

THE ORGANISATIONAL IMAGINATION
IN AFRICAN ANTI-COLONIAL THOUGHT

Thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
at the University of Leicester

By

Nceku Nyathi
University of Leicester
School of Management

December 2008

Copyright © Nceku Nyathi 08/12/2008

This thesis is copyright material and no quotation from it may be published without proper acknowledgement.

“Organise! Organise!! Organise!!! We urged:

Let individuals, men and women, join any of the political organisations, farmers’ unions, co-operative societies, youth movements. No section of the people of this country should be left unorganised. No individual person should be without membership in some organisation...the strength of the organised masses is invincible...we must organise as never before, for organisation decides everything.”

(Nkrumah 1961: 15)

Nceku Nyathi

The Organisational Imagination in African Anti-Colonial Thought

Abstract

This thesis seeks to broaden the nature of anti-colonial thinking in organisation theory through a strategy of 'reading and rediscovery' of prominent African anti-colonial writers and activists portraying them as serious organisation theorists. By reading these theorists, I show some of the depth and sweep of their thinking, hoping to prompt a new appreciation of them today. To read these figures as organisation theorists opens up organisation theory not just to African thinking and history, but also to a range of organisations that often do not show up in the canon of organisation studies. This allows us to see a colourful organisation theory that reflects multiple realities, a postcolonial critique of organisation development of organisation theory, and opens up the western academy to Africa as subject rather than object. Here is a different consciousness of identity and subjectivity, a virtue made of structures (Nkrumah), a radical change and transformation of the individual and group (Cabral's bottom-up cultural change), and of organisation and social formation of the state (Du Bois, Padmore, James, Cabral, Fanon). This colourful approach is distinct from current postcolonial organisational analysis and 'management in Africa' literatures. I test this thesis by observing a case study of contemporary African thinking on organisation at the most general level of society, *ubuntu*. *Ubuntu* today straddles the theory and practice of African cosmology, and the calculating world of private firms in a profit-taking market in South Africa. Can its mixture of theory and practice and political ambition fulfil the hopes of this earlier generation? Finally, this is also a disciplinary project, challenging organisation studies to examine its borders and limits, for I am seeking at a very personal level, as a southern African of Nguni origin, to write myself into the consciousness and praxis of that discipline of organisation theory.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	6
Introduction:	
Colonialism and the Organisational Imagination	7
1. Organisational change, development and transformation: W.E.B du Bois; George Padmore and C.L.R James	30
2. Organisational structure: Kwame Nkrumah	69
3. Organisational Culture: Amilcar Cabral	100
4. Organisational Identity and its politicization: Frantz Fanon	127
5. Case Study – Organisational Reformation(s) Premising <i>Ubuntu</i> 's Promise	155
Conclusion	188
References	200

Acknowledgements

First of all a general 'thank you' to all the wonderful people that I met in the last couple of years, who participated in all phases of this thesis. Many thanks also to all my colleagues at the University of Leicester, School of Management for making it such an exciting place to write a PhD. Although I risk omissions, I would like to express my special gratitude and appreciation in the following lines.

Special thanks to my supervisors, Stefano Harney and Gibson Burrell. To Stefano Harney I owe my heartfelt thanks for creative inspiration and not just for the supervision but also for his help in publishing and teaching. I also reserve my heartfelt thanks to Yaqub Paul Murray for *Ubuntu* and encouragement throughout my educational journey. The whole manuscript was also read and commented on by Yaqub Paul Murray, Gibson Burrell, Martin Parker, and other sections of the thesis were commented on by Nerva Ndlovu, Mmeli Nyathi, Nothando Tshuma, Barbara Nussbaum and Alex Magaisa, which has made a great difference: a million thanks. Many thanks also to Simon Lilley, Gavin Jack, Gerry Hanlon, Campbell Jones, Ishani Chandrasekara, Ibrahim Umar, Jo Brewis, Asma Alkindy-Murray; Alice Harney, Michele Bowring, Abdoulie Sallah, Mohamed Shaban, Tom Keenoy, Sibusisiwe Jensen and Adam Bird; Sverre Spoelstra; Demola Obembe; Meryem Duygun Fethi, Thulani Thebe, Patty Thebe, Sanelisiwe Thebe, Mzukisi and Khanyi Qobo; Kelvin Ncube; Gatsha Mazithulela; Theodore Tshuma; Catherine Burrell; Brenda Tanaye; Thabo and Suku Ntuli; Thulani Mlotshwa; Mugari Family; Brian Kagoro; Celine Tan; Teresa Bowdrey (for various reasons).

Between May and June 2006 I visited the School of Business Leadership at the University of South Africa and Wits Business School at University of Witwatersrand. In particular would like to thank Mthuli Ncube, Stella Nkomo and Lize Booysen for the invitation to South Africa and their impartial interest in my research focus. Special thanks goes to Tamu, Nosisa and Rati Dube; Stephen Bardwell, Nerva and Tracey Ndlovu for their exceptional hospitality.

I am extremely grateful for the kind support and love from my wife Nothando Tshuma and son Miles Awakhiwe Nyathi who have made it possible for me to stay sane. Thank you for your tolerance and constant support. Many thanks also to Mrs I Tshuma and Mr W Tshuma for assisting in watching over my son Miles so that I could write the thesis in the end.

Finally, my gratitude is towards my parents, Prince and Ebba Nyathi and the revolutionary anti-colonial thinkers and their sacrifices, I stand tall on their shoulders today.

Introduction

Colonialism and the Organisational Imagination

The canon in organisation studies¹ is not characterised by an abundance of engagement with theory from the global South (exceptions, Mir et al. 1999; Jaya 2000; Cooke, 2003, 2004; Prasad, 2003). This thesis, however, is not so much about provincializing Europe (Chakrabarty, 2000; Prasad, 1997), and organisation studies, but about enlarging the history of anti-colonial thinking, and with it, organisational thinking. To regard a series of key anti-colonial thinkers as organisation theorists may seem to reduce or misread these thinkers. But it is my contention that it offers us the chance to gain something new from these thinkers, and to appreciate them anew. I also believe it will help us to enlarge our sense of what can be included in organisational thinking, as we see nations, world economies, peoples, parties, and races organised in the thought of these extraordinary figures. For, to borrow an eloquent passage from Robert Young (2001: 226):

“Attention to this history also illustrates three related points: first, the significant success of the organisational activism of the Communist Party at a grass roots level in many colonies. Second, it confirms the extensive international links of the anti-colonial movements. Third, it shows how independence movements typically took the Marxist anti-colonialism of the Communist Party and transformed it creatively according to their own, already established political priorities. These factors in the African anti-colonial movements could be also demonstrated in different ways with respect to anti-colonial and imperial activism in Asia or Central and South America.”

The roots of all this ‘organisational activism of the Communist Party at a grass roots level in many colonies’ that Young (2001) refers to can be traced to the source and efforts of Lenin and what became known as ‘Leninism’ (Stalin, 1939;

¹ Organisation Studies has its proximate historical roots in the socio-political writings of nineteenth century thinkers, such as Saint-Simon, who anticipate and interpret the nascent structural and ideological transformations wrought by industrial capitalism (Reed, 1996). Organisation studies today generally refers to many and varied approaches to the study of organisations. There are a number of subjects of study that fall under this broad umbrella (e.g. management, change, motivation and leadership theories, etc.).

Meyer, 1957; Conquest, 1972; Besancon, 1981; Zizek, 2004; Harding, 2006). The term "Leninism" itself did not exist during Lenin's life. It came into widespread use only after Lenin ended his active participation in the Soviet government due to a series of incapacitating strokes shortly before his death. Leninism refers to various related political and economic theories elaborated by the Bolshevik revolutionary leader, Lenin, and by other theorists who claim to be carrying on Lenin's work (Stalin, 1939; Meyer, 1957; Conquest, 1972; Besancon, 1981; James, 1992; Zizek, 2004; Harding, 2006). Leninism builds upon and elaborates the ideas of Marxism, and serves as a philosophical basis for the ideology of Soviet Communism. The thinkers that I seek to recover in this thesis were largely influenced by Leninist thought (to various extents: they are of course very different in their orientation and way of thinking) by something which has come to be called 'Leninism'. The works of all anti-colonial leaders bear testimony of this. Here I tread very carefully because the linkage of these thinkers to Leninist thought also conjures up connections to other familiar tenets like 'Socialist, Marxist-Leninist, Communist, Marxism, and Leninism/ist for example, and caution that these terms all mean very different things, and they did to these thinkers as well, who would have used these words very precisely and very differently over time.

Lenin and the Bolshevik revolution provided the example of people who were able to throw off a king and his police and set up a new society. The Russian revolution therefore became the second successful anti-colonial revolution after the Haitian (James, 1938; Conquest, 1972). It is only with Lenin's contribution (and practice) to the national question that an irreversible break with eurocentrism (still quite present in Marx and Engels, although Marx has an interesting and positive evolution in that respect) happens within the Marxist and socialist tradition (Munck, 1986; Anderson 1995; Young, 2001). For Lenin, the nationalism of the oppressed nations and colonial people (and also of the 'peasant nations' with which they overlap to a large extent) is fully acknowledged as an independent revolutionary factor and integrated in a 'systemic' analysis of

the contradictions of world capitalism ('imperialism') (Lenin, 1902, 1915; Minh, 1924; Stalin, 1936, 1939; Harding, 1996, Zizek, 2004). A new emphasis on the fact that 'Africa' was just as important in the struggle for freedom as London or Paris was something the Soviets almost alone at this point among European peoples were saying. Lenin's (1915: 6-9) polemic spelt out that:

"We demand freedom of self-determination, i.e., independence, i.e., freedom of secession for the oppressed nations, not because we have dreamt of splitting up the country economically, or of the ideal small states, but, on the contrary, because we want large states and the closer unity and even fusion of nations, only truly democratic, truly internationalist basis, which is inconceivable without the freedom to secede. Just as Marx, in 1869, demanded the separation of Ireland, not for a split between Ireland and Britain, but for a subsequent free union between them, not so as to secure 'justice for Ireland', but in the interests of the revolutionary struggle of the British proletariat, we in the same way consider the refusal of Russian socialists to demand freedom of self-determination for nations, in the sense we have indicated above, to be a direct betrayal of democracy, internationalism and socialism."

Lenin therefore created the space which explored these debates and these are to be found in the first period of the Third International, especially its second congress and the Baku congress of the peoples of the east (Trotsky, 1945; Degras, 1971; Harris, 1990; Halliday, 1999; Young, 2001). It should be stated strongly that, for Lenin at least, self-determination was not a mere slogan, but a principle he put into practice with immediate effect within the former Russian Empire following the Bolshevik Revolution. This is how the connection between Leninist thought and these anti-colonial colonial thinkers is forged. Ho Chi Minh (1924: 2) captures the significance of Lenin when he asserts in the obituary that he writes by stating that "in his life-time he was our father, teacher, comrade and adviser. Nowadays, he is the bright star showing us the way to the socialist revolution".

In this thesis I am much more interested in focusing on Africa. However, Young's (2001: 5) attention to this global history is remarkable in that he is able to illustrate this unity in diversity and therefore able to make interesting organisational connections by the adoption of the term 'tricontinental' "which marks an identification with the great Havana Tricontinental of 1966, which

initiated the first global alliance of the peoples of the three continents (Africa, Asia and Central-South America) against imperialism.” Young goes on to say that “this was the founding moment of post-colonial theory in its journal, the *Tricontinental*.” I shall explore the problematic concept of the term ‘postcolonial’ later in the chapter. The *Tricontinental* anti-colonialism always involved an embodied politics and theory which Young (2001: 218) describes as “a politics and theoretical critique developed at an ideational level but at the same time put into practice through material strategies and practices.” For others this political discourse has been delineated as the ‘Third World socialism’. The disadvantages of the term ‘Third World’ have been well rehearsed and been subject to sustained criticism, either because “identification with it has been perceived as anti-Marxist (Marxist states made up the ‘Second World’), or because the notion ‘third’ came to carry a negative aura in hierarchical relation to the first and second, and gradually became associated with poverty, debt, famine and conflict” (Hadjor, 1993: 3-11). In this thesis, therefore the term ‘Third World’ will be generally avoided, and the geographical, locational and cultural description of the ‘three continents’ and the ‘tricontinental’ (i.e. Latin America, Africa and Asia) is preferred to “avoid the problems of the ‘Third World’, the bland homogenization of ‘the South’, and the negative definition of ‘the non-west’ which implies a complete dichotomy between the west and the rest which two or more centuries of imperialism have hardly allowed” (Young, 2001: 5). The term ‘Third World socialism’, however, was used by leaders such as Nyerere, Nasser, Nehru, for example who saw a non-Soviet/non-communist version of socialism as the answer to developing their nations (Nyerere, 1968; Beling and Totten, 1970; Hayes, 1996; Smith, 2003).

In this thesis I attempt to recover the thought of W.E.B Du Bois, George Padmore, C.L.R James, Kwame Nkrumah, Amilcar Cabral and Frantz Fanon as organisation theorists to revive and enrich them, and also to gain a new perspective on organisation at the same time. I have particularly selected these thinkers because of their pioneering and influential work in contributing to the

African anti-colonial movement. These are individuals who rejected the avenues of escape from the realities of their people and elected instead to 'return to the source' of their own being. In taking these steps these individuals reaffirmed the rights of their people to take their own place in history – the makers of African history and world history who are forgotten, cast as victims of tyranny, starvation, and disease instead of those who built modern capitalism and those who inform much of modern culture and philosophy. Thus the twentieth century witnessed a remarkable activity of organisational thought in Africa from African anti-colonialism and socialism to post-colonial theory.

Thus this project will be not just be a critique of the tendency in Organisation Studies towards eurocentrism and parochialism, but an attempt to ab-use, as Spivak (1988, 1990, 1996) says, this tradition of Organisation Studies to think African organisation histories and futures differently. By this Spivak meant that she could both not live with or without Enlightenment thought and this ab-use marked a form of trying to occupy, without being occupied, this enlightenment position. Specifically, the project will begin with a recovery of organisational thought in Africa on anti-colonialism, indigenous forms, dependency, revolution, and nationalism. This organisational thought was led by some of these selected theorists discussed in this thesis. These activist diasporic African intellectuals organised political groups while abroad, edited newspapers, wrote books and articles, and subsequently became heavily involved in organisational and political activity in the African anti-colonial struggles (Young, 2001). This thesis will show the connections between this thought and organisational thought globally indicating and making connections that have been forgotten in organisation studies. I shall be recovering and evaluating the thoughts of Du Bois, Padmore, James, Nkrumah, Cabral and Fanon in terms of what they have to say to key topical areas of contemporary organisation studies such as organisational change and transformation, organisational structure, organisational identity and organisational culture that are important for organisation studies texts but from which these key African(-ist) intellectuals activists and scholars are absent. Also

by reading and recovering these thinkers and activists for their contribution to organisation studies it becomes evident that despite the wealth of those who produce organisation studies, it could be enriched by attention to the impoverished. By identifying this impoverishment I seek to enrich organisation studies by recovering some alternative attempts that show a new way to understand organisation. These thoughts are also important for postcolonial theory.

Postcolonial theory grows further and further away from its roots in the anti-colonial movement. By 'recovery' I mean to deal with again, or return to, or possibly regain or bring back that which is lost or taken away or forgotten. The endeavour of this thesis is to recover forgotten people, forgotten thoughts and also to recover their attempts, voices and organisational achievements. The premise of my dissertation is that by reading anti-colonial theorists again as organisation theorists I can recover not just them, but a whole history of peoples who fought colonialism through organisation, including through organisational ideas. African anti-colonial thought thus offers organisation theory some rich new material. I also refer to the focus in African anti-colonial thought as a recovery for the postcolonial. I agree with Young (2001: 4) who laments the fact that:

"The postcolonial does not privilege the colonial. It is concerned with colonial history only to the extent that that history has determined the configurations and power structures of the present, to the extent that much of the world still lives in the violent disruptions of its awake, and to the extent that the anti-colonial liberation movements remain the source and inspiration of its politics. If colonial history, particularly in the nineteenth century, was the history of the imperial appropriation of the world, the history of the twentieth century has witnessed the peoples of the world taking power and control back for themselves. Postcolonial theory is itself a product of that dialectical process."

It is therefore for this reason that I have found it necessary to reverse the post in postcolonial in order to recover these theorists and their work focusing on Africa to speak to organisation and postcolonial theory. I shall then use postcolonial theory to pry open organisation studies to this history and to re-centre a repressed discourse like Ubuntu.

Ubuntu

Ubuntu² is a well-developed system of knowledge that stands in contrast to the dominant Euro-American epistemology. Articulating this alternative epistemology in the white-western world of organisational studies is an extremely challenging task (in the ways it raises 'lost in translation' type issues³), but for an African person this challenge is not entirely new. It is an extension of struggles to articulate the identity of Africa and the Africans dating back to the late eighteenth century (Mudimbe, 1988; Eze, 1997):

"a period in African history when regardless of their own wishes Africans were bound to be drawn out of their way of life and brought into new relationships with the outside world and under the impact of an expanding Western civilization which was in the process of moulding the world in its image". (Pawlikova-Vilhanova, 1998: 162).

For Dandala (1996: 64)

"Ubuntu cannot be a concept easily distilled into some methodological procedure. It is rather a bedrock of specific lifestyle or culture that seeks to honour human relationships as primary in any social, communal or corporate activity... it's a statement about being, about fundamental things that qualify a person to be a person".

Ubuntu therefore in this thesis is the 'lens' through which my study is conducted, an ontological aid. Ubuntu is southern Africa's new effort to rethink organisation and I visited South Africa for field research to learn more about its premise and promises. This raises the question of seemingly to be addressing two parts in the thesis of beginning with the thinkers and then the case study on ubuntu. Here I do not want to fall into the subjective/objectivist divide – there are no two parts even though the thesis is organized to start with the thinkers before the case study and the point is that each one is not dependent on the other but the issue

² Ubuntu has been spelt with a capital 'U' whilst other writers use lower case 'u'. In this thesis I use both styles interchangeable.

³ Ubuntu cannot easily be captured and mapped into the images and conceptions of the white North West, so is it inevitable that one fails to bring organisation theory as it is practiced in the (white) business school. This mapping can only ever be gestural but in the making of that (those) gesture(s) one hopefully opens space for further conversation.

that is being addressed is *how do we understand ubuntu so that we can see/recognize what these African anti-colonial thinkers were doing?* Anti-colonial activism is an expression of ubuntu epistemology. These practical African anti-colonial thinkers were living and doing ubuntu. Ubuntu is not a thing but a process that has been strong in sub-Saharan Africa but not exclusive to those places only. This thesis helps to bring clarity to these connections. Before I provide a short outline of the structure of this thesis, I will first undertake some 'groundwork' by explaining *what is post-colonialism, postcolonial organizational analysis, 'African Management'* and the style and method adopted in this dissertation.

What is post-colonialism?

Organisation studies have over the last few years seen a steady rise in interest in postcolonial theory and criticism (Jaya, 2001; Mir, Calás and Smircich, 1999; Prasad, 1997; Prasad and Prasad, 2002; Prasad, 2003; Cooke, 2003, 2004; Frenkel and Shenhav, 2003, 2006; Westwood, 2004; Harney and Oswick, 2006; Westwood and Jack, 2007; Harney and Nyathi, 2007). Interest has, however, been lukewarm compared to the other enthusiasm showed by many organisational researchers over the last few decades to other new scholarly influences such as Habermasian critical theory, Foucauldian analysis, and so on (see, Cooper and Burrell, 1988; Chia 1995; Alvesson and Deetz, 2000; Clegg, et al. 1996; Kilduff and Mehra, 1997; Prasad, 2003). Despite its limited reception in organisation studies, postcolonial theory has been influential in English departments and disciplines such as history, anthropology, art, philosophy and others. This success has led to journals such as *Public Culture, Diaspora, Wasafiri, Social Text, Third Text, Interventions, Post-colonial Studies* for example devoting their publication to the 'postcolonial condition' or 'postcolonial theory' and others have from time to time featured special issues.

According to McLeod (2000: 2) post-colonialism is a theory that "challenges us to think again and question some of the assumptions that underpin both *what* we

read and *how we read*.” Post-colonialism is a troubling concept due to its ‘politics of interdisciplinarity’ (Edwards, 2004). Such is the variety of activities often called ‘postcolonial’ that it is not very easy to find an appropriate point of departure (McLeod 2000). For McLeod (2000: 3) ‘post-colonialism’ “is not a word we can render precisely. But out of its variety come possibility, vitality, and challenge.” This variety then leads also to the possibility of both discord and conflict within the field and this is to be expected due to the resources of concepts borrowed from many critical practices, such as post-structuralism, Feminism, Marxism, psychoanalysis and linguistics (Ashcroft, et al. 1998; Loomba, 1998; Young, 2001; Eze, 1997; Ghandi, 1998). For Ashcroft, et al. (1998: 186-7) post-colonialism

“deals with the effects of colonisation on cultures and societies...The term has subsequently been widely used to signify the political, linguistic and cultural experience of societies that were former European colonies...While this distinction in spelling exists, the interweaving of the two approaches is considerable . ‘Post-colonialism’ is now used in wide and diverse ways to include the study and analysis of European territorial colonialisms, the discursive operations of empire, the subtleties of subject construction in colonial discourse and the resistance of those subjects, and, most importantly perhaps, the differing responses to such incursions and their contemporary colonial legacies in both pre- and post-independence nations and communities. While its use has tended to focus on the cultural production of such communities, it is becoming widely used in historical, political, sociological and economic analyses, as these disciplines continue to engage with the impact of European imperialism upon world societies.”

Loomba (1998: 20) on the other hand feels that the key issues that post-colonialism is about is the current way to discuss colonialism and its aftermath where to answer such questions it is necessary to place postcolonial studies within two broad (and overlapping) contexts:

“The first is the history of decolonialization itself. Intellectuals and activists who fought against colonial rule, and their successors who now engage with its continuing legacy, challenged and revised dominant definitions of race, culture, language and class in the process of making their voices heard. The second context is the revolution, within ‘Western’ intellectual traditions, in thinking about some of the same issues – language and how it articulates experience, how ideologies work, how human subjectivities are formed, and what we might mean by culture.”

Following from Loomba's two broad (overlapping) contexts it is possible now to explore 'what kind of theory is postcolonial theory?' First and foremost postcolonial theory is a theory of lament, recovery, compassion, reclamation, rage, and steely-eyed rationalism. It addresses the hegemony of the residue and legacy of colonialism as well as the hegemony of capitalism, and its mutative forms such as globalisation. Postcolonial theory then offers a set of skeleton keys to all of the doors of the Master's house. It is felt so because the 'Other' still experiences the residue and legacy of colonialism and still suffers from oppression, inequality and indignity (Said, 1978, 1993; Eze, 1997; Spivak, 1988; Young, 2001). This is so because Western discourses are hegemonic arguing that they serve the interest of a controlling elite of whiteness that in turn shapes the rules by which (Other) people are expected to live their lives (Roediger, 1994; Dyer, 1997). These discourses are inscribed by the hegemony of whiteness or by the differential and more powerful agency of those who are white (Jensen, 2005). Postcolonial theory is a kind of skeleton key theory that enables the non-whites to proceed inside as well as reconstruct their own houses. What I mean by that is that postcolonial theory is a theory forged, melded and alloyed by black, brown and oriental people to speak truth to power. This position has also been inclusive of the Irish who have in the past been subjected to the same predicament as the above. Here it is important not to forget that postcolonial theory flows, grows and knows from the grounds of historicity of bloodshed, humiliation, colonialism, and cultural and physical rape (McLeod, 2000; Fanon, 1967; Césaire, 1995; Mbembe, 2002; Sartre, 2001). That also makes it a theory of life after death from the effects of this bloodshed, humiliation and rape. Postcolonial theory is a theory of life and death which in the all-in-one unmasks power and control and subjugation and the denial of humanity to some who are 'Othered'. Its purpose is the eradication of Marx's notion of 'false consciousness' and to keep the Other focused on the contextual realism of power, while also allowing methodological development to include voices from lived experience.

Postcolonial theory therefore challenges us to think again about organisation theory. Peruvemba (2001: 277) demonstrates the importance of this by posing the following question about organisation theory:

“Does it embrace multiple cultural perspectives and does it represent the rest of the world? Does it include all possibilities in a non hegemonic way, or does it stop short by representing the ‘world’ as limited by American/European lenses?”

Not only is organisation theory a field of knowledge that is raced but more so in the very imaginable source of what constitutes organising principles that organisation theory is raced. Organisation studies have not been a colourful epistemology. A colour blind approach to understanding organisation principles will no longer be satisfactory (Jaya, 2000; Prasad, 2003). My attempt here is to explore and demonstrate ways that postcolonial organisation studies can be developed. I argue in this thesis that the one approach to consider is the endeavour to radicalise organising principles in the light of the recovery of the African experience of the production of an anti-colonial activism that laid the tracks for the organisation of the African nation state (Davidson, 1992). This crucial coincidence between organising principles and the organisation of anti-colonialism, as well as the organisation of the independent African nation state and organisation studies is very important and worthy of extensive study that this thesis undertakes.

To reiterate for my reader what postcolonial critique is I turn to Young (2001: 11) for his eloquent summary passage:

“Postcolonial critique focuses on forces of oppression and coercive domination that operate in the contemporary world: the politics of anti-colonialism and neocolonialism, race, gender, nationalism, class and ethnicities define its terrain. Interest in oppression of the past will always be guided by the relation of that history to the present. In that sense, postcolonial theory’s intellectual commitment will always be to seek to develop new forms of engaged theoretical work that contributes to the creation of dynamic ideological and social transformation. Its object, as defined by Cabral (1969), is the pursuit of liberation after the achievement of political independence. It constitutes a directed intellectual production that seeks to articulate itself with different forms of emancipatory politics, to synthesize different kinds of work towards the realization of common goals that include the creation of equal access to material, natural,

social and technological resources, the contestation of forms of domination, whether economic, cultural, religious, ethnic or gendered, and the articulation and assertion of collective forms of political and cultural identity. Above all, the assumption guiding postcolonial critique is that it is possible to make effective political interventions within and beyond its own disciplinary field by developing significant connections between the different forms of intellectual engagement and activism in the world today."

Postcolonial Organizational Analysis

Now that I have explored in some depth some definitions and motives of postcolonial theory I shall now explore some of the postcolonial organisational analysis (i.e., the work of Prasad, 2003, 2004, 2006; Banerjee and Linstead 2004; Frenkel and Shenhav, 2003, 2006; Mir, et al. 2003; Cooke 2003, 2004; Westwood, 2001, 2004; Munshi, 2005; Ibarra-Colado, 2006; Westwood and Jack, 2007; Broadfoot and Munshi, 2007) that has been making significant contributions in organisation studies and with that I also hope to clarify the difference with the stance taken in this thesis. One such 'move' is to open up the Western academy to Africa through the recovery of these African anti-colonial thinkers and the re-centring of a marginalised discourse like Ubuntu. The other delicate move is one premised on the idea of what organisation studies can do for me rather than what I can do for organisation studies. What organisation studies does for me is that it enables the recovery and the revival of these key thinkers and Ubuntu philosophy to take place which at the same time expands our idea of organisation. This is one of the major differences with the moves taken by some of the contemporary writing on postcolonial organisation analysis where often postcolonial theory is brought into organisation studies to show the limits of organisation theory (Frenkel and Shenhav, 2003, 2006; Westwood, 2004; Munshi, 2005; Ibarra-Colado, 2006; Westwood and Jack, 2007; Broadfoot and Munshi, 2007). This is the subtle difference but I am appreciative of this work and contributions made by these scholars in their efforts to make organisation studies better.

Let us take (Prasad, 2003) first. This book serves as a first readily available starting point with an organisational/managerial focus in this area as an introduction that walks a fine line; summarizing, but not trivializing. The book is a collection of chapters by different authors and, as such, has certain limitations inherent in that genre. These chapters engage with an empirical issue, demonstrating ways that postcolonial theorizing can be applied to organisational thinking and therefore demonstrating its limits. This is a valuable starting point and serves as a valuable means of illuminating assumptions and limitations of the field. Taking one of the chapters to illustrate this is one excellent move by Cooke (2003) where he takes this unexpected, yet productive direction, applying postcolonial lens to the legacy of Kurt Lewin. For Cooke, in this chapter, the colonized are not indigenous people subject to an overt colonial regime, but African Americans colonised by knowledge practices, apartheid and oppression within a country where they are simultaneously indigenous and alien.

In another paper, Cooke (2003) assiduously traces the development of management from early ante-bellum plantation management in which slaves had to be reduced to passive and uncomplicated factors of production. What impressed me about Cooke's paper was the way his historical analysis also led to the promise of re-imagining organisation theory. Cooke uses history judiciously in this way, to glance backward in order to further our understanding of contemporary management and show how it is, in effect, instantiated with the mark of managing slave production. Visualising the link between the management of Black slaves in the evolution of a capitalist American nation state and the silent ideological dimensions of contemporary forms of organisation practice, I came to appreciate how historicity informs our understanding of the implications of the past in silently shaping the present; and in turn how historical analysis can help us to radically re-imagine what can *become*, despite the imagined defensiveness of the pandemonium this form of radical imagining might cause for a White academic audience. For this is precisely what Broadfoot and Munshi (2007: 249) seek in their paper

"to prove a discussion among fellow communication scholars to explore alternative ways of conceptualising and performing disciplinary networks and to give voice to silenced rationalities subsumed in the mainstream organizational communication."

As seen in the work of Israeli scholars Michal Frenkel and Yehouda Shenhav (2003, 2006), embarking on a path of postcolonial reflexivity in their investigations of mainstream management theories, theorists and texts. What they call for is greater sensitivity to the colonial elements embedded in organisation theory suggesting that attention to this will contribute to pluralisation as well as energize multiculturalism in management (Frenkel and Shenhav, 2003). The main issue for them that they interrogate is the distinctly Western cultural roots of management that promote themselves as culturally neutral and therefore universally applicable. Frenkel and Shenhav (2003: 4) argue that it is these hidden assumptions that form barriers to a "pluralizing of the organizational world and to the possibility of a meaningful multicultural spirit taking root in it". Thus they conclude, it is necessary to re-examine how it is that the West

"examines and articulates itself and its basic assumptions as reflected in organisational management discourse, which is perhaps the most blatant expression of modernity...This discourse is not an abstract body of knowledge. It exerts an immediate influence on the ways the world is organized and experienced by its actors." (Frenkel and Shenhav, 2003: 13).

This is what they go on to attempt in their 2006 essay on postcolonialism, hybridity, and management and organisation studies. In this piece they lament and demonstrate how the voices and experiences of the colonized and colonizer were (and continue to be) purified and written out of leading management theories and texts to create a distinctly Western canon of management studies. Westwood (2004: 56-7) also concurs with this assertion by "revealing the perpetuation of universalist, essentialist and exotic representations of the Other." Banerjee and Linstead (2004) in fact, note that explicit political agendas, such as that of the postcolonial thought, have never rested easily in organisation studies. It is for that reason that I took revolutionary figures to try to make organisation studies more political by saying nations, revolutions, parties could be part of it and that postcolonial organisational analysis writing to date whilst important in

demonstrating the limits of organisation theory throws the baby out with the bathwater sometimes and gets rid of ambitious politics too. My position in this thesis is therefore to advance upon/going beyond the current postcolonial organisational analysis writing because of the overall politics. What these African anti-colonial thinkers share, and what makes them important is the feeling that all of society could be organised and while this could lead to problems of who leads this organisation and who ends up just following, it can also help us realize how limited our own politics have become in organisation studies (some of us). This is why I have focused on these anti-colonial thinkers to imagine everyone involved in this ambitious rethinking of society. What it means is a chance to see what was important in them, instead what was just too idealist, Leninist, or sexist, and it is also a chance to see if organisation studies could devote itself to bigger issues than just workplaces – other levels of organisation. A similarity between how management has developed and these thinkers can be argued for in that management has developed to contain struggles which one could refer to this as a negative connection but in this thesis I would like to focus on positive connections which is delineated by how these thinkers could inspire struggles in organisation. Frenkel and Shenhav (2006) want this hybrid nature of management and organisation studies recognised in order to radically interrogate the argument that the ‘Third World’ will only develop if it uses Western forms of management and organisation. This has led to a conversation about management in Africa and ‘African Management’, particularly in relation to previous claims to have produced an Africa-specific mode of organisation and management.

‘African Management’

In this body of literature, the portrayal of management in Africa is one which has suffered varying degrees of mis-management (e.g. de Sarden, 1999). For others, African Management has consistently been inappropriately applied leading to a deficiency and incapacity (e.g. Safavi, 1981; Kiggundu, 1989, 1991; Dia, 1996; Igusi, 1997). Effective management of resources is an extremely sensitive issue

for the African continent which is desperate to alleviate human hardship and poverty to ensure the dignity of its entire people (Jackson, 2004). That might explain the reason why Kiggundu (1991) laments poor management and lack of high-level managerial skills as one of the main reasons for Africa's underdevelopment and lack of economic, social and political progress. The authors point to the colonial legacy for the underdevelopment of management talent and the conflict between African socioeconomic status (i.e. culture, limited resources, poverty and under education) and the use of Western knowledge in management development they end up calling for more Western ideas and approaches to management. For example Kiggundu (1991) calls for the development of skills in strategic management, negotiation, resource development and utilisation, operations management, production and administration, and cross-cultural interactions and communications. The emergent writing on 'African management' takes a different stance with books and articles arguing for a rejection and/or limitation of Western management thought and practice in Africa and the adoption and incorporation of African philosophy into management (Nzelibe, 1986; Anyasi-Archibong, 2001; Edoho, 2001; Khoza, 2001; Mbigi, 1997, 2005; Ngambi, 2004). There has been some considerable support of this perspective from some elements in the Non Governmental Organisations (NGO) derived literatures such as the work of Rick James (2002) (of International NGO Training and Research Centre (INTRAC)) and from South Africa (Community Development Resource Association (CDRA)) of Allan Kaplan (1999). My thesis is written as a positive experience of the roots of African management and one that contributes some rich material from the African anti-colonial thought and history through the recovery of these voices and the effort to rethink organisation from an ubuntu perspective. Let us now consider the methodological account of the thesis.

Methodological Account of the thesis

In my thesis I develop an analytical trope that demonstrates my commitment to *asking the right questions* and *investigating all of those dimensions of my Black,*

African standpoint in respect of organisation theory that I have been able to identify in the expansion of my consciousness through my PhD research journey. Inspired by Hill Collins' (1998) assertion that 'my choice of language in *Fighting Words* typifies my effort to theorize differently...A choice of language transcends mere selection of words – it is inherently a political choice', I became clearer about my own choice of historical analysis as typifying my effort to organize (my) theorising about organisation theory differently. I was simultaneously troubled and intrigued by her account of her experience that in a subtle way reflected my own situation and standpoint:

"At that moment, I faced an important choice. I could teach the status quo or I could teach for change...So we closed those texts full of smiling, affluent White people and began to talk...For me, this incident marked an important milestone in my growing recognition of the culpability of ideas in hierarchical power relations." (Hill Collins, 1998: x)

I was moved by my first understanding of the complexity of organized power relations described by Dorothy Smith (1987, in Hill Collins, 1998) as 'relations of ruling'. This led me to ponder questions of the kind: what are the relations of ruling held in the discourses of professional and educational organisations of organisation theory? How can I research for change within a White academy? What kind of pandemonium might I risk by articulating in my analyses how I recognise the culpability of ideas in hierarchical power relations as I speak my voice into the dominant discourses of organisation theory? The methodological situatedness of Hill Collins influenced my 'reading and recovery' strategy to excavate and construct a colourful organisation theory so that it does not stay *blanched*. This is how it has influenced me to recover the organisational imagination in African anti-colonial thought and the African ways of knowing organisation theory premised on *ubuntu* ontology and epistemology. What I have actually written and achieved in my thesis, and how I believe I have instantiated my politics in the thesis, and thus how my thesis is imbricated in a new politics of organisation theory from an African/*Ubuntu* perspective.

What might appear in my text as a series of long citations is both a stylistic and ethical response to my responsibility for presencing W.E.B Du Bois, George Padmore, C.L.R James, Kwame Nkrumah, Amilcar Cabral and Frantz Fanon's voice with which I choose to minimally interfere. I have sought not the voice of the other, but the voices of others and have, furthermore, attempted to ensure that these voices are, wherever possible, heard in their own terms. I have developed a trope of moving in and out of these voices or the voices of those writing about these thinkers in order to link, connect and provide insight. The citations are actually speaking to organisation studies. I am aware of the charge that these are my personal 'recoveries' that point towards particular priorities and remain fraught endeavours. Yet the conventions of academic authoring remain and the consequent need to tell a story about stories will, despite our best intentions, tend to reintroduce key elements of staging and direction (Latour, 1987). But that should not detract the main aim, which is to break down the solidity of dominant imagery and icons to augment organisation theory. The citations become the evidence base of my reading. If they were summarised, you as the reader would not witness my interaction with the text as a form of reading that carries the critical engagement of doctoral quality. I am constantly criss-crossing these writers, criss-crossing the traces of their work, their ideas and their significance. This endeavour is to revive and enrich them in order to gain a new perspective on organisation at the same time. I also deliberately give more space to these anti-colonial thinkers as I try recover them and limit the voices of organisation theorists as that is what we read and hear all the time.

I also write into the readings, demonstrating their power to contemporary theorists. It is in this style of representation that I am recovering and reversing the 'post' in postcolonial as these voices from the African anti-colonial thought speak into organisation studies in the present through the amplification of my critical postcolonial voice. Furthermore, the leitmotif in my thesis is that of anger, revolt, hope and optimism. As an African British scholar who has been studying organisation theory I have found that it was not unusual for African input to this

discourse to be consistently very marginal in terms of influence and contribution. These emotions are shared by all of my writers while being activated in me as I become the interlocutor for their voices. Finally, a word should be said about the limits of these thinkers, which are by extension potential limits of this dissertation. As I have said, neither postcolonial theory nor organisational theory has made much use of these theorists (with the notable exception of James and Fanon who are often de-politicized as revolutionaries and made into theorists of race instead – this is why it is *Black Skin, White Mask* and *Beyond A Boundary* that continue to sell and be reprinted). Some of this is academic conservatism I suspect, although this is something very hard to prove. But some of it is certainly worth accepting. All the theorists studied here are men, and most of them, perhaps with the exception of Du Bois and Cabral, had very little to say about the condition of colonial women, or about sexism. All of these theorists, except James, placed too much faith in Third International, or in their own versions of revolutionary parties that eventually betrayed them, or the people they sought to organize. These are serious flaws. I do not seek to forgive them by trying to recover the inspirational and the original in these thinkers. Indeed, I believe what they have to contribute can be used precisely against their blind-spots and failings so that we can imagine better forms of organisation for justice and liberation. I now move to provide the outline of the structure of the thesis.

Structure of the thesis

Organisational Change and Transformation:

W.E.B Du Bois, George Padmore and C.L.R James.

In the first chapter I read W.E.B Du Bois, an American civil rights activist leader, Pan-Africanist, sociologist, educator, historian, writer, editor, poet and scholar; George Padmore, a leading political organiser, Pan-Africanist and journalist; C.L.R James, a world revolutionary, writer, journalist, historian, Pan-Africanist and political activist as organisation theorists. By reading them in this way I recover and evaluate their thought for the importance to postcolonial theory and

to organisation studies. In this chapter I liken these three thinkers to organisational consultants but differentiate them from contemporary organisational consultants by pointing to three things that separate them. That is the premise upon which they are read in this chapter. The three issues are (1) they invent the organisation on behalf of others and not for themselves to create change; (2) they came in as both insiders/outsideers yet they were always outsideers; (3) they had a strong sense about where the organisation should go. Their works allow us to think about how today's movement of movements and counter-globalization thinkers, might fit together through this process of consulting with others (what in Zulu is called indaba) and connections made through building new organisations of post-colonial freedom *with and for others*. This appears like a precursor to the horizontal organisation creation in today's movement of movements. Du Bois, Padmore and James reversed the dynamic of the outsider, the consultant. I also point to the importance of their work and activities that opened the way for Nkrumah who shall be the subject matter of the next chapter.

Organisational Structure: Kwame Nkrumah

In the second chapter I read Kwame Nkrumah, one of the architects of Pan-Africanism, charismatic leader, gifted organiser of the masses and first President of Ghana as an organisation theorist whose work has something to say to organisation structure. Nkrumah acknowledged the success of the colonial projects in terms of the structure that it managed to put in place and recognised that the way to counteract this was to organise the formal organisation to get liberation from colonialism. He made a virtue of structures and wanted all aspects of society to be organised. His initiatives about understanding organisation structure were that structure does not follow function but rather follows critique, mobilisation, and political collective action. Function for him only comes after these which are at odds with the immediate fit between structure and function attempted in organisation theory. I conclude by arguing that Nkrumah gives us a chance to ask if there is not a place for a positive view of structure making at a

time when these are neglected by both postcolonial and organisation studies (where structure is almost always today considered negative).

Organisational Culture: Amilcar Cabral

In chapter three, I read world revolutionary leader, organiser, architect and secretary general of the nationalist party, the *Partido Africano da Independencia da Guine e Cabo Verde* (PAIGC), Amilcar Lopes Cabral as an organization theorist and in particular as a theorist of organisational culture. Cabral was interested in culture because he believed that the fight and liberation struggle was going to take place at the cultural level. What follows then in his work is an argument about revolutionary organisation and about the understanding and mobilisation of culture. Through the eyes of Cabral, this chapter demonstrates how he explores the role of culture as a key canon which, for him, meant an important opportunity to allow the transformation of life in the direction of progress. This also meant independence and the elimination of all forms of foreign domination. For Cabral, it was important not to create a culture that fits the narrow needs of a workplace but culture that can be properly collective and democratic because the organisation needed to learn from its members so that they become the authorities on culture, such that when it is manipulated they have the ability to critique this manipulation. This chapter endeavours to capture Cabral's dialectical reciprocal terms, his linking together of the relationship between history and culture to an extent where both categories become hardly distinguishable. I shall conclude by arguing that with Cabral, organisation culture is produced from the bottom-up and it is both a means and an ends drawing on history connecting with the present.

Organisational Identity and its politicization: Frantz Fanon

In chapter four, I read the work of psychiatrist, philosopher, social scientist and revolutionary, Frantz Fanon as an organisation theorist whose work speaks into the key topic of organisational identity. Fanon thought of organisational identity as something that determines individual identity almost completely and

constrained the colonial subject, but at the same time he thought that the colonial subject was capable of completely throwing off this organisation and creating a new organisation and new identity. His understanding of identity was that identity goes through different phases and that it is changeable. What was creative about the work of Fanon is his demonstration of the necessity of 'creative destruction' in order for a new possibility of a new identity of both individual and organisation to emerge. That sets the premise for the understanding of identity through this metaphorical assertion in the violent break that opens up the possibility of creating a new identity. I argue that this is an important insight for organisation studies that at a certain point, for identity of the individual to change, the organisation has to break and be created anew. The interest and perspective that emerges from my reading is Fanon's contribution to a black identity and its politicisation in the anti-colonial movement. I shall conclude by arguing that this differs from the structure versus agency debates about identity in crediting both with much power, rather than emphasising one or the other.

Organisational Reformation(s) Premising *Ubuntu's* Promise

In chapter five I turn to an example of contemporary effort in African thought to rethink organization. I draw insights drawn from material gathered from my field research in South Africa where I had interview dialogues/conversations/*Indaba* with academic and organisational practitioners who share an interest in this effort. This contemporary effort to rethink organisation is premised on the southern African expression for social organisation called *Ubuntu*. In my first four chapters the common thread of these theorists was that they all achieved a unity in linking theory and practice to organisation. In this chapter I explore whether *Ubuntu* offers something new and also whether it is able to achieve the unity of my earlier theorists. How could it come to together? I explain what writers on *Ubuntu* tell us about what *Ubuntu* is and what writers on management tell us about what *Ubuntu* can do. I refer to the themes and ideas that emerge from the interviews conducted with the academics and practitioners to them as emergent knowledge of *Ubuntu*. I identify these and explore their importance in showing us something

new to organisation. I conclude this chapter by acknowledging that there are moments when there is a much more generous alternative understanding of organisational theorising. Some of these other moments reveal a unity of theory and practice but that this is always minimal in impact as the quest for profit and the traditional functional of organisation, dominates.

Conclusion

In my conclusion I take the opportunity to reiterate the key points that emerge from the recovery of the African anti-colonial thinkers and highlight the alternative contribution that Ubuntu adds to our understanding of organisation. Taken together I believe these theorists of the African anti-colonial thought and Ubuntu's effort to rethink organisation offer an engaging and elegant contribution to the study of organisation. Each has made a contribution that speaks to organisation and the endeavour of this thesis has been to make room for the recovery of their voices that are normally written-out of stories of organisation. I conclude by humbly pointing out that this thesis with its recoveries and efforts of re-centring a repressed discourse like Ubuntu should not be considered as flawless end-products in some process of re-imagining organisation – this after all would be to return to a concern with (and for) stability and a construction of monological parochial and limited *history* of organisation.

Chapter One

Organisational change, development and transformation:

W.E.B du Bois, George Padmore, C.L.R. James.

In this chapter, I propose to 'read and recover' three thinkers (W.E. B du Bois, George Padmore and C.L.R James), whose works allow us to think about how today's movement of movements and counter-globalisation thinkers, might fit together through this process of consulting with others and connections made through building new organisations of postcolonial freedom with and for others. This appears like a precursor to the horizontal organisation creation in today's movement of movements. Du Bois, Padmore and James reversed the dynamic of the outsider, the consultant.

These thinkers have been known or referred to, as world revolutionaries, agitators and scholars. Du Bois was an American civil rights activist leader, Pan-Africanist, sociologist, educator, historian, writer, editor, poet and scholar. Padmore was a leading political organiser, Pan-Africanist and journalist. James was a world revolutionary, writer, journalist, historian, Pan-Africanist and political activist. They wanted to change the colonial organisation and the people. I shall argue that is a different emphasis in both thought and action and in which I propose to recover and read these thinkers is through three key areas of originality. The three issues are (1) they invent the organisation on behalf of others and not for themselves to create change; (2) they came in as both insiders/outsideers yet they were always outsiders; (3) they had a strong sense about where the organisation should go. In this chapter I liken these three thinkers to organisational consultants but differentiate them from contemporary organisational consultants by pointing to three things that separate them (noted above). That is the premise upon which they are read and recovered in this chapter. The potential for world revolution in their thought and action marks for

radical re-organisation that makes their work unique. Their common project is the intersection of purpose that brings them together in the Pan-African movement.

In this chapter I seek to explore the basis of their relationship and how it could enrich our understanding of organisation with the particular focus in the concept of organisational change, development and transformation. Let us begin first by getting to know who these three men were by learning about their background and history followed by a brief overview of the summary of the concepts and portrayals of the literature on organisational change, development and transformation within organisation studies. I ask that my reader[s] be patient as I set the platform in which to recover and read these world revolutionary thinkers as organisation theorists. I shall begin by looking at Du Bois first, followed by Padmore and then James.

Biographies

W. E. B Du Bois,

The legacy and contributions of Dr William Edward Burghart (W.E.B) du Bois have been far reaching, resulting in his first film biography *W.E.B Du Bois: A Biography in Four Voices*. The size and task of covering the volume of works undertaken by Du Bois required collaboration of four prominent African American writers, Wesley Brown, Thulani Davis, Toni Cade Bambara and Amiri Baraka to narrate successive periods of Du Bois' life and discuss its impact on their work. That poses a challenge about what to select and leave out when it comes to telling of the story of this remarkable and significant man. Du Bois was born in Massachusetts in 1868. He described his background and origins when he addressed *The All-African People's Conference* in Accra in 1958:

"Fellow Africans: About 1735, my great-great grandfather was kidnapped on this coast of the West Africa and taken by the Dutch to the colony of New York in America, where he was sold in slavery. About the same time a French Huguenot, Jacques Du Bois, migrated from France to America and his great-grandson, born in the West Indies and with Negro blood, married the great-great granddaughter of my

black ancestor. I am the son of this couple, born in 1868, hence my French name and my African loyalty." (Du Bois, 1972:305).

This diversity and location[s] was to prove an important factor to Du Bois' life and in the ninety-five years that he lived, he made use of it until the end. According to Lewis (1995:2) writing in the introduction for the *W.E.B Du Bois: A Reader*,

"In these ninety-five years, William Edward Burghart Du Bois cut an astonishing swath through four continents (his birthday was once a Chinese national holiday), pioneering in sociology and history while writing with confident provocation in other fields of social sciences and the humanities."

George Padmore (1956:108) who worked with Du Bois on quite a significant number of efforts particularly the Pan-African movement had this to say about his colleague:

"Dr Bois was a brilliant teacher as well as a first-class publicist. Before leaving the cloistered atmosphere of academic life for the rough-and-tumble of politics, he held several professorships. During this early period in his life, he trained many of the younger coloured intellectuals who are now carrying on the struggle for Negro advancement in all spheres of American life. As a professor of Economics and History at Atlanta University from 1897 to 1910, he edited the *Atlanta University Studies* which charted the course for the ideological battles in which he was to become involved against white racialists and Negro utopians. Thus, "when he began active life, it was with greater intellectual preparation than any other Negro had yet acquired". (James Weldon Johnson, 1930: 140) cited in Padmore 1956: 108).

