

FUNDAÇÃO GETÚLIO VARGAS
ESCOLA BRASILEIRA DE ADMINISTRAÇÃO PÚBLICA
E EMPRESARIAL

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**The Chandler - Furtado Case: a Decolonial Reframing of a
North/South (dis)Encounter**

Rio de Janeiro
2011

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of a North/South (dis)Encounter**

Dissertação para obtenção do grau de mestre apresentada à Escola
Brasileira de Administração Pública e de Empresas

Área de concentração: Estratégia empresarial

Professor orientador: Alexandre de Almeida Faria

Rio de Janeiro

2011

Ficha catalográfica elaborada pela Biblioteca Mario Henrique Simonsen/FGV

Wanderley, Sergio E. P. V.

The Chandler-Furtado case : a decolonial reframing of a North/South (dis)encounter / Sergio E. P. V. Wanderley. – 2011.

51 f.

Dissertação (mestrado) - Escola Brasileira de Administração Pública e de Empresas, Centro de Formação Acadêmica e Pesquisa.

Orientador: Alexandre Faria.

Inclui bibliografia.

1. Administração e desenvolvimento econômico. 2. Planejamento estratégico. 3. Relações internacionais. 4. Descolonização. 5. Guerra fria. I. Faria, Alexandre, 1970-. II. Escola Brasileira de Administração Pública e de Empresas. Centro de Formação Acadêmica e Pesquisa. III. Título.

CDD – 658



SERGIO EDUARDO DE PINHO VELHO WANDERLEY

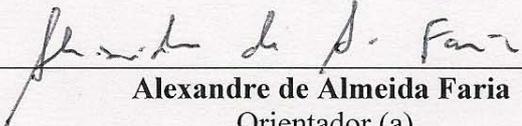
**THE CHANDLER – FURTADO CASE: A DECOLONIAL REFRAMING OF A
NORTH/SOUTH (DIS)ENCOUNTER.**

Dissertação apresentada ao Curso de Mestrado Profissional Executivo em Gestão Empresarial da Escola Brasileira de Administração Pública e de Empresas para obtenção do grau de Mestre em Administração.

Data da defesa: 07/12/2011

Aprovada em:

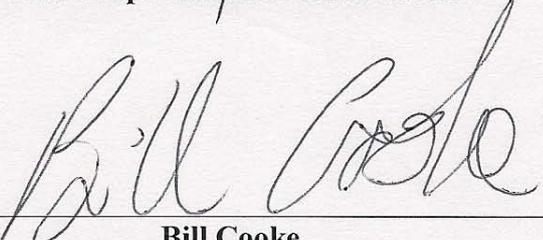
ASSINATURA DOS MEMBROS DA BANCA EXAMINADORA



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Orientador (a)



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Bill Cooke

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RESUMO

A partir de uma perspectiva descolonial das bordas do Sul, este trabalho mostra que, apesar de Alfred Chandler e o brasileiro Celso Furtado terem muito a contribuir para a construção de um campo de estratégia multipolar, foi somente o primeiro que se tornou uma autoridade em gestão estratégica. Ao longo de mais de 50 anos Chandler e Furtado pesquisaram sobre o mesmo objeto, mas a partir de diferentes perspectivas. Contudo, defendemos que suas pesquisas são partes inseparáveis de um mesmo fenômeno, da mesma maneira que modernidade e colonialidade são, e que é necessário a descolonialidade para promover o encontro a que se propõe fazer este trabalho. Chandler defendia nos anos 60 que a grande corporação, liderada pelos gestores, era o grande motor do capitalismo americano; enquanto que no Sul, Furtado argumentava que o estado, através de planejamento e investimento, deveria liderar a saída do Brasil da condição de subdesenvolvimento, a qual lhe fora imposta principalmente pelo Norte. A crise atual da hegemonia americana sugere que devemos recuperar os argumentos de Furtado e discutir a difusão assimétrica do conhecimento e das instituições em administração na América Latina durante o período da Guerra Fria. Neste trabalho propomos uma estrutura com três níveis de análise para reavaliar este (des)encontro entre Chandler-Furtado através de perspectivas independentes: a grande narrativa da Guerra Fria, o conhecimento subalterno e a identidade nacional. Nosso objetivo é promover um mundo multipolar através dos campos da administração e gestão estratégica.

ABSTRACT

Drawing upon a decolonial perspective from the borders of the South, this paper shows that, although Alfred Chandler and Brazil's Celso Furtado had much to contribute to the construction of a multipolar field of strategy, it was only the former who became a major authority in strategic management. Along more than 50 years Chandler and Furtado have researched about the same subject, but from different perspectives. However, we posit their works are inseparable parts of the same phenomenon, the same way modernity and coloniality are, and that we need decoloniality in order to promote such an encounter envisaged in this paper. Chandler posited, during the 1960s, that the big corporation, led by managers, was the main engine of US capitalism, whereas in the South, Furtado argued that the state, through planning and investments, should lead Brazil out of the condition of underdevelopment imposed upon it, mainly by the North. The contemporaneous crisis of US hegemony suggests that we should bring Furtado's arguments back to the fore, and challenge the asymmetrical diffusion of management knowledge and institutions in Latin America during the Cold War. In this paper, we propose a framework with three levels of analysis to reframe this Chandler-Furtado (dis)encounter through interdependent perspectives: the grand narrative of the Cold War, subaltern knowledges and national identity. Our aim is to foster a more multipolar world through the fields of strategic management and management studies.

Introduction

According to many Anglo-American analysts, whose imaginations had been shaped by the doctrine of the visible hand (Chandler, 1977), the world was “slapped by the invisible hand” in 2008 (Gorton, 2010). Management analysts still face serious difficulties to understand what has happened since then. This, we argue, is a result of a mismatch, between the obsolescence of the American hegemony and corresponding institutions in the post-Cold War period, and the enduring predominance of management knowledge emanating from the North. Together with the events of 9/11, the global financial crisis that started in 2008 became a crucial challenge to the desirability and viability of such a dominant worldview (Rodrik, 2011), as it challenged the dominant idea that the South should engage with managerialism and corresponding institutions, knowledge and recipes provided exclusively by the North.

In response, the North’s field of strategic management has, more recently, embraced the mission to foster global development through the further diffusion of knowledge in the South (Brugmann and Prahalad, 2007; Bruton et al, 2010; Ricart et al, 2004). This is in direct confrontation with the South’s argument that, globalization does not represent the end of history or the last stage of capitalist modernity, but rather “the beginning of something new” (Escobar, 2004: 213).

The once considered monolithic Northerners’ system, built on the basis of free market and free enterprise managed by the “visible hand”, and translated in the US by Chandler (1977) under the heading of “managerial capitalism”, has given clear signs of failure. The complicity of management institutions and knowledge with the Enron case (see Ghoshal, 2005) and with the Lehman Brothers debacle, which triggered the global financial crisis in 2008, are sound evidences of this scenario (see Sikka, 2009). By embracing economics in order to provide its academic legitimacy (Pettigrew, Thomas

and Whittington, 2002), and debunking political and state-centered ideas associated with communism in the Cold War period (Kelley, Cooke and Mills, 2006), the field of strategic management has not only overlooked politics, geography and history at large, but also created the conditions for academic disencounters between North and South. We argue that such a contemporaneous picture represents a historical opportunity for us to foster a multipolar perspective in management, in general, and in strategic management in particular.

