“Anthropologist in business” is an oxymoron, right?

When I began my research, I had no idea that anthropologists existed as such outside of the ivory towers, and especially not in commercial contexts. In my previous article, I recounted my journey as an undergraduate who was on an economics track (because that’s what you study if you want to be employable, I thought) before discovering and falling in love with anthropology. Still, though, I didn’t even know that there was a possibility of being an anthropologist in business upon graduation. I certainly didn’t know that anthropologists have played important and various roles in business for nearly a half-century.

How did “anthropologists in business” emerge in the first place? What was happening, both within academia and beyond, to catalyze the application of academic anthropology in business? And, fast forwarding to today, what do these anthropologists actually do in the commercial world, anyways?

In this piece, I will lay the foundation for subsequent articles detailing the experiences of twenty anthropologists who ventured into the business realm after graduating with advanced degrees in anthropology. On the one hand, their ultimate professions are surprising
given the cultural climate, aspirations and values of their academic programs. However, on the other, the structural, economic and sociopolitical realities within the United States over the past fifty years make that shift from academia into business feel almost inevitable for at least a number of graduates.

Situating the Field

It is important to note that, as with any historical account, there is no objective truth. Rather, every recounting comes steeped in a particular context and subjectivity. That said, for the purpose of my research and analysis, I turned to the accounts of two individuals, with toes in both academia and business, who wrote about the economic and sociocultural dynamics contributing to the emergence and growth of anthropologists in business.

I delved into the history of anthropology provided by applied anthropologist and Professor of Anthropology at University of North Texas, Dr. Ann T. Jordan (2010), to learn about the development of commercial applications of anthropology. I also reviewed Business, Anthropology, and the Growth of Corporate Ethnography by Dr. Melissa Cefkin (2009) to understand the current day field of business anthropology. A business and design anthropologist working in Silicon Valley (and one of the anthropologists I interviewed), Cefkin provides an insider lens on the field.

In addition to their perspectives, I turned to the data to try to understand the structural and cultural realities within academia that help make sense of advanced level anthropologists making their way into non-academic professional contexts – even while most entered their programs anticipating coming out the other side as a professor. This will serve as an important framing context for forthcoming articles.

While anthropologists had undoubtedly ventured outside of the ivory towers in the past, Jordan cites 1971 as a pivotal moment in the professional opportunities and pursuits for academically trained anthropologists. It was then that the American Anthropological Association (AAA) amended its Principles of Professional Responsibility in response to allegations that the U.S. Government was recruiting anthropologists for covert work. The language used in the new code prohibited research that would be withheld from the general public – "effectively [shutting] down all work for corporations, since corporations typically want proprietary control of such work" (Jordan 2010:19). However, business anthropology re-emerged within ten years of the AAA’s amendment, spurred by Japan’s rise as an economic rival (Jordan 2010:19).
Indeed, Xerox Corporation has been credited with leading the current corporate utilization of business anthropology when it hired anthropologists directly into its Palo Alto Research Center in the late 1970s (Cefkin 2009:4). Other large corporations followed, including General Motors, Hewlett Packard, Kodak, Motorola, and Sun Microsystems, among others (Cefkin 2009:5). Beginning in the 1980s, Cefkin notes that anthropologists were also employed in “numerous management consultancies, design firms, market research companies, marketing agencies and small think tanks” advising companies on business strategy, product and system design, market research and change management (Cefkin 2009:4).

Then, in the 1990s, the emergence of the Internet and associated rapid development of advanced technology resulted in a surge in demand for anthropologists by technology companies. Anthropologists were hired to serve a variety of business roles – from organizational design and product development to consumer and market research. Since the 1990s, technology companies such as Intel, Microsoft, IBM, Yahoo, Google and others have led the business world in employing anthropologists across a wide range of internally and externally focused objectives (Cefkin 2009:5), which I will detail later in this piece.

