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Teaching International Business: A View from Anthropology

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As an independent enterprise, international business has begun to achieve parity with such basic business disciplines as marketing, finance, and organization behavior. As the field matures, it will become increasingly judicious in its borrowing from other intellectual traditions, and both educational and research objectives will be profoundly affected. The current interest of anthropologists in business activity is one source of synergy that can be effectively harnessed. Applied anthropology has begun to achieve parity with the four traditional subdisciplines of anthropology, and business has become a critical area of application. As this field is legitimated, the contributions of anthropology will be recognized by business academics and practitioners. This exploratory article frames this interest for teachers and researchers, and discusses ways in which an anthropological perspective might be used to enhance the teaching of international business. CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT, APPLIED ANTHROPOLOGY, BUSINESS ANTHROPOLOGY

Despite its antiquity as an independent enterprise (Curtin 1984), international business has just recently begun to achieve parity with such basic business disciplines as marketing, finance, and organization behavior. A recent evaluation of the efforts of the Academy of International Business to develop and enrich the field indicates that the objectives of enhancing educational curricula, engendering fundamental research and encouraging the influencing of policy toward an open and liberal economic order have gone largely unresolved (Hawkins 1984). These shortcomings are partially maturation issues and will be addressed as academicians continue to borrow perspectives, methods, and concepts from other intellectual traditions, while developing indigenous paradigms of their own. The current interest of anthropologists in business activity is one source of synergy that can be effectively harnessed.

Anthropological interest in business, while discontinuous over most of the discipline's history, has intensified in recent years. This interest has ranged across time and space, from ancient trade diasporas to contemporary multinational corporate activity. While research has addressed both positive and normative dimensions of business, the tenor of the inquiry has largely been critical. Anthropologists have focused on consequences to stakeholders and on impact upon

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cultural and natural ecology, to the virtual exclusion of clinical business practices themselves. Recently, anthropologists have begun moving beyond this traditional narrowly defined advocacy perspective to study business activity in a more holistic, comprehensive fashion. Sherry (1983, 1986a,b, 1987a,b) has discussed this shift with regard to marketing and consumer research, while Vlahos (1986) has provided an overview of the effort from the perspective of the field at large. This latter work, essentially an ideological defense of business activity, is sure to provoke a mixed response from anthropologists. A more balanced, developmental account of business anthropology has been provided by Baba (1986). The possibility of encouraging more anthropologists to research business activity, and of encouraging both academics and practitioners to adopt anthropological perspectives in their pursuits, has never been greater. The present study was designed to facilitate such cross-fertilization.

Methods

At the time this study was launched (autumn of 1984), the renascence of anthropological interest in international business was apparent only to those with the tenacity and perseverance needed to track the trend while tending to more legitimized research endeavors. Loose social networks whose small size disqualified them from being classified as invisible colleges, researchers working beyond the pale of established professional associations such as the Society for Economic Anthropology or the Society for the Anthropology of Work, and consulting anthropologists provided the critical mass of the movement. The emerging of the National Association for the Practice of Anthropology in 1984 (a prophetic date in the hermeneutics of doctrinal anthropology) made it possible for so-called "business anthropologists" to consort in formal fashion for the first time. It was apparent to the academics in this new society that curriculum development would be a critical task to be undertaken by the membership, as none of the traditional core areas of anthropology—applied anthropology included—could contribute a stand-alone pedagogical apparatus. While each of the subdisciplines had something to say about business practices, none of them had fielded a tightly integrated module, let alone an entire course, devoted to the subject that might serve as a paradigm.

In this emergent context, I designed an exploratory study of current teaching practices. Drawing upon my own personal network and the mailing lists of several professional societies to which I belonged, I constructed a purposive sample of 100 academic anthropologists. These respondents were judged to be more likely than the field at large to offer formal coursework in the area of international business. Given the relative novelty of business anthropology as a subdiscipline, the exploratory nature of the study, and the practical consequences that

were anticipated (i.e., curriculum development), a small sample size was warranted. Clearly, the generalizations to be made from a small purposive sample are limited, but the pedagogical uses to which a thick description of even a few of the classroom practices of our peers might be put are multiplex.