In this paper, drawing upon a decolonial perspective from the borders of the South (Mignolo, 2000; 2009; Escobar, 2004; Mignolo and Tlostanova, 2006; Ibarra-Colado, 2007) we want to give voice to knowledges from the South that have been suppressed by the epistemic coloniality (Mignolo, 2007) imposed by the North since colonial times (Dussel, 1993; 2002; Quijano, 1991; 2000). By doing this, we do not want to propose a new “good abstract universal for all” (Mignolo and Tlostanova, 2006: 219), instead, we want to foster a space for multipolar debate within knowledges from the South, and the North, in order to promote an “inclusive, plural and open dialogue and discussions...to jointly imagine a decolonized world in which many worlds can coexist” (Faria, Ibarra-Colorado, & Guedes, 2010: 10). We want to reintroduce history and geography into management and strategic management thinking, and not to avoid North-South political debates.

We argue that, though both Alfred Chandler and Celso Furtado had much to contribute to strategic management as a field of knowledges, it was only the former that has become an authority in the field. In this paper, we propose a framework for analyzing such a North-South disencounter which might help in the construction of a less asymmetrical world (or better worlds) through a more multipolar field of strategic management. This framework is consisted by three interdependent perspectives, which

are intertwined through three different level of analysis: at the macro level, the grand narrative of the Cold War; at the meso level, the subaltern knowledges developed by ECLAC and by Furtado; and the national identity each author was espousing, which represents the micro level of analysis, thus bringing to the fore the researcher's perspective.

This paper has been divided into five sections. In the next section, we analyze through a critical perspective from the South, the development turn embraced more recently by strategic management from a North-South standpoint. In the third part, we describe the research trajectory and discuss methodological issues. In the fourth part, we introduce decolonial turn and propose a framework through which we analyze Chandler and Furtado (dis)encounters. This is then followed by final considerations.

Engagement of strategic management with development: a critical perspective from the South

In spite of the global financial crisis of 2008, and the continuous crisis faced by management studies as a whole, in recent years, influential management journals and authors from the North have argued that management scholars and institutions should spread the benefits of Western capitalism throughout the world – especially the South. A major focus by strategic management authors has been a lifting of “the one billion poorest” – or even as many as 6.2 billion people – to above the poverty line (see Brugmann and Prahalad, 2007; Ricard et al, 2004). By ignoring the decay of the relative authority of US hegemony in a rising multipolar world, influential authors claim in US-based journals, that businesses and management are more efficient and effective than local states in fostering economic development in the South (Bruton, 2010; Ahlstrom,

2010).

From a decolonial perspective (Mignolo, 2000; 2009), we argue that this picture is not very different to that of the Cold War period. Starting in the early 1950's, "the export of 'the American way of life' and ideas about the role of education in development" (Parmar, 2002: 26) promoted by US' institutions, represented a way to bar the growth of communism (Parmar, 2002) and colonize the world with strategic discourse (Knights and Morgan, 1991). "Clearly its spread across the world in the 1960's and 1970's is related to the dominant position of America as a market for business literature" (Knights and Morgan, 1991: 261). This process of North-South cultural and political imposition, legitimized by East-West Cold War concerns, has constrained the research agenda of Latin American researchers on North-South issues (Faria and Guedes, 2010).

These authors and institutions from the North stand for the relationship between corporate strategy and development in the post-Cold War period. They overlook, not only the debates on the concept of development itself, produced in other fields of knowledge (see, for instance, Tickner and Waever, 2009), but also the critical arguments put forward by authors from other fields, and by management studies themselves (see, for instance, Mintzberg, 2006). Critical literature suggests that big corporations, especially those from the North (but not exclusively), should first focus on the underdevelopment they generate, before they assume the sole responsibility for resolving problems of development or poverty worldwide (e.g., Banerjee, 2008).

The argument that business corporations should take on the responsibility of lifting a substantial proportion of the world's population to above the poverty line, through market-oriented strategies managed by the visible hand, overlooks the international divides which have become prominent in recent years as a result of the rise

of US unilateralism, as pointed out by the international studies literature (Leffler and Legro, 2008) and critical authors from the South (e.g., Escobar, 2004; Santos, Nunes and Menses, 2008). Strategic management authors seem to ignore the rise of US unilateral foreign policies after the events of 9/11, and the increasing importance of big corporations to the accomplishment of the corresponding US grand strategy. The field of strategic management has overlooked the depth of those debates regarding the dominant understanding of the "international" in the US by assuming, in a questionable fashion, the international responsibility of fostering development. They keep ignoring, not only what dissenting voices from the North actually mean, but also important academic knowledges from the South (Escobar, 2004).

This contemporaneous picture of enduring North-South disencounters within and through the sub-field of strategic management, reinforces the argument put forward by Marx, that history repeats itself twice: once as great tragedy, and the second time, as wretched farce (Marx, 1852).

Compelling evidence shows us that the world (singular) has not been flattened out by a superior force (i.e., the market), – which requires the "visible hand" (i.e., the manager) – and corresponding knowledge as the only and best way to development. Hence, dominant knowledge and corresponding discourses should be challenged by other possibilities of development and knowledges to foster a plural world (Mignolo, 2009). Despite the historical construction of a picture of epistemic coloniality in the South (Mignolo, 2007), we argue that knowledges (in the plural) and voices from the South, which have become unknown and unheard, should now be welcomed, not only by the North, but also by the South itself (see Escobar, 2004; Santos, Nunes and Meneses, 2008).

A decolonial perspective from the borders of the South

The decolonial perspective is suggested by a group of Latin American researchers within the Modernity/Coloniality/Decoloniality project (MCD), whose main authors are Anibal Quijano, Enrique Dussel and Walter Mignolo (Misoczky, 2011). MCD's authors consider themselves as heirs of the original contributions from Latin America to critical thought, such as dependency theory, liberation theology and participatory action research (Escobar, 2007).

The Peruvian sociologist, Anibal Quijano, who was involved in the dependency theory debates of the 1960/70's (see Quijano, 1968; Mignolo, 2007), was the first to propose the idea that modernity and coloniality are inseparable parts of the same phenomenon (Quijano, 1991; 2000). Coloniality is a neologism created to designate the dominance of power, being and knowledge that persists much after colonialism is extinguished, and that imposes the rationality of modernity from a pure Eurocentric perspective (Mignolo, 2000; 2007). Thus, local knowledges and realities are covered up and remain absolutely ignored. The Argentinean philosopher Enrique Dussel (1993; 2002) posits that such *encubrimiento del otro* (covering up of the other) by Eurocentric modernity has in fact started in 1492, when Columbus 'discovered' the Americas. It was after this event that Europe could claim her centrality in the world. Dussel (1993) considers that the domination and exploitation of Latin America since its discovery was the fact that allowed modernity to initiate in center Europe, and is, hence, its inseparable part. For Dussel (1993; 2002), the enactment of diverse realities that were covered up by modernity leads to transmodernity, which is the viable alternative to a single European modernity. "Transmodernity as a global project of liberation in which otherness, that was co-essential to modernity, is also fully realized." (Dussel, 1993: 187).

