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Management Paradigms in Finnish Journals and Literature between 1921 and 2006

This article examines when the information on central management paradigms first arrived in Finland, and how they have been discussed in Finnish journals. Our key findings reveal that rational paradigms – scientific management and structural analysis – dominated management discussions in Finnish journals until the 1980s, and that discussion on management paradigms in Finland in the 20th century appears to have been characterized by a slow transition from rational ideology towards normative ideologies. We also found that Barley and Kunda's thesis (1992) regarding the alternation of rational and normative ideologies is not really applicable to Finland: it would seem that the emergence and adoption of paradigms coincide more with changes in economic and business structure and influences arriving from abroad.

Key words: management paradigms; management history; scientific management; human relations; structural analysis; organizational culture; Finland; empirical study

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Introduction

The most significant management and organization paradigms of the 20th century are considered to be scientific management, the human relations school, structural analysis (sometimes referred to as systems rationalism) and organizational culture (Abrahamson, 1997; Barley & Kunda, 1992; Guillén, 1994; Wren, 2005). In addition, innovation theories has been actively discussed internationally in recent decades (Amabile, 1988; Chesbrough, 2003; Csikszentmihalyi, 2002; Damanpour, 1991; Florida, 2002) Innovation theories has thus been added to the analysis, to see if it distinguishes itself historically in Finnish journal discussion.

Studies on the dissemination of management knowledge demonstrate that many different professional groups — such as professors, teachers, journalists, directors, engineers, consultants and experts — occupy key positions in this process (Abrahamson, 1996; Engwall & Kipping, 2004; Guillén, 1994). The present study focuses on journals whose writers are members of all these professional groups. We examine when and how management paradigms have been discussed in Finnish journals, general business journals and scientific journals. The research questions are: 1) Which Finnish journals have had the most articles and discussions on management and organization paradigms? 2) Which paradigms dominated management discussions in Finland between 1921 and 2006? 3) Has the debate been ideological or technical, following the classification of Guillén (1994)? In addition to articles in the press, the years when certain books were translated into the local language reflect in part the arrival of paradigms (Guillén, 1994; see also Warner, 1994), and thus the final research question is 4) When and to what extent have books on the various paradigms been translated into Finnish?

The research design largely follows that of Guillén (1994), though we add one paradigm, organizational culture, to the three studied by Guillén. The decision to include organizational culture as one of the management paradigms is based on the earlier studies by Barley and Kunda (1992) and Abrahamson (1997), which support the view that organizational culture has established itself as a management paradigm. According to Barley and Kunda, organizational culture can be seen as a management paradigm, and its importance in management has increased since the 1980s: managers have written on cultural change in their own organizations, organizations have made self-conscious attempts to formulate their corporate cultures, and organization's employees have attended culture seminars (Barley & Kunda, 1992, 382). Moreover, even though Guillén does not examine the adoption of organizational culture in his book, he states that "a new paradigm of "organizational culture" has emerged and received widespread attention in North America and Europe during the 1980s" (Guillén 1994, 289). In recent years, innovation-focused approaches to management have been recognized and promoted greatly in Finland, both nationally and at the organization level (Castells & Himanen, 2002; Oinas, 2005). We included innovation theories in our study in order to distinguish them from previous orientations in management literature and particularly to see, if innovation theories are historically distinguishable from the dominant management paradigms.

The roots of most organizational paradigms are in the United States. According to Barley and Kunda (1992), scientific management emerged in the United States in 1900–1923, human relations in 1923–1955, systems rationalism in 1955–1980 and organizational culture from 1980 onwards. The understanding of organizational paradigms in this study is derived from articles by Abrahamson (1997), Barley and Kunda (1992), and books by Guillén (1994) and Wren (2005). Guillén (1994: 7) defines paradigms as “systems of interrelated ideas and techniques that offer a distinctive diagnosis and solution to a set of problems”. The *ideas* are based on an ideology that presents a certain view of organizations and their aims, the aims of workers and management, and the hierarchical system of the organization. Ideology is also used to justify authority structures. The *techniques,* on the other hand, are the actual methods of managing the workers, aimed at fulfilling the ideological goals of the paradigm (Guillén, 1994).

A management paradigm can be distinguished from management fashions and trends that emerge more frequently than paradigms: management *fashions* appear as providing “efficient means to important ends and new as well as improved relative to older management techniques" (Abrahamson, 1996: 255). Fashions need to be perceived as rational and functional, yet innovative (Carson, Lanier, Carson, & Guidry, 2000). A long-term fashion that shapes organizational practices more permanently can be called a *trend* (Letscher, 1994) whereas a theory or a framework which becomes commonly approved and dominant for several decades can be considered a *paradigm* (Kuhn, 1962/1970). Thus management paradigms are *one* way of categorizing management ideas, or groups of similarly orientated theories, techniques and models with a shared ideological basis (Guillén, 1994).

The concept of a paradigm has been applied to the field of organization and management studies since the end of the 1970's (Burrell & Morgan, 1979/2003). There is considerable consensus on the general characteristics of management paradigms, but they have different kinds of focus in different countries and have been adopted with varying degrees of enthusiasm. There has been much research recently into the adoption and diffusion of management knowledge, techniques, and ideologies (Engwall & Kipping, 2004). For example, Üsdiken and Çetin (2001) discuss management thought in Turkish management literature and Toms and Wright (2002) explore the adoption of divisional corporate structures in Britain. By contrast, it is difficult to find studies on the adoption of the organizational culture paradigm, probably because it is so recent. This does not however mean that there would not have been actual discussion on the themes associated with the cultural paradigm. Barley and Kunda note that the frequency of American articles under subject headings associated with the rhetoric of corporate culture began to grow from the 1970's onwards, and they suggest that by the late 1980's discourse on corporate culture may have become as common as the discussion of systems rationalist techniques (Barley & Kunda, 1992, 382).

Barley and Kunda (1992; see also Abrahamson, 1997) see management history as alteration between the ideologies of normative and rational control. Accordingly, the present study addresses the question of what the relationship between normative and rational paradigms has been in Finnish business journals. From this point of view, scientific management and structural analysis can be seen as rational control, since the proponents of these paradigms pursue productivity by computing, analysing and optimizing work process and organizational structure. They see managers as experts, and workers as calculating actors whose actions can be predicted. By contrast, the human relations school and the organizational culture paradigm represent normative control. They emphasize shared norms and values and the communal aspect of work. According to normative rhetoric, a manager's duty is to inspire and to motivate workers, and to secure their well-being. (Barley & Kunda, 1992.) Innovation theories can be considered to include elements of both types of rhetoric (Seeck, 2008). It dovetails with the rhetoric of rational control as it focuses on the work process and the efficiency of the organization rather than on the individual worker's attitudes and well-being (Kantola, 2006a), but it also has points of contact with normative rhetoric because it emphasizes co-operation (Björkman, 2004; West, 2002), a positive emotional climate (Amabile, Barsade, Mueller & Staw, 2005; Prince, 2003), trust (Clegg, Unsworth, Epitropaki & Parker, 2002) and autonomy (Amabile, Conti, Coon, Lazenby & Herron, 1996) as antecedents of innovations.

The topic of the paper is an interesting one, as there is little research on the arrival of management paradigms in Finland except for scientific management (Karonen, 2004; Kettunen, 1994, 1997; Michelsen, 2001; Teräs, 2001) and thus very few findings. However, the history of management training has been examined (Fellman, 2000, 2007; Tuomisto 1986), as has the role of consultants (Ainamo & Tienari, 2002) and other professional groups (Ainamo, Tienari, Vaara, 2006; Fellman, 2003) in the dissemination of management ideas in Finland. This research is of international relevance, as it provides a point of comparison in the study of the arrival of managerial thinking in different countries. For instance, Guillén has studied the adoption patterns of various paradigms in the United States, Great Britain, Germany and Spain (1994). The adoption of scientific management has also been studied in Great Britain, Germany and France (Kipping, 1997) and in Japan (Warner, 1994). The present study also tests the theories of Guillén (1994) and of Barley and Kunda (1992) in a new institutional environment. Finland is interesting from the point of view of paradigm adoption, as it experienced record growth after the Second World War up to the mid-1970s, outpacing the average growth rate of the Western economies (Hjerppe, 1989). Birkinshaw, Hamel and Mol (2008, 825) have identified four perspectives on studying management innovations in the literature: 1) an institutional perspective, 2) a fashion perspective, 3) a cultural perspective and 4) a rational perspective. Each perspective explains the adoption of management innovations on rather different grounds. In our study, we focus on institutional perspective and fashion perspectives. However, although we use the institutional perspective, our purpose is not to provide a comprehensive account of Finnish economic history, as we focus on management journals and literature (see e.g. Üsdiken and Çetin, 2001).

In this article, we first present our criteria for selecting the empirical material to study, our methodology, and the Finnish journals which have published the most articles on management paradigms. We then examine the debate on each of the paradigms in Finland, analyse the ideological and technical characteristics of that debate and study when the central books on each paradigm have been translated. Finally, we discuss the differences between the adoption of the various paradigms and compare our results to findings in other countries.

Methodology

The principal empirical material selected for this study consisted of Finnish general business journals and scientific journals, or more specifically the articles they published on management. This selection was based on the assumption that articles in the printed media give a fairly accurate idea of public debate at the time of their publication, and that the articles which were considered important enough to publish must have been relevant and topical in their day (see e.g. Ihantola & Merikanto, 2005). We are aware that this empirical data can give us only a partial view to the overall acceptance of management paradigms, as it mainly focuses on the acceptance of management paradigms among management intellectuals. Hence, the data do not say much about the adoption of management practices on company level or about the acceptance of the management ideas in society at large. However, it is worth examining when the knowledge and awareness of the paradigms have reached Finland, as this increases our understanding of the diffusion of management ideas. The role of management intellectuals has been found to be an important in management diffusion process (Abrahamson, 1996; Engwall & Kipping 2002; Guillén, 1994).

