

## 2012, D. Desjeux, Anthropology and Professional Training in France (first draft)

### Introduction

In 1999, Presses Universitaires de France published Nicoletta Diasio's *La science impure* (Impure Science) on the relationship between anthropology and medicine in France, Italy, Great Britain, and the Netherlands over the past 150 years. Medical Anthropology is used in this chapter as one of the modern metaphors for anthropology and its ambivalences. The book points out that at its inception, European anthropology had ties with colonization and with physical and medical anthropology. Anthropology was thus born in a context of ambiguity, which explains the conflicts that characterize it today, especially the controversy concerning the question of the purity of scientific practices in anthropology. It is a moral, epistemological, and identity question central to the conflict between professional and academic anthropology, and consequently to training in the field.

### The Ambivalence of Anthropology from its Origins to Today

In the 19th century, friction arose from the conflicting relationship between anthropological explanations that emphasized biology and those that focused on culture or on the acquired-vs.-innate debate. This raises the question of the role of race and biological racism compared to social and cultural explanations of human behavior.

However, not all biological approaches necessarily imply a racist approach. Many biological approaches remain neutral on the question of the supposed superiority of races. In 1879 in France, Paul Pierre Broca, known for his theory of aphasia, published a manual of physical anthropology, *Instructions anthropologiques générales* (General Anthropological Teachings).

This book provides a method for measuring human skulls and bodies, but outside of any social or cultural context, which was considered normal for the time. In the appendix of his book, hand painted stickers represent the chromatic scale of traits of the world's populations, such as eyes, ranging from brown to white, and skin, from white to black. This is what today's international cosmetic companies do to define the biological differences of skin, eyes, and hair for Caucasian, Asian, and African consumers, without postulating the superiority of one group over another.

The subject of biology nevertheless remains sensitive. Most anthropologists remain attentive to any slights — racist, sexist, homophobic, or against the disabled — that eliminates any essentialist prejudice for emergence over permanence without taking into account their mutual interactions.

Diasio also points out the ambivalence of criminal anthropology. On one hand, it served as a basis for racist doctrines such the well-known doctor Cesare Lombroso's theorizing the atavistic racial inferiority and therefore criminal tendencies of the *cafoni*, farmers in southern Italy (p. 72). On the other hand, anthropometry — a method that was part of criminal anthropology, invented in France by Alphonse Bertillon, a keen ethnologist and physical anthropologist, as his daughter Suzanne recalled in 1941 in *Vie d'Alphonse Bertillon* (The Life of Alphonse Bertillon) (p. 81) — enabled the development of a rigorous method of individuals' fingerprint identification that influenced, often unconsciously, much subsequent anthropological research. It underlies what historian Carlo Ginzburg called the "circumstantial paradigm" in *Mythes, Emblèmes, Traces* (Clues, Myths and the Historical Method) published in 1989 (p. 39). It builds on the 1874 work of art historian Giovanni Morelli. To spot a fake picture, he wrote, the important thing is not to compare "the most visible characteristics.... We must instead examine the most insignificant details... earlobes, nails, the shape of fingers and toes" (p. 140). Detail and the search for faint

signals still constitute one of the key methodological strengths of professional anthropology in comparison with quantitative research surveys, which first seeks frequency and patterns related to large numbers; and it is its great contribution.

Finally, as for what interests us in this chapter on the training of young anthropologists, Diasio shows that from its beginnings, medical anthropology has felt the friction between the proponents of "commerce oriented" anthropology, based in Liverpool and Amsterdam and funded by traders, and those in favor of a more theoretical " university oriented" discipline, more connected to the academic world, in London and Leiden (p. 47).

Since the inception of medical anthropology as a science, its purity has been problematical. However, in the same way that there is such thing as racial purity, there is probably no pure anthropology. There are only intermingled sciences, as the history of anthropology shows. That said, the debate continues, because the choice of a particular type and proportion of interbreeding that determines the options for public and private financing, and for the mixture of university, government, and business.

This historical view is just a reminder that the tension between academic anthropology and professional anthropology is longstanding and, in a sense, normal. For some, it is linked to the fear of defilement, to echo the work of British anthropologist Mary Douglas, that the contact with customers, colonial administration, entrepreneurs, politics, or media power may imply; for others it may involve a fear of purity that is considered deadly.

