

Enterprise Anthropology: A New Paradigm in China's Socio-economic Transformation—A Book Review of *Enterprise Anthropology: The Fourth Revolution of Anthropology*

Chen Meng
Hainan University

In 2019, Professor Jijiao Zhang published his book: Enterprise Anthropology: The Fourth Evolution of Anthropology, a summarization of his study on Chinese enterprise anthropology for over ten years with a wealth of field researches on enterprises of the many kind in China, and their development trajectories. Zhang puts forward an overall paradigm of anthropology and neoclassical structural-functionalism under the background of China's social-economic transformations. This work has laid a solid foundation of enterprise anthropology as an independent discipline equipped with certain research objects, paradigms, theories, directions and achievements, which is not only a positive response to "Theoretical Confidence" campaign in Chinese anthropology, but also a theoretical promotion and contribution towards a diversified and dynamic global anthropology.

Keywords: enterprise anthropology, socioeconomic transformation, paradigm, structural- functionalism

Enterprise anthropology conceived in the 1930s has been developing for over ninety years mainly in the US, China and Japan. Since 2000, Professor Jijiao Zhang began to study urban anthropology, looking mainly at its developing features and trends, including a series of works on China's enterprises and entrepreneurs of different types (Zhang 2006, 2007, 2009a, 2009b, 2009c; Nas and Zhang 2009). After 2009, he moved his focus to a more specific area and developed the concept of five stages of enterprise anthropology¹ in a reformative way (Zhang 2011, 2012a, 2012b, 2014a, 2017, 2018, 2019a, 2019b; Zhang and VoonPhin 2012; Zhang and Yin 2013; Zhang and Duncan 2014).

In 2019, Jijiao Zhang published the book : *Enterprise Anthropology: The Fourth Evolution of Anthropology*, as a summarization of his study of enterprise anthropology over the course of ten years and came out with an overall paradigm of anthropology under diversified socioeconomic circumstances (Zhang 2019a). His research and viewpoints may overthrow our traditional understanding and study of anthropology as a relatively submissive discipline and make it more independent from other subjects with newly-developed paradigms and objectives.

According to its structure, this book has been divided into three main parts: an introduction and parts A and B. Based on the framework of enterprise anthropology that is detailed in the introduction, Zhang adopts longitudinal research (part A) and vertical research (part B) respectively to demonstrate the formation, development and use of Enterprise Anthropology paradigms to study China's socioeconomic structure, China's urban ethnic economics and Shanghai Expo in 2010, as well as the relationships between cultural preservation and urbanization, enterprise development and governmental regulation,

“time-honored brand enterprises” and “time-honored brand streets”. All these studies have employed a substantial number of examples regarding Chinese enterprises, economic policies and socioeconomic transformational features in fifty years since China’s reform and opening up in 1978. We could also deem this work as a record of China’s great changes and its exploration of new socioeconomic patterns in its transitional period from an anthropological perspective.

THE INTRODUCTION: THE HISTORY, DEVELOPMENT AND SIGNIFICANCE OF ENTERPRISE ANTHROPOLOGY

As a scientific revelation of human development, anthropology has formed various sub-disciplines in a century and enterprise anthropology is one of them. What is its strength and what are its features that make it stand out from its peers and thus lead to a new evolution of anthropology? To answer this question, we should first be aware of the development of anthropology. Because of the complicated social structure since the information revolution, social divisions are refining and economic patterns are changing all the time. To echo this context, anthropologists have to look deeply into more complicated social and economic structures, in comparison to the field’s original focus upon primitive peoples, small-scale communities and colonies. According to Jijiao Zhang, when anthropology began to study urban society since its third evolution, its study patterns were still focused on comparatively simple social structures.² The introduction of enterprise studies has changed the whole situation since 1930s. Initially, complicated economic organizations reflected a general trend in anthropological research: as they vary in origins and developing processes, enterprises cannot be easily studied and concluded through application of particular rules. Furthermore, enterprises are always deeply rooted in realistic socioeconomic life and highly influenced by national and local policies. Since China’s reform and opening up, the number of enterprises of various kinds have skyrocketed in an explosive way, including township enterprises, state-owned enterprises, transnational enterprises, traditional enterprises, private enterprises, “Time-honored brands,” etc. Most of them are thriving due to the favorable policies practiced by the central and local governments in a comparatively loose environment. Actually, the rise of the Chinese economy in the last half century with tremendous numbers of real-life examples and materials has motivated anthropologists to expand and enrich their research content, paradigms, and topics to promote their ability to explain complex, modern organizations in a more scientific way.

