

# **A New Round of Industrialization, Marketization and Urbanization on the Perspective of Enterprise Anthropology**

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*An American anthropologist suggested that urbanization and industrialization are not the research fields of anthropology. However, Fei Xiaotong, a well-known Chinese anthropologist explored China's rural industrialization and marketization around 75 years ago. He also studied China's urbanization more than 30 years ago. That was the true representation of China's academic tradition of research on industrialization, marketization and urbanization. Currently, a new round of industrialization, marketization and urbanization give renewed impetus to a series of huge economic and social transformations in China's underdeveloped central and western regions: from the planned economy to the market economy, from agriculture and animal husbandry to industry and commerce, from a rural society to an urban society, among others. These are all significant and practical issues ahead for Chinese anthropology and ethnology, which is focus of this paper.*

*Keywords: enterprise anthropology, industrialization, marketization, urbanization*

## **INTRODUCTION**

When I was a visiting scholar in Toronto University, Canada from 2011 to 2012, Commission on Urban Anthropology (CUA) headed by Giuliana B. Prato from Kent University, Britain, and Commission on Enterprise Anthropology (CEA) under my leadership planned to co-host an international conference in Naples, Italy in September 2012 (Nas and Zhang 2006, 2). I began to plan and organize a special session on the theme of “the urbanization, industrialization and inheritance of ethnic cultures in China” since November, 2011.

Therefore, I started sending letters to scholars all over the world to call for papers. I received a letter from a professor of the Anthropology Department at Cornell University, one of Ivy League schools in the US. He stated that the theme “the urbanization, industrialization and inheritance of ethnic cultures in China” has nothing to do with anthropology, so he would neither come to attend the meeting nor would repost the invitation to his colleagues and peers.

The reform and opening-up policy have been carried out for more than 30 years since the late 1980s. Under the influence of this policy, all areas of China from the coast to the inland has been experienced and is now experiencing the new five changes i.e. industrialization, marketization, urbanization, modernization, and globalization. Besides, there also exists a series of huge economic and social transformation: from the planned economy to the market economy, from agriculture and animal husbandry to industry and commerce, from a rural society to an urban society etc. These are all significant

and practical issues ahead for disciplines of Chinese anthropology and ethnology.<sup>1</sup> It is not understandable that our American peers are still so indifferent to the Chinese developing reality.

## **THE URGENCY AND SIGNIFICANCE OF RESEARCH ON INDUSTRIALIZATION, MARKETIZATION, AND URBANIZATION**

There are different viewpoints among Chinese anthropological and ethnological researchers when it comes to the current issue of industrialization, Marketization and urbanization. Some scholars deem that their main research fields are countryside village, prairie pastoral area or ethnic culture; all of them have little to do with industrialization and urbanization. Some do believe that industrialization, marketization, and urbanization in China are very significant issues, but how to carry out research is always a big challenge. Others share the same opinion with that American anthropologist who suggested that urbanization marketization, and industrialization were not the research fields of anthropology and ethnology.

It would not be a surprise if there are different attitudes and viewpoints among Chinese anthropological and ethnological studies (Zhang 2002). In the era of marketization and globalization, the consumer behavior and enterprise behavior have become important social phenomena and they tend to draw attention from subjects besides economic management (such as psychology, sociology, political science, public administration, etc.) However, some anthropologists and ethnologists still did not figure out the part and the role of their disciplines in the research on consumer behavior, enterprise behavior, and marketing. So not many anthropologists have done research on consumption issues in the last more than 30 years. In 1982 when two anthropologists, Richard R. Wilk and Eric Arnould, tried to contribute a paper about the new pattern of consumption culture in developing countries to *American Anthropologist*, their paper was rejected with the reason that “it’s not a concern of anthropology”. In fact, anthropology has always been one of the three fundamental disciplines in marketing research (the other ones are psychology and sociology), which illustrates that anthropology has gained approval from outside the world outside anthropology for its contribution to the research of cross-culture communication and consumer behavior. Until recently, ethnology survey and cross-cultural research on different consumption cultures have become important fields of anthropology and ethnology and entered the grand halls of academia (Zhang 2009). Now in some American and Japanese universities, an increasing number of professors are beginning to set up enterprise anthropology courses. In business circles, some transnational corporations like Xerox, Nokia, Intel, General Motors have began to hire some professional anthropologists to take up some positions like senior executives (Zhang 2013).

I delivered a speech as the president and one of the organizers of the event in the opening ceremony of the international conference in Italy.<sup>2</sup> In my speech, I quoted that all anthropologists in the world were suffering and confronting with severe challenges, for example, how to transform our research focus from countryside to urban, from agriculture to industry, from the poor to the rich, from the natural economy to the knowledge economy, from traditional village to modern business, from minority group to mainstream society, etc. There is another question that how we could help anthropology major students to find high-paying and decent jobs in cities or in high-tech enterprises (Li 2013).