But, why turn to anthropologists during these moments of profound technological, economic and sociocultural transformation? Cefkin explains the importance of an anthropological lens:

Technological developments together with changes in policy and practices governing labor structures and the organization of work have contributed to the ability to transform from mass production to both mass customization and niche-market production. Aided notably by the growth of the Internet, together with changes in regulation and trade, processes of supply and demand have dispersed globally in ever-dynamic ways enabling new and expanding channels of development, dissemination, and commerce. Existing markets have both shrunk and expanded, and new markets have emerged. The inflection of varying “cultural” (e.g. national, ethnic, sub-cultural) influences on networks of production and consumption has converged with identity marketing to focus attention on new culturally defined markets. (2009:13)

According to Cefkin, then, this changing landscape – global in nature, and on an unprecedented scale – has made cultural analysis even more critical to business success.

Moreover, Cefkin identifies a shift toward consumer-centricity as causing an increased demand for anthropologists by businesses. Indeed, the consumer was re-contextualized from merely passive recipient to active, empowered and demanding constituent, armed with virtually
unconstrained access to information enabled by the Internet (Cefkin 2009:14). As such, businesses would need to deeply understand consumers in order to create products, services and communications that would resonate with them enough to transform them from consumers into customers. Cefkin explains why and how, within the context of these changing business realities, anthropology gained importance and relevance within businesses:

Ethnography and the perspective of anthropological research has been positioned commercially as a powerful means of tapping into a better understanding of both these shifting labor markets and the new consumer. It is also seen as a route to more fully understand sociocultural market contexts in which consumers, together with the organizations themselves, intersect. (2009:14)

On the surface, it seems encouraging that businesses have apparently recognized the ability of anthropological approaches to more deeply understand human behavior – and, in turn, create and market products and services that those humans will buy. And, while I do believe deeply that anthropologists can add unique, essential perspectives within business, it seems that in practice, most companies have only a superficial understanding of what anthropology is, and the lens and value it brings to bear (more to come on this). Still, an increasing number of organizations are hiring anthropologists as either employees or independent consultants (Cefkin 2009).

**Employment by the Numbers**

Having provided a qualitative account of the rise of non-academic market demand for advanced degree anthropologists, I will now put some numbers behind these trends. By drawing from information on the AAA’s website, I introduce an “institutional” and statistical perspective to my topic. Below, I highlight the key findings from several reports commissioned and/or approved of by the AAA with employment data and survey results focusing on anthropologists who received their Ph.D.’s in the years in which my interviewees completed their Ph.D. programs.

In combination with the data, it is critical to bear in mind the cultural dynamics at play within academic anthropology programs, as I believe these help make sense of the individual experiences recounted to me by my interviewees. In fact, I contend that these dominant narratives within academia may very well be threatening the field of anthropology itself -- a topic I will consider in future articles.

There has been tremendous growth in the number of anthropology Ph.D.’s over the past half-century. In fact, the number of anthropology Ph.D.’s increased dramatically from only 22 in 1950 to 555 in 2011 (Givens et al. 1997; Briody and Pester 2014:13). After growing
through the 1960s, the number of anthropology Ph.D. graduates slowed during the 1970s and 1980s, before trending robustly upward in the 1990s and early 2000s (Rudd et al. 2008:3).

In the past, Ph.D. graduates overwhelmingly expected, and indeed found, professional employment within academic settings. This trend has persisted: the most recent report reviewed found that the majority of anthropology students (66 percent) entering their graduate programs intended on pursuing an academic career path, and an even greater percentage (71 percent) of students planned to pursue a faculty career by the time they earned their degree (Rudd et al. 2008:8).

Meanwhile, the survey results indicate that many graduate programs themselves have also promoted an academic career track as the best (and perhaps only) path for Ph.D. graduates. Authors of the 2008 report noted, “the literature generally considers a faculty career to be the best career outcome” (Rudd et al. 2008:18) – especially, and particularly, a tenure track.

The institutional value judgements hinted at by the surveys indeed manifested in many of my conversations with my informants, who perceived an idealization of the tenure track by their programs. Perhaps, this should be unsurprising, as any other path might threaten the life choices and pursuits of those in the very institutions that are cultivating and propagating such values and ideals.

When we look at the employment statistics for Ph.D. anthropologists, though, we see that many graduates do not in fact end up fulfilling this dominant narrative. While nearly three in four Ph.D.’s (74 percent) took jobs in academic anthropology departments in the early 1970s, the percentage had dropped sharply to only 38 percent by 1990 (Givens et al. 1997). Moreover, even within the cohort that did find academic employment, the majority did not secure tenure track positions in their first jobs out of graduate school. Only 16 percent of the 1995-96 cohort were in tenure track positions upon graduation (Rudd et al. 2008:5). The numbers were only slightly better six to ten years post-Ph.D., when 19 percent of anthropologists reported tenure (relatively lower than other social sciences, which had approximately 30 to 35 percent reporting tenure) (Rudd et al. 2008:7).