Building on Quijano and Dussel's works, Walter Mignolo (2000; 2007),

proposes the decolonial perspective as a way to eschew the dominance of European modernity and its corresponding epistemic coloniality (Mignolo, 2007), and to give voice to knowledges, both from North and South. For Mignolo (2000) coloniality is the darker and inseparable side of modernity, and that is negated by the later. Since modernity has touched all societies of the world, Mignolo (2000; 2009) posits that we have to move to the borders of the system to be able to create alternatives to modernity. “Border thinking is the epistemology of the exteriority; that is, of the outside created from the inside” (Mignolo and Tlostanova, 2006: 206). These borders have been formed by the encounter of the modern and the colonial that have generated colonial differences. Thus, critical border thinking gives voice to these colonial differences and pursues the generation of pluriversality, and not universality (Mignolo and Tlostanova, 2006). Hence, the aim is to reach a multipolar world informed by knowledges from both North and South, instead of a unipolar world imposed by a single European modernity.

In this paper, we position ourselves in the borders of the South to analyze the Chandler-Furtado case. We propose such decolonial perspective by embracing the call for a historic turn in management studies (Clark and Rowlinson, 2004), and we pursue to follow a *reorientationist* agenda (Üsdiken and Kieser, 2004; Rowlinson, Jacques and Booth, 2009). Thus, we acknowledge the concept that management practices and discourses are historical, social and geopolitical phenomenon (Booth and Rowlinson, 2006), and that present knowledge should not be naturalized, but considered as the result of practices that could have been different (Jacques, 2006). We acknowledge the statements that “the study of management and organizations is notoriously ahistorical” (Rowlinson et al, 2009: 287), and that, in particular, “most contemporary approaches to strategy are profoundly ahistorical” (Booth, 2003: 103). We agree with the fact that management knowledge and history are culturally tied up with the Euro-American

tradition (Jacques, 1996), but we want to go beyond the idea of “producing many localized stories, each of which is understood, produced by and productive of the community to which it applies” (Jacques, 1996: xv). We want to foster a space of debate in which decolonized knowledges, whose existence was “foreclosed by the dominance of a form of knowledge claiming to transcend history and culture” (Jacques, 1996: xv), can also inform, and be informed, by the same knowledge that has suppressed them.

We foster such critical analysis by engaging in particular with authors from the North, who problematized the spread of management knowledge within the US in the era dominated by the Cold War (Cooke, 1999; Cooke, Mills & Kelley, 2005; Grant and Mills, 2006; Kelley, Mills & Cooke, 2006; Landau, 2006; McLaren and Mills, 2008; McLaren, 2011), and with those who pointed out that the diffusion of management in Latin America during the Cold War has been overlooked by most analysts (see Alcadipani, 2010; Faria et al., 2010). We agree with historical analyses that showed that “famous examples of management theorizing, and theorist’s careers, were, in part at least, a consequence of the Cold War” (Cooke et al, 2005: 4). By the same token, we believe that the opposite is true, and that many theorists, and much theorizing, have been “written out” (Cooke, 1999) by the grand narrative of the Cold War; these need to be decolonized, in order to foster a multipolar space for debates in management and strategic management.

We need border thinking (Mignolo, 2000; Mignolo and Tlostanova, 2006) to be able to decolonize local histories, such as that of Furtado, which has been suppressed by “the naturalized idea that the past five hundred years of European history are the point of arrival (or the end of history) of the human race” (Mignolo and Tlostanova, 2006: 218). However, to reach this objective, and to challenge the epistemic coloniality (Ibarra-Colado, 2007; Mignolo, 2007) that has neglected such histories, “it is not

enough to change the content of the conversation, it is of the essence to change the *terms* of the conversation...It means to go to the very assumptions that sustain locus enunciations” (Mignolo, 2009: 4). Geopolitics of knowledge means shifting the attention to the enunciation, instead of the enunciated, thus making clear the locus of enunciation by asking the questions “who and when, why and where is knowledge generated” (Mignolo, 2009: 2). Border thinking allows us to relocate to somewhere else, where we can envisage the history of the world from different perspectives (Dussel and Ibarra-Colado, 2006) and to “imagine a future that is our own invention and not the invention of empires, hegemonic or subaltern” (Mignolo and Tlostanova, 2006: 209).

Through such a theoretical framework we want to investigate, via the Chandler-Furtado case, why management theory, and strategic management, become universalized from an Euro-American perspective (Jacques, 1996), which are the consequences for the knowledges from the South, and how we may overcome this divide.

Research trajectory and methodological issues

The vast production of both authors, and about them, is a challenge to promote an encounter of their literature. Chandler was honored with a special issue by Journal of Management History (JMH; 2009, issue 15: 3), and every compilation on business history or strategic management has a passage about him. “Strategy and Structure” (1962) is up to date the most cited book in strategic management (Whittington et al, 2002). However, he has not been the subject of a complete biography, albeit McCraw (1987) made the closest attempt to deliver one. The only auto-biographic production of Chandler has been published as an article at JHM special issue (Chandler, 2009). Furtado, to the other hand, has published many autobiographic books (1985; 1989;

1998), which helps keep track of his trajectory. Furtado's widow has donated his private library to BNDES (Brazilian National Economic and Social Development Bank), where he was a director. The library is kept at The "International Celso Furtado Center for Development Policies", which was inaugurated in 2009, in Rio, and is opened to the public. I have researched there, and it was the only place where a copy of the article "U.S. hegemony and the future of Latin America" (Furtado, 1966b) could be obtained.

The first hint we had we could promote an encounter of the two authors was in a class I had to present a paper on each author: Chandler's "Visible Hand" (1977) and Furtado's *Criatividade e Dependência* (Creativity and Dependency; 1978). We were amazed by the fact that both authors had the big private company as subject, but they were considering it from very different perspectives. After introducing Chandler's chapter, my first slide to highlight the differences on Furtado's approach had the words: power, oligopoly, subsidies, privileges, barriers, imperfect markets, small companies, syndicates, alliances and dependency, which could not be found in Chandler's one. It was a class on strategic management where, normally, Chandler's model is introduced as the first paradigm, even in the South. Furtado's model seemed to us closer to our local reality, and from there I began excavating.

Each new discovery in their literature made clear that the different perspectives found in those initial texts was no coincidence, and it was in fact extending itself all along their production. From the beginning of their academic careers, at the turn of the 1940's to 1950's, until their last productions, each author was moving, and being moved, along paths that kept them apart. We found no evidence that they ever met or read each others' production.

We became intrigued to discover why the (dis)encounter happened and how we could organize our story about their trajectory. The first opportunity I had to present the

paper was enlightening to me on how to reframe the past. It was at the 7th Critical Management Studies' (CMS) conference at Naples in July 2011, at the Stream 30 "Theorizing the past: critical engagements" (Wanderley e Faria, 2011a). I was exposed to some of the main critical authors in the field, and to robust papers. Their researches on the Cold War effect on the foundation and spread of management and some of its disciplines within the US (Cooke, 1999; Cooke, Mills & Kelley, 2005; Grant and Mills, 2006; Kelley, Mills & Cooke, 2006; Landau, 2006; McLaren and Mills, 2008; McLaren, 2011) opened my eyes to this issue. However, the researches followed a Northern perspective, and we felt there was still something missing to organize our story with a perspective from the South.

It was clear to us that when Furtado started writing it was at the same time 'US management model' was being exported to Latin America (Parmar, 2002), though the impact it was causing in knowledge from the South, with a Southern perspective, was not being discussed in the literature (see Faria et al, 2010, as an exception).

Returning from 7th CMS, I started preparing for the 2011 Academy of Management (AOM) meeting in San Antonio, Texas, where the keynote speaker at CMS division was the Argentinean philosopher Walter D. Mignolo. When I started researching his works, and of other authors of the Modernity/Coloniality/Decoloniality (MCD) project, I realized this was the break away from Northern epistemology I needed to reframe the story with a perspective from the borders of the South (Mignolo and Tlostanova, 2006). I managed to briefly chat with Mignolo during a break, where I mentioned my research about Furtado, and he mentioned Presbisch's work at ECLAC, an Argentinean like himself.

