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EDITORIAL

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LOSSES AND GAINS: RESEARCH IN THE ADMINISTRATIVE SCIENCES DURING THE PANDEMIC

We began the year immersed in the successive COVID-19 waves, though now with the hope of vaccines and the certainty that the world of organizations has undergone profound changes which will continue after the pandemic. Likewise, countless adaptions were necessary in research in administrative sciences during this period, particularly in the field's empirical modalities, such as ethnography, action research, participant observation, design science, nethnography, among other qualitative research strategies. However, *RAE*'s special issue, "The Impact of COVID-19 on Organizations" (Costa, Paiva, Gomes & Brei, 2020), showed that the Brazilian scientific community in Administration, despite this period's difficulties, remains productive, with relevant insights about the current reality.

Despite the sad numbers of deaths and illness cases (*), the balance we present in this editorial also brings good news, with two unexpected phenomena. Firstly, the number of submissions in the period grew substantially – 27% more in 2020 (1,072) than in 2019 (841), and *RAE* received contributions from all continents. Secondly, article evaluation time decreased significantly – over 25%: from 262 days in 2019 to 196 in 2020 – a milestone for *RAE*, considering all the efforts that have for some time been put in such decrease. Reviewers both from Brazil and abroad have, despite the circumstances, collaborated with *RAE* for this achievement. We are deeply grateful to all who dedicated their time and knowledge to developing the articles published in 2020; their names are listed in the Editorial Information and Collaborators section.

RAE also starts the year with novelties: we have begun to publish articles in a continuous flow, which allows an agile dissemination of the articles already approved. Knowledge dissemination, both nationally and worldwide, is going through numerous transformations towards fully open science. In line with the national debate of publications in Administration, *RAE* has been adopting processes to preserve blind reviewing, after numerous statements by reviewers who expressed their opposition to having their identities disclosed. This, however, is a pressing issue that the scientific community needs to debate with scientific editors and researchers in the numerous academic congresses due to be held this year in order to mature as quickly as possible the adoption of open science practices. Learn more about the subject at https://blog.scielo.org/en/tag/open-science.

In 2021, we also celebrate the 60th anniversary of *RAE*, the longest-running journal in the field of Business Administration in Brazil, if we consider its uninterrupted publication throughout these decades. It is a remarkable history that witnessed the post-war industrial development and built the academic field in Administration in the country, in its various areas, with multiple approaches and reflective and critical practices (Tonelli, 2018). For May, the month of the journal's first issue in 1961, we have prepared activities for the celebration of its 60 years, which, in addition to a Special May/June Issue, will include a webinar and a participation in the Special Week of the SciELO in Perspective/Humanities blog. While the pandemic currently prevents us from holding a face-to-face meeting, one can hope this could be possible in the end of the year. Turning 60 is a milestone in the history of business administration research in the country, and it deserves many celebrations!

This issue also presents the articles selected for the forum "History, Memory and the Past in Management and Organization Studies", organized by professors Diego M. Coraiola, Amon Barros, Mairi Maclean and William M. Foster, and, in the Essays section, we have the text "Past, Present and Future of (Critical) History of Organizations in Brazil", by professors Alessandra de Sá Mello da Costa and Sergio Eduardo de Pinho Velho Wanderley. Keeping memory is fundamental in a period of social amnesia.

We wish you a happy 2021, and enjoy your reading!

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(*) Our sympathy to all in our community who suffered illness or loss in this period.

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HISTORY, MEMORY, AND THE PAST IN MANAGEMENT AND ORGANIZATION STUDIES

Our goals for this editorial are threefold. First, we contextualize the growing interest of management and organization scholars in matters of history, memory, and the past. Despite the increasing number of historical organization studies, functionalism and functional-interpretivism remain the dominant approaches in management and organization studies (MOS). Moreover, because European and North American scholars are overrepresented in the literature, analysis of the historical impact of global trade and multinational organizations on the relationship between the global North and South is limited. Second, we map the literature that connects history, memory, and the past to organizations and organizing. We provide an overview of MOS scholars' initial efforts to develop humanist approaches to organization studies and discuss the role history plays in informing epistemological, theoretical, methodological, and empirical conversations in the field. Third, we highlight specifically how the articles in this special issue contribute to the body of historical organization literature.

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A BRIEF HISTORY OF HISTORICAL ORGANIZATION STUDIES

For more than 30 years, management and organization scholars have been grappling with the task of reconnecting history to organization studies. It has been a steep climb since a group of pioneer academics highlighted that organizations are historical phenomena and called for a more humanistic (Zald, 1990, 1993) research agenda based on historical analysis and a deeper understanding of both the historical context and the past (Kieser, 1994; Lawrence, 1984). The emergence of the "historic turn" (Clark & Rowlinson, 2004; Mills, Suddaby, Foster, & Durepos, 2016) has changed our understanding of the roles played by the past, history, and memory in management and organization studies (MOS).

However, despite the growing interest in incorporating matters of time, memory, and history into various strands of MOS research, there are some concerning gaps. First, there has been limited engagement of scholars with critical and postmodern approaches (Durepos, Shaffner, & Taylor, in press). Specifically, post-colonial (Decker, 2013), decolonial (Wanderley & Barros, 2018), and ANTi-historical (Durepos & Mills, 2012) approaches to studying the past are not represented within the MOS literature. These perspectives are also largely absent from recent special issues on history, memory, and the past that have been published by mainstream journals. As research motivated by the historic turn matures, we expect increasingly rich and diverse scholarly ideas.

Second, much of the discussion regarding historical organization studies has taken place in Europe and North America. Although similar concerns have been voiced elsewhere in the world (e.g., Brazil), the number of publications on the subject do not represent the increasing number of scholars theorizing about the intersection between organizing and the past. This lack of research from regions other than the global North is one explanation for the limited discussions about the interplay between place and culture, on the one hand, and time, history, and memory on the other.

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To explain and further explore the impact of the historic turn on management scholarship, we need to produce knowledge of general interest that is embedded in local realities. In other words, MOS scholars need to account for how place shapes the experience of time to construct different histories. The global South has its own experiences to share; thus, it is important to account for how relationships among countries and companies from different cultures and nationalities have informed and transformed each other.

Third, high-quality international research outlets present particular barriers for disseminating research conducted by non-English-speaking scholars. Restricting communications to a single linguistic frame hampers the ability of these researchers to express their thoughts. Because presentation of the past cannot be dissociated from the language and vocabulary used to experience and talk about it, there are rich, specialized research traditions in languages other than English that have been silenced and ignored. This has limited the reach and pace of research on important issues related to the historic turn.

Despite these limitations, historical organizational studies offer insight into the different mechanisms of organizations and organizing. In particular, these studies have launched discussions about the epistemological, theoretical, methodological, and empirical underpinnings of MOS research. In the following sections, we briefly review these discussions and highlight some current critiques of the field.

Epistemological

One of the major criticisms raised by scholars of the historic turn has been the ahistorical character of most research on management and organizations (Kieser, 1994; Zald, 1990). Both business historians and organization scholars familiar with the use of historical methods in organizational research have articulated this critique. (Booth & Rowlinson, 2006; Üsdiken & Kieser, 2004). As Clark and Rowlinson (2004, p. 346) wrote at the time, the historic turn would "entail questioning the scientistic rhetoric of organisation studies, an approach to the past as process and context, and not merely as a variable, and an engagement with historiographical debates, especially regarding the epistemological status of narrative."

Others have also questioned how the philosophical tenets of history impact MOS research. For example, many MOS research projects take a naïve-realist view of history. The assumption that there is an straightforward correspondence between history and the past has been taken for granted in MOS. Coraiola, Foster, and Suddaby (2015), however, argue that many ahistorical research projects, when examined more closely, are, in fact, historical. The distinction is that most MOS researchers fail to reflect on their taken-for-granted assumptions about history and the past. As a path forward, some scholars have called for researchers to move beyond historical cognizance (Kipping & Üsdiken, 2014) to develop historical consciousness (Suddaby, 2016).

In spite of these efforts, MOS scholars continue to be criticized for their limited engagement with history and the past. Some have noted that attempts to integrate history and organization studies may lead down a path where the epistemological importance of history is dismissed. The unfortunate consequence is that history is treated merely as a method and/or a variable (Decker, 2016). Others, particularly CMS scholars, have argued that the original intent of the historic turn has been only partially fulfilled. As a result, much work remains to reject the supremacy of scientificism in organizational theory, recognize other modes of studying and representing the past, and grant legitimacy to heterogenous forms of writing history (Durepos et al., in press).

Theoretical

MOS scholars have largely conflated history and the past (Weatherbee, Durepos, Mills, & Mills, 2012), as seen in two major MOS approaches. One approach is research on imprinting and the study of the effect of past foundational events on present-day individuals, organizations, and institutions (e.g., Marquis, 2003; Marquis & Tilcsik, 2013). The other is the study of path dependence and the notion that actions in the past may limit possible actions in the present and future (e.g., Sydow & Schreyögg, 2013; Sydow, Schreyögg, & Koch, 2009). Both approaches equate the past and what occurred in the past with history and how the past is narrated.

More recently, there have been efforts to minimize the determinism of those approaches by redefining the past and how it is understood within organizations. For instance, the logic of sedimentation has informed the concept of imprinting. Instead of an age-related event associated with an organization's founding, more recent accounts consider the possibility that later events might also be foundational and create different layers of cohort-effects (Marquis & Tilcsik, 2013). Similarly, path dependence scholars have redefined their approach to incorporate paths not taken that might still be available as flotsam and jetsam, which potentially become endogenous resources for change (Schneiberg, 2007). By equating history with the past, both approaches fail to explore what is truly distinctive about history. History matters because it is a narrative that imposes order and meaning on things past. In other words, the stories we tell about the past are what make the past meaningful and manageable.

Nevertheless, definitional imprecision has meant that narratives and history are often assumed to be the same. This has led some MOS scholars to blur and misunderstand the difference between key constructs such as history and collective memory. However, when examined more closely, there are important and significant differences between the two (Nora, 1989). In metaphorical terms, history is the tale told by a foreign explorer while collective memory is the recollection of shared experiences. History is the product of purposeful research and writing that takes place in the present and looks back at the past. It presumes discontinuity and distance between the actors of the past and the authors of history. History, then, has an identifiable author whose authority about the past is attached to the sources used to tell the tale.

Collective memory is distinct from history because it evolves in uncertain and unpredictable ways. What is remembered (forgotten) is disseminated through narratives that are passed down (discarded) from generation to generation. Collective memory is emergent and has no clear author. The weight and authority of collective memory is provided by a specific mnemonic community's traditions and beliefs (Zerubavel, 1996). History and memory, although different and distinct, can be thought of as alternative perspectives on the past (Nora, 1989). Each provides complementary, contradictory, and corresponding descriptions and interpretations of the past, and their interaction requires better theorization by future research.

The original conception of organizational memory was as a repository where past information was stored to be retrieved for future use (Walsh & Ungson, 1991). Organizational memory, thus, was understood as the site/location where the organization's information was stored. The introduction of the historic turn, however, led to questioning the static, storage-bin approach to organizational memory. This questioning promoted development of a more dynamic approach to organizational memory analogous to discussions about collective memory. Discussions about organizational memory were soon redefined, and, in particular, it became generally accepted as a process rather than a storage site. Consequently, other processes of organization memory, such as remembering and forgetting (Feldman & Feldman, 2006; Rowlinson, Booth, Clark, Delahaye, & Procter, 2010), soon became relevant topics for investigation.

The shift in understanding of organizational memory has led to new conversations about how the past is remembered and forgotten and to the emergence of a new field of Organizational Memory Studies (Foroughi, Coraiola, Rintamaki, Mena, Foster, In press). Discussions about memory have also taken place elsewhere, most remarkably in the research on rhetorical history (Suddaby, Foster, & Trank, 2010) and the uses of the past (Wadhwani, Suddaby, Mordhorst, & Popp, 2018). However, history and memory remain largely conflated in this literature. Recent calls for a more reflexive engagement with the distinction between the two constructs (Decker, Hassard, Rowlinson, In press) should lead to less blurred boundaries and a more precise understanding of the unique contribution of history and memory to our understanding of management and organizations.

Methodological

There have been various calls for using historical and archival research methods in MOS (e.g., Kieser, 1994; Lawrence, 1984; Ventresca & Mohr, 2002). In fact, MOS scholars have regularly used historical archives as a data source for developing empirical research. However, for most, the past was merely a field for theory testing. There was little recognition of the importance of context, critique of sources, hermeneutic interpretation, and the role of footnotes in historical explanations. Moreover, excluding studies by a small number of scholars attuned to the debates and specific demands of historiographic research (e.g., Rowlinson, 2004), most MOS research failed to fully grasp the potential of archival and historical research.

Two publications broke new ground by more forcefully introducing a historical understanding of MOS research. Rowlinson et al. (2014) clarified some core assumptions about historical research and contrasted them to the traditional understandings of MOS scholars. Similarly, Bucheli and Wadhwani (2014) curated a collection of papers that explore the connection between history and theory in different fields and approaches, as well as some of the methodological aspects that should be considered when using historical methods. Both publications joined business historians and organization scholars in common conversations that have helped provide guidance on using historical methods in organization studies.

Current discussions have aided further methodological engagement with history and its role in organization studies. For example, Maclean, Harvey, and Clegg (2016, 2017) changed that conversation by advocating historical organization studies as a distinct field and developing an approach that seeks to integrate history and MOS. They redefined the divide based on the concept of "dual integrity," which suggests that organizational history should comply with the standards of both history and organization studies. Their efforts were joined by other attempts to bridge the two fields. Gill, Gill, and Roulet (2018) interpreted Lincoln and Guba's (1985) approach to naturalistic inquiry, translating their criteria of trustworthiness into corresponding historical methodological elements to enhance the appeal of historical narratives to an audience of organizational scholars. Similarly, Barros, Carneiro, and Wanderley (2019) discussed the role of reflexivity in archival research and historical narratives, contending that reflexivity is key to unpacking the socially constructed nature of archival sources and establishing a historical narrative as one possible representation of the past.

Empirical

Historical organization scholars have conducted several empirical studies. For example, these scholars have explored topics such as organizational identity (Anteby & Molnár, 2012; Lamertz, Foster, Coraiola, & Kroezen, 2016; Ravasi, Rindova, & Stigliani, 2019; Schultz & Hernes, 2013), change (Brunninge, 2009; Maclean, Harvey, Sillince, & Golant, 2014; Ybema, 2014), legitimacy (Illia & Zamparini, 2016; McGaughey, 2013; Voronov, Clercq, & Hinings, 2013), and corporate responsibility (Coraiola & Derry, 2020; Lent & Smith, in press). This exciting and rapidly growing field of research has much to contribute to our knowledge and understanding of management and organizations.

History's emancipating promise, however, is still far from realized in MOS. For example, the increasing interest in historical corporate social responsibility has brought consideration of important issues to the forefront. Studies have called for a better understanding of oppression as a lesson for the future (e.g., Martí & Fernández, 2013; Sørensen, 2014). For example, Cooke (2003) has persuasively argued for more research on the relationship between management and slavery. Godfrey, Hassard, O'Connor, Rowlinson, and Ruef (2016) took note of this call and proposed an agenda for examining slavery, its role in colonial policies, and the consequences of those practices for current cases of modern slavery.

In addition, we suggest that MOS scholars focus on other populations that were affected by the development of colonial activities and still bear the weight of that past. One example is the historical contributions of minorities such as African Americans (e.g., Prieto & Phipps, 2016). This involves intensifying the research on the impact of colonial relationships in different geographies, such as Latin America (e.g., Wanderley & Barros, 2018), Africa (e.g., George, Corbishley, Khayesi, Haas, & Tihanyi, 2016), and Australasia (e.g., Mika & O'Sullivan, 2014). Developing a research agenda that studies the first inhabitants of these places is critical. Indigenous views on the past and organizing are also under-researched and even forgotten (Bastien, Coraiola, & Foster, 2021). Similar to the prejudice and lack of fair conditions African descendants face, apart from a few exceptions (e.g., Kennedy et al., 2017), indigenous peoples have been largely absent from MOS.

Another important research area is the study of immigrants and refugees (Hardy & Phillips, 1999; Phillips & Hardy, 1997). Like other minorities, immigrants and refugees face issues that include displacement, prejudice, inequality, and cultural assimilation. The historical circumstances behind the mobility of large numbers of people are usually extremely meaningful and have an impact that can last for many generations. For example, there are complex historical relationships between European immigrants, trafficked slaves, and native populations in countries such as Brazil and the US, where historical prejudice persists and deeply affects existing opportunities for descendants of different social groups (e.g., Souza, 2003). Historical organization studies are particularly well positioned to shed light on complex issues that cross multiple generations.

PAPERS IN THIS SPECIAL ISSUE

One objective of this special issue is to provide an initial corrective to the discussions outlined above. To accomplish this, we cast a wide net in our call for papers that are inclusive and capture the best contributions to historical organization studies outside the boundaries of the mainstream journals in the field. This appeals to RAE's identity as a prominent publication from the global South that has always valued authorship diversity and a variety of theoretical approaches. The peer-reviewed papers and invited essays by esteemed Brazilian scholars provide an overview and critique of the current state of the field. These five articles, along with our editorial, are indicative of the quality of scholarship that falls outside mainstream publications in the field and exemplify the increasing engagement of scholars bridging the North-South divide.

Costa and Wanderley (2021) wrote our invited essay. They show how history and memory gradually became a regular feature of management and organization studies in Brazil. Advocating that a Brazilian scientific community interested in the past and its uses already exists, the authors examine the expansion of the literature in management, memory, and history since the 2000s. They revisit the most prevalent topics and how they relate to the broader international historic turn. Costa and Wanderley conclude by suggesting how Brazilian scholars may contribute to moving the historic turn forward.

Paludi, J. Mills, and A. Mills (2021) analyze the archives of Pan American Airways to reveal the company's historical discourses concerning Latinos and Latin America. They argue that the colonial divide between Iberian and British colonists has informed how Latin American people have been represented. These representations impact how Latin Americans understand themselves and how they are portrayed around the world. The authors advance the debate on history as epistemology on three levels. First, they present a revisionist account of the past based on decolonial feminist theory. In clarifying their episteme beforehand, they disclose the ideological underpinnings of their reading of the past and embrace an alternative approach to research as a political statement. Second, they recognize and engage with the narrative nature of history, developing systematic efforts to unpack the grand narratives and social representations that characterize the historical discourse of PanAm and Latin America. Third, they present a meaningful case of a multinational company from the global North that operated in the global South. Their discussion explores the consequences of storytelling and the impact this has on Latin America's international image and reputation.

Cappelen and Pedersen (2021) skillfully articulate how organizations avoid mission drift and identity dilution by tapping into the past. Their paper weaves together the constructs of temporal focus, organizational remembering and forgetting, and identity narratives to explain how organizations may remain true to themselves as they move through the changes imposed by internal resource needs and external stakeholder pressures. They describe how a Danish non-profit organization dedicated to developing school gardens shifted its temporal focus as it began to expand. Investments in growth and scale were supported by narratives that emphasized a vision for the future instead of past achievements as its core organizational identity. The perception of mission drift and an uncertain organizational purpose motivated organizational members to reengage with the non-profit's past and recraft their identity narratives around a broader sense of purpose, encompassing their role in the broader school garden movement. Analyzing this process, the authors conclude that although memory is an important resource that can be used to craft identity narratives, it also provides a temporal anchor to prevent organizations from drifting away from their fundamental essence because of future-oriented plans.

Tureta, Américo, and Clegg (2021) offer an important methodological contribution to the development of ANTi-history research. They argue that controversy analysis provides a promising path to the ANTi-historical study of the past. In particular, the authors suggest development of a cartographical approach to controversy mapping may be a useful way to trace historical silences and generate a more complete understanding of contemporary presences and absences. They offer four main criteria that should guide the choice of controversies to be analyzed. First, researchers should be sensitive to past controversies. Second, they should embrace cold controversies, that is, the non-controversial. Third, they should focus on underground controversies that have been marginalized and silenced by other powerful actors. Fourth, they should be conscientious when approaching boundless controversies, since analyzing them might demand great effort and many resources. The authors then offer a series of steps that can be followed when developing ANTi-history research based on controversy analysis to move from individual controversies to production of a cartographical approach.

Silva, Vasconcelos, and Lira (2021) deliver an important contribution about the role of accounting inscriptions in the process of ending slavery in Brazil by examining the creation of the slaves' National Emancipation Fund. The authors analyze the Brazilian government's use of the Fund as a governmentality mechanism. That is, the government created the Emancipation Fund partially to reduce and minimize the power of slave owners by making slaves and their work visible. In so doing, the government constructed a path toward a gradual transition from slave labor to wage labor. Their historical research clarifies an important mechanism that contributed to the end of slavery in Brazil. As such, it speaks to the accounting history literature and the use of accounting as a governmentality instrument. Moreover, it offers important insights about the use of accounting as an institutional mechanism for social change that might inform future policies regarding slavery.

Moving forward

A number of opportunities arise as the field of historical organization studies develops and matures. One way forward is to encourage scholars to heighten their awareness of a common field of research among scholars interested in studying the past. Coraiola and Murcia (in press) argue that it is time to engage in conversations about "organizational mnemonics." This entails more engaged discussions about the various historical research paradigms and a more explicit critique of the naivety of some approaches to studying the past. Paradigmatic reflexivity can broaden our understanding of the historical assumptions and premises that inform organizational studies. Further, closer engagement among scholars from different research communities within the field of organizational mnemonics can lead to a better understanding of the connections among related constructs such as knowledge, memory, and ignorance.

Allied with this, it is important to recognize the peripheral and underrepresented role of critical approaches to study of the past. In comparison to functionalist and interpretivist views, there is space to develop and expand critical approaches to organizations and organizing. Recent calls for developing a critical organizational history (Durepos et al., in press) have recognized this gap and offered important insights for moving the field forward.

As part of the purpose for developing a more diverse and inclusive field of historical organization studies, we also posit that there is a need to recognize that time and space are intrinsically connected. This is central to decolonial approaches such as the one proposed by Wanderley and Barros (2018), who argue that the geopolitics of knowledge influence the agenda for historical organization studies. To combat this hegemonic imposition, they call for more discussion of regional histories and epistemic encounters across borders. A more inclusive research field will likely bring novel ideas from new scholars who were previously excluded from these conversations. Constructing a more open and diverse agenda is consistent with the notion of "pluralistic understanding" advocated by Maclean et al. (2016, 2017). This concept recognizes the richness of approaches in the field and promotes a more egalitarian one for historical organization studies.

Another possibility for future studies that emerges from a more reflexive engagement with the past is history's role in management education. We contend that history is important and should be taught in business schools, but why and how history should be taught for management students is not completely clear. For instance, the old assumption that the past instructs the present is questioned on the grounds that history does not repeat itself. This calls for reiterating the value of history and memory for management education. For example, how can a better global understanding of the development of management education contribute to the development of management students and educators (Cummings & Bridgman, 2016)? Cummings, Bridgman, Hassard, and Rowlinson's (2017) new history of management offers some suggestions. The authors use a new lens to revisit management history, historicizing important constructs within the management field. They argue that we need to understand the origins of management thought to avoid reproducing historical biases and misunderstandings—for example, Maslows's pyramid (Bridgman, Cummings, & Ballard, 2019)—as a way to develop alternative understandings about management's changing role in society.

Relatedly, there have been various efforts to understand the global spread of management ideas and diffusion of business schools. For example, Cooke and Alcadipani (2015) showed how the introduction of business schools in Brazil was the result of a broader movement for the Americanization of management education. Maclean, Shaw, Harvey, and Booth (2020) clarified the development of British management education and the role of knowledge networks and communities of practice in forming management learning in interwar Britain. Both suggest the tenets of American exceptionalism were not as readily accepted as commonly assumed but were challenged and translated to these different realities. These studies provide an important direction for future research and also have relevance for management practice. As Tennent, Gillett, and Foster (2020) argue, students should be more aware of the field's history and capable of developing a historical consciousness. This calls for a more dynamic approach toward history and the narratives that frame how we perceive the past. An enhanced understanding of the past and its connection to history and memory may thus contribute to a more emancipatory ideal of historical research in MOS.

To conclude, the aim of this special issue is to foster greater pluralism and inclusivity in historical organization studies. The articles in this issue address a number of key issues, such as the importance of place in how history unfolded, the importance of the work of scholars from the global South, and critiques of existing functionalist approaches to management and organizational studies. Although just a start, the studies in this issue collectively contribute to a continuing, pluralistic agenda.

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CORPORATE STORYTELLING AND THE IDEA OF LATIN AMERICA

Histórias corporativas e a ideia da América Latina

Historias corporativas y la idea de América Latina

ABSTRACT

The aim of this article is contributing to a great variety of theoretical perspectives and empirical settings to generate cumulative evidence about the influence of historical legacies and organisational ability for managing the past. In a continuation of critical perspectives that challenges the dominance of Anglo-Saxon onto-epistemologies in management and organisation studies (MOS), we conducted an empirical study on a multinational airline company whose past successes depended on the North/South, Anglo/Latin American borderlands. We analysed the grand narratives of Pan American Airways' (PAA) corporate archival material to determine its dominant discourses about people from Latin America. Based on the three themes of politics, economics, and culture, we present three grand narratives, or official stories, that we argue summarise PAA storytelling about Latin America between 1927 and 1960. Following decolonial feminism, we aim to recontextualise the past and the hegemonic storytelling embedded in PAA's grand narratives.

KEYWORDS | Decolonial feminism, grand narratives, border thinking, Latin America, Pan American Airways

RESUMO

O objetivo deste artigo é contribuir para uma grande variedade de perspectivas teóricas e configurações empíricas para gerar evidências cumulativas sobre a influência de legados históricos e capacidade organizacional para gerenciar o passado. Continuando com a perspectiva crítica que desafia o domínio das epistemologias anglo-saxônicas nos estudos de gestão e organização, realizamos um estudo empírico sobre uma companhia aérea multinacional cujos sucessos do passado dependiam do Norte/Sul; Fronteiras anglo-latino-americanas. Analisamos o material de arquivo corporativo do Pan American Airways (PAA) em termos de grandes narrativas para estabelecer discursos dominantes sobre pessoas da América Latina. Com base em três temas, por exemplo, política, economia e cultura, nós desenvolvemos três grandes narrativas ou histórias oficiais que defendem resumir PAA contar histórias sobre a América Latina entre 1927 e 1960. Após o feminismo descolonial, pretendemos recontextualizar o passado e a narrativa hegemônica incorporada nas grandes narrativas do PAA.

***PALAVRAS-CHAVE** | Feminismo descolonial, grandes narrativas, pensamento fronteiriço, América Latina, multinacional americana.*

RESUMEN

El objetivo de este artículo es contribuir a una gran variedad de perspectivas teóricas y escenarios empíricos para generar evidencia acumulada sobre la influencia de los legados históricos y la capacidad organizativa para gestionar el pasado. Continuando con la perspectiva crítica que desafía el dominio de las epistemologías anglosajonas en los estudios de gestión y organizaciones, realizamos un estudio empírico sobre una aerolínea multinacional cuyos éxitos pasados dependieron de las fronteras Norte/Sur; anglo-latinoamericanas. Analizamos las grandes narrativas del material de archivo corporativo de Pan American Airways (PAA) para establecer discursos dominantes sobre las personas de América Latina. Sobre la base de tres temas: política, economía y cultura, desarrollamos tres grandes narrativas o historias oficiales que argumentamos son un resumen de la narrativa de PAA sobre América Latina entre 1927 y 1960. Utilizando el marco teórico del feminismo decolonial, nuestro objetivo es recontextualizar el pasado y la narración hegemónica incrustada en las grandes narrativas de PAA.

***PALABRAS CLAVE** | Feminismo decolonial, grandes narrativas, pensamiento fronterizo, América Latina, multinacional estadounidense.*

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INTRODUCTION

This paper contributes to decolonial and feminist research by conducting an empirical study of a multinational company, Pan American Airways (PAA), who strategically constructed and used history to market Latin America and manage its brand, thereby influencing past, present, and future portraits of Latin Americans. In continuation with critical perspectives that challenge the dominance of Anglo-Saxon onto-epistemologies in management and organisation studies (Gantman, Yousfi, & Alcadipani, 2015; Ibarra-Colado, 2006, 2008), this study challenges the successes of an organisation that based its operation on the North/South and Anglo/Latin American borderlands.