The first step in the selection of journals was to search the Finnish electronic reference databases Arto and Fennica to find Finnish journals on management and business published in the 20th century. A total of 206 titles were found. This field was further narrowed with the aid of Guillén's (1994) table, which lists the characteristics of each management paradigm. We translated this table into Finnish and cross-matched the translated terms with article headings and keywords to find articles in which the paradigms under study were discussed. For the period of 1945 to 1984, we used Finnish bibliographies on economics and management published by Helsinki School of Economics. From 1984 onward the Finnish article database Arto was available, which contains comprehensive records on some 700 Finnish journals.

Thus the journals selected for the analysis were those which, judging by the bibliographical information, had published the most articles on management and organization paradigms. The decision was easy, as the amount of management articles in these journals was significant compared to other Finnish journals. The final selection comprised six journals: four general business journals: *Tehostaja (Effectivizer), Teollisuuslehti (Industrial magazine), Kehittyvä liikkeenjohto (Developing business management)* and *Fakta (Fact)* and two scientific journals: *Liiketaloudellinen aikakauskirja (The Finnish Journal of Business Economics)* and *Hallinnon tutkimus (Administrative studies)*. The journals studied are shown in Table 1, complete with their years of publication and changes of title. In the present article, for the sake of consistency, we refer to these journals throughout by their original names indicated in the first column of the table.

Finland is a bilingual country; its official languages are Finnish and Swedish. In 1900, the proportion of Swedish-speaking people was almost 13 percent. Moreover, at the beginning of the 1900s, an even more extensive share of Finnish managers was Swedish-speaking, while many Finnish-speaking managers also knew Swedish very well. The attitudes among the Swedish-speaking economic and political elite diverged to some extent from the Finnish-speaking, for instance in issues concerning economic doctrines and state companies. (Fellman, 2000, 2001a.) Hence, it might be that the Swedish-speaking managerial elite also had, to some extent, diverging attitudes towards managerial ideologies and thinking. However, due to our selection criteria, no Swedish-language journals were chosen for the data. This was probably partly due to the fact that there were only a few Swedish-language journals and magazines that had been published during the whole research period. However, we chose one Swedish language magazine, *Kontorsvärlden: tidningen för kontoret och affärsmannen (Officeworld: magazine for offices and businessmen)* for our study to represent Swedish-language journal in Finland. This magazine was published for a relatively long period of time and offered an interesting contrast to the other magazine published from the beginning of the 1900s, *Teollisuuslehti,* that was aimed for the managers and engineers of heavy industry. However, *Kontorsvärlden* was a rather small magazine; hence the number of articles on management remained small. In the first half of the 20th century, other Swedish-language business journals, such as *Mercator* (years of publication 1906–1971), *Affärsekonomisk revy* (years of publication 1942–1967) *Affärspraxis* (published in Swedish language 1917–1929 and in Finnish language 1923–1956) and *Kontorsvärlden* (years of publication 1923–1959), were also read by Finnish managers.

Table 1. The journals studied, their years of publication and changes of title, and the number of articles analysed in each.

Journal and years of publication	Changes of title	Number of articles
Tehostaja (Effectivizer) 1943–	*Tehostaja* 1943–1968, *Yritystalous* 1969–1974, *Tehokas yritys* 1975–1981, *Yritystalous: Leader's magazine* 1981–2005, *Yritystalous WalkAbout* 2006–	178
Kehittyvä liikkeenjohto	*Kehittyvä liikkeenjohto – ylimmän liikkeenjohdon ammattilehti* 1963–1970, *Kehittyvä yritysjohto* 1971–80,	123

(Developing business management) 1963–1994	*Kehittyvä Yritys* 1981–1994	
Fakta (Fact) 1981–		89
Liiketaloudellinen aikakauskirja(The Finnish Journal of Business Economics) 1952–		58
Teollisuuslehti (Industrial magazine) 1919–1980	*Teollisuuslehti* 1919–1977, *Teollisuus: Suomen työantajain keskusliiton ja Teollisuuden keskusliiton aikakauslehti* 1978–1980	42
Hallinnon tutkimus (Administrative studies) 1982–		27
Kontorsvärlden (Officeworld)1923-1959		13

In summary, not very much has been written on management paradigms in Finnish business journals overall. The paradigms are rarely referred to by name in these articles and have principally been identified through references to techniques or ideas regarding workers or the organization of work which are typical to each of the respective paradigms (see Guillén, 1994). That is, a paradigm as referred to here is a research concept, and not everyone writing for a general business journal would necessarily be aware of its existence or be able to put a name to it. All the general journals carried articles written by people in the field, so to speak, i.e. managers, managing directors, engineers and other supervisors, but the writers also included experts in sociology and psychology with academic backgrounds. Towards the end of the 1900s, an increasing portion of the content was being provided by professional journalists (see also Ainamo et al., 2006).

Finnish general business journals have published a fair amount of translated foreign articles. Even in the 1960s, most articles in *Kehittyvä liikkeenjohto* were translations of articles originally published abroad; for instance in the USA, Sweden, Germany and France, and *Tehostaja* too featured numerous translated articles from foreign journals since the 1970s. From 1980, every issue of *Tehostaja* carried at least one article translated from the *Harvard Business Review*. The number of translated articles in general journals further increased in the 1990s, drawing on other international journals such as the *Journal on General Management, Management Review* and *Quality Progress.* In 1998, *Fakta* entered into co-operation with the Harvard Business School and published a leader (1/1998, 5) declaring that "Harvard is the best developer of business people in the world". Every issue of *Fakta* now carries a Harvard Management Update supplement featuring articles translated from Harvard publications. The Harvard Business School has thus exerted a great deal of influence in Finland, particularly in the 1990s and 2000s, as two of Finland's principal business journals, *Fakta* and *Tehostaja,* publish its articles.

Our study includes two scientific journals, *Liiketaloudellinen aikakauskirja* and *Hallinnon tutkimus.* Most of their writers are scholars in various fields. *Liiketaloudellinen aikakauskirja* was launched in 1952. Its first issue (1/1952, 1–2) stated that its purpose was to fill a gap in the scientific business debate and to serve not only Finnish readers but also a broader international audience. Therefore, some of the articles were in English and German. *Hallinnon tutkimus* has been published since 1982, by the Finnish Association for Administrative Studies. It was set up for the purpose of bringing coherence to the heterogeneous field of discussion on administrative sciences in Finland (*Hallinnon tutkimus,* 1/1982, 1–2).

The data were analyzed using content analysis, which is a method for the systematic analysis of large bodies of text (Hansen, Cottle, Negrine & Newbold, 1998) and is well-suited to the extrapolation of trends (Krippendorff, 2004). It has sometimes been criticized for its quantitative nature and fragmentation of textual entities, but if a theoretical framework based on more qualitative approaches is added, these problems can be overcome (Hansen et al., 1998). Content analysis is appropriate for the present study as the body of data is extensive, and the chosen theoretical framework has five clear analytical categories with specific features. However, there were also articles that did not match any of the paradigms a nd some of the articles could have been classified into several categories. In cases where an article did not seem to discuss any of the paradigms, it was classified as 'other'. Overall, the method was practical, even though this kind of approach always requires a certain amount of interpretation (see Weber, 1990).

The period of study was from 1921 to 2006. Both years and issues were selected by random sampling in order to avoid individual short-term historical events, theme issues and seasonal items having an unduly great impact on the results (cf. Hansen et al., 1998; Krippendorff, 2004). For each of the seven journals, four years were randomly picked from each decade in which the journal had appeared, unless it had been in circulation for five years or fewer in that decade, in which case two years were randomly picked. For each year thus picked, one issue was randomly chosen for each journal and read through. All articles of at least one page that discussed management, organization, the organizing of work or employee instruction were included in the data. A total of 581 articles were included in the empirical analysis. One constraining factor of the study was that only two of the seven journals studied appeared in the 1920s and 1930s, resulting in a small body of data for these decades. Guillén's tables (1994), which were used in the selection of journals, were also used in content analysis for evaluating features typical of scientific management, human relations and structural analysis. Similar lists of characteristics were drawn up for organizational culture and innovation rethoric. In addition to being classified by paradigm, the articles were classified into categories according to whether they represented the technical or the ideological dimension within a paradigm.

Domination of scientific management at the beginning of the 20th century

Figure 1 shows the percentage of each paradigm in the journal debate on management paradigms in different decades. In most decades there is a single dominant paradigm, but the closer we come to the present day, the picture becomes less coherent. According to Guillén (1994), paradigm dominance progresses in waves, but on the other hand, more than one paradigm may be applied at the same time in the same country, or even in the same businesses. Judging by our empirical material, several management paradigms have also been used in parallel in Finland.

