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国际人类学民族学联合会第十六届大会文集
Book Series of the 16th World Congress of IUAES
黄忠彩 总编
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企业人类学：应用研究和案例研究

Enterprise Anthropology: Applied Research and Case Study

张继焦 ［马来］文平强◎主编
Edited by **Zhang Jijiao and VOON Phin Keong**

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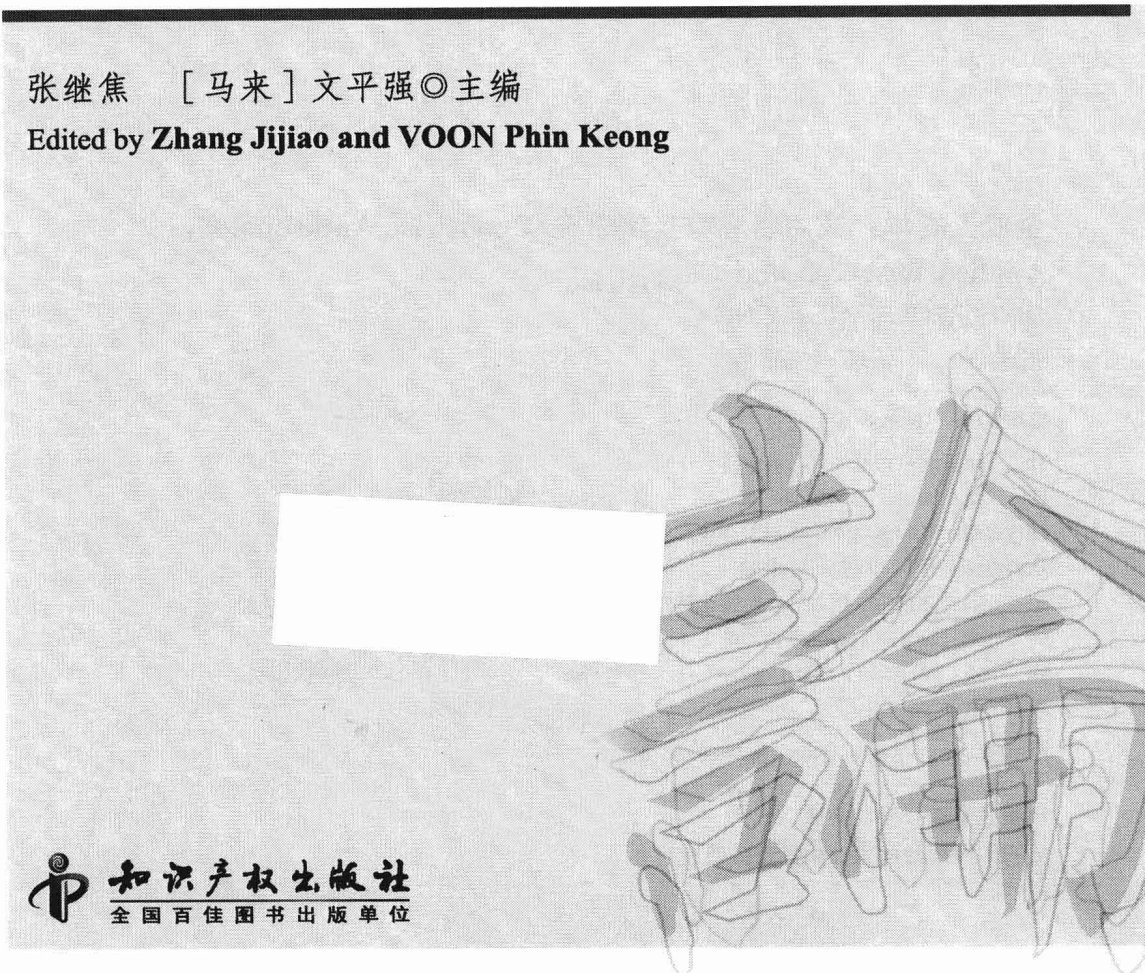

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Preface

China won the right to host the 16th IUAES World Congress in July, 2003. After six years of preparation, the Congress will be held in Kunming, China during July 27-31, 2009.

