PARADIGMS LOST:
INTEGRATING HISTORY AND ORGANIZATION STUDIES

Abstract

This article reviews recent attempts at mapping research paradigms in Management and Organizational History (MOH) and argues that the old distinctions between supplementarist, integrationist and reorientationist approaches (Üsdiken and Kieser 2004) have been superseded by attempts at integrating historical research in organization studies. A typology of these integrationist approaches differentiates between pluralist and unitary integration, as well as between models based on either historical theory or organization theory. Each has distinct weaknesses and strengths, but essentially all limit their integration of historical research paradigms to only a few. As a result, there is a danger that history might become reduced to a methodology, an empirical endeavor, narrative representations, or indeed be considered the subject of research rather than a research approach in its own right. I argue that all of these present an impoverished picture of the rich research traditions available in the discipline of history, which has unique insights and approaches to offer to the study of organizations..

Keywords: historic turn − paradigm maps − integrationist MOH − history and organization studies

Introduction

Over a decade ago, Behlul Üsdiken and Alfred Kieser (2004) categorized Management and Organizational History (MOH) into *supplementarist*, *integrationist* and *reorientationist* approaches. *Supplementarist* referred to the use of historical data in organizational theorizing, while *integrationist* approaches aimed at a more holistic incorporation of historical concepts and research. Finally, the *reorientationist* camp challenged the scientistic aspirations of Organization Studies (OS) and sought to turn the field towards a more humanistic mode of enquiry. These positions have remained in use since then (Leblebici 2014), but in recent years a number of alternative approaches to mapping paradigms in MOH have been published (Rowlinson, Hassard, and Decker 2014; Kipping

and Üsdiken 2014; Maclean, Harvey, and Clegg 2016; Coraiola, Foster, and Suddaby 2015). Indeed the very term 'historic turn' (Clark and Rowlinson 2004), originally categorized by Üsdiken and Kieser as *reorientationist*, has become a more encompassing term that now refers to bringing history into OS. The four major contributions that seek to map out how to accomplish this, however, can all be categorized as integrationist, as they seek to make sense of how history can contribute to organizational research. Some still maintain the supplementarist position, such as Leblebici (2014), whose argument for transdisciplinary integration suggests using history to supplement organizational research, and organizational research to supplement history. Others favor a reorientationist position (Mills, Weatherbee, and Durepos 2013), but the main publication activity in recent years has been in terms of fleshing out what an integration of historical research into OS would look like.

This article develops a typology of integrationist approaches, rather than assuming that integration means the same to everyone. These contributions legitimize different kinds of historical research, while others remain beyond the boundaries of this integration. Even though rarely acknowledged, paradigm maps for organization studies have made reference to historical research before, but often in a reductionist way. The next section will review the previous attempts at integrating some historical analysis into OS. Following that, the new paradigm maps for management and organizational history will be discussed. Even though they are certainly more inclusive and diverse, they also effectively exclude certain kinds of history. To some extent this is unavoidable, largely because history as a discipline is not only extremely diverse, but also eschews any representation of its different research paradigms in the form of paradigm maps. This divergent way of thinking about paradigms within the historical discipline will be briefly introduced in the following section.
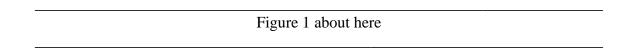
While integrationist scholars rightly point out that the integration of more history in organization studies offers great opportunities for future research, it seems equally important to be aware of which historical approaches could end up being excluded from an integrationist approach to MOH. There are clearly differences between these new paradigm maps in terms of what type of historical research they favor, and this will be analyzed in greater detail in the third section. As these paradigm maps are increasingly called upon to legitimize historical research in OS journals, they will come to frame our understanding of what constitutes history in OS. And it is already clear that this will be a different type of history than what is considered history by historians, or indeed by management and organizational historians right now. The implications of this will be discussed in the final section, especially whether these new paradigm maps actually propose to integrate the kind of history that we want to research.

Mapping Paradigms in Organization Studies

A number of dedicated attempts to map and integrate historical research into OS have been published between 2014 and 2016. These follow the OS tradition of mapping paradigm that originated with Gibson Burrell and Gareth Morgan's *Sociological Paradigms and Organizational Analysis* (1979). However, in the various attempts to represent an updated picture of organization research since then, history has in fact made occasional and inconsistent appearances. This provides an interesting insight into how organizational researchers have viewed history in the past, and under which organizational paradigms they have subsumed it.