Figure 1. Proportions of articles discussing management paradigms in Finnish business and management journals 1921–2006

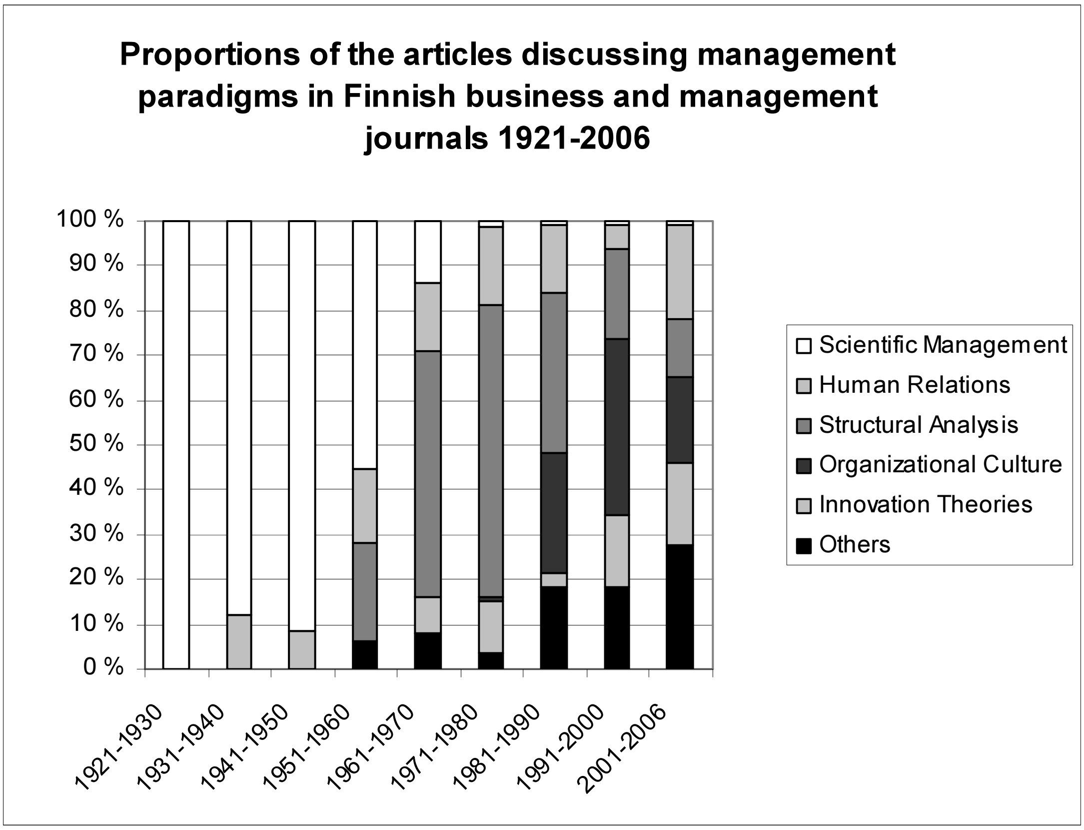

Figure 1 indicates that up until the 1940s, all the articles analysed represent the scientific management paradigm. We should note, however, that for this period *Teollisuuslehti* was the only journal studied, as all the other five were launched in or after the 1940s. Therefore, the number of articles analysed up to the 1940s is small. However, despite the limited data, the findings, as well as secondary data sources (Kettunen, 1994, 1997; Michelsen, 2001; Teräs, 2001), show that scientific management occupied a continuous, clearly dominant position in management discussions until the 1950s, and that the occurrence of the human relations school in discussions was negligible even in the 1950s. Scientific management held a particularly strong position in *Tehostaja* and *Teollisuuslehti*. In the latter, scientific management remained strong from the launching of the journal until the 1950s.

> In Finland, where industry has much greater difficulties to overcome than in Sweden, it would be essential to achieve complete rationalization of industry -- The equivalent of Sweden's Industrial Agency would be of great help and support to our industry in implementing rationalization. -- Our young engineers have much to learn from America, the home of the idea of rationalization. (Boman, 1930, 42.)

From the 1950s onwards however, structural analysis challenged scientific management, and by the 1970s scientific management had almost disappeared from journals.

Taylorism arrived in Finland from Sweden and was first discussed in the Swedish-language magazines in Finland (Tiihonen, 1992). Swedish editions of management literature were often available before the Finnish translations. For example, the Swedish translation of Frederick Taylor's work *Principles of Scientific Management* was published in 1913, one year earlier than the Finnish translation. According to Michelsen (1999), the arrival of Taylorism and Fordism in Finland were hindered by the general structure of the industry and the industrial disputes and strikes which were very common in the decades following Finland's independence (1917). Finnish industry consisted largely of the forest industry, which did not favour experimentation in production processes or workplace organizations, and even in the first decades of the 20th century it had shallow hierarchies, as in traditional organizations (Michelsen, 1999). The adoption of scientific management in Finland was a slow process, but by the 1950s rationalization had made inroads into nearly all areas of economic activity (Michelsen, 2001). Rationalization of production and the practices of scientific management were often justified by referring to the common good and national interests.

> The rationalization movement originated in industry. -- This easily leads to the conclusion that rationalization only applies to engineers and industrialists, and this in turn easily leads to the general public belittling the general and national significance of the movement. However, the importance of realizing how significant rationalization is for the economic future of this country is so great that this misconception must be corrected. (Alftan, 1930, 155.)

Until the 1940s, Taylorism was discussed in Finland primarily at the ideological level, often to legitimize and scientifically justify the asymmetrical power relationships existing in industrial work. Indeed, one of the most important topics discussed in *Teollisuuslehti* in the first decades of the 20th century was the conflict between employers and employees, which had strong political connections to the power relations between socialist and capitalist ideologies.

> [--] science has recently shown that the return on equity does not arise from the exploitation of workers and that even in a Socialist society it is impossible to obtain capital without paying interest on it. As for 'exploitation' of workers, it no longer exists today. -- And it is always open to question whether certain groups of workers are not themselves using their monopoly status to extort higher wages exceeding the value of their work and thus in fact exploiting the general public. ('Suuri itsepetos', 1919, 129.)

In discussing work arrangements and management, *Teollisuuslehti* referred to writings by Henry Ford (*Teollisuuslehti,* 6/1927, 74), Frederick Taylor (*Teollisuuslehti,* 1930, 14, 156) and Frank Gilbreth (*Teollisuuslehti,* 14/1930, 158), among others. Kettunen (1997) notes that Taylor's ideas also attracted some interest in the trade union movement, although the reaction was very different. In the trade union journals, Taylor's system was vilified as "a diabolical working process invented by the capitalists for the purpose of extracting the maximum amount of labour from the workers" (Kettunen, 1997). According to Teräs (2001), a similar debate went on in Germany, where at the turn of the century the trade union movement criticized Taylorism for being simply one new version of capitalistic production.

Scientific management techniques, such as labour research, were not taught or extensively applied in Finland until after the Second World War (Kettunen, 1997; Tuomisto, 1986). One reason for the influence of scientific management persisting well into the 1950s is that industrialization in Finland was rather late. Before the Second World War, there were reasonably few large companies and factories in Finland, and hence no urgent need for sophisticated management techniques. The war reduced private consumption, the volume of investments, and exports. However, the economy recovered and started to grow soon after the war. The wider proliferation of the techniques of scientific management coincides with this development (Hjerppe, 1989; Kettunen, 2001; Michelsen, 2001).

> The increase in the number of job analysts in this brief five-year period [1943-1947] shows how quickly job analysis has gained ground in our very conservative country, where new ideas are always viewed with a certain mistrust and resistance. (Pollari, 1948, 105.)

In both *Teollisuuslehti* and *Tehostaja*, scientific management manifested itself above all as a discussion of the *rationalization* of business, which was considered an essential prerequisite for efficient production. In this sense, Finland resembled Germany, where scientific management principally took the form of industrial rationalization. Many engineers were promoting new techniques in industry, and the German government also played a significant role in the adoption of scientific management. Several organizations supported industrial rationalization in German industry, agriculture, building and housing (Guillén, 1994; Kipping, 1997). In Finland, scientific management also found support from the central government (Michelsen, 2001). Many Finns went to Germany for training in this field and in this way brought German influence to Finland (Michelsen, 1999). German influence was also evident in the adoption of scientific management in Turkey (see Üsdiken and Çetin, 2001). As in Germany, engineers were an influential profession in disseminating management knowledge in Finland, as the national economy was largely based on heavy industry. Hence many work places were led by engineers. Moreover, as several large Finnish companies were owned by the state, engineers were also given a considerable amount of political weight. In the hands of the engineers, management, work life and industry were developed in a rather rational way. (Fellman, 2001b; Kettunen, 1997; Michelsen 1999.)

From the 1940s onwards, articles on the scientific management paradigm began to focus on methods to make the work processes more efficient, such as job analysis and time and motion studies, and attention was paid to working condition issues, such as lighting. Even in the 1960s, time and motion studies were a current topic on the pages of *Tehostaja.*

> We have made a good start in the use of these methods [of observation-based study] in recent years, but we are generally far behind where we should be today. There is undoubtedly much to do and much to develop in this area, in both techniques and applications. (Helle, 1967, 55)

In all the other journals studied except *Teollisuuslehti* and *Tehostaja*, the scientific management paradigm only appears in isolated articles. One reason for this is of course that these other journals did not even exist before the middle of the century, by which time scientific management was no longer the only management paradigm on the scene. However, the difference in the amount of discussion on paradigms between *Tehostaja* and the other journals cannot be explained by their publication dates alone. Even in the 1960s, almost one third of the *Tehostaja* articles advocate scientific management, and also in *Teollisuuslehti*, scientific management was still very much at the fore in the 1950s. Part of the reason for this may be that both *Teollisuuslehti* and *Tehostaja* were aimed mainly at managers and engineers in heavy industry. Spell (1999) observed in his study on the visibility of leadership styles, that management fashions took root in certain sectors of business earlier than in others. Our analysis of journals indicates that scientific management was a considerably more important and more persistent topic in journals and articles aimed at heavy industry than it was in other industries and services. It would be logical to conclude that management paradigms are also adopted at different times and with different degrees of intensity in different business sectors.

