

The Genesis of *Keiei Jinruigaku* at the National Museum of Ethnology in Japan

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This article aims to discuss the origin and development of Keiei Jinruigaku (anthropology of administration/management) in Japan, with a special focus on the joint research group, that belongs to the National Museum of Ethnology, in Osaka, since 1993. It is not merely a branch of anthropology but an amalgam of business administration and anthropology. Major targets of research of this group were company museum, company funeral, company mythology and company culture as well as a management philosophy. The total publication surpasses 25 volumes, including English and Chinese, other than Japanese versions. The International Forum on Business and Anthropology (IFBA) which was organized by this group in 2010 is also referred. As the first Japanese textbook on Keiei Jinruigaku was published in 2019, a summary of its content is described chapter by chapter. Lastly, I would like to mention that the bulk of this article was presented in the 7th and 8th International Conferences on Business Anthropology (ICBA), which were held in Yinchuan, China in 2018 and in Kunming, China in 2019, respectively.

Keywords: Keiei Jinruigaku, anthropology of administration/management, company museum, company funeral, company mythology, company culture, management philosophy

INTRODUCTION

In this article, I would like to tell a story about the origin and development of *Keiei Jinruigaku* (経営人類学) in Japan. *Keiei Jinruigaku* literally means anthropology of administration/management. There are two groups of *Keiei Jinruigaku* in Japan. The former one is sometimes called “Chiba School” by themselves. It was formed by late Prof. Motofusa Murakami of Chiba University, which functioned as a base on the Academy of International Management, Cultures and Transdisciplinary Studies. The latter group has its origin in the Inter-University Research Project “Cultural Anthropological Study of Company and *Salaryman*” that was started in 1993. The project had its origins in the National Museum of Ethnology (Minpaku) in Osaka.

In the beginning *Keiei Jinruigaku* group at Minpaku had two pillars. One was Prof. Koichiro Hioki (Kyoto University) who was accompanied by researchers of business administration and business historians; the other pillar was the author who played a head of the research project and recruited cultural anthropologists and scholars of religion studies. There were also a few folklorists, sociologists, and Japanese historians. As the two main pillars were business administration (*Keieigaku*) and anthropology (*Jinruigaku*), our study group took a name “Anthropology of Administration” (*Keiei Jinruigaku*). In fact, the naming itself incidentally arose later in a discussion when a group of members paid a visit to a company museum in Kobe in 1995. To my ignorance, at least, we were not fully aware of the already

existing group of *Keiei Jinruigaku*. Therefore, my account of *Keiei Jinruigaku* is limited to the case of Minpaku.

The Genesis of the Minpaku group is characterized by a fusion of two major disciplines, namely anthropology and business administration (Nakamaki 2012a, 2012b). On the one hand, anthropologists began to study their own culture, instead of other cultures, and focused on highly systematized organizations such as company and bureaucracy. On the other hand, scholars of business administration began to take part in fieldwork – something that they were not well acquainted with. What is more important was that we shared a common interest in management and culture, which we considered to be inseparable from each other. We looked for a mutually complementary and synergistic relationship, and we were free to explore different approaches in various ways without drawing any dividing lines between them. Our shared goal was to understand the company as a cultural community, not as an organization seeking profit. We thought each company had its own individuality and specific codes of behavior, just as it is with tribes and indigenous peoples. As the direct output of this research group, we have published six volumes in Japanese (Nakamaki 1999, Nakamaki and Hioki, 1997, 2003, 2007, 2009, Hioki and Nakamaki 2012). A total of 81 chapters are included in these books.

Apart from the cooperative efforts, but closely connected to the perspectives of *Keiei Jinruigaku*, several books have been published as by-product or offshoot (Nakamaki 2006 in Japanese, Sumihara et al. 2008 in Japanese, Mitsui 2013 in Japanese, Sumihara 2014 in Japanese, Mitsui 2020, Sumihara 2020 in Japanese).