A 70-item questionnaire consisting of both forced choice and open-ended questions was constructed to elicit information about respondents' training and research interests, institutional status and course load, course design and implementation, satisfactions and shortfalls regarding instructional materials, projections and evaluations of critical research issues, and other appraisals as they related to the teaching of international business. The survey and a cover letter soliciting a response were mailed to the 100 anthropologists in the sample. In addition to soliciting comments on any aspects of the instrument or the study itself, the author requested that current syllabi be returned with the completed questionnaire. Respondents were guaranteed anonymity in those cases where it was requested.

Of the 100 questionnaires originally mailed, 57 were eventually returned. Of these 57, 5 were returned unopened (as in the case of inaccurate addresses or unknown forwarding addresses), 11 were returned by respondents who declined to participate (by dint of not teaching a relevant course, or of not being able to route the request to an appropriate alternate), and 4 were returned unusable (e.g., high item nonresponse). Thirty-seven questionnaires were returned satisfactorily completed. Since mail survey response rates over 30% are rare (Alreck and Settle 1985), and budgetary and time constraints were pressing, no follow-up mailing was attempted to increase the response rate. Given the exploratory nature of the study and the use of a purposive sample, the response rate for the mailing is considered adequate. Response figures are summarized in Table 1.

Several factors may account for refusal to participate in the study. No inducements beyond service to the field were offered in return for compliance, and no follow-up questionnaires were mailed. The questionnaire, in seeking to be comprehensive in its approach to current

Table 1
Response Rate

Response Category	Number Returned (N = 100)	Percentage Returned
Returned unopened	5	5
Returned declined	11	11
Returned unusable	4	4
Returned usable	37	37
Total returned	57	57

pedagogy, may have been perceived to be too lengthy. (That several respondents indicated that the questionnaire became the basis of course enrichment and new course design affirms this suspicion.) For sample members newly returned from the field and engaged in course preparation, the timing of the survey may have proved inauspicious. While sensitive data per se were not collected, concern that anonymity might be breached may have acted as a deterrent. The traditional antipathy felt by anthropologists toward data collection via survey may have hindered response. Interestingly enough, few informants could refrain from commenting in writing on their responses to forced choice questions, and open-ended questions produced some rich responses. Mail surveys are certainly less than optimal instruments for collecting data from anthropologists. Finally, because business anthropology is a new subdiscipline, respondents may have been hesitant to risk criticism for their coverage from more traditionally focused colleagues, and thus reluctant to respond. Before such liminal fields of study are legitimized by a parent discipline, a certain risk attaches to the inquiry, whether that inquiry is exploratory (as in curriculum development) or committed (as in the founding of a research regimen). The opportunities and dangers inherent in breaking new ground have been effectively considered by Cummings and Frost (1985).

Discussion of Findings

The information generated through the survey ranges across a number of issues. The following discussion examines some characteristics of the sample. Course design and implementation are also treated. An extended examination of substantive content areas is undertaken. Specific pedagogical techniques and specialized instructional materials are considered. Finally, the research issues that respondents identified as critical are explored in detail.

Sample Characteristics

Of the 37 respondents the majority of them hold the rank of Professor (38%) or Associate Professor (41%). An additional 16% are Assistant Professors; one Instructor and one Lecturer appear in the sample. All were employed by four-year colleges, equally divided between private and state schools. Over half of these schools offered the Ph.D. in anthropology, another 14% offered an M.A., and 24% awarded B.A. degrees in the area. The figures on seniority may indicate either that business-related teaching is a risky foundation upon which to build one's career, or that such teaching is being legitimized by established scholars. Both interpretations may in fact be accurate: nontraditional research is most expediently undertaken from the security of tenure.

Most of the respondents (87%) were trained most intensively in the sociocultural field, with a variety of subfields being noted. The most frequently identified subfields included Latin America (four men-

tions), urban anthropology (four mentions), social structure and networks (four mentions), medical anthropology (three mentions), and economic anthropology (three mentions). Other subfields mentioned by respondents include psychological anthropology, European peasantry, imperialism, American Indians, Africa, ecological anthropology, folklore, expressive culture, women, and marketing. Even given this range, the subdisciplines of anthropology relevant to business studies not mentioned by respondents (for example, linguistics) are legion.