The International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (IUAES) was established on August 23, 1948, when it merged, in fact, with the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (ICAES), which was founded in 1934. The latter was the product of various Congresses of Anthropological Sciences, starting in 1865.

The IUAES is one of the member organizations of the International Social Science Council (ISSC) and also of the International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies (ICPHS). The IUAES is also a member of the International Council of Scientific Unions (ICSU). Its aim is to enhance exchange and communication among scholars of all regions of the world, in a collective effort to expand human knowledge. In this way, it hopes to contribute to a better understanding of human society, and to a sustainable future based on harmony between nature and culture. The IUAES once noted a draft statement on the future of world anthropology in "Current Anthropology" (1979): "The scope of anthropology in terms of areas of human interest includes such critical issues of the contemporary world as problems of environmental management, pressure for the progressive reduction of disparities and the restructuring of the world order, the future of the nation-state, ethnic pluralism and the future of national society, and the harmonization of the roles and functions of institutions with the basic and derived biological and psychic drives of man." The IUAES itself consists of national and institutional organizations in more than 50 countries in all parts of the world, and also includes some hundreds of individual members. The research effort and involvement of the IUAES is principally arranged by its scientific commissions, of which, currently, there are twenty-seven, and each of which concentrates on some areas of anthropological interest. They included ethnic relations, aging and the aged, women, children, youth, migration, epidemiology and Aids, tourism, primatology, linguistics, and so on.

The theme of the 16th IUAES World Congress in Kunming, China is "Humanity, Development, and Cultural Diversity ". The Anthropologists and Ethnologists around the world will present over 4000 papers, which covered 33 sub-disciplines or research fields as

follows: Aging and the Aged Studies, Aids, Archaeological Anthropology, Children, Youth and Childhood Studies, Communication Anthropology, Development and Economic Anthropology, Educational Anthropology, Enterprise Anthropology, Ecological/ Environmental Anthropology, Ethnic Culture Studies, Ethnic Relations and Ethnic Identities, Food and Nutrition Anthropology, Gender and Woman Studies, Globalization Anthropology, Historical Anthropology, Human Ecology, Human Rights Studies, Indigenous Knowledge and Sustainable Development Studies, Legal Anthropology and Legal Pluralism, Linguistic Anthropology, Medical Anthropology and Epidemiology, Migration Anthropology, Museum and Cultural Heritage, Nomadic Peoples Studies, Physical Anthropology and Molecular Anthropology, Psycho-anthropology, Religious Studies, Sport Anthropology, Theoretical Anthropology, Tourism Anthropology, Urban Anthropology, Urgent Anthropological Research, and Yunnan Studies.

As the organizer of the 16th IUAES World Congress, the Chinese Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (CUAES) decided to edit and publish "Anthropology and Ethnology Today Series"—the paper collection series of the above sub-disciplines or research fields, for example, Physical Anthropology, Molecular Anthropology, Migration Anthropology, Museum and Cultural Heritage, Nomadic Peoples Studies, Linguistic Anthropology, Medical Anthropology, and Ethnic Culture Studies. We hope that the scholars from different parts of the world can share with all the achievements in the book series of this congress.

Zhou Mingfu, Executive Vice-president
Chinese Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences

Huang Zhongcai, Secretary-general
Chinese Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences
July 14, 2009

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1

Introduction to Enterprise Anthropology: Review and Prospect

Zhang Jijiao

Prof. & Dr., Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences
Chair, Commission on Enterprise Anthropology, IUAES

Significance of Enterprise Anthropology

Enterprise must be a research target of Anthropologists.

