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An Emic Perspective and Ethnoscience Methods for Organizational Research¹

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This paper is in answer to the call for new, innovative perspectives and methodologies for organizational research. Although the approach here falls within the subjective/idiographic/qualitative/insider set of methodologies rather than the objective/nomothetic/quantitative/outsider set, there is the potential to bridge the gap between the two sets. Coming largely from anthropology, the emic perspective is explained; the specific steps for ethnoscience analyses are summarized; and examples and implications are given.

The last few years have seen an increasing call for innovative and broadening methodologies for organizational research. For example, Hackman, in writing the introductions to a series of volumes on innovations in methodology for organizational research, states:

The methodologies used in research on organizations have been far too limited and conventional. . . . Because the need for higher quality organizational research is pressing, now may be the time to try to break through the constraints of traditional methodologies and seek new approaches to organizational research (1982, p. 8).

Contrasting Views of Social Science Research

Although there are many issues involved in this awakened interest in research methodologies, Burrell and Morgan (1979) identify one of the most basic. In their distinction between the subjectivist and the objectivist approaches to science, a common theme can be found in the majority of suggestions for new perspectives and methods for organizational research. As they explain it, the issue revolves around certain basic assumptions about what it is that organizational researchers are investigating and how they should go about it. Is the "reality" of investigation something

that is imposed on the subject (i.e., external and objective), or is it a product of the cognitions of the subject (i.e., internal and subjective)? Obviously, an organizational researcher following the subjectivist view will take a different approach from that of the researcher following the objectivist view.

This basic split in orientations to research can be expressed in a variety of dichotomies. One such dichotomy is found in the terms "idiographic" versus "nomothetic." Luthans and Davis (1982) describe a nomothetic perspective as one that is group-centered and uses standardized, controlled environmental contexts and quantitative methods to establish general laws. They describe an idiographic perspective as one that is individual-centered and uses naturalistic environmental contexts and qualitative methods to recognize the particular and unique experience of the subject. Another, more limited dichotomy is the qualitative versus quantitative. Qualitative research implies an idiographic, particularistic perspective of science. Quantitative research with statistical analyses of data takes a nomothetic, generalizing perspective of science. Still another dichotomy can be found in the distinction between the terms "insider" and "outsider." An insider's perspective of science would take the view of the organizational participant in research; the outsider's orientation would take the nonparticipant "scientific" researcher's view.

There frequently is a subtle shift in extensions of the terminology of these different dichotomies, and the terms often become merged and used interchange-

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Methodological Concerns

ably. Thus, the contrasting views can be clustered into the terms subjective/idiographic/qualitative/insider and the terms objective/nomothetic/quantitative/outsider. Use of any one term in the set often conjures up all the implications that the others have for whoever makes the distinctions. When the implied dichotomies are accepted on faith, too often there is an associated distinction between "good" and "bad" science/research. Where the value is applied depends on the "camp" of the particular scholar. Traditionally, the vast majority of organizational researchers have been objectivist/nomothetic/quantitative/outsider advocates. Only very recently has the subjectivist/idiographic/qualitative/insider perspective been recognized.

The potential and real disagreements among organizational researchers over these contrasting approaches are unfortunate and can lead to neglect of common interests and understanding on both sides. This paper presents the modest proposal that a generally ignored research perspective and set of techniques from anthropology may help organizational researchers overcome some of the problems associated with these disagreements and also may meet some of the goals for organizational research proposed by advocates of new methodologies. It is recognized that both the subjectivist/idiographic/qualitative/insider and the objectivist/nomothetic/quantitative/outsider camps present legitimate methodologies for organizational research. The authors also feel strongly that these should not be considered mutually exclusive approaches.

In the interest of forging a rapprochement between advocates of the contrasting views, presented here are an emic perspective and a specific set of ethnoscience techniques from anthropology that show particular promise for being both qualitative and idiographic in field applications, but with potential for quantification and nomothetic explanatory analysis. These techniques offer insider, subjective data of immediate practical utility for practicing managers and researchers and also combine this with data gathering techniques that can be objectified, and thus be adaptable to more traditional methodological analysis and conclusions. A brief review of recent literature discussing methodological issues in organizational research will set the stage and serve as a logical point of departure.

