KÜLÖNLEGES BÁNÁSMÓD

Note: The title of the journal comes from a Hungarian Act CXC of 2011. on National Public Education in which they use the term 'Különleges Bánásmód', and this translates as Special Treatment, but this encompasses the areas of Special Educational Needs, Talented Children and Children with Behaviour and Learning Difficulties. The adoption of Special Treatment is therefore in accordance with Hungarian law, but it is recognised that the translation may not be perfect in expressing the full meaning of what is encapsulated in this term.

TARTALOM/CONTENT

EMPIRIKUS TANULMÁNYOK / EMPIRICAL STUDIES

ASSIMILATION AND ACCULTURATION PROCESSES IN THE STUDY OF INTER-ETHNIC MARRIAGES

Author:

Nazira Abdinassir[1]
University of Debrecen (Hungary)
(Kazakhstan)

Reviewers:

Gábor Biczó (Ph.D)
University of Debrecen

Norbert Tóth (Ph.D)
University of Debrecen

…and two other anonymous reviewers

Abstract

Inter-ethnic marriages present a captivating arena for examining assimilation and acculturation processes, where individuals from diverse cultural backgrounds merge their identities. This article delves into the dynamics of inter-ethnic marriages in the Turkestan region of Southern Kazakhstan through the lens of assimilation and acculturation theories. Utilizing data collected from 45 interviews across five villages, including Zhana Iqan, Hantagy, Shornak, Turki poselkasy, and Kentau, the study explores various aspects of daily life such as language usage, religious practices, traditions, cuisine, and ethnic values. Research questions probe how individuals negotiate cultural differences in their interactions and interpret multicultural coexistence through assimilation, acculturation, and dissimilation theories. The hypothesis posits three cohabitation patterns -acculturation, assimilation, and dissimilation- equally valid within the same cultural and geographical space. Employing qualitative methods including interviews and surveys, the study uncovers patterns of adaptation and the degree of assimilation or acculturation within relationships. By analyzing data through the prism of assimilation and acculturation theories, the study sheds light on how cultural elements are integrated into daily routines and decision-making processes within inter-ethnic marriages. This research contributes to a deeper understanding of how individuals navigate cultural diversity within marital relationships, enriching scholarly discourse on multiculturalism and societal relations.

Keywords: assimilation, acculturation, culture, inter-ethnic marriages, homogeneous families, social integration

Diszcipline: cultural antroplogy, ethnography

---

[1] Nazira Abdinassir. Doctoral School of History and Ethnology Ethnography and Cultural Anthropology Program, University of Debrecen (Hungary) (Kazakhstan). E-mail address: nazzira.abdinassir@gmail.com, ORCID ID: https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6518-4996

Absztrakt

ASSZIMILÁCIÓS ÉS AKKULTURÁCIÓS FOLYAMATOK AZ ETNIKUMKÖZI HÁZASSÁGOK VIZSGÁLATÁBAN

Az etnikumok közötti házasságok izgalmas színteret jelentenek az asszimilációs és akkulturációs folyamatok vizsgálatához, azokban az esetekben, ahol a különböző kulturális háttérrel rendelkező egyének egyesítik identitásukat. A tanulmány Dél-Kazahsztán, Turkesztán régiójában vizsgálja az etnikumközi házasságok dinamikáját, az asszimilációs és akkulturációs elméletek szemszögéből.. A tanulmány öt faluban - Zhana Iqan, Hantagy, Shornak, Turki poselkasy és Kentau - 45 interjúból gyűjtött adatok felhasználásával vizsgálja a mindennapi élet különböző aspektusait, mint például a nyelvhasználat, a vallási gyakorlatok, a hagyományok, a konyha és az etnikai értékek. A kutatási kérdések arra irányulnak, hogy az egyének hogyan tárgyalják a kulturális különbségeket interakcióikban, és hogyan értelmezik a multikulturális együttélést az asszimilációs, akkulturációs és disszimilációs elméleteken keresztül. A hipotézis három együttélési mintát tételez fel - akkulturáció, asszimiláció és disszimiláció -, amelyek egyazon kulturális és földrajzi térben egyaránt érvényesek. A tanulmány kvalitatív módszereket, köztük interjúkat és felméréseket alkalmazva feltárja a kapcsolatokon belüli alkalmazkodás mintáit és az asszimiláció vagy akkulturáció mértékét. A tanulmány az adatoknak az asszimilációs és akkulturációs elméletek prizmáján keresztül történő elemzésével világít rá arra, hogy a kulturális elemek hogyan épülnek be a mindennapi rutinokba és a döntéshozatali folyamatokba az etnikumközi házasságokban. A kutatás hozzájárul annak mélyebb megértéséhez, hogy az egyének hogyan navigálnak a kulturális sokféleséggel a házastársi kapcsolatokban, gazdagítva a multikulturalizmusról és a társadalmi kapcsolatokról szóló tudományos diskurzust.

Kulcsszavak: asszimiláció, akkulturáció, kultúra, interetnikus házasságok, homogén családok, társadalmi integráció.

Diszciplína: kulturális antropológia, néprajz

Introduction

Inter-ethnic marriages represent a unique intersection of diverse cultural backgrounds, raising intriguing questions about how individuals in studied unions navigate and integrate their respective cultural identities. Theories of assimilation and acculturation provide structures for examining how individuals from different cultural backgrounds come together, share experiences, and integrate aspects of each other's cultures. In the current article, the study of assimilation and acculturation processes, which offers valuable frameworks to explore the dynamics within inter-ethnic marriages, shedding light on how couples adapt, communicate, and construct shared cultural spaces, will be analyzed in the case of the Turkestan region, Southern part of Kazakhstan (Picture 1.). As the main concepts of the research are based on the theories of assimilation and accul-turation processes, the current thesis will commence with the interpretation of named aspects as the first step.

The primary purpose of this article is to present the analysis of the research conducted in the villages of Turkestan, a region of the southern part of Kazakhstan, based on the theories of acculturation, assimilation and obtained database, which was collected during the second visit at purposed study settlements in 2023, primarily, 45 interviews from the five different research spots: Zhana Iqan, Hantagy, Shornak, Turki poselkasy, and Kentau.

Picture 1: 1) Map of Kazakhstan, 2) Map of the location of the Turkestan Region, 3) Map of the location capital Turkestan. Link for the map: https://www.worldometers.info/maps/kazakhstan-map/
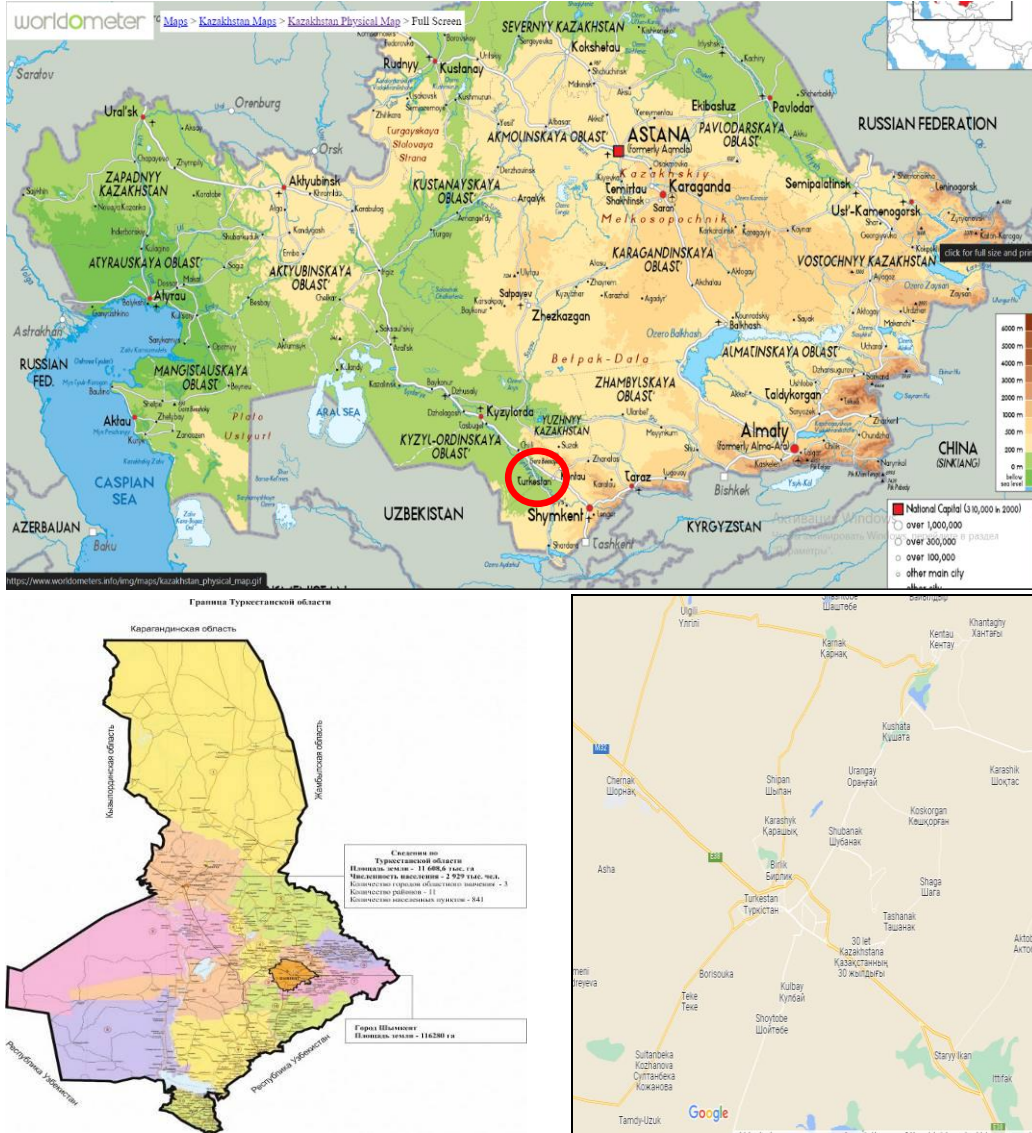
In particular, according to the main aspects of their eve-ryday life, such as the use of language, religious preferences, types of traditions, customs, beliefs, cultural cuisine, and other ethnic values.

Research questions: How do individuals in inter-ethnic marriages negotiate and navigate cultural differences in their day-to-day interactions? How could the study of multicultural coexistence in Turkestan be interpreted equally through the theories of assimilation, acculturation, and dissimilation?

The hypothesis of the research: On the basis of strategical research positions, precisely, three types

of cohabitation patterns: acculturation, assimilation, and dissimilation in the study of multicultural society relations can be valid equally in the same cultural and geographical space.

Research methods: This is a fieldwork study and conducted in the purposed villages of Turkestan region. The study could employ a combination of qualitative and quantitative research methods. Surveys, interviews, and observations may be used to collect data on the cultural practices, values, and traditions of each partner. This would help identify patterns of adaptation and the degree to which assimilation or acculturation occurs within the relationship. In order to fulfill the main goals of the study, current research uses interviews and survey methods. Interviews that used open-ended questions were conducted in the aimed research settlements, namely Zhana Iqan, Shornak, Hantagy, Sayram (Kentau), and Turki poselkasy.

The multicultural part of the Turkestan region is located near the city of Turkestan. The most widely dispersed ethnic groups in Kazakhstan are represented in this study by the locations of the Tajiks, Russians, Tatars, Uzbeks, Turks, and Azerbaijanis, among others.

Within the confines of a qualitative type of research, a sampling method, the collected information was used to present the role and significance of the research topic. To research the degree to which people of various ethnic groups who are married into mixed marriages in Turkestan interact, as well as their culture, religion, language, customs, and other significant facets of their ethnic values. The first steps in the process involve gathering data based on ordering, partial generalization, scientific generalization, in-person meetings, interviews, the researcher's observation of the social environment, and the analysis of the data collected in relation to the theories of assimilation, acculturation, and other research concepts.

In this study, after collecting enough basic information about the interviewer's primary personal data, exceptionally their social surroundings, which are a more significant part of the research, study questions were shared into the following groups: Primarily, interview questions consisted of the following main parts of the matter: (1) Questions for families which are couples from different ethnicities (mixed marriages); (2) Questions for families which are couples from same ethnic groups. Every central part of the points included the following matters: queries from language, religion, family and community circumstances, and culture at all, which include points on national clothing style, national dishes preparation, celebration of holidays, social norms that are based on the interviewers' personal experience, adoption and attitudes in Turkestan region. The collected data will be analyzed to explore themes related to cultural adaptation.

Researchers might examine how certain cultural elements are integrated into the daily routines of marriage, celebrations, and decision-making processes. The analysis could also uncover instances of selective adoption, where individuals may assimilate certain aspects of their partner's culture while maintaining distinct elements (Alsaawi 2016).

Theoretical background to the interpretation of interethnic marriages in Turkestan region

At the heart of assimilation theory is cultural blending, where individuals or groups adopt the customs and behaviors of another culture. In the context of inter-ethnic marriages, assimilation theory explores how partners from different cultural backgrounds come together to form a cohesive unit. Research by scholars such as Milton Gordon and John Berry has delved into the processes of cultural assimilation and the impact on individual and shared identities within these unions. M. Gordon, in his book 'Assimilation in American Life' (1964), gives data on one of the first essential theoretical explanations and analysis of the definition of the theory of assimilation, acculturation, and other essential terms in the study of society. An early and

influential definition of "assimilation" by the two sociologists Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess reads as follows: Assimilation is a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons or groups, and, by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in ordinary cultural life. In a later definition of assimilation, solus, for the Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Park, one of the most prolific germinal thinkers that American sociology has produced, appears to confine the referents of the term to the realm of cultural behavior, according to this definition, is "the name given to the process or processes by which peoples of diverse racial origins and different cultural heritages, occupying a common territory, achieve a cultural solidarity sufficient at least to sustain a national existence" (Gordon, 1964).

The formation of the theory of assimilation, its general concept and definition, based on several studies and personal experiences and observations of scientists, has constantly been developed and supplemented. Considering the definition of the next generation of scientists, it still has a fully formed concept. For example, if you look at the sequence, according to the following scientist, according to the theory of assimilation, Joseph Fichter defines assimilation as a social process through which two or more persons or groups accept and perform one another's behavior patterns. We commonly talk about a person or a minority category being assimilated into a group or a society, but here again, this must not be interpreted as a "one-sided" process. It is a relation of interaction in which both parties behave reciprocally even though one may be much more affected than the other. In recent writings, several sociologists have equated "assimilation" with "acculturation" or defined it as an extreme form of acculturation.

Acculturation, on the other hand, emphasizes the ongoing interaction between cultures, resulting in changes to one or both cultures involved. In studying inter-ethnic marriages, acculturation theory helps us understand how couples negotiate and navigate cultural differences. The work of anthropologists such as John W. Berry, who developed the acculturation model, provides insights into individuals' various strategies to maintain their cultural heritage while integrating aspects of their partner's culture. Thus, Brewton Berry declares that assimilation means the process whereby groups with different cultures come to have a common culture. This means, of course, not merely such items of the culture as dress, knives and forks, language, food, sports, and automobiles, which are relatively easy to appreciate and acquire, but also those fewer tangible items such as values, memories sentiments, ideas, and attitudes.

Moreover, in the work of Berry, J. W. (1997). "Immigration, Acculturation, and Adaptation." Applied Psychology: An International Review, Berry presents a comprehensive overview of the concepts of immigration, acculturation, and adaptation. The paper is structured to provide a theoretical framework for understanding how individuals and groups navigate the challenges of adapting to a new cultural context. Berry introduces and elaborates on his influential model of acculturation strategies, which categorizes individuals based on their orientation toward their heritage and the dominant culture (Berry, 1997).

"Conceptual Approaches to Acculturation" by John W. Berry, featured in the edited volume Acculturation: Advances in Theory, Measurement, and Applied Research (2003), is a seminal contribution that further solidifies Berry's influential role in shaping the field of acculturation studies. In this chapter, Berry expands on his earlier conceptualizations, providing a comprehensive overview of various approaches to understanding the complex acculturation process. The chapter begins by revisiting the bidimensional model of acculturation, which distinguishes between the maintenance of

one's heritage culture and the adoption of the dominant culture. Berry then delves into the multiple conceptual approaches to acculturation, offering insights into the diverse perspectives that researchers employ to explore this multifaceted phenomenon. He examines unidimensional models, exploring their limitations and advocating for a broader, bidimensional framework (Berry, 2003).

Arnold Rose defines "acculturation" as "the adoption by a person or group of the culture of another social group. Alternatively, the process is leading to this adoption." He then goes on to characterize "assimilation" as the adoption by a person or group of the culture of another social group to such a complete extent that the person or group no longer has any characteristics identifying him with his former culture and no longer has any particular loyalties to his former culture. Alternatively, the process leading to this adoption. John Cuber adds the variable of group rivalry and its diminution to his brief definition of "assimilation." Assimilation may be defined, then, as the gradual process whereby cultural differences (and rivalries) tend to disappear (Gordon 1964).

Assimilation concept in the study of inter-ethnic marriages in Turkestan

As mentioned above, assimilation refers to the process by which individuals or groups from one culture adopt another culture's customs, values, and behaviors, often leading to a blending or merging of identities. In inter-ethnic marriages, assimilation theory may focus on how partners from different cultural backgrounds adapt to each other's cultural norms and practices. This could involve one or both partners embracing aspects of the other's cultural identity, leading to a more unified or homogeneous family culture. First, the Turkestan region's case study, especially starting from Shornak village, will investigate how partners in inter-ethnic marriages adapt to each other's cultural

influences. This adaptation process, rooted in assimilation theory, involves integrating diverse cultural elements into the couples' daily lives. Shornak is the village of the Turkestan city administration, the managerial center of the Sauran region, and the Shornak rural district, which is located 22 km northwest of the city of Turkestan along the Arys-Turkestan canal.

One of the fundamental areas of the Turkestan region from an agricultural and industrial point of view is the processing spot of the Turkestan cotton ginning plant and the location of the grain receiving institution. Furthermore, farms were organized on the ground. According to the mentioned facts, Shornak citizens are mostly agronomists, and a considerable amount of the cotton and vegetables of the southern part of Kazakhstan are prepared in this rural district [3]. The population is 100,163, according to the latest statistics from the 2023 census. Uzbeks (57.12%), Kazakhs (41.36%), Russians (0.56%), representatives of other nationalities (0.96%) (Kazakh Encyclopedia 2005). As presented, the number of Uzbeks is more than Kazakhs (Figure1). Even so, during the visit to this research settlement, the following facts were observed: Ethnic values of the Kazakhs were more dominant. Why? and how?

In order to better understand and answer the basic questions, let us have a look at the data from M. Gordon's book, (Assimilation in American Life, 1964). Arnold Green, in his discussion of assimilation, quotes the Park and Burgess definition and then, in commenting on it, goes on to make a perceptive differentiation between cultural behavior and social structural participation: Persons and groups may "acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons or groups," and at the same time be excluded from "sharing their experience" and find themselves indefinitely delayed in being "incorporated with them in an everyday cultural life." Why?

Figure 1. Proportion of ethnic groups in Shornak. Source: by Author.
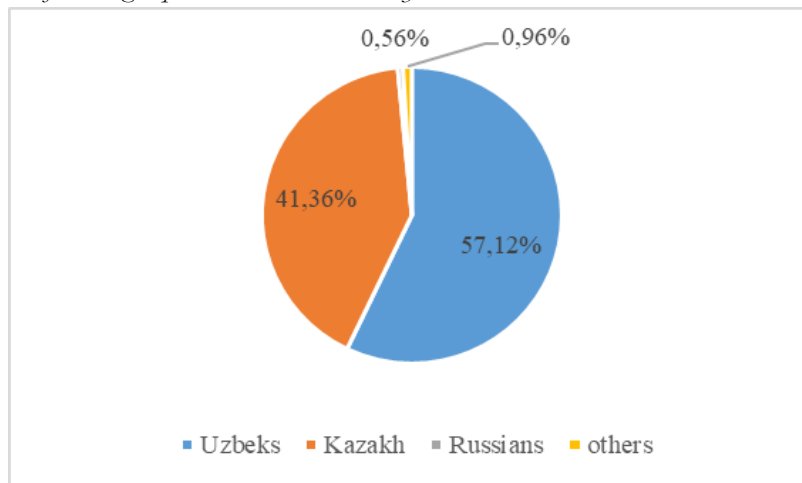
Because many of the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of the receiving group are common property, in the case of Turkestan, they are inclusive ones in Kazakhstan, such as patriotism, Islam, respect for elders, and male dominance in the family and veneration of legendary heroes, belong to all society and are easily accessible to everyone. On the other hand, according to Arnold Green, it can be the matter of sharing experience and incorporation in everyday life is limited, first, by a willingness on the part of the receiving group and second by a desire on the part of the new arrivals to foster social participation. However, it is usually the receiving group that erects barriers to social participation; the immigrant group, or segments of it, may, likewise, wish to do so.

This article will demonstrate how the ethnic groups of dissimilar nationalities relate to Kazakh's national values and other essential aspects of the research and their level of acceptance in aimed research spots. In most Shornak families, a man is considered to be dominant, as in most parts of South Kazakhstan territory, and since men are mostly Kazakhs, the national values of the Kazakh nation are put first. The interviewees were between

the ages of 35-65. In the villages of the Turkestan region, age is one of the critical aspects that could demonstrate the way of attitudes toward all social circumstances. During the interview took part that families whose wives were from another ethnic group and the husbands were Kazakh. As an example, in couples who have been living in that marriage for more than 40 years, the wife is totally Kazakh adherent, except for her facial features.

As the critical aspects of the study of inter-ethnic marriages, the collected database will be given into four divisions:

(1) Cultural Adaptation: Focuses on how individuals in inter-ethnic marriages adapt to each other's cultural practices, values, and traditions. The extent to which partners embrace elements of each other's culture contributes to forming a shared family culture.

According to the information received from the wife, she has been in this marriage for more than forty years, and her nationality is Uzbek, even though from a biological point of view, she is an Uzbek by nationality, from a spiritual point of view he now considers himself a Kazakh. Speaks two languages fluently. He communicates only in

Kazakh in her family, and with her relatives, she speaks Uzbek. Her religion is Islam; she attaches great importance to observing Muslim norms and pays great attention to observing in the family. At first, it was not easy for her, the new daughter-in-law in a new family, to get used to this family. When she followed the culture and traditions of her people, her spouse, and his relatives did not accept her attitude at all, and there were times when she was even forbidden. For example, when a child was circumcised (sundet toy, mandatory for every Muslim man) according to Uzbek traditions, the family objected to preserving Uzbek values, and the circumcision ceremony was based on Kazakh traditions. After this situation, to maintain unity in the family without conflicts, she tried to preserve the values of the Kazakh nation as much as she could until now.

(2) Identity Negotiation: Assimilation and acculturation theories highlight the complex process of negotiating and constructing shared cultural identities within inter-ethnic marriages. This involves balancing individual cultural identities and embracing a common cultural ground (Berry, 2003). Accordingly, to the interviewees, the values of the Uzbek nation can be used in everyday life only in cooking and when the wife's Uzbek relatives come. The national clothes of the Kazakh people are worn on all national holidays, and all essential and responsible events in the family are held only based on Kazakh traditions and culture. According to this, even though this person is an Uzbek, she became utterly Kazakhisized, submitted to the wishes of her husband and his relatives, and could freely show signs of her nationality only among her Uzbek relatives.

(3) Communication Patterns: Examining communication patterns within inter-ethnic marriages provides insights into how cultural differences are expressed, understood, and resolved. So, in Shornak village, children, spouses, and relatives of the spouse speak only Kazakh, which requires her to use the Kazakh language as well. According to the interview, a common culture is formed in the family over the years. As a result, as the husband is predominant in the family, Kazakh's national identities were a priority in more everyday life deals. The Uzbek language is used only in communication with her own Uzbek relatives.

(4) Parenting Strategies: The literature on inter-ethnic marriages often explores how couples face the challenges of raising children in a multicultural context. Questions arise about whether couples prioritize one cultural influence over another or strive for a balanced approach to parenting. In Shornak, interviewed couples show that linguistic, religious, and social norms should be agreed upon and the decision of the man in the family.

