

OXFORD RESEARCH IN SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY

**ABSTRACTS OF THESES
IN SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY
FOR WHICH HIGHER DEGREES WERE AWARDED
BY THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD IN 1996**

KAORU FUKUDA, *The Place of Animals in British Moral Discourse: A Field Study from the Scottish Borders*. D.Phil. (BLLD 46-9556)

This thesis intends to provide a new analytical perspective for the study of human-animal relationships. Anthropological studies of human perceptions of animals have been dominated by defining symbolic meanings of animals in human thought. Moral values and taboos have been treated by most anthropologists as socially shared ideas which are somehow imposed on individuals. By providing an ethnography of a community in the Scottish Borders, I aim to demonstrate people's practical views of animals and the heterogeneity of moral opinions.

The ethnography is based mainly on interviews with, and observations of, people who deal with animals for various occupational and recreational purposes. The first chapter indicates the significance of animals in British moral discourses and discusses how a study of these discourses could contribute to the study of moral values. The second chapter gives a general introduction to the Scottish Borders and demonstrates the variety of human-animal relationships in the region. The third chapter discusses changes in local life which took place in this century

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and resulted in changes in people's perceptions of animals. The fourth chapter focuses on people's perceptions of animals which have been developed through their first-hand experiences. The fifth chapter deals with moral discussions on how humans should treat animals.

The ethnography shows that most people appreciate animals' existence through their experiences. Anthropology, however, with some exceptions, has paid little attention to the empirical way of perceiving things, and has tended to reduce people's empirical knowledge to conceptualized thoughts. This thesis suggests that trends in anthropology, as well as in philosophical moral discourses, reflect anthropologists' and philosophers' conventional attitudes, which themselves are produced socially and culturally.

LISA RADHIKA KAUL, *Reclaiming the Nation through Land: Jewish Religious Nationalism in Israel*. D.Phil. (BLLD 46–748)

This thesis seeks to provide a counter-example to the claim that nationalisms, by definition, have to be secular. It focuses on one example of a religious nationalist movement as embodied in the Jewish settler movement in Israel, the Gush Emunim. From the broad perspective of a social movement it narrows its focus to a case-study of religious nationalists in one settlement, 'Tekoa'. Tekoa is affiliated to the Gush Emunim and is one of the 'facts on the ground' of the religious nationalist movement.

Possible reasons for the rise of religious nationalism are explored in this thesis. One avenue explored is that the dominant nationalist ideology of the state may itself be shot through with inconsistencies, which allows for the rise of alternative nationalist ideologies. Religious nationalism is one of the alternative ideologies which highlight the religious basis of the prevalent secular nationalist ideology.

Religious nationalism is thus constructed against what has been called the 'enemy within' and the 'enemy without' in this work. The enemy within, in this case, are the secular nationalists in Israel who are seen as degenerate and lacking in idealism and true vision. They are castigated for failing to represent, authentically, the imagined community of the co-religionists. In their bid to present the 'authentic' nationalist ideology, these religious nationalists appropriate the term used to describe the secular nationalists in Israel (Zionists) and reformulate the meaning and the content of the term. They attempt to make their religious identity coterminous with the national identity, which they perceive to be secular. This equation is reflected on to the state, which is expected to be a Jewish state rather than a state for Jews. And by extension, the nationalist ideology is seen as religious rather than secular.

D. R. MOORE, Concepts of Disease and their Relationship to Health-seeking Behaviour in Chuquisaca Department, South Bolivia. D.Phil. (BLLD 46-3523)

The thesis is a medical ethnography of Quechua- and Spanish-speaking peasants and share-croppers in Belisario Boeto Province, Chuquisaca Department, Bolivia. Some major anthropological categories (magic, ritual, symbol) are reanalysed in order to stress their relevance to the construction of ethnography. A fundamental aim of the thesis is to write an ethnography which reproduces the actors' categories and is unfettered by jargon.

Chapter 1 presents the fieldwork location, and discusses political and socio-economic aspects, class relations and ethnic identity, showing that the society is undergoing constant change. Chapter 2 discusses the basic religious premises upon which health and illness concepts are based and demonstrates how Protestant sects are spreading in the area. Chapter 3 presents and discusses the popular illness classifications and conceptions in the fieldwork area. It questions diffusionist theories concerning the alleged exclusive Hispanic origins of the hot-cold dichotomy in South America, provides data on the concepts of the person, health, illness, the interpretation of affliction, symptomatology, and emotional conditions. Chapter 4 discusses the symbolism and practice of divination.