Enterprise is not only a kind of economic organization, but also a kind of social and cultural organization. When Anthropologists pay more attention to social and cultural diversity, we must not ignore diversified kinds of enterprises in our world.

With the background of globalization and localization in different countries and areas, enterprises have a great impact on our economy, lifestyle, society and culture. At these times, Anthropologists need to understand different impact levels of various enterprises (transnational companies, state-owned companies, and middle and small sized companies), which is based on our knowledge of social organization from the past to the present.

1. Occupations for anthropologists in Enterprise

It has been estimated that approximately 15 percent of all anthropologists in the United States work in the private sector of the economy, up from about 2 percent just two decades ago. With their traditional emphasis on participant observation, business anthropologists are in unique position to gather information on grass-roots corporate culture from the bottom up. To illustrate, the Xerox Corporation used an anthropologist to help the company devise more effective training programs for their service technicians.

In the past years, anthropologists work inside some of the leading manufacturing and service companies in the world, including Arthur Andersen, Ford, General Motors, Hewlett

Packard, Motorola, Nissan, Proctor & Gamble and Xerox. These firms have discovered that anthropology brings a unique understanding of human and cultural issues to their enterprises at home and abroad. At the same time, anthropologists are discovering that the doors of business and industry open onto many exciting field sites and important research questions, and that the anthropological perspective can make a significant contribution to corporate social responsibility and ethics.

Many corporations look explicitly for anthropologists, recognizing the utility of their perspective on a corporate team. A corporate anthropologist working in market research might conduct targeted focus groups to examine consumer preference patterns not readily apparent through statistical or survey methods.

Anthropologist Elizabeth Briody is a pioneer in a growing and influential field—corporate anthropology. What began as an experiment in a handful of companies such as GM has become an explosion. For the past 11 years, though, she's been studying a different community—the men and women of General Motors. As GM's "industrial anthropologist" Briody explores the intricacies of life at the company. It's not all that different from her previous work. "Anthropologists help elicit the cultural patterns of an organization," she says. "What rules do people have about appropriate and inappropriate behavior? How do they learn those rules and pass them on to others?"

The use of anthropologists in corporate America is growing. Why does Microsoft Corp. employ at least seven anthropologists? (And it is looking to hire more.) Other companies that utilize anthropologists include General Motors, Pitney Bowes Inc. and Intel Corp. Corporations have utilized anthropologists in the past to study their customers and how their workers put products together. Anthropologists are used to help companies understand cultures in other countries, and they help different corporate "cultures" or departments understand each other, too [Ben Miller, 2005, "Anthropology and business come together", in Puget Sound Business Journal (Seattle) Nov. 11. The author Ben Miller is Associate Editor of Puget Sound Business Journal.].

We think that in this global world in which we live, there is great need for anthropologists in organization structure, enterprise culture, corporate social responsibility, business consulting, globalization and international business, product design, marketing and consumer behavior.

2. Brief Review of Enterprise Anthropology

The term "Enterprise Anthropology" came into usage in the recent years. Prior to that

time, the terms "industrial anthropology", "business anthropology", "anthropology of work" or "applied anthropology in industry" were used more frequently to denote areas of research and practice focused on enterprise or business related phenomenon.

2.1 Early Period of Enterprise Anthropology (1930s to 1950s)

Since the 1930s anthropologists have conducted research in industrial and corporate settings, focusing largely on corporate cultures in the United States. W. Lloyd Warner consulted with the Hawthorne researchers in The Hawthorne Project of the Western Electric Company (now part of Lucent Technologies) during 1931 and 1932 (Richard Gillespie 1947, Helen Schwartzman 1993). W. Lloyd Warner became the father of industrial or organizational anthropology, and he hoped to improve organizational effectiveness through the study of modern institutions such as industrial organizations (E. Eddy and W. Partridge 1978). The human relations school of organizational research of the 1930s and 1940s produced a number of ethnographies showing how informal cultural patterns could influence managerial goals (Helen Schwartzman 1993). More recent studies of corporate cultures have attempted to show how specific configurations of values contribute to the relative success or failure of meeting corporate goals.