According to Jijiao Zhang, the enterprise anthropology paradigm is based on three aspects: holism (from the simple to the complex), dimension (from dualism to pluralism), and perspective (the combination of “top-down” and “bottom-up”). The old paradigms based on Western humanities and sociology were seen as an outdated approach to new problems after the radical changes undergone by former socialist countries in the 1980s. In the light of Professor Li Peilin’s work,³ we have come to find that apart from the famous analogy of the visible hand (government) and the invisible hand (market), there is “another invisible hand” that has great influence on economic and industrial structure—the “social structure transformation” theory (Li 1995). This is the theoretical basis of enterprise anthropology paradigm that can be seen as smashing the small-scale research traditions so as to impel anthropology toward a more holistic view of market and social-structure transformation. In addition, Li also promoted the “continuous spectrum” theory as an outbreak of the pervasive dualistic patterns in the social sciences and humanities (Li 2002), and Jijiao Zhang developed it into a “coexistence-connection model” in his study of Chinese-minority migrant’s cultural transformation in four cities from traditional “four economic culture patterns” (Zhang 2014b). To make anthropology more than a study focusing on under-developed ethnic groups, Professor Zhang also attempts to combine an anthropological “bottom-up” perspective with a governmental “top-down” approach and to offer a more diversified viewpoint to understand the relationships between enterprises development (especially “Time-honored brands”) and government reformation.

Right from its beginning in the 1930s, enterprise anthropology has spent ninety years becoming a formal discipline. At the 16th World Congress of the IUAES in 2009, the International Commission on Enterprise Anthropology was set up and was welcomed by scholars, giving international recognition to

the discipline. Based on the efforts of Chinese anthropologists of six generations and in accordance with the rising Chinese economy, enterprise anthropology has formed its own creative discipline system (topic, category, methodology and achievement) with immense potential as a leading force of the fourth evolutionary phase of anthropology as well as a strong power to usher Chinese anthropology to the global frontier.

PART A: THE NEW PARADIGM OF ENTERPRISE ANTHROPOLOGY

Since the period of the reform and opening up begun in 1978, China has been experiencing a great transformation in all sides, especially in social and economic areas. The Chinese economy surged forward with great momentum and replaced Japan as the world's second-largest economy in 2010. Under this background, Jijiao Zhang attempts to find out the relations between the two leading figures playing a role in China's economic boom: government and enterprise.

In his research, Jijiao Zhang abandoned the common totalitarian and modernization paradigms and turned towards more extensive and practical ones, including Karl Polanyi's three types of economy⁴, Victor Nee's theory of market transition, Fei Xiaotong's differential mode of association, and Li Peilin's theory of the transformation of social structure in an attempt to establish a new analytical framework to illustrate China's economic reformation and evolution. Under the above mentioned theoretical basis, Professor Zhang proposed a hypothesis: in the transitional period, there are two opposite patterns of socioeconomic development—"umbrella society" and "beehive society".