Despite the unpromising beginning, the special session with the theme of “the urbanization, industrialization and inheritance of ethnic cultures in China”, ended as a success. This conference consisted of 5 units with 14 representatives who came from America, France, Germany, China, and Italy, and nearly 10 institutions, such as State University of New York, French National Institute of Social Sciences, University of Bologna, Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity, The Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Yunnan University of Finance and Economics, Minzu University of China, Northwest Minzu University, etc.

International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (IUAES) once published a draft statement about the future of anthropology by its president in *Current Anthropology* which outlined major issues that should be covered in the research of anthropology (Belshaw 1979). In fact; both anthropology and ethnology are transdisciplinary and comprehensive subjects. The 16th Congress of the International

Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences was held in Kunming, China from July 27th to 31<sup>st</sup>, 2009. According to the subjects and themes, this congress included 217 panels which covered 36 sub-disciplines or sub-research fields as the following: Historical Anthropology, Theoretical Anthropology, Tourism Anthropology, Urban Anthropology, Communication Anthropology, Development and Economic Anthropology, Enterprise Anthropology, Ecological/Environmental Anthropology, Human Ecology, Cultural Diversity in Multi-disciplinary Research, Ethnic Culture Studies, Ethnic Relations and Ethnic Identities, Religious Studies, Aging and the Aged, Anthropology of AIDS, Archaeological Anthropology, Children, Youth and Childhood, Food and Nutrition, Gender Studies, Globalization Anthropology, Human Rights, Indigenous Knowledge, Legal Pluralism, Linguistic Anthropology, Mathematics Anthropology, Migration Anthropology, Medical Anthropology and Epidemiology, Museum and Cultural Heritage, Nomadic Peoples Studies, Physical Anthropology and Molecular Anthropology, Visual Anthropology, Psycho-anthropology, Sport Anthropology, Urgent Anthropological Research, etc. Besides, the cooperation among anthropology and business management, industrial economy, regional economy, politics, history, sociology, environmental science has been quite active, and some original research fields of anthropology have developed towards the direction of specialization and even into sub-disciplines, such as Ecological/Environmental Anthropology, Enterprise Anthropology, Urban Anthropology, Development and Economic Anthropology, Historical Anthropology, Migration Anthropology, Educational Anthropology, Tourism Anthropology, etc. From the perspective of academic discipline construction, anthropology and ethnology have entered a new and fresh stage (Zhang 2012).

Chinese anthropologists and ethnologists usually have a tremendous zest for the minority people who suffered in poorly developed ethnic areas. In the recent 10 years, the central and western regions in China have undergone dramatic changes in pace with the state policies such as “Western development”, “12th five-year plan” and “13th five-year plan”, and “prospering frontier and enriching people”, etc. Some consequent issues, such as urbanization in the central and western regions, industrialization and marketization, retention and inheritance of cultural values of all ethnic peoples, have been highly valued by scholars and the governments in the world. A new round of industrialization, marketization and urbanization in China<sup>3</sup> has advanced to the central and western ethnic regions, causing various problems to local ethnic groups. These problems have become areas of study for anthropologists and ethnologists who have tried to tackle it and offered some solutions. As a worldwide frontier science, the scope of applied research and case analysis of enterprise anthropology is rather expansive, at least in the fields of industrial transfer, urbanization and floating population, enterprise cultures, enterprise organization, consumer behavior analysis, cross-culture management, enterprises’ social responsibility, the locality and group of enterprises, ethnic entrepreneurs, etc (Zhang 2014). Now facing a new round of industrialization, marketization and urbanization, enterprise anthropology is attempting to expand its future research scope in central and western regions of China. This attempt is further complimented by the practical development demand in those regions.

### **AN ENTERPRISE ANTHROPOLOGY PERSPECTIVE: A NEW ROUND OF INDUSTRIALIZATION, MARKETIZATION AND URBANIZATION IN CHINA**

At present, Bohai Bay Area has gradually emerged as one growing economic pole in China besides Pearl River Delta and Yangtze River Delta. The industrial transfer from the eastern part of China to the central and western regions is not only an enormous economic phenomenon, but also a social, cultural, and environmental issue that deserves anthropologists’ attention. This large-scale industrial transfer will create a profound impact upon the social, cultural, and natural environments in minority areas. It is necessary to conduct studies from the perspective of disciplines other than economics on the impacts that industrial transfer brings to the society and culture in the central and western regions (especially in minority areas). In a long run, this could provide advantage to these disciplines that follow the developing pace of modern China, and could intensify their applied research (Zhang 2011).

