and address its neoliberal underpinnings. Nevertheless, it is fruitful to offer the debates within the field to see if pedagogical
applications based on CPAR can support this quest. As CMS has matured, so have the critical debates within the field. For instance, Nelson Phillips (2006) suggests that CMS is in fact in opposition with itself and ‘executive’ business school ideologies. The disagreement of CMS is also shared by Tara Fenwick (2005) who sees this disjunct as an ethical dilemma of the critical teacher in the management classroom. Phillips (2006) suggests that CMS lacks a deeper element and that for the field to grow it must develop a sense of identity. On the other hand, Gordon Dehler (2009) suggests CMS is merely a tool that allows critical consciousness to be realised; or what Śliwa, Sørensen, & Cairns (2013) call the development of the ‘care of the self’. Others offer an alternative to CMS through grounded theorizing as a method of consciousness-raising (Auger, Mirvis, & Woodman, 2018). Sustainability as a subject within management teaching is also a paradoxical contradiction; the motives of wealth creation offered in other management subjects degrade the social and environmental systems that it rests upon (Kurucz, Colbert, & Marcus, 2013). The contradiction in CMS is that it relies on critical theory for its development but lacks any mention in the field to Marx, Habermas, Hegel or Kant. While it offers a counter narrative to mainstream management education, its epistemological underpinnings still live within the confinements and logic of managerial capitalist education. Klikaeur (2015) was the first scholar to notice this by systematically reviewing all the CMS literature to expose its ‘cherry-picking’ approach to critical theory. He observes that it:

remains striking that, in the twenty years since CMS’s invention, there should exist a plethora of articles, books, editions, collections, handbooks, four-set-volumes, classical readings, and several CMS conferences, with hundreds of papers, etc. – and yet that there is not one single substantial, theoretical, and critical publication inside CMS dealing with critical theory. CMS articles are exclusively published in managerial/organisational journals. The absence of
critical theory is reflected in CMS’s triviality of fault-finding (Klikaeur, 2015, p. 212)

While CMS may lack a deeper critical theorisation, its connection to more critical pedagogical teachings can be enacted through a ‘problematisation’ model to challenge existing sustainability practices (Alvesson & Sandberg, 2011; Bacchi, 2012). Craig Prichard (2009, p. 51) suggests that by (1) distinguishing between different forms of knowledge, (2) locating organizational politics at the centre of work organizations, and (3) using dramatic, empirically based, scripts as the basis for engaging with organizational problems’ CMS can be made more practically and epistemologically aligned. While Alvesson and Sandberg (2013, p. 145) may sidestep deeper connecter to critical theory, they offer six notions to support those aiming to problematise the management classroom. These are:

(1) to identify a domain of literature; (2) to identify and articulate assumptions underlying this domain; (3) to evaluate them; (4) to develop an alternative assumption ground; (5) to consider it in relation to its audience; and (6) to evaluate the alternative assumption ground.

Problematisation can support greater criticality in the field whereby the majority of management literature tends to either ‘gap-fill’ or ‘gap-spot’ for fit-for-purpose publications (Alvesson & Sandberg, 2013; Lee & Cassell 2011). Furthermore, the domain is often silent about its own positions and prejudices as researchers are asked to seek consensus, rather than to challenge it (Alvesson & Sandberg, 2013, p.145). Alvesson and Sköldberg (2009) argue that greater reflexive methodologies are needed to disrupt, rather than incrementally add to, management literature. However, the proponents of CMS often overestimate their epistemological and theoretical leanings. This being said, exposing educators own ideological position, often, is a positive first step in teaching
anti-capitalist ideologies in the capitalist classroom. This also includes the need to question the researcher’s meta-theoretical stances, while dialectally interrogating and reflecting on practices consistent with, and distinctive from, one’s own research. Hence, the application of a specific research approach that can be used to blossom a more critical stance in sustainability education will be reflected here. To this end, to be true to these commitments, Critical Participatory Action Research (CPAR) can support a more systemic process of problematising the teaching of sustainability, the role of the critical educator and itself as a research method that is currently under-utilised in the field.

