HongKong Anthropology Bulletin

No 11

New Territories Lineages • Fieldwork in Hong Kong
Domestic Architecture • Chinese Archaeology • Industrial Anthropology

Hong Kong Anthropology Bulletin

EDITORIAL

In 1987 the Hong Kong Anthropology Society was proud to organise and host, with the generous assistance of the Hong Kong Museum of History, the first of an annual series of lectures dedicated to the memory of the late Barbara Ward, which it is hoped will play a useful part in coordinating research on Hong Kong and Chinese society in the future. Barbara Ward, of Newnham College, Cambridge, who taught for many years at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London and at the Chinese University of Hong Kong, was in many ways the pioneer of anthropological studies of Hong Kong. We are pleased therefore to be able to publish in this issue of the HONG KONG ANTHRO-POLOGY BULLETIN the full text of the 1987 Barbara Ward Lecture given by Dr. Hugh Baker of the School of Oriental and African Studies. It is also fitting to include in this issue an account of current research written in the field by a former student of Barbara Ward's. Nicole Constable's article examines the methodological assumptions of undertaking fieldwork in a complex society, a topic of increasing current concern in interpretive anthropology. The growing interdisciplinary concerns of anthropology are represented in Dr. Chen Chi-Nan's detailed account of vernacular architecture and its reflection of domestic structure in Taiwan, while William Meacham's article provides a useful summary of some of the most recent archaeological findings in Hong Kong. Finally, now that the Anthropology of Management has become a recognised sub-field within the discipline, Fred Chiu's article on a multinational industrial dispute in Hong Kong demonstrates an increasing preoccupation within anthropology with the problems of corporate management and industrial society.
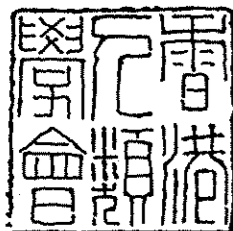
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Cover : *Barbara Ward with members of the Society in Yunnan (bottom, second from left)*

HONG KONG ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY

Feuding in Far Places: Lineage Relations in The New Territories

Hugh Baker

Sir Jack Cater has spoken of Barbara's Word's teaching: I must reinforce his words by confirming that she was a most gifted and inspiring teacher. With the late Professor Maurice Freedman she guided my early tottering steps in social anthropology. That I have continued to totter is not to be taken as any reflection on her — the wonder to me is that I am still on my feet at all, and for that I owe her a great debt of gratitude.

In an article called 'Temper Tantrums in Kau Sai' published in 1970 Barbara said: "village organization... is markedly anarchic"; and later in the same article she wrote: "the maintenance of public order is likely to be rather a chancy business." [1] The fishing village of Kau Sai was the focus of much of her work, and although I would not presume to discuss this here, I thought I would examine these two statements in a broader Chinese context. My talk covers two fields — history and social organization. However, I don't think Barbara cared much for 'disciplinary parochialism', and therefore do not fear that I am doing something of which she would not approve.

First, what was the lineage? It was an extension of the family and grew out of it. From earliest times the Chinese have considered the family to be the basic unit of society — in great contrast to the modern industrialised West which has plumped for the individual as the base.

The family was a mutual responsibility group, self-governing through a hierarchy of control, and it seemed to make sense to encourage families to be as big as possible — perhaps so that the state would have to deal with only a relatively small number of large units, rather than a large number of small units? The Confucianists advocated many generations of the family living together in order to achieve the desired large size group, but they were conscious of the problems of conflict between individuals inherent in such a complex unit, and conflict would lead almost inevitably to its break-up.

Their answer was the Ng-lun, the Five Human Relationships, which attempted to regulate the relationships between family members. These five were:

Ruler-subject
Father-son
Elder brother-younger brother
Husband-wife
Friend-friend

I choose to ignore the ruler-subject relationship here since it seems to me to be in the nature of a political trick, an attempt to transfer the ideology of the commonly-accepted father-son tie spuriously onto the state. I ignore also the relationship between friend and friend, not because it was not a genuine one but because it did not involve the family and because it was a relationship between equals, unlike the rest which all were between superiors and inferiors. The remaining three relationships, when taken in order, were the blueprint for the hierarchy of control which was to maintain harmony and unity in the group. Each of the stated relationships could be extended: father-son to senior generation-junior generation, elder brother-younger brother to older-younger within the same generation, husband-wife to male-female. And each relationship was characterised by the superiority of the first over the second — thus father was superior to son, and son should therefore respect, serve and obey father. By reference to this list of priorities it was possible for any member of any family of whatever size to know whether he was superior to or inferior to any other member of the family. There could be no equals within the group — even identical twin brothers would have been born in sequence and the older would be superior to the younger. And because there were no equals there could be

no argument, conflict or friction, the hierarchy allowing only the giving of orders or obedience. Such seems to have been the Confucianist hope.

But internal conflicts within families tended to be stronger than the dictates of ideologists. Personality clashes, selfishness, petty irritations, unfairnesses and many other factors led families to break apart. Only rarely was the ideal of five or more generations living together in harmony realised, and when it was it could excite the attention of the Emperor himself and result in a gracious gift of an honorific archway to be raised outside the family's front door recording this unusual and admirable achievement. The majority of Chinese families were either of the two generational simple type (father, mother and unmarried children) or the three generational stem type (father, mother, unmarried children and one or both paternal grandparents).

Yet this notion of the extended family came to be generally accepted as the ideal even though it was one which few could expect to live up to. From Song times onwards, let us say roughly for the past one thousand years, the lineage emerged as an achievable halfway measure between the basic family and the ideal. Under the lineage system it was not necessary for families to grow large. Each son could start a new household when he married, but the new household would be in the same village and all households would be subservient to the total group. In its developed form this group, the lineage, was the political controller of a territory which included the village and its fields; it had its own laws and a leadership based on age and generational seniority. It was a religious group, ancestor worship providing the supernatural sanction for its secular activities. It was a kinship group, of course, which had a membership composed of all men agnatically descended from one common ancestor together with their families. And it

was an economic group with a holding of trust land and property from which all members could benefit directly or indirectly. This holding was provided through keeping one portion back from the normal process of inheritance (equal shares to all sons), and leaving it in the name of the founding ancestor of the group. In short, the lineage was like the extended family but without the inconveniences and strife of living in one household.

What I wish to examine here is the political aspect of the lineage, and it is necessary therefore to give a political context.

In pre-twentieth century China the bulk of the population was to be found in the north. Not only that, but the greater part of the military and administration were also to be found there — indeed the capital of China has very rarely in history been located south of the Yangtse. The reason is vulnerability to attack from her long northern borders. Time and again through history warlike peoples have invaded over those frontiers, making it necessary to maintain armies and the controllers of the armies where they could best meet the constant threat and danger. Not until the nineteenth-century adventures of the bellicose seafaring Western nations had China been seriously attacked from the sea, that is, from the south; and she found herself quite unable to parry thrusts from that unaccustomed direction. Yet the economic centre of the country has not been in the north for many centuries: it has been in the south in the Yangtse valley and in the western granary province of Sichuan. That is to say, the areas which provided the resources for the state were the areas least well controlled by the state, having fewer administrators and fewer troops. Nowhere was this more true than in the southern provinces of Guangdong and Fujian, both of them remote from the capital and difficult of access through mountain ranges.

If we ask: *Where* were lineages most to be found in strength? the answer is: In the south and in the countryside where administration was least concentrated. And if we ask: *When* were lineages at their strongest? the answer is: When central dynastic power was at its weakest.

By the early nineteenth century the Manchu rulers of China had begun to lose their grip, and it seems that it was just at this time that lineages began to flex their muscles. By 1825 the government had been driven to issuing special anti-lineage statutes. There were three of them, one dealing with the six southern provinces of Guangdong, Fujian, Guangxi, Jiangxi, Hunan and Zhejiang, one more specifically with Fujian and Guangdong, and one singling out Guangdong for particular mention.[2] The area which we now know as the New Territories is of course located in Guangdong province and it is instructive to look at its comparatively well — researched history.