Since Burrell and Morgan's first analysis of the paradigms that govern organizational research, organization scholars continued to develop matrices and tables as visual

representations that map different domains within field. The metaphor here is spatial –
carving out distinct areas from what was perceived as the functionalist, or (post-)positivist
mainstream of OS.[1] Sometimes theses representations were explicitly developed to either
position qualitative research on an equal footing to quantitative methods, or to overcome this
false dichotomy (Morgan and Smircich 1980; Gephart 2004). Noticeable in these
representations are that paradigms (sometimes called traditions, or domains) are presented as
occupying equal space – even though this does not correspond to the number of scholars
working within each paradigm. These paradigm maps, a selection of which are listed in figure
1, were fiercely discussed in the 1980s and 1990s, sometimes humorously referred to as
'paradigm wars' (Hassard and Wolfram Cox 2013). At its root, this debate was concerned
with the future of OS, and whether the field ought to integrate around a unified paradigm
(Pfeffer 1993, 1995) or maintain a pluralist approach (Van Maanen 1995). Other scholars
sought to work within multiple paradigms or work beyond paradigms altogether (Hassard
1991; Davis and Marquis 2005; Mir and Mir 2002; Clegg 2005).

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Figure 1 about here

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A similar concern with the future direction of MOH drives the current surge in articles
proposing one type of paradigm map or another for MOH. This diversity in a field that is at
its root cross-disciplinary is hardly surprising. However, this is somewhat at odds with
attempts at integrating MOH as a research stream within OS, because many other research

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[1] Postpositivist is used in this context to denote approaches that temper positivism with a
degree of bounded rationality, e.g. Karl Popper's amendment of scientific method from
verification to falsification, or critical realism. The term post-positivism (with a hyphen) is
used by some scholars to refer to anti-positivist approaches (Mills and Helms Mills 2011;
Prasad 2005), but this article follows the use in Guba & Lincoln (1994) and other major
management journals (e.g. Gephart 2004).

communities (e.g. organizational ecology, strategy-as-practice, critical management studies) generally have more coherent paradigmatic allegiances. Previously, this internal diversity of historical approaches was largely ignored by organization scholars, even when history itself was not: one type of history (e.g. comparative historical analysis) was considered representative of all of history. Integrating historical research thus always runs the risk of pigeon-holing the diversity of approaches in MOH, as past practice shows.

History did not make an appearance in all the paradigm maps listed in figure 1, but where it does, it is usually identified with one paradigm. However, across the different contributions, there is no agreement on where historical research should be located on the familiar objectivist-subjectivist axis. Burrell and Morgan's (1979) well-known two-by-two matrix locates various research communities in sociology and OS within the four paradigms, including hermeneutics and critical theory, but makes no mention of historical approaches. While it might appear as an anachronism to suggest that historical analysis should have been represented, Gareth Morgan included it only a year later in his *Academy of Management Review* article on the same subject with Linda Smircich.

This equally well-known article (Morgan and Smircich 1980) popularized the objectivist-subjectivist distinction, thus prioritizing it over the second dimension proposed by Burrell and Morgan, normative stability vs. radical change. Here objectivism and subjectivism were presented as two binary extremes, with a continuum of (at times overlapping) positions in between. In the rows of the table, explanatory dimensions map these positions along set criteria. This format of representing paradigms as columns of a table, with the rows explaining, for example, the ontological, epistemological, theoretical and methodological dimensions, has been the most widely adopted type of paradigm map. Historical analysis makes an appearance in Morgan and Smircich's six columns as part of the

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objectivist position – not at its extreme, but as an attenuated variety, which other authors have identified with postpositivism.

In contrast to this original categorization, Guba and Lincoln's (1994) table of four paradigms identifies historical analysis with critical theory, specifically historical realism and revisionism, which remain somewhat distinct from the radically interpretive constructivism. In a departure from tables that represent obvious continuums, Bob Gephart (2004) suggested a three paradigm model that merged Guba and Lincoln's positivism and postpositivism, suggested interpretivism as the central column, and merged critical theory with postmodernism. This latter position is identified with historical realism – a strange choice considering that historical realism in history is identified with empiricism, and thus antithetical to any type of postmodernist research. While this may be the result of using different labels in different disciplines, in history, realism and postmodernism represent incommensurable paradigms. Across these three paradigm maps, historical analysis or historical realism has traversed nearly the entire objectivist-subjectivist spectrum, suggesting that historical research has been opportunistically integrated by other research communities as a method or technique devoid of any ontological or epistemological basis.