For instance, Kaili municipality, a city in Guizhou province in west China, inhabited mainly by ethnic people, is considered as one of China's under-developed areas as well as a place in which a round of industrialization, marketization, urbanization takes place and embodies huge development space and potentials. It could prove the theory of "Chinese-style social-economic structure transformation" by making a case study of the dual process of urbanization and industrialization in Kaili municipality. In 2013, I was taking charge of a project research in Kaili,<sup>4</sup> and our team got vigorous support from the local government, which issued a specific order to the Municipal Statistics Bureau to assist our research. We altogether visited more than 10 government sectors, including Kaili Municipal Bureau of Statistics, Municipal Bureau of Ethnic Religion, Municipal Development and Reform Bureau, Municipal Planning Bureau, Municipal Construction Bureau, Municipal Human Resources and Social Security Bureau, Municipal Agriculture Bureau, Municipal Health Bureau, Municipal Education Bureau, Municipal People's Congress, Municipal Tourism Bureau, Municipal Investment Bureau, Municipal Environmental Protection Bureau, Family Planning Commission, Municipal Culture Bureau, Poverty Alleviation Office, etc. We also visited villages in the countryside at the rich, middle, and poor levels, where we made some door-to-door interviews with certain families. Besides, We also made some field visits to typical areas and institutions, such as the industrial development zone, economic development zone, new development tourist area, ethnic tourism village, enterprise, hospital, school, etc. from which we collected all kinds of internal reports and papers published by relevant departments of Kaili in recent years, such as city statistical yearbook, city annals, various work summary reports, development planning and other internal reports and materials.

In the following sections, this paper will make the empirical analysis based on the specific situations in Kaili and other cities. From the perspective of enterprise anthropology, this paper will discuss the current aspects of industrialization, marketization, and urbanization in the societies there.

### **How to View a New Round of Industrialization?**

The Early Exploration of China Rural Industrialization from an Enterprise Anthropology Perspective

China is a great agricultural country and the enterprise anthropology stems from the study of the rural industrialization. In the 1920s to 1930s, American and Chinese scholars conducted joint research on the rural areas in China. Thus, the concept of "rural industrialization" was being put forward to tackle the problems of poverty, over-population, and backward productivity in the countryside. For example, Li Jinghan (1934) suggested that rural industrialization should be one way to reduce the surplus population based on his study on Ding county, Hebei province. Liang Shumin (1937) put forward a rural industrialized approach from agriculture to industry in rural construction. He believed that China's modern industrialization was different from that of the west which was free competition from commerce into industry, while China's model was cooperative survival from agriculture into industry. "Starting from agriculture to industry is the way we turned it around to a new world."

The study of enterprise anthropology was born in the 1930s in America. A few years later, some scholars in China like Fei Xiaotong began to explore Chinese enterprise anthropology. Fei Xiaotong is a pioneer anthropologist who studied the rural industrialization in China, and everyone in Chinese anthropology reveres him as the founder of "Chinese enterprise anthropology". His investigation in Kaihsienkung village, Wujiang county, Jiangsu province is a typical example to study rural industrialization, in which he used anthropological methods. In *Peasant Life in China* (1939), he expressed one of the reasons he chose Kaihsienkung as the investigation village. It was one of the most important silk industry centers in China. Therefore, this village could serve as a typical example of the developing process of the Chinese industry along with the main changes arising when industry took the place of the traditional cottage craft system. Rural industrialization is not an uncommon process, and is continuing in China and every corner in the world today. In fact, the industrial development in China has more practical meaning, but is not well probed so far even by researchers who fully understand the rural social organization (Fei 1939).

Zhang Zhiyi (1943) published a monograph, *Handicraft Industry in Yi Village*, based on his study in a relatively developed handicraft industry village, Yi village of Yunnan province in 1939. The preface

written by Fei Xiaotong is not only a theoretical summary of this book but a model essay of rural industrial sociology and enterprise anthropology in China. Fei Xiaotong mainly expounded five aspects in the preface.<sup>5</sup> He pointed out that the general development rule is from the countryside industry to urban industry, but Chinese rural industry is difficult to develop into an urban one due to its inadequate development in China's countryside and horrible attacks by foreign industrial capital.

Hereby, this paper does not aim at making an overall review of the history of the research and study of Chinese rural industrialization in an anthropological perspective, but is just presenting some examples to illustrate that rural industrialization is not a new subject but it is a long discussed topic in China for decades.

#### *The Research on Chinese Township Enterprise after the Reform and Opening-Up*

The research of the rural industrialization mainly focused on township enterprises after the reform and opening-up policy carried out in 1978. In the mid-1980s, a situation of "township enterprise best in South Jiangsu, and household industry best in Wenzhou" has already formed in Jiangsu and Zhejiang provinces. For example, the Wenzhou household industry has created an eye-catching economic miracle at a high rate of speed since the early 1980s to 1985. Some economists regarded the developing approach of the Wenzhou rural household industry as "Wenzhou Model" (Sang 1985). In early 1986, Fei Xiaotong, after his investigation in Wenzhou, generalized "Wenzhou Model" from the phenomenon of "small commodity and large market" with characteristic of household industry plus professional market. "In a nutshell, the Sunan model evolved from a communal system into a collective enterprise, while the household industry in Wenzhou is a kind of individual economy." (Fei 1983)

In 1990 to 2000, some sociologists and anthropologists such as Li Peilin and Wang Chunguang (1993), Ma Rong, Huang Chaohan, Wang Hansheng, and Yang Mu (1994), Ma Rong, Liu Shiding, and Qiu Zeqi (2000), and others revealed economic achievements through careful investigation on township enterprise.

