

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.38035/jlph.v3i4>

Received: 24 May 2023, Revised: 2 Juli 2023, Publish: 4 August 2023

<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>

## Ethnography Research: Dayak Kaharingan Ethics Kalimantan

Apollo Daito<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mercu Buana University, Jakarta, Indonesia, [apollo@mercubuana.ac.id](mailto:apollo@mercubuana.ac.id)

Corresponding Author: [apollo@mercubuana.ac.id](mailto:apollo@mercubuana.ac.id)

**Abstract:** This research is an ethnographic on the Kaharingan Dayak in Central Kalimantan, East Barito, and South Kalimantan in Tabalong District, and Gunung Meratus Dayak. The studies were conducted in 2012, 2016, 2018 and 2023. The research units were the male and female Wadian Kaharingan, and the Mantir Adat Dayak. The results of this ethnographic research produced 3 main findings, namely the Dara Mula Lapeh Ethics of Concern, Datu Mula Munta's Environmental Ethics, and the third is the Ethics of Living Together on the Land. The Caring Ethics develops the notion of caring as a feminine ethic, and applies it to the practice of moral education. Women "enter the practical realm of moral action in a different way". The Caring Ethic as a preference for moral deliberation takes place in practice, and an appreciation for the uniqueness of each caring relationship. The ethics of caring as the basis of human existence and awareness. Environmental Ethics is given a holistic intrinsic value, namely including non-human entities, more precisely animals, plants, water, mountains, seas and other organisms in a group of entities that have intrinsic value that must be protected and respected. All biotic and abiotic beings deserve moral judgment for themselves. In other words, along with the human species, all other living things have intrinsic value. Meanwhile, the Ethics of the Dayak Kaharingan are the Ethics of Living Together on the Ground. The results of ethnographic research state that the mental doctrine of the Dayak Kaharingan is mechanical solidarity occurring when society consists of individuals who are different from each other, and social cohesion is obtained to shared values, beliefs, and rituals as a form of collective awareness as well as reducing individuals.

**Keyword:** Ethics, Dayak, Kaharingan, Caring, Environment, Land.

### INTRODUCTION

In genealogy, the problem of marginalized national identity texts in Indonesia does not only occur in the Dayak Kaharingan tribe, but suffers from various ethnicities in Indonesia. An interesting reality is that the Dayak Kaharingan tribes in Central Kalimantan and South Kalimantan do not have a written tradition but a spoken culture. The Dayak Kaharingan people do not have a written tradition, and are currently experiencing quite strong historical alienation. The Dayak people have experienced cultural uprooting several times. Kaharingan started from a certain era or the beginning of the existence of the first human in this world through the man Datu Mula Munta, Maharaja Mula Ulun, the second human being in this

story, is named Datu Mula Munta, named Dara Mula Lapeh, Suraibu Henggang Ulun. Kaharingan has existed since the beginning of creation, since Ranying Hatalla Langit created the universe. For them, Kaharingan existed millions of years before the advent of Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam and Christianity. The arrival of these religions among the Dayak people caused Kaharingan to be seen as the Uhang Religion (old religion), the Sadi Religion (ancient religion), or the Allah Mula Allah Religion (religion of the ancestors). Dayak people do not have a special name that is given (given) to mention their belief system. For example the Dayak Ma'anyan tribe mentions Kaharingan and is not the same as other religions, and they firmly believe that their religion is an incarnation of God in their midst, present to save them in the world and reach heaven (Kampung Datu Tunyung). Dayak name is Kaharingan means "eternal life from Allah Talla". The word Kaharingan means "alive" or "exists by itself" while in Sangiang's base it means "living water or living water". Kaharingan has a balanced "hamonization" goal to achieve God Almighty. The symbolic metaphors are gold science, rice science, and the Batang Garing symbol. The tree of life or Batang Garing for Kaharingan is a symbol of an immortality that will be found in the life of swargaloka (heaven).