COMMON THEMES OF RESEARCH

Company-graphy (Company Ethnography)

The main research theme which we intended to pick up for *Keiei Jinruigaku* at Minpaku was a new concept of ‘company-graphy’, or company ethnography. One of the reasons for this choice was an existing imbalance in the field of company research — there were quite a lot of company histories (diachronic studies) on the one hand, but too few company ethnographies (synchronic studies), on the other hand. It was, however, surprisingly difficult to do fieldwork over a long period of time at a company. Excluding PhD students who may have enough time to do so, it is extremely hard for researchers who teach and work at universities or research institutions, both in terms of time and position. PhD candidates such as Keiko Yamaki, Maria Yotova and Mitsuhiro Nakahata have endeavored to write company ethnographies under the guidance of this group (Yamaki 2013a, 2013b in Japanese, 2016, Yotova 2012 in Japanese, 2013, Nakahata 2016). We have encouraged them to present papers in international conferences, especially the Enterprise Anthropology Section of the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Studies (IUAES) since 2009. Recently, a volume of collected papers out of IUAES conferences was published in Japanese, with an English title “Ethnographic Studies of Business”, edited by Keiko Yamaki (2020 in Japanese).

Company Museum

To overcome constrictions toward company ethnography, the older members of this group decided to investigate the company museum rather than the company itself. It was Hioki’s idea. He suggested that we could analyze company culture by visiting company museums. The fact that Minpaku as a museum brought forth a favorable relationship with company museums. Fortunately, we could get a Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research of the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS), “Comprehensive Study of Corporate Culture” (1995-1997). We were split into subgroups to visit more than 100 company museums across Japan. Using the same grant, we could also study company museums in the UK (2002-2004).

Hioki, for instance, looked at an aspect of veneration of company founders in the display and discussed their legitimacy. Nakamaki, on the other hand, regarded the company museum as pantheon and compared displays of history and business as an analogy of Buddhist temple and Shinto shrine,

respectively. Because the former mainly concerns ancestor rites (history) and the latter promotes mundane prosperity (present business).

The Research results were compiled in a volume in Japanese (Nakamaki and Hioki, 2003) as well as separate articles in English (Kelly 2019, Nakamaki 2019, Sedgwick 2019, Sumihara 2019, Takeuchi 2019).

Company Funeral & Corporate Ritual

Our next target of the research was company rituals. Having evolved in Japan, company funerals particularly turned out to be an excellent case. Company funerals reflect *shaen* in Japan. *Shaen* is defined as associational ties among employees of a company as well as relationships with other companies (Nakamaki 2002a, Nakamaki and Sedgwick 2003 in Japanese). This type of relation flourished during the period of high economic growth during the 1960s and 1980s. Luckily, we could get the support of a funeral home and thus went more deeply into the working conditions of the funeral business.

Company funerals flourished especially during this period and they continued to be observed in Japan, though nowadays hotels are more preferred than Buddhist temples and funeral homes as ritual space. Company funeral is financed and managed by the company itself in honor of their VIPs, and is usually held later in a large scale, while the bereaved family has smaller private funeral right after the death. We analyzed this peculiar phenomenon of social event which represents changes in personal and corporate relations in company life.

Our joint effort was crystalized as a volume in Japanese, entitled “*Keiei Jinruigaku on Company Funeral*” (Nakamaki 1999 in Japanese). Individual papers are found in English such as (Nakamaki 2002b, 2003, 2017) and Yamada (2016).

We also extended our research fields to corporate rituals (rites of passage) such as initiation ceremonies for the new employees and memorial services for the deceased employees. Nakamaki’s research on company tombs and memorial services for the deceased employees, conducted before our joint research, paved a way towards the development of this project (Nakamaki 1995).

Company Mythology

The next topic we picked up was company mythology — a research theme that was also suggested by Hioki. We classified such myths as foundation myth, hero myth, and brand myth, among others. Here we did not limit our research to companies (Hioki and Nakamaki 2012 in Japanese, 2016). Rather, we extended our studies to include myths found in other organizations such as orchestra (Oki 2019).

Members contributed papers in which they tried to decipher mythological themes in the business world. In the founding myth, for instance, a founder of a restaurant who had experience in Zen temple in his youth established a training course for the employees to enhance service with Zen mind. In the hero myth, there is a paper about an employee who was about to be punished as scapegoat, suddenly became a hero, for he practiced a logic of “make gain after loss”. In the brand myth, a company history was dealt as mythological text and analyzed a process of mythification in which an anecdote of a founder’s discourse “Try to do it” became a company style of business.

