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Double Objective in Mind: Translating American Management Ideas in the Context of Cold War Finland

INTRODUCTION

Over the last few decades, the history of management education has become an established field of research. It comprises several identifiable streams, the most notable of which are research on business schools,¹ degree programs,² and Americanization.³ More recently, business historians have turned their attention to two under-researched themes: executive education and the role of Cold War geopolitics in the development of management education. In this paper, we will follow the recent orientations and analyze how Finland's volatile geopolitical position next to the Soviet Union conditioned the forms of cooperation with the American organizations in the field of executive education. The focus of the research is in the initial stages of building an executive education program in Finland during the 1950s and 1960s.

Executive education is not the same as management education but it forms a distinct subject matter in its own right. As Amdam has noted, the field of management education bifurcates into two sectors with different logics (Table 1). The first comprises the formal degree programs, especially the MBA, while the second consists of non-degree programs and courses (executive education). Executive education usually takes place outside the formal degree programs and is often run by business schools.⁴ The purpose of executive education programs is to train and prepare experienced managers for a transition to senior management positions. Organizations also use executive education in strategic change processes to facilitate the implementation of new strategies.⁵

Insert Table 1 about here

The other recent stream, the geopolitical viewpoint, perceives education as an instrument for building political and economic hegemony. The perspective has emerged, for example, in recent studies of the Americanization of Brazilian and Indian institutions, which have demonstrated the purposeful activities of the Ford Foundation in advancing the economic and ideological standing of the United States in the various fronts of the Cold War, especially in the field of management education.⁶

A connecting thread in the historical studies of executive education has been a strong American influence after World War II, especially that of Harvard Business School (HBS) and its Advanced Management Program (AMP).⁷ Previous research has persuasively demonstrated the push of ideas about executive education by not only HBS but also other American organizations such as the European Productivity Agency and the Ford Foundation.⁸ On the receiving end—in terms of this paper, Finland—the promoters and adopters of the diffusion were usually a few local individuals who orchestrated the importing of executive education format with the help of their personal networks home and abroad.⁹ To date, however, researchers have paid very little attention to the influence of local actors and national institutions in the individual diffusion processes.¹⁰

We study the emergence of Finnish executive education and the influx of influences from the United States. In this paper, we investigate *how and why Finnish local actors, key individuals, and organizations adopted the “American model of executive education”¹¹ and how Finnish executive education became established*. In particular, we look at *how the industry translated foreign ideas*

into a form that made sense to the local business elite. As we will show, the American, AMP-style education system that in practice served as a model for the Finnish executive education system was not fully applicable as such to the target audience. The local variant retained the key elements of the role model (see Table 1) and strengthened the American influence in the Finnish academic world in general. Moreover, the executive education program became a key promoter of modern business culture in Finland.¹²

Accordingly, we adopt a neo-institutional perspective, which has traditionally paid attention to the diffusion of organizational practices.¹³ On the one hand, institutionalists have often linked diffusion with isomorphism: a phenomenon in which organizations come to resemble their environments and thereby start to become more similar with each other.¹⁴ On the other hand, some researchers have wondered if diffusion leads to the similarity of practices, particularly due to process of “translation.”¹⁵ Whereas the pure diffusion studies rest on an assumption that the travel of ideas and practices follows from their original strength, translation scholars believe that the success of particular ideas or practices results from their fit with the local settings.¹⁶ The facilitators of a process are carriers (or mediators) who not only circulate ideas and practices but also engage in the translation.¹⁷ At the receiving end, adopters have detailed knowledge of the local circumstances and thereby are able to adjust new ideas and practices to be compatible with prevailing conditions.¹⁸ Powell et al. pointed out that context may guide the adoption of particular practices due to coercive or normative influences.¹⁹

It is critical to emphasize that translation is not a one-off event; instead, as Tracey et al. highlight, it is “an iterative, dynamic, and ongoing activity.”²⁰ Callon divided translation processes further into four phases or “moments.” First, actors problematize the situation by defining it in such a way that they can offer an appropriate solution to it. That is, actors try to make themselves

indispensable. In the second phase, which Callon calls “interessement,” actors initiate several processes to freeze other actors in their suggested roles. Third, actors engage in “enrollment” by which they aim to secure other actors’ participation in and approval of suggested terms. Finally, actors mobilize various methods to make sure that a spokesperson’s acts are in line with the interests of the specific collectivity.²¹

Prior research on the emergence of Finnish executive education in itself has been scant. The only work focusing specifically on the history of executive education is Tuomo Kässä’s 20-year review of the Finnish Institute of Management (LIFIM) published in 1978. Despite of the book’s merit as a specific secondary source on the topic, its scope is narrowed down to an organizational history. Otherwise, the history of executive education in Finland has remained as a bypath in the study of related fields of executive education. Especially, we acknowledge the important works of Susanna Fellman, Antti Ainamo, and Janne Tienari, which have provided a solid footing to build further research on Finnish management history. Fellman’s studies have dealt with the educational background of Finnish managers and the history of management education in general.²² Ainamo and Tienari are well-known for their contributions to the history of Finnish management consulting. In the early stages, the consulting business developed hand in hand with executive education, most importantly through the contribution of visiting American experts. After the first years, the development of the two fields of activity became differentiated, which was also noticeable in Ainamo’s and Tienari’s studies.²³

Further research that has dealt with the history of executive education in Finland has been Jukka Tuomisto’s doctoral dissertation on the historical development of Finnish industrial training,²⁴ Hannele Seeck’s and her colleagues’ more recent studies of the diffusion of management doctrines and ideologies,²⁵ and Kerttu Kettunen’s and her coauthors’ works on the institutional evolution of

business schools in Finland.²⁶ In addition, Karl-Erik Michelsen has offered insights on the organizational history of the Helsinki School of Economics and the history of rationalization activities in Finland.²⁷ Although these meritorious studies do not target the executive education system per se, they collectively provide solid basic information about the development of management education in Finland. For example, they have already identified the close linkage between non-degree education and consulting business at the outset. Yet our knowledge about the history of executive education has remained rather fragmented.

The case of Finland is peculiarly interesting because the adoption of the American model of executive education illustrates how management education became part of the Cold War struggle between ideologies.²⁸ Finland was located geographically close to the Soviet Union, putting it in a difficult position in terms of foreign policy. Unlike in many other Western European countries, Finland could not accept Marshall Aid due to opposition from the neighboring superpower.²⁹ Finland had been at war with the Soviet Union and, although it had not been occupied, it was one of the losers of the war. In terms of peace, Finland had to make various concessions and pay massive war reparations.³⁰ In addition, the countries concluded a Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance (1948), which was directed primarily against Germany's and her allies' potential military threat but became a backbone of Finno-Soviet relations for coming decades.³¹ Hence, Finland could not even participate in the negotiations because the Soviet Union saw the European Recovery Program (ERP) as a propagandist act and pressured the Finnish government not to take part.³² However, this did not entirely prevent the arrival of American influences. As this study will show, Finland did not passively settle for dictated seclusion, but found ways to circumvent Soviet directives.

The emergence of executive education since the late 1950s rested largely on American financial and professional assistance. The United States wanted to support Finnish business life to ensure that the Finns remained supportive of capitalism and “the unity of Western civilization.”³³ This succeeded, at least in the sense that in the following decades the Finnish economy grew strongly, Finland developed into a Nordic welfare state and joined the European economic integration process. Finland became a member of the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) in 1961 and the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1973.³⁴

The key players in introducing American model of executive education were Finnish and American individuals, who built their relationships within the framework of international organizations and used them to obtain and direct the necessary funding to establish the Finnish version of the HBS’s AMP. After the war, Finnish trailblazers sought involvement in Western cooperation and weighed up ways to participate in management development programs organized by Americans and funded through ERP. As this was not possible, Finns had to find an alternative resolution. After the preparatory phase, in 1953, these men established the Foundation for Productivity Research (FPR),³⁵ an independent organization that could accept American support. The FPR founded an “advanced management institute,” the Finnish Institute of Management (LIFIM³⁶), in 1964. This accomplishment was far from an easy task. A majority of experienced leaders did not believe that foreign ideas could take root in Finland.³⁷ In this light, the Finnish case offers an excellent empirical setting to study the dynamics between local and foreign influences.

In this paper, we build a historical narrative³⁸ on the effect of American aid on the development of Finnish executive education and analyze how the focal actors chose and translated the American education model into Finnish executive education in the 1950s and 1960s. In this effort, we utilize relevant theoretical concepts to identify, explore, and explain the empirical phenomenon.³⁹ We

began our research by reviewing the written history of management education and the biographies of key individuals and organizational histories. After these, we took a closer look at the organizations through which cooperation between Finns and Americans took place.

Initially, international cooperation was the responsibility of the Finnish Management Council⁴⁰ (FMC), which was established in 1942 to coordinate and supervise rationalization activities. In 1947, FMC became a member of the International Council for Scientific Management (Comité International de l'Organisation Scientifique, CIOS) that was an important mediator of American management and rationalization methods in postwar Europe. In the FMC's archives, we found information on Finns' international collaboration in the postwar years, Finland's activities in CIOS, and direct correspondence between Finnish and American actors.

The most important Finnish organization turned out to be the FPR, designed to enable the acceptance of American financial assistance, and which organized the first Finnish executive education courses in 1958–1964. We studied the foundation's activities through systematic review of annual reports and other archival materials, such as its founding protocols and documents on foreign funding and the activities of the “American Associates” group (see below), which presented the American assistance in its concrete form. We found interesting information about practical experiences and interpersonal relations during the cooperation in Rector Virkkunen's letter collection in the archives of the Helsinki School of Economics.

We also examined the documents pertaining to the creation of LIFIM in the Aalto University Archive. The LIFIM's documents include course brochures, course materials, and memoranda from its establishment until 2006. Finally, after we had completed our understanding of the historical translation process, we compared the structures of the Harvard Business School's

Advanced Management Program and the Finnish LIFIM's Executive Education course to see to what extent the Finnish application resembled its American role model.