Reason and/or the virtue ethics of Kaharingan teach an unwritten mental doctrine but in concrete speech and action traditions then experience the oneness of the gods and goddesses of the universe: water, earth, air, fire, animals, plants. In the journey of the Ma'anyan Dayak tribe after the Nini Punyut era with the Nansarunai Kingdom, it proved that unwritten knowledge found other things and human existentialism. So the doctrine of Brahmin Nini Punyut with the knowledge of Watang Garing Wadian Pamungkurnya will serve as an advisor to customary law in the future so that humans will be happy both physically and mentally. Intellect or the ethical virtues of Kaharingan in the perspective of the Dayak Ma'anyan Tribe, Kampung Laliku Meah is a symbol of human anger without culture. In fact, Raksapate, Singa Galanteh, Using Dukut Nungu Dapur wanted to kill themselves after 600,000 years of meditation, so they changed their attitude, became ugly and evil as a result. the gods did not want to grant it because without darkness the world (macrocosm) could not exist in harmony in existence. In concrete terms, the symbol of Kampung Laliku, the soul, cannot die and always dominates humans, especially the leaders, in its inspiration to this day. This is the same as Ravana's nature in which his spiritual soul continues to grow and is always present in society. Thus body language and its representation in the perspective of Hermeneutics with the local wisdom of Kaharingan can answer aspects of answering hidden questions that have no answers regarding human phenomena in the course of its historicism.

Statement of the problem

1. How is the construction of the Virtue Ethics of the Dayak Kaharingan in Central Kalimantan and South Kalimantan
2. What is the Virtue Ethics of the Dayak Kaharingan of Central Kalimantan and South Kalimantan

## **METHOD**

This research method is "The ethnographic method rests on two fundamental pillars: participant observation and directional interviews, both of which are combined and carried out in the field where the events to be studied occur." Participant observations Wadian Kaharingan activities consist of immersion in life, language and customs to be internalized, with the aim of becoming one with this Dayak Kaharingan perspective and with interpretations of the world, which implies knowledge of the norms, values and patterns of behavior that define the environment of that society.

Ethnography, as a research method through: (a) The researcher begins his work with participant observation, which implies doing life together, to investigate to gain an adequate understanding of the context, (b) the data analyzed always comes from interviews with participants (or group meetings), or real interactions, collected in audio or video recordings.

To this data were added field notes that the researcher had made during the period as a participating observer. (c) data is collected in a naturalistic way, when communicative events are relevant to participants without being structured in advance by the researcher. (d) further data treatment is carried out through what is called qualitative analysis. The meaning of semiotic hermeneutics that is conveyed is interpreted in relation to the interactional (or discursive) context and the broader linguistic and sociocultural context.

The ethnographic method approaches not only a data collection method, but a theoretical-methodological perspective on how to study human communication. With this dialectical relationship it is possible to determine, first, the relevance of the selected discourse (both for the participants themselves and for the researcher), as well as its relationship with other related discursive practices; and, second, to direct a particular direction of analysis.

The research sample has three categories, namely religious leaders of the Kaharingan Dayak community 12 people, 10 female Wadians, 5 male Wadians. The distribution of the research was carried out in two provinces, South Kalimantan and Central Kalimantan. The number of samples is 27 people. Implementation of ongoing research since 1998, 2003, and 2008, 2010, 2011, and 2022) regarding the construction of Virtue Ethics with an analytic philosophy.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The literary epic Wadian Dayak Kaharingan, South Kalimantan, and Central Kalimantan results as follows: The Construction of Virtue Ethics includes: (1) Construction of a general description of the Hermeneutic approach to language-speaking texts in composing the construction of Wadian, and Mantir, (2) Forming Construction of the Dayak Hindu Kaharingan approach, has three aspects: male and female are subject to the 3 cycles of birth, life, and death. The second is the Construction of women's ethics or Caring ethics (Dara Mula Lapeh), and the third is men's work ethics (Datu Mula Munta). These three activities produce (a) goodness and justice, (c) caring ethics, (d) space. The word Tane (land) comes from the Dayak language, meaning "earth and all its contents". Ethics of caring for women (Dara Mula Lapeh), as a representation as guardian of the Dayak order between humans, nature and spirit. Meanwhile, men (Datu Mula Munta) are managers of ethical awareness of tangible objects in the world. The construction of the ethics of caring (Dara Mula Lapeh), is divided into hermeneutical metaphors namely: (a) Trees revive the dead, (b) rice as the shaper of the human body, (c) Cotton and healing oil prevent mistakes in moral action, (d) Flute wadian forms of conversation are only focused on goodness; (f) the final telos is the gathering of the soul and spirit of man and the world.