Moreover, two whisky companies were compared by examining narratives of hero myths. One myth is connected to an authentic whisky and another is associated with a distinguished blender (Takeuchi 2019). We tried to prove that narratives and statements are shared by company members and can be analyzed from the perspectives of mythology.

World Exposition 2010 in Shanghai

In 2010, World Exposition was held from May to October in Shanghai under the theme of “Better City, Better Life.” Nakamaki and Zhang Jijiao organized a research team which was composed of 20 scholars of Japanese and Chinese origin under the Grant-in-Aid of Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS) and carried out the project for three years (2009-2012), covering the time before expo, during expo and after expo. The organizers agreed to take this opportunity to apply *Keiei Jinruigaku* and “Enterprise Anthropology” to investigate the largest international event of business today.

We have published a research report for JSPS, mainly in Japanese, but partly in English and Chinese (Nakamaki 2012). Some papers are later added in *Senri Ethnological Studies* 82 (Ichikawa 2013, Nakamaki 2013, Zhang 2013).

Other Themes and Conferences

Naturally, when it comes to almost twenty years of joint research, other themes had been studied — the culture of association and associations, globalization and corporate culture, company and religion, business, and sacred space, and so forth.

A Series of ‘Anthropology of Company’ in a Newspaper

For one year, we contributed essays for the Osaka Shinbun, an evening newspaper, in 2001, under the title of “Anthropology of Company” with illustrated color prints. Five members were regular columnists, namely Koichiro Hioki, Kensuke Hiroyama, Noriya Sumihara, Izumi Mitsui besides the author. There were 186 essays which were immediately compiled into two books (Nakamaki et al. 2001 in Japanese, Nakamaki et al. 2003 in Japanese).

Meanwhile, some critics point out that the ‘Anthropology of Administration’ has been limited to the field of ‘rituals and symbols’, ‘cultural diffusion’, and ‘interpretation of meaning’. If we take such remarks positively, we can say that our field is rich and broad enough to expect boundless prospects. It is, however, worth going back to the starting point, namely the concept of company ethnography.

International Forum on Business and Anthropology (IFBA)

In June 2010, an international forum was held by the leading members of *Keiei Jinruigaku* at Minpaku. It was named “The First International Forum on Business and Anthropology”. “Business anthropology” was carefully avoided in fear that we may lose some scholars of business administration.

Distinguished scholars of business anthropology were invited; Brian Moeran, Ann Jordan, Tomoko Hamada Connolly, Mitchell Sedgwick, Dixon Heung Wah Wong, Han Seung-mi and Zhang Jijiao, to name some from abroad (photo 1). Its publication came out as *Business and Anthropology: A Focus on Sacred Space* in the series of *Senri Ethnological Studies* (Nakamaki and Sedgwick 2013).



The second IFBA was held at Hong Kong University in 2011, organized by Dixon Heung Wong. followed by the third at Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing, in 2012, coordinated by Zhang Jijiao. The fourth meeting was done at Yonsei University, Seoul, in 2014, organized by Han Seung-mi. Some papers of the fourth IFBA appear in the *Global Economic Review* (Nakamaki 2018, Yotova 2018).

Springer Series

If there were colors of our *Keiei Jinruigaku*, they may be as follows. One is that we look at the company not only as *Gesellschaft* but also as *Gemeinschaft*, in other words, as a cultural community. Each company has its uniqueness as an “ethnic group” and possesses rituals and myths. The company history registers its diachronic occurrences and the company museum displays its most valuable persons and items. Company is a cultural entity that is productive and creative in its “company climate”. Another is that we try to interpret the meanings of company presence. It is not purely scientific, nor objective, but rather hermeneutic in the sense that we try to decipher “story building” and “ritual practice”.

The first book in Springer series was edited by Nakamaki, Hioki, Mitsui and Takeuchi, which was published as *Enterprise as an Instrument of Civilization: An Anthropological Approach to Business Administration* in 2016.

The second book in this series was published in 2019 under the title of *Enterprise as a Carrier of Culture: An Anthropological Approach to Business Administration*, co-edited by Nakamaki, Hioki, Mitsui and Sumihara (Nakamaki et al 2019).