The issue of cross-disciplinary competence, summarized in Table 2, is an interesting one. Approximately 70% of the sample indicated some formal training in at least one of the traditional business functions. Most (35%) have been trained in quantitative methods, with exposure to statistics being the minimal response. Six respondents indicated formal training in economics, while five mentions were given to each of the areas of management, marketing, and organization behavior. However, 30% of the sample indicated no formal training in any of the broadly conceived business categories. While methodological competence may provide an entrée to a novel research venue, the lack of familiarity with substantive areas within that venue is likely to be a major stumbling block to research.

When questioned about the areas in which they had conducted academic research, 95% of the sample indicated specific topics related to the general business categories. Research in international business received the greatest number of mentions (15), with organization behavior (14 mentions), management (11 mentions), marketing (8 men-

Table 2
Cross-Competency of Respondents

		Respondent Background (N = 37)		
Business Category	Training	Academic Research	Proprietary Research	Publication
Management	.135	.297	.108	.162
Marketing	.135	.216	.054	.162
Economics	.162	.081	.000	.054
Finance	.028	.000	.000	.000
Organization behavior	.135	.378	.162	.324
International business	.081	.405	.135	.243
Public policy	.081	.189	.028	.189
Business ethics	.028	.028	.000	.000
Quantitative methods	.351	.000	.000	.028
Other	.000	.000	.000	.081
None	.297	.054	.513	.081

tions), and public policy (7 mentions) also being frequently identified. Most respondents (51%) have conducted no proprietary research, but among those who have, organization behavior (6 mentions), international business (5 mentions), and management (4 mentions) have been the most frequent topics of investigation. The apparently low incidence of proprietary research revealed in the study would seem to reflect the identity crisis or role dissonance (Sherry 1983) many anthropologists experience in the nonacademic marketplace.

The final characteristic of respondents in this sample has to do with their publication activity in business-related areas. The greatest number of respondents cited organizational behavior (12) and international business (9) as publication categories. Other frequently mentioned areas of publication included public policy (7), management (6), and marketing (6). Only three respondents indicated no publication activity in any business area. Once again, while anthropology's most apparent contributions to the field seem well targetted (international business and organizational behavior), enormous opportunity would appear to lie in less obvious domains (e.g., domestic business, marketing management).

Course Design and Implementation

Approximately half (51%) of the respondents formally address the relationship between anthropology and business through a separate course. More than one third (38%) treat the topic as a section of a more general course. Virtually none (5%) of the respondents employs an internship program, and no respondents at all have established field schools as part of their course offering. The level of offerings is pyramidal in shape, with 65% of the courses devoted to undergraduates, 27% to masters candidates, and only 8% to doctoral students. These figures would seem to indicate both the popular appeal of such coursework and the slighting of practical dimensions of education. The relevance of coursework at all levels could be enhanced through practical experience; such vocational programming would also stimulate research.

Overall class size appears to be small. About one third (35%) of the respondents have class sizes between 10 and 25 students, and about 20% fall into categories of between 25 to 50, and 50 to 100 students. While 11% of respondents have enrollments exceeding 100 students, the median class size is about 25 students. More than half (51%) of these classes are offered once each year, and about one fifth (22%) are offered several times each year. One fourth (25%) of the classes are taught less than once each year, with most of these (19%) being offered in alternate years. The relatively intimate size and frequency of offering of these business-related courses are encouraging. The majority (87%) of courses surveyed in this study are taught by a single instructor. A small number (11%) employs a team teaching approach that draws on colleagues from outside the department. Team teaching is a

relatively underdeveloped vehicle that could be exploited quite readily.

Content Areas and Their Relative Importance

Given the exploratory nature of the study and the relative infancy of the subdiscipline under consideration, I relied upon personal experience and suggestions from colleagues to construct as exhaustive an inventory of appropriate course modules or content areas as respondents were likely to acknowledge. Fifty-one substantive issues were specified, and respondents were asked to rate the relative emphasis given to each of the topics in their respective courses. A five-point horizontal numeric scale ranging from heavy emphasis (5 points) to no emphasis (1 point) was employed, and an observation "Important, but beyond the scope of the present course" was included as an optional comment on each item. Respondents were also permitted to enter and rate an additional five items of their own, as an aid to ensuring comprehensive coverage.