Mainly, while the wife is mostly spending time and engages in education in the family, patterns of Uzbek na-tion were used as well, especially on how to pre-pare Uzbek national foods, how to relate with the elders, how to behave when you are new bride, how to speak and wear the clothes, rules on house-keeping, etc. (Bornstein 2005).

(5) Social Support and External Influences: in this part we will answer to that points, what is the common opinion in the research settlement among the couples from mixed marriages to the inter-ethnic marriage at all. Consequently, from the gathered database, it is concluded that both couples are same-ethnic marriage supporters.

As proof of this, their child was married only to the Kazakhs. The reason for attitude is that if spouses are from the same ethnic groups, they will understand each other better and have less conflict in the family. After studying the village of Shornak, it is deter-mined that, despite the fact that the number of Uzbek ethnic groups is more signify-cant, residents in the villages follow the lifestyle of the Kazakh people because the male and wives' dominant fami-lies are, in many ways, the representatives of other ethnic groups (DeSipio 2003).

Acculturation concept in the study of inter-ethnic marriages in Turkestan

More evidence of the phenomenon of acculturation than of assimilation was found during the study in the mixed-marriage families under investigation. Therefore, the position of families across the several villages under inquiry is based on the concept of acculturation, despite the fact that the village of Shornak is an obvious example and confirmation of the assimilation process.

Acculturation refers to the process by which individuals or groups from different cultures come into continuous contact, resulting in changes in one or both cultures. This process involves adjusting and adapting to the cultural practices of the other group. Acculturation theory in inter-ethnic marriages explores how partners navigate the dynamics of living in a multicultural environment (Berry, 1997). It considers the degree to which individuals maintain their cultural heritage while also adopting elements of their partner's culture. This can lead to various acculturation outcomes, such as assimilation, integration, separation, or marginalization.

In order to better understand during research, the traditions of the people of the Turkestan region were observed by the author. Observing traditions provides a window into the rich tapestry of human culture, revealing significant phenomena that reflect archaic or traditional ways of life. Traditions encompass a wide range of customs, rituals, and practices passed down from generation to generation, shaping the identity and values of a community. In the case of Turkestan, the several research villages, Zhana Iqan and Hantagy, can be described here. Primarily the everyday life of Kazakh-Uzbek, Uzbek-Uzbek, Kazakh-Russian, and Russian-Russian families in order to observe the basic shared culture. Here, some significant phenomena associated with traditions were analyzed through interviews: family and social structure, ceremonial rituals, celebrations of holidays, traditional clothing, use of languages, traditional music and dance, and cultural cuisine.

(1) *Family and social structure:* Traditional family structures, kinship systems, and social hierarchies contribute to the overall fabric of tradition. Furthermore, these structures often influence roles, responsibilities, and social interactions. Family and social structures are crucial in maintaining the continuity of traditions, passing down values, and fostering a sense of community (Schneider, 1984). Let us look at the mixed Turkestan region, and to compare and highlight the similarities and dissimilarities between them, we will analyze families with mixed marriages and same-ethnic marriages as a sample chosen Kazakh-Uzbek and Uzbek-Uzbek families.

Kazakh-Uzbek families

In Kazakh-Uzbek families, where the wife is Uzbek, and the husband is Kazakh. After a girl becomes a daughter-in-law in a new family, she must live for at least three years with her parents and those who have her husband's brothers in this family, honoring her parents and serving them. After the birth of a child, if a new daughter-in-law came to the family, that is, if the husband's brother got married, the eldest son left separately, leaving everything for the younger one. Before leaving, his son's parents help him buy a house and make and prepare other household items. When a newlywed arrived, the things needed for the home that came with her were often separated and sent away. The young family lived with their parents, i.e., the husband's family, for 3-5 years and left to live separately. This tradition is more characteristic of the Uzbek people because the Kazakh people do not require this from the newlywed.

However, the tradition, which has been accepted since ancient times, that the eldest son always went out separately, and the youngest always remained and had a large family in the hands of his parents; this traditional family structure rule is characteristic

of the Kazakh and Uzbek people. In the Turkestan region, where Kazakhs mainly assimilated with Uzbeks, many Kazakh families observe "Ake murasy," according to which the youngest son remains the heir to the father's hearth and property. Moreover, the youngest son cares for his elderly parents.

One interesting fact that was remarked is that the wife, Uzbek, has a special endowment passed down to her from her ancestors to heal people. According to her, it was given in her childhood; if she did not help people and cancel this talent, she could not live and would be sick as she tried to quit several times. She was currently continuing the path of her ancestors.

In Kazakh-Uzbek families of Zhana Iqan, the preservation of traditions is also carried out in its place, considering both nations' values. Since these couples have lived in this marriage for a long time, the values of the two nations are not openly divided. According to the couples, two nationalities cannot be clearly distinguished from each other because the values of the Kazakh and Uzbek nationnalities mostly similar to each other; however, compared to other parts of Kazakhstan, only this village has a common specific culture typical only for these peoples, Kazakh and Uzbek nationalities, and mainly only the characteristic of the southern part of Kazakhstan.

(2)*Ceremonial rituals.* In the continuation of traditions, the values of both nations coexist, especially respect for elders, putting a man one step higher than a woman in the family; consequently, rites performed after the birth of a child, rituals performed due to the youth characteristics of a boy, Kazakh, and Uzbeks are often involved in the implementation of rituals. Since the traditions are similar, in this case, the common culture of both nations is used.

Differences can be seen only in the customs for new brides, the actions to be taken during the wedding, the use of national instruments, and the making of betashar (The solemn ceremony of meeting the bride in the groom's house is called 'kelin tusiru'. The main ele-ment of 'kelin tusiru' is a traditional performance of a song of instructions and wishes - Betashar).

In ancient times, when the Kazakhs practiced a nomadic lifestyle, the dwelling (yurt) of newlyweds was located behind the house of the groom's parents. According to the tradition, the bride should cross the first threshold of the yurt and be sure to do it with the right foot. Also, during the wedding ceremony, the couple must drink a bowl of water with dissolved sugar and salt together. This ritual is considered a guarantor of a happy family life and the styles of dressing.

Since the man is dominant in this family, all the mentioned features are based on the traditions of the Kazakh nation and the positions left by the ancestors. According to his wife, since childhood, she especially loved the Kazakh nation. She dreamed of marrying a Kazakh man because he particularly liked the culture of the Kazakhs, especially the style of dressing and the way they treat brides.

(3)*Celebration of holiday.* Celebrating holidays in Kazakh and Uzbek families offers a fascinating glimpse into the rich cultural traditions and values that define these Central Asian communities. This exploration will delve into the festivities associated with Eid Bayram, Nowruz, Kazakh National Unity Day, Kurban Ait, and family celebrations, shedding light on the unique practices within each culture. Eid Bayram: In Kazakh and Uzbek, families are similar: Eid celebrations involve communal prayers, festive meals, and gift exchanges, with tradetional dishes like plov taking center stage. Nowruz (Navruz): Kazakh Families: Nowruz celebrations feature Nauryz kozhe, traditional games, and cultural activities that symbolize renewal and abundance. Uzbek Families: Uzbek families celebrate Nowruz by cleaning, decorating homes, engaging

in traditional activities, and preparing sumptuous meals (Ismailov, 2017). In families of Zhana Iqan, both activities are fulfilled every year. Kazakh National Unity Day (May 1) Kazakh Families: National Unity Day is celebrated with parades, cultural events, and traditional games, fostering a sense of unity and pride (Tursynbayeva, 2016).

Uzbek families celebrate this holiday in the Turkestan region. Traditional ceremonies, music, and dance characterize Kazakh family celebrations, such as weddings and birthdays, emphasizing hospitality and cultural expression. Uzbek families celebrate significant events with unique ceremonies, colorful attire, and festive meals, particularly during weddings (Ibragimova 2015). These characteristics are equal to the Kazakh Uzbek community of Zhana Iqan.

(4) *Traditional clothing:* Traditional clothing serves as a visual representation of cultural identity, heritage, and societal values. Examining the traditional attire of Kazakhs and Uzbeks reveals a fascinating interplay of historical influences, craftsmanship, and cultural pride. Traditional Kazakh clothing is characterized by vibrant colors, intricate embroidery, and functional designs suited to the nomadic lifestyle (Nursultan, 2020). The clothing reflects the nomadic heritage, featuring elements such as the "shapan" (robe) for men and the "saukele" (headdress) for women, symbolizing cultural identity and societal roles. At the same time, Uzbek traditional clothing is known for its colorful patterns, intricate embroidery, and the use of silk and cotton fabric. The traditional attire, including the "shapan" (robe) and the distinctive skullcap known as "duppi," reflects Uzbek cultural identity and historical influences from the Silk Road (Gafurov 2017). As we see, between the traditional clothing of Uzbeks of Kazakhs, enough dissimilarities; in the case of the Turkestan region study villages in interviewed families, Kazakh traditional clothes were most liked and chosen by women of another ethnic group to

wear for special vital days. Because of the requirements and support of the local society.

(5) *Cultural cuisine.* In the everyday life of mixed marriages in the Turkestan region, traditional foods of both ethnic groups were equally prepared, primarily taking turns preparing. However, special holidays were chosen and priority Kazakh ethical foods. For example, Beshbarmak, which translates to "five fingers" in Kazakh, is a national dish and a symbol of hospitality. It consists of boiled meat (usually lamb or beef) served on a bed of pasta-like flat noodles, accompanied by onions and sometimes potatoes. Traditionally, guests are offered the best pieces of meat as a gesture of honor (Nazarkulova, 2018). Kumis is a traditional Kazakh beverage made from fermented mare's milk. It is a mildly alcoholic drink with a sour taste and is believed to have health benefits. Kumis is often consumed during festive occasions, symbolizing hospitality, friendship, etc. (Abduvaliev, 2021).

Uzbek homogeneous families

In this case, in order to compare and see the level of differences and similarities, analysis of families within the same ethnic groups can be relevant. Firstly, in Uzbek-Uzbek families, according to their family and social structure, they look like almost the same system as in Kazak Uzbek families. One difference could be found that in some Uzbek-Uzbek families of Zhana Iqan, it is still acceptable to live with the parents of newly married couples, even after the marriage of another son, it means brothers of the groom like it is acceptable and typical according to the Uzbek culture, moreover currently practical in Uzbekistan as well. Girls in Uzbek families a kind of a separate topic.

Uzbek family's birth of a girl is often not welcomed because a girl is considered someone's "Amanat." This means people of fidelity or people of honor, in the general sense, are entrusted for safekeeping and reliability what Allah has entrusted

to people. It is understood as given for safe-keeping, both intangible values (language, culture, nationality) and material (things, real estate). It is the parent's responsibility to securely hand over the amount to her own 'original family,' her husband's family. Therefore, girls are given into early marriages on an accelerated basis before they reach puberty. In Kazakh-Kazakh, a girl is a child who is considered an honored guest and is raised carefully, nurtured, and pampered. Brothers are required to respect their sisters and do what they say.

Ceremonial rituals are pivotal in shaping Uzbek households' cultural identity and familial bonds. Rooted in centuries-old traditions, these rituals weave a rich tapestry of cultural heritage, providing insight into the values and customs that define Uzbek family life. Mainly, ceremonies of weddings and birth celebrations have mostly stayed the same in this family. For example, this family still follows old Uzbek national traditions. Uzbek weddings are elaborate affairs marked by a series of rituals and celebrations. The pre-wedding rituals include the "Qiz Oshi" or girl's farewell, where the bride bids farewell to her family, symbolizing her transition to married life. The main wedding ceremony, "Nikokh Tui," involves exchanging vows and presenting gifts, emphasizing familial ties (Rashidov, 2018). These rituals symbolize the union of two individuals and highlight the importance of family and community in Uzbek culture. In Kazakh culture, a wedding celebration does not have a mentioned ritual.

Birth Celebrations. The birth of a child is celebrated with various rituals, including the "Chilla," a 40-day postpartum period of seclusion for the mother and newborn.

Another significant ritual what is connected with the birth of child is the "Aqiqah," a ceremony involving sacrificing an animal, typically a sheep, to mark the child's arrival (Khakimov, 2019). These rituals signify the importance of welcoming a new member into the family and community, focusing

on ensuring the well-being of both mother and child. In birth celebrations as well in Kazakh culture, we have a ritual called "kyrkynan shygaru" (қырқынан шығару). When a newborn turns 40 days old, the mother invites the closest female relative and friends of hers for a ritual. They are the child's Kindik ana (the selected woman who is in charge of this child in case something happens to his or her birth mother) and would wash the child in water with silver jewelry for the ritual. The silver pieces of jewelry should be put into the water as it serves as a water cleaner. After the bath, Kindik Ana cuts the child's nails and shaves his head

In Uzbek homogeneous families of Zhana Iqan, wearing traditional clothes on holidays was not too much paid attention to as their celebration of national holidays was together with the local people of the village as they are workers in the administrative place of the region, in their families were welcomed to wear and to fulfill another social norm were welcomed. According to the interviewees, they are very open-minded and easily adaptive persons for the generally accepted regards.

All cultures that highlight Uzbek ethnic group values can be fulfilled if there are only Uzbek relatives. In everyday life, they cook Uzbek, Kazakh, and other ethnic groups traditional foods who are living in that village. However, for the national holidays, they prefer to prepare traditional Kazakh foods; this choice can be changed according to the nationality of the people who surround them at that moment.

Kazakh, Uzbek, and other ethnic groups' tradetions and cultures living in the Turkestan region can be similar to each other, mostly in comparison with Russians. The leading cause of that is religion. During the interview, it was observed that fact, in mixed-marriage families of Russians with another ethnic group, religious preferences were changed from Christianity to Islam, in 50% of cases. Primarily, it was remarked that in young families, other people who kept and stayed in their first

religious belief were older people between 50 and 70 years old.

Patterns of explanation and description of the heterogeneous, Kazakh-Uzbek families are valid to the Kazakh-Russian families. In the *Kazakh-Russian families* of Hantagy, where the husband was Kazakh and the wife Russian are living in the same social surrounding provision as the Kazakh-Uzbek family system. However, at first years of their marriage, for his wife to adapt and receive the Kazakh traditional way of life was very hard. For her, it took at least 5-6 years while for Uzbek and Kazakh marriages there was not a difficulty of the kind. But after having a typical child, the woman made the decision to submit to her husband and his family's rules; she acquiesced to the Kazakh way of life beyond question, with the exception of her religious beliefs, which forbade her from desiring to communicate more.

Russian homogeneous families

Commonly, Russian families have long been characterized by a distinctive way of life rooted in cultural traditions, historical legacies, and social structures. This exploration delves into the traditional aspects of Russian family life by illuminating practices that have shaped generations and continue to play a significant role in contemporary society. In Hantagy, Russian-Russian families were assimilated well with locals, and as a result of acculturation and other basic concepts of the research, they could establish a common mixed culture. There, mostly Kazakh and Russian ethnic groups' national values and other essential accepted in their living community social norms were respected and used equally in everyday life. Except for other mixed and same-ethnic representatives' marriages in the Turkestan region, they differ in the following aspects. However, they were applied with other local ethnic values: Dacha Culture.

The dacha, or country cottage, is a quintessential feature of Russian family life. Families often own a

dacha where they retreat during weekends or holidays.

Gardening, cooking, and outdoor time are integral to dacha culture (Ivanova 2018).The dacha serves as a haven for relaxation, fostering a strong connection to nature and emphasizing the importance of family leisure. Extended Family Networks: Russian families traditionally exhibit strong ties across generations. Extended family networks are standard, and grandparents often play a vital role in childcare. Family gatherings, especially during holidays, are significant events (Kozlova 2019).

The emphasis on extended family networks promotes support, shared responsibilities, and the preservation of family traditions. Orthodox Christian Celebrations: Russian families often celebrate religious holidays following the Orthodox Christian calendar. Church services, festive meals, and rituals such as blessing Easter eggs mark Christmas, Easter, and Epiphany. These celebrations manifest religious and cultural identity, providing a framework for communal joy and spiritual reflection.

Maslenitsa Festival: Maslenitsa, the week-long festival before Lent, is marked by festivities involving the consumption of blini (pancakes), outdoor activities, and the burning of a straw effigy, symbolizing winter (Kleiman 2015). Maslenitsa celebrates the end of winter and the anticipation of spring, emphasizing community engagement and the joy of shared traditions.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the article, based on the conducted research fieldwork in the Turkestan region and collected 45 interviews on daily lifestyle, culture, traditions, linguistic, religious features, and other essential research aspects of families living in mixed and non-mixed marriages were analyzed based on the theories of assimilation and acculturation. To be more specific, in the course of the study, married families of different nationalities living in the village of Shornak, including Uzbek and

Kazakh families, were taken as an example. Despite the large number of Uzbeks in the said village, they have fully mastered all the values of the Kazakh nation, and during the interview, a large number of representatives of other nationalities who consider themselves Kazakhs were identified. Therefore, it more closely fits the definition of assimilation theory. The concept of acculturation is often met by families in the villages of the Zhana Iqan and Hantagy. The main reason for that, in these families, people from different ethnic groups living together in one territory created a culture common to two or more nations living there. Among them, an Uzbek-Kazakh family was selected for comparative analysis.

Furthermore, comparative information about the Uzbek homogeneous families was given to see the differences and similarities. In the same structure, Russian-Kazakh marriages were chosen, taking into account that Russians are unlike other Turkic-speaking ethnic groups in comparison with Russian homogeneous marriages. This analysis of the study will be continued further with the research of another cohabitation pattern.

References

Alsaawi A. (2016). A Critical Review of Qualitative Interviews. *SSRN Electronic Journal* 3(4):149-156. DOI 10.2139/ssrn.2819536

Berry, J. W. (2003). Conceptual approaches to acculturation. In K. M. Chun, P. B. Organista, & G. Marin (Eds.), *Acculturation: Advances in Theory, Measurement, and Applied Research*. Amazon.

Abduvaliev, A. (2021). *Kumis: A Taste of Kazakhstan's Past. The Diplomat.*

Berry, J. W. (1997). Immigration, acculturation, and adaptation. Applied Psychology: *An International Review,* 46(1), 5–34.
DOI 10.1080/026999497378467

Bornstein, M. H., & Cote, L. R. (2005). Mother-infant Interaction and Acculturation: I Behavioral Parcels. *International Journal of Behavioral Development, 29*(2), 120–131. DOI: 10.1080/01650250042000546

DeSipio, L. (2003). Understanding the Political Incorporation of Immigrants: A Subnational Comparative Analysis. *Policy Studies Journal, 31*(1), 145–169.

Encyclopedia of South Kazakhstan. - Almaty: Kazakh Encyclopedia, 2005. - 560 p., photo. - 3000 pcs. – 9965-9746-1-6 – 517 p

Gafurov, R. (2017). Duppi: The Uzbek Skullcap and Its Cultural Significance. *Uzbekistan Daily.*

Gordon, M. M. (1964). *Assimilation in American life: The role of race, religion, and national origins.* Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Ibragimova, A. (2015). Uzbek Weddings: Customs and Traditions. Advantour.

Ismailov, R. (2017). Navruz in Uzbekistan: Welcoming Spring with Tradition. The Diplomat.

Ivanova, N. (2018). Dacha Culture in Contemporary Russia: Leisure, Nostalgia, and Identity. *European Journal of Cultural Studies.*

Khakimov, A. (2019). Aqiqah in Uzbek Culture: Celebrating the Arrival of New Life. *Central Asian Journal of Global Health.*

Kleiman, M. (2015). Maslenitsa: A Russian Folk Festival and the Orthodox Church. *Sibirica: Interdisciplinary Journal of Siberian Studies.*

Lee, S. (2008). Marital patterns and the decision to marry interracially. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 70*(5), 1260–1275.

Nazarkulova, Z. (2018). Beshbarmak - The National Dish of Kazakhstan. *Astana Times.*

Nursultan, A. (2020). The Shapan and Saukele: Symbols of Kazakh Cultural Identity. *Kazakh World.*

Rashidov, M. (2018). Uzbek Wedding Traditions: A Journey Through Rituals and Customs. *Uzbekistan Daily.*

Schneider, D. M. (1984). A Critique of the Study of Kinship. *University of Michigan Press*.

Tursynbayeva, A. (2016). Kazakhstan Marks National Unity Day. Astana Times.

Date of use: 10 January 2024: https://www.wikidata.kk-kz.nina.az

Date of use: 10 January 2024: https://weproject.media/articles/detail/9-ustoev-kazakhskikh-semey-kotorye-doshli-do-nashikh-dney/

Date of use: 14 January 2024: https://islaman siklopedisi.org.tr/emanet

Date of use: 12 January 2024: https://kazakh tradition.wordpress.com/related-to-marriage/betashar-kelin-tusiru/

Date of use: 13 January 2024: https://zhalagash-zharshysy.kz/qyzyqty-maelimet/qyrqynan-shygharw/

Date of use: 18 January 2024: https://abai.institute/post/sundet-toi-634/

ETHICAL LEADERSHIP IN CROSS-CULTURE

Author:

Maram Hani Falah Alshawabkeh[1]
University of Debrecen (Hungary)
(Jordan)

Reviewers:

Gábor Biczó (Ph.D)
University of Debrecen

Norbert Tóth (Ph.D)
University of Debrecen

…and two other anonymous reviewers

Abstract

The existing ethical leadership literature reflects a Western-based private sector perspective, implying a compliance-oriented view of ethical leadership. Developing a more comprehensive understanding of how ethical leadership is viewed in the Western and Eastern cultural clusters, as well as the private and public sectors, is crucial because today's leaders must lead ethically across cultures and sectors more and more. Addressing this issue, the present study explores how employees from Eastern cultures define ethical leadership and which characteristics they associate with ethical leaders. A qualitative study was conducted through interviews this study conducted 10 confidential individual interviews with leaders and employees in a public organization in Jordan. The findings indicate that while there may be similarities with Western perspectives on ethical leadership such as honesty; respect, fairness, and justice, there are also distinct characteristics and priorities that reflect the unique socio-cultural context of the region like religiosity, accountability, responsibility, and trustworthiness.

Keywords: Ethics, Ethical leadership, cross-culture, organizational culture
Diszcipline: Cultural Anthropology, Ethnography

Absztrakt

ETIKUS VEZETÉS A KULTÚRÁK KÖZÖTT

A meglévő etikus vezetési szakirodalom a magánszektor nyugati szemléletét tükrözi, ami az etikus vezetés megfelelésorientált szemléletét feltételezi. Az etikus vezetés megítélésének átfogóbb megértése kulcsfontosságú a nyugati és keleti kultúrkörökben, valamint a magán- és közszférában, mivel a mai

[1] Maram Alshawabkeh. Department of Ethnography, Faculty of Arts, University of Debrecen, Program of Ethnography and Cultural Anthropology, PhD School of History and Ethnography (Hungary) (Jordan). E-mail address: maramshawabkeh97@yahoo.com, ORCID ID: https://orcid.org/0009-0003-4728-5058

vezetőknek egyre inkább kultúrák és ágazatok közötti etikus vezetést szükséges alkalmazniuk. Jelen tanulmány azt vizsgálja, hogy a keleti kultúrákból származó alkalmazottak hogyan definiálják az etikus vezetést, és milyen jellemzőket társítanak az etikus vezetőkhöz. A kvalitatív tanulmányt interjúk segítségével készítette el a szerző, mely során 10 bizalmas egyéni interjú felvételére került sor egy jordán állami szervezet vezetőivel és alkalmazottaival. Az eredmények azt mutatják, hogy bár vannak hasonlóságok az etikus vezetés nyugati szemléletével, mint például a becsületesség, tisztelet, tisztesség és igazságosság, de vannak olyan sajátos jellemzők és prioritások is, amelyek a régió egyedi szociokulturális kontextusát tükrözik, mint például a vallásosság, elszámoltathatóság, felelősség és megbízhatóság.

Kulcsszavak: etika, etikus vezetés, kultúrák közötti kapcsolat, szervezeti kultúra.