Anzaldúa developed a feminist theory that is widely used in fields such as philosophy, race studies, cultural studies, and queer studies and that was recently acknowledged by other feminist organisational scholars (Calás & Smircich, 2013). Anzaldúa's work examines two factors that are relevant to the study of management, history, and organisations: 1) she presents a theorisation of the intersections of race, class, gender, and nation; and 2) she conducts a historical analysis in order to understand the US–Latin American relationship through time. Conversely, decolonial organisational scholars such as Alcadipani & Faria, 2014) use the work of Mignolo (2005, 2011) to incorporate a Latin American perspective into their research. Mignolo provides a critical reading of Latin America history from Spain's conquest of the land in the 15th century until the United States' gained cultural and political hegemony over the region in the 20th century.

In the following sections, we outline how PAA narrativised and represented Latin America, and we consider the internationalisation of an Anglo-Saxon multinational in Latin American geopolitics. To do so, we analysed the grand narratives (Boje, 2001) of PAA corporate archival material to establish the dominant discourses about Latinos. Based on the themes of politics, economics, and culture, we develop three grand narratives, or official stories, that we argue summarise PAA storytelling about Latin America between 1927 and 1960.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This research unites historical and archival research to examine history as a strategic resource by a multinational company. This paper brought together the study of the past, archival research, and the study of history as a strategic resource by a multinational company. This study of PAA-Latin America was conducted under two main postpositivist assumptions: 1) the past, in archival research, remains ontologically unavailable (Mills & Helms Mills, 2017); and 2) history is the attempt to reproduce the past through narratives or chronicles (descriptions of events). In other words, the data we collected serve to interpret the past and to represent (deconstruct and reconstruct) history. Thus, we considered PAA's archive as a site to construct one plausible representation of the past. For Hedstrom (2002), there are many important factors related to memory, and it is important for researchers to consider the power of archivists in relation to historical memories. Organisational scholars who pursue archival research must acknowledge the process by which organisations and managers package knowledge for a particular audience (Foster, Coraiola, Suddaby, Kroezen, & Chandler, 2017).

The creation of knowledge based on the past is influenced by the contributions of decolonial and feminist theories (Anzaldúa, 2007), historiography (White, 2009), narrative analysis (Boje, 2001, 2008a), and narrative knowledge (Lyotard, 1987).

The literature on colonial studies can be divided into two major groups (Miñoso & Castelli, 2011, p. 196). This first group is comprised of the subaltern group from South Asia who critique the hegemony and domination of the West, and the postcolonial studies group, which includes Fanon, Spivak, and Mohanty, who conduct research into the French and English colonies in Africa, the Caribbean, and India. The second major group is comprised of critical scholars from Latin America, who emerged in the 1950s, such as Quijano, Amin, Dos Santos, and Dussel, and more recently decolonial scholars such as Mignolo, Fernandez Retamas, Montero, Rodriguez, Castro Gomez, Mendietta, Grosfoguel, and Rivera Cusicanuqui. Among the decolonial scholars, we chose to follow the research of Mignolo (2011), who argues for a move beyond postcolonialism that entails displacement, change, and a move from postcolonial (after colonial) to de-colonial (beyond colonial) (Mignolo & Tlostanova, 2006, p. 206). Three main ideas of Mignolo's were important for this study: 1) in the 18th century, "Latin" Americans were identified as non-Anglo and non-European; 2) the economic and political crisis that hit "Latin" America in the 1950s reinforced its sense of inferiority and extinguished, for many years, any expectation of Latin America becoming a rising region; 3) the empires that colonised the Americas influenced the process of colonisation itself. North America was colonised by two rising empires, the British and the French, while South America was colonised by the Spanish and the Portuguese, two empires that were in decline. These three ideas explain the importance of studying other ways of creating knowledge or "border thinking" (Anzaldúa, 2007), as it is important to debunk the legitimisation of Western knowledge above all other roots of knowledge. The concept of border thinking, first introduced by Gloria Anzaldúa in *Borderlands/La Frontera* (2007), is important to the study of decoloniality (Mignolo, 2000, 2002, 2007). For Mignolo, border thinking is needed to crack the superiority/hegemony of Western knowledge and eliminate the idea of a center and a periphery. Through border thinking, we go beyond the postcolonial critique and move toward the decoloniality of knowledge that eliminates the colonial legacy. Thus, "border thinking is the epistemology of the exteriority; that is, of the outside created from the inside" (Mignolo & Tlostanova, 2006, p. 206).

Decolonial feminist perspectives (Anzaldúa, 2007; Mohanty, 1984, 1991, 2003, 2008) have developed ways of examining several dualities created by European and US societies and the hierarchical system that is formed when multiple dyads—race and gender and class and nation, instead of race or gender or class or nation—are brought together for analysis. This type of work explores what Lugones (2015) calls *epistemologías de fronteras* (border epistemologies) or what Anzaldúa (2007) refers to as borderlands/*fronteras*. Both scholars analyse the distinction among modern/non-modern, colonial/decolonial, and us/them. Anzaldúa (2007) refers to border thinking as a new (female) consciousness that occurs in seven stages: 1) conscious rupture with all oppressive traditions of all cultures and religions; 2) documentation of the rupture; 3) reinterpret history using new symbols and form new perspectives around dark-skinned people, women, and queer people; 4) develop tolerance for ambiguity; 5) develop openness to share and new ways of thinking, surrender to notions of safety/familiar; 6) deconstruct/construct history; and 7) become a Nahual; that is, transform oneself into another person or animal.

A border thinking approach enhances one's critical thinking, historical contextualisation, understanding for ambiguity, and ability to transform the *status quo*. This transformation reminds us that we speak from a particular location within a power structure that, for Anzaldúa (2007), is intersected by class, race, and gender. This intrinsic intersectionality makes visible the many oppressions that women of color have faced throughout history (Erel, Haritaworn, Rodriguez, & Klesse, 2011). The experiences of the subject generate the need for a border thinking approach (Mignolo, 2011) that can break the Western code and bring the locus of enunciation "I am where I do and think" (Mignolo, 2011, xvi). Using a decolonial feminist framework gives voice to "the silence of the archives" (Decker, 2013) by focusing on the creation of a masculine image in Latin American past that has been largely forgotten in management and organisational knowledge.

METHODOLOGY

The theoretical framework of *decolonial feminism* highlights the material and symbolic imbalance of power between Western and non-Western women throughout Western history and how this difference configured a hierarchy in which the latter are in many ways disadvantaged as women and non-Western people (Latinas, Asian, Indians, etc.). As outlined in Figure 1 below, we combined three concepts of the decolonial feminist framework to complete this work: 1) historical revisionism; 2) an examination of hierarchical relations, power, and coloniality; and 3) an examination of how gender, race, and nation develop through history. A *grand narrative* analysis was used to explore how PAA produced dominant stories about Latin America. An *antenarrative* analysis deconstructs those stories and shows the contradictions, gaps, and untold stories in the narrative. The analysis required examinations of PAA's material and the historical events that occurred between their initial flight in 1927 and when US international affairs toward Latin America shifted and John F. Kennedy became president of the US in 1960.

The use of Boje's (2001) grand narrative analysis dismantles the single-voiced narration of Latin America in PAA magazines, booklets, and newsletters. Grand narratives clearly illustrate PAA's one-sided discourse and show how it legitimated knowledge from the past (Lyotard, 1987). Using Boje (2001, 2008a, 2008b) and thematic analysis, we describe three grand narratives about Latin America that were recurrent in the material studied between the years of 1927 and 1960. We show that these grand narratives overlap over time, and we present them according to a chronology of socio-political events (Mills, 2010) that have influenced US–Latin America relations (Figure 2).

The creation of grand narratives involved revising and questioning "the truth" and its meaning within world history and acknowledging that we currently know only "half of the story" (Mignolo, 2011, p. 182). Using a grand narrative analysis, we were able to revise and capture the dominant discourses that created "the truth" about Latin America. Due to PAA's skillful development of historical narratives, this research required a certain degree of skepticism and a search for antenarratives within texts, images, and historical events in order to explore the other half of the story. Antenarratives challenge the grand narrative or organizational storytelling that controls organizational events and their meaning (Vaara & Tienari, 2011) by introducing new actors (e.g., Argentina), fragmented stories (e.g., the democratisation of Latin American politics), and plausible storylines (e.g., cosmopolitanism in South America).

Figure 1. **Theoretical framework and methods of analysis in PAA's case study**

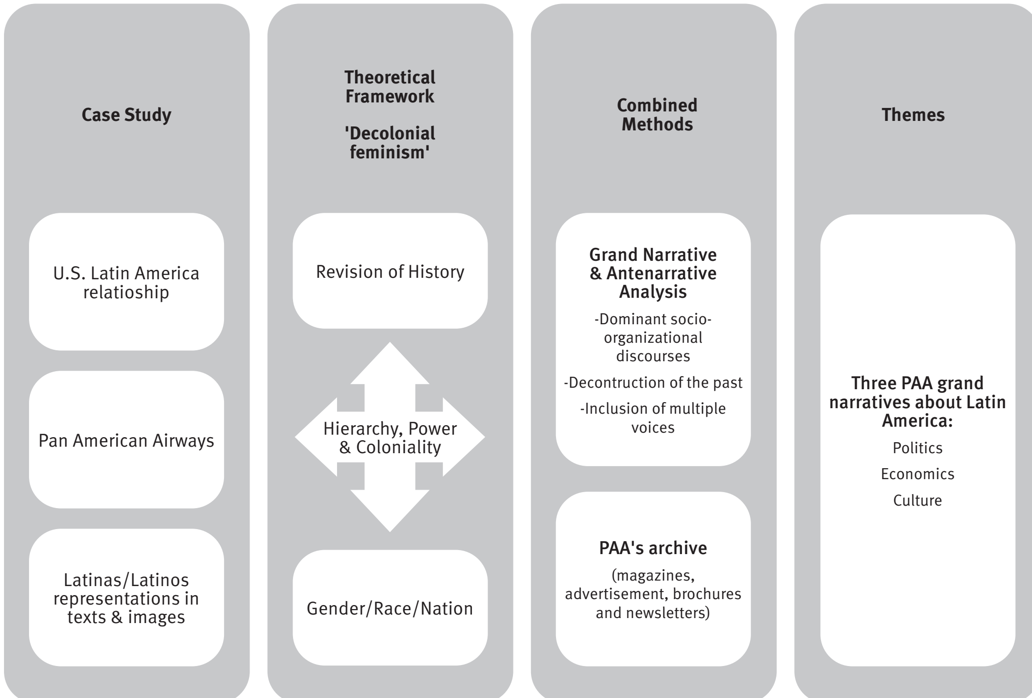
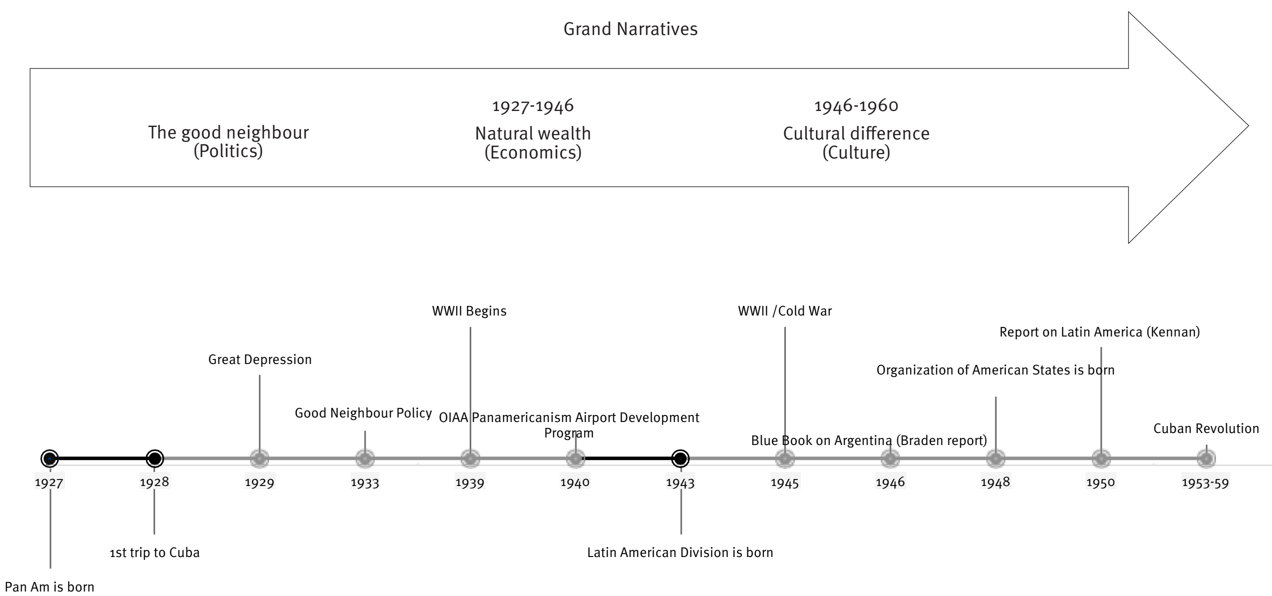


Figure 2. **Socio-historical context that influenced PAA Grand Narratives between 1927 and 1960**



GRAND NARRATIVE ANALYSIS OF PAN AMERICAN AIRWAYS

The good neighbor grand narrative

The first half of the 20th century brought worldwide turmoil. The economic crisis of the Great Depression and two world wars reshaped the world map. The US became the dominant geopolitical power (alongside the USSR) in the post-WWII era, implementing major political and economic changes.

The US exercised a dominant role in international politics using several political instruments that, directly and indirectly, involved Latin American nations.

PAA began promoting *good neighborism* in the early 1930s, before Franklin D. Roosevelt (FDR) created the US government's Good Neighbor policy. The *good neighbor grand narrative* was implemented to encourage air transport and connect the nations of the Western hemisphere while growing US political and economic influence in Latin America (Van Vleck, 2013). The Good Neighbor policy, launched by the US government in 1933, declared that the US would not implement military intervention in Latin American territory; it would instead enhance friendship among the nations in the region. The narrative of establishing and maintaining good relationships with neighboring nations later influenced the romantic view of Latin Americans, and it is linked to political distrust between the US and Latin America, and can be traced back to the Monroe Doctrine of 1823. The Monroe Doctrine was meant to prevent European efforts to colonise the US and the rest of the American continent. However, a Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine was created in 1904, during Theodore Roosevelt's presidency, that was hailed as *the big stick* policy from the US. This corollary gave the US the right to protect US citizens through military intervention, even in cases where such dangers were only anticipated (i.e., as opposed to real activities of European powers). In practice, Washington intervened militarily in Latin America a dozen times during the first quarter of the 20th century (military interventions in Haiti from 1915–1930, and the Dominican Republic from 1916–1924, etc.) (Patel, 2016).

FDR's program marked the transition from a military interventionist policy (the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine) to that of the good neighbor policy: "All that this country [the US] desires is to see the neighboring countries stable, orderly, and prosperous" and "Any country whose people conduct themselves well can count upon our hearty friendship" (Holden & Zolov, 2011, p. 97).

After 1933, the Good Neighbor policy was referenced directly in PAA corporate advertising. The policy was stressed during the interwar years and then strategically during WWII; the US suspected much of Latin America was pro-Axis or at least susceptible to such influence (Bethell & Roxborough, 1988). As seen in one advertisement (Figure 3), PAA identified itself as "The Good Neighbor Who Calls Every Day" and tells the reader that the security of the US not only "depends upon guns and ships and planes" but also "how we (US) rate in friends." In addition, in the eyes of Latin Americans, PAA "not only reflects Uncle Sam; it is Uncle Sam—the chief contact that many of them ever have with this nation." PAA concludes the ad by sharing antenarratives (fragmented stories) that explain how the good neighbor grand narrative accommodates the WWII political plan against the Axis; meanwhile, it also depicts Latin America as backward, in need, and inferior to their Anglo/North/West/US/PAA counterparts. According to the advertisement text,

> Hurdling Latin America's ancient barriers of time, distance, and primitive transportation, PAA has done one thing more. It has turned back the challenge of competing Axis airlines there; it has made thousands of miles of air routes safe for the democratic principles represented by the Stars and Stripes.

During the 1940s, the US government mobilised the good neighbor grand narrative by creating programs, legislations, and educational programs that fostered friendship and collaboration and offered economic help and expert advice to the Latin American republics (Interdepartmental Committee on Cooperation with the American Republics [ICCAR], 1940).

A tourist guide, "A World of Neighbors," presents several images of the region using a multi-styled illustration of cultural artifacts, collapsed in half a page, with the legend: "A portrait of Latin America, the West Indies, and Bermuda, part of A World of Neighbors." (Pan American Airways, 1946d) (Figure 4).

This portrait illustrates a pastiche of symbolic artifacts in an attempt to represent the cultural diversity of an unknown region for Anglo-American tourists. Central in this image are the leaders of the independence from Spain and Portugal, which shows a trace of colonialism. The masculine portrait of Latin America shows three women and eleven men. PAA postcoloniality is gendered, as Latinas are repeatedly depicted in two ways: they are shown as domestic (submissive) and as entertainers, performing sensuality through dance.

Figure 3. **The Latin Neighbors in PAA's Grand Narrative**

Source: Pan American Airways advertisement (1941).

Figure 4. **A portrait of Latin America and its people**

Source: Pan American Airways (1946d).

US cultural superiority is embedded in the PAA narrative; "routes of Pan American World Airways System can spread out below him [the tourist] the whole panorama of the past, present and indications of the future of these lands" (Pan American Airways, 1946d, p. 20). In this narrative, postcoloniality emerges as follows: the air traveler is assumed to be a white/Anglo man (him). Latin America is below him, thus inferior to the Anglo man. Furthermore, there is a representation of the past and a plausible future, where the idea that PAA is the future in the present appears implicit, as PAA are pioneers in technology, commercial aviation, and networking routes across Latin America:

> Caribbean islands, where Columbus's caravels rode the waves and Morgan and Captain Kidd haunt the coral sands. Latin America had been touched by European explorers and treasure-seekers… Much of Latin America had colonies nearly a century before the first permanent English settlers landed at Plymouth Rock in 1620. (Pan American Airways, 1946d, p. 20)

PAA punctuated the Latin American past with European conquest, amicably calling Europeans "explorers." The European narrative of the "discovery" of America by Columbus becomes PAA's narrative. However, the invention of America (Mignolo, 2005) is a reminder of the existence of pre-Columbian cultures that preceded European explorers. In an effort to seduce the Anglo-Saxon and European traveler, PAA crafted several narratives of Latin Americans as good neighbors and thereby exploited certain images, ideas, and themes, including nature, culture, the colonial past, and urban-versus-rural life (Pan American Airways, 1946d).

Latin America was depicted as a land of gauchos, a transplantation of European cities, like Madrid in the new world, and a land of empires (such as the Inca) that no longer exist. These representations were elements in the narration of Latin America, which PAA crafted by juggling a sense of time (pre-colonial and colonial past), geography (Madrid/Europe), and the binary of similar–different (folk/gauchos). European colonisation was important for construction of the good neighbor grand narrative as it provided the US a sense of entitlement to the South American nations whose citizens had more white ancestry than Caribbean or who had more Afro descendent.

One PAA booklet, which tells the story of PAA's 17 years of experience flying with the Clippers during the WWII years, is permeated by the good neighbor grand narrative and perpetuates a subtle sense of entitlement by PAA. In a headline, "Our good neighbors to the south," PAA congratulates its associated airlines in Latin America:

> From the very beginning of the company—in 1927—Pan American has sought not to control the air… but rather to aid and advise our "Good Neighbors" in the formation of their own national airlines. (Pan American Airways, 1945c, p. 13)

The US tradition of paternalism toward Latin American countries (Patel, 2016) underpins their role as advisors and aid providers. The history of the Mexican–Anglo American war of 1845–48 seemed long forgotten by the US in a PAA description of Mexico:

> "The Queen of Cities" A plaza in Mexico City from the air… The capital city of our nearest "Good Neighbors" to the South has two million inhabitants, beautiful boulevards, a truly international atmosphere. (Pan American Airways, 1945c, p. 15)

During the first decades of the 20th century, through the ideology of Pan-Americanism, the production of representations of South America was increased (Salvatore, 1998) and went through several iterations: they moved from threats of danger to the US (Durepos, Helms Mills, & Mills, 2008) to good neighbors.

Counter-narratives later emerged as alternative stories to PAA's grand narrative. One first emerged that revealed Latin America to be good business for PAA: "a vast area two and a half times the size of the continental US and the home of 130,000,000 Good Neighbors" (Pan American Airways, 1946b). According to an article in PAA's magazine, "How 'friendly commerce' with neighbors helps save US taxpayers money," Latin America represented a market that offered economic benefit for US citizens after WWII (Pan American Airways, 1958). Another counter-narrative is hidden behind PAA's need to "make true neighbors" of countries from South America, such as Argentina, who had a history of confrontations with the US. This goodwill narrative was intended to mask previous military interventions in Latin American territory and the diplomatic tensions between the US and several Latin American nations.

The natural wealth grand narrative

After WWII, the expansion of PAA toward the Latin American region reflected two things: new technological advancements (e.g., the jet airplane) and a shift in commercial trade with Latin America in which Europe lost commercial power and influence against the US. The *natural wealth grand narrative* saw Latin America as a supplier of natural resources for a post-WWII growing North American market. The other side of this grand narrative was PAA's self-representation as technologically superior to Latin Americans. The good neighbor grand narrative, which still promoted a political friendship between the US and Latin Americans, overlapped and coexisted with stories about Latin America as the source of natural wealth and unlimited resources that would fulfill the needs of North American buyers. In fact, good neighborism helped the American continent recover from the economic crisis thanks to the 1934 Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act (Argentina, among other nations, stayed out); the dollar value of US trade with Latin America tripled between 1934 and 1941 (Patel, 2016).

Several magazines described the importance of deepening commercial ties with Latin nations. For example, a promotional calendar, "The Wealth of the Other Americas" (Pan American Airways, 1945b), foresaw the opening of trade between the US and Latin America, a region that was a "major factor in the expansion of US foreign trade after the war" (Pan American Airways, 1945b, p. 4). US trade expansion was challenged by European competition and the fact that Latin America was the only open market in 1946. Therefore, PAA executed a plan to become the main trader among the Latin American countries, creating faster and cheaper flights between New York and the South American cities to compete with European cities' routes (Pan American Airways, 1946a). For example, PAA launched 38-hour service between New York and Buenos Aires, which became a milestone for international business. This new service aligned with the US narrative of Pan-Americanism that dominated the interwar years (Schoultz, 1998, p. 318) and was the moment the US restructured the worldwide economy (Pan American Airways, 1946c) by cracking Argentina's dependency on European trade.

In many ways, the capitalist system translated into PAA's narrative of natural wealth. For example, Clipper cargo helped local businesses sell products, ranging from baby chicks to deep freeze units, outside of North America (Pan American Airways, 1957b). The commercialization of diamonds from Brazil, the largest producer of diamonds next to South Africa, reflects the involvement of Latin American elites in the construction of the capitalist narrative. Indeed, the Brazilian government sponsored Panair do Brazil (associated with PAA) to "speed the traffic" of the diamond business (Pan American Airways, 1945a, p. 26). In the meantime, the natural wealth grand narrative describes a) Latin America as a provider of exotic, native fruits, and raw materials (diamonds) and b) North America as an exporter of mostly industrialized products.

The good neighbor grand narrative complemented the natural wealth grand narrative in enhancing trade between the US and Latin America, thereby transforming the global economy in such a way that Brazil became more important to the United States than France, and Cuba became more relevant than the Netherlands (Patel, 2016). Through the gaze of postcolonial dualities, Latin America was the colonised, representing the natural world and home to native peoples. In contrast, North

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America was the industrious coloniser, a region with citizens instead of natives. One of PAA's booklets explains to PAA clients how critical it was to trade with Brazil as a rubber provider:

> *Everybody* knows what happened to our rubber supply when the Japs took the East Indies and the Malay Peninsula. *Some* people know that the best synthetic rubber tires cannot be made without adding *some* natural rubber. But few people realise that Pan American has been *flying* latex (natural rubber) from Brazil to the United States. (Pan American Airways, 1945c, p. 17)

PAA expansion also responded to political arrangements between the US, Latin America, and Europe. For example, the incorporation of Barbados into PAA's Latin American Division required the permission of the United States Civil Aeronautics Board (1948) and approval by the United Kingdom, as Barbados was a colony of the British Empire until 1966 (Pan American Airways, 1957b). In the pre-war period, PAA was able to avoid government interference by negotiating "its own landing contracts in South America" (Pan American Airways, 1946a). During the war years, PAA was directly involved in the construction of airports in the Latin American region. PAA was able to build military airports in the Brazilian jungle due to secret government contracts, and "by the end of the war, PAA had built fifty airports in fifteen countries" (Pan American Airways, 1996, p. 167).

In the 37-page booklet, "The wealth of the other America," PAA discloses the impact of air travel on commerce and trade with twenty Latin American nations, as well as with the US. Latin American markets are described as underdeveloped and raw providers, but they are also described as wealthy:

> [seaport cities] are separated from each other by great distances of under developed, and in some cases unexplored, areas; they have served simply as hubs of commerce where raw materials from the adjoining agricultural and mining districts could be shipped abroad in exchange for manufactured articles.
>
> When World War II severed the United Nations from their usual sources of raw materials, they looked toward Latin America with its wealth of food, hides, wool and cotton, and its minerals such as copper, oil, chrome, antimony and manganese. (Pan American Airways, 1943, p. 4)

A commercial co-dependence in the US–Latin America relationship after WWII and the fundamental role of PAA in their commercial air travel breakthrough helped the natural wealth grand narrative come to life.

> PAA has helped "break the trail" into this new era in Latin America. With its associated airlines, it has succeeded in surmounting the natural barriers hiding the wealth of the countries. (Pan American Airways, 1943, p. 5)

The cultural difference grand narrative

PAA business in Latin America was tied to the contemporary political consequences of WWII, a world divided between two groups of super alliances: the Axis (Germany, Italy, Japan, Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria) and the Allies (the US, Britain, France, the USSR, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, China, Denmark, Greece, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, South Africa, and Yugoslavia). The Allies portrayed themselves as those countries with freedom of speech, press, and association. In opposition, the Axis powers were carriers of Nazi and fascist ideologies. Because PAA was a US-based company flying worldwide, it became an ally of US foreign affairs during WWII: "The war was a business especially for Pan Am who had half of the contract with the military in the US and where revenues during the four war years rose by 75%" (Bender & Altschul, 1982, p. 366).

A PAA monopoly in Latin America had implications in different industries. One of these industries was transportation, where land and sea were replaced by air transport, and another was trade and commercial activities, which experienced tremendous changes due to the more rapid transport of goods made possible by the jet airplane. Furthermore, air travel revolutionised the travel industry by creating a new travel identity: the air tourist. However, the demand for air travel was not a given, and PAA had to create a market for Latin America. PAA was the only airline flying out of the US before WWII, and it thus became a knowledgeable resource and source of information regarding Latin American geography and people. The process that PAA undertook to understand the historical events and cultural characteristics of Latin American countries is reflected in documentation such as "Observations on U.S. Policy toward Latin America," from PAA's Latin American Division (Pan American Airways, 1961).