Questionnaires are the most convenient and widely used technique of data gathering for objective/nomothetic/quantitative/outsider studies. Recently, some organizational theorists have been critical of the overuse of questionnaires (Dubin, 1982) and the reliability and validity of standardized questionnaires widely used in organizational research (Schriesheim & Kerr, 1977; Schriesheim, Bannister, & Money, 1979). Questionnaires also are being criticized by advocates of qualitative techniques for a variety of failings in design, results, and usability (Van Maanen, Dabbs, & Faulkner, 1982). Among the proposed alternatives, or supplements, to questionnaires has been the call for observation techniques (Dubin, 1982; Luthans & Davis, 1982). Dubin (1982), for instance, urges organizational researchers to examine their past and return to some of the more fruitful participant observation techniques that were used in classic studies in the field. A growing, but still relatively small, number of organizational researchers are taking this advice. Examples can be found in the works of Bussom, Larson, and Vicars (1981), Kotter (1982), and Van Maanen and his colleagues (1982). In addition to observation techniques per se, the role of qualitative methodology in general is receiving more attention. For example, Van Maanen et al.'s (1982) recent book and a 1979 issue of the *Administrative Science Quarterly* show some of the wide ranging possibilities for different kinds of qualitative research in organizational studies.

Despite these suggested alternatives, it must be remembered that critics of questionnaires want more than just observation and qualitative techniques. These are just the surface arguments and proposed alternatives. More importantly is an expansion of organizational research that will take account of the "insider's" view of the organization. For example, Pfeffer calls for a distinction between two levels of analysis of organizations: (1) the level concerned with prediction of actions taken within organizations (outsider's) and (2) that concerned with predicting and understanding how such organizational activities are "perceived, interpreted, and legitimated" (insider's) (1981, p. 8). As another example, Evered and Louis (1981) specifically call for attention to the insider's view and a linkage of it with the opposing outsider's view. They are concerned with defining human action within settings, the insider's own definition of

the situation, the motives and purposes of the insider, and the historical context of the situation. Burrell and Morgan (1979) also believe that this viewpoint needs to be added to traditional organizational research.

Weick (1979) specifically pinpoints this insider's viewpoint within the study of cognitive process in organizations. He believes that it should involve attention to examination of thoughts, thinking practices, and thinkers in organizations. Organizations, states Weick, can be viewed as bodies of thought and can be described in terms of sets of thinking practices. Such descriptions, then, would emphasize the dominant rules within the organization for combining various kinds of thinking practices. The central research job, at the descriptive level, would be to identify the important cognitive variables (maps of the organization in people's perceptions, beliefs through which people see the organization, and acts that provide the raw material for "sensemaking"). He would like to see these combined in research projects with organizational variables such as size, formalization, and centralization in order to join cognitive and organizational theory.

Pfeffer (1981) also calls for an emphasis on cognitive approaches in terms of "meaning." This is seconded by Dubin (1982), who requests that researchers consider the intentionality of actors in the organization and the meanings attached to behaviors that are observed and cognitive processes that are measured by traditional data gathering techniques such as questionnaires.

The present authors are concerned about what seems to be a widening gap between the two major orientations to organizational research. Burrell and Morgan have taken the pessimistic stance that the two groups cannot be brought together, referring to the "disinterested hostility" (1979, p. 36) characterizing their relationships. Dubin (1982) and Van Maanen et al. (1982) emphasize the lonely course to be run by the researcher attempting to deviate from the traditional path. Evered and Louis (1981), who obviously want to see the two approaches brought together, still feel that researchers trained in and committed to quantitative techniques and those trained in and committed to a more qualitative approach are likely to clash and not recognize one another's contributions to organizational research. Lammers (1975) recognizes this problem, but he offers a solution. He suggests that those so inclined take up *both* approaches at the same time, within the same re-

search project. Another suggested solution offered by Luthans and Davis (1982), Evered and Louis (1981), and Burrell and Morgan (1979) is that research go back and forth or proceed sequentially from one to the other.

In this paper, the authors propose still another solution to the growing dilemma posed by the need for new methodologies, on the one hand, but the potential for polarization on the other. An "emic" research perspective and ethnoscience techniques borrowed from anthropology are suggested. This perspective and accompanying techniques seem readily adaptable to organizational research and, along with an "etic," more analytical approach, may have the potential to help merge the subjective/idiographic/qualitative/insider and the objective/nomothetic/quantitative/outsider approaches.