This great preparation that Johnson refers to came about through the excellent education that Du Bois had. It should not come as a surprise then that backed up by such an impressive background Du Bois had the gift to communicate about everyday things in ways that were accessible and at the same time incisive. He graduated with degrees from Fisk, followed by doctoral research at Berlin University for two years and then transferred to Harvard University going onto become "the first doctorate of his race." His 1895 dissertation, *The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States of America* (1896), became the first monograph of the influential Harvard Historical series (Lewis, 1995: 2). I now move to consider George Padmore.

George Padmore,

Malcolm Ivan Meredith Nurse became known under the pseudonym of George Padmore in 1928 while studying at Howard University in order to facilitate his increasingly energetic communist activities while in America (Hooker, 1967: 6-9). The significance of Padmore's communist activities are dealt with later in the chapter. George Padmore was born in 1902 in Arouca District, Tacarigua, Trinidad (Hooker, 1967). After graduating at the Tranquillity School, he was sent to St Mary's college of the Immaculate Conception, the secondary school of the Holy Ghost Fathers (Hooker, 1967: 3) whilst his other friends including James attended the other prestige secondary establishment, Queens Royal College. James (1959-60: 288) states that he knew Padmore's family and that they were a middle class family as Padmore's father, James Hubert Alfonso Nurse had a post in the Department of Education which was unusual at the time for a black man. His abilities, however, later got him into trouble in this post resulting in him leaving the post. James (1992) also states that Alfonso Nurse became a Moslem, which was an unusual step for a West Indian black. Padmore, however, did not finish his secondary education at St Mary's but instead transferred to Pamphylian High School, a private institution graduating in 1918 (Hooker, 1967: 3). Padmore had qualified to become a student of pharmacy but decided after graduating to take a job as a journalist in the now defunct *Weekly Guardian* (Hooker, 1967: 3). Padmore did not excel in this job and was dismissed after a very short stint. It was at this point in 1924 that he left to study medicine in the United States of America but shifted to law. Padmore first went to Fisk University and later Howard, the black university in Washington D.C. According to James (1959-60: 289) Padmore "abandoned his academic career and then next appeared as a paid functionary in the American Communist Party." This decision came after an incident at Howard University where it is told that Padmore objected to the invitation of the British Ambassador Sir Esme Howard. "Padmore printed a set of leaflets which described in fierce terms the oppression of British imperialism in Africa and threw these in front of the distinguished ambassador, some say to his face" (James, 1959-60: 289; Hooker, 1967: 7). "Like many African intellectuals,

leaders and activists in the anti-colonial movements, Padmore was a diasporic figure who, during the course of his life, moved between Trinidad, the US, Moscow, Paris, London and Ghana” as noted by Robert Young (2001: 224) who also goes on to conclude that Padmore had “energetic organisational and oratorical skills” which were commendable, crucial attributes to excel in these activities that he pursued.

In his biographical study of George Padmore, James Hooker (1967: 140) concludes that his subject “died the father of African emancipation.” This claim is remarkable and the significance of it comes to light when his boyhood friend James (1963: 300) afterwards describes the emotions and scale of Padmore’s activities, to mark the passing of this great revolutionary West Indian:

“When he died in 1959, eight countries sent representatives to his funeral, which was held in London. His ashes were interred in Ghana; and all assert that in that country of political demonstrations, there never has been a political demonstration such as was evoked by these obsequies of Padmore. Peasants from remote areas who, it could have been thought, had never heard his name, found their way to Accra to pay the last tribute to this West Indian who had spent his life in their service.”

The foreword by Richard Wright (1956) in Padmore’s famous book *Pan-Africanism or Communism? The Coming Struggle for Africa* sheds light into the activities of Padmore, and the objectives he occupied serves as a great illustration:

“George is, in my opinion, the greatest living authority on the fervent nationalist movements sweeping Black Africa today. Not only does he know these movements intimately, not only does he understand them in terms of their leaders, aims, structures, and ideologies, but George and his life *are those movements, aims and ideologies*. His activity has, for more than twenty-five years, helped shape and mould those movements in all of their bewildering complexity. George has ranged from the Kremlin to the African bush, from that asylum for ex-slaves called Freetown (Sierra Leone) to the multi-racial societies of the West Indies, from the lonely black men lost in the white London fogs to the store front churches in the Black Belts of America. Indeed, George is the veritable ideological father of many of the nationalist movements in Black Africa, having been the mentor of scores of African nationalist leaders who now hold or will soon hold power. By his background, his training, and his experience, he possesses a wealth of knowledge which he has selflessly poured into the minds of his black brothers.”

It is these activities and Padmore's range which the great author Richard Wright marvels at and it is in those endeavours and roles that he played that we have a lot to learn and draw from. And now move to consider C.L.R James.

C.L.R James,

Cyril Lionel Robert James, better known as C.L.R. James, was born in Tunapuna, near Port of Spain, Trinidad, in 1901 and was laid to rest there in 1989 (Grimshaw, 1992). Between these two locations of 1901 and 1989, lies a remarkable life and a formidable body of achievement that is both complex and controversial. The difficulty with C.L.R James, as his biographers have tried to grapple with this issue, has always been location, both in the literal sense (his life being a testament to compulsive itinerancy), and in terms of the many categories under which he is acknowledged to have achieved. He definitely broke ground and could even be considered a pioneer in the fields of literature, literary criticism, cultural studies, political theory, history and philosophy. This expansive area of interests also explains the many labels that became attached to him – Pan-Africanist, Marxist, cricket commentator, critic and writer of fiction. Yet there is a remarkable unifying theme and distinctive method which Anna Grimshaw (1992: vii) cites from James's autobiography that serves as a useful illustration:

"I had been reading from early Aeschylus, Sophocles, Thackeray, Dickens and later Dostoevsky, Tolstoy and a whole list of writers. And I got a conception of human character and the interesting aspects of human personality, and the plain fact of the matter is the middle class people to whom I belonged and among whom I lived were busy trying to shape their lives according to the British idea of behaviour and principles. They were not very interesting. I dare say in time I could have done something with them. But the people who had passion, human energy, anger, violence and generosity were the common people whom I saw around me. They shaped my political outlook and from that time to this day those are the people I have been most concerned with. That's why I was able to understand Marx very easily, and in particular Lenin who was concerned with them... I didn't learn everything from Marxism. When I went to Marxism I was already prepared... even in my days of fiction I had the instinct which enabled me to grasp the fundamentals of Marxism so easily and then to work at Marxism having the basic elements of a Marxist view – my concern with the common people".

What seems to have driven James was not only just intellectual rigour but the refusal to be confined. Grimshaw (1992: 2) observed that James “was always seeking to move beyond conventional limitations in his attempt to capture the interconnectedness of things and the integration of human experience.” This was the insight and approach that he took into organisation which seems to have been guided on two principles (Philips, 2001: 152):

“First, he believed in the power of reason, which was a clear legacy of his classical British education in twentieth-century colonial Trinidad. James’s appeal to reason was always accompanied by reference to, and a scrupulous regard for, history. Second, he believed in the inventive potential of the masses when engaged in social movement.”

James’s middle class status that he mentions above came by way of his parents’ status and education. His father was a school teacher which was a significant position in the colonial Caribbean, and his mother had been educated in a Wesleyan convent (Grimshaw, 1992:2). His biographer Paul Buhle (1988: 15) writes:

“(James’) family had for two generations, on both sides, embraced respectability with a ferocious grip, ‘not an ideal... but an armor’ against the angers of lumpenization. They had been more or less successful in this effort. All achievements remained precarious. But craft workers, school masters, close readers of the press and of fine literature, they made a coherent life for themselves that would be the envy of colonized peoples across the world”.

James, as he himself said many times, was “a bright boy” who was awarded a scholarship to attend the prestigious Queens Royal College which was the island’s premier institution staffed with British public school masters. Here James absorbed everything that European civilization offered to him by immersing himself in its history and literature, in its classical foundations, in its art and music (Grimshaw, 1992: 3) and in this way, was like Frantz Fanon and in the same way too rebelled against his formal schooling by choosing to go his own way and to establish himself independently. It is remarked that at this stage in James’s life he had read Thackeray’s *Vanity Fair* at least a dozen times. This became his key text and it is argued that James took delight at the satirical manner in which Thackeray exposed the pretensions of middle class society and observed the personality in society. Grimshaw (1992: 3) states that the most important

recognition for James was that, “literature offered him a vision of society, a unique glimpse of the human forces and struggles which animated history.” He could have easily received a scholarship to a university in England but chose to remain in Trinidad where his love for cricket would also become a major part of his life and career. Yet an examination of James’s life lends itself to interpretive debate as his political and literary activities extended over five decades and several countries – including Trinidad, Britain, the United States and Ghana. Anna Grimshaw (1992) follows these markers: Trinidad (1901-1932), Britain (1932-1938), America (1938-1956), the African Diaspora 1957-1989) as a way to assess James’s work. Above all else, any assessment of James’s work and life must begin with his origins and that is Trinidad in the Caribbean. He immediately became a school teacher at the Queens Royal College after graduating in 1918. Whilst he was teaching there James wrote his first two novels, *La Divina Pastora* (1927) and *Triumph* (1929). He attended plays and concerts and contributed essays and cricket reports to small magazines, and became known as something of an authority on literary matters. He co-founded and edited two of the Caribbean’s pioneering literary journals, *Trinidad* (1929-30) and *The Beacon* (1931-3) (Philips, 2001: 155). Teaching was however, thought to be a disappointment for James’s parents who had hoped that his academic career might have led to one of the professions open to black men such as the church or medicine. James, however, grew restless, and at the age of 31 years old set off for Britain in 1932 to pursue a career as a writer. Before, I explore how Du Bois, Padmore and James understood and approached organisational change it is perhaps more useful for our understanding, to consider a brief summary overview of the debates of the contours of organisational change, development and transformation in organisation theory.

Organisational change, development and transformation

The topic of organisational change has received a great deal of attention over the past several decades, due to such things as business globalisation, economic deregulation and technological development (see, Kanter, 1989, 1994; Hammer,

1990; Mink 1992; Pettigrew, 1990; Buchanan, 1993; Beer, Eisenstat and Spector, 1990; Collins 1998; Whittington and Mayer, 2002; Whittington, Mayer and Smith, 2002; Francis, 2003; Doorewaard and Benschop, 2003; Bryant and Cox, 2004). Reacting to these pressures and the need for organisational change, organisations and managers turned to consultants and business school academics for advice and for solutions to these problems (Mangham, 1978; Argyris, 1990; Clark 1995; Collins, 1996; Sadler, 1998; Clark and Fincham, 2002). Organisational change, development and transformation therefore received a great deal of attention resulting in many different interpretations and meanings. This has some advantages and disadvantages. On the one hand it can make the topic become very accessible, interesting and enlightening to many. But on the other hand it can also become increasingly vague and difficult for many to make practical. This however, opens the possibility for an alternative conversation about organisational change (Schein, 1999; Carr, 2000; Saka, 2002) that according to Buchanan (1993: 684) falls into competing views:

“one of the main boundaries in this broad terrain is the one which separates the model-builders from recipe-givers, the theoreticians from the practitioners.”

Buchanan's (1993) observation of these categorical tendencies (model-builders and recipe-givers) offers us an insight into the paths that have been taken into the use and understanding of these concepts. Buchanan's exposition of the competing worldviews tells us that these concepts are contested. From that position it then follows that there are different definitions and views on how change should occur (Collins, 1998; Dawson, 1994; Kotter, 1995; Carr, 2000; Bryant and Cox, 2004). One such response is from the functional mainstream (generally managerialist) considerations of change management which has tended to operate with a simple scientific model of theoretical change and development (Nielsen, 1984; Burns, 1992) described below by Kubr (1993: 55) illustrating the many aspects or factors of organisation that change involves:

- Changes in the basic set-up of the organisation (nature and level of business, legal set-up, ownership, sources of finance, international operations and impact, diversification, mergers, joint ventures);

- Changes in tasks and activities (range of products and services provided, markets served, clients and suppliers);
- Changes in technology used (equipment, tools, materials and energy used, technological processes, office technology);
- Changes in management structures and processes (internal organisation, work flow, decision-making and control procedures, information systems);
- Changes in organisational culture (values, traditions, informal relations, influences and processes, management style);
- Changes in people (management and staff employed, their competence, attitudes, motivations, behaviour and effectiveness at work);
- Changes in organisation performance (financial, economic, social: showing how the organisation relates to the environment, fulfils its mission and tackles new opportunities);
- Changes in the image of the organisation in business circles and in society.

For Saka (2003: 480) the observation with this perspective is that it advocates the rational-linear view of organisational change. Within this perspective is the humanistic and revolutionary 'Organisation Development' (OD) movement which can be located within a sociology, and regulation and control within the radical humanistic paradigm (Burrell and Morgan, 1979). OD is an approach to change management (Beckhard, 1969; Bennis 1969; French and Bell, 1995). This framework sought how to change the organisation radically within a capitalist system. For many years, Beckhard's (1969: 9) definition was perhaps the standard definition for organisation development:

"Organisation Development is an effort planned, organisation-wide, and managed from the top, to increase organisation effectiveness and health through planned interventions in the organisation's 'processes,' using behavioural-science knowledge."

This definition was developed at a time when organisation was considered to be much like a stable machine comprised of interlocking parts (Morgan, 1997). Church, et al. (1994) states that this line of thinking fell in line with the assumption that there was an optimum solution for organising labour, raw materials and capital and for adopting new organisational practices. Neilsen (1984: 2-3) offers the much broader definition of OD reflecting the change with the times:

"Organisation Development is the attempt to influence the members of an organisation to expand their candidness with each other about their views of the organisation and their experience in it, and to take greater responsibility for their own actions as organisation members. The assumption behind OD is that when people pursue both of these objectives simultaneously, they are likely to discover new ways of working together that they experience as more effective for achieving their own and their shared (organisational) goals. And that when this does not happen, such activity helps them to understand why and to make meaningful choices about what to do in light of this understanding."

From the above Nielsen definition, it follows that the OD practitioner 'diagnoses' (or discovers) the most important priorities to address in the organisation, suggests a change-management plan, and then guides the organisation through the necessary change (Bennis, 1969; Beckard, 1969; Nielsen, 1984). This assumes that change may be made to unfold in a linear and predictable manner (Collins, 1998; Stacey et al. 2000).

There has been a lot of research done on the implementation of change programmes with some approaches to change assuming 'one-best way' across business contexts or timescales (Blake and Mouton 1983; Kotter 1995; Kanter et al. 1992; Tushman et al. 1997) whilst others have tried to encourage practitioners to consider aspects of their environment, technology and size as the basis for deciding on the appropriate paths of change (Baligh, et al. 1996; The Aston School (Pugh et al. 1969; Burns and Stalker 1961). Fincham (1999: 337) asserts that,

"their alternatives came in the form of contingency theories which emphasized different interventions and how these could be moulded and fitted to match appropriate organizational and management needs."

The task of achieving this change is usually thrust to the responsibility of change agents such as senior line managers or those specifically charged with managing the process of organisational development (OD), cultural change in the organisation or consultants (Argyris, 1970; Schein, 1969, 1987; Turner, 1982; Saka, 2003). Through their various skills and language as mechanisms, they try to effect change or attempt to bring about positive change[s] to organisation[s]. This strand of literature sets out from a more clinical basis encouraging management learning and the avoidance of defensiveness and denial (Clark and

Fincham, 2002). The consultants are then closely associated with words like *facilitator, coaching, mentoring meaning among people, learning and development, advice on projects and education into organisational spaces*. For Kubr (1993: 53) “change is the only *raison d’être* of management consulting.” The consultancy industry has witnessed unbelievable growth in the last decade (Sadler, 1998; Greiner and Metzger, 1983; Kubr, 1993; Kennedy Information, 2000). For Fincham (1999: 340)

“consultancy thus appears as the by-product of larger corporate forces and its nature is determined by the linkage back to a surrounding structure of (client) organisations.”

According to Turner (1982) ‘consulting is more than giving advice’ and we can decode from the definition by Greiner and Metzger (1983: 7) who for them:

“management consulting is an advisory service contracted for and provided to organisations by specially trained and qualified persons who assist, in an objective and independent manner, the client organisation to identify management problems, analyse such problems, recommend solutions to these problems, and help, when requested, in the implementation of solutions.”

Baligh, et al. (1996:1648) on the other hand tries to be more concise with their words asserting that:

“the organisational consultant is a knowledge base expert system to help design organisations. That is, it takes the facts about the environment, size, strategy, technology, ownership, and management preferences and applies the knowledge base to recommend the design structure and properties such as complexity, formalisation, centralisation, and span of control, among others.”

These illustrations above by Greiner and Metzger (1983) and Baligh, et al. (1996) present some of the basic activities and form. We can draw insights into learning about what consultants do and the frameworks which guide them. Organisation consultants therefore only work with what is in front of them and create change within organisations to reinforce what is there. Here we need to be careful about jumping into simplistic analysis, taking caution from Clark and Fincham (2002: 19) who state that:

“Management consultancy is also an entire industry with a geographical patterning and (though we are constantly being impressed by its modernism) a history. Analysis of all of these is made more difficult by the fact that the activity itself seems to be always transforming; what is or was consultancy in different areas and regions, or other historic time periods, we might not recognise as consultancy here and now.”

Critical scholars have in the recent years offered accounts that have instead challenged the definitive and linear perspectives of organisational change and theory and strategies employed by consultants focusing on the social and organisational process (Alvesson, 1991, 1993; Reed, 1993; Clark, 1995; Starbuck, 1992; Buchanan and Badham, 1999; Linstead, et al. 2005). This approach to organisational change, development and transformation has been charged with:

“‘offering thinly-sliced’ (Clark, 2000) account of organisation and management, which extracts (abstracts) ‘change’ organisation and management from their wider socio-economic and historical contexts”.
(Collins, 2003: iv).

The literature on organisational change, development and transformation reflects the different concerns and problematic of the two competing perspectives described by Buchanan (1983) as political, iterative and plagued by ambiguity. Buchanan observes that those who purport to have captured the essence of organisational change still end up in the final analysis with a linear account and depoliticised.

In this chapter I want to offer a different story which can offer an alternative understanding of organisational change, development and transformation. I now move to consider my three thinkers (Du Bois, Padmore and James) who “as men of thought and action exerted so much influence on the affairs of their day” (Afari-Gyan, 1991: 1) either through the organisations that they became involved in or ones that they set up. Du Bois, Padmore and James can be read as people who performed similar functions to those of organisational consultants, change agents, OD specialists to help people establish priorities, devise strategies and manage performance in the African anti-colonial movements. These similarities to the activities of du Bois, Padmore and James also mean that they also share words like *visionary leadership, change, strategy, organisation development, transformation, and consultancy* with organisation theorists. They are like organisational consultants in one way but also differ from them in another way.

The similarities end here with the sharing of this language as their projects in organisation are distinct in that they do not quite fit into either category as they did much more than the definitive boundaries espoused by these categories as understood in organisation studies. By recovery of their thought for organisation it allows us to see radical change and transformation of the individual and groups as well as social formation of the African postcolonial states. I shall argue that this also allows us to think about how the movement of movements might fit together through this process of consulting with others and connections made through building new organisations of postcolonial freedom *with and for others*. Reading them in this way allows us to see how revolutionary their activities were. I shall start with Du Bois first.

Du Bois and organisational change, development and transformation

Du Bois devoted all his life campaigning for the advancement of African Americans to begin with before “gradually extending his domestic goals to elaborate an international programme for Africa based on ideas of self-determination, racial, social and political equality, and democratic socialism” (Young, 2001: 220). He published “hundreds of learned articles on Negro and Colonial problems in outstanding sociological journals and leading magazines in many countries” demonstrating courage and wielding his powerful pen to great advantage (Padmore, 1956: 107). His following texts summarises his influential commitment to the political, economic and social equality:

Suppression of the African Slave Trade (1896); The Philadelphia Negro (1899); The Souls of Black Folk (1903); John Brown (1909); Quest of the Silver Fleece (1911); The Negro (1915); Darkwater (1920); The Gift of Black Folk (1924); Dark Princess (1927); Black Reconstruction (1935); Black Folk Then and Now (1940); Dusk of Dawn (1940); Color and Democracy (1945); The World and Africa (1946); In Battle for Peace (1952).

These prolific writings were responses to the events that were going on and were offered as guides for the development of his race and to push it forward. Du Bois saw it as his duty to politicise black people to bring organisational change,

transformation and intervention. To reach a wider audience, Du Bois works covered poetry, fiction, sociology and history.

Du Bois and politicization for organisational change (America first)

During this period lest we forget racism had been institutionalized under the Jim Crow system and this was having such a debilitating impact on the African American community (Du Bois, 1995). It is not surprising that with such circumstances there were others who preached accommodation to segregation (which became known as *Atlanta compromise*) such as Booker T Washington. Du Bois emerged as an outspoken critic against this accommodation. This preaching of accommodation to segregation came at the back of the failure of Marcus Garvey's 'Zionism' or in other words "Back to Africa" which du Bois had also disagreed with. Padmore (1956: 17) relates:

"Originally advocating social equality for Negroes, Garveyism subsequently developed into a peculiar form of Negro "Zionism", which, instead of fighting American imperialism, advanced the slogan "Back to Africa". This dangerous ideology, which toys with the aristocratic attributes of a non existent "Negro Kingdom", must be strongly resisted, for it is not a help but a hindrance to the mass Negro struggle for liberation against American imperialism". Pan Africanism, too, was branded as "reactionary petit-bourgeois nationalism", and its founder, the distinguished Afro-American scholar, Dr W. E. B. Du Bois, was denounced as "a betrayer of the Negro people."

I shall talk about Pan-Africanism later in the chapter as that is the organisation that brought the three revolutionary actors and change agents together. Responding to those who had come to believe that they could make the best of life in the segregated spaces that American Congress had enforced for them, Du Bois (1903: 50) reminded them and everyone too, that it was unacceptable and asked that they stand up against injustice and defend freedom by calling upon,

"The black men of America have a duty to perform, a duty stern and delicate...a forward movement to oppose a part of the work of their greatest leader. So far as Mr Washington preaches Thrift, Patience, and Industrial Training to the masses, we must hold up his hands and strive with him, rejoicing in his honours, and glorifying in the strength of this Joshua called of God and of men to lead the headless host. But so far as Mr Washington apologizes for injustice, North and South, does not rightly value the privilege and duty of voting, and opposes the higher training and ambition of our bright minds...so far as

he, the South, or the Nation, does this...we must increasingly and firmly oppose them. By every civilized and peaceful method we must strive for the rights which the world accords to men, clinging unwaveringly to those great words which the sons of the Fathers would fain forget: "we hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness".

Padmore (1956: 111) likened this rallying call above and motivation by du Bois to "a Moses [who] had arisen to lead his people." This was indeed exhortation of the highest order in an effort to harness and direct Afro-American energy into action resulting in the:

"first gathering of a group of radical middle-class Negroes, and provided them with a common platform based upon the following programme drafted by Dr Du Bois":

1. Freedom of speech and criticism.
2. An unfettered and unsubsidized press.
3. Manhood suffrage.
4. The abolition of all caste distinctions based simply on race and colour.
5. The recognition of the principles of human brother-hood as a practical present creed.
6. The recognition of the highest and best known training as the monopoly of no class or race.
7. A belief in the dignity of labour
8. United effort to realize these ideals under wise and courageous leadership.

(cited in Padmore, 1956: 112).

The Niagara Movement

The conference in 1905 gave birth to a new protest organisation known as "*The Niagara Movement*". In an address to the country, Du Bois (1995: 367-9) proclaimed:

"We will not be satisfied to take one jot or tittle less than our full manhood rights. We claim for ourselves every single right that belongs to a freeborn American, political, civil and social; and until we get these rights we will never cease to protest and assail the ears of America. The battle we wage is not for ourselves alone but for all true Americans. It is a fight for ideals, lest this, our common fatherland, false to its founding, become in truth the land of the thief and the home of the Slave – a by-word and a hissing among the nations for its sounding pretensions and pitiful accomplishment."

"Never before in the modern age has a great and civilized folk threatened to adopt so cowardly a creed in the treatment of its fellow citizens, born and bred on its soil. Stripped of verbiage and subterfuge and

in its naked nastiness the new American creed says: Fear let the black men even try to rise lest they become the equals of the white. And this is the land that professes to follow Jesus Christ. The blasphemy of such a course is only matched by its cowardice."

The Niagara Movement then issued five demands which they called upon the state to address immediately. The demands are as follows:

"First, we would vote; with the right to vote goes everything: Freedom, manhood, the honour of your wives, the chastity of your daughters, the right to work, and the chance to rise, and let no man listen those who deny this.

"We want full manhood suffrage, and we want it now, henceforth and forever.

"Second. We want discrimination in public accommodation to cease. Separation in railway and street cars, based simply on race and colour, is un-American, undemocratic, and silly. We protest against all such discrimination.

"Third. We claim the right to be free men to walk, talk and be with them that wish to be with us. No man has a right to choose another man's friends, and to attempt to do so is an impudent interference with the most fundamental human privilege.

"Fourth. We want the laws enforced against rich as well as poor; against Capitalist as well as Labourer; against white as well as black. We are not more lawless than the white race, we are more arrested, convicted, and mobbed. We want justice even for criminals and outlaws. We want the Constitution of the country enforced. We want congress to take charge of the Congressional elections. We want the fourteenth Amendment carried out to the letter and every state disenfranchised in Congress which attempts to disfranchise its rightful voters. We want the fifteenth amendment enforced and No State allowed to base its franchise simply on colour.

"The failure of the Republican Party in Congress at the session just closed to redeem its pledge of 1904 with reference to suffrage conditions at the South seems a plain, deliberate, and premeditated breach of promise, and stamps that party as guilty of obtaining votes under false pretence.

"Fifth. We want our children educated. The school system in the country districts of the South is a disgrace and in a few towns and cities are the Negro schools what they ought to be. We want the national government to step in and wipe out illiteracy in the South. Either the United States will destroy ignorance, or ignorance will destroy the United States.

"And when we call for education we mean real education. We believe in work. We ourselves are workers, but work is not necessarily education. We want our children trained as intelligent beings should be, and will fight for all time against any proposal to educate black boys and girls simply as servants and

underlings, or simply for the use of other people. They have a right to know, to think, to aspire". (Du Bois, 1995: 368).

The above five demands present a clear engagement with the contentious issues that disenfranchised the black community in America and the Niagara Movement tried to address these issues. The Niagara Movement issued the manifesto above to consign to history Booker T Washington's policy of accommodation and conciliation and his refusal to speak out on behalf of black rights. This second conference which resulted in the demands above was held in at "Harper's Ferry, the place where John Brown, the greatest American Abolitionist, was hanged for striking a blow against slavery" (Padmore, 1956: 112). Du Bois diagnosed what the problem was and had a method to apply this approach to bring about organisational change to gain more citizenship rights for them. His strategy can be read from this illustration in the conclusionary remarks to the manifesto of demands:

"These are some of the things which we want. How shall we get them? By voting when we may vote; by persistent, unceasing agitation; by hammering at the truth; by sacrifice and work.

"We do not believe in violence, neither in the despised violence of the raid nor the lauded violence of the soldier, nor the barbarous violence of the mob; but we do believe in John Brown, in that incarnate spirit of justice, that hatred of a lie, that willingness to sacrifice money, reputation and life itself on the altar of right. And here on the scene of John Brown's martyrdom, we reconsecrate ourselves, our honour, our property to the final emancipation of the race which John Brown died to make free." (Du Bois, 1995: 369).

This exclusively African-American organisation only lasted three years before internal and external tensions from powerful enemies (black as well as white) led to it folding (Du Bois, 1995). Du Bois founded and edited the *Moon* (1906) and the *Horizon* (1907-1910) as organs for the Niagara movement to educate and communicate with his audience. The Niagara Movement made an impression as for the first time the whole nation sat up and took notice about issues concerning the organisation of their society and the management of them by the state. This performance encouraged other liberals to join with Du Bois in co-founding the

multi-racial *National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People* (NAACP).

From Niagara to NAACP and 'The Crisis' Journal

This new organization adopted the aims and objects expounded by the earlier Niagara Movement. The NAACP was founded on the belief that non-violent protest and legal actions were the best ways to ensure equal rights for all Americans. Du Bois resigned from his professorship at Atlanta University and moved to the headquarters of NAACP in New York City where he became the Director of Publicity and Research. He took over the editorship of the journal *The Crisis* that was set up as the new medium to reach out. *The Crisis*, December 1910, published the aims of the NAACP which it argued was

“organised to fight the wrong of race prejudice:

- (a) By doing away with the excuses for prejudice.
- (b) By showing the unreasonableness of prejudice.
- (c) By exposing the evils of race prejudice.” (Cited in Du Bois, 1995: 370).

The Crisis journal became a vital organ and one of the most widely read and politically influential journals amongst Afro-Americans. What made it popular was that it was able to touch on the things that mattered most to African Americans and these were everyday organisational issues that needed change. Du Bois was able to identify these and let his clients know as the first step. *The Crisis* also reached far beyond and exerted influence in lands far away and Padmore (1956: 116) claimed that,

“By the end of the First World War, the name of William Edward Burghart Du Bois was highly respected and esteemed among Africans and peoples of African descent throughout the world.”

People had been reading and hearing about his messages about radical organisational change and transformation of the individual and the black race and humankind. Du Bois had simply continued from the Niagara Movement into the NAACP and through its magazine *The Crisis* to agitate for full equality between blacks and whites. His uncompromising and confrontational civil rights

élan had continued into the editorials of *The Crisis*. It is not surprising that he became such an influential figure. After spending years consulting with others in America and working with others on the margins and making connections through building for others, Du Bois now extended these goals to the African anti-colonial movement. This ensured that he stayed an outsider but the basis for establishing relationships with key personnel had been set. Padmore (1956: 116) asserts that,

"having contributed to the founding of an effective organisation and created spaces through which the struggle for "Negro" political, economic and social emancipation in America could be conducted," Dr Du Bois "extended his domestic goals to elaborate an international programme for Africa based on ideas of self-determination, racial, social and political equality, and domestic socialism and the formation of the Pan-African Congress."

Since the end of the First World War, Du Bois (1972: 295) had tried, "to establish some means of cooperation between the peoples of African descent throughout the world." Writing in the *National Guardian*, March 11, 1957 in a piece titled: *A Future for Pan-Africa: Freedom, Peace, Socialism* Du Bois (1972: 296-7) outlined his vision for **Pan-Africa**:

"All the former barriers of language, culture, religion and political control should bow before the essential unity of race and descent, the common suffering of slavery and the slave trade and the modern colour bar.

"The consequent Pan-Africa, working together through its independent units, should seek to develop a new African economy and cultural centre standing between Europe and Asia, taking from and contributing to both. It should stress peace and join no military alliance and refuse to fight European quarrels. It should avoid subjection to and ownership by foreign capitalists who seek to get rich on African labour and raw material, and should try to build a socialism founded on old African communal life; rejecting on the one hand the exaggerated private initiative of the West, and seeking to ally itself with the social program of the progressive nations; with Britain and Scandinavian socialism, with the progress toward the welfare state of India, Germany, France and the United States; and with the Communist states like the Soviet Union and China, in peaceful cooperation and without presuming to dictate as to how socialism must or can be obtained at particular times and places.

"Pan-Africa will seek to preserve its own past history, and write the present account, erasing from literature the lies and distortions about black folk which have disgraced the last centuries of European and American literature; above all, the new Pan-Africa will seek the education of its youth on the

broadest possible basis without religious dogma and in all hospitable lands as well as in Africa and for the end of making Africans not simply profitable workers for industry no stoolpigeons for propaganda, but for making them modern, intelligent, responsible men of vision and character."

This vision for Africa espoused by the Pan-African Movement took some organising structure to mobilise and agitate for organisational change in Africa. Through this founding thought of Du Bois and consulting with and for others we see nations, state, people and races being organised. We shall learn more about the activities of this organisation in the next section that now considers George Padmore.

George Padmore and Organisational change, development and transformation

(Comintern, International Trade Union of Negro Workers, The Negro Worker)

In 1929 Padmore dropped out of Howard University to migrate to the Soviet Union where he became a senior member of the Communist party in charge of mobilising black workers worldwide. The Profintern, the Communist International [Comintern] trade union organisation, had created the International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers (ITUC-NW). Padmore was appointed head of the Communist International's 'Negro Bureau'. James (1992:300) was to write later in his notes on the life of Padmore that, "in that post he [Padmore] became the best known and most trusted of agitators for African independence." Padmore had already worked for the *American Negro Labour Congress* to try and put the new modern society of inter-racial political unity among workers in the United States into effect and had experienced difficulties there (Young 2001). This difficulty was due to the fact that "the white workers tended to maintain racist attitudes, while black workers were suspicious of the Communist Party because of its domination by whites" (Young, 2001: 224). What attracted Padmore to leave America and his studies for life in Moscow? Young (2001: 224) asserts that,

"like many of his peers from the Caribbean and the United States, Padmore too was attracted to communism for the fundamental reason that communists were anti-racist in both theory and practice, and offered the example of a modern society with universal equality, with no discrimination on racial

grounds; they were also the only international group that were politically committed to national self-determination and the liberation of Africans in America and the colonies."

Padmore was so convinced that links with Kremlin provided the best opportunity for resources to pursue organisational change and transformation. Through Kremlin, he could utilise his great skills as a writer, organiser, change agent and organisational consultant to consult with others and build connections that were necessary to lay the foundation for anti-colonial struggle. Padmore travelled widely and resided for periods in Moscow, Hamburg, Vienna, London and Paris. In 1930 with resources coming from the Comintern, Padmore helped organise the first International Conference of Negro Workers in Hamburg, a small gathering of representatives from the US, the Caribbean, Latin America and different parts of Africa who discussed, not only trade-union issues, but also more broadly the social and political conditions of black people everywhere. For example, as he put it in the following year in his influential book *The Life and Struggles of Negro Toilers*:

"the expropriation of land by the imperialist robbers in Africa; the imposition of Head and Poll taxes; the enslaving of toilers through Pass laws and other anti-labour and racial legislation in Africa; lynching, peonage and segregation in the United States; as well as unemployment, which has thrown millions of these black toilers on the streets, faced with the spectre of starvation and death". (Padmore, 1931: 3).

One of the main aims of his book (*The Life and Struggles of Negro Toilers*) was to champion the cause of Black labour throughout the world. Padmore was also editing *The Negro Worker* which was banned in the British colonies. Padmore and his colleagues were able to use the organisational skills of the Comintern and were able to "spread anti-colonial propaganda and to communicate a sense of global network of resistance" (Young, 2001: 227). With these resources at their disposal, they were able to reach and influence particularly the trade unions and youth movements in the colonies.

Afari-Gyan (1991: 2) makes the observation that during Padmore's active years in the Comintern he did not, "see eye to eye with Du Bois for a long time even

though they had been pursuing similar causes and others were not spared either.” The reason perhaps was thought to be ideological and Hooker (1967: 24) illustrates this side of Padmore:

“Padmore’s peculiar effectiveness as a pamphleteer comes across very nicely in *Negro Workers and the Imperialist War-Intervention in the Soviet Union*. Here he ridiculed Garvey, the decayed bombast who had captured a seat on the Kingston (Jamaica) Municipal Council, reproved ‘that petty bourgeois Negro intellectual’ Dr Du Bois for his reflexive anti-communism, and attacked Blaise Diagne as a black supporter of French imperialism.”

Padmore, however, soon found himself having to confront his own ideological differences with the Comintern when Moscow decided to disband with the ITC-NW and withdrew support for *The Negro Worker*. Padmore denounced the move and found himself expelled from the party (Hooker, 1967: 37). The change of direction and strategy by the Soviet Union had been forced on them by the rise of Hitler’s Nazis in Germany which led to the Soviet government joining the League of Nations. They now had to seek new diplomatic and military ties with colonial powers Britain and France. This position then meant that anti-colonialism was no longer the central issue it once was for the Communist International. Padmore was instructed that his new message to the anti-colonial movement was that their enemies were now Germany and Japan, countries that had no colonies, which was unacceptable to Padmore and the connections to organisations that he had been building and consulting with. This confirmed to Padmore and other blacks’ of their suspicions of the Communist Party:

“that the leaders never understood that the Negro question had racial connotations which demanded special consideration by a political organisation – however much this organisation might aim to work for the equality of all mankind”. (James, 1992: 289).

For James (1992: 289) “this was the problem which formed the axis of George’s career as a Marxist.” Hooker (1967: 31-2) cites Padmore’s response to the charges that were expected when one defected from the Communist Party:

“a responsible position in the higher councils of the Communist International, which was called upon not only to endorse the new diplomatic policy of the Soviet Government, but to put a brake upon the anti-imperialist work of its affiliate sections and thereby sacrifice the young national liberation movements in Asia and Africa. This I considered to be a betrayal of the fundamental interests of my people, with which

I could not identify myself. I therefore had no choice but to sever my connection with the Communist International. I formulated my position quite clearly in a political statement which I submitted to the Comintern Executive, and which was subsequently published by the Negro Press, so that my case would be put before my own people. With that the matter was closed as far as I was concerned, and I have never permitted my political objectivity in regard to the Soviet Union to be influenced by my experiences with the Comintern. These are the circumstances in which I have resigned from the Communist International, and it is only necessary to add that, in keeping with communist practice, a formal statement of my expulsion followed. But this did not disturb me in the least for no one whose disassociation from the communist ranks might give rise to any political embarrassment is allowed to make his exit without vilification. Sometimes you are a 'Trotskyist', other times a 'left-wing deviationist', or a 'right-wing deviationist', depending upon the particular period; but I got away with it lightly, as my sin was merely 'petty bourgeois nationalist deviation'."

Padmore's criticisms of the actions of the Soviet Union became vindicated when it was revealed that the Soviet Union had supplied Mussolini with oil for the Italian invasion of Abyssinia (Young, 2001: 233). Padmore had now moved to London to begin again. The years 1930 to 1935, James (1992: 289-90) proclaims were the most remarkable for Padmore and relates to what Padmore did in that period of consulting with others and building with and for others to

"Organise and educate the black masses on a world scale in the theory and practice of modern political parties and modern trade unionism...if he had done nothing else after that his place in black history would still be safe".

Instead Padmore found work as a journalist to

"continue with his work and efforts on behalf of colonial emancipation with specific concentration on Africa; but under no circumstances would he ever again join any European or worldwide organisation in which black or colonial peoples did not have the dominant and controlling role". (James, 1992: 292).

The International African Service Bureau

Back in London Padmore connected with his childhood friend James whom he had not seen since 1932. Padmore found him busy organising the *International African Friends of Ethiopia* (IAFE). James (1992: 292) writes that,

"this was the first and last time [he] was chairman of a colonial organisation in Britain; ever afterwards, any such group dealing with African affairs saw George as chairman as of right".

Padmore's phenomenal organisational ability was put to good use after the Italian invasion of Ethiopia. James (1992: 292) observed that:

"Almost at once George began his life-long work of going round labour organisations, semi-revolutionary groups, trade union conferences or other groups who wanted to hear about the colonial issue and he began again the tireless correspondence with all the people and organisations he knew abroad. When the Ethiopian question subsided, the organisation would probably have fallen apart; but George took it over and transformed it into the International African Service Bureau (IASB). The IASB became the centre of anti-imperialism and the struggle for African emancipation in London; George was its chairman and I was editor of the journal we printed and distributed to every address we could find."

Padmore turned the IASB or "The African Bureau" (for short) into a political force and "became a main weapon to counter and put their own side against anti-imperialist cases that were put forward by *The Times*, the *Conservative press*, the *Colonial Office*, the *Stalinists* and the *Labour Party*" (James, 1992: 293). Padmore (1956: 147) was clear and certain that,

"one of the chief functions of the Bureau was to help enlighten public opinion, particularly in Great Britain (and other democratic countries possessing colonies inhabited by Africans and people of African descent) as to the true conditions in the various colonies, protectorates and mandated territories in Africa and the West Indies."

"In this way, it hoped that the people of England and Europe would be in a better position to raise their voices in protest against abuses and injustices which obtain in the colonies and semi-coloured countries".

The African Bureau used its activities for mobilising public opinion as a basis for questioning the premises of the existing order both in London, Paris and Moscow. IASB then launched the journal *International African Opinion* which openly debated and discussed,

"Theoretical problems such as the methods and forms of organisation to be adopted by colonial peoples; the tactics and strategy of the national freedom struggle; the applicability of Ghandian non-violent, non-co-operative techniques to the African situation edited by the distinguished West Indian historian C.L.R James and assisted by William Harrison, a Harvard scholar who was now at the London School of Economics doing postgraduate studies under Professor Harold Laski". (Padmore, 1956: 150).

During this period James, Padmore and other IASB colleagues wrote books and articles. Padmore published *How Britain Rules Africa* and *Africa and World Peace*. Padmore associated with members of the *Independent Labour Party* (ILP)

and wrote for its weekly newspaper, the *New Leader*. He also wrote for other left-wing publications such as *Tribune* and the *Socialist Leader*. James on the other hand published *The Black Jacobins* and *The History of Negro Revolt* whilst Jomo Kenyatta wrote *Facing Mount Kenya*. IASB had successfully become a centre for the struggle for African emancipation and this organisation then established links with Du Bois' *Pan-African Congress* and eventually became the *Pan-African Federation*, or the British section of the *Pan-African movement* in 1944 (Padmore, 1956: 149).

The Pan-African Federation to Pan-African Congress

The Pan-African Federation also published a number of pamphlets addressing specific colonial problems written by its members. Among them are:

"The West Indies Today; Hands off the Protectorates (Bechuanaland, Basutoland, Swaziland), Kenya, Land of Conflict; African Empires and Civilizations; The Negro in the Caribbean; White Man's Duty; The Voice of the New Negro in the Caribbean; The American Negro Problem; The Native Problem in South Africa; The Voice of Coloured Labour". (Padmore, 1956: 150).

What is startling is the number of African organisations that were politically active in British cities in this period, for instance the organisations represented were:

"The International African Service Bureau; the Negro Welfare Centre; the Negro Association (Manchester); the Coloured Workers' Association (London); the Coloured People's Association (Edinburgh); the United Committee of Coloured and People's Association (Cardiff); the African Union (Glasgow); the Association of Students of African Descent (Dublin); the West African Students' Union (Great Britain & Ireland); the Kikuyu Central Association (Kenya); the African Progressive Association (London); Sierra Leone Section, African Youth League; The Friends of African Freedom Society (Gold Coast)." (Padmore, 1956: 149).

These organisations assembled in Manchester to form a Pan-African united front movement. In 1956 Padmore noted reflexively,

"The association between Dr Du Bois Pan-African Congress and the IASB was destined to have the most far-reaching consequences in Africa in the years following the Second World War. The link established during the war years stimulated the present revival of Pan-Africanism. By 1945, interest in the future status of Africans and peoples of African descent was sufficiently widespread to bring together for the first time representatives of the newly formed colonial trade union and labour movements and the

emerging nationalist forces in the African territories. It was the largest and most representative Pan-African Congress yet convened". (Padmore, 1956: 148).

For Padmore what was important at this moment in time was that the organisation pulled its resources together and focused on their main objectives and it was also important for the organisation to hold onto what they had created themselves. In his own words:

"By pooling resources and liberating themselves from the eroding influence of doctrinaire Marxism which British Communists operating through certain Negro fellow travellers were trying to impose upon the African national liberation movements as a means of exercising Stalinist control over them, the Pan-African Federation was able to take an independent ideological position on the colonial question...and to defend the programme of Pan-Africanism – namely, the fundamental right of black men to be free and independent and not be humbugged by those who preached acceptance of the status quo in the interest of power politics. It was also at this period that many of the Negro intellectuals who were later to emerge as prominent personalities in the colonial nationalist movements began to make a detailed and systematic study of European political theories and systems (Liberalism, Socialism, Communism, Anarchism, Imperialism, Fascism), and to evaluate these doctrines objectively – accepting what might be useful to the cause of Pan-Africanism and rejecting the harmful. In this way the younger leaders of the Congress were able to build upon the pioneering work of Dr Du Bois and formulate a programme of dynamic nationalism, which combined African traditional forms of organization with Western political party methods". (Padmore, 1956:149-150, 151).

I now move to consider C.L.R James and his contribution to organisational change, development and transformation for the anti-colonial movement.

C.L.R James and organisational change, development and transformation

The International African Service Bureau to Pan-Africanism

C.L.R James was involved with the Black workers in trade unions and radical working class groups throughout Europe and the United States. James's

"personal work was initially oriented towards goals of writing fiction and rewriting history, not so much to retrieve a lost African culture, as in the case of Diop, but rather to retrieve a subaltern history of black

resistance, and subsequently, to put Africa at the centre of contemporary history". (Young, 2001: 224; Grimshaw, 1992: 17).

James (1987: 5) attribute's this change in his thinking to Padmore:

"I started the Trotskyist movement in European terms. Then Padmore came in. He said that he was a Marxist, but what about the colonial question? What about Africa? ... He educated me and I carried it on."

James as we saw earlier in his biography had come to the England with hopes of becoming a writer but soon found himself involved in mobilising others and involved in creating new organisations to empower and work towards democracy in world history (Grimshaw, 1992). One of the turning moments for him was the invasion of Ethiopia in 1935 by Italy. The League of Nations turned a blind eye. James saw this as a tragedy that must be averted and immediately sought a new understanding which aimed at considering a range of collective actions that could stimulate mobilisation. He consulted with other intellectuals in an effort to build resistance with regards to the invasion of Ethiopia and this led to establishing connections to rethink the colonial question. Also in response to the Ethiopian occupation, James organised the *International African Friends of Africa* which I have already discussed above on Padmore. This laid the ground for the formation of a new organisation led by Padmore, the International African Service Bureau (IASB), whose work and orientation has been discussed above too.

Writing for organisational change, development and transformation

The invasion of Ethiopia marked a great shift and emphasis to the once aspiring writer of fiction. His writing was to take a different focus from now onwards trying to inform and teach. He had discovered that it was politics or nothing. But the one thing that he would not lose was the interest in history. James (1992:63, 66) thought that the Ethiopian invasion had served as a lesson and wrote:

"Africans and people of African descent, especially those who have been poisoned by British imperialist education, needed a lesson. They have got it. Every succeeding day shows exactly the real motives which move imperialism in its contact with Africa, shows the incredible savagery and duplicity of European imperialism in its quest for markets and raw materials. Let the lesson sink in."

"But British imperialism does not govern only the colonies in its own interests. It governs the British people in its own interests also, and we shall see that imperialism will win. It will talk a lot but it will do nothing for Abyssinia. The only thing to save Abyssinia is the efforts of the Abyssinians themselves and action by the great masses of Negroes and sympathetic whites and Indians all over the world, by demonstrations, public meetings, resolutions, financial assistance to Abyssinia, strikes against the export of all materials to Italy, refusal to unload Italian ships etc."

"Mussolini, the British government and the French have shown the Negro only too plainly that he has got nothing to expect from them but exploitation, either naked or wrapped in bluff. In that important respect this conflict, though unfortunate for Abyssinia, has been of immense benefit to the race as a whole."

This was clearly not the writer of fiction as James had wished when he left Trinidad for Britain. From this writing above we can sense an attempt of awakening the colonial subject and the need for individual and group social organisation to mobilise and prepare for organisational change. We see the desire to empower others so that they can pursue radical change and transformation. The Ethiopian moment led to James's publication of *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution* and also the play "*Toussaint L'Ouverture*". James had begun to understand the power to influence persons through his radical writing and his life had begun to be transformed from scholar to activist. James and his group, the Bureau, were now firmly studying the colonial question in order to mobilise an international network that would support its resolution in Africa. The Pan-Africanist leanings were obvious in his play and also the articulation of the strategy trying to answer questions that confronted them in the 1930s. Grimshaw (1992: 5) noted that there was an important motive in the James approach which concerned itself with the particular and the universal and illustrates this example in James's writing in his play *Toussaint L'Overture*:

"The slave revolution led by Toussaint L'Overture raised very concretely the question James was seeking to address in his revolutionary politics – not just the nature and course of revolution itself, the changing relationship between leaders and the people; but the dynamic of the struggles situated at the peripheries and those located in the centre. It was a question which turned up in different forms throughout James's career- at times it was posed as the relationship between the proletariat of the

imperialist nations and the indigenous populations; at others, as the connection between struggles of different sections of a single national population."

James's play *Toussaint L'Overture* had an important lesson to teach the colonised and served to provide the much needed example which was so powerful and empowering to the colonial subject. Grimshaw (1992: 6) relates:

"He hoped to make his audience aware that colonial populations were not dependent upon leadership from Europe in their struggle for freedom, that they already had a revolutionary tradition of their own; and, as James later made explicit, he wrote his study of the 1791 slave revolution with the coming upheavals of Africa in mind."

James was now fully involved in political activity and joined the social democratic Independent Labour Party (ILP) where he occasionally addressed their meetings and also began reading the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin (James 1992). James's radical participation in revolutionary organisational change was supported by research on the French, Haitian and Russian revolutions as his writings attested, which also suggested that when the moment came in the colonies, these organised efforts had a better chance of success. Here I turn to James's highly acclaimed book *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution* (1938) which startled its readership to provide the inspiration to take on huge forces. James told the history of conscious organisation in Haiti that demonstrated how this Caribbean nation had shown themselves willing to destroy everything they had been forced to build in order to win back their freedom. This was very profound and a major contribution to issues of self-emancipation. It also emphasized the significance and interaction of race, colour and class in the outcome of events in Haiti. Overall, for San Juan (1998: 237):

"James charted the oscillating, complex interactions between leaders and masses, between black slaves and mulattos and their French masters, between colonial administrators and the bureaucrats in Paris; this triangulation becomes the midwife to the birth of the people, the praxis of universality."

