The great reset of management and organization theory. A European perspective

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Abstract

In mid-2020, the World Economic Forum (WEF) announced the Great Reset, an initiative launched to assert, describe, and shape the direction of an epochal transition brought about by the global coronavirus crisis. Rooted in a European tradition of social theory, this article aims to articulate the broader social context of this scenario and pinpoint its implications for management and organization theory. One of these implications is that our fields face a significant risk of co-performing rather than studying the looming “great transformation” from an economy-to a health-dominated society, thus merely replacing one reductionism with another. It follows that what is required are management and organization theories that analyze rather than ride the macro social trends that shape organizations and their environments. The article concludes that if crises are the golden moments of alternative mainstreams, then for those interested in alternatives to the emerging “new normality” the golden moment to develop the next alternative mainstream theories is now.

1. Introduction

Just a few months into the unprecedented global coronavirus crisis, the World Economic Forum (WEF) rolled out its Great Reset initiative. The slogan had first served as the title of a book on the 2007–2008 financial crisis (Florida, 2010) before it reappeared in the headline of a May 2020 article in The Daily Telegraph announcing plans by “Prince Charles to launch ‘Great Reset’ project to rebuild planet in wake of coronavirus.” HRH the Prince of Wales and WEF Founder and Executive Chairman Klaus Schwab subsequently launched the initiative during a virtual event on June 3, 2020. They were joined by the UN Secretary-General and the IMF Managing Director. The key message streamed live on the WEF website that day was that “we” “can seize something good from this crisis” if we realize that “our systems need a reset.” The crisis could open a “unique but narrow window” for the design of systems that put people and planet before profit and harness the momentum of the fourth industrial revolution for a more sustainable and equitable recovery. Klaus Schwab and Thierry Malleret (2020) soon published a book entitled COVID-19: The Great Reset, which elaborates these and similar ideas in greater detail. The book also advocates a radical transition from shareholder to stakeholder management, whose progress must be measured against environmental, social, and governance (ESG) metrics, the “yardstick of stakeholder capitalism” (id., p. 185).

Although the book has received mixed academic reviews (see, e.g., Klein, 2020), the Great Reset initiative’s main diagnoses and remedies have since been echoed by policymakers worldwide, including European Commission President Ursula von der Leyen in her WEF dialogue speech of November 17, 2020. A consensus seems to be emerging that “we ought to invest in a fundamentally different post-COVID Europe, rather than restoring Europe to mirror pre-COVID times” (Dzurinda, 2020, p. 119). What is at stake is nothing less than a “new political economy” (Bergsen, 2020). A new agenda for business and management research is on the horizon (Anker, 2021). Governance in a state of emergency might well be the new default form of governance (Appadurai, 2020; Gumbrecht, 2021; Kolev & Dekker, 2021; Zinn, 2020) even though, or precisely because, the WHO (2020) warns that the COVID-19 pandemic is “not necessarily the big one.” Governments’ handling of the pandemic therefore already portrays “a caricatured form of the figure of biopolitics that seems to have come straight out of a Michel Foucault lecture” while it still may be nothing but a dress rehearsal for the next, larger, ecological crisis (Latour, 2021).

This article, in six parts, aims to articulate the broader social-theoretical context and pinpoint implications for management and organization theory “of what might be the biggest structural revolution in business and society since the end of World War II” (Anker, 2021, p. 21).

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2. Historicizing management and organization theory

We can consider management and organization theory as subfields of general social theory (Ahrne et al., 2016; Reed & Burrell, 2019). Specific social theories could also be seen as variants of management and organization theory (Maclean et al., 2017). Either way, there is little doubt that developments in management and organization theory resonate with fashions in social theorizing and trends in the broader social environment (Alvesson et al., 2008; Apelt et al., 2017; Bort & Kieser, 2011; Poulis & Kastanakis, 2020). Under “normal” circumstances, this resonance often remains a matter of assumption or projection. Nevertheless, major disruptions such as the 2020 coronavirus crisis create the impression of watershed changes to the “world” into before and after. The perceived emergence of a “new normality” so different from the old requires scholars reassess the validity of theories that might appear outdated now. Epochal caesuras thus bring into relief the historic dimension of the theories we use to make sense of them.