During WWII, the US supported Latin American dictators both financially and legally (Schoultz, 1998), but the situation changed with the US's discourse on democratisation. The previous good neighbor grand narrative toward Latin American nations became a discourse of the democratisation of the Latin republics and zero tolerance to dictators (e.g., Getulio Vargas in Brazil, or Rafael Trujillo in the Dominican Republic) (Schoultz, 1998). By the 1950s, US representations of Latin Americans as good neighbors overlapped with representations of them as anti-democratic, chaotic, grandiloquent, and strongly masculine. The good neighbor grand narrative was transforming because, since 1957, the United States had developed a conflicted relationship with dictators like Trujillo in the Dominican Republic. Nonetheless, PAA continued working with Trujillo and his regime until his assassination (1961). Moreover, it was clear by 1961 that the Monroe Doctrine remained in effect by the Organization of the American State (OAS), whose creation after WWII enhanced the US government's continual pursuit of US domination across Latin American nations. This can be seen in the OAS' unprecedented imposition of sanctions over Trujillo's regime (Roorda, 1998).

A shocking report was published in 1950, during H.S. Truman's presidency. The judgmental and opinionated report from George Kennan became the narrative that described the dictatorships and populist governments of Latin American nations. His character-based explanation of people's behavior described Latinos as self-centered egoists with "a pathetic urge to create the illusion of desperate courage, supreme cleverness, and a limitless virility where the most constructive virtues are so conspicuously lacking" (Schoultz, 1998, p. 330).

One fundamental distinction of the Latin and Anglo dislocation, besides national character, language, and European heritage, has been skin color. Europeans were the first to systematically categorise the world and its people according to skin color and to create a continuum of superior to inferior, from whiteness to blackness, and the rest of the Western world were quick to do the same. Official PAA materials mainly depict race through their use of language, in particular by using *native* to refer to Latin Americans, and images of dark-skinned women and men. PAA narratives resemble tales from the first European conquerors; that is, the tales of discovery, fascination, racial difference, and extraneous cultures. PAA's first trips outside of the US solidified North American narratives of Latin American ethnicity, establishing the image of brown Latinos.

The *cultural difference grand narrative* strengthens two ideas developed by Mignolo (2005): the idea that a new continent was born and the reconfiguration of the process of decolonization from Europe in the Americas.

This grand narrative was solidified as a corporate strategy to diversify the Latin American market to the Anglo audience, and a PAA tourist guide illustrates a clear link to the Americas' British and Spanish colonial past. The division of Americas between the Spanish and English also created a division between Latin and Anglo cultures. By comparing how PAA describes the British and the Spanish, and then by examining how they do the same with their colonised territories, we are able to pinpoint how colonial language, such as the use of the term *native* in reference to the people, music, and products from such nations as Mexico and Peru, connect with different nations within Latin America (Exhibit 1). The representation of native dancers, calypso singers, and Aztecs ruins appear as counter-narratives that reveal the suppression of Indigenous and Afro-descendants on the continent.

The legacy of the *Black Legend* (Juderías, 1914) and the stereotypes of a backward, cruel, and irresponsible Spanish Empire, which were originally created by the British Empire, were carried to the Americas and later integrated into the grand narrative of PAA. Depictions of bullfights in Mexico carry the old stereotypes used against the Spainish (i.e., bravery, cruelty, and violence) while ignoring stories such as the US–Mexican war and the border conflicts that show the US held similar characteristics.

A distinction between the British Islands and the Caribbean (Latin American) is depicted through the language used to compare the lifestyles of each group of islands. Depictions of the Caribbean refer to the island's laziness, mystery (e.g., Voodoo, Black magic), adventure, and excitement. Meanwhile, Bermuda and the Bahamas were described as quiet, unhurried, peaceful sanctuaries. This comparison should be viewed through the binary of emotional–rational, which has long been part of modern, European, and Western ideology. The Caribbean is emotional, passionate, and romantic, much like Latin Americans are romantic; however, Bahamians are calm, rational, and centered, much like Anglo Saxons. PAA presents a romantic view of "them," the others, the Latin Americans. The article on Air Express Shipments from Miami to Caracas provides an example of this. A shipment of guitar strings is portrayed as part of the "romantic stringed music so dear to the Latin Americans." The following narrative expands the dualist view between us–them, North (Anglo)–South (Latin) America:

> Little will the gay caballero dream, as his fingers strum out the first notes of his beloved national dance or some tender serenade, that the strings he touches have been flown to him from the prosaic life of the ice-bound metropolis of the North to become a part of his romantic music under a tropic moon. (Pan American Airways, 1945a, p. 21)

This description combines the masculine Latin American identity (e.g., caballeros) with a narrative about romance and the tropical exotic (prosaic) south in contrast to the workaday, cold, city life of the North.

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Exhibit 1. **National Differences: Anglo- versus Latin Americans**

Ethnicity–Nation	Representation
Anglo-America	
Britain	"England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales…historic lands of pageantry that will delight you with greenness, graciousness, and age-old traditions"
The United States and Alaska	"Alaska stands astride the Arctic circle like a great vigorous Northern giant. Rugged, majestic, unspoiled…its's a sportsman's paradise in any season"
Bermuda & The Bahamas	"Far from home, but reverently loyal to their British heritage, Bermuda and the Bahamas offer peaceful sanctuary from the cares or the everyday world…quiet, unhurried Atlantic islands"
"Latin" America	
Spain	"The music and laughter, the color and gaiety that spice the life in Madrid are typical of Spain…you will be thrilled beyond measures by Madrid's bullfights"
Mexico	"There's much of old Spain in Mexico, yet its charm and color are strictly a native product. It's a land of Aztec ruins and gay fiestas…tamales and tequila…mountains, deserts and balmy beaches. You'll know sun and fun at every turn in Mexico." "True to old Spanish tradition, Mexicans love the thrill of watching the daring movements of a toreador" "Dancing the rhumba to native music" "The pyramid of the Sun, in the pre-Aztec city of Teotihuacan, is just one evidence of Mexico's violent history"
Caribbean	"The romantic islands of the Caribbean sprawl comfortably in a long, lazy semi-circle…" "Cuba is the largest, and its capital city of Havana is one of the gayest. Haiti land of Voodoo" "Trinidad with its calypso singers and ring-nose women" "There are mystery and adventure of every sort in the Caribbean and you'll find excitement everywhere"
Buenos Aires	"When you're not eating steak, you'll be doing the Tango or going to the races in busy Buenos Aires. A modern, jubilant, sophisticated city, "B.A." is monumental proof of Argentine progress and if you're a true cosmopolite you won't dare pass it by." "A group of Buenos Aire's folk dancers demonstrate that Argentina is a land of true Spanish music and gaiety"
Peru	"Native dancers…in costumes as weird and colorful as the dancers themselves…rest among the ruins of the Incas at Sacsayhuaman, Peru"

Source: "It's a Pan American World" (Pan American Airways, 1952).

Lastly, urban life in Latin America is represented in a portrait of the city of Buenos Aires that emphasises its sophistication and cosmopolitan lifestyle. Antenarratives emerge as alternative stories, as Buenos Aires, together with other cities in Latin America, was part of a narrative that described the urbanization and modernity of some nations. In this context, South American nations were seen as more progressive and industrious than Central American nations.

The turning point of the cultural difference grand narrative occurred during the Cuban Revolution (1953–1959), during which the United States' dominant position after WWII entitled the US government to conduct a crusade to stop Latin American nations from embracing communism. This shift was evidenced in Betty Trippe's diary (Pan American Airways, 1996, p. 345):

> There was much talk at the party about the shocking current corruption of the dictator, President Batista, and the growing unrest of the people. Not many months later, some say through the influence of a New York Times reporter, Mr. Matthews, Fidel Castro started slowly, in the east, to form a Communist Party.

DISCUSSION

Following Boje (2001, 2008a, 2008b) allows us to structure PAA material into three grand narratives about Latin America: political, economic, and cultural. Although outlined as progressing from one to another, these narratives overlap over time. Reading PAA material through a decolonial lens shows that the historical context (1927 to 1960), such as the introduction of the good neighbor grand narrative, influenced the airline company to orchestrate a modern narrative about neighborhood and friendship. The good neighbor was part of PAA's patriarchal and masculine discourse that patronised Latin American nations. Gender stereotypes were also common, as PAA displayed masculinity through the gaucho and the brown peasant and femininity through the brown Caribbean dancer. Greater interest in Latin America's natural wealth, and less interest in friendship, is revealed through the natural wealth grand narrative and how technology was a great motivator for PAA expansion. Meanwhile, travel maps and other documents show coloniality through the way Latin American women and men were depicted. The cultural difference grand narrative unfolds into two antenarratives in which the racialised images and descriptions of Latin Americans, together with South American urbanisation, reinforce the differences and similarities between Anglo and Latin America.

Working with archives required an iterative process of alternating between analysing the organisation's materials and the socio-historical context in which they were created (Mills & Helms Mills, 2011). PAA narratives about Latin America were co-created (Boje, 2008b) with the US government. Events such as FDR's Good Neighbor policy attempted to improve relations with Latin America, while the creation of a 'German Threat' inside South American airlines in the 1930s and into WWII, the Cold War, and popular revolts in Mexico and Cuba (Holden & Zolov, 2011) demonstrate the deepening of US and Latin America affairs. Meanwhile, PAA's expansion into the southern portion of North America (i.e., first Mexico, Cuba, and Colombia), by establishing offices, agencies, and investing in infrastructure, supported the US government's presence in Latin American nations (Bender & Altschul, 1982). In parallel, the discourse around Pan-Americanism, relative to US regional unification vis-à-vis Latin America, resulted in the increased production of cultural representations of Latin American people in different enclaves. An example of its impression includes the US initiative that created the Office for Coordination of Commercial and Cultural Relations (OCCIA) among the Americas. By choosing 1927 as the starting point for this study, we were able to illustrate how the company gained a foothold in Latin America in its first three years of operation; we ended the study with the 1960s because of the United States' lesser interest in the region after this period (Schoultz, 1998) and due to Latin American republics' regaining control of many of their airlines, which were once given to PAA to be managed.

This study contributes to the study of management, organisations, and history by engaging with a new historical consciousness (Suddaby, 2016), understanding and engaging organisations with their past (Lasewicz, 2015; Taylor, Bell, & Cooke, 2009), and using history as a strategic resource (Foster et al., 2017). Our approach to the past and history uses decolonial feminist theories to analyse PAA storytelling.

By using decolonial feminist theory, we contribute to the study of management, history, and organisations in three ways. First, decolonial feminism enhances our understanding of the present recontextualising the historical past. Thus, the study of decolonial feminism in organisations requires knowledge of historical events to see the influence of the colonisation process today. We were able to study how geo-historical relationships between Latin America and the US (Anglo-America) were reflected in PAA's documents and advertising materials for Latin America. The racial stereotypes of Latinos and Latinas illustrate the colonial legacy of Spanish and Portuguese settlers in Latin American versus British settlers in North America; the former of whom were viewed negatively and seen as cruel and irresponsible. In line with the 'historic turn' in management and organisation theory (Booth & Rowlinson, 2006), this work offers a plausible explanation for how organisations become (re)producers of coloniality in the present by representing images, texts, and identities of the Latin American other as a second class American (viz. Latin). Second, we explore different social identities such as nation, class, and gender through the patriarchal narrative embedded in the colonial past and the postcolonial present. Decolonial feminism assumes that illusive borders allow those in power to create social identities, and organisations' grand narratives reflect notions of gender and race that show which and how different social identities have been excluded or legitimised. Third, decolonial feminism looks to enact a change in management, history, and organisations by recontextualising decontextualizing the past and the hegemonic storytelling embedded in organizations' grand narratives.

Finally, this paper is a political piece that contributes to decolonial and feminist literatures that critically address historical representations of Latin America. We felt inspired by Anzaldúa (2007) and her approach to feminism and colonialism, and it guided this research along the path of decolonial consciousness. This work is decolonial in the field of MOS, as it raises critical issues about race and gender while allowing the voice of one of its authors, a woman from South America, a mestiza, to be included as one of the narrators. Border thinking (Anzaldúa, 2007; Mignolo, 2000) is a powerful tool to rethink organisational histories in qualitative research.

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AUTHOR'S CONTIBUITONS

The authors declare that they participated in all stages of development of the manuscript. From the conceptualization and theoretical-methodological approach, the theoretical review (literature survey), data collection, as well as data analysis, and finally, writing and final review the article.

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HIJACKED BY HOPE: DYNAMICS OF MISSION DRIFT AND IDENTITY DILUTION IN A NONPROFIT ORGANIZATION

Sequestrado pela esperança: Dinâmicas de desvio da missão e dissolução de identidade em uma organização sem fins lucrativos

Secuestrado por la esperanza: Dinámicas de disolución identitaria y desviación de la misión en una organización sin fines de lucro

ABSTRACT

This article addresses how organizational identity and mission are constructed and reproduced over time through processes of remembering and forgetting. Building on literature that views organizational memory as a strategic resource, this paper showcases the enabling effects of history, memory, and the past for organizational resilience and survival. Although temporal narratives may be employed as rhetorical tools to construct coherency between the past, present, and future, we find they also have the potential of sidetracking and hijacking an organization's direction. Our study shows how an excessive focus on the future can cause mission drift and identity dilution. However, the identity dilution can be resolved through revisiting and remembering the past. The organizational past is not merely a strategic resource for identity construction, it is also a temporal anchor from which the organization may (re)discover its original purpose. The findings are based on a qualitative, in-depth, ethnographic case study of a nonprofit organization whose goal is to establish a national network of local school gardens.

KEYWORDS | Organizational identity, organizational memory, historical narrative, temporal focus, nonprofit organization

RESUMO

Este artigo aborda como a identidade e missão organizacionais são construídas e reproduzidas ao longo do tempo por meio de processos de lembrança e esquecimento. Com base na literatura sobre memória organizacional, em uma perspectiva de recurso estratégico, o artigo apresenta os efeitos da história, da memória e do passado que permitiram a resiliência e a sobrevivência organizacional. Enquanto narrativas temporais podem ser aplicadas como ferramentas retóricas para construir a coerência entre passado, presente e futuro, descobrimos que elas também têm o potencial de "derivar" e "sequestrar" a direção organizacional. O presente estudo mostra como um foco excessivo no futuro causa desvio de missão e ambiguidade de identidade. Contudo, a ambiguidade de identidade é resolvida revisitando e lembrando o passado. O passado organizacional não é apenas um recurso estratégico para a construção da identidade, mas uma âncora temporal a partir da qual a organização pode (re)descobrir seu propósito original. Os resultados são baseados em um estudo de caso qualitativo, aprofundado e etnográfico de uma organização sem fins lucrativos com o objetivo de estabelecer uma rede nacional de hortas em escolas locais.

***PALAVRAS-CHAVE** | Identidade organizacional, memória coletiva, narrativa histórica, foco temporal, organização sem fins lucrativos.*

RESUMEN

Este artículo aborda cómo la identidad y la misión organizativa se construyen y se reproducen a lo largo del tiempo a través de procesos de recuerdo y olvido. Con base en la literatura sobre memoria organizacional, a través de una perspectiva de recurso estratégico, el artículo presenta los efectos de la historia, de la memoria y del pasado que permitieron la resiliencia y la supervivencia organizacional. Mientras que las narraciones temporales se pueden aplicar como herramientas retóricas para construir la coherencia entre pasado, presente y futuro, descubrimos que ellas también tienen el potencial de "desviar" y "secuestrar" la dirección organizacional. El presente estudio muestra cómo un enfoque excesivo en el futuro causa desviación de misión y ambigüedad de identidad. Sin embargo, la ambigüedad de identidad se resuelve al revisar y recordar el pasado. El pasado organizacional no es sólo un recurso estratégico para la construcción de la identidad, sino un ancla temporal a partir de la cual la organización puede (re)descubrir su propósito original. Los resultados se basan en un estudio de caso cualitativo en profundidad y etnográfico de una organización sin fines de lucro con el objetivo de establecer una red nacional de huertos en escuelas locales.

***PALABRA CLAVE** | Identidad organizacional, memoria organizacional, narrativa histórica, enfoque temporal, organización sin fines de lucro.*

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"It puzzles me sometimes… Why look back at what has been done for more than a hundred years? Why not look forward and say what could be fantastic?"

(Chair and Nonprofit founder)

INTRODUCTION

The ways in which the mechanisms of memory shape the construction of organizational identity over time has recently emerged as key area of interest among organizational scholars (e.g., Anteby & Molnár, 2012; Foster, Coraiola, Suddaby, Kroezen, & Chandler, 2017; Schultz & Hernes, 2013). This stream of research has stressed the temporal underpinnings of identity construction in which lived experience is mobilized in the present to project the organization's future direction (Ezzy, 1998). By drawing attention to the temporal agency of organizations (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998), this paper highlights the plasticity of organizational identity and how identities are subject to ongoing change (Kreiner, Hollensbe, Sheep, Smith, & Kataria, 2015). We build on previous research that views identity construction as an unfolding process of searching in response to events, transitions, and turning points (Maclean, Harvey, Gordon, & Shaw, 2015). Previous results have shown how organizations direct their attention on the past to mobilize present memories towards the future (Schultz & Hernes, 2013). While these findings indicate that temporal focus—the degree to which organizations tend to direct and focus their attention on the past, present, and/or future—matter, the *role* temporal focus plays in identity construction has nevertheless remained largely implicit.

Bringing this issue to the forefront, this study probes into the mnemonics of identity construction by showing how organizations must balance continuous adaptation to changing environmental conditions while simultaneously remaining true to themselves. Previous findings have noted how organizations consciously or unconsciously select or omit particular historical elements from their narratives in order to promote a particular identity and direction towards the future (e.g., Foster, Suddaby, Minkus, & Wiebe, 2011; Hatch & Schultz, 2017; Rowlinson, Casey, Hansen, & Mills, 2014). Organizational memory may, therefore, not only facilitate change but also create a sense of identity continuity (Anteby & Molnár, 2012). Subscribing to this view, we argue that an organization's ability to leverage and employ such memories depends on its capacity to continually shift temporal focus. Stressing the temporal dimension of organizational identity, we ask the following question: *How does temporal focus shape processes of organizational identity construction?*

To answer this question, we draw on a qualitative case study of a nonprofit organization. We show how a series of incidents and actions results in organizational memory loss and the development of a one-sided temporal focus on the future. This process is driven by an exaggerated concern over development to realize a "hoped-for-future," which, in turn, has consequences for organizational identity. We argue that organizational forgetting might lead to the production of loosely coupled identity narratives that hijack and displace the original organizational identity and mission. High employee turnover and pressures from external benefactors, from whom the organization financially depends for continued operation, further fuel this process. These precarious conditions consequently induce an excessive focus on future-oriented projects, and a decreased attention to past and present operations. By being overly concerned with pleasing external stakeholders, the organization generates an identity vacuum whereby a newly constructed organizational narrative becomes a patching tool to construct coherency between new and ongoing projects. Our study, however, also shows that identity narratives may be rebalanced when efforts are devoted to revisiting and remembering the past. Our findings expand and contribute to the social constructivist approach to memory, which currently focuses mainly on intra-organizational processes (Mena, Rintamäki, Fleming, & Spicer, 2016). Previously, discussions on collective forgetting have highlighted a broad number of concerns, both positive and negative, in relation to organizational identity (Easterby-Smith & Lyles, 2011). While we acknowledge that forgetting may encourage identity maintenance and stability (Anteby & Molnár, 2012), we argue that organizational memory loss may also lead to organizational mission drift and identity dilution. The concept of "dilution" originates from Law theory studies on trademarks, which "as originally conceived, referred to the harm that occurs when a famous, distinctive mark loses its singular meaning" (Dogan, 2006, p. 103). Frank Schechter, who coined the term in 1927 (Bone, 2007), defined dilution as "the gradual whittling away or dispersion of the identity and hold upon the public mind of the mark or name by its use upon non-competing goods" (Schechter, 1927, here from Dogan, 2006, p. 103).

Temporal identity narratives

The interplay between organizational temporality and identity is a growing field of scholarly interest. This stream of research

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examines how organizations engage with their past, present, and future as a way of constructing their identity (e.g., Foster et al., 2011; Hatch & Schultz, 2017; Schultz & Hernes, 2013). Despite its character of permanence and endurance (Albert & Whetten, 1985), identity has gradually emerged as a dynamic concept. Because identity narratives describe lived, ongoing time, they are "in-process and unfinished, continuously made and remade as episodes happen" (Ezzy, 1998, p. 247). As organizations draw on lived experience in the present to project their identity into the future, organizational identity may thus be considered a process of continuous construction and change (Kreiner et al., 2015).

Previous studies have already noted how organizational actors engage in temporal work by mobilizing organizational memories to guide the ongoing construction of present and future identities (Cappelen & Strandgaard Pedersen, 2020; Maclean, Harvey, Sillince, & Golant, 2018; Schultz & Hernes, 2013). We define organizational memory as a form of collective memory, consisting of mental and structural artifacts embedded and distributed across different levels and structures in and beyond the organization (Walsh & Ungson, 1991). This understanding of collective memory assumes that group memory exists and lives beyond individual recollection. Memories are not seen as a repository of past experience but rather as images that become activated in particular social contexts (Halbwachs, 1992). Organizational memory is therefore closely tied to organizational identity, as groups become constituted in the process of remembering when the past is remade for present collective purposes (Olick & Robbins, 1998).

The act of assigning particular present significance to past events has been conceptualized as "organizational remembering" and is defined as "the process by which actors use both rhetoric and history to socially construct membership with an organization" (Suddaby et al., 2016, p. 298). Using rhetorical tools and discursive narratives, organizational actors create shared values based on shared memory in order to construct a common identity anchored in a socially constructed common past. In these attempted uses-of-the-past, organizations employ mnemonic traces and narratives as raw material from which identity is subsequently assembled. To do so, actors rely on mnemonic technologies, such as symbols as material memory forms and shared narratives, to frame and inform what is collectively remembered (Lippmann & Aldrich, 2016; Schultz & Hernes, 2013). How organizations identify themselves is thus "intimately and intricately connected with the stories they have embraced regarding the path they have travelled to the present" (Heisler, 2008, p. 15) and to where they imagine themselves heading in the future.

Organizational memory work

While in a state of flux, organizational identities can, nevertheless, appear stable (Anteby & Molnár, 2012). Managers may tamper with *organizational remembering* by repeatedly omitting contradictory elements from the preferred organizational narrative, as Anteby and Molnár (2012) portrayed in their study of a French aerospace company. Through the strategic use of historical narratives, organizations might also construct demarcations between the past and the present to promote identity change. Ybema (2010) argued that organizational actors might alter organizational identity by engaging in temporal *dis*continuity talk. In the case of a Dutch national newspaper, organizational actors enabled identity change by constructing sharp contrasts between old and new through organizational narratives and stories. These examples illustrate how the intentional use of narratives and discursive resources plays a major role in identity formation and change. Through repetition, temporal narratives gain salience over time, thereby contributing to the stability of organizational identity and the meanings individuals share regarding organizational past (Dailey & Browning, 2014). In their study of an organizational transition in Procter & Gamble, Maclean et al. (2018) found organizational rhetoric and narrative was used both as an anchor with or touchstone of the past and as a tool for preparing the organization for future change. In this way, narratives are both generative and performative (Maclean et al., 2015), as the stories (re)told and remembered provide organizations with action scripts for the future (Bluedorn, 2002).

Whereas discussions of organizational memory tend to elicit a focus on remembrance, *organizational forgetting* is a uniformly important aspect of memory. The concept denotes the nonexistence of a shared version of the past, following "the absence of institutionalized memory" (Fine, 2012, p. 59). While some organizational forgetting occurs as a result of high employee turnover (Easterby-Smith & Lyles, 2011) or unconscious processes of inertia over time (Walsh & Ungson, 1991), collective forgetting may also result from deliberate, active, and instrumental "forgetting work" (Mena et al., 2016). Because forgetting is context dependent, its consequences can be regarded as positive as well as negative (Holan & Phillips, 2004). Studies illustrating the *positive* organizational outcomes of forgetting postulate that forgetting strengthens the organization's ability to disrupt and innovate, promotes change and renewal, and reduces loss in morale following failure (Wilkins & Bristow, 1987). Other studies suggest that selective forgetting may also support identity maintenance (Anteby & Molnár, 2012;

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Ybema, 2010) or enable organizations to distance themselves from a past that is considered illegitimate in the present (Booth, Clark, Delahaye, Procter, & Rowlinson, 2007). Other studies show how forgetting induces mnemonic communities to become more attentive to environmental changes and, thereby, more apt to develop and adjust according to continuously changing surroundings (Blaschke & Schoeneborn, 2006). Shifting attention towards the *negative* consequences of forgetting, these studies typically revolve around issues of organizational knowledge and learning (e.g., Madsen, 2009) (or lack thereof) (e.g., Brunsson, 2009; Holan & Phillips, 2004) and loss or silencing of identity (e.g., Albert & Whetten, 1985; Maclean, Harvey, & Stringfellow, 2017). Therefore, to prevent memory loss, organizations should strive to uphold "a continuous link to its 'old timers' to ensure adequate organization memory acquisition and controlled retrieval processes" (Walsh & Ungson, 1991, p. 78).

Temporal agency and focus on identity construction

The notion of identities as processual, whereby memories of lived experience are continuously integrated into the identity narrative, assumes that organizations draw on past memories and future imaginaries to construct and envision their identity. This implies a level of agency in the way in which organizations construct and make use of the past and the imagined future in its ongoing identity construction. Emirbayer and Mische (1998) coined the phrase "the chordial triad" to describe the temporal modalities of past, present, and future, which are temporal conceptions that are seen as entangled (Reinecke & Ansari, 2016). While temporal conceptions denote the properties that organizations ascribe to time (i.e., past-present-future), temporal orientations refer to the *value* that is given to time (Kunisch, Bartunek, Mueller, & Huy, 2017). Temporal orientations are distinct yet related to temporal focus, which refers to the degree to which organizations tend to direct and focus their attention on the past, present, or future (or a combination of these). Organizations holding a past temporal orientation and focus will tend to ascribe higher value and priority to past events (Clark & Collins, 1993), whereas a future orientation and focus emphasize and value what is yet to come (Bluedorn, 2002; Maclean et al., 2018). Correspondingly, organizations with a dominant present focus prioritize the here and now in their actions and risk becoming prey to short-termism (Marginson & McAulay, 2008).

While few studies explicitly discuss how temporal focus shapes organizational identity, some research has discussed how temporal focus influences strategy (Kunisch et al., 2017). Some scholars argue that organizations that possess a past temporal focus tend to be less adaptable and more averse to new experiences. Such organizations are less likely to initiate strategic changes or introduce new products than those characterized by a stronger present or future temporal focus (Nadkarni & Chen, 2014). Other scholars find that a present temporal focus influences organizations to emphasize immediate, adjacent, and short-term goals (Marginson & McAulay, 2008), while a past temporal focus might enhance organizational learning and decision-making (Shipp, Edwards, & Lambert, 2009). We argue that temporal focus is key for organizational identity construction. However, it has been largely neglected in prior research. Whereas previous studies show how organizations mobilize memories and visions to construct their identities (Schultz & Hernes, 2013), *the way in which they shift between temporal foci* in this process has mainly remained implicit (Corley & Gioia, 2004). We bring this mechanism to the forefront by showing how a lopsided temporal focus on the future may lead to identity dilution. We argue that identity dilution results from a failure to continuously integrate lived experience (i.e., organizational memory) into the temporal identity narrative. Finally, we demonstrate how an ongoing shift in temporal focus (between the past, present, and future) enables organizations to restore identity balance.

THE STUDY

Context of the research setting

For this study, we conducted an empirical case study of a nonprofit organization whose goal is to establish a national network of culinary school gardens. The school garden is promoted as an "alternative classroom" and has been proven to strengthen the food and social competences, health, and environmental awareness of children (Wistoft, 2013). As such, the organization holds the potential of creating more food-knowledgeable children and sustainable local communities through its educational concept. The organization operates in a context in which nonprofit organizations have played a substantial societal role ever since the "freedom of association" was written into the Danish democratic constitution in 1848 (Henriksen, Strømsnes, & Svedberg, 2018). Following the advance of the welfare state in the aftermath of World War II, which was characterized by tax-

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financed welfare provisions and a redistribution of progressive tax-based income, Danish nonprofit organizations gradually began cultivating their role as interest organizations (Henriksen & Bundesen, 2004). As the welfare state model came under pressure in the late 1980s, the government increasingly relied on the nonprofit sector to provide supplementary welfare services. In policies developed in the mid-1990s, it was recommended that nonprofit organizations should alleviate increasing pressure on public welfare by acting "as entrepreneurs to tackle emerging social problems" (Henriksen et al., 2018, p. 17). Although the nonprofit sector has grown in prominence, public resources to fund its operations have slowly declined. To fill this gap, privately owned industrial foundations have gained a more prominent role in securing continued operation for Danish nonprofit organizations. In 2017, industrial foundations donated more than €2.3 billion (DKK 17,25 billion) to the sector (Kraft & Partners, 2019). This shift has also meant a reorganization of the nonprofit sector that is characterized by project-based organizations and short-term funding schemes.