When I returned from AOM, I attended the launch by Edgar Dosman (2011), in Rio, of Raúl Prebisch's biography in Portuguese (the English version launched in 2009

won the best biography prize granted by “The Economist”). The presentation by the author made clear to me the role that Prebisch, who was for ten years Furtado’s boss, and the subaltern knowledge produced by ECLAC, had on Furtado’s production. Following that, I had another opportunity to present a new version of the paper at a congress, now to a Brazilian audience at ENANPAD, Rio (Wanderley e Faria, 2011b).

So now I had the challenge of putting together a historiography methodology that could go along with the epistemology I was following. I am not a historian by formation, thus I would not dare using history as a knowledge field, but I would rather use it as a research method.

The decolonial turn has in itself a proposal to delink from Western epistemology (Mignolo, 2007), and a plea for bringing history and context back into research, namely the history and knowledges of the places that have been negated by European modernity (Mignolo, 2000). The ‘historic turn’ proposal made by CMS authors (Clark and Rowlinson, 2004; Booth and Rowlinson, 2006) is a call against the ahistorical characteristic of management studies and a “turn against the view that organization studies should constitute a science analogous to the physical sciences” (Rowlinson et al, 2009: 289). It proposes a *reorientationist* agenda (Üsdiken and Kieser, 2004; Rowlinson et al, 2009), through which new historical approaches are suggested in management and organization studies. We understand that, in line with decolonial turn, the *reorientationist* agenda posits that management practices and discourses are historical, social and geopolitical phenomenon (Booth and Rowlinson, 2006), and that present knowledge should not be naturalized, but considered as the result of practices that could have been different (Jacques, 2006). “Historic turn shifts the emphasis from a preoccupation with what actually happened to a concern with how, if at all, the past can be represented” (Rowlinson et al, 2009: 292). We undertake these considerations using

decolonial turn to reframe our story with a perspective from the South and escape from the dominance of Western epistemology (Mignolo, 2007).

“The ‘historic turn’ problematizes universalism and presentism” (Booth and Rowlinson, 2006: 7). ‘Universalism’ represents the view that prevailing management theory is superior to the ones in the past, and that it is applicable to all societies in all times. “Presentism results in research being reported as if it occurred in a decontextualized, extended past” (Booth and Rowlinson, 2006: 6). The observation of these two concepts in our approach becomes clear when we emphasize that, Furtado (1961) questioned the fact that the manager is an institution that is applicable to all societies at all times.

We have used the literature produced by Chandler and Furtado, and about them, as the historical documents we have researched. When we had all data together, we recognized that there were three interdependent perspectives, representing three levels of analysis, and that were pervasive throughout the context in which their production took place: the Cold War; the subaltern knowledge produced by ECLAC and by Furtado; and the national identity each author was espousing. Though intertwined at all times and amongst different context aspects, we may affirm that, each of these perspectives represents a different level of analysis, and has a closer tie with a particular context: at the macro level, as a grand narrative, the Cold War represents the political context; at the meso level, the subaltern knowledge developed by ECLAC, and its promotion of a competing development path, represents the economic context; whereas, the national identity perspective introduces the micro level of the researcher, and the cultural element in the context.

The three levels of analysis and corresponding perspectives were validated in various interactions with my supervisor and other researchers.

These interdependent perspectives enabled and constrained their production, at the same time they were moving the authors apart. These perspectives could only be identified as we are looking to the past from today's privilege position, but, in fact, we are conscious that "our ability to consider the past only through hindsight does invalidate claims to definitiveness and objectivity, and means that our histories are inevitably socially constructed" (Cooke, 1999: 84). Hence, different representations would be viable, and the one we have chosen is our particular way of reframing the past through our own reflexive structure of conventions, schemes and stereotypes (Burke, 1992).

The fact that we have chosen some parts of their literature to highlight, and not others, makes us part of the construction of the past. Consequently, the positivist premise of neutrality is negated (Sauerbronn, J.F.R. and Ayrosa, E., 2010). "The choices made in selecting and ignoring past events, are shaped by prevailing, albeit competing, societal power relations and their associated ideologies" (Cooke, 1999: 83). The M/C/D project is a political project (Mignolo, 2007), hence we are taking this position before we select and analyze the documents.

We assume in our research a position of non neutrality that is contrary to Western epistemology, which is named by Castro-Gómez (2007) as the "hubris of the zero point". The 'zero point' presupposes the capacity of neutrality by the researcher from the North and his capacity of producing science having the South as object. We want to decolonize knowledges from the South (Mignolo, 2009) and transform them into the subject of our research on the battlefield of asymmetrical knowledge spread from the North to the South.

In other words, the objective of our historical research is not just "undertaken to inform contemporaneous research" (Jacques, 2006: 43), but to deconolonize

knowledges that can “change the terms of the conversation ...to go to the very assumptions that sustain locus enunciations” (Mignolo, 2009: 4).

We should mention some critical historiography works that have made use of literature as their basic source of documents. Mills and Helms Hatfield (1998) have investigated US and Canadian management textbooks and concluded that the social context of the Cold War is almost completely absent from them. Cooke (2003) studied the works of Chandler to advocate the denial of slavery in management studies. Grant and Mills (2006) have utilized the texts of the main leaders of the Academy of Management during its formative context (1936-1960) to investigate their role in the development of modern management theory. McLaren and Mills (2008) have researched 17 management textbooks published in the US between 1945 and 1965, in order to explore the effect of the Cold War on the construction of the ‘ideal manager’. Cummings and Bridgman (2011) have used different editions of the same text book along the years, in the US, to analyze the changes in Weber’s interpretation.

In Brazil, critical historiography is at its infancy, whereas the traditional business history field has never been duly developed. The utilization of historiography in management studies is still rare (Pieranti, 2008). In spite of the efforts of the few business and management historiographers, there are no research associations, dedicated journals, nor discussion forums in management congresses that would deal exclusively with this theme (Mello, Barros and Martins, 2010). We can mention the works of Alcadipani (2010) and Faria et al (2010) in initiating a critical investigation on the history of the spread of international management theories to Latin America. Vizeu (2011) conducted a historiography research on the rural heritage of the management industrial elites in Brazil and its impact on managerial orientation. Though not a historiography study, it is worth mentioning the study of Rosa and Alves (2011), which

followed a decolonial approach to problematize the construction and spread of knowledge produced in Portuguese. Given the fact that, higher ranking journals are in their great majority published in English, they conclude that knowledge produced in Portuguese will continue competing from a subaltern position and submitted to a foreign logic system. Their conclusion concurs with the problematization we are proposing in this article.

Chandler and Furtado: 50 years of North-South (dis)encounters

As discussed above, we analyze the case through three interdependent perspectives that represent three levels of analysis:

Macro level	Grand narrative of Cold War
Meso level	Subaltern knowledge produced by ECLAC and by Celso Furtado
Micro level	National identity espoused by each author

Table 1 – levels of analysis (prepared by the author)

The spread of management within the grand narrative of the Cold War: why the “American way” becomes universal?