This is interesting considering that Morgan and Smircich's work explicitly sought to highlight the important ways in which certain methods are embedded within their paradigms of origin, an issue to which Gephart also returned. Thus it is hardly surprising that a number of articles have been published since 2014 that sought to clarify the role of paradigms operating within MOH. Organizational scholars also returned to the issue of paradigm maps in recent years (Cunliffe 2011; Hassard and Wolfram Cox 2013). Both sets of authors suggest three paradigms as an extension of Morgan and Smircich's binary objectivist-subjectivist

continuum. While John Hassard and Julie Wolfram Cox do not include history, Ann Cunliffe, however, brings historical analysis full circle and identifies it again with postpositivism.

The paradigm maps discussed above do not primarily aim to integrate history in organization studies. Nevertheless, the seemingly random way in which history can be located nearly everywhere on the subjectivist-objectivist spectrum is akin to people describing an elephant depending on whether they saw the tail, the feet, the ears, or the trunk. It suggests that, despite repeated calls for a historic turn in OS (Clark and Rowlinson 2004; Kieser 1994, 2015; Üsdiken and Kieser 2004; Zald 1990, 1991, 1993, 1996), history has not been perceived as a discipline that contains more than one paradigm, but as a partial and disembodied method that is almost value-free and can be imported unproblematically.

The Landscapes of History

The confusion over where to locate historical analysis – critical or postpositivist – is not surprising considering that history is a discipline that contains significant paradigmatic plurality. However, historians have not shown the same degree of interest in mapping paradigms. Secondly, the term paradigm has been interpreted differently by historians, and there is no clear disciplinary consensus what constitutes a paradigm for historical research. Finally, paradigmatic plurality in history is neither as central nor as well reflected an issue as it is in OS. It is important to understand this different disciplinary tradition in order to understand why integrating historical research into OS is not a simple process and almost inevitably controversial.

The spectrum of approaches from objectivist to subjectivist ontologies also matter in historical research, but is usually addressed with the epistemologically focused question of 'how can we know the past?' The 1980s and 1990s saw a breakdown of the disciplinary consensus, now humorously referred to as the 'history wars' (American Historical

Association 2014), in analogy to OS's 'paradigm wars'. The outcome of these paradigmatic challenges similarly left a legacy of greater theoretical and epistemological diversity within (and to some extend beyond) the disciplinary boundaries of history. What is strikingly different are the ways in which these internal divisions are represented by historians.

Thomas Kuhn's work on scientific revolutions was certainly influential in history, but also limited the meaning of paradigm to that of a master paradigm. On the whole, the term paradigm is not widespread among historians, and most frequently invoked in the form of a list (Research and Institute of Historical Research 2014; Green and Troup 1999) or as a battle of supremacy between competing world views (Cooper et al. 1993). Frequently, overviews of the historical discipline are organized by an eclectic mix of topic, method, geography, theory and approach that remains undecided on the primary dimensions of categorization (Jordanova 2006). The notion of paradigm shift, i.e. an old master paradigm in the process of being superseded by a new master paradigm, is often employed to make sense of the contemporary pluralism within history. The obvious absence of a dominant paradigm is interpreted as either as a state of interregnum between two paradigms (Gorman 2007), or as a form of 'hyper-revisionism' that has 'accelerated to a blinding speed' according to historiographer Gabrielle Spiegel (2005: xi).

The widespread presentation of historical paradigms as evolving in succession (Roth and Iggers 1998) is perhaps unsurprising for a discipline that is inherently diachronic and process-oriented in its research design. Spiegel (2007), for example, focuses on revisions in history, i.e. the process by which accounts of past events are challenged and reframed. However, the different possible scales of 'revising' range from simple correction of the historical record to 'paradigm shifts' in the Kuhnian sense. What is noticeably absent here is

an attempt to take stock of which paradigms are currently operating within the historical disciplines, and which fields they are associated with.