The "umbrella society," is a top-down perspective by which one can dig out the relations between governments and enterprises (mainly SOE: state-owned enterprises). In this part, Professor Zhang uses two cases through field survey to illustrate the features of "umbrella society" in socioeconomic transition. The first case is from the perspective of local development: the rise of Xinglong Overseas Chinese Farm in Hainan Province (Xinglong, for short). After thirty years of development, under the harsh requirements of market transformation, and with an irresistible trend along with its own will to change its fiscal pressures and interior structures, Xinglong shifted from an agricultural enterprise within a planned economy to an integrated enterprise with agriculture, industry, commerce, and tourism. This can mainly be attributed to its "umbrella relation" with the local government (Overseas Chinese Affairs Office of Hainan Province and Wanning City). In this case, the "umbrella relation" includes both superior and subordinate relations and patron-client relations. On the one hand, the local government or Xinglong itself has a right to make final decisions towards its subordinate enterprises and contractors, while on the other hand, the local government also acts as a patron to provide Xinglong allocated resources, administrative services, as well as investment and financial grants. The second case comes from enterprise development: here referring to "umbrella relations" between the Beijing Municipal Government and Time-honored brands Enterprises. In this case, Professor Zhang takes China's two famous Time-honored brands enterprises: Quanjudu (a state-owned food enterprise) and Tongrentang (a state-owned medicinal enterprise) as examples to further demonstrate this typical relation. Under these patron-client relations, both Quanjudu and Tongrentang have successfully transformed from nearly-bankrupted family-owned enterprises in the early twentieth century to powerful SOE subsidiaries of the Beijing Municipal government about eighty years later. Actually, due to historical reasons, the two "Time-honored brands" enterprises not only won strong support from the Beijing government, but have also been appreciated by the Chinese central government through a stronger "umbrella relation," receiving a wide range of resources in funding, construction, technology, staff and policies. Compared to the case of Xinglong, the support Quanjudu and Tongrentang obtained from their government supporters was far beyond material resources, and included the protection and promotion of their brand (value), insurance of their shares at home and abroad, as well as guidance for their full-scale standardization and diversification. These strong ties allowed them to be the leading powers of their industries, respectively. According to Professor Zhang, the "umbrella relations" between government and enterprise is another invisible hand in China's social/structural transition, and local governments play an active role to support deficient institutions for the moment and guarantee a smooth and stable transition. The state-owned enterprises with a competitive

edge and sufficient resources have promoted China's economic take-off in a short time. After China's "comprehensive deepening reform", "umbrella relations" have gradually turned toward "referee-and-players" relationship while the market wields show decisive power on resources allocation in the end.

In coining a model termed "beehive society", Professor Zhang turned to study China's socioeconomic transformation from a bottom-up view and attempted to figure out the common people's role in this transformation. As compared to governments and enterprises retaining access to most power and resources, common people are more in need of market places and development opportunities to make their own living and this is the basis of "beehive society". Conceptually, Professor Zhang uses this metaphor to compare common people to hard working "bees" and their connections of social relationship to the construction of their "beehives". Most of these common people do not have political power or resources, their network relationship is mainly based on family or lineage and guided by moral ethics and kinship, which may be more effective than market rules and economic principles. Actually, they have made their own mechanism of market resource allocation and became an indispensable force of China's economic social structure. After utilizing an employment and management perspective and substantial fieldwork investigations, Professor Zhang demonstrated the basic structure and functions of five types of "beehives" that can be shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1
THE MAIN CATEGORIES, TYPES AND FEATURES OF "BEEHIVE SOCIETY"

	Category 1	Stages	Features
Beehive Society	Employment Beehives	"Advance force" of individual migrant employees	Early rural migrants came to cities without available social capital. It was difficult for most of them to make a fortune on their own.
		"Chain type" group migrant employment	The forerunners' relatives, friends, and villagers could easily make their living in cities based on the social capital accumulated by the "advance force," shaping a migrant work chain. The forerunners became "queen bees" while the followers were "worker bees"; thus the "beehive" began to build up.
		"Net type" group migrant employment	Based on the "chain type," more migrant workers with wider relations came in and the "net type" was formed, according to the "pattern of different sequence." A shared mutual-helped "beehive" has come into being.
	Category 2	Types	Features
	Management Beehives	Family beehive	As a significant economic unit based on kinship and lineage, the family was the pioneer in China's early marketization with its feature of altruism.
		Value-chain beehive	Value-chain beehives, an extended version of family beehive, are formed not only from inner family but also outward networks among suppliers, retailers, and wholesalers with mutual benefits to achieve a win-win situation.
Ethnic beehive		Minority migrants in cities also form their own "beehives" with distinct ethnic characteristics (culture, language, values, kinship, etc.) based on their own family beehives and value-chain beehives.	

To extend the study of “beehive society” into a more complex and valuable version, Professor Zhang focused on the economic and cultural transformation of “ethnic beehives” to have a better understanding of the important roles played by ethnic enterprises and entrepreneurs. In this part, Professor Zhang raised two key theories to promote his study: Alejandro Portes’ economic enclave theory and the economic-cultural pattern (ECP) theory. Based on his field research focusing on urban ethnic migrants, Professor Zhang made an important hypothesis and restructured the original ECPs into more continuous and dynamic ones. Thus there are four economic-cultural patterns found among urban ethnic migrants in China’s transformation context: the “dependent-transplantation” pattern among Korean migrants in Qingdao, the “innovative-transplantation” pattern among Mongolian migrants in Hohhot, the “semi-innovative and semi-integrative” pattern of the Hui in Kunming, and the “integration” pattern of other ethnic migrants in Shenzhen and Kunming. Among them, ethnic enterprises are the structural basis and footholds, and ethnic entrepreneurs are the ones with the power to allocate resources to establish their “beehives” gradually, while ethnic characteristics, like cultural distinctiveness, values, kinship, etc. are the core motives to connect them all and sustain their overall development.