Diszciplína: kulturális antropológia, néprajz

Introduction

Over the years, ethics has been one of the hottest topics in social sciences, philosophy, and business practices. Ethics holds a significant place in academia, society, and various professional fields due to its philosophical underpinnings, practical relevance, and its role in shaping moral behavior and decision-making. The subfield of philosophy called ethics covers a wide range of disciplines, from economics to anthropology. Content of the concept of ethics varies from nation to nation according to cultural and religious norms, as well as regional, national, historical, and environmental variables (Göçen, 2021).

Cross-cultural comparative studies are crucial in today's multicultural world, as the leading organizations in various industries are multinational, with employees from many countries. Within the set of comparative studies, the specificity of ethical attitudes in the context of cultures is key, as knowledge of these attitudes can reveal the ethical responsibilities that leaders from different cultures demand of the organizations they lead (Shapira-Lishchinsky, 2020). In an era marked by globalization and increasing interconnectivity, the landscape of leadership and organizational management has evolved significantly (Thomas, 2002). As organizations expand across borders, engage with diverse communities, and embrace multicultural workforces, the importance of ethical leadership in cross-cultural contexts has gained unprecedented attention.

The fusion of ethics and leadership within a cross-cultural framework has become not only a strategic necessity but also a moral imperative in the pursuit of sustainable success and harmonious coexistence (Javidan et al., 2006).

The overall point of examining culture and ethical leadership in a business setting is that practices that may be considered acceptable, and perhaps, ethical in one culture, may conflict with viewpoints on ethical practices in another, and therefore it is a priority for researchers to examine the impact of different cultures on ethical leadership (Carroll, 2004; Donaldson & Dunfee, 1999).

As organizations grow and expand, it is critical for leaders in multicultural organizations to understand how the rules, behavior, patterns, values, and attitudes of business in one culture differ from another. The proliferation of global companies raises the question of whether leadership theories can be applied universally across various cultures, or whether cultural specificities need to be taken into account in order to lead effectively. Managers of international companies who function across national borders have little guidance on how to adapt to different cultures in order to lead effectively (Hill, 2002)

Understanding the perception of people from different cultures is essential to the success of

effective team-building and team function. Additionally, with researchers establishing universally ethical characteristics, leaders who learn to express the same ethical behaviors in different manners can help establish better relationships with their subordinates and give their organization a potential competitive advantage.

The Purpose of this Study

This article delves into the intricate tapestry of ethics and ethical leadership as they intersect with the multifaceted world of cross-cultural dynamics. It explores the challenges and opportunities inherent in leading and managing across different cultural backgrounds while upholding ethical principles.

By examining this intersection, this study aims to shed light on the complex, yet pivotal, role that ethical leadership plays in navigating the ethi-cal dilemmas, values conflicts, and cultural varia-tions that emerge in diverse workplaces. In the dearth of research available in this area, studies are often based on a Western perspective and do not take into consideration the various intricacies of other cultural views (Resick et al., 2006).

Therefore, there is a need to examine how ethical leadership is perceived in countries that are not based on Wes-tern culture. Based on the following research ques-tions, this study sought to explore the basic charac-teristics of ethical leadership in Islamic Middle Eas-tern culture. What is the perception of ethical leadership in non-Western countries? What are the similarities and differences in the content of the concept of ethical leadership in organizations in Western and Eastern countries?

A qualitative study was conducted through 10 semi-structured interviews with managers and employees in one of the organizations in the Middle East, Jordan to obtain data on this question.

The Theoretical Background of Ethical Leadership

Human society is based on ethics, which is also essential for the creation of laws and social norms as well as for directing our actions and choices. It offers a framework for individuals and groups to think about what is reasonable and decent, and it aids in the resolution of challenging moral dilemmas in a variety of spheres of life. Examining the ethical approaches that have remained the same or have evolved over the ages would be crucial in this context, as it might provide valuable insights into the ways in which the essence of ethics varies across history and between cultural contexts.

Ethos, which means "habit or character" in Greek, is the root of the philosophical term ethics. Ethics is the body of moral principles and values that define what is good and wrong in an individual's or a group's behavior. The public finds it morally and legally acceptable when people behave ethically, according to Trevino (1986).

The core questions of ethics have always been what defines good and bad behavior, what morally justifies a certain course of action, and how individuals and society arrive at these conclusions. According to Sims (1992), ethical behavior is defined as acts that, rather than being considered "bad" or "wrong," are ethically "good" and "right" in a particular circumstance. According to philosophical concepts, it focuses on clarifying and characterrizing ethical standards and actions, implying that certain acts are acceptable or undesirable (Minkes et al., 1999).

According to Thomas (2002), ethics is a broad term that refers to a set of rules that determine what is good and what is bad. A general conception of ethics would include three main philosophies (Thomas, 2002):

1. Utilitarianism examines the effects of decisions and looks for the greatest attainable

balance between good and bad.

2. According to the deontological perspective, every individual is a unique being with significant rights that should be upheld.

3. Cultural relativism promotes respect for the ethical norms and cultural systems of others. It is improper to impose one's own standards on others (Fritzsche & Becker, 1984; Thomas, 2002).

Culture and ethics

Contemporary anthropologists define culture as "an ideational system," which refers to "what humans learn, not what they do and make" (Keesing, 1981, 68-69). According to Geertz (1973, 145.), "culture is the fabric of meaning in terms of which human beings interpret their experiences and guide their action". The term "culture" refers to everything that influences the behavior and mental health of a specific group of people. It is about how a group of individuals perceive and represent life and the universe to themselves (Geertz, 1973). Culture becomes a crucial component in the process by which multinational managers try to lead their teams and organizations. A group's common beliefs and values that provide its members purpose and behavioral guidelines are referred to as their culture. Culture strongly influences people's ability to think ethically and their attitudes towards ethics. "There are global variations in ethical principles due to a variety of factors such as social and political dynamics, historical customs, and religious beliefs." (Campbell et al., 2010, 129.).

As a result, in an increasingly globalized world, where ecosystems and societies have to cope with complexity and multiple cultures, ethics is becoming increasingly important and likely to be a source of conflict. It is not only ethics in general that poses a challenge, but also the different moral beliefs of employees from different backgrounds within companies. In the course of day-to-day operations, there are many points in the life of organizations where ethical conflicts can arise between management and their subordinates from different cultures (Campbell et al., 2010, 129..)

Accordingly, culture is a shared experience among group members and has the power to influence behavior and how individuals view their environment (Chen, 2005). This has a significant impact on their performance and corporate well-being. Culture reflects moral and ethical beliefs. Norms and values, which are closely related to ethics are defined as the middle layer of culture by Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (2012). Hofstede and Minkov (2010) refer to the moral circle as a group of people who consider themselves to be one group. They state that the moral circle does not only affect symbols, rituals, and heroes but also our values.

Ethics in Organizational Culture

The core component of any cultural system is ethics. From an institutional standpoint, ethics are the values, norms, and customs that make up shared cultural framework or script of an organization. Malinowski (1944) defined ethics as the set of principles that people organize around in order to follow or join existent groups.

The study of ethics focuses on how choices affect particular people. It also includes researching people's moral convictions, social interactions, and legal and moral obligations. Ethical guidelines and practices are heavily incorporated into business operations. In a narrower sense, ethics in an organizational setting can be understood as an honest discussion of the principles and issues that are most important to the stakeholders and the outcome. It is, in a sense, a continuous process of exploring, validating, and evaluating one's own ideas and beliefs (Freeman & Stewart, 2006). The most common way to characterize ethical behavior in an organizational setting is to talk about the

moral standards of senior managers (CEOs) and the organizational culture to which they contribute significantly (DeGeorge, 1986).

According to Cameron and Quinn (2011), an organization's culture is represented in its values, prevailing management and leadership philosophies, language and symbols, processes and routines, and success criteria that define its identity. Organizational culture emerged as a business phenomena in the early 1980s, sparked by authors who proposed that corporate culture was critical to organizational performance and could be managed to increase a company's competitive advantage (Baker, 2002). Managers play a significant role in studies on business ethics due to their ability to create and uphold an organization's moral atmosphere (Vidaver-Cohen,1998) and consequent influence over the success or failure of organizational ethics (Trevino et al., 2008).

According to Gill (2011), corporate culture and business ethics are created and disseminated by the owners of the organization and maintained by their successors, so it is management that is responsible for their diffusion. He further argues that the decline of the organizational culture is the result of the actions and behavior of the leader.Ethics is important for organizations' employees, but it's especially important for managers as it's a reflexive practice that helps leaders realize the consequences of their actions (Binns,2008).

Ethical leadership in an organization

In the business world, the last decade of the 20th century and the first decade of the 21st century witnessed a terrible collapse of ethical norms (Crosbie, 2008). Global crises and ethical scandals, primarily connected to the business sector, have influenced the focus of ethics studies in the mainstream media toward the business sector. Ethical leadership has become a "hot topic" in organizational practice due to the intense discussions about ethical crises in business ethics (Eisenbeiss, 2012). Leadership is essential in ensuring the successful completion of tasks in both the private and public sectors. According to some authors (e.g., Demirtas et al., 2015; Alshawabkeh, 2023), ethical leadership has a positive impact on the meaningfulness of employees' performance, which in turn improves employees' work engagement and organizational identification while decreasing workplace discord and organizational cynicism.

The concept of ethical leadership in management refers to leaders who uphold moral principles both in their personal and professional capacities as managers of organizations (Gabriunas, 2017). It is believed that CEOs set the "tone at the top" that influences an organization's strategy as well as its ethical climate and culture (Freeman et al., 1988).

Since Ethical leadership and effective leadership are inextricably linked (Sotirova, 2018), organizational leaders who want to manage effectively should include and demonstrate moral values in their daily operations.

Nowadays, as more organizations use foreign employees, they need to under-stand ethics from a cross-cultural perspective. Ethical imperialism and cultural relativism are two extremes that can be used to describe the major issue that arises when ethics is not understood from other cultural viewpoints or when local morality is overemphasized (Sotirova, 2018).

According to research, the culture society is linked to variations in ethical sensitivity and personal values (Jackson, 2001). One of the well-organized cross-cultural studies on ethical leadership was Resick et al.'s (2006) study, but it was primarily centered on Western-based leadership and ethics literature. According to Sotirova (2018), a lot of the work in ethics is based on the perspective of a Western economy, and the field of research needs to be expanded in order to compare cultures, values, and ethical systems in a more accurate and thorough manner.

Ethical leadership in cross-culture

According to Michalos (2008), one's perspective determines what is considered East or West, or even modern times. Western nations, the majority of which practice Christianity, are recognized as being in or close to the European Union and the American continent. Accepted as Eastern countries are those that are east of the European Union and Asia, with a majority Islamic population. According to Eisenbeiss (2012) cultures, customs, and faiths all have a big influence on how ethical leadership is developed. According to Eisenbeiss (2012), cultures, customs, and faiths all have a big influence on how ethical leadership is developed. The findings of Eisenbeiß and Brodbeck (2013) highlight shared ideals that are fundamental to both ancient and contemporary moral philosophies: honesty, humanity, fairness, responsibility, and sustainability.

According to Eisenbeiß and Brodbeck (2014), ethical leadership is perceived by both Eastern and Western samples as involving characteristics like honesty, integrity, concern for sustainability and responsibility, and people orientation. Some of these characteristics are also present in this cross-cultural study.

Göçen (2021) claims that as both Western and Eastern educational groups share more similar beliefs than different ones about ethical leadership, their perceptions of ethical leadership do not appear to be very different. The four main categories that both groups support are justice, fairness, honesty, and respect. The Eastern sample's emphasis on sincerity, religious behavior, accountability, and lack of partiality, and the Western sample's emphasis on rationality, cooperation, and listening skills, differ slightly.

Comparatively speaking, Middle Eastern societies tended to support collective motivation and encouragement less than other societies did. Some understanding of these results might come from a closer examination of the cultural norms and leadership styles of these societies. Initially,

opinions of what makes a good leader may vary. In Middle Eastern countries, for instance, Power Distance is highly prized as a cultural trait (Gupta & Hanges, 2004). Consequently, individuals are more receptive to centralized decision-making, more inclined to follow leaders' instructions, and less inclined to challenge their leaders' decisions (Dickson et al., 2003). Additionally, in Middle Eastern societies, maintaining one's integrity and conserving face are highly valued. A leader's capacity to be perceived as an effective leader by peers and subordinates is significantly impeded when their reputation is damaged, which will probably result in further difficulties for the person. Furthermore, social networks of interrelated interactions form the foundation of Middle Eastern society (Hutchings & Weir, 2004). Second, in contrast to other nations, Middle Eastern standards and expectations may have different qualities and behaviors that define moral leaders. Middle Eastern societies have strongly ingrained Islamic religious beliefs in many facets of daily life (Hutchings & Weir, 2004).

The findings of this study will further contribute to the cross-cultural literature and examine how ethical leadership is viewed in the Middle East countries.

Methodological Background of Ethical Leadership Research.

In order to fill the gaps in the literature about the perceptions of ethical and unethical leadership in Eastern cultures as well as in the public and social sectors, Eisenbeiß and Brodbeck (2014) opted for a qualitative exploratory manner. Likewise, this study went with a qualitative exploratory strategy. According to Cooper and Schindler (2014), applying qualitative methodologies provides in-depth details on the participants' perspectives of the target topic and permits investigation into the significance of the participants' experience. Conducting semi-structured interviews with leaders and employees

from a variety of societal and sectoral cultural backgrounds seemed to be the most appropriate way to collect rich information and maximize unbiased insights. These interviews would allow participants to discuss in-depth their ideas, opinions, and perceptions of ethical leadership as well as their personal experiences with both ethical and unethical leadership.

In the summer of 2023 The author of this study conducted 10 semi-structured individual interviews with leaders and employees in a public organization in Jordan personally until theoretical saturation was reached (Strauss & Corbin,1998). The average length of an interview was 45 min. The sole inclusion criterion for participation was full-time employees who were likely to be immersed in the cultural and organizational context. They represent a diverse range of backgrounds, experiences, and perspectives, providing a more comprehensive understanding of how morality is viewed within Eastern culture. Studying employees in a government ministry within Eastern culture helps gain insight into how ethics are perceived, understood, and practiced within the broader cultural context

According to McCracken (1988), interviews are a suitable method for obtaining information about cultural categories and common meanings. To go deeper into the researcher's areas of interest, pre-prepared semi-structured interview questions were used. These open-ended questions let the interviewee elaborate while keeping the conversation on the topic so the interviewer may use their time as effectively as possible. Every interview was taped and then transcribed for analysis.

In this study semi-structured interview protocol included general open-ended questions, as is typical of qualitative research (Spradley 1979). This study aimed to create a qualitative research procedure that was as close to Resick et al. (2011) as possible in order to ensure comparability. Therefore, participants were asked to use their own words and terminology to define behaviors, characteristics, and inclinations that they connect with ethical or unethical leadership (Resick et al. 2011).

First, the interviewees were asked to describe their understanding of ethical leadership (i.e., "What is your understanding of ethical leadership?"). Subsequently, the interviewers were asked more detailed questions about their personal experiences with leaders they believed to be extremely ethical. These questions covered both specific traits and actions as well as significant instances of ethical leadership. For example, "If you now consider a leader you have met during your professional career and whom you have perceived as extremely ethical, what characteristics and behaviors characterized this leader? Please give a brief description of the first person that comes to mind. Would you kindly provide specific examples?" In the same manner, we asked participants about how ethical leader tries to understand and appreciate the worth of employees and how ethical leaders act to encourage desirable, ethically grounded responses in employees.

Research Results

In order to develop a more comprehensive understanding of how ethical leadership is viewed in the Western and Eastern cultural clusters, as well as the private and public sectors this study has been focused on analyzing the ethical leadership perceptions of the employees and leaders in a public organization in Jordan. Throughout the interview, respondents were asked questions to share their thoughts and perspectives on ethical leadership. Every respondent recognized the various elements and traits that influence employee performance and had a thorough understanding of ethical leadership and its traits. Various ethical leadership attributes were addressed during the interviews as essential leadership characteristics that will advance the organization and develop a successful organazational culture.

The content and value dimensions of the definition of ethical leadership

Trust, Honesty, Justice, and Respect: As part of the interview process, each respondent was asked about their views and understanding of ethical leadership. Honesty, trust, justice, and respect were referred to by approximately 100% of the respondents as essential ethical leadership traits. *„Ethical leadership promotes a high level of honesty, fair dealing, respect, and productivity through a sense of trustworthiness and honest decision-making. Honesty, trust, justice, and respect are strong foundations that direct employees' ethical beliefs, values, and decisions, which is the true essence of ethical leadership"*

Consistency, credibility, and predictability are components of both honesty and trustworthiness: *„Consistency is the definition of honesty it involves acting on your words, following through, and developing a pattern that leads people to believe what you say because, in the past, you have done so."* Interviewees characterized ethical leaders, as they are leaders who demonstrate honesty, trust, justice, and respect.

Role Modeling: Role Modeling was referred to by approximately 90% of the respondents as an essential ethical leadership trait. According to respondents, a leader is someone who shows respect for their subordinates in return; if a leader upholds ethics by rules and actions, staff members will follow them. Employees typically don't trust leaders they don't think are ethical. According to one of the respondents: *„Role modeling is highly impor-tant for all organizations. The leadership must set an example for employees to follow when it comes to ethical behavior."*

Religiosity: According to respondents, an ethical leader needs to be religious not just by saying prayers, but they have to demonstrate it through their behavioral actions. Religion recommends ethics and morality to its followers, which guides how they conduct their organization compared to others. In view of the respondent: *„Religious leaders are thought to have a deeper sense of ethical judgment. Religion offers a perspective for comprehending and differentiating between good and wrong."* In the same context, one of the respondents stated that: *„I believe that an ethical leader is, as Prophet Muhammad said, the best person you hire is the honest and trustworthy".* Religion can play a significant role in shaping ethical leadership by providing a moral framework, guiding principles, and values that inform leaders' decisions, behaviors, and interactions within the organizational context.

Reactions to unethical and ethical behaviors

A system that encourages moral behavior is created by ethical leaders using rewards and punishments to hold individuals accountable to norms as one employee put it: *„Ethical leader Listens to what employees have to say and Makes fair and balanced decisions and Ensures that employees are promoted in the organization because they show ethical behavior".*

Also punishes ethical violations when one of the leaders was asked about the way of acting towards unethical actions he answered: *„Reprimands, blame and punish employees who show unethical behavior".* In this way, they convey to employees how individuals win and lose in the organization.

Perceived ethics-related behaviors within the organization

Perceived ethics-related behaviors within an organization are crucial indicators of its ethical climate and culture. These behaviors encompass a wide range of actions, decisions, and interactions that employees perceive as ethical or unethical within the organizational context. *„By prioritizing ethics and integrity in their leadership approach, ethical leaders contribute to the development of a positive ethical climate and culture within the organization."*

Ethical leaders perceive ethics-related behaviors within the organization by assessing their alignment with values, impact on stakeholders, consistency with organizational culture, adherence to standards

and policies, promotion of ethical decision-making, demonstration of ethical leadership, recognition and reward of ethical behavior, and commitment to continuous improvement and learning.

Ethical leader tries to understand and appreciate the worth of employees. Ethical leaders recognize the intrinsic value of each employee and strive to understand and appreciate their worth in several ways such as Being sensitive to employees' feelings and perspectives, Listening deeply, taking an active interest in employees' concerns, and Being able to change their mind or direction as long as the ethical foundation remains secure

By understanding and appreciating the worth of their employees in these ways, ethical leaders foster a positive work environment where employees feel valued, respected, and motivated to contribute their best efforts to the organization's success.

Most respondents perceived ethical leadership as a set of values including honesty, trust, respect, role modeling, employee attitude, organizational justice, and religiosity. Some respondents connected ethics with religion and pointed out that key leadership characteristics are honesty and trustworthiness. In their view, they believed that leaders' personal, religious, and ethical values also play an essential role in cultivating work ethics, organizational culture, and employee performance.

Ethical leadership is perceived in various ways across different cultures, including those in the Islamic Middle East. While Western perspectives on ethical leadership often emphasize principles such as transparency, accountability, and individual rights, perceptions in the Middle East may be influenced by cultural, religious, and historical factors. Here are some key considerations:

1. Islamic Values: In the Middle East, ethical leadership is often framed within the context of Islamic values and principles. Leaders are expected to demonstrate qualities such as justice, integrity, and accountability, which are deeply rooted in Islamic teachings.

2. Authority and Respect: Leadership in Middle Eastern cultures often involves a strong emphasis on authority and respect for hierarchy. Ethical leaders are expected to command respect through their actions, decision-making, and adherence to societal norms and traditions.

3. Trust and Reliability: Ethical leaders in the Middle East are expected to be trustworthy and reliable, fulfilling their promises and commitments to their constituents. Trust is a crucial aspect of leadership, and ethical behavior is essential for maintaining trust and credibility.

Overall, Ethical leadership in the Islamic Middle East is shaped by a combination of cultural, religious, and historical factors. While there may be similarities with Western perspectives on ethical leadership such as honesty, respect, fairness, and justice, there are also distinct characteristics and priorities that reflect the unique socio-cultural context of the region like religiosity, accountability, responsibility, and trustworthiness.

Conclusion

In summary, ethical leadership across cultural boundaries in the modern international economy continues to raise fundamental questions. As many companies and businesses continue to expand across borders, ethical disagreements and conflicts arising from contradictions in organisational culture and cultural identity are a regular occurrence (Carroll, 2004). Global views on ethical leadership are influenced by a range of social forces and factors, and researchers are challenged to explore these interrelationships (Jackson, 2001). In many ways, we are only at the beginning of this journey, and the goal is not to find answers but to find the right questions with which to address these dilemmas. According to Resick et al (2006), business leaders will find it increasingly difficult to maintain ethical

leadership across cultural boundaries and to manage conflicts arising from cultural differences. Nevertheless, the pragmatic implementation of cross-cultural ethical leadership remains a key task in fostering friendly and productive business partnerships that have a significant impact on the efficiency, productivity, formal and informal functioning of the members of the organization.

References

Alshawabkeh, M. H. F. (2023). The Effectiveness of Ethical Leadership on Employee Performance: Systematic Literature Review. *Különleges Bánásmód-Interdiszciplináris folyóirat*, 9(1), 101-112. DOI 10.18458/KB.2023.1.101

Baker, K. A- (2002) *Organizational Culture* [online].

Binns, J. (2008). The ethics of relational leading: Gender matters. Gender. *Work & Organization*, 15(6), 600-620. DOI 10.1111/j.1468-0432.2008.00418.x

Cameron, K. S. & Quinn, R.E. (2011). *Diagnosing and changing organizational culture: based on the competing values framework*. John Wiley and Sons, New York.

Campbell, T. T., Judge, T. A., & Robbins, S. P. (2010). *Organizational behaviour*. Harlow: Pear.

Carroll, A. B. (2004). Managing ethically with global stakeholders: A present and future challenge. *Academy of Management Perspectives*, 18(2), 114-120. DOI 10.5465/AME.2004.13836269

Cooper, D. R., & Schindler, P. (2014). *Business research methods*. McGraw Hill, New York.

Crosbie, R. (2008). Who defines ethics in your organization?. *Industrial and Commercial Training*, 40(4), 181-187. DOI 10.1111/puar.12562

De George, R. T. (1986). Theological ethics and business ethics. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 5, 421-432.

Demirtas, O., & Akdogan, A. A. (2015). The effect of ethical leadership behavior on ethical climate, turnover intention, and affective commitment. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 130, 59-67. DOI 10.1007/s10551-014-2196-6

Dickson, M. W., Den Hartog, D. N., & Mitchelson, J. K. (2003). Research on leadership in a cross-cultural context: Making progress, and raising new questions. *The leadership quarterly*, 14(6), 729-768. DOI 10.1016/j.leaqua.2003.09.002

Donaldson, T., & Dunfee, T. W. (1999). When ethics travel: The promise and peril of global business ethics. *California Management Review,* 41(4), 45-63. DOI 10.1177/000812569904100401

Eisenbeiss, S. A. (2012). Re-thinking ethical leadership: An interdisciplinary integrative approach. *The Leadership Quarterly*, 23(5), 791-808. DOI 10.1016/j.leaqua.2012.03.001

Eisenbeiß, S. A., & Brodbeck, F. (2014). Ethical and unethical leadership: A cross-cultural and cross-sectoral analysis. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 122, 343-359. DOI 10.1007/s10551-013-1740-0

Freeman, R. E., & Stewart, L. (2006). *Developing ethical leadership*. Business Roundtable Institute for Corporate Ethics, 9.