One possible explanation for this is provided by the historian Jonathan Gorman (2007), who argues that historians' grasp of paradigms is so constrained because of Thomas Kuhn's hyper-muscular definition of paradigm shifts, i.e. one dominant paradigm overcoming the previous incumbent, with only ever one paradigm in operation in a 'mature science' (Fulbrook 2002, 33). This is clearly different from the understanding of paradigms in sociological terms, which has expanded Kuhn's notion for 'post-paradigm times' to refer to epistemic communities (Hassard and Wolfram Cox 2013). Gorman similarly argues that paradigms are best considered as 'webs of belief'. These beliefs influence how people make sense of their experiences, but even though they are widely held, not all beliefs will be held by any one person.

Others have argued that there are in fact a range of strong and weak paradigms, the former being incommensurable, while the latter frequently overlap (Fulbrook 2002, 31−50). The only comparable paradigm map that has been developed within history is Alun Munslow's (1997) scheme of reconstructionist, constructionist and deconstructivist history. Reconstructionist history is empiricist, avowedly a-theoretical and objectivist. Constructionist history engages with theory on the level of a sophisticated realism that shares its basic assumptions with Popper's description of postpositivism. Deconstructionist history is often identified with postmodern history or cultural history, as well as memory studies, and shares many assumptions with critical management studies and critical discourse analysis. How meaningful these distinctions are for practicing historians is, however, a different question. The feminist historical theorist Joan Scott warned of the rise of a new historical eclecticism that envisions the discipline as being engaged in a 'common empirical enterprise in which even radical insight is presented simply as new evidence' (Scott 2005). Eclecticism offers a

reconstructive, a-theoretical and unreflective central paradigm with little connectivity to the social sciences.

Different sub-specializations in history tend to be governed by a selection of available historical paradigms. It is hardly surprising then that past inclusions of historical analysis in OS paradigm maps have been inconsistent and ranged from nearly one extreme of the objectivist-subjectivist spectrum to the other. Hence any paradigm map for MOH is by its very nature selective and essentially excludes large sections of historical research. Moreover, they invariably say more about their authors and their research interests than about the area of research that they survey.

The Future Perfects of MOH

The new paradigm maps published since 2014 have all sought to present a vision of how historical research could be integrated into organization studies. These 'future perfects' suggest different ways in which MOH could evolve, and ultimately offer different prescriptions for future work in the field. While these are clearly an improvement on the previous OS paradigm maps that considered historical analysis as a singular approach that could easily be subsumed into the roster of approaches absorbed by OS, they all invariably prioritize certain types of history at the expense of others. They shape future research in MOH by signaling to journal editors what kind of research to expect. Emanating from a broad cross-disciplinary spectrum of paradigmatic positions, each envisions a different type of integration. Thus even though supplementarist and reorientationist approaches to MOH still exist, the majority of recent research has developed around the multiple opportunities for integration into OS.

In contrast to its original formulation, the integrationist approaches no longer necessarily advocate the integration of historical research based on a central cohesive

paradigm. Rather there is a distinction between those who seek a unitary integration at the core of the MOH research agenda, and those who maintain a pluralist integration encompassing different types of historical knowledge (see Figure 2). The latter group essentially addressed some of the concerns of the reorientationist position. A second distinction is whether the suggested integration is based on disciplinary debates and concepts in history or in OS.

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Figure 2 about here
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The combination of these two dimensions results in a typology: a unitary integration based on history or on OS, and a pluralist integration based on history or on OS. Three of these have seen substantial recent development: unitary integration based on OS, and pluralist integrations based on history and OS. What has not been suggested is a unitary integration modeled on history. In order to understand what this might look like, I review some debates within business history between 2002 and 2004 that suggested a greater integration of history and social sciences, specifically economics.

Both examples, the first by Naomi Lamoreaux, Daniel Raff and Peter Temin (2002) and the second by Steve Toms and John Wilson (2003) aimed to extend Chandler's work (the visible hand for US business history and scale and scope for UK business history respectively), which has been similarly influential in OS. These suggestions for integration are focused on explaining historical research problems, but draw on social scientific literature. Lamoreaux et al. draw on information asymmetries and coordination mechanisms, while Toms & Wilson aimed to extend scale and scope economies by governance and accountability mechanisms. Especially Toms & Wilson view the role of future research to

provide significant empirical contributions to the new paradigm, rather than engaging with the theoretical debates that drive knowledge creation in OS. While these approaches have had some influence in business history, this has not been the case for MOH. This suggests that even though the original 'historic turn' article was published in a business history journal, the two fields have diverged distinctly since then (Decker 2015).