The third book was edited by Mitsui and was published in 2020 as *Cultural Translation of Management Philosophy in Asian Companies: Its Emergence, Transmission, and Diffusion in the Global Era* (Mitsui 2020).

Publications in Chinese

Some of our publications have been translated into Chinese. First, Nakamaki (2001) appeared in *Academics in China*, which was an introduction to the first book on *Keiei Jinruigaku* (Nakamaki and Hioki 1997 in Japanese). In 2010, *Journal of Guanxi University for Nationalities* (Vol.32 No.5) featured 经营人类学 (Business Anthropology/Anthropology of Administration) in Japan (Guanxi University, 2010 in Chinese). In the following year, two books were published, the translation of which were supervised by Dixon Heung Wah Wong. One was Nakamaki (2011 in Chinese, 1992 in Japanese) on company culture in Japan and another was Sumihara et al. (2011 in Chinese, 2008 in Japanese) on the management philosophy. In 2012, Nakamaki delivered three consecutive lectures about Japanese anthropology at Peking University, the third of which was about “*Keiei Jinruigaku* in Japan” (Nakamaki 2015 in Chinese).

Brief History and Comments by an Outsider Anthropologist

John L. McCreery (2014), assisted by Keiko Yamaki, wrote an article named as “The Anthropology of Business & Administration in Japan.” He portrayed history of *Keiei Jinruigaku* and drew three characteristics of this group: 1. Breadth and longevity; 2. Global perspective; 3. Religion (McCreery 2014, 266-267). Here I quote his conclusion.

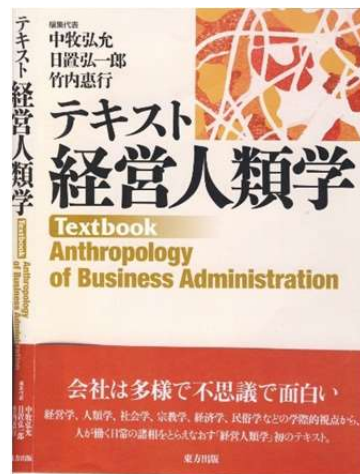
In conclusion, ... the Keieijinruigku group represents an extraordinary achievement: its longevity and the breadth of the academic disciplines from which its members have been recruited. Group founder Hirochika Nakamaki says that he has always taken responsibility for recruiting new members to the group, finding funding to support its research, and ensuring that the results of its research were published. ...

Nakamaki says that part of his strategy has been to be sure that the group’s publications are always books. Its members’ contributions would thus appear together. They did not publish in academic journals, where their research results would become only scattered individual achievements.

From the start, this group has been about sharing. Its members met to share diverse perspectives and create something new. Their teamwork has been exceptional, a model that deserves emulation.

The scope of the group's research has, however, been limited by lack of access to the inner workings of Japanese corporations, the result of corporate cultures strongly suspicious of outsiders and academic policies that made a research on corporations, not the kind of anthropology that receives the leaves and funding required for long-term ethnography. ... (McCreery 2014, 281-282).

MAKING A JAPANESE TEXTBOOK ON THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION



After I retired from Minpaku in 2012, the Minpaku group of *Keiei Jinruigaku* moved its base to Tezukayama University, Nara Prefecture, organized by Hiroshi Iwai. We have met occasionally there, and the most recent symposium was held on *shikake* (device, mechanism) from the perspectives of *Keiei Jinruigaku* in 2018.

In 2017 a young scholar expressed her desire to teach *Keiei Jinruigaku* at her university. I took this seriously and we thus decided to make a textbook to mark 25 years of our joint research project. Editors voluntarily gathered to complete this task and in turn asked other contributors to participate in this endeavor.

A textbook was published in 2019 as a paperback edition with 204 pages (Nakamaki et al., 2019 in Japanese) (photo 2). The editorial board consisted of 12 persons, but to name only three on the cover—Koichiro Hioki and Yoshiyuki Takeuchi besides myself. There was a total of 35 contributors, who wrote 13 chapters, including the introduction as well as 13 short columns. A bibliography of 398 items and a detailed index are appended at the end.