An Emic Research Perspective

The terms "emic" and "etic" in anthropology were originally introduced by a linguist, Kenneth Pike, who coined them using the suffixes of the terms *phonemic* and *phonetic*, familiar categories in linguistic analysis. Loosely, these terms distinguished sound structure, as analyzed by a linguist (phonetics) from the meaning of the sounds to the native speaker (phonemics). The term emic has since come to denote a general orientation in research centered on the native, that is, the insider's or, as anthropologists call it, the "informant's" view of reality. Thus, the emic approach emphasizes native or respondent categories and meanings in general and native rules for, or respondent behavior, in particular. Etic designates the orientation of outside researchers, who have their own categories by which the subject's world is organized. The analytical-descriptive categories of the outside researcher generally are organized with a view to explanation in the broader sense traditionally used in organizational research. What the emic-etic distinction produces, in its most extreme instances, is the type of division in methodological approach that presently characterizes organizational research. It need not remain such, however. The methodological approach suggested here may bring the two opposing approaches closer together.

Extreme adherents of the emic viewpoint insist that the subject and not the researcher is the best judge of the adequacy of the research and analysis. The subject's acceptance of the results of the research is

the only necessary and sufficient validation of them (Frake, 1980; Sturtevant, 1964). But extreme adherents of the etic approach believe that the researcher is the best judge of the adequacy of the description or analysis. The subject's opinion may be interesting, but it is not really relevant (Harris, 1979).

Most anthropologists fall somewhere between these two extremes, utilizing both emic and etic approaches to complete their total research and analytical designs. As Pelto (1970) indicates, there is an "imbedded emicism" in all anthropological research at the fieldwork level, in which native viewpoints, meanings, interpretations, and so on are given great importance for understanding behavior. However, moving inductively up the levels of analysis, the anthropologist becomes increasingly etic in approach as the importance of universal categories for comparison becomes predominant. Eventually, emic categories are fitted to etic concepts so that general propositions about human behavior can be tested. Obviously, whichever approach is taken at a given time (emic or etic) will depend on the research questions being asked and the stage of the research being conducted.

The emic perspective to research is compatible with an idiographic design. An emic orientation suggests that research be conducted with particular individuals, focusing on their unique, individual "insider" viewpoints. The appropriate methods for such research are basically qualitative in nature, using observation techniques of data gathering and ethnoscience techniques from anthropology. However, once again it should be recognized that anthropologists do not treat this approach as the end of the research. They stress that the insider's viewpoints must later be translated into outsider's categories for purposes of nomothetic analysis and generalizations.

In other words, the position taken here is that organizational research should include more emic (subjectivist/idiographic/qualitative/insider) perspectives, but these then would generally be translated into etic (objectivist/quantitative/nomothetic/outsider) terms. Both approaches seem essential for a complete research perspective, but the emic perspective has been largely overlooked in organizational research and therefore is the one given specific attention in this paper. In addition it is time to go beyond general prescriptions and "advocacy" statements about the emic perspective and provide some actual research techniques that have been successfully

used in anthropology and would seem to be especially applicable to organizational research.

Ethnoscience Techniques

Commonly used terms in anthropology for emic research techniques include ethnosemantics, ethnographic semantics, ethnographic ethnoscience, formal analysis, and componential analysis. Ethnosemantics, ethnographic semantics, and ethnographic ethnoscience reflect slightly different emphases in a technical sense, but they are essentially interchangeable terms. They all refer basically to a conscious limitation of research to the analysis of verbal categories elicited from respondents. Formal analysis refers to an analytical step following emic elicitation of data in which the data are represented in terms of formal set theory. Componential analysis is a particular technique for analyzing the attributes, or "components," of contrasting sets of lexical items or words. The entire range of techniques is most often encompassed under the cover term *ethnoscience*. This comprehensive term is what is used here.