In 1819 there was published a revised edition of the <u>Xin-an xian-zhi</u>, <u>Gazetteer of New Peace County</u>. Xin-an (in Cantonese; <u>San-on</u>) was the county roughly two-thirds of which were eventually to become the British-administered territory of Hong Kong. According to the gazetteer the county had a large complement of fighting men, 1800 of them, including twenty cavalrymen, stationed in camps and guardposts all over the region.[3] But the Rev. Mr. Krone, a missionary writing in 1859, says:

"The three forts....are ordered to have a garrison of twenty men, and to mount six guns each. I have visited these three places, but found neither guns nor soldiers, and the places themselves showed no signs of fortification, save a dilapidated wall.

The guard stations should be furnished with from two to six soldiers each; they are scattered over the whole western part of the country, and are intended to serve as a check against the frequent highway robberies. I never found one of these stations occupied by soldiers."[4]

There was also a complement of 14 naval ships for the defence of the county's long tortuous coastline,[5] but Krone says:

"I have not been able to ascertain how many war-junks the Hip-toi has under his command at the various stations of the district....The Mandarin àt Fuk-wing has one war-junk at his disposal, but his revenue not being enough to support the expense, he was in the habit of letting out the vessel for hire for mercantile purposes. The hirers however converted it into a pirate boat, and it was seized by the Chi-yuen (County Magistrate), and the Fuk-wing mandarin had to bribe his superior officer to avoid further punishment and degradations."[6]

Clearly the Chinese government was not over-concerned about the viability of the military presence in this far-off corner of the empire. What about its civil administration? It was certainly not under-staffed as the military establishment was: there is no suggestion in Krone or elsewhere that the full complement of posts was unfilled, even if the *quality* of those men who were given jobs in the administration might be less than high.[7] But if we look at the maps which the gazetteer prints, we can see that the county capital, Nan Tou, is shown almost at the centre of the region (though it was actually very much to the west side of the county) and that the peninsula on which it stands has been grossly exaggerated in size.[8] The effect is to diminish the importance of the rural majority of the county.

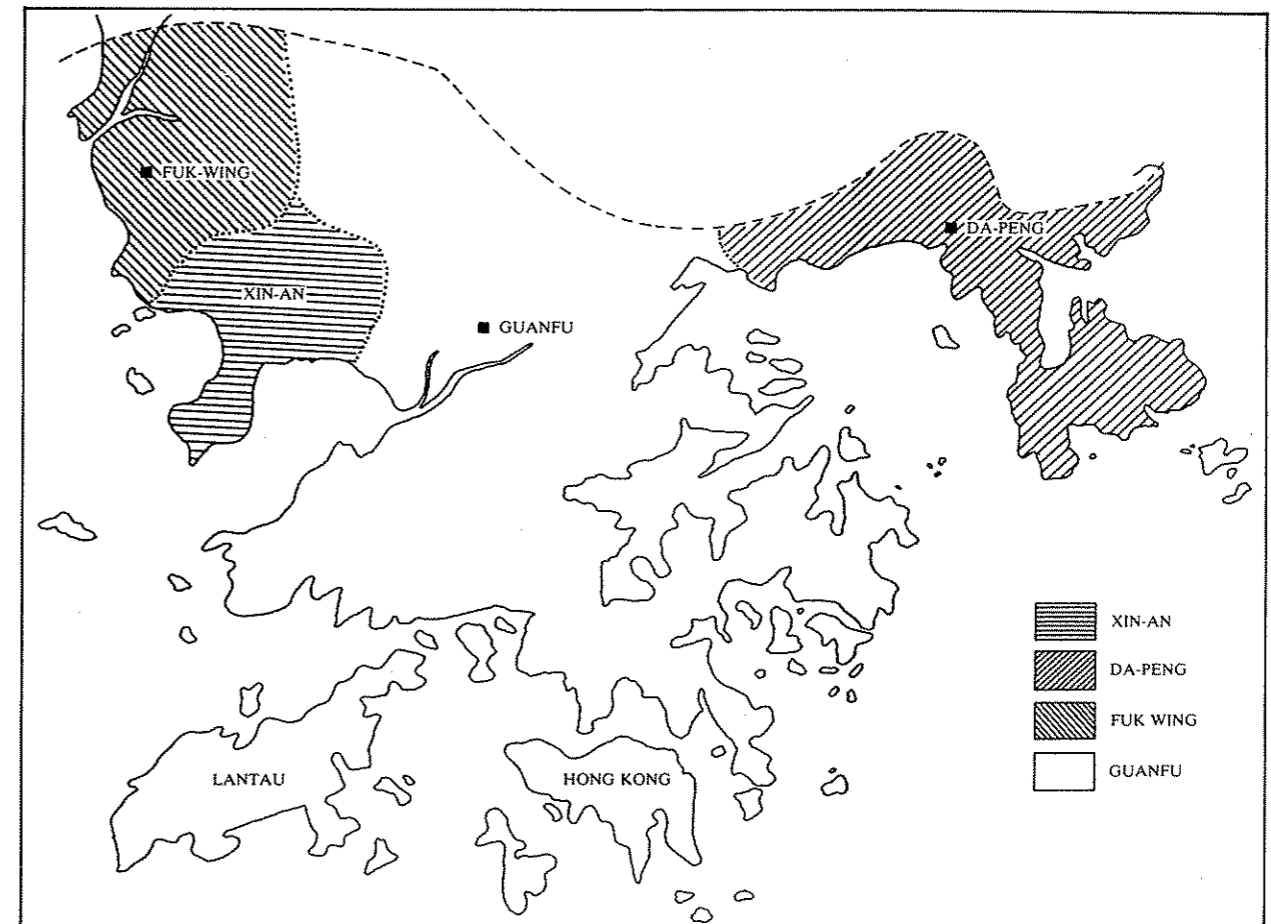*Figure. 1. Xin-an Administrative Districts in 1819.*

Figure 1 gives a rough idea of the four districts into which the county was divided for administrative proposes. Since each of the four was under the control of one official, it is not difficult to deduce relative importance — the County Magistrate, the highest of the officials, had the smallest area to rule and could therefore hope to control it reasonably well; the Deputy Magistrate had an area not much bigger; but the lowly Assistant Magistrate in charge of the Guanfu district was saddled with an absurdly large territory, so large that he could have little chance of controlling it with his miniscule force of two archers. Krone looked at the life of the other Assistant Magistrate, the man in charge of the remaining district:

"The mandarin....had not, as far (as) I know, during the period of several years, more than one case brought before him for decision; in this instance he was both plaintiff and judge — the criminal being a youth who was caught stealing fruit in his garden. Anxious to give the people an impression of his severity, he had the prisoner scourged, and continued the punishment till he was obliged to desist for fear that the prisoner might die. This excessive severity was caused by his vexation at not being able to get a groan, or a cry, or a prayer for pardon, from the culprit, as a proof of his power. This solitary act of justice of the mandarin was much laughed at by the people."[9]

If this was the state of affairs in the better controlled areas of the county, what likelihood was there of the Hong Kong region being heavily under the thumb of the central government? Hong Kong after all was at the remotest extremity of the worst favoured of the four districts of a county which can hardly be said to be remarkable for its importance in the eyes of the nineteenth century government. (If it had been, would they have ceded the 'barren rock' quite so cavalierly?) In fact it seems that this area went virtually unnoticed by formal government during the nineteenth century. Instead the local lineages jumped into the power vacuum and ran society with as little reference as possible to government. How was this done?

The countryside was divided between a multitude of villages, each with its territory surrounding it. The more important and prosperous of the villages were inhabited and run by lineages, fiercely independent, determinedly self-contained and aggressively expansionist.

Within these 'lineage-villages' total control was maintained by the lineage leadership. They had their own economic systems, their own public works, their own religious establishments, and they dealt with internal problems of law and order through their own codes of rules and punishments: even capital punishment was handed out by the lineage leaders.