In sum, we traced the process that led from the first postwar international contacts to the establishment of the Finnish institution of executive education LIFIM. This progressive decentralization led to the institutionalization of American professional leadership ideals over the following decades. As Leo I. Suurla, one of the trailblazers of Finnish management consulting and executive education later concluded, this brought a paradigm shift “from scientific management to professional management” in Finnish management culture.⁴¹

THE ORIGINS OF FINNISH-AMERICAN COLLABORATION

With the benefit of hindsight, we can say that Finnish executive education started through wartime rationalization efforts. The ideas of scientific management had arrived in Finland at an early stage, but they had not yet gained a significant foothold. Prior research has explained this, inter alia, by reference to the low level of development of local industry.⁴² In the 1920s, German rationalization became the most important foreign influence in Finnish management thinking but, in general, the importance of theoretical knowledge remained limited. Rationalization became more widespread only during World War II, when warring nations applied it to use scarce resources as efficiently as possible. The actors applied rationalization methods to practical issues, such as loading trains and cutting the cost of office work.⁴³ The Federation of Industrial Work Efficiency (FIWE)⁴⁴ was established in 1942 (Figure 1 below) to organize training for time and motion analysts.

Insert Figure 1 about here

The FIWE's tasks also included organizing and promoting rationalization in the manufacturing industry. The initiative for its establishment came from the Industrial Union of Finland.⁴⁵ The other constituent organization was the General Headquarters of the Finnish Army, which coordinated all rationalization and job analysis activities.⁴⁶ In 1950, the board dissolved the FIWE and established a limited company, Oy Rastor Ab to continue its work.⁴⁷ Rastor operated in three branches: consultancy, rationalization education, and textbook production. The services were aimed at business executives, who rarely had formal management education but more experience in practical business.⁴⁸ Rastor used modern American methods, Training Within Industry (TWI) and Methods-Time Measurement (MTM) already in the early 1950s.⁴⁹

Continuity between organizations is reflected in Figure 1, which shows that a small number of individuals led several organizations that were set up for different needs and educational functions. Young and enthusiastic promoters of management development, Henrik Virkkunen and Leo I. Suurla, headed two key departments of the FIWE: business and training. Virkkunen, Suurla, and Eino M. Niini, the FIWE's CEO and professor in the Finnish Institute of Technology, became the founding fathers of executive education and management consulting in Finland.⁵⁰ The fourth key person, Gunnar Hernberg, worked behind the scenes as the chairman of the Industrial Union of Finland (since 1955), Rastor and the FPR.

In the postwar years, Finland's most important connection to international cooperation was with CIOS, which Finland joined at the Stockholm Conference (1947)⁵¹ together with Canada, Denmark and Norway.⁵² Finland's formal representative was the FMC, which was established as an umbrella organization to coordinate Finnish rationalization activities of various organizations (e.g., FIWE and Rastor).⁵³ The organization took on the character of an authority when it was tasked with monitoring compliance with the Rationalization Act (in effect from 1945 to 1952),

which required the responsible manager of a consulting firm to have a special qualification.⁵⁴ The FMC sent Finnish delegates to international CIOS meetings.

CIOS was an international cooperation organization whose members were national rationalization boards. Its mission was to promote the principles and methods of rationalization to raise the standard of living through more efficient use of human and material resources.⁵⁵ After World War I, the organization had spread the American doctrines of “scientific management,” and after World War II, “productivity.”⁵⁶ Hence, the CIOS was an important “semi-official” route for building cooperation with Western organizations. The CIOS offered access to valuable up-to-date information but it also provided access to personal communication with several focal individuals. After Finland joined the organization, significant CIOS influencers visited Finland, such as its former president Harry A. Hopf (1947), sitting president Assar Gabrielsson (1949), and prominent management theorist and consultant Lillian M. Gilbreth (1949). Finns were also able to participate in activities such as conferences and the exchange of “top management letters,” which were concise corporate case reports produced and shared by member countries.

A concrete indication of FMC’s desire to deepen international cooperation and related problems can be found from the late 1940s, when the president of the US National Management Council (NMC) Harold B. Maynard suggested to CIOS president Gabrielsson that “a panel of American experts were to go to various European countries to hold clinics on matters of management know-how.”⁵⁷ This initiative also came to the attention of the Finns, as Maynard’s letter can be found in the FPR archives. However, Finland could not participate in programs if their funding was related to the ERP. In April 1949, the Finns replied to CIOS that they were interested in the project, and they gladly invited American experts to Finland, but the problem was arranging needed funding.⁵⁸

A little later, the Finns wrote to Maynard to explain that the problem was the project's close connection to the Marshall Plan.⁵⁹

The collaboration between Finland and the West had to proceed with care and through other, less politicized routes.⁶⁰ Research to date has highlighted the good personal relations between Finnish scholars and American universities and research institutions built especially by the young generation academics.⁶¹ The visits of Finns to the US intensified in the early 1950s due to the ASLA program.⁶² These were group tours to explore American industry as well as short study trips to universities. In April 1950, the FIWE organized an event in Helsinki, where Erkki Lampén shared his experiences from a four-week Methods-Time Measurement course in the United States. His presentation did not deal so much with the method itself, but with current American perceptions of the manager's duties, skills, and training.⁶³ Previous research has also highlighted the visit of Henrik Virkkunen, who spent the academic year 1948–1949 at Columbia University,⁶⁴ creating valuable networks for the subsequent development of Finnish executive education. According to Michelsen,⁶⁵ Virkkunen leveraged his personal relationships to raise funds to develop a Finnish executive education program.

THE AMERICAN CONTRIBUTION TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FINNISH EXECUTIVE EDUCATION PROGRAM

The research literature has discussed how and when the concrete collaboration regarding management education originated.⁶⁶ The archival sources offer additional details on the matter, yet their information is not fully coherent. What these sources have in common is that they tell us that both Finns and Americans were willing to initiate cooperation, but they had to find a way that did not contradict governmental policies. Interestingly, the versions differ in terms of who made the first move. The American version of the key events was as follows:

Finland's representative attending a Paris meeting of the International Committee for Scientific Management (CIOS) [1950] sought advice and help from the US representative on how to obtain aid for Finland on these important matters on Scientific Management and other techniques leading to higher productivity. As a consequence this far seeing American undertook to raise a fund by private contributions from Finland he organized a management and technical group of America to Finland for a year on this original mission.⁶⁷

The Finnish version is widely cited and based on the memoirs of Gunnar Hernberg, chairman of the Industrial Union of Finland. His version⁶⁸ dates back to October 1952, when the CIOS President Albrecht M. Lederer—also representing the American NMC (later Council for International Progress in Management, CIPM)—arrived in Finland to take care of some CIOS affairs:⁶⁹

In 1952, American Mr. A. M. Leederer [sic] visited our country cautiously sounding out the need for financial support for revitalizing the business life that had suffered badly during our wars. As the chairman of Rastor's board, I invited Leederer to a tête-à-tête, in which I asked him openly to talk about his agenda. Because I concluded that the funding he offered might be disguised Marshall Aid, I turned to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. They advised me to at least officially reject the endowment.

I informed Leederer and remarked that I would try to find an appropriate form in which to receive the support he offered and will get back to him at that point. Together with Rastor's CEO of that time, Leo Suurla, we decided to set up a foundation in 1953, for which I invented the name Foundation for Productivity Research (...) Thereby, the endowments we received did not have an official label.⁷⁰

Considering the historical context and especially the political sensitivity of the Marshall Plan, it is probable that the obscurity of the accounts safeguarded actors from the Soviet reactions. To take the opportunity and make it possible to accept a donation from an American organization, Rastor's board established the Foundation for Productivity Research (FPR) in March 1953.⁷¹ Formally, the FPR was an independent foundation, but in practice, it was closely tied to Rastor through interlocking directorates and shared office staff. It also received Finland's representation in CIOS for a while.⁷²

In July 1954—more than a year after the founding of the FPR—Lederer announced in a letter that he had succeeded in obtaining funding from “private individuals.”⁷³ The terms of American financing were negotiated in Helsinki in November 1954. The negotiators reached an agreement in December, when operations could begin in early 1955. At first, American support for Finland came through CIPM, which arranged a grant of USD 300,000 for Finnish executive education and arranged for a group of American management experts to come to Finland.⁷⁴ Although Finland received the subsidy, CIPM paid the salaries of American experts so the money did not circulate through Finland. Instead, the FPR remained responsible for all other expenses collected from Finnish businesses in the form of fees and donations.⁷⁵

Focal actors actively promoted an innocent image of the endeavor through, for example, the local press. According to Ainamo and Tienari, the financial support was originally presented as a contribution from Finnish immigrants living in the US.⁷⁶ It later came out that the real contributors were American business executives who wanted to expand their businesses to Finnish markets. However, no further evidence of these donors has survived. Hernberg himself concluded in his autobiography that the origin of the funds was “irrelevant” and it was highly likely that the donations came from several sources.⁷⁷

The most visible form of activity of the FPR was the group of three American experts, “the American Associates” (FPR-AA).⁷⁸ The American task force operated in Finland under the direction of two experienced leaders. During the first operational year, the leader of the FPR-AA group was Alfred C. Howard, who had a long and broad experience from top management of American industrial companies⁷⁹. Thereby, Howard’s profile was in line with the “missionaries” under the auspices of the Marshall Plan.⁸⁰ The second leader, L. Edward Scriven, came from a different career path. He had gathered wide experience from consulting, for example, in A. C. Nielsen Co. and McKinsey-Kierney Co. Scriven took advantage of Finnish managers’ respect towards experts with practical experience. Furthermore, his charismatic appearance appealed to top local managers, most of whom had served in the military during the World War II.⁸¹

