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Thus, while my interpretation may refract like a multifaceted lens, it preserves a dialectical tension vis-à-vis various particularistic views expressed about changing Malay society. in this account, the hantu (evil spirit), hovering over the passage of young Malay women into industrial modernity, becomes "an image which mediates the conflict between [non]capitalist and capitalist modes of objectifying the human condition" (Taussig 1980: xii).

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