Fritzsche, D. J., & Becker, H. (1984). Linking management behavior to ethical philosophy: An empirical investigation. *Academy of Management Journal*, 27, 166-175. DOI 10.5465/255964

Gabriunas, I. L. O. P. (2017). *Ethical Leadership*. In Encyclopedia of Business and Professional Ethics (pp. 1-6). Springer, Berlin.

Gill, R. (2011). *Theory and practice of leadership*. Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA

Geertz, C. (1973). *The Interpretation of Cultures*. Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, New York.

Göçen, A. (2021). Ethical leadership in educational organizations: A cross-cultural study. *Turkish Journal of Education*, 10(1), 37-57. DOI 10.19128/turje.811919

Gupta, V. and P. J. Hanges: 2004, Regional and Climate Clustering of Societal Cultures, in R. J. House, P. J. Hanges, M. Javidan, P. W.

Dorfman & V. Gupta (eds*), Culture, Leadership, and Organizations: The GLOBE Study of 62 Societies*. Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA. 95–101.

Hill, R. P. (2002). Consumer Culture and the Culture of poverty: Implications for Marketing-theory and Practice. *Marketing Theory*, 2(3), 273-293. DOI 10.1177/1470593102002003279

Hofstede G, Hofstede GJ, Minkov M (2010). *Cultures and Organizations: Software of the Mind*. 3rd ed. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.

Hutchings, K. and D. Weir (2004). *Interpersonal Connections in China and the Arab World: Implications for Western Managers*. Paper presented at the Irish Academy of Management Annual Conference, Dublin, Ireland.

Jackson, T. (2001). Cultural values and management ethics: A 10-nation study. *Human Relations*, 54(10), 1267-1302. DOI 10.1177/a019195

Javidan, M., House, R. J., Dorfman, P. W., Hanges, P. J., & Sully de Luque, M. (2006). Conceptualizing and measuring cultures and their consequences: a comparative review of GLOBE's and Hofstede's approaches. *Journal of international business studies*, 37, 897-914.
DOI 10.1057/palgrave.jibs.8400234

Keesing, Roger M. (1981). *Cultural anthropology: a contemporary perspective* (2nd edn). New York: Holt, Rhinehart and Winston [1st edn, 1976]

Malinowski, W. R. (1944). The pattern of underground resistance. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* 232(1), 126-133. DOI 10.1177/000271624423200120

McCracken, G. (1988). *The long interview* (Vol. 13). Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA.

Michalos, A. C. (2008). Ancient observations on busi-ness ethics: Middle East meets West. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 79(1-2), 9-19. DOI 10.1007/s10551-007-9386-4

Minkes, A. L., Small, M. W., & Chatterjee, S. R. (1999). Leadership and business ethics: Does it matter? Implications for management. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 20, 327-335. DOI 10.1023/a:1005741524800

Resick, C. J., Hanges, P. J., Dickson, M. W., & Mitchelson, J. K. (2006). A cross-cultural examination of the endorsement of ethical leadership. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 63, 345-359. DOI 10.1007/s10551-005-3242-1

Shapira-Lishchinsky, O. (2020). A multinational study of teachers' codes of ethics: Attitudes of educational leaders. *NASSP Bulletin*, 104(1), 5-19. DOI 10.1177/0192636520907694

Sims, R. R. (1992). The challenge of ethical behavior in organizations. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 11, 505-513.

Sotirova, D. (2018). Ethical leadership in cross-cultural business communication. *Acta Prosperitatis*, (9), 51-88.

Spradley, J. P. (1979). Ethnography and culture. *The ethnographic interview*, 3-16. DOI 10.1016/B978-044451542-1/50012-X

Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1998). *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory* (2nd ed.). Sage Publications, Inc.

Thomas, D. C. (2002). *Cross-cultural management: Essential concepts*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Treviño, L. K., Weaver, G. R., & Brown, M. E. (2008). It's lovely at the top: Hierarchical levels, identities, and perceptions of organizational ethics. *Business Ethics Quarterly*, 18(2), 233-252. DOI 10.1017/S1052150X00010952

Trevino, L. K. (1986). Ethical decision making in organizations: A person–situation interactionist model. *The Academy of Management Review*, 11(3), 601–617. DOI 10.2307/258313

Trompenaars, A. & Hampden-Turner, C. (2012). *Riding the waves of culture: Understanding diversity in global business*. Chicago, IL: McGraw-Hill

Vidaver-Cohen, D. (1998). Moral climate in business firms: A conceptual framework for analysis and change. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 17, 1211-1226. DOI 10.1023/A:1005763713265

ISSUES OF URBANIZATIONS IN KYRGYZSTAN:
NEW SETTLEMENTS OF BISHKEK

Author:

Mirlan Alymbaev[1]
University of Debrecen (Hungary)
(Kirghizia)

Reviewers:

Gábor Biczó (Ph.D)
University of Debrecen

Norbert Tóth (Ph.D)
University of Debrecen

…and two other anonymous reviewers

Abstract

Urbanization in Kyrgyzstan, in particular the capital city of Bishkek faces the rapid growth of new settlements that often outpaces the developmental issues such as infrastructure, housing shortages, social services, employment, environmental impact, cultural and social integration, security, land ownership and property rights. These issues can be complex, and lead to disputes and uncertainty for residents. This can hinder development in new settlements. Efforts to address these urbanization issues in new settlements around Bishkek city should involve comprehensive urban planning, infrastructure development, land management, and social policies. It's essential to ensure that urbanization contributes to improved living conditions and opportunities for all residents, fostering sustainable and inclusive growth.

Keywords: Urbanization, New Settlements, Bishkek, Ethnicity, Migration, Novostroyki, Kelechek.
Diszcipline: Cultural Anthropology, Ethnography

Absztrakt

AZ URBANIZÁCIÓ KÉRDÉSEI KIRGIZISZTÁNBAN: BISKEK ÚJ TELEPÜLÉSEI

A kirgizisztáni urbanizáció az új települések gyors növekedésével szembesül (különösen a főváros, Biskek esetében), amelyet gyakran megelőznek az olyan fejlesztési kérdések, mint az infrastruktúra, a lakáshiány, a szociális szolgáltatások, a foglalkoztatás, a környezeti hatások, a kulturális és társadalmi integráció, a biztonság, a földtulajdon és a tulajdonjog. Ezek a kérdések összetettek, vitákat generálnak és bizonytalansághoz vezetnek a lakosság körében, ami akadályozhatja az új települések fejlődését. A Biskek város körüli új településeken az urbanizációs problémák kezelésére irányuló erőfeszítéseknek átfogó

[1] Alymbaev Mirlan. Department of Ethnography, Faculty of Arts, University of Debrecen, Program of Ethnography and Cultural Anthropology, PhD School of History and Ethnography (Hungary) (Kirghizia). ORCID ID: https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0969-0282

várostervezést, infrastruktúra-fejlesztést, földgazdálkodást és szociálpolitikát kell magukban foglalniuk. Alapvető fontosságú annak biztosítása, hogy az urbanizáció hozzájáruljon az életkörülmények és lehetőségek javulásához minden lakos számára, elősegítve a fenntartható és inkluzív növekedést.

Kulcsszavak: urbanizáció, új települések, Biskek, etnikum, migráció, Novostroyki, Kelechek.

Diszciplína: kulturális antropológia, néprajz

Introduction

The post-Soviet era in Kyrgyzstan has brought about complex processes encompassing political, economic, and social changes. These transformations have been accompanied by significant migration, both internal and external. Factors such as the wide disparity in living standards between rural and urban areas, high poverty rates (33.1% in 2021) (National Statistics Committee, 2021: 30), limited employment opportunities, particularly in rural regions, as well as unequal access to utilities and education, have driven the predominantly rural population to migrate.

One notable consequence of this post-Soviet period is the emergence and growth of settlements known as "new settlements" surrounding the capital city, Bishkek. These areas have attracted internal migrants from various regions across the country. This phenomenon of population concentration in urban centers aligns with the urbanization observed in post-colonial and third-world countries(Davis, 2007: 2). In this regard, Kyrgyzstan, along with other post-Soviet states, falls into the category of third-world countries.

Status of Kyrgyzstan as an agrarian nation is characterized by approximately two-thirds of its population residing in rural areas. In 2022, the National Statistical Committee reported a population of 5,143.5 million, with around 35% living in urban areas (1,830.4 million) and approximately 65% in rural areas (3,313.1 million). Bishkek, the capital city, and its adjacent regions offer the most appealing prospects to the population due to relatively prosperous economic indicators and employment opportunities (National Statistics Committee, 2022: 301).

Therefore, Bishkek exemplifies a microcosm of the global urbanization process. In this study, urbanization refers to the phenomenon of urban population growth resulting from the influx of rural residents and the expansion of the city itself through the incorporation of expanding suburbs or the establishment and development of new settlements, commonly referred to as "novostroika" in the local context. The primary focus lies in examining the changes that arise from the active interaction between rural and urban populations.

This article aims to provide a comprehensive rationale for my field research conducted between 2022 and 2023 in one of Bishkek's new settlements "Kelechek" and slightly in "Archa-Beshik". The research delves into analyzing the interconnected process of population growth in the capital city, primarily driven by internal migration. The analysis is conducted within the broader context of global urbanization. Special attention is devoted to studying the new settlements of Bishkek as manifesttations and consequences of urbanization. Additionally, the article briefly outlines the findings of my research on the dynamics of Kyrgyz identity within the framework of urbanization. The fieldwork lasted for four months: July-August 2022, November 2022 - January 2023. For the purpose of comparative analysis, observations and interviews were also conducted in another new settlement, Ak-Orgo, in March-April 2023.

The main objective of this research is to analyze the nuances of Kyrgyz identity in the context of

urbanization, exploring adaptive strategies and mechanisms employed by individuals from rural and urban backgrounds. Furthermore, the study seeks to analyze the potential for integration among individuals from diverse regions and clans in urban settings.

Bishkek as a Model of the Global Urbanization Process

The development of settlements, primarily slums, around major cities, in our case, new settlements, is a natural global process of urbanization, which is one of the direct consequences of migration. Researchers note that the main demographic event of the 20th century is the decrease in rural population and the sharp growth of urban population.

According to the theory of Michael Todaro and Stephen Smith (Tadaro and Smith, 2012: 144-145), cities in developing countries, including Kyrgyzstan, are growing faster than cities in developed countries. The growth of cities in developing countries is primarily driven by shantytowns (spontaneously formed settlements) and similar makeshift settlements. Stewart Brand and Joe Kammi also highlight this pattern. They note that in developing countries, urbanization and the flow of rural population to cities are accompanied by land encroachments and the growth of slums, which they call squatter cities (cities illegally occupied by squatters on unoccupied land or illegally occupied houses). Approximately one billion people, or one-sixth of the world's population, live in these settlements, and according to the authors, this number will increase to two billion. They also point out that migration and urbanization processes lead to changes in people's relationship with place, with each other, and with the state (government) over the past decades (Brand and Kammi, 2006: 69).

The characteristic feature of the growth of such settlements is their speed. For example, Flanagan illustrates the speed of the emergence of squatters by giving the emic(Flanagan, 1999: 161, 22) term

"pueblas paracaidistas" used by the residents of Mexico City, which means that an entire self-built town appeared overnight, as if people descended on parachutes. A parachute is a device used to slow the motion of an object through an atmosphere by creating drag or, in a ram-air parachute, aerodynemic lift. A major application is to support people, for recreation or as a safety device for aviators, who can exit from an aircraft at height and descend safely to earth.

Bishkek is no exception to the rapid growth of its surrounding areas due to new settlements developments. In Bishkek, the landscape of a field can be transformed within one summer, as people rush to build, at least, the foundation, knowing that their plot may be taken by someone else, as one informant described:

"In 2000, we received a plot of land in Dordoi-1 [one of the two relatively new settlements on the eastern side of the Dordoi market - A.A.]. My acquaintance got a plot of land next to mine. Our families went together to our plots to mark their boundaries, pray, and decided to start construction the following spring. I remember when we first came to the field, there was only grass and nothing more. When we came the next spring, we were bewildered: so many houses had been built that we had a hard time finding our plot. We were lucky that our plot was not occupied. But someone else had already started construction on my acquaintance's plot. Can you imagine how, in just a few months, the field turned into a village!" (field note from 10.09.2022).

According to the media, there are about 47 new settlements(Ibraimov, 2018: 3-4) around the capital city today, with a sharp increase observed immediately after the revolution events happened on March, 2005.

For comparison, the newspaper "MSN" on February 16, 2006, reported about 29 new settlements, but in the issue from November 26 of the same year, it refers to information from the

Bishkek City Architecture Department, which mentions 41 new settlements around the capital.

Todaro and Smith's theory emphasizes the dualistic nature of urban development in many developing countries, where the formal modern sector exists alongside a vast informal urban sector. The informal sector employs approximately half of the urban workforce and is characterized by low skill levels, low productivity, self-employment, limited value-added activities, engagement in small-scale commerce and services, and a workforce comprised of recent migrants. Paradoxically, while migration to cities is motivated by the low incomes prevalent in rural areas, the informal urban workforce generates about one-third of the urban income and provides opportunities for the employment of unskilled labor and the utilization of corresponding technologies, albeit with persistent high levels of unemployment. Todaro and Smith view migration more as a symptom and an economic backwardness factor rather than a population growth driver.

According to the theories discussed, the modern city of Bishkek, with its new settlements, is seen as a typical outcome of migration and urbanization in a globalizing economy. The long-term movement of rural populations to the capital, which began in the early 1990s and intensified in the early 2000s, has led to the development of an informal labor sector in Bishkek. This sector offers various types of work that don't require specific qualifications.

The city's markets, particularly Dordoy and Osh, play a significant role in attracting migrants and forming the informal sector. Migrants engage in small-scale trading or work as vendors, selling goods on behalf of the owners. The markets also provide services like food stalls, hair salons, currency exchange, and communication booths, many of which are operated by migrants. Some men work as cart transporters, while women are often involved in cleaning market areas. There are two other sectors that show gender-based division of labor. Sewing workshops pre-dominantly employ women, while men are often found working in construction. The rental housing market has also grown as a result of migration and urbanization. Many migrants in the Kelechek area, near the Dordoy market, have built separate rental units to accommodate other migrants. In new settlements, another sector of informal employment has emerged, catering to the service needs of the residents. People who own land or houses in these areas, often early migrants who settled in the 1990s, open small shops, bakeries, baths, hair sa-lons, and cafes. Consequently, the main street in Kelechek is primarily occupied by these service-oriented establishments.

The availability of diverse job opportunities is considered a key aspect of urbanization. Unfortunately, obtaining precise figures on migration and population growth in Bishkek is challenging. Official statistics only account for registered individuals, while many migrants remain unregistered. Estimates suggest that the number of migrants residing in Kelechek ranges from 7,000 to 10,000 people, depending on the season (National Statistics Committee, 2022: 301). Thus, determining the exact number of people settling in new settlement areas is impossible.

Tracking the influx of people into the capital has become increasingly challenging due to the fact that, in most cases, migrants are not required to have city residence permits when they find employment in the informal sector or rent accommodations in new settlements. In situations where residence permits are necessary, a well-established system of bribery can circumvent the registration process. Sitnyansky (2006) mentions an estimated number of 300,000 residents in the suburbs of Bishkek, although the data sources supporting this figure remain unclear.

The most relevant information comes from World Bank report, experts highlights the varying population estimates, ranging from 110,966 to

300,000 individuals, obtained from different sources (Sitnyansky, 2006: 263).

The complexity of maintaining accurate statistics is exemplified by the statement of the head of the territorial self-government body (referred to as "ayyl okmot" - rural administration) named Kelechek: Keeping an exact count in our region is virtually impossible... Almost every day, around three people come to our office seeking proof of residence. When we inquire about the reasons, they mention plans to migrate to Russia or elsewhere. However, on the same day, five other individuals may visit us to register their residency... The constant alterations in our records have made it difficult to make sense of the data. Moreover, accounting for tenants is exceedingly challenging since landlords conceal the precise number of occupants in the rooms they rent out (field note dated July 23, 2022).

New settlements in Bishkek in comparative perspective

It is necessary to consider the emic term "novostroyka". In the Kyrgyzstan context, novostroyka refers to new settlements around the capital officially called "zhilye massivy".

The history of novostroyki dates back to the late 1980s and early 1990s when, according to my informants, the first plots of land were seized by workers from various factories and plants that were still functioning at that time. After attempts at mass seizures, as recounted by the oldest residents of Kelechek and Kok-Jar, the city administration began allocating plots of land to those who were in the housing queue in the capital, but this time on legitimate grounds.

In his book "Bishkek – the Capital of Kyrgyzstan," Malabaev J.M. writes that in 1989, after the fact of mass unauthorized seizures of state and collective farm lands in June of the same year, the Executive Committee of the City Council made a decision to allocate 9,759 land plots. Additionally,

in October 1989, this issue was considered by the Council of the Ministry of Construction of the Kyrgyz Republic, which allocated two dozen settlements and 13.4 thousand plots of land for individual construction. The author of the book lists the measures taken by the city administration regarding the development of "zones of individual new construction," the allocation of bus routes, the laying of power lines, the design of schools, clinics, and the development of roads (Malabaev, 2001: 269).

Novostroyki have grown and continue to grow on the sites of former fields, contributing to the extensive growth of the city. In so-called "prestigious" districts, new settlements consist of two-story brick mansions, but the vast majority of novostroyki are made of adobe one-story houses since clay and saman (a mixture of clay and straw) are the most accessible building materials in the region. Brick and clay have become unofficial indicators of material prosperity or poverty.

One distinguishing feature of post-Soviet novostroyki on the outskirts of the capital is the presence of land plots ranging from four to eight hundred square meters, which corresponds to private construction of individual houses. Regardless of whether expensive brick mansions or adobe houses and huts are built, the essence lies in the land plots, the value of which increases. The presence of land plots allows for household farming, which is a sign of ruralization, along with proximity to urban infrastructure.

This same characteristic of owning land plots in settlements that emerged through illegal self-construction is also observed on the outskirts of other cities in post-Soviet Central Asia, such as Almaty, Tashkent, and Ulan-Ude (Alexander, Buchli and Humphrey, 2007: 27). The process of administrative inclusion of novostroyki into urban management and, consequently, the legalization of their connection to urban infrastructure has already been well-established. It should be noted that in English

literature, the term "suburb" is used, literally meaning "outskirts, suburb." However, the use of this term may be somewhat controversial for describing our novostroyki.

David Byrne in his book "Understanding the City"(Byrne, 2001: 113) argues that in the United Kingdom and the United States, the term "suburb" originally referred to areas outside the city walls, but its meaning began to change in the late 18th century as cities grew and people started living at some distance from their workplaces. By the end of the 19th century, the development of railway and tram systems led to the formation of massive suburbs in these countries (the author also provides the example of Australia in the post-war period).

Kyrgyzstan has been undergoing a similar process in the last 15-17 years, with the population of the country migrating to the capital for various reasons (Alexander, Buchli and Humphrey, 2007: 28) and settling, mainly in new settlements. Currently, the trolleybus line has only reached one new development, Ak-Orgo, located in the southwest of the capital.

It is difficult to draw a direct parallel between David Byrne's analysis of the development of urban outskirts and the reality in Kyrgyzstan. Byrne emphasizes the importance of suburbs for urban authorities, as they were primarily inhabited by skilled workers. The authorities paid significant attention to the development of such areas to meet the needs of the workforce. However, in the case of our country, the influx of people to the capital and the expansion of its population and geography are not driven by the growth of factories and plants, as the system of these institutions was destroyed after the collapse of the USSR. The majority of people arriving in the Kyrgyz capital consist of low-skilled or unskilled workers, as will be discussed below. Nevertheless, Byrne mentions areas designated for black workers, such as Detroit, for example. Thus, he speaks of differentiation of suburbs based on privileging their residents.

In the history of Bishkek's new settlements, we can currently observe the process of defining the "prestige" of certain districts, which has intensified in the last year or two. For example, a few years ago, purchasing a land plot in new settlements was not difficult, according to informants. A six-acre plot cost around $600 in new settlements (essentially fields) and up to $1,000-$1,500 in more developed districts. Today, the land plots cost no less than $10,000, and the price increases depending on the location of the district.

The prestige is deter-mined by clean air ("the closer to the mountains, the cleaner the air"), availability of utilities, and the depth of groundwater. Some of the districts that fall into this category are those closest to the city, south of Moskovskaya Street, such as Chon-Aryk. Ak-Orgo, Arch-Beshik, and Kok-Zhar, which were among the earliest new settlements, have also become classified as prestigious in the last year or two, and their permanent residents no longer agree with the term "new settlements".

Bishkek naturally slopes from south to north, and the districts located below Zhibe-Zholy Street, i.e., the northern districts, are geographically lower. Groundwater is close to the surface in this part, and it is where the main garbage dumps and the city's sewage treatment plant are located. However, these are just a few reasons for the conditional determination of "non-prestige." To understand the larger causes, a separate study is necessary, which is beyond the scope of this work.

Kelichek, according to my informants, is considered a non-prestigious new settlements because it is located in the "red zone" - a square between a former chemical plant, a chemical waste storage facility, a landfill, and a former cemetery. However, it is the largest and until recently the only new settlements that adjoins the "Dordoi" market, and therefore Kelichek attracts thousands of "new" migrants every year who rent rooms here and work at the market.

Another parallel can be drawn in the "anti-urbanist" program of construction and development of suburbs as "garden towns" without high-rise apartment buildings. The difference lies in the fact that, according to the examples from Byrne, urban authorities controlled the process of suburban development and construction. However, in the new settlements of Bishkek, control from the chief architect and the mayor's office can be observed in terms of land allocation and street planning, while everything else (construction, height, complexity, and other aspects of buildings, as well as the supply of electricity, water, roads, and gas) depends on the financial capabilities, and, as it turns out, the coordination or cohesion of the landowners.

The next point of similarity is the construction of public buildings and rental properties. Byrne writes about several stages of such construction by local authorities in the UK between 1918 and 1925, and then again between 1945 and 1956, although he also mentions slums that were demolished in the 1950s. In the new settlements of Bishkek, especially in Kelechek, this type of construction is also popular, with the only difference being that the construction of rental housing is done by individual landowners rather than municipal authorities. Renting out rooms is one of the main sources of income for local (indigenous) residents. For example, in Kelechek, owners of land plots build simple structures consisting of various numbers (from two to ten or more) of small rooms with separate entrances, usually lacking basic amenities (a single water source and a shared toilet in the courtyard).

In the city, these are former dormitories of factories and plants that were privatized by their residents; they are home to a large number of people who have been living there since Soviet times, or migrants renting rooms there. In my first field research conducted in June-July, 2021, my informants mentioned the term "titanic" which they used to refer to such dormitories. Titanic structures in new settlements are the latest adaptive

strategy for internal migrants in Kyrgyzstan, resulting from the socio-economic changes in the context of urbanization (population concentration in cities) of the Kyrgyz population.

History of the formation of new settlements

Kelechek and Kөk-Jar are models of settlements that emerged in Kyrgyzstan in recent times. For comparison, most of the northern settlements established in the first half of the Soviet period (referring to the northern part of the country) were founded by settled clans and tribes. Even today, the residents of most of these settlements are the fourth or fifth generation of the original settlers and are to some degree related to each other. The main livelihood of such settlements was livestock farming.

Another type of settlement during the Soviet period was those established for workers of factories and plants, for example, Orlovka in the Kemin district. In these cases, kinship was not the main principle, and apartments and houses were allocated based on orders and not necessarily to relatives or members of the same clan living in close proximity to each other.

New settlements in Bishkek have a relatively short history, dating back to the late 1990s. With the country gaining independence, Kyrgyzstan entered a period of "prolonged transition" accompanied by a flow of internal migration, primarily labor migration, to the capital and its surrounding areas.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the restraining mechanisms for the rural population, mainly consisting of Kyrgyz people, ceased to exist. The requirement for residency permits weakened, and due to the crumbling production system, the salaries of farmers and workers practically disappeared. This led to a significant outflow of the Russian-speaking population, which mainly settled in the Chui region and the capital, leaving the country.