Data collection and analysis

The findings are based on an in-depth case study conducted during 2016–2019. Data materials include various sources of archival data (organizational documents, web pages, reports etc.) and public media material (news-clippings, etc.). In addition, extensive on-site participant observations (meetings, school garden events, seminars, etc.) have been carried out. The results of this study are largely drawn from observational data (150 hours) collected over the course of three years. During this time span, we organized and conducted a total of eighteen workshops, of approximately four hours each, in collaboration with members of the nonprofit management team. These meetings had a dual function: first, to acquire knowledge about the organization and its background, context and developments; and later, to specifically generate data on how the organization's members collectively view issues of organizational mission, vision, strategy, identity, culture, and image (Hatch & Schultz, 2002). As we consider identity construction to occur through dialogue, language and narratives, the workshops also represented an opportunity to observe and note how organizational memories and imaginaries were brought into play in a group context (Olick, 1999). The workshops allowed for regular access to the organizations, which permitted us to follow the ongoing development of the organizational identity narrative closely. The workshops further provided opportunities for capturing photos and extensive note-taking.

To supplement our observational material, a total of twenty-five interviews were conducted. Seven interviews were conducted with the main organization (one interview was carried out with the organizational founder and current chair of the board, and six interviews were conducted with members of the organization's secretariat and management teams). Furthermore, thirteen local school gardens were visited, during which interviews were carried out with local school garden representatives. These interviews were carried out individually or in groups and lasted between one and two hours. During the interviews, we aimed to stimulate the recollection and sharing of "flashbulb memories" (Brown & Kulik, 1977): memories that follow a surprising or consequential event that people perceive as decisive. We also inquired into more stable memory structures grounded in prevailing organizational narratives (Boje, 2008). While querying the memory of our informants, we were sensitive to the cue dependency of such recollections, as the ability to remember is "obviously highly dependent on a number of contextual factors, factors that are themselves always in flux" (Olick, 1999, p. 340). To limit the effects of cue dependency, questions were asked in an open form and manner to avoid directing the process of recollection to match our preconceived ideas of decisive organizational events. Finally, five interviews were conducted with representatives from five foundations operating in different industries to inform the organizational context of nonprofit organizations. (See Exhibit 1 for an overview of data.)

All interviews were transcribed and sent to the interviewees for quality control and validation. Following validation, each of the study authors separately coded transcripts in NVivo before comparing and discussing their interpretations and codes. All data were compiled into a linear timeline that formed the starting point of a final coding process. We coded for narrative cues that presented expressions of identity, which enabled us to see a shift in temporal focus over time.

Findings

In the following section, we present our findings as a linear sequence of events to account for their contingency (Sewell, 2005). We argue that a gradual shift in temporal focus, whereby the organization increasingly directs its attention to the future, is linked to organizational forgetting and identity dilution. We bring this mechanism to the forefront by outlining a series of events, transitions, and turning points that instigated these shifts. We show how identity dilution results from a failure to continuously integrate lived experience into the temporal identity narrative; we then demonstrate how an ongoing shift in temporal focus allows for a reinstatement of identity balance.

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Exhibit 1. **Overview of data**

Type of data collected	Specification	Data use
Observations: ca. 150 h.	Workshops and meetings: 80 h. School garden networking events: 30 h. School garden visits: 43 h.	Provided us with narrative cues, as we were able to observe shifts in identity and mission over time.
Interviews: 20	**Organizational management team:** 6 interviews conducted in person; notes taken. Duration: 1–2 h. **Organizational founder and chair of the board:** 1 interview conducted in person; notes taken. Duration: 1-2 h. **School garden representatives:** 13 interviews conducted in person; notes taken. Duration: 1-2 h. **Foundations**: 5 interviews in person: notes taken. Duration 30 min. -1 h. 15 min.	Interview statements were used to identify organizational memories and narratives. These provided insight into how actors made sense of the organization's past, present and future.
Examples of organizational documents	Project applications: 227 pp. Project evaluations: 212 pp. Organizational strategy proposals: 6 p. Organizational statutes and description: 63 p. School garden manuals: 90 pp. Press releases: 16 pp. Email correspondence with organizational members Webpage material w/descriptions of organizational vision, mission, educational concept etc.	Project applications and evaluations provided insight into how temporal focus developed over time. We consider both the number of applications and their content. Organizational statutes, descriptions and strategy proposals provided insight into organizational changing organizational mission and shifts in temporal focus and identity over time. Email correspondence between observations allowed us to probe organizational members on emerging themes in our data. Public material (i.e. press releases and webpage material) provided depictions of organizational mission, vision and self-presentation in the public domain to supplement narratives collected via observations and interviews.
Media material	Press clippings containing interviews and portrayals of the organization from 2003-2019 from mainly national sources.	Providing external audiences' view on the organization and used to provide contextual understanding of historical background and present political and socio-economic context.
Examples of photographic material	Self-captured photos during observations.	Documented physical-material manifestations of the activities during meetings and events.

Getting started: The early years

The nonprofit organization studied was established in 2006 as a spin-off from a commercial, organic meal-kit provider. The newly formed organization began with the explicit aim to strengthen children's knowledge concerning food culture, health, and sustainability by establishing what they framed as the "best classroom in the world" (Internal Organizational Manual, 2011). The nonprofit organization developed an educational concept based on eight theoretical and practical modules with three focus areas: school gardening, nature, and outdoor cooking (Internal Organizational Manual, 2011). Early in their operation, the organization established an ongoing collaboration with their local municipality that helped finance the regular visits of local schools (fourth and fifth graders). In addition, donations from two foundations helped to fund the initial operations. The nonprofit was managed on an ad-hoc, informal basis, run by the founder, a manager, and a few part-time school garden instructors and volunteers (Ejlersen, 2019).

As the concept of school gardens proved successful (Wistoft, 2013), gardening enthusiasts from municipalities across the country soon reached out to the organization to ask for assistance to establish their own local school gardens. To accommodate the growing interest, the organization applied for funding from one of Denmark's largest foundations to initiate a national dissemination of the educational concept in 2013 (Funding Application, 2013). In its effort to attract financial support, the nonprofit eagerly stressed its connection to its well-recognized parent company in their funding application. Through its repeated mentioning of the parent organization (16 times), the nonprofit's identity remained closely narrated and connected to that of its founder. Emphasizing the synergetic relationship between the two organizations, the application describes how the parent company represents an indispensable part of the nonprofit's past:

> [The nonprofit] is located on the same grounds as [the parent company], which has made it possible to develop what now constitutes the basic concept of [the NPO]. There are waterproof economic shutters between the two organizations, yet both organizations gain from sharing the same location. (Funding Application, 2013, p. 4)

After successfully attaining the grant (€1.3 million) they applied for, the nonprofit was ready to embark on the impending project of implementing school gardens across the country. However, after receiving the grant, the school garden manager left to pursue other opportunities, leaving the organization nearly vacant.

> The office was actually completely empty for 4–5 months, where I, as the Chairman, was thinking: 'Wow!' At that point we'd just received 10 million kroner [€1.3 million] from [the foundation] that were just hanging in the air. And like, what do I do? With whom do I do it? (Chair interview, 2017)

To embark on the task of introducing school gardens across the country, a new set of full-time employees was hired: a manager, a communications developer, and two school garden instructors who were in charge of teaching and developing the educational concept. However, the new employees were faced with the challenge of constructing some basic organizational systems and routines for the nascent organization. The informal basis on which the organization had previously been managed left few mnemonic traces (such as documents and established procedures) to guide the employees in their task and identity narrative.

> I realized pretty fast that some very basic systems were missing. And even if it wasn't my specialty or anything, I chose to throw myself at it, as the first thing I did. And tried to build it. (Management team member interview, 2017)

With the exception of the chair of the board, a serial entrepreneur with an inexhaustible amount of new ideas, the entire organization turnover meant that there was no one to transmit the organizational memory to the new employees. Therefore, with the grant application as a blueprint, the newly hired employees began constructing a new organizational identity narrative by looking towards the future and making sense of the promises made in the project application.

Development: Growth in scale and scope

The gradual shift in temporal focus was manifested in the organizational expansion that followed the attainment of the grant in 2013. Between 2014 and 2016, the number of school gardens across the country grew from 7 to about 30 (see Figure 1). This growth coincided with the implementation of a national school reform in 2013, which, amongst other things, demanded an increased focus on natural science, physical activity, and longer

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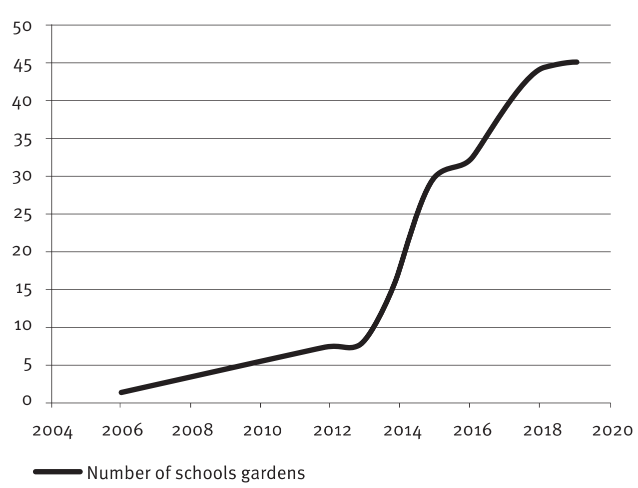
but more flexible school hours, thereby making school gardens an excellent tool for meeting the new governmental demands (Olsen & Trier, 2013).

Exhibit 1. **Total number of school gardens**



In addition to increasing the number of school gardens across the country, the nonprofit organization also pursued a series of new projects. Rather than staying within the boundaries of food education, the organization sought to exploit the widespread societal interest in sustainable agendas and the growing number of green initiatives by expanding the organization's mission:

> We need to open up for other relevant areas. There's not enough in the educational field by itself. (Management team member interview, 2017)

Riding a wave of attention, the nonprofit organization gradually found itself in a cycle of writing applications to fund new initiatives, developing new concepts and procedures, while also trying to expand the number of school gardens. The decision to expand the organization's mission resulted its venturing into other areas by trying to adapt the original school garden concept to fit other contexts (e.g., social housing). This development was further fueled by the nonprofit organization's financial model, which was dependent on external grants and made the organization vulnerable to the demands and expectations of its benefactors. Because funding from foundations is primarily allocated to new initiatives rather than to maintain existing operations, the nonprofit faced a problem: In order to keep afloat, promises of new deliveries had to be made. To maintain legitimacy and a favorable relationship with potential funders, the organization made decisions based on its future hopes, shaping the organization's direction in unintended ways:

> I'm very pleased that we've opened up [for new areas], but we probably wouldn't have, if it weren't for... if it wasn't the only way [the foundation] and others would financially support us again. (Chair interview, 2017)

To address the ongoing pressure for securing new funding, the organization continued to generate new ideas about how to adapt the school garden concept to other settings. One such initiative was to develop a children's cookbook with inspiring recipes that would enable children to expand their culinary curiosity, knowledge, and skills at home with their families. In 2015, 170,000 copies were published and distributed for free, thanks to an additional donation from the sponsoring foundation (€0,7 million/DKK 5.1 million). To further support this initiative, the nonprofit established nationwide cooking clubs for children. Another project the organization pursued was an initiative which aimed to improve quality of life in social housing communities through social gardening. In addition, the nonprofit organization committed itself to creating a digital learning platform, an annual food festival, developing five new pilot projects, and establishing an annual cycle of year-round activities (seminars, theme days, etc.). Programs to extend the school garden concept to other age groups (e.g., kindergarteners, teenagers, and retired seniors) and to vulnerable groups (e.g., refugees and people with various disabilities) were also considered as potential new projects. An organizational member explains:

> You wouldn't believe all the things we've been over. It's been everything from organic conversion of municipalities. [...] It's crazy! (Management team member interview, 2017)

Hijacked by an imagined future

Having attempted to separate its identity narrative from that of its founder, the nonprofit became increasingly focused on its future potential rather than its past achievements. After harnessing its identity as a nonprofit organization and silencing its past, hardly any reference was made to the parent organization in the project applications submitted after 2015. Instead, the nonprofit's identity became increasingly defined and informed by its ongoing

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projects and future aspirations, which were encouraged and legitimized by funding foundations who preferred that explicit mentions of the nonprofit's past were kept to a minimum (email correspondence, 2017). Conversations that took place during meetings and workshops further demonstrated how organizational members increasingly considered their main task to be developing new projects and not maintaining previous endeavors. In these discussions, organizational members seemed to agree that the original mission had become redundant, as it did not embrace the wide array of new organizational activities and ambitions. Although the mission was deemed "*too limited*" and "*lacking focus*" (field notes, 2017), management had difficulty articulating the organization's current identity claims. When asked about the organization's different roles, the majority of employees described their roles as primarily related to "*development*" while depicting the organization as "*a developer of ideas*" (field notes, 2017). These notions came to form the basis for the emerging organizational identity, which was guided by new project applications, temporally located in the future, and almost completely detached from the past.

The future temporal focus of the new, emerging identity narrative was further reflected in how and which tasks the nonprofit performed and prioritized. Consequently, numerous working hours and efforts were devoted to searching for and identifying new funding possibilities and subsequently developing project applications to fund potential future initiatives. The continuous search for new project ideas resulted in a culture that likened "new" to "good" at the expense of ongoing tasks:

> [People] really fired up and spoke about all this 'development' and other ideas one also could pursue. And that... that was... You could say, what happens is that it trickles down into the organization. It's just as if it's not as important, what I'm sitting and doing. Neither is there anyone who sets a direction and frames it. And then it's just really hard to prioritize it. (Management team member interview, 2017)

The increased attention on new projects gradually shifted the nonprofit's temporal outlook to an imagined future, as tasks related to development gained *"prominence in terms of value and prestige*" (email correspondence) among the employees. While the range of projects expanded and more efforts were vested in developing new projects and funding applications, ongoing operations were gradually neglected. Reinforced by an organizational culture that celebrated innovation and development, mundane tasks and present activities were given less priority. As the organization became increasingly future-driven, the identity narrative that previously informed the nonprofit's mission and identity drifted into the background:

> It puzzles me sometimes... Why look back at what has been done for more than a hundred years? Why not look forward and say what could be fantastic? So, when people ask: 'From where do you get all these ideas?' I say: 'We look ahead! What is it that we dream about?' (Chair interview, 2017)

As the organization gradually became defined by its future potential, new projects began to constitute new organizational identity markers. The transfer of the school garden concept to other contexts proved far more troublesome than initially expected, as it was challenging to acquire sufficient knowledge to transfer and adapt the concept to other areas. Although the organization described its culture as characterized by "*high energy*" and "*devoted employees,*" its focus on developing new projects had diverted the organization from its original mission. As the nonprofit's identity diluted and an identity vacuum emerged, a new identity narrative was needed to create coherence and make sense of all the divergent projects being developed:

> (...) a clear common thread through all of our initiatives is needed. Even if you think it might be a bit further away from the core, a clear common thread is needed. (Management team member interview, 2017)

The new emerging identity narrative was a story about an organization in which "development" was the heart of its identity. This shift in self-perception led to identity dilution, where the organization's original mission became hijacked by its imagined future.

Addressing identity dilution and mission drift

Over time, a growing awareness emerged among employees that the nonprofit had departed from its original path, which resulted in confusion over the organization's identity and strategic direction. One employee recalls thinking the following:

> There is something wrong here. There weren't anyone who dared to address that there was something wrong in the way we were assembled

> [as an organization], and it was never brought up. (Management team member interview, 2017)

Uncertainty concerning the organization's purpose and mission made identity questions emerge: Are we still a school garden organization, and if not, what are we? The organization's identity and memory about "who we are, and where we come from" was at stake.

> What I realized was that there were no one who had an overview. There simply wasn't when I arrived. (Management team member interview, 2017)

The growing identity frustration among nonprofit members culminated in the beginning of summer 2017. Efforts to address the rising dissatisfaction resulted in two layoffs, a managerial transition, and changes in the top management team. A new top manager, who had previously overseen the contact to the local school gardens was internally recruited. The transition meant a change in management style and a strict focus on core tasks. As a result, eleven anticipated projects became stranded in a "*developmental limbo*" (email correspondence).

> From the development team being the most important thing in the world, we are now a support function. (Management team member interview, 2017)

Thus, the change entailed a kind of back to basics approach in the sense that the nonprofit organization rediscovered itself as a school garden organization, thereby realigning its identity and temporal focus.

> I think we are on the right track now. We're really down to core business, which is the school garden part. (Management team member interview, 2017)

As a result of this realignment, the nonprofit organization also became aware of its internal memory assets by acknowledging how its most abiding members were the real common thread and identity carriers in the organization. Through a series of meetings, the organization started to revisit its relatively short past in search of its identity. In examining their past, the nonprofit became aware of a broader history of school gardens that extended farther back in time than they realized. In this way, the nonprofit organization *redefined and extended their history* by acknowledging how they were part of a wider and older school garden movement. The organization expanded its retrospective outlook to encapsulate a more distant history, than merely by referring to its own founding past. However, stretching their temporal horizon not only affected the organization's conceptualization of its past, it also enabled them to envision their future. The organization expanded its future horizon by moving from having a focus on near future temporal horizons, defined by each project-funding period, to adopting the UN 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda as its mission. This broadening of past–future horizons further assured them of the importance of their original mission and core task: "to strengthen children and youth's commitment to sustainability, food culture and health" (authors' translation of web page material). Exhibit 2 provides an overview of the shifts in temporal focus.

DISCUSSION

Throughout this paper, we have illustrated how an emerging one-sided, temporal focus on the future, instigated by a series of actions and events, resulted in organizational memory loss and identity dilution. This process was driven by an exaggerated concern with development to realize a hoped-for-future, which, in turn, had consequences for organizational identity. We argue that organizational forgetting might lead to the creation of loosely coupled identity narratives that hijack and displace the organization's original identity and mission. Other factors, such as high employee turnover and pressures from external benefactors who the organization depends on financially to ensure continued operation, further fuel this process. These precarious conditions consequently induce an excessive focus on future-oriented organizational projects and a decreased attention to past (and present) operations. In being overly concerned with pleasing external stakeholders, the organization generates an identity vacuum, whereby a newly constructed organizational narrative becomes a patching tool to construct coherency between new and ongoing organizational projects. Interpreting our results in relation to extant theory, we note how narratives take on a performative role in identity construction processes (Maclean et al., 2015). We contribute to previous discussions by suggesting that emerging identity narratives that assert a consistent, one-directional temporal focus will tend to amplify and feed off each other, heightening the risk of identity dilution. Although organizations have temporal agency (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998), we show how they, nevertheless, might not *deliberately* exert it. Our findings suggest that organizational memory is not merely a strategic resource for identity construction (Foster et al., 2011) but also a temporal anchor that keeps future ambition in check (Maclean et al., 2018).

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Exhibit 2. **Shifts in temporal focus marked by events, transitions and turning points**

Year	Major events, transitions and turning points	Temporal focus
2003	Nonprofit founder initiates activities on the company's ground that later will evolve into the nonprofit organization	*Present*
2006	Nonprofit is established.	*Present –future*
2013	Major batch funding attained. Founding company mentioned 16 times in the application. Depicted as synergistic, close relationship Focus on outside recognition and (local) legitimacy	*Past-present-future orientation*
2014	Complete turnover in the organization. New hiring (without lived experience of the org. past).	*Present-future orientation*
2015	New project(s) added to the portfolio.	*Future orientation*
2016	New major project. Funding organization never mentioned (partly based on wishes of the funder, meeting with foundation later, legitimacy of funders). Organizational psychologist hired to help shape the development of the organization. A new administrative leader is hired.	*Future orientation*
2017	Workshops initiated. Expressed wishes to further focus on development. Vision expressed as too narrowly focused on children. Need to find the core of the organization; an idea and concept developer? Promise of establishing another five pilot projects New employees unaware of organizational past Top management dismissed UN development goals and school garden history becomes part of the identity narrative	*Shift from (short) future* *to past-present-future* *to long past-present-future orientation*

From the outset, we have considered remembering and forgetting as two sides of the same coin, on both of which the narratives that inform organizational identity depend, including and excluding elements of the organizational and field level pasts (Foster et al., 2011). Previous research on organizational forgetting has largely focused on *the intentional action and the strategic potential of forgetting,* whereby organizations consciously omit or select elements from the past to enable identity coherency, authenticity, and legitimacy (e.g., Anteby & Molnár, 2012; Foster et al., 2017; Hatch & Schultz, 2017). In these studies, organizational forgetting is largely viewed as a strategic decision, in which top management omit particular elements of the organization's past to construct and promote a particular, desired identity and strategic direction. While we concur with these arguments, our study contributes to a less examined aspect of organizational forgetting by focusing on *unintended action* and consequences of silencing or forgetting the past. Moreover, previous studies show how organizations engage in intentional forgetting work (Mena et al., 2016) and emphasize how organizations manipulate what is remembered (Anteby & Molnár, 2012). Thus, they assume that as some memories are silenced, others are mobilized in their place. However, our case demonstrates how organizational past is silenced and forgotten all together. This is supported by Maclean et al.'s (2017) study of East Germans' identity transition as they transitioned to a reunified Germany and their original identity was hijacked and displaced by the West German identity. Therefore, we extend the research on organizational memory by highlighting how temporal focus constitutes a key mechanism for organizational remembering and identity construction. We theorize a link between temporal focus, organizational memory, and identity by showing how a number of (unintended) events, transitions, and turning points influence and shape the organization. Our

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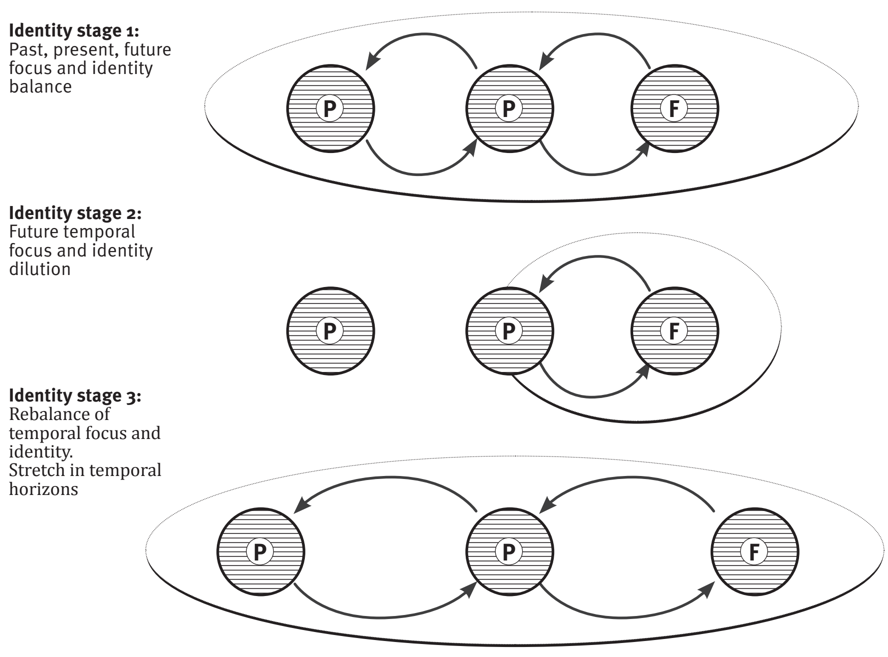
contribution is on forgetting, not merely as a strategic choice and the result of deliberate action (Mena et al., 2016), but also as the *unintended* effects of a series of actions and decisions made as a result of the organization's financial dependency on external funding, recruitment practices, organizational turnover, organizational growth, cultural inclination, and a strategic orientation concerned with development and innovation.

Our study supports previous findings by Easterby-Smith and Lyles (2011), who argue that *high organizational turnover* may induce organizational forgetting and identity dilution. Our findings suggest that narratives of the past are forgotten due to rapid growth and personnel turnover that is characterized by an almost complete change in organizational staff. Our case illustrates how the nonprofit organization engaged in *identity work* to establish independence from its parent organization in an attempt to define and make sense of their identity and mission. Engaging in this type of work, organization members *make use of mnemonic technologies* (Olick, 1999) as a substitute for the previous identity narrative and memory that connected it to its parent organization. In an effort to establish a new identity by changing the tight historical link between the parent company and the nonprofit organization, the nonprofit shifted its temporal orientation and focus towards the future by installing the funding application — with its emphasis on organizational development — as a new identity marker. Our findings further demonstrate how the successful attainment of new (future) projects results in the organization forgetting its past, thereby leading to *mission drift*.

Moreover, due to the nonprofit structure of the organization, it remains *highly dependent on external funding* and, thus, is highly vulnerable to the demands of its external benefactors (Santos, Pache, & Birkholz, 2015). These precarious relationships consequently induce an excessive focus on future-oriented organizational projects and a decreased attention to past and ongoing operations that results in hyper-adaptation (Hatch & Schultz, 2002). The outcome of this one-sided temporal outlook, which focuses largely on the future, is further reflected in and supported by an organizational culture in which "new" becomes equated with "good." This temporal outlook causes management to neglect to revisit the basic and important questions of "who we are" (Albert & Whetten, 1985) and "where do we come from?" (Gioia, Schultz, & Corley, 2000), which in turn spurs a negative backlash against the organization's identity. Thus, our findings suggest that in times of change, identity work is critical for an organization's survival. Our findings also support previous research, showing how the past is used *for* the future (Schultz & Hernes, 2013). As such, the past, present, and future are inseparable entities that are inherently bound together (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998). We illustrate the three stages of identity search and dilution and shifts in temporal focus in Figure 2 below.

Figure 2. **Temporal focus and stages of identity search and dilution**



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We find that the past is not only a strategic identity resource for constructing authenticity and legitimacy (Hatch & Schultz, 2017), but, in line with Maclean et al. (2018), it is also a *temporal anchor* from which the organization may seek its purpose, avoid identity dilution, and prepare for future change.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Our study contributes to the literature on temporal narratives as identity building forces, and the study's results provide insights into the power and mechanisms surrounding such narratives. While temporal narratives may be employed as rhetorical tools to construct temporal coherency between different organizational actions, we claim that they also have the potential of "hijacking" organizational direction. This risk, we suggest, particularly holds true for present- and future-oriented organizations, as silencing the past (Maclean et al., 2017) and forgetting its history may distort the organization's intended mission. By being overly concerned with pleasing external stakeholders, the organization generates hyper-adaptation (Hatch & Schultz, 2002), which leads to identity dilution and an identity vacuum. The newly constructed organizational narrative becomes a patching tool to create coherency across the expanding portfolio of new organizational projects. These new narratives may, nevertheless, gradually hijack and replace the original organizational mission. We suggest that organizations may be less prone to hyper-adaption, identity dilution and mission drift when taking a longer-term view (Maclean et al., 2018) and envisioning *distant pasts and futures*, as the organization becomes less sensitive to short-lived changes in tastes and external demands from the field. However, our study also shows that organizational identity may be restored when revisiting and remembering the past. As such, our study also demonstrates the enabling effects of the past for organizational resilience and survival shown in other studies (e.g., Anteby & Molnár, 2012; Foster et al., 2011; Schultz & Hernes, 2013). We suggest, however, that the organization's past is not merely a strategic resource for identity construction, it is also a *temporal anchor* from which the organization may seek its purpose and prepare for future change. Finally, we suggest that an organization must be able to *balance its temporal focus* and look towards its imagined future *while* also remembering the past.