#### *The Survey and Observation on a New Round of Rural Industrialization*

The industrialization of agricultural products constituted a significant part of the new round of rural industrialization in the middle and western China. In December, 2003, we conducted a research in a village of Ganzhou zone, Zhangye municipality, Hexi Corridor in western China.<sup>6</sup> We found out in surprise that almost every town or village had built one or more dehydrated vegetable factory which mainly dehydrate some local products like green peppers, cucumbers, beans when we did field investigation and door-to-door interview at Dangzhai town, Xindun town, Anyang village, Xiaoman village and Chang'an village. However, those factories directly discharged all kinds of waste water into local rivers which might contain toxic chemicals like preservative, desiccant without any wastewater treatment, so this place was filled with unpleasant and strong smell. Especially in the peak season of the vegetable harvest from June, July to September and October, this situation became so worse that local people along the river who might live several miles away had to bear this smell with desperation and anger. These waste waters haunted local residents and threaten their lives and health (Se, Zhang and Du 2008).

In recent years, especially during the "twelfth five-year plan" (2010-2015), China's food industry has continued to grow rapidly and its growth in central and western regions was greater than that of eastern regions. This acceleration, to a large extent, comes mainly from the industrial transfer of the food industry from the eastern to the central and western regions. Although some local governments may neglect the precautions and governance of environmental pollution in the food industry due to the local protectionism, blind pursuit of political achievements and economic performance and other considerations, an increasing number of local governments and food enterprises have adopted some measures to prevent and control environmental pollution from the food industry in order to promote the sustainable development of such industry (Li and Zhang 2013).

According to our investigation in Kaili city in 2013, the city is promoting the sustainable development of the industry and actively undertaking industrial transfer. By 2015, Kaili city preliminary

built "one center" and "three big industrial systems" with the Lushan industrial park as the center and bauxite fine-and-deep processing (including aluminum industry and abrasive material), energy and building materials and raw materials industry, biological pharmaceutical and food processing as the three major industrial systems, thus achieving the goal of becoming an industrial powerful municipality.<sup>7</sup> Besides, based on the analysis of industrial economic distribution, the food (special food) industry and textile industry should be the first choice to undertake the transfer of labor-intensive industries. The resource-based enterprises are also one of the major industries taking over the industrial transfer.

According to the classification method proposed by Chenery et al. (1986), the industrialization process can be roughly divided into three stages including early stage, the middle stage and the late stage. Combined with relevant theories and international experience, we could conclude that the economic development of Kaili city is in the middle stage of industrialization.

## **How to View a New Round of Marketization?**

### *The Early Exploration of Marketization from an Enterprise Anthropology Perspective*

In the 1930s, Fei Xiaotong pointed out in *Peasant Life in China* that the domestic silk industry in Jiang village was a kind of endogenous development under the pressure of large population and relatively little land, while the rural industrial development was a response to saving the bankruptcy of rural industry under the challenge of external forces. The term "external forces" mentioned here refers to the introduction of modern technology as well as the industrial expansion and imperialist invasion by western powers.

### *The Research on Marketization after the Reform and Opening-Up*

Nowadays, marketization and industrialization have invaded almost every corner of China, thus making more and more ethnic minority peoples in the western regions who were unable to maintain the basic need of self-sufficiency, and now become more and more deeply involved in the market system and the wave of modern industry. Wen Shixian's research in Qiunatong village, Nujiang River gorge, found that the marketization and industrialization were closely related to the livelihood transformation of the local people, whose traditional self-sufficient family economy was under attack. So the local people have to adopt a new market-oriented way to survive, such as digging medicinal herbs, finding fungus seeds and out-migrating for work, to keep body and soul together. We can see that a choice of the new livelihood mode for the Nü nationality (Wen 2014).

Besides, state-owned enterprises in western China also face the challenge of marketization. In 2005, You Zhenglin (2007) conducted an in-depth investigation of a factory in the western region. Xichang industry (not its real name) is a state-owned machinery manufacturing enterprise, which was established in 1958 and located in the near suburb area of a provincial city in western China. In 1994 when the production situation was in its prime, the total industrial output reached 200.57 million yuan, the profit reached 1000.78 million yuan, and the number of employees reached more than 2400. It used to be a professional manufacturer of QZ machine (pseudonym) and JS machine (pseudonym) appointed by the state, and it is one of 25 large state-owned enterprises directly managed by the provincial government and it has been rated as "advanced enterprise" by the Ministry of Machinery for many times. Since 1997, this factory has lost a lot of money with the average loss more than 25 million yuan a year. By the end of 2001, the total assets of the enterprise were 400 million yuan, and the total liabilities were 480 million yuan with the asset-liability ratio as high as 120 percent. On April 1, 2003, Xichang industry was formally declared bankrupt. On October 28, 2003, Xichang's real assets were auctioned off to a few private owners led by Gaoding with 173 million yuan. From January 1, 2004, the acquirer renamed the factory as a limited liability company and continued to produce the original products (i.e., QZ machines and JS machines). Furthermore, some managers and workers<sup>8</sup> of the former company still remained in the private company.