Specific Procedures Used

There are many ways to begin eliciting "emic" data from a subject. Most of the procedures are disarmingly (and deceptively) simple. Perhaps the most direct and powerful is suggested by Hunter and Foley (1976). They start with what could be called the "emic question." The procedure simply involves asking a subject what he/she is doing, listing the responses, and then following up *each* item on the list with a further question such as: "What kinds of questions does it make sense for me to ask you about _____?" This eventually will produce a host of questions that can be used to pursue each topic further. The responses also can be used to begin questioning others involved in the same activities in the same cultural setting.

Spradley has operationalized many of the techniques of ethnoscience in a series of books (Spradley, 1979, 1980; Spradley & McCurdy, 1972) that give detailed and easy-to-follow instructions for basic ethnoscience research. Although some organizational researchers undoubtedly are familiar with Spradley's work, his six steps can provide a useful framework for presenting ethnoscience research techniques. In brief, these steps are as follows:

1. *Asking Descriptive Questions.* These questions define important cultural settings in the respondent's

terms and also can be used to find out more about a sequence of important events. They move from general to specific in a set pattern. Spradley illustrates how to begin using “native language” to minimize etic influence and maximize value from the questions. These descriptive questions, systematically pursued, focus on all the possibilities of the intersection of the nine categories of space, object, act, activity, event, time, actor, goal, and feeling. For instance, an event by time question would be phrased to find out how an event of interest falls into particular time periods. An actor by actor question would request a description of all the “actors” in a cultural setting or event of interest.

2. *Making a Domain Analysis.* A domain is any symbolic category that includes other categories, all of which share at least one feature of meaning. Domains consist of a cover term that names the category, a series of included terms linked by a semantic relationship, and a boundary. A domain analysis is much more difficult in practice than it would seem from a description of the task. This is principally because investigators have so many of their own preset categories that it is difficult to continue questioning respondents for their own. There is a tendency to assume too early (especially in one’s own culture) that there is no more information needed, and thus the researcher can miss a great deal of important data. The unfamiliar aspect of domain analysis is likely to be the semantic relationship connection. A semantic relationship is the connector between subsets and the domain cover term. Rohlen’s (1974) Japanese bank study provides an example. He suggests that a domain termed “dismissal” can be isolated. Theft, breaking a major law, and extremely unruly behavior are likely “included terms” under this domain. These terms are all linked to the domain cover term by the semantic relationship “is a way to,” because these activities will lead to dismissal, but almost no others. Other semantic relations might be “is a kind of ” or “is a part of.” Spradley lists several such semantic relationships for which he proposes universal applicability and which are useful for beginning domain analysis. Weick (1979) also gets into a type of domain analysis with what he calls “relational algorithms.” These are preferred ways that people combine cognitions and bits of information with relational words. The domain analysis described here might help the researcher arrive at exactly what these algorithms might be.

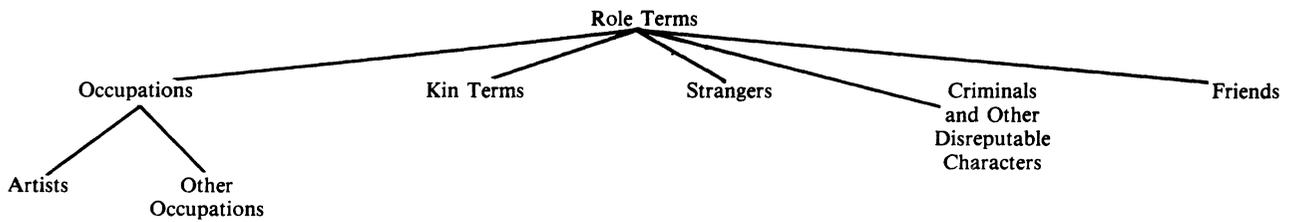
3. *Asking Structural Questions.* These questions build a useful descriptive picture of the cultural scene or event of interest and are a procedure that finally begins to provide information with potential for quantification and comparison. Structural questions usually require more explanation than do simple descriptive questions. They often are in the form of examples. Spradley discusses special techniques necessary in asking such questions and distinguishes five major types of structural questions and several subtypes, all of which have different purposes. Structural questions reach further into the structure of a respondent’s knowledge. Following the example of the Japanese bank, further structural questions of the type called “cover term questions” might pursue the domain of “dismissal” by asking: “Are there different *kinds of* dismissal?” or “Are there different *ways to be* dismissed?” or “What are all the different *steps in* dismissal?”