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CONTROVERSIES AS METHOD FOR ANTI-HISTORY

Controvérsias como método para ANTi-História

Controversias como método para la Antihistoria

ABSTRACT

Our aim is to develop and propose a method for ANTi-historians, using analysis of controversy as the starting point. Despite the theoretical and methodological development of the ANTi-history approach to the study of knowledge of the past and the creation of its history, there is room for method development based on controversy analysis. We ground our proposal in some of ANTi-history's assumptions (relationalism, the symmetry principle, and multiplicity) and practical concepts (translation and politics of actor-networks). In addition, we recommend four criteria that researchers should use in choosing a controversy to serve as a starting point for investigation. Finally, we present five steps for investigating knowledge of the past and the creation of history.

KEYWORDS | ANTi-history, organizational history, controversies, historic turn, actor-network theory.

RESUMO

Nosso objetivo é construir uma proposta de método para os ANTi-Historiadores, tomando a análise da controvérsia como ponto de partida. Apesar do desenvolvimento teórico e metodológico da abordagem ANTi-History para o estudo do conhecimento do passado e a criação de sua história, há espaço para o desenvolvimento de um método com base na análise de controvérsias. Baseamos nossa proposta em algumas das suposições da ANTi-History (relacionalismo, princípio de simetria e multiplicidade) e conceitos práticos (tradução e política de redes de atores). Além disso, recomendamos quatro critérios que os pesquisadores devem usar na escolha de uma controvérsia para servir como ponto de partida para a investigação. Por fim, apresentamos cinco etapas para colocar em ação a investigação do conhecimento do passado e a criação da história.

***PALAVRAS-CHAVE** | ANTi-História, história organizacional, controvérsias, virada histórica, teoria-ator-rede.*

RESUMEN

Nuestro objetivo es construir una propuesta de método para antihistoriadores, tomando el análisis de la controversia como el punto de partida. A pesar del desarrollo teórico y metodológico del enfoque ANTi-History para el estudio del conocimiento del pasado y la creación de su historia, hay espacio para el desarrollo de un método basado en el análisis de controversias. Basamos nuestra propuesta en algunos de los supuestos de la ANTi-History (relacionalismo, principio de simetría y multiplicidad) y conceptos prácticos (traducción y política de redes de actores). Además, recomendamos cuatro criterios que los investigadores deben usar para elegir una controversia que sirva como punto de partida para la investigación. Finalmente, presentamos cinco pasos para poner en práctica la investigación del conocimiento del pasado y la creación de la historia.

***PALABRAS CLAVE** | Antihistoria, historia organizacional, controversias, giro histórico, teoría del actor-red.*

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INTRODUCTION

History is an important dimension of organizations' contemporaneousness (Ocasio, Mauskapf, & Steele, 2016) but its role has been marginalized and overlooked in mainstream management research, as recent commentaries observe (Coraiola, Suddaby, & Foster, 2017; Maclean, Harvey, & Clegg, 2017). The historic turn in organization studies (Booth & Rowlinson, 2006; Maclean, Harvey, & Clegg, 2016; Mills, Suddaby, Foster, & Durepos, 2016) has afforded increased opportunity to study the past, history, and memory from different perspectives. One of these emerging approaches is ANTi-history, which has shown how dominant versions of reality are established in organizations (Corrigan & Mills, 2012). Both the theoretical and methodological implications of ANTi-history for researching the past and creating histories have been subject to recent discussion (for the former see Durepos & Mills, 2018; Mills & Durepos, 2010; for the latter see Durepos, 2015; Durepos & Mills, 2012a).

ANTi-history studies have shown that the process of creating history is marked by disagreements, conflicts, and silenced marginal voices (see Corrigan & Mills, 2012; Deal, Mills, & Helms Mills, 2018; Durepos, Mills, & Helms Mills, 2008). To trace the actor-network it would be interesting to start with controversies and identify situations in which actors disagree and question what was taken for granted (Venturini, 2010a). Despite the theoretical and methodological aspects of ANTi-history being well developed in the specialized literature, the potential of analyzing controversies as a method for ANTi-history is not addressed sufficiently. Furthermore, the systematization of ANTi-history research practice, indicating how an investigation might be operationalized and bring to life marginalized voices and suppressed controversies, is underdeveloped. Therefore, our aim is to propose a method for ANTi-historians, using analysis of controversy as a reasonable starting point.

Developing method dimensions is important to ANTi-history scholars because the identification and analysis of controversies allows for exploring different historical accounts created by actors and avoids giving special status to privileged actors (Secord & Corrigan, 2017). Even when the surface of reality appears coherent and unproblematic, stories not told can be brought to life when controversies are the starting point of fieldwork. The description and interpretation of heterogeneous actors' practices, interests, and relationships enacting history as multiple (Durepos, 2015) can benefit from the cartography of controversy because it analyzes multiple viewpoints (Venturini, 2010b).

Creating a cartography of controversies is a useful tool with which to explore both contemporaneous presences and absences. In conducting ANTi-history research, it is difficult to follow the actors whose voices were silenced and whose stories were not told (Kivijarvi, Mills, & Helms Mills, 2018). By focusing on actors' disagreements, allowing researchers to observe situations in which they cannot ignore each other (Venturini, 2010a), researchers can expose the networks of associations responsible for producing and occluding reality(ies) (Venturini, 2010a, 2010b).

Recently, Durepos, Shaffner and Taylor (2019) have called for a more critical historical analysis. The answer may be controversy analysis, a method through which hidden realities and marginalized viewpoints may be deployed (Venturini, 2010a). Considering that the development of ANTi-history is still in an initial phase (Mills & Durepos, 2010), we will take advantage of the space to "develop each of its constitutive facets as well as outline practical research implications for researchers who wish to use the approach" (Durepos & Mills, 2017, p. 57-58). Exploring this space, we will present a proposal for operationalization that builds on recent developments of the ANTi-history approach (e.g. Bettin & Mills, 2018; Durepos & Mills, 2017).

After introducing the key controversy ideas in the next section, we will present ANTi-history's assumptions. Subsequently, the practical concepts used for operationalization, along with controversy analysis, will be introduced. Then we will present the method proposal, showing some criteria for choosing a controversy and making some recommendations to guide researchers in designing their investigations and in planning their fieldwork practice. We shall argue that there are five research steps based on controversy analysis that will be useful as a guide for the study of the past and creating a map of the past's taken-for-granted history. Finally, we will present a practical example to briefly illustrate the five steps of the proposed method.

CONTROVERSY ANALYSIS

Key ideas

ANTi-history problematizes the taken-for-granted facticity of history as a contemporaneous account of the past and the practices and underlying assumptions that sustain conventional historical accounts (Bettin & Mills, 2018; Durepos & Mills, 2018; Myrick, Helms Mills, & Mills, 2013). Analysis of controversy is a useful way to accomplish this task because the genesis of the social processes that sustain contemporaneously and carefully assembled senses of normalcy are brought into view; both those currents that became dominant and those that were dominated (Scott, Richards, & Martin, 1990). Furthermore, diverse actors' voices and viewpoints enter into the scope of possible investigation (Venturini, 2010a), because controversies are constituted by people and organizations taking sides, constituting whatever issues are at stake.

Controversies have been a central issue since the emergence of actor-network theory (ANT) (see Callon, 1989). For Latour and Woolgar (1986), "facts are constructed in such a way that, once the controversy settles, they are taken for granted (p. 202)." Controversy may be defined as "as anything (a discourse or action) that challenges the status quo between actors" (Hussenot & Missonier, 2010, p. 272). Hence, controversy is a situation of disagreement between heterogeneous actors engaged in action (Venturini, 2010a) in which alternate translations seek to fix their various and contradictory interests (Latour, 1999). The translations might be engaged conflictually or so dominate the field as to be seemingly hegemonic, with only minor cracks and fissures apparent in the veneer of concordance. The translation process becomes apparent during the reconfiguration of the actor-network, causing heterogeneous elements to appear, be modified or be excluded (Hussenot, 2014). For management and organization studies (MOS), controversies concern disagreements about the way an organization, project, or organizational practice is ordered, managed, or strategized (Hussenot, 2014).

Although controversy is evident through differences (Venturini, 2010a), it is distinct from relationship or task conflict (Jehn, 1995), which are one-off situations that occur and are resolved in the quotidian life of organization as ordinary events. Occasionally, conflicts may become a controversy when a variety of snowballing issues are triggered (Hussenot, 2008). In this sense, controversy is a process-oriented notion, "a way to follow the processes of organization as it evolves over time" (Hussenot, 2014, p. 374).

Organizational reality presents itself to us naturally as stable and coherent, the typical version of reality maintained and taken for granted by actors. These characteristics are the effect of much tacit work enabling an appearance of order (Law, 1994) in terms of strategy, structure, or organizing in general. However, the processes of constructing a version of reality and the organization thereof are rarely devoid of controversies (Latour, 2005; Venturini, 2010a). Many controversies occur around different models of governance, animated around numbers (Michaud, 2014), objects (Hussenot & Missonier, 2010), and the introduction of new technology (Lanzara & Patriotta, 2001). They also occur around interpretation and representations of the past as a central issue in the present.

Some ANTi-history scholars have addressed controversies directly or indirectly. Secord and Corrigan (2017) showed that the privateering historiography of Nova Scotia was performed by controversies between privateers and the court of the vice-admiralty. Through multiple accounts of the past, the authors analyze the tensions between different versions of history and how controversies helped to question the dominant version of reality. Despite not using the notion of controversies, Corrigan (2016) treats controversies indirectly by analyzing the conflicts between the municipality of Halifax and the community of Africville. The author brought to life peripheral actors and new versions of the past. However, these authors do not use controversies as a systematic method to map and describe the actor-network that constitutes the stories.

The cartography of controversies method may help ANTi-history scholars to investigate actor-networks and map their constitution (Durepos & Mills, 2017) in order to bring politics to the foreground of organizing and question taken-for-granted facts. "Facts" are seen as products of the translations practice, which can be mapped through analysis of the controversies to highlight heterogeneous actor-networks that constitute the past (Durepos & Mills, 2012b). Whenever a situation becomes questionable, a controversy is enacted around multiple points of view. Divergent interpretations of the controversy must be described, until the dispute stabilizes temporarily (Lanzara & Patriotta, 2001). Controversy may end with a compromise (Venturini, 2010a) that legitimates its outcome, which is then shared by organizational members as a way of performing a given activity (Lanzara & Patriotta, 2001), leading to new relations between actors (Hussenot & Missonier, 2010).

In accordance with ANTi-history precepts we can affirm the argument that dispute settlement participates in creating a dominant version of the past (Corrigan & Mills, 2012; Durepos, Mills, & Helms Mills, 2008). How it assumes to do so will be covered next.

Analytical assumptions of ANTi-history

Relationalism

Relationalism involves emphasizing actors' relations and tracing associations that produce knowledge of the past (Kivijarvi et al., 2018), forming networks instead of assuming that these are pre-given (Durepos & Mills, 2018). Actors composing networks may associate or disassociate when controversies arise (Callon, 1989), their beliefs, identity, and characteristics fluctuating as they do so (Callon, 1986). The actor networks are heterogenous: they may be organizations, social movements, groups, or individuals, for instance. Hence, relations taken to be solid states of affairs are uncertain and open processes that cannot be reduced to an objective and finished state (Law, 1992, 1999). Exposing these relations through controversies (Venturini, 2010a) shows, for example, how organizational governance and the relationships among actors change over time (Michaud, 2014).

The relationalism proposed by ANTi-history suggests that the relationships among actors in a network give meaning to past events and engender political engagement (Durepos & Mills, 2017), making issues controversial (Secord & Corrigan, 2017). How the past was transformed into history is brought to life (Durepos & Mills, 2018) through "looking at the politics of representing the past by tracing actors symmetrically (treating each with the same curiosity) and surfacing the past-as-history in its multiplicity" (Durepos, Mills, & Weatherbee, 2012, p. 269). Tracing the composition of networks (Durepos et al., 2012) enables researchers to move from social facts taken-for-granted to alternative histories of their emergence (Foster, Mills, & Weatherbee, 2014).

Symmetry principle

Social ordering practices result not only from human actions but also from associations between humans and nonhumans (Latour, 2005). Behind this idea lies the principle of symmetry, which consists of analyzing human and non-human actors in the same analytical terms (Latour, 1987; Latour & Woolgar, 1986; Law, 1987). The controversies in which actors are engaged are a potent symmetrical analytical tool, since their analysis requires scholars to consider all available traces of the actors' effect (Venturini, 2010a).

The assumption is one of flat ontologies in the constitution of networks and controversies. Because action is a result of associated entities (Latour, 2005), various elements, such as rats and fleas (Anderson, 1974; Hinnebusch, 1997)—usually left out of organizational analysis—may participate in history production (Bettin & Mills, 2018) and be involved in different controversies (Secord & Corrigan, 2017). It is through controversies that heterogeneity appears most clearly. In this sense, multiple narratives of the past are to be expected to be performed by actors (Corrigan, 2016). Therefore, reality concerns multiplicity (Mol, 2002), being more than one at the same time that it is less than many (Law, 2004; Mol, 1999). Histories produce realities.

Multiplicity: more than one, less than many

Multiplicity is related to the practices that enact a specific reality (Mol, 2002). Different practices produce different realities (Law, 2004). Therefore, historical realities are consequences of the many people and artefacts that make up an organizational practice (Corrigan, 2016), as well as how those elements are manipulated to create multiple narratives concerning the past (Foster, Coraiola, Suddaby, Kroezen & Chandler, 2017). When competing narratives frame situations in different terms, controversy around a specific issue emerges, with assumptions, routine procedures, and points in arguments being challenged (Scott et al., 1990).

Durepos and Mills (2018) state that historical reality is more than singular because different—but not endless and independent—versions of the past can be embodied through distinct practices. At the same time, historical reality is in some respects less than infinite in its possibilities because, although actors have different perspectives and views of the past, these perspectives have common points of reference (Durepos & Mills, 2018). A slice of history may be storied in terms of Kings, Queens, and elites; battles and victories; winners and losers; or people's, women's and subaltern's histories. The ANTi-history approach takes this idea seriously and shows that historical work implies the enactment of a set of histories produced by various actors.

Actors will sometimes disagree with each other, bringing different relevancies and interests to bear on their telling of history, resulting in controversies (Venturini, 2010a; Latour, 2005). Therefore, ANTi-history investigates the multiple enactments traced in the practices of the actors (Kivijarvi et al., 2018) to allow alternative realities to come into being. To assume that knowledge of reality is multiple implies a political question (Law, 2004; Mol, 1999) as to which reality should be adopted. This is best answered not by "taking sides" but by analytically unravelling controversies, how they are constituted, and what the assumptions are that frame the different positions (Yaneva, 2012).

Concepts for practice

Translation

Social reality is obdurate but not immutable. Its relations, equivalences, and differences are brought into being through acts of translation. Translation can make different things equivalent (Law, 1999), transforming them through combining interests into a single composite focus (Latour, 1999). This is how organizational goals are made evident, for instance, by translating interests that motivate people to take different forms of action, direction, and

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movement from one place to another into a focally collective object (Latour, 1987). Such translation is always contingent and local (Law, 1992).

From an historical view, to understand how transformation occurs is important. Thus, ANTi-history focuses on the practices through which relationships perform history (Bettin & Mills, 2018) and create knowledge of the past, shaping our view of the object of study (Kivijarvi et al., 2018). Historical accounts and narratives concerning the past that seem to offer a solid, single and trustworthy version of reality should be viewed with suspicion (Durepos & Mills, 2018): such agreement masks the processes of its production. As Laclau and Mouffe (1985) argue, hegemony consists in precisely such practices rather than the substantive content that they support. Translation involves politics of actor-networks, as argued by Secord and Corrigan (2017), such that "historical knowledge is situated in official practices that conceal translations and political strategies that enable actor-networks to act as one (p. 94)."

The politics of actor-networks

ANTi-history helps us to open the work (Weatherbee, Durepos, Mills, & Helms Mills, 2012) performed by the politics of actor-networks, through which actors seek to construct an immutable interpretation of *the* past (Durepos et al., 2008) by establishing the dominance of a particular story (Durepos et al., 2012). Networks of actors are formed by political interests (Alcadipani & Hassard, 2010; Mol, 2002), so, "the past is seen as comprised of actors who have the capacity to alter the course of other actors," through enrolling heterogeneous elements (Durepos & Mills, 2012b, p. 711). The translation of interests that are sometimes divergent and contradictory (Latour, 1999) leads the actors to engage in the politics of actor-networks, creating an interpretation of the past that can be considered durable (Durepos & Mills, 2012b).

According to Mol (2002), the "real" is implicated in the "political," making reality something not fixed (Alcadipani & Hassarad, 2010). Accordingly, enacting one reality instead of another becomes a political question: any account of reality can hide, cover, or displace possible alternative versions (Law, 2004). By tracing the politics of actor-networks, ANTi-history seeks to make them explicit (Durepos et al., 2008). History creation occurs through various and different interpretations of reality and doing this form of accounting is not a smooth and stable process (Kivijarvi et al., 2018), giving rise to controversies between the actors involved in its production. Therefore, when we address the politics of actor-networks we must talk about controversies.

METHOD PROPOSAL

Criteria for choosing a controversy

Starting from Venturini (2010a, 2010b) and Hussenot (2014), we indicate some criteria in choosing controversies with which to study the past and analyze how historical accounts are created. It should be emphasized that the four criteria elaborated by Venturini (2010a) for studying technoscientific controversies and adapted by Hussenot (2014) for investigating managerial controversy indicate what researchers should *avoid* rather than favour. We changed the polarity of three criteria to the opposite direction originally suggested by the authors. Instead of avoiding "past, cold, and underground controversies," we recommend embracing them. Regarding the fourth criteria (avoid boundless controversies), we state it differently. We suggest that researchers "beware of boundless controversies." Considering the nature of ANTi-history research, that is, "an alternative critical approach to doing history in management and organization studies" (Durepos & Mills, 2017, p. 53), the modification was necessary. Next, we will detail each of the criteria, explaining our choice for changing the recommendation of the three criteria and for modifying the fourth as a form of alert.

First, embrace past controversies

Venturini (2010a) and Hussenot (2014) suggest researchers should avoid past controversies. According to Hussenot (2014), the point of avoiding past controversies is to prevent researchers losing grasp of the meaning of controversies as actors produce new interpretations over time. However, the sensemaking processes responsible for producing knowledge of the past should be investigated (Hartt, Mills, Helms Mills, & Corrigan, 2014) because doing so should expose what is taken for granted as historical fact (Durepos at al., 2008). Venturini (2010a) argues that if a past controversy has reached agreement and been closed it lacks interest, which is why he asserts that researchers should avoid past controversies. However, the status of any controversy is never definitive (Mol, 1999) and might be enacted otherwise (Law, 2004). The apparent closure of a controversy may be a means by which divergent voices were silenced (Foster et al., 2017) and a phenomenon was "black boxed" (Latour, 1987).

Although Venturini (2010a) recommends avoiding past controversies, he emphasizes some important points. First, past issues could be included in investigation if the researcher is able to move "back to the moment when the controversy was being played out" (p. 264). As widely shown by ANTi-Historians,

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moving back to the past and making a rigorous account of history is possible (e.g. Deal et al., 2018; Secord & Corrigan, 2017). Second, even a controversy that has reached resolution "may be closed in many different ways" (Venturini, 2010a, p. 268), that is, historical reality is more than one and less than many (Durepos & Mills, 2018). We point out that if researchers intend to understand reality through controversies, they should not avoid past controversies but try bringing them to life through the association of heterogeneous elements.

Second, embrace cold controversies

According to Venturini (2010a), situations in which actors are not presently in disagreement or where there is no potential rupture between them do not favor the analysis of controversies; better to observe heated debates to understand the various dimensions of a controversy (Hussenot, 2014). What was a controversy may have been black boxed because of dominant assumptions silencing marginalized voices. A case in point is the non-controversial nature, for much of its career, of the Hawthorne effect, which recent research has deconstructed by returning to the "cold case" and seeing it anew through historical materials (Busse & Warner, 2017; Hassard, 2012; Mannevuo, 2018; Muldoon, 2017). Inspection of a supposedly cold issue can reveal that knowledge of the past is taken for granted in organizational history (Durepos & Mills, 2012b; Durepos et al., 2008). Actors' feelings, meanings, and emotions (Hussenot, 2014) may have been suppressed from the scene and become hidden from everyday organizational life (Mannevuo, 2018). Cold controversies lie like a barrier over voices silenced and stories not told (Kivijarvi et al., 2018) and can be placed underground in organizational history.

Third, embrace underground controversies

Venturini (2010a) and Hussenot (2014) recommend that researchers avoid underground controversies. We agree that is difficult to access confidential or classified issues (Venturini, 2010a), especially where organizations wish to preserve their reputation (Hussenot 2014). Nonetheless, if actors act, if they somehow associate with each other, they will leave some traces and information that researchers can use to describe them (Latour, 2005), even if the controversy is supposedly cold and has been placed underground.

Considering that good controversies are the intense ones (Venturini, 2010a), researchers should embrace underground controversies as a means of bringing the organizational dynamics and emotional debates (Hussenot, 2014) to life in ways that expose the power relations, the politics of actor-networks, and show the multiplicity of reality. Charting power relations and how knowledge of the past is produced and taken for granted is one of the objectives of the ANTi-history approach (Corrigan & Mills, 2012). Power relations can be masked by burying controversies and covering them with naturalized social relationships, established in institutional structures, embedded in technologies, or biased in historical creation. As Mannevuo (2018) suggests, organization "settings always have fractures that might open up possibilities for reparative readings of the process of making workers and thus revise overly deterministic theories of oppression and vulnerability, (p. 1243)" a case she makes clearly for the historical research conducted in the Relay Assembly Test Room of the Hawthorne plant of General Electric.

Simon Kuper (2019) provides another apt example in showing how membership of the Oxford Union in the 1980s prefigured the politics of Brexit in the present day. As he wrote, "you turn the pages of yellowing student newspapers from 30 years ago, and there they are, recognizably the same faces that dominate today's British news." Johnson, Gove, Rees-Mogg, Hunt, and Cameron eased effortlessly from their elite schools (in most cases, Eton), into a milieu in which debating skills consisted largely of an ability to speak wittily about something of which one had little knowledge nor felt the need to gain it. Style over substance, rhetoric and wit over reason and evidence: these were the attributes marking out the actor network that was to become the ruling coteries of Brexit in government.

Fourth, beware of boundless controversies

Venturini (2010a) and Hussenot (2014) suggest that researchers should avoid boundless controversies. We do not suggest avoiding this kind of controversy entirely, because tracing the extension of an actor-network related to a controversy is a researcher's choice based on interest in covering a certain period of time in the historical account or in which the actor-network being studied is situated (Law, 1987). Furthermore, the extension of a controversy depends on its complexity and scope (Venturini, 2010a). We do not, however, recommend embracing boundless controversies indiscriminately but advise that when choosing a controversy embedded in much debate, requiring considerable work and time, researchers should be aware of resource availability (Venturini, 2010a) and of the textual limits of genres. As pointed out by Latour (2005), "any method depends on the size and type of texts you

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promised to deliver… …writing texts has *everything* to do with method" (p. 148, italics in the original).

A useful approach to dealing with these issues is to take the ANT concept of an actor as anything that makes a difference, modifying states of affairs (Latour, 2005; Mol, 2010), and put it to work in delimiting the scope of the network of actors involved in the controversy. As stated by Law (1987) "the scope of the network being studied is determined by the existence of actors that are able to make their presence individually felt on it. (p. 131)" Doing this aligns with the ANTi-history approach by understanding actors as elements capable of altering other actor's actions through associations (Durepos & Mills, 2012b). According to Latour (2005), actors will leave some traces, directly or indirectly, even if they are silenced or repressed, providing opportunity to inspect elements of a network that are usually ignored (Law, 1992). Bearing these criteria in mind, we shall next look at the five steps of research entailed in using ANTi-history assumptions and practices.

Research steps

In this section, we will present the five steps useful for ANTi-history researchers: first, identify the controversy related to the phenomenon under analysis; second, map the actor-network involved in the controversy through time; third, trace the translation practice throughout history; fourth, identify the politics of actor-networks; fifth, describe the multiple realities being performed in practice by the actors. These steps should not be viewed in a linear fashion, as many of them occur simultaneously.

1. **Sampling: how to identify controversies:** As mentioned earlier, when we present the criteria for choosing controversies, it is helpful to identify an emerging and vivid controversy (Hussenot, 2014; Venturini, 2010a). However, instead of ignoring cold controversies, researchers should inspect them for silenced and repressed voices marginalized by power relations, the effects of which may become visible as "suppressed traces" (Hartt et al., 2014, p. 14). Controversies expose hidden and heterogeneous relationships (Venturini, 2010a) in the actor-network of the historical account. As controversy unfolds, the heterogeneity of an object's interpretation presents itself more clearly as the actors involved discuss and position themselves in relation to the putative object (Latour, 1987) of contestation.

To identify what is or is not a controversy, researchers should look for ideas or practices taken for granted in the past but being questioned more recently (Venturini, 2010a). Unlike one-off relationship conflicts or task conflict (Jehn, 1995), historical controversies trigger a variety of snowball issues (Hussenot, 2008) related to the past and the facticity of knowledge production (Durepos & Mills, 2018). The tension between distinct narratives and accounts is what matters, because it is evidence of an initial disruption between actors (Bettin & Mills, 2018). Once the controversy is identified, the trail is opened so that the researcher can work out who the actors were and further trace the different historical narratives created by them in disagreements. Thus, the next step is to map the controversy's actor-network.

2. **Scanning the terrain: how to map the actor-network:** After a controversy arises, an actor-network is formed around it, becoming "the fleeting configurations where actors are renegotiating the ties of old networks and the emergence of new networks is redefining the identity of actors" (Venturini, 2010a, p. 264). Controversies implicate all kind of actors (Hussenot, 2014; Venturini, 2010a); those central and peripheral (Corrigan & Mills, 2012), non-corporeal actants (Hartt et al., 2014), humans and nonhumans (Secord & Corrigan, 2017), and practitioners and historians (Kivijarvi et al., 2018). Considering that controversy analysis is based on the symmetry principle (Callon, 1986), mapping an actor-network implies being open to all perspectives and including as many viewpoints as possible (Venturini 2010b).

In doing so, an actor-network can be mapped through three parameters that take the actors' viewpoint: representativeness, influence, and interest (Venturini, 2010b). These parameters are useful for framing the researcher's choice of the extent of the actor-network to be mapped. A viewpoint is said to be representative when it has substantial support from actors sharing arguments. In this situation, the statements made by this group deserve the researcher's special attention. To map the actor-network, it is important for researchers to identify the actors whose statements produce controversy. Minority views should not be disregarded, as we shall see later, "because representativeness is a matter of weighting much more than of counting" (Venturini, 2010b, p. 798).

Some viewpoints have more influence than others. While a controversy is occurring actors will compete to occupy influential positions "that give them the power to affect the actions of other actors […] because, like it or not, they will have better chances

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to shape controversies" (Venturini, 2010b, p. 798). Influential viewpoints concern not only the number of allies they attract but also the enrolment of prominent supports enhancing the chance of succeeding. Mapping the actor-network demands that the researcher trace through time the trails used by actors to position themselves at a favorable point capable of enlisting weighty supporters.

Controversy depends, necessarily, on minorities disputing and disagreeing with majority reports: "It is disagreeing minorities who bring controversies into existence by refusing to settle with the mainstream and reopening the black boxes" (Venturini, 2010b, p. 798) of historical accounts. Marginal and minorities' viewpoints articulate silenced or repressed perspectives that are useful for questioning what is taken for granted and showing alternative versions of reality marginalized by powerful actors.

3. **Tracing: how to draw the translation process:** Mapping the actor-network involved in a controversy through time is a step that makes actors and connections more visible. However, as noted by Bettin and Mills (2018, p. 70), "doing history" is not limited to tracing the association of human and nonhuman "but it also includes a concern about how actors relate to each other, how they connect and disconnect, and how they achieve such strong alignments" to create history. These movements between actors are an effect of translation processes and are to some extent the result of the controversies (Hussenot, 2014).