Chapter 5 discusses the structure of medical knowledge in the health-care systems of the area, focusing on the practices of *curanderos* (healers). Chapter 6 reanalyses the anthropological models of symbol and rite and describes the major therapeutic rituals (*llamadalwajyana* and *santiguada*). Chapter 7 analyses the therapeutic rituals and theories of sacrifice. Chapter 8 discusses magic and witchcraft sociologically and ethnographically. Chapter 9 analyses *susto*, the fright-illness taxeme, and the culture-bound syndrome debate. Health-seeking behaviour and the performance of the popular therapeutic rituals serve important emotional and religious functions. The thesis provides a comprehensive picture of the meaning of health and illness in an Andean society.

RICHARD MCGILL MURPHY, Space, Class and Rhetoric in Lahore.

The following is a study of class relationships and nationalism in contemporary Lahore, based on fieldwork conducted in the city between 1992 and 1994. The fieldwork method adopted was participant observation, supplemented by close readings of texts drawn from Urdu and Persian literature, from school textbooks, from the Pakistani media (principally the Urdu and English press, along with two Urdu television dramas), and from the sermons of Sunni and Shi'a Muslim preachers which I recorded at mosques and prayer gatherings around the Old City.

Lahore may be described as a complex of village-like communities, defined both spatially and by an overlapping series of criteria such as clans, kinship,

gender, and occupation. My fieldwork strategy was to live in as many of these 'villages' as possible. I cultivated Lahori informants of various backgrounds: among others, landowning politicians ('feudals', in Pakistani English), middle- and working-class political workers, journalists, bourgeois socialites, theatre and television personalities, working women, low-caste musicians, real-estate developers, and bureaucrats. In the tradition of participant observation, I got to know most of these informants by taking part in their everyday activities. My entrée into the journalistic community was by writing feature articles for a local English-language newspaper. I learned about the television world by playing the role of an intrepid, Urdu-speaking foreign correspondent in a Pakistan Television docu-drama about Kashmir. I met low-caste musicians and Kanjar dancing-girls by studying the *tabla* and by living near Hira Mandi, Lahore's traditional vice district. I cultivated most of my political connections by accompanying them on canvassing tours, attending political rallies, and sitting endlessly in political salons.

Perspectival multiplicity, uncertainty, and moral ambiguity are fundamental to the rhetorical strategies through which Lahoris construct and act upon the world. It is argued that what I call a crisis of social representation in urban Pakistan is best analysed as a debate whose rhetorical positions undercut the naturalistic representation of truth by a constant questioning of the moral authority conveyed by any particular perspective on the social world. My analysis distinguishes three broad, often clashing moral perspectives within urban Pakistani society today: nationalism, modernism, and Islam; and I coin the term 'cubistic' to describe this complex debate, borrowing from the theory of multiple perspective deployed in Cubist painting.

Some frames of explanation, such as formal Islam, encompass a broader world than Pakistan, yet are deployed in very local ways. Others, such as nationalism, are less easy to deploy in the Lahori setting but set moral limits to the development of local 'meta-narratives'. Indeed, certain obvious possibilities for totalizing explanation (not least 'caste') are ruled out by a need for contrast with neighbouring India. My argument engages with a world dominated by rhetorical contestation. Hence, I proceed from the premise that the social facts with which we have to deal are not real objects, but rather arguments about reality. Lahore, in this view, is not a set of objective social facts connected according to some more or less transparent logic, but a set of debates about social, political and historical registers of truth.

This proposition is tested in a variety of ethnographic case-studies. Chapter 1 provides the historical background to contemporary Pakistani nationalist debate while situating the present study in relation to the broader discourses of social anthropology and South Asian studies. Chapter 2 explores thematic and structural connections between Pakistani nationalism and the rhetoric of class distinction in Lahore. Chapter 3 expands the discussion of hierarchy by relating it to nostalgia, which in urban Pakistan takes the form of pervasive claims that society no longer makes sense. In this analysis, Lahori representations of rationality thus provide the bridge between contemporary social relations and the social construction of history.