4. *Making a Taxonomic Analysis.* In a taxonomic analysis the researcher selects a particular domain for extensive questioning. The goal is to determine all of the inclusive relationships that can be found for that domain. The work of Burton (1972) demonstrates this procedure. His research dealt with English role terms, and one aspect of his study used the domain of *occupation terms* for in-depth analysis. He was particularly interested in the correspondence between the meaning of occupation names and his respondent’s judgments of them in relation to prestige as an attribute. His first level taxonomy has the form shown in Figure 1.

This investigation of occupations continued with a technique known as *sorting* (discussed in detail later), the results of which he submitted to a multi-dimensional scaling analysis. The three-dimensional representation of his data verified the hypothesis that the criterion of prestige had been used in the respondents’ sorting of 60 occupation names. In taxonomy terms, his hierarchical clustering, greatly simplified, created a taxonomy as shown in Figure 2.

5. *Asking Contrast Questions.* There are several different types of contrast questions. Their basic point is that the meaning of a symbol can be discovered by finding out how it contrasts with others in the same domain. Taking just one of these, “rating questions,” the researcher can get information about values placed on sets of symbols by asking respondents to make contrasts on the basis of which terms are best, easiest, most difficult, worst, most in-

Figure 1
A Taxonomic Analysis^a



^aFrom Burton (1972).

teresting, most desirable, or whatever other criterion is preferred. This would be the type of question to use to pursue kinds of tasks employees prefer over others. It often creates scales in which items are ranked along the dimension chosen. The important point is that these are *emic* scales. They derive exclusively from the categories of the respondents; they are *not* responses to scales or to categories preset and defined by the researcher or on face validity. Such rating and ranking questions have been used profitably by anthropologists to discover “native” stratification systems, the criteria on which they are based and the units subsumed in the rankings (for example, see Silverman, 1966).

6. Making a Componential Analysis. A componential analysis is a systematic search for the attributes (components of meaning) of a symbol. Componential analyses usually are represented in the form of paradigms that schematically distinguish all the members of the contrast set in the domain of concern and show the multiple relationships between them. In making a componential analysis the emic-oriented researcher would take all the members of the contrast set of interest and discover how they contrast with each other on different dimensions. The purpose here is to find out the attributes and create the contrasts in the set. Returning to the Japanese bank example, the researcher interested in doing a componential analysis of categories of employees in this organization would find a number of dimensions of contrast that would have to be investigated. Employees may be members, quasi-members, and nonmembers of the bank. Each category has certain attributes that create its meaning. There are distinctions in the mode of recruitment of different employee categories and in their means of selection, and there is a cross-cutting dimension of sex that adds further complications in determining attributes

(Rohlen, 1974). Any componential analysis of employees would have to consider the interrelationships of all these attributes. A typical, simple componential analysis paradigm might have the form shown in Table 1. The rows contain the attributes associated with a particular domain or subset of a domain. The columns show the dimensions of contrast between domains or their subsets.