Human relations school adopted slowly

The impact of the human relations school can first be seen in a few isolated articles as early as in the 1930s, but it only makes a more systematic appearance in the 1940s, after which its presence remains fairly constant until the end of the period studied. However, the percentage of articles discussing the human relations school remains small, never exceeding 21 per cent of the total of articles analysed. It was thus never the dominant management discourse in Finnish business journals. Unlike in the USA (Abrahamson, 1997; Barley & Kunda, 1992) and Britain (Guillén, 1994; Rose, 1989), where human relations challenged scientific management thinking, in Finland it simply appeared alongside scientific management and interacted with it rather than challenging or confronting it (Kettunen 1997). A new and more psychological approach to work life in Finland was introduced through psychotechnology experiments conducted at the psychotechnical laboratory of the Finnish State Railways in 1922 (Häkkinen, 1993). Imported from Germany, these experiments showed that Germany had a substantial influence on Finland in the adoption of management doctrines at the time (Kettunen, 1994). Psychotechnology made an appearance in *Teollisuuslehti* in the 1930s:

> One of the greatest future tasks [of psychotechnology] will be to instil a vibrant enthusiasm for their work in the people participating in the production process, to generate pleasure from work and the satisfaction of a job well done — in a word, to ennoble work and to combat the notion common among workers that work is a punishment inflicted upon mankind. ('Nykyaikainen tekniikka', 1937, 165.)

Articles discussing the human relations school address issues such as how pleasant a workplace is, working in small groups, the importance of social relations in the workplace, and motivation. They also display a new kind of trust in workers.

> A sense of responsibility and a willingness to co-operate in production has again gained ground among management and employees alike. This new ideal manifests itself as a broader individuality, the aim of which is to achieve seamless co-operation. The production plant and its success will then be the primary goal, levelling out differences in attitudes and opinions. (Lagercrantz, 1958, 380.)

The human relations school had a certain amount of influence in Finland, and its theories were discussed in Finnish management literature in the 1940s and 1950s (e.g. Niininen, 1942; Oksala, 1948). The Finnish proponents of human relations valued Taylor for his work of building a foundation for the use of scientific methods in work planning and design, but did not support his methods for increasing efficiency (Kurki, 1936; Niininen, 1942). Kettunen argues (1994) that the trends described in the history of organizational doctrines, where psychology is seen as a soft response to the problems caused by scientific management in the workplace, do not really apply to Finland. In Finland, occupational psychology was a vehicle for legitimizing relationships in work life and for enhancing co-operation between employers and employees, more a part of the rationalization movement than an opposing force to it (Kettunen, 1994). However, the ultimate motive in the psychological approach was to increase productivity (Seeck, 2008).

> In the USA, the pay and the efficiency of workers are about double what they are in western Europe. Since there is no great difference in the educational attainment and social background of the peoples, such a great difference cannot be explained by the application of a particular methodology. The forces at play are psychological motivation and an organization which knows how to use that motivation. (Häkli, 1966, 6.)

The extensive adoption of the techniques of scientific management and the application of occupational psychology overlapped in Finland, both occurring in the 1940s (Kettunen, 1997; Väänänen 2006). This also shows in our data. Some of the techniques typical for the human relations school were discussed very rationally in the journals, from the point of view of scientific management. Even in the late 1940s, improving working conditions was pursued primarily on the terms of engineers in Finland, and the machine metaphor was still employed when talking about workers (Kettunen, 1997). Indeed, examples of this can be found as late as in the 1960s:

> The observant reader will have found many parallels and similarities in comparing the working group (motor) led by a supervisor (car driver) to the working of a motor as described above. -- The performance of a working group, like that of a motor, depends on the condition (skills) and individual will (frictionlessness) of the professionals holding key positions. (Jänkävaara, 1964, 30.)

There were also critical tones in the discussion of the human relations school, for example in *Tehostaja,* where this approach was associated with wasting time and resources.

> The group work and the principle of collective responsibility recommended by the human relations school can easily lead, if carried to their logical conclusion, to all available time being spent in meetings at the expense of productive work. (Bergholm, 1966, 15)

The development of personnel management in Finland shows the influence of the human relations school, since some of its fundamental precepts are based on the doctrines of this paradigm (Wren, 2005). Guillén (1994), for example, sees the founding of human resources departments as an indicator of the adoption of human relations school techniques. Lilja (1987) considers the 1970s in particular to be the decade of personnel management in Finland, and the empirical material in the present study clearly supports this. On the other hand, analysis shows that many of the articles on personnel management could be considered to represent the structural analysis paradigm rather than the human relations school, because the aim of personnel management is usually to make organizational structure more efficient rather than to increase the job satisfaction and participation of employees.

> We may observe that the task of personnel management in a business is to manage human, social and related organizational inputs, to use available organizational means to put the available human and social input at the service of the organization. (Voutilainen, 1973, 108.)

The trend in personnel management also reflects in part the change in Finland's business structure which began in the 1960s, involving a decisive shift towards the service sector. This shift in the content of work created demand for a new kind of approach which also emphasizes psychological factors in management (Väänänen, 2006).

What is remarkable is that the 2000s saw the highest proportion of articles discussing the human relations school. This is interesting, as according to Guillén (1994), the human relations school was adopted in the United States in 1945–55, in Spain in 1954–70 and in Great Britain in 1950–70. In the United States for instance, the journal discussion on human relations was at its most high in the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s, although Guillén´s analysis on journals covers only the period 1923–1970. In Finland, however, well-being at work and human relations in the workplace continue to prompt discussion today, and thus this paradigm remains relevant.

> If employers really want to get the best possible input from their employees, they must be prepared to meet them halfway in improving the workplace environment so that it can support the employees' competence in the best possible way. (Maslach, 2005, 27.)

The legacy of the human relations school thus seems to be considerable, even though it was never the dominant paradigm in the Finnish management debate. Improving well-being at work is a persistent, recurring theme in journals. *Fakta*, for example, has had a column in every single issue since 1997, which discusses well-being at work, relationships and the resolving of problems in human relations. On the other hand, we might need to reflect on whether or not the recent articles discussing topics shaped in the context of human relations can be considered to represent human relations as such, because over the years many others, as well as the actual proponents of the human relations school, have written about subjects such as well-being at work and relationships in the workplace. In other words, although the articles which discuss the topics of human relations reflect the legacy of that paradigm, they no longer refer to the original theorists or techniques of that school of thought.

Structural analysis - the second wave of rational discourse

Judging by the journal articles studied, structural analysis has had considerably strong impact in Finland. It first manifested itself in the 1950s, but the real boom period for structural analysis came in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, when it was discussed more than any other paradigm. In the general business journals in particular, structural analysis comes across as an attempt on the part of businesses to adapt to an increasingly international and complex operating environment by, for example, cutting off unnecessary business areas. The new challenges and opportunities of IT were also much discussed. In general, the structural analysis approach is presented in the articles as a discussion on the *operating conditions of a business and how they are changing.*

> As the market expands and competition becomes tougher, businesses must increasingly concentrate on their particular speciality, limiting the number of business ideas they engage in, so that they can manage themselves profitably and competitively. (Kallio, 13/1969, 13.)

> Systems theory forces a closer look at the environment of the system, i.e. the organization. In personnel administration, this means taking a greater interest in outside systems than before, for example the general employment situation, the structure of the labour force and education. (Jääskeläinen, 1971, 25.)

The increasingly international markets and the orientation of Finland's industry towards export called for a broader look at organization. In the 1960s and 1970s, the journals also clearly reflect the increasing complexity of company hierarchies. There are articles on delegating, line organization, corporate growth and structural complexity. They also discussed structural changes such as the founding of new departments in companies.

> Because an organization exists in a changing field and because it is a tool for action, it must be flexible and adapt to all the demands placed on it. Therefore, organizing is a continuous activity where different aspects or stages of the whole are addressed at different times. It must always be remembered, however, that an organization is an entity in which the purpose of each separate component is to promote the overall aims of the whole. (Teräsalmi, 1959, 118.)

Although there have been quite a few articles on structural analysis in Finnish general journals, it has been discussed relatively little in scientific journals (Huhtala & Laakso, 2006). The analysis showed that although *Liiketaloudellinen aikakauskirja* did publish a fair amount of articles on systems rationalism and structural analysis, in many cases these articles did not have a direct bearing on management, despite the fact that some did discuss organization structure from the point of view of systems theory. This journal has carried articles on business sector rationalization, line organization design, the effects of office automation on organization and the consideration of uncertain environmental factors in the planning of an organization's operations. In the view of the journal analysis in the present study, however, it seems that the structural analysis paradigm appeared in the articles not in the form of forthright rhetoric, but as a particular type of viewpoint towards organizations, their environments and their operating potential.

Organization culture peaks in the 1990s

Organizational culture paradigm made its first appearance in the Finnish printed media in the 1970s, but became more widely discussed in the 1980s. In the 1990s, there was more discussion on organizational culture than any other paradigm. Among the journals studied, *Hallinnon tutkimus* carried the largest percentage of articles on organizational culture, which may be related to the fact that the journal was launched in the early 1980s, at which time organizational culture began to take centre stage in the journals studied. Organizational culture paradigm also manifest itself particularly clearly in translated articles; among the journals studied, *Tehostaja* published the largest number of these. Theories of organizational culture placed the employee under focus as a subject for discussion and as a fundamental factor for the success of an organization. (Barley & Kunda, 1992; Morgan, 1997.) In articles on corporate culture, the importance of a shared goal and an operating vision in motivating employees is often emphasized:

> Influence can be exerted for example by offering a vision or a target which the personnel are capable of and willing to receive. This can succeed if the employees can see themselves on holiday on an island with palm trees in the vision. At the same time, everyday work will become interesting, exciting and rewarding. A human being is always striving towards something. (Jabe, 1999, 84.)