In the unforgettable conclusion, James suggests how important the book was for the African world, which could glimpse, at last, the distant prospect of self-determination:

"Finally those black Haitian labourers and the Mulattos have given us an example to study. Despite the temporary reaction of Fascism, the prevailing standards of human liberty and the equality are infinitely more advanced and more profound than those current in the 1789. Judged relatively by these standards, the millions of blacks in Africa are as such pariahs in that vast prison as the blacks and Mulattos of San Domingo in the eighteenth century. The imperialists envisage an eternity of African exploitation: the African is backward, ignorant... They dream dreams...The Blacks of Africa are more advanced, nearer ready than were the slaves of San Domingo." (James, 1938: 375-6).

The Haitian analysis was followed by the publication of the "*History of Negro Revolt*" as a companion study. In 1938 James accepted an invitation of the Socialist Workers' Party (SWP) and set sail for America on a speaking tour to address audiences on the political situation in Europe as war approached, and to be a major contributor to the work of the Trotskyite movement on the black struggle.

America (Socialist Workers Party, Trotskyism and Johnson Forest Tendency)

James had initially come to America on a brief tour but ended up staying longer, over staying his visa. With the Second World War having just been declared in Europe, a return to England was now unlikely (Grimshaw, 1992). He threw himself into his work for the SWP and contributed articles to such worker-related publications as "Labour Action" which was the newspaper of the Workers Party and also wrote for another popular working class publication the "Militant" (James 1992). James was to spend the next fifteen years in America trying to match his politics to the unique nature of the political culture that he had discovered.

James completed his coast-to-coast speaking tour on behalf of the SWP and became seduced by the untapped revolutionary potential of this vast dynamic nation. After the tours he travelled south to Mexico to meet with Trotsky and discussed what later became the 'negro question'. James had by now given his time to world revolution. James had a lot of hope for radical organisational

change in America. This belief is evident in his writing on the Negro struggle where he asserts that,

"We say, number one, that the Negro struggle, the independent Negro struggle has vitality and a validity of its own; that it has deep roots in the past of America and in present struggles; it has an organic political perspective, along which it is travelling, to one degree or another, and everything shows that at the present time it is travelling with great speed and vigour.

"We say, number two, that this independent Negro movement is able to intervene with terrific force upon the general social and political life of a nation, despite the fact that it is waged under the banner of democratic rights, and is not led necessarily either by the organised labour movement or the Marxist party.

"We say, number three, and this is the most important, that it is able to exercise a powerful influence upon the revolutionary proletariat, that it has got a great contribution to make to the development of the proletariat in the United States, and that it is in itself a constituent part of the struggle for socialism."
(James, 1992: 183)

James therefore saw no need for the development of a separate black movement within the party and Trotsky agreed with James. James and his friends firmly believed that what they were doing spontaneously was a blow for capitalism and imperial forces. These topics formed the basis of James's consultancy work and thus became the common link between several small groups (Black workers in trade unions and radical working class groups throughout Europe and America). Speaking on *Black Power* James (1992: 372) reflects on his arrival in America and the issues that he had to address and his contribution to change:

"I went to the US from England in 1938 and found them in a rare confusion as to what a Marxist policy should be on the Negro question. What for them, as Marxists, was a difficult social situation was further complicated by the fact that the Stalinists for years had been preaching that Marxism demanded the advocacy of an independent Negro state within the confines of the US. And the Trotskyite movement from top to bottom, at home and abroad, simply did not know where it stood in regard to this fundamental question for a socialist party in the US. I had no difficulty whatever in telling them what I was quite certain was the correct policy. And this I knew not because I was a Negro, not because I have studied closely the situation in the US. No. From the very beginning I put forward what I conceived to be a very simple, straightforward Leninist policy.

I had studied Lenin in order to write *The Black Jacobins*, the analysis of a revolution for self-determination in a colonial territory. I had studied Lenin to be able to write my book on *World Revolution*.

I had studied Lenin to be able to take part with George Padmore in his organisation that worked for the independence of all colonial territories, but particularly the territories of Africa. I therefore was in a position from the very beginning to state my position and to state it in a discussion that some of us had with Trotsky on the Negro question 1939."

Addressing the shortcomings of Trotskyism served as a distraction for James but as he says above, he never lost sight of his project that was built for others and to be extremely vociferous in trying to stimulate the individuals and groups for radical organizational change and transformation.

'Johnson-Forest Tendency'

James became the leader of a Trotskyite sect, the "Johnson-Forest Tendency" adopting the pseudonym J.R Johnson for his pamphlets. The composition of this group and what they tried to do was according to Grimshaw (1992: 9) very fascinating indeed and she describes this composition as follows:

"Two of his (James) closest associates were women – Grace Lee, a philosophy PhD and Raya Dunayevskaya, Trotsky's former secretary whose expertise was the Soviet Union. Between them they pooled their different linguistic skills and the intellectual training to undertake a comprehensive study of modern history and the dialectic."

The different linguistic skills and background was not a barrier to establishing relationships that were effective and made connections that were useful and productive. Their efforts were to try and develop a form of Marxism that was suitable to the United States. The group had now broken from Trotskyism. However, it was difficult for James to play a prominent part in the Johnson Forest Tendency's organisational work as he had overstayed the limit on his visa and was therefore forced to operate largely underground. This was an important skill that he passed onto Kwame Nkrumah (Young, 2001: 228). When Nkrumah decided to go to England, James wrote to Padmore to take him on board and act as a guide for him (see chapter on Nkrumah). The Johnson Forest Tendency published their first essay in 1947 on "*Dialectical Materialism and the Fate of Humanity*." In the following year James wrote the more famous "*Notes on Dialectics*" and a response teaching Trotskyism what it should contribute to

American discussions of race, and more importantly the lessons for Trotskyism. The Johnson Forest Tendency however had now begun to fracture along ideological lines and then in 1952 James was arrested for 'passport violations' and jailed for six months on Ellis Island before being deported back to England.

Pan-Africanism

On his return to Britain, James continued his work with the Pan-African movement and reunited with George Padmore and Kwame Nkrumah. In 1958 He returned to Trinidad and became involved in the politics of his home nation. Grimshaw (1992: 18) relates:

"James returned to the Caribbean in 1958 after an absence of twenty-six years. He was highly sensitive to the significance of the historical moment. He saw the approach of independence as a time when fundamental questions concerning government, society and the individual were unusually clarified. Moreover he held that independence offered the populations of the colonial territories a unique opportunity to chart their future, weaving elements from their particular past with broader currents animating the modern world. James raised these issues in his public speeches, writing and journalism during the late 1950s and early 1960s. He was anxious to make Caribbean people aware that they were indeed at the forefront of the struggle to found the new society – one, James anticipated, which would reflect something fundamental about the movement of world society as a whole."

The movement of movements

Du Bois, Padmore and James start from different positions, meet and end in different places. Du Bois at the end of his life moved to independent Ghana and moved further to the left after Nkrumah, Padmore and James had transformed his once academic and middle class Pan African movement into a practical fully socialist organisation for the liberation of Africa (Young, 2001). Padmore moved from communism to a position that combined socialist ideals but without domination from the east or west but sought to maintain a specificity of African culture (Young, 2001). James had shifted slowly into Africa and then returned to the Caribbean (Young, 2001). They did not always speak the same language, but nonetheless they were solidly united in their singular dedication to African unity and the emancipation of black people in the diaspora. What they sought was

organisational change and transformation and an empowerment of humanity not for themselves but for others. In places where it proved impossible to influence organisational change they came up with new organisations to effect this. And where there was no organisation to commence the work of change, they created the organisations for that. This is what was different and revolutionary about them.

What we also learn from the 'recovery' of these thinkers is the role played by the 'socialist-Leninist' principles of organizing in the varied contexts of anti-colonialism (Young, 2001). I touched on this in the introductory chapter and now briefly consider how these thinkers engaged with these and take Du Bois first.

As the civil rights movement began Du Bois Du Bois travelled widely throughout Russia and China in 1958-1959 (Lewis, 1992). Having visited the Soviet Union on several previous occasions, in 1959, he spent five months and marveled at the country's continued progress in employment, housing, education, the status of women, and race relations (Du Bois, 1992). But it was Du Bois' (1992: 268) visit to the People's Republic of China that profoundly influenced him to conclude that, "China served as a reminder that people of color could successfully engage socialism". He affirmed that a majority of the world's people lived under socialism and declared that egalitarian socialism was the economic system of the future. His decision for this move though puzzling at the age of ninety-three makes sense in the context of American politics and the history of mistreatment of African Americans who Du Bois believed could benefit from this type of social system (Manning, 1986; Lewis, 1992; Du Bois, 1992). On October 1, 1961, Du Bois (1992: 632) joined the U.S. Communist Party and made a statement that began "Capitalism cannot reform itself; it is doomed to self-destruction. No universal selfishness can bring social good to all.... this is the only way of human life.... In the end communism will triumph". This served as a great affirmation to the project already embarked on by the West African country, Ghana of which he

became a citizen in 1963 and these ideas were to play a significant role in the outcome of African anti-colonial politics.

James on the other hand had a much more specific position about Marxism and Lenin. I shall outline some of these in the passage that follows. Firstly, let me start by quoting particularly from his own sharp writing reflecting on the roles played by Leninist thought in his activities:

"I had studied Lenin in order to write *The Black Jacobins*, the analysis of a revolution for self-determination in a colonial territory. I had studied Lenin to be able to write my book on *World Revolution*.

I had studied Lenin to be able to take part with George Padmore in his organization that worked for independence of all colonial territories, but particularly the territories of Africa". (James, 1992: 372).

James's essays on Lenin (*Lenin and the Vanguard Party*; *Lenin and the Problem*; *The Right of Self-Determination and the Negro in the United States of North America*; *Revolution and the Negro*) were very appreciative of this remarkable thinker and tried to rescue him from Stalin's legacy (see, *Stalin and Socialism*) and the battle that eschewed on frames that purported to be true 'Leninism' (see, Stalin, 1939; Meyer, 1957; Conquest, 1972; Besancon, 1981; Munck, 1986; Trotsky, 1945; Zizek, 2004; Harding, 2006). In the battle of who espoused the true Leninist doctrine, James (1992: 328) asserts that: "Lenin never had as a central thesis of Marxism the establishment of the one-party state...His central concern was never the party...The proletariat and the work he believed it and it alone could do was central to his ideas". This is very important for James and as far as he was concerned no one had addressed this more profoundly and concretely than Lenin. When James (1992: 21) analysed the rise and fall of Nkrumah (next chapter), it "was to cast light on the contemporary form of the age-old problem faced by all revolutionary leaders – the problem of government". But his perspective was much broader, for James understood the birth of the new nations as a transformation in world society as a whole working from the writings of Lenin. James (1992: 372) differed with Trotsky about "what a Marxist policy should be on the Negro question" in the United States for example. This difficult social situation was further complicated by the Stalinists who for years had been

preaching that: "Marxism demanded the advocacy of an independent Negro state within the confines of the US" (James, 1992: 372). James broke with Trotsky putting forward to what he conceived to be a very simple, straightforward Leninist policy:

"The independent struggle of the Negro people for their democratic rights and equality with the rest of the American nation not only had to be defended and advocated by the Marxist movement. The Marxist movement had to understand that such *independent struggles were a contributory factor to the socialist revolution.*"

James successfully convinced Trotsky that the independent Negro struggle for its democratic rights was part of the way to the social revolution. Later on James's (1992) claim that workers can set up their own organisations was to be another fundamental break with Lenin. James therefore remained a revolutionary of the Caribbean tradition (Young, 2001). I now make a return to James's earlier statement above that he had studied Lenin in order to take part with Padmore and now seek to explore Padmore's engagement with Leninist policy and Marxism.

What must be stated at the outset about Padmore is that he was a Marxist and a revolutionary, whose main purpose was dedicated to the emancipation of Africa from foreign domination (Hooker, 1967; James, 1992; Young, 2001). He adopted Marxist and Communist doctrine completely and became an expert in it. Padmore went on to head the Negro department of the Profintern in Kremlin benefitting from the resources of the Comintern and Stalin's leadership of his version of Leninism (Stalin, 1939; Hooker, 1967; Young, 2001). Between 1930 and 1935 Padmore organised and educated the black masses on a world scale in the theory and practice of modern political parties and modern trade unionism depending heavily on Marx and Leninist policy (see, *The Life and Struggles of Negro Toilers*; *"Left" Imperialism and Negro Toilers*). Padmore's complaint (and most other blacks in the Communist Party), was that leaders of Stalinist led organisations at that time never understood that "the Negro question had racial connotations which demanded special consideration by a political organization –

however much this organisation might have aimed to work for equality of all mankind” (James, 1992: 289). Padmore broke irrevocably and fundamentally with the premises of Stalinism and their perverted version of Leninist policy which was engaged in struggle with Trotskyists (Hooker, 1967; James, 1992; Young, 2001). Padmore disagreed with Stalin but never lost his admiration of Lenin by becoming an even more powerful enemy of imperialism than when he had at his disposal the immense resources of the Russian state and the Communist International. For James (1992: 294), “George Padmore embodied in his person a theoretical and practical Marxism for Africa, a Marxism purged of the contemporary corruption”. Whilst James initially explored Trotskyism Padmore embraced the socialist ideals of Pan-Africanism,” a preference for a political philosophy that was not derived from either of the two major world powers (Young, 2001). Padmore’s move towards a socialist Pan-Africanism that defined itself as an autonomous African political philosophy, opposing western economic domination and white colonization emphasizing the specificity of African culture for political activism. This is the position that he remained in until his death (James, 1992; Young, 2001).

Reading these three revolutionary theorists as organisational consultants and change agents allows us to see the importance of their thought for today but even more so, their agitations and responses enhance our idea of organisation.

Their work allow us to think about how today’s movement of movements and counter-globalisation thinkers, might fit together through this process of consulting with others (What in Zulu is called *indaba*) and connections made through building new organisations of post-colonial freedom *with and for others in what today is called a spirit of Ubuntu*. This appears like a precursor to the horizontal organisation creation in today’s movement of movements. Du Bois, Padmore and James reversed the dynamic of the outsider, the consultant.

In organisation studies, dominated as it is by the private firm, an autocratic organisation, the dynamic of the consultant is that the leader, the boss, the board, the powerful in the organisation support him or her, and this gives him or her his power. With these figures the outsider's power does not come from the same old power structure of the inside, but from the leadership of the outsider, who remains always powerless as an outsider, but can lead nonetheless. I tried to show that this is a radically different kind of change agent who has no power but is nonetheless influential (we get a fake version of this in leadership studies where the leader pretends he has no power but persuasion). I suggested that what this meant for organisation theory is that one could imagine influence without power, and leadership without followers 'at the organisation level,' in a way that might be relevant to today's movement of movements and anyone interested in organisation but not in the hierarchy of leaders and followers that lurks beneath consultancy and change models in organisation studies today. The reward that they desired most was the independence of Africa and Young (2001: 235) is in no doubt that,

"much of the credit must go to Padmore himself, who was the driving force behind the Pan-African Congress and one of the architects of African decolonization and African socialism. It was Padmore who was the key figure in turning Du Bois more academic middle-class movement into a practical organisation for the liberation of Africa."

In the next chapter I consider Kwame Nkrumah who became the inheritor of the lessons learnt in struggle from these three 'change agents' who later worked alongside him to come up with the right structures to mobilise and organise the masses in the Gold Coast, as it was known then, to eventual liberation.

Chapter Two

Kwame Nkrumah and organisation structure

Organisation structure has been one of the most central issues in organisation theory over the last century. Because of the importance attributed to structure, organisation theory saw a whole body of writing and thinking by theorists trying to see how structure constrained or enabled people. Vroom (2002: 65) asks the question, whether “will there now be an end to structure debate in organisational theory?” For Vroom (2002: 65) “the answer is both yes and no.” As it depends on how one looks at organisations and a fresh look at organising can offer different interesting insights (Vroom, 2002). In this chapter I am going to ‘read and recover’ one of the architects of Pan-Africanism, charismatic leader, gifted organiser of the masses and first President of Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah, as an organisation theorist whose work has something to say to organisation structure (Du Bois, 1972; Davidson, 1973; James, 1992; Young, 2001).

Nkrumah made a virtue of structures and therefore this recovery is crucial as structure tends to be neglected, or feared, by both post-colonial theory and organisation studies, where structure, after the long debates that took place (examples, Etzioni, 1961; Blau and Scott, 1962; Aston School (Pugh, et al. 1969); Mintzberg, 1979; Merton, 1940; Gouldner, 1954; Blau, 1966; Burns and Stalker, 1963; Woodward, 1965; Lawrence and Lorsch, 1967; Blau and Shoenherr, 1971; Child, 1972) was almost always considered negative.

In this chapter I shall argue that Nkrumah gives us a chance to ask if there is a place for a positive view of structure making. His initiatives about understanding organisation structure were that structure does not follow function but rather follows critique, mobilisation, and political collective action. Function for him only comes after these, which are at odds with the immediate fit between structure and function attempted in organisation theory. For Nkrumah, all aspects of

society had to be organised in order to challenge and overthrow the formalised and debilitating structures of the colonial organisation. These approaches by Nkrumah offer a new light towards an understanding of organisational structure. In reading him this way I am able to recover some aspects of his thought, allowing re-engagement of the importance of his ideas for today.

My approach throughout is thus two fold; firstly to recover this valuable but often neglected thinker, even by postcolonial theory through a novel reading of him as an organisation theorist. Secondly, through 'reading and recovering' him, I also want to explore some of the taken for granted assumptions about our idea[s] of organisation at a time in history when this seems crucial. Let us begin our recovery of Nkrumah by learning some background information about him so that we can understand how he came to understand organisational structure which led to his initiatives.

Biography

Kwame Nkrumah was born in 1909 in Nkroful, a peasant and not of chieftain rank (Davidson, 1973; Du Bois, 1972). Nkrumah attended the mission school Achimota and taught there briefly (Nkrumah, 1957; Davidson, 1973). He then followed "the American missionary connections to study at Lincoln University in Pennsylvania, a black university" (Reader, 1998: 623). Basil Davidson (1973: 29-30) states that:

"An African of enterprise and courage thinks nothing nowadays of setting out for Europe or America. Hundreds are doing it every month, flocking into airports crowded with others coming back again. In most countries, the traveller will find his own consulate or embassy, plenty of friends from home and foreign friends, even a tribe of landladies for whom black folk are no longer strange or frightening rarities. Being a 'been to' has long since ceased to be anything to boast about, while university diplomas awarded at home may be an even better ticket to a job than diplomas awarded abroad.

In 1935, and for a long while afterwards, it was not a bit like that. Those who went abroad on scholarships were few; fewer still were those who went, as Nkrumah did, without a scholarship. There were no such things as independent passports, but only colonial passports fit for second-class citizens;

and second-class citizens could count on little help from anyone, especially if they were black. They might find charity here and there; respect and friendship could be as rare as freshwater fish in the sea."

Nkrumah was to spend the next ten years in America, followed by two and half years in England before returning back to the Gold Coast as it was called then. Writing in his autobiography, Nkrumah (1957: vii) shares his emotions about the personal experience of his time in these two countries:

"Those years in America and England were years of sorrow and loneliness, poverty and hard work. But I have never regretted them because the background that they provided has helped me to formulate my philosophy of life and politics."

Whilst in America, Du Bois (1972: 298-9) asserts that, "Nkrumah learned what it means to be black in the 'land of the free.' He had little money and on vacations tried to find work. He sold fish in Harlem, but could make no profit. He got a job in a soap factory and learned that black folk in America usually get the hard and dirty jobs. Here are the two very grim descriptions of these work experiences:

"In order to keep body and soul together, I got a job as a counter in the Sun Shipbuilding Yard at Chester where I worked in all weathers from twelve midnight until eight the following morning. It froze so hard on several occasions that my hands almost stuck to the steel and although I put on all the clothes that I possessed, I was chilled to the marrow. At 8. a.m I used to return to my lodgings, have breakfast, sleep for a few hours and then begin research for writing of my thesis". (Nkrumah, 1957: 33).

And

"It turned out to be by far the filthiest and most unsavoury job that I ever had. All the rotting entrails and lumps of fat of animals were dumped by Lorries into a yard. Armed with a fork I had to load as much as I could of this reeking and utterly repulsive cargo into a wheelbarrow and then transport it, load after load, to the processing plant. As the days went by, instead of being steadily toughened, I had the greatest difficulty in trying not to vomit the whole time." (Nkrumah, 1957: 36).

Yet, despite this hard work, outside his studies Nkrumah worked very hard and with desperate application was graduated from Lincoln University with a degree in economics and sociology in 1939 and voted the 'most interesting' of his classmates (Nkrumah, 1957). He wanted to study further and, read journalism at Columbia but had no money and as the norm at the time, the "missionaries" tried to force him into the ministry (Nkrumah, 1957; Du Bois, 1972: 299; Davidson, 1973: 33). Lincoln offered him an assistant lectureship in theology and

philosophy (Davidson, 1973: 33). Nkrumah then read for a degree in theology which he received in 1942 graduating at the top of his class (Davidson, 1973: 34) and immediately followed this with achieving a Master's degree in education. Davidson (1973: 34) marvels at Nkrumah's educational achievements that "he was now more highly educated than most citizens of Europe and America in those days, not to speak of Africans." With this kind of education Nkrumah could now opt for well-paid employment as a university lecturer. But Davidson (1973: 34) points to a

"different ambition that was already leading him. Its illumination came from various directions. But ever more clearly, as he now began to understand, these pointed the same way."

While a student at the University of Pennsylvania, Nkrumah (1957: 43) helped set up an 'African Studies Section' there and thus his political activities began in America. This led to the "organisation of the African Students Association of America and Canada." During this time Nkrumah (1957: 44-5) had begun to acquaint himself with many political organisations in the United States but it was the acquaintance with C.L.R James, then a leading Trotskyite in America that was to be transformative in his life (Young, 2001: 228; Davidson, 1973: 44). Nkrumah (1957: 44-5) says that, "it was through him" he recalled, that:

"I learned how an underground movement worked. I was also brought into contact with organizations such as the Council on African Affairs, the Committee on Africa, the Committee on War and Peace Aims, the Committee on African Students, the Special Research Council of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People and the Urban League. My aim was to learn the technique of organization. I knew that when I eventually returned to the Gold Coast I was going to be faced with this problem. I knew that whatever the programme for the solution of the colonial question might be, success would depend upon the organisation adopted. I concentrated on finding a formula by which the whole colonial question and the problem of imperialism could be solved".

Nkrumah now tried for the first time to put together into writing some of the experiences and philosophies he had gained from his association with the various organisations and tried to use them in dealing with the colonial question.

He wrote his first pamphlet *Towards Colonial Freedom* (1947) influenced by Leninist anti-colonial thinking (Young, 2001: 228; Davidson, 1973: 44) and wrote:

"The national liberation movement in the African colonies has arisen because of the continuous economic and political exploitation by foreign oppressors. The aim of the movement is to win freedom and independence. This can only be achieved by the political education and organization of the colonial masses. Hence workers and professional classes alike must unite on a common front to further the economic progress and indigenous enterprise of the people which is at present being stifled". (Nkrumah, 1947: 41).

This book became a classic of African struggle, containing some of Nkrumah's ideas about how to organise and lead the national liberation movement in the fight for the overthrow of colonialism and how to build in its place a new society. More of this is explored later in the chapter.

In May 1945 Nkrumah left New York for London with the intention of studying law. C.L.R James wrote to George Padmore a letter which became famous (James, 1992: 354) telling him about Nkrumah. This letter said that Nkrumah,

"a young African, was coming to live in England. I said that he was not very bright but that he was determined to throw the imperialists out of Africa. I asked Padmore to see him and do his best for him, in other words, educate him politically as much as possible".

James (1992: 355) said that "he was not bothered at having written that Nkrumah was "not very bright", because at the time in America Nkrumah used to talk a lot of nonsense about imperialism, Leninism, and similar data". Padmore did meet Nkrumah at Euston railway station (Nkrumah, 1957: 49). Nkrumah had of course been so impressed by the writings of Padmore whilst in America (1957: 49). In view of what James said about Nkrumah in his letter introducing him to Padmore, Nkrumah (1957: 49; Hooker, 1967: 139-40) was to write:

"When I first met George Padmore in London...we both realized from the very beginning that we thought along the same lines and talked the same language. There existed between us that rare affinity for which one searches for so long but seldom finds in another human being. We became friends at the moment of our meeting and our friendship developed into that indescribable relationship that exists between two brothers."

Padmore and Nkrumah then began collaborating closely and James (1992: 355) applauds Nkrumah's remarkable progress when a year later

"he read an address by Nkrumah on Imperialism which was a masterpiece. In one year he had learnt what had taken us so many years to learn and prepare. But he not only learned. He contributed a great deal of independent knowledge and constructive ideas to Padmore's organisation" (see chapter one for International African Service Bureau (IASB)).

As joint secretaries, Nkrumah and Padmore devoted much energy to organizing the fifth Pan-African Congress in Manchester in 1945. Young (2001: 238) says of these two men that they "were brilliant organisers, and their feverish activity bore fruit in the path breaking event of the congress itself".

During his two year stay in London, Nkrumah was secretary of the West African National Secretariat and editor of a magazine *The New African* (Nkrumah 1957). Nkrumah continued his efforts of joining or attending a lot of organisations trying to learn about their organisational techniques. He attended the meetings with the Communist party and kept in touch with leaders of the Labour Party. Nkrumah probably hoped that perhaps the Labour Party could have lent him a sympathetic ear about the attempts to lead Africa from Europe but this association disappointingly came to nothing. However, one of his remarkable efforts in London was the attempt to organise the coloured workers and the activities of one of the groups that he chaired that called itself 'The Circle' (Nkrumah, 1957). Nkrumah (1957: 60-1) says that:

"Membership cost seven guineas and only those who were believed or known to be genuinely working for West African unity and the destruction of colonialism, were admitted... Members of 'The Circle' began to train themselves in order to be able to commence revolutionary work in any part of the African continent. They were like a special service group of the Secretariat and it was they who directed the programme and activities of the National Headquarters and took the lead in calling meetings and conferences and arranging lectures and discussions".

For James, (1992: 357) in a paper titled, *The Rise and Fall of Nkrumah*, he asserts that Nkrumah achieved the following three things:

"He led a great revolution. He raised the status of Africa and Africans to a pitch higher than it had ever reached before. Be prepared for the shock now, Ghana's economic policies were the most dynamic and successful of the new states in Africa".

I shall take these in order later in the chapter to help us understand his initiatives on structure which led to the accomplishment of these goals applauded by James but before I do that, I want to spend a little bit of time looking at some of the contours of the debate on organisational structure in organisation theory.

Structure in Organisational Theory

The genealogy of organisation theory has always been closely connected with the interest in structure (Pugh, 1973, 1977; Silverman, 1970; Weber, 1922; Ritzer, 1993; du Gay, 2000; Donaldson, 2005). Inside organisation theory the debate on organisational structure has had the following contours. For Rollinson (1998:461)

"Organisation structure is taken to be the fundamental and relatively unchanging features of an organisation which are officially sanctioned by those who control it and consist of the way activities and component parts are grouped, controlled and coordinated in order to achieve specific aims and outcomes".

Huczynski and Buchanan (2001:447) place a different emphasis in that for them it is a double movement where:

"The purpose of organisation structure is, first, to divide up organisational activities and allocate them to sub units; and, second to co-ordinate and control these activities so that they achieve the aims of organisation".

These above definitions of organisation structure in organisation theory build from one of the seminal works of the writing of Max Weber (1922: 214) who at the start of the twentieth century wrote that in the modern world:

"The (need for) speed of operations ... is determined by the peculiar nature of modern means of communication... The extraordinary increase in the speed by which public announcements, as well as economic and political facts, are transmitted exerts a steady and sharp pressure in the direction of speeding up the tempo of administrative reaction towards various situations. The optimum of such reaction time is normally attained only by a strictly bureaucratic organisation".

For Weber, the development of bureaucracy was revolutionary in the sense that it was responsible for the destruction of ways of organising that were irrational at that time as the rule of the monarch, the feudal rights of the lord of the manor, the rule of the dictator and tyrant or the rule of the mob. The growth of bureaucracy leads, he suggested, to a “rationalist” way of life that furthers the domination of “rational matter of factness” and “the personality type of the professional expert” (Weber, 1922: 240). Weber believed that organisational aims could best be achieved through making the organisation a non-personal “space” where through a bureaucratic structure the organisation could achieve speed, precision, regulation, clarity, reliability and efficiency. The result are things that appear normal to us today, such as fixed division of tasks, imposed detailed rules, regulations and procedures, and monitoring through hierarchical supervision. The strength of this contribution was the standardisation of procedures and the possibility of employee behaviour being controlled and made predictable. Weber did however caution about the imprisoning “iron cage” foreseeing it being used for personal gain rather than for the public good (Weber, 1904: 1264). This was commendable reflexivity from Weber whose bureaucratic component theory was a key contributor to that.

In the 1950s and 1960s, concern eventually shifted towards facing up to the bureaucratic principles originally designed to maximise efficiency but resulted in inefficiencies. These negative aspects became the focus of debates in both organisational behaviour and sociology (see, Merton, 1940; Gouldner, 1954; Blau, 1966; Burns and Stalker, 1963; Woodward, 1965; Lawrence and Lorsch, 1967; Child 1972; Mintzberg, 1973). These writings provided the possibility of intervening, controlling, and influencing what is going on inside organisations so as to achieve particular purposes (Etzioni, 1961; Blau and Scott, 1962; Aston School (Pugh, et al. 1969); Mintzberg, 1979; Merton, 1940; Gouldner, 1954; Blau, 1966; Burns and Stalker, 1963; Woodward, 1965; Lawrence and Lorsch, 1967; Child, 1972). These ideas about structure have counted so heavily in organisation theory to the extent that structure became an all consuming focus of

which the underpinning notion was the “ordered world”, the idea that chaos and disorder could be managed through human will and intent. This idea was based on the belief that if organisations adopted a rational, scientific approach to organisational life, organisations could become more effective and efficient machines for the delivery of industry, businesses and public services (Clegg and Dunkerley, 1980; Morgan, 1997). It should be stated that there has been contestations about some of these assumptions about organisation structure in organisation theory and this summary overview acknowledges that should not be overlooked (Thompson and McHugh, 2002; Harris and Ruefli, 2000; Galunic and Eisanhardt, 1994). Let us turn back to Nkrumah whose structuring tasks, competencies and leadership responsibilities led the anti-colonial movement to a successful national revolution achieving Ghana’s independence.

“Organise! Organise!! Organise!!! We urged:

Let individuals, men and women, join any of the political organizations, farmers’ unions, co-operative societies, youth movements. No section of the people of this country should be left unorganised. No individual person should be without membership in some organisation...the strength of the organised masses is invincible...we must organise as never before, for organisation decides everything”.

(*The Accra Evening News*, 14 January 1949 cited in Nkrumah, 1961: 15)

Returning to the Gold Coast (Structuring for independence)

Nkrumah and his movement had to find ways to be ‘relationally revolutionary’ in their way of working together to organise their freedom and liberation through ideological and material means. This took some organising structure leading Nkrumah to make a virtue of structures. All sections of the people and all aspects of the society had to be organised under certain structures to enable them to coordinate and take the fight to colonial organisation, as he illustrates the importance of this in the quote above. From this, freedom seeking, anti-colonial people fought back and produced a counter-organisational structure to speak and act to the ‘organisation of totalizing spaces’ by colonialism. My approach to understanding Nkrumah’s teachings is that they can be divided accordingly into

two closely related categories: the struggle within a single African country and the struggle on the all-African plane. In the first category Nkrumah dealt with the structuring of a national revolution, the problems of consolidating and democratizing political power in a newly emergent African state and the problem of structuring economic and social reconstruction leading to a socialist society. Under the second category, Nkrumah attempts to treat the problem of linking the politically independent African states with the struggle for the liquidation of colonialism (with its variant apartheid) and neo-colonialism throughout Africa (Nkrumah, 1964, 1965; James, 1992; Young, 2001).

United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC)

James (1992: 355) describes how the decision for Nkrumah to return to the Gold Coast was made:

“A body of middle-class Africans, lawyers, doctors, retired civil servants, some chiefs had formed a political organisation called the Convention Party. They aimed at independence, or to be more precise, self-government. They might have been hazy about the name, but they knew what they wanted; to substitute themselves for the British colonial officials whenever possible. This was not an ignoble ambition, but the organisers of this party were too busy with their own affairs to devote themselves to the wearisome task of building the party. So hearing that Nkrumah had taken good degrees in American universities and was actively propagating ideas of freedom and independence for Africa in London, they sent to him and asked him to come and organise their party for them.”

The governor of the colony Sir Alan Burns had been introducing various political reforms that he believed to be necessary and some Africans had been appointed into the Executive Council (Nkrumah, 1957: 68). A new constitution prepared with the chiefs and other African Members of the Legislative Council became known as the “Burns Constitution” (Nkrumah, 1957: 68). Nkrumah states that this constitution was initially thought of as a break-through but people became disillusioned with it and set about agitating for its abolition. It was at this juncture that the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) was formed at Saltpond on 29th December 1947. The formation of the UGCC was “to ensure that by all legitimate and constitutional means the control and direction of the Government shall within the shortest time possible pass into the hands of the people and their chiefs”

(Nkrumah, 1957: 69). For Nkrumah (1957: 69) the reason why they had not succeeded was pretty straightforward: that they did not have the right structures that would have enabled them and put it that,

"Because the UGCC at the beginning lacked the support of the masses and of some of the chiefs, it is not difficult to see why it failed to make an impression. It was in an effort to make it appear a popular movement that I was invited to become its General Secretary".

Nkrumah then made a virtue of structures and set about putting these into place by getting to work immediately organising an office to put some parts into place. He secured the services of a typist and laid out the programme for the Working Committee (Nkrumah, 1957). Here we see Nkrumah put his big and bold ideas into action by drawing out plans for the structure of the organisation and the Movement for their consideration. This became the Nkrumah method, because for him structure did not follow function but rather follows critique, mobilisation and political collective action. Function only came after the foundation had been laid by these. We see this in his idea of building the movement upon the masses and re-organising the structure to coordinate the anti-colonial struggle. Nkrumah (1957: 71-2) then proposed the following structural points:

'Shadow Cabinet'

The formation of a Shadow Cabinet should engage the serious attention of the Working Committee as early as possible. Membership is to be composed of individuals selected *ad hoc* to study the jobs of the various ministries that would be decided upon in advance for the country when we achieve independence. This Cabinet will forestall any preparedness on our part in the exigency of Self-Government being thrust upon us before the expected time.

'Organisational Work'

The organisational work of implementing the platform of the Convention will fall into three periods:

First Period.

- Co-ordination of all the various organisations under the United Gold Coast Convention: *i.e.* apart from Individual Membership of the various Political, Social, Educational, Farmers' and Women's Organisation as well as Native Societies, Trade Unions, Co-operative Societies, etc., should be tasked to affiliate to the Convention.
- The consolidation of branches already formed and the establishment of branches in every town and village of the country will form another major field of action during the first period.

- Convention should be set up in each town and village throughout the Colony, Ashanti, the Northern Territories and Togoland. The chief or Odikro of each town or village should be persuaded to become the Patron of the branch.
- Vigorous Convention weekend schools should be opened up wherever there is a branch of the Convention. The political mass education of the country for self –Government should begin at these weekend school.

Second Period:

To be marked by constant demonstrations throughout the country to test our organisational strength, making use of political crises.

Third Period:

- (a) The convening of a Constitutional Assembly of the Gold Coast people to draw up the Constitution for Self-Government or National Independence.
- (b) Organised demonstration, boycott and the strike - our only weapons to support our pressure for Self-Government."

What is interesting about this above structuring strategy is that it enabled Nkrumah to reach all aspects of society which he wanted to be organised and that might explain why he became interested in the rational/formal organisation at the time when it was unpopular. Nkrumah acknowledged the success of the colonial projects in terms of the structure that it managed to put in place and recognised that the way to counteract that was to organise the formal organisation that could enable liberation from colonialism to take place. Nkrumah had realised that to get the whole country behind him he had to get close to the people and explain his strategy and organisational structure. We can now understand why Cabral (1972) described him as "probably the most outstanding theoretician of African liberation and a towering anti-colonial leader" – calling Nkrumah "the strategist of genius in the struggle against classical colonialism". For James (1977), Nkrumah was simply the "Lenin of Africa". He understood his role and that of the political within organisation. Later Nkrumah (1963: 50) was to write:

"It is my deep conviction that all peoples wish to be free, and that the desire for freedom is rooted in the soul of every one of us. A people long subjected to foreign domination, however, do not always find it easy to translate that wish into action. Under arbitrary rule, people are apt to become lethargic; their

senses are dulled. Fear becomes the dominant force in their lives; fear of breaking the law, fear of the punitive measures which might result from an unsuccessful attempt to break loose from their shackles. Those who lead the struggle for freedom must break through this apathy and fear. They must give active expression to the universal longing to be free. They must strengthen the people's faith in themselves, and encourage them to take part in the freedom struggle. Above all, they must declare their aims openly and unmistakably, and organise the people towards the achievement of their goal of self-government".

One cannot argue with Nkrumah from what he says above, in that in such a situation the question of structure's best design played a vital role. This structure had to enable people rather than restrict them. Nkrumah (1963) illustrates above that it was important "to translate people's wishes into action", and structure therefore became an instrument for disciplining and maintaining the focus and motivation for the struggle. According to Du Bois (1972: 293) Nkrumah:

"Quietly and effectively went into organisation" and "worked not from the Chiefs down; not from the black British-educated intelligentsia *down* over, but from the working masses up. He lived, ate and slept with them. He travelled among them all over the land; he talked and plead in proud Ashanti, in Togoland, in the dark, crowded cities of the Coast".

Structuring the masses (Youth Movement, Colleges, Trade Unions, Newspapers)

The organisation and building up of a political movement in the Gold Coast at that time was no easy task (Nkrumah 1957). Nkrumah's ambition was to set up branches of the UGCC in every part of the country and this required intensive travelling. The roads were not the best in the world but the urgency of the situation gave him no alternatives as he had to reach the people and these structures had to be established throughout the country. He "travelled extensively to every corner of the country, holding rallies, making contacts and delivering hundreds of speeches" (Nkrumah, 1957:74). One advantage of this country-wide tour was that he got to know the country well, as well as being well placed to know the mood of the country. Nkrumah was thus able to build a large following amongst the masses. He politicised leadership among trade unionists and the lower middle classes. Nkrumah (1957: 91) organised the youth by firstly establishing Ghana National College, which he argued "was the task of the

Ghana National College to liberate the minds of our youth so that they should be ready to tackle the many problems of our time". The success of this college led to others being built around the country including secondary schools.

However, in the pursuit of mobilising the masses and putting structures in place, Nkrumah's efforts to impress on the Working Committee the importance of establishing a newspaper as an organ for the movement was not received well (Nkrumah, 1957). But Nkrumah understood the role of the political within organisation (Young 2001) and for Nkrumah (1957: 93), he could not:

"see how any liberation movement could possibly succeed without an effective means of broadcasting its policy to the rank and file of the people. In the same way as I took the initiative over the Ghana Colleges, so I made plans to launch a newspaper. I arranged to purchase by instalments a 'Cropper' printing machine which an Accra printer allowed me to install in his Ausco Press printing office. With the help of an assistant editor and four boys to operate the machine, first edition of my paper, the *Accra Evening News*, appeared on 3rd September, 1948, on the very same day that the Working Committee had relieved me of my post as general secretary."

His defiance in going ahead with this medium of communicating with his audience was based on the belief that for any liberation movement to succeed they had to have to an effective means of broadcasting their policies to the rank and file of the people. Nkrumah had of course learnt about the importance of this tool from his involvement and association with du Bois, Padmore and James (see chapter one). The Working Committee feared getting embroiled in sedition cases (Nkrumah, 1957). Nkrumah (1957: 93-4) was defiant and went ahead and relates that

"From the beginning, the *Accra Evening News* became the vanguard of the movement and its chief propagandist, agitator, mobilizer and political educationist. Day by day in its pages the people were reminded of their struggle for freedom, of the decaying colonial system and of the grim horrors of imperialism."

He was clear on the role of the newspapers and as he says, it was a vehicle for agitation, mobilisation and an opportunity of educating the masses about the anti-colonial struggle. The success of this newspaper is eloquently eulogised by Nkrumah (1957: 94) in the quote below:

"The demand for the paper was so great that the limited edition we were able to produce on our small machine was avidly awaited by the crowds and copies were passed from hand to hand as if they were currency notes, the exchange invariably increasing the value of the paper until it was often being sold for six pence a copy. Even those unable to read would gather themselves into groups while a literate person read the sheet to them from beginning to end. The mottoes appearing as part of the heading soon became household words. 'We prefer self-government with danger to servitude in tranquillity.' 'We have the right to live as men.' 'We have the right to govern ourselves.'"

These mottoes were geared towards helping the UGCC achieve "self-government in the shortest possible time." This movement, before Nkrumah joined it, had been backed by almost entirely reactionaries, middle class lawyers and merchants with their preferred methods of lawsuits and petitions to the king and his colonial office in London, who were now being forced by Nkrumah to take a different direction. Most of them were not the least pleased. The strategies of organising and growing the party is not what they had in mind especially the places that Nkrumah was awakening (James, 1992). Before Nkrumah joined the politics of liberation in Ghana, it had been described as "a model colony." James (1992: 348) depicts this model colony as follows:

"The Central Government was in the hands of the Governor and persons nominated by him to the Legislative and Executive Councils. But local government on a regional, and on a village scale was in the hands of the Chiefs and their supporters who administered under the firm direction of a European representative of the Colonial Government. By Every settled standard of His Majesty's Government's settled policy, these people were totally unfit for self-government and by these standards would continue to be unfit for another generation at least, which was as far as anybody ever cares seriously to think about. They were illiterate, they were tied to the family unit, they were hopelessly divided into tribes. There was a small percentage of educated people but between them and the mass in the village there was a gulf which it would take the Administration decades to bridge. Furthermore the people were quite satisfied. If there was unrest, it was about such simple elementary things as high prices and shortage of goods."

But in a matter of months this "model" was to be destroyed forever, catapulting the new general secretary of the organisation of "respectable gentlemen" to the head of radical mass movement (James, 1992). Its methods were based on mass agitation, strikes, boycotts and riots (Nkrumah, 1963; Young, 2001).

However, the first boycott of European businesses in February 1948 was entirely independent and was triggered by discontented Second World War Veterans who wanted to take their grievances before the Governor. This demonstration led to ensuing riots which left scores dead and shook the Gold Coast to its core (Nkrumah, 1957). The uprising had presented an opportunity to the government which they had been seeking, an excuse to arrest Nkrumah and charge him. It was whilst in jail that it became obvious that there were differences amongst the leadership of the UGCC in how to organise the colonial struggle and what kind of structures should be put in place to organise and mobilise the people. As far as Nkrumah (1957: 96) was concerned this had been brewing for some time but the trigger was attributed to setting up some organisations and putting in structures that they disapproved of, for example

“The thing that rankled the Working Committee most strongly, however, was the fact that I was responsible for establishing the Youth Study Group which was later embodied in a nationalist youth movement with the Ashanti Youth Association and the Ghana Youth Association of Sekondi and known as the Committee on Youth Organisation (CYO)”.

The mobilising of the Youth Movement was to later serve Nkrumah well in consolidating the freedom struggle. James (1992: 355) asserts that “by the time the educated middle class knew what was happening he (Nkrumah) had the majority of the country behind him, and organised his own party- The Convention Peoples Party” (CPP). On resignation from the UGCC, many local branches passed resolutions dissolving membership and then joined the CPP forming new branches. Nkrumah had read correctly the mood of the people and believed that they were behind him in every decision (Nkrumah, 1957).

Convention Peoples Party (CPP), (The Organising Structure for Independence)

The Convention Peoples Party (CPP) was launched on 12th June, 1949 after much discussion which included the C.Y.O special conference where it was agreed to break away from the UGCC (Nkrumah, 1957: 100). This new party was announced to a mass audience of about sixty thousand people and Nkrumah

remarks that this was the largest rally ever held in Accra (Nkrumah, 1957: 102).

In his speech he

“reminded the people that our land was our own and that we did not want to continue to live in slavery and under exploitation and oppression; that it was only under full self-government that we would be in a position to develop the country so that our people could enjoy the comforts and amenities of modern civilization. I explained the necessity of backing our demand for self-government with a programme of positive action employing legitimate agitation, newspaper and political educational campaigns and the application of strikes, boycotts and non-cooperation based on the principle of non-violence. I advised against diplomacy and deception as I pointed out to them that the British, as past masters themselves of diplomatic tactics, would far prefer to have from us frankness and firmness. A policy of collaboration and appeasement would get us nowhere in our struggle for immediate self-government.” (Nkrumah, 1957: 103).

The formation of the CPP was to have an organisation determined to achieve independence and turn Ghana onto a new course. In all these struggles Nkrumah believed that the role of the party should be to organise the masses and create structures for them that enabled them to perform and realise the goal of independence (Nkrumah, 1947, 1957). His central thesis was that all his actions as a political leader should be the organisation of the masses around a clearly defined programme and for the full realisation of that programme. Nkrumah travelled vast distances to explain his policies and to introduce his new party. This strategy worked as it enabled him to successfully mobilise the marginalised workers, farmers, demobilised war veterans, students, small traders, teachers and junior professionals into a decisive imperialist force. We cannot imagine today calling an assembly with thousands of people to discuss an issue and arrive at a decision but that is exactly what Nkrumah did on numerous occasions. For instance when it became apparent that the Coussey Report was going to offer a so-called improved constitution, “a poor substitute of self-government” Nkrumah (1961: 20) called a ‘Gold Coast People’s Representative Assembly to discuss the Coussey Proposals’. Thousands of people attended, representing clubs and organisations all over the country. A decision was taken to reject the Coussey Constitutional Committee in 1949 whose report fell short in

favour of a full “dominion-status” constitution for Ghanaian people. Nkrumah sensed that the political struggle had been carried a stage further and with the foundation of the Convention Peoples Party they could move on to the next phase.

The party for Nkrumah, just as it was for Lenin, was the concrete expression, the organisational form of this revolutionary initiative. The party according to Nkrumah was responsible for structure formation and tasked with building relations and relationships between people and the organisation. For Nkrumah (1963: 50) the role of the party could not be understated and its importance is illustrated on the premise that it is:

“the essential forger of the political revolution is a strong, well organised, broadly based political party, knit together by a programme that is accepted by all members, who also submit themselves to the party’s discipline. Its programme should aim for ‘freedom first’. *‘Seek ye first the political kingdom,’* became the principal slogan of the Convention People’s Party, for without political independence none of our plans for social and economic development could be put into effect” (Nkrumah, 1963: 50).

Success thus depended on the right type of organisational structure adopted by the party and this for Nkrumah was one of the most important determinants of the successful revolutions in Africa (Young, 2001). The difference between the two organisations was that the UGCC was calling for “Self-Government in the shortest possible time” whilst the CPP called for “Self-Government Now” (Nkrumah, 1957; James, 1992). Nkrumah (1961: 18) asserted that:

“The history of colonial liberation movements shows that the first essential thing is Organisation. Some may say “unity”, but unity presupposes organisation. At least, there must be organisation to unify the country; **one person cannot do it, but when the masses and the leaders share common ideals and purposes they can come together in an organisation, regardless of tribal and other differences, to fight for a cause.**

Leaders may come and go; they may rise and fall; but the people live on forever, and they can only be joined together by an organisation that is active and virile and doing the things for which it was established. **The role of an organisation, especially in the colonial struggle, is of paramount importance;** for victimisation, bribery and corruption, defaulting of leaders, these test the preparedness of the people for emancipation from age-long imperialist bondage, and both leaders and followers are to

be wary of the imperialists even when they offer gifts. One thing we must bear in mind is that imperialism never gives way until it cannot help it". (emphasis mine).

What Nkrumah alludes to in the above quote is a remarkable insight into an understanding of organisational structure and the importance of leadership in playing a significant role in putting together these essential elements. Organisation gave people structure and direction. The condition for success was that the organisation had to reflect the needs of the masses and had to be understood by them. It was up to the organisation to provide and direct these as one thing was certain, that colonial organisation was not going to leave of its own free will. A six-point programme was immediately launched by the CPP which announced the arrival of the Party and as a strategy for organising the struggle that lay ahead. The programme was as follows:

1. To fight relentlessly by all constitutional means for the achievement of full "Self-Government Now" for the chiefs and people of the Gold Coast.
2. To serve as the vigorous conscious political vanguard for removing all forms of oppression and for the establishment of a democratic government.
3. To secure and maintain the complete unity of the chiefs and people of the Colony, Ashanti, Northern Territories and Trans-Volta.
4. To work in the interest of the trade union movement in the country for better conditions of employment.
5. To work in the interest of the trade union movement in the country for a proper reconstruction of a better Gold Coast in which the people shall have the right to live and govern themselves as free people.
6. To assist and facilitate in any way possible the realisation of a united and self-governing West Africa.

This next phase was the launch of what was provocatively called Positive Action.

This is how Nkrumah (1957: 111-112) proceeded:

"I pointed out that there were two ways of achieving self-government, one by armed revolution and the other by constitutional and legitimate non-violent methods. As an example I gave the repulsion by British armed might of two German attempts at invasion and the victory over British imperialism in India by moral pressure. We advocated the latter method. Freedom, however, had never been handed over to any colonial country on a silver platter; it had been won only after a bitter and vigorous struggle.