At that time, residents of remote northern districts moved closer to the city to take the place of departing Russians, Germans, Ukrainians and others. As a result, the population of Bystrovka (now the village of Kemin) transformed from a multi-ethnic community to a practically mono-ethnic one. For example, families from mountainous regions like Kochkor relocated to the vacated houses, which appeared more convenient with basic utilities such as electricity and water.

Sitnyansky (1990) also confirms that starting from the early 1990s, there was simultaneous "outflow of 'Russian-speaking' population from the periphery to the Chui region... and an intensive flow of migrants [Kyrgyz people] from the Naryn region (the only mono-ethnic region in Kyrgyzstan)"(Sitnyansky, 2006: 267). This new proximity caused certain dissatisfaction among the "natives" (those who had lived there longer than the newcomers) of Kyrgyz ethnicity. The newcomers were associated with lack of education and backwardness, which characterized the Soviet policy of neglecting rural areas, particularly in terms of education. Later, after agrarian reform, the prosperity of residents in the northern districts, particularly in the Naryn region, began to improve, and the outflow from these areas noticeably weakened.

Another stage of internal migration, which continues to this day, represents the outflow of residents from the southern regions of the country to the northern areas and the capital. The southern regions are more densely populated and characterized by a high level of poverty. Almost all of my informants who arrived in Kelechek from the south cited reasons such as lack of employment, shortage of land, and limited access to water and technical resources, which hindered agricultural work. When people began to realize that the capital was where the money was concentrated and where they could quickly earn a living, the flow of migrants grew exponentially.

The events after March 24, 2005, with mass land seizures, indicate that the flow shows no signs of weakening and that the desire to resettle closer to the capital is not diminishing. For example, in Kelechek, which borders the Dordoy market from the west and consisted of "14th and 15th streets" emerged after the events of March 2005. The vacant land that separated Dordoy and Kelechek was occupied by the land grabbers, mainly the "residents" of Kelechek themselves.

It is important to note that the issue of land seizures is not exclusive to the post-Soviet reality. Even in the Soviet capital, then known as Frunze, the population was growing not only through natural increase but also due to migration, despite the policies of retaining people in rural areas and strict registration. Planned urban construction could not keep up with the growing population's housing needs. In addition to the significant so-called private sector, which itself became denser as houses and plots were divided between two owners, the capital also saw the growth of its own slums.

A part of it has also survived to this day, now called Tököldösh, located along the southern side of Chui Avenue, all the way to Karpinsky Street, which is part of the "golden square," the downtown of the capital. Today, it consists of houses and huts with small courtyards that have been legalized. Its residents, as well as those who already live in other districts, maintain their registration in Tököldösh in the hope that someday the state construction in the capital will resume, and they will be resettled in new apartments, as happened in the last decade of the Soviet era with the majority of Tököldösh, which was replaced by the "Vostok-5" micro-district.

A resident of Kelechek K53, in an interview, described how during her student years she and her friends rented a room in huts made of particle board and cardboard, which were attached to each other, in the area of the modern 6th and 7th micro-

districts. She does not remember who and when started building the huts, but she knows that they were constructed by workers from factories and plants who grew and tired of waiting for their turn to receive housing.

Kelichek can be considered one of the more established settlement today, as its history begins in the late 1990s. This new settlement consists of 15 streets, although until 2005 there were only 14 streets, arranged in a so-called "American" grid pattern. That is, all the streets are located inside a rectangle, parallel to each other and perpendicular to the Dordoy market. One central street, running alongside Kelichek, serves as the main thoroughfare for mini-busses (two routes). Necessary power lines have been installed here, but the houses are not yet provided with water. Since the end of 2005, Kelichek has had its own secondary school and medical center.

Thus, the capital's new settlements can be divided into old and new. The former includes those that were formed in the late 1990s and have already been incorporated into the city's administration, such as Kelichek and Kok-Zhar. The latter have their history starting around the 2000s, for example, the so-called Seleksia, located between the new settlement of Ak-Orgo and Archa-Beshik, or Dordoy-1 and Dordoy-2. There are also newer "hotbeds" of illegal land grabs that emerged after the events of March 2005 around existing new settlements, like the "15th street" of Kelichek.

Challenges and Issues of Ethnicity within Urbanization

What challenges of ethnicity do migrants face when changing their place of residence and work? Field research in Kelechek has identified the following aspects. Practically 100% of internal migrants settling in new settlements are Kyrgyz. Therefore, we are only discussing Kyrgyz identity. One might question whether migrants can actually experience problems when they are moving within their own

country and acquiring new neighbors who are also Kyrgyz.

Ethnicity is understood as the phenomenon of self-identification through comparison with others, through the search for similarities primarily to realize one's uniqueness, and secondly, to define oneself as a member of a group. This underlies the dichotomy of "we-they"(Eriksen, 2002:19), which serves as a unifying force within a group and manifests itself in the interaction between two or more groups. Additionally, the phenomenon of ethnicity serves as a measure of the vast social and cultural diversity of human society. Ethnicity is not static but situational, especially in the constantly changing world.

When migrants arrive in the city, they immerse themselves in a new world with a faster pace of life and numerous new contacts with people from different regions, whom they had only heard about before. According to Bart's theory, non-isolation determines the importance and necessity of differentiation (in this case, division), as well as the presence of multiple new contacts. It is precisely the encounter with new people and the need to establish relationships with them (work-related, neighborhood-related) that evokes the desire for self-identification.

The more intense life in the city, which migrants have to establish, constantly creates various conditions that intensify the various aspects (referred to as components in this context) of ethnicity: social, kinship-based, regional, gender-based, and religious. The scope of this article does not allow for a detailed discussion of each aspect, so observations and conclusions based on field materials will only be briefly presented for some of them.

Social Composition

Who are the residents of new settlements? Are they former rural residents engaged in livestock farming and the agricultural sector, or residents of small towns in the country who previously worked

in industries that ceased to exist after the collapse of the Soviet Union, and decided to try their hand at both livestock farming and agriculture but did not find significant benefits and chose to move to the capital?

One characteristic of rural life is the lack of monetary funds, and families primarily subsist on their own agricultural produce. A distinguishing feature of the city is the use of cash, as the urban setting operates within a monetary system. Migrants in the city contribute to the army of low- or unskilled labor in the informal sector. It is in the city, specifically the capital in our case, where the main financial resources are concentrated, and people believe that they can always earn cash in the city. Money and access to it are the primary motivators and resources for overcoming difficulties, providing a sense of stability and greater confidence in tomorrow. Thus, when asked about the difference between the village and the city, my informants mentioned access to money and the opportunities to earn it:

"In the village, there is no money, but here [in the city - A.A.] you can always earn money at the market, or worst case scenario, you can sweep the market streets and earn 2200 soms ($25)" (Field note from July 17, 2022). Fieldwork in Kelechek revealed several dichotomies that its residents employ to adapt to new conditions and numerous new contacts. The residents of Kelechek differentiate themselves based on the principles of "old and new residents" as well as "homeowners" and "tenants." The time of arrival in Kelechek, ownership of land and houses, and possession of documents relating to property and residency are the determining factors for each of these statuses. Both "old" and "new" residents can be homeowners, meaning they rent out housing. These statuses contribute to a sense of self-sufficiency as legitimate residents of new settlements. This feeling is explained by the association of Kelechek as their own home, which is tied to future plans. "Old

residents" may still possess a somewhat superior position in relation to others and unite through shared memories of Kelechek's history and formation.

"The occupants" have a marginal status because Kelechek is not their final destination, but only a temporary place of residence. Therefore, there are no plans for the future associated with it, and migrant occupants do not feel the need to make efforts to improve living conditions and establish contacts. The "old" and "new" residents, essentially being neighbors and having a horizontal axis of relationships, tend to interact for a long time, although the nature of their interaction can also be influenced by economic circumstances. On the other hand, the relationship between the "hosts" and the "occupants" is on a vertical axis of hierarchy, so it is reduced to fulfilling the conditions of renting a room.

It is important to emphasize that almost all residents of new settlements go through a stage of marginality. This applies to those who became residents through self-seizure and those who bought land plots on municipal land that has not yet been legalized.

Clan and kinship, regional, and religious components

The primary mechanism of internal migration is the so-called horizontal network of relationships based on kinship ties. I assume that in the beginning, "migration" had a certain kinship character, where land could be allocated based on kinship and local connections, which in a certain context means "distant relative." Alternatively, the choice of a resettlement location may have been influenced by the presence of a brother, uncle, or relative who had already "settled" and had acquaintances among those who distribute land, thus helping their relatives obtain desired plots in their area or even on their street. Kinship relations also play a

major role in labor seasonal migration, and such migrants are potential residents of new settlements.

Now, with the internal migrant flow having increased several times compared to the early 1990s (Sitnyansky, 2006: 271), plot selection is based on different principles: where communication systems and infrastructure are more developped, or closer to the place of work, or cheaper, as "priority" housing projects have already been identified. Now, with the constantly increasing value of land due to the capital's growing population density, identification based on the place of origin, i.e., regional identity, becomes more relevant than mere kinship affiliation.

In addition, in the context of numerous new contacts, differentiating oneself from others based on region or place of origin becomes the simplest and most accessible mechanism, overshadowing gender identity. Practically all of my informants, in one way or another, touched upon the belonging to the place where they were born and where the opponent came from. In the discourse under consideration, the concept of religiosity plays a significant role. For both sides, self-identification and differentiation from each other, the degree of commitment to religion is considered an important factor. For my informants, religiosity primarily means the formal fulfillment of the requirements and dogmas of religion, and in rare cases, how much the person believes in what they do. For representatives of both sides, being a "bad or good Muslim" was one of the determining factors of "national purity".

An important factor in determining religiosity is also the relationship with literacy. The Soviet legacy has left a fairly persistent understanding of religiosity as a sign of illiteracy, thereby categoryzing both phenomena as negative and referred to as "vestiges of the past." Based on my observations and interviews, it is still the case for the majority of people that the fervent adherence to Islamic dogma is seen as a result of low education. All disputes are based on and expressed primarily through the use of stereotypes. Kelechek is an illustration of the functioning and "endurance" of ethnic stereotypes in the interaction between mono-ethnic but different regional groups. Stereotypes allow people to judge others with ready-made ideas that are perceived in society, without making efforts to discover the true reasons for cultural or personal differences. During my initial field research in Kelechek, it was evident how people, who had only heard about each other before, now, living together, build their relationships based on preconceived judgments acquired in childhood.

Conclusion

Kyrgyzstan is experiencing the predictable process of urbanization, with a concentration of population in and around its capital as a result of internal migration from rural areas. Bishkek is seen as a post-Soviet model of the global urbanization process. The concentration of rural population in cities is a characteristic feature of post-colonial reality, and self-seizures and self-construction are common traits in all third-world countries, including Kyrgyzstan.

However, the distinctive feature of post-Soviet Central Asian urbanization, unlike other countries with rapidly growing slums, is the growth of new settlements on the outskirts of cities, where each person becomes the owner of a certain land plot, which is not the case in slums. These settlements have distinct areas and streets with wealthy mansions demonstrating affluence, as well as poor adobe houses and huts. In Kyrgyzstan, these suburban areas are commonly referred to as "novostroyki" by the locals, or officially known as new settlements. It is possible to distinguish between old, new, and newest "novostroyki," which indicates rapid growth in accordance with economic, political, and social events in the country and the region. Some of these new settlements are already incorporated into the city's structure, some are still

under the jurisdiction of neighboring administrations, and the remaining ones are just beginning the process of legalization.

Migration has created an informal labor sector (ILS) in which almost all residents of new settlements are employed. It is important to emphasize the interdependence of the processes under consideration. The city attracts rural residents with hopes of employment and access to money. The flow of migrants settles in expanding new settlements and replenishes the army of the ILS. The diversity of activities offered by the ILS allows those who have already arrived and settled to invite their relatives to the city to seek employment. The main conditions determined by urbanization, monetary relationships, and multiple contacts create challenges for the ethnic identities of migrant residents in new settlements. The variety of new statuses, along with the active reinforcement of stereotypes, contributes to adaptation to the new conditions. Residents of earlier, so-called "old" settlements demonstrate a sense of collectivity, identifying themselves as residents of a specific area and sharing a common concern for its development. Thus, the country is experiencing an era of rural-to-urban migration. As a result, there is a blending of clan and regional identities, forming a new civic identity as city and country residents.

References

Albek I. (2018). There Are 47 New Settlements. *Vecherniy Bishkek*. Vol. 96. 562. 3-4

Alexander C., Buchli V. & Humphrey C.(2007). *Urban Life in Post-Soviet Asia*. London: University College London Press.

Barfield T. (2003). *The Dictionary of Anthropology*. Blackwell Publication, UK

Byrne D. (2001). *Understanding the Urban*. Palgrave, New York.

Davis M. (2007). *Planet of Slums*. Usa: Verso.

Eriksen T. (2002). *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Anthropological Perspectives*. London: Pluto Press.

Flanagan W. (1999). *Urban Sociology: Images and Structure*. Usa: Allyn & Bacon Ltd.

Malabaev Zhanysh (2020). Bishkek - The Capital of Kyrgyzstan. *Erkin-Too*, 8 (13.) 269.

National Statistic Committee (2021). *2021 Demographic Yearbook of the Kyrgyz Republic*. Bishkek. Nsc Annual Publication.

National Statistic Committee (2022). *2022 Demographic Yearbook of the Kyrgyz Republic*. Bishkek. Nsc Annual Publication.

Sitnyanskiy G. (2011). Migration Processes and Ethno-Cultural Transformations in Post-Soviet Central Asia: Ethno-Cultural Interaction in Eurasia: *Department of History and Philology of the Russian Academy of Sciences*. 2 (5.). 263.

Todaro M. & Smith S. (2012). *Urbanization and Rural-Urban Migration: Theory and Policy in Economic Development*. Pearson.

World Bank (2007). Rural And Urban Residents In *Kyrgyz Republic: Poverty Assessment*. World Bank Report. Vol. 1. 40864-Kg. 6-16.

World Bank (2016). *Urban Settlements or "Novostroyki" in the Kyrgyz Republic: Issues and Solutions*. Bishkek. World Bank.

THE LOCAL WISDOM OF LUANG ISLANDS:
'HYGERALAY' OF HISTORY ASPECT

Authors:

Efilina Kissiya[1]
University of Debrecen (Hungary)
(Indonesia)

Gábor Biczó[2] (Prof., Ph.D.)
University of Debrecen (Hungary)

Reviewers:

Katalin Mező (Ph.D)
University of Debrecen

Norbert Tóth (Ph.D)
University of Debrecen

…and two other anonymous reviewers

Abstract

This research aims to identify *hygeralai* from a historical aspect as one of the local types of local knowledge that lives in the indigenous community of Luang Island, Maluku Province, Indonesia. This research uses a qualitative research method with a historical approach. Data collection techniques in this research through in-depth interviews, field observations and literature studies. The analysis technique used in this research is historical analysis. The results of field research show that the etymology of *hygeralai* began as a sign of identity, a sign of ownership, a sign of territorial boundaries and used by the ancestors of Luang Island at that time. In its development, it underwent changes related to several attributes and organization when Protestant Christianity entered. The results of exploration in the field show that the etymology of *hygeralai* is also influenced by the environment and geography. This is evidenced by its affiliation with one of the plants that grow on Luang Island, the koli tree. From this affiliation material, it is also important to display the position of Luang Island in the division of flora in Indonesia according to Wallacea and Weber line. Thus, we can analyze the history of plant movements used by the ancestors in etymology of *hygeralai*. The *hygeralai* research results from this historical position are then compared in general with other terms in Maluku related to environmental and natural resource management. The

---

[1] Efilina Kissiya. Department of Ethnography, Faculty of Arts, University of Debrecen, Program of Ethnography and Cultural Anthropology, PhD School of History and Ethnography (Hungary), History Education Study Program, Faculty Teacher Training and Education Science-Pattimura University (Indonesia). E-mail address: efilinakissiya12@gmail.com, ORCID ID: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4585-4451

[2] Gábor Biczó (Prof., Ph.D.).Department of Social Sciences, Faculty of Education for Children and Special Educational Needs, University of Debrecen (Hungary). E-mail adress:biczo.gabor@ped.unideb.hu, ORCID ID: https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3797-3060

results of this research contribute to local history, especially the management of natural resources based on local wisdom in coastal communities and border areas.

Keyword: Local wisdom, Luang Island, hygeralai, and historical aspect.

Diszcipline: Cultural Anthropology, Ethnography

Absztrakt

A LUANG-SZIGETEK HELYI BÖLCSESSÉGE: A 'HYGERALAY' TÖRTÉNETI ASPEKTUSAI

A kutatás célja, hogy történelmi szempontból azonosítsa a *hygeralai*-t, mint a helyi tudás egyik lokális típusát, amely az indonéziai Maluku tartományban található Luang-sziget őslakos közösségében él. A kutatás történeti megközelítésű kvalitatív kutatási módszert alkalmaz, melyek mélyinterjúk, helyszíni megfigyelések és szakirodalmi tanulmányok révén valósulnak meg történeti elemzés révén. A terepkutatás eredményei azt mutatják, hogy a *hygeralai* etimológiája az identitás, a tulajdon és a területi határok jeleként alakult ki a Luang-sziget ősei által. Fejlődése során számos attribútummal és szerveződéssel kapcsolatos változáson ment keresztül, a protestáns kereszténység belépésével. A *hygeralai* etimológiáját a környezet és a földrajz is befolyásolta, ezt bizonyítja a Luang-szigeten termő egyik növényhez, a koli fához való kötődése. Ebből a hovatartozási anyagból az is fontos, hogy megmutassuk a Luang-sziget helyét az indonéziai flóra Wallacea és Weber vonal szerinti felosztásában, így válik elemzhetővé az ősök által használt növényi mozgások története a *hygeralai* etimológiájában. A *hygeralai* kutatási eredményeit ebből a történeti pozícióból aztán általánosságban összehasonlítjuk a környezet- és természeti erőforrás-gazdálkodással kapcsolatos más malukui kifejezésekkel. A kutatás eredményei hozzájárulnak a helytörténethez, különösen a természeti erőforrások helyi bölcsességen alapuló kezeléséhez a tengerparti közösségekben és a határ menti területeken.

Kulcsszavak*:* helyi bölcsesség, Luang-sziget, hygeralai és történelmi vonatkozás.

Diszciplína: kulturális antropológia, néprajz

Introduction

Every human group that inhabits any area of the Earth has ways and actions in responding to various natural phenomena and challenges. The response is then carried out repeatedly and produces culture. In today's development, experts view various actions of human groups that maintain their existence with good actions as local wisdom. Local wisdom is often associated with local communities and with varied actions and meanings. It is a cultural product of the past that should be continuously used as a guide for life. Although local in value, the values contained therein are considered very universal. Johnson describes local wisdom as knowledge built by a social group from one generation to another in relation to nature and its resources. Local wisdom includes everything related to the environment, social, political, and geographical knowledge (Johnson, 1998). Local wisdom is a culture that is deeply owned by traditional communities to manage their natural resources to meet their needs (Conklin, 1954).

Referring to the United Nations (UN) Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), the defining characteristics of Indigenous Peoples and local wisdom include self-

identification; historical continuity (before being invaded by colonial or colonial powers); people of origin (history); spiritual connection with land, water and customary territories; distinctive identity (language, culture, beliefs); and distinctive socio-political and economic systems. Indonesia also manifests this in the 1945 Constitution Article 281 paragraph (3) concerning local wisdom and the rights of traditional communities are respected in line with the development of the times and civilization.

The Luang Island community is one of the indigenous communities in Indonesia that has local wisdom just like other indigenous communities. This local wisdom is passed down from generation to generation through oral tradition.

They understand local wisdom as ideas that are wise, full of wisdom, good value, which are embedded and followed by all members of the community. According to them, local wisdom is not a new discourse in their daily lives, but it is present together with the formation of them as a community. It is important to note here, that local wisdom for them is a treasure as well as their identity as Luang people. There are various local wisdoms owned by the people of Luang Island, each of which has its own uniqueness, one of them is *hygeralai* (in this paper, all local languages used are the phonetics of the informants. As hygeralai is used, not "gheralyai").

Hygeralai is one of the local wisdoms that regulates their relationship with nature traditionally until today. In addition, it is also the social and cultural identity of the Luang people in regulating life between them and between they and their environment. This paper will discuss the etymology of *hygeralai* and the basis of *hygeralai* implementation in Luang Island until now. The position of Luang Island in the division of flora in Indonesia will also be explained to see the relationship of *hygeralai* affiliated with one type of plant used and whether the plant is endemic to Luang Island or not. And

furthermore, it will also be explained about *hygeralay* at the time of the entry of Protestant Christianity to see the changes in *hygeralai*. This paper will also examine terms related to environmental conservation and natural resources and comparisons with other places in Maluku (Maluku is one of the provinces in Indonesia, included in the Eastern part of Indonesia) in general.

Research questions and Objectives

Hygeralai is one of the local wisdoms as well as the ideal strategy of the Luang people in building relationships with nature and managing village-based marine natural resources. The question in this study is how did *hygeralai* originate? Was it suddenly applied in the life of the people of Luang Island? Or was it adopted from other areas in Maluku? Does it have its own history? To answer this question, this paper tries to explore the etymology of *hygeralai* as a customary institution and the interaction pattern of the people of Luang Island until today. It is important to place *hygeralai* historically, so that we will understand it not just in descriptions and definitions and disjointed, but comprehensively from the view of the Luang indigenous people as the owners of the term itself. Thus, the discussion of *hygeralai* on Luang Island begins by placing it in a historical position. By placing *hygeralai* in a historical position, we can explore more deeply how it works in the culture, cognition, behaviour and interaction patterns of the indigenous people of Luang Island, in beside to environmental management and marine natural resources. Besides that, from this historical position we will identify more deeply how *hygeralai* resilience and have differences with previous studies and other places.

Data Collection, Analysis and Sampling Technique

This research is a form of ecological anthropology study with a historical background in a

coastal community. This research data focuses on the etymology of *hygeralai*. It is one of the local types of knowledge of the Luang Island community. In the data of the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and the Ministry of Defense and Security of the Republic of Indonesia, Luang Island is one of the outermost small islands in Indonesia (Bakosurtanal, 2007; Hadinoto, 2017; Malik et al., 2019; Oegroseno, 2009). Administratively, it is included in the Maluku Province-Southwest Maluku Regency. The island is adjacent to Timor Leste to the west and directly borders Australia to the south (Hutubessy & Mosse, 2021; Karuna & Serpara, 2021; Kissiya & Biczó, 2022, 2023). This research was conducted for more than one month from July to August 2022 and 3 months from August to November 2023.

This research has implemented a qualitative descriptive approach. The data collection process was conducted using a historical approach. The data in this study was obtained through in-depth interviews. Recording and note-taking techniques were also utilized in the process of documenting research data. The resource persons involved in this research were purposively selected to answer the research questions. The resource persons totaled 48 people consisting of village officials, elders, religious leaders, and resource persons who understand the history of the origin of *hygeralai* and the history of Luang Island. This is in line with Garraghan and Lewenson hat the criteria for determining informants for qualitative research can consider aspects of relevance, 1) expertise, 2) experience or specialization, 3) directly involved in the object, 4) figures or officials related to the object, and 5) affected ordinary people (Garraghan, 1946; Lewenson, 2008).

In this research, the target informants are those aged 35-70 years old on the grounds that these informants include people who have expertise, specialization, and figures related to the object of *hygeralai* etymology.

In addition to interview data, observation data and literature review are also used to enrich this paper. To be honest, the literature on Luang Island is lacking, there are several studies on Southwest Maluku which explain a little about Luang Island obtained through research results from Dutch researchers such as De Jonge and friends, and also from Australian Sandra Pannel in 1997. After the data is collected, it is then analyzed using historical analysis (Hallett, 2008).