More significant for MOH are the developments in the remaining three areas of this typology. This type of empiricist synthesis is quite distinct from the more postpositivist paradigm map that is more closely modeled on the concerns of organizational scholars. Kipping and Üsdiken (2014) build their framework by distinguishing between history and theory. They resolve this distinction, however, by framing this as a relationship rather than a juxtaposition. *History to theory* replaces the old supplementarist category, while *history in theory* is aligned with the integrationist argument. Their analysis does not end there but culminates in a new synthesis that sublimates the history to / in theory distinction, and thus becomes the central column: *historical cognizance*, which draws on both historical data and historical effects in theorizing. This synthesis appears to merge both the integrationist and supplementarist agendas of a decade ago: 'while much of this work remains within the dominant science paradigm, there are also an emergent and growing number of publications displaying what we call "historical cognizance" by acknowledging historical conditionality for their theorizing or by formulating their hypotheses in a context-specific manner' (Kipping and Üsdiken 2014, 538). Hence, even though their framework appears to offer three different ways of integrating historical research, the authors clearly view their third option, historical cognizance, as the superior solution.

The pluralist alternatives are either modelled on history or OS, but share a lot of similarities. This is because pluralist approaches draw more substantially on concepts from both disciplines in order to develop a range of equally valid ways of integrating historical

research. Both Rowlinson, Hassard and Decker (2014), and Coraiola, Suddaby and Foster (2015) base their core categories on ideas emanating from cultural history rather than traditional empiricist history. Rowlinson et al. focus on the epistemological concerns of representing the past that have been at the center of a fierce debate in the historical discipline in the 1980s and 1990s. Coraiola et al. replicate Munslow's framework for organizational scholarship. What both have in common is a concern with the way in which history has been integrated in OS so far, namely as 'prosaic storytelling, which the implication that we can relax our critical, skeptical faculties [...] and historical narrative can simply be incorporated to illustrate theoretical arguments' (Rowlinson, Hassard, and Decker 2014, 250–251). Coraiola et al. similarly argue that the 'derogation of history in the field can be better understood as a result of taken-for-granted practical realist assumptions about the nature of historical reality generally shared by organizational researchers. Organizational scholars tend to see the past as an unproblematic dimension of human enquiry' (Coraiola, Foster, and Suddaby 2015, 218). Rowlinson et al. are most explicit about the need for plurality and inclusiveness when it comes to integrating historical research in OS, arguing that research strategies in organizational history 'are as different from one another as are other strategies for research and writing in OS. Therefore, if history matters for OT [organization theory], it makes no sense to try to find a unified ontological or epistemological foundations, let alone a unitary "historical method" for organizational history' (Rowlinson, Hassard, and Decker 2014, 268). Importantly, two of their four strategies in fact integrate elements from both disciplines in terms of their epistemological commitments.

Finally, Mairi MacLean, Charles Harvey and Steward Clegg (2016) suggest an integration of history from the perspective of organizational scholars. The key issue is the purpose of historical research, whether it seeks to describe or interpret, and its mode, whether it follows social scientific forms of presentation or offers a narrative. This typology suggests

four ways of integration – evaluating, explicating, conceptualizing and narrating – and is based on a number of principles that indicate quality criteria (such as theoretical fluency) for the resulting work. The most significant one is dual integrity, which requires historical research in OS to conform to quality criteria drawn from both disciplines.

The pluralist approaches are distinguished by how they conceive of narratives: while MacLean et al. view narrating as an approach that is weaker in terms of one of their central quality criteria, theoretical fluency, Rowlinson et al. view historical narrative as inherently theorized. Coraiola et al. similarly consider 'the choice of one version of the past over the other' (Coraiola, Foster, and Suddaby 2015, 217) as a fundamental concern for historical research in OS. Different conceptions of the role of narrative in historical research have significant implications for the kind of history that is being promoted by these authors.