Employees are here seen as individuals who need feasible motivation for their work. According to this discourse, the success of an organization is dependent on the job satisfaction of its employees and their desire to commit themselves to the business. Commitment stems from the desire to be a member of the organization and to adopt its norms and values. Crystallizing the organization's norms and values is the job of the manager. The importance of communication in building shared visions and goals is emphasized in numerous articles.

> Because you cannot force other people to adopt your values, you must find out what values different from your own govern your employees. Then you must find common ground where everyone can attain his or her goals. (Miller, 1989, 48.)

> The emphasis in this presentation is on the fact that one of the important tools of business management is TALKING. This can be consciously incorporated into the company's communication strategy. When the management talks, this can serve strategic leadership. [--] Talking can have different functions, such as conveying information, establishing credibility for the actions of the management, or legitimizing the corporate institution as a whole. (Takala, 1989, 69.)

From the organizational culture's point of view, in a good organization incentives reflect equality and co-operation, and they are intended to even out hierarchy rather than to reinforce it.

> Be especially wary of incentives which may conflict with the corporate culture of your business. If you want the business to benefit from each employee as much as possible by matching job duties to the strengths of each employee, rewarding employees through promotion may undermine the very compatibility which you are aiming to achieve. Do not, under any circumstances, give any employee the Best Team Player prize. (Robbins, 2001, appendix 2, p. 2.)

In the 1980s and 1990s, 'culture' seems to have been something of a buzzword. Organizational culture was greatly discussed, almost without exception, in a positive tone and without questioning the concept itself. According to a study by Huhtala and Laakso (2007), organizational culture entered the academic organization debate in Finland in the 1980s, and in Finnish articles, culture has often been understood as a variable (e.g. Juuti, 2000; Marjosola, 1991). The state of scientific research on organizational culture was weak in Finland at the beginning of the 1990s compared with the other Nordic countries and international research; only a handful of Finnish dissertations and peer-reviewed articles had been published at this time (Kinnunen & Harisalo, 1991). Our study shows that *Hallinnon tutkimus* actually contributed to the dissemination of this paradigm in Finland in the 1980s and in the 1990s, as it more often discussed organizational culture, compared with *The Finnish Journal of Business Economics,* the other scientific journal in this study.

Innovation theories – a normative form of structural analysis serving national interests?

Our understanding of innovation is based on Josef Schumpeter's argument that in capitalist reality, it is not price competition which counts, but the "competition from the new commodity, the new technology, the new source of supply, the new type of organization" (Schumpeter 1943/1992, 84). In Finland, innovation rhetoric has been used in political papers and governmental proposals as rational reasoning, justifying policy-making (Kantola, 2006a, 2006b) similarly to scientific managment in its time (Karhu, 2006; Seeck 2008; Teräs 2001). Hence, we are inclined to believe that it would be more than a passing fashion. We wanted to see if it indeed establishes itself historically in the Finnish journal discussion and whether or not it is distinguishable from the dominant management paradigms of the twentieth century.

Innovation theories first appeared in our data in the 1960s but reached their peak in the 1990s and 2000s. But even in the articles published in the 1960s, it is interesting to note that innovation is discussed much in the *same* tone as today (e.g. Florida, 2002): it is seen as a key requirement for the success and competitiveness of a business (Kantola, 2006a). This raises a question implied by Chesbrough (2003) on whether innovation theories are merely a normative version of a structural analysis, and are in actual fact built on creating bureaucracy in the name of open innovations rhetoric (see also Kantola 2006a). According to Chesbrough (2003), the Open innovation paradigm also opens companies' perspective to external ideas and environments, and finds new ways of adapting to new situations (see also Chesbrough, Vanhaverbeke, & West, 2006). In these ways it actually closely resembles structural analysis.

> The *professional skill* of a manager in the future is seen as a capacity for seeing, comprehending and imagining, difficult to define, which will help him continuously to respond creatively to new situations. The importance of empathy has also been cited by saying that in the future the focus in management will be on human capabilities for planning, creating and implementing. Empathy is thus seen to promote *innovation*, or creative reform. (Koli, 1967, 48, original italics.)

In the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, however, innovation theories only appeared in isolated articles discussing business management, and it did not emerge more forcefully until the 1990s. However, during the period of study, innovation theories never attained the clearly dominant position in the debate in the journals studied that scientific management or structural analysis attained in their day. Hence, it might be more accurate to describe innovation theories as one theoretical construct among many at the turn of the millennium. Time will tell whether innovation theories are indeed more than a passing fashion, or a contimuun of another paradigm, namely structural analysis.

Curiously, there are same echoes of national interests as in the discussion on scientific management, as the discourse on innovation emphasizes product development and innovation as crucial factors in the success of a business, while at the same time, innovation is seen as a safeguard for the success of the national economy. Antti Kalliomäki, Finland's Minister of Trade and Industry at the time, wrote in *Fakta* in 1996:

> For almost the entire post-war era, Finland's economy was built on increasing inputs. [--] Now the input-intensive growth strategy has reached the end of its line. Our new growth strategy must be founded on expertise. This means above all investing in technology and product development, but also in business

> management, personnel training at all levels, and internationalization skills — in brief, immaterial investments. (Kalliomäki, 1996, 6.)

It seems that the use of innovation theories, structural analysis and scientific management are justified explanations slanted by nationalistic overtone. Pauli Kettunen (2001) claims that the fostering of national performance has been a national interest in Finland on many occasions through the 1900s, and work and production have from time to time been connected to political issues. The rationalization of work and production, for instance, was seen as a national interest by both employers' organizations and trade unions in the 1930s and 1940s (Kettunen 2001). Our data suggests that particularly rational paradigms have been used in discussion on the future and competitiveness of Finland, whereas normative paradigms have not taken such a position. Earlier study has also shown that business journalists have promoted other ideological goals on the basis of national interest in Finland. During the Cold War era, nationalism often served as a rhetorical weapon, as well as a ground for consensus in the ideological struggles between western and eastern political influence (Ainamo et al., 2006).

In articles supporting innovation theories, the generating of innovations is described as a vital activity for businesses, requiring a new kind of management. Creative thinking cannot be forced; innovation requires a measure of freedom and an inspiring workplace environment (Amabile et al., 1996).

> Finnish society is increasingly being based on expertise and human capital. Creative, innovative and independent people form the foundations for the success of such a society and of the organizations operating in it. However, independent experts are a challenge to manage — they cannot be commanded or intimidated. (Lämsä, 2005, 28.)

The articles discussing innovation theories also often discuss the benefits of innovation for the *national* economy and business in general, rather than only for management in the traditional sense. We should therefore consider to what extent we can actually consider innovation theories as *management* phenomena. However, analysis has shown that the roots of innovation theories go back to the 1960s in Finnish journal discussion.

The category of articles classified as 'other' grows, the closer we come to the present day. This category was for classifying the articles which did not fit any of the five paradigms considered. New material is constantly being injected into management discourse from, for example, consultant literature (Abrahamson, 1991, 1996; Carson, Lanier, Carson & Guidry, 2000, Engwall and Kipping, 2002; Koontz, 1961). The number of different management models and leadership styles has mushroomed since the 1980s: there are articles on strategic management, quality management, performance management, network management, information management and the learning organization. This is also a limitation of the study as the closer we get to the present day, the vaguer the picture becomes. This also enforces the supposition that it is a complicated task to try to define the current paradigm from a historical perspective. Future studies will reveal what the management paradigm of the turn of millennium was, and whether we were on the right track by postulating in line with Chesborough (2003), that it might be innovation theories, as a new version of structural analysis, or something else. In any case, the result supports the argument that the number of management theories has grown together with market of management knowledge during the past few decades, also in Finland (Ainamo & Tienari, 2002; Fellman, 2007). However, in the 'other' category, no single topic emerged so forcefully that it could be regarded as a paradigm unto itself. In addition, new elements influencing businesses enter the management debate on a continuous basis (Koontz, 1961, 1980): environmental issues in the 1980s, challenges posed by the ageing of the labour force in the 1990s, and corporate social responsibility and catering to the needs of an increasing number of different customer segments in the early 2000s. These new trends have also generated new kinds of management discourse.

Technical and ideological rhetoric in the management debate

The articles analysed were also classified according to whether they discussed the technical or ideological components of their respective paradigms. Of course, this analysis says little about whether and to what extent these techniques were actually introduced in businesses, but at least it provides some kind of illustration of the notions and conceptions associated with the various paradigms in the management debate. Articles were classified as ideological if they reflected the assumptions regarding employees, work life, business and society underlying the paradigm in question and its notions about what these should be like and how they should develop. In contrast, articles were classified as technical if they discussed leadership techniques, work distribution and criteria for selecting employees (see Guillén, 1994).

The greatest proportion of ideological articles (about two thirds) can be found in the human relations school. This is the only paradigm where ideological articles are in the majority. By comparison, the greatest proportion of technical articles (almost four fifths) was on structural analysis. These articles principally discussed the circumstances and operating environment of businesses, assuming these as a given to which a business must adapt itself by, for example, changing its corporate structure. There are very few ideological arguments among the articles discussing structural analysis. This matches the findings of Guillén (1994); according to him, the structural analysis paradigm manifested itself as a technique far more often than as ideology.