The detailed discussion of this subject is beyond the objective of this article. However, we will briefly contextualize it as we understand the grand narrative of the Cold War, operating at the macro level of analysis, as the most important perspective that both enables and constrain the (dis)encounter of Chandler and Furtado, and that is pervasive throughout their academic production. The most important question, given the purpose of this paper, is to understand why the disciplinarian status of management and strategic management made in the US has been accepted

worldwide (both North and South) as “objective and universal truths for organizing work relationships” (Jacques, 1996: xiii).

It has been argued that management, and some of its disciplines, were generated within the US during the Cold War era, which has both enabled and constrained the construction of the field (Cooke, 1999; Cooke et al, 2005; Grant and Mills, 2006; Kelley et al, 2006; Landau, 2006; McLaren and Mills, 2008; McLaren, 2011). Additionally, researches have pointed out that the Academy of Management had an important role in disseminating the Cold War content “that translated into a philosophy of management, which influenced the character of the organization for decades” (Grant and Mills, 2006: 202). The “ideal manager” that was generated within the Cold War context was characterized as “an educated male who wielded authority effectively and accepted social responsibility” (McLaren and Mills, 2008: 386). Though Chandler’s book (1962) was not included in the study carried by McLaren and Mills (2008), we may argue that the profile of this “ideal manager” is very similar to the one described by Chandler (1977), which he would translate as the “visible hand”. Furthermore, we understand that “managers had assumed the role of the ruling class through a combination of anti-communist capitalist ideology and order, and discipline managerial ideologies” (McLaren, 2011: 419).

It should be then no surprise, given the Cold War context, that Chandler became recognized as the father of strategic management, and that this field was positioned, with the support of influential institutions in the US during the Cold War period, as the most important sub-field within the field of management studies. Pettigrew et al (2002) have discussed the role of important academic and consulting institutions in the constitution of the field of strategic management within the US. Knights and Morgan (1991) have described how the strategic discourse developed by those same institutions

has been spread worldwide. Cummings and Wilson (2003) have posited that, the triangular-hierarchical image proposed by Chandler (1962) for the configuration of the successful US' firms, has matched that proposed by foundational reports into the business schools and on management education (Ford and Carnegie reports of 1959). *Strategy and Structure* (1962) was launched just three years after these reports had called for a more analytical and scientific research into business, and became a perfect match to its intents (Whittington, Pettigrew and Thomas, 2002). Ford and Carnegie Foundations had a key role in the export of the 'American management model' to Latin America (Parmar, 2002).

Such an international context, in which strategic management and the "ideal manager" (McLaren and Mills, 2008) were constructed, and then became synonymous with "strategy" worldwide, benefited from a scenario, in which the US could impose its own "cultural system...as objective, neutral and universal framework within which all other cultures' artifacts can be hung" (Jacques, 1996: xv). Such a context of international politics has not changed much in the post-Cold War period (see Escobar, 2004), despite all contrary discourses and knowledge. This explains why "the political context and the degree to which prevailing political ideology impacts management thought and action has been largely invisible until recently" (Spector, 2006: 275). In Spector's (2006: 276) opinion, "the Cold War represented both an empirical reality and an ideological framework". "The Cold War, in the way of grand narratives, provides a transcendent explanation" (Cooke et al 2005: 5) for the fact that the two nuclear-armed empires after World War II (WWII) had the power to set worldwide a particular ideological divide (Moore and Lewis, 2010), hence dismissing the notion of worlds. "The Cold War thus, inter-alia, was a war between versions of modernization" (Cooke et al, 2005: 10). As it will become clear in the next section, Chandler and

Furtado, have each subscribed to one opposing version of modernization, though Furtado has not opted for either version followed by the empires, thus exacerbating the divide between them.

However, we argue from a decolonial perspective from the borders of the South, that the literature about the effects of the grand narrative of the Cold War on management and strategic management produced in the North has not discussed its impacts on the ‘covering up’ (Dussel, 1993; 2002) of knowledges produced in Latin America, and in particular those produced by Celso Furtado. We argue that, fostering North-South encounters might enable the field of strategic management to engage better with the emerging multipolarity, and so, escape from the current farce, given the agenda that informs the contemporaneous attempts in the US of “encountering” the other, in a particular way, through the proposal of strategic management embracing development, as discussed in a previous session.

The subaltern knowledges produced by ECLAC and Celso Furtado

We consider this as the meso level of analysis, as ECLAC and Furtado were developing a model of development that was competing with the orthodox knowledge flow promoted by the North.

Some authors argue that the beginning of the Cold War was marked by the reelection of President Truman in the US, in 1948 (Spector, 2006). In his second term’s inaugural speech, Truman launched the famous Point IV program, which became an important instrument for financing the spread of management knowledge from the US to the underdeveloped countries, as a way to block the expansion of communism (Ibarra-Colado, 2007). By then, Furtado, after finishing his PhD in 1948, was working

in Santiago, Chile, at ECLAC. ECLAC had been recently created, under pressure of local countries, with a three year provisional mandate, by the United Nations (UN) to propose solutions for the region.

During the second ECLAC's conference in Cuba, in 1949, Raúl Prebisch, who was acting as a consultant at the time, and who would later become its president, delivered the "Havana Manifesto". This manifesto presented, for the first time, the concept of a center-periphery within the global economy, and raised a new proposal of state-led development that opposed the orthodox view. Specialists in development, from both developed and developing countries, agreed that "a new debate had been launched" (Dosman, 2011: 285). These ideas coming out of ECLAC were viewed as a threat to the spread of American theories and knowledge throughout Latin America. The manifesto challenged the "false sense of universalism existing in the theory used in developed countries" (Prebisch, 1949: 17), thus anticipating the claims that would be uttered by critical management scholars from the North some decades later. Furtado realized the power of these new theoretical proposals, and translated them into Portuguese, circulating them throughout the country, even before the manifesto was transformed into an official UN document (Furtado, 1998).

We argue that ECLAC's Havana Conference has demarcated the launch of a new subaltern knowledge from the South to which Furtado has immediately subscribed, and that would later mean a further move away from the perspectives produced by Chandler in the North.

Given the US' foreign policies of deterrence in the Third World, the "Havana Manifesto", and its almost immediate diffusion across Brazil, triggered a prompt reaction from the North towards the South. This resulted in Point IV financing several seminars in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Rio de Janeiro was the federal capital of the country

at that time, and was viewed by many as the intellectual capital of Latin America. In Furtado's view, this was made in "order to restore the good doctrine...and clean the intellectual environment of the malignant tumors of ECLAC" (Furtado, 1998: 19). Orthodox economists, such as Jacob Viner and Ragnar Nurkse, lectured at the recently opened Brazilian Institute of Economics of Fundação Getúlio Vargas (IBRE/FGV) and at the Brazilian University, two major think-tanks in Brazil at the time. Furtado was present at the debates with Nurkse (see Agarwala and Singh, 2010), and the discussion they started during one of these, led to Furtado's first publication in English: "Capital Formation and Economic Development" (1954). Clearly, and maybe without realizing how far it could go, Furtado was already choosing his side. These debates had a highly ideological tone; Viner shocked the audience when he suggested peremptorily that Latin America should "stay with free-trade, not move away from the neo-classical truths as economic diversification is a siren song, and dedicate itself to agriculture and to birth control" (Dosman, 2011: 285). During the Cold War period, any academic development that differed from the classical view was viewed as pro-communist (Cooke, 1999; McLaren and Mills, 2008).

Consequently, the subaltern knowledge produced by ECLAC and by Furtado has been overlooked by the mainstream proponents of management and strategic management. This is a case of the epistemic coloniality (Ibarra-Colado, 2007; Mignolo, 2009) produced in the North orchestrating to cover up (Dussel, 1993; 2002) knowledges from the South.