The issue of purity refers to another question, whether anthropology should work only on questions posed by the academic environment or if it can take up questions that come from external demands. This is why the term *professional anthropology* is used here in the sense of field studies carried out and financed at the request of customers, whether the anthropologist is

an entrepreneur, a research manager, or an academic. This is in effect a sort of Research On Demand (ROD), modeled on the service of VOD, Video On Demand.

This means that in order to understand the originality of professional anthropology's contribution, the most relevant confrontation is not between theoretical anthropology and applied anthropology, because the quality of fieldwork may be the same whether it is done in an academic context or an industrial context; rather it is between where the order for the study originates, and thus where the study is carried out. Professional anthropologists do not choose the field that is to be studied. They carry out several studies each year, which requires the mental agility of re-examining their explanatory models, not theorizing about questions raised in conferences, which does have a different type of relevance, but rather, solving practical problems. Practical problem-solving suggests new methods of observation and thus new angles for interpreting and modeling human behavior. That is why, paradoxically, "on demand" professional anthropology has appeared as a new form of anthropological theorizing. This is what makes the originality of vocational training: learning to change one's focus by listening to the request, using a framework of anthropological analysis.

ROD is an integrated approach that combines often conflicting professional worlds. It is an uncertain approach that constantly explores not "wild" continents but worlds emerging from the development of new technologies, new diseases, new efficient consumption, new cultures, new entrepreneurs, new poor, new markets, new environmental risks, new military dynamics; yet it always returns to invisible structures, permanent societal mechanisms that anthropologists know must be particularly highlighted, thanks to their comparative intercultural training methods and thus their ability to distinguish what is particular from what is universal.

[The Emergence of Professional Anthropology Shaped by Academic Opportunities](#)

In France, the first academic discipline in the social sciences to have really become involved in professional intervention was psychology, with the founding of ARIP (Association for Psychosocial Research and Intervention) by Guy Palmade in 1958. Sociology followed shortly with Michel Crozier at the CNRS recruiting contract researchers and conducting research under contracts with private companies and government agencies as early as 1960. In his network, in particular with Renaud Sainsaulieu in the human resources sector, the Association of Professional Sociology of Enterprises (APSE), most researchers later worked with businesses. Researchers such as Norbert Alter, professor of sociology of innovation at the University of Paris - Dauphine, in turn began to train professionals who worked outside the university. Many of these researchers devoted themselves to consulting, some only in the public sector and others in the private sphere.

Between 1945 and 1990, French anthropologists had little concern for professional anthropology, even though a sort of applied anthropology existed. They worked primarily in former French colonies in Africa on rural and urban indigenous communities. This was the heyday of the anthropology of kinship, led by Claude Lévi-Strauss, and the anthropology of change, with Georges Balandier as its father.

With African political independence, many French anthropologists continued to work on new agricultural development projects that were being established and on changes wrought on peasant communities, on the problems of disease and "witchcraft", and on new African entrepreneurs. Others returned to France and studied the poor on the outskirts of cities, migrants, the transformation of agricultural society, and rural magical-religious phenomena. Between 1960 and 1990, classic, publicly funded research seemed to be limited to the poor, immigrants, the

sick, disappearing farmers, and a few "exotic" societies. There are of course exceptions, but post-industrial society was largely absent from their research.

In the late 1980s, due to rising unemployment among anthropologists and their difficulty finding university and CNRS positions, the French Association of Anthropologists (AFA) began to examine the "purposes anthropological research" in their journal in an article identifying marketing and management as possible applications of anthropology (1987), "Contract Ethnology" (1989), and "Training in Anthropology"(1990), presenting the only academic program offering professional training in anthropology, the Magistère of Social Sciences Applied to Intercultural Relations at the Sorbonne. In the early 1990s, there were only three small private companies doing contract anthropology: Argonautes and SHS Consulting in Paris and IRIS in Toulouse, cited by Jean-François Baré in the book that he edited and published in 1995, *Les applications de l'anthropologie* (Applications of Anthropology) [in France].