In the last section of part A, Professor Zhang made an innovative attempt to analyze the 2010 Shanghai Expo from an anthropological perspective. He recognized that the Shanghai Expo's success was based on an enormous economic foundation, and that it achieved the expected results of political and cultural promotion. It is fair to say that the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games and the 2010 Shanghai Expo were twin events that proved China's rise and transition with great achievements since the era of reform and opening up. These two events offered witness to China's vitality, wisdom and enterprising spirit with an open, inclusive, and globalized attitude. On this premises, Professor Zhang made a bold move by comparing the Shanghai Expo, as a nation-owned enterprise in global competition, with Michael E. Porter’s five forces and diamond model to show the meaning and feasibility of adopting anthropological methods to observe market and economic behaviors. On the one hand, the Shanghai Expo successfully promoted Chinese culture and achievements globally with high-end technology, diversified designs, and national pavilions (as products) to attract visitors and tourists (as customers). China’s central government and Shanghai’s municipal government also took several measures (as marketing strategies) to increase the flow of visitors. On the other hand, the success of the Shanghai Expo generated great influence (as profits) on the education and cultural confidence of younger generations, economic stimulus for Shanghai and its surrounding Yangtze River Delta region, and innovative understanding of globalization, urbanization, and sustainable development. According to Professor Zhang, the Shanghai Expo was a grand event of human civilization and a new beginning for China and the world with the concepts of “understanding, communication, gathering, and cooperation.”

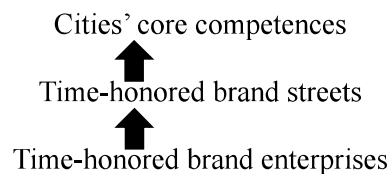
PART B: CASE STUDY OF ENTERPRISE ANTHROPOLOGY

To some extent, Part B could be deemed as the application of enterprise anthropology research paradigm and theoretical framework. In this part, Professor Zhang has provided a dynamic and diversified view to dig out the relations between cultural preservation and urbanization, enterprise development and governmental regulation, “time-honored brand enterprises” and “time-honored brand streets” with Chinese transformative features.

According to Professor Zhang, “time-honored brand (Old brand)” enterprises are not only a business, but they also carry historic and cultural senses and heritage. Chinese “time-honored brand” enterprises, as a fundamental proof of Chinese traditional business culture and history, play a key role of cultural preservation and economic growth in the process of urbanization. Recognized as an emerging economy globally in recent years, China should always value its “old brand” enterprises as a commercial heritage with cultural treasures. From related cases studied by Professor Zhang, we see that many Chinese cities have done great work on “Time-honored brands” preservation in downtown areas, such as Nanjing Road in Shanghai; Qianmen Street, Dashilan Street, Wangfujing Avenue in Beijing; Xia’jiu Road, Beijing Road in Guangzhou. All these streets have traditional Chinese stores bearing unique techniques, products, and services, attracting enormous number of tourists and local residents daily, and these methods of

preservation, in return, have boosted the cities' economic development and cultural promotion. This is a win-win situation. The preserving, re-establishing, and renewing of time-honored brand streets with clustered time-honored brand enterprises enhance cities' core competences in economy, culture, and history. Time-honored brand enterprises, time-honored brand streets, and cities' core competences have successfully formed a bottom-up three-tier structure as an integral entity to drive the urban process of growth for historical and cultural continuity (Figure 1). Time-honored brands are attractive to customers, and compared to those newly trendy brands, they are more than practical use for local residents and provide consumers and tourists a sense of tradition and nostalgia with sentimental feelings. This kind of consumption experience is much more appealing among young generations nowadays.