ECLAC was being attacked because of its structuralism views at a delicate moment, precisely in 1951, when its three year provisional mandate was due to expire. In another Cold War move led by the Truman Doctrine, the American government worked hard through diplomatic channels to try to merge ECLAC with the Organization

of American States (OAS), in order to keep it under full control. It was the recent reelected Brazilian president, Getulio Vargas (1950-54), who was in favor of State-led development, who saved ECLAC from the merger, and finally gave it a permanent structure (Furtado, 1974).

The development of management and of strategic management in particular, could have been different, if the North had embraced the new theories and proposals that were being fostered by ECLAC. The process promoted by Point IV, of sending academics from North to South, and getting into touch with this new subaltern knowledge and the local reality, might have had some positive influence on theories from the North; nevertheless, the period was marked by the coming of mainstream academics from the North to Latin America to lecture their theories, not to learn from local subaltern knowledges.

At the same time as the debate on development was under way in Latin America, in the early 1950's Chandler was pursuing his PhD degree at Harvard. One of his professors was Talcott Parsons, who became Chandler's greatest single academic influence (McCraw, 1987). Parsons' concepts of evolutionary universals in society were embraced by Chandler, who elaborated Parsons' views on the roles of government and organizations in development. Parsons (2000) contended that underdeveloped societies were trying to raise productivity via government-sponsored bureaucracies and that this was detrimental to decentralized market-oriented actions, and, as a result, were due to suffer disadvantages in the long run. Against the background of Chandler's studies the Harvard Business School, through the pages of its journal the Harvard Business Review (HBR) was playing a role in the developing Cold War by declaring war against communism (Spector, 2006).

Chandler was at Harvard, which had declared war against communism, whereas

Furtado was at ECLAC, challenging orthodox development theories. Chandler's "locus of enunciation" (Mignolo, 2007) was the modernization theories of the North, whereas ECLAC's loci of enunciation were the peripheries of Latin America. "The Cold War was a constitutive part of the modernization theory. The ahistorical bias of the modernization theory was an attempt to produce a universal theory from the experience and ideology of the core of the world economy" (Grosfoguel, 2002: 359).

Contrary to the universal theory, the proposition that "development and underdevelopment are simultaneous processes: (i.e.) the two faces of the historical evolution of the capitalist system" (Sunkel, 1972: 520) was the basis of the subaltern knowledge followed by ECLAC and Furtado. This was a breakthrough theoretical concept from the South, which claimed that underdevelopment was just a phase on the way to development that could be overcome, if, underdeveloped countries followed orthodox methods and committed themselves to the "right knowledge" (Rostow, 2000).

One of the clearest evidences of the strategy promoted by the Point IV concept was the title of the 1960 book by W.W.Rostow "The stages of economic growth: a non-communist manifesto" (Cooke et al, 2005). Rostow was Chandler's colleague at MIT, and was one of the main authors of this stages theory of modernization, "in which the American model was proposed as the logical end-point of economic and political development" (Whittington et al, 2002: 477). Chandler's (1962) model of the evolution of the company towards multidivisional form, delineated along four chapters of his book, denotes the same idea of progress suggested by the stage model of modernization (Whittington et al, 2002). Hence, if Furtado was proposing something different from that, it was taken for granted that he was choosing the other camp. The Cold War did not allow for "in between" proposals, thus what Furtado wrote in the pages of Foreign Affairs against the Second World was overlooked: "...rapid economic development of

socialist countries was achieved only at the price of restricting civil liberties...beyond the limits which we would consider tolerable” (Furtado, 1963: 530). Furtado had his camp already chosen by the grand narrative of the Cold War and by having chosen to advocate subaltern knowledges. He would later suffer the consequences of having chosen the other side of the abyssal line (Santos, 2010).

By the end of the 1950's, the Cold War had spread to Latin America, and it reached a turning point, when, in 1959, the troops of Fidel Castro and Che Guevara conquered Cuba and “transformed the political imaginary of many Latin Americans” (Grosfoguel, 2002: 357). The threat of communist expansion all over the so-called Third World became apparently imminent. This was the very same year that Furtado launched “Formação Econômica do Brasil” (Brazilian Economic Formation), which became his chef-d'oeuvre. Furtado developed an original interdisciplinary approach with intense use of history, which, one could say, was similar to the methodology utilized by Chandler. Through the structuralism lenses provided by ECLAC, Furtado explained the economic underdevelopment of Brazil. In the same year, 1959, Chandler followed a series of articles in the *Business History Review* with the publication of his influential article entitled “The Beginnings of ‘Big Business’ in American Industry”. This article became the basis for “Strategy and Structure” launched in 1962. In spite of the coincidence in the publication dates, and the similar methodologies used, divides that had grown ever wider over the course of the 1950's as a result of the Cold War, and the production of subaltern knowledges by ECLAC to which Furtado had subscribed, led the two prominent authors to very different formulations.

The National identity perspective

The national identity perspective helps introducing a cultural element into context and represents the micro level of analysis, bringing to the fore the researcher's perspective.

Celso Furtado was born in one of the poorest regions in Brazil, and completed his PhD in economics in war-devastated Paris, in 1948, after serving one year as a military officer in World War II at the battlefield in Italy. Alfred Chandler, member of the wealthy DuPont family, also served for the Allies, for five years, as a navy officer, and he was not exposed to battlefield. After the war, he returned to the US where he got his PhD in history, in 1952, at Harvard University. Chandler was born in 1918, two years before Furtado, and he out-lived Furtado by three years, passing away in 2007.

Chandler has influenced generations of scholars and disciplines in many countries (Carragher and Humphreys, 2009). As a professional historian, Chandler has offered to the field of management a particular perspective on the role of big American corporations and managers in economic development. At odds with most historians of his time, Chandler stated that “the major innovation in the American economy between the 1880's and the turn of the century was the creation of the great corporations in American industry” (Chandler, 1959: 31).

Furtado witnessed the effectiveness of government planning in the reconstruction of France and Europe after the war, and this historical context had a significant influence on his academic work. Chandler experienced, during five years in the US Navy, the power of government planning. However, he framed the US Navy as an organization implementing the strategy of the Allies (Chandler, 2009). He framed, in a similar fashion, the US railroads he studied in the documents inherited from his great-grandfather Henry Varnun Poor, on which he wrote a series of articles, a dissertation

and a book (McCraw, 1987).

In the 1970s, Chandler was viewed by many as the founder of the field of strategic management, whereas Furtado became known as one of the creators of the dependency theory, though the latter's contributions were not recognized by Chandler, nor by his followers. They shared the understanding that deliberate strategy was the right way to achieve development. However, different backgrounds, origins and positions have crafted national identities that led these two authors to very different proposals regarding what strategy stands for, and who the strategist is. What is particularly interesting is that these authors framed the "big corporation" from quite opposite theoretical - and perhaps nationalist - perspectives.