### *The Observation on a New Round of Marketization*

Western minority areas are the most underdeveloped regions in China, which has also taken place great social-economic structure transformation under the influence of marketization.

Chen Gang et al.'s survey of the large Lake area suggested that since the mid-1980s, a small number of tourists began to travel to the Lugu Lake area. In 1986, Lugu lake was designated as a provincial nature reserve by the Yunnan provincial government. So lakeside villagers spontaneously began to receive tourists. The small shops which only served the villagers at first began to provide food and beverage, daily necessities and badly needed medicine for tourists instead. After the 1990s, the number of tourists visiting Lugu Lake increased year by year, and the local tourism industry gradually developed. In 1994, Lugu Lake was designated as a provincial tourist area by Yunnan government. The growth of tourism has driven the development of other industries such as guesthouses, restaurants and small retail stores that cater to the needs of tourists for food, accommodation, transportation and daily necessities (Chen and Bai 2012).

Kaili city, as a multi-ethnic city with Miao nationality as the main body of residents, has been undergoing a profound cultural reconstruction under the promotion of the development strategy of placing equal emphasis on the protection and development of high-speed urbanization. On the road of integrated development of cultural tourism industry, Kaili city has developed an innovative mode of transformation of ethnic culture industrialization. Xing Qishun (2014) deemed that since the gradual development of Kaili's ethnic cultural industry<sup>9</sup>, such enterprises have gradually become the backbone of the development of Kaili's ethnic cultural industry. Now there exist 13 tourism commodity production enterprises, which respectively are Guizhou Yang Asha Ethnic Arts and Crafts Ltd., Folk Tie-Dye Factory, Shang Gu Company, Lan Qifeng Wax Printing Factory, Hao Hua hong Silver Products Company, Miaomei Ethnic Handicraft Ltd., A Youduo Flower Crafts Ltd., Miao-Nationality Region Ethnic Arts And Crafts Ltd., LushiHorns Crafts Ltd., Yu Shoutang Food Ltd., Zi RiTea Industry Ltd. The products of these companies include silver ornaments, silver paintings, root art ware, fabrics, tie-dye, ox horn, vinegar, tea, embroidery, batik, straw weaving, etc. All in all, with the development of tourism, the tourist commodity processing enterprises in Kaili city, especially the handicraft processing enterprises, have basically formed a business from scratch. The annual output value of the whole industry is more than 10 million yuan, and the tax paid is more than 1 million yuan, which drive the employment of rural craftsmen, and promote the development of the national cultural industry in Kaili city. Facing the contradiction of the protection and development of ethnic culture, the tourism industry on the one hand directly caused a strike and damage to the traditional national culture, on the other hand also rejuvenated some the dust-laden ethnic culture. Under the influence of cultural tourism, the modern, foreign and traditional cultures achieved their mutual penetration and confluence, thus making the profound reconstruction of traditional culture (Xing 2014).

### **How to View a New Round of Urbanization?**

#### *The Early Exploration of Urbanization from an Enterprise Anthropology Perspective*

A typical example of early anthropological study of China's urbanization was the study of the labor forces in Kunming Factory. In the 1930s to 1940s, in addition to the rural industrialization, there was also a large number of labor outflows in China who entered large and medium-sized cities or small towns for work and business. Kuo-Heng Shih (1944) wrote *China Enters the Machine Age* based on this group of migrant workers. The so-called "Kunming Factory", an academic pseudonym, is a state-owned munitions factory with about 500 employees in Kunming, Yunnan province. Kuo-Heng Shih conducted a panoramic community survey at the factory from August 25 to November 10, 1940 on the sources of labor supply, the skilled workers' migration to the mainland, local workers' changes, the attitude and efficiency of the workers, wage, the workers' budgets, social accommodations (mess hall, dormitories, medical care, correlative saving, education, leisure and recreation, etc.), morale, instability of labor, the transplantation or adaptation of labor, and the discipline of the workers, and so on.

*China Enters the Machine Age* deals with several interesting issues in the process of farmers' career transformation into workers. First is the mode of this transformation. Although a considerable number of workers came from countryside, only 13.5 percent of them became factory workers directly among which 68 percent of farmer-born workers had previously worked in non-agricultural occupations (such as soldier, tradesman, handicraft, casual laborer, etc.) before entering the factory. Secondly, the transformation from peasants to workers is not only about the change of working mode, but also the change of lifestyle, and it is the mutual coordination process of rural and urban culture. This book analyzes various problems in the process of industrialization by studying the workers' social environment, family background, social conditions, interpersonal relationships, etc. Besides, it has a strong theoretical background of "human relations school".