Because of the educational backwardness of the colonies, the majority of the people were illiterate and there was only one thing they could understand-action.

I described Positive Action as the adoption of all legitimate and constitutional means by which we could attack the forces of imperialism in the country. The weapons were legitimate political agitation, newspaper and educational campaigns and, as a last resort, the constitutional application of strikes, boycotts and non-cooperation based on the principle of absolute non-violence, as used by Gandhi in India."

James (1992: 356) puts it even more convincingly:

"He mobilised the population of Ghana and hurled them at the British colonial government. He paralysed the whole working of the state, brought everything to a standstill. This negation of normal life Nkrumah called 'positive action' and his main demand was not self-government. Every politician in Ghana was for self-government. What distinguished Nkrumah's politics was the addition of a single word: 'now'. Thus he agitated for "self-government now" and took drastic steps to force it home. Nobody in Africa has hurled a whole population at an imperialist government."

Nkrumah as James states above had distinguished himself and had made it clear that the common man and woman was the pivot of his party and outlined his organisational structures demonstrating his style of work, the objectives and the methods of the party. An example in the early days of the CPP, Nkrumah (1963: 55) frequently urged his members to follow the advice of the Chinese poem:

Go to the people

Live among them

Learn from them

Love them

Serve them

Plan with them

Start with what they know

Build on what they have.

(emphasis italics mine)

This poem is also closely connected to his understanding of organisational structure, which for him only came after the people had been made aware of it and debated it and then agreed on its form and shape rather than a structure that was imposed from the top without consultation.

The people of the Gold Coast moved from a materially impoverished position compared to the structural forms available to the colonial organisation. They required big efforts and Nkrumah possessed a counter-organisational structure to speak and act to the colonial organisation. His personality was larger than life and infectious in the whole organisation, motivating the people. His solution-oriented approach struck the right chords with the people backed by tireless campaigning, but also because the organisational structures were right. Nkrumah was putting the lessons learnt in America, England and the Comintern days (see, Padmore, chapter one) together, to help liberate Ghana. His emphasis on militant popular mobilisation was the decisive element in Nkrumah's politics to inspire and one such example was the use of the press as stated earlier but reiterates the importance of this tool again and stresses that:

"The campaign of the Convention People's Party was helped by the press. On the very day I left the UGCC the first issue of my paper *The Accra Evening News* was published, with its challenging motto: 'We prefer self-government with danger to servitude in tranquillity.' I reached a wide circle of readers through the columns of this paper, and hammered home the message of full self-government and the need to organise for victory: 'The strength of the organised masses is invincible...We must organise as never before, for organisation decides everything.'" (Nkrumah, 1963: 55) (emphasis mine).

Nkrumah stressed to his party and the people of Ghana that they had to organise as never before based on his studies and understanding of the power and structures of colonial organisation. Moreover, Nkrumah argued that the colonial organisation had demonstrated its world relations with other powerful forces and its creator capitalism (Nkrumah, 1964, 1965). They therefore required some organisational structural feat of significance to overthrow colonialism. The Nkrumah strategy was that as far as he was concerned the relation between program and ideology was crucial in generating and recreating meaning. Ideology was useful for mapping out the general route to be followed by the party whilst the program set out the structure and the immediate targets and tasks at every stage in the struggle. Thus for Nkrumah ideology was immutable but the

program could change and he kept changing it constantly to “keep up with the times” and so on until the ultimate goal was achieved (Nkrumah, 1957, 1963, 1964). With the ideology clear Nkrumah was left to deal with the question of strategy and what kind of actions/programs to take against the colonial government.

Positive Action

In January 1950, Nkrumah's new party, the Convention Peoples Party (CPP), joined the Trade Union Congress to launch 'Positive Action', the first general strike in Gold Coast's history at a public meeting. Nkrumah (1957: 111) writing in his autobiography explains the rationale behind this strategy, which was that:

“Because of the educational backwardness of the colonies, the majority of the people were illiterate and there was only one thing they could understand – action. I described Positive Action as the adoption of all legitimate and constitutional means by which we could attack the forces of imperialism in the country. The weapons were legitimate political agitation, newspaper and educational campaigns and, and non-cooperation based on the principles of absolute non-violence, as used by Gandhi in India.”

This strategy had been long mapped out and agreed at the Pan-African Congress in Manchester in 1945 (see chapter one). Nkrumah had seized the moment and this was a calculable move. They had chosen this method as it gave the Governor of the Gold Coast no good excuse for a policy of repression. Nkrumah was arrested and sentenced to three years in prison (Nkrumah, 1957, 1961). He describes his experience in James Fort Prison, an experience that was intended to break his spirit and humiliate but also serve as a warning to others:

“Whilst I didn't exactly expect to be made to feel at home in James Fort, it was somewhat a shock to me to discover that, as a political prisoner, I was treated as a criminal,...confined with 11 persons in one cell, with a bucket in one corner as a latrine...The food was poor and scanty. For breakfast we were given a cup of maize porridge without sugar. For the mid-day meal and for the last meal of the day at four p.m. we were given either boiled cassava, kenke (corn meal) or gari (a cassava farine) with red pepper. On Sundays and Wednesdays we had a watery soup with the minute piece of meat thrown in. This was purely a gesture, for it was as hard as a bullet. Sometimes we would get a piece of smoked fish with pepper. Rice was a luxury and only given to those who were unwell and for whom it was prescribed by

the prison doctor....I was forbidden to have pencil and paper or to read any newspapers." (Nkrumah, 1957: 126-7)

But for Nkrumah (1957:142-3) what was important:

"By launching Positive Action the previous year, we had demonstrated to the people, that we stood by our word whatever the cost might be. "The spirit of Positive Action", I declared, "has made the Party what it is to-day and Positive Action must maintain it". "The die is cast," I concluded. "The exploited and the oppressed people of colonial Africa and elsewhere are looking up to us for hope and inspiration. Progressive people in Britain and elsewhere are also solidly behind us. The torch of Liberation Movement has been lifted up in Ghana for the whole of West Africa and it will blaze a trail of freedom for other oppressed territories. "Long live the Convention People's Party! Long live the liberation movement throughout the world!"

Imprisonment had not deprived the CPP of skilful leadership as one of its best organisers had come out of prison just as Nkrumah and others were going in (Davidson, 1973). This was Komla Gbedemah who continued the campaign and kept in touch with him through messages smuggled out to them (Nkrumah, 1961: 22). Positive Action effectively broke the back of the colonial order, launching Nkrumah and the CPP into a stunning electoral victory within a year. Nkrumah contested the election from a prison cell for the seat for Accra Central and won. After he had been fifteen months in jail, Nkrumah was released from prison and carried on the shoulders of a vast crowd to party headquarters and became 'Leader of Government Business' in Parliament and began reform (Nkrumah, 1957). Nkrumah (1957: 140) urged his organisation forward, impressing on them that:

"only determination, by singleness of purpose and by effective and relentless agitation and organisation could we achieve our goal, and this regardless of victimisations, persecutions and imprisonments."

Nkrumah (1957: 141) told his Members of the Legislative Assembly, to remember all the times that they:

"did not stand alone; as such we were leaders of the mass of the people outside the Assembly and that at all times we must be conscious of this link and avoid isolating ourselves from the people. We must keep contact with those who gave birth to and nurtured the Party. This could be done by meetings and consultations with the people and by putting forward the needs of the people in the Assembly. As long as the Party preserved this link with the people, it had every chance of becoming invincible. Assemblymen

should have foresight and be able to deal with matters effectively, but at the same time the policy of the Party should be explained to the people whenever a new situation arose."

The key for Nkrumah as he kept stressing from time to time for the movement to succeed, was to be closer to the people, to work for the people and to consult them. He warned that loss of this insight could spell disaster for the party and render it irrelevant. His success for organising a structure that mobilised and overcame the colonial organisation is attributed to the contribution of the masses. In his own words:

"We were not disturbed by those who labelled us 'veranda boys, hooligans and Communists'; we had succeeded where they had failed. We succeeded because we had talked with the people and by so doing knew their feelings and grievances. And we had excluded no-one. For, if a national movement is to succeed, every man and woman of goodwill must be allowed to play a part". (Nkrumah, 1957: 109).

It is for this triumph that Nkrumah is regarded as the first man to make Pan-Africanism a living political reality (Young, 2001). His emphasis on an organisational structure driven by militant popular mobilisation was the decisive element in Nkrumah's politics and the key to his continuing legacy, a heritage whose legacy we have hardly begun to appreciate (Hountondji, 1983). Yet this legacy also includes failures which I argue are also problems of structure.

Independence, Structure and development

It then took Nkrumah another six years to win complete independence. For James (1992: 357) argued that this was an error:

"He could have gone on to independence in 1951. He preferred to wait. But one day he told me that he didn't know whether he was right to wait, or if he should have gone forward in 1951 as George Padmore and Dorothy Padmore were urging him to do. I did not know what to think at the time, but today I am of the opinion that he should have gone straight ahead. That a six-year delay was one cause of the deterioration of his party and government. A revolution cannot mark time for six years."

This six year gap was detrimental to him as James rightly attests above. Once independence had been attained, Nkrumah's task now turned to nation building. There was so much euphoria of independence. Nkrumah's task was how to turn this former colonial country into a successful African nation. During the anti-

colonial struggle, the organisational structure that was in place kept a lid on ethnic divisions and “conquered the middle classes but you cannot govern a backward country without the cooperation or at least benevolent neutrality of a part of the middle classes” (James, 1992: 355). Nkrumah had ambitious plans for this freshly liberated country and his aim was to develop Ghana as an industrialised, unitary socialist state (Nkrumah, 1963). He asserted emphatically that:

“In Ghana, we have embarked on the socialist path to progress. We want to see full employment, good housing and equal opportunity for education and cultural advancement for all the people up to the highest level possible. This means that:

- Prices of goods must not exceed wages;
- House rentals must be within the means of all groups;
- Social welfare services must be open to all;
- Educational and cultural amenities must be available to everyone.

It means, in short, that the real income and standard of life of all farmers and workers must rise appreciably”. (Nkrumah, 1963: 119).

Nkrumah believed all these things. But he was confronted by three things that he tried to deal with at the same time. Firstly James already highlighted the untenable relationship that Nkrumah had with the middle classes. Whilst it did not matter during the liberation struggle, they had now regrouped and assumed an important position that Nkrumah did not realise. Secondly, Nkrumah was mindful that Ghana needed to industrialise so that it would not remain exploited by foreign investors (Du Bois, 1972: 302). And thirdly, Nkrumah was a Pan-Africanist at heart and proposed to continue the programme to realise the emancipation of black Africans. From the very beginning Nkrumah had an all-Africa perspective but had to deal with the naked facts of African political life and focus on liberating his home first - but with that achieved, his focus and energy was to be turned into that pursuit. He proclaimed:

“The Government of Ghana will direct its efforts to promote the interests and advancement of all African peoples in their pursuit of freedom and social progress. The sacrifices made by the people of Ghana in their struggle for independence are only the first stage in the common advancement of their brothers all over Africa. The government hopes that, as a free, sovereign and independent state, Ghana can

become the centre for the discussion of African problems as a whole and that, with the co-operation of all other African territories, we shall be able to foster a common attitude to local problems and world problems which will ensure that problems peculiar to Africa will receive attention which they have not had for so long. Our aim is to work with others to achieve an African personality in international affairs." (Nkrumah, 1961: 98).

A firm believer in African liberation, Nkrumah pursued a radical Pan-African policy supporting liberation movements throughout the continent and also played a key role in the formation of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) which in 2002 rebranded its name to the African Union (AU). The AU summit in Ghana 2007 marking fifty years of independence paid tribute to Nkrumah (The Independent 30 June 2007). This focus on total liberation of Africa did not go down well with others especially when the independence euphoria began to wear off.

Repression and Problems of Organisational Structure

The political polarisation that he achieved within Ghanaian society, during the organising of his freedom seeking and revolutionary party during the independence struggle – which broadly reflected class interests and politics – became unnecessary, even dangerous, once independence had been achieved (James, 1977, 1992). Nkrumah had changed; he now did not want to listen to contrary views whilst during the anti-colonial struggle he went to the people to consult them as he argued that the organisation had to be relevant to the people that it was serving. The abandonment of these formal organisations is regarded as the downfall of "Nkrumah and the Ghana revolution" (James, 1977).

In 1964, Ghana became a one party state, with Nkrumah effectively becoming President for life. The state became the main vehicle for Pan African unity. Nkrumah had turned a blind eye on local issues and a growing section of dissenting voices accused him of neglecting Ghana. The masses who had supported him now found themselves in conflict with the state led by Nkrumah as their interests were now in conflict with it. Nkrumah then moved to put in place an

organisational structure that sought to preserve power whilst the economy was now stalling, resulting in human rights abuses. He became more unpopular at home and abroad.

The fact that Nkrumah failed in the end should not take away the remarkable achievements of his great years. He understood the diversity of his situation and came up with the right strategies and organisational structures to enable people of Ghana to liberate themselves. Nkrumah made a virtue of structures and that this recovery is crucial as structure tends to be neglected, or feared, or almost always considered negative, by both postcolonial theory and organisation studies.

This recovery of his thought allows us to explore the possibility of asking if there is a place for a positive view of structure making, as Nkrumah demonstrates for us that positive structure making enabled the colonial subject to win freedom against colonial structure in Ghana. This was because for him, structure was not thought of in a narrow way to limit people but rather in a generous way which liberated people. Thus function for him only comes after critique, mobilization and political collective action which are at odds with the immediate fit between structure and function attempted in organisation theory. Nkrumah's teachings demonstrate that fitting the strategy and structure to the local conditions is crucial for success rather than imposing it without modification but that this must come after consultation, critique and mobilisation. This can only be done when closer to the people. This important assertion is illustrated in the reflection that follows below:

"Looking back, and trying to determine the reasons for the successful outcome of our struggle for freedom, one factor stands out above all others, namely, the strength of a well-organised political party, representative of the broad mass of the people. The Convention People's Party represented the ordinary, common folk who wanted social justice and a higher standard of living. It kept in daily, living touch with the ordinary mass of people it represented, unlike the opposition, which was supported by a galaxy of lawyers and members of other conservative professions, the self-styled 'aristocracy' of the Gold Coast. They did not understand the new mood of the people, the growing nationalism and the revolt against economic hardship. Thinking that their lofty assertions were enough to win adherents to their ranks,

made little effort to come into close contact with the masses in the way that I had done in my early days as secretary of the UGCC, and continued through my years of leadership of the CPP. As a matter of fact, when the leaders of the UGCC discovered that I had spearheaded a mass movement they recoiled in fright." (Nkrumah, 1963: 54).

This reflexivity by Nkrumah also sums up for us in what is an obvious influence of Leninist policy in model and strategies adopted to achieve change. James (1977) referred to Nkrumah as the Lenin of Africa and want to explore these connections is the passage that follows.

Lenin is someone who also built structures. He understood the significance of the Soviets and the economic relations of that time, that they could be no successful advance to socialist relations of production without highly-developed productive forces to sustain socialist methods of distribution (Lenin, 1969). What Lenin faced was the challenge of how to develop structures that could form the base for a socialist revolution in what was an overwhelmingly not so well developed country (Lenin, 1947). What they encountered was a medieval church untouched by Reformation or Enlightenment, allied with an aristocracy which was an autocratic institution of enormous repressive power and masses of peasants. In addition to these challenges, the country got embroiled in a civil war leading to food and industrial shortages as well as dealing with attacks by interventionist armies from fourteen nations among them US, Britain, Canada, France and Japan (Mcknown, 1975; Munck, 1986; James, 1992; Young, 2001). So there was an urgent need to raise capital and jump start the development of the productive forces after the productive capacity of the nation had dwindled (Young, 2001). For Lenin, it was therefore necessary for a party, a political party, a revolutionary party (Lenin, 1969; James 1992). His thesis was that, "the Soviet state opened out immense new opportunities for the immense new responsibilities placed on the proletariat" (James, 1992: 328). This is how he saw the councils of the workers, the soviets, and the revolutionary actions of the masses in 1905:

"The old power, as a dictatorship of the minority, could maintain itself only by the aid of police stratagems, only by preventing and diverting the masses from participating in the government, from

controlling the government. The old power persistently distrusted the masses, feared the light, maintained itself by means of deception. The new power, as a dictatorship of the overwhelming majority, could and did maintain itself only by winning the confidence of the great masses, only by drawing, in the freest, broadest, and most energetic manner, all the masses into the work of government. Nothing hidden, nothing secret, no regulations, no formalities. You are a working man? You wish to fight to liberate Russia from a handful of police thugs? Then you are a comrade. Choose your delegate at once, immediately. Choose as you think best. We shall willingly and gladly accept him as a full member of our Soviet of Workers' Deputies, our Peasants' Committee, of our Soviet of Soldiers' Deputies, etc, etc. it is a power that is open to all, that does everything in sight of the masses, that is accessible to the masses, that springs directly from the masses; it is the direct organ of the masses and their will. Such was the new power, or rather its embryo, for the victory of the old power very soon trampled upon the tender shoots of this new plant". (Lenin, 1969: 252-3).

The backwardness of Russia imposed on Lenin and the Bolshevik party the necessity of teaching and above all teaching themselves. Education of the Russian people in the doctrines of Marxism and socialism became central and crucial in implementing the structures for change and revolution. Above all Lenin was guided by the actions of masses of people (Lenin, 1915, 1947, 1969). This approach by Lenin after his death became perverted and embroiled in battle between Stalinists and Trotskyists about what the true doctrine of Lenin was (see, Stalin, 1939; Meyer, 1957; Conquest, 1972; Besancon, 1981; Munck, 1986; Trotsky, 1945; James, 1992; Zizek, 2004; Harding, 2006).

Nkrumah like Lenin also faced a backward underdeveloped country which had a designed economy with the sole interest of serving the colonial master Great Britain. But the conditions were different in that Ghana was not embroiled in a civil war straight after participating in the First World War. Yet the Ghanaian people were largely illiterate, tied to family units and hopelessly divided into tribes requiring Nkrumah to build structures that could make possible the emancipation of Ghana and Africa (Nkrumah, 1957). So first and foremost, a political party had to be organised without upsetting the authorities with the target of strengthening the trade unions, the co-operatives, peasant associations and every other organisation that could contribute to the achievement of national independence

(James, 1992). Borrowing from Lenin, Nkrumah sought unity of action, personal responsibility, and centralism of the co-ordination by the party as a necessary condition to overcome the hostile colonial organisation (Nkrumah, 1957, 1963; James, 1992; Lenin, 1969). Education of the masses became central to Nkrumah just as it was central to Lenin. Nkrumah's success depended on the successful co-ordination of the movement and the masses. After gaining independence Nkrumah attempted to turn Ghana into an advanced economy and ended up depending more and more on the party and less and less upon Parliament. For Hontondji (1996) Nkrumah moved from an early 'Africanist' phase to a later, more conventional Marxist-Leninism. In fact Nkrumah evinced Marxist-Leninism in his earliest US period: it was under the influence of Padmore that Nkrumah came to endorse an Africanist position (Young, 2001). He became an important spokesman with Padmore advocating the need for taking more seriously the specificities of African life producing one of the essential inspirational texts of African philosophy:

"The socialism of a liberated territory is subjected to a number of principles if independence is not to be alienated from the people. When socialism is true to its purpose, it seeks a connection with the egalitarian and humanist past of the people before their social evolution was ravaged by colonialism; it seeks from the results of colonialism those elements (like new methods of production and economic organization) which can be adapted to serve the interests of the people; it seeks to contain and prevent the spread of adapted to serve the interests of the people; it seeks to contain and prevent the spread of those anomalies and domineering interests created by the capitalist habit of colonialism; it reclaims the psychology of the people, erasing the 'colonial mentality' from it; and it resolutely defends the independence and security of the people. In short, socialism recognises dialectic, the possibility of creativity of struggle, and, indeed, the necessity of the operation of forces to any change. It also embraces materialism and translates this into social terms of equality". (Nkrumah, 1964: 106).

What we learn with Nkrumah is the different fates of the structures with that of Lenin. And also at the same time learn about the similarities.

Nkrumah did not however, stay true to this philosophy of structure making that he convincingly reflects on after independence. After he was overthrown in February 1966 there was no popular mobilisation in his support and no resistance to the

coup (Davidson, 1973). It is also important to realise that the problems that Nkrumah faced were also problems of structure. This gives us a new way to understand Nkrumah and may also give us new insights into the problem of structure in organisations in general. The failure of structure has sometimes been attributed to organisational culture, which continues the search for new foundations for organisation theory (Vroom, 2002). In the chapter that follows next, I consider the work of Amilcar Cabral to provide us with alternative insights into understanding organisational culture.

Chapter Three

Organisation culture: Amilcar Cabral

In 1977 the British Journal of Sociology published an article by Ambrose Yeo-chi King titled, *A Voluntarist model of organisation: the Maoist version and its critique* which attempted to analyse the impact of the Cultural Revolution on the Chinese bureaucracy. The Cultural Revolution was an ideal for organisation put forward by Mao Zedong which has fascinated some organisation theorists (King, 1977; Bush 1978). According to King, the Cultural Revolution was a reaction to halt a rigid bureaucratic process that had set in and concludes that a “voluntarist” or “Maoist” model of organizational structure had developed (King, 1977). A few years later, the concept of culture increasingly linked with the study of organisations took off in a big way and went on to prove to be more than just a fad and gained its place in organisation theory. For example since the early 1980s an extensive literature developed on organisational culture which also spread to other language areas (Smircich, 1983; Peters and Waterman, 1982; Jelinek, et al. 1983; Gregory, 1983; Ouchi 1981; Deal and Kennedy, 1988; Ackroyd and Crowdy, 1990; Kunda, 1992; Anthony, 1994; Parker, 2000; Hofstede, 2001; Alvesson, 2002; Linstead, 2004; McAuley, et al. 2007). This important theme in organisation theory has been heavily contested as we can see writers from different backgrounds came to very different conclusions about its nature.

In this chapter, I shall attempt to make a similar move made by King but focus on the African anti-colonial struggle and explore Cabral's original case for the African political consequences of African culture. I endeavour to ‘recover’ and ‘read’ the revolutionary leader, political organiser and architect and secretary general of the nationalist party, the *Partido Africano da Independencia da Guine e Cabo Verde* (PAIGC) Amilcar Lopes Cabral as a theorist of organisation and in particular as a theorist of organisation culture (Chabal, 1983); Chilcote, 1991).

With Cabral organisational culture is produced from the bottom-up and it is both a means and an ends. Cabral identified culture as a source of use and exploration because of his awareness of colonial culture as a creator of false consciousness which grounds his theory on Marxist humanism. In Africa, Cabral was to become the most articulate spokesman for the need to adapt Marxism to the reality of nationalist aspirations (Chabal, 1983; Munck, 1986; Chilcote, 1991; Young, 2001). Cabral believed that the African anti-colonial struggle was therefore going to take place at the cultural level.

What follows then in his work is an exposition about revolutionary organisation in Guinea-Bissau which exposes us to an understanding of culture and its mobilisation for revolutionary change. Through the lens of Cabral and his party PAIGC, this chapter shall attempt to follow his steps in how he explores the role of culture as a key canon for organisation. The struggle against imperialist domination by the national liberation movement was for Cabral a clearly defined phenomenon which presented new opportunities for transformation of Guinean people and colonial domination. For Cabral (1980: 130) the national liberation was, in short, a process

"in which a socio-economic whole rejects the denial of its historical process ... the regaining of the historical personality of that people, it is their return to history through the destruction of the imperialist domination to which they were subjected".

It was important to eliminate of all forms of foreign domination and to build on that. What we learn from Cabral is that it was important not to create a culture that fits the narrow needs of a workplace but culture that can be properly collective and democratic because the organisation needed to learn from its members so that they become the authorities on culture, such that when it is manipulated they have the ability to critique this manipulation. Like Fanon, (discussed in next chapter), Cabral was operating within an essentially materialist and libertarian notion of culture in re-stating the classic pattern of colonialist denigration and subjugation of the cultural life of the colonised (Cabral, 1973;

Fanon 1967). Cabral and Fanon share similar starting premises in that, a liveable culture is not just the means to revolution but in the end Cabral wants a liveable culture of the revolution, drawing on history, unlike Fanon whose orientation is all future. For Cabral the relationship between history and culture are linked in a dialectical reciprocal way to an extent where both categories become hardly distinguishable. In reading this way I am able to recover some aspects of his thought allowing us to reconsider the importance of his thought. This reading also enables us to explore how we can develop a broader understanding of organisation. Let us begin this recovery and reading of Cabral by first learning about him and therefore provide a biography next, followed by the debates of organisational culture in organisation theory opening the space to analyse and present Cabral's insights of organisational culture.

Biography

Amilcar Cabral, has been recognised as one of the world's outstanding political theoreticians and that is all the more remarkable in that his journey through life was rather short but it seems had already done enough even if he did not do anything later on in life (Chabal, 1983). According to Robert Young (2001: 287)

"Cabral was unusual among liberation movement activists in focusing attention less on the revolution itself, than on the means through which this would be part of a process of the restructuring of the state and the social fabric. To that extent, his work anticipates much of the analysis of the African state that emerged in the 1990s."

For Cabral, to receive the honour of being labelled as one of the outstanding political theoreticians, his work had to be ground-breaking, setting itself apart and this is easy to see why when Young (2001: 285) shares what he found outstanding and is appreciative in his text asserting that

"His work stands out for the ways in which he extends his analyses from the practicalities of the creation of the resistance movements, to the military strategies involved, to the vanguard role of the party in the formation of anti-colonial unity, to the forms by which cultural identity and dignity – for Cabral central and essential components of the liberation process – can be asserted....For Cabral, as for Mondlane, the issues are first and foremost political and material: the still living culture, that proved a prime instrument

of resistance throughout colonial history, now forms an intrinsic part of the liberation movement” (Chabal, 1983: 182; Mondlane, 1969).

Davidson (1979: xx-xii) writing the introductory chapter for Cabral's book *Unity and Struggle* tries to capture for us the character and spirit of Cabral and illustrates what was profound about him:

“simplicity and sympathy, his directness, his love for life, his enduring interest in everyone and everything that came his way ... the depth and complexity of his thought and meditation ... large hearted, entirely committed, devoted to his people's insistence on the study of reality ... the intellectual groundwork of an overall theory of society ... always riveted to the reality of time and place. [His texts] deal repeatedly with the necessary bases of revolutionary democracy, whether in the liberation of women, in anti-elitist education, in a decentralised system of public health ... in the building of participatory political structure at and from grassroots.”

Amilcar Cabral was born on 12 September 1924 in Bafata, Portuguese Guinea-Bissau. According to his biographers Chilcote (1991) and Chabal (1983), Cabral's background was relatively comfortable with his father Juvenal Antonio da Costa owning a shop and a small *pensao* (hotel) and his mother Iva Pinhel Evora was a primary school teacher. Both his parents were Cape Verdans from the island of *Sao Tiago*. Cabral sailed through his primary and secondary education achieving excellent grades throughout completing secondary education in 1944 (Chabal, 1983). Cabral was now aged twenty and got employment in Praia, *Sao Tiago* at the National Printing Office while trying to secure a scholarship to go to Portugal for higher studies (Chilcote, 1991). Chabal (1983: 33) and Moser (1978) find the themes picked up on by Cabral in his poems stressing “the consciousness of, and outrage at, the living conditions on the islands; concern about droughts and famine; awareness of the isolation of the archipelago; anger, revolt, hope and optimism” to be unusual for some one at that tender age. For Chilcote (1991: 3) this early writing of poetry and reflecting on these harsh conditions shows that Cabral was already learning to interpret culture as a weapon in the struggle for independence. “In 1945 he was awarded the scholarship offered by the Cape Verdean section of the *Casa dos estudantes*

do Imperio in Lisbon to the best Cape Verdean student without the financial means to continue his education” (Chabal, 1983: 29).

In Lisbon, Cabral attended the *Instituto Superior de Agronomia* where he continued to receive very high grades in his courses and “a distinction for a thesis (Cabral, 1951) on the region of *Alentejo* in Cuba, a province of large landed estates and a mass of landless rural workers who were dependent on seasonal employment where agriculture was affected by soil erosion” (Chilcote, 1991: 8). It was during his university training that Cabral’s politicization took off when interactions with other African students led to the setting up of a student movement that was dedicated to African nationalism. Chabal (1983: 42) states that “this was an important period for Cabral and other expatriate Africans and provides the key to their subsequent involvement in nationalist politics.” Looking back Cabral later wrote about this moment that:

“At that time a group of students from the Portuguese colonies studying in Lisbon began to think of ways of becoming Africans once again (*maneria de se tornarem do novo africanos*). The Portuguese colonialists counted on those Africans who had been privileged enough to get an education to renege on Africa and serve their own interests. At that time our job was to return to our African roots. This was so successful and useful that today the founders of the group in Lisbon are at the head of the liberation movements of the Portuguese colonies.” (cited in Chabal, 1983: 42).

One can sense the importance of this moment for Cabral and the realisation of this turn and how he came to consciousness of his Africanness and began to signify to Africa as his home (Chabal, 1983). For Chabal (1983: 42) this ‘Re-africanization’ of the “Lusophone African students was due to the acquaintance with the cultural activities of French-speaking Africans through the prestigious review *Presence Africaine*, of which Mario de Andrade was the Lisbon correspondent.” Through this review Cabral would have come across the writings of Senghor’s Anthology of African poetry published in 1948. Poetry became a key outlet for Africans to combat cultural alienation (Chabal, 1983). The journal *Presence Africaine* made such an impact because of its stance engaging the

hidden agendas of colonialism and trying to expose these. Chabal (1983: 43) attributes that perspective as one reason and asserts that:

"The single most important reason why *Presence African* had such an influence over Cabral and his friends is that it exposed the contradictions of the doctrine and policy of assimilation through which the Portuguese, like the French, justified colonial rule. Using intellectual tools which the colonial power had employed in its explanation of the African world's backwardness, these highly educated and articulate Africans challenged the ideological and cultural rationale of colonial rule."

Jean Paul Sartre (1948), who as one of France's prominent intellectuals attacked in 'Orphée noire' the assimilationist assumptions of many French liberal and left political circles giving more credibility to *Presence Africaine*, endorsing negritude and those who were asserting similar politics. Cabral was to take similar assertions as we shall see later in the chapter.

Cabral returned to Guinea in 1952 where he took charge of the *Estacao experimental de Pessube*, a research station near Bissau (the capital), as second-class engineer in the colonial service (Chabal, 1983). His work there was to conduct research and carry out experiments on various agricultural products such as how to improve crop yields and also attempted to introduce new crop varieties (Chabal, 1983). In September 1953, Cabral was asked by the then Governor of Guinea, Captain Melo e Alvim, whether he wished to undertake an agricultural survey of the colony, a survey which had been ordered by the Portuguese Ministry for the colonies. No such survey had ever been carried before in Guinea Bissau. Cabral therefore had very little to go by (Chabal, 1983). According to Chabal (1983: 48) Portugal was seeking admission to the United Nations and had made a promise to the Food and Agricultural Organisation in December 1947. The research for the survey enabled Cabral to visit many different villages – an invaluable experience for his later political work. Young (2001: 284; Chilcote, 1972: 350-81) state that in this "early work, Cabral focused primarily on the practical issues of land rights and agricultural production, the assertion of political and cultural rights against the repressive forces of Portuguese colonialism, and the developments necessary for uniting the people

in the national fight for liberation.” In this work Cabral was accompanied by his Portuguese wife, Maria Helena Rodrigues, who was also an agronomist and had studied in Lisbon with him (Chilcote, 1991). She later recalls for Chabal in an interview an example of one of Cabral’s work, illustrating in the process Cabral’s approach and the opportunity this presented for him:

“During that period we travelled all over Guinea. Cabral would usually go and see the village chiefs while I remained in the district centre and collected data. In the villages he would hold meetings and it was in this way that he became familiar with the whole of Guinea. He was aware of the opportunity that it afforded him and he was determined to make the most of it. He used to say that the peasants were remarkable people, marvellous people. He did not really know the country and he was amazed by what he discovered. At that time he made a lot of contacts, either in the cities or with the chiefs”. (Chabal, 1983: 49).

As an agronomist, Cabral still found time for political activity, participating in *Movimento da independencia nacional da Guine Portuguesa* (MING) (though it was quickly disbanded before any practical political action had taken place). He worked closely together with Mario de Andrade and Antonio Agostinho Neto of Angola in the formation of MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) and also set up a club for young people which allowed Cabral to come into contact with and influence some of Bissau youth (Chilcote, 1991; Young 2001; Chabal 1983). “These activities were monitored by the secret police, *Policia internacional de defesa do estado* (International police for the defence of the state) (PIDE) resulting in Cabral receiving a warning about the nature of discussions they were having from The Governor” (Chabal, 1983: 49). Cabral worked as an agronomist for fifteen years before committing himself to nationalist politics where as secretary-general of the *Partido Africano da Independencia da Guine e Cape Verde* (PAIGC), led the people of Guinea-Bissau in the armed liberation struggle against the Portuguese, ‘who were supported by Spain, NATO and the USA, as well as South Africa’ (Young, 2001: 284). Following this biography of Cabral, I will in the next brief section consider the debates and

contours into the way organisational culture has been contested, interpreted and presented in organisation theory.

The concept of organisational culture in organisation theory

Inside organisation theory the debate on the concept of organisational culture is complex due to the heavily contestation of this term and its use (Smircich, 1983; Ackroyd and Crowdy, 1990; Linstead and Small, 1992; Parker, 2000; Alvesson, 2002). McAuley, et al. (2007: 92) account for this as “a rich and complex story with many twists and turns that are connected with the ways different theorists of organisation have understood the nature of culture”.

Interest in culture as a new language for organisation or “as a metaphor of organisational life” after Gareth Morgan (1997) has been thought by many to have emerged in the late 1970s as a result of a series of challenges facing Western management practitioners from the success of Japanese corporations (Ouchi, 1981; Deal and Kennedy, 1988; Parker, 2000; Brewis, 2007; McAuley, et al. 2007). The reason for excitement in the heightened activity of the concept of culture and organisational analysis was believed to be an approach that could direct attention toward the more subjective aspects of organisations (Jelinek, et al. 1983). For example, Hofstede (2002: 68) asserts that most authors will agree that “culture is something holistic, historically determined, related to the things that anthropologists study, socially constructed, soft and difficult to change.” Brewis (2007: 344) on the other hand states that “culture is seen to represent some kind of shared commitment to particular ways of relating to the organisation, to superiors, to colleagues and to role.” What is clear is that:

“When organisation theorists develop a cultural analogy, they have tended to elaborate a view of culture drawn from cognitive anthropology, symbolic anthropology, or, to a much lesser extent, structural anthropology and psychodynamic theories”. (Smircich, 1983: 348).

Smircich (1983) asserts that there is no consensus on its meaning in anthropology (see, Hallowell, 1955; Goodenough, 1971; Geertz, 1973; Rossi and O’Higgins, 1980; Agar, 1982) and therefore should not come as a surprise that

this has led to different conceptions giving rise to different research questions and interests. Yet despite these different premises McAuley, et al. (2007: 92) found that there is 'at least a shared common definition of culture in organisation studies by a vast majority of writers that sees culture as concerned with values, beliefs, norms and how members develop an identity and create a common understanding of what their organisation is about'. However, consensus ends here as the way the term has evolved sees writers in organisation studies following and adopting different traditions resulting in a variety in its application to organisation studies (Smircich, 1983; Peters and Waterman, 1982; Jelinek, et al. 1983; Gregory, 1983; Ouchi, 1981; Collinson, 1988; Deal and Kennedy, 1988; Ackroyd and Crowdy, 1990; Kunda, 1992; Anthony, 1994; Martin and Frost, 1996; Parker, 2000; Hofstede, 2001; Alvesson, 2002; Linstead, 2004; McAuley, et al. 2007). The heterogeneity of these literatures make it difficult to therefore generalise about the concept of organisational culture and my summary here is intended to offer an illustration in capturing the different applications of the term in order to connect with the recovery of Cabral and not to simplify or gloss over the complexity of organisation culture in organisation studies.

McAuley, et al. (2007) identify three traditions that they argue depict how the concept of organisational culture in organisation studies has been applied in the business schools and university management departments. The first tradition is the "modernist view of culture" where they state that, "some writers believe organisation culture is something that is built into the organization as a subsystem" (McAuley, et al. 2007: 92). This perspective sees culture as something that an organisation has and as something that managers can shape and mould (Jackson and Carter, 2000; Parker, 2000; Brewis, 2007). This perspective has been the dominant literature which has urged managers to manipulate this variable and that this was best done by people at the top of the organisation (Baker, 1980; Ouchi, 1981; Smircich, 1983; Barney, 1986; Deal and Kennedy, 1982; Daft, 2006). Management in this perspective are tasked with creating harmony and stability by ensuring that employees have the right

attitudes which link the management of culture with success of the organisation (Ouchi, 1981; Deal and Kennedy, 1982; Peters and Waterman, 1982). Culture here is understood overall as a management 'lever' a tool that employees direct their efforts towards organisational goals and there was no better advocate of this perspective than Peters and Waterman (1982) *In Search of Excellence* along with Ouchi (1981) *Theory Z* (Parker 2000: 10). This is what is also often referred to as the mainstream view or functionalist and technical or corporate view. In this perspective, organisational culture is an image, character, or climate that can be controlled by a corporation and is also normal to link this thinking with the surrounding environment that can constrain an organisation's freedom of action (Morgan, 1997; Smircich, 1983; Linstead and Small, 1992; Hofstede, 2001; Linstead, 2004).

The second tradition in the way that culture has been seen in organisation theory according to McAuley, et al. (2007: 100) is the "neo-modernist" which attempted to "put people first." This perspective they argue emerged in the first half of the past century to challenge in particular the place of the "human" in organisations (see, Whitehead, 1935; Roethlisberger and Dickson, 1939; Roethlisberger, 1948). "The neo-modernist" has been subdivided into two schools of thought: first being the "human relations" movement that was closely associated with Harvard Business School and second is the "democratic organisation" which emphasizes the idea of empowerment of all members of the organisation" (McAuley, et al. 2007: 100).

The human relations movement was underpinned by beliefs that insights from the social sciences such as psychology, sociology and anthropology could be used to come up with the innovative and practical theories about the most effective ways to create a relationship between people and organisations (Huczynski and Buchanan, 2001; Rollinson, 2005; McAuley, et al. 2007). Parker (2000) and McAuley, et al. (2007) both conclude that this is dressed in new robes, but still find that it is still cut from the same cloth and insist that, within neo-

modernism we still find the interest and hope for coming out with the right culture design around people that would have practical applications for managers in organisation. We find this in Schien (1992: xi) who wrote that:

"There was a great interest in understanding and managing culture because it was perceived to be not only a concept that could explain many organisational phenomena but also something that leaders could manipulate to create an effective organisation".

Schein's statement is useful for accounting the many twists and turns that has seen the way culture as a concept for organisation theory has been applied. For instance, McAuley, et al. (2007: 128) interprets Schein's comment as providing three strands that reveal:

"...the neo-modernist desire to understand and explain organisational culture, to develop a practical theory of organisational culture. Secondly, there is the human relations idea that understanding culture can lead to improved management of culture. The third idea is that culture is something that leaders could manipulate".

The key to neo-modernist writers is that culture is seen as something that members create and that culture is something that emerges out of the everyday interactions between people (Schein, 1992; Starkey, 1998). In this particular tradition, according to Linstead and Grafton-Small (1992) organisations are made up of many 'cultures', and although there may be a dominating culture at any particular time, it is a temporary dominance (see also, Gregory 1983).

The final tradition for McAuley, et al. (2007: 92) "is the postmodernist view in organisation theory which considers the way culture has been viewed asserting that the concept of organisation culture is essentially ambiguous and fractured and that other models of culture are attempts to impose a model of order where no order exists". Culture here is understood as fluctuating in accordance with changing organisational circumstances (Alvesson, 2002; Parker, 2000; Thompson and McHugh, 2002).

Some authors might object to their work being classed into these categories. An attempt to reduce some of these works into these classifications is rather a difficult task but that is not the intended task in this chapter. The interest in

organisational culture therefore not only did it offer a new language for exploring and understanding organisational phenomena but also brought fresh attempts for successful intervention, shaping behaviour and bringing about change to organisation which was believed would motivate people to give much more to their organisation (see, Pettigrew, 1979; Hofstede, 1980, 2001; Smircich, 1983; Schein, 1985, 1992; Knights and Willmott, 1987; Meek, 1988; Kunda, 1992; Morgan, 1997). That perhaps explains the enthusiasm in the way the term was evoked with so much hope as a new language into the lexicon of organisation theory. Yet under this enthusiasm we should not lose sight of the heavily contestation of the term as evidenced by the complexity in which it has been taken and applied in organisation theory an observation made by Martin and Frost (1996) who title their paper 'The organisational culture wars: A Struggle for intellectual dominance'. Parker (2000: 25) reminds us that for others culture was "an attempt to intervene in the identity of the employee just as all organisational control strategies from (at least) Taylor onwards have done". Here we can see that for organisation theorists in organisation studies organisation culture was always not about what organisations are like but about what they should be like (Knights and Willmott, 1987; Parker 2000; Thompson 2003).

Organisational culture has echoes of organisational control strategies of theorists pushing for a managerial agenda that could not afford the privilege of leaving employees where they were, as often what employees had is not what was required or desired by the organisation. This debilitated the concept of organisation culture towards a prescription rather than a description of culture. McAuley, et al. (2007) offers a great insight with their analyses in how the culture concept has been approached in organisation theory, following on from similar work done by Joanne Martin (1992).

At the heart of its application has been about either the imposition of culture or the taking away of culture or pushing for a particular way of thinking and being in organisation. These different interpretations, understandings and contestations of

organisational culture point to the fact that there is room for other considerations of organisational culture that can be posited to enhance our knowledge of this concept and its utility. The richness of the debate would be enhanced by using Cabral more carefully. I now turn back to Cabral, for whom organisational culture is produced from the bottom-up. I shall argue that there is still some use in attempting an estimate, even tentatively, of the value of Cabral's ideas, proposals and conceptions of organisational culture in the context of his period which can enhance our understanding of organisation and culture.

Role of culture and anti-colonial struggle (Resistance and Mobilisation)

Cabral joined Fanon (chapter four) as one of the thinkers to use the culture concept in the anti-colonial struggle to explicate the consequences of colonial rule and the colonial inheritance (Jinadu, 1978). Cabral believed and repeatedly pointed to an ideological deficiency as the greatest weakness of liberation movements. Cabral then took it upon himself to undertake rigorously materialist examinations of colonialism's impact on local economies, social structures, and class formations (Cabral, 1973, 1974). He defined the *nationalist* and the *revolutionary* capacity of the indigenous elite, the peasantry, the petty-bourgeoisie, the urban wage-earners and the *déclassé*, none of whom were situated as homogeneous in their material interests or their relationship to national liberation (Cabral, 1973). Cabral knew this because he had travelled the whole country as an agronomist (discussed in biography section). Cabral had a theory which helped him to redefine the relationship between *history* (which exposes contradictions and conflicts in the life of society) and *culture* (which provides insights into the dynamic synthesis to resolve these conflicts) in very dialectical reciprocal terms:

"Whatever may be the ideological or idealistic characteristics of cultural expression, culture is an essential element of the history of a people. Culture is, perhaps, the product of this history just as the flower is the product of a plant. Like history, or because it is history, culture has as its material base the level of the productive forces and the mode of production. Culture plunges its roots into the physical reality of the environmental humus in which it develops, and it reflects the organic nature of a society,

which may be more or less influenced by external factors. History allows us to know the nature and extent of the imbalances and conflicts (economic, political and social) which characterize the evolution of a society; culture allows us to know the dynamic syntheses which have been developed and established by social conscience to resolve these conflicts at each stage of its evolution, in the search for survival and progress". (Cabral, 1973: 42).

The main thrust of Cabral's argument was to intensify the reciprocal relationship between history and culture to a point that both categories become hardly distinguishable. Thus, the national liberation struggle as a historical act also becomes an act of cultural resistance to the extent that it is recognised that the object of national liberation is the freedom of a society and its values from foreign domination. For Cabral (1973: 40), the advantage was that:

"At any moment, depending on internal and external factors determining the evolution of the society in question, cultural resistance (indestructible) may take on new forms (political, economic, armed) in order to fully contest foreign domination."

He believed that the struggle against colonialism was going to take place at the cultural level and therefore his work made an argument about revolutionary organisation which was about understanding and mobilising culture. For Young (2001: 285),

"Cabral's work stands out for the ways in which he extends his analyses from the practicalities of the creation of resistance movements, to the military strategies involved, to the vanguard role of the party in the formation of anti-colonial unity, to the forms by which cultural identity and dignity – for Cabral central and essential components of the liberation process can be asserted."

Cabral argued that, "only a revolutionary vanguard, generally an active minority," could distinguish between fictitious political independence, where power passes to a native elite in alliance with imperialism, and the destruction of the capitalist state and colonial social structures (1972: 87-8). The need to forge national unity, anti-colonial unity was for Cabral self-evident in a society divided by ethnic, religious, tribal, linguistic and regional differences, and where disjunctive social forms were superimposed, mingled and came into conflict (Parry, 2002: 138).

Cabral had the capacity to understand the inner struggles of others (Davidson, 1994) and also believed that it would be irresponsible to fight for national

liberation without a theory to guide their actions. He strongly argued that action unshaped by theory was bound to fail and that any action leading to no theory was therefore a road to defeat (Cabral, 1973). This seems to have been the premise that he built his ideas from and it was easy for him to put them across as he had a great ability to explain himself. To some extent, Cabral always searched for the intellectual production that would illuminate his liberation project, with no dogmatic affiliations. In that regard, he always bore in mind the sharp consciousness that only an intellectual production open to the experience and provided with capacity to forge operative and strategic concepts, would be able to sharpen emancipation projects. In that regard, he followed Gramsci's (1949) view in drawing attention to the importance of ideology and culture in class domination and the role of cultural factors in revolution (Chabal, 1983). For Gramsci had identified and argued that intellectuals had an important role to play in the European revolutionary context, so it followed that Cabral mirrored that in his analyses and asserted that educated and assimilated *petite bourgeoisie* had an important role to play in the African anti-colonial context (Chabal, 1983). Cabral understood that imperial and colonial rule had sought to obliterate the cultural identity of the colonized people and posits this insight as follows:

"The experience of colonial domination shows that, in the effort to perpetuate exploitation, the colonizers not only creates a system to repress the cultural life of the colonized people; he also provokes and develops the cultural alienation of a part of the population, either by so-called assimilation of the indigenous people, or by creating a social gap between indigenous elites and the popular masses. As a result of this process of dividing or of deepening the divisions in the society, it happens that a considerable part of the population, notably the urban or peasant *petite bourgeoisie*, assimilates the colonizer's mentality, considers itself culturally superior to its own people and ignores or looks down upon cultural values. This situation, characteristic of the majority of colonized intellectuals, is consolidated by increases in the social privileges of the assimilated or alienated group with direct implications for the behaviour of individuals in this group in relation to the liberation movement."

(Cabral, 1973: 45)

These different groups had been studied and Cabral knew then how to approach each for strategic contribution to the liberation struggle. As far as Cabral was concerned, as he convincingly asserts in the illustration above, one of the hidden

aims of colonial ideology was to create a false consciousness for the colonised about the superior benefits it had brought them. He pointed out that in reality, colonial rule had failed to completely obliterate the cultural identity of the colonised people in that colonial culture was contradictory as it had saved and maintained certain aspects which it relied on in order to maintain itself. Cabral therefore argued that a balance was established in which “a certain degree of respect for and reliance upon indigenous culture was exchanged for collaboration with the colonial state” (Chabal, 1983: 183). The resilience of culture he argued was one of the main reasons why nationalism could develop as it did (Chabal, 1983). “One of the gravest errors,” Cabral (1972: 327) wrote,

“If not the worst, committed by the colonial powers in Africa was to have ignored or underestimated the cultural strength of African peoples. This attitude was particularly blatant in the case of Portuguese colonial domination which not only categorically denied the existence of African cultural values...but also stubbornly refused to allow any political freedom of expression.”

This was one of the most original aspects of Cabral’s discussion. He argued that the homogeneity and identity among the villagers offered the best possible base for the development of a nationalist consciousness. For Cabral (1973: 49), the strength of the peasantry’s main potential lay precisely in the fact that,

“...cultural resistance of the African people was not destroyed. Repressed, persecuted, betrayed by some social groups who were in league with the colonists, African culture survived all the storms, taking refuge in the villages, in the forests and in the spirit of the generations who were victims of colonialism. Like the seed which long awaits conditions favourable to germination in order to assure the survival of the species and its development, the culture of African peoples flourishes again today, across the continent, in struggles for national liberation. Whatever may be the forms of these struggles, their successes or failures, and the length of their development, they mark the beginning of a new era in the history of the continent and are both in form and in content the most important cultural element in the life of African peoples.”

Because of the attempt by colonial rulers to suppress indigenous culture, Cabral (1972: 344) posited that the “national liberation was necessarily a cultural act.”