### The Care Ethics for the Dayak Kaharingan

The result of this ethnographic research is the Ethics of the Dayak Kaharingan, which is called the Ethics of Caring. The order that emerged during the research was that the role of women was answered in the affirmative. Women pay more attention to the criteria of interpersonal responsibility, while men tend to think in terms of rights and obligations. So these two perspectives complement each other and do not compete with each other. Dayak feminism morals or Caring Ethics or Care Ethics function and rest on the notion of reflective equilibrium based on the characteristics of reason, freedom and equality to govern the family and society. Second, this construction generally holds trust, meaning that women are more trusted than men. Between the power holders of women and society is not only a contractual relationship, but a relationship of mutual trust. As Locke emphasized, there are three parties in a trusting relationship, namely creating the trust, being given the trust, and obtaining the benefits from giving the trust. The results of ethnographic research found differences in the perspectives of men and women on moral issues. While men focus on justice and rights, women are more likely to think about relationships in making moral decisions. [Women's]

construction of the moral question as a matter of caring and responsibility in relationships rather than as one of rights and rules binds the development of moral thinking about responsibility and relationships. Thus the rationale underlying an ethic of care is the psychological relationship, which contrasts with the formal logic of justice.

For the Dayak Kaharingan, this ethics of special concern for women develops in three stages. First, a woman shows a focus on caring for self to ensure survival, accompanied by a transitional phase in which ways of thinking about self as being criticized as selfish. Following this critical phase, a new understanding of the relationship between oneself and others leads to the development of the concept of responsibility. And this responsibility is combined with "maternal morality", to ensure concern for nature, spirit, man and the unequal in his environment. The Ethics of Caring is all activities that include maintaining, accommodating, and improving the 'world' so that we can live in it as well as possible. The world includes our bodies, ourselves, and our environment. This definition places care as fundamental as practice, further identifying four sub-elements of care that can be understood simultaneously as stages, dispositions, or goals. These sub-elements are: (1) attention, a tendency to recognize needs; (2) responsibility, willingness to respond and take care of needs; (3) competence, skills in providing good and successful care; and (4) responsiveness, consideration of position as perceived and recognition of the potential for good.

The aspect of care or caring only plays a lesser role and comes into its own as a grace, a reference to a special obligation or a renunciation of one's own claims. The two perspectives complement each other and, as a rule, neither is used separately. The difficulty lies not only in the fact that the Ethics of the Dayak Kaharingan want to expand welfare morality from the private sphere to the public sphere, for autonomy from the perspective of human virtue. The initial question remains open to what extent the stronger weight of the positive moral norm (care, responsibility) than the negative duty-attention ethic (self-limitation). So in a system of shared responsibility and care, it must be clearly defined who is responsible for whom. Those responsible for individuals and families, and the community are Mantir adat, and Wadian Kaharingan. Despite the general etiquette everyone should feel responsible for or care for everyone, a sort of "moral imperative". Caring can be considered as a moral obligation in the form of a positive norm, but as a necessity it expresses an obligation and is a Dayak customary law that must be obeyed concretely. Ethical duties of general and specific concern in practice, accountable explicitly or based on general standards of Kaharingan customary law, are then transferred to the context of concrete situations and thus enable ethical decision-making. Dayak customary law is based on an individualistic justice ethic, there is almost no conflict that cannot be resolved in the public sphere between caring-oriented norms on the one hand and norms on the other hand that lead to justice. Because the ethics of justice is based on individual rights and thus on autonomy, in an ethical system of care, justice is realized through care in a web of relationships.

This shows how the structure of the Dayak Kaharingan family is projected from the perspective of care to the realm of public coexistence. Therefore, attachment is at least as important as self-realization, if not more important. In other words, in the event of conflict, self-realization is preferable to losing existing connections; well-known situation of the family structure. Dayak ethics elevate the duty of prudence to the norm and limit individual rights for the sake of pervasive "general justice". The principle of justice can be based on caring.

Justice is formed in the mind, first of all it must express concern for conditions outside oneself, as a form of expression of concern. Thus, caring is the "fundamental," or proto-ethical value, that motivates further moral sentiments. Relationships of dependency characterized by caring are such a fundamental part of human life that any theory of justice that ignores them cannot achieve a just society. Given the dependency experience then take responsibility for care in episodes that are prolonged and significant throughout life. The

ethics of care as a normative moral theory, one that can provide a powerful tool for determining the morally good outcome in certain dilemmas or challenges. Then the ethics of care can provide answers about what we should do. in the Dayak human life cycle.