#### *The Opinion on Urbanization after the Reform and Opening-Up*

China and many Asian countries are now in a period of rapid development in which urbanization is an insurmountable stage and a process dealing with the many challenges of sustainable development. In September 1983, Fei Xiaotong gave the famous speech titled "Small Towns and Big Problems" at the "Seminar on Small Towns in Jiangsu Province", and divided the development mode of small towns in Wujiang into five types by using the method of type comparison. In December 1983, Fei Xiaotong put forward two new concepts: "regional economic system" and "development model" of south Jiangsu region, commonly known as "south Jiangsu model". Soon, the word "mode" not only became a new concept to summarize the development path of rural industry and commerce, but also became another research hotspot after the concept of "small towns", attracting extensive attention from the government and academia. During this period, the development of small towns also came into the research field of enterprise anthropology.

Over the past 30 years of reform and opening-up, China's urbanization process has made rapid progress with the urbanization rate surging from 17.40% in 1978 to 46.59% in 2009. At present, China's urbanization level has reached about 55%. Every 1 percentage point increase in urbanization level means an improvement in the efficiency of resource allocation, while China's urbanization level will not stop until it reaches 75% (Li 2015).

Over the past 10 years, the construction and development of China's urbanization have greatly influenced the survival and development of ancient commercial streets and time-honored brands. The ancient commercial streets and time-honored brands are always located in the busy downtown area where people crowd together. Once urban reconstruction projects such as new residential areas, new roads and new shopping malls are implemented, the location of time-honored brand stores will be highly susceptible. For example, the Yong'an Tea House in Beijing has been moved several times since its establishment 80 years ago. In 1935, the store was founded in the west Zhu Shikou street south, Qianmen of Beijing. In 1987, the old shop was restored and the original site was renovated. In August 1994, the store was renovated again in order to improve its operating environment. In April 2003, it was relocated to No.27, west Zhu Shikou Street. In April 2008, it was relocated again to No.1, Meishi Street, Xicheng district. One of the main reasons for the frequent relocation of the time-honored Yong'an Tea House is the urbanization of Beijing. Therefore, it's necessary to pay attention to and study time-honored brands and ancient commercial streets from the perspective of enterprise anthropology besides only seeing a point of urbanization.

#### *The Research on a New Round of Urbanization*

China's new urban development mainly occurs in the central and western regions. On the one hand, there have formed three major urban clusters with huge population in the eastern coastal region of China: the Yangtze River Delta, the Pearl River Delta and the Bohai Bay Area, which have become the leading areas of the development in China's economy and the engine for improving comprehensive national strength. On the other hand, in the central and western regions, a huge number of city clusters are in embryo, such as Sichuan Basin city group with Chengdu and Chongqing as the centers ("Cheng Yu city cluster" for short), the Jiangnan Plain city group with Wuhan as the center ("Wuhan city cluster" for short),



the central Hunan city group with Changsha as the center("the Chang-Zhu-Tan region city group" for short), the Guanzhong area city group with Xi'an as the center("Guanzhong city cluster" for short), the Central Plain Area city cluster with Zhengzhou as the center("the Central Plain city cluster" for short), etc (Li and Zhang 2011).

On the relationship between urban development and enterprise, there are a lot of problems that need to be analyzed from the perspective of national culture. Chinese anthropologists and ethnologists are pretty good at studying national and ethnic culture, but rarely focus on the development of enterprises as well as the cities. At the opening ceremony of Enterprise and Urban Development, Wang Yanzhong (2013) pointed out that the development of cities requires a large number of socially responsible entrepreneurs. In the process of enterprise development and urban modernization, a notable question is how to shape and strengthen the social responsibility of entrepreneurs. Economic development requires more than the creativity of entrepreneurs, but the combination of their creativity with urban social sustainable development in which the social responsibility of entrepreneurs is the key.

In 1979, a famous American urban geographer Ray M. Northam proposed that the periodic trajectory of the process of urbanization in the developed countries is like a regular curve, or a flatten-out inverted-S curve, which is similar to the rise of the sine wave curve. It is also called "the Northam curve". He pointed out that the urbanization process can be divided into three stages according to the changes of the proportion of urban population in the total population: the first one is the initial stage of urbanization, and the urbanization level is below 30%, which is the initial gentle development stage that agriculture occupies the dominant position; rural population occupies the absolute advantage; the release of surplus agricultural labor force is slow; the level of industrial and agricultural productivity is low; the employment opportunities provided by industry are limited; and the economic development speed is slow. So this level of urbanization is low. The second stage is the acceleration of urbanization with urbanization level of 30%-70%, which is the middle stage of rapid growth that industry absorbed a large number of agricultural population, and urbanization is advancing rapidly. With the concentration of population and industry in cities, problems such as labor surplus, traffic congestion, housing shortage and environmental deterioration have appeared in urban areas. After the popularity of cars, many people and enterprises began to move to the suburbs. The third stage is the mature stage of urbanization with the urbanization level more than 70%, which is the gradual mature stage at the later stage. Urbanization level is relatively high, and the growth of the proportion of urban population is slow or even stagnant. In some areas, urbanized areas are constantly pushing into the countryside. The population, industry and commerce of some big cities move to the countryside and small towns farther away from the cities, which reduces the population of the whole big cities and results in the phenomenon of reverse urbanization (Northam 1979).