Discussion

Each of the above discussed paradigm maps are significant for their implicit vision of a future for historical research in OS. This suggests that the integrationist agenda (Üsdiken and Kieser 2004) has been most influential in contemporary MOH since the 'historic turn' was first discussed. Maclean et al. identified the central importance of these recent paradigm maps: 'the purpose of producing a typology or roadmap is to help researchers find their way in the future (Maclean, Harvey, and Clegg 2016, 39).' Now that MOH has seen a profusion of roadmaps that chart the future of the field, the question is what kind of research these different futures are likely to engender. Üsdiken and Kipping optimistically suggest that historical cognizance will 'turn history from what appeared like an outsider status into an integral part of (empirical) research and theorizing in organization and management studies' (Kipping and Üsdiken 2014, 577). Their suggestions of synthesis around the notion of *historical cognizance* entails a more critically reflective use of historical evidence, period

effects and context in theorizing, which would position historical research as part of postpositivist research agendas in OS (Cunliffe 2011; Morgan and Smircich 1980).

What exactly would a historically cognizant research agenda entail? While somewhat underspecified in the article, they mention historical evidence (the history to theory dimension), which suggests that they seek to integrate historical methodology more prominently within the catalogue of acceptable approaches in OS. There have been a number of important contributions to the debate on methodology (Yates 2014; Kipping, Wadhwani, and Bucheli 2014; Lipartito 2014; Decker 2013), but considering the different ways in which historical data can be collected - in archives, digitally, from secondary literature – there still appears to be scope for greater development to make historical methodologies more accessible to organization scholars. Moreover, historical source analysis has seen significant developments in the twentieth century, and is suitably diverse in itself to consider different approaches separately (Howell and Prevenier 2001; Dobson and Ziemann 2008). Importantly, how historical source analysis differs from documentary analysis techniques and qualitative coding, or popular but frequently misunderstood approaches such as grounded theory (Suddaby 2006) is not sufficiently clear.

The second dimension of historical cognizance is perhaps vaguer: the critically reflective use of period effects and context in theorizing (history to theory). This makes theorizing less generalizable, in effect making it more difficult for authors submitting to management journals to argue that they present a strong theoretical contribution. Of course, there has been criticism within OS about the fetishization of theory, but theoretical developments have also been praised in defense (Lounsbury and Beckman 2014; Hambrick 2007; Suddaby, Hardy, and Huy 2011). Hence it is unlikely that integrating period and context into the development of theory would radically change the existing forms of theorizing in OS.

What would such as an integration of history into theorizing look like? One example may be the thorny issue of anachronism. Victoria Johnson, in her study on the role of imprinting during the foundation of the Paris Opera, used the concept of stakeholders to describe powerful actors at the time – including the king of France:

> Important stakeholders in the organizational environment such as, for 17th-century France, Louis XIV—whose modern (albeit significantly less powerful) counterparts we find in the persons of venture capitalists, philanthropists, legislators, and corporate lawyers— may thereby play a significant role in determining which elements from an organization's environment will be incorporated in this first phase of imprinting (Johnson 2007, 100).

Is it anachronistic to analyse Louis XIV – or perhaps more accurately his court – as a stakeholder of the Paris Opera? That depends entirely on which historical research paradigm one adheres to. While empirical anachronism is easy to spot (historical drama featuring items that were not invented until significantly later), anachronism in interpretation is a theoretical issue in historiography that has engendered significant debate (Skinner 1969; Jardine 2000). Perhaps most stringently debated in the history of ideas and history of science, Quentin Skinner (1969), for example, criticized the habit of historians to interpret the actions of past people in entirely present-day terms which would have been unthinkable at the time. Nick Jardine, however, strongly argues for a legitimate, and ultimately necessary, anachronism: "Use of categories alien to the agents studied is often perfectly legitimate [...] anachronism is not to be dealt with in terms of any such simplistic rule (Jardine 2000, 266)."

A whole range of historical research paradigms would agree with Jardine. Historians of gender argue that gender as a category is valid in societies and time periods which would not have constructed their identities in same gendered fashion as we do today (Scott 1999).