His book confirms that in the early 1990s, professional anthropology in France was still in its infancy. Rural Africa remained dominant with a major participant APAD (Euro-African Association for the Anthropology of Social Change and Development), led by Jean-Pierre Olivier de Sardan. In France, there were two or three ethnological studies on companies and work as well as a course on intercultural management. Consumption was not yet part of anthropological research even though post-war life in France was radically changed by the "*trente glorieuses*", nearly 30 years between 1945 and 1975 marked by the arrival of distribution, marketing, and mass consumption.

In reality an invisible change began to operate in the 1990s. Ethno-marketing appeared (1990), becoming one of the major currents of professional anthropology. There was also a revival of marketing at this time, with two important authors, Olivier Badot and Bernard Cova.

They published their book *Néo-marketing* in 1992 (reprinted in 2009), in which they emphasized the importance of social ties among consumers and between consumers and businesses. This was the very beginning of the cross-fertilization between anthropology and management sciences that led to the creation of the "Consumption and Society" network in 2001 between Caen, Rouen, Dijon and Paris, including Marc Filser, Oliver Badot, Joel Bree, Eric Rémy Isabelle Garabuau Moussaoui, and Jean-François Lemoine. It should be noted, however, that this intermingling did not occur at the heart of academic anthropology but rather on the edges, more in business schools than in universities. A third trend also began with Franck Cochoy in Toulouse, with the researchers close to Michel Callon at the *École des Mines de Paris* (MINES Paris Tech), and with the actor network theory of Bruno Latour, who developed the field of sociology and markets. In 2002, Cochoy published *Une sociologie du packaging* (A Sociology of Packaging), in which he showed with intelligence and humor that marketing's control over the consumer invalidates the theory of free markets. If the laws of market functioned all alone, there would be no need for advertising or packaging to "equip" consumer choice.

In the 2000s, professional anthropology developed, along with ROD, mainly in three fields: consumption, treated generally but also mass consumption and tourism; intercultural studies applied to organizations in France and internationally; and immigration. Professional training developed through interdisciplinary networks that combined anthropology, micro-sociology, economics, management science, and methods of group facilitation and change management.

The main characteristic of ROD is to start with a commission and a problem to solve rather than to proceed solely from theoretical questions by the researcher. This means that the request is not anthropological, but it is the anthropologist who provides an answer to the problem with an anthropological method. Learning how to perform professional anthropology comprises learning

how to grasp a specific problem of consumption, innovation, education, social inclusion, or decision making and then translate it into an ad hoc method of anthropological inquiry with a different angle than that of a psychologist, engineer, marketer, lawyer, or economist. The data are then translated so that they can be reinterpreted in the action system in which the problem must be solved. Anthropology is effective not because it is a better science than others, but because it allows stakeholders, customers, journalists, and activists who use it to shift the way in which they formulate a problem and find a solution where everything seemed blocked. This explains why anthropologists do not often see the results of their action. Research results are generally absorbed by network effects, stakeholder actions, power relations, and cooperation in any public or private organization.

In practice, professional anthropology can often be characterized by intermingling, be it between public and private professional worlds, between scientific objectives and practical results, between R & D and marketing, between doctor and patient, between businesses and consumers. Working "in-between" is the basis of the training of professional anthropologists, as will be shown by the case of the Professional Doctoral Degree in social sciences at the Sorbonne (University of Paris Descartes).

### Training doctoral students in professional anthropology by inductive inquiry and mixed methods

In the past ten years, some French universities have lost up to 40% of their social science students, academic positions have become scarce, and funding has decreased, yet the number of doctorates has not diminished much. How is it possible to find work for everyone? The goal of the Professional Doctoral Degree in social sciences, created in 2007 at the Sorbonne by Dominique Desjeux and Sophie Alami, is to train professional anthropologists, helping them to



acquire not only methodological frameworks of anthropology and sociology but also the problem-solving skills that their clients require. The contribution of anthropology constitutes only part of this process. The objective is to train students in a career, that of research manager, offering as core competence the ability to manage a study from start to finish, in an often unknown domain, with course content in both anthropology and sociology.

In the process of selection and training, each student must find an employer, an NGO, a government agency, or a private company that requires empirical research to deal with a concrete problem and that wishes to recruit a young doctoral student with a CIFRE-supported thesis (public funding that co-finances the student's salary), a thesis scholarship, a research tax credit (national-level tax assistance), or fixed-term study contracts as an employee, an independent freelancer, or a part of a sponsoring company.