Callon (1986) depicted translation as comprised of four stages: problematization, interessement, enrolment, and mobilization of allies. Problematization refers to a system of alliances or associations established between entities to define their identity and goals and to create an obligatory passage point that all actors must accept to achieve what they want (see Clegg, 1989). In controversies, this means that the association and oppositions created around a specific issue situate the positions of the actors and the structure of the network in the process and flux of its evolution (Venturini, Rici, Mauri, Kimbell, Meunier, 2015).

Interessement is represented by actions taken by the actors "to impose and stabilize the other actors it defines through its problematization" and building devices to protect them from other actors "who want to define their identities otherwise" (Callon, 1986, p. 71-72). Although the success of the interessement testifies the previous stage and its systems of alliances, it is never assured. So, actors must be enrolled. Enrolment corresponds to the attribution of interrelated roles for the creation of alliances among the actors, resulting from multiple negotiations around a proposed solution. The disagreement aroused by a controversy in this stage makes not only the actors' behaviors and expectations explicit, but also the main organizational practices and rules (Hussenot, 2014).

Finally, mobilization is the stage when actors accept a specific goal, there is a dominant coalition of elites that are well linked with each other and have a clear role in the network. At this moment, a central actor becomes an influential spokesperson, representing as the network of interests all those silenced during the network's formation. The diverse entities act as one, as an actor-network, through a representative spokesperson. At this stage controversy ends in the compromise of a negotiated order (Venturini, 2010a) whose outcome becomes legitimated (Lanzara & Patriotta, 2001) as the official organizational history.

These different stages of the translation process may be useful for an ANTi-Historian in the investigation of controversies, but we suggest they should not be used in a linear and mechanical way, because they can overlap and do not have clear boundaries (Callon, 1986).

4. **Labelling: the politics of actor-networks:** Actor-network controversies are decided by power relations and practices (Law, 2004; Mol, 2002; Venturini, 2010a). Some positions become more influential as some actors' ability to shape controversies is successful (Venturini, 2010b). What is taken to be known involves manipulation of the flow of possible knowledges (Mol, 1999) entering into history creation (Bettin & Mills, 2018). Taking this idea as a starting point, Durepos and Mills (2018) assert that "if there are different versions of the past performed as history, and these are different versions of reality, then the question becomes which version to perform (p. 444)." There is a politics of actor-networks, that is, the engagement of actors (practitioners, interviewee, historians, ideas, documents, artefacts, archives) as they enroll each other, alter the course of action, and instill a version of reality favorable to a specific group (Durepos & Mills, 2012b).

In this step, the researcher identifies the ascription of motives (Blum & McHugh, 1971) of the actors engaging in the controversy. The focus is on those motives that lead to an investment of effort and resources in persuading others to create a goal, connect to each other, accept a role, and be represented by a central actor. Doing so, controversy analysis displays the social implications of taken-for-granted assumptions that assume relative inertia being challenged by motives for action (Scott et al., 1990, p. 474).

In addition, an important task is to investigate how some motives are repressed and silenced in a controversial situation, especially by the upshot of past controversies becoming embedded in the fabric of organizational structures, processes, and relationships, forming necessary nodal points (Lanzara & Patriotta, 2001). The means of representation of the past events that led to the present embeddedness (narrative, writing or artefact) affects their meaning. According to Durepos and Mills (2018), "history is an outcome of the socio-politics of different conglomerations of actors (human, non-human and non-corporeal) as they transform a sense of the past" (p. 437, see Deal et al., 2018; Hartt et al., 2014), therefore, it is unwise to limit the sources under investigation.

5. **Describing the multiple reality and power relation:** After undertaking the previous steps, researchers will be able to undergo the final step, of describing the multiplicity in the history creation. Identifying excluded actors and bringing hidden events/actions into being may reveal multiple past realities. As shown by Mol (2002), different realities are enacted as the outcome of distinct practices and compromises after resolution of a controversy (Venturini, 2010a). When a reality is black boxed, we cannot see the actors less-visibly associated with a central actor unless they are revealed by a controversy (Callon, 1989). Thus, in this step researchers should be attentive to the actors' everyday practices enacting both visible and less-visible realities, because it is from these that history emerges (Bettin & Mills, 2018).

Controversy analysis in the study of the past is a tool capable of showing that controversies around history creation could be closed in different ways (Venturini, 2010a), that reality could be otherwise (Law, 2004). Taking multiplicity assumptions seriously helps to "undermine any notion that the past is fixed and unchanging, eschewing closure while remaining permanently open to revision" (Maclean et al., 2016, p. 627). Attending to controversy takes the democratic politics of research as an exercise in conjectures and refutations seriously–research as politics by other means rather than a conception of it as an ordered process of accumulation of more certain knowledge. Instead, following Popper (2014), we orient to dissensus, disconfirmation, and democracy.

Focusing on ruptures of everyday actors' experiences is an opportunity to understand organizational dynamics (Hussenot, 2014) and how associations and alliances are built to settle a specific reality while marginalizing others, not always intentionally. Therefore, to identify multiplicity we suggest researchers seek narratives, documents, artefacts, or events that afford some clues to the potential disagreements concerning organizational history or knowledge of the past and practices performed by actors. Organizational controversy concerns differences whose unfolding displays evolving distributions of power (Venturini, 2010a). ANTi-Historians "shadow" the constant work of actors in establishing connections, disputing and negotiating whatever the issues are at stake. Following the action, multiplicities proliferate empirically.

Practical example

In the cartography of controversies terms, in contemporary times, thinking of the history of the present, an example would be the subject of environmentalism and climate change as well as the many objects held to represent it: firestorms in the Amazon, California, and Australia; ice melting in Greenland, Antarctica, and the Alps; floods of pestilential proportions in the United Kingdom, the United States, and Bangladesh. Hence, one can think of climate change negotiation as a potential controversy to be further investigated in Management and Organization Studies (step 1: sampling). Once a specific climate change negotiation is identified as a controversy, the researcher should identify who the actors are (national leaders, NGOs, transnational corporations) and trace the different historical narratives produced by them in disagreements (favorable arguments *versus* contrary arguments) that are taking place. Based on an analysis of environmentalism and its multiple facets throughout history, Bothello and Salles-Djelic (2018) identify several international actors (e.g. intergovernmental organizations, business groups, and scientists) responsible for creating initiatives and narratives related to this topic over time. This scanning practice helps researchers to generate a broader picture of the terrain, which will be traced in the next step (step 2: scanning). However, it still remains necessary to understand how relationships between actors happen with respect to climate change negotiation, how and if they connect, and what the results of these relationships are. To draw out the climate change negotiation's translation practice, one must describe how the relationship between contradictory points of view occurs because controversies are the focus of disputes and debates, demanding the construction and mobilization of alliances

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between heterogeneous actors (Venturini 2010b). These might be how organizations strive to manage their effect on planetary boundaries (Bothello & Salles-Djelic, 2018) in the age of the Anthropocene (Heikkurinen, Clegg, Pinnington, Nicolopoulou, & Caraz, 2020). More prosaically it could be a question of the relations between technology and work practice (Hussenot, 2008), the role of mediation objects (Hussenot & Missonier, 2010) and the social, cultural, and political aspects of an innovation (Callon, 1989) (step 3: tracing).

Evidently, it is important to consider relationships in terms of power relations (Mol, 2002), because certain positions of actors in the network have greater abilities to influence the direction of the controversy. It is in this sense that Venturini (2010b), when dealing with climate controversies, states that different weights must be given to different actors (Panel on Climate Change, Global Climate Coalition) negotiating an agreement on global warming with a minimal chance of success, because perspectives are supported differently. For Bothello and Salles-Djelic (2018), this is what happens when organizations attempt to embody the environmentalism discourse. Organizational actors mobilize and champion different concepts in relationship with specific ideological assumptions that "evoke contrasting normative implications in, for example, public agencies or for-profit firms" (p. 94). Furthermore, researchers should focus on the motivations that drive actors to invest resources to persuade others of the validity of their point of view. For example, some companies invest a lot of money in environmental responsibility, green products, and scientific research. It would be important to investigate how some voices are repressed in the ongoing process of the dispute. For instance, the spread of memes on social media ridiculing defenders of the environment (step 4: labelling).

Considering the reasons and perspectives involved in the controversy, understanding which are more representative and which are silenced, allows the researcher to articulate the multiplicity of the creation of history. As an illustration, Bothello and Salles-Djelic (2018) claim that environmentalism is not homogeneous and a-temporal because it is a historically constructed institution full of multiple narratives. According to these authors, different labels are associated with environmentalism, indicating that this concept cannot be reduced to a single vision. There are various viewpoints supporting environmentalism and climate change. However, there are several others based on reasonable arguments that question some specific aspects of global warming. Each of them generates specific managerial implications for organizations and decision-makers. They should also be included in the actor-network to show that historical reality is multiple (Durepos, 2015). They may coexist, but sometimes they clash with each other (step 5: describing).

This, like countless other examples that could be given, shows that embracing controversies in organizational analysis implies being open to describing and not simplifying its multiplicity and complexity (Latour, 2005; Venturini, 2010a).

CONCLUSION

Our aim in this paper was to develop and propose a method for ANTi-Historians, using the analysis of controversy as a starting point. Considering that knowledge of the past and history creation are performative activities, that is, they are a matter of practice, we intend to further ANTi-history research by suggesting a method for comprehending the analysis of the phenomena it conjures. In doing so, we show that the cartography of controversies method appears to be a useful tool for achieving this objective. Marginalized, silenced, or repressed voices can be brought into focus once researchers seek out the disruptions caused by those disagreements and conflicts that happen throughout organizational life and actors' practices. In line with Durepos and Mills (2018), we agree that "the shift of focus from knowledge to practice will have consequences for how we approach history. (p. 441)" Therefore, more than a theoretical improvement, the development of methods that meet the challenge posed by ANTi-history is necessary. We offer the aforesaid as a stage on which this controversy may be played out.

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ACCOUNTING INSCRIPTIONS FOR THE EXERCISE OF ORGANIZATIONAL POWER: THE CASE OF THE SLAVE EMANCIPATION FUND IN BRAZIL

Inscrições contábeis para o exercício do poder organizacional: O caso do fundo de emancipação de escravos no brasil

Inscripciones contables para el ejercicio del poder de la organización: El caso del fondo de emancipación de esclavos en Brasil

ABSTRACT

This research aims to analyze how organizational power can be exercised over specific populations through accounting inscriptions. This aim has been achieved by using a methodology based on a case study and archive research. The case study of the national emancipation fund was based on the analysis of legislation, archival documents, and newspapers. The concept of governmentality has been used to conduct an interpretative data analysis. The results demonstrate that the accounting inscriptions allowed territorial control and collection of amounts for constitution of municipal emancipation fund, supervision of the slavers owners, and establishment of selection criteria for the manumission of slaves considered "worthy of freedom." In this way, the imperial state maintained control over the gradual transition from slavery to wage labor.

KEYWORDS | Accounting inscriptions, slave, governmentality, Emancipation Fund, Accounting history

RESUMO

O objetivo desta pesquisa é analisar como o poder organizacional pode ser exercido sobre populações específicas por meio das inscrições contábeis. A metodologia de pesquisa é baseada em um estudo de caso e pesquisa de arquivo. O estudo de caso do Fundo de Emancipação teve como base de análise a legislação, documentos de arquivo e notícias de jornais. Quanto à abordagem adotada, este artigo utiliza o conceito da governamentalidade para a condução de uma análise interpretativa dos dados. Os resultados demonstram que o uso das inscrições contábeis permitiu o controle territorial e da arrecadação de quantias para a constituição das quotas municipais do Fundo de Emancipação, a supervisão dos senhores, e estabeleceu critérios de seleção para a alforria de escravos considerados "dignos de liberdade", mantendo, dessa forma, o controle sobre a transição gradual do trabalho escravo para o trabalho assalariado.

***PALAVRAS-CHAVE** | Inscrições contábeis, escravo, governamentalidade, Fundo de Emancipação, História da contabilidade.*

RESUMEN

El presente estudio analiza cómo el poder organizacional puede ejercerse sobre las poblaciones específicas a través de inscripciones contables. La metodología de investigación se basa en un estudio de caso y una investigación de archivo. El estudio de caso del fondo de emancipación se basó en el análisis de la legislación, documentos de archivo y noticias periodísticas. Este artículo utiliza el concepto de la gubernamentalidad en la conducción de un análisis interpretativo de los datos. Los resultados demuestran que el uso de las inscripciones contables permitió el control de la recaudación de cantidades para la constitución de las cuotas municipales del fondo de emancipación, la supervisión de los señores, el control territorial y de la selección para la manumisión de esclavos considerados "dignos de libertad", manteniendo así el control sobre la transición gradual del trabajo esclavo al trabajo asalariado.

***PALABRAS CLAVE** | Inscripciones contables, esclavo, gubernamentalidad, Fondo de Emancipación, Historia contable.*

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INTRODUCTION

Because of their movement capacity, accounting inscriptions are viewed as material expressions capable of supporting the management of events and populations (Robson, 1992). Some researchers who investigate accounting inscriptions have shown an interest in their use for producing events (Ezzamel, Lilley, & Willmott, 2004), the conditions of their remote operation (Robson, 1992) and their power to create and promote "order" in society (Ezzamel, 2009). This study responds to the calls of Ezzamel et al. (2004), Robson (1992) and Ezzamel (2009) for further research regarding accounting inscriptions and their potential to assist in the establishment of social order. This study also contributes to the existing literature on the use of accounting (and its expressions) for the control of society, and to interpretive accounting research on the interrelationships between accounting and the State (Carmona, 2017).

The focus of this study is the Slave Emancipation Fund, a theme that has been examined by non-accountant historians such as Dauwe (2004), Neves (2014) and Santana (2018). Dauwe seeks to understand the Emancipation Fund's structure both as a legal and an administrative tool. Neves attempts to reassess the participation of slaves in the process of achieving their freedom. Santana investigates the compensation provided for slave owners and the lack of redress for former slaves after emancipation. None of the authors sought to understand how state power was exercised on specific populations through the accounting inscriptions involved in the government program (Robson, 1992), i.e., the Slave Emancipation Fund.

This article builds on the studies of the historians above to investigate the use of accounting inscriptions for the control of slaves and their owners. The creation of the Emancipation Fund allowed establishing mechanisms to combat owners' authority over slaves and to gradually build slaves' freedom (Neves, 2014). To become operational, the Emancipation Fund required the use of control mechanisms, such as accounting and its expressions.

This article adds new knowledge to previous research. Neu (2000a, 2000b) presents accounting and its expressions as governmental technology that is useful to make a particular population governable. Sanchez-Matamoros, Gutiérrez, Espejo and Fenech (2005) present accounting figures as control mechanisms in the British government. Ezzamel (2009) demonstrates that the use of accounting inscriptions allowed viewing the activities and achievements of various sectors of Egyptian society, in addition to encouraging individuals to show that their actions were consistent with the necessary qualities to social and economic order. Sargiacomo (2009) identified that accounting inscriptions could report any misconduct by public servants and the population in general; Silva, Rodrigues and Sangster (2019) show how accounting inscriptions allowed the Brazilian government to control the regime of tutelage of free Africans. In this study, using Foucault's concept of governmentality, we analyze the organizational power exercised over specific populations by means of accounting inscriptions to maintain social order in the process of gradual transition from slavery to wage labor. To that end, this study conducts a historiographical analysis based on the Emancipation Fund's regulations and on archival material located in libraries and historical archives in Brazil and the United States. Secondary studies on the Emancipation Fund from the sociological, economic and historical perspectives were used to corroborate evidence and provide theoretical foundations for the interpretive analysis of data.

CONTEXT

In the early 19th century, inspired by the liberalism and Enlightenment ideas that predominated in Europe, Britain begins to fight slavery (Fausto, 1996). It was argued that slavery was contrary to both industrial development and the creation of public and private wealth (Malheiros, 1866). Britain's strong influence for stopping international slave trade was a major driver of parliamentary discussions on measures to ban slave disembarkation in Brazil and to liberate the country's slaves.

In order to ease that international pressure, the Brazilian government promulgated, in 1831, the Feijó Law (Law from November 7, 1831), which granted freedom to all slaves who disembarked in Brazilian territory or ports. However, the Brazilian economy was dependent on slave labor, a situation that was not conducive to the law's correct enforcement. The Feijó Law became known in history as a norm created to feign abolitionist concerns in Brazil – it was popularly called "a law for the English to see" (Bethell, 1976).

British efforts to end slave trade continued and, in 1845, with the Aberdeen Act, British cruisers began to capture Brazilian ships suspected of slave trade and bring them to trial (Baronov, 2000; Klein & Luna, 2009). In 1850, in response to various pressures, both internal and external, the Brazilian government, in another attempt to stop the slave trade, promulgated the Eusébio de Queiroz Law (Law 581, 1850), which outlawed the activity.

After 1850, more and more propositions emerged with suggestions to emancipate slaves in a gradual manner because the Chamber of Deputies and the Brazilian elite wanted to avoid damage to the country's rural property and agriculture (Malheiros,

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1866; Neves, 2014). Thus, on September 28, 1871, Law 2.040, also known as the Free Womb Law, was enacted (Law 2.040, 1872). This law addressed interests in a gradual liberation of slaves and the emancipation of all children of slaves who were born as of its promulgation.

Emancipation Fund

The Free Womb Law created a public fund (Article 3) which should become a public policy to carry out slaves' gradual emancipation (Campello, 2018). As a public policy, the Emancipation Fund was regulated by a number of legislative acts. Formed by financial resources, the amounts collected for the Emancipation Fund came from taxes and levies on slaves, lotteries, fines and other obligations. The amounts collected for this fund worked as a subsidy the imperial government allocated to provinces and municipalities to compensate slave owners for their lost property (Soares, 1847). Therefore, the government began to mediate the relationship between slaves and slave owners as it removed from the latter the control over manumissions (Dauwe, 2004; Teixeira, 2014, 2016). Owners' rights were thus maintained to some extent, while slaves' demands were accepted, even though partially (Santana, 2018).

The discussions throughout the 19th century around gradual liberation of slaves through the constitution of the fund expressed, on the one hand, concerns with the outcomes that a process of total abolition of slavery could bring about to society, the economy and the public order in the country. That was because total abolition, without guidance or control by the state, could cause internal conflicts in the nation (Malheiros, 1866). On the other hand, it was a legal device that contributed to the gradual overthrow of slavery in the Empire, since it opened the possibility for slaves and their families to demand freedom in the 19th century courts (Chalhoub, 1990).

The Emancipation Fund was considered the largest bureaucratic apparatus for emancipation in the Americas (Santana, 2018). Its operationalization required building a massive institutional apparatus that relied on the work of individuals dispersed over the Empire's territorial units, with specific roles defined in regulations. Surveying the number of slaves in the Empire was deemed necessary to start the fund's bureaucratic structure, which materialized in the form of a property registration denominated "*matrícula especial*" (Lei nº 2.040, 1872). The public agents who were directly responsible for writing the *matrículas* were selected from local revenue offices, customs, provincial revenue offices, City Council and Province presidencies, District Attorney offices, the General Board of Statistics and the Ministry of Agriculture, Commerce and Public Works; non-public agents such as vicars and associations might also be recruited. Agents who failed to correctly perform the tasks established in the regulation could be punished with fines or imprisonment.

Surveying the slave population provided the basis for calculating the number of slaves to be liberated and the financial amount – the quota – from the Emancipation Fund to be allocated to each province in the Empire. After the quotas were distributed, the president of each province, knowing the statistics of its municipalities and civil parishes, requested, through public notice, the establishment of one classification board per municipality. The classification boards were hierarchically formed by the president of the City Council, the district attorney and the local revenue collector, all of whom were responsible for making, in order of rights, the roster of slaves eligible for freedom through the quotas of the Emancipation Fund.

The Emancipation Fund had a structure formed by nearly 800 boards spread across the national territory. This structure was intended to ensure social order during the process of gradual liberation of slaves by managing resources and mediating actions between owners, liberated slaves and their families (Santana, 2018). While it was in effect, i.e., until the final moments of the slavery period, the Emancipation Fund allowed the liberation of around 32,000 slaves across the Empire (Dauwe, 2004; Neves, 2014; Santana, 2018). The amount of money invested totaled 16,259,451$109 (sixteen thousand, two hundred and fifty nine *contos*, four hundred and fifty-one thousand, a hundred and nine *réis*) (Santana, 2012, 2018).

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This section discusses accounting inscriptions and their alignment with Foucault's concept of governmentality to build the framework of the study about the state power exercised over populations by means of accounting inscriptions.

Accounting Inscriptions

The term "accounting inscriptions" is particularly used by historians of accounting to avoid limiting a priori the studied object to accounting as it exists today (in terms of content and form) or to a specific accounting technique, such as double-entry (Miller & Napier, 1993). For Miller (1990), inscription procedures help form the various domains of governmentality, since they allow "objects", such as individuals, to materialize and become

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subject to intervention and regulation. Inscriptions work as mediators between the actor and the various scenarios in which he intends to act, which are distant from each other (Latour, 1988).

Inscriptions can be represented, for example, by dashes, points, histograms, numbers, tables (Latour & Woolgar, 2013). Through these representations, any expression can present meaning and facts that can be understood (Latour, 1987). However, it is important to note that not all forms of calculation are "accounting", but only those that allow the construction and calculation of previously invisible accounting objects or entities (Meyer, 1986; Power, 1992). The operationalization of accounting inscriptions also involves the existence of a responsible registration unit where the object is recognized (i.e., accounted for) by one who is responsible for it (Jones, 2009).

The tools of the State for building its scenarios of interest are the government technologies used to intervene in the population, such as calculations, techniques, devices, documents and procedures through which the authorities seek to incorporate and give effect to government ambitions (Dean, 2010). According to Miller (1990), government technologies allow a form of intellectual dominance, which is made possible by the existence of a center that has information about people and events, which are distant from that center. Furthermore, in line with Latour (1988), the management of information about populational flows to a center is called a calculation center (Latour, 1988).

Accounting generates numerical inscriptions with the ability to create and reduce distances, for example, material and administrative distances (Corvellec, Ek, Zapata, & Campos, 2018). These inscriptions are particularly useful in the surveillance process because of their mobility, stability and combinability (Latour, 1987). Accounting inscriptions are mobile as they can be moved and take remote matters to the places where the surveillance takes place. They are stable and combinable because the numbers travel without changing as they are moved by organizations, and because they can be added, subtracted, divided and multiplied to provide relevant and additional insights about an event that is distant, such as the existence of errors, fraud, revenue collection, allocation of funds (Andon, Baxter, & Chua, 2003; Cuganesan, 2008; Latour, 1987). Therefore, inscriptions can act remotely due to their ability to build relationships between elements considered disconnected (Corvellec et al., 2018).

For Espejo, Sánchez-Matamoros and Fenech (2002, p. 422), the number of accounting inscriptions plays a key role in controlling individuals, because by managing the information accumulated through inscriptions, they create a powerful management tool for the government.

Accounting Inscriptions for Governmentality

Governmentality is a term to describe the set formed by the institutions, procedures, analyzes, reflections, calculations and tactics used by government which allow exercising power and whose aim is to maintain the population's wealth and well-being. Governmentality emerges as a method for analyzing government attitudes, assuming that the government follows a strategically planned path (Dean, 2010).

In this context, the analysis of government intervention attitudes lies in the connection of complex procedures for representation and influence (Espejo et al., 2002). These procedures, according to Foucault (1991), are brought to reality as government programs to meet the government's intentions. Thus emerges the "programmatic character of governmentality", since the government creates programs to reform reality according to its interests, in order to organize situations so that certain ends are achieved (Miller, 1990; Rose & Miller, 1992).

Neu (2000a, 2000b) presents accounting as a technology used by the government in order to make a specific population governable. By using accounting techniques and expressions, the British empire managed to maintain calculation centers (places where information is accumulated) that allowed monitoring both the territory and the population. In addition, it was also used to change the population's habits, customs and behavior.

Sanchez-Matamoros et al. (2005) identified that accounting numbers were used as mechanisms for the government to manage two companies supported with government funds; accounting worked as a means of collecting data on how much each worker was producing, the expected number of products, the existence of thefts. Based on the information collected, the government could issue formal instructions and ensure the necessary changes in accounting to maintain effective control.

In his investigation on the discourse-based power of counting, accounting numbers and inscriptions in creating and promoting "order" in ancient Egyptian society, Ezzamel (2009) identified that accounting worked as a performative ritual that built coherence and order in the cosmos, the earth and the underworld. Accounting numbers were often combined with linguistic texts and pictorial scenes of architecture to produce a discourse that made it possible to build and perpetuate harmonious worlds, with regulated populations that played the roles assigned to them.

In his study on accounting as a tool for the governmentality of the 16th century Italian feudal state, Sargiacomo (2009) says that accounting inscriptions, by means of their correct recording (e.g., in accounting and non-accounting books, inventories, bailiff reports), were capable of reporting to the government of

Parma any misconduct by officials of the state apparatus and the population in general.

In a study conducted by Silva et al. (2019), the authors showed how accounting inscriptions (e.g., maps with numbers of free Africans who were dead, a list of rented free Africans and their values, a list of debtors and respective amounts) allowed the Brazilian government to control the regime of tutelage of free Africans. As an information and control tool, accounting and its expressions allowed creating records that served the State's interests with regard to reducing costs with free Africans and increasing its revenue from the collection of wages of free Africans.

Accounting as a government management technology is imbued with aspirations to shape conduct with a view to producing certain desired effects (Miller, 1990, p. 318). It is therefore clear that accounting and its expressions can play a key role as a means of controlling individuals, through information management, and it can be a powerful tool in the entity's hands.

METHODOLOGY

Recent research actively debates research methodologies in the history of businesses (Gill, Gill, & Roulet, 2018; Maclean, Harvey, & Clegg, 2016, 2017) in order to recognize the importance of the past in influencing the present and shaping the future (Carnegie & Napier, 1996). Historicizing accounting in the sphere of organizations can sensitize people about the power and use of tools in specific company-related contexts. Individuals may feel motivated to become commentators on contemporary developments and uses of business tools, such as accounting, and become able to propose its very use as an instrument of change in organizations and society (Gomes, Carnegie, Napier, Parker, & West, 2011).

To narrate the history of accounting in the sphere of organizations, this study uses the method of case study and focuses on the Slave Emancipation Fund in Brazil. The holistic nature of this approach allows the researcher to collect data through various means (Diab, 2019) to understand complex social phenomena (Parker, 2019). Given the nature of the case study, primary sources were identified and collected from the National Digital Library (BNDigital), the Biblioteca Brasiliana Guita and José Mindlin (BBGJ) and the Center Research Library (CRL). Sources close in time, internal and written for immediate use (Decker, 2013) were combined with Foucault's concept of governmentality for interpreting historical narratives (Kasabov & Sundaram, 2014), thus answering the following research question: How can organizational power be exercised through accounting inscriptions?

The data were analyzed manually through the researchers' intuition and scrutiny (Lage & Godoy, 2008), which contributed to organizing them as a summary and observing previous results and topics (Boedker, Chong, & Mouritsen, 2019). In addition, in order to examine the multiple research sources, we engaged in: 1) critical analysis of the sources, by raising questions on each document found; 2) triangulation, by observing the documents created by different actors of the same event; and 3) hermeneutic interpretation, by recognizing the cultural, social and temporal context in which the documents were created and by selecting and citing a small part of the documents we read (Kipping, Wadhwani, & Bucheli, 2014).

The hermeneutic interpretative analysis was divided into interpretative analysis of historical narratives and reiterative analysis. The interpretative analysis of historical narratives allowed explaining and analyzing critically the studied event and individuals (Carnegie & Napier, 1996). The process of interpretive and reiterative analysis involved the continuous combination of interpretations based on the literature and reflections on the empirical data, so as to present a portrait of strategies and processes comprised in the Slave Emancipation Fund with a view to providing interpretations and explanations (Carr, 1986) that recognize the interrelationships within the program.