The pursuit of this struggle did not necessarily mean imitating others. Cabral demonstrated his freedom of thought by avoiding joining those who were insisting upon the “specificity” of African culture which had characterized theories

such as Negritude (Senghor, 1976, Césaire, 1995), Consciencism (Nkrumah, 1964), Pan-Africanism (Du Bois, 1972; Padmore, 1956) and African Communalism (Kaunda, 1967, 1974; Nyerere, 1968). His position was based on the understanding that these assumptions were premised on mistaken assumption and put it as follows:

"A thorough analysis of cultural reality does not permit the claim that there exist continental or racial cultures. This is because, as with history, the development of culture proceeds in uneven fashion, whether at the level of a continent, a "race" or even a society. The coordinates of culture, like those of any developing phenomenon, vary in space and time, whether they be material (physical) or human (biological and social). The fact of recognizing the existence of common and particular features in the cultures of African peoples, independent of their colour of their skin, does not necessarily imply that one and only one culture exists on the continent. In the same way that from an economic and political viewpoint we can recognize the existence of several Africas, so also there are many African cultures. Without any doubt, underestimation of the cultural values of African peoples based upon racist feelings and upon the intention of perpetuating foreign exploitation of Africans, has done much harm to Africa: indiscriminate compliments; systematic exaltation of virtues without condemning faults; blind acceptance of the values of the culture, without condemning faults; blind acceptance of the values of the culture, without considering what presently or potentially repressive elements it contains; confusion between what is the expression of an objective and material historical reality and what appears to be a creation of the mind or the product of a peculiar temperament; absurd linking of artistic creations, whether good or not, with supposed racial characteristics; and finally, the non-scientific critical appreciation of the cultural phenomenon". (Cabral, 1973: 51).

Cabral lamented the fact that, not only were these themes, in his view, sociologically inaccurate, but that they were also actually harmful, since they blinded Africans to a critical appraisal of the importance of culture in the development of their own societies. In taking this perspective on Negritude, Cabral was to join Frantz Fanon (1963) in his views in rejecting the analysis of the forms of cultural renaissance, which had preceded the development of nationalist consciousness among the assimilated Africans living abroad. They both believed that this self indulgence had led to erroneous conclusions and mistaken policies (see, Césaire, 1995; Senghor, 1976). Cabral (1973) thought that these movements were borne out frustration from 'native elites' who found

themselves in ambiguous roles and that their perspectives pointed to isolation from the African reality. Cabral here demonstrates an understanding of the importance of these attempts as a form of resistance and an empowerment for them in those places. But he is also careful to be cautious about their adoption and applicability everywhere without modification. This was a crucial standpoint for him which he assumed was necessary for any theory to be successful. The key for him was a 'return to the source' and stresses this fundamental assertion that:

"it was not a coincidence that theories such as negritude or Pan-Africanism were conceived inside cultural centres outside Black Africa...But this 'return to the sources' is not in itself an act of struggle against foreign domination and does not necessarily mean a return to the traditions. It is not therefore a voluntary action, but rather the only viable response to the concrete and historical necessity which is determined by the irreconcilable contradiction which opposes the colonized society to the colonial power". (Cabral, 1972: 340).

This was particularly an interesting observation by Cabral and also explains his rejection of the cultural consciousness renaissance mentioned above in that there is an argument here about the need for understanding the cultural identity of the various ethnic and social groups if they were to be successful and illustrates that as

"In the thorough analysis of social structure which every liberation movement should be capable of making in relation to the imperative of the struggle, the cultural characteristics of each group in society have a place of prime importance. For, while the culture has a mass character, it is not uniform, it is not equally developed in all sectors of society. The attitude of each social group toward the liberation struggle is dictated by its social group toward the liberation struggle is dictated by its economic interests, but is also influenced profoundly by its culture (*the difference of that culture to other cultures* – emphasis mine). It may even be admitted that these differences in cultural level explain differences in behaviour toward the liberation movement on the part of individuals who belong to the same socio-economic group. It is at the point that culture reaches its full significance for each individual: understanding and integration in to his environment, identification with fundamental problems and aspirations of the society, acceptance of the possibility of change in the direction of progress". (Cabral, 1973: 44).

The attempt by Cabral and PAIGC to mobilise the different social groups for the struggle led to one of the most original aspect of Cabral's discussion. Cabral drew attention to learning on the ground and taking into account people's perspectives. This analysis was crucial for the processes of political mobilisation which led Cabral to being concerned with the relevance of class, tribal, and racial divisions to political involvement (Chabal, 1983). Cabral stressed the need for a detailed and careful analysis of cultural differences between and within ethnic groups, linking the failure to grasp these with the political mistakes committed by so many liberation movements in Africa (Cabral 1973). Cabral was particularly interested in the relation between culture and national liberation. He did not feel that ethnic divisions were a major problem and instead saw them as a "secondary contradictions" that they could be overcome by political mobilization and proper organisation.

"This does not mean that we do not need to pay attention to this [ethnic] contradiction; we reject both the positions which are to be found in Africa: one which says that there are no tribes, we are all one people in one unity, our party comprises everybody; the other saying that tribes exist and that we must base our parties on tribes. Our position lies between the two, but at the same time we are fully conscious that this is a problem which must constantly be kept in mind; structural, organisational and other measures must be taken to ensure that this contradiction does not explode and become a contradiction". (Cabral, 1969: 53).

Here we see Cabral's theory being put into action by starting with the culture that he finds not create one that fits the narrow needs of a workplace like in organisation theory. Instead we see an approach that could be properly collective and democratic because the organisation needed to learn from its members. The importance of this premise is that members become the authorities on culture such that when it is manipulated they have the ability to critique this manipulation. This success did not depend on developing a theory of African cultural identity which as he saw it, was incomprehensible and useless to the vast majority of these rural folk or the majority of the population. Organisation has some lessons here in producing expression that people and organisations must understand rather than theory that is esoteric. Cabral then proceeded to give

serious attention to the question of how to come up with ways to manage and resolve these different class interests in post-revolutionary situation. Cabral did not succumb to the liberal tendency to view culture as an undifferentiated continuum, unrelated to the structural manifestations of its informing society. From this position, Cabral (1973: 44-5) was able to make distinctions not only between the culture of the colonizers and that of the colonized peoples but also in terms of the different levels of cultural expression among the colonized peoples. This also demonstrates an organisational culture that is produced from the bottom-up. According to Young (2001: 288) Cabral is one of the few Marxist theorists of colonialism to try to do that. The challenge was how to get the *petite bourgeoisie* to identify with the culture and interests of the nation rather than their class due to what he described as:

"Generally, the negative values of culture are generally an obstacle to the development of the struggle and to the building of this progress. In this perspective, the liberation movement must be able, beyond the analysis mentioned above, to achieve gradually but surely as its political action develops the confluence of the levels of culture of the different social groups available for the struggle. The movement must be able to transform them into the national culture force which undergirds and conditions the development of the armed struggle." (Cabral, 1973: 53).

Cabral argued for the absolute priority of this culture-changing process should take precedence and that it was the duty of the liberation movement and party and to contribute towards this and transformation, which he convincingly illustrates above. The liberation struggle was viewed as a positive opportunity which allowed these different social groups to transform themselves by joining the liberation struggle. Cabral thought that these different social groups contradictory position made it possible for them to subscribe to the revolutionary struggle. He also left room that he did not expect many to join but believed that the ambiguous position of the *petite bourgeoisie* if they were exposed to the political experiences which lead to their change of set of beliefs. This might explain why Cabral conducted the liberation struggle under such strict political principles (Chabal, 1983). This also explains why Cabral attempted to begin

moulding the Guinean society during the war. Thus Cabral's (1973: 79) position on the *petite bourgeoisie* was clear

"The assertion or reassertion of by the indigenous *petite bourgeoisie* of identity distinct from that of the colonial power does not and could not bring about restoration of a sense of dignity to that class alone. In this context, we see that the sense of dignity of the *petite bourgeoisie* class depends on the objective moral and social feeling of each individual, on his subjective attitude towards the colonial conflict, between which he is forced to live out the daily drama of colonization. This drama is the more shattering to the extent to which the *petite bourgeoisie* in fulfilling its role is made to live alongside both the foreign dominating class and the masses. On one side the *petite bourgeoisie* is the victim of frequent if not daily humiliation by the foreigner, and on the other side it is aware of the injustice to which the masses are subjected and of their resistance and spirit of rebellion. Hence arises the apparent paradox of colonial domination; it is from within the indigenous *petite bourgeoisie*, a social class which grows from colonialism itself, that arise the first important steps towards mobilizing and organizing the masses for the struggle against colonial power."

The key for the *petite bourgeoisie* was the task of understanding the cultural identity of the various ethnic and social groups rather than trying to develop theories that did not make much sense to the rest of the people (Chabal, 1983). For Cabral, the revolution lay in the mobilization of the countryside led by a modern, effective political conscious party which included some *petite bourgeoisie* who had "committed class suicide." This was an autobiographical moment for Cabral, as in his revolutionary days he had already talked about his coming into African consciousness as a student in Portugal. He believed that coming into African consciousness would also offer a new opportunity to forge a new national and modern cultural identity. This "reconversion of minds – of mental set" became crucial in integrating and mobilizing the colonized peoples into the liberation movement (Cabral, 1973: 45, 47). Reconversion of minds has been a key feature in organisation theory.

In showing his concern of the impact of colonial rule on an indigenous culture, Cabral had joined Fanon who shared the same assertion. These two stand out as political thinkers who were concerned with explaining African political phenomena, which is to say that they were interested in critically analysing and

influencing the processes of change in Africa. But unlike Fanon, Cabral adopted a political rather than a psychological perspective. Young (2001: 285) still noted though that, “psychological reconstruction and cultural assertion, for Cabral were not separate, discrete activities for colonized peoples, but processes inseparable from, both cause and effect of, the larger struggle for national liberation”. Cabral (1979: 129-30) then made it clear in his discussion that the object for the armed anti-colonial struggle was “to return to our own history”:

“We see, therefore, that both in colonialism and in neo-colonialism the essential characteristic of imperialist domination remains the same – denial of the historical process of the dominated people, by means of violent usurpation of the freedom process of development of the national productive forces...

On the basis of the foregoing, we can state that national liberation is the phenomenon in which a socio-economic whole rejects the denial of its historical process. In other words, the national liberation of a people is the regaining of the historical personality of that people; it is their return to history through the destruction of the imperialist domination to which they were subjected...

We can therefore conclude that national productive forces have been completely freed from all and any kind of foreign domination.”

“So the ‘return to the source’ is of no historical importance unless it brings the not only real involvement in the struggle for independence, but also complete and absolute identification with the hopes of the mass of the people, who contest not only the foreign culture but also the foreign domination as a whole. Otherwise, the ‘return to the source’ is nothing more than an attempt to find short-term benefits – knowingly or unknowingly a kind of political opportunism.” (Cabral, 1973: 63).

The desire of some minority to “return to the source” by refusing foreign culture was dismissed by Cabral as he thought it could only influence a small number of urban intellectuals, so this could not be considered as an act of struggle against foreign domination (Cabral, 1974). The position taken by Cabral is rather interesting as he made it a point not to force people and asserts the importance of opposing “without violence, all prejudicial customs, the negative aspects of the beliefs and traditions of our people,” toward which he all the same shows admirable pedagogic tact (Parry, 2002):

“We are proud of not having forbidden our people to use fetishes, amulets and things of this sort, which call *mezinhas*...we let our people find out for themselves, through the struggle, that their fetishes are of no use”. (Cabral, 1972: 71, 129).

This is the example where Cabral's perception of people's culture differs from that of Fanon who saw it as irretrievably debased by colonisation but as I stated earlier in the chapter the two converge in that they both emerge proposing a revolutionary culture that can only emerge through the liberation struggle (Blackey, 1974; Jinadu, 1977; Chabal, 1983; Parry, 2002).

This materialist view of culture does not stand alone or a culture that is free floating but is embedded in society. The attraction in the way that Cabral emphasised the role of culture in this dialectical reciprocal terms gives an alternative interpretation from the "European guises where culture resembled the leisure activity of the middle classes through which they maintained their identity, or as the superstructure of an economic base" (Young, 2001: 289). Thus, for Cabral, the national liberation struggle as a historical act also became an act of cultural resistance to the extent that it is recognized that the object of national liberation is the freedom of a society and its values from foreign domination and therefore asserts that:

"At any moment, depending on internal and external factors determining the evolution of the society on question, cultural resistance (indestructible) may take on new forms (political, economic, armed) in order to fully contest foreign domination". (Cabral, 1973: 40).

The revolution for Cabral was to be more than just a struggle for independence. He expected that their efforts would lead to people freeing themselves from productive forces that had denied them the opportunity to move forward as a people. Cabral was irritated by those who argued that imperialism had made them enter history. Instead he put it that colonialism had denied the colonial subject of making history and this argument is captured in the eloquent passage that follows:

"There is a preconception held by many people, even on the left, that imperialism made us enter history at the moment when it began its adventure in our countries ...Our opinion is exactly the contrary. We consider that when imperialism arrived in Guinea it made us leave history – our history ... Somebody has asked which class is the 'agent' of history; here a distinction must be drawn between colonial history and our history as human societies; as a dominated people we only present one ensemble *vis-à-vis* the

oppressor... What commands history in colonial conditions is not the class struggle. I do not mean that the class struggle in Guinea stopped completely during the colonial period; it continued but in a muted way". (Cabral, 1969:56).

"The attraction of Cabral's emphasis on the role of culture is the result of the way in which he defines its reciprocal relation with history and the economic life of society" (Young, 2001: 289). For Cabral, the liberation struggle was only possible because people already possessed these qualities to rise up and fight for their liberation to achieve both their identity and dignity. What Cabral had to do was to use his organisational experience to set up the independence movement in Guinea-Bissau (PAIGC). First of all, by refusing colonialism, Africans were producing for themselves a meaning for their own actions. A people can only be subject of history when is able to give a meaning which exceeds and transcends the present. For this to happen, it becomes necessary for the people to forge a critical capacity towards the existing status quo. In other words, to have a capacity base that enables the people to translate into conscious thinking the experiences of oppression, hardship and denial, and then, in a further stage, be equipped with the necessary instruments for the understanding of historical foundations of its prevailing situation (Cabral, 1973). Cabral was able to reverse the trend of despair among the colonial people in Guinea-Bissau. Cabral held that the full development of a new cultural hegemony, through the action of liberated peoples, would have to come after the smashing of the colonial system and that independence attained through alliance politics was an insufficient accommodation and a missed opportunity to create a new culture (1972). His warning was that "*the liberation struggle is a revolution* that does not finish at the moment when the national flag is raised and the national anthem played," probably concerned about the reformist petty bourgeoisie, who he repeated, must lead simply to a neo-colonial outcome. The result was all the more assured because

" events have shown that the only social sector capable of being aware of the reality of imperialist domination, and of directing the state apparatus inherited from this domination, is the native petty

bourgeoisie...(and) this inevitability in our situation constitutes one of the weaknesses of the national liberation movement". (Cabral, 1969: 108).

These members had to first become aware of this foreign domination before embarking on removing it.

This chapter in recovering Cabral has shown that he is one source that offers organisation new ideas about theorising organisational culture in Africa during the anti-colonial struggle. With Cabral we have seen how organisational culture is produced from the bottom-up and it is both a means and an ends.

This reading and recovery of Cabral has tried to demonstrate how he explores the role of culture as a mobilising tool to create an opportunity to transform the life and structures of colonial subject. Cabral's wish was to see the elimination of all forms of foreign domination which he also argued was an opportunity to make history and begin anew and create a new culture.

Cabral therefore worked within an explicitly Marxist discourse and contributed the challenge to the assumptions that had been held before of distinguishing between 'historic' and 'non-historic' nations (Cabral, 1973). To assert that the history of humankind is the history of class struggle means according to Cabral (1980: 124)

"that various human groups in Africa, Asia and Latin America were living without history or outside history at that moment they were subjected to the yoke of imperialism."

The subjection to the yoke of imperialism links Cabral to the influence of Lenin. Lenin was of course attractive to Cabral because he did emphasize national culture as a source of revolution (Lenin, 1969). Cabral deepens and extends this by emphasizing grassroots culture, like Fanon (chapter 4), rather than bourgeois national culture which is something that Lenin did not sufficiently distinguish. Lenin could not see any possibility of meaningful contribution to the revolution from a culture of old Russia that included Tsarism, landlordism, oppression of nationalities and illiterate masses. Lenin in early December 1917, however,

signed an appeal by the People's Commissars, "To all toiling Muslims of Russia and the East", seeking their support for the revolution after the repression that Muslims had suffered under the Tsar, and declared:

"Muslims of Russia, Tatars of the Volga and the Crimea, Kirghiz and Sarts of Siberia and Turkestan, Turks and Tatars of Trans-Caucasia, Chechens and mountain Cossacks! All you, whose mosques and shrines have been destroyed, whose faith and customs have been violated by the Tsars and oppressors of Russia! Henceforth your beliefs and customs, your national and cultural institutions are declared free and inviolable! Build your national life freely and without hindrance. It is your right. Know that your rights, like those of all peoples of Russia, will be protected by the might of revolution, by the Council of Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies! (Cited in Wheeler, 1962: 12; Riddell 1993: 251).

This example shows an 'adaptation' of Leninist policy to all local and national requirements because in this way it became possible to join the universal culture, revolution, and communism sooner. According to Cabral (1973: 59-60), such general prescriptions ignored "the indestructible character of the cultural resistance of the masses of people when confronted with foreign domination". Cabral (1973: 59-60) argued that while imperialist domination seeks to understand indigenous cultures in order to manipulate, repress and destroy them, the people "continue to resist culturally even when their politico-military resistance is destroyed". "In Cabral's account, culture and identity are drawn together as a fulcrum of agency for both political and military resistance" (Young 2001: 291).

Cabral stands out as one of those Marxists who placed a great stress on national culture and the development of hegemony in the course of the struggle. Indeed, for Cabral (1980: 153) "the armed liberation struggle is not only a product of culture but also a *factor of culture*" (emphasis mine). Only someone who was alive to the divergences and differences within cultures as he was could creatively come to these formulations and arising out of organic structures of those societies themselves is a lesson that could immensely benefit organisation theory.

As matters stand, in organisational epistemology there is a tendency, knowingly or unknowingly for management and organisation theorising to lean towards a neo-colonialism in that it is assumed that the 'west knows best' and thus indigenous approaches to organisational theorizing seem to be eclipsed by the importation of western knowledge, irrespective of whether or not such knowledge is ethically appropriate in other contexts. The 'reading and recovery' of Cabral as an organisational thinker improves anti-colonial thinking, and marks another aspect of anti-colonial thinking that ought to show up in post-colonial thinking but does not. In the next chapter I will consider Frantz Fanon and the politicisation of a black identity in the anti-colonial struggle.

Chapter Four

Organisational Identity and its politicisation: Frantz Fanon

'In the world through which I travel, I am endlessly creating myself' (Fanon 1986: 229).

The theme of identity and social differences in organisational theory has always occupied an important part in the field (Hatch and Schultz, 2004; Pullen, et al. 2007). Insights drawn from psychology, sociology, economic and social history have contributed insights into understanding individuals and construction of their identities (Clark, et al. 1994). With these competing and complex perspectives, the concept of identity has seen dramatic social changes to creations and recreations of new conditions for identity (Sarup, 1996; Collinson, 2003; Hatch and Schultz, 2004; Web, 2006; Pullen, et al. 2007). Some experiences of these identities are 'more negative and constraining than others' (Webb, 2006). For Webb (2006:17)

"Different identity categories are also differentially salient: some are highly consequential, because they mark people out for differential treatment, whether in terms of material benefits, or discrimination and harassment; these are likely to have enduring personal significance. Other identity categories may become prominent only in certain contexts, or at different stages of life, and yet others may be proactively used as resources for political mobilisation and resistance."

The proactive use of the concept of identity as intimated by Webb (2006) sets the premise in this chapter for a 'recovery and reading' of Frantz Fanon, psychiatrist, philosopher, social scientist and revolutionary African anti-colonial activist (Gordon, et al. 1996; Young, 2001) as a theorist of organisation and as an identity theorist. One of Fanon's main concerns was the constitution of self-identity in particular, what effects an exploitative system like colonialism had on the black identity (Gordon, 1995; Sarup, 1996). His writings promote the construction of a politically-conscious, unified, revolutionary self that is in struggle against the oppressor (Fanon, 1967; 1986; Gordon, 1995; Mbembe, 2005). Fanon (1986, 1967) thought of organisational identity as something that

determines individual identity almost completely and constrains the colonial subject, but at the same time he thought that the colonial subject was capable of completely throwing off this organisation and creating a new organisation and a new identity. This differs from the structure versus agency debates about identity in crediting both with much power, rather than emphasising one or the other.

My argument in this chapter is that Fanon's ideas fit within the context of identity theories and I shall explore the ways in which this might be transposed into the area of organisation theory, in which the subject of identity is a key part. We can get a new understanding by 'reading and recovering' him this way as his work has multiple levels and lends itself to different types of interests and perspectives (see, Reed, 1996; Gordon, 1995; Gordon, et al. 1996; Khalfa, 2005). Fanon's work has not made an impact in organisation studies, but the influence of his work is evidenced by almost half a century of academic studies, at least five full-length biographies, dozens of books and hundreds of articles as well as a film on his life, *Frantz Fanon: Black Skin, White Mask* (1996) directed by Isaac Francis. Young (2001: 275) credits Fanon that:

"The concern in postcolonial writing with individual human experience and cultural identity alongside the more objective field of history is partly the result of the influence of Fanon himself, who has assumed a pivotal place in postcolonial theory."

Fanon became very concerned that colonialism had distorted the black personality and self (Fanon, 1986). Fanon first experienced this black experience of black alienation in France (Fanon, 1986) and then in Algeria (Fanon, 1967).

The interest and perspective that emerges from my reading and recovery of Fanon is a contribution to a black identity and its politicisation. Since Fanon is not relatively read in organisation studies, I shall begin by providing a biography that introduces him and then move into a brief summary overview of the debates in organisation theory on the concept of identity. This should set the ground to open up the space for Fanon's ideas on identity and their relevance to organisation.

Biography

The biographical details of Frantz Fanon seem to be well-known with a lot of writing in the sixties touching on this aspect of his background (Geismar, 1969; de Beauvoir, 1963; "Homage to Frantz Fanon" 1962, especially the contribution of Juminer; Gordon, 1966). But in the field of organization studies much is still not known about him so I will shed light on what are the key moments in his life journey. Fanon was born in 1925 on the island of Martinique. Owens Moore (2005: 753) makes the connection "that two other revolutionary figures were also born in 1925 (i.e., Malcolm X and Patrice Lumumba)." He was born into a mixed family background: his father was the descendent of African slaves, and his mother was said to be an illegitimate child of mixed race, whose white ancestors came from Strasbourg in Alsace. He was the fifth of eight children and the youngest of four sons (Gordon, et al. 1996).

The family was relatively well-off for Martiniquans, but far from middle class, leading Tony Martin (1970) to refer to this upbringing as 'bourgeois' since they could afford the fees for the *Lycée Schoelcher*, then the most prestigious high school in Martinique (a circumstance which at the time was only available to approximately 4 percent of the black population in Martinique). This is where famed poet and chief architect of negritude and author of *Discours sur le colonialisme* (1955) *Discourse on Colonialism* (1972) and *Cahier d'un retour au pays natal* (1956) *Notebook of a Return to my Native Land* (1995), Aimé Césaire was Frantz Fanon's teacher (Gordon, et al. 1996).

Fanon's seventeenth birthday in 1942 saw his island fall under Nazi occupation, a situation which had a great transformative impact on him because of the way that the black Antillean population was treated (Gordon et al. 1996). Fanon later discussed these experiences in an essay titled, "*Antillais et Africains*" (Gordon, et al. 1996). It is told that Fanon escaped from the island by rowing to the island of Dominica where he trained for six months before joining the Allied forces against Germany in north Africa and then in Europe (Gordon, et al. 1996). Fanon's time

in the forces saw him experience a number of indignities both at the hands and voices of the white French settlers and the Arabic population but this did not deter him as he fought with bravery earning him honours as a war hero and being awarded the *Croix de Guerre*. The indignities that Fanon and other black soldiers like him suffered are captured by Bulham (1979: 28) who relates that:

"The racism and humiliation Fanon and his friends experienced in the French Army was only exceeded by the abuses that the French populace they came to free poured upon them. When, for instance, these black soldiers disembarked in the port city of Toulon, in central France, they found the residents extremely hostile and racist...even in victory, during mass dances or dinners held to welcome French troops, Fanon realised that the blood of black soldiers had been shed in vain. The very Europeans for whose liberation blacks risked their lives now avoided them. Public dances and victory celebrations only added insult to injury. European women found it easier to dance and mingle with Italian war prisoners. When Fanon returned to Martinique, decorated and a war veteran of almost two years, he brought with him not only memories regarding the horrors of war, but also serious doubts about his identity as a Frenchman. He immediately worked in the election campaign of Césaire, the Communist candidate".

In 1945 Fanon returned to Martinique to study Philosophy and found Martinique in the middle of elections for deputies for French Parliament (Bulham, 1979; Young, 2001). For Young (2001: 275) this was the "first moment of political radicalization under the influence of the electoral campaign of [his former teacher] Aime Césaire, who had recently joined the Communist Party." But Bulham (1979) alludes to the fact that the war experience and the ungrateful treatment and the horrors of war probably radicalized the young Fanon.

After the elections, Fanon took advantage of scholarships that were available to French war veterans and wanted to study dentistry but changed his mind, opting for psychiatry (Young, 2001; Gordon, et al. 1996). This decision took him to Lyon where he also studied literature, drama and philosophy, sometimes attending Merleau-Ponty's sessions. Whilst training for psychiatry at Lyon, Fanon edited a black journal called *Tam-Tam* (Gordon, et al. 1996; Young, 2001).

After qualifying as a psychiatrist in 1951, Fanon did a residency in psychiatry under the radical Catalan *Francois de Tosquelles*, who invigorated Fanon's thinking by emphasizing the important but yet often overlooked role of culture in psychopathology. After his residency, Fanon practiced psychiatry in France for another year and then (from 1953) in Algeria where he also married a young white Frenchwoman Marie-Josèphe (Josie) Dublé whom he had met during his studies in France (Gordon, et al. 1996). He was made *chef de service* at the Blida-Joinville Psychiatric Hospital in Algeria, where he stayed until his resignation or defection in 1956 to join the side of the Algerian rebels *Front de Liberation Nationale* (FLN) against France (Martin 1970; Gordon, et al. 1996; Young, 2001). Robert Young (2001: 275) notes that this was the second moment of political radicalization for Fanon. The editor of *Wasafiri Journal* Khalfa (2005: 5) is succinct when he asserts that Fanon's "short life and works were so constantly brimming with the urgency of indignation and later on, a feeling of revolt at the imminence of death, that it is so hard to imagine him as an old man...He had been part of all the major wars of his time", both through his writings and his political actions. From that point onward, Fanon served as one of the chief theoreticians of the Algerian struggle and became a marked man. There were "numerous assassination attempts on his life that also included the bombing of an automobile, in which he was the sole survivor and the machine gunning of a hospital room in which he was reported to have been staying" (Gordon, et al. 1996: 3-4). These attempts on his life did not dissuade him from his commitments as he went on to serve as Algeria's ambassador to Kwame Nkrumah's newly independent Ghana (Young, 2001).

Fanon participated in numerous organizing activities in Tunis where he also did a lot of writing as one of the editors of the FLN newspaper, *El Moudjahid* which also published much of his writing (Martin, 1970; Young, 2001: 275). During this period he also founded Africa's first psychiatric clinic. It did not come as a surprise that Frantz Fanon's politics and stance also made him one of the most hated figures in France (Gordon, et al. 1996).

Frantz Fanon is a towering figure in 'Africana philosophy' and twentieth century revolutionary thought and his dedication to the cause of the liberation of Africa was without doubt one of the most enduring. Gordon, et al. (1996: 1) credits him for posing some of the most pressing questions that spanned many political milieux and academic disciplines of philosophy, psychiatry, social science, and literature; after all he was a psychiatrist, philosopher, social scientist and revolutionary. By the time his revolutionary ambitions were cut short by leukaemia in 1961 he had amassed a body of critical work that today establishes his position as a leading revolutionary theoretician of black consciousness and identity, nationalism and its failings, colonial rule and the inherently "violent" task of decolonization, language as an index of power, miscegenation, and the objectification of the performative black body (Read, 1996; Gordon, 1995; Gordon, et al. 1996; Hall, 1996; Wasafiri, *Frantz Fanon Special Issue*, 2005). These thoughts and meditations were published in the following works: *Peau noire, masques blancs* (1952) (Black Skin, White Masks 1967), *L'An V de la Revolution Algérienne* (1959) (A Dying Colonialism or Year Five of the Algerian Revolution), *Pour la revolution africaine* (1964) (Toward the African Revolution), and *Les Damnés de la Terre* (1961) (The Wretched of the Earth 1963), of which this latter book Stuart Hall describes as the "the bible of decolonization movement" (Young, 2001). The writer Caryl Phillips (2001: 129) also refers to "Fanon's *Black Skin, White Masks* and *The Wretched of the Earth* as works that became his Old and New Testament." "In 1961 when it was first discovered that he was suffering from leukaemia, he was first treated in the Soviet Union but his Russian doctors then convinced him against his better instincts to go for treatment in the USA" (Young, 2001: 275). His worst fears were confirmed on arrival as the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) kept him in a hotel room without treatment for ten days while grilling him for information (Gordon, et al. 1996; Young, 2001). He died on the 6th of December, 1961 in the United States, "the same year Du Bois departed the United States for Ghana" (Moore, 2005: 756).

Let us now move to explore some examples of how identities have been treated in organisational analyses.

Identity in organisation studies

Inside organisation theory, there has been a new growing interest in exploring identity at work (Collinson, 2003; Hatch and Schultz, 2004; Clark, et al. 1994; Web, 2006; Pullen, et al. 2007; Nyathi and Harney, 2007). For Collinson (2003) this highlights the ambiguities and multiplicities of workplace selves. Collinson (2003) illustrates how organisations not only produce products and services but, in important and symbolic material ways, also produce people and their identities. The interests in selves and subjects at work has a long history in organisation theory where the theme of identity has often been expressed in the form of the individual and the individual in organisation, the individual and motivation, the individual as a follower in leadership theory, the individual in relation to change and the individual in relation to classification of organisation studies (Freud, 1964; Eysenck, 1972; Mead, 1934; Maslow, 1943; Vroom, 1964; Milgram, 1965; Merton, 1968; Kanter, 1977; Janis, 1982; Giddens, 1991; Dutton, et al. 1994; Elsbach, 1999; Albert, et al. 2000; Albert and Whetten, 1995; Alvesson and Willmott, 2002; Hatch and Shultz, 2004; Web 2006; Pullen, et al. 2007).

Much of the recent empirical work looking at the 'selves and subjects at work' (Collinson, 2003) informed by sociological perspectives on organisations has been in business and management schools where studies deploying Marxist theories, radical interpretations of Weber's work and Foucault's writings on power have been adopted to aid analyses of organisations as workplaces (Merton, 1968; Clegg and Dunkerley, 1980; Parker, 2000; Reed, 1985; Thompson and McHugh, 2002). The arguments are that our senses of self and social identities are significantly shaped by our experiences of organisations, our independence on them for political, economic and cultural infrastructure, and our development of new organisational expertise that reshapes societies (Collinson, 2003; Webb, 2006). We find ourselves living in an era where organisations have become key

actors in coordinating social life across space and time and the concept of identity has been elevated to the fore, accounting for the connections between organisations and people's senses of themselves (Webb, 2006). In this sense organisation theory has sought to explore how identities are shaped by organisational processes, with evidence about people's experiences, actions and forms of compliance, consent and resistance (Hatch and Schultz, 2004).

Let us go further by exploring some of the generally held views which have been valuable insights in bringing an understanding of individuals and the construction of their identities in organisation studies. These are complex yet they eventually come to be workers of all kinds with varied experiences of class, family, education, gender, race etc (Clark, et al. 1994; Webb, 2006). Freud (1964) delineates his psychoanalytical theory of three inner areas of the mind (named as the id, ego and super ego) and argues that this explains the understanding of the make-up of personality. Psychoanalysis has always been controversial. Eysenck (1972) on the other hand turns to 'behaviourism and psychology' arguing that personality is the fundamental unit of psychology and that traits exhibited by people, such as introversion and extroversion are 'capable of being accurately observed and precisely measured and meaningfully quantified'. But these have been found not to have gone far enough and turn to Mead (1934) who asserts that the development of individual consciousness takes place with the influence of social experience. According to Mead (1934: 134) the self only becomes the self by means of "reflexiveness...the turning back of the experience of the individual upon himself... (*in this way*) the whole process is ...brought into the existence of the individuals involved in it". Mead tried to show how the individual is constructed and how they exhibit a variety of behaviours and move to later research which has sought to emphasise aspects of the whole.

Merton (1968) shows how the structure of an organisation, in this case bureaucracy, can act to shape the personality of the individual who may become the bureaucrat, bound by rules regardless of the ends to which the rules are

directed. Both Whyte (1963) and Kanter (1977) whilst there are separated by 21 years there is much similarity in their writing, as well as some fundamental difference. But both analyse the way in which values, opportunity and power are geared to produce the 'right' individuals for the organisation. For Whyte (1963) the organisation man has to be the 'well-rounded' man who is moulded and made in the image of the corporation. Kanter (1977) takes this further locating this making and moulding in the traditional male structure of opportunity and power which continues to select 'organisation men' even if now there are women with the qualifications and desire to be, if not 'organisation' men, then women in the organisation.

Organisational identity supposedly represents the form, by which organisational members define themselves as a social group in relation to their external environment, and how they distinguish and differentiate themselves from either their competitors or other groups (see, Dutton, et al. 1994; Fiol, et al. 1998). The paradox of organisational identity in organisation theory is that members of an organisation actually do shape and are shaped by the organisation's identity. The stimulant to exploring this stance has been Foucault's (1970, 1980, 1982) work on power and the regulation of subjectivity leading to insightful analyses of organisations attempting these (see, Ackroyd and Thompson, 1999; Knights, 2004). These perspectives unfortunately, according to Webb (2006: 7) "produce its own deterministic orthodoxy that sees little if any scope for resistance or social change". Other writers in organisation have already come to the conclusion that organisations have already eradicated employee resistance (see, Casey, 1995; Ray, 1986; Sewell and Wilkinson, 1992). This of course has been built on the assumption that organisations can successfully align personal identities with organisational 'brand' identity (Webb, 2006). For Casey (1996), this aligning of employee identity with organisational goals is linked with 'designer work cultures' as well as efforts to get employees and clients alike to 'love the organisation' (Alvesson and Willmott, 2002; Thompson and Warhurst, 1998).

Organisational identity therefore makes sense only if the members recognise and embrace the distinctiveness of their organisation in different situations and across various themes, such as decisions, actions and policies. Hatch and Schultz, (2004) show how corporations and public service bodies have themselves been increasingly investing large sums of money in the creation of a corporate 'identity', as they aim to win hearts and minds of customers, clients and employees. For example at its most basic organisational identity has been used to refer to 'corporate image' (Hatch and Schultz, 2004), and assumed to play significant roles in understanding strategic change (Gioia and Thomas, 1996), motivation and commitment (Maslow, 1943; Vroom, 1964; Dutton, et al. 1994; Elsbach, 1999) as well knowledge sharing (Alvesson, 2001; Empson, 2001).

Organisations want people to increasingly draw their identities through work which is an exploitative environment that attempts to be all embracing and accommodating but this is debilitating and a disavowal of identity (Collinson, 2003; Nyathi and Harney, 2007). This disavowal of identity has seen works (see for example Sewell and Wilkinson, 1992; Webster and Robins 1993) "that have left little scope for knowing forms of agency and resistance treating identity as constituted through discursive 'regimes of truth', with subjects becoming passive carriers of power/knowledge discourse" (Webb, 2006: 18). These studies draw from Foucault (1988) who put forward the idea that these discourses are not simply imposed from the 'external' environment, but that people develop self-discipline, or 'techniques of the self', which enable them to maintain their sense of identity 'internally'. The issue that I want to recover in this chapter is that of collective action and identity. Let us now turn to the work of Fanon who thinks of organisational identity as something that determines individual identity almost completely and constrains the colonial subject, but at the same time he thinks that the colonial subject is capable of completely throwing off this organisation and creating a new organisation and a new identity.

Fanon and Colonialism (and Identity)

"To put Africa in motion, to cooperate in its organisation, in its regrouping, behind revolutionary principles. To participate in the ordered movement of a continent – this was really the work I had chosen. The first point of departure, the first base was represented by Guinea. Then Mali, ready for anything, fervent and brutal, coherent and singularly keen, extended the bridgehead and opened the valuable prospects. To the East, Lumumba was marking time. The Congo which constituted the second landing beach for revolutionary ideas was in a painful and inextricable network of sterile contradictions. The colonialist citadels of Angola, Mozambique, Kenya, the Union of South Africa were not ripe to be effectively conquered.

Yet everything was set. And here the colonialist system of defence, while discordant, was reviving old particularisms and breaking up the lava. For the moment it was therefore necessary to hang on in the Congo and advance in the West. ⁴

"The philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways," said Marx (1998: 571). "The point, however, is to change it." And Fanon set out to change it, as his diary attests, and tried to provide a new vision for humanity (Moore, 2005). Questions of identity and alienation occupied a larger part of his vehement advocacy of anti-colonialism. His concern was precisely the "articulation of the political upon the individual" (Khalifa, 2005: 6) or what Gordon (1996: 10) refers to as "the radical posing of the question of Man". Fanon took politics and power as a curative instance which could be used as cure of the soul as the first step to healing oneself in order to relate to the other. The key for him was the recovery of one's identity, dignity, humanity and in that regard he was within the tradition of black experience and thought (Mbembe, 2005) from thinkers before him and after him who had a dream of arriving one day to a moment when humanity was free from race.

Fanon took time to illustrate the psychic damage that injustice and an exploitative prejudiced system like colonialism heaped on the heads of its victims, the

⁴ Translation of the facsimile reproduction of the opening page of the diary Fanon kept in the summer of 1960, during a trip through Western Africa aimed at opening a line of support for the Algerian fighters from the South. (translation from: Frantz Fanon, *Toward the African Revolution*, Writers and Readers Co-op, London, 1980, pp. 177-178)

colonised. Fanon analysed the impact of white colonialism on blacks in studies which, influenced by Sartre's existentialism as well as by psychoanalysis, showed the deforming effect in both peoples. Fanon and Sartre spoke to each other. Sartre's influence was apparent even in Fanon's first book and he wrote the introduction to Fanon's last work, *Les Damnés de la Terre* (*The Wretched of the Earth*). Their thoughts also speak to organisation studies but their voices have not been heard at all. Kruks's (1996: 123) assertion in acknowledging the contribution of the pioneering work of these two thinkers is therefore not misplaced when she states that:

"This recasting of an earlier universalistic politics of recognition that today culminates in identity politics had, I believe, its classic philosophical formulation in the early works of Sartre and Fanon. Principal are Sartre's treatment of the 'Jewish question', and Fanon's creative and critical re-appropriation of that analysis in terms of black identity."

Fanon had begun to think about the politics of identity in his first book, *Black Skin, White Masks* (1952) where he made influential statements of anti-colonial revolutionary thought by identifying the effects of colonialism. In this brilliant work that also touches on his personal journey and identity, he ponders about what to do about this black alienation and distorted personality created by colonialism. In his latter work, *The Wretched of the Earth*, Fanon offers his theory about how best to overcome this colonial condition. I shall explore this theory in more detail and how it is tied to the concept of identity later in the chapter. Meanwhile I will continue to explore Fanon's issue with colonialism. Fanon, as we shall see, understood his own status as an Europeanised colonial subject, belittled by a dominant French culture, partly in relation to assimilated but racially abused metropolitan Jews (Fanon, 1967; Bulham, 1979; Cheyette, 2005). In that regard he spoke from a personal experience. Moreover, Fanon arrived at this juncture in his intellectual thought as a result of the explicit notion of experience. Fanon's teachings therefore sought a way out of this colonial experience and argued for the necessity to completely break from and create society anew. In *Black Skin, White Mask*, Fanon (1952) "suggests that because both the black body and the

black psyche have been profoundly damaged by racism, freedom should be fundamentally understood as a cure, the aim of which is to endow oneself and the immanent world with a new meaning, a new moral law, created or laid down by oneself" (Mbembe, 2005: 297). Here Fanon was following a long tradition of black thought and experience of thinkers whose philosophical critique responded to and was influenced by the historical experience of captivity, bondage, colonial subjugation, and racism such as Garvey, Du Bois, Césaire, Senghor and Washington just to name a few. Césaire (1972: 9) for instance produced a seminal text, *Discourse on Colonialism*, critiquing the civilising mission of colonialism with all its pretensions of progress and development, noting its ravaging effects denying human plurality. Césaire and his text must have had a profound influence on Fanon. According to Césaire (1972: 9) colonialism under the disguise of civilising mission was indefensible and asserted that:

"A civilization that proves incapable of solving the problems it creates is a descent civilization. A civilization that chooses to close its eyes to its most crucial problems is a stricken civilization. A civilization that uses its principles for trickery and deceit is a dying civilization.

The fact is that the so-called European civilization – "Western" civilization – as it has been shaped by two centuries of bourgeois rule, is incapable of solving the two major problems to which its existence has given rise: the problem of the proletariat and the colonial problem; that Europe is unable to justify itself either before the bar of "reason" or before the bar of "conscience"; and that, increasingly, it takes refuge in a hypocrisy which is all the more odious because it is less and less likely to deceive. Europe is indefensible."

In this text Césaire was more concerned with examining colonialism rather than celebrating a unified and dignified black identity espoused by *Negritude*⁵ which he became known for, coined with Senghor and Damas. Césaire argument puts the point across that colonial rule was not an accidental departure from the ineluctable improvement of humanity celebrated by European Enlightenment, but the natural product of Western civilisation's dark and destructive side. This unmasking of colonialism is exactly what Fanon did. Despite this specific focus on anti colonial thought by Fanon, for Young (2001: 276) he

⁵ Through negritude the colonised sought to reverse the representations ascribed to them, to turn those negative entities into positive images (Ahluwalia 2001).

"always remained intellectually centred in Paris, and never resisted European thought as such, as much as he resisted European domination of the colonial world. A product of the western-educated colonial elite, Fanon used the resources of western thought against itself. What he did was to translate its epistemological location."

In that aspect, he was like C.L.R James.

In *The Wretched of the Earth* Fanon offered his response to what was to be done about the problem created by colonial organisation and identity. Firstly, he stated that the colonial society was a world divided into compartments (Fanon, 1967: 29) where the whites lived in their own town quarters, with their own schools and hospitals whilst the natives had their own. In this way of life and system the whites despised the natives whilst the natives envied but hated the whites. Young (2001: 281) asserts that, "from this, it follows that all colonial situations can equally be written about in common, as the dialectical struggle between native and settler, colonised and coloniser: "The colonial world is a world cut in two" (Fanon, 1967: 29-31). Fanon (1967: 30-31) in his own words:

"This world divided into compartments, this world cut in two is inhabited by two different species. The originality of the colonial context is that economic reality, inequality and the immense ways of life never come to mask the human realities. When you examine at close quarters the colonial context, it is evident that what parcels out the world is to begin with the fact of belonging to or not belonging to a given race, a given species. In the colonies the economic substructure is also a superstructure. The cause is the consequence; you are rich because you are white, you are white because you are rich. This is why Marxist analyses should always be slightly stretched every time we have to do with the colonial problem."

Fanon (1967: 29) however, felt that he had worked out a method and wanted to examine closely this system of compartments and that by doing that will come to reveal the lines of force it implied. Fanon (1967: 29) thought that this

"approach to colonial world, its ordering and its geographical lay-out will allow us to mark out the lines on which a decolonised society will be reorganised."

Between these two worlds there is no intermediary; the soldier and policeman represented naked violence. The church for instance has the task of destroying the indigenous culture:

"The church in the colonies is the white people's church, the foreigner's church. She does not call the native to God's ways but to the ways of white man, of the master, of the oppressor. And as we know, in this matter many are called but few are chosen..."

"All those saints who have turned the other cheek, who have forgiven trespasses against them, who have been spat on and insulted without shrinking are studied and held up as examples." (Fanon, 1967: 32, 52).

This statement by Fanon has resonances of Biblical lines and doing nothing about this condition was not acceptable. Fanon (1967) wanted to cease the moment or to put in his favourite phrase "had to shake themselves" and no longer turn the other cheek. He had analysed this situation and understood it very well. Fanon had come to the conclusion that the colonised and coloniser were locked up in mental shackles and that these needed to be destroyed for a new identity to come through. Fanon's biggest concern was with the colonised subject whom he argued had adopted the identity of the colonisers, viewing themselves in their eyes (Fanon, 1986, 1967). Fanon (1967: 114) argued that

"The colonized peoples, the peoples who have been robbed, must lose the habits of mind which have characterised them up to now. If need be the native can accept a compromise with colonialism, but never a surrender of principle".

He therefore advocated the road to freedom and liberation, the road to self recovery from what colonialism had taken away (Fanon 1963). The identity of the colonised was for Fanon a key site of struggle which laid the door open for emancipation as in awakening that identity first lay the opportunity to recovery and freedom. Fanon believed that the colonial subject was capable of agency despite the structure imposed by colonial organisation which constrained them. To overthrow this identity and organisation, Fanon pointed to the opposite, the contradiction of French barbarity, French colonialism. Fanon (1967: 169) wrote, colonialism

"...is not satisfied merely with holding a people in its grip and emptying the native's brain of all form and content. By a kind of perverted logic, it turns to the past of the oppressed people, and distorts, disfigures and destroys it. This work of devaluing pre-colonial history takes on a dialectical significance today.

When we consider the efforts made to carry out the cultural estrangement so characteristic of the colonial epoch, we realise that nothing has been left to chance and that the total result looked for by

colonial domination was indeed to convince the natives that colonialism came to lighten their darkness. The effect consciously sought by colonialism was to drive into the natives' heads the idea that if the settlers were to leave, they would at once fall back into barbarism, degradation and bestiality."

Recognising the powers of agency and its distinction from social structures, even as these continuously interact whereby structure constrains and conditions agency, Fanon shows us that agency could elaborate and redefine those structures (colonial structures) by completely overthrowing that organisation. Fanon's method towards this new identity and new organisation has often attracted a lot of criticism and that is the subject matter of 'violence' which is the next section.

Fanon and the importance of Violence (and identity)

"Violence alone, violence committed by the people, violence organised and educated by the leaders, makes it possible for the masses to understand social truths and gives the key to them. Without that struggle, without that knowledge of the practice of action, there is nothing but a fancy-dress parade and the blare of trumpets". (Fanon, 1967: 118).

Fanon maintained that violence had "positive and creative qualities." Fanon believed that Africa required revolutionary violence to throw off the shackles of its colonial past in order to attain a true socialism and therefore a new organisation and identity. 'Concerning Violence' is the title of Fanon's first chapter in *The Wretched of the Earth* "originally given as his dramatic and polemic intervention at Nkrumah's historic All Africa's People's Conference held in Accra in 1958" (Young, 2001: 280). The acceptance of violence marked a great shift in the colonial struggle in Africa (Young, 2001). The Pan-African movement had chosen as its method "positive action" meaning non-violence following Gandhian protest and this was successfully employed by Nkrumah in Ghana (Nkrumah, 1957; Young, 2001). But with Cabral's experience of Portuguese brutality in Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde and Fanon's experience of French terror, it was clear that "positive action" was no longer appropriate to bring change (Young, 2001). According to Fanon violence purifies, destroying not only the category of white, but that of black too. The identities that had been ascribed to coloniser and the

colonised could then in this process be changed and a new identity and new organisation could thus be borne. For Fanon, identity was changeable even though the colonial organisation had fixed a certain identity. This standpoint from Fanon led Amery (1971) to title his paper: *The Birth of Man from the Spirit of Violence: Frantz Fanon the Revolutionary*. His interpretation of what Fanon meant by revolutionary violence is precise;

“Revolutionary violence is the affirmation of the self-realising human being against the negation, the denial of the human being. Its negativity has a positive charge. Repressive violence blocks the way to the self-realization of the human being; revolutionary violence breaks through that barrier, refers and leads to the more temporal, the historical humane future” (Amery, 2005: 16).

Amery (2005: 16) goes on to assert that Fanon had foresight in advocating this strategy and the benefit for him was that:

“Repressive violence ‘broke down’ not just the oppressed, however, but also the bearers of repression. Revolutionary violence on the other hand transforms not only today’s revolutionary, but yesterday’s oppressor, into human beings. Its liberation cuts both ways, otherwise it would be without historic value. It saves even the master of violence from his destructive desire to make his fellow human being suffer”.

Fanon thus believed that it was important to be absolutely free of the past and that this could only be achieved through a total revolution and the road to realise this was through “absolute violence”. Fanon thus argued that only by violence can colonialism be destroyed and that it was only by violence that the colonised countries could liberate themselves. In his chapter on ‘Concerning Violence’ he first analysed the situation on the national level then considered the international level perhaps with the aim to gauge the consequences of the Algerian situation. On a national level, Fanon believed that violence could help nation-building; unified people providing *cement mixed with blood and anger* which would have benefited individuals. This is how Fanon (1967: 74) delineates his theory ‘concerning violence’ and what transformation could be achieved by the colonised in that process:

“At the level of individuals, violence is a cleansing force. It frees the native from his inferiority complex and from his despair and inaction; makes him fearless and restores his self-respect. Even if the armed struggle has been symbolic and the nation is demobilised through a rapid movement of decolonization, the people have the time to see that the liberation has been the business of each and all and that the

leader has no special merit... when the people have taken violent part in the national liberation they will allow no one to set themselves up as 'liberators'. They will show themselves to be jealous of the results of their action and take good care not to place their future, their destiny or the fate of their country in the hands of a living god. Yesterday they were completely irresponsible; today they mean to understand everything and make all decisions. Illuminated by violence, the unconscious of the people rebels against any pacification".