In interpreting the data, topics receiving a mean rating of 2.9 or above were considered to be heavily emphasized across all courses. Those topics receiving mean ratings of 2.0 and below were considered to be low-emphasis issues. Ratings between 2.9 and 2.0 were considered to indicate moderate emphasis across all courses. Clearly, the relative emphasis given particular topics varies from course to course with the temperament of the teacher, but the evaluation of topics in the aggregate is a useful indicator of the current concerns of anthropologists exploring business activity. The data on content areas are summarized in Tables 3, 4, and 5.

While the patterns in degree of emphasis appear to conform to the conventional wisdom of the discipline, there are a few surprises. Among the heavily emphasized content areas are the traditional concerns of anthropology. Ideological and social structural environments

Table 3
Content Areas Heavily Emphasized

Topic	Mean Rating
Ideological environment and business	3.622
Social structural environment and business	3.405
Multinational corporate activity	3.216
Organization of work	3.162
Intracultural business activities	3.135
Intercultural communication	3.081
Organizational culture	3.054
Intercultural business activity	2.919

Table 4
Content Areas Moderately Emphasized

Topic	Mean Rating
Occupational subcultures	2.865
Gender in business	2.865
Cross-cultural organizational behavior	2.838
Ethics/social responsibility of business	2.676
International division of labor	2.378
Role of business in economic development	2.378
Practical/managerial applications of anthropology	2.378
Comparative management styles	2.351
Labor union activity	2.351
Qualitative methodology	2.324
Comparative generalizations re: consumption	2.243
Ecological environment and business	2.189
Social impact assessment/public policy	2.189
Capitalist world system	2.189
Labor-management relations	2.189
Worker control over workplace	2.108
Technology transfer	2.027

of business are most thoroughly treated. Given the discipline's reluctance to study business activities per se, and its ambivalence about the nature and effects of business activity in general, this thoroughness is predictable. Similarly, the extent to which group behavior and institutions are emphasized is consistent with convention. The focus on intracultural business activity, rather than on intercultural exchanges, no matter how slight the relative emphasis, coincides with the anthropologist's concern for the local.

The areas judged moderately emphasized are perhaps the most familiar or most topical of the current anthropological forays into business domains. These topics represent traditional concerns in the sociology of work and the anthropology of development. Qualitative methodology and ethical orientations are anthropological mainstays; alternative methods and advocacy perspectives are "natural" entrées for researchers bent on breaching disciplinary barriers. Concern for social impact assessment reflects the advocacy posture, but also suggests the ambivalence toward business mentioned above.

Those areas which are not emphasized across courses are among the most provocative or controversial in the emerging anthropology of business. Managerially focused concerns are among the most neglected topics. Quantitative methods are similarly underplayed. The role of the anthropologist as an entrepreneur is the most neglected of all issues across all courses sampled, despite the recogntion (in Table 3) that anthropology itself has practical managerial applications. An-

Table 5
Content Areas Not Emphasized

Topic	Mean Rating
Cross-cultural research methodology	1.973
Comparative generalization: production	1.919
Consumerist activity	1.946
Ethics of social research	1.946
Comparative generalization: exchange	1.892
Innovation and diffusion of products	1.838
Expressive behavior in organizations	1.838
Area ethnography of production	1.838
Ethnic segmentation	1.730
Ethnic entrepreneurial activity	1.730
Foreign direct investment/Local impact	1.730
Area ethnography of consumption	1.730
Area ethnography of distribution	1.730
Area ethnography of exchange	1.676
Comparative generalization: distribution	1.649
Kinship and business	1.622
Consequences of/adaptation to unemployment	1.595
Underground economy	1.568
Community development	1.514
Quantitative methodology	1.432
Secondary economy	1.405
Managing/creating cultural synergy	1.216
Strategic planning and evaluation	1.189
Design/evaluation of methods of promotion	1.189
Centrally planned economies	.973
Anthropologist as entrepreneur	.919

other puzzling discovery is the low emphasis placed upon ethnographic description and comparative generalization in most of the major spheres of economic—whether individual or corporate—activity. Similarly, ethnicity as a dimension of business activity is neglected. The short shrift given most of these issues, whether through oversight, through instructional resource limitation, or through prejudice points to the enormous challenge of curriculum development confronting researchers in this emerging field. We are faced not only with the creation and refinement of a knowledge and resource base, but also with communicating the value of such activity to a number of constituencies.