The experts of FPR-AA had a dual agenda: to initiate and promote Finnish consulting businesses and to work for the establishment of an institute of executive education in Finland (Figure 2). In general, the group operated under the FPR, but the consultation took place under Rastor. This was because FPR, as a non-profit foundation, could not take part in consulting business.⁸² After a year of operation, the “American Associates” consisted of only one person, whose sole task was “to assist in the planning and inauguration of another FPR project, the Institute for Advanced Management Training.”⁸³ However, visiting American scholars supported the work of the last Associate, Scriven, with shorter two- or three-month visits:

...from 1955 on through to the present—and in our plan for the future—are a steady stream of conferences, seminars, speeches and papers, all aimed at spreading modern management ideas, and stimulating business leaders generally to experiment in their own businesses with these ideas—as well as to win their support for the program of the proposed Institute for Advanced Management Training.⁸⁴

Insert Figure 2 about here

The FPR prepared its activities systematically towards the establishment of the Finnish institute of executive education. It made its first concrete plans in the winter of 1954–1955, along with the preparation of the American Associates’ work plan. The FPR appointed a committee⁸⁵ to meet annually to plan and develop executive education. Although the committee was renamed several times, Virkkunen remained its chair until his untimely death in 1963.⁸⁶ Owing to his vision and staunch commitment to the development of Finnish executive education, Virkkunen (a professor of business management and accounting since 1955 and the rector of Helsinki School of Economics since 1961) also took charge of the organization of the executive education courses in the late 1950s and early 1960s.⁸⁷ These courses were a pre-stage of the Finnish Institute of Management (LIFIM), which confirmed the endeavors of the Finnish trailblazers of executive education.

RECONCILING DOUBLE-EDGED OBJECTIVES

The priority of the Finnish trailblazers was the availability and quality of modern business education. This, in turn, was related to concerns about Finland’s national competitiveness in an increasingly international market environment.⁸⁸ Most of Finland’s export trade was to Western Europe (1959–1960: OECD countries 62.9%, SEV countries 21.5%, North America 6.2%), where trade liberalization was already underway in the 1950s. Finland, however, seemed to lag behind this development.⁸⁹ Not until the 1960s did foreign direct investment in Finland began to grow significantly.⁹⁰ The most important of the export sectors was the forest industry, which was oriented to the Western markets, while the heavy metal industry was more oriented to the East.

The Soviet Union was very willing to buy metal industry products from Finland—with which it also tied Finland financially to herself. According to Kuisma, the Americans admitted in foreign policy contexts that they did not want Finland to become too dependent on Soviet trade.⁹¹

In the postwar economic policy debate, productivity was an important driver of economic growth. In addition, the discussants believed that the sooner the standard of living could be raised by eliminating organizational problems, the better the conditions would be for maintaining popular support for a free market economy.⁹² The FPR's key actors had also noticed that executive education in the United States was well ahead of Europe.⁹³ Thus, they believed that better education was a key to better productivity and that the US was the best source for new trends in training and consulting business.⁹⁴ For example, Finns were interested in further training in senior management, which was not offered at all in Finland. The use of consultants in Finnish business was also still a relatively new thing, and consulting often focused on floor-level production but not business management.

Although the Americans cared about helping Finland and fighting communism, they also had their own agenda related to American power politics and economic interests.⁹⁵ At the end of his visit, Howard, who led the American Associates in Finland in 1955, described their motives:

Many people believe, and I think rightfully so, that by raising the standard of living of the people and by improving the economy of a country needing help, you have accomplished two things. First you have shown these people that you are their friends by helping them in a practical way. And secondly, you have helped to fortify the dignity and freedom of man against the insidious and treacherous inroads of communist ideologies. (...) We had a double objective in mind – first to gain specific results as part of our broad goal of

accomplishment, and second to make a success of our undertaking purely from a selfish and egotistical standpoint.⁹⁶

With selfish interests Howard most obviously referred to American commercial aspirations. CIPM was a vital organization in that regard. In NMC's (since 1953 CIPM) brochure from the early 1950s, the organization endorsed its services for American companies interested in overseas operations in several ways. NMC promised to keep its members alerted to new opportunities, to inform them of the most recent management practices and techniques, and to provide contacts with state institutions as well as with business firms abroad. Lastly, NMC kept its members posted about "the problems by our friends overseas" because "[e]very problem is an opportunity for an enterprising American."⁹⁷ In the correspondence of the early 1950s, NMC's executive secretary directly asked his Finnish colleague about the possibilities and treatment of foreign investments in Finland.⁹⁸

SELLING AMERICAN IDEAS TO LOCAL BUSINESS ELITE

Originally, the American Associates came to Finland in April 1955 to assist managers in the country's metal and light woodworking industries to improve their business practices. However, this first undertaking failed because most of these managers rejected help from foreign consultants. The organizers had to cancel the first two-day seminar for top managers, scheduled for the summer of 1955 due to lack of attendees. Henceforth, "the activities had to be steered, without paying too much attention to the fields involved, towards [any] corporations which were prepared to take advantage of the American specialists."⁹⁹ According to Scriven:

There had been an initial misconception that the Americans had come here to Finland to tell Finnish Industry how to run its business. While nothing was further from the minds

of any of the people involved, it proved to be quite difficult in many quarters to correct this misconception, and it was only done a little at a time, very gradually, first in one industry and then in another (...) by the end of 1956, there were requests for assistance from Finnish companies beyond the capabilities of the Associates to accommodate.¹⁰⁰

There were several reasons for the initial opposition to American influence.¹⁰¹ After World War II, the old generation of corporate executives represented a patriarchal style of management¹⁰² that included the idea of innate leadership. Executive education could have challenged the patriarch's authority. Second, business executives of that time were mostly educated engineers, which had acquired their leadership skills through practical floor-level experience.¹⁰³ For this reason, they considered leadership a practical skill. In addition, many postwar managers had served as officers in the war. The experience of leading from the front was an important merit, in a way as an extreme learning experience that could not be achieved on the school bench. Ainamo and Tienari concluded that after World War II, "despite the great challenges confronting them, Finnish managers were confident of their ability to cope without direct access to American knowledge."¹⁰⁴

From an educational perspective, American influence meant a paradigm shift. Previously, formal leadership training had been heavily German influenced, with American consultants representing a different perspective.¹⁰⁵ During the war, international influences weakened, and after the war the influence of the Germans declined markedly. According to Honko, it took more than a decade for the Anglo-Saxon stream of influence to break through.¹⁰⁶ Yet there was also a reason to assume that interaction with American consultants could be bad for promising opportunities in Eastern trade if they annoyed the Soviet Union. However, when no consequences emerged, fears dissipated.

According to the established understanding, American consultants won the trust of Finnish businesspersons through their hard work. For their part, Finnish organizers valued highly the professionalism of the Americans.¹⁰⁷ The first tour of two-day seminars took place in 1956–1957. In these events, the speakers discussed modern aspects of management quite extensively but in a concise package. In addition to Helsinki, FPR organized events in regional centers.¹⁰⁸ The aim was to first gain the trust of a few companies in each area, which would serve as local examples of the benefits of consultancy and executive education.¹⁰⁹

The most prominent speaker at events for business leaders was Scriven, who clearly knew how to speak to Finns by setting himself on an equal footing to them. In his opening remarks, Scriven talked about his feelings of being an American in Finland. He continued by comparing the United States and Finland. According to him, even though the United States was known for large companies, most companies were small, just as in Finland. Scriven assured that “we are not talking here today about anything that could not be successfully applied to a Finnish business.” The main argument was that Finnish industrial production was high in terms of technology, but lagged behind due to managerial shortcomings. Particularly striking was the lack of marketing. This lack existed because previously, during times of shortage, the demand for most products was high enough that there was little need for proper sales promotion. However, this was about to change rapidly as competition intensified and products were to be marketed to the demanding markets of the West.¹¹⁰ On the other hand, he used examples of companies that, with the help of consultants, had succeeded in raising their market value and profits. “So don’t open this Pandora’s Box unless you are prepared to increase your business, your profits, and your problems.”¹¹¹

Scriven’s approach went down well with the Finnish audience.¹¹² He was presented in the FPR’s marketing materials as an experienced manager who had also worked as a consultant in major

companies. Scriven's down-to-earth style together with an all-round track record may explain why he was such a successful and popular lecturer in Finland. As a skilled speaker, he tackled the expected counter-arguments of his audience in advance. Prior foreign management experts, for example Professor Sune Carlson from Sweden, had faced major difficulties in convincing Finnish managers. According to Ainamo and Tienari, Finnish managers had criticized Carlson for insufficient empirical knowledge of the floor level. Perhaps Carlson's academic background and his Swedish nationality, given that Finland had been Sweden's province for nearly 500 years until 1809, made it difficult for Finns to value his ideas and advice.¹¹³

The reception of Scriven's speeches in the press was generally neutral or positive, as in the following report by local newspaper *Kaleva* in 1957:

Although the lecturers were American experts in the field, they have spent some time in Finland, and after getting acquainted with Finnish industry and business, their ideas are applicable to Finnish circumstances. During the presentations as well as during the following general discussion, it emerged that many of the difficulties of our industry and business can be overcome by the new opportunities we find through efficient research, including more efficient use of manufacturing methods, sales organization and advertising.¹¹⁴

The Finnish case also included clear setbacks. One of the American associates who arrived in Finland in the spring of 1957 turned out to be an inexperienced consultant and did not persuade his Finnish hosts or clients. The worst part was that in one interview published in the newspaper *Uusi Suomi* he strongly criticized Finnish business managers, and quoted as follows:

It is not to be expected that an engineer, however qualified, would be able to perform the duties of a manager any more than the ordinary doctor of medicine would be able to operate on an icebreaker. Moreover, what are the managerial roles that an engineer can accomplish based on his or her training? Probably nothing.¹¹⁵

The FPR, which had just succeeded in building trust relationships with Finnish business executives and was dependent on their funding, reacted strongly. Although the statement was essentially in line with the American Associates' basic message, criticism of the target audience with engineering backgrounds had to be expressed diplomatically because they comprised about half of the Finnish executives.¹¹⁶ Scriven himself wrote a reply in the same newspaper, where he expressed disagreement with his colleague's opinions.¹¹⁷ At the request of the FPR, CIPM called the consultant home after only a few months.¹¹⁸ This incident underscores how important it was to Scriven that the American Associates group delivered their message in an appropriate form, which did not offend or provoke the local audience.