The assertion about violence suggests a painful way of changing and attaining a new individual and organisational identity but is a necessary step for the colonial subject. This advocating for violence is one aspect that has ignited so much criticism of Fanon in postcolonial studies. However, Fanon must be read in his historical context that was confronting the problem of colonial state violence that Algerians faced in their everyday lives. Fanon was concerned to explain and justify the use of violence, and to persuade others of the importance of the Algerian cause. Critics of Fanon here fail to take cognisance of French brutality in Algeria; Fanon (1980: 54) describes the circumstances and the bitter mood of this brutal war by depicting some stark realities and writes:

"Having to react in rapid succession to the massacre of Algerian civilians in the mountains and in the cities, the revolutionary leadership found that if it wanted to prevent the people from being gripped by terror it had no choice but to adopt terror which until then it had been rejected. This phenomenon has not sufficiently analyzed..."

Sartre writing in the preface to *The Wretched of the Earth* was himself concerned about this violence that had been taking place and poses the question whether this catastrophic process (Algerian war) can be stopped, and if so, how. His answer to this question is rather tentative but interesting and reads as follows:

"Yes. For violence, like Achilles' lance, can heal the wounds that it has inflicted... This is the end of the dialectic; you condemn this war but do not dare declare yourselves to be on the side of the Algerian fighters... Then, perhaps, when your back is to the wall, you will let loose at the new violence which is raised up in you by old, often-repeated crimes. But, as they say, that's another story: the history of mankind. The time is drawing nearer, I am sure, when we will join ranks of those who make it". (Fanon, 1967: 25-6).

Fanon to his defence, went on to demonstrate not only politically how colonialism was a system founded on violence, but also in terms of its violence to the history of the colonised people whose humanity, dignity and identity had been taken away. He did this in an effective way and also managed to capture and describe the historical colonial violence and the everyday basis of colonial power.

Of significance is Fanon's demonstration of the resistance of the colonial subject to identification with the colonial organisation and the personal identity ascribed to them which was constraining and negative. This is however, not permanent as the colonial subject could exercise agency to achieve change and according to Fanon, violence was one process that could shatter the colonial identity and organisation in order for a new one to be created. I now move to consider the consequences of trying to fix national culture and identity.

Fanon and national culture (and Identity)

"A national culture is not a folklore, nor an abstract populism that believes it can discover the people's true nature. It is not made up of the inert dregs of gratuitous actions, that is to say actions which are less and less attached to the ever present reality of the people. A national culture is the whole body of efforts made by a people in the sphere of thought to describe, justify and praise the action through which that people has created itself and keeps itself in existence. A national culture in under-developed countries should therefore take its place at the very heart of the struggle for freedom which these countries are carrying on. Men of African cultures who are still fighting in the name of African-Negro culture and who have called many people congresses in the name of the unity of that culture should today realise that all their efforts amount to is to make comparisons between coins and sarcophagi" (Fanon, 1967: 188) (emphasis added bolding text).

This eloquent passage above is one of Fanon's rigorous articulations that anticipate some of the most radical positions of our contemporary criticism. Anderson (1983: 15) coined the phrase "imagined community" which for the colonial societies, as Fanon asserts above, was the foci for resistance to this imperial control. In this shared concept of community and the idea of a nation, the colonial subjects were able to invent a self-image through which they act to liberate themselves from the colonial organisation and identity. Fanon explains that 'national identity' only carries meaning insofar as it reflects the combined

revolutionary efforts of an oppressed people aiming at collective liberation. Fanon's analysis projected the pattern of cultural revolution among the colonised both during and even after the colonial era. Fanon, however, has no time for traditional African culture, and thinks it destroyed or perhaps thought it simply incapable of delivering what he wants and that is socialism. Mbembe (2001; 2003), a contemporary postcolonial theorist shares in this assertion and in his case thinks it incapable too, of delivering civil liberties. Fanon demonstrates in the passage above, that there ought to be a reciprocal relationship between national culture and the fight for freedom, a relationship in which national culture subserves national liberation. His emphasis was placed on the present and immediate but did not totally discount insights which the past could provide in the process of national liberation. For Fanon (1967: 187), the nationalist writer's preoccupation with the past must be "with the intention of opening the future, as an invitation to action and a basis for hope". However, Fanon was also one of the earliest theorists to warn of 'the pitfall of national consciousness', of its becoming an 'empty shell', a travesty of what might have been (Fanon, 1967: 119). Here, Fanon was concerned about the dangers of a national bourgeoisie using nationalism to maintain its own power which he pointed out was one of the principal dangers of nationalism. Fanon's warning was that the national bourgeoisie took over the hegemonic control of the imperial power, and argued that this replicated the conditions that they rose to combat. For Fanon, this manipulation of organisational identity and control was monocular and often opened the way for sometimes a xenophobic view of identity and a coercive view of national commitment.

Fanon thus saw this outcome as a "false decolonization" (a false identity) that Africa had achieved, leaving real power in the hands of foreigners and their "agents" among the ruling elites. Fanon argued that what was needed was an overthrow of an entire system in order to create a new identity and organisation. This new identity and organisation was not possible to achieve whilst the old one existed. It had to be a complete break from the old in order for the new to come

out. This is an important insight for organisation theory in practice, that there has to be moments when there must be a complete break with the old in order to create a new organisation and identity. For Fanon, the cure was not a matter of recovering some original propriety (African culture, tradition or customs) and authentic plenitude which has been expropriated (Mbembe, 2005: 297). Fanon (1963: 168-9) asserts:

"It is in fact a commonplace to state that for several decades large numbers of research workers have, in the main, rehabilitated the African, Mexican and Peruvian civilizations. The passion with which native intellectuals defend the existence of their national culture may be a source of amazement; but those who condemn this exaggerated passion are strangely apt to forget that their own psyche and their own selves are conveniently sheltered behind a French or German culture which has given full proof of its existence and which is uncontested.

I am ready to concede that on the plane of factual being the past experience of an Aztec civilization does not change anything very much in the diet of the Mexican peasant today. I admit that all the proofs of a wonderful Songhai are under-fed and illiterate, thrown between sky and water with empty heads and empty eyes. But it has been remarked several times that his passionate search for a national culture which existed before the colonial era find its legitimate reason in the anxiety shared by native intellectuals to shrink away from that Western culture in which they all risk being swamped. Because they realise they are in danger of losing their lives and thus becoming lost to their people these people, these men, hot-headed and with anger in their hearts, relentlessly determine to renew contact once more with the oldest and most pre-colonial springs of life of their people."

The crux of Fanon's thought, as depicted by his incisive words above, was to challenge and to liberate the colonial subject from all forms of psychological domination enacted by the colonial identity and organisation as well as anticipating the period after independence, warning about searching for glorious identities of the past that were no longer useful to the organisational identity of the present. Those cultures in the past, were for him, entirely devalued and evacuated of future possibility. Fanon (1967: 117) then placed great emphasis on the new identity and organisational identity depending on the basis that,

"The task of bringing the people to maturity will be made easier by the thoroughness of the organisation and by the high intellectual level of its leaders."

This emphasis on the thoroughness of organisation and the leadership to take the lead in providing the means of enabling people to 'achieve' an individual identity and shape its direction and values has been of great interest to organisation studies (see, Peters and Waterman, 1982; Deal and Kennedy, 1988; Ouchi and Johnson, 1978; Thompson and McHugh, 2002). In one move, this organisational ideology swept away the conflict between management and labour over the work-effort bargain hoping to create a singular organisational identity that was one and the same with corporate goals. Let us now move to consider Fanon's diagnosis of the colonial subjective sense of self and the ways that this identity was changeable and that identity was something that goes through different phases.

Fanon's diagnosis and Identity

Fanon's diagnosis was that there were three phases that the colonial subject went through (during and even after the colonial project) which showed the different phases of identity and I shall quote at length here because in these three phases Fanon demonstrates to us, his understanding and use of identity and then considers each phase for closer analysis:

"In the first phase, the native intellectual gives proof that he has assimilated the culture of the occupying power. His writings correspond point by point with those of his opposite numbers in the mother country. His inspiration is European and we can easily link up these works with definite trends in the literature of the mother. This is the period of unqualified assimilation. We find in this literature coming from the colonies the Parnassians, the Symbolists and the Surrealists.

In the second phase we find the native is disturbed; he decides to remember what he is. This period of creative work approximately corresponds to that immersion which we have just described. But since the native is not part of his people, since he only has exterior relations with his people, he is content to recall their life only. Past happenings of the bygone days of his childhood will be brought up out of the depths of his memory; old legends will be reinterpreted in the light of a borrowed aestheticism and of a conception of the world which was discovered under other skies.

Sometimes this literature of just-before-the-battle is dominated by humour and by allegory; but often too is symptomatic of a period of distress and difficulty, where death is experienced, and disgust too. We spew ourselves up; but already underneath laughter can be heard.

Finally, in the third phase, which is called the fighting phase, the native, after having tried to lose himself in the people and with the people, will on the contrary shake the people. Instead of according the people's lethargy an honoured place in his esteem, he turns himself into an awakener of the people; hence comes a fighting literature, a revolutionary literature, and a national literature. During this phase a great many men and women who up till then would never have thought of producing a literary work, now that they find themselves in exceptional circumstances – in prison, with the Marquis or on the eve of their execution – feel the need to speak to their nation, to compose the sentence which expresses the heart of the people and to become the mouthpiece of a new reality action" (Fanon, 1967: 178-9).

I shall now take each of the phases in order. In the first phase, the assimilationist phase following Fanon's diagnosis can be likened to a subject that does not know that they are sick. He saw similarities with the colonised subjects who he thought were caught up in this illness (an identity that marked them out and constrained the colonial subject completely). Fanon believed that some of the colonial subjects had been seduced by colonialism and had acquired a false consciousness and identity. Fanon believed that colonialism had generated harmful psychological constructs that blinded the black man into his subjection to a universalised white world and this alienated his consciousness. For Grohs (1968: 549)

"the first instruction given to those under colonial rule is to stay where they are and not to over step the borders. No wonder that aggressive feelings develop, that dreams refer to flight and the overcoming of frontiers, and that these aggressions must find an outlet."

Fanon's teachings and what seems to be dear to him was to return to humanity. His concern was how to reconstitute that person whose humanity has been suspended. He observed that some colonised subjects got drawn into the colonial order believing to be making meaningful contributions and existence whilst they had simply become intermediaries. What was very clear to Fanon was that the identity of the colonial subject had to change. The colonial order and imperialist organisation had had an effect on black identity which was debilitating but this identity could be used to forefront the active remaking and reclaiming of marginalised identities, as a political process and as an act of resistance to a

powerful organisation such as colonialism. This emphasises the agency of the colonial subject.

In the second phase, Fanon returns us to the importance of self-hood for individual dignity and cultural identification. Thus for Fanon (1967: 170) “the native intellectual who decides to give battle to colonial lies fights on the field of the whole continent.” The past is given back its value. Culture extracted from the past to be displayed in all its splendour, is not necessarily that of his own country’ (Fanon 1967: 170). Fanon was realistic here to acknowledge the legitimacy and historical necessity of this phase in the consciousness of the colonial subject. But his words also implied a caution that this must be a transient phase, for if they adopted a continental cultural reaffirmation and fell back into nostalgic romanticism they would have fallen into a false consciousness that would not have stood up in the task of national liberation, a new identity and organisation. His caution is that

“The historical necessity in which the men of African culture find themselves to racialise their claims and to speak more of African culture than of national culture will tend to lead them up a blind alley” (Fanon, 1967: 172).

This second phase can be called the cultural nationalist phase as Fanon here links the colonial subject and identity to the national level. This is cultural nationalism, because it is predicated on a negation of racially inflicted insults and psychological injuries which has political significance for ascribed and adopted identities. So what Fanon brings to organisation studies is the sense of a self-conscious, living, and subjective ‘I’ of a colonial subject. It has political significance mainly at a racial or at best a continental level: ‘the native intellectual who decides to give battle to colonial lies fights on the field of the whole continent’. However, Fanon (1967: 172) accepted that the turn to traditional culture was a defence mechanism by the colonial subject as they felt swamped by Western culture. Fanon hoped that this would be a transient identity for the colonial subject on the way to constructing a new one and cautioned against nostalgic romanticism as a permanent stance.

In the third phase, Fanon brings to light a colonial subject who has come to full consciousness and now challenges the debilitating identity fashioned for him/her. They challenge the role marked out for them by this identity. For Fanon, this was a revolutionary phase and the relevant response to this new identity was contained in the second phase. His writings promoted a political conscious revolutionary self that is in struggle against the oppressor. To affirm one's identity then was psychologically empowering and liberating. But this was only achievable in the context of a struggle which had to have wider implications transforming wider material and institutional forms of oppression as he stated:

"To fight for national culture means in the first place to fight for the liberation of the nation, that material keystone which makes the building of a culture possible. There is no other fight for culture which can develop apart from popular struggle" (Fanon, 1967: 187).

Culture is a vital part of a people's identity in its struggle for freedom. Thus, culture aims not only to counteract the evils of colonialism but to construct the future. Fanon's insight was the realisation that the invention of a new self image was a necessary condition that would enable them to act to liberate themselves from imperialist oppression. This aspect of his thought has often been marginalised with people seemingly cherry picking his ideas. This tendency to misread Fanon irked one Tony Martin (1970) leading him to write a paper titled "*Rescuing Fanon from the Critics.*" Frantz Fanon's main concern was the constitution of self identity and he proposed that there were different phases of identities that the colonized subject went through. The analogy of a sick patient, who does not know that they are sick to begin with, and then comes to realisation before seeking treatment which leads to a cure, draws an important but simple illustration.

Fanon is therefore an identity theorist and Kruks (1996) suggests that from these early works lay some important strands of intellectual roots to identity politics and that examining these works has something to say to us today and can help bring organisational identity into sharper focus. The contours of organisational identity

debate in organisation studies point to a mixed bag of interpretations of this term as discussed earlier in the chapter. Some assumptions here are quite frankly oversimplifications but we can understand the push towards the consolidation towards identities that are tied to organisational goals. We see organisational processes trying to shape the identities of their members to what Rose (1999: 10) describes as

“forging a symmetry between the attempts of individuals to make life worthwhile for themselves, and the political values of consumption, profitability, efficiency and social order.”

Managerial interests in devising strategies that align personal identity with corporate goals, suggest that there is no division of interest between capital and labour (Webb 2006). This can not hide the contradiction between promises of empowerment and experiences of work intensification and control and Fanon shows us that the colonial subject was capable of rising up to overthrow and resists the identity prescribed to him/her and that organisation. This awareness of self identity is a warning for those who hope to align workers identities with that of corporate values as the existence of ‘colonised minds’ is not permanent though people’s actions are undoubtedly highly constrained by circumstances of ownership and control. In practice, organisational identity remains a contested terrain (Collinson, 2003; Hatch and Schultz, 2004; Clark, et al. 1994; Web, 2006; Pullen, et al. 2007). Social and collective identities, crafted out of the circumstances of work and consumption have been marginalised as themes of research in organisation theory (Ackroyd and Thompson, 1999; Thompson and Findlay, 1999) and Fanon returns us to that. This forgotten history of emancipation and achievement by the colonial subject is a forgotten theme in the scholarship of 1990's on work on identity, such as Du Gay's *Consumption and Identity Work* (1996) or Catherine Casey's *Work, Self and Society* (1995) or Roy Jacques's *Manufacturing the Employee* (1996) for example (Nyathi and Harney, 2007). This deterministic account of identity, whether expressed in the modernist theories of Weber or the postmodernist theories of Foucault, is flawed because these theories confuse organisational prescription with the diversity of practical experience, and misread the connections between macro-levels of political

economy and the micro-level of everyday life and its meanings (Giddens, 1991). Fanon offers a personal biography, assembled out of experience, and new collective identities in the anti-colonial struggle that influence the goals, trajectories and practices of organisations.

'Fanon's affinity for socialism was, like Cabral's, primarily the result of circumstance; he was not doctrinaire about it, nor did he feel that traditional Marxism-Leninism was completely suitable to Africa' (Blackey, 1974: 196). Young (2001: 278) states that:

"it is only Sartre in the preface to *The Wretched of the Earth* who affirms that 'in order to triumph, the national revolution must be socialist': it is hard to find a statement as explicit as that in Fanon himself (Fanon, 1967: 10). Fanon's later work is Marxist to the extent that it is written within the broad framework of Marxist analyses of the exploitation by capitalism and colonialism of the Third World; within this discourse Fanon condemns the USA, for example, as a new imperialist 'monster'."

Specifically, neither Marx nor Lenin dealt with the question of race, probably because it never occurred to them. Fanon took aspects of Marxism-Leninism and injected the race factor:

"In the colonies the economic substructure is also a superstructure. The cause is the consequence; you are rich because you are white, you are white because you are rich. This is why Marxist analysis should always be slightly stretched every time we have to do with the colonial problem". (Fanon, 1967: 31).

Lenin made a distinctive contribution to the theory and practice of revolution when he substituted party for class as the motive force (Lenin, 1947, 1969; Blackey and Paynton, 1976; James, 1992). For Lenin, the party, he said, showed the masses the way and this was utilized by virtually all revolutionary theorists (i.e., Nkrumah chapter two). There are both similarities and differences between Fanon and Cabral (chapter three) in their considerations. Fanon went further than Lenin by calling not just for revolution politically but culturally and psychologically, or rather saying that revolution will produce also these necessary changes that we have surveyed. Cabral on the other hand to some degree hoped that some parts of older culture could be engines of change, not something to be destroyed in revolutionary moments.

I have shown how Fanon's ideas fit within the context of identity theorising, an important aspect of organisation theory. His contribution and lesson for organisation can be read from his teachings where he clearly shows that even though the colonial organisation was powerful enough to determine completely the identity of the colonial subject as well as constrain him/her, Fanon still thought the colonial subject capable of completely throwing off this identity and organisation and creating a new organisation and new identity. This differs from the structure-agency debates about identity in crediting both with much power, rather than emphasising one or the other. Fanon puts a convincing case for the colonial subject and explains why it became necessary to break that identity in order for the new one to be made. Colonialism was more confusing for the colonised as others tried to embrace it only to realise their estrangement from selves and organisation. The attempts today of trying to unite or shift the focus of identity through work has resonances of attempts of the colonial system which "adds to the difficulty of defining empirically exactly what is the focal organisation identity" (Sorge, 2002: 12). Fanon therefore offers a broader and liberating identity which offers lessons to those who harbour dreams of constructing an all consuming identity. His work therefore demonstrates an identity expressed through a socio-historical, socio-cultural and socio-political paradigm and that identity was deeply internal to the psyche but that this psyche was not lost or oblivious to the rest of the world. This new world to come was also abstracted as the human to come, the organisation to come and the identity to come. I now move to consider the premise and promise of a practical case study of organisation in southern Africa grounded in the alternative concept of *Ubuntu*.

Chapter Five

Organisational Reformation(s)?: Premising *Ubuntu*'s Promise

I am beginning this chapter on *Ubuntu* with a summary proposition that has emerged from the previous analyses in the previous chapters. In those chapters I brought forward a novel reading of the revolutionary theorists: W.E.B du Bois, George Padmore, C.L.R James, Kwame Nkrumah, Amilcar Cabral and Frantz Fanon as organization theorists in order to understand, recover, revive and enrich them, and to gain a new perspective on organisation at the same time. I tried to draw out the intersectionality of their work for today by looking at various approaches to the study of organisation:

1. Organisational change and transformation,
2. Organisational structure,
3. Organisational identity,
4. Organisational culture.

This heuristic was used to shed new light into their thought and this process is crucial for expanding our idea of organisation. In particular, there emerged a common thread in these previous chapters in that what these theorists sought to achieve was a unity between theory and practice. For each of them, thinking about organisation and acting organisationally went hand in hand. They could not conceive of one without the other. They thought about organisations in order to bring them about, but they also believed that this was an ongoing process of relating thought to action. The urgency of this relationship came from their political commitments. I bring that standard of judgement as a critical measure which I can use to evaluate the impact of *Ubuntu* in terms of the success of its writers and practitioners in achieving a claim from a unity of theory and practice. Here I am mindful of the fact that by this act I do not mean to reduce Du Bois, Padmore, James, Nkrumah, Cabral, and Fanon to homogeneity. Their ideas, as I have tried to demonstrate in preceding chapters, are distinct but not discrete.

They have their differences (and quite literally they did) but all did strive for the unity between theory and practice. What they share, and what makes them important is the feeling that all of society could be organised. I now turn to an example of contemporary effort in African thought to ask if this legacy of seeking the unity of theory and practice in African organisational theory survives. This contemporary African expression of social organisation is *Ubuntu*.

Searching for Ubuntu

My search for Ubuntu through scholarship and research has indicated that Ubuntu is a way of knowing that has something to say about how an African management or organisation theory could be shaped as well as being the philosophical basis for its grounding. Ubuntu is both a theory and practice (Khoza 1994). Does Ubuntu come together in this way or does it fail to come together as a theory and practice? To address my research questions, I went to South Africa for a month and conducted twenty interviews with academics and practitioners. I chose South Africa and also chose Johannesburg as my base for the simple reason that it is the provincial capital city of Gauteng and the wealthiest and largest economy of any metropolitan region in Sub-Saharan Africa. South Africa offered the opportunity to research properly, years of thinking on organisational form in Southern Africa; thinking that crosses boundaries of the social, cultural, political, and ethnic spheres and hence is able to offer organisation studies a rich new world of experience and theory. For Jackson (1999) South Africa is a special case within the context of an economy in transition after years in isolation under the apartheid system. Jackson (1999: 306-7) writes,

“Western and non-Western cultures have for many years existed side by side (perhaps not too happily) in South Africa, although the enforced policy of separate ethnic development has warped the relationship. With the ending of apartheid, the situation has been left, perhaps as it always was, with a multicultural, polyglot society (with eleven official languages) of overwhelming complexity, deep historical antagonisms, profound differences between rich and poor, but now with unlimited potential to achieve centre stage in the global community.”

South Africa with the heightened activity of writing on Ubuntu and the transformation programmes to redress the imbalances eloquently stated above by Jackson (1999) was attractive in that it seemed the ideal location and opportunity for a case study to get a feel of what is happening on the ground.

My methodological approach to this field research was based on dialogical interviews of story telling. I chose story telling because I wanted an approach that was consistent with African ways of knowing. Storytelling is central to an African cosmology such as Ubuntu. According to Dandala (1996: 72)

“the art of storytelling has nearly been lost to the African community because of family destabilisation and foreign methods of instruction at school... The strength of storytelling is in the fact that it allows participation across the boundaries of age and literacy. The creative powers of storytelling stems from one’s natural ability rather than education.”

I picked a storytelling approach to explore what Ubuntu means to contemporary academics and organisation practitioners. This enabled me to have conversation with people about organisation in a manner that seemed natural to them and affirming. I met with African scholars and organisational practitioners, interviewing (dialoguing with) them about what it could mean to begin the process of developing indigenous southern African management and organisation theories that are in keeping with indigenous cosmology and cultural values. In organisation theory, Gabriel’s (2004) edited collection, *Myths, Stories and Organisation: Premodern Narratives for Our Times* stands out as one of the key texts that have celebrated this method to explore stories for their relevance to contemporary organisation.

My selection about who to interview was based on the interest in Ubuntu already demonstrated by these key African scholars and practitioners and also relied on snow-ball effect to recommend others who shared the same interests. Availability was also an influencing factor and where it was not possible to meet a phone conversation was used as a substitute. I met with these African scholars and practitioners in various places as some preferred their offices, boardrooms or

cafes whilst others invited me to the comfort and warmth of their homes to hold these interviews. What emerged from these interviews are some stories of Ubuntu which reconnect with the earlier theorists in showing us a new effort to rethink organisation. I shall return to these stories later in the chapter for their analysis and presentation of key themes that emerged.

The interesting aspect of the research journey in South Africa was that I was visiting the country for the first time twelve years after its freedom and transition from the broader period of the rise and decline of apartheid as a formal political ideology. South Africa had suffered years of isolation from taking this stance and its isolation can also be thought of as being deliberate. The apartheid system had turned South Africa into one of the most complex and troubled nations on earth, where divisions between races were legally endorsed. Under these divisions it restricted the mobility of black South Africans in the economy, reducing them into part-time actors and labourers. For instance, when it came to business practice and activities, black enterprises were restricted to confined spaces in the impoverished townships and homeland ghettos, where local ventures were much-needed, but the pickings were few. The economic oppression had ground black economic activity into oblivion with so many thwarted dreams. As a result many turned to politics to try and build viable businesses, which according to Khoza (2006) seemed almost ludicrous.

A new beginning came in 1994 with the roadmap for the new South Africa launched by the government project Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) which sought to give pride of place to small and large businesses as one of the drivers of economic revitalization. The time had come for economic and political liberation. The opportunity had come to make a mark in terms of representation and a change of culture or put in another way, the organisations needed to be transformed to account for the new South Africa that now included the full participation of all citizens. Moreover, the South African government had launched a 'black economic empowerment' (BEE) programme

which included some financial engineering that created or transferred or placed capital into the hands of the formerly disadvantaged citizens as a way of building their capacity and ownership into the economic mainstream. Another programme by the South African government was called 'employment equity' (EE) that put legislation stating that organisations were now required by law to offer new opportunities to black South Africans to higher positions that in the past, under apartheid had been denied to them. This opened the door for blacks and others to occupy the boardroom, senior management and middle management for the first time. This background heightened my expectation of seeing new organisation, organisation that transcended the traditional form as I anticipated that the landscape had changed and that it had changed with the way people organised and conducted themselves. I shall now spend a bit of time exploring epistemological issues of my data collection in South Africa.

Epistemological Issues

Efforts have been put into trying to understand the situation of the people I interviewed through striving towards "getting inside situations and involving (oneself) in the everyday flow of life" (Burrell and Morgan, 1979: 6). In my analysis, I have gone further than the interpretations of the actors with a more critical and independent perspective. I agree with Llewellyn (1993: 241) who argues that the research insights will "reflect a synthesis of the frames of references of the researcher and the researched." The use of interview is not a neutral tool, for at least two people create the reality of the interview situation leading to negotiated, contextually based results (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003; Fontana and Frey, 2003). In this situation answers to my research questions about ubuntu and an African Management theory were given. Denzin and Lincoln, (2003: 48) state that: "the interview produces situated understandings grounded in specific interactional episodes". This method is influenced by the personal characteristics of the interviewer, including race, class, ethnicity and gender." This method fitted in well with the standpoint theory which for Hill Collins (2000: 26) "involves tapping sources of everyday, unarticulated consciousness

that have traditionally been denigrated in white, male-controlled institutions.” The interview data therefore contributes to how I can write myself into organisation theory as an African organisation theorist. The thesis itself is an example of what I am trying to do – the recovery.

The specific strengths of the qualitative method are that it enabled me to focus in depth on a theme of recovering ubuntu. As a method it was flexible and enabled me “to get closer to the actor’s perspective through detailed interviewing and observation” (Denzin, and Lincoln, 2003: 16). I had to play a neutral role and tried to muster a style of “interested listening” that rewarded the respondent’s participation without evaluating the responses (Converse and Schuman, 1974). In this way I was able to get the narrative out and develop insights about ubuntu philosophy of management and organisation theory.

The drawback of the interview method is the knowledge constructed in performance. My interviewees could have put in performances to tell me the stories that they thought I wanted to hear or tried to influence my view of their perspectives, hoping to obtain credits or other benefits from me and/or the project. With the interviews also done in English meant that some people could not express themselves (lost in translation) as well as they would have done in their native languages (Zulu, Xhosa, Pedi, Tswana, Sotho, Ndebele, Venda, etc) increasing even more so the performance. However, I have a claim to this knowledge as a southern African of Nguni origin which enabled me to get closer to the actor’s perspectives through detailed interviewing and observation as well as a background into the history and organisational politics of South Africa. My interview data enabled me to consider both “how social actors order and tell their experiences and why they remember and retell what they do” (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996: 57).

I transcribed recorded interviews onto the computer and then manually analysed each interview as I did not want to become detached from the data. I found that

this preserved the chronological flow and that the unfolding of the social processes could be focused on. This method made it possible to see Ubuntu as the new epistemological framework for defining management and organisational theory as something that comes through and out of the *community*... the dialogue, the conversational form, the metaphors, the stories which are the transformative power of Africa and our African people, past and present.

I now turn our attention to what writers on Ubuntu tell us about this organisational approach.

What do writers on Ubuntu tell us?

The 1990s saw the most concentrated period of writing on what Ubuntu is. Interestingly, this surge in interest in Ubuntu writing coincides with the period of change in political management and process of South Africa from an apartheid system to democratic freedom based on multi-party politics and equal rights and opportunities for all South African citizens. One would think that with such a body of thought it would be simply straightforward to proffer a definition of Ubuntu. Thinkers such as Khoza, Ramose, Chikanda, Teffo, Makhundu, Dandala, Mbigi and Shutte have all attempted to define Ubuntu (Prinsloo 1998). Public figures such as Archbishop Desmond Tutu (1999), Nelson Mandela (2006) and President Thabo Mbeki (2006) have also added their understanding of what Ubuntu is and its value to society. I shall examine their attempts to establish the basic concepts that seem to figure in Ubuntu discourse which in that process should make it clear for us what Ubuntu is.

Ramose's (2002: 40) starting point is that:

"Ubuntu is the root of African philosophy. The be-ing of an African in the universe is inseparably anchored upon ubuntu. Similarly, the African tree of knowledge stems from ubuntu with which it is connected indivisibly. Ubuntu then is the well spring flowing with African ontology and epistemology. If these latter are the bases of philosophy then African philosophy has long been established in and through ubuntu. Our point of departure is that ubuntu may be seen as the basis of African philosophy.

Apart from a linguistic analysis of ubuntu, a persuasive philosophical argument can be made that there is a "family atmosphere", that is, a kind of philosophical affinity and kinship among and between the indigenous people of Africa. No doubt there will be variations within this broad philosophical "family atmosphere". But the blood circulating through the "family" members is the same in its basics. In this sense ubuntu is the basis of African philosophy."

For Khoza (1994: 1, 2005: xxii) the starting point is that Ubuntu is an "African view of life and worldview." He asserts that there is a, "collective consciousness of the people of Africa who have their own religion, their own ethical views and their own political ideologies" (Khoza, 1994). He argues that the distinctive collective consciousness of Africans is manifested in their behaviour patterns, expressions, and spiritual self-fulfilment, in which values such as the universal brother-hood of Africans sharing and treating other people as humans are concretized. Khoza (1994: 1-2) is not in any doubt where this is evidenced and writes:

"Ubuntu's contemporary meaning in intellectual usage can be traced back to Pan-Africanism. Pan-Africanism is really the political expression of an intellectual and spiritual movement that dominated West Africa and later Southern Africa throughout the colonial period. Its ultimate realization as a continental drive against colonial rule was the formation of the Organization of African Unity in 1965. Its resonances were picked up in the West Indies and England by men such as George Padmore, in America by scholars such as W.E.B Du Bois, by other contemporaries such as Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah. Right from 1900 Pan-African congresses were held in Continental Europe and England to institutionalize the concept."

Bengu (1996: 4-6) is cautious about efforts to come up with a definitive definition and asserts that, "African educationists have done in-depth research to find the equivalent English word for Ubuntu and they have failed. To say "African humanism" means Ubuntu, is just a compromise since there is no equivalent English word for Ubuntu." And therefore he provides the five compromise definitions below:

1. *Ubuntu* is the humanistic experience of treating all people with respect, granting them their human dignity.
2. *Ubuntu* means humanness. Being human encompasses values like universal brotherhood for Africans, sharing, treating and respecting other people as human beings.

3. *Ubuntu* is humanism. It is a belief in the centrality, sacredness, and foremost priority of the human being in all our conduct, throughout our lives.
4. *Ubuntu* is a way of life that contributes positively towards sustaining the well-being of a people, community or society. This definition seeks to be inclusive rather than exclusive, and, if read with the above explanation of the origins of *Ubuntu*, will give the reader a clear understanding of the meaning of *Ubuntu*.
5. *Ubuntu* is a non-racial philosophy which treats all people as human beings. Ubuntu-actually means "the art or virtue of being human."

Agreeing with Bengu about the difficulty of translating what Ubuntu is into another language is Dandala (1996). Dandala (1996: 64) argues "that certain aspects of African cosmology will only be meaningful to people of African origin and makes the point that Africans themselves have, to some degree, become alienated from their own roots." Dandala (1996: 64) then stresses the point that

"Ubuntu cannot be a concept easily distilled into some methodological procedure. It is rather a bedrock of specific lifestyle or culture that seeks to honour human relationships as primary in any social, communal or corporate activity... it's a statement about being, about fundamental things that qualify a person to be a person".

Dirk Louw (1998) sees Ubuntu "as an African religion." He (1998: 2) suggests that the concept of ubuntu defines the individual in terms of several relationships with others, and stresses the importance of ubuntu as a religious concept.

"Ubuntu (a Zulu word) serves as the spiritual foundation of African societies. It is a unifying vision or world view enshrined in the Zulu maxim *umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*, i.e., (a person is a person through other persons). At bottom, this traditional African aphorism articulates a basic respect and compassion for others. It can be interpreted as both a factual description and a rule of conduct or social ethic. It both describes human being as "being-with-others" and prescribes what "being-with-others" should be all about."

The definitions so far point to a persistent theme that echoes around ideas such as sensitivity towards needs and wants of others (Chikanda, 1990), the others' understanding of others' frame of reference (Makhundu, 1993) and man as a social being (Teffo, 1992). Taking Chikanda (1999) first, Ubuntu is seen as African humanism that involves alms-giving, sympathy, care, sensitivity to the needs of others, respect, consideration, patience, and kindness.

Teffo (1992) emphasizes the human being's moral nature that is acquired from the unique set up of the African extended family system. This socializes one into valuing and accepting one's obligation to others and argues that this is the basis of morality. Here no person should ever be rejected or condemned as worthless (*umuntu akalahlwa*). "In this way African societal life accommodates all contingencies of human character and of social, economic, and political disasters" (Teffo, 1992; Prinsloo, 1998: 42). Khoza [1994: 118] argues that this is to do with the point of departure and modes of relating. He therefore pleads for

"Africans to stop behaving as though they were an outpost of Europe or somebody else. We have to get to know ourselves and begin to use our existential reality as a departure point."

Ubuntu is therefore both theory and practice. A viewpoint that he articulates by explaining that:

"In its theoretical aspect it entails interpretation and analysis from the perspective of African people as subjects rather than as objects on the periphery of the European or so-called Western experience."

The efforts at the definition of Ubuntu have not been confined to academic circles and practitioners only, as I stated earlier. For public figures like the Archbishop Desmond Tutu (1999),

"A person with ubuntu is open and available to others, affirming of others, does not feel threatened that others are able and good, for he or she has a proper self-assurance that comes from knowing that he or she belongs in a greater whole and is diminished when others are humiliated or diminished, when others are tortured or oppressed."

Whilst Nelson Mandela (2006) writing the foreword for Reuel Khoza's *book Let Africa Lead* says:

"All big ideas are simple. Ubuntu is a simple big idea. It asserts that the common ground of our humanity is greater than the differences that divide us. It is so, and it must be so, because we share the same fateful human condition. We are creatures of blood and bone, idealism and suffering. Though we differ across cultures and faiths, and though history has divided rich from poor, free from unfree, powerful from powerless and race from race, we are still all branches on the same tree of humanity."

Whilst the spread of Ubuntu is to be applauded, however, the way that it has been taken up in other spaces has been both positive and negative. Firstly, the positive is the attraction of recent recruits such as the former United States of America President, Bill Clinton, who in 2006 addressed the Labour Party

Conference in England and told them “to get into Ubuntu” and said it’s a word describing an African worldview, which translates as “I am because you are,” and which means that individuals need other people to be fulfilled” (Coughlan, 2006). According to the BBC article, Bill Clinton,

“husky-voiced and down-home with the delegates, gave it a folksy flavour, describing it in terms of needing to be around others to enjoy being ourselves. “if we were the most beautiful, the most intelligent, the most wealthy, the most powerful person – and then found all of a sudden that we were alone on the planet, it wouldn’t amount to a hill of beans,” said Mr Clinton. The word comes from the Bantu languages spoken in southern Africa – and is related to a Zulu concept – ‘umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu’ – which means that a person is only a person through their relationship to others. Archbishop Desmond Tutu’s identification with ubuntu has given rise to the idea of “ubuntu theology” – where ethical responsibility comes with a shared identity. If some one is hungry, the ubuntu response is that we’re all collectively responsible.” (Coughlan, 2006 BBC News Magazine, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/magazine/5388182.stm>).

Whilst these efforts on the spreading of ubuntu are to be applauded, there is a concern about the commercialization of Ubuntu. If understanding Ubuntu is about finding out what makes members and colleagues tick in the workplace for a “work intensification” imperative linked to the notion of “managerialism” as the expression of a management prerogative, the right to manage that, brooks no opposition and this can be all too easily recognized as a form of the capitalist labour process (Braverman, 1974). Ubuntu is now being expropriated by those who want to turn it into a functionalist 'management technique' wrapped up in the HR ideology of commitment, motivation and performance in the workplace. I shall look at what these writers and practitioners say about what Ubuntu can do in a moment. Of course, it would be a crying shame for a southern African cosmology that has resisted 300 years of rapacious colonialism and its local comprador classes to fall foul of the wily gurus and business school missionaries who seek to use Ubuntu to align people with the neoliberal project of globalizing capitalism. The commercialization of Ubuntu has also seen this concept used to sell a computer operating system (www.ubuntu.com), and a clothing range including baseball caps (<http://shop.canonical.com>). Interestingly for this computer

company ubuntu is a style of production, but the ends of production remain unstated (www.ubuntulinux.org/products/whatisubuntu):

"Ubuntu is a community developed operating system that is perfect for laptops, desktops and servers. Whether you use it at home, at school or at work Ubuntu contains all the applications you'll ever need, from word processing and email applications, to web server software and programming tools."

The Ubuntu discourse also falls into President Mbeki's (1998) exhortations for an African Renaissance especially calling for the intelligentsia to lead the way in defining themselves so that they (Africans) can come up with home grown political and socio-economic programmes of action. The key here has been the need to reclaim the aesthetics and identity of Africans (Makgoba, 1999; Mbeki, 1998; Mudimbe, 1988; Nzelibe, 1986). This perspective is also consistent with postcolonial theory which has called for the colonized to re-claim a culture of their own, a history of their own, aesthetics of their own, all based on an essence of their own, free from and independent of the images of the "Other" (see, Young 2001; Said 2002; Prasad, 1997; Mohanty, 1984; Ghandi, 1998; Spivak, 1990).

What writers on management tell us what *Ubuntu* can do?

The 1990s was a golden age for Ubuntu, with numerous calls to bring this worldview into mainstream organisations in South Africa. The South African Management Project was launched through the Wits Business School backed by five corporate sponsors (Eskom, Gemini Consulting, Gencor, Murray & Roberts, and Nampak) which led to the publication of the book "*Sawubona Africa: Embracing Four Worlds in South African Management*" edited by Lessem and Nussbaum (1996) and aiming to "contribute to business transformation by enlightening readers about the value of African culture as a positive resource for transformation" and the creation of a new organisation (Lessem and Nussbaum 1996: 13). Bengu (1996: 33) also added his voice to calls that

"If South African Business organizations are going to be effective and efficient, they will need to develop a tradition of working together on survival and competitive issues. By building the solidarity spirit of *Ubuntu* it is possible to build cooperative and efficient strategies by allowing teamwork to permeate the

whole organisation. It will also help us to find a new identity as a nation; a new identity which will transcend the ethnic divisions which haunt us."

Bengu is careful but insistent on the advantage he sees with bringing *Ubuntu* into the business organisation. He argues that:

"Whilst *Ubuntu* is not necessarily a panacea to the economic problems facing this country [SA], it is worth trying. *Ubuntu* may mark a departure from the current confrontational approach in our industrial relations to a more cooperative and competitive approach of managing survival issues. Without suggesting that conflict will disappear, this is a new way of forming a creative and competitive dialogue aimed at finding joint solutions." (Bengu, 1996: 35).

One of the most articulate writers on *Ubuntu* is Reuel Khoza. Khoza has been one of the main advocates urging organisations in SA to embrace Ubuntu and use it as a competitive advantage. In his book, *Let Africa Lead*, Khoza (2006: 18-23) suggest a possible model of some of the enduring values of Ubuntu which he points out have a number of distinct characteristics of an African business leadership model:

Server leadership, which is at the top of the hierarchy of leadership functions, implies that African leaders derive their legitimacy and power from collaboration with, rather than command over, their followers.

Cohabitation refers to the proclivity to live with others harmoniously, not only in terms of shared space, but also accommodating other people's ideas, and genuinely seeking to understand before proceeding to persuade them. *For Khoza, Ubuntu teaches the value of inclusivity, cohabitation, harmony and the search for reciprocal understanding.*

Social arbitrage is a relatively novel term that (Khoza) applies to the trade-offs made by leaders to satisfy conflicting demands and ensure that their leadership decisions reward every stakeholder with something.

Emotional intelligence, a familiar term nowadays, relates to the sensitivity and introspection of leaders as they carry out their service role and employ arbitrage to reward their followers. *Because ubuntu reminds us that we take our being from the being of others, African humanism inspires leaders to identity with their followers, a two way flow of emotional intelligence.*

Paradox is often associated with leadership, but takes on new meaning from the server leadership concept, which may appear to be self-contradictory.

The argument that Khoza (2006: 12) makes is that "Ubuntu's emphasis on diversity and sharing has positive consequences for individuals and

organisations.” He posits that one way that organisation can understand and apply ubuntu in the corporate environment, for instance is to see it as the source of effective teamwork. For Khoza (2006: 12) Ubuntu

“Provides modern business with the means of attaining a shared vision to drive efficiency and spur innovation. Teamwork has replaced individual effort as the driving force of creativity in the workplace. The importance of team work is recognised in most international business textbooks today, though naturally almost nothing has been said about *Ubuntu* since it is virtually an unknown concept outside of Africa.”

The interesting arguments also put by these writers on ubuntu focusing on management argue that Ubuntu can be parlayed into the practice of management for competitive advantage not just for Africa but universally (Mbigi, 2005; Mangaliso, 2001). Mangaliso (2001: 32) asserts:

“Incorporating *ubuntu* principles in management holds the promise of superior approaches to managing organisations. Organisations infused with humanness, a pervasive spirit of caring and community, harmony and hospitality, respect and responsiveness will enjoy more sustainable competitive advantage.”

Morel Fourman (2007: 125) is left in no doubt about the potential of Ubuntu not only for Africa but for the world:

“By understanding and practising Ubuntu, the world has the opportunity to gracefully leapfrog across our current quandaries and view challenges as opportunities for collaborative problem-solving and mutual gain. Within the context of ubuntu we can:

- Remove the capacity bottleneck by capturing expertise and know-how as reusable knowledge.
- Use knowledge-sharing to create a borderless continent and, in so doing, move towards a united Africa.
- Leverage Africa’s wisdom and culture to create a universal free-flow of knowledge.

Lovemore Mbigi (2005: 201) has also been a staunch proponent of Ubuntu asserting that it is a new approach to ‘Human Resources’

“The role of the Human Resources (HR) function, then becomes developmental and strategic, but rooted in the spirit of African-based human dignity and the creation of an enterprising community. The HR function must ensure that legitimacy is retained through grass-roots empowerment and participation, as well as creating processes by which grievances and dislikes are transformed into the collective action of wealth creation. By this process, the HR function becomes a transformative agent dedicated to the

management of divergence and seemingly daunting changes. The HR functions as to focus on issues of social, political, economic and business development."

Drawing from Khoza (1994, 2005), Mbigi and Maree (1995), Bengu (1996), Mangaliso (2001), Ubuntu thus implies a management approach that emphasizes team work, attention to relationships, mutual respect and empathy between leaders and followers, and most importantly participatory management and decision making. These essential ideas of Ubuntu are now being linked to management concepts that are believed capable of transforming organisations not just in Africa but in the world at large. Although certainly the work organisation as a generic capitalist arrangement is not quite so Western as it appears to be (because for instance we know that many experiments in the colonial world inspired its forms, see for instance the work of Bill Cooke, 2003) nonetheless applying this specific cultural heritage to such work organisations would seem to reverse the imperialism of forms, rather than undermine it. This would seem to be an essentializing move, ignoring the cultural context out of which the arguments first develop. Adopting these ubuntu tenets has meant that these writers on Ubuntu for management have had to elevate the African traditional family unit structure, laws and morals and compared them with the established modern enterprising business community (Bengu 1996), a questionable move in which differences must be pushed into the background in order to find similarities. Having established what Ubuntu is and what they say it can do for organisation by these select writers and practitioners I now move onto the analysis and presentation of field research in South Africa. I hope that in the process, some of these contradictions will come to the fore.

Emergent knowledge of *Ubuntu*

I refer to the themes and ideas that emerge from the twenty interviews with academics and practitioners in South Africa.

Is *Ubuntu* Antithetical to management and organisation?

Is Ubuntu antithetical to forms of organisation that are associated with global capital (Robinson, 2004)? In the passage below Robinson (2004: 6) illustrates the challenge by global capital:

“Human beings can engage in production in a cooperative and egalitarian manner, for example, through collective ownership of the means of production, what we could call a communal system. Or they can come together through the enslavement.”

“Workers under capitalism are ‘free’. Unlike the slave or the serf, they are not physically coerced into working for those who own the means of production of their own, they are forced, on pain of starvation, to provide their labour to capitalists in exchange for a wage with which to acquire the necessities of life on the market. The process by which people come to be separated from the means of production, such as through colonial conquest or the loss of land to creditors, is known as primitive accumulation. It creates the initial conditions for capitalist production to take place.”

The denial of slavery in management is again an area that Cooke (2003) tried to address for organisation studies. If organisation follows the contours of the dynamics of global capitalism as captured by Robinson (2004) then ubuntu would expect to see ubuntu's impact on the nature of western organisation. But my field research does not show any such impact. On the contrary there seems to be a divorce of ubuntu from any empirical evidence that is influencing organisation practices. By contrast my literature review (as outlined in this chapter) will seem to indicate that ubuntu is generating abstract humanistic excitement. However, in the stories that carry on emergent knowledge of ubuntu for organisation there seems to be little if any shaping new organisational forms. My research seems to confirm anticipation explored in supervision that ubuntu might even be antithetical to western organisation. At this point ubuntu remains a promise in search of empirical evidence. Indeed it could be that is not Ubuntu's job to solve the problems of global capitalists but that Ubuntu might be anti-organization (Burrell and Morgan, 1979) in that it stands as immanent critique to the values of motives and desires of global capital.

But before one worries too much about Ubuntu either as a cultural compromise assisting capitalist exploitation, or a point of real resistance, one has to assess

soberly the connection between theory and practice. In fact, the majority of organisations that I visited and observed did not seem to share the vision and concern of the above proponents of Ubuntu. Ubuntu does not fit into the strategy of multi-nationals for example who talk of a global strategy and just ignore the culture here and bring their own philosophies. This is the force that I observed, that people were dealing with the idea that there is something neutral and it is called business culture, business management and that it is universal. There is a tendency to be pushing for a global model and people are accepting it, if not swallowing it whole. For others they thought that South Africa was trying to put on clothes that do not fit but they just have to wear them because it is believed necessary for progress and development. The question that was posed by the majority of people in stories about organisation was 'how could people grow from the point of imitation?' Most argued that you cannot imitate somebody and think you are going to rise to your full potential and so Africans cannot be productive and rise to their full potential by just imitating. This also seemed linked to the lament that if African management philosophies were not perceived to be primitive, maybe people and organisations would try them. But in all cases any change to a more indigenous approach seemed a daunting task. Most of these companies just do not understand "this Ubuntu stuff" as it was often referred to. It is not in their radar screen, their human resource departments are so instrumental and how could they make room for this? Terence Jackson (1999) argued the point that many companies in South Africa were practising what he called instrumentalism which was premised on all this 'HR strategy' about human capital, people are assets in order for business to be successful instead of valuing people in their own right. Organisations spent a lot of time talking about talent, management, talent development but that meant the educated ones, people who came with the perfect package. Consistently the hierarchy of talent encouraged in the industrial organisation since Taylor and finding its way into other sectors like banking stood out against the Ubuntu principles of mutual respect for all in the organisation. Together with this question of hierarchy, inequality, and ultimately different levels of respect if not disrespect, was the

question of whose organisation it was anyway. How does Ubuntu deal with the fact that most Africans do not own most of the organisations that play big parts in their everyday lives?