Course Assignments

The term project was the heart of most (90%) of the courses sampled in this study. One third (33%) of the projects involved secondary data

collection, while slightly fewer (27%) required primary research. A combination of these approaches is used in 39% of the sampled courses. The vast majority (68%) of term projects are conducted by individual students rather than by student groups (13%); a combination of individual and group effort is employed in 29% of the projects. The selection of project topics is negotiated between teacher and student in almost half (48%) the cases, while the student makes an unassisted choice in 42% of the cases. The nature of the project undertaken varies widely. About one third (32%) of the projects are area-oriented studies, one fifth (20%) are comparative studies, and the remaining half (50%) combine area orientation with comparison.

The issues addressed in course projects are quite heterogeneous. Most of the assignments seem designed to sensitize students to the relevance of anthropological perspective and method to existing issues in the contemporary business environment. In five instances, the assignment was tied specifically to the research interests of the teacher. Several projects employ an interview format that requires students to elicit viewpoints from natives of other cultures. A variant employed in three particular courses involves interviewing foreign students about marketing behaviors, especially related to advertising, in their home countries; interviewers are expected to probe for cross-cultural blunders that occur in intercultural marketing transactions. Another project requires students to interview managers of international firms on selection procedures used for filling foreign assignments. A related project involves the interviewing of managers of multinational firms on a topic tied to business operations in a specific foreign country, with the intention of understanding the kinds of adaptations the firm must make to a particular culture. Still another project examines the subcultures within a particular firm through interviews with a variety of informants ranging from CEOs through union representatives. Each of these projects permits students a vicarious experience of doing fieldwork, while reinforcing the utility of anthropology in the contemporary world.

A number of projects require students to approach a specific subject from a variety of paths. For example, one project combined ethnographic interviewing with participant observation in workplace and leisure settings. Another involved the construction of biographies of high-tech entrepreneurs from published sources. Fieldwork and library research are triangulated in another assignment examining the social impact of computers. A more experientially based assignment requires students to identify an occupation of particular personal interest, to analyze the changes in that occupation over time, and to forecast its likely future development. A related project involves the identification of an innovation in the world of work, the exploration of its causes, and the analysis of its functional utility.

Several term projects employ traditional anthropological analyses to address business practices. A comparative analysis of advertisements

used in several countries is required in one course. Another required a comparative analysis of two non-U.S. management systems, and the environments in which they are embedded. Still another focused on an exposition of worker folklore and folk practices, a collection of worker legends, and a study of rituals within a specific company. Some of the projects are tied to the development of innovative methodologies. For example, one project required the description of a system's analysis tool and the determination of its ability to measure accurately the various aspects of an organization's structure, culture, and information environment. Another employed meetings as an analytic vehicle for interpreting organizational culture.

A final comment on course assignments is directed toward the variety of assignments within a course. Most of the respondents (62%) did not employ assignments ancillary to the term project in their courses. Of the 14% who did use additional assignments, most favored secondary data collection by individual students, rather than primary, group-oriented (i.e., team-conceived and executed) fieldwork. Most of these additional assignments (64%) were on topics selected by the instructor. The 5% of courses represented in this study that employed internships relied exclusively on fieldwork conducted in domestic settings; both profit and nonprofit organizations served as contexts or sponsors for this work. Most of these courses were run on an independent study basis.

Instructional Materials

No single major text, reader, casebook, film or article emerged as a dominant resource in this study. This lack of consensus is due in part to the heterogeneity of the courses sampled, and in part as well to the dearth of materials (whether collected or dispersed) available that are anthropological in nature. Few textbooks, casebooks or readers containing material prepared either by anthropologists or by business researchers attuned to the nuances and consequences of cultural dynamics, are currently available. Baba's (1986) monograph is a notable exception. The most frequently cited text (five mentions) was Terpstra's *The Cultural Environment of International Business*, which has recently been revised by Terpstra and David (1986). (Neither Vlahos' (1986) *Doing Business* nor Baba's (1986) *Business and Industrial Anthropology: An Overview* had been published at the time the survey was conducted.) Books and articles by renowned anthropologists such as Spradley, Nash, Dalton, Horne and Douglas were cited by a number of respondents, as were works by McLuhan, Wallerstein, Braudel, Kessler-Harris, Orwell, and Deal and Kennedy. Individual cases, films, and periodicals were cited by some respondents, but many of these materials were described as being quite old. Respondents appear to be unaware of any catalogued sources of supplementary materials.[1]