FIGURE 1
BOTTOM-UP THREE-TIER STRUCTURE



In this part, Professor Zhang also brought out a detailed analysis and comparison of two well-known Chinese “time-honored brand” pharmaceutical companies, Heniantang and Tongrentang, to demonstrate the complex relationships between enterprises and government, especially the resource-allocating role played by local government during China’s transformative period. Heniantang was founded during the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644) while Tongrentang was founded during the Qing Dynasty (1636–1912) and both were started from initial small pharmacies and became joint-stock enterprises or group companies. They have succeeded, suffered, witnessed, and experienced the rise and fall of China’s modern history and also embraced their own revival and transformation since the founding of People’s Republic of China in 1949. These centuries-old companies have moved forward on two roads with disparate destinies due to their different relationships with local government after the socialist reformation in China in 1952. According to Professor Zhang, due to historical reasons, the Chinese government turned all its “time-honored brand” enterprises into state-owned enterprises and because of their different types of relationships,⁵ some enterprises became successful domestically and globally while some were in difficult situations with unpromising futures. The cases of Heniantang and Tongrentang gave us a glimpse of the importance of the relationship between “time-honored brand” enterprises and the government in a transforming China (Table 2).

TABLE 2
A COMPARISON BETWEEN HENIANTANG AND TONGRENTANGIN RELATIONSHIP WITH GOVERNMENT, INCLUDING DEVELOPING FEATURES AND IMPACTS

“Time-honored brand” pharmaceutical enterprise	Type of Relationship with government	Developing Features	Impacts
Heniantang	Weak ties-weak development	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Its medicine production center was incorporated into other pharmacies, after being reformed into a state-owned enterprise. 2. It lost more than 3,000 square meters in total, because of the old city reconstruction. 3. It did not receive direct support from local government through resources allocation. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. It completely lost its distinctive features and competitive edge as a Chinese traditional pharmacy during the reform phase. 2. Without direct support from local government, it became disadvantageous in domestic competition with chronic difficulties: slow development, lack of talent, heavy historical burden, etc., after restructuring in 1990s.
Tongrentang	Strong ties-strong development	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The government protected its brand and supported its upgrade and expansion. 2. The government supported it to issue shares through domestic and overseas stock markets 3. The government encouraged and supported its standardization and diversified development. 	<p>Since 1954, Tongrentang took the lead in state-private ownership reformation and became:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. A group company with three business sectors: modern pharmacies, retail business and medical services. 2. A group company with 10 companies, 2 bases, 2 institutes and 2 centers, 2 listed domestic and overseas companies, over 800 retail stores at home and 28 overseas joint ventures in 40 countries and regions.

From the above table, it is assumed that a strong and active role of local government has stood out in China’s transitional period. From the planned economy to a market economy, local government has always maintained a strong or weak relationship with enterprises (mainly SOEs) through four levers: factory management, resource allocation, administrative services, investment and loans (Oi 1992). According to Professor Zhang, the state perceives state-owned “old brand” enterprises, as state assets and considers that their investment and operations should be in line with the government’s political guidelines,

public needs, and related interests. Since 1980s, the process of marketization in China has accelerated while in the 1990s, the manager-like role played by local government had also been intensified. Professor Zhang explains this phenomenon according to Andrew Walder's theory: organization varies along with the change of executive-levels (Walder 1995). A publicly-owned enterprise is nominally under state administration, but is actually based on the combined management from varied levels of government. It is natural that local government, the real "owner" and decision-maker of its SOEs, will provide favorable policies and support to its own enterprises which in return, boost its overall local economy.

CONCLUSION

The 16th World Congress of the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (IUAES)⁶ held in Kunming, China in 2009 could be deemed as the starting point of the disciplinary and paradigmatic development of enterprise anthropology, promoting Chinese anthropology to the global academic frontier. China's big change and socioeconomic transformation since reform and opening up provided numerous facts and experiments for sophisticated research and analysis, as well as novel perspectives to break through conventional and static cognitions of anthropological study.