FORD FOUNDATION FUNDING SUPPORTS THE ESTABLISHMENT OF FINNISH EXECUTIVE EDUCATION PROGRAM

Upon completion, the American Associates program appeared to be a great success. At the time, there was already a tentative promise for the next funding period, which, however, would not come from CIPM. The next funding period the Finns received from the Ford Foundation (1958–1962), which was one of the main institutions that passed management expertise from the United States to Europe in the 1950s and 1960s.¹¹⁹

During that period, Ford Foundation hosted exchange programs for European professors and doctoral students, and supported the creation of several education institutions. According to

Gemelli, Ford Foundation's European program in management training was not linear but included multiple paths and experiments in which some prime actors, such as the HBS and the Ford Foundation participated with varying objectives, but in close cooperation with each other.¹²⁰ Finnish documents support the view. In Helsinki, for example, the FPR held financial discussions with the US Ambassador, who promised to explore different ways of arranging funding for establishing the Finnish institute of executive education. He spurred FPR's representatives to take advantage of the various alternative sources for complementary financing. After the Finns established their contacts with the CIPM, its officials helped the Finns to find new connections with potential financiers.¹²¹

Finland received Ford Foundation funding at a time when the foundation's activities in Europe were in their early stages.¹²² The Ford Foundation approved a \$75,000 grant for the FPR in 1958 to support the exchange of professors between Finland and the US and thereby the establishment of an "institute of advanced business management."¹²³ Five American professors visited Finland and nine Finns visited the United States on study trips of various lengths.¹²⁴ Although Harvard seems to be the most sought-after destination, Finns also visited other universities such as Berkeley, MIT, Stanford, and Ohio State University. Thus, they were also able to assess differences in executive education programs in the United States.

The FPR selected the Finnish participants with the understanding that they would teach at the planned executive education course.¹²⁵ In the early 1960s, executive education activity was already well underway, and Finns had good reason to believe that they would receive a third funding period,¹²⁶ which would have the aim of establishing an institute of executive education and building appropriate premises. At this point, the focal actors used statements by American experts as arguments in support of the project.¹²⁷ During his visit to Finland in July 1957, Lederer had

emphasized, as was cited in local newspapers, that “a business executive represented not only his company but also society, the country and its people.”¹²⁸ Following this idea, the FPR documents for domestic stakeholders presented a picture in which national interests are linked to the competitiveness of export trade and the construction of an American-type institute, as it was formulated in 1962:

Nations, especially those living on the fringes of different economic and political interests, can easily find themselves in a difficult position. Only a mentally, physically and financially powerful nation can hope to maintain its position in the struggle for existence.¹²⁹

Although the Ford Foundation had given positive signals for further funding, it was not willing to finance the construction of physical sites.¹³⁰ As a result, the direct financial support from the US ended but cooperation continued in the following years. Scriven visited Finland occasionally, representing his employers at the time and helping Finns in applying for different types of funding. Most importantly, the development of the executive education program entered its next phase. In 1964, the FPR transferred the educational responsibility to LIFIM,¹³¹ which became the primary institute of Finnish executive education in the following decades.¹³²

THE FINNISH EXECUTIVE EDUCATION PROGRAM IN COMPARISON

The origins of HBS’s AMP were in a wartime course whose initial idea was to retrain nonmanufacturing employees for production work of war material. Since its first implementation, the retraining course also included participants sent by their employers to acquire additional knowledge to move to more demanding positions.¹³³ Because of good learning results, HBS offered the course regularly and renamed it the Advanced Management Program in 1945 as the number of students with management experience grew year by year.¹³⁴ Consequently, AMP turned

into an ideal for executive education programs around the world. According to Amdam, “the AMP was copied and adjusted according to the local context, but the basic idea of a limited number of weeks of extensive management development training, focused on general management and aimed at preparing participants for top management positions, remained.”¹³⁵ By the end of the 1960s, dozens of universities around the world had adopted the American model of executive education.¹³⁶

Apparently, the idea that Finns should select AMP as a role model came from Scriven.¹³⁷ Scriven also helped Virkkunen to receive a travel grant from the US State Department in 1958. During his four-month trip to the US, Virkkunen visited business schools that offered executive education programs and returned to Finland just before the first Finnish course in executive education.¹³⁸ Considering Virkkunen’s familiarity with the American executive education programs, the Finnish organizers were well aware of the various alternatives of the Harvard model. Nevertheless, the Finns followed Scriven’s proposition and took Harvard’s AMP for an ideal, yet they preferred a shorter duration for residential periods.¹³⁹

The Finnish “advanced management institute,” which was still seeking its form, began its educational activities in the fall of 1958, when the first executive education course started. Virkkunen explained in 1960: “Advanced training activities began with the annual courses, but the original long-term objective was to set up a permanent institute—provided that the experience from courses was positive.”¹⁴⁰ The establishment of the institution resulted from the collaboration of three Finnish universities: the Finnish University of Business Administration, the Swedish University of Business Administration, and the Finnish Institute of Technology.¹⁴¹ In contrast to many other countries,¹⁴² Finland’s executive education did not fit comfortably into any institute of higher education. Consequently, executive education found its place outside the universities but

under the coordination of the universities that founded it. One of the reasons why the institute was established as a freestanding foundation was that thereby it was able to utilize the resources of three universities. It was also easier to put into practice than create a new type of education program within formal university structures. In addition, due to the status of an independent organization, the institute appeared credible to coordinate different levels of management education and training across the country. The focal actors also believed that American donors would favor a foundation-like entity. The assignment of the institute was to (1) provide teaching, (2) conduct research, (3) collect teaching materials, and (4) coordinate business education, research and cooperation in Finland.¹⁴³

The FPR followed HBS's example in the organization of executive education in several ways (Table 3). For the first 15 years, the teachers were Finnish business scholars, who had been active in preparing the program of the executive course. Especially in the first years of the executive courses, the FPR capitalized broadly on the expertise of the American Associates.¹⁴⁴ The instructors were often two-man teams, one Finnish and one American. The Finnish instructors were experienced teachers of academic courses but had not worked previously in executive education. At the same time, a Finnish-speaking teacher was necessary due to the executives' limited proficiency in English.¹⁴⁵

Insert Table 2 about here

There were clear differences too. Harvard's AMP was targeted at "mature, experienced managers," which meant managers with "15 to 20 years of business experience" before attending the course.¹⁴⁶ In LIFIM, the requirement for the practical experience was only 5 to 10 years. A major need for

adaptation arose from the unfamiliar concept of executive education, which made the idea of long absences from the workplace impossible. The AMP lasted 13 weeks and it was held in a single period without a break.¹⁴⁷ The Finnish course of executive education consisted of three periods over eight weeks. The intervals of the periods were 16–17 weeks, reserved for independent study and completion of course assignments.¹⁴⁸ The AMP courses took place on HBS's campus. LIFIM did not have its own premises before 1974, so it had to organize courses in various locations.¹⁴⁹

The volume of training was, of course, one distinguishing feature. In this initial phase, the FPR organized one course per year, from 1958 to 1965 a total of seven executive education courses were held with 181 participants. The sixth course was so popular that the organizers could not accept all of the applicants.¹⁵⁰ Although LIFIM was usually able to use the same venues in several consecutive years, the intake remained under 30 persons per course. During its first 20 years of operation (until the end of 1977), LIFIM organized 53 courses. As the number of courses held per year increased, initially the annual number of attendees was a few dozen, but in the mid-1970s, it peaked at nearly 200.¹⁵¹ In HBS, the maximum annual intake for AMP was 260 to 320 persons since the early 1950s. However, the teaching methods resembled each other. As was customary at HBS, Finnish executive education also made extensive use of the case studies of actual business situations. Initially, Finnish scholars visiting the United States brought with them teaching cases from Harvard and other universities. The Finns translated these for their own use, but also began to produce cases themselves because they were more engaging for Finnish audiences.¹⁵²

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The implementation of executive education programs in Finland followed many of the typical features familiar from other countries' business history.¹⁵³ We have found how educational cooperation was built and how the American model of executive education consolidated its

position in Finland, regardless of the factors limiting foreign financial support. The translation process also had a few unique twists that make it a historically important case. First, the events proceeded in the shadow of Cold War power politics. Directing American support to build a Finnish program was not part of the plot from a spy thriller, but it nevertheless remains a demonstration of skillful circumvention of foreign policy obstacles. Second, Finnish actors decided to follow the example of Harvard Business School's Advanced Management Program, yet implemented executive education in a private institution outside business schools. Third, the emergence of executive education in Finland happened through the idea of scientific management. Although representing different ways of thinking, the Finns did not consider scientific management and executive education mutually exclusive alternatives. In this light, we might say that Finnish actors used international collaboration in the field of scientific management (CIOS) as a stepping stone on their way towards executive education.

Finland's geopolitical position during the Cold War forced it to proceed cautiously in relations with the United States. Finland's exclusion from the European Recovery Program for foreign policy reasons did not prevent cooperation with the American organizations in the development of executive education. Finns wanted to improve the productivity of the national economy in general and of industrial firms in particular. The key actors in Finland were very receptive to the ideas from the US because they had all visited the country and been impressed by its academic and economic development. Thus, for Finns, the matter was mainly economic, but Americans also saw an opportunity to buttress the sovereignty of Finland against the Soviet Union and, by extension, its economic and ideological attachment to the Western world.