From the 1940s to the 1950s, a group of anthropologists (including Conrad Arensberg, Elliot Chapple, Burleigh Gardner, Robert Guest, Solon Kimball, Frederick Richardson, Leonard Sayles, and William Foote Whyte) at Harvard found many opportunities to conduct observational studies in large corporations, and to apply their insights toward the goal of industrial harmony (Marietta L. Baba 2006). The findings of anthropology were in conflict with the existing management theory of the day.

The Society for Applied Anthropology (SfAA) was established at Harvard in 1941. Several of the founders were industrial anthropologists who published their industrial research findings in the SfAA's journal *Applied Anthropology* (now *Human Organization*). This organization is currently the central professional organization for all practitioners of applied anthropology.

During the 1940s and 50s, Sears, Roebuck & Company, the Container Corporation of America, International Business Machines (IBM), Inland Steel Container Company, Libby MacNeil and Libby, Bundy Tubing Company, and the Eastern Corporation hired anthropologists to work on problems in specific plants, such as high turnover, absenteeism, strikes, and poor worker-management cooperation.

2.2 Diversified Period of Enterprise Anthropology (1960s to 1980s)

Around 1960, due to a number of significant changes in the social, political and economic context of the United States, Industrial Anthropology declined. During the 1960s-1980s, Industrial Anthropology splintered into several branches, the principal ones being: 1) Marxist and neo-Marxist critiques of industry at home and abroad (Harry Braverman 1974, K. C. Kusterer 1978, Louise Lamphere 1979, June Nash 1979 1989), 2) the ethnography of industrial occupations and professions (Frederick Gamst 1980, Herbert Applebaum 1981 1984), and 3) the study of industrialization processes outside the West (Max Gluckman 1961, Clifford Geertz 1962, William Form Carol 1979). For example, Thomas Rohlen wrote a classic ethnography focusing on a medium-size Japanese bank, explaining the cultural logic of Japanese organizational structures and practices just as these were becoming acutely interesting to enterprise researchers and practitioners in the West (Thomas Rohlen 1974).

2.3 Contemporary Development of Enterprise Anthropology (1980s to the Present)

As businesses globalized, from 1980s to the present, Enterprise Anthropology became increasingly applied in anthropology departments, business schools, and interdisciplinary research centers and institutes (e.g., University of Pennsylvania, Northwestern University, University of Nebraska, University of Utah, University of Arizona), positions in major corporate research laboratories and institutes (e.g., GM, IBM, Intel, Microsoft, Motorola, Xerox), business functions (e.g., marketing) and consulting firms.

The academic departments that have become seats of graduate level teaching and/or research in Enterprise or Business Anthropology included the College of William and Mary, Michigan State University, Northwestern University, Oregon State University, the University of North Texas, and Wayne State University (where the first undergraduate course was taught in 1984/85 by Marietta Baba). A number of other universities have permitted doctoral students to conduct dissertation research in corporations, or to focus on enterprise or business-related phenomenon (e.g., Chicago, Temple, Yale).

The AAA founded the National Association for the Practice of Anthropology (NAPA) in 1984, and several of this organization's officers have been full-time business practitioners or academic consultants. NAPA's first monograph encouraged relationships between enterprise and anthropology. There are five volumes of NAPA Bulletins concerning Enterprise Anthropology (Marietta L. Baba 1986, Nancy Yaw Davis, Roger P. McConochie, and David R. Stevenson 1987, Maureen J. Giovanni and Lynne M. H. Rosansky 1990, Ann T.