Each lineage attempted to expand the boundaries of its sacrosanct territory to meet the boundaries of the similar territories of its neighbours. Inevitably conflict between neighbouring lineages was the result. The lineages maintained standing armies, owned cannon, walled and moated their villages, and were ready at any time to do battle to avenge real or fancied insults or to support their individual members in dispute with members of other lineages. They were in a permanent state of feud with their neighbours, feuds which could break out into bloody, fatal and damaging war. The New Territories are to this day full of stories of the battles and rivalries of the major lineages. Yet it would have been an impossibly insecure society if uncontrollable fighting had gone on at all times: there had to be a moderating mechanism at work. In practice a kind of balance of power seems to have been struck which prevented total chaos while releasing conflict-pressure in contained incidents.

I have dealt elsewhere in some detail with this 'balance of power'.[10] In brief, we may imagine a situation in which a lineage (X) is surrounded by a circle of other lineages all of which are necessarily hostile to it. This state of affairs looks desperate for X, but there are two compensating factors. First, although all its neighbours are against it, they are not all *united* against it, because some of them are also neighbours of each other and are therefore hostile to each other too. Second, these hostiles which surround X in a tight ring are themselves surrounded by another ring which is as hostile to them as X is. X may therefore strike up alliances with this outer ring of lineages in order to offset and contain the hostility of the inner ring. One obvious way to form alliances is through marriage, and there is some evidence that lineages in the New Territories married their sons and daughters not to their immediate neighbours but to lineages which were located in the outer ring. Of course, lineages hostile to X could also form alliances with other lineages, but the more complex such inter-relationships became, the more perilous became any attempt at self-aggrandisement on the part of any one lineage. The interlocking alliances thus helped to maintain a balance of power.

More than this, the notion of two concentric lineage rings, one hostile, one friendly, helps to give substance to one of the frequently advanced but mysteriously inexplicit explanations of the method of containment of feud-engendered conflict; namely, the role of gentry mediation. Figure 2 shows how the double rings around two neighbouring hostile lineages (X and Y) produce not only enemies and allies for each but common enemies and common allies as well. When X and Y fall into open warfare they can each call on their several allies, but we note that there are a number of lineages which are in a position to be allied to both X and Y:

Figure 2

anti-X and Y
anti-X pro-Y
anti-Y pro-X
pro-X and Y
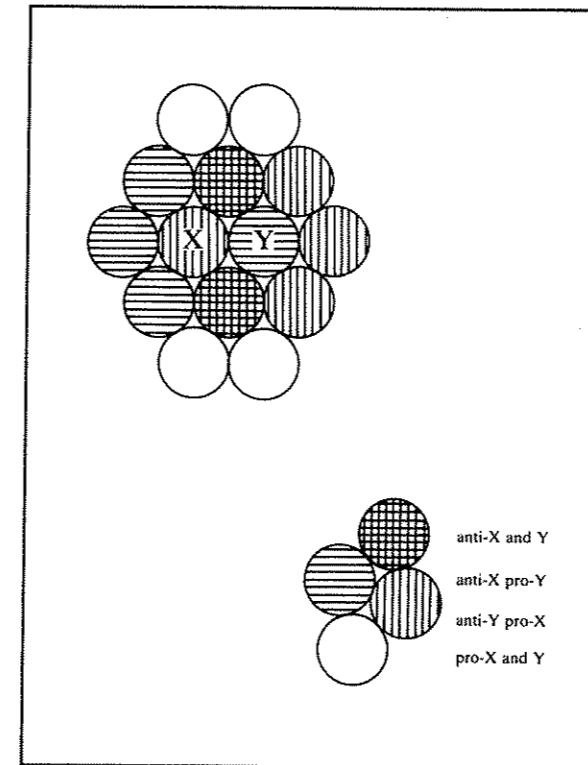
I suggest that it would be the leaders of the common ally-lineages who would feel constrained to step in to try to mediate the dispute and so contain the violence.

Of course, this is only one attempt to explain how social control in this frontier area of China could have been maintained. I am sure that other explanations could be forthcoming, and I know that other constraints could operate on the lineages, even to the point where feuding neighbours could cooperate in the face of some threat or danger from the outside.

Terms such as 'anarchy' and 'chancy political order' therefore need some glossing when applied to the wider arena of the New Territories. Although the chanciness was there, it was tempered by other devices in default of formal government organizations. Could one perhaps coin the phrase 'Ordered Anarchy' for the actual state of affairs?

NOTES

1. Barbara E. Ward, 'Temper Tantrums in Kau Sai: some speculations upon their effects', *Through Other Eyes*, (Hong Kong, Chinese University Press' 1985,) p. 180 and p. 183. (Originally published in Philip Mayer (ed.), *Socialization: the Approach from Social Anthropology*, London, 1970.)

2. For details see Hugh D.R. Baker, *Chinese Family and Kinship*, (London, MacMillan, 1979,) pp. 226-228.

3. See Peter Y.L. Ng with Hugh D.R. Baker, *New Peace County: a Chinese Gazetteer of the Hong Kong Region*. (Hong Kong, 1983,) p. 97.

4. Rev. Mr. Krone, 'A Notice of the San On District', (1859), reprinted in *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, (vol. 7, 1967,) pp. 104-137. See pp. 117-118.

5. Ng, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

6. Krone, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

7. Ng, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

8. *Ibid.*, Map 3.

9. Krone, *op. cit.*, p. 125

10. Baker, *op. cit.*, pp. 136-146.

FIELDWORK IN HONG KONG

Nicole Constable

Bronislaw Malinowski, one of the founding fathers of anthropology in the early part of this century, in his work on field methods, instructed fledgling anthropologists on the best ways to avoid ethnocentrism, maintain objectivity, and to try to see things "from the native point of view."[1] His goal was to objectify anthropology and to maintain it as a respectable science. Subsequent controversies over the publication of Malinowski's diary[2] and Margaret Mead's fieldwork in Samoa have contributed to casting a shadow of doubt on the possibility of objectivity in anthropology. More importantly, these controversies have helped raise the topic of doing fieldwork and "writing culture"[3] as a legitimate field of study. In the past, the fieldwork experience was seen as quite separate from the "scientific" study it produced. More recently, anthropologists have begun to divulge the secrets of the anthropological experience and to show how the experience is related to the resulting ethnography.[4]

In this short article, I shall describe some aspects of conducting current fieldwork in Hong Kong. The title of my research is "Religion and Ethnicity: A Hakka Protestant Community in the New Territories of Hong Kong."[5] As I write, I look out of my window into a walled village in which resides a mixture of "types" of people: Hakka and Cantonese, Christian and non-Christian. The village which is the central focus of my research adjoins this one, and from my window I can also see the roof of a modern-style church through the trees. I have now lived here eight months. The experience has so far been of the mixed variety. I am certain that after I leave, time will edit out the frustrations, the boredom, the heat and the mosquitos, and I will be left with romantic images of the children calling up to me from outside my window "gwaipo jeje hello," the memories of Lunar New Year feasts, and gratitude.

I arrived in the field after jumping the pre-liminary hurdles of writing a research proposal, securing research funds, passing my qualifying examinations, and establishing contacts in Hong Kong. Though my language expertise was not up to par, I was assured that after a few months in the field I would be fluent. With a mixture of English, Cantonese and interpreters, I managed. Luckily, Hong Kong did not present me with the usual two months of bureaucratic red tape before I could proceed to my field site, as it did for my classmates doing field work in Madagascar and India. I arrived in Hong Kong in July 1986, accompanied by my husband for the first five months before he left to begin his own anthropological research in India. By our third day in Hong Kong I had re-established contacts from my previous visits and had found an ideal place to live.

I immediately followed the advice given by Professor Edmund Leach at a guest lecture at Berkeley. He said that when you arrive at the field site, it is most important to establish a role for yourself in the community. (He was the village chauffeur, delivering pregnant women to the local hospital.) So I offered my services teaching English at the church, and though a useful way to meet people, my status as a young married woman — assumed Christian — has been more significant.