Etimology of *Hygeralai*

Hygeralai on Luang Island did not just appear without a process, and to know this we are connected to what is called the history of the Island itself. The history of Luang Island is a journey of activity and culture (Toynbee, 1989) of "orang tatua"/the ancestors of Luang Island both consciously and unconsciously (Dawson, 2002; Graham, 1997; Ricklefs, 2007; Wiedemann, 2015), through the dialectical process of history (Hegel & Hegel, 1956), which really happened (Ranke, 2019), in the dimensions of space and time (Bloch, 1970). On the other hand, the history of Luang has an important power in reconstructing social, cultural (Biczó, 2019) change (Cohen, 2000; Marx, 1894) with all its consequences (Tilly, 2006), as well as determining their future as a community (Gottschalk, 1969; Kuntowijoyo, 2009).

From the in-depth interviews and comparing it with Pannel's research in 1998, *hygeralai* originated from the history of the journey of three men who came from the same place on Luang Island in search of a new location on the island. On their journey they found a location that was considered suitable and good for habitation, this location was overgrown with koli trees. Then, they agreed to each choose a land and make a mark. The purpose of making this sign is so that each of them can identify and recognize their land ownership. In addition, the sign became the land boundary between them, so that there would be no chaos

between them in the future. Each of them claimed their land in a different way. One of the men builds a stone offering platform on the ground, the second man sticks his spear into the ground, while the third man, Tonulu Takrulu takes a koli leaf (*gheralyai hgerlarkuhi*), weaves it into a container and hangs it on the end of a log and sticks it on the ground. When they were done they began to check whose mark was more and whose land was the largest. From the examination of the signs, it was found that Tonulu Takrulu's signs were the more varied and authoritatively larger of the two men (Pannell, 1997). (Comment: "Mas Bulan" (Gold moon) is one of the round shaped gold that has images of animals such as bull heads, fish and birds. Interviews with informants on Luang Island in June-August 2022 and July-November 2023.)

Therefore, it is said that the *gheralyai* found by Tonulu Takrulu and the container made of koli leaves, are not only found, and belong to him alone, but the "place" and the "group living there" can be said to be the "owner" of the *gheralyai* (Pannell, 1997). But even so, other signs are also considered as markers of ownership for each individual or village-based group. In this case, different social identities are represented on *hygeralai* objects(Interviews with informants on Luang Island in June-August 2022 and July-November 2023).

Other information related to the practice of *hygeralai* also comes from the history of the division of Luang Island and other small islands around it (Metimarang Island and Wekenao Island.) Luang Island used to be divided into three parts according to three major kingdoms. The three kingdoms were the *Nohulu Gyrierna*, the *Nohputi Raitiaun/Ilmarna* and the *Mnyetu/Nohapona Raiapnu*. This division of territories on Luang Island and the surrounding small islands also became the basis for the division of marine territories in the subsequent practice of *hygeralay*. These are the rulers of their respective

areas on Luang Island who control *hygeralai adat/hygeralai* village.

According to interviews and literature review, since the invention of *hygeralai*, a number of different objects have been used as signs of belonging, identity and distinction. Quoting Pannell (1997), these include the new *hygeralai* (stone marker) and the coconut leaf *hygeralai* (coconut leaf marker). To mark social difference and property rights in the marine environment, such as exposed coral reefs or deep sea channels are used as *hygeralay*. For this marine environment it is more about communal ownership. *Hygeralai* used to be called *hygeralai adat* (until now) but has been acculturated by the church. Hygeralai church is a form of protection for products or species that are approved by the church through prayer by the Pastor. *Hygeralai adat/hygeralai* village has the value of customary law (unwritten law that applies communally), because it has norms and rules related to ways, habits, behavior and customs that contain elements of ethics and norms (Judge & Nurizka, 2008; Karepesina et al., 2013). Ownership (lokal government) claims to the sea and its resources drawn into the *hygeralay* are governed and legitimized by binding customary law because they have very strong communal ties adatis, and are monitored by the spirits of the ancestors associated with the areas and soa within the village.

If anyone violates the customary *hygeralai*, they are required to pay one buffalo, 30 kilos of pork, one "mas bulan"(one of the traditional objects passed down from generation to generation that bread in the environment of each soa. It is also usually used as a condition in marriage and to solve problems that occur) and a container containing lontar spirits to the owner of the violated property and to the village as the customary *hygeralai* controller if they violate communal property (Interview with Agus Kanety, Ende Pay, Nicodemus Miru, Dominggus Miru, and Sarce Kay on October 27th

in Luang Island), (Pannell, 1997). *Hygeralai* has rules and procedures for implementation, utilization, maintenance, supervision so that the environmental balance is maintained and the natural resources in it can be utilized by all community members and future generations. This customary law teaches that Luang people should maintain the continuity of other living things and not overuse natural resources (Bennet, 2017; Bowman & Crockett, 2012; Freilich, 1967) which can lead to disruption of the natural balance. This study focus on *hygeralai* in marine areas that are shared or communal ownership.

Hygeralai and the Protestant Christianity

The existence of *hygeralai* on Luang Island began to change when Protestant Christianity entered. While the church was involved in the *hygeralai* process together with the village government, the value and meaning of *hygeralai* did not change. This section will explain a little about the entry of the gospel on Luang Island and followed by how *hygeralai* exists today. It is known that evangelization efforts began by the Dutch in 1805-1806 in East Luang but this effort failed because it did not get a good response from the population. Furthermore, in 1810 the Dutch came with the Sanhedrin(Sanhedrin is one of the madhhabs or sects in Judaism) religion in East Luang, they were well received in the village of East Luang. In 1815, Reverend Herdengsz came again and performed the first baptism in East Luang on October 15, which is celebrated as the day the gospel entered East Luang. He then changed the Sanhedrin religion to Protestant Christianity after which he eradicated idolatrous practices and burned the idols of the population. This action did not go well and there was even conflict. This conflict was neutralized after Pastor Joseph Kam visited East Luang (de Graaf, 1977; Enklaar, 1980).

The destruction of statues worshipped by the population was the beginning of efforts to eliminate various beliefs and traditions of the Luang community which were considered idols that had to be destroyed. However, not all things related to customs in Luang were eliminated because the practice of implementing *Hygeralai* is still maintained today by making modifications according to procedures in Christianity. Signs of *hygeralai* implementation such as stones, koli leaves and coconut leaves are still used. This fact is reinforced by Van Dijk that the Dutch presence in Southeast Maluku had an impact on the cultural field. Various policies carried out by the government and Christian missionaries had an impact on the destruction of traditional cultural objects. This is evident in the destruction of ancestral statues (Jonge & Dijk, 1995).

The destruction of the statues worshipped by the people of Luang has not been able to make them live according to Christian teachings. This condition also applies to the Maluku region under the Maluku Protestant Church (GPM). Responding to the condition of the congregation who were still living in old belief practices, in May 1960 the Maluku Protestant Church called for a message of repentance which contained six points of messages inviting congregation members and church officials to live in obedience to God's word. This call also became one of the factors that influenced the implementation of various traditional rites including *hygeralai* in Luang.

Since the entry of Protestant Christianity on Luang Island, *hygeralai* has been acculturated with church rules and procedures, where people are directed to live according to biblical teachings and give themselves to be guided by God and the Holy Spirit, including the control of *hygeralai* is also delegated to the Church Institution, where in the end it is known *hygeralai* church (*gereja*) and *hygeralai adat*/*hygeralai* village. This condition is reinforced by Sartini that local wisdom is a combination of the sacred values of God's word and the various values that exist in a society (Sartini, 2004)

The *hygeralai church* (*gereja*) refers more to signs of private ownership such as coconut trees, or koli trees used to prohibit others from taking the fruit of these trees. Here the church is used to legitimize ownership and prevent infringement. Presumably the role of the Church *hygeralai* with religious leaders can influence the behavior of the community so that the Church *hygeralai* can live and be obeyed by the community. This will not be separated from his sense of faith (Pannell, 1997). But on the other hand, obedience to the ancestors is still visible in the lives of the people of Luang Island to this day. For *hygeralai* church (*gereja*), the length of time an object is drawn into the *hygeralai* depends on the owner. While the *hygeralai* adat is an ownership that is legalized and organized by the village government and is only for communal ownership. The types of marine natural resources drawn into the *hygeralai* are sea cucumbers, seashells and lola. All of these will be harvested together within a certain time. Luang community is prohibited from taking the natural resources withdrawn in the *hygeralai* until the specified time limit (Benda-Beckmann von et al., 1992; Binter, 2015).

What is exactly *hygeralai* for the Luang people? From the explanation above, it can be said that *hygeralai* is a strategy as well as a institution that regulates the relationship between the Luang people and nature and its resources for the com-mon good (Kusapy et al., 2005; Munger, 1994; Persada et al., 2018). *Hygeralai* is a sign of owner-ship of both individuals and groups with a complexity of arrangements containing multiple rights and multiple obligations and has pluralism in its rules both rules (*adat* and church rules) (Abel, 1998; Bennett, 2019; Haen & Wilk, n.d.). *Hygeralai* refers to claims to territory (especially the sea), rules about natural resources and their use as well as sanctions and penalties for violators. In addition, *hygeralai* also regulates social relations between the Luang people themselves both individually and in groups.

Hygeralai, Natural Environment and Position in the Division of Flora in Indonesia

Hygeralai is inseparable from aspects of the natural environment (Chomsky, 1986; Couper-Kuhlen & Selting, 2017). Referring to the etymology, *hygeralai* is affiliated with one of the elements of nature (Heymann, 2011; Hough, 2006; Kostanski, 2014; Woodman, 2014) or according to the geographical environment where the Luang people live. The natural environment also contributes to the study of *hygeralai* from a historical aspect (Kearns & Berg, 2002; Peluso & Guido, 2012). One type of natural element used by Luang's ancestors at that time was flora or plants that grew around the place. The *hygeralai* given by the ancestors was certainly based on experience and consideration. From the data obtained, that the ancestors at that time used a sign to mark their land made of koli leaves (*gheralyai hgerlarkuhi*) based on two considerations, first that any objects, both animate and inanimate objects that were around could be used to facilitate their access and work at that time. Secondly, consideration of the ideas, hopes, ideals and flavors of the ancestors of Luang Island to create a sign that suits their wishes.

The natural environment on Luang Island is different from the natural environment in other areas in Maluku where most of the land is fertile. Luang Island is a small island, the land is arid, it is difficult to get clean water, life depends only on marine products (Badan Statistik Maluku Barat Daya, 2019; Estradivari et al., 2016; Karuna & Serpara, 2021). The plants that grow on the island are like "reluctant dead". In relation to the koli tree (Picture 1), which is closely related to the history of *hygeralai*, we will explain a little about how this plant can exist and grow and be used as a sign that has historical value for the Luang people.

Picture 1. Koli trees.

Koli trees stand on the
mainland of Luang Island

Koli trees stand on the
mainland of Luang Island

Small Koli tree

Koli tree and its fruit

Alfred Wallace, on his expedition to the archipelago (Malayu) in the 1850s, marvelled at the extraordinary diversity of flora and fauna (Isworo & Oetari, 2022; Wallace, 1869). From the map below, it can be seen that the division of flora and fauna regions in Indonesia based on Wallacea and Weber is divided into three parts (See Figure 1.).

These three regions are characterized by different flora and fauna. From the map above, it can be seen clearly the purple circle is the western part of Indonesia includes Java Island, Sumatra Island, and Kalimantan Island, which has flora and fauna characterized by Asiatic which is bounded by the Walacea line. The love-shaped red line is for the central part of Indonesia, including Sulawesi Island, Nusa Tenggara Island, and parts of the Maluku region are included in the transition region, this region is where fauna and flora transition from Asiatic to Austratic types, and vice versa (Wallace, 1869; Heyward et al.,1997; Wallace, 2016). The blue line is east part region of Indonesia uncludes some part of Maluku and the whole of Papua island rivers to flora and fauna Austratic types. While the Weber line can be seen on the map that it is the same area of flora and fauna in Indonesia as Wallacea but he calls the western part of Indonesia the Sunda Land and Sahul Land for Eastern Indonesia, and the central part of Indonesia remains with the Wallacea Line (Weber, 1890, 1902).

From the map below, it can be seen that Luang Island is included in the transition area between Asiatic and Austratic patterns From the map above, it can be seen that Luang Island is included in the transition area between Asiatic and Austratic

patterns (Arif & Wahyudi, 2017; Mayr, 1945; Wallace, 1869) or called the Wallacea Line. While for the Weber line it is included in Sahul Land. Although Luang Island is located in the Maluku region, the geographical and natural environment is much different from other areas in Maluku where the land is fertile. On Luang Island, plants such as cloves (*Syzygium aromatic*), nutmeg (*Myristica frag-rans*), mangosteen (*Garcinia mangostana*), sago (*Metro-xylon sago*) are not found or grow in the Banda, Ternate, Seram, Haruku, Nusalaut, Saparua and Buru Islands. While on Luang Island, plants such as koli (*Borassus flabellifer*), date palm (*Phoenix dactyl-lifera*), tamarind (*Tamarindus indica*), coconut (*Cocos nucifera*) and some unknown wild plants thrive. Koli is one of the trees that thrives to dominate the land of Luang Island. This plant is not found growing on other islands in Maluku, only in the Southwest Maluku region. But in other parts of western Indonesia or Asiatic area, this plant can be found such as in Java, in areas along the north coast of East Java, such as Gresik, Lamongan, Tuban, and Nusa Tenggara many trees are found (*Borrasus flabellifer*).

Globally, there are seven species of this plant, while in Indonesia there are only two, namely *Borassus flabellifer* and *Borassus sundaicus* . Of the two species, *Borassus sundaicus* is native to Indonesia, while *Borassus Flabellifer* is an introduced species from India. The koli tree that grows and lives on Luang Island is the type of koli tree Borassus flabellifer, which originated from India, so it can be said that this is not an endemic plant of Luang Island.

Figure 1: Map of flora and fauna in Indonesia based on Wallacea Line and Weber Line. Sources: Modified by authors based on the Stephen Oppenheimer, Eden In The East (Oppenheimer, 1998)
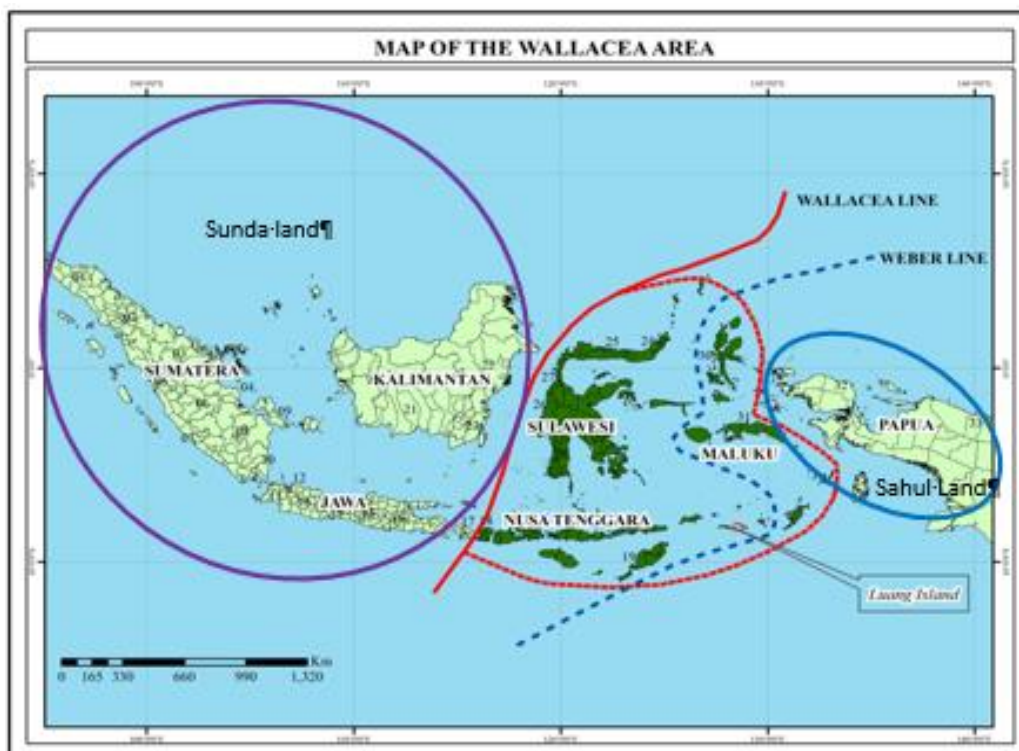
How do these plants live and grow on Luang Island? There are two ways how this plant can exist and grow on Luang Island, by natural means and with the help of humans (anthropochory). As humans have a history of spreading on this earth, plants also take part in the migration process along with the migration of humans from one place to another (Kritz & Zlotnik, 1992). One of the processes of spread is through human mobilization from one place to another intentionally or unintentionally. If seen from the sea trade routes in 1512 starting from Africa, India, Malacca, Nusantara (Indonesia), Maluku, Banda, Ambon and Ternate *(Braudel, 1988; Hall, 2019; Halpern et al., 2008; Lapian, 2009),* it can be ascertained that traders from Arabia, India and China *(Chaudhuri, 1985)* had visited and transacted with the Luang people. Because naturally it is likely that this plant is not able to spread naturally given its geographical location and very far range of control. Thus, the spread of this plant was ensured through the mobilization of traders.

On the other hand, it is thought that the Luang people sailed to other islands and obtained them by bartering with traders in Banda, Ambon, Ternate and brought them as provisions on the way back to the Island (Akimoto, 2001; Corbin, 1995; Halpern et al., 2008). Because the Luang people are also one of the most accomplished sailors in Indonesia besides the Bajo tribe. The koli plant is not the only evidence of the Luang people's interaction with outsiders, there are other evidences such as date palm trees, boats with outriggers which are knowledge of Austronesian culture and also the Luang language. In a special research on Luang language by Mark Taber, it was found that Luang language belongs to Austronesian language and Luang Island is the centre of language distribution with the largest number of users in Southwest Maluku *(Taber, 1990).* The explanation above suggests that *hygeralai* is affiliated with a type of plant

originating from India and at the same time helps the work to identify the ecology of Luang Island further.

Managemen of the Natural Environment in Maluku Based on Traditional Way

Hygeralai is equivalent to *sasi* in the Central Maluku region. However, there are other terms that are equivalent to *hygeralai* such as *hawear* in the Kei Islands and *sihit* in Buru. Etymologically, *sasi* comes from the word "sanction" which means prohibittion. *Sasi* can also be interpreted as a prohibition to take and destroy certain natural resources within a certain period of time to preserve natural resources (Lokollo, n.d.; Tutupoho et al., 1991). The word *sasi* is actually commonly used and more familiar by residents in the Central Maluku region. The widespread use of the word *sasi* by people outside Central Maluku is thought to be related to the use of Ambon as the capital of Maluku Province after Indonesia's independence. This made Ambon a gathering place for various ethnic groups from various parts of the Maluku archipelago and other parts of Indonesia. This encounter had an impact on the introduction of the local wisdom of *sasi*, which was later introduced with the same term for local wisdom related to restrictions on the time of taking and utilizing natural products at sea and on land.

Culturally, Ambon is influenced by Central Maluku Culture, which is dominated by Seram Island narratives and cultural products. Historically (Cooley, 1962), Seram Island is considered as Nusa Ina (Mother Island), which is seen as the birthplace of the indigenous people who later settled and scattered to inhabit Seram Island and surrounding islands. Therefore, every culture produced from Seram Island is considered the original culture of the Maluku people. Narratives that make Ambon the center of Maluku influence the cultural factors

of Maluku society, including the order that regulates restrictions on the taking of marine and terrestrial products in a certain period of time in the term sasi then spread to various places in the Maluku archipelago. Today, the order is then interpreted based on the terminology of the local community with various names but functionally has the same function (Chauvel, 1990; Kutoyo, 1977).

Sasi is a commitment to an agreement to protect, maintain and utilize natural resources by involving customary institutions, religious institutions, community leaders and village communities. As a tradetional natural resource conservation practice, *sasi* has been practiced for generations in various regions of the Maluku Islands and even in some areas of West Papua. However, there are differences in several aspects with the hygeralai in Luang Island, such as management, institutions, protected marine products, understanding of the *meti* area that is used as a protected area and its resources, and time.

Maluku people with habits that are still maintained have positive values that are important to learn and maintain. One form of positive culture is the way to maintain the stability of the natural environment which is realized by them as a source of life. The natural environment includes the land (forest) and the sea with all the potential of the old wealth contained therein. One way that has been practiced for generations in the Maluku islands is to limit the taking of certain forest and ocean products within a certain agreed period of time. This custom is generally known as *sasi*. The implementation of *sasi* is marked by the placement of certain signs in the *sasi* area by parties considered authorized both from elements of customary government, as well as religious elements (Karepesina et al., 2013; Persada et al., 2018).

Traditional wisdom through customary institutions is considered as an effort of traditional communities in conserving their natural resources. *Sasi* is an unwritten rule of indigenous people that prohibits the capture of marine animals within a certain time. Prohibition of fishing or marine animals. This prohibition is called conservation in modern language. After the prohibition/restriction period, the community is allowed to catch fish and other marine biota together.

In the context of island communities in Indonesia, the Maluku Islands are a group of islands that have cultural wealth. These cultural riches are always in the flow of change as seen from the shift in community culture. The changes that occurred are known from various sources both in the pre-colonial and colonial periods. A description of the condition of the Moluccan population, in this case Ambon, with its cultural activities is recorded in the work of Rumphius, a German who served as a VOC employee from the mid-17th century until the end of his life in 1702 in Ambon. In his work, Ambonsche Lanbesrijving, he describes the conditions and customs of the Amboina people in the 17th century (Rumphius, 1983; Rumphius & Loderichs, 2013).

In his other work Ambonsche Rariteikamer Rumphius has indirectly stated about the richness of Natural Resources both on land and in the Sea as well as the knowledge of the population in Amboina about Flora (Rumphius, 1741), Fauna and Biota that can be utilized as food but on the other hand Rumphius considers it as "strange stuff" (Rumphius, 1702). In the history of Maluku society (Leirissa, 1982), *sasi* culture is a local wisdom of the community that has existed since time immemorial and is a joint commitment by both the community, traditional leaders and religious leaders. This is based on the realization that without the environment people cannot live properly, so *sasi* must be maintained by generation to generation (Pattinama & Pattipeilohy M, 2003). The practice of *sasi* is a protection effort in managing natural resources in the Maluku Islands (Kusapy et al., 2005). *Sasi* is essentially an effort to maintain the manners of social life, including efforts towards equitable

distribution or income from the results of surrounding natural resources to all residents or local residents (Kissiya, 1993). This material in the article is the basis and important thing for further work of researcher on *hygeralai* from social and cultural aspects, linguistics, cognitive and resilience of *hygeralai* in Luang island.

Conclusion

From the explanation above, it can be concluded that *hygeralai* is a guide for humans to set limits regarding people's rights. Teaches us how to protect nature and manage natural resources both on land and at sea respectfully and cleverly. The *hygeralai* tradition can also educate and shape people's attitudes and behavior, which is an effort to maintain good manners in social life. In this way, there will be equality in the distribution of natural resources to society. Apart from that, *hygeralai* is a strategy to prevent crime in managing natural resources.

References

Abel, T. (1998). Complex Adaptive Systems, Evolutionism, and Ecology within Anthropology: Interdisciplinary Research for Understanding *Cultural and Ecological Dynamics. Journal of Ecological Anthropology*, 2(1), 6–29. DOI 10.5038/2162-4593.2.1.1

Akimoto, K. (2001). *The Current State of Maritime Security- Structural Weaknesses and Threats in the Sea Lanes*. Makalah dalam Maritime Security in Southeast Asia and Southwest Asia, Tokyo.

Arif, A., & Wahyudi, M. Z. (2017). Jejak Wallace di Ternate yang dilupakan. *Kompas*, 27 Februari.

Badan Statistik Maluku Barat Daya. (2019). *Mndona Hyera Dalam Angka 2019*. Tiakur: Badan Statistik Maluku Barat Daya.

Bakosurtanal. (2007). *Atlas Pulau-pulau Kecil Terluar Indonesia+Outer Small Islands Indonesia*. Cibinong:

Badan Urusan Pertanahan Nasional Indonesia (Bakosurtanal).