The collaboration between Finns and Americans rested on a small network of people who managed to channel the necessary support through foundations in both countries. In the early phase, the idea

of executive education was a multifaceted project that resulted in a separation of executive education from management consulting businesses. The roots of the Finnish education model were in the rationalization during the war, in which Finns followed the German practices. Later, the organizational framework of rationalization education served as an embryo of the postwar executive education system. The key people were also largely the same but executive education came to serve another purpose. The connection to international development was established through Finland's CIO membership (1947). The representatives of the US organizations—the NMC/CIPM and the Ford Foundation—worked as carriers of the ideas of executive education. Other carriers were Finnish scholars and professional managers who traveled to the US to learn the latest knowledge about business management to be distributed in Finland through executive education courses. Particularly the Finnish carriers were pivotal actors in translating the American management doctrines to fit Finnish circumstances.

We have combined our historical narrative with Callon's phases of translation in Figure 3. As the figure shows, the phases were not sequential but partly overlapping.¹⁵⁴ The Finnish actors put into practice Callon's "problematization," when they raised concerns about the country's need to speed up its economic development. In the domestic postwar context, raising living standards became an important economic policy issue. In addition to the rationalization of production and work processes, the need arose to improve the skills of top management. As a solution to it, the key figures in industrial and academic circles suggested "advanced management training," in other words executive education, to help Finnish industrial companies increase their productivity.

Insert Figure 3 about here

The “interessement” phase started, when the adopters identified executive education and consulting as separate functions that needed their own organizers and promoters. This happened in the late 1950s and early 1960s when the first executive education courses took place alongside consulting activities. Thereby, the FPR (later LIFIM) and Rastor slowly grew apart from their shared origins. Consulting company Rastor acquired licenses for different training methods, such as TWI and MTM, while FPR continued in the non-profit operations. In addition, Finnish actors established executive education outside existing educational institutions, including business schools, although they were indirectly involved in the organization of education through personal relations and participation in planning and/or teaching activities. Building a new domain in the institutional field for executive-level education ensured that LIFIM did not need to use scarce resources to compete with other educational institutions.

“Enrollment” took place when the executive education course broke through after a challenging start to the first seminars and courses. Top management of companies began to approve executive education courses as relevant and, most importantly, advantageous for the development of participants’ expertise for the executive positions. As the training was successful, the reputation of the training grew and participants filled the courses. On the organizational level executive education became independent along with the establishment of LIFIM and detachment from FPR. The decision ended speculations about the institutional status of executive education in Finland. This also had an influence on the relationships with the constituent organizations, above all business schools, as it became clear that executive education remained outside the system of higher education. A few of the key actors strove to solidify the status of Finnish executive education abroad by paying visits to the main offices of CIPM and the Ford Foundation also after they had received funding from them. It seems that Finns did not take the American funding for granted.

In the last phase of translation, “mobilization,” the recipients of the idea of executive education secured the participation of the potential competitors by co-opting focal individuals from those organizations as members of the planning committee or as teachers of the courses. This is evident when looking at the course attendee and teacher lists of LIFIM from the 1960s onwards. LIFIM’s key individuals used co-optation already in the planning phase, but more deliberate mobilization happened with the establishment of LIFIM. They set up a supporters’ association to run the institute’s operations. The association’s board included eminent representatives from each of the former background organizations, the FPR and the three universities. In order to institutionalize LIFIM’s standing as the primary institute for further education, the supporters’ association also had a delegation, wherein LIFIM’s management invited representatives from national employers’ organizations and major business firms. The rank of the representatives’ signaled that the member organizations in the delegation held LIFIM’s work in high regard.

The translation process would not have been possible, at least at that time and within a reasonable number of years, without the assistance from the US. At first, assistance focused on consultation work but later the emphasis moved to educational work. It culminated in the establishment of the Finnish executive education institute LIFIM. The challenge was to sell new ideas to local business leaders, most of whom could not see the need for change in their work and thinking. In the case of executives from the older generation, the effort proved futile, as many of them were not willing to change their minds. Hence, it was more fruitful to channel the message of the benefits of executive education to the younger generation of executives and promising managers in the lower levels of managerial hierarchy. A major part of this translation process was to introduce new concepts, like management, and the idea of executive education to local actors. To reduce skepticism and opposition, teachers of the executive courses did not present the latest management theories in

their abstract form but described them as inevitable and unavoidable changes. Eventually, the task was successful, and the Finnish executive education system was among the early European versions of the original AMP.

Our paper offers a significant contribution to the literature on the history of executive education. First, it examines executive education in the context of the ideological struggle of the Cold War. In this respect, it complements recent research on the role of management education in geopolitics. Second, we propose the concept of the American model of executive education in the literature. It differs from the previously used concept of the American model of management education¹⁵⁵ as it focuses explicitly on the education of experienced, top-level managers. Third, our paper looks at the transfer of the American educational model to an initially reluctant environment. Our paper highlights how the new model was sold and translated for the local target audience. In particular, it looks at the role of local actors in the translation process. In addition, it also complements prior research on Finnish management education by taking executive education as its specific focus. However, the impact of this education on the development of Finnish business, the career paths of executives, strategic choices of companies, and, ultimately, society at large remains a task for future research.

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Figure 1. Organizational relationships and key personnel. (Sources: Compiled from previous research, e.g., Kässä, *20 vuotta*; Michelsen, *Työ*; Suurla, *Rastor 20*.)

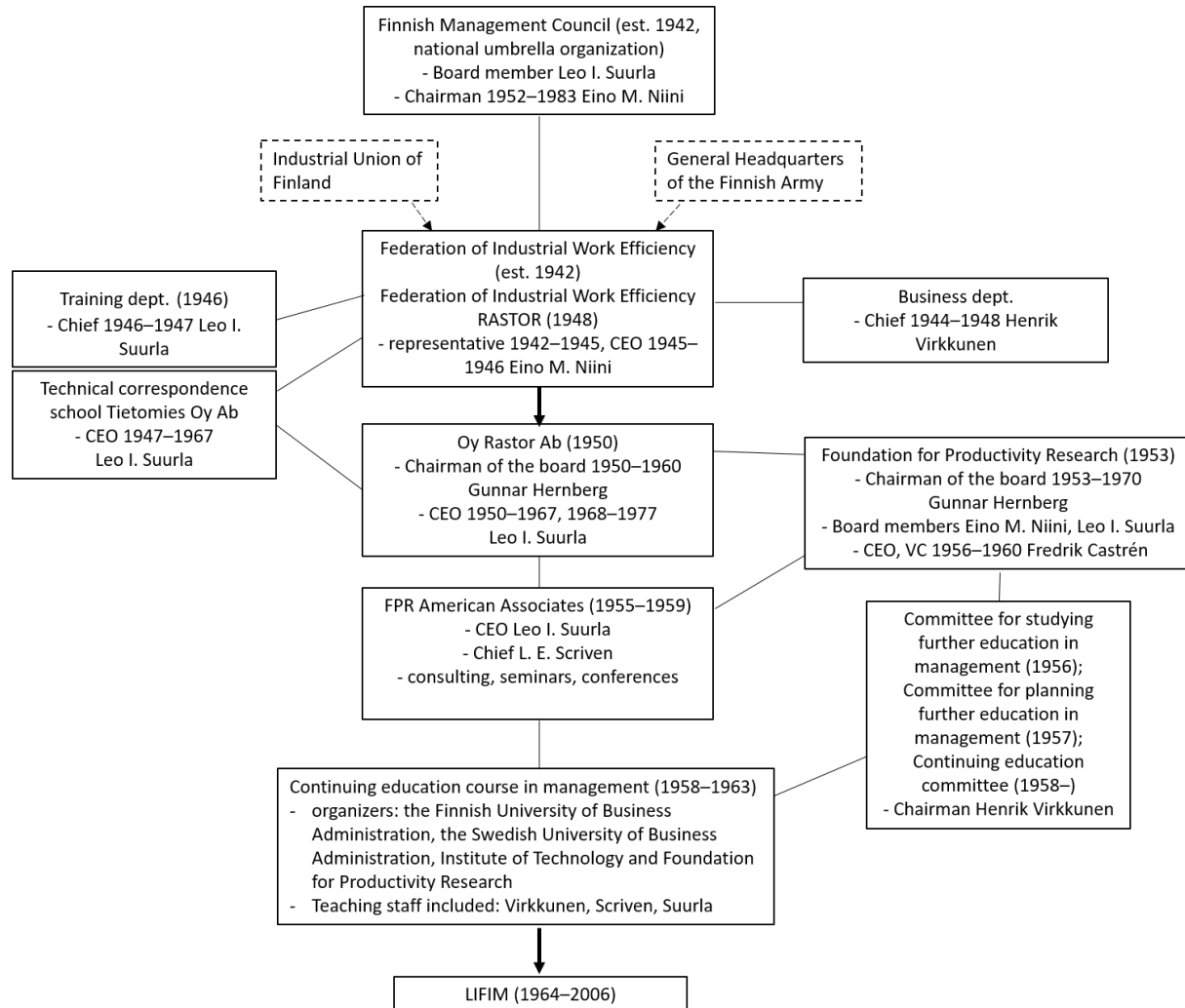


Figure 2. The activities of the FPR-American Associates. (Source: F. Castrén, *Carrying the work of the TTT-American Associates*, 14 April 1959, Folder: 10371:25, FPR, Central Archives for Finnish Business Records, Mikkeli.)

		Target audience	
		Private firms	Education system/ Public institutions
Form of operation	Practical	Consulting work in private companies to help the top management in organization and management problems	Arranging conferences and seminars to increase the knowledge of modern management techniques and methods
	Theoretical/ ideological	Give speeches and write articles to arouse the interest in foreign trade	Helping the FPR and the Universities to start advanced management training and establish a special Institute for this purpose

Source: Castrén (14 April, 1959). *Carrying on the work of the TTT-American Associates*. TTT (Muut sisällön mukaan järjestetty). Elka.