Much has been written on how the status of the anthropologist influences the contacts they make and the sort of information they have access to.[6] My status here is ambiguous. Though I am married, I have no children, no job, and I am a student. Thus, I was welcomed by the young unmarried women and urged to participate in their activities. But the young women, even those who had grown up in the village, could not provide answers to my questions concerning community leadership or history. What has been called the "male bias in anthropology" reflects the male bias of patrilineal societies as well as the male bias in the research problems anthropologists pick. In a largely patrilineal and patrilocal community, the men are the ones who know the history, and the ones who hold the positions of authority in the village and the church. I gladly took advantage of these opportunities to interview the men who most often approached my husband and offered to help. At first, people also assumed I was a missionary. Though I informed them otherwise, my associations with church people and church activities are sure to influence my interactions with Christians and non-Christians.

Research in Hong Kong, whether in a rural community or a housing estate, presents problems Malinowski never faced. Even in a community of just over a hundred people, the residents do not all know each other. Most people work at least six days a week, and cannot spend luxurious hours each day recounting stories and experiences for the anthropologist. Rather than presenting a pleasant diversion from the monotony and boredom, the anthropologist can take up valuable time and ask too many indiscreet questions. There is also a preconception of anthropology as the study of "primitive isolates." Many people have asked me why an anthropologist would come to study such a sophisticated place as Hong Kong. As a scholar, people also think I should be reading books and spending time at the university. Why waste my time asking ordinary people questions when I could be reading books written by experts?

A tension in fieldwork comes from the inherent contradiction between participation and observation, and between relating to people as informants and as friends. To observe is to maintain the distance and objectivity of the observer. But to participate is to attempt to be an integrated part of the community, contrary to the role of observer. The cultural differences between myself and my informants are not as great as those between Malinowski and the Trobriand Islanders of his time. Many villagers are well-travelled, highly educated, and they pride themselves on being "not Chinese and not Western, but somewhere in between." This creates difficulties in maintaining any degree of separation. A tension arises when the informant is not just a willing source of information, but also a friend. With an acquaintance, it is easy to play the role of passive listener and to maintain the idea that the informant is always right. But with a friend, there is a need to express difference in opinion as well as honesty, and the line between participant and objective observer is again crossed. It is at precisely those ambiguous, often awkward moments, that anthropologists learn the most about their own culture, the culture they are studying, and about themselves.

Ma Mei Ha, Hakka Village
New Territories (Andrew Stables)

The emotional experience of field work often seems contrary to the elementary lessons of anthropology and cultural relativity: no culture is better or worse, right or wrong. Conducting fieldwork, one becomes acutely aware of the tension in anthropology between facts, data and being scientific, and the emotional and intuitive reactions to the people in the field which seem irrational or ethnocentric. The attempt at objectivity, yet the awareness of never achieving it, is precisely where "knowledge" of another culture can emerge in contrast to or in comparison with what one knows. Though I often feel the pressing need to collect "data" to justify being paid to spend a year abroad, it is also possible that insights often emerge from those things which are most difficult to admit. For example, I am more consciously concerned with the question of Hakka ethnicity than almost any Hakka person I've ever met, and I am sometimes disappointed by what I see as an intolerance for "things Chinese". Most disturbing is to discover in "the other" those things we dislike in our own culture. The value in fieldwork is thus not in continuously attempting to objectify and present some sort of "truth," but to be aware of the value-judgments involved and use them to probe deeper. Somewhere between anthropology as science or humanity, between fact and emotional reactions, is a bridge between the detached lifeless ethnography and the mystique of the ethnographic experience.

NOTES:

1. Malinowski, Bronislaw. _Argonauts of the Western Pacific. (New York: E.P. Dutton 1961.)_
2. Malinowski, Bronislaw. _A Diary in the Strict Sense of the Term. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World 1967)._
3. Clifford, James and George Marcus, eds. _Writing Culture: The Politics and Poetics of Ethnography. (Berkeley: U. C. Press 1986)._
4. Rabinow, Paul. _Reflections on Fieldwork in Morocco. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1977)._
   Barley, Nigel. _The Innocent Anthropologist: Notes from a Mud Hut. (London: Penguin 1986.)_
5. I am grateful to the Joint Committee on Asian Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council for funding this research.
6. Golde, Peggy ed. _Women in the Field: Anthropological Experiences. (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company 1970)._

hu-lung (tso-hu)   hu-lung (yu-hu)

Cheng-Shen

Traditional U-Shaped Compound in Taiwan

DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE IN TAIWAN

Chen Chi-Nan

Taiwan was a major destination for emigrants from southeastern China, mainly Fukien and Kwangtung provinces, from the late seventeenth century to the end of the nineteenth century. A striking feature of this immigration pattern was that people from the same places of origin tended to settle in one region when they arrived in Taiwan. Southeast China has been well-known for its high concentration of single-surname communities. In many parts of Taiwan we find the same pattern of surname distribution. The Hsiao surname group in the She-t'ou area of central Taiwan provides a good example of this general pattern.

In She-t'ou Township, 14 of a total of 24 administrative villages were dominated by the Hsiaos. The Hsiaos comprised more than 70% of the population in some villages. They were virtually single-surname villages, since the few non-Hsiao residents were mainly descended from Hsiao women and their uxorilocally married husbands. All the other She-t'ou villages were also dominated by single surname populations, and held to the same general pattern as the Hsiaos. They usually had spectacular ancestral temples, and many of them owned large ritual estates.

Localization of agnatic groups in rural Taiwan mainly occurred in the form of "compound sets". A pioneer-centered segment usually occupied one U-shaped compound at first. Later, some segments might grow so large as to require 6 or 7 compounds to house all their members. I term such a multi-compound grouping founded by a pioneer-centered segment a "compound set". So a compound set may consist of several independent residential compounds, related by the agnatic ties of the residents. Such a compound set tended to be localized insofar as they clustered together as a settlement unit.

The Layout of a Compound

The construction of a compound usually starts with what later becomes the "main body" of this innermost U-shaped compound. A small-sized family would first erect a house with three rooms under one roof. Then, more rooms would be added on both sides of the original house to form a five-room or seven-room central house. Further expansion of the house starts by adding one long house perpendicularly to the central house on the stage left to form the left-wing house. The right-wing house is usually built very soon after the left-wing house is finished because a compound with only one wing house is considered asymmetrical and thus not geomantically propitious. It is at this stage that the U-shaped compound takes shape.

The houses at the base of the U are called the _cheng-shen_, i.e., the "main body", and the two wings extending out from the ends of the base are called the _hu-lung_, i.e., the "protecting dragons". The _cheng-shen_ will be called "central houses" and the _hu-lung_ "wing houses". Looking out with one's back to the front of the central house, the house on the stage left is called the _tso-hu_ or "left protector"; the house on the stage right the _yu-hu_ or "right protector". The central ground outlined by the three sides of the U is used for family activities on special occasions and as a drying yard or children's playground on ordinary days. The entrance to the compound is at the open side of the courtyard facing out from the central house.