Until now, wars and revolutions have typically qualified as such caesuras. If the dominant global crisis rhetoric is matched by equally dramatic structural shifts in world society, then there is reason to believe that the current “war against the virus” will follow suit. The focus on wars is consistent with the findings of recent big data research in macro social trends (see Fig. 1):

Published in a 2017 article in Technological Forecasting and Social Change (Roth et al., 2017), Fig. 1 presents an early attempt to “harness the power of big data” (Zikopoulos et al., 2013) for the analyses of macro social structures. Drawing on the Google Books corpus and hence likely the “largest online body of human knowledge” (Roth et al., 2017, p. 516), the authors used the Google Ngram viewer to trace the changing importance that different “function systems”—such as religion (orange), politics (blue), science (red), the economy (violet), and mass media (green)—have played over time and across different language areas.

Although there are limits to the inferences that can be drawn with regard to socio-cultural evolution (Pechenick et al., 2015), the findings presented in Fig. 1 correlate with basic macro social trends and events. The declining prevalence of religious discourse, for example, is coeval with the trend toward secularization. Similarly, the world wars are accompanied by the growing prominence of politics. Science gains importance after WWII, with some indication of an Information Age starting to emerge around 1970. Moreover, the world wars appear to mark historical turning points between societies dominated first by politics and religion, then by politics and the economy (the interwar period), and, finally, by politics and science.

This article’s purpose is not to showcase or scrutinize big data research. Nevertheless, Fig. 1 makes a strong case for the idea that the importance of major function systems such as politics, religion, the economy, and science may change significantly across language areas and over time. If this idea is plausible or even trivial, however, then one theoretical implication is that theory fashions resonate with larger macro social trends and that they may be in or out of sync with such trends (see Fig. 2).

Fig. 2 charts prominent social theories or authors against their favorite function systems or macro social trends. Ranked first in the International Sociological Association’s shortlist of the most influential “Books of the XX Century” (ISA, 1998), Max Weber’s Economy and Society studies, in particular, the growing influence and autonomy of the economy in the nineteenth century. While Weber was concerned with processes of “disenchantment”, too, it is probably Emile Durkheim who is best known for the particular attention he devoted to the secularization of society during the same period. The Marxist critique of the capitalist political economy, by contrast, appears to correspond best with the interwar period rather than the nineteenth century. The advent and diffusion of theories engaging in critical assessments of the legacy of European scientific rationality coincides with the increasing prevalence of science after WWII. Triple helix models of university, industry, and government relations (Etzkowitz & Leydesdorff, 2000) also map well onto the second half of the twentieth century, while the fin de siècle become increasingly fascinated with the role of dissemination and mass media, indicating the dawn of an Information Age (Castells, 1996).

The findings of Roth et al. (2017), which were largely confirmed in a replication study that used a more sophisticated methodology (Roth et al., 2019) suggest that too narrow a focus on one or few macro trends might result in reductionist visions of society and that a particular theory’s predilection for certain social systems may correspond more with some epochs than with others. Although scholars may differ on whether the turning point from political economy to political science occurred soon after WWII or in the 1970s, it appears safe to assume that such trends and turning points exist, that they affect the plausibility of theories, and that the current coronavirus crisis is creating a situation in which a hitherto less prominent function system—namely, health—will become much more significant. The question, therefore, is whether management and organization theory are well prepared to reflect on rather than just mirror such epochal transitions. Reappraisals of seminal works on biopolitics or biopower can only be a beginning.

3. Healthicization of management and organization theory

Though not completely unanticipated (Harari, 2017), the recent takeoff of health caught most by surprise. Equally surprising, however, is how readily we have adapted to the “new normality” and to the shift from self-determination and resistance to security and resilience.

The acrality with which we have allowed life and health sciences to take precedence over our own disciplines is particularly in need of explanation if we recall that epidemiology implies social contacts and, therefore, is certainly not a social science.

That pandemic mitigation efforts have successfully been combined,
on a global scale, with measures to combat “another epidemic—a dangerous epidemic of misinformation” (UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres in his video message on COVID-19 and misinformation of April 14, 2020) is certainly part of the explanation. Another may be that the current coronavirus transition is the latest stage in health’s long march toward greater prominence.