There are no great differences between the proportions of technical and ideological discourse in the articles on scientific management, organizational culture and innovation theories; in all of these, just over one third of the articles are ideological and the rest technical. In the case of scientific management, the ratio changes over time, as the articles published in the 1920s and 1930s were largely ideological, principally discussing political and ideological disputes between employers and employees. From the 1940s onward, the articles on scientific management became largely technical; but even in the 1960s, articles on scientific management contained a considerable degree of ideological elements, despite the rationalization trend prevalent in that decade.

> The prosperity of our country seems to depend on whether we are able to rationalize production and marketing in our business sector to a sufficient extent. (Jänkävaara, 1966, 38.)

The fact that articles on scientific management were largely ideological in the 1920s and 1930s was probably because the techniques of scientific management were not yet known and had not been extensively introduced in Finland (Kettunen, 2001). Another reason may be found in the tone and style of writing prevalent in the early part of the century, which leaned more openly toward the ideological than is the case today, and political issues were addressed more boldly (see also Chalaby, 1998). In *Teollisuuslehti*, for example, nearly all the analysed articles on management published in the first half of the century were ideological in tone. As the century progressed, the political and polemical aspects of the writing became toned down, and the articles became more technical. This finding for its part indicates how challenging historical analysis over such a long period is, when even the style of studied journals has changed. However, from a longer perspective, it seems that rational paradigms have been used more successfully in articulating and justifying national interests in Finland. Rhetorics of scientific management, structural analysis and innovation theories have been used to explain the success of the country and its economy, whereas normative paradigms have lacked these explanations in Finland.

It is probably the writing style of the first half of the century to which we must ascribe the majority of the articles on the human relations school which discuss the ideological dimension. On the other hand, the ideological aspects of the articles on human relations school could be seen to reflect the aims towards normative control which Barley and Kunda (1992, see also Rose, 1989) associate with human relations. Ideological discourse thus has a stronger presence in the normative paradigm, because it seeks to influence workers through a sense of community, motivation and psychological factors, rather than through rationally or technically justified arguments. In other words, we can assume that normative doctrines generate more ideological discussion than rational doctrines and vice versa. This assumption is supported by the fact that the highest proportion of technical features can be found in articles on structural analysis, which is a fundamentally rational paradigm (Barley & Kunda, 1992). However, the connection is not straightforward: the findings in the present study suggest that discussion on normative paradigms increased considerably from the 1940s onwards, particularly after the 1970s. At the same time, however, the proportion of ideological discourse in the articles decreased.

The percentage of ideological articles on scientific management can be explained at least in part by the debate occurring largely at the beginning of the 20th century, when such debate was heavily political. However, organizational culture paradigm and innovation theories are borderline cases which embody both the technical and the ideological approach. As we observed at the outset, it is difficult to place innovation theories on the normative-rational axis. On the one hand, innovation theories emphasize the technological developments underlying business competitiveness, which coincides with rational rhetoric; but on the other hand, they incorporate features of normative control by, for example, highlighting the importance of freedom and co-operation of employees as requirements for innovation. According to Clegg et al. (2002), one of the key requirements for innovation among employees is trust. The importance of group work and co-operation is also underlined in many studies (West, 2002). These themes bear a strong resemblance to those of the human relations school, formulated in the first half of the 20th century.

Translation of management books into Finnish

In addition to the analysis of journal articles, a study of the translation of books on management paradigms into Finnish was conducted to explore when the various paradigms arrived in Finland (see appendix 1). A total of 97 relevant books were identified on the basis of earlier studies (e.g. Barley & Kunda, 1992; Guillén, 1994; Nelson, 1992). We then explored the Fennica database to find out which of the books have been translated into Finnish, when, and in how many editions. Because of the bilingualism of Finland, we also examined the translation of the books into Swedish by Finnish publishers. The only basic textbooks on scientific management that have been translated into Finnish are Frederick Taylor's *Principles of Scientific Management* and five books by Henry Ford. Most of these were translated within a few years of the original being published. By contrast, of the principal works of the human relations school, *not a single book has been translated into Finnish to date.* This sets the human relations school apart from all the other paradigms, since at least some of the principal works relating to each of the others have been translated into Finnish and Swedish. Indeed, rather many of the books discussing structural analysis and organizational culture have been translated, usually soon after the publication of the original, with the exception of the works of Henry Fayol and Simon Herbert. Our study included 48 books on structural analysis, of which 14 have been translated, no fewer than eight of them by Peter Drucker. The translations of works by Drucker, Etzion and Simon have had multiple printings; Drucker's *The Practice of Management* and Etzion's *Modern Organizations*, for example, are in their third edition. In addition, *Kehittyvä liikkeenjohto*, the majority of whose articles represent structural analysis, reviewed many international management books in the 1970s.

Our study included 11 books on organizational culture, and they have all been translated into Finnish. They principally comprise books by pragmatics such as Edgar Schein. They were translated soon after their publication, and several of them have gone through more than one edition. With regard to the translation of the essential works on organizational culture, we should note that by the 1980s, the translating of books into Finnish was no longer as significant a factor in the availability of information as in the first half of the century, because the language skills of Finns in general had significantly increased in the meantime. The study did not include books on innovation theories, because from the present viewpoint it is difficult to define what will be regarded as classics in the field. However, books such as those by Florida (2002, 2005) and Csikszentmihalyi (2002, 2003) appeared in Finnish soon after the originals were published.

None of the books were translated into Swedish by Finnish publishers. Nevertheless, some Swedish translations published in Sweden have also been available in Finland. In the beginning of the 1900s, they may have been an important source of management knowledge, as Finnish language management literature was scarce and a great deal of managers was Swedish-speaking. (Fellman, 2000.) Moreover, some Swedish management textbooks were published in Finland in both Finnish and Swedish. For instance, Tarras Sällfors's (1944, 1945, 1946) books on the techniques of scientific management were published in Finland right after the Second World War, simultaneously with the wider adoption of the techniques within Finnish industry.

The data on books translated into Finnish show that from the 1920s to the early 1950s, scientific management was the only paradigm in which principal works were available in Finnish. Therefore, the translation of Drucker's works in the 1950s represented in itself the introduction of a new paradigm into Finnish management literature (see also Ainamo and Tienari, 2002). The translations published in the 1960s and 1970s can be considered to have strengthened the presence of structural analysis in Finnish management literature. In the 1980s and after, the majority of translated books on management paradigms have concerned organizational culture. In a study of Finnish dissertations on organization and management, Tuominen (1984) observes that international management paradigms have been reflected in Finnish doctoral dissertations with a certain time delay when compared internationally: about 30 years for scientific management and about 20 years for the human relations school and systems theories. With contingency theory, the time delay was only 10 to 15 years, leading Tuominen to conclude (ibid.) that the penetration of management paradigms into Finnish doctoral dissertations has become quicker.

Adoption process of management paradigms in Finland - international comparison

The appearance and order of management paradigms in Finnish journal articles over time quite closely follows the trend proposed by Barley and Kunda (1992) – scientific management, human relations, structural analysis and organizational culture can be identified. However, some paradigms were discussed much more than others, and the discussion of several paradigms peaked in Finnish journals later than in the USA.

Scientific management had a strong presence in business journals in the first half of the century, initially in an ideological form as employers sought to justify industrial relations. The application of scientific management techniques grew in Finland after the Second World War (Kettunen, 1997). As far as scientific management is concerned, Finland resembles Spain, which, like Finland, was relatively isolated from international trade until after the Second World War, when it began to build up its industry and increasingly engage in world trade. In Spain, discussion on scientific management in the printed media was also prolific until the end of the 1950s. (Guillén, 1994; see also Fellman, 2000, 2003.) Finland also resembles Turkey in the way scientific management was brought from Germany and adopted to a great extent as German-style rationalization. (See Üsdiken & Çetin, 2001). However, in Turkey, Taylorist ideas never gained as vast an interest among management intellectuals as they did in Finland.

By contrast, the human relations school has been slow to establish itself in Finland. There were some individual articles on human relations in Finnish management journals as early as the 1930s, but compared to the United States and Great Britain, their visibility in management journals was small. In this respect, Finland resembles Germany, where the human relations school was also conspicuous by its absence in printed media debates (Guillén, 1994). According to Guillén (ibid.), the disinclination to adopt the human relations school in Germany was partly due to the low level of conflict in industrial relations. In Finland, there were many industrial disputes in the 1920s (see for statistics Vattula, 1983) and some of them were extensive, aiming at collective agreements (Kettunen, 1994). In the 1930s, the depression and the resulting fall in employment made industrial disputes scarce. After the Second World War, as inflation picked up speed and salaries declined in real terms, Finland began to reach the top of the international league in its number of industrial disputes (Mertanen, 2004). Despite this, however, there was little discussion on the human relations school at the time. Still, the doctrines of the human relations school have established themselves as part and parcel of the rhetoric of the debate on work life in general in most of the journals studied, and findings suggest that the ideas of the human relations school are now, in the first decade of the 2000s, more relevant than ever in Finland.

The influence of the structural analysis paradigm has not been previously studied very much in Finland, although the empirical material in the present study suggests that it has been discussed considerably here. In the 1960s and 1970s, structural analysis was clearly written about more than any other paradigm. However, the discussion tended to focus on the technical features of the paradigm, to the exclusion of ideological discussion. In this, Finland resembled the USA, Germany and Britain, where structural analysis was quickly adopted in the period of 1960–1975 but mostly as a technique rather than an ideology (Guillén, 1994, see also Toms and Wright 2002). For example, in Germany, structural analysis was well received in the late 1950s and in the 1960s, as it provided answers to the acute problems of product diversification, growing international trade and bureaucratization (Guillén, 1994). Our study does not, however, reveal the degree of adoption of the structural analysis techniques in Finnish companies, but it seems to have been a pervasive theme in journal discussion.