The size of a compound may be expanded further. If so, more rows of houses are added on paralleling the back of the original houses to form additional U-shaped houses. Thus a compound may have more than three rows of houses built parallel to the exterior contours of the original U (see fig. 1). Each house is separated from the houses in front and back by narrow lanes. A residential compound can in this way expand to house as many households as are in the agnatic group.
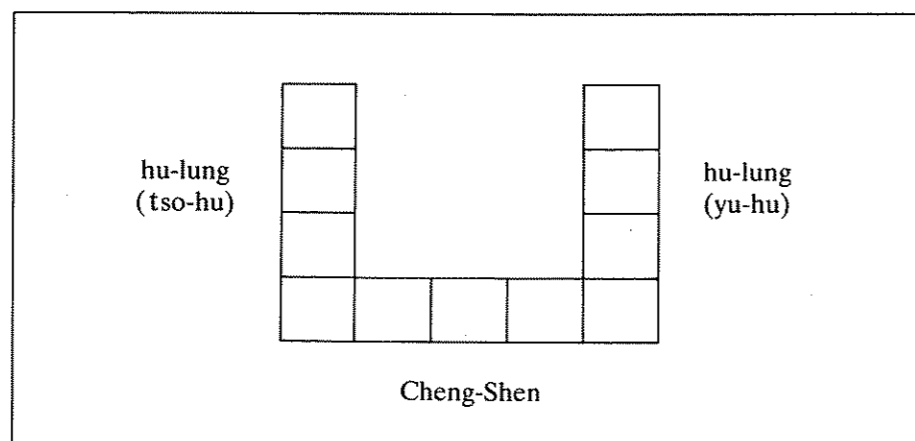
The Arrangement of Room Functions in a Compound

The Main Hall or T'ing

In a compound, the centrally located room of the first central house is called the *t'ing* or *t'ang*, the "main hall". The main hall is owned by all member households of the agnatic group residing in the compound even though all other property may be divided. Thus the main hall is also called the *kung-t'ing* or "public hall". It invariably serves as the ancestral hall of the agnatic group.

The main hall has the widest doorway of all the rooms in the compound. Paintings of Door Gods are hung on the two-leaf wooden door. Inside the hall a long, high altar table stands against the back wall facing the entrance. There are god images above the altar. Ancestral tablets are placed to the stage right of the altar. A lower square "eight immortals table" (*pa-hsien-cho*) with eight seats stands in front of the altar, providing a space for offering sacrificial foods during ancestor worship or other religious ceremonies.
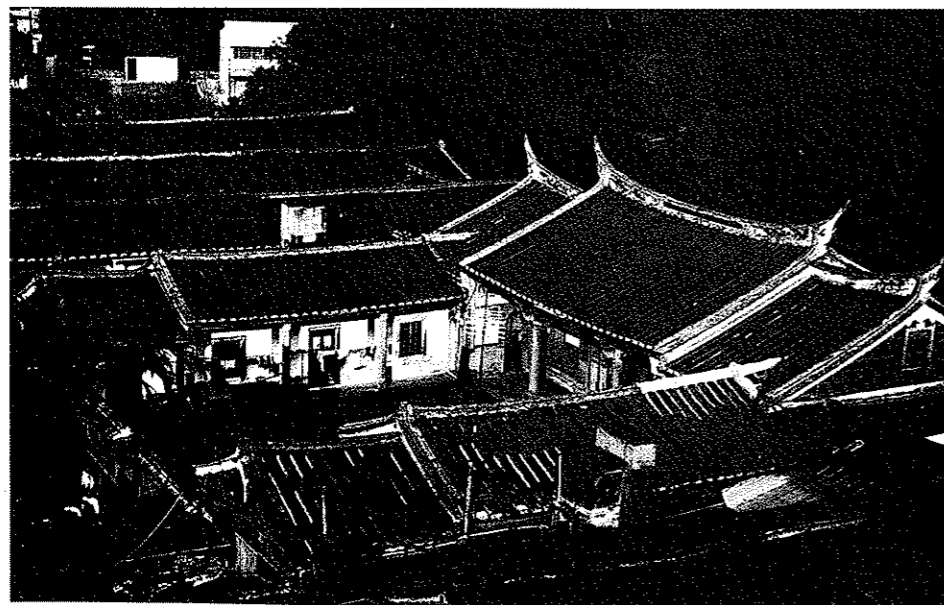
The main hall functions as a public meeting room in everyday life. Important occasions such as marriage ceremonies and funerals are also in part carried out in the main hall. A new bride from outside the agnatic group is first introduced to the main hall and worships the ancestors with her bridegroom there. The rite marks her formal acceptance as a member by her husband's agnatic group. A woman is also required to pay farewell respects to the ancestors of her father's agnatic group before she is led away by her husband into his agnatic group. The main hall is a very formal room on these occasions. Only the most eminent guests are received there during marriage ceremonies. Funeral rites are also held in the main hall and the tablets of deceased members are arranged on the altar in this hall. Members of the agnatic group are supposed to take their last breath in the central hall. This is to say that a dying member has to be moved to the main hall just before death. In a sense, therefore, the main hall is the spiritual center of the compound.

The Bedroom or 'Fang'

A sleeping room is called either a *fang*, *chien* or *fang-chien*. The bedrooms of married sons are the rooms most crucial in the arrangement of rooms in a compound and are generally referred to as *fang*. In traditional Chinese thought, the left side is always superior to the right side. In a compound occupied by a small-sized family, the first room to the stage left of the main hall is generally used as the parents' bedroom until the eldest son gets married. This bedroom is called the *ta-fang* or "senior *fang*". When the eldest son of the family marries, his parents are supposed to give the senior *fang* to the new couple and move to another room. The senior *fang* is then refurbished as a new bedroom (*hsin-fang*) for the new couple. Thus, upon the marriage of an elder son, a three-room central house is no longer sufficient for a family and needs extension. At the marriage of a second son, it would need still further expansion. As a rule, the second son and his wife should occupy a room directly to the stage right of the main hall, called the *erh-fang*, or "*second fang*".

The order of married sons' sleeping quarters is more or less fixed. The first son occupies the senior *fang* and the second son the second *fang*. The third and other junior sons are assigned to rooms in wing houses, the third son to the left wing and the fourth to the right wing. If there are no available wing houses in a compound, the third son may take the room next to the senior *fang* and the fourth son the room next to the second *fang* in the central house. Therefore, the arrangements of the *fang* in a compound signify father-son filiation and fraternal differentiation in the spatial dimension.

The Kitchen and the Stove Unit

The kitchen is called the *tsao-chiao*, or literally the "hearth". This is derived from the word *tsao* for "stove". Centering upon the stove is a commensal group which eats meals cooked in the same pot or on the same stove. This is called the *k'ou-tsao* (*k'ao-cao* in Hokkien), or literally "the unit of hearth". When people speak of a *k'ou-tsao*, they mean a social group centered on a stove. If the main hall can be considered as the symbol of the agnatic group as a unit, then the stove (*tsao*) or hearth (*tsao-chiao*) is the symbol of a separate household.

The process of dividing a household is either called *fen-tsao*, "dividing the stove", *fen-shih*, "dividing eating", or "*fen-ts'uan*", "dividing cooking". *Fen-tsao*, *fen-shih* or *fen-ts'uan* are thus all related to the term *k'ou-tsao*. They are all concerned with the social arrangements of cooking and eating. No household division is complete, however, until a new hearth has been established. Should there be but one hearth in a compound, all members of the compound will perforce belong to a single household. The presence of more than one stove or hearth in a compound indicates that the original household has been divided.

Architectural Metaphors of the Chinese Kinship System

As shown above, *fang* refers in general to a house or a room in a house. But, more specifically, only the bedroom of a married son and his wife in a compound resided in by an agnatic group can be called a *fang*. However, in Chinese usage, *fang* can also designate the son himself, the son and his wife as a unit, or all his male descendants and their wives as a kin set. Thus the term *fang* is used as a kinship concept to signify the status of son quite independently of its originally purely architectural sense.

Besides the term *fang*, the Chinese also use the term *chia-tsu* to describe sets of agnates and their wives irrespective of their functional aspects. The relationship of *fang* to *chia-tsu* is symbolized in the architectural arrangement in a living compound: the main hall represents the *chia-tsu* as a whole while the bedrooms represent the constituent *fang*. The *fang* constitutes a subunit of a family. At the time of the first son's marriage, the parents are supposed

Taiwan Housing Structure

to yield the senior bedroom to the new couple and move to another bedroom. The father of a married son is not eligible to occupy a *fang* in the compound founded by himself, but his sons have unquestionable claim to the formal bedrooms (*fang*). By contrast, the father, as the head of the agnatic group while alive or as an ancestor after death, serves as the link between his sons' separate *fang* and the encompassing *chia-tsu*.