From 1989 to 2019, Professor Zhang has worked on the third revolution of anthropology (urban studies) and promoted the fourth (enterprise studies). He has laid a solid foundation in his thirty-year academic trajectory, both empirically and theoretically. In 2009, Professor Zhang became the founder and Chair of the Commission on Enterprise Anthropology (CEA) of IUAES at the 16th Kunming World Congress. In 2013, he was elected as the Chair of the Commission on Enterprise Anthropology (CEA) of IUAES again and also became the Deputy Head, Commission Council of IUAES during the 17th Manchester World Congress in the UK. The areas of his studies cover ethnic migration to cities (adaptation, culture, employment, and distribution), migrant workers, enterprise administration, transnational businesses, family businesses, overseas Chinese businesses, time-honored businesses, urbanization and urban revival, cultural heritage and preservation. His theoretical innovations include the research paradigm of "social structural transformation", the bottom-up concept of "beehive society", and the top-down concept of "umbrella society", etc. Furthermore, he has completed his research methods, attempting to decipher China's development with novel perspectives and paradigms. In 2018, Professor Zhang put forward "new structuralism" based on his previous dual social-structural concepts – "umbrella society" and "beehive society" in addition to a summarization of China's socioeconomic developing patterns and a contrast to the popular "new institutionalism" found in the West. In 2019, he proposed a classic and dynamic theory, "new functionalism", to analyze the relationship between historical and cultural heritage in urban revival. Later, he combined these two as "neoclassical structural-functionalism", a more dynamic and transformative paradigm to explain cultural objects both structurally and functionally within a social transformative context (Zhang 2019b). From Professor Zhang's personal research trajectory, we can glimpse the overall developing track of Chinese anthropologic study of recent years. Since the 1970s, the study focus has transformed from conventional prototype studies on primitive peoples, small-scale communities, and underprivileged groups to modern views on social structure, industries, urbanization, and enterprises. This tradition-modern transformation is dynamic, multilateral, and polycentric. The complex configuration of social formation and business structures has impelled Chinese anthropologists to be more sophisticated and sensitive to socio-economic changes to reveal the rule of human development.

To some extent, Professor Zhang's 2019 book *Enterprise Anthropology: The Fourth Revolution of Anthropology* has summarized the theoretical development of enterprise anthropology by recording China's major transformations in society, economy, policy, and culture from the end of 1970s. This work has laid a solid foundation of enterprise anthropology as an independent discipline, equipped with certain research objects, paradigms, theories, directions, and achievements, ushering Chinese anthropology study into the world's leading edge. It is not only a positive response to China's "Theoretical Confidence"⁸ campaign in Chinese anthropology but a theoretical promotion and contribution towards a diversified and dynamic global anthropology.

ENDNOTES

1. The five stages of enterprise anthropology are as follows: industrial anthropology, organization anthropology, business anthropology, administrative anthropology, and enterprise anthropology.
2. According to Professor Zhang, the development of anthropology can be summarized in terms of revolutions: the first revolution was to study “primitive peoples,” establishing anthropology as an independent discipline; the second revolution was to study peasant society, as a start of modern societies study; the third revolution was to study urban society, a more detailed work on social structure in a modernized method; the fourth revolution was to study enterprises in modern societies, developed from the previous stage with a more independent and well-rounded subject term, research target, research method, and achievements.
3. Li Peilin is the vice president of CASS (Chinese Academy of Social Science), and a member of its leading Party-members’ group. In 1992, Li was awarded the title of “Young Expert of Outstanding Achievements” by the government, and enjoyed a special allowance by the government in 1993. In 1996, he was selected as the national-level representative for the “Million Talents in the New Century Project.” After that, he won the award of “National Outstanding Returned Overseas Chinese Talent” in 2003, and was elected to be a representative of the “Four Groups Talents” in the national system of publicity and culture in 2005.
4. Karl Polanyi’s three types of economy include market economy, redistribution, and reciprocity.
5. Professor Zhang generalized the “old brand” enterprises’ relationship with government as four types: “Strong ties–Strong development,” “Strong ties–Weak development,” “Weak ties–Strong development” and “Weak ties–Weak development.”
6. IUAES: an abbreviation of International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, which was established on August 23, 1948. Its aim is to enhance exchange and communication among scholars of all regions of the world, in a collective effort to expand human knowledge. In this way it hopes to contribute to a better understanding of human society, and to a sustainable future based on harmony between nature and culture.
7. Theoretical Confidence is one of the Four Confidences of Chinese-characteristic socialism. Chinese President Xi Jinping urged the Communist Party of China to strengthen confidence in the path, theory, system, and culture of socialism-with Chinese-characteristics in his speech delivered at a rally marking the 95th founding anniversary of the CPC in Beijing, July 1, 2016.