This three-year program includes one week per month of courses at the Sorbonne and mentoring to monitor student's fieldwork, to provide theoretical contributions, to discuss readings books or newspapers, and to organize seminars with professional experts.

Students work carry out a three-week field study within their company for each of three years, receiving a University Diploma (DU) for each year completed, like an HDR degree (certification to supervise research) or a thesis comprising individual publications.

In the first year, students carry out micro-social scale qualitative surveys of 20 to 30 end users, who may be consumers, professionals, or applicants for social assistance, and obtain a DU1 degree in consumer-study management in France and abroad. In the second year, the anthropological research relates to systems of action on a meso-social scale, and the coursework features organizational sociology, anthropology, intercultural project management and group facilitation. The DU2 degree is awarded in team management. The third year is more flexible. It

includes a collective quantitative survey on a macro-social scale with geopolitical implications, and students obtain the DU3 Professional Doctoral degree in social sciences. It is coupled with the classic doctorate thesis which, defended at the Sorbonne University, is drawn from the three surveys and their theoretical problematics.

Students are thus trained to deal with a diversity of field situations and scales of observation. The fact that a specific degree is granted each year reduces the risk of students' embarking on a thesis but obtaining no professional benefits. It also provides the survey sponsors with concrete results every year. After three years, program graduates are qualified to manage research, on their own or in a business structure, and to teach in higher education.

The method of ROD training teaches students to manage the interface between a problem of organization and a socio-anthropological response — for example, uses of the car (Fabrice Clochard), energy savings in the household (Gaetan Briseperrière), or practices involved in having breakfast (Vincent Besse), in online gaming (Anne Claire Mangel, Jeanne Piedalu), in genealogy, in makeup and body care (Yang Xiao Min, Marion Delbende, Wang Lei, Roberta Dias Campos), in waste disposal, or in medication (Sophie Alami). The research can be carried out in France or abroad with flexible hours that allow for two six-week field studies per year.

The research training of professional anthropologists comprises learning a complex alchemy of reasoning methods, tools, information collection techniques, and professional know-how, all of which is reinforced with a large amount of practical fieldwork in diverse and often unexpected fields.

On the methodological level, anthropology teaches students to conduct surveys in an inductive mode, that is, without a constructed problem, without a priori assumptions, but rather with methodological bases to structure exploration area where there are often no points of

reference. The anthropologist is like 16<sup>th</sup>-century navigators embarking on a new coast without knowing where they were. They only had a sextant to know their position relative to the sun, a compass to know the directions, and a wire probe to avoid the shallows. They plotted the coastline and then drew a map, slowly putting everything in perspective. ADSL in the 1990s for a non-engineer or women's makeup on women in the 2000s for a man are also territories as unknown as witchcraft in the Congo Basundi or the turning of the dead in Madagascar in the 1970s. To discover uncharted territory, one must learn to create points of reference, not to test hypotheses. Hypothesis testing is the method of experimental science in vitro; constructing hypotheses is essential for quantitative surveys. However, anthropologists tinker and adapt to the constraints of exploration — which does not mean that they do so without method.

To build these benchmarks, four methods are offered to doctoral students. Using scales of observation focuses on the effects of how reality is sectioned; what is visible on one scale can become invisible or change shape at another level of observation. The method also shows that social causation may vary according to the scale, and an independent variable that seems explanatory on one given scale might become a dependent variable on another. The second approach is the itinerary method. It helps reconstruct purchasing practices and the use of goods and services, not as individual, one-time practices but as part of a collective decision-making process that can be analyzed in terms of three major forces that shape all reality — material, social, and symbolic. This approach fits neatly into the anthropological tradition. The third is that of the life course or life cycle, a starting point for constructing social and cultural identities through the accumulation of many micro-rites of passage. The fourth is that of action systems. This approach can be used to analyze the family, for example, as a system of actors who undergo constraints, areas of uncertainty, and power relations. This approach to constrained action is

more akin to Crozier's interactionist, utilitarian, strategic tradition in sociology than to anthropology. Similarly, to give another example of intermixing, it is clear that the inductive method is very close to the *grounded theory* of anthropology proposed by sociologists Glaser and Strauss.