Comparative Historical Analysis, such as work by Charles Tilly and Theda Skocpol, is largely unthinkable without a degree of analytical equivalence of categories across space and time (Skocpol 1979; Skocpol and Somers 1980; Tilly 1984). Italian microhistorians have been clear that while close attention must be placed on past actors and their context (the emic dimension), microhistorical analysis also requires the concepts and categories of the present day (the etic dimension) (Ginzburg 2012). Considering that these are areas which are significant for historical research of organizations (Decker 2015; Hargadon 2015; Mills 2006), excluding these as not historically cognizant would be a significant loss. Moreover, too sharp a condemnation of interpretive anachronism may well reduce historical research to the empirical eclecticism that Joan Scott condemned (2005), and would be at odds with making theoretical contributions on the basis of historical research. Some greater clarity on what historical cognizance as a paradigmatic position entails is necessary to understand its potential impact.

The pluralist integrationist positions both aim to broaden the appeal of history to organizational scholars by highlighting the diversity of historical research in analogy with the rich and diverse research traditions in OS. Here the ambitions for integration are not to reduce historical research to a single paradigm familiar to organization researchers, but rather offer a variety of research traditions that have relevance to OS. However, any integration of historical research needs to be attentive to the ontological and epistemological problem of *representing the past*, an issue identified by both Rowlinson et al. (2014) and Coraiola et al. (2015). This is a central issue in historical theory, but it is not necessarily very evident in any empirical historical research narrative, as it takes the form of emplotment (Rowlinson, Hassard, and Decker 2014). While Rowlinson et al. focus on unpacking this important aspect of historical research practice, what remains somewhat unclear is how these narrative strategies can subsequently be used to develop theoretical contributions in OS.

MacLean et al. (2016) aim to resolve this question by offering a pluralist integration not based on the concerns of cultural history (such as the representation of the past) but rather from the perspective of interpretive scholars. By focusing on the purpose of historical research, they offer a useful framework for positioning different types of historical research in OS. And while they focus on the standard of dual integrity, it is the issue of theoretical fluency which suggests that evaluating, explicating and conceptualizing are the three most easily assimilated types of history in OS, while narrating might be of subordinate use in social scientific research designs: 'OS imbued with varying conceptions of history can synthesize ideas and advances into impactful new theories' (Maclean, Harvey, and Clegg 2016, 39). Here the purpose of historical organizational research is clearly to drive theoretical development, suggesting that those approaches relatively lower in theoretical fluency, such as narrating, are less desirable than some of the other suggestions. This reduces some of the major meta-theoretical issues of the emplotment of historical narratives to a problem of only limited interest to organization theorists, and furthermore runs the risk of presenting historical narratives as unproblematic raw data from which organization scholars can theorize. History's contributions to OS are hence primarily framed as empirical and methodological, as they 'allow inferences to be drawn from complex, incomplete data, [which] have great potential for application in organizational research' (Maclean, Harvey, and Clegg 2016, 38).

By comparison, some of the suggestions by MacLean et al. about how historians may benefit from engaging with OS suggests a surprisingly narrow view of the other discipline: 'Reframing a phenomenon can reveal fresh insights to challenge existing thinking [...] Temporal-theoretical perspectives deriving from one period may be transferable to other research settings' (Maclean, Harvey, and Clegg 2016, 38–39). Not only have historians imported concepts from the social sciences for a long time in order to use them as

frameworks for their narrative synthesis, whole research areas in the discipline are indeed based around transferring central concepts across space and time, such as gender history or imperial history, not to mention the well-known work on the 'invention of tradition', itself the product of an edited volume with contributions stretching from the Scottish highlands to colonial East Africa (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983). Presenting such basic analytical processes as novel seems not to suggest that there is little of theoretical relevance in history.

Coraiola et al.'s (2015) focus on deconstructionist history needs to be seen in conjunction with other related work, specifically the 'rhetorical histories' argument by Suddaby, Foster and Quinn Trank (2010). This notion of history as the subject of research, which forms the basis of other approaches such as 'uses of the past' (Mordhorst et al. 2015; De Groot 2009), follows a completely different trajectory than the rest of the integrationist scholarship. Here the aim is not to integrate history as an approach to research, be it epistemological, theoretical or methodological, but rather taking any mentions of history by organizations as a phenomena worth researching. Even though both uses of the past and rhetorical histories distinguish between the past and history, this distinction is difficult to maintain in a discipline that is not overly concerned with the epistemological difficulties of knowing and representing the past.