Jordan 1994, Palma Ingles and Jennifer Sepez 2007), and two chapter papers in NAPA Bulletins discussed Enterprise Anthropology (Tomoko Hamada 1999, Judith Benson 2000). NAPA is one of co-sponsors for an annual conference EPIC (Ethnographic Praxsis in Industry), which is the fourth annual meeting in Copenhagen, Denmark in October, 2008.

3. Current research contents of Enterprise Anthropology

As I know, current research contents of Enterprise Anthropology in USA cover seven interdisciplinary domains in which anthropologists have explored new opportunities through enterprise-related research and practice.

(1) An overview of Enterprise Anthropology in USA, which included its history, development and current situation, theories and methods (Marietta Baba 1993 2006, Ann Jordan 2003).

(2) Organizational behavior and management (Helen Schwartzmann 1994, Terrence Deal and Allen Kennedy 1982, Edgar Schein 1985, Elizabeth Briody and Marietta Baba 1991, Tomoko Hamada 1995, Julian Orr 1996, Marietta Baba 1995 1999, Tomoko Hamada 1998, Douglas Caulkins 1992, Carla Freeman 2000).

(3) Ethnographically-informed design of products, services, and systems (Susan Squires and Bryan Byrne 2002, Suchman 1987 1988, Pelle Ehn 1988, Hugh Beyers and Karen Holtzblatt 1998, William Reese 2002, Christina Wasson 2002).

(4) Consumer behavior and marketing (Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood 1978, Pierre Bourdieu 1979, John Sherry 1995, Daniel Miller 1995, Janeen Costa 1995, John Sherry, Jr. and Robert Kozinets 2001, Eric Arnould, Linda Price, and Georgbe Zinkhan 2002, Eric Arnould and Craig Thompson 2004).

(5) Since 1990s, Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) is not only a concept but also an important issue as it emerged in USA.

(6) In the past thirty years, many concepts and theories on ethnic/immigrant entrepreneurship have been developed, challenged, and revised to provide a fuller account of the phenomenon (Harold P. Welsch 2003, Min Zhou 2006).

(7) Several Anthropologists began to study Silicon Valley since the early 1980s (J.A. English-Lueck 2001, Bernard Wong 2006).

3.1 Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR)

Since 1990s, Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) is not only a concept but also an

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important issue as it emerged in Europe, North America, South America, and Asia-Pacific Region. There is as yet, no widely agreed definition of CSR. CSR is a globally applicable concept but its interpretation will vary from country to country, industry to industry and company to company because of differing local situations and differing demands of stakeholders in different locations and industries. It is clear that for many people CSR is very much part of a Western agenda item. Nevertheless, in the Asia-Pacific region it would be wrong to assume that all CSR practices are less developed than in the West, and it is a topic of much discussion (even at government level) although some see something culturally specific about the implementation of CSR. Anthropologists value the economic sustainability of organizations as well as their environmental and social sustainability.

There are certainly issues where the world context of CSR may well be different to that found elsewhere and there are going to be some tensions between what we might consider to be core values and locally defined cultural norms. Human rights are likely to be defined differently in China and America. The aspiration of achieving zero child labour is not entirely workable amongst poor families in rural communities in the short run. The role of women is often defined by local religious beliefs or traditions that are hard to break down. These are areas that point to the need for flexibility in CSR and not a strict definition. We believe CSR is a company's commitment to operating in an economically, socially and environmentally sustainable manner whilst balancing the interests of diverse stakeholders. An enterprise is a business with primarily social objectives whose surpluses are principally reinvested for that purpose in the business or in the community, rather than being driven by the need to maximize profit for shareholders and owners.

3.2 Consumer behavior research

Consumer behavior is the study of how people buy, what they buy, when they buy and why they buy. It blends elements from Anthropology, Psychology, and Sociology. Anthropology and consumer studies are two related academic fields in terms of theoretical and methodological traditions. However it is still in the developmental stage and more improvements should be added. In order to understand consumers and the choices consumers make, Anthropologists must study a range of human responses, including, but not limited to, affective (feelings), cognitive (thoughts), and behavioral (actions). All those human responses can be answered through participant-observation, a powerful anthropological pedagogical approach that fits in the behavioral theories of learning well.