The architectural metaphor relating the position of the main hall to the status of father is also represented in formal kinship terms. One term used to refer to the addressee's own parents is *t'ang-shang*, which roughly means "(the person) above in the hall". The respectful form with which to refer to the mother of the person one is speaking to is *ling-t'ang*, literally "your honourable hall". *T'ang* (the main hall) is widely used as a modifying indicator for patrilateral kin, as in *t'ang-hsiung* or *t'ang-ti* (elder or younger patrilateral male cousin), and *t'ang-chieh* or *t'ang-mei* (elder or younger patrilateral female cousin). The four terms can be literally translated as "brother or sister of the same hall". The paternal grandfather's brother's son who is older than ego's father is called *t'ang-po* while the younger one is called *t'ang-shu*. The paternal grandfather's brother's daughter is called *t'ang-ku*. These three terms mean "uncle or aunt of the same main hall". *Fang* is also used as a modifying indicator to refer to agnatic kin, as in *fang-ch'in* (kin of the same agnatic ancestor), *fang-po* or *fang-shu* (the *fang*-related uncle).

Fang and *chia-tsu* signifying the father-son relationship also assume the agnatic principle. Indeed, the birth of a son automatically realizes the creation of a *fang* status within the *chia-tsu* of the father. Contrariwise, a daughter can never create a *fang* within her father's *chia-tsu*. There is no *fang* room and no *fang* status for the daughter, even if she marries uxorilocally. This is reflected in the fact that she does not have the right to inherit property
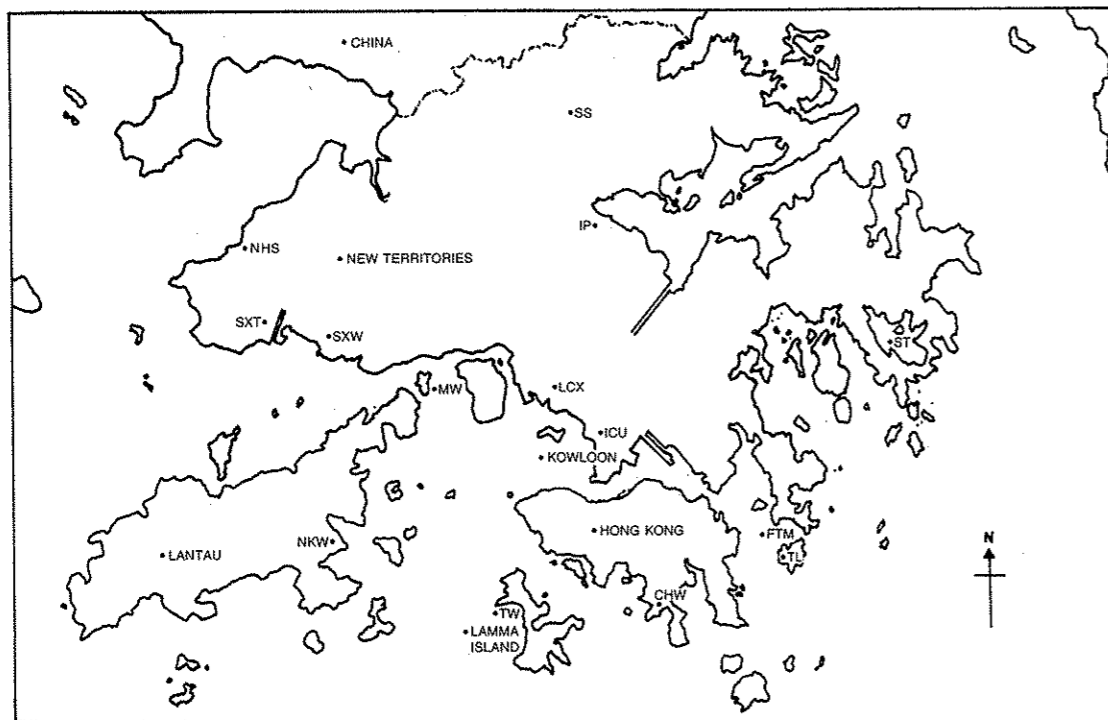
from her father's *chia-tsu*.

To speak of the son (and his wife and unmarried sons) as *fang* also implies that *fang* is a relative term, not only vis-a-vis other *fang* in the same generation, but also vis-a-vis the encompassing *chia-tsu* of the senior generation. A man stands as *fang* in relation to his father but as the head of a *chia-tsu* in relation to his sons. Thus a son has the status of *fang* in relation to the father's *chia-tsu*, a father has the status of *fang* in relation to the grandfather's *chia-tsu*, and a grandfather has the status of *fang* in relation to the great-grandfather's *chia-tsu*. A *fang* only exists as an integral segment of a *chia-tsu* and a *chia-tsu* exists only as an aggregate of *fang*. The most important element in the formation of a *chia-tsu* is its constituent *fang*. This hierarchical order of *chia-tsu* and *fang* assumes the encompassing nature of *chia-tsu* by contrast with the differentiating nature of *fang*, and as such represents a basic principle structuring Chinese agnatic groups.

From this evidence, we can see that Chinese kinship ideology is in close accordance with the internal structure of residential compound and settlement patterns. The symmetrical and balanced design of the compound and its expansibility clearly demonstrate fundamental principles of Chinese agnatic kinship. The arrangement of household units and functions of rooms within a compound also reflect basic kinship principles. Village settlements are mainly composed of such compounds, and these compounds are related to each other in genealogical terms. Many settlements form the so-called "single-lineage villages". It is evident that a proper understanding of the vernacular architecture and settlement pattern in rural Taiwan should be hinged upon a prior analysis of the residents' kinship life.

NOTE :
An expanded version of this summary was presented at the Symposium on Cultural Heritage and Modernization held in Hong Kong in September 1987.

A SUMMARY OF RECENT ARCHAEOLOGY IN HONG KONG

William Meacham

The 1980's have witnessed a number of advances in Hong Kong archaeology, which were described in site reports and articles published in the Journal of the Hong Kong Archaeological Society (volumes 9, 1982, 10, 1984, and 11, 1986). There are some two hundred pages in these three volumes on local archaeology, which in itself represents a fairly substantial monographic treatment of Hong Kong as an archaeological region. This research has of course arisen out of previous work, in particular the 5-year excavation at Sham Wan, Lamma, which was published in the form of a monograph by the Archaeological Society in 1978.

Research work over the last few years, both in the field and in the laboratory, has concentrated on several specific problems. Some of these are derived from the cultural chronology for the prehistoric period which was established clearly at Sham Wan, others from 'missing links' in that chronology.

The early historical period (from the Chin-Han period to the end of the Sung Dynasty, or approximately 250 BC to 1250 AD) has in the past been very sparsely represented by the Hong Kong archaeological record. The great tomb at Lei Cheng Uk remains the only site of consequence for the Chin-Han period. No ordinary habitation site from that era has ever been discovered. A recent attempt by this writer to investigate a possible Han burial site near Castle Peak was unfortunately thwarted by the Hong Kong Government's ill-advised policy of preferring the 'preservation' of suspected important sites to their excavation. The site in question, at Leung Kwu Sheung Tan, has however never even been tested, and whatever light it may be able to shed on the strange problem of the lack of human occupation of this era in the Chin-Han period may have to wait for the next sewage or housing project slated for the area. One of the continuing mysteries in Hong Kong archaeology is that while there are many Bronze Age (c.

1500-400 BC) sites, there are none whatsoever from the following period apart from the monumental tomb at Lei Cheng Uk.

The next period, from the Six Dynasties to the Tang (300-950 AD) is very well known now, owing to excavations and surveys of a good number of lime kiln sites dating from that time. Recent work undertaken by James Crawford at Tai Kwai Wan, Cheung Chau, has provided new data and hypotheses on the design and operations of these kilns. Evidence of what such large quantities of lime were used for, however, and whether or not the people who produced them lived in Hong Kong on a permanent, seasonal, or transitional basis, remains painfully elusive. Although burials from the period have been found at Pui O, Lantau, no village sites have yet been identified.