Figure 3. The establishment of LIFIM's executive education program: Callon's Phases to Translation, Major Events, US Funding, Organizations, and Training.

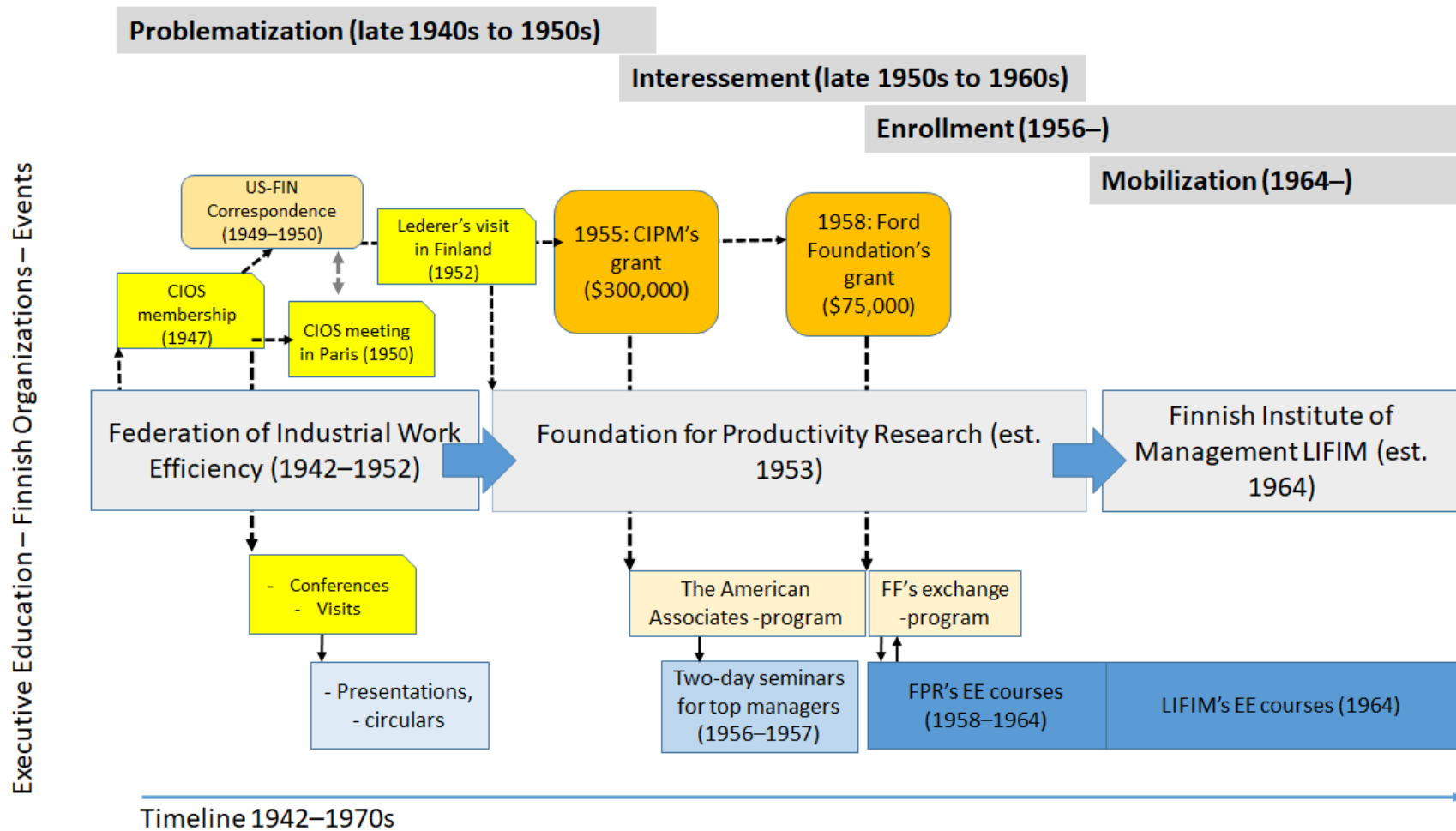


Table 1. The two logics of management education (Sources: Amdam, Executive education and the managerial revolution; Course materials. Courses 20–26. Folder: 29, LIFIM, Aalto University Archive, Espoo).

Logic	Initiative for enrollment	Primary goal	Source of relevant knowledge	Educational materials	Duration	Age distribution	Instructor's position
Degree programs	Organizer of education	Formal qualification	Research	Theory-oriented	Years	Small	Authority
Non-degree programs	Employer	Professional qualification	Experience	Practice-oriented	Weeks	Large	Peer

Note: The table is based on the classification provided by Amdam and supplemented with additional observations made from LIFIM's course material.

Table 2. Comparison of HBS and LIFIM programs (Sources: Harvard University. Graduate School of Business Administration. *HBS course catalogs* 1946–1972; Folder: 29, LIFIM, Aalto University Archive, Espoo; Kässi, 20 vuotta).

	HBS			FPR/LIFIM	
	AMP 1946	AMP 1958	AMP 1972	EE course 1958	EE course 1972
Duration	13 weeks	12,5 weeks	13 weeks	8 weeks	8 weeks
Number of periods	1	1	1	3 (3+2+3 weeks)	3 (3+2+3 weeks)
Major subjects	Administrative practices; Cost and financial administration; Production organization and engineering; Marketing problems; The supervisor and union labor; Corporate organization and administration	Administrative practices; Business and the world society; Business policy; Cost and financial administration; Marketing administration; Problems in labor relations	Business policy; Financial management and investment decisions; Control and planning systems; Marketing; Major policy issues in labor relations; Human behavior in organizations; Decision analysis; Computer-based information systems; Business and the world society	Tasks of management, goals and operational principles of a firm; Organization of a firm; Personnel policy; Financial planning and supervision; Production; Marketing	Strategic planning; Firm and its environment; Status, methods and tools of the management; Corporate functions: production, marketing, finance and personnel administration

NOTES

¹ Cruikshank, A delicate experiment; Epstein, Business at Berkeley; Kettunen, Management education; Wilson, The Manchester Experiment.

² Daniel, *MBA*; Harker et al., *Management education*.

³ Djelic, *Exporting the American model*; Kipping and Bjarnar, *The Americanisation*; Kipping et al., *Imitation, tension, and hybridization*; Üsdiken, *Americanization of European management*.

⁴ E.g. Amdam, *Executive education*; Amdam, *Creating*; David and Schaufelbuehl, *Transatlantic influence*.

⁵ See, e.g., Conger & Xin, *Executive education*; Crotty & Soule, *Executive education*.

⁶ Cooke & Alcadipani, *Toward a global history*; Cooke & Kumar, *US philanthropy's*; Kumar, *From Henley*.

⁷ See, e.g., Amdam, *The Internationalization*.

⁸ Boel, *The European Productivity*; Gemelli, *The Ford Foundation*.

⁹ See, e.g., Ainamo and Tienari, *The rise and fall*.

¹⁰ Amdam, *The Internationalization*.

¹¹ Bjarnar and Kipping have previously pointed out that actors did not adopt a single "American" model, but chose the different elements that best suited them (See also Djelic, *Exporting*; Djelic and Amdam, *Americanization*; McKenna, *Message and medium*). However, we justify the use of the concept "the American model of executive education" in this context with the contemporary state of affairs. At the end of the 1950s, there were 42 "residential executive development programs" in the US, of which a clear majority were established during the 1950s and they mostly followed Harvard's example. Programs built in line with Harvard's AMP were also set up around the world. Hence, there is a good reason to see Harvard's model as the American model at the time (See Amdam, *Executive education*; Andrews, *University programs*, 580–581; Crotty, *Professional education*).

¹² Honko, *Taloustieteen*.

¹³ DiMaggio and Powell, *The iron cage*; Meyer and Rowan, *Institutionalized organizations*.

¹⁴ Boxenbaum and Jonsson, *Isomorphism, diffusion and decoupling*; Mazza et al., *European constructions*.

¹⁵ See, e.g., Czarniawska and Joerges, *Travels of ideas*; Latour, *The powers of association*.

¹⁶ Sahlin and Wedlin, *Circulating ideas*. See also Amdam, *The Internationalization*; Greenwood et al., *The Sage handbook*; Kipping and Bjarnar, *The Americanisation*; McCabe and Russell, 'The costumes'; Morris and Lancaster, *Translating management*; O'Mahoney and Sturdy, *Power and the diffusion*; Sahlin-Andersson and Engwall, *The expansion*.

¹⁷ Sahlin-Andersson and Engwall, *The expansion*; Sahlin and Wedlin, *Circulating ideas*.

¹⁸ Ansari et al., *Made to fit*; Kirkpatrick et al., *The translation*.

¹⁹ Powell et al., *Close encounters*.