Why, then, did these graduates veer so drastically from their dreams of becoming academics? Interestingly, one report notes that would-be academics whose career goals shifted after earning their Ph.D.’s explained that “they had encountered difficulties or become disillusioned while seeking a faculty appointment” (Rudd et al. 2008:8). They cited a “lack of university jobs,” “inability to find a position” and “disenchantment with academia” as reasons behind their ultimate employment outside of academia (Rudd et al. 2008:8).

It is important to recognize that personal preferences and
independent choices alone cannot adequately account for Ph.D. employment trends. Rather, taking the anthropological perspective attentive to the larger economic, sociocultural and structural contexts within which those “choices” are made, it becomes clear that the idealized tenure track is simply not an option for many Ph.D. graduates. The reality of the academic job market is that there are fundamentally insufficient jobs available to match the demand of a growing cohort of graduating Ph.D.’s.

According to one report, the mid-1990s marked a pivotal moment in Ph.D. employment when non-academic positions actually outnumbered academic professional-level job opportunities available to Ph.D. anthropologists (Givens et al. 1997). In 1994, there were only 215 academic jobs listed, “half as many jobs as new Ph.D.’s available to fill them” (Givens et al. 1997). This structural gap between academic jobs available and Ph.D. students graduating has persisted since the mid-1990s, reflected in Ph.D.’s non-academic employment – despite many of their dreams upon entering their programs.

At the same time, as reflected in the preceding analysis, the non-academic market apparently picked up the slack in academic demand for anthropologists. Of course, a notable contingent of graduates continue to pursue academic roles; however, a sizable portion of each graduating cohort has found non-academic professions within the private sector upon graduation. For these anthropologists employed in the corporate world, a number of personal choices and structural, market-driven realities have collided to result in their career trajectories.

Glass Half Empty

The AAA also asked respondents to evaluate their graduate programs and traditional anthropological education in the context of their post-graduate professional employment. A number of the findings have bearing on my own informants’ stories, helping me to locate them within broader shared patterns.

How well did anthropology graduate programs prepare graduates for, or support them in, their post-graduate pursuits? Unsurprisingly, not well, according to the data.

Since the first survey conducted in 1972, graduates have consistently rated their departmental advisors as poor in terms of their provision (or lack thereof) of career assistance (Givens 1987:19). Nearly three in four (71 percent) of the 1985-86 cohort rated the job-hunting assistance they received in graduate school as ‘fair’ or ‘poor’ (Givens 1987:8). Remarkably, a whole twenty-five years later, the evaluations of non-academic career preparation had not improved. 74 percent of graduates rated their dissertation chair’s support in their job search and
career decisions as ‘poor’ (Rudd et al. 2008:20). Moreover, ratings of
career support given by non-academically employed anthropologists have
consistently been worse than those given by their academic-track peers
(Givens 1987:19; Rudd et al. 2008:21).

It seems that these survey findings point to a potential
institutional bias in favor of Ph.D.’s pursuing (tenure track) academic
careers – and in doing so, reinforcing a hegemonic and idealized model
that most graduates cannot possibly fulfill, given the structural market
realities. Without question, though, the findings indicate a shared
perspective by many non-academically employed anthropologists that
their academic homes failed to support them in their post-graduation
professional transitions, performance and success.

Given the poor evaluations provided by Ph.D. graduates in terms
of career preparation and support, many of the reports provide
concluding advice for academic institutions regarding modifications to
anthropology graduate programs. Strikingly, and disturbingly, the
recommendations have remained essentially unchanged since the 1980s:
anthropology graduate programs should “offer graduate students
professional development training, information about careers, and
support in the job search” (Rudd et al. 2008:25). Citing the Association’s
“Principles of Professional Responsibility,” the 1987 study authors
advocate for institutional change: “Anthropologists should realistically
counsel students regarding career opportunities [and] energetically assist
students in securing professional employment upon completion of their
studies” (Givens 1987:8).