A number of interesting observations was elicited from respondents by asking them to identify specific unmet needs for instructional materials. The need for audiovisual material appears pressing. Inexpensive films were desired by four respondents, and videotaped television commercials by two respondents. Mass media materials employed in foreign countries was a commonly identified need. Several respondents cited a need for ethnographies of modern corporate life. One such plea requested "nonjargon, readable introductions to ethnography that deal with examples from business and public sector organizations." Another sought "studies of domestic U.S. marketing such as Plattner's work." Still another desired "nearly anything that deals with a contemporary business in the U.S." Among the other common requests were "case studies which are real applications with broad utility," and "comparative marketing and management cases." A summary need was phrased as "a comprehensive, partially theoretical, major text about the anthropology of work in industrial society." Most complaints centered on the paucity of managerial materials with specific applications. Some typical comments include:

> I'm not sure where I'd begin for an M.A. course. The Ph.D. materials are known, familiar and useful.
>
> Many anthropological sources are needed. I use mostly sociology and history sources.
>
> The literature is bad in this area. Business people and anthropologists have long made a point of ignoring each other.

Apropos of this last observation, virtually none of the respondents identified many of the highly useful materials that exist in the literatures of marketing and management, which lend themselves to anthropological elaboration.

Directions for Future Research

When asked to identify the business-related research issues to which anthropological perspective and method might effectively be applied, the respondents provided a wide array of suggestions. Both marketing and advertising practices were commonly targeted. Cross-cultural marketing and advertising received two mentions, while cross-cultural communication underlay numerous other suggestions. One respondent recommended examining the spread of an international ideology through advertising, adding that this phenomenon has "more impact today than any other religion or state power." Another respondent suggested exploring "cultural imperialism" and its relationship to consumption patterns. The study of economic and ethical perspectives of advertising was also commonly espoused.

Consumer behavior was a commonly identified research issue. Among the studies proposed were investigations of "international

consumer behavior." The impact of ethnicity and subculture on consumption patterns was also thought in need of examination. The study of consumption norms and values, and deviance from these patterns, was espoused. Investigations of "foreign firms in the U.S./domestic market" were suggested. Finally, the prospect of "culturally appropriate market exploitation" was advanced for exploration.

In line with this last suggestion, development issues were occasionally identified. One respondent felt anthropological perspective and method were especially suited to research in new product development, and suggested concentrating on "development of new products with appropriate technology, expressly aimed at Third World peasants to increase their productivity and income," as well as on "products made or to be made by Third World peasants for export." Overall, however, the issue of development received surprisingly little mention. Cognate macrolevel studies that were suggested, however, included assessing the relationship between organization and environment, or between organization and society, the process of environmental scanning, cross-cultural comparison of managerial structures and functions, entrepreneurial activity (especially organizational "start-ups"), the public policy effects of bureaucracy, and the "management of organizational infrastructure."

Research relating to organizational behavior—especially pertaining to corporate culture—was suggested by numerous respondents. By using anthropological perspective and method, respondents felt that the concept of corporate culture could be clarified, and that cultural and subcultural dimensions of organizations could be isolated and compared within and across firms. Suggestions for examining quality of life and meaningful employee participation, and job satisfaction and involvement were common. Mentioned as well were motivational practices in organizations and gender roles in business. Exploration of organizational structure, function, and change was advocated by some respondents. The study of "communication across microcultures within an organization," as well as of "culture as a symbol in business behavior," were suggested.

High-technology studies were advocated by many respondents. Exploration of entrepreneurship in cross-cultural perspective, of technology transfer, of the culture of development work in high-tech firms, and of the cultural impact of personal computing were recommended. Related issues such as the design of sociotechnical systems, the design of management information systems, and problems related to computing in organizations (such as adoption and maintenance) were identified. One respondent proposed a study to treat the development of the next generation of computers that would focus on competition between the United States and Japan.

Numerous additional research possibilities were detailed by respondents. Studies of kinship networks related to business decision mak-

ing, of grass-roots community organizing, of labor relations in a multicultural workplace, and of informal economies were proposed. Social marketing, international marketing, and demarketing studies were advocated. Among the most provocative—and ultimately most enlightening—of the recommended research issues were those that grappled with the disciplinary ethnocentrism of anthropology. An investigation into why the multitude of proposed studies had not been previously undertaken by anthropologists is warranted. One respondent suggested that an exploration into the "ethics of anthropological intervention into capitalist business" practices be conducted. Another respondent advocated a study entitled "How to Reduce Hostility of Anthropologists Toward Business." An investigation of the legitimizing of research issues over the history of the discipline, and of the relatively recent recognition of a "practicing anthropology," is urgently needed.