It is clear that consumer behavior refers to consumers' responses to products and

services, and to how those products and services are presented. Contemporary business anthropologists are conducting fieldwork with video cameras, tape recorders, and pagers. In the process, these researchers track the buying rituals of consumers and, in doing so, they help decision makers develop culturally sensitive marketing strategies. Rick Robinson is one of this new breed of business anthropologists. He and his colleagues use anthropological methods to observe and conceptualize the consumption process in order to aid in the designing of new products. Anthropology and especially its ethnographic methods have been becoming increasingly popular sources from which to borrow tools to investigate marketing and consumer behavior since the late 20th century. More and more anthropologists have involved themselves recently with consumer studies. For example, anthropologist Salvador, by doing an ethnographic study in a small town in northern Italy, helped a high tech company develop the future market of computing. Many anthropologists do research on consumers' behavior that helps high-tech companies to design new products for the market based on their findings. They conduct observational research, dispatching anthropologists to employ their ethnographic skills by interviewing, watching and videotaping consumers in their natural habitats. It is reported that companies like Apple, Motorola, Xerox and Intel, as well as telecommunications and cable companies, have brought anthropologists into the corporate fold. The goal is to apply what the anthropologists learn to new product concepts by understanding the customer.

3.3 Cross-cultural business

(1) Cross-cultural business in the international market

Research has shown that failures in the overseas business setting most frequently result from an inability to understand and adapt to foreign ways of thinking and acting rather than from technical or professional incompetence. The world is changing faster than most of us can calculate, and if American or European businesspersons are to meet the challenges of an increasingly interdependent world, they will need to develop a better understanding of how cultural variables influence international business enterprises. A healthy dialogue between business anthropologists and members of the international business community will be an important step in achieving that needed understanding.

Failure to consider the cultural context in the domestic organization can, and has led to misunderstandings, miscommunication, lawsuits, and generally an undermining of the goals of organization. When moving into the area of international business, the need to be aware of cultural environments becomes even more critical. Here the magnitude of the cultural

differences is vastly greater, and consequently, breakdowns of the communications usually increase geometrically. Although the anthropological perspective is valuable in understanding any business organization, be it domestic or international, will enterprise anthropology can make contributions to the improvement of international business operations.

(2) Cross-cultural business in the multi-ethnic cities

In the multi-cities anthropologists face major challenges in understanding the dynamics of the ethnic enterprises as they become more diversified. Just as previous generations of researchers took up the challenge of analyzing how various ethnic societies and the roads of their development in the past times, so, too, today's generation of researchers confronts the challenge of analyzing ethnic enterprises with diverse racial and ethnic groups. These challenges require anthropologists to go beyond existing theoretical frameworks and methodology to explore the complexity of the multiethnic group context.

In recent years, as cities have become increasingly multiethnic, there has been a growing interest in studying inter-group relations in the ethnic business setting. One line of research is to explore the inter-group relations between business owners and customers. Another line of explanation for the inter-group conflict in business settings has documented the importance of group perception and group socioeconomic differences. An important aspect of understanding a multiethnic city is to explore the labor market performance of racial and ethnic groups.

Conclusion

Anthropologists should have great contribution in the field of Enterprise research. The enterprise is becoming increasingly international, workforces and markets, increasingly diverse, participatory management and decision making, increasingly important, communication skills, increasingly in demand. Anthropology is one of the contemporary disciplines that approach human questions from historical, biological, linguistic, and cultural perspectives.

Demand for enterprise anthropologists is increasingly stimulated by a growing need for analysts and researchers with sharp thinking skills who can manage, evaluate, and interpret the large volume of data on human behavior. The extent of occupational flexibility reflects the emphasis on breadth, diversity, and independence of thought.

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