REFERENCES

- Li, P. (1995). Another Invisible Hand: Social Structure Transformation. *Social Science in China*, 5, 3-17.
- Li, P. (2002). Great Change: The Final Stage of Village. *Social Science in China*, 1, 168-179.
- Nas, P., & Jijiao, Z. (eds). (2009). *Anthropology Now*. Beijing: Intellectual Property Publishing House, China.
- Oi, J. (1992). Fiscal Reform and the Economic Foundation of Local State Corporation in China. *World Politics*, 45(1), 99-126.
- Walder, A. (1995). Local Governments as Industrial Firms. *American Journal of Sociology*, 101(2), 268-269.
- Zhang, J. (2006). Urban Migrants’ Adaptation in Malaysia: A Comparative Study between Chinese and Malay. In S. Hong-fang, & X. Ming-qi (Eds.), *The Future of Asia: Development, Diversity and Sustainability* (pp.127-145). Bangkok: Asian Scholarship Foundation.
- Zhang, J. (2007). Migrants’ Social Network Used in Seeking Employment in Urban Areas. In B. Chaudhuri, & S. Chaudhuri (Eds.), *Urbanization and Multi-Ethnic Society* (Vol. 2, pp. 427-466). Delhi: Inter-India Publications.
- Zhang, J. (2009a). Urbanization and Urban Migrants in Malaysia: A Comparative Study between Chinese and Malays. *Journal of Malaysian Chinese Studies*, 12, 107–127.
- Zhang, J. (2009b). The Orientation of Urban Migrants’ Social Network: A Comparative Survey on Six Minorities in the Cities of China. *Chinese History and Society*, 35, 127-139.

- Zhang, J. (2009c). Migration, the Emergence of Multi-Ethnic Cities and Ethnic Relations in China. In G.B. Prato, (Eds.), *Beyond Multiculturalism: Views from Anthropology* (pp. 173-188). UK: Ashgate Publishing.
- Zhang, J. (2011). Enterprise Anthropology Review and Prospect. In Z. Jijiao & V.P. Keong (Eds.), *Enterprise Anthropology: Applied Research and Case Study* (pp. 1-12). Beijing: Intellectual Property Publishing House.
- Zhang, J. (2012a). Migrant Social Networks: ethnic Minorities in the cities of china. In D. Haines, K. Yamanaka, & S. Yamashita (Eds.), *Wind over Water: Migration in an East Asian Context* (pp. 47-59). New York: Berghahn Books.
- Zhang, J. (2012b, June). China's Private Enterprises: An Enterprise Anthropology Perspective. *Anthropology Newsletter of National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka*, (34), 7-8.
- Zhang, J. (2014a). Long History of Business Tradition in An Emerging Economy, China -- A Study on China's Old Brand Enterprises. *Journal of Chinese Literature and Culture*, 2(2), 107-119.
- Zhang, J. (2014b). The economic-cultural patterns of ethnic minority migrants in the cities of China. *Malaysian Journal of Chinese Studies*, 3(2), 67-85.
- Zhang, J. (2017). *Enterprise Anthropology: An Economic Analysis from Social Structural Perspective* (《企业人类学：从社会结构视角分析经济行为》). China Social Sciences Press.
- Zhang, J. (2018). New Structuralism: A New Interpretation of Chinese Development Pattern. *Academic Journal of Zhongzhou*, 253(1), 73-76.
- Zhang, J. (2019a). *Enterprise Anthropology: The Fourth Evolution of Anthropology*. Scholars' Press: Latvia, European Union.
- Zhang, J. (2019b). New Functionalism: Turning Historical and Cultural Heritage into New Energy in Urban Revival. *International Journal of Anthropology and Ethnology*, 3(8), 1-14.
- Zhang, J., & Duncan, H. (2014). Migration in China and Asia: Experience and Policy. *International Perspective on Migration*, 10, 1-7.
- Zhang, J., & Keong, V.P. (eds). (2012). *Enterprise Anthropology: Applied Research and Case Study*. Beijing: Intellectual Property Publishing House.
- Zhang, J., & Peng, Y. (2013). Ethnic Migrants' Employment and Industry Distribution in the Cities of China. *The Review of Black Political Economy, April Volume*, 81-106. New York: Springer Science+Business Media,