Despite year over year, consistent recommendations that Ph.D.
anthropology programs provide better career assistance, the 2008 survey
yet again pleads for an institutional transformation in professional
preparation, guidance and support:

Respondents advised programs to better support students in the
transition from graduate school to jobs. Specific directives
included providing honest information ‘up front’ about job
placement, helping students publish, providing training in article
and grant writing, general ‘career preparation,’ skills for
‘marketing themselves,’ exposing students to practicing
professionals in applied careers, and recognizing the existence
and importance of non-faculty and non-academic labor markets
for anthropology Ph.D.’s. (Rudd et al. 2008:25-26)

These recommendations point to a belief among respondents that
many of their academic advisors, mentors and counterparts continue to
fail to acknowledge the existence – much less the value and importance –
of non-academic career trajectories for graduating anthropology Ph.D.’s.
This is particularly astounding, and problematic, given what we know
about the structural realities of an academic market with insufficient
supply.

Relatedly, I found through the surveys, research and analysis that Ph.D. programs and dissertation advisors did not “help students master the practical skills and knowledge that would facilitate the transition from Ph.D. student to practicing professional in the actually existing labor markets for Ph.D. anthropologists” (Rudd et al. 2008:25). Specifically, the researchers found that traditional Ph.D. programs neglected to teach students “skills needed to work successfully with others and to describe and communicate [their] research not only to disciplinary colleagues but also to funding agencies and people outside the discipline” (Rudd et al. 2008:9). These study findings that suggest challenges around communication and collaboration among cross-functional, multi-disciplinary teams figures strongly in the experiences of my informants.

Glass Half Full

Thus far, the report findings do not bode well for anthropology Ph.D.’s employed outside of academia. By breaking from the idealized tenure track, they appear to have failed to live up to their dreams upon entering their programs, as well as to the expectations of their academic professors and advisors. Moreover, according to these reports, their graduate programs seem to have let them down in terms of setting them up for success in their non-academic, professional roles.

However, the research findings were not unilaterally negative. I was surprised to find that while respondents reportedly received little if any “practical” training and career preparation, they nonetheless overwhelmingly found their Ph.D. education in anthropology to be useful outside of academia (Rudd et al. 2008:25). Indeed, many respondents reported that a “traditional Ph.D. education in anthropology provides skill sets that are valuable in non-academic careers” (Rudd et al. 2008:10). Specifically, those skill sets include critical thinking, data analysis and writing and publishing – all of which were ranked as “very important” in professional contexts by academically employed anthropologists, as well as by their non-academic peers (Rudd et al. 2008:10).

Interestingly, it wasn’t just these higher level skills that respondents cited as being valuable from their academic training. Graduates reported that knowledge from their dissertation work itself has proven to be relevant in their professional work. According to one study, nearly half (46 percent) of non-academically employed respondents reported using specific knowledge from their dissertations at least sometimes in their jobs (Rudd et al. 2008:9).

Prior to embarking upon my research, this relevance would have been hard, if not impossible, to believe. How could in-depth ethnographic
research on a remote community across the globe be at all relevant to the corporate world in the United States?

However, specific anthropological theories and ethnographic work have indeed been applied by anthropologists in business to add value across industries. In future articles, I will delve into the ways by which a classical anthropological education has proven not only "useful," but uniquely valuable in business contexts. I will recount specific case studies where anthropologists have used their traditional academic training to help organizations including General Motors, Campbell's, Hallmark, Godiva, and the American Cancer Society, among others. In these cases, their academic anthropological educations figured critically in their ability to cause these organizations to truly "see" and serve their customers.

This institutional and statistical perspective coming from the survey findings will, I hope, provide a valuable point of reference for interpreting and evaluating the anecdotes of my non-academically employed interviewees. The findings indicate potential disconnects and tensions between advanced-level academic anthropology educations and actual career paths. They also, however, point to the interesting ways by which these academic educations and non-academic careers may actually be deeply intertwined – a topic that will be explored in future articles.

Roles in Business

With a cursory understanding of the historical development of the field of anthropologists in business, I will now provide a brief overview of what anthropologists are actually doing in businesses today. What kinds of companies do they work for? What exactly do they do?