A book sash, which is a unique Japanese means of publicity, is attached around the book with the following messages:

Companies are diverse, strange, and interesting
The first textbook on “The Anthropology of Business Administration,” in which the ordinary world of working people is re-considered from the interdisciplinary perspectives of management studies, anthropology, sociology, studies of religion, economics, folklore and so forth.

The editors emphasized that *Keiei Jinruigaku* is an amalgam of anthropology and business administration, rather than being a sub-category of anthropology. Therefore, “the anthropology of business administration” was employed as title of this textbook.

In fact, we have already published 6 volumes out of the inter-university research project at Minpaku. In addition, two books came out from a series of newspaper columns. Adding other filial publications on

Keiei Jinruigaku, the total number surpasses 25 volumes. There are also several related English and Chinese publications. We thought that to overview the area of study, a textbook might be a good tool to reconsider former publications.

The themes and topics of 13 chapters are briefly summarized as follows:

Introduction: Basic Knowledge of Keiei Jinruigaku

1. Company as Cultural Community
2. Civilization and Enterprise
3. Company as Institution
4. Company as Relationship
5. Ideal and Secret

Though a company is a profit-oriented business organization, we try to grasp it as a cultural community. Each company has its unique characteristics and associational ties, just as different ethnic groups maintain their own cultures and identities. It is considered important for Japanese companies to have solid management philosophies and to strive for perpetual prosperity. The manipulation of information called “company secrets” functions as a key for corporate maintenance and development.

Chapter 1: What is a “Company”?

1. Money
2. Nature
3. Religious Nature
4. Communal Nature
5. Perpetual Nature
6. Continuity of Business

A company is a social entity which has a public nature. It is supported by altruism, which is like a religious community. For example, an expression “Right thing first, profit second” is a motto for a company which was founded in 1689 in Kyoto. As of 2017 in Japan, there were 33,000 long-established companies with over one hundred years of history. The oldest one, named Kongōgumi, dates to 578 A.D., and has survived for over 1,440 years. After 20 or 30 years of business many companies become eager to publish history of their company.

Chapter 2: Joining the Company

1. Job Hunting and Career Design
2. Business Manners
3. Examinations for Personnel Recruitment
4. Initiation Ceremony
5. Training for New Employees
6. Welcome Party for New Employees

At most universities in Japan, there is a support system for students to become employed by companies. Japan still maintains an employment custom of simultaneously recruiting new graduates in April. Initiation ceremonies and training programs await novices.

They learn how to behave in business, not to mention the company history. Welcome speeches by the presidents of leading companies appear in the newspapers. Novices memorize company creeds and even company songs. When the initiation stage ends, novices celebrate raucously, which marks ‘*communitas*’ (V. Turner) among employees.

Chapter 3: Sacred (Hare) and Profane (Ke) for Employees (Salaryman)

1. Work and Leisure in the *Senryū* Poems
2. Thinking about “Workplace” from Small and Medium-sized Companies

3. Company Lunch
4. Company Sports
5. Ties through Hobbies
6. Party and Competition: Party Culture and Hospitality Culture

A folkloric dichotomy between sacred (*hare*) and profane (*ke*) can be applied to the business world. Ordinary work hours are contrasted with extraordinary time and space such as lunch, parties, sports events and so forth. Off-time serves to refresh workers and for social interaction. We can investigate business life in short poems called *senryū*, which are filled with ironical feelings and emotions. This chapter tries to place salaryman in the context of their life course.

Chapter 4: Ties Between Individuals and the Organization

1. What is an Organization?
2. “Top and Bottom”, “Horizontal and Vertical” and “Rectangular” in the Workplace
3. “Yes”, “No” and “Enhanced” in Motivation
4. Power in the Organization
5. “Personality”, “Habit” and “Rule” in the Company/Workplace
6. “In (*uchi*) and Out (*soto*)” in the Company/Workplace

Job descriptions practically do not exist in Japan. A company is an organization with a purpose, but employees work together with associational ties that are not listed in a job description. These ties affect the goodwill and morale of the employees, who may feel eagerness or lose interest, get bored, or be seized by worries. “Flow” is an ideal mental situation (M. Csikszentmihalyi). *karōshi* (death caused by excessive work) and *moetsuki* (burn out) syndrome are negative risks. Power relationships and leadership are dealt both with formality and informality in mind. Certainly, there also exist unwritten rules and taboos in company life.