It is important to note that the coronavirus crisis was associated early on with a larger ecological crisis: it has been suggested that zoonosis result in part from climate change and a reduction in biodiversity is an origin or driver of pandemics; lockdowns are observed to be good for air quality and climate protection; vaccination passports with mandatory carbon offsetting have been proposed; the list goes on.

A message from HRH The Prince of Wales on Earth Day 2020, repeated at the launch event for the WEF Great Reset initiative on June 3, 2020, states:

“The parallels between the human and the planetary condition in the coronavirus are quite clear. If we look at the planet as if it were a patient, we can see that our activities have been damaging its immune system and she has been struggling to breathe and thrive due to the strain we have put on her vital organs. To treat her we need to restore balance and put Nature back at the centre of the circle. To achieve this we must: act for health and well-being; understand Nature’s patterns and cycles; recognize the value of diversity, unity and the interdependence of all living things; consider the importance of innovation and adaptation; and invest in Nature-based solutions to help stimulate a more circular bio-economy that gives back to Nature as much as we take from her.”

This and similar statements made in the context of the coronavirus crisis (and earlier) suggest that we might not properly understand the ecological turn of recent decades if we insist that ecology is nothing but the science of that name. A link between individual and planetary health is often posited, and policymakers across the political spectrum at least pay lip service to the notion that nature is ill and needs to be healed. The emergency treatment many prescribe is the Great Reset toward a more sustainable economy and society, for the urgency of which the corona-
virus is, according to this viewpoint, perhaps the last wakeup call.

The WEF initiative is based on the contention that the current crisis has revealed the unsustainability of humans’ pre-pandemic lifestyles, institutional settings, and relationship with nature. If left unaddressed, these issues, “together with COVID-19, will deepen and leave the world even less sustainable, less equal, and more fragile. Incremental measures and ad hoc fixes will not suffice to prevent this scenario. We must build entirely new foundations for our economic and social systems” (Schwab, 2020). The formula is healthy people, healthy planet, and achieving either or both will require healthy institutions.

Whether or not we believe in the authenticity of the Great Reset rhetoric, we must concede that these ideas jibe with more than one mainstream of management and organization theory. Even critical management and organization studies (MOS) mirror or are absorbed into the new-normative agendas of the “new global nobility” (Garsten & Sorbom, 2018, p. 6). “The COVID-19 pandemic has made the world more aware that human health is dependent not just on medical institutions but on healthy ecological and social systems” (Banerjee et al., 2020, p. 12). Reluctance toward—or worse, opposition to—the most draconian public “health” measures is routinely associated with radical right-wing policies or laissez-faire capitalism (Bourgeron, 2021). Similarly, the longer-term imposition of stricter policies, including permanent states of emergency, is seen to pose “the risk of habituation”, but also “reaffirms the continued relevance of critical MOS’s intellectual and political project” (Zanoni, 2021, p. 580), particularly in view of imminent climate emergencies (Banerjee et al., 2020). Furthermore, because the Great Reset initiative addresses a wide range of diversity and intersectionality issues prominent in management and organization studies, it accords well with most forms of intellectual activism. “Everyone has a role to play.” The WEF’s mantra is no empty promise.

Consequently, little protest can be expected if Schwab and Mallert (2020) outline a program to steer markets toward fairer outcomes, to invest in “shared goals” such as greener infrastructure, and to harness the possibilities of the fourth industrial revolution to address individual, institutional, and environmental health challenges. The triple bottom line is that this individual, institutional, and planetary health-orientation may be regarded “as a genetic code, a triple helix of change for tomorrow’s capitalism” (Elkington, 2018) that has long been part of our DNA. Apparently, we were all set for the Great Reset even before the crisis.

This global healthization has two major implications. First, the coronavirus crisis might indeed be a wakeup call, but one to verify whether we study or co-perform this new great transformation. As important as it is to parse the co-orientation of our fields (Collings et al., 2021; Crane & Matten, 2020; de Masís & Rondi, 2020; Levy, 2021; Shepherd, 2020) and paradigms (Christianson & Barton, 2021; Zanoni, 2021), over the medium term, we might also wish to manage the risk that we project our traditional research agendas onto the new medium rather than studying its new “media effects.” Certainly, it is crucial to monitor those aspects of management and organization studies that explain why precarious workers are hit hardest by lockdowns, why people of color are more exposed to “the virus,” why developing countries are undersupplied with vaccines, and why women bear most of the burden of achieving a new-normal balance between home office, home schooling, and more traditional home chores. The strong focus on our traditional variables, however, might also blind us to the current transformation’s scope and radicality.