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- ²⁰ Tracey et al., *Fish out of water*, 1656.
- ²¹ Callon, *Some elements*.
- ²² Fellman, *Uppkomsten; The professionalization; From consolidation to competition; Finland*.
- ²³ Tienari, *Sotakorvaustyön*; Ainamo and Tienari, *The rise and fall*; McKenna et al., *Message*.
- ²⁴ Tuomisto, *Teollisuuden*.
- ²⁵ Seeck, *Johtamisopit*; Kuokkanen et al., *Management paradigms*; Seeck and Järvelä, *Katsaus*; Seeck and Kuokkanen, *Management paradigms*; Seeck and Laakso, *Adoption*.
- ²⁶ Alajoutsijärvi et al., *Institutional*; Juusola et al., *Accelerating the Americanization*; Kettunen, *Management education*.
- ²⁷ Michelsen, *Työ; Vuosisadan*.
- ²⁸ Cf. Kumar, *Management education in India*.
- ²⁹ Bjarnar and Kipping, *The Marshall Plan*; see David and Schaufelbuehl, *Transatlantic influence*.
- ³⁰ Rautkallio, *Suomen sotakorvaukset*.
- ³¹ Jakobson, *Substance and appearance*.
- ³² See Djelic, *Exporting*.
- ³³ Amdam, *Productivity and management*, 374.
- ³⁴ See, e.g., Fellman, *Growth and investment*; Pihkala, *Suomalaiset*.
- ³⁵ The foundation had an official name in both Finnish (*Tehokkaan Tuotannon Tutkimussäätiö, TTT*) and English.
- ³⁶ The acronym LIFIM came from the institute's Finnish and English names: *Liikkeenjohdon Instituutti – Finnish Institute of Management*.
- ³⁷ Fellman, *From consolidation*.
- ³⁸ Gill et al., *Constructing trustworthy historical narratives*; Kipping et al., *Analyzing and Interpreting*.
- ³⁹ Maclean et al., *Organization Theory*.
- ⁴⁰ In Finnish: *Työtehovaltuuskunta*.
- ⁴¹ Leo I. Suurla in 1989, see Tienari, *Sotakorvaustyön*.
- ⁴² See, e.g., Michelsen, *Työ*; Karhu, *Virasto-oloja*; Seeck and Järvelä, *Katsaus*.
- ⁴³ Karhu, *Virasto-oloja*, 16–21; Michelsen, *Työ*; Niini, *Työntutkimukset*.
- ⁴⁴ In Finnish: *Teollisuuden Työteholiitto*.

⁴⁵ In Finnish: *Teollisuusliitto*.

⁴⁶ The General Headquarters' bureau of time and motion research had a specific purpose in the Finnish rationalization work: To bring together scarce existing experts and increase rationalization expertise in Finland. Michelsen, *Työ*.

⁴⁷ Michelsen, *Työ*; Suurla, Rastor; Tuomisto, *Teollisuuden*.

⁴⁸ See, e.g., Fellman, *The professionalisation*.

⁴⁹ Memo on Rastor's training activities in 1952, 11 November 1952, Folder: 12 Working material (1943–1953), Finnish Management Council (FMC) [*Työtehovaltuuskunta*], The National Archives of Finland (NAF), Helsinki, Finland.

⁵⁰ Ainamo and Tienari, *The rise and fall*.

⁵¹ At that time, many Western influences came to Finland via Sweden. This was natural because Sweden was close, Finland had a historically close relationship with it and Finnish elites traditionally spoke Swedish well.

⁵² Kantola, *Työtehovaltuuskunta*, 8, 18; Klaus Waris, *PM. Suomi ja kansainvälinen rationalisointijärjestö (CIOS)*, 1 December 1948; *Minutes of Meeting of CIOS Council held in Stockholm*, 2 July 1947, Folder: 13 CIOS-conference (1947–1953), FMC, NAF.

⁵³ Michelsen, *Työ*.

⁵⁴ Successful graduates were allowed to use the title “FMC-approved Work Efficiency Researcher” (*Työtehovaltuuskunnan hyväksymä työntutkija, THT*). The law originally came into force in 1945 and expired at the end of 1952. See Law 29.1.1949/89 and Act 29.1.1949/90; FIWE's annual report 1949, Folder: 8 Working material (1942–1971), FMC, NAF.

⁵⁵ Memo *PM. Ehdotus uusiksi CIOS-säännöiksi*, 1961, Folder: 9 Working material (1945–1971), FMC, NAF.

⁵⁶ Kantola, *Työtehovaltuuskunta*, 8; *Käännös CIOS-järjestön pääsihteerin Hugo de Haan'in artikkelista “Rationalisoinnista produktiviteettiin”* [Finnish translation from Hugo de Haan's article], 10 September 1952, Folder: 9 Working material (1945–1971), FMC, NAF.

⁵⁷ Under the proposal, clinics would operate by holding lectures as well as consulting with local executives. H. B. Maynard, Letter to Gabrielsson (original in English), 15 November 1948, Folder: 14 CIOS-conference (1945–1953), FMC, NAF.

⁵⁸ Mannio's letter to CIOS president de Haan, 12 April 1949, Folder: 13 CIOS-conference (1947–1953), FMC, NAF.

⁵⁹ Letter to Maynard, 20 September 1949, Folder: 14 CIOS-conference (1945–1953), FMC, NAF.

⁶⁰ See, e.g., Meinander, *Tasavallan*; Fellman, *The professionalisation*.

⁶¹ See, e.g., Salmi, *Ei se mitään*; Lehtonen, *Kauppatieteiden*.

⁶² The ASLA program (Amerikan Suomen Lainan Apurahat [Grants from the American Loan to Finland]) saw the light of day in 1949. It reinstituted the academic exchange between Finland and the United States after World War II. Finland joined the Fulbright program in 1952, when it was clear that such an agreement would not risk the country's relationship with the Soviet Union. Later the programs merged as the ASLA-Fulbright program. Tiitta, *Tieteen tukijoukot*.

⁶³ Lampén's trip to the US and participation in the MTM course was sponsored by CIOS. Kantola, *Työtehovaltuuskunta*, 19; Press clipping, *Lampén koulunpenkillä* [Lampén on the school bench], Folder: 14 CIOS-conference (1945–1953), FMC, NAF.

⁶⁴ Virkkunen received grants for his exchange year from three Finnish foundations. Henrik Virkkunen's letter to Jim Aires, 4 July 1956, Folder: Correspondence of Rector Virkkunen (1956–1963), HSE, Aalto University Archive (AUA), Espoo.

⁶⁵ Michelsen, *Työ*, 186.

⁶⁶ See, e.g., Ainamo and Tienari, *The rise and fall*; Fellman, *From consolidation*; Kässä, *20 vuotta*.

⁶⁷ A. C. Howard, *Mission to Finland* (original in English), 1956, Folder: 10371:25, Foundation for Productivity Research FPR [*Tehokkaan Tuotannon Tutkimussäätiö*], Central Archives for Finnish Business Records (CAFBR), Mikkeli, Finland.

⁶⁸ According to Michelsen, the idea to use the FPR as the receiver of the support came from Martti Levón and Henrik Virkkunen. Suurla's description supports Hernberg's version that "the directors of Rastor decided to take measures to establish a foundation that could take the promised support" but he did not identify the actors by name. In an FPR memo, signed by Hernberg, the initiative for the establishment came from Lederer. See Michelsen, *Työ*, 186; Suurla, *Rastor*, 8 (our translation from Finnish); G. Hernberg, *The American Associates Participation in the Activities of the Foundation for Productivity Research*, 18 November 1955, Folder: 10371:25, FPR, CAFBR.

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- ⁶⁹ *The Federation for Industrial Work Efficiency minutes*, 2 October and 6 November 1952, Folder: 9 Working material (1945–1971), FMC, NAF.
- ⁷⁰ Hernberg and Zetterberg, *Sokerimiehen*, 216 (our translation from Finnish).
- ⁷¹ Minutes of the FPR's board, 31 March 1953, Folder: 10371:21, FPR, CAFBR.
- ⁷² The reason was that the state stopped funding the FMC. However, as FPR did not meet the conditions of the CIOs, a new association was set up as a successor to FMC. Kantola, *Työtehovaltuuskunta*, 24.
- ⁷³ *Otteita TTT:n kirjeenvaihdosta 1953–1965* [Extracts from FPR's correspondence], 24.1.1978, , Folder: 15 (FPR minutes, memos), LIFIM, AUA.
- ⁷⁴ FPR's annual report 1953–1954, 1955, 10371:3, FPR, CAFBR.
- ⁷⁵ G. Hernberg's notes concerning the establishment of the FPR, Folder 15, LIFIM, AUA.
- ⁷⁶ Ainamo and Tienari, *The rise and fall*; For example in newspaper *Helsingin Sanomat*, 23 May 1956.
- ⁷⁷ Hernberg and Zetterberg, *Sokerimiehen*, 217.
- ⁷⁸ Kässä, *20 vuotta*.
- ⁷⁹ Fetridge, *Along the highways*.
- ⁸⁰ See Kipping, *American Management*; Tomlinson & Tiratsoo, *Americanisation*.
- ⁸¹ Ainamo and Tienari, *The rise and fall*; McKenna et al., *Message; Who's Who in America 1974–1975*; *Management meetings January and February 1957, Tampere, Turku, Lahti ja Oulu*, 1957, Folder: 10371:17, FPR, CAFBR.
- ⁸² Contract between FPR and Rastor on consultancy work by American Associates group, 1 March 1957, Folder: 10371:25, FPR, CAFBR.
- ⁸³ L. E. Scriven, *Report to the board of directors of the TTT* [FPR] (original in English), 24 February 1958, Folder: 10371:25, FPR, CAFBR.
- ⁸⁴ L. E. Scriven, *Report to the board of directors of the TTT* [FPR] (original in English), 24 February 1958, Folder: 10371:25, FPR, CAFBR.
- ⁸⁵ The chairman was Henrik Virkkunen and the members were professor Eino M. Niini, councilor of education Antero Rautavaara, managing director Olavi Salosmaa, rector Odal Stadius and Leo I. Suurla.
- ⁸⁶ Kässä, *20 vuotta*.