Other Ethnoscience Techniques

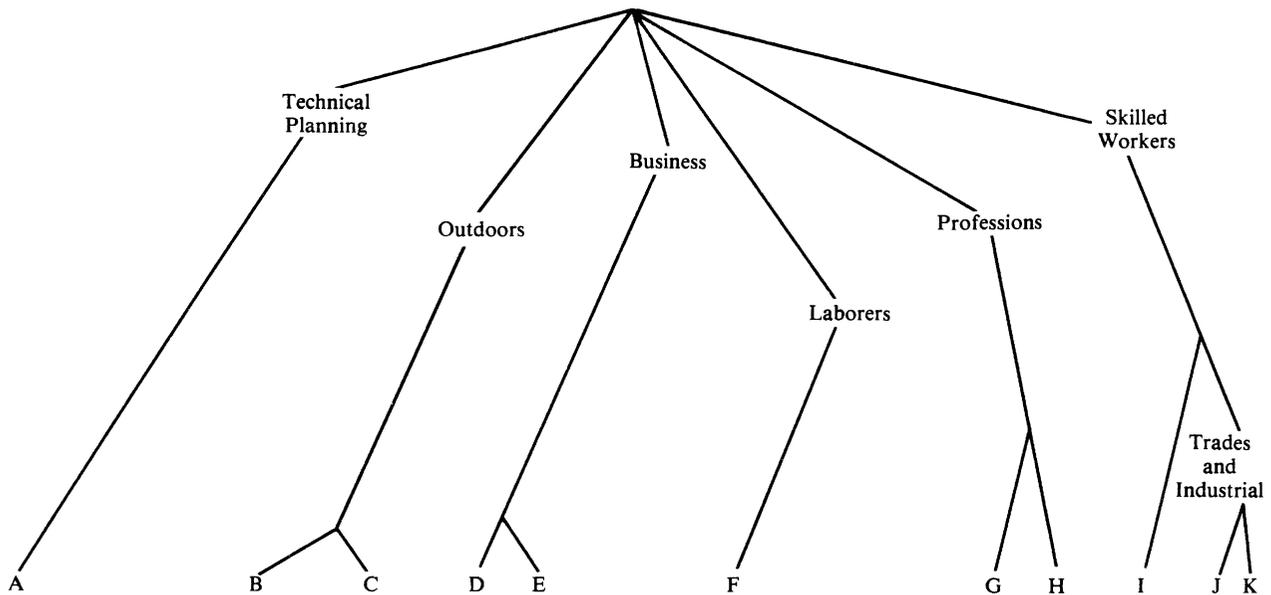
The above discussion of the least complex aspects of Spradley’s ethnoscience “manuals,” with additional illustrative material, provides a general overview of the specific procedures of ethnoscience methodology. There are, of course, other specific ethnoscience techniques.

The Use of Lists. All the techniques in ethnoscience begin with lists of one kind or another. These lists usually are obtained by unstructured interviewing to make certain that the categories (symbols) of which they are composed are as emic as possible.

Sorting Procedures. Items derived from the lists often are used in sorting procedures. Sorting involves putting names of the list items on cards and having the respondents categorize them on some basis of interest to them or to the researcher. Respondents may simply be requested to divide the cards into as many piles as they think appropriate. The researcher then questions the respondents to learn the basis for this sorting. The researcher also will try to elicit cover terms that will characterize the individual piles in some manner.

Triad sorting is a special variety of forced choice sorting in which the respondent is given three cards at a time and asked to pick the two that are most similar to each other, eliminating the one least similar. When the choice is made, the researcher attempts to learn the basis for it. This is one way in

Figure 2
Results of a Multiple-Dimensional Scaling Analysis
Based on Sorting^a



^aFrom Burton (1972).

which componential analysis data can be elicited. A number of other variations on sorting also exist (Pollnac, 1975).

The Use of Frames. Eliciting frames, sentence frames, or substitution frames are constructed to elicit the kinds of information Spradley refers to in his categories of descriptive questions, structural questions, and contrast questions. Sentence frames are simply “fill-in-the-blank” types of questions. The researcher varies the key element in the sentence to see how respondents vary their responses to the restricted framework. Frames are constructed by listening to natural conversation and selecting phrases to test with “native” respondents to be certain that they make sense. Usually they are only sentence fragments. When used within the same domain, sentence frames can be combined and recombined to see what patterns emerge in responses.

Returning to the Japanese bank example, to find out more about types of employees and their attributes, the researcher using ethnoscience techniques might design sentence frames with the form “Quasi-members work in offices.” Because quasi-members (Rohlen, 1974) do only support work such as custo-

dianship and cooking, the investigator would expect that some word such as “never” would be elicited as a response to that question frame. Question frames also can be used as tests of information. The researcher, for instance, could vary the above question by stating, “Quasi-members sometimes do office work.” The response from the subject would be to correct this misstatement and supply the proper term “never” in place of “sometimes.” This frame can be varied by substituting the terms members or non-members for quasi-members. The verb could be changed or the location for work could be changed. There are many ways in which a sentence or substitution frame can be varied to elicit contrasting, but detailed, information of a limited cultural domain. Remember, the reason for these procedures is to remain in the realm of *emic* data, and not to impose the researcher’s *etic* categories on the data gathering process. For this reason, direct questions *about* membership in the bank organization would not be made. They would run the risk of contaminating the results with *etic* categories.