My overview of the categories of work being performed by anthropologists in businesses will again draw from the information provided by Jordan (2010) and Cefkin (2009). The diversity of roles and responsibilities encapsulated by the umbrella term, "business anthropologist," was a striking discovery for me. Though not exhaustive, this breakdown should provide context for the proceeding description and analysis of my interviewees.

Anthropologists in business can either be internally or externally focused. By that, I mean that they can specialize in the organization itself (internal), or in serving the customer (external). They can do so by working for a company as an internal employee, by working within an agency or consultancy often for multiple companies, or by working as an independent contractor consulting for companies.

Within the business organization itself, an anthropologist may focus on the organizational structure, corporate culture and communication, and/or departmental work processes. For example, an
anthropologist may conduct research and analysis on how a business might reorganize internally based on shifting competitive and market dynamics. They may also work within Workforce Design, which centers on optimizing for internal operational efficiency. In addition, anthropologists may focus on: workplace conditions; performance of individual employee job functions and work tasks; and, employee integration and interaction across the specific department and with other business departments. Additionally, you can find anthropologists in Human Resources departments, concentrating on: employee development and career advancement; hiring; motivations, rewards and compensation; and, company culture.

Beyond the internal organization, anthropologists may specialize in an organization's product, service and end consumer. With their training in ethnography and cultural analysis, anthropologists often lead market and consumer research, which can inform everything from product development and service innovation to segmentation, positioning and brand strategy, and even M&A and investment decisions. Additionally, anthropologists may specialize in marketing, advertising, brand or design – all of which require a deep understanding of the consumer target.

While this only scratches the surface of the myriad roles within which anthropologists are adding value in business, what is clear is that "anthropologist in business" is hardly a singular archetype. This multitude of potential trajectories may pose challenges for anthropology graduates seeking a well-trodden path or roadmap coming out of their programs and into the business world. However, I think it is also quite exciting and encouraging, as it points to the broad applicability of (and, I contend, critical need for) an anthropological lens outside of the ivory towers.

**Introductions**

In the next article, I will begin to tell the stories of the twenty incredible anthropologists in business who I had the privilege of interviewing. As a precursor and for reference, I’ll now provide a biographical overview of each informant as they self-represent on LinkedIn and on other professional sites online. This will set us up to dive into their journeys in the proceeding article, where I will focus on their transitions from their academic contexts into the business world.

Consistent with the survey findings, none of my interviewees entered their anthropology programs expecting to end up in business roles. And, yet, each of them did ultimately land in the business world, in some capacity. What catalyzed their decisions to pursue roles in business? What did their paths look like? How were they able to find success, particularly given the lack of support from their academic programs? The
revelations coming out of my research could not have come through surveys and statistics alone, but instead emerge through a deep exploration and analysis of the experiences from the perspective of the experts themselves, in true anthropological fashion.

Dr. Marietta Baba was Dean of the College of Social Science at Michigan State for 14 years. She is a founding member and Past President of the National Association for the Practice of Anthropology (NAPA) and served on the Executive Committee and Board of Directors of the AAA. Her research interests include the anthropology of work, organizations and institutions; technological innovation in organizations; the anthropology of policy; and the history and theory of applied and practicing anthropology. She holds an MBA from Michigan State University and a Ph.D. in Physical Anthropology from Wayne State University. Dissertation Title: "Immunodiffusion Systematics of the Platyrrhini." (MSU)

Dr. Genevieve Bell is the Director of the 3A Institute (3Ai), Florence Violet McKenzie Chair, and a Distinguished Professor at the Australian National University (ANU) as well as Vice President and Senior Fellow at Intel Corporation. She is a cultural anthropologist, technologist and futurist best known for her work at the intersection of cultural practice and technology development. She spent 18 years in Silicon Valley helping guide Intel's product development by developing the company's social science and design research capabilities. She earned a doctorate in cultural anthropology from Stanford University in 1998. (LinkedIn)

Dr. Elizabeth K. Briody is a cultural anthropologist who has been engaged in cultural change efforts for over 25 years at General Motors. She is recognized as one of the world's leading experts on the culture of organizations and work with numerous publications, innovative tools, awards, and a U.S. and international patent. She serves on the Executive Board of the American Anthropological Association and as Past President of the National Association for the Practice of Anthropology. Briody earned a doctorate in cultural anthropology from the University of Texas at Austin in 1985. (CulturalKeys)