In order to present a creative synthesis between historical and organizational studies, Maclean et al (2016, 2017) propose five principles: 1) dual integrity, whose principles are historical veracity and conceptual rigor; 2) pluralistic understanding, which allows comprehension through alternatives and different perspectives; 3) representational truth, which is based on the congruence between evidence, logic and interpretation; 4) context sensitivity, which consists in the researcher's attention to historical specifics; and 5) theoretical fluency, which represents command of the conceptual domain. The present article is in line with the principles of dual integrity, representational truth and context sensitivity.

The study is also based on the analysis of secondary research conducted by researchers who preceded us. In the historical field on the Slave Emancipation Fund (Dauwe, 2004; Neves, 2014; Santana, 2018), the studies show the roles of the populations and the structure of a government program established in 1871. In the accounting field about the use of accounting inscriptions as government technology (Ezzamel, 2009; Neu, 2000a, 2000b; Sanchez-Matamoros et al., 2005; Sargiacomo, 2009; Silva et al., 2019), the studies portray accounting inscriptions as mechanisms capable of putting into practice the goals outlined by the State.

The secondary sources were used to define the thematic area, corroborate evidence and provide a theoretical basis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Exhibit 1 shows the studied aspects, main sources and number of documents.

Exhibit 1. **The Study's Criteria, Principles and Techniques**

Studied Aspects	Main Sources	Number of Documents
Political, economic and social context	Secondary sources and regulation on the abolition of slavery.	(2) rare works; (12) books (1) legislation.
Theoretical framework	Scholarly articles published in indexed journals.	(24) scholarly articles.
Discussion	Secondary sources; regulation on the abolition of slavery; excerpts of newspapers from the period in archives.	(3) legislation; (15) scholarly articles; (2) newspaper stories.

The primary sources are used to investigate the social, political and economic context, and they focus on legislation about the Emancipation Fund found at the BBGJ. The data regarding the Emancipation Fund's composition were identified in reports from the Ministry of Finance, which were found at the CRL. In turn, information related to the distribution of Emancipation Fund quotas was identified in periodicals from the period found at the BNDigital.

ACCOUNTING INSCRIPTIONS IN THE SLAVE EMANCIPATION FUND

The Free Womb Law provides for an accounting process with three different activities (i.e., recording, summarizing data and producing statements) and defines countable objects and units, as well as the actors responsible for implementing the Emancipation Fund.

The registration system created by the State affords visibility to two countable objects (i.e., the slave and his owner), whose data were inscribed in separate books, with the municipality (part of the territory's administrative division) as the countable unit. The system also recognized that the slave could, after initial registration, move from one unit to another, which would entail a change in the original accounting inscription. The slave is the first countable object referred to in Decree no. 5,135 (Art. 1), whose registration included some of his attributes (i.e., name, sex, color, age, marital status, father and mother, fitness for work, occupation and relevant observations) and his respective owner (i.e., name and residence). This data set was entered in the book called *Modelo A* (Exhibit 2), which also included four other columns for the date of *matrícula* (i.e., initial registration), the registration numbers assigned to the slave and his owner, and relevant information on events occurring after the *matrícula* (e.g., manumission, change of municipality, change of owner, death).The owner appears here as a counterpart to the book's focal countable object (i.e., the slave). The columns for the registration numbers, as well as the date of *matrícula*, worked as an audit trail (Sangster, 2016), which allowed the traceability of information on the countable objects and guaranteed accuracy in identifying homonyms.

Exhibit 2. **Model A**

For the bookkeeping of the book of *matrícula especial* of all slaves in the municipality of ...., in the province of ....(Article 1 of the Regulation)

NUMBER OF ORDER OF THE ROSTER	MASTERS		*MATRÍCULA*					SLAVES								OBSERVATIONS	ANNOTATION
			N. OF ROSTER		DATE												
	NAME	RESIDENCE	In the general *matrícula* of the municipality	In the presented rosters	Day	Month	Year	NAME	SEX	COLOR	AGE	STATUS	MOTHER/FATHER	FITNESS FOR WORK	OCCUPATION		

Source: Adapted from Law n. 2,040 (1872).

The second accounting object referred to in Decree no. 5,135 was the owner (Art. 2), whose registration (in the book called *Modelo B*) included only his name, municipality of residence and signature. All other fields were meant for information about his slaves already registered in *Modelo A*, except for the inclusion of the slave's place of birth (see Exhibit 3). The first column on the left in *Modelo B* was to be filled with the slave's general registration number in the municipality, while the second column would be for the order number in the roster of the owner in question. The owner's (or his proxy's) signature in the book legitimizes the relationship between debtors and creditors, a fact that characterizes the single-entry accounting system (Yamey, 2005).

Exhibit 3. **Modelo B**

Roster n. 4 of the slaves belonging to F..., resident in the municipality of ....
(Article 2 of the Regulation)

		Name	Color	Age	Status	Place of birth	Mother/ Father	Occupation	Observations

Presented for matrícula which was registered on the ..... of ...... 1872.

Amount paid ....
City (or village) of .... 1872.

The Manager-F..... The Registrar-F..... As a proxy for Mr.-F....

Source: Adapted from Law n. 2,040 (1872).

Decree no. 5,135 also provided for a set of extrinsic formalities regarding the books used for the registration of the *matrícula especial*. For example, these books had to numbered, initialed and closed by the Provincial Revenue Inspector (Art. 8). The closing term was later written by the clerks in charge of the *matrícula* in the presence of the president of the City Council and the district attorney, who also signed it (Art. 15). Such formalities were also mandatory for the main accounting books (e.g., *Diário*) of merchants, as set forth in Art. 13 of the Commercial Code (Law no. 556 from June 25, 1850).

At the end of the registration period, i.e., September 30 each year, the public agents in charge had to summarize the collected data into the book called *Modelo E* (Exhibit 4). The internal arrangement of tables was the decreasing order of the number of slaves of each owner. This criterion can be justified by the premise that families had priority in the classification for freedom through the Emancipation Fund (Art. 27 of Decree no. 5,135 from November 13, 1872). The summary also included the number and page of the data in the registration books (*Modelo A* and *Modelo B*).

Exhibit 4. **Model E**

Name of Masters	NUMBER OF ROSTER OF SLAVES		*MATRÍCULA*	
	In the general *matrícula*	In the rosters of the masters	Book	Pages

Source: Adapted from Law n. 2,040 (1872).

After the data were summarized, the information should be submitted, during October, to the General Board of Statistics (Art. 20 of Decree n. 5,135), which was linked to the Ministry of Agriculture, Commerce and Public Works, in the imperial court, by means of the *Resumo Geral dos Escravos Matriculados no Município* [General Summary of Slaves with *Matrícula* in the Municipality] defined by Decree n. 5,135 (Exhibit 5).

Exhibit 5. **Model G**

General summary of the slaves with matrícula in the municipality of .... province of .....

(Article 20 of the Regulation)

From the .... of .... 1872 to the .... of .... the same year, ... slaves had their matrícula registered, with the following characteristics:

Sex	Male	
	Female	
	Sum	
Age	Up to 1 year	
	From 1 to 7 years	
	From 7 to 14 years	
	From 14 to 21 years	
	From 21 to 40 years	
	From 40 to 50 years	
	From 50 to 60 years	
	Older than 60 years	
	Sum	
Status	Single	
	Married	
	Widow	
	Sum	
Occupation	Agricultural	
	Artist	
	Paper boy	
	Sum	
Residence	Urban	
	Rural	
	Total	

Source: Law 2,040 (1872).

The central government kept information about the amounts collected for the Emancipation Fund by item (Table 1) and by province (Table 2).

Table 1. **Collection for the Emancipation Fund by Item**

	1871-72	1872-73	1873-74	Total
Slave tax	634,658$000	615,554$000	300,054$000	1,550,266$000
Transfer of property	66,410$325	103,287$176	150,837$648	320,535$149
Idem for grants	554$082	2,350$858	919$450	3,824$390
Fees of *matrículas*	215,928$500	501,415$500	37,771$000	755,115$000
Sale of printed material for it	697$280	2,850$135	670$310	4,217$725
Fines	1,076$000	26,580$000	18,250$000	45,906$000
Donations	1,261$213	460$592	525$741	2,247$546
Benefits from tax-exempt lotteries	129,600$000	213,600$000	214,500$000	557,700$000
Collection of past-due liability	0	3,344$000	44$000	3,388$000
	1,050,185$400	1,469,442$261	723,572$149	3,243,199$810

Source: Ministry of Finance (1874).

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Table 2. **Collection for the Emancipation Fund by Province**

	1871-72	1872-73	1873-74	Total
Municipality	447,417$325	564,774$176	544,835$728	1,557,027$229
Rio de Janeiro	93,166$710	153,028$907	35,874$441	282,070$058
Espírito Santo	7,822$000	10,168$500	2,497$500	20,488$000
Bahia	84,768$240	122,895$802	23,318$000	230,982$042
Sergipe	17,631$840	15,483$768	3,110$970	36,226$578
Alagoas	18,129$920	21,830$383	886$890	40,847$193
Pernambuco	60,972$500	75,152$200	31,192$650	167,317$350
Parahiba	8,060$320	10,866$500	700$940	19,627$760
Rio Grande do Norte	4,260$250	6,330$130	1,354$240	11,944$620
Ceará	14,741$070	22,882$990	6,118$460	43,742$520
Piauhy	9,446$130	11,952$080	348$280	21,746$490
Maranhão	48,745$050	41,600$760	13,296$050	103,641$860
Pará	25,954$113	20,547$940	13,662$140	60,164$193
Amazonas	1,263$060	1,164$220	108$730	2,536$010
São Paulo	40,766$082	128,207$245	6,849$140	175,822$467
Paraná	8,858$240	11,543$120	2,025$650	22,427$010
Santa Catharina	11,172$880	13,226$030	1,624$000	26,022$910
São Pedro	53,082$980	75,285$590	17,747$840	146,116$410
Minas	86,838$190	152,892$000	17,369$500	257,099$690
Goyaz	3,204$000	6,408$400	318$000	9,930$400
Mato Grosso	3,884$500	3,201$520	333$000	7,419$020
	1,050,185$400	1,469,442$261	723,572$149	3,243,199$810

Source: Ministry of Finance (1874).

Art. 25 of Decree n. 5,135 from November 13, 1872, established that “the Emancipation Fund should be annually distributed to the neutral municipality and the provinces of the Empire in the proportion of their respective slave populations”, as shown in Table 3.

Table 3. **Emancipation Fund Quotas Distributed by the Provinces**

Second distribution of the Emancipation Fund		
Province	Slaves	Quotas
Corte	43,409	142,782$638
Rio de Janeiro	289,239	951,376$620
Pernambuco	91,992	302,583$808
Maranhão	63,164	207,761$584
Amazonas	974	3,203$720
Pará	30,623	100,726$410
Rio Grande do Sul	75,973	294,775$052
Sergipe	26,381	86,773$452
Santa Catarina	12,889	42,197$665
Rio Grande do Norte	10,128	33,819$970
Piauhy	21,216	69,784$530
Espírito Santo	21,216	69,784$530
Alagoas	30,597	99,983$042
Paraná	10,088	33,181$857
Mato Grosso	7,051	23,192$434
São Paulo	108,950	555,717$175
Bahia	116,108	381,907$130
Minas Gerais	289,919	953,613$303
Goyaz	6,963	22,902$981
Parahyba	25,596	84,191$398
Ceará	25,773	84,740$701
Sum	1,368,097	4,500,000$000

Source: Pinheiro (1880).

After the Emancipation Fund's quotas were distributed to the provinces, the provincial government, in a notice to the provincial revenue inspector, requested a summarized exhibit (Table 4) containing the number of slaves in each municipality, in order to distribute the quotas.

Table 4. **Emancipation Fund Quotas Distributed by the 38 Municipalities in the State of Pará**

Exhibit of demonstration of the emancipation fund quotas distributed by the 38 municipalities in the province of Pará, by ordinance of the presidency from the 9th of December, 1876		
Municipality	Slaves	Quotas
Capital	4,046	2,800$504
Mojú	607	969$000
Igarapé Miry	4,017	2,800$000
Ourem	228	937$000
Cametá	2,859	2,000$000
Barão	141	911$000
Breves	557	959$000
Melgaço	70	861$000
Portel	68	861$000
Oueiras	48	811$000
Curralinho	165	925$000
Cachoeira	529	959$000
Muaná	612	969$000
Monsarás	175	911$000
Soure	364	949$000
Chaves	644	969$000
Gurupá	351	949$000
Macapá	542	959$000
Mazagão	21	811$000
Santarém	1156	1,811$000
Monte Alegre	274	939$000
Óbidos	1138	1,811$000
Vila Franca	88	861$000
Alemquer	313	949$000
Faro	76	861$000
Vigia	747	1,000$000
Cintra	210	939$000
Curuçá	379	949$000
Bragança	640	979$000
Vizeu	190	911$000
Porto de Moz	111	911$000
Itaituba	30	811$000
São Sebastião da Boa Vista	174	911$000
S. Miguel	344	949$000
Mocajuba	30	811$000
S. Caetano de Odivellas	30	811$000
Souzel	30	811$000
Acará	920	1,100$000
Sum	22,924	41,435$504

Source: Mello (1876).

That distribution was based on the analysis of reports on the *matrículas* and collected amounts, which were submitted to the central government by the clerks in charge of preparing them.

ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

The data demonstrate that exhibits and tables can be used at a distance as they build relationships between elements considered as detached (Corvellec et al., 2018). In the case of the Emancipation Fund, accounting affords visibility between countable objects and the Brazilian government, making them cognizable through the creation of images (Tables 1 to 4).

Exhibits 1 to 4 institute visibility patterns that involve proximity patterns between owners and their slaves and with the social context of the period. The exhibits regarding slaves' *matrículas* tell owners about the expenses to be paid on the number of slaves they have, since legislation regarding the Emancipation Fund include fees on slaves' *matrículas*. In addition, by registering slaves in a sequence pre-established by legislation applying to the Emancipation Fund, the accounting inscriptions present the order of freedom of the slaves to their owners and, since that labor should be replaced, it also shows whether their businesses will be impacted in the short, medium or long term. From slaves' perspective, the exhibits show information about their change of status, i.e., the necessary time and amounts for them to achieve freedom.

As the government receives Exhibits 1 to 4, new visibility patterns are instituted involving proximity relations between the countable objects and the amounts in the Slave Emancipation Fund. The exhibits, along with the statistics of municipalities and civil parishes on the slave population, explain to the government the number of slaves of each owner and the correct number of slaves that should be registered in the exhibits to be made. The government is able to know about the future allocation of the Emancipation Fund's amounts.

Based on Tables 2 to 5, we can see that the events related to provincial tax collection were mobilized and accumulated in the imperial government, where they could be "known, aggregated, compared, compiled and calculated" (Miller, 1991, p. 736). This calculation center allowed distributing the Emancipation Fund quotas according to the number of slaves in each province. That is because the statistics on all slaves and the accumulation of information collected by means of Exhibits 1 to 4 gave the government control over the number of slaves in the Empire and allowed it to identify the necessary actions to control countable objects and maintain social order (Ezzamel, 2009; Sanchez-Matamoros et al., 2005).

The exhibits and tables, viewed as inscriptions (Latour & Woolgar, 2013), create relationships that allow the knowledge about previously invisible countable objects (Meyer, 1986; Power, 1992) to go further and be analyzed in parallel with the amounts collected for the Emancipation Fund. In the Emancipation Fund mechanism, we can see inscriptions' ability to operate at a distance and create new spatial power relations (Corvellec et al., 2018).

Based on information on the number of registered slaves and the amounts collected by each province in the Empire, the central government was able, for example, to compare the item referring to fines with the number of registrations made past the regular deadline and included in the book of *matrículas*. Thus, the central government was able to know, for example, if the amount collected in fines corresponded to the amount that should be collected as a result of late *matrículas*. The textual structure of the exhibits and tables allowed the relationship between money and social change from slave to wage labor to become a matter of information traceability (Sangster, 2016). Information traceability was used to create a clear and readable course for an economic and social change.

The models of exhibits and tables produced by the emancipation committees combine the economic rationality of management with the rationality of a sociocultural change so as to serve the State's interests (Silva et al., 2019) as a governmentality mechanism (Foucault, 1991) and translate policies connected to social change.

In line with Sargiacomo (2009), the results of this study show that legislation, particularly the Free Womb Law and Decree no. 5,135, required building an accountability network formed by judicial and civil servants to guarantee the flow of accounting inscriptions (Robson, 1992) from the provinces to the Ministry of Agriculture, Commerce and Public Works. This flow of accounting inscriptions allowed not only control of the collection of amounts for the constitution of the municipal quotas, but also the supervision of owners regarding the registration of their slaves' *matrículas*, as well as territorial control and the governability of slaves, thus establishing a selection for the manumission of those considered "worthy of freedom" and maintaining state control over the gradual transition from slavery to wage labor.

CONCLUSION

The act of translating government policies into practice can be performed in several ways. This study argued that accounting – broadly defined as a set of procedures, analyzes, reflections, calculations, tactics, records, reconciliation practices and reports

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– was used by the Brazilian imperial government in an effort to incite actions that would facilitate the goal of forming groups of governable people and, thus, operationalize the abolition of slavery in a gradual manner, avoiding damage to society (Malheiros, 1866; Neves, 2014). The Brazilian economic and social context of the 19th century was undergoing changes, and the government sought to make the Brazilian citizen flexible, i.e., able to make choices.

This study's premise is that government policies aimed at Brazil's slave population in the 19th century were carried out through accounting and funding mechanisms that directly impacted the slave population and the Brazilian economic and social context (Silva et al., 2019). These government policies were also made possible through incentives from other agents and institutions that were able to perform actions capable of generating an impact on the slave population. For example, subtle activities such as reporting (Sargiacomo, 2009) on the number of slaves liberated through the Emancipation Fund helped the government in the process of controlling the gradual liberation of slaves.

It is worth stressing, by using the concept of governmentality, that this article contributes to the literature on the history of accounting centered on the use of accounting inscriptions for governmentality (Ezzamel, 2009; Neu. 2000a, 2000b; Sanchez-Matamoros et al., 2005; Sargiacomo, 2009; Silva et al., 2019). It also reinforces the role of accounting as a support tool for governing events and people, showing that the accumulation of information through accounting inscriptions (Robson, 1992; Ezzamel, 2009; Ezzamel et al., 2004) is able to contribute to the State's actions in fulfilling its goals. Moreover, this study also contributes to the field of history (Dauwe, 2004; Neves, 2014; Santana, 2018) which, in the case of the Slave Emancipation Fund, comprehends how state power was exercised over specific populations through accounting inscriptions. Finally, we expect to sensitize people about the power and use of organizational tools. We expect to encourage them to think critically about the contemporary developments and uses of business tools, such as accounting.

Given the importance and scarcity of research related to accounting and its expressions as mechanisms for supporting the slave system, as well as for the transition from slavery to wage labor, we expect this study's results will elicit further investigations focused on Brazil and based on a diversity of approaches (accounting, management, economics and history). Critical/interpretive researchers can also use the theoretical framework used in this article to analyze contemporary government programs that seek to direct society towards gradual changes in acceptability, for example, programs aimed at marginalized groups, such as blacks and indigenous people.

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AUTHORS' CONTRIBUTIONS

The conceptualization and theoretical-methodological approach were coordinated by Adriana Rodrigues Silva. The theoretical review (bibliographic survey) was carried out by Adriana Rodrigues Silva, Angélica Vasconcelos and Thaís Alves Lira. Data collection was carried out by Adriana Rodrigues Silva, Angélica Vasconcelos and Thaís Alves Lira. Finally, the analysis of data, writing and final review were carried out by Adriana Rodrigues Silva and Angélica Vasconcelos.

ESSAYS

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PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE OF (CRITICAL) ORGANIZATIONAL HISTORY OF IN BRAZIL

This study aims to build a narrative about the trajectory of the incorporation of history, memory, and the past in the research of organizational studies (OS) in Brazil and to reflect on its possible developments. Like all research on the past, it is assumed that this narrative is a possible (and hopefully credible) version that does not invalidate others. On the contrary, without pretending to present itself as a manifesto and/or crystallize a specific narrative, it seeks an open dialogue and the shared construction of a scientific community around the topic.

The relevance of this construction lies in the fact that the trajectory of approaching two disciplinary fields as different as OS and History (Rowlinson, Hassard, & Decker, 2014) can also be understood as the trajectory of the formation of a research field in Brazil.

It should be noted, however, that the institutional context of approximation and dilution of borders between fields has not been exactly the same as that of other academic spaces outside the country (such as in North America and Europe). For example, there was no increase in the number of transfers of business historians from university history departments to business schools (Decker, 2013). On the contrary, the researchers responsible for building this bridge in Brazil were (and are), with rare exceptions, from the management field. Thus, *Business History* is scarcely addressed in the Brazilian OS, and remains of prominence only in the studies of the Brazilian economic thought in the field of Economics.

Therefore, since 2000, researchers from different theoretical-methodological matrices in the field of Management and OS in Brazil have sought to defend and justify the importance of the study of History in their research as a way of enriching the understanding of organizational phenomena in the present. In order to articulate this trajectory, we chose to restrict our research to a specific time frame, thus establishing origin and meaning. Furthermore, assuming that any periodization is a political construction of the researchers (Prost, 2012), we arbitrarily chose the following historical milestones as the basis for the narrative: (1) the 2000s; (2) the 2010s; and (3) the 2020s.

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The 2000s: For more history and memory in Brazilian studies

The trajectory of historical research in Management and OS began with a more straightforward performance, both in the area of research and in the formation and guidance of students, of researchers interested in Brazilian management history. The focus was on identifying and analyzing the specific context in which Brazil was immersed (beyond the universal theoretical models and the great narratives that encapsulated particularities) through the historical analysis of its organizations and social practices.

One of the initial milestones of this movement is the dissertation of Tania Fischer (1984), "The teaching of public administration in Brazil, the ideals of development and the dimensions of rationality." In this work, the author investigated, through documents, the teaching of public administration in Brazil, suggesting that "the creation and development of EBAP were a result of the developmentalist ideology in force in the country since the 40s and 50s" (Fischer, 1984, p. 12). Subsequently, other researchers also contributed to this movement, such as Carlos Osmar Bertero (FGV EAESP), with studies on teaching and research in business administration in Brazil; Paulo Emílio Matos Martins (UFF, FGV EBAPE), with studies on business administration, history, and Brazilian social thought; and Alexandre de Pádua Carrieri (UFMG), with studies on history, memory, and daily life.

However, only since the year 2000, it has been made possible to identify more recurrently master's theses and doctoral dissertations being defended and published in discussion forums of the field of Management and OS. This has been the case, just to cite a few examples, with the dissertations of Isabela Baleeiro Curado (2001), Ariston Azevedo (2006), Fernando Coelho (2006), Fábio Vizeu (2008), and Claudiani Waiandt (2009). Along with the emergence of these works, and in line with the historical turn in OS (Booth & Rowlinson, 2006; Clark & Rowlinson, 2004), claims for more history also began to emerge, emphasizing the importance of the historical perspective to understand the organizations in time and space, and the relevance of historical research as a way of accessing knowledge (Costa, Barros, & Martins, 2010; Vizeu, 2010).

Thus, the researchers investigating about history at this time were primarily interested in: (a) reflecting on the social practice of the researcher; (b) considering the potential contribution to research in view of the new perspectives on objects, problems, and research approaches (Costa et al., 2010); and (c) the urgency of shifting the focus of analysis from exogenous to local, rescuing the historical and intercultural aspects in opposition to the dominant ideological reproduction, which tends to exclude the past or the context from organizational theories and practices (Vizeu, 2008, 2010).

Subsequently, the claims were expanded not only to include more history in research but also other forms of representation of the past, such as memory, collective memory, and biographical perspectives related to oral sources and memorial narratives (biographies, autobiographies, oral history, and life stories).

In the case of memory, it can be identified that most foreign studies on memory (and on the organizational spaces of memory) in the area of Management focus on its more instrumental use, with organizational memory being understood as a repository of information about the past that can be accessed and used by company managers in the decision-making process (Walsh & Ungson, 1991). In other words, accessing the organizational past through an information bank that accumulates, systematizes, and put in order knowledge about what has already happened is now understood as a precious source of organizational learning, and even competitive advantage (Holan & Phillips, 2004). However, this was not quite the case with Brazilian research on OS. More in line with the proposal of Rowlinson, Booth, Delahaye, and Procter (2010), the Brazilian studies of memory, social memory, and organizational spaces of memory end up prioritizing oral sources and the idea that the ascension of oral history and biographical methods (especially life stories) can contribute to the advancement of knowledge about the past (Carrieri & Lopes, 2012; Lopes & Carrieri, 2010).

However, although significant, national attempts to bring the areas closer were still incipient, since, despite the efforts and articulations, there did not yet exist "[....] associations, research centers, specialized journals or an exclusive space for discussion in national congresses about the historical perspective in Business Administration" (Costa et al., 2010, p. 289). This framework changed in the following years, configuring (in our understanding) a new milestone in the trajectory of this movement. In addition to the claims for more history and memory in research, a more systematized and formal movement began in 2010 to give prominence to historical research as a theoretical-methodological procedure. Publications, panels, and workshops on how to do historical research in OS appeared in journals and events in the field.

The 2010s: For more knowledge about the theoretical-methodological procedures of historical research

Evidence allows us to argue that from the year 2010, the topic of historical research started to acquire greater legitimacy and representativeness in the field of OS in Brazil. First, continuing the momentum of the previous period, the number of dissertations on the topic continued to increase. Among them are the works of Lima (2009), Barros (2013), Joaquim (2014), M.A.F. Silva (2018), E. Silva (2019), and Correia (2020), UFMG; Carneiro (2015, 2019), EAESP/FGV; Wanderley (2015), EBAPE/FGV; Calgaro (2016), Morgado (2016), and Biscaia (2018), UP; Caminha (2014), UFRGS; Souza (2016) and M. Silva (2017), UFBA; Chaym (2017), Bezerra (2019), and Lopes (2019), UECE; Pio (2018) and Boschi (2018), Unigranrio; M.A.C. Silva (2018), Quelha-de-Sá (2018), Fucs (2019), and Santos (2019), PUC-Rio.

In addition to this movement within the Graduate Programs, another indication was the creation, in 2011, within the scope of the OS division of the National Association for Graduate Studies and Research in Administration (ANPAD), of the topic of interest "history and memory in organizations." The coordinator of the OS division at that time was Alexandre de Pádua Carrieri (UFMG), and the new topic was led by Monica de Aguiar McAllister (UFBA). The topic descriptor, formalized for the first time in the largest Brazilian Business Administration Congress, is a good indication of the interests and the path followed by the researchers in this period:

> Organizational and historical studies, under any epistemological, ontological, theoretical, and methodological orientation of history, including organizational analyses based on historical approaches, with the construction of theoretical and conceptual historical frameworks, and using historical methods. Historical construction of the Brazilian organizational reality that brings organizational knowledge closer to the reality. Historical research that contributes to the innovation of the production of organizational knowledge. (ANPAD, 2020a)

From that moment on, the topic was led by other researchers, and it remains active even today not only in ANPAD events but also in events of other associations, such as in the last three editions of the Congress of the Brazilian Society of Organizational Studies (CBEO).

The third evidence that allows us to think about a process of formalization of the topic in OS is the beginning of the creation of a historiographic line of *Management* History in Brazil. Focusing on this perspective of analysis, a group of researchers investigated the history of management in Brazil (Alcadipani & Bertero, 2018), the role of journals in the construction of the field (Tonelli, 2017, 2018), and the history of business administration teaching in Brazil by analyzing the history of specific organizations, such as FGV/EAESP (Alcadipani & Bertero, 2012, 2014), FGV/EAESP and FEA (Valle, Bertero, & Alcadipani, 2013), FACE/UFMG (Barros, 2014), UFBA (Bertero, Barros, & Alcadipani, 2018), UFRGS (Barros, Alcadipani, & Bertero, 2018), Schools of Commerce and Higher Education (Barros, 2013, 2017; Barros & Carrieri, 2013), ISEB and ECLAC (Wanderley, 2015, 2016), and IDORT (Vizeu, 2018).