Our study shows that the number of articles on organizational culture published in Finland is somewhat lower than that of those on structural analysis, but despite this, organizational culture has been the focus of much discussion since the 1980s. In general journals in particular, organizational culture has been a popular theme. However, according to Huhtala and Laakso (2007), Finnish *scientific* journals have written relatively little about organizational culture. This is not to say that they have altogether ignored the significance of organizational culture, and indeed scientific journals have discussed the meaning of this paradigm from the perspective of knowledge-based work, team work, and work and change (ibid.). Innovation theories have long been discussed, but at no point did they attain a dominant position as a paradigm running through the current debate as a whole. In fact, the way innovation theories are discussed by drawing their legitimacy on national interest echoes the reception of structural analysis. Whether these two are different side of the same paradigm remains to be examined in future studies. It is interesting to note that human relations seems to be the most referred individual paradigm at the moment, discussed in journal articles more frequently than innovation theories. However, the present management discussion seems to be very fragmented, and identification of a dominating management paradigm from a historical perspective is difficult.

According to Guillén (1994), the adoption of any paradigm is contingent in a historical situation in which organizations are undergoing significant structural changes. Our analysis and earlier studies lead to the conclusion that Guillén's thesis is also largely valid for Finland. The adoption of the techniques of scientific management coincided with accelerating industrialization in Finland (Hjerppe, 1982), while structural analysis was much discussed in the 1960s and 1970s, a period when Finland's economy experienced a new wave of internationalization and it became important for businesses to keep an eye on foreign markets (Fellman, 2003). Between 1946 and 1974, the average annual rate of growth was 4.9 in Finland, but the recession that followed the oil-crisis of 1973, and increasing oil-prices, proved the limits of growth and created an interest in the rationalization of organizational structures. At the same time, Finland experienced a structural change in society: rapid urbanization and a shift in business structure towards the service sector (Hjerppe, 1989). As for the debate on organizational culture, this occurred mostly in the 1980s and 1990s, at which point the services continued to grow, and the volume of knowledge-based work increased (Blom, Melin & Pyöriä, 2001). Regarding innovation theories, it is probably too early to make any definite pronouncements, but their emergence in scientific management literature no doubt has to do with a new economic transition in which traditional industries are increasingly moving to countries with cheap labour, and the only way in which Western countries can remain competitive is through technical advances and innovation (Hodgson, 2003). The paradigm debate can thus be considered at least partly to reflect economic, institutional and social changes. The extent to which a management paradigm fulfils national interest per se, whereas management fashion serve more management and organization-level problems, is an interesting avenue for further research. According to our study, it seems that rational paradigms have been used more as a vehicle of national interest, as their use has been more frequently in the name of the performance, effectiveness and competitiveness of the nation. The use of normative paradigms has not been justified or explained by national interest, rather by their advantages to the companies or to the employees.

According to Barley and Kunda (1992) the alteration of normative and rational paradigms is linked to economic longwaves in the USA. Their study shows that rational rhetoric increases during upswings and normative rhetoric during downswings. Barley and Kunda (1992, see also Abrahamson, 1997) juxtaposed their thesis with prevailing views that claimed that American managerial thought was evolving towards normative ideology by increasingly concentrating on influencing the attitudes of workers (see Barley & Kunda, 1992; Bendix, 1956; Edwards, 1979). Regarding Finland, the notion of linking normative and rational rhetoric to economic longwaves is not entirely unproblematic. The discussion on organizational culture paradigm *peaked* in Finland at a time when the country was in the throes of an unprecedented recession, yet the *emergence and establishment* of the organizational culture paradigm coincided with an upswing. Also, normative ideas seem to have been in the majority in the management debate in recent years when the economy has shown strong growth. In Finland, it would seem that the discussion on management paradigms coincide more with changes in economic structure and work life and influences arriving – albeit in some cases with a time lag – from abroad, rather than economic upswings and downswings. An earlier study suggests that although many – particularly American – management models can be very pervasive in the way that they are diffused into several countries in a rather similar manner and order, the individual characteristics and institutional circumstances of each country still affect the way and the timing in which the ideas are accepted (Djelic & Amdam, 2007). However, at the same time, globalization also affects national institutions in such way that it might be difficult to perceive processes of convergence and divergence in the future (Djelic & Quack, 2003).

Although the paradigms studied emerged in the same order in the Finnish journal discussion as in countries examined in other studies, the theses proposed by Abrahamson (1997) and Barley and Kunda (1992) regarding the alternation of normative and rational paradigms do not seem to hold particularly true if applied to Finland. The human relations school never gained very much attention in Finland: the debate shifted directly from scientific management to another rational paradigm; structural analysis, which dominated Finnish management discussion until the 1980s. Moreover, it seems at present that no rational challenge has emerged to normative paradigms since the organizational culture paradigm, as innovation theories contain both normative and rational elements, and many articles published in the 2000s discuss the human relations school. Thus, Finnish management discussion of the 20th century seems more like a transition from rational paradigms to normative paradigms.

Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to find out when information regarding various management paradigms arrived and were adopted in Finland. In general, we may conclude that all the management paradigms studied have been discussed in Finnish business journals. In translated management literature, however, the human relations school has been non-existent. Finnish business journals have published a considerable number of articles of foreign, generally American, origin. The data indicates that management doctrines were principally imported from the USA, which has been a ‘reference country’ for Finland, as it has been for many other countries (see Guillén, 1994; Üsdiken & Çetin 2001). Nevertheless, management innovations have emerged in other countries too, such as socio-technical systems in Britain and the industrial rationalization movement in Germany (Guillén, 1994). Indeed, at the beginning of the 20th century, Germany was a far greater influence on Finland than was the USA. Sweden was also a remarkable source of management knowledge, particularly at the beginning of 1900s, as many managers and management intellectuals were Swedish-speaking, able to read Swedish books and to follow management discussion in Sweden.

Fellman (2007) has put forth that many management models and ideas have arrived early in Finland, although the penetration of these models in society and in firms on a deeper level has taken much more time. Our study partly supports this claim, as it seems that ideas of scientific management have been discussed in journals and literature as early as the 1910s and 1920s, whereas the techniques of the paradigm were adopted only after the Second World War (Kettunen, 1997; Michelsen, 2001). Moreover, the human relations school was discussed in Finland already in the 1930s, although its position was not established in companies until the 1970s in the form of human resource management (Lilja, 1987). However, the adoption of management practices may have accelerated in previous decades, as the market of management knowledge has grown, English-language literature is widely available, and Finland is no longer in the periphery of the global economy.

This study also offers one national case that could be used in a further comparative study between countries. By comparing the adoption processes in different countries we could find out more about the factors that may either promote or prevent the adoption of a certain paradigm. Our study also indicates that rational paradigms were discussed particularly in journals aimed at heavy industry. This suggests that management paradigms might be adopted with different degrees of intensity in different business sectors. Hence, it could be worthwhile to compare different lines of business in relation to adoption of management paradigms. In relation to the ideological and technical dimensions of the paradigms, our results indicate that normative paradigms generate more ideological discussion, whereas management techniques are slightly more often dealt with in the context of rational paradigms.

Our analysis shows that there has been more discussion on rational paradigms in Finland than on normative paradigms. According to Michelsen (2001, see also Kantola 2006b, Seeck, 2008), both the sectoral rationalization associated with the structural analysis paradigm and the innovation debate can be seen as a continuation of the rationalization debate which began in Finland in the early years of the 20th century. Even the Finnish discussion on the human relations school can, from time to time, be seen to present rational rather than normative ideology (Kettunen 1994). One reason for the success of rational paradigms may be the strong position of engineers in Finland. Many of Finland's largest companies were lead by engineers, and work life was developed often from the engineers' point of view. (Kettunen, 1997; Michelsen, 1999.) Moreover, the weak influence of the human realtions school could be explained by the fact that in the early 20th century, psychology was still a young discipline in Finland (Aho, 1993), and the lack of an established tradition in psychology was one factor that may have contributed to the rather poor visibility of the human relations school at that period. Hence, the adoption and influence of a certain paradigm may depend on who the pioneers and proponents of the paradigm are and what their position in society is.

Another reason could be found in Finland’s predominant religion, Lutheranism, because as Guillén (1994) notes, there is clear evidence that religion is a factor in the adoption of paradigms. Protestant religions favour instrumental approaches, whereas Catholicism prefers communality and self-actualization. In Germany, for instance, Protestant management intellectuals were in favour of scientific management, while Catholics preferred the human relations school. In Spain, Catholic theoreticians played a decisive role in spreading the ideas of the human relations school. (Ibid.) There is also evidence on a more general level that in Europe, ascetic Protestantism, particularly Calvinism, has led to the emergence of more rationally governed societies than in predominantly Catholic countries (Gorski, 2003). In Finland, the Church is closely tied to the state, and in 2006, 82 per cent of all Finns were members of the Evangelical-Lutheran Church of Finland; this figure was even higher before the recent secularization trend. However, the relation between religion and the adoption of management paradigms needs further research.