Chapter 5: What Are Companies Doing?

1. Work in the Company
2. Manufacturing: Make, Produce and Create
3. Trade: Buy, Sell and Want
4. Money Moves: Collect, Use and Circulate
5. Evolution of Information: Calculate, Register, and Inform
6. Company Responsibility: “Civil Society” or “Company World”

Companies are engaged in business, that consists of production, selling and procurement/funding. Manufacturing processes have evolved from producing objects to creating values. In other words, mass production by JIT system led to value creation by IT. Big data creates new values and even new culture. Trade is the “discovery” of needs, while marketing is the “creation of customers” (P. Drucker). The question of whether the company’s responsibility is to protect the interests of stakeholders or of the total company community can be bridged by the anthropology of business administration.

Chapter 6: Contact Point With Other Cultures (Strangers)

1. Japanese Overseas Companies Seen through Statistics
2. Localization of Japanese Management Styles
3. An Era when Overseas Assignments are Suddenly Made
4. Globalization of the Workplace
5. Local Employees Working in Japanese Overseas Companies
6. Foreigners Working in Japan

In 2017, there were 18,719 registered Japanese overseas companies in Asia, including 6,774 in China. They have increased recently, shifting from the Americas and Europe. Whatever the case may be, they have endeavoured to localize Japanese management styles in foreign countries. However, long working

hours, overtime work and internal career development systems have been major problems. Another serious issue has been the unbalanced relationships between Japanese bosses and local employees. Success in the production site and resistance in the office against Japanese ways of management were recognized in the U. S. A. Nowadays, increasing numbers of foreign workers from Latin America and Asia has led to the formation of wider culture contact zones in Japan.

Chapter 7: Images of Japanese Managers

1. Entrepreneurship
2. Founders
3. Leadership Theory
4. Images of Leaders in East Asia
5. Theory of the Three Distinguished Leaders
6. Inheritance of Charisma

The idiosyncratic talents of top managers are examined in this chapter. Innovation by entrepreneurs is defined as a creative destruction (J. Schumpeter). The contrast between kingship and “big men” (Melanesia) is applicable to the top management of modern companies. The former is characterized by inheritance, while the latter is based on individual talent and wealth. Images of leaders vary culture by culture. In Confucianism 仁(virtue) is highly respected in leaders, while in Europe “率先垂範(voluntary lead)”, as exemplified by Napoleon, is pursued. In Japan, three distinguished leaders in the Warring States Era (16C) - Nobunaga, Hideyoshi and Ieyasu - are popular models for leadership in business. Also, the *Iemoto* system (of teacher and student relations) is shown as a Japanese model of charismatic inheritance (F. Hsu).

Chapter 8” “It’s Tough Being a *Salaryman*”

1. Work until Retirement without Any Trouble
2. Good at Work
3. *Saboryman* (sabotage+*salaryman*) and “Window Tribe” (Employees Not Given Real Jobs)
4. Criticality of Business Ethics
5. Whistle Blowing from the Inside: Sprouts of Scandal
6. *Karōshi* (Death Caused by Excessive Work) and New-Type Depression

In business administration studies, the management of labor and human resources are seen from the perspectives of managers, whose interests lie in the pursuit of personnel who serve the development of the business. The anthropology of business administration, however, tries to accumulate data regarding what retired *salarymen* have experienced in their company life. Topics such as sabotage, “window tribe” employees (who are not given real jobs), “twilight training” (preparatory training after retirement), whistleblowing from the inside, *karōshi* (death caused by excessive work), “black companies” and depression are picked up. Laudatory phrases such as “good at work” are also taken into consideration.

Chapter 9: Retirement/Resignation, Changing Jobs and Independence

1. From a Corporate Community to the Next Whereabouts
2. Separation form a Corporate Community
3. Identity after Retirement/Resignation
4. Independence as a Time to Fly
5. Retirement 1: Top Managers
6. Retirement 2: Employees

There are commonly four stages in the ordinary life course: childhood, school education, employment, and separation from the corporate community. The last metamorphosis is apt to occur for either personal reasons or due to organizational consequences. A retired person is liberated from his/her status and role in a corporate community, but he/she may fall into an identity crisis. Retired top managers

who have spent their whole careers in the same company usually maintain their relations with peers in other companies through hobbies and social contributions. Retired employees tend to seek ties with those who joined the company in the same year or with seniors who had joined earlier. The relationships among retired *salarymen* are basically flat.