Benda-Beckmann von, F., Benda-Beckmann von, K., & Brouwer, A. (1992). Changing "indigenous Environmental law" in the Central Moluccas: Communal Regulation and Privatization of Sasi. In Proc. Congr. Commission on Folk Law and Legal Pluralism, Wellington Univ (pp. 405–428). Ekonesia. *A Journal of Indonesian Human Ecology.*

Bennet, J. W. (2017). *Human Ecology as Human Behavior Essays in Environmental and Development Anthropology* (Expanded Edition). London and New York: Rotledge Taylor & Franscis Group.

Bennett, J. W. (2019). Ecosystems, Environmentalism, Resource Conservation, and Anthropological Research. *The Ecosystem Concept In Anthropology* (pp. 289–310). Routledge. DOI 10.4324/9780429310386-13

Berleant, A., & Cairns, G. E. (1964). Philosophies of History. *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research*, 25(2), 298. DOI 10.2307/2105423

Biczó, G. (2019). *A „Mi" és a „Másik" Az idegen megértésének tudománytörténeti vázlata az antropológiáiban a 19. Század Második Felétől Napjainkig*. Debrecen: L' Harmattan Kiadó,

Binter, A. F. (2015). *Budaya Sasi: Perlawanan Negara dan Masyarakat terhadap eksploitasi dan Kerusakan Lingkungan*. Salatiga:Universitas Kristen Satwa Wacana.

Bloch, M. (1970). *French Rural History*: An Essay on its Book by. University of California Press.

Bowman, D., & Crockett, C. (2012). *Cosmology, Ecology, and the Energy of God*. New York: Fordham University Press.

Braudel, F. (1988). *Civilization and Capitalism: 15th-18th Century: The Wheels of Commerce* (II). London: Collins/Fontana Press.

Chaudhuri, K. N. (1985). *Trade and Civilisation in the Indian Ocean: An Economic History from the Rise of Islam to 1750*. London; New York, Cambridge University Press.

Chauvel, Richard. (1990). *Nationalts, Soldiers and Separatists*. Leiden: KITLV Press.

Chomsky, N. (1986). *Knowledge of Language: Its Nature, Origin, and Use*. Bloomsbury Academic.

Cohen, G. A. (2000). *Karl Marx's Theory of History: A Defence*. Clarendon Press.

Conklin, H. C. (1954). Section of Anthropology: An Ethnoecological Approach to Shifting Agriculture. Transactions of the New York *Academy of Sciences*, 17(2), 133–142. DOI 10.1111/j.2164-0947. 1954.tb00402.x

Cooley, Frank. L. (1962). *Ambonese Adat: A General Description*. Department of Southeast Asia Studies, Yale University.

Corbin, A. (1995). *The Lure of the Sea: Discovery of the Seaside in the Western World 1750-1840*, The (J. Phelps, Trans.; Reprint edition). Penguin Books.

Couper-Kuhlen, E., & Selting, M. (2017). *Interactional Linguistics: Studying Language in Social Interaction*. Cambridge University Press.

Dawson, C. (2002). *Dynamics Of World History*. Intercollegiate Studies Institute.

de Graaf, H. J. (1977). *De Geschiedenis van Ambon en de Zuid-Molukken*. Nederland: Uitgeverij T. Weever B.V. Franeker.

Enklaar, H. E. (1980). *Joseph Kam: Rasul Maluku*. Jakarta: BPK Gunung MUlia.

Estradivari, A., Damora, A., Kiklily, A. C., Amkieltiela, Sumiono, B., Subhan, B., Wibowo, B., Handayani, Ch. N. N., Daniel, D., & Setiawan, F. (2016). *Status Ekologi, Sosial Peman-faatan dan Tata Kelola Sumber Daya Laut Kabupaten Maluku Barat Daya*.

Freilich, M. (1967). Ecology and Culture: Environmental Determinism and the Ecological Approach in Anthropology. *Anthropological Quarterly*, 40(1), 26. DOI 10.2307/3316830

Garraghan, G., S, S. J. (1946). *A Guide To Historical Method*. Fordham University Press, East Fordham Road, New York.

Gottschalk, L. R. (1969). *Understanding History: A Primer of Historical Method* (0 edition). Random House Inc.

Graham, G. (1997). *The Shap of the Past* (1st ed.). New York: Oxford University Press.

Hadinoto, P. (2017). *Pulau-pulau Terluar*. Jakarta: Kompas.

Haen, N., & Wilk, R. R. (n.d.). *The Environment in Anthropology*. A Reader In Ecology, Culture and Sustainable Living.

Hall, K. R. (2019). *Maritime Trade and State Development in Early Southeast*. University of Hawaii Press.

Hallett, C. (2008). The Truth About the Past? The Art of Working with Archival Materials. In *Capturing Nursing History: A Guide to Historical Methods in Research*.

Halpern, B. S., Walbridge, S., Selkoe, K. A., Kappel, C. V., Micheli, F., D'Agrosa, C., Bruno, J. F., Casey, K. S., Ebert, C., Fox, H. E., Fujita, R., Heinemann, D., Lenihan, H. S., Madin, E. M. P., Perry, M. T., Selig, E. R., Spalding, M., Steneck, R., & Watson, R. (2008). *A Global Map of Human Impact on Marine Ecosystems*. Vol 319(2), 948–952. DOI 10.1126/science.1149345.

Hegel, G. W. F., & Hegel, C. (1956). *The Philosophy of History* (F First Edition). Dover Publications.

Heymann, L. A. (2011). Naming, Identity, and Trademark Law. *Public Opinion*, 86(2), 381–445.

Hough, C. (2006). Place Names. *Encyclopedia of Language & Linguistics* (pp. 613-620). Elsevier. DOI 10.1016/B0-08-044854-2/00441-7

Hutubessy, B. G., & Mosse, J. W. (2021). Identifying Fish Assemblages in Tropical Lagoon Ecosystem: First Record from Luang Island, South-West Maluku Indonesia. *Aquaculture and Fisheries*, 8(2), 221–226.
DOI 10.1016/j.aaf.2021.09.004

Isworo, S., & Oetari, P. S. (2022). Flora and Fauna in the Areas Around Artisanal Gold Mining in Selogiri Sub-District, Wonogiri, Indonesia.

23(12), 6600–6617.

Johnson, M. (1998). Lore: Capturing Traditional Environmental Knowledge (Ed). Diane Publishing.

Jonge, N. de, & Dijk, T. van. (1995). *Forgotten Islands of Indonesia: The Art and Culture of the Southeast Moluccas*. Hongkong: Periplus.

Judge, Z., & Nurizka, M. (2008). Peranan Hukum Adat Sasi Laut Dalam melindungi Kelestarian Lingkungan Desa Eti Kecamatan Seram Barat *Kabupaten Seram Bagian Barat*. Vol. 6(1), 30–61.

Karepesina, S. S., Susilo, E., & Indrayani, E. (2013). Eksistensi Hukum Adat Dalam Melindungi Pelestarian Sasi Ikan Lompa di Desa Haruku *Kabupaten Maluku Tengah*. 1(1), 25–41.

Karuna, K., & Serpara, H. (2021). Local Wisdoms on Luang Island, Southwest Moluccas, Indonesia and Its Implementation in Learning. *Journal of Development Research*, 5(1). DOI 10.28926/jdr.v5i1.126

Kearns, R. A., & Berg, L. D. (2002). Proclaiming Place: Towards a Geography of Place Name Pronunciation. *Social & Cultural Geography*, 3(3), 283–302. DOI 10.1080/1464936022000003532

Kissiya, E. (1993). *Sasi Aman Haruku: Tradisi Kelola Sumber Daya Alam Lestari di Haruku. Jakarta:* Seri Pustaka Khasana Budaya Lokal, Yayasan Sejati.

Kissiya, E., & Biczó, G. (2022). Human-Nature in Indonesia-Maluku: Hygera Lai: Heritage To Ecology Protect In Luang Island. *Különleges Bánásmód - Interdiszciplináris Folyóirat*, 8(1), 49–61. DOI 10.18458/KB.2022.1.49

Kissiya, E., & Biczó, G. (2023). Luang Island: Coastal Ecology System in Outermost Small Island (ESCAOSD), Maluku-Indonesia. *Különleges Bánásmód - Interdiszciplináris Folyóirat*, 9(1). DOI 10.18458/KB.2023.1.37

Kostanski, L. (2014). Dual-Names: How Toponyms (Placenames) can Represent Hegemonic Histories and Alternative Narratives. In I. D. Clark, L. Hercus, & L. Kostanski (Eds.), *Indigenous and Minority Placenames: Australian and International Perspectives* (1st ed., pp. 273–292). ANU Press. DOI 10.22459/IMP.04.2014.15

Kritz, M., & Zlotnik, H. (1992). Global Interaction: Migration Systems, Proceses, and Policies. In *International Migration System: A Global Approach* (ed). Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Kuntowijoyo. (2009). *Pengantar Ilmu Sejarah*. Yogjakarta: Bentang Budaya.

Kusapy, D. L., Lay, C., & Kaho, J. R. (2005). Manajemen Konflik Dalam Pemanfaatan Sumber Daya Alam Dan Pelestarian Lingkungan Hidup Lewat Pelaksanaan *Hukum Adat Sasi*. 12(3), 130–139.

Kutoyo, S. (1977). *Sejarah Daerah Maluku. Jakarta: Proyek Pengembangan Media Kebudayaan*. Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan.

Lapian, Adrian. B. (2009). *Orang Laut Bajak Laut Raja Laut: Sejarah Kawasan Laut Sulawesi Abad XIX*. Depok: Komunitas Bambu. Bekerjasama dengan Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient, KITLV Jakarta, Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, Jurusan Sejarah FIB Universitas Gajah Mada dan Jurusan Sejarah Fakultas Sastra Universitas Padjajaran.

Leirissa, R. Z. (1982). *Maluku Tengah di Masa Lampau, Gambaran Sekilas Lewat Arsip Abad Sembilan Belas*. Jakarta: Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia.

Lewenson, S. B. (2008). Doing Historical Research. In *Capturing Nursing History: A Guide to Historical Methods in Research*. New York: Springer Publishing Compani, LLC.

Lokollo, J. E. (n.d.). *Hukum Sasi Di Maluku Suatu Potret Binamulia Lingkungun Pedesaan Yang Dicari Pemerintah*. Ambon: Dies Natalis XXV Universitas Pattimura Ambon.

Malik, F., J. Kotta, R., & Murni Rada, A. (2019). Kebijakan Penataan Pulau-Pulau Terluar Di Provinsi Maluku Dalam Rangka Mempertahankan Keutuhan Negara Kesatuan Republik Iindonesia. *Ganesha Law Review*, 1(2), 106–175. DOI 10.23887/glr.v1i2.58

Marx, K. (1867). *Das Kapital: Kritik der Politischen Oekonomie*. In Wikipedia (Vol. 1st). Deutch: Verlag von Otto Meisner.

Mayr, E. (1945). Wallace's Line: In light of Recent Zoogeographic studies. In Honig, P. & F. Anderson (Editors). *Science and Scientists in Netherlands Indies*. 241–250.

Munger, F. (1994). *Through a Green Lens: The Construction of Customary Environmental Law and Community in Indonesia Maluku Islands*. Law & Society Review.

Oegroseno, A. H. (2009). Status Hukum Pulau-Pulau Terluar Indonesia. *Indonesian Journal of International Law*,6(3).DOI 10.17304/ijil.vol6.3.129

Oppenheimer, S. (1998). *Eden in the East: The Drowned Continent of Southeast Asia*. Orion Publishing.

Pannell, S. (1997). *Managing the Discourse of Resource Management*: The Case of Sasi From "Southeast" Maluku, Indonesia. 67(4), 289–307. DOI 10.1002/j.1834-4461. 1997.tb02622.x

Pattinama, W., & Pattipeilohy M. (2003). *Upacara Sasi Ikan Lompa di Negeri Haruku. Ambon: Kementrian Kebudayaan dan Pariwisata*. Balai Kajian dan Nilai Tradisional.

Peluso, A. M., & Guido, G. (2012). Effects of Geographical University Names on Users' Perceptions. *Journal of Brand Management*, 19(4), 344–357. DOI 10.1057/bm.2011.40

Persada, N. P. R., Mangunwijaya, F. M., & Tobing, I. S. L. (2018). *Sasi Sebagai Budaya Konservasi Sumber Daya Alam Di Kepulauan Maluku*. 41(59), 1–32.

Ranke, L. V. (2019). *History of the Latin and Teutonic nations*. Alpha Edition.

Ricklefs, M. C. (2007). *A History of Modern Indonesia*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hamshire RG21 2XS: Macmillan Education Ltd.

Rumphius, G. E. (1702). *D'Amboinsche Rariteitkamer* (Illustrated edition). Te Amsterdam: Reprint Publishing.

Rumphius, G. E. (1741). *Herbarium Amboinense*. Te Amsterdam: Joannis Burmanni.

Rumphius, G. E. (1983). *Ambonsche landbeschrijving*. Suntingan Z. J. Manusama. J. akarta: Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia. (Penerbitan Sumber-sumber Sejarah/ANRI).

Rumphius, G. E., & Loderichs, M. (2013). *Rumphius' Wonderwereld: Zeventiende-Eeuwse Natuurbeschrijvingen uit Ambon*. Walburg Pers.

Sartini. (2004). *Menggali Kearifan Lokal Nusantara Sebuah Kajian Filsafati*. 37(2), 111–120.

Schrag, C. (1963). The Meaning of History. The *Review of Metaphysics*, 16(4), 703–717.

Taber, M. H. (1990). *Bahasa-bahasa Asli di Daerah Maluku Tenggara Jauh*. Seminar Hasil Penelitian Tentang Masyarakat dan Kebudayaan di Maluku, Ambon: Centre of Moluccan Studies Development-Universitas Pattimura.

Tilly, C. (2006). Why and How History Matters. In *The Oxford Handbook of Contextual Political Analysis*. Oxford University Press.

Toynbee, A. J. (1989). *A Study of History (J.* Caplan, Ed.). Gramercy. https://www.goodreads.com/book/show/369010.A_Study_of_History_ abridged

Tutupoho, R., Nanlohy, M., Siahaya, J., Manuhutu, S. F., & Sella, A. (1991). *Pengendalian Sosial Tradisional Daerah Maluku*. akarta:Departemen Pendidikan Dan Kebudayaan Direktorat Jenderal Kebudayaan Direktorat Sejarah Dan Nilai Tradisional Proyek Inventarisasi Dan Pembinaan Nilai-Nilai Budaya.

Wallace, A. R. (1869). *The Malay Archipelago* (Paperback edition). Peripulus Ltd.

Wallace, A. R. (2016). *The Malay Archipelago: The Land of the Orang-Utan and the Bird of Paradise* (Third Edition, Third edition). John Beaufoy Publishing.

Weber, M. (1890). *Zoologische Ergebnisse einer reise in Niederländisch Ost-Indien*: Bd. 1-4. E.J. Brill.

Weber, M. (1902). *Introduction et Description del'expédition*. E.J. Brill.

62

Wiedemann, F. (2015). Stones and Stories. On the Use of Narratological Approaches for Writing the History of Archaeology. In *Historiographical Approaches to Past Archaeological Research* (Edition Topoi/Exzellenzcluster Topoi der Freien, pp. 165–189). Deutschland GmbH, Berlin: PRO BUSINESS digital printing.

Woodman, P. (2014). *The Interconnections Between Toponymy and Identity*. 9(17–18), 7–20.

PSYCHOTHERAPEUTIC JOURNEYS INTO THE SPIRITUAL WORLD OF HEALING ON THE WINGS OF GNAWA MUSIC: AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDY

Author:

Meryem Madili[1]
University of Debrecen (Hungary)
(Morocco)

Reviewers:

Gábor Biczó (Ph.D)
University of Debrecen

Norbert Tóth (Ph.D)
University of Debrecen

…and two other anonymous reviewers

Abstract

From the sufferings their art was born, from the torture they lived in during their life as slaves their music was created. From the torturing tools used on them they created their own musical instruments. From their screams as slaves, they composed a new music with unique rhythms. Gnawa become a cultural phenomenon in Morocco. A *sufi* confrerie imploring God, the prophet and the saints to release them from slavery, torture and the sufferings they encountered. Their music is considered spiritual because it calls souls to join its magic. Gnawa plays a psychotherapeutic role in healing people from various diseases through the practices of syncretic rituals and the trance state they put the participants into. All of these elements music, dances and rituals converge and synthesize into an event called *lila* a rich ceremony in which the sick tormented by spirits could get healed. This paper examines the practices and impact of the *lila* ceremony on the community from a psychological point of view revealing each step of the collective healing process and methods as used in the rituals.

Keywords: lila, spirits possession, psychotherapeutic healing, trance, beliefs.
Diszcipline: Cultural Anthropology, Ethnography

Absztrakt

PSZICHOTERÁPIÁS UTAZÁSOK A GYÓGYÍTÁS SPIRITUÁLIS VILÁGÁBA A GNAWA ZENE SZÁRNYÁN: EGY ANTROPOLÓGIAI TANULMÁNY

A szenvedésekből született a művészetük, a rabszolgaéletük során átélt kínzásokból született a zenéjük. A rabszolgák kínzó eszközeiből alkották meg saját hangszereiket. Rabszolgaként kiabálásukból egyedi

---

[1] Meryem Madili. Department of Ethnography, Faculty of Arts, University of Debrecen, Program of Ethnography and Cultural Anthropology, PhD School of History and Ethnography (Hungary) (Marokkó). E-mail address: meryemmadili27@gmail.com, ORCID ID: https://orcid.org/0009-0006-3843-9408

ritmusokkal új zenét komponáltak. A *gnawa* kulturális jelenséggé vált Marokkóban. Egy *szúfi konfrerie*, amely Istenhez, a prófétához és a szentekhez könyörög, hogy szabadítsa meg őket a rabszolgaságtól, a kínzástól és a szenvedéstől, amellyel találkoztak. Zenéjüket spirituálisnak tartják, mert a lelkeket hívja, hogy csatlakozzanak a varázslatához. A *gnawa* a szinkretikus rituálék gyakorlata és a transzállapot révén pszichoterápiás szerepet játszik az emberek különböző betegségekből való gyógyításában, amelybe a résztvevőket helyezik. Mindezen elemek, a zene, a táncok és a rituálék egybeolvadnak és szintetizálódnak egy *lila* nevű eseményben, egy gazdag szertartásban, amelyben a szellemek által gyötört betegek meggyógyulhatnak. Ez a tanulmány pszichológiai szempontból vizsgálja a *lila* szertartás gyakorlatát és hatását a közösségre, feltárva a kollektív gyógyulási folyamat egyes lépéseit és a rituálék során alkalmazott módszereket.

Kulcsszavak: *lila*, szellemek megszállása, pszichoterápiás gyógyítás, transz, hiedelmek

Diszciplína: kulturális antropológia, néprajz

They brought us,
the enemies of God brought us and sold us.
From our loved ones they separated us
From our children they took us
Brought us, beat us and tortured us
Brought us and with chains they cuffed us
Brought us, put us in bags
(Excerpt from a Gnawa song)

This paper is constructed on my anthropological fieldwork research that I conducted in Morocco, Essaouira in June 2023. Using the anthropological and ethnographic methods of research and analyses in order to understand such a complex phenomenon such as Gnawa. I based my methods on the qualitative research. In the city of winds as it called Essaouira or 'Mogador', I started my anthropological and spiritual journey to the world of Gnawa with its cultural and artistic background. I have met and conducted interviews with Maallem Essedik Laarache who is a Gnawa music leader in Essaouira (Note: Maallem: The word 'Maallem' derives from the word 'Mouallim' in Arabic which means teacher. Maallem is the leader of the Gnawa music group).

Location

Essaouira has been associated with black slaves for centuries and it also implies ties between Europe and Morocco. In the sixteenth century, the ancient settlement of Essaouira was fortified and renamed Mogador by the Portuguese, who held it briefly. When Sultan Sidi Muhammad chose French engineers and architects to rebuild the city in the late eighteenth century, Essaouira's status as a liminal space between Europe and North Africa was cemented. (Schaefer, 2017)

Picture 1. Morocco, Essaouira Skkala 2023. Photograph by the author.

Gnawa as a cultural and musical form has gone from being a marginal religious practice associated with the enslaved to becoming a crucial part of Essaouira's identity and a major contributor to the city's tourist industry (Ross et al., 2002, 44).

Zawiya Sidna Blal

The confrerie of Gnawa in Essaouira is the only one in Morocco to have a sanctuary called *Zawiya Sidna Blal* which pursues its ritual and therapeutic activities in spite of some divergences between its members about the attribution of the lieus management. This *zawiya* is situated inside the remparts of the Medina at the side of the Atlantic Ocean. (K'hal-Laayoun, 2019)

Gnawa consider Bilal their father, he was the caller of the prayers during the prophet Mohammed era. He was a slave coming from Ethiopia who became free after converting to Islam.

Picture 2. Zawiya Sidna Blal, Essaouira Morocco 2023. Photograph by the author

Overview about Gnawa

The slave trade began as early as the seventh century and by the sixteenth century an increase in the number of people enslaved from Bilad al Sudan led to the equation of blackness with slavery in a Moroccan context.(El Hamel 2008) The largest numbers of men, women, and children were enslaved during the nineteenth century. The scholar Mohammed Ennaji(for an overview of Moroccan slavery, see M. Ennaji, Serving the Master: Slavery and Society in Nineteenth Century Morocco, trans.) estimates that during this period 20,000 slaves entered Morocco from West Africa each year. Wolof Kingdoms in Senegal were involved in the trans-Saharan slave trade, as Senegalese kings and nobles exchanged slaves for North-African horses, cloth, and other imported goods. (J.Webb 1993) Caravans also left from Timbuktu (Mali) for the town of Tabalbala (Algeria). Caravans from the Hausa-controlled city of Kano (Niger) traveled to the town of In Salah (Algeria). Both routes eventually ended at the Tafilalet oasis in Morocco. (Becker, 2011)

Blackness and its link to marginalization is embodied during Gnawa spirit-possession ceremonies, referred to as *lila*, meaning "night" in Arabic. It is important to recognize that "spirit possession" is a very broad term that has been subject to a great deal of scholarly interest and critique. Among anthropologists and historians of religion, there is little consensus as to what the term "spirit possession" means, when to use it, and how. Some prefer to use the terms "trance," "shamanism," "dissociation," or "ecstatic religious practice," and a great deal has been written about the pros and cons of each. Deborah Kapchan(2009, 104.) reminds us that "analytical categories tend to tell us more about the historical moment of their enunciation and its preoccupations than about the 'truth' or 'meaning' of the enactments themselves" (Becker, 2020)

Gnawa background and beliefs

Maallam Esseddiq Laarache, Gnawa music leader emphasized on the Amazigh (Amazigh: indigenous people of North Africa also called berbers, it refer as well to the language used, which is 'Tifinagh' or 'Imazighen') root of the origin of Gnawa as an

ethnic community that has some of 'Bambara (Bambara: is the language of the country Mali)' language. He grew up among Gnawa, from his childhood he observed, participated and played music in the *lila* (Lila: It means night in Arabic. Lila is a ceremony in which they held the rituals with the music and dances in order the put the participants in trance for the purpose of healing). He learnt from the old Gnawa masters who passed away and he kept practicing more and more the art of Gnawa, he also added that he doesn't give up his profession as a craft man to make a living!