In chapter 4, I test these arguments in a series of ethnographic descriptions of debates over the quality and control of urban space. Finally, chapter 5 explores urban Pakistani political discourse through discussions of conspiracy theories, Shi'a Muslim mourning rituals, and politically angled state television dramas.

PATRICIA SLOANE, Good Works and Networks: Islam, Modernity, and Entrepreneurship among the Malays. D.Phil.

This analysis shows how a group of Malay entrepreneurs in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, demonstrated a culturally based understanding of the individual's and the communal group's role and responsibility in economic development. The process by which obligations to others, hard work, and faith have become symbolized and synthesized in entrepreneurial economic activities which are at once 'modern', 'Muslim', and 'Malay' is the subject of Part One, presented under the rubric of 'Good Works'. Exploring the themes of obligation and responsibility in Malay life, I show how entrepreneurship has become the main vector of ethnic, religious, and moral worth and the test of meritocracy and modernity among the primary beneficiaries of Malay affirmative-action policy (NEP) in an ethnically polarized state.

In chapter 2, I explore the complex theme of obligation which enframes Malay life, winding through relationships with parents, spouses, cohorts, and communal group. I relate this theme to the sense of ethnic duty which Malay entrepreneurship entails. I examine the way in which Islamic theories of material obligation and social roles have affected the lives of modern Malay men and women, giving meaning to their identities, but also creating conflicts and paradoxes in domestic and economic life.

In chapter 3, I explore the 'modern' redefinitions of Islamic economic beliefs and meanings which have shaped Malay entrepreneurship. I examine the ways in which a Muslim world-view established definitions of self-interest and group interest. Defining their culture of Islamic economic modernity, my informants distinguished themselves from *kampung* or village Malays, from royal-born and aristocratic Malays, and, perhaps most importantly, from the anti-modern tendencies of *dakwah* or fundamentalist Malay Muslims.

The nuances of identity and hegemony constructed from these ideas become crucial to my informants' understanding of the distinctiveness of Malay culture, the subject of chapter 4. I explore 'Malayness' through descriptions of traditional difference that my informants—and their government—were elaborating for and preserving in modern Malay and Malaysian culture. I focus on the roles of Malay 'hospitality', 'openness', and 'egalitarianism'—the cornerstones of 'Malayness'—in establishing ritual harmony, but which confirm social hierarchy and roles of power. I examine my informants' belief that they were reviving and preserving—often

through entrepreneurship—values from the Malay past, guided by a government-supported program for creating a multiethnic and harmonious civil society in capitalist modernity ('Vision 2020').

Part Two, presented under the rubric of 'Networks', elucidates how my informants enact their understanding of Malay economic modernity and entrepreneurship, that is, how they infuse their altruistic image of 'good works' into economic and social action through networks. In chapter 5, I describe the way in which networks form in Kuala Lumpur society, how information and resources flow through social networks, and the emergence of business alliances. I explore the ways in which these social arrangements give eidetic form to the theory of conjoined economic development ('good works') which my informants were elaborating.

The next three chapters are case-studies of entrepreneurial networking. Chapter 6 describes the way in which alliances form among Malay entrepreneurs, often as a consequence of the way in which the government represents modern economic opportunity and enterprise to Malays. Chapter 7 continues the discussion of the role of networking in social and economic life, examining the negative consequences of a high profile for one female entrepreneur in Kuala Lumpur. I suggest that these consequences are often experienced by overly autonomous women in Malay entrepreneurial society. In chapter 8, I examine an entrepreneurial venture which harnessed its very existence to the role of Malay networks, to the point at which 'networking' became the 'product' of the enterprise itself. I draw parallels between this business and other forms of Malay action which explicitly use social relations for economic ends.

In the Conclusion, I discuss the crucial role of entrepreneurship in establishing and legitimizing Malay ethnic identity and representing Malay ideals of morality and tradition in the contexts of rapid social and economic change. I elucidate a general theory of Malay entrepreneurship, describing the way in which it tends to confirm, establish the gender of, and politicize Malay éliteness at the same time as it elides the role of the state in creating and supporting entrepreneurs.