Dayak Kaharingan ethics is associated with metaethics about human interaction and moral life. Humans are by nature social and interconnected beings with varying degrees of independence, and are not the kind of entities that appear fully capable of supporting themselves or developing fully in the absence of social relationships. Thus, the metaethical notions that underlie the ethics of care have been embedded in feminist notions of personal autonomy, rights, and responsibilities

Ethnographic implications of Dayak Kaharingan ethnographically Dayak women tend to avoid open confrontation, prioritize relationship values over self-actualization, and resolve dilemmas, in giving in to the demands of personal relationships. It is this structure that suggests security, care, and responsibility, to develop women's rights in the public sphere for centuries, referring to the duties and responsibilities of "natural" human care. Dayak Kaharingan ethics as a form of parenting practice appears in the analysis of reasoning and activities related to motherhood. The mother's perspective can be expanded on parenting ethics as a public moral theory. In particular, the practice of motherhood generates a certain type of thinking and supports the principle of non-violence.

The second result of the ethnographic research on Dayak Kaharingan Ethics is Environmental Ethics which is reinterpreted hermeneutically (Datu Mula Munta) or Masculine Ethics. This is in accordance with the literary texts of Dayak speech and the process of creating nature (cosmogony). This Ethnographic Research Ethics of the Dayak Kaharingan (Datu Mula Munta) is translated as the idea of Masculine Ethics. Masculine ethics as environmental ethics are given intrinsic value by Holism, namely including non-human entities, more precisely animals, plants, water, mountains, seas and other organisms in groups of entities that have intrinsic value. All beings are entitled to a moral judgment for themselves. In other words, along with the human species, all other living things have intrinsic value. Therefore, the criterion that determines in is not the criterion of rational endowment, which is so often mentioned by anthropocentrists, but the ability to feel. All objects, whether they have a name or are not named, require moral considerations for their own sake.

Therefore, the determining criterion for acting in biocentrism is not the ability to reason, as is often mentioned in anthropocentrism, and not the ability to feel, as is often the case in pathocentrism, but the quality of "life is oneness. All entities that carry" the life of the world " in it has an intrinsic value. A single life maintains the integrity, stability, and beauty of the world. Dayak Kaharingan has an ethical doctrine of "Holism". According to holism, it is not only the ability to feel and not only living things that must be considered morally, but all beings. In contrast to biocentrism, the moral community in holism cannot be fully understood by the whole of life. Therefore, in holism, inanimate parts of nature such as rivers, mountains, or entire ecosystems are given intrinsic value. The reason is because their existence refers to structural features or aesthetics such as beauty, scarcity, stability and harmony.

Diversity of species, genes and ecosystems. Scarcity increases the score on this criterion. The ability of an ecosystem to carry out its biological and ecological functions (water and nutrient circulation). Note, however, that unlike integrity in the value sense of wildness, humans can enhance the health of ecosystems. Health is an evaluative notion and advocates of purely objective ecosystem health. So the holistic principle on the vision of the good of the entire abiotic community, biotic determines what is right and wrong. The correlation is the earth itself, the entire biosphere as an interconnected system that has a moral position of intrinsic value. The ethics of ecological obligations of the Dayak Kaharingan where individuals gain value through their contributions to the good of the whole

community of the universe. So the mechanism goes through the path of expansion from within assuming that at least humans have intrinsic value. Efforts are then made to gradually expand the moral community to non-human things so that nothing is excluded from the moral community.

The third result of the Ethnographic study of the Ethics of the Dayak Kaharingan is the space or place where Datu Mula Munta's men and Dara Mula Lapeh's women meet. The meeting of these two dialectical metaphors is that of inhabiting the Land (Tane). Then a third ethics emerged called the Land Ethics. But the land that is meant here is not merely physical land but rather "human way of life on land" or "Dayak culture on land".

"Dayak Culture above the Land" as a normative conception of culture usually provides beliefs, norms, and moral reasons, encouraging individuals to act. Therefore, the part of a person includes their moral commitments; practical identities are formed from these moral commitments, whereas reasons to act are motivated by their moral commitments. In other words, according to the normative conception of culture, the term 'Dayak Culture above the Land' refers to a group of norms and beliefs that are distinctive and which constitute the practical identity of a group of individuals; thus, community values and commitments are generated. As a Kaharingan religion, it is formed by the fact that each of them obeys or follows moral teachings and customary law. Dayak Culture on the Land" is a worldview, both comprehensive and distinguishable, in which the laws of society can be created. "Dayak Culture above the Ground" as the label 'nomoi community'. This term can apply to religious, ethnic, racial, tribal and national groups, as all these groups exhibit a normative dimension that must be classified as 'nomoi communities'.

The metaphor in the literary epic Datu Mula Munta, Dara Mula Lapeh is usually associated with semiotics, in the sense that one does not conflict with the other; in fact, they may complement each other. From a semiotic perspective, a system of meaning can be based on anything, whereas according to the normative conception of culture, culture is a powerful source of one's moral commitment. These strong moral beliefs or evaluations, in turn provided by individual culture, can be considered as normative cultural concepts.