These overall impressions of the absence of Ubuntu came despite the considerable efforts in the 1990's to bring in Ubuntu at the top, through boardrooms, with the new generation of Africans who found themselves in power in the corporation (although albeit only sharing that power in many cases). Popular management texts were aimed at these leaders and sometimes written by them (Christie, Lessem, and Mbigi, 1994). Here writers and practitioners like Khoza (1994) and Mbigi and Maree (1995) came into the fore in support of the concept and urged organisations to quickly embrace this if they wanted organisational effectiveness and advantage. However, this enthusiasm of these practitioners was not shared by all. Some practitioners felt that the concept of Ubuntu was to some extent not properly presented and as a result they could not apply it as it seemed too abstract. This was not helped by the fact that you had management gurus and chief executive officers (CEO's) here and there citing it but most people thought it distorted, very marginal and on the fringes. In one the top ranked Business Schools in South Africa, a Business Leadership Professor thought the problem with Ubuntu was the form that it came in:

"Ubuntu is not in any acceptable formality here. But for the students it is not in a form like the rest of management theory which I think makes it very difficult for them to get their hands on. You know how crazy other management theories are: you plan; you lead; you organize etc what are the management implications of Ubuntu? What does it mean for how you manage and lead? So what most people try to do unfortunately is that they end up craving the practice of Ubuntu in a business setting to either adopt servant leadership (they take servant leadership) or use transformational leadership theory. So it hasn't created its own theory of management that you could have constructs that you could actually say here are the components and this is what it looks like? This is how you would practice it. So all you could say Ubuntu means is "we are all because you are? What does that mean we are? People have a more collective. This sense of Ubuntu and people moving from the rural areas to the city or even other parts of Africa into cities like Johannesburg, we have to ask the question to what extent are people connecting with that principle when they move into more westernised urban environments as they move away from

their families; they are not close to their families so you get more nuclear families that you have in the West”.

Most African scholars found this to be one of the challenges of trying to bring Ubuntu into the discourse of management theory and called for more research to be done to close these gaps. However, experiences such as the one lamented by the above Professor are what prompted some writers, gurus and organisational theorists in South Africa to try and invite Ubuntu into modern institutions. One difficulty I had when I met people at the top and they told me that they had transformed this organisation or that organisation using the concepts of Ubuntu, was that I was not able to gain access to their staff in order to interview them about how they had experienced the implementation of this worldview. I found at the top that some of these African scholars and practitioners were very pragmatic, tough minded people who had tried to balance Ubuntu with business practice. They were determined that this was the way to go for organisations in South Africa. It was clear that this pragmatism meant that a mixture was being formed, balancing the principles of Ubuntu with the demands of modern business. For some this balancing and mixing was seen as a necessary compromise. As one director of marketing for a media and advertising firm argued:

“I think for a lot of black people up to today in business, in the workplace they can't be because the environment doesn't allow them to be themselves. It's about if you are working and humming a song in Xhosa, it is not acceptable for example. I think a lot of people do not think about those things, subconsciously we come into the workplace and we leave ourselves at the door. I think it was similar to the African American experience and a lot of that unfortunately is still going on. So when we come into the workplace we assimilate, we take on all the white values and forms of expressing yourself.”

Of course although such comments reflected a painful truth, they do not answer the question of whether ubuntu serves simply to make people feel better about themselves while leaving workplaces unchanged, or whether allowing more African behaviour would necessarily lead to a transformed workplace, for all.

Leadership and management literature on national culture

The head of Wits Business School, echoing the view shared by many scholars and practitioners, pointed to the lack of indigenous literature and asserted that this absence contributed to the theories of management and business leadership.

This is how he put it to me:

"Most of the theories in management, business leadership in South Africa are of Western origin; most of the writers that we all read are tending to be British or American and quite clearly tend to view the world through western lenses and to see the world particularly that way. Anything particularly South African or African in the area of management or leadership is very, very limited. Those who have taken care to qualify and explicitly talk about or even write about are very few and in the area of leadership they tend to be very political as opposed to managerial or business. In the area of management there are virtually none. In fact recently because of my concern due to the lack of even case work commissioned at Wits business, we selected ten people that we considered to be in leadership positions, in positions of third world generic leadership and business leadership, profiled them and also tried to delve deep into what their thought processes are".

Now of course such an observation by a local academic can be self-serving, but my background research certainly indicated a lack of local resources. Leadership was indeed the topic of the stories in a lot of my interviews and seemed to concern people the most. One reason could be attributed to colonialism and apartheid in how they shaped attitudes and how people relate to one another. That legacy is real and something that I found South Africans dealing with on both sides of the great race divide. Leadership had been damaged on both sides, in different and unequal ways of course. For some Africans, however, there was no doubt about what should inform this leadership style. A recent winner of South African Business Woman of the Year who is a Managing Director related to me her personal management philosophy:

"Simply put, my leadership style is premised on the African adage of Ubuntu. *Motho ke motho ka batho ba bangwe* (A person is a person through the relationship of other people). I engage members of my management team and staff so that we can all learn from each other. After all, it can be very lonely at the top. The mark of a true leader is the one who creates room for those under their leadership to grow and effectively work him/her out of the job. I motivate my team by rallying them around clearly defined

outputs and rewards. I like to focus especially on outputs and rewards. I like to focus especially on outputs that have a visible impact on the company, South Africa and the world around us."

A consistent theme for black South Africans that emerged, partly around this leadership theme, and the rise to leadership, was the story of who they are, and where they came from. Inside this story was the repeated affirmation that the systems of colonialism and apartheid never fully succeeded in erasing the African identity and culture. There was a desire and pride for this survival to be reflected in how work was organised. Many organisations I encountered were presently undergoing transformation with regards to recruitment and promoting of formerly disadvantaged groups. I heard that bringing in new talents was one way to bring in this African heritage. For a leader of Business Women's Association and former academic it was definitely time to move on with the times and embrace change:

"We are pushing to find talented women and men from these groups but that doesn't mean that the organisation has compromised its standards and the research that we do. I am encouraged as a woman manager and a black woman too to be doing the things that I am doing and getting the support of my organisation. I don't know whether that is the sign of the times and that one of our biggest partners is the government who expect us to meet certain targets of transformation. I don't know if men resent women managers because there are more men managers than women".

She cautioned that Africans must themselves speak about African leadership and management, but that also anyone from the East or West who may want to conduct business here in Africa must become conversant in this worldview. She said that she found it interesting that

"whenever African philosophies were discussed and African ways of doing things are discussed people feel that culture should not come in as it is the African that is being discussed or it is the African continent that is being discussed."

Her view was that:

"This is myopic and short term in outlook. It is imperative that the African way (if there is one) has to be put onto the fore to create that understanding and that is to the African and also to any individual from where ever that wants to conduct business on the continent".

This lack of acknowledgement and analysis of the local culture in influencing the way that businesses are managed was not only confined to the corporate sphere as one academic and professor in a leading business school shared her disappointment:

"I have been teaching for many years now and already have issues around management theories especially around stuff on race, gender and organization. In 1992 I wrote a paper titled *The Emperor Has No Clothes* to question the whole silence around the invisibility of race in Organization Studies, which was a silent area in the field. So when I came to South Africa which I now figure was naive on my part to expect to find more literature here which I assumed perhaps hadn't reached the United States of America. So I thought that when I got here I would find some African cases, some local stuff but when I got here I didn't find anything. Instead I found more American texts on *Principles of Management*, the stuff was all too familiar as most of it had come from the USA for example also using the Jack Welch cases to teach *change management and leadership* etc. I got very comfortable as I realised that I didn't need to prepare anything as all the stuff was all too familiar. But the challenge is when you start dealing and talking to students and you realise how most of this stuff is as irrelevant to this context as it doesn't seem to be addressing the problem that they are having on the ground here. That got my curiosity running and began to ask the question: *where is African management?*"

African management had been relegated to the back seat in the management of organisations in general, including in academia. The art of management had tended to follow the style and approach of those in power. I discovered in many stories like this one that the main influence of management in South Africa therefore has been Eurocentric approaches. A clear manifestation of this form was that there had been reluctance by most organisations to learn or even attempt to speak the language of the customers they were serving despite their huge representation in the markets they service. There is, of course, some connection to history here, as in the past anything that was indigenous had always been associated with inferiority. The origins of the corporations also presented a lot of influence in the manner in which the organisation will be managed. The management procedures and policies tend to be stated in manuals, where one finds the code of dress, reporting lines. How does one expect White males to advocate African values of management when they do not know them and the apartheid system prevented them from learning and

embracing them? This perhaps responds to the question posed to me by one organisational consultant and academic who crudely asked 'where is African management?' There had been some subtle resistance though against Eurocentric approaches from African Blacks. This resistance tended to show itself in the form of strikes - symptoms indicating that not all was right with the management of people. Even though most strikes before independence in South Africa were political even at the workplace, they were to some extent a form of resistance against all that was imposed on the African people including the way they were managed. One of the biggest challenges faced by management across South Africa and probably across Africa too, was how to consciously manage the dynamics of multiculturalism in order to develop strengths and synergies from these, including the management of equal opportunities of individuals from different ethnic and gender groups to influence the organisation. A professor and director of HR and Operations thought that the current organisational thinking dominated by American models was not adequate for facing the challenges in front of it:

"Because it's not addressing the kinds of political, economic, social and the here and now problem on the ground and the fact that students will only see themselves in the Wal-Mart, General Electric, there is no African examples to connect to yet we are in 2006, apartheid is ended and people are talking about poverty alleviation, political stability, addressing the evils of apartheid, employment equity, downsizing and reorganising work on a scale that is unbelievable, promoting black managers into high profile positions in organisations that was not possible before. So how could one stand in class here and teach Jack Welch? It feels horribly disconnected to the here and now? I don't know, I just felt *what are you doing? And it felt so uncomfortable for me*. Although the reality is that most of the students have been educated in the western tradition anyway, so even their own levels of consciousness, perhaps not all students, are not as high as it should be and they just swallow this stuff anyway, hook line and sinker".

This standpoint echoed the views felt by many, that management theory had to be placed into context and that context had to be defined by culture. However, this culture was at odds with this other world and had not shaken off the chains of the past as the stories that could enrich management thought were deemed irrelevant. One felt that even the interpretation of this culture was selectively choosing certain aspects of it that were advantageous to reinforcing power

relations. A Group Managing Director for the Specialist Communications Companies suggested that for instance, it was wrongly believed that African culture was backward and that it oppressed women:

"African culture does not limit the growth of women. When you look at African culture I am often fascinated when I read about the past role of women and often they had real serious power and you wonder what really happened to the institutions that existed then that protected women and gave them power, influence and crucial roles in society. Those structures were kind of obliterated and without acknowledging the significance of those structures, you find that you are in a situation where Africans now try to adopt the European culture and they do not adopt it fully and they sustain the authority of men who with European culture oppresses me and you find women coming into a subservient role whereas if you can unpack it, though it's very difficult to go there because things really got so confused. Even African culture, even without relating to women the question of how it ensured democracy and ensured that power would not reside in one person or in one structure, they had very innovative ways of ensuring that and they were firm and people knew them and they respected them. Consultation for example, there are even sayings in African culture that say a wise man consults. Where and how do they get lost? A wise man lives beyond the self but for the family and the community; this is one of the many broader principles. Now when they say that the theories are more statements and not proven it's because they have not even given them a chance or tested them in current organisational settings. So how do you criticise and rule them out before you have given them a chance."

Most people concluded that they wanted to see a leadership style in Africa that was premised on caring and thinking about others and refraining from any activities that could harm others. Most thought that unfortunately time was running out for Africa to eradicate poverty, disease and to create sustainable businesses. To realise these goals, academics in most business schools emphasised the accelerated need to develop leaders at every level of an organisation, not just for the top position.

The continuing dominance of Western Epistemology

African scholars certainly want African culture and experience to be taken seriously in organization alongside the dominant western perspectives. A Professor of Philosophy and Head of Department spoke about the interview that Professor Makgoba had for the post of Deputy Vice Chancellor and his response

to the question that he was asked about whether he had any prior experience at all, of management. He said “yes” and was asked to elaborate and his answer was that:

“I was a herd boy, that is where I acquired my experience as a manager. That from a cultural point of view and from the point of view of the dominant discourse is already a shock, let alone nonsense. It doesn’t sit anywhere in the epistemology that is dominant in the management sciences or for that matter say dominant western epistemology....how could you tell me that your knowledge and experience as manager is actually acquired from being a herd boy. What is that? It is already two things that you see. This form of experience and knowledge is a shock because it falls outside the dominant knowledge paradigm. The first point is: why is this knowledge system marginalised? The same principle of exclusion and marginalisation is found with regards to Ubuntu. When you talk about Ubuntu: what is this? How can you include or integrate Ubuntu into the dominant legal paradigm. Being a herd boy is not regarded as part and parcel of the dominant scientific knowledge, so it is excluded. The same principle applies with regards to Ubuntu, it is excluded.”

The interview experience of Professor Magkoba enforced the importance of recognising the philosophy in the things that we do in organisation studies and theory. I felt that this was a serious issue of philosophical and pedagogical grounds because pedagogically speaking, we are always going to oblige an African child to know something about Maynard Keynes, Adam Smith, and yet even these two people actually have a grounding in philosophy if you study their works broadly. Already, we begin to see that there are deep philosophical roots for the certain economic theories that they propound and so it becomes necessary to acknowledge too that in other contexts the human being as an economic animal is actually present here. So in thinking about the organisation theory material that I had been studying, I had been confronted by a simple but deep philosophical question; the question that posited,

“If the Professor going for an interview for the post of vice chancellor can say ‘from my experience as a herd boy I actually do have experience as a manager. People feel offended by that and shouldn’t have been. When you are a herd boy you look everywhere at the cattle, the goats or the sheep that you are tending, you must notice that one of them is limping and it is your concern to find out why it is limping? Another may not walk as fast as it used to, they may be misled into grazing in the wrong places and

graze wrong herbs. So you are responsible for the environment you are in and make decisions all the time. You are responsible for the well being of the animal that you are looking after and that is the primary responsibility all the time. Then he asked the interviewing panel please tell me if any manager worth their salt is not under ethical and professional obligation to look after the well being of the employees. If you explain management by drawing from the side of African knowledge and experience and you tell these kids in class, actually what we expect you to do, you already know from experience, if you are herd boy you are supposed to do that, so do it. What is the difference in principle? There is no difference in principle. So you can't say you are not going to be a good manager. As a herd boy you look at your animals and say that this one doesn't look as well as it was yesterday, you investigate or attend to it and that is important for interpersonal relationships in management. The same skill applies to a manager who must be concerned if his secretary or his head of marketing is not looking too good it becomes his primary concern. That is something that I learnt as a herd boy, to watch and look everywhere and to read the changes on the surface as well as underneath."

Management is about life in an organised fashion and for that reason one cannot take a very narrow view of it. One has to look at the dynamics of it very carefully and fairly comprehensively. One also has to look at all these factors in the context of values, where you define values as a set of that which a given community deems as desirable. For some management practitioners what was now desirable was that there should be a modern change towards African approaches and the adoption of Ubuntu which has been gradually set in following legislation on Labour Relations, e.g. Equity Employment. Consultants as well as companies that needed to get markets tended to capitalize on this legislation to encourage people to adapt to new changes where consideration would be to get Africans on board. Labour legislations have also emphasized transformation. Therefore, many organisations striving to gain a market have been buying into some of these values as they apparently promised to solve some of the current organisational problems, especially between relations with the employees and the organisation. A Chairman of one of South Africa's top energy organisations was a firm believer of Ubuntu concept and argued that it manifests itself in the workplace and organisations that were able to incorporate its principles and practices could gain a competitive advantage:

"If we were to believe in *Ubuntu* as a set of values that we believe are something of a compass that enables us to live in a manner that says I am compassionate, I care, I believe in sharing, I believe in loving, I believe in African hospitality, I believe in co-determination, I believe in co-habitation where co-habitation is broadly defined not purely in the sense of living in space but co-habitation in the sense that I acknowledge you, and also take your thoughts and feeling into account as I behave. All of those are some of the tenets, values of *Ubuntu* which also happen to share a universal feel about them. What is interesting to note about some of those tenets is that they find greater expression in an African context."

"I would like to see the realisation of what you might call an appreciation and an acceptance of the reality that South Africa is in Africa. There are many businesses that tend to think that SA is an outpost of Europe due to white domination for a very long-time to a point where South Africans would go to Zimbabwe or Nigeria come back and say they have just come back from Africa as if they had gone to another continent. So what I would like to see is an eclectic business culture, a business culture that recognises that there is something wholesome and desirable from the way Africans used to live that can be incorporated into contemporary South Africa, organisationally, sense of leadership, in terms of economics, in terms of everything whilst at the same time taking that which is western, which is wholesome and use-able would optimally contribute to a richer diverse culture. I would like to see the positives that diversity can yield. But there should be no condescending culture that is contemptuous of others, there should be mutual respect. Those of a western orientation and western culture must acknowledge who I am and give me space and an arena that allows me to make a contribution positively and optimally. I would like to see an emergence of a South Africa and of an Africa that actually lives accommodating certain values that are tenets of African humanism, I mentioned the tendency to see for me your success as contributing to the common one; the tendency to co-habit with you and that co-habitation that accommodates your ideas, the tendency to accommodate, the tendency to lead by consultation as opposed to coercion, with consultation and persuasion as opposed to coercion and all of these are tenets of *Ubuntu* that actually say as a human being I consult, I am accommodating and I don't just oppose. I would like to see an Africa that takes and brings all of these onto the fold."

For Business Ethics

The whole idea of 'cattle' is found in southern and central Africa. In other parts, like West Africa, the economic significance of a cow is not as strong or valued as it is in the Bantu speaking world. The point is you have your own experiential context, and in that context cattle are critical in the creation of wealth and you have other kinds of economic principles around the significance of cattle. For

example if you take economic globalisation today and you consider cattle, for some traditional Africans, cattle are the main symbol of wealth. The symbol of wealth is not only reflected there but is also the reality of wealth. If you do not have cattle you are poor, you can not do other things such as getting married; to get married you must pay *lobola/dowry* like Mandela did by taking live cattle into the kraal of your future in-laws. To prove to the Machel family that he is a man worth his salt (someone who can look after their daughter) he must actually lead cattle into their kraal. That is the symbol of wealth but at the same time it is the reality of wealth. The same cattle tell us how to deal with wealth. The dominant discourse which I study says I must make more and more as profit which becomes a means to an end itself. In the African concept you have an *ethical principle* that is infused to tell you something about the significance of wealth. The ethical principle about the reality and symbol of wealth is this, and here I translate saying literally that if you have a cow moving, and you have a human being moving in the same direction and both are in danger of their lives, which one should you rescue first. The ethical principle is clear you should ignore wealth and save human life first. This idea is a departure from the original meaning to *seek together* in Latin. Competition has changed today and we are no longer seeking together but *seeking against* each other and your company can die because of the power of another company. Competition has changed its meaning even in the West, whereas in this context of competition where you are licensed to kill under the guise of economic globalisation, even before the principle of economic globalisation, the principle of economics in the West is licensed to kill in the civilised jungle called the state. I say the 'civilised jungle' because human beings should not be prey to one another. What you see is the African economic principle espoused by the ethics of *Ubuntu*. If you have to make the choice between the protection of human life and wealth, it makes you opt for the protection of human life. This is a fundamental philosophical tradition which must be resolved. You cannot explain this to an African unless you use African resources which mean there must be a section about *cattle and wealth* in

their syllabus and tutorials. You cannot teach Business Ethics in short to an African child without including *cattle and the creation of wealth*.

Positioning African Management

The case being made for Ubuntu is ambitious and one therefore needs to look at the historical analysis of the origins of Ubuntu. What is the way forward for Africa to find a system or style of management and leadership that will help to solve the problems of the continent? Not just to say Ubuntu (is all you need) but to ask what would be the key features of that in terms of management practice? Where should we be looking? One answer lies in the organisational imagination in the African anti-colonial thought. Ali Mazrui (1986) talks about Africa's Triple Heritage, meaning that there is now a new history that has come out of the coming together of Western, Islamic and African culture and therefore it is not possible to go back to the imagined glorious past of Timbuktu. Management and organisation theory are not new to Africa but who are the people who had the power to claim it and name it, the Henri Fayols, or Frederick Taylor with his definitive book for example. In fact they claimed the knowledge as a whole. This I believe is what brought attempts by African management and organisation theorists to place a prefix 'African' in front of management. They were naming it and claiming it. They now had the power to do that. There is evidence all over the continent that there was management and organisation and that most of the monuments left for us would not have been built without somebody managing something or organising and planning. Now the challenge is how do you re-write that into the history of management? Here one view was that this re-writing exercise should be done through use of the prefix distinguishing it and others thought this move put them into a box and was therefore marginalising. Interestingly an Executive Director for one of the leading scientific and technology research, development and implementation organisations in Africa and an Operations Director of a Multinational both agreed that:

"There is something called managing in Africa but African management, have never really understood what it is? For those people who say there is something called African management who when you ask

them to explain what it is end up talking about the common sense that we started with earlier in our discussion and the things that they talk about exist generically across the world and its stronger in some societies than in others for instance the concept of trust and ethics in doing business is and you hear people saying in Africa we place emphasis on trust but where else in the world do you do business without there being trust. When one looks at the Japanese systems, Germans and the Italians who might just shake hands and that is the deal done and don't even write contracts. These things are all over the world; management is just management and there is certainly managing in Africa".

The issue of placing the prefix African in front of management raised a lot concern but the response was either one displayed above by the two directors that management was management and there was no need to try and distinguish it. The other responses all shared the assertion below by a marketing and communications director:

"The people who are the "other" must always use the prefix. You cannot claim the whole and so everything is African leadership and not just leadership, so the question becomes can one come with some type of *Ubuntu* leadership theory that can go the other way? It would change the way we think about leadership. So that you don't stay on the margins but as long as you have the prefix you are on the margins".

One thing that African scholars and practitioners were certain about was that for one to be an effective manager in this environment one certainly had to understand African culture because there are things that are fundamentally different about Africa and the way people related to each other to the notion of community, respect for cultural values and respect for elders which can be a good or bad thing. It was imperative to understand that context so that you can be really effective in driving change in Africa. They all put to me that if you come to an environment and you do not take time to learn the context then there is no way one can be effective in that environment. You can not build relationships with people if you do not understand where they are coming from. Perhaps then an understanding of Ubuntu could contribute towards this harmony.

Organisational Culture

For an organisation premised on Ubuntu principles, the African extended family system was mentioned by many African scholars and practitioners as the first example but also cited as the source of culture clashes in the workplace. They all asserted that it does not matter how long they have developed, the African family could not let go of the extended family. The way people tap into the extended African family and pull together has built some values that go beyond the Western nuclear families. An academic and management consultant stated that:

“The African extended family has been able to provide a welfare system far advanced and much more resilient and costless than the Western conceived one. It is so effective. If there is a funeral or family ritual you know you have to be there as one doesn’t want to suffer any punitive measures that could result from not participating”.

For one Chairman of an equity and investment firm, misunderstanding of this system was the source of some culture clashes in the workplace and here is why:

“My paternal uncle is my father, my uncle is my maternal uncle, I do have a number of mothers, and my aunts who are sisters to my mother are *umama omkhulu*, *umama omncane*. So in the industrial context there is such a thing as the reporting that your mother has died and you are going to bury her. Next year another mother dies and you a white person who hasn’t taken care to understand my culture will say what happened to your mother who died last year? This has caused a lot of frictions even around simple issues like that”.

“In very simple terms under the conventional western approach the boundaries with work are usually pretty clear and very clear in clinical whilst on the other hand from the African setting I think there is some kind of grey area which presents a lot of opportunities and challenges because it relies on everyone playing fairly and also at the same time both parties could potentially abuse the system where people take advantage of that and say they need money for this funeral, they need time off for this and that and this often happens. I think if you were to do some research around lost working days due to funerals in SA you would be amazed at the figures and this is especially more so an issue affecting the black labour force. It might be partly due to the fact that people when they have your ear tend to cooperate but if they feel that they don’t then they will vote with their feet and that might be because they expect white managers or the eurocentric management system not to understand about funerals. It becomes a self fulfilling prophecy in that you don’t expect me to understand that I have to be productive so I won’t and will go to a funeral and you just have to understand that and some will conveniently hide behind the stereotype that I am a black person and do not understand that but as a matter of fact they

understand and are beating the system. We need to reach compromise and negotiate and say yes for close relatives and the not so close, let us explore that. These are some of the areas that confront managers here and there has been a tendency to shy away from asking the questions about it and think that people, may be, are to uncomfortable about what they might find. I will put it to you that there is a lot of days lost due to such kind of things and in addition to that we do have an Aids problem in this country and people are dying. This is an example of where cultures clashes in the workplace and presents many challenges. As I said to you earlier, management in SA which was, or still is dominated by whites and therefore western has never really seriously bothered to take time to find out how the other side really lives. My belief is that black people have always one way or another been immersed or in contact with white culture in their homes as maids, housekeepers all the way to corporate and so forth whilst for white people in SA the only contact that they have had with black people is in their homes or interaction in the workplace settings. The power balance here has always been leaning in favour of the white people. Their culture being the dominant is superimposed on non-whites here and they will never get to find out what upsets these other people so much. How do black people live in the townships, of late we have been getting a lot of people visiting these places on day tours to Soweto - what can you learn in a day tour or this voyeuristic approach. It should be applauded that it is a desire to understand but I think people need to do more and immerse themselves more in the culture and understand more about what is going on in these peoples lives and why."

Organisational Identity

South African (SA) identity is evolving and that is why even from the point of view of how people look at the world from these two differing forces whether you go for the eurocentric or African management approach, it is very difficult because a good part of SA is European influenced through the presence and efforts of the Afrikaners and British settlers. It is an interesting irony that people fought in 1976 against the Afrikaans language as a teaching medium but today find that over the years black people have been some of the most creative forces around the language of Afrikaans and this is now used in so many places in SA, becoming a major part of how people communicate. SA identity incorporates most of these elements and the question becomes what implications it has in terms of the architectural make up of management theory here in SA. I think it has to incorporate the hybridism coming out of SA and this is still in the making.

Conclusion

Ubuntu has generated some excitement and achieved some visibility in the new South Africa. The stories I heard made it abundantly clear that the cultural heritage of Ubuntu remained alive for Africans, but that it could not easily surface in the work organisation. Some of this has to do with the philosophical basis of Ubuntu. As I tried to show with the example of the place of cattle in some African cultures, Ubuntu does place people before profits, and would seem to fit uncomfortably with the imperative of profit in the capitalist marketplace. However, there are many Western and Eastern philosophies, from Christianity to Buddhism, from liberalism to communism that also fit poorly on the surface with capitalist imperatives. Many of these philosophies have confronted capitalism and many have compromised with it, and some have rejected it. We might expect something similar to happen with Ubuntu, if in a specific cultural style. But what seems more urgent is that in these other cases, this confrontation or compromise has been allowed to happen. The legacy of colonialism and apartheid has prevented this working out of cultural worldview with capitalist world-making. I encountered many stories about how this needed to happen in South Africa. Until it does, we may not know if Ubuntu will serve mostly to accommodate a capitalist workplace and its practices, or to slow or redirect it, or undermine it. At the moment it appears to be ineffective, and yet at the same time to have a great pull on people who would like to see it more fully developed. My conversations and the stories I heard indicate that this confrontation has so far been deferred, and therefore our judgement of its relationship must also be deferred. Will Ubuntu be a unity of thought and action, like the past efforts of the thinkers I have studied as organisation theorists in previous chapters? It is too early to say. And therefore it is also too early to say whether it will last in a way that unfortunately the efforts of Cabral, Nkrumah and others did not, despite what I have tried to indicate as their importance and relevance today.

Conclusion

I intend that this concluding chapter has a self-conscious and reflexive trope. I aim to bring myself more visibly into my account as a scholar striving to make a difference to the way discourses of organisation theory are shaped in the academy. This is the project that has emerged and evolved since I identified an itch I needed to scratch in my undergraduate degree programme when I wrote a dissertation that asked a question of the kind: Why is the construction of organisation theory so White and so Western?

Flowing from the above question is another question that has since energised my journey within the Western academy giving it a particular reforming and deconstructionist quality. It is a question of the kind: How can I bring my passion, my reason, my appreciation of history, and my analysis of lacunae to bear in making organisation theory more inclusional of an African voice?

My responses to both questions have evolved, not in a linear causal way, but in circuitous and discursive ways since 2001. The genealogy of the movement in my ideas is an important point of reference. First, my appreciative reading of Eze's (1998) edited collection on African philosophy helped me to situate (in my own mind at least) my epistemological project within a community of philosophical practice. My second step was a critical engagement with Jaya's (2001) pithy paper on decolonizing management knowledge, which enabled me to make a bridge between his ideas in the field of management knowledge and Tuhiwai-Smith's (1999) groundbreaking material that invites the decolonization of research methodology, in turn begging questions of the kind, 'whose knowledge counts?', and 'why is organisational theory and knowledge so blanched and devoid of colour'? I have no intentions of outlining a blanched organisation theory because that is everywhere. My interest is in engaging with anti-colonial theory and that recovering these generous conceptualisations of organisation could contribute towards a colour-full organisation theory.

These critical encounters led to creative readings that were to mediate the form of the thesis that I am presenting for examination here as I address Tuhiwai-Smith's call to sharpen my reflexive indigenous voice, while focusing on the decolonization of my own thinking – and thinking I encountered more widely in the academy - about the way organisation theory is constructed within a presumption of whiteness.

My thesis as a form of response has been informed by my life-affirming commitment to social justice and my willingness to explore a particular gap in organisation theory that I identified. My project is inextricably held within my desire and my will to bring my scholarly presence into the lacunae that are formed by the absence of African voices and philosophy in organisation theory.

My chosen approach to addressing this gap is to offer a creative, questioning, and original analytical response to the implication raised by this gap rather than throwing destructive and damaging stones of accusation by levelling charges of neglect and deficit.

In this constructive mood or trope, I have developed my originality of mind out of a personal conversation with Dr Rob Beckford in the summer of 2006 at Birmingham University. Working with more black students in PhD supervision than any other academic in Western Europe (at the time of the conversation), Beckford alerted me to the idea that my identity and my scholarship might be appreciated differently as an act of resistance, in that way informed by Hill Collins (2000: vii) in her introduction to her contribution to feminist epistemology:

"I felt that it was important to examine the complexity of ideas that exist in both scholarly and everyday life and present those ideas in a way that made them not less powerful or rigorous but accessible. Approaching theory in this way challenges both the ideas of educated elites and the role of theory in sustaining hierarchies of privilege. The resulting volume is theoretical in that it reflects diverse theoretical traditions such as Afrocentric philosophy, feminist theory, Marxist social thought, the sociology of

knowledge, critical theory, and postmodernism...Secondly, I place Black women's experiences and ideas at the centre of analysis. For those accustomed to having subordinate groups such as African American women frame our ideas in ways that are convenient for the more powerful, this centrality can be unsettling. For example, White, middle-class, feminist readers will find few references to so-called White feminist thought".

Hill Collins' situatedness and her self-conscious explication of her subjectivity in this regard, seemed both authentic and important to me in the emergence of my own ideas. I appreciated her call for methodological diversity and this is echoed in my thesis. I relished the idea of an alternative form of thinking and action as a form of scholarship of resistance that was not antagonistic and conflict-led, but was instead essentially creative in response to some self-evident and empirical realities about the intersections of power, oppression, and privilege in the academy, and those elements within it that make a profession out of professing that in turn gives shape and meaning to the dominant discourses of organisation studies and theory.

Similarly, I felt empathy as a Black male PhD student with Hill Collins (2000: 33) experience as a Black woman intellectual and leading voice in feminist thought that,

"A fourth distinguishing feature of Black feminist thought concerns the essential contributions of African-American women intellectuals...One key task for Black women intellectuals of diverse ages, social classes, educational backgrounds, and occupations consists of asking the right questions and investigating all dimensions a Black women's standpoint with and for African-American women."

I believe I am justified in claiming that I have followed through on my empathy with Hill Collins' insight by developing an analytical trope in my thesis that demonstrates my commitment to *asking the right questions* and *investigating all of those dimensions of my Black, African standpoint* in respect of organisation theory that I have been able to identify in the expansion of my consciousness through my PhD research journey.

Beckford also suggested that I might enjoy developing my appreciation of Hill-Collins's notion of *Fighting Words* as a form of resistance.

Inspired by Hill Collins' (1998) assertion that 'my choice of language in *Fighting Words* typifies my effort to theorize differently...A choice of language transcends mere selection of words – it is inherently a political choice', I became clearer about my own choice of historical analysis as typifying my effort to organize (my) theorising about organisation theory differently. I was simultaneously troubled and intrigued by her account of her experience that in a subtle way reflected my own situation and standpoint:

"At that moment, I faced an important choice. I could teach the status quo or I could teach for change...So we closed those texts full of smiling, affluent White people and began to talk...For me, this incident marked an important milestone in my growing recognition of the culpability of ideas in hierarchical power relations." (Hill Collins, 1998: x)

I was moved by my first understanding of the complexity of organized power relations described by Dorothy Smith (1987, in Hill Collins, 1998) as 'relations of ruling'. This led me to ponder questions of the kind: what are the relations of ruling held in the discourses of professional and educational organisations of organisation theory? How can I research for change within a White academy? What kind of pandemonium might I risk by articulating in my analyses how I recognise the culpability of ideas in hierarchical power relations as I speak my voice into the dominant discourses of organisation theory?

The organizing purpose of my concluding chapter is to explain what I have achieved in my thesis whilst indicating how I am reorganizing my thinking and my voice as an African organisation theorist.

To this end I made a pivotal choice. Rather than framing my thesis in the form of an accusation of deficit or neglect and presenting this as a charge against the evident Western preference and prejudice in the organisation of influential

discourses of organisation theory, I have instead preferred to develop a subtle and tacit critique in the form of bringing focused attention to the recovery and the re-presencing of important figures, their voices, and especially their organisational qualities to the project of re-imagining organisation theory. I have sought to recover and re-presence these important figures as organisation theorists, both to read them anew and to offer organisation studies something new.

I have sought not to 'represent' the cliché of the 'voice of the *Other*,' but instead to *recover* the voices of *Others* attempting all the while in my thesis to ensure that these voices are heard in their own terms. As an African doctoral scholar I also appreciate that in recovering the voices of others I am recovering my own voice, no longer *othered*, and that I am continuing the African contribution to organisation. But more immediately, I am finding a form for what I understand to be an African mode of self-writing, after Mbembe (2002).

In this choice I have been guided by the sensibility of Hill Collins (1998: xxi) insights that:

"I see a great difference trying to speak to someone, with someone or for someone. Each suggests a different power relationship between the speaker-author and the intended or accidental audience and/or constituency".

Conceptually I am able to appreciate this is my meaning of recovery. As a scholar and organisation theorist this is also my practice. To paraphrase an expression of Hill Collins (1998) this project is motivated and sustained by my deep desire to explore how re-imagining organisation theory can be used to foster new insights in organisation studies while fostering and furthering social justice. In this way I am an organisation theorists-in-training, and a cultural worker and activist.

Therefore, it is from this position of multiple dimensionalities that I am measuring my contribution to the field of organisation studies through my commitments to

the act of writing this thesis; to my praxis. Yet conventions of academic authoring remain and the consequent need to tell a story about stories will, despite my best intentions, tend to introduce and reintroduce key elements of staging and redirection. Here, I want to acknowledge also some weaknesses in my academic sources in that in their eagerness to tell a story have glossed over key theorists (see, Young, 2001; Martin, 1970; Hooker, 1967; Gordon, et al. 1996; Chabal, 1983; Davidson, 1969; 1973). For example, I consider Young (2001) to have been very hard on Fanon, whilst Davidson (1969, 1973) considered Cabral to have been a personal friend and that could have influenced the position that he adopted.

Having said that, I make a start in this conclusion by going back to the recovered African anti-colonial thinkers one more time to reiterate the key points that enhance our understanding of organisation as we see nations, world economies, peoples, parties, and races organised in the thought of these extraordinary figures.

Recovered and read together, the thinking of these theorists about organisation and acting organisationally, went hand in hand. They could not conceive of one without doing the other. They thought about organisations in order to bring them about, but they also believed that this was an ongoing process of relating thought to action. The urgency of this relationship came from their political commitments.

As discussed in the first chapter, Du Bois, Padmore and James allow us to think about how today's movement of movements and counter-globalisation thinkers, might fit together through this process of consulting with others (What in Zulu is called *indaba*) and connections made through building new organisations of postcolonial freedom *with and for others in what today is called a spirit of Ubuntu*. This appears like a precursor to the horizontal organisation creation in today's movement of movements. Du Bois, Padmore and James reversed the dynamic of the outsider, the consultant. In organisation studies, dominated as it is by the

private firm, an autocratic organisation, the dynamic of the consultant is that the leader, the boss, the board, the powerful in the organisation support him or her, and this gives him or her his power. With these figures the outsider's power does not come from the same old power structure of the inside, but from the leadership of the outsider, who remains always powerless as an outsider, but can lead nonetheless. I tried to show that this is a radically different kind of change agent who has no power but is nonetheless influential (we see a fake version of this in leadership studies where the leader pretends he has no power but persuasion). I suggested that what this meant for organisation theory is that one could imagine influence without power, and leadership without followers 'at the organisation level,' in a way that might be relevant to today's movement of movements and anyone interested in organisation, but not in the hierarchy of leaders and followers that lurks beneath consultancy and change models in organisation studies today.

In the second chapter, I noted that Nkrumah made a virtue of structures and that this recovery is crucial as structure tends to be neglected, or feared, by both post colonial theory and organisation studies (where I showed that structure is almost always today considered negative). Nkrumah gives us a chance to ask if there is not a place for a positive view of structure making. His initiatives about trying to get every part of society organised allows us to recover the formal aspect of organisation and how structure could enable people and this is best captured by his dictum:

"Organise! Organise!! Organise!!! We urged:

Let individuals, men and women, join any of the political organisations, farmers' unions, co-operative societies, youth movements. No section of the people of this country should be left unorganised. No individual person should be without membership in some organisation...the strength of the organised masses is invincible...we must organise as never before, for organisation decides everything."

(*The Accra Evening News*, 14 January 1949 cited in Nkrumah, 1961: 15)

His initiatives about understanding organisation structure were that structure does not follow function but rather follows critique, mobilisation, and political

collective action. Function for him only comes after these, which are at odds with the immediate fit between structure and function attempted in organisation theory. Nkrumah's downfall in the end can also be read as problems of structure when he became entrenched into a personality cult of himself and used the state apparatus of power and control, which became debilitating for the masses, undoing the positives he had made of the virtues of structures.

In the third chapter, Cabral shows us organisational culture that is produced from bottom-up and is both a means and an end. For Young (2001: 285)

"Cabral's work stands out for the ways in which he extends his analyses from the practicalities of the creation of resistance movements, to the military strategies involved, to the vanguard role of the party in the formation of anti-colonial unity, to the forms by which cultural identity and dignity – for Cabral central and essential components of the liberation process can be asserted."

For Cabral cultural identity was an essential component for the revolutionary anti-colonial struggle and because of that importance attributed to culture, the struggle had to start there. That insight led Cabral not to create a culture that fits the narrow needs of a workplace but culture that can be properly collective and democratic because the organisation needed to learn from its members and they become the authorities on culture, such that when it is manipulated they have the ability to critique this manipulation. This enabled Cabral and PAIGC to mobilise for the anti-colonial struggle giving them an opportunity to make history by resisting foreign domination but also an opportunity to create a new culture for the postcolonial state. Cabral (1973: 63) thus prophetically warned the liberation anti-colonial movements of consequences that:

"the 'return to the source' is of no historical importance unless it brings not only real involvement in the struggle for independence, but also complete and absolute identification with the hopes of the mass of the people, who contest not only the foreign culture but also the foreign domination as a whole. Otherwise, the 'return to the source' is nothing more than an attempt to find short-term benefits – knowingly or unknowingly a kind of political opportunism." (Cabral, 1973: 63).

In the fourth chapter, Fanon shows us a different consciousness of identity and subjectivity. Fanon thought of organisational identity as something that

determines individual identity almost completely and constrained the colonial subject, but at the same time he thought that the colonial subject was capable of completely throwing off this organisation and creating a new organisation and new identity. His understanding of identity was that it goes through different phases and that it is changeable. As increasingly today we witness more and more attempts to construct identities through work, this recovery of Fanonian thought allows us an understanding of colonial organisation that was more than capable of determining the individual identity of the colonial subject almost completely. But Fanon's work shows us that the colonial subject could overcome this and create a new organisation and identity. This gives organisation theory some new material about organisational identity, material that differs from the structure agency debates about identity in creating both with much power, rather than emphasizing one or the other.

In the fifth chapter, *Ubuntu*'s effort to rethink organisation offers an engaging and elegant contribution to the study of organisation. *Ubuntu* as a southern African approach to community, relationships and organising for life is a 'complimentary' critical discourse for organisational theorising. This is so because it fits poorly on the surface with capitalist imperatives whilst there are others who have tried to exploit it for capital gain as I showed in the chapter. *Ubuntu* translates into attitudes towards profit and wealth. As I tried to show with the example of the place of cattle in some African cultures, *Ubuntu* does place people before profits, and would seem to fit uncomfortably with the imperative of profit in the capitalist marketplace. In an *Ubuntu* based economy, the belief is that the only wealth is that which is shared and rendered visible to community but here we have to tread very carefully about generalisations as part of this belief led to the assertion that Africa could embrace socialism/communism and we know what a disaster this turned out to be (Kaunda, 1967, 1974; Nyerere, 1968). The criterion for respect in a world that embodies *Ubuntu* values would be how much wealth is shared with others and not how full one's personal balance is and this is definitely not happening in today's capitalist dominated world. The legacy of colonialism and

apartheid has prevented this working out of cultural worldview with capitalist world-making. The cultural heritage of *Ubuntu* has remained alive for Africans, but it appears that it could not easily surface in the work organisation. Yet 'herding', 'cattle' and 'the extended family system' have survived the onslaught of capitalist hegemony placed by colonialism and apartheid. It is not surprising though that these concepts, that are part of the make-up of the bedrock of a specific lifestyle or culture, are at odds with Western dominated space/place organisation. For instance, as an African Professor going to an interview for the post of vice-chancellor found to his disadvantage. His story is depicted in the illustration that follows:

"I was a herd boy; that is where I acquired my experience as a manager. That from a cultural point of view and from the point of view of the dominant discourse is already a shock, let alone nonsense. It doesn't sit anywhere in the epistemology that is dominant in the management sciences or for that matter say dominant western epistemology....how could you tell me that your knowledge and experience as manager is actually acquired from being a *herd boy*. What is that? It is already two things that you see. This form of experience and knowledge is a shock because it falls outside the dominant knowledge paradigm. The first point is: *why is this knowledge system marginalised?* The same principle of exclusion and marginalisation is found with regards to *Ubuntu*. When you talk about *Ubuntu*: *what is this? How can you include or integrate Ubuntu into the dominant legal paradigm*. Being a *herd boy* is not regarded as part and parcel of the dominant scientific knowledge, so it is excluded. The same principle applies with regards to *Ubuntu*, it is excluded."

For one Chairman of an equity and investment firm, misunderstanding of this system was the source of some culture clashes in the workplace and here is why:

"My paternal uncle is my father, my uncle is my maternal uncle, I do have a number of mothers, and my aunts who are sisters to my mother are (*umama omkhulu, umama omncane*). So in the industrial context there is such a thing as the reporting that your mother has died and you are going to bury her. Next year another mother dies and you a white person who hasn't taken care to understand my culture will say what happened to your mother who died last year? This has caused a lot of frictions even around simple issues like that".

This poses the challenge to the African extended family and one can see that these pressures can eventually render it dysfunctional and strip it of its primary traditional functions. On the other hand retaining this system for Africans offers a

structure and a basis of social and economic transformation in Africa as it is one of the reasons for their survival and resistance against foreign domination as Cabral would put it.

My thesis is therefore offered as an example of a colourful organisation theory that reflects multiple realities and representative of all experiences and identities not just of the colonisers, but those who are oppressed and colonised too.

This *recovery* is also an example of how I, as a Black southern African of Nguni heritage has in ontological, existential and epistemological ways been able to write myself *into organisation theory*. This action allows us to think about how the movement of movements might fit together through this process of consulting with others and connections made through building a new form of critical and yet living theorising of organisation.

This is part of the on going decolonisation asserted by Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1981) and Tuhiwai-Smith (1999). Developing Hill Collins' (1998) idea, my thesis illustrates how universal truth in organization theory is not possible, and that my 'honest' account is one truth-full offering among multiple truths about organisation theory. It is truth-full to the extent of its honesty as a decolonizing account. And yet it goes further in terms of developing and illustrating my critical judgment as a doctoral researcher. Hill Collins (1998: xix) suggests that analyses should examine how hierarchical power relations influence the standards used in its epistemology in order to adequately confront "how power shapes what counts as truth". I believe that I offer an alternative set of standards used for evaluating the merit, worth and analytical integrity of an organisation theory that can be re-imagined through the recovery of hitherto lost African voices. The recovery of those voices is, of course, held in my analysis and interpretation: the intersection of my critical judgment. In demonstrating how my cognitive range has been extended through the course of my research enquiry, I draw on the influence in my thinking of the work of Cooke (2003a, 2003b, 2004). Inspired by Cooke's

work, I have been able to develop my own independent appreciation of historical analysis for understanding the organisation of the present, present organisation and what may become. This thesis is therefore also a response to Loomba et al. (2005: 3) by living out the form '*Beyond Postcolonialism*' who ponders that:

"...it is possible to argue that the term *postcolonial studies* has outlived its utility precisely because of this expansion of the subject matter, analytical method, and historical scope. So one central question is: Does the work that we all agree is still relevant, perhaps more than ever, proceed under the name *postcolonial studies* or not?"

My backward glancing into historicity is the bridge in order to forward future options and directions. This re-imagination, recovery, re-writing and perspectives on *Ubuntu* offer some new material and conversation between African anti-colonial thought, postcolonial theory and organisation studies. I recognise through my thesis that my contribution is a re-writing of organisation theory and that one can not do everything in one thesis and therefore, offer it as a first step. There are more African anti-colonial thinkers to recover, revive, and critically re-assess to gain a new perspective of organisation at the same time. There is the problem of the absence of the feminist voice, and the problem of the search for new political forms like 'horizontalism' presaged in my organisational consultants. But I hope this re-imagination, re-writing and perspectives on *Ubuntu* and on these key thinkers offer us the chance to think ambitiously about how our world might be organized to include all in a just and liberated organisational imagination.

References

- Albert, S. Ashforth, B. E. and Dutton, J. E. (2000) 'Organisational identity and identification: charting new waters and building new bridges'. *Academy of Management Review*, Vol. 25: 13-17.
- Albert, S. and Whetten, D. A. (1985) 'Organisational identity'. In Cummings, L. L. and Staw, B. M. (eds.) *Research in Organizational Behaviour*. JAI Press: Greenwich, CT. (pp. 263-295)
- Ackroyd, S. and Crowdy, P. (1990) 'Can Culture be managed? Working with raw material: The case of the English slaughtermen', *Personnel Review* Vol.19 (5): 3-13.
- Ackroyd, S. and Thompson, P. (1999) *Organisational Misbehaviour*. London: Sage.
- Afari-Gyan, K. (1991) 'Kwame Nkrumah, George Padmore and W. E. B du Bois'. *Research Review NS*, Vol. 7, (1&2): 1-10.
- Agar, M. H. (1982) 'Whatever happened to cognitive anthropology: A partial review', *Human Organization*, Vol. 41: 82-86.
- Agostinho Neto, A. (1980) *Speeches*. Luanda, MPLA-Partido do Trabalho, Department of Politico-Ideological Education, Propaganda and Information.
- Ahluwalia, D.P.S. (2001) *Politics and Post-colonial theory: African Inflections*. London: Routledge.
- Alvesson, M. (1991) 'Organisational symbolism and ideology', *Journal of Management Studies*, Vol. 28(3): 207-25.
- Alvesson, M. (1993) 'Organisations as rhetoric: knowledge-intensive firms and the struggle with ambiguity', *Journal of Management Studies*, Vol. 30(6): 997-1015.
- Alvesson, M. and Willmott, H.C. (1996) *Making Sense of Management: A Critical Introduction*. London: Sage.
- Alvesson, M (2001) 'Knowledge work: Ambiguity, Image and Identity'. *Human Relations*, Vol. 54: 863-86.
- Alvesson, M. (2002) *Understanding Organization Culture*. London: Sage.
- Alvesson, M. and Willmott, H. (2002) 'Identity regulation as organisational control producing the appropriate individual', *Journal of Management Studies*, Vol. 39: 619-644.
- Amery, J. (2005) 'The Birth of Man from the Spirit of Violence: Frantz Fanon the Revolutionary'. *Wasafiri*, Vol. 44: 13-18.
- Anderson, B. (1991) *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. London: Verso.
- Anderson, K. (1995) *Lenin, Hegel and Western Marxism: A Critical Study*. USA: University of Illinois.
- Anshuman, P. (ed.) (2003) *Postcolonial Theory and Organizational Analysis: A Critical Engagement*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Anthony, P. D. (1994) *Managing Culture*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.
- Anyasi-Archibong, C. B. (2001) 'Toward an African-oriented management theory', In F. M. Edoho (ed.) *Management challenges for Africa in the twenty-first century: theoretical and applied perspectives*. Westport, CT: Praeger. (pp. 63-72).
- Argyris, C. (1970) *Intervention Theory and Method*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Argyris, C. (1990) *Overcoming Organizational Defenses: Facilitating Organisational Learning*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Ashcroft, B, Griffiths, G. and Tiffin, H. (eds.) (1995) *The Post-colonial Studies Reader*. London: Routledge.
- Ashcroft, B. Gareth, G. and Tiffin, H. (1998) *Key Concepts in Post-Colonial Studies*. London: Routledge.
- Baker, E. L. (1980) 'Managing organisational culture'. *Management Review*, 1980: 8-13.
- Baligh, H.H, Burton, R.M. and Obel, B. (1996) "Organizational Consultants: Creating a Useable Theory for Organizational Designs", *Management Science*, Vol. 4, (12) : 1648-1662.
- Banerjee, S. B. and Linstead, S. (2004) 'Masking subversion: Neocolonial embeddedness in anthropological accounts of indigenous management'. *Human Relations*, Vol. 57(2): 221-247.
- Bechard, R. (1969) *Organisation Development: Strategies and Models*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Beer, M., Eisenstat, R.A. and Spector, B. (1990) *The Critical Path to Corporate Renewal*. Boston, MA: Harvard Business School Press.
- Beling, W. A. and Totten, G.O. (eds.) (1970) *Developing Nations: Quest for a Model*. New Perspectives in Political Science. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company.
- Bennis, W. (1969) *Organisation Development: Its Nature, Origin and Prospects*. Addison-Wesley: Reading, MA.
- Besancon, A. (1981) *The Intellectual Origins of Leninism*. (trans.) by Sarah Matthews. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Beynon, H. Grimshaw, D. Rubery, J. and Ward, K. (2002) *Managing Employment Change*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Blake, R. R. and Mouton, J. S. (1983) *Consultation: A Handbook for Individual and Organisational Development*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Black, P. and Sharma, U. (2001) 'Look good, feel better: beauty therapy as emotional labour', *Sociology*, Vol. 35: 913-31.
- Blackey, R. (1974) 'Fanon and Cabral: a contrast in Theories of Revolution for Africa'. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*. Vol. 12 (2): 191-209.