Chapter 10: Consecrating a Company and Its Members

1. Employees and Funerals
2. Company Tombs
3. Company Funerals
4. Company Museums,
5. Holy Places of Business Foundation
6. Companies and Local Festivals

A company is sometimes a subject and object of worship itself. Japanese companies have unique customs of consecration. It is not rare that company shrines are found on the factory floor or the roof of the office building. There are even tombs which have been constructed for deceased employees. For deceased top managers, in addition to family funerals, company funerals are arranged after a certain period of preparation. Even for deceased employees, a company may support their private funerals in various ways.

There are over 600 company museums in Japan. Company museums display the company's major products as well as its history. It may be regarded as a shrine or treasure house in which the most valuable items and traces are consecrated. Moreover, companies often keep a holy ground related to its founding. Many companies participate in local festivals such as the Awa Odori Festival in Tokushima City.

Chapter 11: Work and Company in the Future

1. History of Machines and Human Beings
2. Robots as Work Partners
3. Gods and Ghosts in the Machine
4. AI as a Devine Entity
5. AI and the Future of Work
6. Community: Conventional and Digital Types

The recent development of AI has aroused various discussions about its social influence. On the one hand, AI is expected to help save human labor, but on the other hand, it is feared that AI may deprive people of employment. Therefore, the historical relations between machines and human beings are examined first. Then, we turn our eyes to the drastic changes which occurred during the Industrial Revolution, followed by mass production and the advent of robots. When we compare robot cultures, views towards robots differ between the West and the East. This is related to philosophical ideas about the relationship between the body and the mind. In the end, the nature of the community appears to be changing from conventional types such as those based on consanguineal, local or associational ties, to the novel ones based on digital networks.

Chapter 12: Men and Women in Companies

1. Gendering in Occupation/Duty
2. Personnel Assessments of Companies and Women
3. Diversification of Working Styles
4. Women's Careers
5. Plurality of Work and Masculinities
6. Diversity in Companies

This chapter tries to explain occupations/duties, gender roles, and gender differences in careers from the perspectives of gender identity, femininity, and masculinity. Different roles have been assigned to men and women in companies. For example, the former used to constitute an upper class which made important decisions, while the latter mainly stayed in lower positions and played supplementary roles. These kinds of standardized images of masculinity and femininity, however, no longer apply to the present situation, nor do they match the needs and experiences of individuals. The conventional and hegemonic *salaryman* doxa is questioned. What is important is to examine work, companies, and management from the diversified perspectives of gender, age, nationality, culture, disability and so forth.

13 Columns Roughly Correspond to the Themes of the 13 Chapters

1. The methodology of anthropology
2. “If it were an ordinary company” and business-centrism
3. Email wishing for future success in recruitment
4. Intra-company circles: places for making horizontal and rectangular relations in a company
5. “Fermentation” of corporate culture: “*konpa* party” at Kyocera
6. Inheritance of ceramics and management culture in the U.K.
7. Cultural anthropologists playing an active part in companies, and their background
8. Big Man
9. Spirit of toilet cleaning
10. Stories on the birth of Japanese whisky
11. Roles of secretaries
12. Curriculum of the Department of Anthropology at LSE in the 1930’s
13. On the female owner of a Japanese inn

As a matter of fact, we used this textbook for teaching a class of *Keiei Jinruigaku* at Osaka University in the first semester of 2020. It happened to be an online-lecture due to the COVID-19. Fortunately, or not, eight teachers participated in almost all classes, which was practically impossible for a real and relayed style of lectures.

One of the assignments for students was to visit a real or virtual company museum and to report their findings. Through the lens of the museum, they were able to grasp some distinctive features of individual companies. We also realized that they were quite keen to foresee what a company life would be like. *Keiei Jinruigaku* is at least able to offer rich information about their future lives after being employed by a company.

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