"Dayak Culture on the Ground" produces actions within the system of family and community relations which are certain ways of expressing attitudes that are more ingrained and more permanent. Dayak Kaharingan takes on a symbolic meaning, in addition to its intrinsic meaning. The role of symbolism implies the role of traditionalism which shows the close relationship between Dayak people and traditionalism. There is a close relationship between society and religion, with the same attitude, a kind of selfless devotion that is implied in the fusion of interests in one area, and the prominent role of symbolism as it manifests itself in the relationship between religion and the family.

On the other hand, they approach an ideal or rational kind of pact because of equality or sufficient similarity in these vital conditions, that is, because of equality of sexes, approximate equality of age and physical similarity, and moral strength, as well as temperament, character, and especially in perspectives can be realized. With the psychic assumption that the relationship is still based on mutual liking, mutual habituation and awareness of mutual obligations.

The social relationship, thus, has a normal origin in the feeling and awareness of mutual need which determines the conditions of coexistence, shared space and kinship; a community of good and evil, hope and fear. Community of blood is a Dayak Kaharingan expression that refers to shared beings. Other non-human environment, manifests the essence of the phenomenon that comes from spatial proximity; and cooperation concentrates the characteristics of a conducive life. That totality may be a family, a village, a religious order, even an entire society, but in this case a special kind of social relationship among its members has a basis for common union. Confronted with sentiments, kinship, fictions about common ancestry, ethnocultural bonds which are bonds of community unity, what is referred

to as "mechanical solidarity". The mental doctrine of the Dayak Kaharingan is that mechanical solidarity occurs when society consists of individuals who are different from one another, and social cohesion is obtained thanks to shared values, beliefs and rituals (collective consciousness) as well as reducing individuals. The collective conscience is thus an element that has a life of its own, and comprises all the beliefs, practices, and rituals shared by members of the community on Dayak lands. Customary punishment is used to make amends. The main function of the legal system is to protect people's beliefs and traditions, and even regulate family life. Mistake as an act against the whole of society. Customary law is repressive in action against any threat that can undermine social cohesion and collective consciousness. Punishments were administered collectively, carried out against anyone who committed an offense and, at times, involved their relatives or neighbours.

## CONCLUSION

Kalimantan Dayak Kaharingan Ethics is a term designed in this ethnographic research which emphasizes the role of character and capital awareness accompanied by carrying out tasks or acting to produce good consequences for a harmonious life order. The entire contents of the virtuous Dayak Land is someone who has ideal character traits. These characteristics originate from internal processes of a natural holistic mind, and once they are formed, they become stable in what is called the Adat Law of the Dayak Kaharingan. And the unique function of humans is ethical awareness, and awareness of living together on this earth, so that a life that is "worth living" is a life of good morals. There are two ethical doctrines of the goodness of the Dayak Kaharingan, namely the Caring Ethics and the Environmental Ethics which move in space together. Ethics does not only focus on justice and autonomy; but the more feminine traits, such as nurturing and nurturing acquire an equally important position.

## REFERENSI

- Adams, C. and Donovan, J. *Beyond Animal Rights: A feminist Caring Ethic for the Treatment of Animals*. New York: Continuum, 1996.
- Adams, C. and Donovan, J. *The Feminist Care Tradition in Animal Ethics*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2007.
- Brennan, A., 1984. "The Moral Standing of Natural Objects", *Environmental Ethics*, 6.
- Butler, Judith, 1988, "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory", *Theatre Journal*, 40(4): 519–531. doi:10.2307/3207893
- \_\_\_, 1990, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity*, New York: Routledge.
- \_\_\_, 1993, *Bodies That Matter: On the discursive limits of 'sex'*, New York: Routledge.
- Callicott, J.B., 1980. "Animal Liberation, A Triangular Affair", reprinted in Callicott 1989, pp. 15–38.
- \_\_\_, 1988. "Animal liberation and Environmental Ethics: Back Together Again", reprinted in Callicott 1989, pp. 49–59.
- Clark, S.R.L., 1977. *The Moral Status of Animals*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Devall, B., and Sessions, G., 1985. *Deep Ecology: Living as if Nature Mattered*, Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith.
- Dixon, B., 2017. "Value Pluralism and Consistency Maximisation in the Writings of Aldo Leopold: Moving Beyond Callicott's Interpretation of the Land Ethic", *Environmental Values*, 26.
- Douglas, Mary. 1970. *Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology*. London: Routledge
- Durkheim, Emile, *The Division of Labor in Society*, (1893) The Free Press reprint 1997
- \_\_\_, 1995. *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*. New York: Free Press.
- Geertz, Clifford, 1973, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*, New York: Basic Books.