Implications for Curriculum Development

Two recent sets of studies, one by a business researcher (Hampton 1983a, 1983b) and another by an anthropologist (Harman 1986a, 1986b), provide an illuminating context into which the results of the present survey may be embedded. These studies are cognates of sorts and suggest ways in which the two disciplines may benefit through interaction.

In an attempt to forecast the future environment of international marketing and its educational needs, Hampton (1983a, 1983b) employed the Delphi technique to tap the expertise of a panel of 34 marketing practitioners and 45 marketing academics. In round one of the study, respondents discussed aspects of seven "dimensions" of the international business environment: sociocultural, technological, North-South, financial, trade, human, legal and multinational corporate dimensions were considered. Tentatively and tersely summarized, this round predicted

> An increase in nationalism and nationalistic sentiments, movement toward a universal culture, the acceptance and worldwide application of high technology, disagreement concerning the change in economic disparities between advanced and less developed nations, problems ahead for the international financial system due to the current debt situation, concern for, but disagreement over trade protectionism, increasingly human concerns for management, more legal restrictions on marketing activities, and an increasing and changing role for multinational corporations. [Hampton 1983a]

In round two, four dimensions of educational concern were identified: nonbusiness areas of study, business but nonmarketing areas of study, marketing areas of study, and other aspects of international education. Significantly, the experts ranked five of the nonbusiness areas

in the top ten most important areas of study for prospective international marketers. In order of significance, these ten areas include culture studies, communication skills, global market planning, global competitive analysis, foreign language, transnational promotion, negotiation/bargaining skills, marketing services internationally, political systems, and area studies (Hampton 1983b). Fifteen of the thirty-nine knowledge areas judged critical by the experts lie entirely outside of the discipline of marketing; many of these areas are not currently required of business majors. Clearly, if the international marketing curriculum is to be broadened, anthropology can make a substantial contribution.

For such a contribution to be welcome, let alone actively solicited, however, the image of anthropology must be repositioned, if a recent survey of the perceptions of corporate officers of the contributions of various social sciences to international business practice is any indication. Harman (1986a) discovered that anthropology ranked last on the list of social sciences used by corporate officers as determinants of recruiting, and in their assessments of utility to either their own careers or the field at large. This ranking mirrored respondents' own education, where 75.9% of them had taken economics courses (perceived to be most valuable) and only 20.7% had studied anthropology. Curiously enough, of the eight most desirable traits respondents sought in prospective employees, only two—technical skills and business experience—are not routinely acquired in anthropology curricula: foreign language competence, cultural sensitivity, adaptability, interpersonal skills, living/travel abroad, and writing/speaking skills. Harman (1986b) found diametrically opposed opinions in a subsequent study of Society for Intercultural Education, Training and Research (SIETAR) members. These intercultural communication experts highly valued anthropology in their assessments of relative utility. It is apparent that the relevance of anthropology to business pursuits can be promoted to practitioners only if its traditional symbolic baggage can be jettisoned or transmuted, and its contemporary applications demonstrated (Sherry 1986a).

Both Serrie (1983, 1984) and Spooner (1984) have commented on the utility of anthropology to business curricula, and of the need for anthropology to explore contemporary business practices in greater detail. Each has discussed the rationale for interdisciplinary cooperation and provided a rational implementation scheme, in the format of their own courses, in a way that like-minded educators might emulate. This particular study has attempted to speed the adoption process by providing prospective boundary spanners, whether anthropologists or management specialists, with a pedagogical framework drawn from the frontier of disciplinary inquiry. This framework will be reconfigured as research advances, and as appropriate instructional materials become available. Using paper presentations at the recent annual

meetings of such professional societies as the American Anthropological Association, the American Marketing Association, the Society for Applied Anthropology, the Society for Economic Anthropology, the Association of Consumer Research, and the Academy of International Business as indicators of potential and interest, the cross-fertilization of anthropology and business would appear to be an accelerating trend.