Blackey, R. and Paynton, C. T. (1976) *Revolution and the Revolutionary Ideal*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Schenkman Publishing Co.

Blau, P. M. (1966) *The Dynamics of Bureaucracy*, (2nd edn). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Blau, P. M. and Scott, W. R. (1962) *Formal Organisations: A Comparative Approach*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Blau, P. M. and Shoenherr, R. A. (1971) *The Structure of Organisations*. New York: Basic Books.

Braverman, H. (1974) *Labour and Monopoly Capital: the Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century*, New York: Monthly Review Press.

Brent Hayes Edwards (2004). 'The Genres of Postcolonialism', *Social Text*, 78, Vol. 22, (1): 1-15.

Brewis, J. (2007) 'Culture', in D. Knights and H. Wilmott (eds.) *Introducing organisational behaviour and management*. London: Thomson. (pp. 344-374).

Broadfoot, K. J. and Munshi, D. (2007) 'Diverse Voices and Alternative Rationalities: Imagining Forms of Postcolonial Organizational Communication'. *Management Communication Quarterly*. Vol. 21(2): 249-267.

Bryant, M. and Cox, J. W (2004) 'Conversion stories as shifting narratives of organizational change', *Journal of Organizational Change Management*, Vol. 17(6): 578-592.

Buchanan, D.A. (1993) 'Review of strategy of change: concepts and controversies in management of change'. *Journal of Management Studies*, Vol. 30 (6): 684-6.

Buchanan, D.A and Badham, R. (1999) 'Politics and organisational change: the lived experience'. *Human Relations*, Vol. 52 (5): 609-29.

Bulham, H. A. (1979) 'Black Psyches in Captivity and Crises', *Race and Class*, Vol. 3: 243-61.

Buhle, P. (ed.) (1987) *C.L.R James: His Life and Work*. London: Allison and Busby.

Buhle, P. (1989) *The Artist as Revolutionary*. London: Verso Books.

Burchell, G., Gordon, C. and Miller P. (eds.) (1991) *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Burns, B. (1992) *Managing Change*. London: Pitman.

Burns, T. and Stalker, G.M. (1963) *The Management of Innovation*. London: Tavistock.

Burrell, G. and Morgan, G. (1979) *Sociological Paradigms and Organizational Analysis*, London: Heinemann.

Burrell, G. (1988) 'Modernism, postmodernism and organisational analysis: the contribution of Michel Foucault', *Organisation Studies*, Vol. 9: 221-35.

Bush, D. M. (1978) 'The Routinization of Social Movement Organisations: China as a Deviant Case', *The Sociological Quarterly*, Vol. 19(2): 203-217.

- Cabral, A. (1969) *Revolution in Guinea: An African People's Struggle*. London: Stage 1.
- Cabral, A. (1973) *Return to the Source: Selected Speeches by Amilcar Cabral*. New York: Monthly Review Press with Africa Information Service.
- Cabral, A. (1974) *Toward Final Victory: selected speeches and documents*. Canada: LSM Information Center Press.
- Cabral, A. (1979) 'The Role of Culture in the Liberation Struggle', in Armand and Michele Mattelart, (eds.) *Communication and Class Struggle*. Vol. 1: *Capitalism, Imperialism*. New York: International General: (pp. 205-11).
- Cabral, A. (1980) *Unity and Struggle: Speeches and Writings*. London: Heinemann.
- Calás, M. and Smircich, L. (1999) 'Past postmodernism? Reflections and tentative directions', *Academy of Management Review* Vol. 24(4): 649-671.
- Carr, A. (2000) 'Critical theory and the management of change in organizations'. *Journal of Organizational Change Management*, Vol. 13(3): 208-220.
- Casey, C. (1995) *Work, Self and Society*, London: Routledge.
- Casey, C. (1996) 'Corporate Transformations: designer culture, designer employees and "post-occupational solidarity"', *Organisation*, Vol. 3: 317-39.
- Césaire, A. 'A Politics of Neologism', in Clifford James. (1988). *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. (pp. 175-181).
- Césaire, A. (1995) *Notebook of a Return to My Native Land*. UK: Bloodaxe Books Ltd.
- Chabal, P. (1981) 'The Social and Political Thought of Amilcar Cabral: a Reassessment'. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 19(1): 31-56.
- Chabal, P. (1983) *Amilcar Cabral: Revolutionary Leadership and People's War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Chakrabarty, D. (2000) *Provincialising Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Cheyette, B. (2005) 'Frantz Fanon and Jean-Paul Sartre: Blacks and Jews', *Wasafiri*, Vol. 44: 7-12.
- Chia, R. (1995) 'From modern to postmodern organizational analysis', *Organization Studies* Vol. 16(4): 579-604.
- Chilcote, R.H. (1972) *Emerging Nationalism in Portuguese Africa: Documents*. Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press.

- Chilcote, R.H. (1991) *Amilcar Cabral's Revolutionary Theory and Practice: A Critical Guide*. London: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Chilcote, R.H. (ed.) (2000) *Key Concepts in Critical Theory: IMPERIALISM: Theoretical Directions*. USA: Humanity Books.
- Child, J. (1972) 'Organisation Structure, Environment and Performance: the Role of Strategic Choice', *Sociology*, Vol. 6: 1-22.
- Church, A. H., Burke, W. W. and van Eynde, D. F. (1994) 'Values, motives and interventions of organisation development practitioners', *Group and Organisation Management*, Vol. 19 (1): 5-50.
- Clark, H. Chandler, J. and Barry, J. (1994) *Organisation and Identities: Texts and readings in organisational behaviour*. London: Thompson.
- Clark, P. (2000) *Organisations in Action: Competition between Contexts*. London: Routledge.
- Clark, T. (1995) *Managing Consultants*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Clegg, S. and Dunkerley, D. (1980) *Organization, Class and Control*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Clegg, S. (1990) *Modern Organizations: Organization Studies in a Postmodern World*, London: Sage.
- Clegg, S., Hardy, C., and Nord, W. (eds.) (1996) *Handbook of Organization Studies*. London: Sage.
- Clegg, S. and Hardy, C. (1996) 'Introduction: Organizations, organization and organizing', in S. Clegg, C. Hardy and W.R. Nord (eds.), *Handbook of Organization Studies*, London: Sage. (pp. 1-28).
- Clegg, S. Kornberger, M. and Pitsis, T. (2005) *Managing and Organizations: An introduction to Theory and Practice*, London: Sage.
- Coffey, A. and Atkinson, P. (1996) *Making Sense of Qualitative Data: Complementary Research Strategies*. London: Sage.
- Collins, D. (1996) 'New Paradigms for Change? Theories of organisation and the organisation of theories', *Journal of Organisational Change Management*. Vol. 9(4): 9-23. MCB University Press.
- Collins, D. (1998) *Organisational Change: Sociological Perspectives*. London: Routledge.
- Collins, D. (2003) 'Re-Imagining Change', (ed.) *Special Issue of Tamara*. 2/4, pp. iv-xi, 1-38.
- Collinson, D. L. (1988) "'Engineering humour" ': Masculinity, Joking and conflict in shop floor relations', *Organisation Studies*, Vol. 9(2): 181-199.
- Collinson, D. L. (2003) 'Identities and Insecurities: Selves at Work', *Organization*, Vol.10 (3): 527-547.
- Conquest, R. (1972) *Lenin*. Great Britain: Fontana/Collins.
- Converse, J. M. and Schuman, H. (1974) *Conversations at random: Survey research as interviewers see it*. New York: John Wiley.

Cooke, B. (2003a) 'A New Continuity with Colonial Administration Participation in Development Management'. *Third World Quarterly*. Vol. 24 (1): 47-61.

Cooke, B. (2003b) 'The Denial of Slavery in Management Studies'. *Journal of Management Studies*. Vol. 40(8): 1895-1918.

Cooke, B. (2004) 'The Managing of the (Third) World'. *Organisation*. Vol. 11(5): 603-629.

Cooper, R. and Burrell, G. (1988) 'Modernism, postmodernism and organizational analysis: An Introduction', *Organization Studies* Vol. 9: 91-112.

Cudjoe, S. R. (1997) 'C.L.R James and the Trinidad & Tobago Intellectual Tradition, or, Not Learning Shakespeare Under a Mango Tree'. *New Left Review*. Vol. A(223): 114-126.

Cudjoe, S. R. (2003) *Beyond Boundaries: The Intellectual Tradition of Trinidad & Tobago in the nineteenth century*. Amherst MA: University of Massachusetts Press.

Dandala, M. (1996) 'African Values: discovering the indigenous roots of management', in R. Lessem and B. Nussbaum, (eds.) (1996) *Sawubona Africa: Embracing four worlds in South African Management*. Johannesburg: Zebra. (pp. 69-85).

Daft, R. L. (2006) *The New Era of Management*. London: Thomson.

Davidson, B. (1965) *Black Star: A View of the Life and Times of Kwame Nkrumah*. London: Allen Lane.

Davidson, B. (1969) *The Liberation of Guinea*. New York: Penguin.

Davidson, B. (1973) *Black Star: A View of the Life and Times of Kwame Nkrumah*. Allan Lane, London.

Davidson, B (1992), *The Black Man's Burden: Africa and the Curse of Nation-State*, Oxford: James Currey Ltd.

Davidson, B. (1994) *The Search For Africa: A History in the making*. London: James Currey.

Dawson, P. (1994) *Organizational Change: A Processual Approach*. London: Paul Chapman Publishing.

Deal, T. and Kennedy, A. (1982) *Corporate Cultures: The Rites and Rituals of Corporate Life*, Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

De Beauvoir, S. (1963) *La Force des choses*. Paris : Gallimard.

Degras, J. (ed.) (1971) *The Communist International 1919-1943*. Oxford: Frank Cass & Co Ltd.

Denzin, N. K. and Lincoln, Y. S. (eds.) (2003) *Collecting and Interpreting Qualitative Materials*. (2nd Edn). London: Sage.

De Sarden, J. P. O. (1999) 'A Moral Economy of Corruption in Africa? *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 37 (1): 25-52.

Dia, M. (1996) *Africa's Management in the 1990s and Beyond*, Washington, DC : World Bank.

Donaldson, L. (2005) 'Following the scientific method: How I became a committed functionalist and positivist', *Organisation Studies*, Vol. 26(7): 1071-1088.

Dooreward, H and Benschop, Y. (2003) 'HRM and organizational change: an emotional endeavour'. *Journal of Organizational Change Management*, Vol. 16(3): 272-286.

Du Bois, W. E. B. (1995) *W. E. B du Bois : A Reader*. (ed.) David Levering Lewis. New York: Henry Holt and Co. Inc.

Du Bois, W. E. B. (1972) *The World and Africa: An inquiry into the part which Africa has played in world history. (An enlarged edition, with new writings on Africa by W. E. B. Du Bois, 1955-1961)*. New York: International Publishers.

du Gay, P. (1996) *Consumption and Identity at Work*, London: Sage.

du Gay, P. (2000) *In Praise of Bureaucracy: Weber, Organization, Ethics*, London: Sage.

Dutton, J. E. Dukerich, J. M and Harquail, C.V. (1994) 'Organisational images and member identification', *Administrative Science Quarterly*, Vol. 39: 239-63.

Dyer, R. (1997) *White: Essays on Race and Culture*. London: Routledge.

Edoho, F. M. (2001) 'Management in Africa: The quest for a philosophical framework', In F. M. Edoho (ed.) *Management challenges for Africa in the twenty first century: theoretical and applied perspectives*. Westport, CT: Praeger: (pp. 73-90)

Elsbach, K. D. (1999) 'An expanded model of organisational identification', In B.M. Staw and R.I. Sutton (eds.) *Research in Organisational Behaviour*. 21, (pp. 163-200).

Empson, L. (2001) 'Fear of exploitation and fear of contamination: impediments to knowledge transfer in mergers between professional service firms'. *Human Relations*, Vol. 54: 839-62.

Eysenck, H. J. (1972). The rut or the couch? Reprinted in H. Clark, J. Chandler and J. Barry (1994) *Organisation and Identities*. London: Chapman and Hall. (pp. 82-98).

Etzioni, A. (1961) *A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organisations*. New York: The Free Press.

Eze, E.C. (1998) *Postcolonial African Philosophy: A Reader*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Fanon. F. (1967) *The Wretched of the Earth*. (trans. C. Farrington). UK: Penguin Books.

Fanon. F. (1986) *Black Skin, White Masks*. (trans. C. Markmann). UK: Pluto Press.

Fenwick, T. (2002) 'Transgressive desires: new enterprising selves in the new capitalism', *Work, Employment and Society*, Vol. 16: 703-23.

Fincham, R. (1999) 'The Consultant-Client Relationship: Critical Perspectives on the management of organization change'. *Journal of Management Studies*, Vol. 36: 335- 351.

- Fiol, M., Hatch, M. J., and Golden-Biddle, K. (1998) 'Relationship between Culture and Identity', in D. Whetten (ed.) *Identity in Organisations: Developing Theory through Conversations*. London: Sage.
- Fontana, A. and Frey, J. H. (2003) 'The Interview: From Structured Questions to Negotiated Text', in N. K. Denzin and Y. S. Lincoln. (2003) (eds.) *Collecting and Interpreting Qualitative Materials*. (2nd edn). London: Sage. (pp. 61-106).
- Foucault, M. (1970) *The Order of Things: an Archaeology of the Human Sciences*. London: Tavistock.
- Foucault, M. (1972). *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. New York: Pantheon.
- Foucault, M. (1977), *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, New York: Pantheon.
- Foucault, M. (1978), *The History of Sexuality, Vol. 1 An Introduction*, (trans. Robert Hurley), New York: Pantheon.
- Foucault, M. (1980) *Power/Knowledge: Selected interviews and Other Writing, 1972-1977*, (ed.) C. Gordon. Brighton: Harvester Press.
- Foucault, M. (1982) 'The subject and power', Afterword to H. L. Dreyfus and P. Rabinow, *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Foucault, M. (1988) *Technologies of the Self*. (ed.) L. Martin, H. Gutman and P. Hatton. London: Tavistock.
- Frenkel, M. and Shenhav, Y. (2003) 'Decolonizing organization theory: Between Orientalism and Occidentalism'. *Organization Studies*. Vol. 24(9): 1537-1561.
- Frenkel, M and Shenhav, Y. (2006) 'From Binarism Back to Hybridity: A postcolonial reading of management and organization studies'. *Organization Studies*. Vol. 27(6): 855-876.
- Freud, S. (1964) *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*. (ed.) James Strachey. London: The Institute of Psycho-Analysis and The Hogarth Press.
- Fox, S. (1990) 'Strategic HRM: Postmodern conditioning for the corporate culture', *Management Education and Development*. Vol. 21(3): 192-206.
- Galunic, D. C. and Eisenhardt, K. M. (1994) 'Renewing the Strategy-Structure-Performance Paradigm', in B. M. Staw and L. L. Cummings (eds.) *Research in Organisational Behaviour*, Vol. 16: 215-55. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.
- Geertz, C. (1973) *The Interpretation of Cultures*. New York: Basic Books.
- Geismar, P. (1969) 'A biographical Sketch', *Monthly Review* 21 (May).
- Ghandi, L (1998) *Postcolonial Theory: a Critical Introduction*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Giddens, A. (1991) *Modernity and Self-identity*. Polity Press: Cambridge.

- Gioia, D., Schultz, M. and Corley, K. (2004) 'Organisational Identity, image and adaptive instability', in M. Hatch. and M. Schultz (eds.) *Organisational Identity: A Reader*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. (pp. 349-376).
- Goodenough, W. H. (1971) *Culture, Language and Society*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Gouldner, A. (1954) *Patterns of Industrial Bureaucracy*. New York: The Free Press.
- Gordon, L.R. (1995) *Fanon and the Crisis of European Man: An Essay on Philosophy and the Human Sciences*, New York: Routledge.
- Gordon, L.R. Sharpley-Whiting, T. and White, R.T. (1996) (eds.) *Fanon: A Critical Reader*, Oxford: Blackwell.
- Gramsci, A. (1957) *The Modern Prince, and Other Writings*, (trans. Louis Marks). New York: International Publishers.
- Gramsci, A. (1971) *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*, (trans. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith). London: Lawrence and Wishart.
- Gray, A. (2003) 'Enterprising femininity: new modes of work and subjectivity', *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, Vol. 6: 489-506.
- Gregory, K. L. (1983) 'Native – View Paradigms: Multiple Cultures and Culture Conflicts in Organisations. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, Vol. 28(3): 359-376.
- Greiner, L. E. and Metzger, R.O. (1983) *Consulting to Management*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Grey, C. (1994) 'Careers as a project of the self and labour process discipline', *Sociology*, Vol. 28, 479-97.
- Grohs, G. K. (1968) 'Frantz Fanon and the African Revolution'. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 6(4): 543-556.
- Guest, D.E. (1987) 'Human Resource Management and Industrial Relations', *Journal of Management Studies*. Vol. 25(4): 503-521.
- Hadjor, K. B. (1993) *The Penguin Dictionary of Third World Terms*. London: Penguin.
- Hall, S. (1996) 'The After-life of Frantz Fanon: Why Fanon? Why Now? Why Black Skin, White Masks?' in A. Read, (ed.) (1996) *The Fact of Blackness: Frantz Fanon and Visual Representation*, London: Institute of Contemporary Arts. (pp. 12-37).
- Halliday, F. (1999) *Revolution and World Politics: The Rise and Fall of the Sixth Great Power*. USA: Duke University Press.
- Hallowell, A. I (1955) *Culture and Experience*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Hammer, M. (1990) 'Reengineering Work: Don't Automate, Obliterate', *Harvard Business Review*, July-August: 104-112.

Hancock, P. and Tyler, M. (2001) *Work, Postmodernism and Organization: A Critical introduction*, London: Sage.

Harding N. (1996). *Leninism*. London: Macmillan Press Ltd.

Harney, S. and Nyathi, N. (2007) 'Race, Revolution and Organisation', in Campbell Jones and Rene ten Bos (eds.) *Philosophy and Organisation*. London: Routledge. (pp. 132-139).

Harney, S. and Oswick, C. (2006) 'Regulation and Freedom in Global Business Education'. *Social Policy*. Vol. 26. ¾: 97-109.

Harris, N. (1990) *National Liberation*. London: Tauras & Co. Ltd.

Harris, I. C. and Ruefli, T. W. (2000) 'The Strategy/Structure Debate: An examination of the performance implications', *Journal of Management Studies*, Vol. 37(4): 587-603.

Harvey, D. (1989) *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origin of Social Change*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Hassard, J. (1996) 'Exploring the terrain of modernism and postmodernism in organization theory', in D.M. Boje, R.P. Gephart, Jr. and T.J. Thatchenkery (eds.), *Postmodern Management and Organization Theory*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. (pp. 45-59).

Hatch, M.J. (1979) *Organization Theory: Modern, Symbolic and Postmodern Perspectives*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hatch, M.J. and Schultz, M. (eds.) (2004) *Organizational Identity: A Reader*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Hatch, M. J. and Schultz, M. (2004) 'The Dynamics of organisational identity', in M. Hatch and M. Schultz (eds.) *Organisational Identity: a Reader*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. (pp. 377-406).

Hayes, J. (1996) *Third World Politics: A Concise Introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Henry, P. and Buhle, P. (eds.) (1992) *C.L.R James's Caribbean*. USA: Duke University Press.

Hill Collins, P. (1998) *Fighting Words: Black Women and the Search for Justice*. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press.

Hill Collins, P. (2000) *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*. (2nd edn). London: Routledge.

Hofstede, G. (1980) 'Motivation, Leadership and Organisation: Do American theories apply abroad?' *Organizational Dynamics*, Summer, 1980: 42-63.

Hofstede, G. (2001) *Culture's Consequences: Comparing Values, Behaviours, Institutions, and Organisations Across Nations*. London: Sage.

Hofstede, G. (2002) 'Organisation Culture', in A. Sorge (ed.) *Organization*, London: Thomson Learning. (pp. 68-91).

"Homage to Frantz Fanon." (1962) *Presence Africaine*, Vol. 12(40): 130-152.

Hooker, J. R. (1967) *Black Revolutionary: George Padmore's Path From Communism to Pan-Africanism*. London: Pall Mall Press.

Hountondji, P.J. (1996) *African Philosophy: Myth and Reality*. (2nd Edn), (trans. Henri Evans and Jonathan Ree). Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Huczynski, A. and Buchanan, D. (2001) *Organisational Behaviour: An Introductory text*. (4th Edn). London: Prentice Hall.

Ibarra-Collado, E. (2006) 'Organization Studies and Epistemic Coloniality in Latin America: Thinking Otherness from the Margins'. *Organization*. Vol. 13(4): 463-488.

Isaacs, H. R. (1960) 'Dubois and Africa'. *Race and Class*. Vol. 2: 3-23

Jack, G. and Lorbiecki (2007) 'National Identity, Globalisation and the Discursive Construction of Organisation Identity'. *British Journal of Management*, Vol. 18(1): 79-94.

Jackson, N. and Carter, P. (2000) *Rethinking Organisational Behaviour*. London: Financial Times/Prentice Hall.

Jackson, T. (2004) *Management and Change in Africa: A cross-cultural perspective*. London: Routledge

Jacques, R. (1996) *Manufacturing Consent*, London: Sage.

James, C.L.R. (1992) *The C.L.R James Reader*, (ed.) Anna Grimshaw. Oxford: Blackwell.

James, C.L.R. (1938) *History of Negro Revolt*. London: Fact Monographs.

James, C. L.R. (1963) *Beyond a Boundary*. London: Stanley Paul.

James, C.L. R. (1977) *Nkrumah and The Ghana Revolution*. London: Allison & Busby Ltd.

James, C.L.R. (1977) *Nkrumah and the Ghana Revolution*. London: Allison & Bushby Ltd.

James, C.L.R. (1980) *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution*. London: Allinson & Busby.

James, R. (2001) *People and Change; Exploring Capacity Building in NGOs*. Oxford: INTRAC.

Janis, I. (1982) *Group-Think: Psychological Studies of Policy Decisions and Fiascos*. (2nd edn). Boston: Mifflin.

Jelinek, M. Smircich, L. and Hirsch, P. (1983) 'A Code of Many Colors'. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, Vol. 28(3): 331-228.

Jensen, R. (2005) *The Heart of Whiteness: Confronting Race, Racism, and White Privilege*. San Francisco: City Lights Books.

- Jinadu, L. A (1978) 'Some African Theorists of Culture and Modernisation: Fanon, Cabral and Some Others'. *African Studies Review*, Vol. xxi (1): 121-38.
- Jinadu, L. A. (1986) *Fanon: In Search of the African Revolution*. London: KPI/Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Kanter, R. M. (1977). *Men and Women of the Corporation*. USA: Basic Books, Harper Collins.
- Kanter, R.M. (1989) *When Giants Learn to Dance: Mastering the challenges of Strategy, Management and Careers in the 1990s*, London: Unwin Hyman.
- Kanter, R.M., Stein, B.A and Jick, J.D (1992) *The Challenge of Organisational Change: How Companies Experience It and Leaders Guide It*. New York: Free Press.
- Kaplan, A. (1999) *The Developing of Capacity. Development Dossier by the United Nations NGO Liaison Service*, available at <http://www.cdra.org.za/>
- Kaunda, Kenneth D. (1967) *Humanism in Zambia and a Guide to its Implementation*. Lusaka: Zambia Information Services.
- Kaunda, Kenneth D. (1974) *Humanism in Zambia and a Guide to its Implementation. Part 2*. Lusaka: Zambia Information Services.
- Kelley, R.D.G. (1999) 'A Poetics of Anti-colonialism'. *Monthly Review*. Vol. 51 (6): 1-12.
- Kennedy Information (2000) 'Management consulting today', [online] <http://www.kennedyinfo.com/mc/overview.html>.
- Kerr, C. Dunlop, J.T. Harbison, F. and Myers, A. (1960), *Industrialism and Industrial Man: The problems of Labour and Management in Economic Growth*. London: Heinemann.
- Khalfa, J (2005) Editorial, *Wasafiri*, Vol. 44: 5-6.
- Kiggundu, M. N. (1989) *Managing Organisations in Developing Countries*, West Hartford, CT: Kumarian Press.
- Kiggundu, M. N. (1991) 'The challenges of management development in sub-Saharan Africa', *Journal of Management Development*, Vol. 10(6): 32-47.
- Kilduff, M. and Mehra, A. (1997) 'Postmodernism and organizational research'. *Academy of Management Review*, Vol. 22: 453-481.
- King, A. Y. (1977). 'A Voluntarist Model of Organisation: the Maoist version and its critique. *British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 28. (3): 363-374.
- Knights, D. and Willmott, H. C. (1987) 'Organisational culture as management strategy: A critique and illustration from the financial service industries'. *International Studies of Management & Organisation*. Vol. 17(3): 40-63.
- Knights, D. and Willmott, H. (1999) *Management Lives: Power and Identity in Work Organizations*, London: Sage.

Knights, D. (2004) 'Michel Foucault', in S. Linstead (ed.) *Organisation Theory and Postmodern Thought*. London: Sage. (pp. 14-33).

Kotter, J. P. (1995) 'Leading Change: why transformation efforts fail', *Harvard Business Review*, Vol. 73(2): 59-67.

Kruks, S. (1996) 'Fanon, Sartre, and Identity Politics', in L.R. Gordon, T. Sharpley-Whiting, and R.T. White (eds.) *Fanon: A Critical Reader*, Oxford: Blackwell. (pp. 122-133).

Kubr, M. (ed.) (1993) *Management Consulting: A Guide to the Profession*. 2nd (revised) edition. Geneva: International Labour Office.

Kunda, G. (1992) *Engineering Culture: Control and Commitment in High-Tech Corporation*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Latour B. (1987) *Science in Action: How to follow scientists and engineers through society*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.

Lawrence, P. R. and Lorsch, J. W. (1967) *Organisation and Environment*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Lenin, V. I. (1902) *What is to be done? Burning Questions of Our Movement*. London: Martin Lawrence Ltd.

Lenin, V. I. (1915) 'The Revolutionary Proletariat and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination'. *Lenin Collected Works*, vol. 19: 525-527, available at <http://www.marxist.org/archive/lenin/works/1915/oct/16.htm>

Lenin, V. I. (1947) *Imperialism: The highest stage of capitalism*. Moscow: Foreign Language Publishing House [originally published in 1916].

Lenin, V. I. (1947) 'The State and Revolution', in *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, Moscow, Foreign Languages Publishing House.

Lenin, V.I (1969) "The Discussion on Self Determination Summed Up," *The National Liberation Movement in the East*. Moscow: Progress: (pp. 184-93).

Lenin, V. I. (1969) *Selected Works*. London: Lawrence & Wishart.

Lenin, V.I. (1975) "*The Right of Nations to Self-Determination*," *The Lenin Anthology*. New York: Norton. (pp. 153-180).

Lewis, G. and Phoenix, A (2004) "'Race', ethnicity and identity", in K. Woodward (ed.) *Questioning Identity: Gender, Class, Ethnicity*. London: Routledge. (pp. 115-150).

Llewellyn, S. (1993) 'Working in hermeneutic circles in management accounting research: some implications and applications', *Management Accounting Research*, Vol. (4): 231-249.

Linstead, S. (1999) 'Managing Culture', in L Fulop and S. Linstead (eds.), *Management: A Critical Text*, Basingstoke: Macmillan Press. (pp. 93-122).

- Linstead, S. and Grafton-Small, R. (1992) 'On reading organization culture', *Organization Studies* Vol. 13(3): 331-355.
- Linstead, S, Brewis, J and Linstead, A. (2005) 'Gender in change: gendering change'. *Journal of Organizational Change Management*. Vol. 18(6): 542-560).
- Loomba, A. (2000). *Colonialism/Postcolonialism: the New Critical Idiom*. London: Routledge.
- Loomba, A. Kaul, S. Bunzl, M. Burton, A. and Esty, J. (2005) *Postcolonial Studies and Beyond*. USA: Duke University Press.
- Mangham, I. (1978) *Interactions and Interventions in Organizations*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Martin, J. (2002) *Organizational Culture*, London: Sage.
- Martin, T. (1970) 'Rescuing Fanon from the Critics', *African Studies Review*, Vol. 13 (3): 381-399.
- Martin, J and Frost, P. (1996) 'The Organisation Culture Wars: A struggle for intellectual dominance', in Clegg, S., Hardy, C. and Nord, W. (eds.) *Handbook of Organization Studies*. London: Sage. (pp. 599-621).
- Marx, K. and Engels, F. (1998) *The Germany Ideology including Thesis on Feuerbach and Introduction to the Critique of Political Economy*. New York: Prometheus Books.
- Maslow, A. (1943). 'A Theory of Human Motivation', *Psychological Review*, Vol. 50: 370-396.
- Mazrui, A. A. (1986) *The Africans: A Triple Heritage*. London: BBC and UPS documentary.
- Mbembe, A. (2002) 'African Modes of Self-Writing', *Public Culture*, Vol. 14, (1): 239-273; (trans. Steven Randall). Duke University Press.
- Mbembe, A. (2005) 'Faces of Freedom: Jewish and Black Experiences'. *International Journal of Postcolonial Studies*, Vol. 7(3): 293-298.
- Mbigi, L. (1997) *Ubuntu: The African Dream in Management*. Pretoria: Knowledge Resources.
- Mbigi, L. (1997) *The Spirit of African Leadership*. Johannesburg: Knowledge Resources.
- McAuley, J, Duberley, J, and Johnson, P. (2007) *Organization Theory: Challenges and Perspectives*. England: Pearson Education Ltd.
- Mckown, D. B. (1975) *The Classical Marxist Critiques of Religion: Marx, Engels, Lenin, Kautsky*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.
- McCulloch, J. (1983) *In The Twilight of Revolution The Political theory of Amilcar Cabral*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- McLeod, J. (2000) *Beginning Postcolonialism*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Mead, G. H. (1934). *Mind, Self and Society*. Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press.

- Meek, V. L. (1988) 'Organisational culture: origins and weaknesses', *Organisation Studies*, Vol. 9(4): 453-473.
- Merton, R. K. (1968). 'Bureaucratic structure and personality', in *Social Theory and Social Structure*, revised and enlarged edition. New York: Free Press. (pp. 249-260).
- Merton, R. K. (1980) 'Bureaucratic structure and personality', *Social Forces*, Vol. 18: 560-68.
- Meyer, A. G. (1957) *Lenninism*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Miles, R.H. (1997) *Leading Corporate Transformation: A Blueprint for Business Renewal*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass Publishers.
- Milgram, S. (1965) 'Some conditions of obedience and disobedience to authority'. *Human Relations*, Vol. 18: 57-76.
- Minh, H. C. (1924) Lenin And The Colonial Peoples. *Selected Works of Ho Chi Minh Vol. 1*. Foreign Languages Publishing House. Available at <http://www.marxist.org/reference/archive/ho-chi-minh/works/1924/01/27.htm>
- Mink, O. G. (1992) 'Creating new organisational paradigms for change', *International Journal of Quality and Reliability Management*, Vol. 9(3): 21-35.
- Mintzberg, H. (1973) *The Nature of Managerial Work*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Mintzberg, H. (1979) *The Structuring of Organisations*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall,
- Mir, R., Calas, M., and Smircich, L. (1999). 'Global Technoscapes and silent voices: challenges to theorizing global cooperation' In D. Cooperrider and J. Dutton (eds.), *Organizational dimensions of global change* (pp. 270-290). London: Sage.
- Mir, R. Mir, A. and Upadhyaya, P. (2003) 'Toward and Postcolonial reading of organizational control', In A. Prasad (Ed.), *Postcolonial theory and organizational analysis*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. (pp. 47-73).
- Mohanty, C.T. (1984) 'Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourse', *Boundary 2* spring/fall: 71-92.
- Mondlane, E. (1983) *The Struggle for Mozambique*. London: Zed Books
- Moore-Gilbert, B. (1997) *Postcolonial theory: contexts, practices, politics*. London: Verso.
- Moore Owens, T (2005) 'A Fanonian Perspective on Double Consciousness'. *Journal of Black Studies*, Vol. 35(6): 751-62.
- Morgan, G. (1997) *Images of Organization* (2nd Edn), London: Sage.
- MPLA (1972) *Revolution in Angola*. London: Merlin.
- Mudimbe, Y.V. (1988) *The Invention of Africa. Gnosis, Philosophy, and the Order of Knowledge*. London: James Currey.

- Munck, R. (1986) *The Difficult Dialogue: Marxism and Nationalism*. London: Zed Books Ltd.
- Munshi, D. (2005) 'Through the subject's eye: Situating the 'other' in discourses of diversity', In G. Cheney and G. Barnett (Eds.), *International and Multicultural Organizational Communication Quarterly*. (pp. 45-70), Creskil, NJ: Hampton Press.
- Nain, T. (1981) *The break-up of Britain: crisis and neo-nationalism*, London: NLB and Verso Editions
- Ngugi wa Thiong'O. (1981) *Decolonizing the mind: The politics of language in African literature*. London: James Currey.
- Nielsen, A. L. (1997) *C.L.R. James: A Critical Introduction*. Mississippi: University Press of Mississippi.
- Nielsen, E. H. (1984) *Becoming an OD Practitioner*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Ngambi, H. (2004) 'African Leadership: Lessons from the chiefs'. In T. A. Meyer and I. Boninelli (eds.) *Conversations in leadership: South African perspectives*. Johannesburg: Knowledge Resources. (pp. 107-132).
- Nkrumah, K. (1957) *Ghana: The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah*. New York, International Publishers.
- Nkrumah, K. (1961) *I speak of Freedom: A Statement of African Ideology*. London: Heinemann.
- Nkrumah, K. (1963) *Africa Must Unite*. London: Heinemann.
- Nkrumah, K. (1964) *Consciencism: Philosophy and Ideology for Decolonization and Development with particular reference to the African Revolution*. London: Heinemann.
- Nkrumah, K. (1965) *Neocolonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism*. London: Heinemann.
- Nyathi, N and Harney, S. (2007) 'Disidentity', in A. Pullen, N. Beech and D. Sims (eds.) *Identity: Concepts and Methods*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. (pp. 185-197).
- Nyerere, J. K. (1963) 'A United States of Africa', *Journal of Modern African Studies* Vol. 1, part 1: 1-6.
- Nyerere, J. K. (1968) *UJamaa: Essays on Socialism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Nzelibe, C. O. (1986) 'The Evolution of African management thought', *International Studies of Management and Organization*, Vol. 16(2): 6-16.
- Ouchi, W. and Johnson, J. (1978) 'Types of organisational control and their relationship to emotional well-being', *Administrative Science Quarterly*, Vol. 23: 293-317.
- Ouchi, W. (1981) *Theory Z*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Padmore, G. (1931) *The Life and Struggles of Negro Toilers*. London: RILU Magazine.
- Padmore, G. (1936) *How Britain Rules Africa*. London: Wishart Books.

- Padmore, G. (1937) *Africa and World Peace*. London: Secker & Warburg.
- Padmore, G and Pizer, D. (1946) *How Russia Transformed Her Colonial Empire: A Challenge to the Imperialist Powers*. London: Dennis Dobson.
- Padmore, G. (1949) *Africa: Britain's Third Empire*. London: Dobson.
- Padmore, G. (1956) *Pan-Africanism or Communism? The Coming Struggle for Africa*. London: Dennis Dobson.
- Padmore, G. (ed.) (1963) *Colonial and Coloured Unity: A Programme of Action: History of Pan-African Congress*. (2nd edn). London: Hammersmith Bookshop.
- Parker, M. (1992) 'Post-modern organizations or postmodern organization theory?' *Organization Studies* Vol. 13(1):1-17.
- Parker, M. (2000) *Organizational Culture and Identity*, London: Sage.
- Parry, B. (1998) "Liberation Movements: Memories of the Future," *Interventions* Vol. 1.(1):45-51.
- Parry, B. (2002) 'Liberation theory: variations on themes of Marxism and modernity', in C. Bartolovich and N. Lazarus (eds.) *Marxism, Modernity and Postcolonial Studies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (pp. 125-149).
- Pawlikova-Vilhanova, V. (1998) 'The African Personality or the Dilemma of the other and the Self in the Philosophy of Edward W. Blyden, 1832-1912'. *Asian and African Studies*, Vol. 7(2): 162-175.
- Peruvemba S. Jaya (2001). 'Do We Really "Know" and "Profess"? Decolonizing Management Knowledge'. *Organization*, Vol. 8(2): 227-233
- Peters, T. and Waterman, R. (1982) *In Search of Excellence: Lessons from America's Best Run Companies*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Pettigrew, A. (1979) 'On studying organisational cultures', *Administrative Science Quarterly*, Vol. 24: 570-81.
- Pettigrew, A. (1990) 'Longitudinal field research on change: theory and practice', *Organisation Science*, Vol. 1(3): 267-92.
- Prasad, A. (1997) 'Provincializing Europe: Towards a postcolonial reconstruction. *Studies in Cultures, Organizations and Societies*, Vol. 3: 91-117.
- Prasad, A. & Prasad, P. (2002) '*Otherness at large: Identity and difference in the new globalized organizational landscape*'. In I. Aaltio and A. Mills. (eds.) *Gender, Identity and the Culture of Organisations* London: Routledge. (pp.57-71).
- Prasad, A. (ed.) (2003) *Postcolonial Theory and Organisational Analysis: A critical engagement*. New York: Palgrave macmillan.
- Prasad, A. (2006) 'The Jewel in the crown: Postcolonial theory and workplace diversity'. In A. M. Konrad, P. Prasad, P and Pringle, J. K. (eds.) *Handbook of workplace diversity*. London: Sage. (pp. 121-144).

- Pugh, D. Hickson, D. J. and Hinings, C. R. (1969) 'An Empirical Taxonomy', *Administrative Science Quarterly*, Vol. 14: 115-26.
- Pugh, D.S. (1973) 'The measurement of organization structures: Does context determine form?' *Organizational Dynamics*, Spring: 19-34.
- Pugh, D. S. (1977) *Organisation Theory*. London: Penguin.
- Pullen, A. Beech, N. and Sims, D. (2007). *Exploring Identity: Concepts and Methods*. Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Ray, C. (1986) 'Corporate Culture: the last frontier of control?' *Journal of Management of Studies*, Vol. 23: 287-97.
- Reader, J (1998) *Africa: A Biography of the Continent*. London: Penguin Books.
- Reed, M. (1985) *Redirections on Organisational Analysis*. London: Tavistock.
- Reed, M. (1993) 'Introduction', in Reed, M and Hughes, M (eds.), *Rethinking Organisation: New Directions in Organisation Theory and Analysis*, London: Sage. (pp. 1-16).
- Reed, M. (1996) 'Organisational Theorising: A Historical Contested Terrain', In S. Clegg, C. Hardy and W.R. Nord (eds.) *Handbook of Organisation Studies*. London: Sage. (pp. 31-56).
- Riddell, J. (1993) (ed.) *The Communist International in Lenin's Time. To See the Dawn. Baku, 1920 – First Congress of the People of the East*. New York: Pathfinder Press.
- Ritzer, G. (1993) *The McDonaldization of Society*, Newbury Park: CA: Pine Forge.
- Robinson, W. (2004) *A Theory of Global Capitalism: Production, Class, and State in a Transnational World*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.
- Roediger, D.R. (1994) *Towards the Abolition of Whiteness: Essays on Race, Politics and Working Class History*. London: Verso
- Rollinson, D. (2005) *Organizational Behaviour and Analysis: An integrated Approach*, (3rd edn), England: Pearson Education Ltd.
- Romero, P.W. (1976) 'W.E.B. Du Bois, Pan-Africanists, and Africa 1963-1973'. *Journal of Black Studies*, Vol. 6 (4): 321-336.
- Rose, N. (1999) *Governing the Soul: the Shaping of the Private Self*. London: Routledge.
- Rossi, I and O'Higgins, E. (1980) 'The Development of Theories of Culture', in Ino Rossi (ed.) *People in Culture*. New York: Praeger. (pp. 31-78)
- Roethlisberger, F. J. (1948) 'Human Relations: Rare, medium, or well-done?' *Harvard Business Review*, Vol. 26(1): 521-542.

- Roethlisberger, F. J. and Dickson, W. J. (1939) *Management and the Worker: An account of Research Program Conducted by the Western Electric Company, Hawthorne Works*, Chicago. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Sadler, P. (ed.) (1998) *Management Consultancy: a handbook of best practice*. London: Kogan Page Ltd.
- Safavi, F. (1981) A model of management education in African. *Academy of Management Review*, Vol. 6 (2): 319-331.
- Said, E. (1978) *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Said, E. (1993) *Culture and Imperialism*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Saka, A. (2003) 'Internal change Agents' view of the management of change of change problem'. *Journal of Organisational Change Management*. Vol. 16 (5): 480-496.
- San Juan, E. (1998) *Beyond Postcolonial Theory*. New York: St Martin's Press.
- Santiago-Valles, W.F. (2003) 'C.L.R James: asking questions of the past'. *Race and Class*, Vol. 45 (1): 61-78.
- Sartre, J. P. (1948) 'Orphee Noir' (Black Orpheus) Introduction to *Anthologie de la nouvelle poesie negre et malgache* (ed.) Leopold Sedar Senghor. Paris : Presses Universitaires de France.
- Sartre, J. P. (2001) *Colonialism and Neocolonialism*. (With a Preface by Robert J. C. Young and Introduction by Azzedine Haddour, (Trans. Azzedine Haddour, Steve Brewer and Terry McWilliams), London: Routledge.
- Sarup, M. (1996) *Identity, Culture and the Postmodern World*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Saul, J. S. 1990. *Socialist Ideology And the Struggle For Southern Africa*. Trenton, N.J: Africa World Press, Inc.
- Schein, E. H. (1969) *Process Consultation: Its Role in Organization Development*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Schein, E. H. (1985) *Organisational Culture and Leadership*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Schein, E. H. (1992) *Organisational Culture and Leadership*. (2nd edn). San Francisco: CA Jossey-Bass.
- Schein, E. H. (1999) *Process Consultation Revisited: Building the Helping Relationship*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Scott, W.G. (1963) 'Organization theory: An overview and an appraisal', in K.Davis and W.G. Scott (eds.), *Reading in Human Relations*, (2nd edn), New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Senghor Leopold S. (1976). *Selected Poems Poesies Choiesies*. A Bilingual Text with English Translations and an Introduction by Craig Williamson. London: Rex Collings.

Sewell, B. and Wilkinson, B. (1992) 'someone to watch over me: surveillance, discipline and the just in time labour process', *Sociology*, Vol. 26: 271-89.

Silverman, D. (1970) *The Theory of Organizations*, London: Heinemann.

Smircich, L. (1983) 'Concepts of Culture and organizational analysis', *Administrative Science Quarterly*, Vol. 28(3): 339-358.

Smith, B. C. (2003) *Understanding Third World Politics: Theories of Political Change and Development*. (2nd edn). Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave macmillan.

Smith, D. E. (1987) *The Everyday World as Problematic: A Feminist Sociology*. Boston: North Eastern University Press.

Sorge, A. (ed.) (2002) *'Organization'*, London: Thomson Learning.

Spivak, G. C. (1988) 'Can the Subaltern Speak?' in C. Nelson and L. Grossberg (eds.) *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*. Urban, IL: University of Illinois Press. (pp. 271-314).

Spivak G.C. (1990) *The Post-Colonial Critic: Interviews, Strategies, Dialogues*. Sarah Harasym (ed.), London: Routledge.

Spivak G.C. (1996) *The Spivak Reader: Selected works of Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak* (eds.), Landry D and Maclean G). London: Routledge.

Stacey, R., Griffin, D. and Shaw, P (2000) *Complexity and Management: Fad or radical challenges to Systems Thinking?* London: Routledge.

Stalin, J. (1936) *Marxism and the National and Colonial Question*. London: Lawrence and Wishart.

Stalin, J. (1939) *Foundations of Lenninism*. New York: International Publishers.

Stalin, J. (1970) "Marxism and the National Question," in *Selections from V. I. Lenin and J.V. Stalin on National Colonial Question*. Calcutta: Calcutta Book House.

Starbuck, W. H. (1992) 'Learning by knowledge-intensive firms', *Journal of Management Studies*, Vol. 29(4): 713-40.

Starkey, K. (1998) 'Durkheim and the limits of corporate culture: Whose culture? Which Durkheim?' *Journal of Management Studies*, Vol. 35(2): 125-136.

Thompson, P. (2003) 'Disconnected capitalism: or why employers can't keep their side of the bargain', *Work, Employment and Society*, Vol. 17: 359-78.

Thompson, P. and Findlay, P. (1999) 'Changing the people; social engineering in the contemporary workplace', in A. Sayer and L. Ray (eds.) *After the Cultural Turn*, London: Sage. (pp. 162-187).

Thompson, P. and McHugh, D. (2002) *Work Organisations: A Critical Introduction* (3rd edn). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Thompson, P. and Warhurst, C. (eds.) (1998) *Workplaces of the Future*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Trotsky, L. (1945) *The First Five Years of the Communist International*. Trans. (ed.) by John Wright. New York: Pioneer Publishers.
- Tuhiwai-Smith, L. (1999) *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. London: Zed Books.
- Tunteng Kiven, P. (1974) 'George Padmore's Impact on Africa: A Critical Appraisal'. *Phylon* Vol. 35 (1): 33-44.
- Turner, A. N. (1982) 'Consulting is more than giving advice', *Harvard Business Review*, Vol. 60: 120-9.
- Tushman, M. L., Newman, W. H. and Romanelli, E. (1997) 'Convergence and upheaval: managing the unsteady pace of organisational evolution', in Tushman, M. L. and Anderson, P. (eds.), *Managing Strategic Innovation and Change: A Collection of Readings*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. (pp. 583-94).
- Vroom, C. (2002) 'Organization structure', in A. Sorge (ed.) *Organization*, London: Thomson Learning. (pp. 54-67).
- Vroom, V. (1964). *Work and Motivation*. New York: Wiley.
- Watson, T. (1994) *In Search of Management*, London: Routledge.
- Webb, J. (2006) *Organisations, Identities and the Self*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Weber, M. (1904) 'The Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism', in T. Parsons, E. Shils, K.D. Naegle and J.R. Pitts (eds.) (1965), *Theories of Society: Foundations of Modern Sociological Theory*, New York: The Free Press.
- Weber, M. (1920) 'Some consequences of bureaucratization', in L.A. Coser and B. Rosenberg (eds.) (1989), *Sociological Theory: A Book of Readings*, (5th edn), Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press. (pp. 334-335).
- Weber, M. (1922) 'Bureaucracy', in H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (1948) *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. (pp. 196-244).
- Webster, F. and Robbins, K. (1993) 'I'll be watching you: comment on Sewell and Wilkinson', *Sociology*, Vol. 27: 243-52.
- Westwood, R. I. (2001) 'Appropriating the Other in the Discourses of Comparative Management', in R. I. Westwood and S. Linstead (eds.) *The Language of Organization*. London: Sage. (pp. 241-62)
- Westwood, R. I. (2004) 'Towards a Post-colonial Research Paradigm in International Business and Comparative Management', in R. Marschan-Piekkari and C. Welch (eds.) *Handbook of Qualitative Research Methods for International Business*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar. (pp. 56-83).
- Westwood, R and Jack, G. (2007) 'Manifesto for a Post-colonial International business and management studies'. *Critical Perspectives on International Business*. Vol. 3(3): 246-265.
- Wheeler, G. (1962) *Racial Problems in Soviet Central Asia*. 2nd edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Whitehead, T. N. (1935) 'Human relations within human groups', *Harvard Business Review*, Vol. 14(1): 1-13.
- Whittington, R. and Mayer, M. (2002) *Organising for Success in the Twenty-First Century: A Starting Point for Change*. London: CIPD.
- Whittington, R., Mayer, M. and Smith, A. (2002) 'The Shape of Things to Come', *People Management*, Vol. 8 (20): 28-34.
- Whyte, W. A. (1963) *The Organisation Man*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Woodward, J. (1965) *Industrial Organisation: Theory and Practice*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Young, R. (1998) "Ideologies of the Postcolonial," *Interventions* Vol. 1. (1): 1-9.
- Zizek, S. (ed.) (2004) *Revolution At The Gates: A Selection of Writings from February to October 1917*. London: Verso.
- Young, R. (2001) *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.