Professional anthropological training requires a heavy dose of inductive empirical epistemology, which favors learning to distinguish the effects of scale; to generalize on the basis of the diversity of practices and social mechanisms and not on frequency, as in quantitative approaches; and to take the ambivalence of phenomena into account, in their positive and negative dimensions. Effects of scale, diversity, and ambivalence are the basis of anthropological knowledge, which is flexible, advancing with the discoveries made in the field.

But the practice of induction introduces an unexpected difficulty in professional training. It precludes the traditional organization of curriculum of graduate education in France by means of schools of thought — structuralist, functionalist, constructivist, individualistic, postmodern, and global — or by author. Courses are constructed on authors' *studies*: with each field of inquiry, each modeling, the author may have changed scales from one study to another, thus changing theories. Most often, when an author over-generalizes a field study, it becomes less reliable — unless the theory is restricted to "limited generalization".

As for techniques of information gathering, anthropology has benefitted from its inception from a dualism: direct observation in the field and also the use of visual techniques, photos, and films. Rural observation focused on agricultural lands and how they changed with the introduction of new agricultural technology, on the daily practices of women and men in the field and in the village, and on more exceptional ceremonies when they occurred.

Visual techniques have been greatly enriched since the time of the pioneers, Gregory Bateson and Margaret Mead in Bali and Jean Rouch in Africa, thanks to recent work by American sociologist Douglas Harper, founding editor of *Visual Sociology* in the 1990s, and French filmmaker anthropologist Marc Piault, and more recently by anthropology professionals such as Patricia Sunderland and Rita Denis with their video diary method, presented at the Sorbonne at the same time as those of Hy Mariampolsky and Bruno Moynié in 2007. These methods enable researchers to capture intimate moments that would otherwise be invisible. Currently new social anthropology companies such as Methos and Cinqsixproduction use ethnographic films as a basis for their work.

In the first year each student learns to make a 10-minute film, to perform at least 20 1½-hour interviews on practices, in homes, supermarkets, and offices. They learn to use the Internet for qualitative surveys online thanks to Laurence Berteau of Harris Interactive and Xavier Charpentier of Freethinking, and they conduct consumer focus groups with Christian Miquel. All of these are professionals with a strong academic background.

All these techniques are related to the direct or indirect observation of social practices. Priority is given to in situ interviews and observations of the practices of material objects associated with them. More subtly, they make it possible for analyses to distinguish between practices and the meaning that stakeholders ascribe to their actions. In this program, the aim of observation is to describe the practices and strategies of the players in their own households, as constrained by the public or private social game in which they take place.

Starting with the practices of actors in their context, their culture, and their physical space makes sense in order to solve a strategic problem for any analysis of behavioral or societal change, bringing out the importance of the gap between representations and values that

stakeholders associate with their actual practices, and the size of this disparity. It is not enough to understand values, imagination, and culture; researchers must identify the material, social, and symbolic constraints that lie between meaning and practices.

Today professional anthropologists learn to describe the practices and effects of the introduction of new technologies in households. The observation of a living room, kitchen, bathroom, or bedroom replaces that of African fields and the arrival of fertilizers and pesticides. Marketing can be viewed as a magical-religious device that frames consumer decisions, replacing witchcraft. Transposition, close to the musical sense of the term, has allowed for the transfer of onsite anthropological observation of traditional villages to today's apartments and houses today but also enrich the anthropology of kinship through the transfer of the sociology of organizations in the field of family. Most of the techniques of gathering information taught in the professional doctorate involve exchanges between disciplines, professions, and even between French, American, Brazilian, Chinese, African, English, and Danish professional anthropologists, facilitated by Ray Horn, an American instructor, who provides training and translations.

Professional, applicable anthropology requires not only learning foreign languages, but also learning how to translate concepts, making the link among anthropological studies that focus on practices, social interactions, constraints, difficulties, and meaning with an eye on problem solving. These studies generally focus on issues of change, decision, tension, and conservation with regard to a market issue, a social problem, or innovation.