VI: CPAR for CMS: Introducing a process of problematisation

Shifting sustainability education from practical to critical can be guided by CPAR. This allows a focus on collective involvement, action and change (Lozenski, 2014). Decisions on research objectives are made with a communal intent to improve the day-to-day practices of all those involved (McTaggart, Nixon, & Kemmis, 2017). The method requires a collective and ethical involvement in an effort for a more socially just or critical outcome. Pedagogy requires identifying what changes are needed and continuous reflection and evaluation can support such changes (Kemmis, McTaggart, & Nixon, 2014). The research technique of ‘learning by doing’ is consistent in both CPAR and Participatory Action Research (PAR) (Kindon, Pain, & Kesby, 2007, p. 23). Vince, Abbey, Langenhan, & Bell (2018) caution that critical action and action research are different, even though they might have interconnected stages. As Stephen Kemmis et al. (2014, p. 9) put it:

People involved in critical action research aim to change their social world collectively, by thinking about it differently, acting differently, and relating to one another differently—by constructing other practice architectures to enable and constrain their practice in ways that are more rational (in the sense of reasonable), more productive and sustainable, and more just and inclusive.
Over time, accumulation of incremental change can catalyse a new way of thinking and inevitably has the potential to change the outcomes of learners of sustainability and ethics in management courses. The teaching team in the subject ‘Sustainability and Ethics in Management’ set out to challenge the curricula in a fully online environment. The adoption of problematisation through CMS methodologies was one of the main changes that provided theoretical and pedagogical space for students to question preconceived notions of management education inside the logic of capital (Perriton & Reynolds 2004). The changes were made to move the practical or employable understandings of sustainability towards a liberating force to produce socially just, critical citizens or at the least critically aware managers. Kemmis et al. (2014, p. 176) note five ‘principles of procedures’ that support the development of a dialogic pedagogy: 1) cultural-discursive arrangements or ‘sayings’; 2) material economic arrangements or ‘doings’; 3) social-political arrangements ‘relatings’; 4) project-practice arrangements or ‘project reflections’; and 5) personal reflections of ‘reflexive practice’. To give an example of how each these were operationalised in practice, the next section offers a brief account of each.

For example, the first highlights the need to consider how language is constructed around sustainability and how education for sustainability can serve or limit managerial power. The sayings and doings represent the operationalisation of that language. For instance, moving from the ‘staff development’ approach to the ‘critical’ approach allows for student managers to move beyond their lived experiences to understand how sustainability can become a driver for change or can naturalise the status quo. The social-political arrangements act to examine the social and political context of education in an effort to contextualise sustainability with a political and economic history. In this step, students were given a ‘crash course’ in the systemic failures and
contradictions of capitalism. The last two steps aim to develop a reflective and reflexive dialogue about the forms, types and structures of sustainability teaching practices through critical reflection techniques provided in class. These steps are not linear, but rather offer a process of problematisation for academics and researchers in this space to allow student managers to be more sustainable, critical and ethical citizens.

![Diagram of PROBLEMITISATION]

Figure 1: Application of CPAR methodology to CMS

Figure 1 depicts CPAR in relation to CMS. In brief, the schema of problemitisation begins with identifying the cultural-discursive arrangements by examining the power of language around sustainability discourses (e.g. policy, media and the law). These ‘sayings’ spin to the material economic arrangements of ‘doings’. This is how language and policy emerge as – and within – material forces such as economic relations, social structures, and accepted practices. The
socio-political arrangements refer to specific institutional ‘relating’s’ that make possible and give form to the enactment of language and doing of policy. Project reflections bring together sayings, doings and relating’s in comprehensive critique of sustainable practice. Personal reflection brings the student into relation with sustainable practice. It gives direction for action. For Amanda Sinclair (2007), practical reflexivity is vital for any critical management classroom. The lesson here is that for teaching, strong sustainability is best achieved through critical engagement and reflexivity of these steps. Isabel Collien (2017) calls this the triad of critical, reflexive and political positioning, a method to disentangle hegemonic forces in management learning. Nevertheless, while disentangling economic versions of sustainability education is a positive move forward, it does little to shake the real economic systems of oppression fuelled by managerialism. Even with the support of CMS and CPAR, these methodologies and methods only offer tools for educators to teach students to become more critical through the teachings of problemitisation. Nevertheless, even though these tools may help challenge, they may not do enough to disrupt the neoliberal systems of management teachings and practices where such courses exist (i.e. inside MBA programs). Nevertheless, CPAR under the guise of the broader CMS movement does offer the opportunity to expose students to the historical, economic and ethical motives of management, even if, it is what Klilauer (2015) calls ‘micro-emancipation’.