Lastly, the theoretical-methodological procedures of the research addressing history and memory (Lipartito, 2014; Yates, 2014) have not yet reached – also in Brazil – their full potential for interdisciplinary dialogue (Wadhwani, Suddaby, Mordhorst, & Popp, 2018). It can be said that the historical method is easy to circumscribe, that is, it is not easy to implement. Responding to this concern and in order to overcome the current situation, specific subjects have been created in postgraduate courses in Management on historical research in OS, such as "History, Memory, and Organizations" at universities UNIGRANRIO and PUC-Rio; "Historical Research in Administration" at PUC-Rio; and "Organizations, History, and Language" at Positivo University. At the same time, the number of workshops organized in the context of the aforementioned national events have increased. The focus of the subjects and workshops is broad, ranging from how to work with historical documents in physical and digital archives – whose importance was already highlighted by Barros (2016) and Coraiola (2012) – to how to collect and handle oral sources in oral history and life history research (Barros & Lopes, 2014).

As an illustration (and in support) of this argument, the descriptor of the topic of interest for ENANPAD 2020 expresses quite clearly the importance given to the methodological procedures of historical research:

> [...] the following studies are welcome: those that analyze how historical sources and archives contribute to understand organizational phenomena and their articulation with the social and political; encourage debates on how historical research in management and organizational studies allows engagement with the past that goes beyond the superficial or merely descriptive; discuss how organizations strategically instrumentalize their past by creating and managing their collections and documentary archives, building meanings from disputes between official memories and silenced memories; are based on diverse sources such as public archives, private and/or business archives, archives of the National Truth Commission; period newspapers; movies; documentaries and sources based on oral, life, and/or thematic history; address the relations between public education policies, education organizations, and business administration disciplines. In this sense, texts dealing with the biographical method in its various historical and psychosocial approaches [...] are also considered along this thematic line (ANPAD, 2020b).

The 2020s: In search of a critical and reflective position on the past and its forms of representation toward internationalization

In order to reflect on possible developments in the historical trajectory of the incorporation of history, memory, and the past in OS research in Brazil, the work of Wanderley and Barros (2019) may be a good starting point. The authors, without pretending to predict the future, offer us some clues about the challenges to be faced in the next decade: how to manage, and at the same time, choose specific authors/theories, concepts, and national themes and maintain dialogue and relevance with the international public?

This challenge, far from being a novelty in the area of OS (see, for example, Caldas & Alcadipani, 2006), is now even more remarkable in this field of research. If, on the one hand, the consolidation of the historical turn proposed by the Anglo-Saxon world legitimized the subfield *historical organization studies* (Maclean, Harvey, Clegg, & Stewart, 2016), increasing the chances of publication abroad, the presence of authors and themes from other geographical locations remains limited (Wanderley & Barros, 2019). The recent proposal of creating an even more specific subfield, *critical organizational history* (Durepos, Shaffner, & Taylor, 2019), opens new possibilities, as it demands more critical and reflexive views about the historical turn. As is clear from the call for this forum, there is a need to "explore the implications of the historic turn in management and organization studies based on multiple theoretical, epistemological, cultural, and geographical locations" (Barros, Coraiola, Maclean, & Foster, 2019, p. 1).

We highlight here the need to include geographical locations other than the Anglo-Saxon world in the historical turn (Wanderley & Barros, 2019). The critical authors of the Anglo-Saxon world themselves warned that a dialogue between researchers beyond this world will probably require us to resort to authors such as Marx, Foucault, Lacan, and Gramsci (Mir & Mir, 2012). Certainly, authors such as Foucault and Gramsci increase the chance of getting published abroad in publications on the critical history of organizations. However, we should be aware not to become "proud critical (or advanced) thinkers" without realizing that we are being Eurocentric (Dussel & Ibarra-Colado, 2006, p. 491).

Thus, the challenge facing us can be described by the aphorism of Oswald de Andrade (1928), who anthropophagically devours the Hamletian dilemma: "*Tupi, or not tupi that is the question*". In other words, will we follow the safe path of uncritically adhering to the proposals (criticisms) of the historical turn or will we face the challenge of inscribing our various Tupi origins – authors/theories, concepts, and topics – in the (international) house of knowledge?

There are no easy solutions, but we are sure that not seeking our own representations of the past (stories, memories, and fictions), authors, theories, and concepts would mean losing relevance, and therefore, it is not a plausible option. Moreover, several Brazilian researchers have faced this challenge and can show us possible ways to follow. For example, Cooke and Alcadipani (2015) investigated Ford Foundation funding for EAESP/FGV to illustrate a possible global history of business administration education. Alcadipani (2017), based on a post-colonial approach – already consolidated in the Anglo-Saxon world – utilized the concept of sociological reduction of Guerreiro Ramos for his research on the circulation of knowledge in business administration in the periphery. Barros and Wanderley (2019) used Francisco Weffort's concept of populism to investigate the phenomena of *Trumpism* and Brexit. These last two works show the potential of Brazilian social thought in understanding current phenomena. Quelha-de-Sá and Costa (2019) investigated the history of the construction of the São Paulo Resistance Memorial based on the *ANTi-history* theoretical-methodological model – which originated in Canada (Durepos and Mills, 2012) – unveiling narratives silenced and put aside by the official history of the Brazilian military dictatorship. Wanderley and Barros (2020) opted for the theoretical-methodological approach known as *Burke's Pentad*, proposed by the American literature theorist Kenneth Burke, to investigate how the Alliance for Progress has influenced the teaching of development administration management in Brazil. Barros and Taylor (2020) used Gramsci's theoretical contributions to investigate the performance of the Institute for Research and Social Studies (IPES) in Brazil in the 1960s, and thus discuss how *think tanks* have become key in the current moment for the acceptance of pro-corporate ideologies by civil society.

Therefore, what seems to us to be outlined here is the articulation of an author/theory, concept (Alcadipani, 2017; Barros & Wanderley, 2019), or national theme (Barros & Taylor, 2020; Cooke & Alcadipani, 2015; Quelha-de-Sá & Costa, 2019; Wanderley & Barros, 2020) with an international theoretical or methodological approach (Alcadipani, 2017; Barros & Taylor, 2020; Quelha-de-Sá & Costa, 2019; Wanderley & Barros, 2020), so that our various Tupi origins can take a seat at the table of the house of knowledge (Anglo-Saxon) and thus communicate.

This kind of articulation can also be a way of avoiding falling into the trap of parochialism and continuing to tell our own stories to ourselves. However, we must be careful not to become lax when promoting the "translation" of our themes to an international audience. Regardless of the articulation implemented, we understand that reflexivity as a methodical attitude – as Guerreiro Ramos (1958) suggested for sociological reduction – should accompany each stage of historical research: in the selection of problem and sources, in the construction of theoretical approach, in the construction of methodological framework, and in the construction of narrative, which will always be outlined by the "art and craft" of the researcher.

Above all, we understand that it is necessary that we appropriate the concept of Amerindian perspectivism of Viveiros de Castro (2018) for the formation of a field of critical organizational history in Brazil. In this way, we can promote a reversal of the logic promoted by the Anglo-Saxon world in the construction of knowledge. To paraphrase Viveiros de Castro (2018), it is not a matter of using (Western) authors who are widely familiar to us – such as Foucault and Gramsci – to investigate our "exotic" stories, but of "interpreting the philosophers in the light of wild thought, and not the other way around: it is about updating the countless becoming-others that exist as virtualities of our thinking" (p. 90). Therefore, we should start with our authors/theories, concepts, and themes to articulate with those similar internationally. Moreover, Guerreiro Ramos (1958) had already suggested that "in the light of sociological reduction, all foreign scientific production is, in principle, subsidiary" (p. 83).

Based on these premises, we would like here to expand the (internationalized) research agenda – not aiming to make it exhaustive, but rather to launch an invitation for its extension – to a subfield of critical organizational history in Brazil articulated with potentially similar international themes and studies, such as:

- **Articulation of authors and theories:** Authors of Brazilian social thought (already mentioned, but not yet explored to their full potential, see: Martins, Gurgel, Lima, Darbilly, Justen, & Santos, 2013), such as Darcy Ribeiro, Milton Santos, and Paulo Freire, articulated with decolonial studies. Authors and theories of the Instituto Superior de Estudos Brasileiros (ISEB, 1955-1964), such as Roland Corbisier, Álvaro Vieira Pinto, Hélio Jaguaribe, Candido Mendes, and Nelson Werneck Sodré (see Wanderley, 2016), articulated with authors of the Frankfurt School.

- **Articulation of concepts:** The concept of overexploitation of the work of Rui Mauro Marini (2012) articulated with the concept of necrocapitalism of Bobby Banerjee (2008) to investigate, for example, the process of uberization of the worker. The concept of sociological reduction of Guerreiro Ramos (1958) with the concept of reflexivity suggested by Alvesson and Sköldberg (2000). The concept of Amerindian perspectivism (Castro, 2018) with the concepts of *border thinking* (Mignolo & Tlostanova, 2006) from decolonial studies and *third spaces* (Bhabha, 1994) from the post-colonial approach.

- **Articulation of research topics:** Brazilian historiography on the support and participation of companies in practices of human rights violations of workers in the Brazilian military dictatorship (see Costa & Silva, 2017, 2018) articulated with the complicity of corporations with totalitarian regimes during World War II (see Schrempf-Stirling, Palazzo, & Phillips, 2016; Stokes & Gabriel, 2010). The impact of the export monoculture model based on slavery in Brazil (see Taunay, 2001) on the emergence of management *articulated* with the similar model in the US as investigated, for example, by Bill Cook (2003). This last suggestion can help us understand the working relationships that still permeate organizations in Brazil. Finally, the studies of history, memory, and organizational narrative processes in memory spaces of freedom and resistance in Brazil (Quelha-de-Sá & Costa, 2019) could be articulated with research on *storytelling* (Foster, Coraiola, Suddaby, Kroezen, & Chandler, 2017), corporate historical responsibility (Coraiola & Derry, 2019), and *rhetorical history* (Suddaby, Foster, & Trank, 2016).

Most importantly, the goal of the initial agenda in the critical organizational history (and not only in Brazil) is to (re) visit the past to denaturalize and confront the present and thus imagine future scenarios. The greatest challenge is the same as that faced by OS in other subfields: the construction of theoretical-methodological approaches beyond foreign thought. In other words, our agenda would be, as Manuel Bandeira wrote in a poem about Lúcio Costa's project for the construction of Brasília (the federal capital), "an airplane en route to the impossible Utopia, [but whose project] soon gives to the initiative, which it seemed like an adventure, a plausible sense." Twenty years ago, pursuing an agenda in the critical organizational history might have seemed like "an adventure," but today we have a "plausible sense" of the institutionalization of a fruitful field of research in Brazil and abroad. This provides us greater visibility, but also increases our responsibility concerning the accuracy and relevance of our research. Let us go together.

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AUTHOR'S CONTRIBUTIONS

The work was thought out, reflected on, and written together. The authors worked together from the collection of information, the conceptualization and theoretical-methodological approach, the theoretical review (literature survey) to the writing and final review of the text.

EDITORIAL INFORMATION 2020

ARTICLE STATUS		2019[1]	%	2020[1]	%
	Submitted	841	100%	1072	100%
Editorial (Format evaluation)	Inapropriate[2]	326	39%	379	35%
	Withdrawn before the blind review process	36	4%	28	3%
	Sent for desk review	479	57%	665	62%
Editor (desk review)	Rejected	214	45%	246	37%
	Rejected and resubmission	44	9%	54	8%
	Awaiting for desk review	18	4%	12	2%
	Sent to Scientific Editors	203	42%	353	53%
Scientific editorial board (preliminary review)	Rejected	67	14%	150	23%
	Rejected and resubmission	12	3%	6	1%
	In preliminary review stage	19	4%	51	8%
	Sent to Evaluators	105	22%	146	22%
Reviewers *(double-blind review)*	Rejected	37	8%	69	10%
	Rejected and resubmission	9	2%	16	2%
	In double blind review	23	5%	24	4%
	Sent to authors for improving	36	8%	37	6%
	Articles accepted for publication	19	4%	15	2%

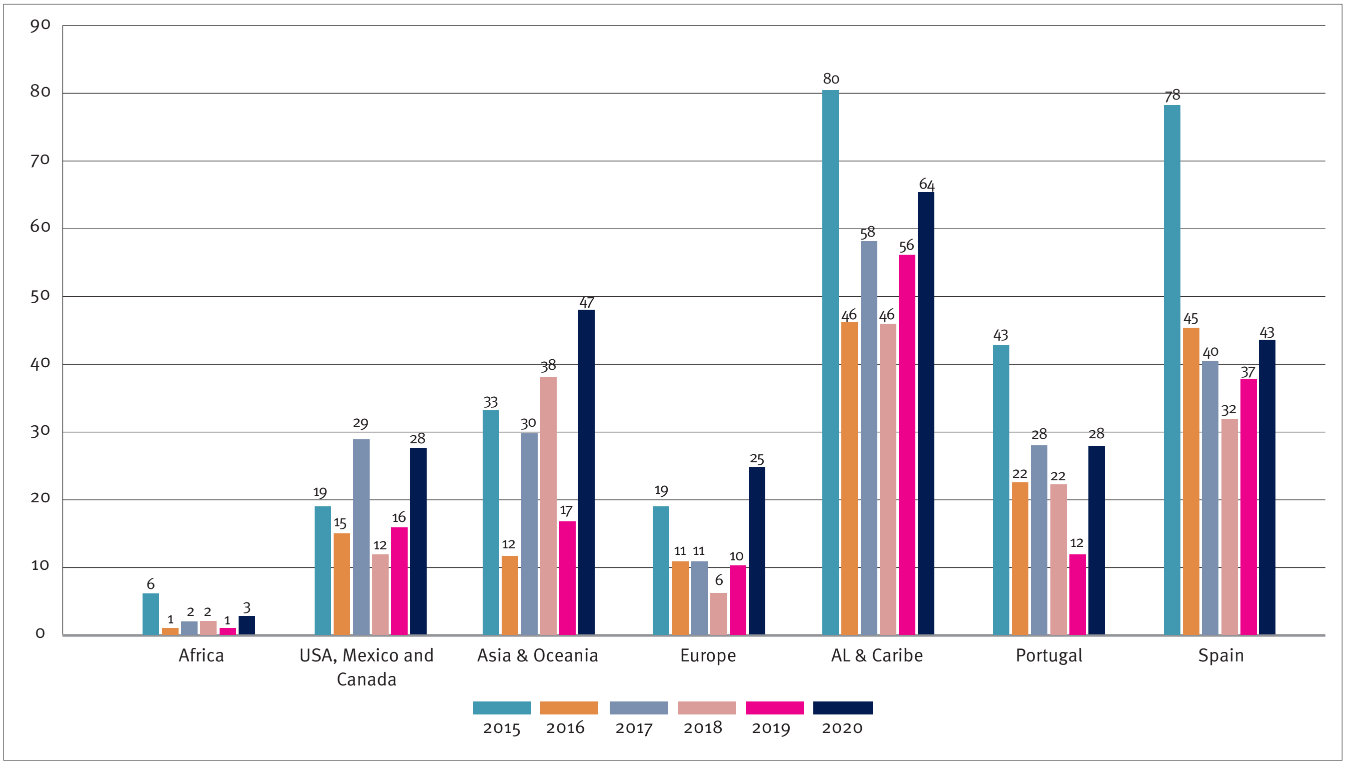
[1] Status on 01.11.2020 for articles submitted in the indicated year.

[2] In the initial selection, the Editorial Office evaluates the articles as to their format and screens them for similarities using iThenticate® software, in accordance with the norms in RAE's Manual.

[3] Nineteen articles submitted in 2019 were accepted for publication in 2020.

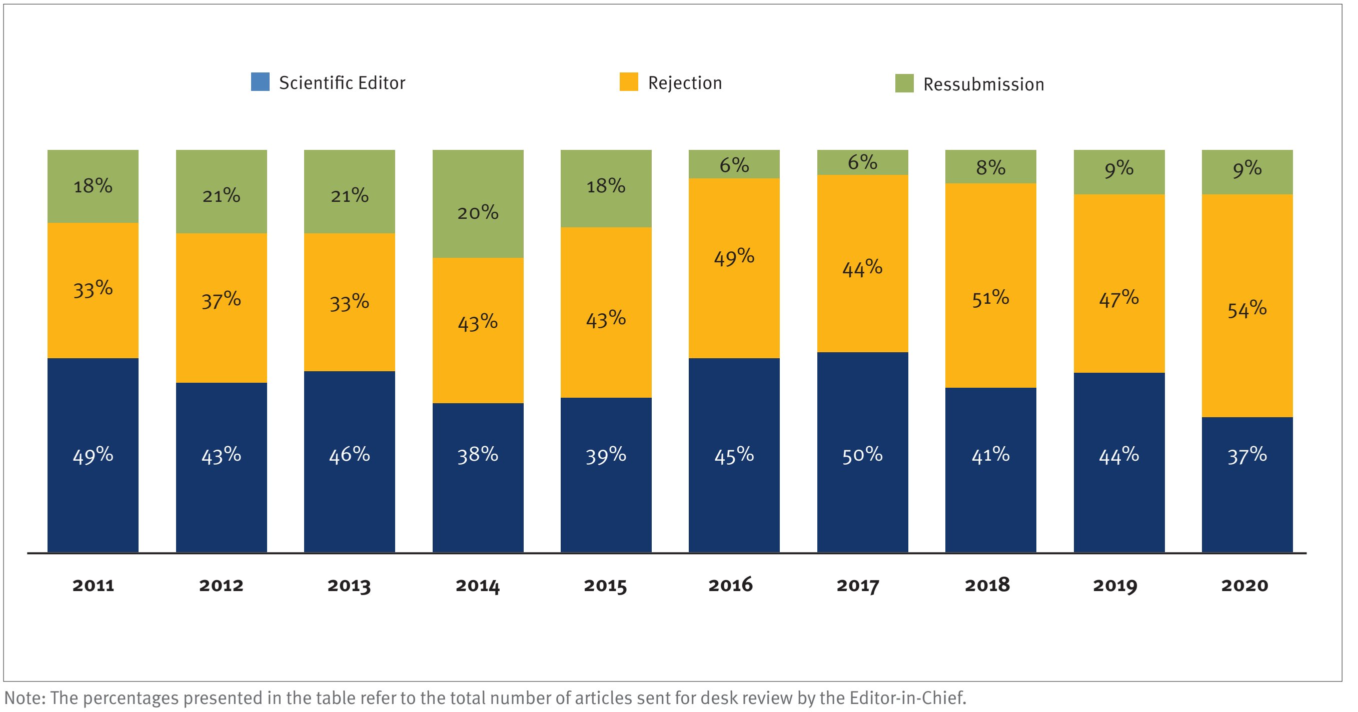
Note: The percentages shown do not consider articles rejected and removed from the process due to their format..

SUBMISSIONS BY INTERNATIONAL AUTHORS



Note: Articles sent for desk review, after format evaluation and plagiarism check; and 2) It was considered the institution of the submitting author the article.

DESK REVIEW EVALUATION (ANNUAL)

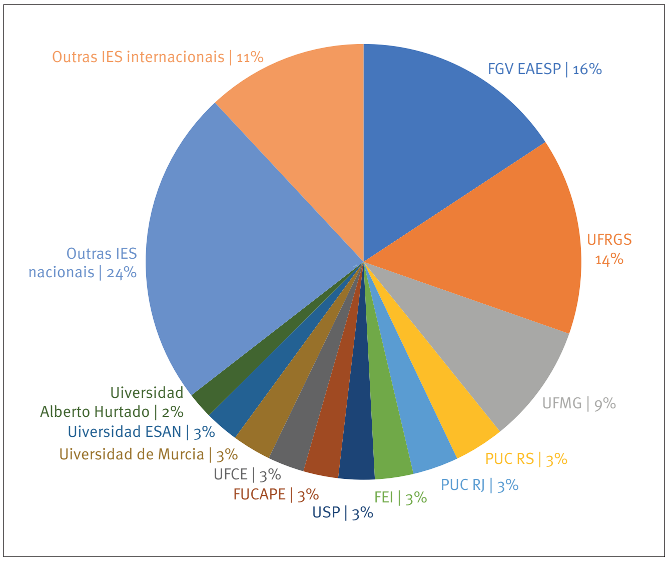


Note: The percentages presented in the table refer to the total number of articles sent for desk review by the Editor-in-Chief.

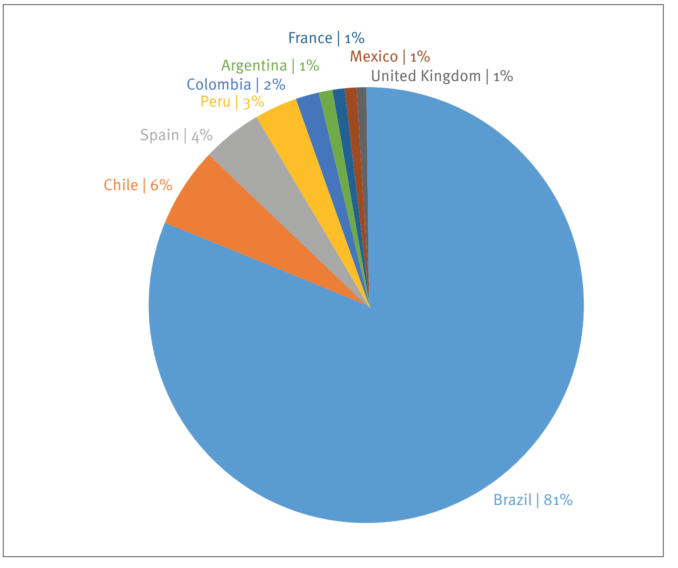
PUBLISHED ARTICLES

	2019	2020
Total number of published articles	38	37
Submitted for double-blind review	25	29
Guest authors	13	8
Geographical partnership between authors		
Brazilian authors only	24	28
International authors only	11	7
International collaboration only	3	2

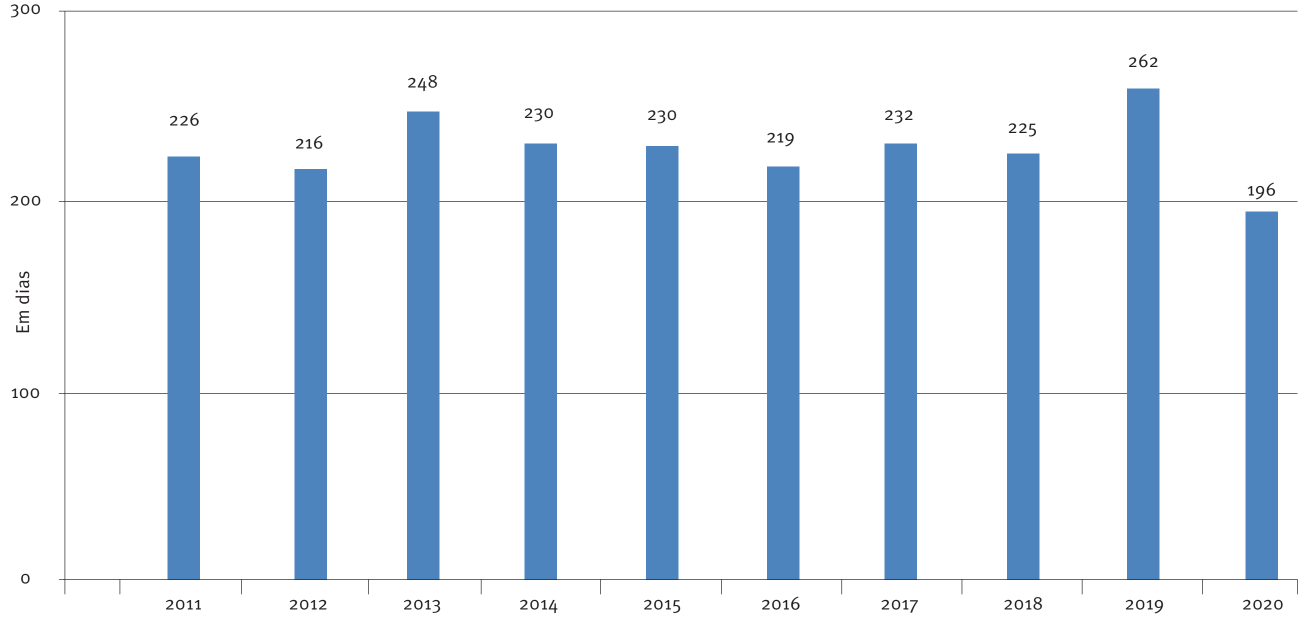
Institutional diversity in authorship of articles (%)



Geographical diversity in authorship of articles (%)



ANNUAL AVERAGE NUMBER FROM THE PROCESS OF EVALUATION UNTIL APPROVAL



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COLLABORATORS

RAE is grateful to the researchers who dedicated their time, experience and wisdom to developing the articles submitted. Such voluntary work is fundamental for improving the articles, thus contributing to Administration academe in Brazil. In the period from January to December 2020, 383 scholars collaborated with RAE. Their names are listed in the page 5

We acknowledge the valuable work of the Scientific Editorial Body's members and the ad hoc reviewers and, as usual, we rated the year's best – those whose collaboration was critical for the quality of the articles published in *RAE*. Thirty-seven researchers were selected based on three criteria: number of reviews, timely response to authors, and review quality.

The scientific editors participated in the blind review, follow-up and consolidation of (re)evaluation of four articles each, and they used an average 10.9 days to finish their opinions. Among the reviewers who collaborated in our blind review process in 2020, each delivered two reviews and used 29 days to finish their opinions.

Our special thanks to them all!

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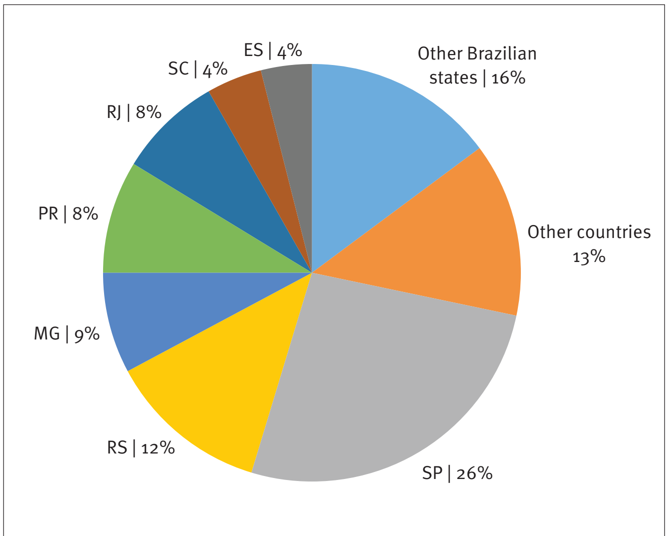
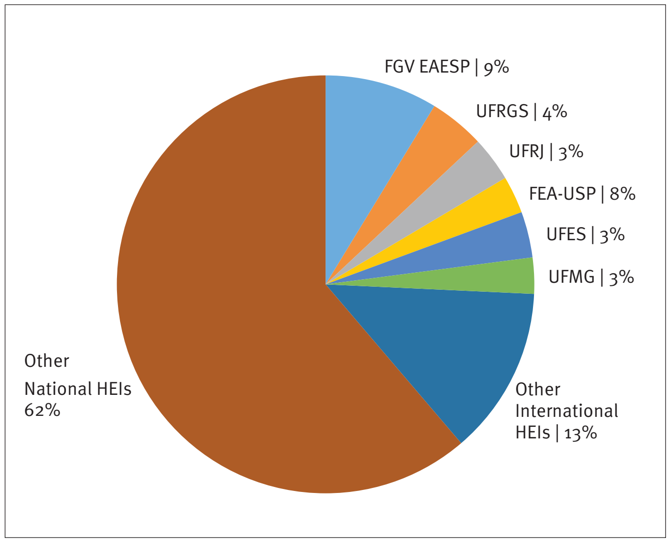


Institutional diversity of the Scientific Editorial Board and Reviewers



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