For example, management and organization studies have, to their credit, not fully ignored the links between castes and coronaviruses. The scant literature, however, only describes how Indian untouchables were most affected by either the virus or the mitigation measures (see, e.g., Chrispal et al., 2020) rather than considering that ongoing pandemic
management and visions for the post-pandemic future might themselves contribute to the emergence of entirely new caste systems and forms of untouchability. The latter case has been made in greater detail elsewhere (Roth, 2021); however, a brief excuse on the debate regarding vaccination passports might suffice to show that measures advocated by Great Reset proponents could easily result in social constellations that would normally cause outrage, particularly among critical management and organization scholars. In fact, many governments and executive branches, including the European Commission, are currently announcing the rollout of vaccine passports in a bid to safely restart the economy, although most remain reluctant to make COVID-19 vaccinations mandatory. Nevertheless, there are clear signs that public policies will not prevent private organizations from setting their own policies. Thus, not for the first time, the implementation of unpopular public policy measures might soon be outsourced to private organizations. As a result, a vaccination certificate may soon be required to get a job, enter a workplace, go to a private school, travel internationally, or eat in a restaurant. Persons without a vaccine passport will be thus be systematically excluded from these “new freedoms” or have to undergo inconvenient and costly screenings.

Let us consider, for example, the potential impact on families. Coronavirus vaccines have not yet been approved for children and young people in Europe and elsewhere. In addition, the emergence of new viruses or strains will require new vaccines, which will not be available immediately. The new normal could result in the paradoxical situation that children and their families are systematically disadvantaged in order to protect children’s health. Against this backdrop, organizations will not only see themselves confronted with new membership issues pertaining to youth trainees or interns, but also with the challenge of interpreting their role in this looming regime of health discrimination. Do we provide our service to the unvaccinated? Can we hire a sales director with two unvaccinated children? Do we only hire persons with a specific vaccination portfolio? Do we require regular updates? Do we pay for them? Could it at some point be desirable from an ESG perspective (and profitable) to combine personal health profiling with other forms of social or environmental scoring? Organizations’ answers to these and similar questions will play a key role in shaping or diverting the transition to a world in which health—broadly conceived to encompass individual, institutional, and planetary health—takes the place religion once had in the stratified order of European medieval societies.

For us to keep track of these questions and developments, however, the second major implication would be that we not only co-perform but also reflect on the current transition from an (anti-) economy to a (pro-) health focus and thus also keep an eye on the broader context. In fact, the Great Reset might also emerge as a communicative bubble fed by our attempts to make sense of, promote, or criticize it.

4. A great leap beyond pars-pro-toto theorizing

It has been argued that the coronavirus crisis “points to the fact that we need to explore how different systems of capitalism across the globe have prepared for and dealt with the challenges of the pandemic, and (...) research in this field needs to better theorize how business is a part of societal governance, and how the social and political responsibilities of business can be redefined from a systemic perspective” (Crane & Matten, 2020, p. 283).

If we accept this contention, then nothing is more natural than to assume that the ESG considerations advocated by the WEF must complement the triple bottom line (3BL)—“a triple helix of change for tomorrow’s capitalism” (Elkington, 2018)—and that companies must serve not only shareholder interests but those of “all” stakeholders in order to achieve our “shared” sustainable development goals.

These and similar ideas may seem agreeable and even laudable. Yet their persuasiveness weakens when we realize that most of them are grounded on “false distinctions” (Chia, 2014, p. 684f). Unlike true distinctions that “split the entire space of reference in a way that everything located in this space belongs to one and only one of the two sides of the dichotomy” (Roth, 2019, p. 90), false distinctions are either not mutually exclusive or jointly exhaustive or both. False distinctions create all sorts of problems—including research problems—yet also help establish and perpetuate academic discourses.