Conclusion

This exploratory study examined the teaching and research interests of a purposive sample of anthropologists currently concerned with business as a field of inquiry. While the range and depth of topical coverage in the courses sampled indicate that anthropologists have evolved conceptual frameworks for interpreting business phenomena, the neglect of managerial issues and lack of familiarity with existing instrumental materials currently used in business curricula suggests an ambivalence, or even a skepticism, with regard to applying anthropology in the contemporary marketplace. For a discipline positioned as a science of leftovers, whose members are collectively believed to possess an intellectual poaching license, it is apparent that another fence remains to be jumped. By the same token, the literatures of the functional business disciplines are inexplicably (or rather, indefensibly) shallow in their recognition of anthropology, given even the exploratory findings discussed in the present study. Borrowing so exclusively from social sciences such as psychology has prematurely narrowed the focus of inquiry of most business researchers. Thus, in international business especially, an unprecedented opportunity for interdisciplinary collaboration exists. Curriculum development is a realistic venue for initial cooperative efforts.

Selective borrowing might assume the following shape. Both business scholars and anthropologists are biased in favor of the case study. Each employs cases in the service of a particular mission. The teaching of clinical business skills is one such mission; assessing the variability and adaptability of human behaviors is another. These missions virtually cry out for merger, to produce a comprehensive understanding of business as a cultural system, that couches all general principles in terms of local realities. Thus, case sharing or joint case writing, among colleagues, is a pedagogical imperative. Similarly, each discipline seeks conceptual frameworks that will permit particular behaviors to be interpreted accurately. The frameworks currently employed by each are complementary, yet have rarely intersected. While one camp has traditionally focused on micro-profit-positive issues, the other favors macro-nonprofit-normative issues (Sherry 1986a). These frameworks can be traded to beneficial effect. Finally, each discipline has traditionally favored hands-on experience in the training of novices. The repositioning of internships as diagnostic research, and the broad-

ening of business research to legitimate longer-term field immersion as a qualitative tool, so that all stakeholder perceptions of any given business activity are tapped, are necessary undertakings.

The present study is intended as a step toward a productive dialogue between educators in anthropology and business. Together with other vehicles, such as interdisciplinary special topics sessions at the annual meetings of professional societies, the sharing of syllabi through invisible colleges or through formal channels (such as the Business Administration Reading List and Course Outlines series published by Eno River Press[2]), and team teaching with colleagues in other departments, this effort will help reinvigorate anthropology and promote effective, humane business practice.

Notes

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1. An abbreviated bibliography of resources identified by respondents follows. Full citations are included in the references. These works were selected to reflect the variety of the response as well as consensus across a number of respondents. Many of these volumes received multiple mentions. Selected texts identified by respondents included: Applebaum (1984a and 1984b), Burrell and Morgan (1979), Cole (1982), Dannhaeuser (1983), Deal and Kennedy (1982), Douglas and Isherwood (1979), Eddy and Partridge (1978), Fields (1983), Goffman (1979), M. Harris (1981), P. Harris and Moran (1979), Hofstede (1982), A. Idris-Soven, E. Idris-Soven, and Vaughan (1978), Kohls (1979), Mitchell (1983), Moran and Harris (1982), Nash and Fernandez-Kelly (1983), Peters and Waterman (1982), Pilcher (1972), Ricks (1983), Robock and Simmonds (1983), Rohlen (1978), Taussig (1980), and Terpstra (1978). Sources of case material identified by respondents included: Casse (1982), Greenfield, Strickon, and Aubey (1979), Zimbalist (1979), and HBS Case Services of the Harvard Business School (Boston, Mass. 02163). Films identified by respondents included: *Bottle Babies, Calling the Shots, The Colonel Comes to Japan, Controlling Interest, Doing Business in Japan, Going International, Kocho, The Japanese, We Are Driven, We Eat the Mines, West Meets East*. Relevant films may be located through such agencies as University Film Center (1325 South Oak, Champaign, Ill. 61820) or Cambridge Documentary Films, Inc. (P.O. Box 385, Cambridge, Mass. 02139).

2. The anonymity promised to respondents in this study precludes the publishing of individual syllabi. At the risk of appearing self-serving, I refer the reader to Dean and Schwindt (1986), for a description of two courses which I presently teach from an anthropological perspective. Perhaps organizations such as NAPA will be moved to compile and publish syllabi as demand for such coursework increases.

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