- \_\_\_, 1999. "From the Native's Point of View": On the Nature of Anthropological Understanding." In Russell T. McCutcheon (ed.), *The Insider/Outsider Problem in the Study of Religion: A Reader* (pp. 50-63). New York: Cassell.
- Gilligan, Carol. 1979 "Women's Place in Man's Life Cycle." *Harvard Educational Review*, 29.
- Gilligan, C. Langdale, S. Lyons, N. & Murphy, J. 1982., *The Contribution of Women's Thought to Developmental Theory: The Elimination of Sex Bias in Moral Developmental research and Education. Final Report to the National Institute of Education*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press,.
- Gilligan, Ward, Taylor, and Bardige. 1988., *Mapping the Moral Domain: A Contribution of Women's Thinking to Psychological Theory and Education*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Lafitau, Joseph François., 1724. *Customs of the American Indians Compared with the Customs of Primitive Times*. Translated by William N. Fenton and Elizabeth L. Moore. 2 vols. [Toronto](#), 1974-1977.
- Lawson, Thomas, and McCauley, Robert. 1993. *Rethinking Religion: Connecting Cognition and Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Levi-Strauss, Claude. 1978. *Myth and Meaning*. London: Routledge.
- Marcus, George, and Cushman, Dick. 1974. "Ethnographies as Texts." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 11.
- Millstein, R., 2015. "Re-examining the Darwinian Basis of Aldo Leopold's Land Ethic", *Ethics, Policy and Environment*, 18.
- O'Neill, J., 1992. "The Varieties of Intrinsic Value", *Monist*, 75.
- Parsons, Talcott, 1951, *The Social System*, Glencoe: Free Press.
- Pink, Sarah. 2009. *Doing Sensory Ethnography*. London: Sage Publications
- Regan, T., 1983. *The Case for Animal Rights*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Regan, T. and Singer, P. (eds.), 1976. *Animal Rights and Human Obligations*, Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall.
- Rogan, Bjarn. 2012. "The Institutionalization of Folklore." In Regina Bendix and Galit Hasam-Rokem (eds.), *A Companion to Folklore* (pp. 598-630). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Ruben, David-Hillel, 1985, *The Metaphysics of the Social World*, London: Routledge and Kegan.
- Schmidtz, D. and Willott, E., 2002. *Environmental Ethics: What Really Matters, What Really Works*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Siikala, Jukka. 2006. "The Ethnography of Finland." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 35, 153-170.
- Sluka, Jeffrey. 2007. "Fieldwork Ethics: Introduction." In Antonius Robben and Jeffrey Slukka (eds.), *Ethnographic Fieldwork: An Anthropological Reader* (pp. 271-276). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Singer, P., 1975. *Animal Liberation*, New York: Random House.
- \_\_\_, 1993. *Practical Ethics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2nd edition.
- Spencer, Herbert. 1873. *The Study of Sociology*. New York: D. Appleton and Co
- Strathern, Marylin. 1988. *The Gender of the Gift: Problems with Women and Problems with Society in Melanesia*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Taylor, B. and Zimmerman, M., 2005. "Deep Ecology", in B. Taylor (ed.), *The Encyclopaedia of Religion and Nature*, London: Continuum.
- Taylor, P., 1981. "The Ethics of Respect for Nature", *Environmental Ethics*, 3.
- \_\_\_, 1986. *Respect for Nature*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Thayer, Jr., R.L., 2003. *Life Place: Bioregional Thought and Practice*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Thompson, P., 2001. "Land and Water", in Jamieson 2001.



- Tylor, Edward Burnett. 1871. *Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Religion, Art and Custom*. London: John Murray.
- Tylor, Edward Burnett. 1865. *Researches into the Early History of Mankind*. London: John Murray.
- Van Wyck, P.C., 1997. *Primitives in the Wilderness: Deep Ecology and the Missing Human Subject*, New York: SUNY Press.
- Warren, K.J., 1987. "Feminism and Ecology: Making Connections", *Environmental Ethics*, 9.
- \_\_\_, 1999. "Ecofeminist Philosophy and Deep Ecology", in Witoszek and Brennan (eds.) 1999.