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- ⁸⁷ J. Honko, PM. *Liikkeenjohdon Instituutin kehityksestä* [memo on the development of LIFIM], 15 July 1974, Folder: 18, LIFIM, AUA; FPR: minutes of meeting, 23 April 1963, Folder 15, LIFIM, AUA; FPR: record of proceedings, 10 June 1963, Folder 15, LIFIM, AUA.
- ⁸⁸ See, e.g., Tainio et al., *Business Economics Administration*.
- ⁸⁹ See, e.g., Pihkala, *Suomalaiset*, 253.
- ⁹⁰ Pajarinen and Ylä-Anttila, *Ulkomaiset*.
- ⁹¹ Kuisma, *Kylmä*, 27–32.
- ⁹² Klaus Waris, *Teollisuuden rakenteellinen rationalisointi taloudellisena kehitystekijänä*, 1949, Folder: 11 Working material (1942–1961), FMC, NAF.
- ⁹³ See, e.g., Eino M. Niini's report from CIOS-conference in Brussels, Folder: 13 CIOS conference (1947–1953), FMC, NAF.
- ⁹⁴ Michelsen, *Vuosisadan*.
- ⁹⁵ See Lebovic, *From war junk*; Cooke and Kumar, *US Philanthropy's*.
- ⁹⁶ A. C. Howard, *Mission to Finland (original in English)*, 1956, 10371:25, FPR, CAFBR.
- ⁹⁷ Brochure of National Management Council of the United States of America, Inc. Folder: 14 CIOS-conference (1945–1953), FMC, NAF.
- ⁹⁸ Executive Secretary of the US National Management Council Myles Standish's letter to Pekka Mannio (original in English), 23 August 1950, Folder: 14 CIOS-conference (1945–1953), FMC, NAF; Pekka Mannio's letter to Myles Standish, 29 September 1950, Folder: 14 CIOS-conference (1945–1953), FMC, NAF.
- ⁹⁹ G. Hernberg, *Five year plan: The American Associates Participation in the Activities of the Foundation for Productivity Research* (original in English), 18 November 1955, Folder: 10371:25, FPR, CAFBR.
- ¹⁰⁰ L. E. Scriven, *Report to the board of directors of the TTT* (original in English), 24 February 1958, Folder: 10371:25, FPR, CAFBR.
- ¹⁰¹ Cf. Djelic, *Exporting*.
- ¹⁰² See Karonen, *Patruunat*.
- ¹⁰³ Fellman, *Uppkomsten*.
- ¹⁰⁴ Ainamo and Tienari, *The rise and fall*, 73.

¹⁰⁵ See, e.g., Näsi and Näsi, *Accounting and business economics*; Engwall, *Foreign role models*; Fellman, *The professionalisation*; Seeck and Järvelä, *Katsaus*; Kettunen, *Management education*.

¹⁰⁶ E.g. Honko, *Taloustieteen*; Juusola et al., *Accelerating*.

¹⁰⁷ G. Hernberg's memo *Amerikkalaisten asiantuntijain osuus..* [on the role of American experts in education] (our translation from Finnish), Folder: 10371:3, FPR, CAFBR.

¹⁰⁸ Kässi, *20 vuotta*.

¹⁰⁹ G. Hernberg's memo *Amerikkalaisten asiantuntijain osuus..* [on the role of American experts in education], Folder: 10371:3, FPR, CAFBR.

¹¹⁰ L. E. Scriven, Forewords in *Management Principles for Senior Executives* -handout, 1958, Folder: 10371:16, FPR, CAFBR.

¹¹¹ L. E. Scriven, Forewords in *Management Principles for Senior Executives* -handout, 1958, Folder: 10371:16, FPR, CAFBR.

¹¹² Ainamo and Tienari, *The rise and fall*; Kässi, *20 vuotta*.

¹¹³ Ainamo and Tienari, *The rise and fall*.

¹¹⁴ Undated newspaper clip from newspaper *Kaleva* (our translation from Finnish, rough timing according to the guests mentioned), 1957, Folder: 10371:19, FPR, CAFBR.

¹¹⁵ Newspaper clip, *Liiaksi insinöörejä toimitusjohtajina...* [Too many engineers as CEOs: The American expert's opinion of our industry] (our translation from Finnish), *Uusi Suomi* 2 July 1957, Folder: 10371:19, FPR, CAFBR.

¹¹⁶ See Fellman, *Uppkomsten*.

¹¹⁷ Scriven, *Liikkeenjohdon tehostamiseen* [A strong effort to rationalize management in Finland], *Uusi Suomi* 18 July 1957.

¹¹⁸ F. Castrén, Untitled memo on consultants activities, 4 July 1957, Folder: 10371:25, FPR, CAFBR; L. E. Scriven, Confidential letter to G. Hernberg and attachments, 23 July 1957, Folder: 10371:25, FPR, CAFBR.

¹¹⁹ Kässi, *20 vuotta*; Gemelli, *The Ford Foundation*; David and Schauffelbuehl, *Transatlantic*; Amdam, *The internationalization*.

¹²⁰ Gemelli, *The Ford Foundation*, 176–177.

¹²¹ E.g. American Ambassador in Helsinki, letter to FPR, 5 February 1957, Folder: 10371:25, FPR, CAFBR; G.

Hernberg, Report on US travel and meetings with CIPM and Ford Foundation representatives, May 1962, Folder: 10371:22, FPR, CAFBR.

¹²² Amdam, *Productivity and management*.

¹²³ One of the most important practices was the two-way exchange program that complemented the ongoing ASLA-Fulbright programs. Kettunen, *Management education*, 95; Ford Foundation, *Annual Reports 1959 and 1960*.

¹²⁴ Kässi, *20 vuotta*.

¹²⁵ F. Castrén, memo on the sending Finns to the US (*Suomalaisten opettajien lähettäminen...*), 19 March 1959, Folder: 10371:25, FPR, CAFBR. Cf. Djelic, *Exporting*.

¹²⁶ This Americans highlighted such opportunity repeatedly either directly in their correspondence with Virkkunen or indirectly through Finnish scholars who visited the US. See letters from Leo Ahlstedt (7 March 1960), L. Edward Scriven (17 September 1960 and 4 November 1960) and C. J. O'Donnell (19 September 1960). Folder: Correspondence of Rector Virkkunen (1956–1963), HSE, AUA.

¹²⁷ O. Salosmaa, A discussion initiative for planning the FPR's activities (*Näkökohtia keskustelun pohjaksi...*), 20 March 1962, Folder: 10371:22, FPR, CAFBR.

¹²⁸ See, e.g., newspaper articles in *Uusi Suomi* 7 July 1957, *Sosialidemokraatti* 8 July 1957, *Helsingin Sanomat* 8 July 1957, *Hufvudstadsbladet* 10 July 1957 (our translation from Finnish), Folder: 10371:19, FPR, CAFBR.

¹²⁹ O. Salosmaa, A discussion initiative for planning the FPR's activities (*Näkökohtia keskustelun pohjaksi...*) (our translation from Finnish), 20 March 1962, Folder: 10371:22, FPR, CAFBR.

¹³⁰ G. Hernberg, Report on US travel and meetings with CIPM and Ford Foundation representatives, May 1962, Folder: 10371:22, FPR, CAFBR.

¹³¹ The focal actors had planned the establishment since the early 1950s.

¹³² See, e.g., Honko et al., *Suomen*.

¹³³ Copeland, *And mark*.

¹³⁴ Harvard University. Graduate School of Business Administration. *HBS course catalog XLII*, No. 129 (15 December 1945), revised edition; Harvard University. Graduate School of Business Administration. *HBS course catalog XLIII*, No. 10 (10 June 1946).

¹³⁵ Amdam, *The internationalization*, 128.

¹³⁶ Amdam, *Executive education*.

¹³⁷ Suurla, *Rastor 20; Management meetings January and February 1957, Tampere, Turku, Lahti ja Oulu, 1957*, Folder: 10371:17, FPR, CAFBR.

¹³⁸ Salmi, *Ei*, 84–86; L.E. Scriven, *Report to the board of directors of the TTT*, 24th February 1958, Folder: 10371:25, FPR, CAFBR.

¹³⁹ *Management meetings January and February 1957, Tampere, Turku, Lahti ja Oulu, 1957*, Folder: 10371:17, FPR, CAFBR.

¹⁴⁰ H. Virkkunen. *Memorandum on the development of management training and research* (our translation from Finnish), 16 December 1960, Folder: 10371:22, FPR, CAFBR.

¹⁴¹ In 2010, the Finnish University of Business Administration (at that time the Helsinki School of Economics) and Institute of Technology (Helsinki University of Technology) merged together with the University of Art and Design Helsinki to form the current Aalto University. The Swedish University of Business Administration is currently Hanken School of Economics.

¹⁴² See, e.g., David and Schaufelbuehl, *Transatlantic*.

¹⁴³ H. Virkkunen. *Memorandum on the development of management training and research*, 16 December 1960, Folder: 10371:22, FPR, CAFBR.

¹⁴⁴ Fellman, *Uppkomsten*.

¹⁴⁵ E.g. FPR's annual report 1957, 1958, Folder: 10371:3; Printed handouts. Folders: 10371:14; 10371:15; 10371:16 and 10371:17, FPR, CAFBR.

¹⁴⁶ Harvard University. Graduate School of Business Administration. *HBS course catalogs 1945–1973*.

¹⁴⁷ Harvard University. Graduate School of Business Administration. *HBS course catalogs 1945–1973*.

¹⁴⁸ LIFIM's course timetables (*Kurssien lukujärjestykset*); Folder: 29, LIFIM, AUA. Courses of LIFIM (*Kurssiluettelot*), Folder: 26, LIFIM, AUA.

¹⁴⁹ Kässi, *20 vuotta*.

¹⁵⁰ FPR's annual report 1964, 1965, Folder: 10371:3, FPR, CAFBR.

¹⁵¹ It is important to note that LIFIM organized only one executive education course per year (i.e., nine courses) from 1958 to 1966. After that, the number of courses varied between one and two per year between 1967 and 1970. The volume of Finnish executive education multiplied in the 1970s.

¹⁵² Catalog of teaching cases, 1998, Folder: 10751:110, Finnish teaching-case archive, CAFBR; Kässi, *20 vuotta*.

¹⁵³ See, e.g., Djelic, *Exporting*; Djelic and Amdam, *Americanization*.

¹⁵⁴ Callon also assumed that the phases of translation may overlap in real life. See Callon, *Some elements*.

¹⁵⁵ E.g., Alajoutsijärvi et al. *Institutional*, David and Schaufelbuehl, *Transatlantic*.