Further research is needed to study how the management paradigms are adopted in practice in, for instance, different lines of industry or on the organizational level in Finland. This would allow us to compare the results of this study to other perspectives on adoption, namely cultural perspective and agency perspective (Birkinshaw, Hamel & Mol 2008). Finland would also provide an interesting case for future research on the adoption of management paradigms and fashions in a bilingual country, as it could be argued that the different language groups may adopt influences from abroad in distinct ways. In Finland, for instance, the Swedish-speaking minority have had better access to Swedish literature than Finnish managers, although many Finnish-speaking managers also know Swedish. It would also be interesting to study the institutions which have helped or hindered the adoption of each particular paradigm in Finland. Ainamo et al. (2006) have suggested that in a small country like Finland, the influence of individual institutions in the adoption of new ways of thinking can be quite strong.

As a conclusion, it seems that Finland uses imported management ideas and models, like Turkey for example (Üsdiken & Çetin 2001). As noted earlier, no clear paradigm emerged from the category "other" in the journal analysis although it has grown remarkably over the decades. Finns have neither developed a management paradigm of their own, nor have internationally influential management thinkers or writers originated from Finland. This supports the conclusion that large countries such as the United States, Britain, France and Germany develop the management paradigms that others adopt.

Appendix 1: Finnish Translations of the Major Works of the Organizational Paradigms

Paradigm	Author	Title	First published	Finnish translation	Issues in Finnish	Finnish publisher
Scientific Management	Taylor, Frederick	*The Principles of Scientific Management* In Finnish: *Tieteellisen liikkeenhoidon periaatteet*	1911	1914	1	Karisto
	Ford, Henry*	*My Life and Work* *Elämäni ja työni*	1923	1923	3	WSOY
	Ford, Henry	*Moving Forward* *Eteenpäin – kaikesta huolimatta*	1931	1931	1	WSOY
	Drucker, Peter F.	*The New Society. Anatomy of Industrial Order* *Teollisuuden uusi yhteiskunta*	1950	1954	1	WSOY
Human Relations	No works published in Finnish					
Structural Analysis	Fayol, Henri	*Administration industrielle et générale* *Johtamisen perusteet*	1916	1990	1	Rastor
	Simon, Herbert A.	*Administrative Behavior* *Päätöksenteko ja hallinto*	1945	1979	2	Weilin + Göös
	Etzioni, Amitai	*Modern Organizations* *Nykyajan organisaatiot*	1964	1968	3	Tammi
	Thompson, James D.	*Organizations in Action* *Miten organisaatiot toimivat*	1967	1974	1	Weilin + Göös
	Drucker, Peter F.	*Practice of Management* *Käytännön liikkeenjohto*	1954	1959	3	Tammi
	Drucker, Peter F.	*The Effective Executive* *Tehokas johtaja*	1966	1968	1	Tammi
	Drucker, Peter F.	*The Age of Discontinuity* *Muuttumisen aika*	1968	1970	1	Tammi
	Drucker, Peter F.	*Innovation and Entrepreneurship* *Yrittäjyys ja innovaatio. Käytäntö ja periaatteet*	1985	1986	1	Rastor-julkaisut
	Drucker, Peter F.	*Management Challenges for the 21st Century* *Johtamisen haasteet*	1999	2000	1	WSOY
	Drucker, Peter F.	*The Essential Drucker* *Druckerin parhaat. Valittuja kirjoituksia Peter F. Druckerin teoksista*	2001	2002	1	WSOY
	Drucker, Peter F. & Joseph A. Maciariello	*The Daily Drucker* *Johtajan ajatuksissa*	2004	2004	1	Readme
	Yavitz, Boris & Newman, William H.	*Strategy in Action* *Strateginen suunnittelu käytännössä*	1982	1984	1	Rastor
Organizational Culture	Hofstede, Geert	*Cultures and Organizations. Software of the Mind* *Kulttuurit ja organisaatiot. Mielen ohjelmointi*	1991	1993	1	WSOY
	Peters, Thomas J. & Austin, Nancy	*A Passion for Excellence* *Intohimo menestykseen*	1985	1989	1	WSOY
	Pascale, Richard Tanner	*The Art of Japanese Management* *Yritysjohtamisen menetelmät Japanissa*	1981	1982	1	Tammi
	Peters, Thomas J. & Waterman, Robert H.	*In Search for Excellence* *Menestyksen profiileja. Hyvinhoidettuja yrityksiä ja mitä niistä opimme*	1982	1983	5	Rastor
	Ouchi, William	*Theory Z. How American Business Can Meet the Japanese Challenge* *Teoria Z. Japanilainen johtamismalli länsimaissa*	1981	1982	1	Tietomies
	Schein, Edgar H,	*Organizational Culture and Leadership* *Organisaatiokulttuuri ja johtaminen*	1985	1987	3	Weilin + Göös
	Kanter, Rosabeth Moss	*When Giants Learn to Dance* *Jättiläisten tanssi. Johtamisen ja urakehityksen haasteet 1990-luvulla*	1989	1990	1	Otava
	Schein, Edgar H.	*Organizational Psychology* *Organisaatiopsykologia*	1965	1969	5	Gummerus
	Schein, Edgar H.	*Career Anchors. Discovering Your Real Values* *Ura-ankkurit*	1985	1987	4	EOSAM
	Schein, Edgar H.	*The Corporate Culture Survival Guide* *Yrityskulttuuri: selviytymisopas. Tietoja ja luuloja kulttuurimuutoksesta*	1999	2001	2	Laatukeskus

* Henry Ford did not write about scientific management, but was an important contributor to the adoption of the techniques of scientific management.

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Figure 1. Proportions of articles discussing management paradigms in Finnish business and management journals 1921–2006

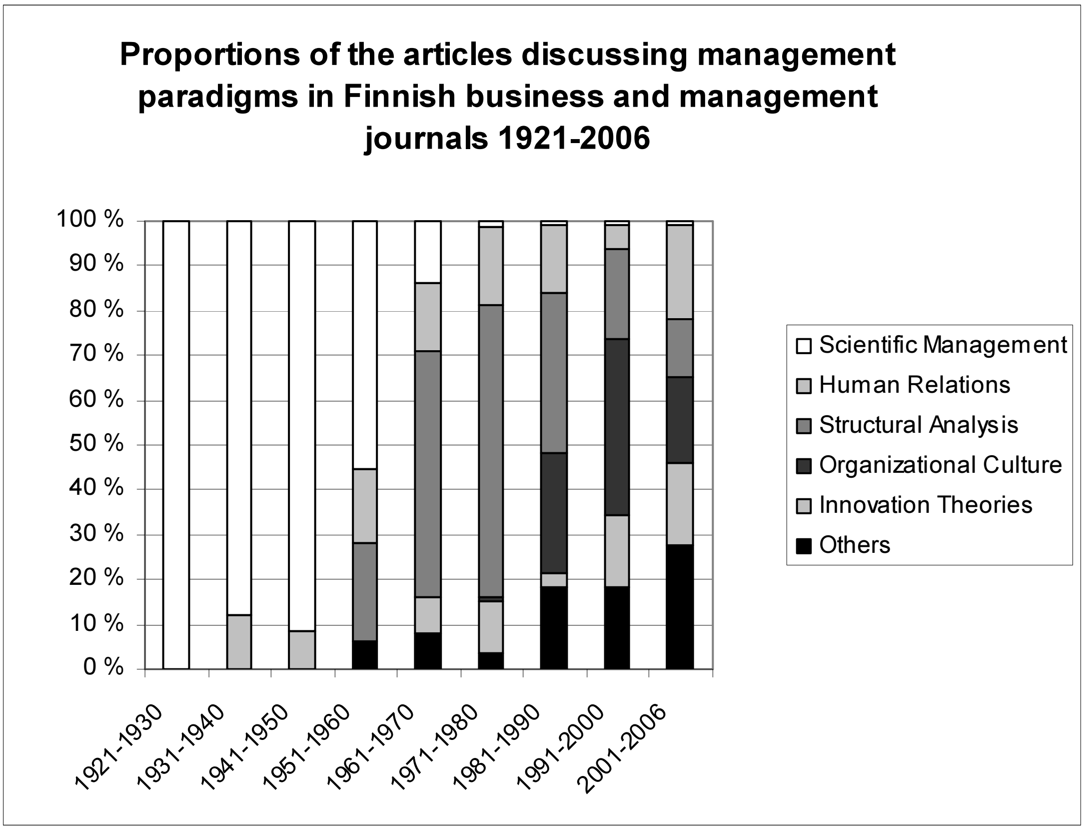

Table 1. The journals studied, their years of publication and changes of title, and the number of articles analysed in each.

Journal and years of publication	Changes of title	Number of articles
Tehostaja (Effectivizer) 1943–	*Tehostaja* 1943–1968, *Yritystalous* 1969–1974, *Tehokas yritys* 1975–1981, *Yritystalous: Leader's magazine* 1981–2005, *Yritystalous WalkAbout* 2006–	178
Kehittyvä liikkeenjohto (Developing business management) 1963–1994	*Kehittyvä liikkeenjohto – ylimmän liikkeenjohdon ammattilehti* 1963–1970, *Kehittyvä yritysjohto* 1971–80, *Kehittyvä Yritys* 1981–1994	123
Fakta (Fact) 1981–		89
Liiketaloudellinen aikakauskirja(The Finnish Journal of Business Economics) 1952–		58
Teollisuuslehti (Industrial magazine) 1919–1980	*Teollisuuslehti* 1919–1977, *Teollisuus: Suomen työantajain keskusliiton ja Teollisuuden keskusliiton aikakauslehti* 1978–1980	42
Hallinnon tutkimus (Administrative studies) 1982–		27
Kontorsvärlden (Officeworld)1923-1959		13