Considering that both approaches have more in common with memory studies than with historical research, it is perhaps not surprising that the difference between the researchable past of the historian and the construed and malleable past that organizations create for strategic reasons is rarely reflected upon in this type of research. Paul Cohen (1997) calls these different approaches to the past *history as event* and *history as myth*, which highlights that they have different aims. Research on how organizations use the past invariably falls into the category of myth-making, and as a research approach deals not

actually with history as such, but with memory and heritage. This is an important distinction to make, because it would serve historical research badly to be reduced to organizational myth-making, as if there was no difference between a carefully researched, archival and interview-based organizational history and the mythologized past invented by an organization. In fact, it is the interplay between the two that offers the kind of juxtaposition that facilitates the deconstruction of both myth and historical narrative alike (Rowlinson and Hassard 1993). The danger is that without any reflection on the epistemological implications of accessing the past, memory and history may become conflated. In the process, previous attempts at integrating historical research in OS could be undermined as the misplaced label of history (when it ought to be called memory) would be imported without any reference to historical paradigms as valid approaches to the problem of knowing the past.

Conclusion

Debates about the position of MOH vis-à-vis OS have evolved since the well-known special issue of *Business History* in 2004. Kieser and Üsdiken's schema of supplementarist, integrationist and reorientationist approaches is no longer very effective in comprehending the current debates in the field. Clark and Rowlinson's 'historic turn' concept, once identified with the reorientationist position, has transformed into a more overarching umbrella for a diversity of positions in MOH. The last few years has seen a significant number of contributions in the form of 'paradigm maps' which aim to integrate historical research paradigms with organizational research paradigms. However, the interdisciplinary origins of the field make this a difficult process, because history and OS have different traditions in terms of how they make sense out of their paradigmatic diversity. Where OS favors visual representations of paradigms, here referred to as paradigm maps, the practice in history is far more varied and often incoherent.

This article presented a typology of the different integrationist approaches that have been published recently in an attempt to understand what kind of future they envision for MOH. As potential road maps, they may become very influential, but as a dialogue between two different disciplines, each of them has some significant drawbacks. Paradigmatic statements are frequently used in order to legitimize new types of research to journal editors, and how we choose to integrate these justifications in our research practice might well determine what kind of history will become a new 'standard' for historical research. While the pluralist approaches appear to offer a variety of ways to do history, many of them effectively prioritize certain ways of doing history (theory-driven, narrative, or memory-based) over others. The question is whether MOH stands to lose a number of valuable and innovative insights from historical paradigms that are sidelined in this ongoing integration.

The flipside of this is that as a small research field, MOH is effectively more diverse because of its interdisciplinary origins, which makes it more difficult to communicate what the standards of acceptability are for historical research. Organization scholars have sought to integrate historical analysis into OS-style paradigm maps before. These attempts were usually reductionist and only focused on a single historical paradigm. Another danger is that historical analysis may be integrated as a value-neutral method or indeed just as the subject of research (by conflating history with memory and heritage). Some of these suggestions about how to integrate history may inadvertently surrender much of what makes historical enquiry unique and worthwhile for organization research, and leave the field with an impoverished sense of what history is and could offer to OS.

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Figure 1: Paradigm maps in OS

YEAR	AUTHORS	LOCATION OF HISTORY
1979	Burrell & Morgan	Historical analysis not included
1980	Morgan & Smircich	Historical (comparative) analysis as an example of an attenuated objectivist position
1994	Guba & Lincoln	Historical analysis aligned with critical theory as attenuated subjectivism
2004	Gephart	Historical realism identified with postmodernism
2011	Cunliffe	Historical analysis identified as postpositivist
2013	Hassard & Cox	Historical analysis not included

Figure 2: Integrationist positions in MOH

	Modeled on history	Modeled on OS
Unitary integration	*Empiricist*: - Toms & Wilson (2003) - Lamoreaux, Raff & Temin (2002) ⇨ Extending Chandler	*Postpositivist*: - Kipping & Üsdiken (2014) ⇨ Historical cognizance
Pluralist integration	*Cultural history*: - Rowlinson, Hassard & Decker (2014) - Coraiola, Suddaby & Foster (2015) ⇨ Representing the past	*Interpretivist*: - Maclean, Harvey & Clegg (2016) ⇨ Purpose of historical research