Although the Sung-Ming period (960-1644) is believed to have witnessed the first permanent villages founded in the region, direct archaeological evidence of this is lacking. Although a few new Sung Dynasty sites have been investigated, neither they nor any of the older known sites or 'find spots' correspond to the places genealogical evidence indicates. There is another near-total blank in the archaeological record for the Ming Dynasty, with however two significant exceptions : the wreckage of a junk in the sealed-off High Island, which was excavated in the 1970's, and the large quantity of Ming porcelain found on the surface of one valley at Penny's Bay, Lantau. An excavation permit was finally issued after repeated attempts to obtain one, and work at the latter site last year revealed not only an enormous quantity of blue-and-white 'export' porcelain, but also two types of Southeast Asian ware. A detailed cataloguing and study by Peter Lam, of the Art Gallery in the Chinese University of Hong Kong, dated these export wares to the late fifteenth or early sixteenth centuries. An incised-under-glaze 'Mataban' type was also found here, which is believed to

Hong Kong Archaeological Sites

Site				Notation				Location			
Big Wave Bay	Ma Wan	Sha Chau	Tai Kwai Wan	BWB	MW	SC	TKW	Hong Kong	off Lantau	NT (NW)	Cheung Chau
Chung Hom Wan	Man Kok Tsui	Sha Long Wan	Tai Long	CHW	MKT	SLW	TL	Hong Kong	Lantau	Lamma	Lantau
Fan Lau	Mau Tat Wan	Sha Tsui	Tai Po	FL	MTW	ST	TP	Lantau	Lamma	NT (SE)	NT (NW)
Fat Tong Mun	Ngau Hom Sha	Sham Wan	Tai Wan	FTM	NHS	SW	TW	NT (SE)	NT (NW)	Lamma	Lamma
Gau Ling Chung	Ngau Kwu Wan	Shek Kok Tsui	Tung Chung	GLC	NKW	SKT	TC	Lantau	Lantau	NT (NW)	Lantau
Hai Dei Wan	Nim Shu Wan	Shek Pik	Tung Kwu	HDW	NSW	SP	TK	Lantau	Lantau	Lantau	NT (NW)
Hung Shing Yee	N. Lamma School	Sheung Shui	Tung Lung	HSY	NLS	SS	TLG	Lamma	Lamma	NT (N)	NT (SE)
Kau Sai	Pak Cho Wan	Siu A Chau	Tung Wan	KS	PCW	SAC	TWN	NT (SE)	Cheung Chau	off Lantau	Cheung Chau
Lai Chi Kok	Po Toi	So Kun Wat	Yi Long	LCK	PT	SKW	YL	Kowloon	off Hong Kong	NT (NW)	Lantau
Lei Cheng Uk	Sai Wan	Tai A Chau	Yung Shu Wan	LCU	SWN	TAC	YSW	Kowloon	Cheung Chau	off Lantau	Lamma
Lo So Shin				LSS				Lamma			

have come from Vietnam. And a few sherds of stamped eathenware known as 'Bau-Malay' were excavated. These pieces, like those from the High Island junk, are thought to have come from mainland Southeast Asia, indicating that both sites must have been involved in trading activities. The precise nature of the Penny's Bay site remains however a matter for conjecture.

Turning now to the prehistoric period, excavations at Po Yue Wan, Cheung Chau, yielded new artifact types in the form of polished bone points and chipped shell scrapers. On the other hand, it also yielded a shell deposit from the late Neolithic which gave three contradictory clusters of C-14 dates, at 2200 BC, 1400 BC and 1000 BC.

Excavations at Hac Sa Wan in Macau provided conclusive evidence of two phases in the Middle Neolithic, the earlier marked by painted pottery, the later by incised and plain chalky ware. A ridge-top site above Sai Wan, Cheung Chau, which was studied by Sally Rodwell and Paul Wellings, provided a large amount of pottery from this second phase, with a C-14 date of c. 2700 BC. Recent excavations by Au Ka Fat and Tang Chun at Shek Pik, Lantau, have also revealed occupation features from the same Middle Neolithic phase, except that the chalky ware so prevalent in all the other sites from this phase is here absent. It is not clear whether this absence represents a chronological difference, a site idiosyncracy, or even the presence of a distinct ethnic group.

No trace of any earlier occupation of the territory has yet been found, despite intensive searches of all the major topographical niches. It is probable that earlier occupations had on rare occasions occurred, but the possibility of archaeological remains having survived without the benefit of cave or rock shelters to protect deposits must now be regarded as very slight. Perhaps the most that can be hoped for is the discovery of chipped pebble tools in old alluvial deposits. Hong Kong archaeology continues to be limited by the almost complete absence of kitchen middens, burial grounds, village or habitation remains. Yet despite such serious gaps in the existing material record, the field continues to advance yearly.

Industrial Anthropology?

Fred Y.L. Chiu

My 18 months of field research in Kei-chin district, Kowloon, have been very fruitful. During this period, a major industrial dispute broke out in one famous Multi-National Corporations's (MNC) off-shore manufacturing unit in this area. It lasted for about three months and involved two to three hundred workers. Through the close contacts I had with various local community and labour service organizations, I had a rare opportunity to carry out intensive participational observations among the workers during and after the industrial actions. I participated in their meetings, petitions and demonstrations as well as a two-week-long sit-in. Detailed records were carefully kept. Even more valuable for anthropological thick-description and in-depth analysis are the some two hundred hours of extremely intensive tape-recorded interviews with all key figures who were involved in the shaping of the industrial actions.

At the same time, I also collected abundant firsthand data including demographic information, wage records, household budget accounts and employment records. All these materials were transcribed and crosschecked, digested and analyzed. I am now re-working the raw materials into a presentable thesis, the tentative title of which is "Industrial Conflict in MNCs Located in Hong Kong — An Anthropological Case Study".

In brief, my field research investigated the political culture of industrial conflicts in MNCs located in a capitalist periphery — Hong Kong. I placed special emphasis upon the cultural rationale underlying the process of struggle and compromise which constitute it. Empirically, I focused upon the sit-in case. In the social context of work, these production crises, as events of rupture, cut through several different levels of interactions. In my original research design, the study of different levels of interaction constituted different research periods, each of which consisted of a

set of correlated tasks to be carried out. In addition to extensive general information gathering for ethnographic reconstruction, in-depth observation of a case of crisis-handling at each level was a coherent part. I considered it indispensable to penetrate into all the possible alternatives perceivable by respective agents in acting and reacting upon each other.

However, the multi-leveled crises I confronted during the sit-ins actually at once released multiple contradictions and served to line up diverse problematiques into major and minor axes. I might compare these crises, which affected hundreds of peoples' livelihood for several months, to localized geological shake-ups. Along the fissures and newly formed fault-lines, the hidden structural properties of a cumulative sediment of existing social relations at once became readily discernible. At each level, more than one set of "reasoning-in-operation" was clearly visible. As the "event" gradually unveiled itself, its contour could be read as a refraction of layers, and layers interminging social interest and relations kept on emerging and submerging. Together with this type of multiple jiggling motion, social ties as well as alignments in action were constantly chrystalized, dissolved, defined and re-defined. Decisions were made according to the respective agent's situational positioning and perspectives at any given point of time.