This leads us to be able to frame the intersection between critical management education, sustainability curricula and participatory approaches in a new light that draws upon seven underlying premises that this paper has built upon to this point. The first is the influence and power of language around discourses of sustainability and its effects on its ideological leanings. Second, with respect to teaching, strong sustainability is best achieved through critical engagement and
reflexivity of the steps provided above. Third, that CPAR offers a method to untangle the hegemonic forces in management learning and sustainability curricula. Fourth, that the heart of oppression is fuelled by managerialism that has deep rooted connections to the development of Taylorism and the capitalisation of labour. Five, problemitisation techniques provided within offer teachers new methods to engage with sustainability education in a more critical way. Six, that micro-emancipation through these micro-classroom struggles may not be suffice to tackle the deeper-rooted neoliberal systems of management teachings and practices in which such courses exist. Lastly, it does however, expose students to the historical, economic and ethical motives of management practices and sustainability curricula from a historical perspective that reveals its underlying motives and ideologies.

VII: Conclusion
Capitalism experiences regular crisis. That is typical of its history. In crises, these tensions are exposed. Once exposed, these tensions act as a site of struggle to either accommodate those on the capitalist front to get back to ‘business as usual’ or provides an opportunity for social transformation. One of the locations of these struggles is played out in social practices and structures of the teachings of sustainability inside business education in higher education. This paper has examined the dual contradiction of exploitation of nature by capital, and the exploitation of human labour. The crisis of nature is the crisis of sustainability education that has arisen since the 1970’s. The continuing contradiction with labour is ongoing. The expansion of capital demands the exploitation and degradation of the resources it needs for its continuance: labour and the natural environment. This leads us to understand management education more clearly by appreciating that Critical Management Studies is about of this tension in management education. However, the purpose here was not to assume CMS is necessarily critical; but what it does is that it at least exposes this tension in
crisis of nature. However, it plants the seeds for a new site of struggle to be realised.

This paper has offered a counter to traditional approaches to sustainability education in management curriculum. It situated management education and sustainability education both historically and ideologically. The historical developments of management education were mapped in order to offer an alternative narrative to the dominant discourses in the field that have its origins in Taylorist scientific management drawing on the ideologies of individualism and scientism at its core. Challenges to scientific management came in the form of the realization of the importance of sustainability, which itself became fractured in different ideological approaches. These fractions emerged in and around ecocentrism, neoclassical economics and economic modernism but never truly exposed the crisis of the exploitation of nature in the service of capital. Out of these tensions arose CMS, which called into question the particular and interested nature of traditional understandings of management and their epistemological biases. A particular approach to ‘problematisation’ was presented as a means to advance the CMS project of critical inquiry.

Notes

1 While Wharton Business School (University of Pennsylvania) established the first business programs in 1881 it was Harvard University 27 years later that was to the to offer the first MBA program. Stanford University followed in 1925 (Stabile, 2007).

2 The danger of evoking a technological determinism via the use of the term ‘Industrial Revolution’ is well understood. Nevertheless, we find it useful to use the commonly understood terms ‘First Industrial Revolution’ and ‘Second Industrial Revolution’ to distinguish between the historical conditions that gave rise to early capitalism and those that led to a scientific obsession with the efficient management of labour.

3 For clarity, we take positivism as a philosophical orientation that understands ‘proper’ science as (i) holding to the strict separation of fact and value and (ii) recognising knowledge that only comes direct observation or experience (see, for example, Steinmetz, 2005). In the first, ‘objectivity’ is understood as freedom from interests and in the latter a straightforward expression of empiricism.
The UK developed their first MBA program as a response to the Robbins Report in 1960, which recommended the development of a business school in London (Williams, 2010).


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Author Details

Seb Dianati works as a Teaching Fellow (Digital Curriculum Design) in the School of Languages and Cultures at the University of Queensland. His research interests are in critical pedagogy, student democratic partnerships, and broader critiques of educational technologies. Email: s.dianati@uq.edu.au

Grant Banfield is an adjunct academic at the University of South Australia. He writes and researches in the areas of Marxist sociology and the philosophy of science. His book Critical Realism for Marxist Sociology of Education (2016 Routledge) is the most comprehensive expression of this. The book is currently being updated and translated into Spanish. is based at the University of South Australia, Adelaide, Australia. Email: grant.banfield@unisa.edu.au