However, an anthropological study does not provide concrete, applicable answers because in reality, actors in an organization, no matter what they think, cannot provide a practical answer in itself, because any solution is the result of a collective, receptive process made up of cooperation,

power relations, and resistance against the interests and constraints of others. An anthropologist provides the information produced by a field study, which enters the social organization's interactions and is reinterpreted by stakeholders to legitimize their decisions, to counter another participant, to launch an innovation, or bury it.

The information produced by anthropology thus represents a risk, as does all information. It fits into the interplay of interests and conflicts of interest among stakeholders, and thus the constraints of each of these actors, including those of the professional anthropologist. The anthropologist also faces constraints, just like any actor — academic, business executive, journalist, or activist. What is different for each actor is the nature of the constraints and interests. The academic anthropologist faces the constraints of publications, the standards of tenure committees, relations between networks, and intellectual movements. The professional anthropologist deals with the constraints of the market, and the anthropologist-entrepreneur also faces the stress of economic survival, payroll, and charges and taxes at the end of the month.

This means that if all players have constraints and interests, there is no pure science per se, nor is science independent of society. This does not mean that science does not exist; truth is constructed thanks to and by means of the interplay of actors on one hand, and on the other hand through the attention paid to methods and the rigor involved during data collection. In fact, these constraints may affect how the anthropologist presents information from a field study to a client he feels may or may not readily accept it.

Professional anthropologists must learn not only to write reports, articles, and summaries and make PowerPoint presentations and films; they must also communicate the results of their study and remain as close to the truth as possible while respecting the constraints of the client.

In a research contract, a provisional confidentiality clause is often a good compromise that allows the researcher to present the results of a study relatively freely while minimizing the risk of resistance by the marketing and communications departments within a company. Their main concern is that the publication of a study could harm the brand image because it shows both positive and negative aspects of the phenomenon studied. To take a real example, studying online gambling or lotteries brings out the idea of play but also the risk of addiction. This may conflict with the objectives of the marketing department, which seeks to have as many people as possible play and to pass over the element of risk in communication campaigns.

This implies that we must also learn a comprehensive approach to anthropological inquiry that is non-critical, not a denunciation. This is politically, morally, and scientifically far removed from French proponents of a *critical* anthropology, positioned in favor of dominated groups and devoid of contract with business.

A comprehensive approach assumes that all players are legitimate even if there is an asymmetry between them in terms of power relationships and assets. There are not good actors and "bad guys", even if the sponsor of the study so views unions, employers, consumer pressure groups, the state, intellectuals, or the media.

The information included in the report is not necessarily available to everyone at the end of a study. This concession is often necessary to maintain the scientific quality of anthropological work. However, it is very often simply a short-term compromise: two to four years after the results are submitted, the client may allow studies to be published as articles or posted on line, which ultimately is not much longer than the time it takes to have an article published in a scientific journal.



Problem-solving methods are also taught in seminars in change management. Students must present the results of the survey to a group during a half-day session and then lead the group in one or two half-day work sessions to decide what actions will best implement the suggestions. This is the applicable part of anthropology, and it is also a mixture of methodology. Group activities, team building such as cooking classes — practiced by Pragmaty, a firm specializing in change management that provides training at the Sorbonne — are methods borrowed from social psychology, human resource, and management consulting.

The work-study alternation of the program also allows students to learn about the constraints and possibilities specific to ROD. It means that they must carry out their studies in a limited time, from several weeks to several months, learning to respect budget constraints and to comply with deadlines so as to avoid forfeiting payment or losing a customer. This requires learning how to negotiate contracts, conduct several studies simultaneously, do several interviews a day, find the time to keep up on reading, work between several disciplines, translate the results of the research, cope with the stress related to keeping a contract — managing a heavy workload, doing accounts, and finalizing a report.

Practices specific to ROD require students to learn to re-examine the rules of classical epistemology, which were often established in the framework of a "pure" science with no situational constraints. The scales-of-observation method turns out to be a good epistemological tool to learn to negotiate between trades, between anthropologists and professionals, and thus, often implicitly, between differing scientific criteria. Qualitative approaches are regularly challenged as being insufficiently scientific, most often the sample being considered too small. But the scales-of-observation method can show that experimental and quantitative approaches are not the only models for science. It relativizes scientific criteria designed as absolutes

whatever scale and whatever the situation, contrasting *in vitro* experimental sciences that examine single causes and *in vivo* social sciences that confront situations with multiple causes. The method allows us to maintain rigor but also to show diversity and the limited legitimacy of each system of explanation.