Strategy and Structure (1962) became Chandler's most quoted book, and is, to this day, considered the seminal work on strategy (Whittington et al, 2002; Smothers et al, 2010). However, Chandler benefited from a very specific situation whereby, before starting work on his book, he became research assistant in 1956 to Alfred Sloan's autobiography (Mckenna, 2006). In this position, to which he was invited by John McDonald, Chandler had privileged access to General Motors (GM) archives. The autobiography was ready by the end of 1959, but GM's lawyers did not allow its publication fearing the anti-trust authorities' reaction, and they shuttered access to GM's archives. It was only in 1964 that McDonald, who had rights to the publication, finally got the legal go-ahead to launch Sloan's auto-biography. This lapse in time meant that "My Years with General Motors" (1964) came out after "Strategy and Structure" (1962), thus giving the impression that the insights Chandler had were later confirmed by Sloan (Mckenna, 2006). However, the formulation was launched, and all his followers worked hard to promote this as a breakthrough concept that has influenced generations of researchers, and that would later become a milestone in strategic management.

In this influential book, Chandler (1962) showed that big corporations, run by professional managers, explained the superior performance of US capitalism (Smothers et al, 2009). Furtado (1966a; 1974), meanwhile, proposed state planning and investment as a way out of underdevelopment, which was mainly caused by the big corporations praised by Chandler in the US. We may argue that these descriptions are heavily influenced by the national identity each author was espousing. From Furtado's perspective, the expansion of the big corporations was hindering the potential for development of societies in Latin America (Furtado, 1966a) as it mainly served the US military interests in the Third World: "the great U.S. corporation seems to be as inadequate an instrument for dealing with Latin American problems as is a powerful mechanized army faced with guerrilla warfare" (Furtado, 1966b: 384). With regard to the manager's role, Furtado made a strong statement against the false universality of the theory, which states that the manager is a phenomenon present in all types of organizations, from the socialist to the tribal (Furtado, 1961).

As early as in his article of 1959, Chandler was already making it clear that the discussion involving the role of government was beyond the scope of his work. Apparently, what was just beyond the scope of that particular article became a practice throughout the course of his fertile academic production, which led one of his biographers to affirm that Chandler realized the weakness of the argument that the state had only a small contribution to make to the construction of industrial capitalism (McCraw, 1987). Furthermore, Mark Fruin (2009), who has worked with Chandler in the preparation of *Scale and Scope* (1990), contends that this book has mostly neglected the differences in government regulation and institutions amongst the studied countries. This suggests that when Chandler moved his analysis to country level, he was still considering the state as being beyond his scope.

Unlike Chandler, Furtado put his own theory into practice: one might argue that he anticipated the claims for strategy as a practice, as put forward by Whittington (2004). Furtado's first government position, after working ten years at ECLAC, came with an invitation, in 1958, from President Juscelino Kubistchek (1956-60) to formulate and implement SUDENE, a government regional development agency, which used planning strategies to tackle regional imbalances. Later, he would be appointed as the first Brazilian Minister of Planning, in the administration of President João Goulart (1961-64), whose government was considered by analysts as left wing and dangerous to the position of capitalism within Latin America. Francisco Oliveira, a sociologist and friend, who took part in the creation of SUDENE (Brazilian North-East Development Agency), affirms that Furtado in this process of putting into practice his academic theories, was geared by Karl Mannheim's concept of knowledge and reality interaction (speech in Furtado's biographic film "O longo amanhecer"; Mariani, 2004).

As minister, Furtado delivered, in only three months, a full compilation of the economic situation and a list of action proposals under the so-called "Plano Trienal" (Three Year Plan), which remains a masterpiece in government planning until today. The plan had strategy proposals that challenged the orthodox theories of halting growth to combat inflation and mounting government fiscal deficit, and opposed the idea that Brazil would only grow if tagged to the American economy (Furtado, R., 2011). Northern countries face a similar development challenge today, and the offer of a similar "Plano Trienal" could be an important contribution by the South to tackling the North's economic imbalances.

Goulart's government, in March 1964, was overthrown by a military coup. Following the coup, Furtado, and many other intellectuals and politicians, had their

political rights taken away, and he was banished from the country. This was the beginning of his long period in exile that would only end in the early 1980's. After returning to Brazil, Furtado served as minister in different governments and as Ambassador to the European Economic Community.

In spite of Furtado having served the government for just five years before leaving to exile and returning to the academy, we argue that this experience has definitively shaped his national identity that would impregnate his works. This position would further move him away from Chandler's views. Chandler has not had a position at the US government, but he was very close to federal affairs. Chandler launched, as chief editor, "The papers of Eisenhower" (1970), on which he has worked during his term at Johns Hopkins University. Eisenhower was the general that had commanded the allies during WWII, and that later became president of the US (1953-1961). Chandler (1970) considers the government war efforts the same way he conceives the large US corporations, and he describes General Eisenhower the same way he depicts corporate leaders (Hurley, 1971). Thus, we argue, that such a confidential task granted to Chandler, may have further sharpened his national identity that would be reflected in his writings.

In September 1964, while still in exile, Furtado was appointed as director of the development center at Yale University, which was the first of many international academic assignments he would enjoy over the following 40 years, both in the US and Europe. At Yale, he became a colleague of Stephen Hymer, with whom he shared a close intellectual contact. Furtado recognized that Hymer was important in awakening his interest in the big company as the structuring agent of capitalism (Furtado, 1974), and his influence may have contributed to the approach Furtado had in relation to the big corporation and the manager, which was quite different from Chandler's view.

Hymer (1970: 443) had claimed that “free trade and free factor movements” do not automatically lead to efficient allocation “because of the anticompetitive effect inherently associated with it”.

Though both Chandler and Furtado agreed that one of the main characteristics of this new development agent, the multinational corporation, was a professional management, they disagreed strongly on its role and consequences, maybe influenced as well by different national identities: for Chandler (1977), managers substitute the market in the optimal allocation of resources for the benefit of societies, whereas for Furtado (1974; 1978) this leads to an enormous concentration of power that fostered the creation of the first international oligopolies; “Chandler’s (1977) faith in the US as ‘seedbed’ for a world-wide managerial capitalism restated the old modernization thesis in the terms of the contemporary corporation” (Whittington et al, 2002: 477). Furthermore, we argue that when Chandler (1990) moved his research to international comparative analysis, he had his national identity perspective as the basis of comparison, hence he considered the multidivisional form “as an archetype of assumed American managerial superiority and as a form of practice other nations would do well to appreciate and then practice” (Pettigrew et al, 2002: 15). This is so the case, that when Chandler (1990) considered the British and the German models inferior to the American one, he dissatisfied both (Fruin, 2009).

In Furtado’s (1974) view, the oligopolies that are overlooked by Chandler, create barriers to the entry of new competitors, they coordinate prices of certain products, thus becoming a powerful instrument of economic expansion through diversification and gains of scale. These international oligopolies coordinate with the international monetary system, and with supranational and national agencies, both at home and host

markets, in order to increase their power. Furtado concludes that the relation of the big companies with governments becomes a relation of power and that their ideological behavior is absolutely not neutral (Furtado, 1974).

Contrary to Furtado's view, we may recall that Chandler affirmed that "nor is there any evidence that the creators of the different mergers were arranging with one another to set over-all price and production schedules" (1959: 22). Furtado (1966a) suggested that, the monopolies and oligopolies formed during the phase of imports substitution in Latin America, tried to defend their positions in the subsequent phase of industrialization. The non existence of internal social forces that could neutralize the power of the multinationals, is in Furtado's (1978) view the reason why they seek the Third World's markets. This process generates a concentration of income which brings benefits to the origin countries of the multinationals. Another consequence is the decrease of the coordinating efficiency of the host States (Furtado, 1978).

The way Furtado (1974) describes how the big companies coordinate internationally, calls attention to the fact that their managers' scope goes beyond the national one and that "a sentiment of belonging to an international class emerges...that sentiment might evolve to a generalized attitude of the superior layers of the capitalist class" (1974: 57). This description places Furtado very close to what Sklair (2002) later describes as the "transnational capitalist class" (TCC), and the way they coordinate internationally to defend their interests.