One of the most foundational false distinctions in management and organization theory is the distinction between economy and society, which owes a significant share of its impact to Max Weber’s (1978) seminal attempt at making sense of the economy’s increasing prominence in the nineteenth century. The distinction has inspired and sustained century-old discourses, provided the title of pertinent high-impact journals such as Economy and Society or Business and Society, and naturally also helps structure the current discourses on sustainable business, management, and organization. It is in the latter context, however, that the problems with this distinction become particularly apparent (see Fig. 3):

Regardless of how we conceive of the relationship between the famous three dimensions of sustainability underlying the 3BL framework and similar paradigms, it is obvious that the distinction between the economy and society is false. The Venn diagram in Fig. 3, which places sustainability at the intersection of economy, society, and environment, implies that the economy and society are not mutually exclusive. Similarly, the nested-circles diagram (upper right) depicts the economy is part of and therefore not not society. Finally, although the three-pillar version (lower right) suggests that the economy and society actually are mutually exclusive, its very purpose is to highlight that they must be complemented by a third category located at the same level of analysis, which implies that the former two are not jointly exhaustive.

One major implication of this logical exercise is that models grounded on or incorporating this false distinction overemphasize economy–society tensions and blind us to the relevance that other systems, such as science, religion, and health have for society. Moreover, this reductionism is often exacerbated by an over-identification of society with a nation state and hence a political system (Roth et al., 2020). As a result, the economy–society tension is further reduced to a hard trade-off between the economy and politics or between business and government. For decades, this trade-off has created discursive pressure to choose one of the two sides rather than to study the flip side of the dividing line between them.

Against this backdrop, we find that ESG considerations are a small step into the right direction insofar as they supplement the classical economy–society model with a perspective that draws a clearer distinction between politics and society.

On a more positive note, we might even find that both 3BL and ESG attempt to undo the above trade-offs by recourse to non-economic and non-political subsystems. In this context, we note that nature is the environment of natural sciences (and not the environment of, say, religion) and that attempts to restore nature refer to the health dimension of what we commonly refer to as ecology. The current approaches, therefore, provide at least starting points for more multidimensional approaches to the relationship between society and the economy, politics, science, and all the other function systems.

Consequently, a multifunctional perspective might prevent us from confusing society with its current trends and thus, in the current situation, from replacing one evil (e.g., capitalism, plutocracy) with another (e.g., restorism, healthocracy). The end of such confusions, however, has significant implications for management and organization theory.

5. Implications for management and organization theory

If we agree that the importance of function systems such as politics, economy, science, and health can change over time and from context to
context, then the determination of which subsystems are the most important in each context requires a comparative study of the relative importance of all subsystems in question. The mere observance of a significant increase in the importance of the economy in a particular country, for example, does not yet imply that this country is now becoming dominated by the economy. It might also be the case that several other function systems, such as science and education, have likewise become more important, perhaps because this country is undergoing a general process of modernization.

A multifunctional approach, therefore, accentuates the role of context in the determination of function-system priorities. Applied to an organizational context, this approach implies that default theoretical focus on political and economic issues is likely to lead to caricatures of organizations that systematically exaggerate the significance of these two subsystems and ignore or underestimate the importance of all others. Thus, if we are interested “in a different way of conceptualizing private enterprise” (Crane & Matten, 2020, p. 283) in general and in one that does not misrepresent “business as political actor” (Anker, 2020, p. 4) in particular, and if we are interested in understanding how considerable challenges in a hitherto less prominent subsystem like health “can ripple rapidly into other domains” (Howard-Grenville, 2020, p. 4), then it is important to analyze how organizations gauge the importance of all function systems in their decision-making. If it is not a cardinal sin to conceive of “business as political actor,” then we ought to think this through and conceive of an organization as an essentially multifunctional phenomenon.

Another major implication of a multifunctional concept of organization, however, is that contemporary organizations lack the tools they need to identify and manage all relevant function systems. Yes, PEST’s original politics–economy–technology focus has been broadened, but mainly to include environmental, ethical, and legal issues (but why not religious or educational issues as well!). And yes, the WEF’s theoretical agenda aims, ideally, for the inclusion of “all stakeholders to achieve long-term growth and prosperity” (Schwab & Maiter, 2020, p. 5). Yet our stakeholder management theories and models focus primarily on the usual political and economic suspects, such as governments and corporations, occasionally garnished with vague and often again politically framed amalgamations, such as activist groups or civil society.