Mikkel Brok-Kristensen is Business Anthropologist and Partner of ReD Associates specializing in applying anthropology to business problems and to inform business strategy. He has led more than 100 in-depth fieldwork studies for clients all over the world and has spent most of his professional life developing tools and methods for applying the social sciences to business problems. He holds a Master of Anthropology from the University of Copenhagen, and an Executive MBA from Scandinavian International Management Institute (SIMI) & Copenhagen Business School. (ReD Associates)
**Dr. Melissa Cefkin** is a corporate and design anthropologist in Silicon Valley with research, management and consulting experience. She is passionate about social-research driven innovation and design. Her specialties include ethnography, work practice analysis, open and crowd work, services innovation, technology use and adoption, change management, and learning and development. She served as President of the Board of the Ethnographic Praxis in Industry Conference (EPIC). A Fulbright award grantee, she has a Ph.D. in anthropology from Rice University. Dissertation Title: “Choreographing culture: Dance, folklore, and the politics of identity in Turkey.” (LinkedIn)

**Dr. Rita Denny** is Anthropologist and Founding Partner of Practica Group, LLC. Denny specializes in American consumer culture, focusing on culturally based meanings of products and services in everyday life. She has helped drive successful innovation and strategic development of brands, products and services for corporations, nonprofit organizations and start-ups alike. She also serves as the Executive Director of EPIC. Denny holds a doctorate in anthropology from the University of Chicago. Dissertation Title: “Primates To Talk or Be Silent: Functional Specialization in a System Regulating the Sequence of Talk in Conversation.” (LinkedIn)

**Dr. Ken C. Erickson** is an applied anthropologist and CEO of Pacific Ethnography Company – a California-based International Ethnographic Research Boutique. He is also a full-time clinical faculty member in International Business at the Moore College of Business at the University of South Carolina. Erickson’s interests include China, Brazil, Chile, urban and rural micro-business, exchange and value creation, ethnographic method and theory, and business anthropology. Erickson earned a doctorate in anthropology from the University of Kansas in 1995. Dissertation Title: “Skillful Butchers in a Deskilled Packinghouse: An Ethnographic Study of a Boxed-beef Factory.” (CulturalKeys)

**Dr. Tracey Lovejoy** is Co-Founder and Co-CEO of Catalyst Constellations, which brings passionate, purpose-driven people together to co-create the network, tools and resources we need to more powerfully and sustainably change the world. Previously, she spent 12 lightning-fast years at Microsoft, where she worked at the intersection of technology, design, and innovation leading teams of change makers. She is also the co-founder of EPIC. Lovejoy earned a master’s degree in the Interdisciplinary Social Science Program (MAPSS) focusing on anthropology and ethnographic methods from the University of Chicago in 2001. (Catalyst Constellations)
Dr. Alexandra Mack is Principal Researcher and UX Lead at Ad Hoc LLC, which creates digital services for government agencies, ensuring citizens have access to reliable, usable, and accessible tools. She previously served as Research Fellow and Principal Workplace Anthropologist on the Strategic Technology & Innovation Center team at Pitney Bowes. She works at the intersection of customer-centered design, market research, business opportunity identification, business planning, innovation, and cultural change. Mack earned a doctorate in anthropology from Arizona State University in 2000. Dissertation Title: “Social Space at Vijayanagara,” Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Arizona State University, Tempe. (LinkedIn)

Dr. Timothy de Waal Malefyt is Clinical Associate Professor of Marketing in Fordham University’s Gabelli School of Business. He spent over 15 years as a corporate anthropologist in advertising, including at the globally renowned firm, BBDO Advertising, where he led an in-agency ethnographic group called Cultural Discoveries. Malefyt earned his doctorate in cultural anthropology from Brown University in 1997. Dissertation Title: “Gendered Authenticity: the Invention of Flamenco Tradition in Seville, Spain.” (LinkedIn)

Dr. Maryann McCabe, a cultural anthropologist, is Founder and Principal of Cultural Connections LLC and Research Associate at the University of Rochester, Department of Anthropology. She has over 20 years of experience doing consumer research for corporations and nonprofit organizations, with a specialization in ethnographic research and cultural analysis. McCabe earned a doctorate in anthropology from New York University in 1981. Dissertation Title: “Decisions You Don’t Sleep With: State Intervention in the Lives of Sexually Abused Children and Their Families.” (LinkedIn)