Let us look at the urbanization of Kaili city. According to the data provided by the Kaili municipal bureau of statistics during the entire 11th Five-Year Plan period (2006-2010), the planning area of Kaili city was expanded from 72.8 square kilometers to 278 square kilometers with urban built-up area expansion reaching to 32 km<sup>2</sup>, and urban population increased by 230,000 to 310,000. By the end of 2010, the city's urbanization rate was close to 60%, marking the coming stage of acceleration in urbanization arriving. The "three-axis with one center" urban system in Kaili has been initially formed with more balanced regional development, and Kaili became the second central city of Guizhou province. "One center" is the downtown area of Kaili city, which is the very core of the urban space of Kaili city and the first-level center of the southeast of Guizhou Province urban system. "Three axes" included the main axis of urban space development along GZ60, the sub-axis of west wing town development; the sub-axis of east wing town development. In a word, the center areas of Kaili has become the economic growth pole and development engine of the whole city and the outline of three urban development axes are emerging.

According to "the Northam curve", the urbanization level of Kaili city is 30% to 70%, which is among the middle stage of high-speed development. At this stage of urbanization, the industry absorbs a large number of agricultural population which is gathering rapidly in the city, thus promoting the urbanization.

There is some imbalance of the social economy in the eastern and western parts of China. The huge market opportunities and income returns of the eastern region, which promote many western labor, moving into the eastern area under the function of market mechanism, thus expanding labor export economy and forming the tendency of the "migration-urbanization" of the rural labor force in the west. For example, more than 60 villagers run a restaurant outside their village in Xunhua county, Northwest China, and among them 12 villagers open a hotel, and 2 people become labor contractor, and 45 construction cars are engaged in freight in Qinghai province and other areas in Northeast China, and more than 110 people are working in the outside area. All of the villagers working outside accounts for about 70 percent of the total population of the whole village, which is mainly engaged in wholesale retail (such as Chinese caterpillar fungus, fur, clothing, etc.), the catering business (such as noodles restaurant), the accommodation industry (such as running hotel) and the transportation industry (such as driving a construction car and taxi) and so on (Liang 2013).

As China's economy is transformed from a redistributive economy to the market one, the original strict urban-rural divide gradually slackened. Under the highly concentrated planned economy, the migration of the population has been incorporated into the national plan, which fundamentally rejected the role of population mobility in the configuration of production elements. After the reform and opening up, the rural surplus labor gradually began to migrate freely. The phenomenon of out-migration for work in Kaili could date back to the mid-1980s, which lasted for nearly 30 years by 2013. Since 2000, Kaili migrant workers have been growing rapidly and doubled in just 10 years with 54,403 in 2011 from 19,553 in 2002, and some villages have also become the "professional worker village". For example, there are 653 people totally in Kaitang village, of which 268 work outside the home, accounting for 41% of the total population. In 2004, Kaili was also listed as a labor export base in Southeast Guizhou. The rapid increase in the number of migrant workers has accelerated the outward movement of rural surplus labor in Kaili. In 2011, the absolute number of migrant workers accounted for about one-third of the total labor force in Kaili. Most of these migrant workers choose to work outside the province, mainly in the Yangtze River Delta and the Pearl River Delta, including Guangdong, Fujian, Zhejiang, Jiangsu, Shanghai and other provinces (or municipalities). After some years, many of them have purchased houses in Kaili, not their natal village. They have become urban residents, thus contributing to the rapid urbanization of Kaili city.

## CONCLUSION

At present, many fascinating academic topics like globalization, modernization, urbanization, industrialization, marketization, cultural diversity and so on have arisen. My preliminary viewpoint on these six concepts is that they can be divided into two categories: the two concepts of globalization and modernization are on the macro level with larger connotation than the other four concepts, and the four concepts of urbanization, industrialization, marketization and cultural diversity can be seen as medium level in which we could conduct some empirical studies (Zhang 2015). From the above elaboration, we can know that anthropology is definitely no stranger to the three topics of urbanization, industrialization and marketization considering its decades-old research, out of which enterprise anthropology is also born.