In what concerns the international environment, Furtado (1974) depicts it as very complex and that the big companies under these circumstances will have to conform to under optimal solutions, even having access to all information. In spite of that, some of

them reach an extraordinary success, which Furtado affirms that “some chronics of the profession will credit to the intuition of extraordinary man, which is just a repetition of the history of politics” (1974: 53). Chandler, by his turn, would certainly credit this success to manager’s visible hand.

McCraw (1987: 174) appoints as one of the main criticisms to Chandler’s work his “relative de-emphasis on the human impact of industrialization”. Whereas, Furtado condemns the “process of irreversible degradation of the physical world” (1974: 17) caused by the big business praised by Chandler. The title of Furtado’s book “The myth of development” (1974) is, in fact, a call against the impossibility of exhausting world’s environment to deliver the same level of development to the whole humanity.

Furtado died in 2004, soon after a movement was instigated by his peers to nominate him for the Nobel Prize for Economics, in 2003, in recognition of his theoretical contributions. A few months before passing away, he made a testimony to his biographic documentary in which one can perceive his nationalist fervor, when he shows himself still intrigued by his original research questions: “Why this specificity about Brazil? Why is Brazil so different”? (Mariani, 2004).

One year after Furtado’s passing, Chandler, still active at the giddy age of 88, co-edits with Bruce Mazlish “Leviathans” (2005), whose title is the designation they gave to the multinationals. In their view, this model has “risen from the depths of humanity’s creative power” and that it increasingly challenges the power of nation states and regional entities. We may argue that, within the 43 years that separate this book from *Strategy and Structure* (1962), Chandler’s admiration for the US model of big corporations, and the nationalist perspective by which he describes them, have not wavered in the slightest.

Though we have described each of the highlighted aspect in one of the perspectives described above, when we look at them, compared by author, in the following table, we will see it is difficult to associate each one to just one level of analysis. That confirms that the perspectives are interdependent, and that the levels of analysis are intertwined.

	Alfred Chandler	Celso Furtado
born	Du Pont	Rich family, very poor region
PhD	History at Harvad 1952	Economics at Sorbonne 1948
Locus enunciation	North	South
Knowledge base	center	subaltern
Academic career	US	Brazil – US - France
Chef-d’oeuvre	Strategy & Structure 1962	Br Economic Formation 1959
method	Comparative economy history	Comparative economy history
Main influence	Talcott Parsons	Karl Manheim
Considered one of the fathers of	Strategic management	Dependency theory
Political rights	Always continued	Exiled in 1964
State affairs	Editor of Eisenhower’s papers	Minister of Planning and Culture
State war effort	As big business	State planning for development
War participation	Allies - US Navy office	Allies – battle front Italy
State	Beyond scope	Way out of underdevelopment
Big business on development	The very agent	Hindering the potential of Latin American societies
Big business	Major innovation (1959) Leviathan (2005)	Oligopolies
Manager	Visible hand (1977)	Concentration of power
Strategist	Top manager	Anyone planning
Deliberate strategy	Top manager	State
Development agent	Big business	State
Modernization theory	Stages from the center	Structuralism from ECLAC
American model	Archetype to be replicated worldwide	False sense of universalism

Table 2 – aspects highlighted by each author (prepared by the author)

We hope this work will help enrich the academic development of management and strategic management from a more multipolar perspective. Our aim is also to generate alternatives for managers and policy makers, mainly from the South, who are exposed to the neo-liberal discourse.

Final considerations

We have, in this paper, sought to discuss, through a decolonial turn from the borders of the South (Mignolo and Tlostanova, 2006; Ibarra-Colado, 2007; Mignolo, 2009; Santos, 2010) the (dis)encounters of the works of Chandler and Furtado, despite the enduring North-South divides. We have challenged the abyssal line (Santos, 2010), which has been reinforced by the field of strategic management, in order to create better conditions for the construction of knowledges in strategy and management studies from a more multipolar perspective. We have done this by proposing a framework by which we have analyzed Chandler-Furtado's case from three interdependent perspectives, representing three different level of analysis: at the macro level, the grand narrative of the Cold War; at the meso level, the subaltern knowledges developed by ECLAC and by Furtado; and the national identity each author was espousing, which represents the micro level of analysis, thus bringing to the fore the researcher's perspective.

This paper hopes to fulfill one of its main objectives by encouraging other researchers to reframe other North-South academic disencounters in the Cold War. If “management is a Cold War phenomenon” (Kelley et al, 2006), and the “ideal manager a product of the Cold War era” (McLaren and Mills, 2008), and given the fact that management, and afterwards strategic management, were spread worldwide in this same era (Parmar, 2002; Faria and Guedes, 2010), it is surprising that “there is little research

into the impact of the Cold War on management theory and practice per se” (Kelley et al, 2006: 604), particularly the impact in Latin America (see Alcadipani, 2010 and Faria et al, 2010 as exceptions). Furthermore, we suggest that decolonial turn may offer an additional critical perspective from which to reframe these disencounters, thus reinforcing Critical Management Studies’ canon.

The lack of a political perspective in strategic management (Pettigrew et al, 2002) may also explain as well the failure of the field in discussing the recent unfolding crisis and consequences for the production and spread of knowledge. Furtado’s trajectory, moving from academic to public and political positions over the course of his life, highlights that there is no segregation between these domains. On the other hand, one may argue that, although Chandler was an academic throughout his life, did not mean that he did not have any political influence. Certainly his main proposals in *Strategy and Structure* (1962) and *Visible Hand* (1977) had a strong political impact (Perrow, 2008), and they were the basis that “fitted comfortably consultants’ prescriptive toolkits spread around the world” (Rowlinson, Toms and Wilson, 2007: 471).

We want to emphasize that what some authors describe as a “clash of civilizations” (Huntington, 1999) we understand as “simply and positively the irreversible uprising of universal cultures excluded by modernity (and post-modernity)” (Dussel, 2002: 237). Management in general, and strategic management in particular, should be informed by models and concepts from the South that have been buried by epistemic coloniality (Mignolo, 2007) instead of embracing the mission of spreading the benefits of Western capitalism throughout the world – especially in the South (e.g., Bruton, 2010; see also Brugmann and Prahalad, 2007 and Ricard et al 2004). In Furtado’s (1998: 74) own words: “the idea that the world tends to homogenize derives

from the acritical acceptance of economics thesis”. Strategic management would be in a much better position to fulfill world needs (not only in the South), if Furtado’s work were not dismissed by Chandler and other proponents of managerial capitalism who followed his seminal work.

Along more than 50 years Chandler and Furtado have researched about the same subject, but from different perspectives. Only Chandler’s contributions became recognized in the field of strategic management, whereas Furtado’s propositions were buried by the epistemic coloniality of Northern knowledge. However, we posit their works are inseparable parts of the same phenomenon, the same way modernity and coloniality are, and that we need decoloniality in order to promote such an encounter envisaged in this paper.

“We need to be convinced that a different world is possible, *plural, diverse and symmetrical*” (Dussel and Ibarra-Colado, 2006: 505). What we propose is an invitation for dialogue, not an imposition, “in order to open up the space for the possibility” (Mignolo, 2007:469), “aiming at a transmodern world based on pluriversality rather than on a new and good universal for all” (Mignolo, 2010: 111).

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