If we accept this epistemology based on situations with their constraints, the opposition between basic and applied research does not always work. The skill common to all anthropologists is conducting field studies based on visual or verbal observation, using pictures or film, whether individual or collective. The fieldwork must be thorough and meticulous for both ROD and themes chosen by the researcher

What varies, however, is the time allotted for the fieldwork, but this is a problem more of labor productivity and organization of time during the research the investigation than of scientific validity. The professional anthropologist cannot allocate as much time to theoretical modeling, but the time constraint in ROD contract work forces researchers to shift perspectives and to consider themes that emerge, which they would never have seen otherwise.

Exploring, bringing into focus the invisible structures of everyday life, and revealing social interplay are skills of historical anthropology that are transferable to professional anthropology.

### An opening to serve as a conclusion

Today, more than in the 1990s, professional anthropology interests NGOs, governments, public agencies such as ADEME working on environmental and sustainable development, but also increasingly more national or international new businesses, such as EDF, L'Oréal, Priceminister, La Française des Jeux, Peugeot, Danone, Beaufour Ispen, Chanel, Bouygues Telecom, Nestlé, Post, Kellogg's, Gaz de France, and Orange seek to understand *in vivo* the uses

and meanings of their goods and services to their local consumers and to those from another culture.

For example, anthropology can be applied in Brazil to analyze how modern cosmetics sold by L'Oréal and other companies are part of the new matrimonial rules responding to the increase in divorce. Roberta Dias Campos in her thesis in consumer anthropology in Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ/Sorbonne) shows that the body becomes capital for women, to be preserved thanks to body care products in a broad sense so that they may remain competitive in the marriage market. Makeup products can be said to come to the rescue of women who want to remarry.

It can also apply to the United States to analyze the weight of makeup on women as a prescribed social constraint, as we have observed for L'Oréal with anthropologist Patricia Sunderland in New York.

It can be applied to China today to explain the logic behind various new developments — hypermarkets such as Carrefour in Guangzhou (cf. Desjeux, 2009, [www.youtube.com/watch?v=ELoGpf0hd3E](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ELoGpf0hd3E)); cars in Beijing with anthropologist Ken Erikson for General Motors, body care as studied with Wang Lei for Chanel or with Yang Xiaomin, Doctor of Social Sciences at the University Paris Descartes/Sorbonne, and a team of Chinese-speaking teachers in Harbin, Shanghai, Hangzhou, and Guangzhou for L'Oréal R & D in Shanghai.

In the latter study, in four months each team did a focus group with collages on the imaginary of cosmetics, one or two participant observations with traditional masseurs, 10 interviews of three hours each, coupled with observations filmed in living rooms, bathrooms, and surrounding areas to pinpoint the social environment. The interviews were conducted, transcribed and analyzed in Chinese to avoid passing through Globish or global English, a useful

pidgin for L'Oréal's communication there but too poor to be used to analyze the meaning and culture from an anthropological point of view.

In the end only the analysis and the interview quotations were translated into French, after considerable discussion of Chinese terms, represented in *pinyin*, in French and Chinese. The presentation, made to a mixed Chinese-French team, included three films on practices from interviews (in Chinese and subtitled in French) and a PowerPoint document (written in Chinese but presented in French). Working in both French and Chinese greatly facilitated the "translation", in the delivery of the final report, of realistic representations of Chinese consumers at home to members of L'Oréal R & D, a world away from the enchantment of advertising. Certain details sparked ideas for innovations, starting with the issues raised by end users in situation. This is a good example of effective mixing, full of positive energy, full of *qi*, as they say in Chinese.

For a long time, anthropologists have in fact been faced with uses of the knowledge that they produced that were intended or unintended, positive or negative, from the colonial era through today. Beyond this ethical or political controversy, we wanted to show that what make up the substance and strength of anthropology are an ambivalent mode of reasoning, which seeks both permanent structures and the dynamics of innovations, and the particular skill of applying that flexible knowledge to the discovery of societies in all their diversity. It is this very real, very inductive practice that should be transmitted in training anthropologists.

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**Paris 2012 09**

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