HEUNG WAH WONG, *An Anthropological Study of a Supermarket in Hong Kong*. D.Phil. (BLLD 46–9561)

This thesis is an anthropological study of a Japanese supermarket in Hong Kong. It contributes to the ethnography of Japanese overseas companies in particular and of the limited-stock company in general, for these subjects have received little attention from anthropologists. It is neither a general anthropology nor a management study of Japanese overseas companies. The thesis is both more specific and more ambitious. Narrowly conceived, this study is an anthropology of the supermarket's venture into Hong Kong. I understand this venture as the product of a dialectic in a double sense: (1) the structural interplay of socio-cultural order and

human practices and (2) the historical articulation of Japanese and Hong Kong Chinese systems. This study is ambitious because it aims more broadly at two aspects. First, although it focuses on one Japanese company, this study has a substantial discussion of the concept of Japanese *kaisha* (corporations) of which the supermarket is a unique actualization. Secondly, it speaks to a series of theoretical issues that continue to vex many social scientists. The thesis focuses on the interconnection of the determining force of socio-cultural orders and the creative action of the human subject, through an investigation of the historical process in which the supermarket ventured into Hong Kong and the institutional culture of the company.

I suggest that the supermarket's Hong Kong venture has to be considered as a two-sided historical process: as a dialectic that takes into account the socio-cultural endowments of, but also the consequences for, both Hong Kong Chinese and Japanese employees. Therefore, I start with an investigation of the ethnographic peculiarities of the supermarket: Fumei as a regional supermarket, as a family company, and a religious group, and move on to discuss the notion of Japanese *kaisha* (corporations). I then examine how these ethnographic peculiarities and the general notion of *kaisha* interplay with the socio-political context of Hong Kong and the local categorization of supermarkets and department stores to produce a particular historical process of the venture. The interplay itself is a conjuncture of reciprocal determination. For on the one hand, the larger socio-cultural orders reproduce themselves in action, while on the other they are changed by the transformative action of human subjects. The company reproduces itself as a regional supermarket in Hong Kong, making itself different from other Japanese department stores in such aspects as locational strategy, merchandising policy, clientele, customer services and so on, while the company chairman transforms the company from a regional supermarket through an international retailer and conglomerate to a company with Chinese fever. More interestingly, the interplay itself is also marked by structural discontinuities. Although the company's fate is to a great extent subject to the dispositions of the company chairman, the chairman's insistence on keeping the company's independence in the early 1970s, when the company was facing a crisis, still cannot explain why the company went overseas in 1971 and why it started with Brazil. Therefore, the supermarket's venture into Hong Kong is the result of dialectic interaction between phenomena at different levels.

The same goes for the internal dynamics of the company in Hong Kong. The company's ways of organizing work and its ranking, compensation, and promotion systems foster the organized dependence of both Japanese and local staff on the company: economic and social dependence on the company and personal dependence on the superiors, although they affect the former more than the latter. This organized dependence can be attributed to the notion of *kaisha*, and seen as one of the major characteristics of Japanese companies. I then move on to investigate how the configuration of organized dependence and the differentiated organized

dependence of Japanese and local staff shaped the institutional culture of the supermarket.

Five features of the company's institutional culture are identified. They are (1) the division of the workforce along lines of ethnicity; (2) relationships with Japanese expatriates as the focus of competition among local employees; (3) development of a consciousness and calculative 'presentation of self' among local employees; (4) distinctions between ambitious and adaptive local staff; and (5) a different set of social relationships among Japanese expatriates.

My discussion of the company's institutional culture shows, on the one hand, that Japanese employees are not culturally programmed but coerced to be obedient to the company authority because they are dependent on their company, but on the other that they can transform the relationship between *kaisha* and employees prescribed in the notion of *kaisha*. For instance, a Japanese female employee successfully moved out of her company flat. I argue that such a move transformed the meaning of company housing from being a means of company control to being a place for employees to live.

The same happens in the relationships between Japanese expatriates and local staff. While the strategies local staff adopt in advancing their own interests are very much determined by the power structure of the company in which Japanese expatriates dominate and local staff are dominated, the former learn from the latter that they can have their own business while working for the company.

The major problem for this study is thus the specific configuration of the interplay between structure and agency; and the interplay itself, as shown in the supermarket's Hong Kong venture, is a conjuncture of mutual determination in which the structure cannot be reduced to the individual action and vice versa, and yet each is determining the other.