As shown above, 3BL or ESG considerations are not exactly helpful either, as they too systematically neglect non-economic and non-political function systems. In particular, their lack of systematic reference to health, therefore, renders them largely useless in the context of a global coronavirus crisis, unless we construe their environmental dimension to extend to the health maintenance and restoration of everything from individual humans to the entire planet. But even if the pandemic-fighting powers of 3BL, ESG, and similar considerations are thus reactivated, they remain problematic. This is because the environment that all these healthy exercises in semantic design are intended to restore remains a caricature based entirely on a conception from the natural sciences, regardless of whether this environment is imagined as an individual human, the population of a particular country or region, or the planet as a whole. From a social scientific perspective, however, it is obvious that different function systems have different environments and therefore different concepts of environment and that the environmental concept of natural sciences is by no means superior to that of other sciences, art, sports, education, religion, or health.

Yet if environment is not just nature but rather a plural, then why should economic decisions use nature as the ultimate yardstick and thus co-create a society stratified toward the environmental concept of science and not that of religion, sports, education, or the economy? Is a source of our current problems not that health too is defined mainly in natural scientific terms?

6. Conclusions

This article has argued that the importance of politics, economy, science, health, and other function systems changes from context to context and over time. Management and organization theories, which are by default geared to economic and political issues, are thus likely to produce caricatures of their research domains that systematically exaggerate the significance of these two subsystems and underestimate the role of all others.

The current coronavirus crisis reveals such reductionism to be fatal. It would be equally fatal, however, to co-perform rather than study the possible great transformation from an economy-to a health-dominated society, thus replacing one reductionism with another. Without the multifunctional update proposed in this article, our theories would remain blind to both the broader and the daily challenges of management and organization and doomed to ride rather than analyze the macro social trends that shape organizations and their environments.

Recent crises may indeed have increased the importance of health broadly conceived to include individual, institutional, and planetary
health. Yet even if true, this increase does not imply that health or must be the most important subsystem now or forever.

There was reasonable, albeit unpopular, doubt, even early in 2020, that the coronavirus’s virulence has been substantially overestimated, and research published by WHO now confirms that the initial horrifying “death rates” of 3.4% and even higher must be corrected to infection fatality rates ranging from 0.00% to 0.31% for persons younger than 70 years (Ioannidis, 2020, 2021a, 2021b). This example shows that doubts become us as researchers. Doubt is one of the oldest tools of our trade. And even if we doubt this form of doubt, we will still be permitted to hope that the world will one day no longer resemble the one emerging now. If it is true that crises are the golden moments of alternative mainstreams, then the golden moment for those interested in alternatives to the emerging new normality to develop the next alternative mainstream is now.

Chapter 1 of Michel Foucault’s Madness and Civilization (1965) gives an account of the gigantic infrastructure medieval Europe established to manage leprosy. Yet the chapter’s crucial point is: “Leprosy disappeared, the leper vanished, or almost, from memory; these structures remained. Often, in these same places, the formulas of exclusion would be repeated, strangely similar two or three centuries later. Poor vagabonds, criminals, and ‘deranged minds’ would take the part played by the leper, and we shall see what salvation was expected from this exclusion, for them and for those who excluded them as well.”

We too are currently building a gigantic infrastructure to manage what will not be an eternal crisis. Yet wondering about the future purpose of this infrastructure once the crisis is over is probably a mistake. The lesson learned from Foucault would imply that all the new or enlarged vaccine factories, and research labs, and all the new professors of virology, pharmacists, epidemiology, public health, and health care management will find new problems they can solve. They cannot help it. They are trained for this, just like we are trained for our jobs.

If we are management and organization theorists with an appetite for activism, then there is one practical step we can take, namely: to stop conceiving of diversity in terms of gender, age, race, sexual orientation, or national background only. Let us also keep a multifunctional eye on the functional diversity of our own institutions of research and higher education. One excellent occasion to train our multifunctional perspective is appointment procedures. For example, we might scrutinize the need—currently perceived as urgent—to hire scholars from the currently fashionable health disciplines or, as unpopular as this may be, to hire them on temporary contracts (after all, the coronavirus crisis will be over some day, hopefully in the foreseeable future). Otherwise, we might soon live to see again how growing architectures of containment are redirected to other new normal purposes, flanked by a growing body of “critical” management and organization theories that find “a place for everyone” in a looming global total institution.

References
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