Since the beginning of the 21st century, China has entered a period of comprehensive transformation of economic and social structure, that is, from an agricultural, a rural, a closed and semi-closed society to an industrial, an urban and an open society. In recent 10 years, the west and central region of China which struggled in its poverty-stricken situation has been ushered in a new round of industrialization, marketization, urbanization which brings a series of huge economic and social transformation. So our fellow anthropologists and ethnologists shouldn't be stuck in the past, but have to try to tackle with these new and urgent issues from a different perspective, such as enterprise anthropology.

Ethnic minority areas are one of the difficult points and priorities for China to build a well-off society in an all-round way. They are also important regions for China to successfully complete the transformation of its economic and social structure and smoothly develop into a modern country. There are many places in the central and western ethnic areas that still enjoy the centuries-old village society

and the colorful traditional ethnic cultures. Now, with a new round of industrialization, marketization, urbanization, these regions are undergoing a massive modernization process, especially in ethnic minority areas where they will be affected enormously in the social, cultural or environmental aspects. Besides, those typical villages and the inheritance and development of ethnic cultures will be influenced to a great extent, big or small, sooner or later, which is an inevitable process and a new subject that the researchers of enterprise anthropology must actively deal with. There is still a lot of research work to be done in enterprise anthropology with plenty of room for further expansion.

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## ENDNOTES

1. In China, anthropology and ethnology are two different names for a discipline. In foreign countries, due to different academic traditions, the British and American academic circles are called "anthropology", and the German, Russian and other eastern European academic circles are called "ethnology". At present, anthropology and ethnology can be called together internationally, but the use of anthropology as a general term is becoming more and more obvious and popular.
2. The theme of the international conference in Italy is "Rationality Issues: Corporate Culture, Corporate Responsibility and Urban Development", which attracted about 200 scholars from different disciplines including anthropology, ethnology, sociology, economics, management and history, etc.
3. "A new round of industrialization, marketization and urbanization" specifically refers to the fact that China's industrialization, marketization and urbanization which have spread over the central and western ethnic regions from the eastern coastal areas. In other words, China's new round of development extends to the central and western ethnic regions.
4. The project is a sub-project of the "Comprehensive Survey on the Economic and Social Development of China's Ethnic Minority Areas in the Early 21st Century", led by Prof. Wang Yanzhong, a researcher from the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences.
5. Firstly, the boundary between agriculture and industry in the countryside: in the traditional countryside, there is no clear line between agriculture and industry. Secondly, the function of the rural industry: it can help agricultural products feed rural populations. Thirdly, the basic form of the rural industry is the cottage industry, which can utilize surplus labor in the workshop. Fourthly, the difference between rural industry and urban industry: the former is small-scale manual production, while the latter is the large-scale machine production. Fifthly, the revival and future of rural industry lie in its technological and organizational changes.
6. From 2001 to 2006, the Research Institute for Humanity & Nature of Japan and the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences signed a cooperative research agreement to carry out a five-year investigation on "water resources and ecological environment" in Heihe river basin of China. During this period, the Research Institute for Humanity & Nature of Japan established a separate project in 2003 and commissioned the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences to carry out this investigation. This investigation is carried out by Zhang Jijiao and Du Fachun.
7. Data provided by Kaili municipal bureau of statistics: by the end of 2010, the number of industrial enterprises above municipal scale in Kaili was 58 with an increase of 16% over the 50 enterprises at the end of the tenth five-year plan period. Among them, 3 enterprises with an output value of 100 million yuan as the same as 2005, 7 enterprises with an output value of 50 million yuan, three more than the four in 2005. By the end of 2010, the

number of employees in industrial enterprises above municipal level was 5,822 with an increase of 3.06% compared with 5,649 in 2005. During the "eleventh five-year plan" period, the total profits and taxes of the city's industrial enterprises above municipal level reached 586.77 million yuan, and the total profits reached 1204.43 million yuan, which increased by 265.32% and 647.55% respectively compared with the "tenth five-year plan" period.

8. The subject of You Zhenglin's research on Xi Factory is the conflict among the cadres in state-owned enterprises. Firstly, he put forward the theoretical framework of the enterprise or the mass conflict in the workplace from the perspective of organizational justice theory, and then, he conducted a diachronic description and analysis of the phenomenon of internal state-owned enterprises (Xi Factory) conflict since 1979 based on a large number of empiric and literature data by using this theoretical framework. He recorded the history of the reform of state-owned enterprises in China from a special angle and revealed some logic of the conflicts between the cadres and the masses in state-owned enterprises to some extent, and reflected on the reform process of state-owned enterprises from the perspective of the relationship between the cadres and the masses.
9. The so-called ethnic cultural enterprise refers to the enterprise that develops, produces and consumes products based on ethnic cultural resources. According to different product type, it can be divided into tourism commodity enterprises and cultural consumption enterprises, as well as design, creation and direct consumption enterprises. In terms of scale, it generally includes registered companies, small-scale businesses, family workshops and individual studios.

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