The techniques discussed so far include both verbal and nonverbal eliciting procedures. The different

Table 1
Basic Form of a Componential Analysis Paradigm

<i>Cultural Domain</i>	<i>Dimensions of Contrast</i>		
	<i>I</i>	<i>II</i>	<i>III</i>
Cultural category	attribute ₁	attribute ₂	attribute ₃
Cultural category	attribute ₁	attribute ₂	attribute ₃
Cultural category	attribute ₁	attribute ₂	attribute ₃

varieties of sorting are nonverbal techniques that often produce categories that subjects did not previously acknowledge or realize consciously. They are sometimes surprised at the results and may have difficulty giving verbal explanations of their sorting decisions. Statistical techniques such as multidimensional scaling and other multivariate analyses may be used to discern the patterns involved in the choices. Johnson (1978) and others (Kay, 1971; Pollnac & Hickman, 1975; Sanoff, 1971) provide useful guidance in application of statistical analysis to the data gathered by the ethnoscience techniques discussed above.

Conclusions

Clearly there is a wide variety of uses for information gathered in organizations from an emic perspective and ethnoscience techniques. Such data provide a concrete beginning for answering the concerns of researchers interested in using a subjective/idiographic/qualitative/insider approach. The benefit hoped for from such research, as indicated in the first part of this paper, is more knowledge of subject understandings, perceptions, cognitive processes, meanings, and intentions. This is precisely the kind of information that the emic perspective and ethnoscience techniques can produce. Second, such information could be used to develop better questionnaire instruments designed to tap the subject's perspective more closely than in the past. This would be particularly helpful in cross-cultural research. Preliminary intensive work with individual or small, manageable groups of employees could be used as a base to derive general lists of domains, taxonomies, and so on to test more economically (in terms of time, effort, and money) than is possible with larger numbers of employees of the same general category within the organization. In-depth interviewing would not have to proceed from the beginning with every

organizational member. Perhaps instruments could be developed with even broader applicability across organizations depending on the specific research questions of the study.

An emic perspective and ethnoscience techniques also can profitably address a number of content issues in organizational research. Some examples would be:

1. Comparison of manager and subordinate ideas on any number of dimensions of interest, such as commitment or satisfaction. Included would be ratings and rankings on these dimensions.
2. Comparison of actual observed behavior with the verbal statements about behavior.
3. Investigation of the job design and characteristics or organizational structure dimensions in relation to actual employee-relevant dimensions. Included would be ranking of all aspects of these dimensions.

The resulting categories, perceptions, rankings, and so on from these content areas are as potentially "countable," and thus quantifiable, as any other kind of data. The richness of the patterns discerned may be clarified/expanded by factor analysis or other multivariate statistical techniques. For example, paired results of responses of managers and subordinates could be correlated and analyzed both quantitatively and qualitatively. The precision of quantification would be balanced by the context and richness of the qualitative data.

Ideally, the emic perspective and ethnographic techniques should be applied to a total organization study in all of its rich complexity. This, of course, is not realistic for most researchers. The next best strategy is the more limited, but still valid, application of the ethnoscience techniques presented in this paper that can produce, at minimum, a number of emically derived variables for further research. The perspective and techniques described here provide a way to gain a holistic view of smaller, specific cultural scenes of interest to the organizational researcher.

In summary, there seem to be four especially important advantages in taking an emic perspective and using ethnoscience techniques in organizational research:

1. Although this approach is subjective, the data can be objectified (translated into etic categories).
2. This approach is idiographic, but has nomothetic potential.
3. This approach depends mostly on qualitative data but also can produce quantifiable data suitable for traditional statistical analysis techniques.
4. Although this approach is aimed at the insider, the outsider logically enters the research process.

The intent of this paper is not to persuade organizational researchers to abandon their current

methodologies and immediately begin taking an emic perspective and using ethnoscience techniques. Instead, the intent is to provide a perspective and set of techniques in response to the call for new methodologies, yet not widen the gap between subjective/idiographic/qualitative/insider and objective/nomothetic/quantitative/outsider approaches to organizational research. Although the emic perspective and ethnoscience techniques obviously fall in the first methodological set, they also seem to be able to serve as a bridge to the more traditional methodological set.

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