Dr. Robert Morais is currently Lecturer in the Marketing Division at Columbia Business School. Prior to teaching, he spent 25 years working in advertising, including co-owning and running a marketing research firm. He earned a doctorate in anthropology from the University of Pittsburgh in 1980, and a certificate from NYU's Stern Business School. Dissertation Title: “Dimensions of interpersonal relationships in a lowland Philippine town.” (LinkedIn)

Dr. Patricia Sachs-Chess is Assistant Professor, College of Doctoral Studies, Grand Canyon University and Founder/Principal of Chess Business Consulting, where she works with small and medium businesses on strategy, growth, and execution. Sachs-Chess is a cultural anthropologist with nearly 30 years of experience working at the intersection of cognitive science, anthropology, and technology. Sachs-Chess received her doctorate in cultural anthropology from the City University of New York Graduate Center in 1982. Dissertation Topic: small mining communities in West Virginia. (LinkedIn)
Dr. John Sherry is Herrick Professor of Marketing at the University of Notre Dame, and previously taught at Northwestern’s Kellogg School for over two decades. He is a past President of the Association for Consumer Research and the Consumer Culture Theory Consortium, and a former Associate Editor of the Journal of Consumer Research. He is a Fellow of the AAA and the Society for Applied Anthropology. Sherry also consulted for Fortune 500 companies in foreign and domestic operations. He earned a doctorate in anthropology from the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign in 1983. Dissertation Title: “The Management of Blue Collar Alcoholism: An Ethnography of an Industrial Containment System.” (University of Notre Dame)

Dr. Susan Squires is Professor of Applied Anthropology at University of North Texas and has 15 years of experience facilitating cross-functional teams of research, marketing, design and engineering professionals. She has led ethnographic research for technology companies including Palm, Sun Microsystems, Yahoo, Sprint, Ericsson and SBC-Yahoo. Squires received her doctorate in anthropology from Boston University in 1990. Dissertation Topic: fieldwork analyzing fishing communities. (LinkedIn)

Dr. Patricia Sunderland is Founding Principal at Cultural Research & Analysis, Inc., which provides anthropological, ethnographic, qualitative design research and strategic consulting for both profit and non-profit companies. She was a Founding Partner of Practica Group, LLC. She has a doctorate in social/cultural psychology and anthropology from New York University. Dissertation Title: "Women of the African American Art World of Jazz." (LinkedIn)

Dr. Kevin Baker is a pseudonym for an interviewee requiring nondisclosure. Baker is a Managing Partner at a research-based consulting firm, which he founded in the late 90s. His clients have included major Fortune 500s across industries. He received his doctorate in cultural anthropology in 1999.

Dr. Richard Hill is a pseudonym for an interviewee requiring nondisclosure. Hill is Strategist and Researcher for an international corporation. He is an anthropologist and ethnographer with global experience in developing and driving actionable results from ethnographic and context-based research. Hill earned a doctorate in cultural anthropology in 2001.

Dr. Rachel Smith is a pseudonym for an interviewee requiring nondisclosure. Smith is a Research Scientist for an international company focused on product design. She received her doctorate in anthropology from an Ivy League university in 2012.

Dr. Susan Mitchell is a pseudonym for an interviewee requiring nondisclosure. Mitchell is a Researcher and Designer for an international company focused on product design. She received her master's degree and doctorate in anthropology from an Ivy League university.
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Elisabeth Powell graduated Phi Beta Kappa and with Highest Honors from Princeton University, where she earned First Prize for her Senior Thesis: “Anthropologists in Business: Teaching Anthropology in the Classroom of Everyday Life.” She is a published author and speaker applying her anthropological lens to drive human-centered, global innovation and brand strategy at premier innovation, design and consumer research consultancies. She has added unique value for her clients such as Hilton, Uber, Diageo, Apple, Estee Lauder, Saks Fifth Avenue and Google, and for her firms’ cultures and her teammates. Originally from Atlanta, she moved recently to San Francisco from New York to start a new chapter of her own anthropologist in business journey and to explore the natural wonders of the West Coast.