The major themes of my research are threefold:
(a) to investigate hidden layers of social relations and interactions among workers which set the basic tone and formed a base for their solidarity and collective action in times of crisis. Here I have to deal with subterranean time and space in physical terms as well as that existing in various agents' minds. Physically, I have to expand the time span not only before but also after the sit-ins. And

spatially I have to ignore the confines of factory premises and reach out to the workers' rural residential communities. With regard to subjective time and space, I am trying to grasp the overall meaning and significance of various terms of connection. For instance, I have to account for the fact of a core of leaders who addressed each other in joking fictive-kinship terms long before and after the industrial action itself took place.
(b) to decompose the structure of moral politics embedded in economic struggles, I attempt to assess the impact of the managerial manipulation of rewards — in our case, the 'privatization' of work benefits and related arbitrary differential treatment — upon the self-identification of the worker's social existence, as well as its effect on their constructing of we/they relations. Special emphasis must also be placed on the morality of money-taking and money-giving. My case clearly indicates that it is not always true that the issues in dispute simply concern quantity of money. On the contrary, they always involved heated argumentation about "what kind of money we are talking about". In a value context which is by all means socially defined and culturally informed, money is never purely transparent or non-coloured. Who gave what to whom for what? How was it done? When was it done? Who gets it and who doesn't? What was the justification for being treated differently and why? ..... all these are issues at stake, just as much as how much money was actually involved.
(c) The third theme is to analyze the discursive position-making and position-taking of the various agencies involved. I do not take the various agencies involved as having a priori existence of a certain kind, neither do I posit functions or chartering needs. I therefore

must specify circumstances and conditions under which agencies appropriate specific signs and images to themselves. On the other hand, I also have to specify those circumstances and conditions under which the same agencies assign or superimpose particular signs and images to their adversary or adversaries. By so doing, I hope to make transparent the cultural dynamics inherent in specific strategy formations and their related ideological interpella-tions. This theme can best be demon-strated by our case in which the cultural image of a "benevolent boss à la bene-volent King" became strategically available for both workers and manage-ment to appropriate and re-appropriate in their ideological war.

To ensure a full illumination of my trifucal theme, I begin with outsiders' external per-spectives and then move, step by step, toward agencies' active engagement and construction.

In this respect, three different sets of source-materials from the field can be identi-fied according to 1) the different social contexts to which they owe their existence; 2) the different forms they take as vehicles in con-veying particular information; 3) the different mediators through which particular account-creating activities were executed; and 4) the different ways and settings in which these are generated. They comprise:
(a) more than 300 entries of published material — news-clips, reportages, comments, editorials and magazine articles.
(b) detailed records of the event recorded by myself and two gung ho unionists as participating observers, in the forms of chronicles or diaries. In addition, various notes taken by key leaders in the course of sit-ins and during various meetings, amounting to a total of 1,000 pages.

(c) more than 200 hours of tape-recorded intensive interviews with key partici-pants. In the interviews special efforts were made to engage the interviewees in a process of recreating the event and making history from their respective stance.

Predicated upon material (a), a succinct account of the "event history" can be pre-sented in the form of a chronicle, written as simply as possible, in order to help the reader to grasp the externals.

In terms of material (b), sociologically tailored data serves as background for a more three-dimensional ethnographic thick description. In the ethnography, interstitial space and time which can be detected between and among events/things is made explicit. This is in order to set the stage for further anthropo-logical analysis of social discourse.

Material (c) enables a third scrutiny with special emphasis upon the discursive con-structs and retrospective theorized 'histories' of the agencies involved to be undertaken. This part is expected to re-open issues which had seemingly once been closed by our hard drive toward empirical closure of "The History" in previous exercises.

Through the above demonstrations, parallel but at different levels, I hope to be able to bring home the problematique of cultural dynamics and the politics of production with reference to ten particular concrete dimensions. I hope my intensive study of an industrial con-flict in MNCs located in Hong Kong will benefit scholars in various social scientific dis-ciplines both in and outside of a Chinese context.

NOTE:

SUMMARY OF THE YEAR'S ACTIVITIES 1987/88

The year's activities began with a lecture on 'Rural Depopulation and Levels of Living in Post-War Japan' delivered by Dr. Richard Irving of the University of Hong Kong on 1st. April. On 25th. April Professor Wesley-Smith of the University of Hong Kong's Law School gave an interesting talk on the history of the Kowloon Walled City, due to be demolished by 1991, followed by a guided tour of the City.

On 13th. May, the Society was host to Dr. Hugh Baker of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, who had kindly agreed to deliver the inaugural Barbara Ward Lecture on 'Feuding in Far Places : Clan Relations in the New Territories'. Sir Jack Cater, former Chief Secretary of Hong Kong and a lifelong friend of Barbara Ward's, introduced the lecture.

In June the first issue of the HONG KONG ANTHROPOLOGICAL BULLETIN was published and distributed to all our members. On 9th. June Nicole Constable, from the University of California, Berkeley, gave a lecture on her research since 1979 on the Hakka people of Hong Kong entitled 'Religion and Ethnicity : A Hakka Protestant Community in the New Territories of Hong Kong'.

On 22nd. July Mr. Evans Young, South-East Asia Representative of the American Friends Service Committee, gave an illustrated talk on 'Observations on a Trip to Kampuchea'.

After the summer break, on 30th. September, Dr. Diana Martin, an anthropologist from the University of Hong Kong, together with the Society's President, John Dolfin, gave a talk on 'Urban and Rural Pakistan : A Contrast', ably assisted by Dr. Anita Weiss of the Department of Sociology at the University of Hong Kong.

From 6th. to 9th. October, the National Minorities Research Institute of Guangdong Province in China invited 20 members of the Society for a field trip to a Yao village in Longmen County, Guangdong. All those who were able to take up the invitation found the experience most valuable. On 28th. October, Professor Maurice Godelier of the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales in France and Ming-Yu Visiting Professor at New Asia College of the Chinese University of Hong Kong, gave an illustrated lecture on 'Forms of Domination in Baruya Society'. Professor Godelier is one of the worlds' leading scholars in the field of economic anthropology. He has undertaken extensive fieldwork in New Guinea on the rationality of primitive economies. On 10th. November, Professor Graham Johnson of the University of British Columbia in Canada gave an enlightening lecture on his research in Guangdong entitled 'The Chinese Family amidst Rapid Economic Change : Life in the Pearl River Delta'.

1987 closed with a field trip on December 18th. to the headquarters of the 48th. Gurkha Infantry Brigade at Sekkong in the New Territories, where Major Maniprased Raj gave an informative talk on 'Gurkha Custom and Tradition'.

1988 began on 19th. January with a lecture by Dr. Peter Brown of the Department of Palaeoanthropology and Archaeology at the University of New England, New South Wales on 'The Origins of the Australian Aborigines', a timely topic in the year of the Australian Bicentennial. Dr. Brown is currently exploring the possibility of an aboriginal link between Chinese and Melanesian populations with colleagues in Beijing. On the 22nd. February Mr. Andrew Stables of the Government's Legal Aid Department gave a talk on 'Peru, Land of the Incas'.

Members have recently been organising the Second Barbara Ward Lecture, delivered by Dr. Rubie Watson of Pittsburgh University in May 1988.

Patricia Fitzgeorge-Balfour

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Hugh BAKER is Professor of Chinese in the Far East Department at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London and concurrently Director of the Contemporary China Institute. A well-known figure in Hong Kong, where he has written and broadcast widely, his publications include A Chinese Lineage Village : Sheung Shui (Henry Cass, London 1968) and Chinese Family and Kinship (Columbia University Press 1979).

Nicole CONSTABLE is now completing her doctoral thesis at the University of California, Berkeley, on religion and ethnicity among the Hakka Christians of the New Territories in Hong Kong. She has presented papers at Kroeber Anthropological Society Meetings, and was formerly supervised by Barbara Ward as a student in the Chinese University of Hong Kong.

CHEN Chi-Nan is a Lecturer in the Department of Anthropology at the Chinese University of Hong Kong. His doctorate was obtained at Yale University, and he has specialised in the study of family structure and corporate organisation in Chinese society. A collection of his critical essays on the socio-cultural problems of Chinese society was recently published in two books in Taiwan.

Fred CHIU formerly managed a garment and an import-export company in Taiwan for eight years. He left the world of business to write his Ph.D. thesis in anthropology, on industrial conflicts in multinational companies, at the University of Chicago, and has also worked on aboriginal problems in Taiwan.

William MEACHAM is Research Associate in the Centre of Asian Studies at the University of Hong Kong, and also Chairman of the Hong Kong Archaeological Society. He has undertaken extensive archaeological work in Hong Kong, and is the author of Archaeology in Hong Kong (Heinemann Asia 1980).