Tgnawit (Tagnawit: is the act of practicing Gnawa as a music, art and rituals) was only for the craft men. They work all the week long until Thursday evening or Saturday evening then they start organizing the *lila* of Gnawa. They choose Thursday evening because the day after it is Friday which is a sacred day for the Muslims in which they pray collectively and Saturday because the day after it is a day off. There is also the *moussem* (Moussem: is a fair of double function: economical and spiritual. It is generally held near the sanctuary of the venerated saint of the regions. Beside the trade exchanges, the moussem is organized in homage of the saint and for his honour, and for the sake of the posthumous commemoration - K'hal-Laayoun, 2019) of *Chaaban* (Chaaban: It is a month in the Islamic calendar that precedes the month of Ramadan which is considered a holy month because of the religious practices of fasting, praying and being in a close contact to God) that has three days and it can take seven days it called *nachra* (Nachra: The seven days of the moussem) there are seven colours (based on the Islamic belief that there are seven skies, seven earths, seven seas, seven waves), each day with a colour from the series of colours that they use during the seven days. (There is also the entrance with the drum that is just a 'habit' played by *wled bambra* (Wled Bambra: It is an individual dance of the Gnawi dancer) with the dance and the rituals, there is *nokcha*. Nokcha it is a collective

dance. While the word Nksha itself does not have any agreed-upon meaning among Gnawa practitioners, the Moroccan colloquialism feltet-lu nksha is often used to mean "he's gone mad," more specifically that someone is doing something outside of his control. This suggests that the term may have denoted a connection between madness and loss of consciousness and Gnawa spirit possession— which can both mimic a condition associated with madness or mental illness and serve as a cure for it (Becker, 2020) (this is just for warming up and gathering the people).

In the *lila* which means the trance ceremony, They begin with a colour, the next day another different colour and it goes like this until they complete the seven days of the *moussem*. Each series has a colour and has its own performance. The people who dance they dance according to the rituals that follows that colour.

The complete ceremony includes seven sections, each controlled by a different saint or family of spirits. In the derdeba (Derdba: The 'lila' or 'derdba', two names for an all-night, trance-based, spirit possession ceremony - Witulski, 2018), a single tune can conjure up a complex set of associations and actions. The saints and spirits each have their own tunes, and a given melody (with or without a sung text) is said both to attract the spirit and to indicate its presence (Schuyler, 1981).

The music of Gnawa

The music the *Maallem* performs fulfills the necessary function for a given situation without much contemplation, leaving it to what they call *hal*: a state of transcendence or "state of oneness with God" (Kapchan, 2007, 42.). After all, he has no need for a formal exegesis. Given the situation, an outsider can only attain a meaningful understanding of the musical processes through analysis of musical and ethnographic data, piecing together fragments collected over the course of fieldwork in

a project of deconstruction and re-construction. (Sum 2011)

Picture 3: Gnawa performance during the parade organized by 'Gnawa and music of the world festival' in Essaouira, Morocco, June 2023. Photograph by the author.

Spiritual musical instruments

The Gnawa rely on their musical instruments to communicate with the spirit world. (El Hamel 2008) one of which, a three-stringed lute-tambour (guenbri), is used primary invocation to call on the *jinns* (spiritual entities). (Westermarck, 1899)

Guenbri: Also named *el guembri / el guenbri, el hajhouj* or *santir*. A musical instrument with three souls that become one soul stated *Maallem Essediq*. The *Guinbri* is made from the skin of the camel specifically the neck. The cords of the *Guinbri* are from the intestines of the goat and the third element is the wood that was before a tree. He added 'the wood has a soul, the camel has a soul and the goat has a soul. When we put them together it become one soul, the three souls reborn'. The *Guenbri* has been created in the form of a boat because the slaves were taken on a boat. *el hajhouj* is not only a musical instrument for pleasure and joy, but when Gnawa use *el hajhouj* with intricate textures, astonishing patterns and rhythmic tones, it is a ritual instrument as well for

charming the *mlouk*, those supernatural entities. (K'hal-Laayoun 2019)

Qraqeb: *Qraqeb* resembles the feet cuffs during the enslavement period. Essediq stated. The iron *qraqeb* exists throughout the Maghreb where it is given different names by various Black communities linked to the history of enslavement. In Tunisia, for instance, descendants of enslaved people play cymbals called *shqashiq* to evoke spirit possession, although, according to ethnomusicologist (Jankowsky, 2010), they are generally heavier than the Moroccan *qraqeb* and the style of playing is different. In Morocco, each pair of *qraqeb* is held together with a small circle of metal placed through a hole at one end of each cymbal, restricting the movement of each metal plate and limiting the volume that each pair can produce (Becker 2020).

Picture 4. Gnawa group playing music with the Qraqeb instrument during the parade organized by 'Gnawa and music of the world festival' in Essaouira, Morocco, June 2023. Photograph by the author.

Gnawa dance. During *Allila* of *Derdba*, beside the adepts and the initiates, sometimes the spectators become actors when so engrossed by the Gnawa music, they mysteriously dance without having control of themselves. At that time of the *jdib* – trance, Gnawa reveal that the dancer is carried away by *mlouk* which means the spirits.

(K'hal-Laayoun, 2019) Gnawa rituals and beliefs centre on the *lila* or *derdba*, two names for an all-night, trance-based, spirit possession ceremony. The event engages the senses to incite possession trance in paying clients, in some invited family or friends, and potentially in other spectators who are present. The types of possession beliefs and trance activities that feature in this ritual share many similarities with other African and syncretic practices (Witulski, 2018). As soon as the music stops, the dancer falls down unconscious, to regain consciousness a few minutes later without remembering anything of his or her previous performance. If the dancer cannot get up, the music is resumed enabling the dancer to pursue his or her gestures until he or she is relieved from his or her trance (K'hal-Laayoun, 2019).

Picture 5: Gnawa dance performance during the march organized by 'Gnawa and music of the world festival' in Essaouira, Morocco, June 2023. Photograph by the author.

The therapeutic rituals of the lila

Through such ceremonies and practices, the Gnawa transform themselves from the socially constructed identities that are the result of centuries of acculturation into Moroccan society, in which they first arrived as enforced migrants; then, through exclusionary practices, they re-embodied themselves as a spiritually constructed people, independent of their social identity in the world. (El Hamel, 2008)

The trance rituals: The trance ceremonies generally take place after sundown; for this reason they are called lila (meaning 'night' in Arabic). They are also called derdeba (ritual of possession). (El Hamel 2008) During the trance ceremony each participant has his own colour that he choose himself the *Maallem Essedik* confirmed. he said that it's him who choose the colour when he is dancing and falling during *jdib (*Jdib: is the dance in the state of trance during the lila) Gnawa play according to the colour that the sick fall in. While Gnawa are playing, following the rituals: *rahba* (Rahba:(the opening of the square), a mode during which the incenses of 'jaoui' and 'hsalabane' are burnt in a little brazier. By the time, ornamented with cowries put around the shoulder -K'hal-Laayoun, 2019) and *lbkhour* (Lbkhour: It is the fumigation Gnawa use to have a good incense in the place), after a while he fall, he goes to Gnawa, they put *lbkhour* and give him a towel of the colour that he fall into it.

There is somebody for example who has something in his chest that bothers him and makes him feel suffocated but when he goes to Gnawa, he dances and get recovered. *Maallem Essedik* confirmed that there are the patients who have physical illnesses and the others who have psychological ones as well. He added that we work for them and they got healed here in the town and outside. We go outside, we start with the *fatha*, *Baraka* (Baraka: It means the blessing from God) and good intention *niya* and the patient get recovered and there are the ones who organise the *lila* without being ill or having any kind of sickness. The patient invites his loved ones, neighbours and others and after that everyone goes to his own way.

Mqeddma: The Gnawa *mqeddma*, who is typically female, organizes the ceremony for one of her

clients and hires the musicians. Participants at a Gnawa ceremony come from various ethnic backgrounds –they may be Imazighen (Berber) or Arab– and most are women. The client of the *mqeddma* pays for the food consumed at the *lila* and hires the musicians, but also invited female guests to contribute offerings of money to the musicians during the ceremony. Most of these women would not define themselves as Gnawa, although they may regularly attend ceremonies (Becker, 2011).

Maallem Essedik emphasized on the big role that the *Mqeddma* (Mqeddma: (plural:mqeddmate) is the chief-guard of the Gnawa sanctuary or dar. She is also the chief-organizer of Allila of Derdba or the Moussem. Chosen by all the Gnawa, and with the agreement of the mqeddem, Mqeddma is assisted by Laarifa another woman designed by mqeddma whose role consists of helping Tellaa (mediumnic fortune-teller) or Shouwafa (non-mediumnic fortune-teller) in carrying out the annual 'Allila' of Derdba -K'hal-Laayoun, 2019) plays because the *lila* can start with her, Women goes to the *Mqeddma*, she speaks to them, if it's necessary to organise the *lila* then they start the preparations, they talk to the *Maallem*, they buy the animal in order to sacrifice it, they arrange the day and the time when they will organise it. They slaughter the animal during the day. They organise the *lila* at night or the day after until five or six am, at they end it with *fatha* (Fatha: (Fatiha) the first Surrah in the Quran). The *lila* starts after the prayer of *laacha* (Laacha: The evening prayer and the last prayer of the day for the Muslims) at night and they finish before the prayer of *sobh* (Sobh: The dawn prayer and the first prayer of the day for the Muslims). He added that's what it was in the past. And there are the ones who starts after the prayer of *sobh* and they finish at ten or eleven in the morning. He said: 'We had many *lila* (Lilat: is the plural of lila which means many nights) one after the other we didn't have enough time to sleep just an hour'. In the month of *chaaban* in the past, they were many *lilat* not like now.

Gnawa evolution

Gnawa community recognized many changes in the last decades. When the time comes each summer for the Essaouira Festival of World Music, a festival that features the music of the Gnawa in collaboration with mostly American, European, and sub-Saharan African guests, groups of friends crowd onto buses and ride for hours to see them (Witulski, 2018).

The Essaouira festival is a secular festival supported by private capital, the state, and the crown. Its official title is *Festival d'Essaouira Gnaoua Musiques du Monde*, which can be translated into "Essaouira Festival of Gnawa and World Music." It serves two major purposes: it attracts tourists, and it bolsters Gnawa musicians' engagement in the music industry. A third probable goal of economic development in Essaouira cannot be discounted (Sum, 2011,105.)

Despite, or perhaps because of, this changing community, there remains a certain nostalgia for an earlier era, a time before the unquestionable power of fame, youth, and new media exerted such influence on contemporary religious life in Morocco. The past lives on, refracted through contemporary lenses. Whether a lamentation for something lost or a banner of continuity, tradition continues to inform Gnawa music and the conflicting wealth of attitudes toward it. Even the most adventurous and innovative performances feature iconic instruments or familiar melodic shapes. There is a respect for the past that permeates this music (Witulski, 2018).

Gnawa music is still primarily spiritual and used for healing purposes. Gnawa music has inspired the development of popular Moroccan music in general and is analogically similar to the African American spirituals, gospels and, eventually, the genre known as the Blues, also founded by former slaves. Recently, Western musicians interested in African traditional music have encountered the music of the Gnawa. As a result, much collaboration has ensued between Gnawa musicians and

famous jazz artists such as Randy Weston (El Hamel, 2008).

Conclusion

This anthropological research given me a valuable first hand information about this subject also a tremendous insight into the world of Gnawa culture in which I could examine the issue through an anthropological lens.

Gnawa has been considered the music of the marginalized category in the Moroccan society now it become a cultural phenomenon that influenced several artists such us: Jimmy Hendrix, Led Zeppeling, Carlos Santana and many others.

Women's role in the Gnawa community is essential as *Maallem Essedik* explained and emphasized that Gnawa was made for women only. The healing process cannot be possible without Gnawa women. The healing rituals takes a great part of the Gnawa identity. Due to social and economic reasons, that has a massive impact on Gnawa community in Morocco and despite of the changes and the contemporary impacts Gnawa remains a spiritual art that has a significant position in the Moroccan culture.

References

Becker J. C. (2020). *Blackness in Morocco Gnawa identity through music and visual culture*. University of Minnesota Press.

Becker, C. (2011). Hunters, Sufis, soldiers, and minstrels, the diaspora aesthetics of the Moroccan Gnawa. *Anthropology and Aesthetics*. 59/60. 124-144. DOI 10.2307/2843009

El Hamel Chouki (2008).Constructing a Diasporic Identity: Tracing the Origins of the Gnawa Spiritual Group in Morocco. *The Journal of African History* , 49 (2.). 241-260. DOI 10.1017/S002185370800368X

For an overview of Moroccan slavery, see M. Ennaji, Serving the Master: Slavery and Society in Nineteenth Century Morocco, trans.

Jankowsky, R. (2010). *Stambeli: Music, Trance, and Alterity in Tunisia*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

K'hal-Laayoun, A. (2019). *Gnawa A Mystic Itenerary people, lieus, rite, art*. Imprimerie papetrie El Watanya.

Kapchan, D. (2009). Possessed by Heritage: Sub-Saharan Tradition on Display in Tangier. *Critical Interventions* 5 (Fall): 102–22. DOI 10.1080/19301944.2009.10781363

Maisi, Sum (2011). Staging the Sacred: Musical Structure and Processes of the Gnawa Lila in Morocco. *Ethnomusicology,* 55.(1).77-111. DOI 10.5406/ethnomusicology.55.1.0077

Ross, Eric S., John A. Shoup, Driss Maghraoui, and Abdelkrim Marzouk (2002). *Assessing Tourism in Essaouira*. Ifrane: Al Akhawayn University.

Rouget, G. (1985). *Music and Trance: A Theory of the Relations Between Music and Possession.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Schuyler D. P. (1981). Music and Meaning among the Gnawa Religious Brotherhood of Morocco. *The World of Music* , 23. (1). 3-13.

Shaefer PR J. (2017). *Frontstage Backstage: Participatory Music and the Festive Sacred in Essaouira, Morocco*. Western states folklore society.

Webb, J. (1993). Economics and the Politics of Slaving in the Sahel. *The Journal of African History*, 34 (2.). 244.

Westermarck E. (1899). The nature of the Arab ginn, illustrated by the present beliefs of the people of Morocco '. *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, 20, 252-69. DOI 10.2307/2843009

Witulski. Christopher. (2018).*Contentious Spectacle: Negotiated Authenticity within Morocco's Gnawa Ritual*. University of Illinois Press on behalf of Society for Ethnomusicology.

CULTURAL RESISTANCE AND COLLECTIVE MEMORY:
THE IMPACT OF NATIONALISM OF THE VARGAS DICTATORSHIP ON HUNGARIAN HERITAGE IN JARAGUÁ DO SUL - SC

Author:

Fernanda Lucia, Maes[1]
University of Debrecen (Hungary)
(Brazil)

Reviewers:

Prof. Gábor Biczó (Ph.D)
University of Debrecen

Norbert Tóth (Ph.D)
University of Debrecen

…and two other anonymous reviewers

Abstract

    This work encompasses an analysis of the dictatorship experienced in Brazil between 1937 and 1945, during the Estado Novo (New State), the government of Getúlio Vargas, when there was an attempt to consolidate a fictitious homogeneity in the country, especially regarding culture. In a country where layers of different cultural influences converge, making it rich, unique, and celebrated for its diversity, cultural heritage is of extreme importance. During this period, in a contradictory manner, through repression and adaptation of culture to fit the interests of the State, the period witnessed censorship and sometimes even the forgetting of cultural heritages that somewhat conflicted with the interests of the regime at the time. The issues that emerge are related to the impact of nationalism in the face of the repression of the expression of different cultures, through documentary research in primary sources, including publications in local newspapers and testimonials from descendants of the local community about the collective memory of the repression of the cultural expression of immigrants in the southern region, finally reaching the feelings generated that resonate to this day. The analysis reached a possible rupture and distortion of the collective memory, indicating how nationalism shaped and still shapes imagined communities. Amidst

[1] Fernanda Lucia, Maes Department of Ethnography, Faculty of Arts, University of Debrecen, Program of Ethnography and Cultural Anthropology, PhD School of History and Ethnography (Hungary) (Brazil). e-mail addres: maes.fernandalucia@gmail.com, ORCID ID: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5703-6392

a discussion that also presents an analysis of the role of nationalist discourses in architecture and its homogenization.

Keywords: memory, identity, cultural expression, repression, nationalism

Discipline: Cultural Anthropology, Ethnography

Absztrakt

KULTURÁLIS ELLENÁLLÁS ÉS KOLLEKTÍV EMLÉKEZET: A VARGAS-DIKTATÚRA NACIONALIZMUSÁNAK HATÁSA A MAGYAR ÖRÖKSÉGRE JARAGUÁ DO SULBAN - SC

A tanulmány a Brazíliában felszínre kerülő Estado Novo (Új Állam), azaz a Getúlio Vargas kormánya idején, 1937 és 1945 között tapasztalt diktatúra elemzését foglalja magában – különösen a kultúra tekintetében –, amikor az ország fiktív homogenitását próbálták megszilárdítani. A kulturális örökség rendkívül fontos egy olyan országban, ahol a különböző kulturális hatások rétegei találkoznak, ami gazdaggá, egyedivé és sokszínűségéért ünnepeltté teszi az országot. Ebben az időszakban ellentmondásos módon, az elnyomás és a kultúrának az állam érdekeihez való igazítása révén, a korszak tanúja volt a cenzúra, sőt néha még az olyan kulturális örökségek elfelejtésének is, amelyek némileg ellentmondtak az akkori rendszer érdekeinek. A felmerülő kérdések a nacionalizmus hatásaival kapcsolatosak, melyet az elsődleges forrásokban végzett dokumentumkutatáson – beleértve a helyi újságokban megjelent publikációkat és a helyi közösség leszármazottainak vallomásait, a déli régióban élő bevándorlók kulturális kifejezésének elnyomásáról szóló kollektív emlékezetről szóló leírásokat, a keletkezett érzések megfogalmazásait – alapulnak, melyek a különböző kultúrák kifejezési módjai az elnyomásal szemben, és amelyek a mai napig visszhangoznak. Az elemzés eljutott a kollektív emlékezet lehetséges töréséig és torzulásáig, jelezve, hogy a nacionalizmus hogyan alakította és alakítja még mindig az elképzelt közösségeket. Egy olyan vita közepette, amely a nacionalista diskurzusok építészetben betöltött szerepének és homogenizálódásának elemzését is bemutatja.

Kulcsszavak: emlékezet, identitás, kulturális kifejezésmód, elnyomás, nacionalizmus

Diszciplína: kulturális antropológia, néprajz

Introduction

From the beginning of the 19th century, with the opening of ports to ships and to the English trade, Brazil initiated communication with the world (Vieira Filho, 2011), leading to an intensification of the migratory processes. In 1808, a decree allowed the immigration of non-Lusitanians, marking the beginning of policies encouraging the arrival of foreign groups to populate the lands going beyond the coastal areas in Brazil (Weissheimer, 2016). This strategic and demographic process aimed to occupy the so-called "demographic voids" – inhabited by indigenous peoples -; seek free labor; and ultimately achieve the "whitening of the race" (Vieira Filho, 2011), thus triggering the migratory process from Europe to Brazil.

Kosa (1957) attributes the departure of Hungarians from their homeland to the social movement that began after the abolition of serfdom, as a natural response to the social problems existing on the European continent at that time. After 1850, the abolition of many feudal prerogatives in Hungary allowed a class society development, thus opening new possibilities for social mobility. With little chance of acquiring sufficient land or improving their social position, the rural proletariat was

motivated to leave their homeland. Data indicates that from then on, emigration only increased (Kosa, 1957).

Thomázy (2021) categorizes the waves of Hungarian migration to Brazil into six major periods. The first, between 1818 and 1860, was also motivated by the Hungarian Revolution and the War of Independence. Then, from 1870 to 1913, characterized as the first mass migration to Brazil, the groups were mainly composed of farmers who settled mostly in the south of the country and formed colonies. The following groups of immigrants arrived in Brazil between 1919 and 1928, after World War I due to resulting economic crises, settling in major cities such as São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Curitiba, and Porto Alegre, marking the largest period. Between 1947 and 1954, after World War II, and the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, was characterized as the last and most prominent immigration wave. Finally, the last wave of immigration began in 1989 and continues to the present day, characterized by small numbers of intellecttuals.

This study focuses on the city of Jaraguá do Sul, located in the state of Santa Catarina, one of the destinations for Hungarian families who arrived in the second wave of immigration, as mentioned above. The city is in the Northeast region of the state, with a total area of 530,894 km² and a population of 182,660 inhabitants (IBGE, 2022). The official occupation of the land where Jaraguá do Sul now stands began in 1876, but it was only in 1889, with the Proclamation of the Republic in Brazil, that the "Colônia Jaraguá" (Jaraguá Colony) phase began, initiating the process of land subdivisions and distribution of these lots to immigrant families.

The Hungarian families settled along the banks of the Jaraguá River, which cuts through the city. Approximately 200 families from Veszprém and 30 families from Székesfehérvár (Lopes, 2012) established themselves where today is the rural area of

the city. In the subsequent years, the Hungarians built churches, cemeteries, and schools. Over time, Hungarian immigrants mixed primarily with Germans but also with Italians and German speakers from Austria, initiating an assimilation process among them. This assimilation process was later reinforced by the isolation caused by World War I. It was further institutionalized through the policies of the Estado Novo in Brazil in 1937, intensifying losses, forgetting, and a possible rupture of collective memory. It is known that the German influence in the colonization process extending beyond the southern coast of Brazil is significant, which is evi-dent in projects like the National Immigration Routes, as well as in other research projects conducted so far. Seyferth (2011) highlights that the first foreigners to arrive in this region were Germans in 1836, and only from 1875 did immi-grants from other origins start arriving. From this point, the main questions guiding this work emer-ged within its broader scope: how did the Hunga-rians assimilate with other ethnicities, what role did architectural and visual elements play in this pro-cess; and how might have contributed to the subsequent development of a new cultural and rural landscape?

To address these questions, this paper focuses on the assimilation process of Hungarians through the nationalist measures imposed by the dictatorial government of Getúlio Vargas in Brazil from the 1930s onward. Through a historical review based on qualitative documentation, data analysis was developed, supported by a literature review of notions and concepts that guide the understanding of nationalism, collective memory, *lieu de mémoire*, and the importance given to codes, rituals, and symbols during the period covered by this study.

Methodology
Given that the first Hungarian families arrived and settled in the research area from 1891, the early 20th century presented challenges and had a strong

impact on the collective memory of European immigrant families in Brazil, due to the Varguista Dictatorship (1937-1945). Faced with repression and attempts to adapt culture to align with the interests of the State, the period witnessed censorship, resulting in a potential rupture of collective memory and even the forgetting of cultural heritages.

Thus, the methodology used in this work is based on the research of evidence through three main primary sources: 1) narratives presented in the bibliographic book *"Colônia Húngara no Jaraguá"* (Hungarian Colony in Jaraguá) (Majcher; Canuto; Lopes, 2008); 2) publications in the local newspaper *"O Correio do Povo"*, relating to publications in statewide newspapers; and 3) reports collected through the application of an online questionnaire in November of 2023 shared with the community if Hungarian descendants in Jaraguá do Sul. The analyses reveal what remains in the collective memory regarding a specific period that caused the repression of cultural expression among immigrants in the region, and what feelings are still resonating.

Discussion
Vargas Dictatorship and its impact

In the early 20th century, many Brazilian intellectuals were actively involved in various nationalist movements, exploring different ideas about the fundamental pillars of the nation and working to create an identity that would stand out in both the popular imagination and the global political context. Despite having a long history, it is complicated to understand the national issue comprehensively over time and reach an agreement on its foundations. The fact is that between 1918 and 1950, this phenomenon reached the peak of its political-symbolic dimension, effectively becoming a globalized mass phenomenon. In Europe, after World War I, the prestige of nationalist ideas was notably strengthened by the sense of defeat among the losers of the conflict. Palti (2002) argues that nationalism, while a powerful sentiment, carries a void at its core (Palti, 2002), and fascism and Nazism skillfully exploited this sentiment, mobilizing the middle strata of society. Even among the workers, the adopted discourse proved effective in attributing blame to external enemies and internal traitors (Hobsbawm, 1992). Thus, the dissemination of nation and national identification ideas shared through propaganda, filled a gap left by the feelings of failure, powerlessness, and the apparent inability of other ideologies, projects, and political programs to understand human aspirations (Hobsbawm, 1992). Benedict Anderson presents a perspective on the nation by coining the term "imagined community", emphasizing the imagined and constructed nature of these entities. The author argues that the nation is an imagined social construction uniting people who have never met but share a common identity based on symbols, narratives, and rituals. Imagination is of utmost importance for the creation of national identity, allowing people of a nation to perceive themselves as part of a community. Anderson also adds that nations are constructed in specific spaces and times, often relating to events such as revolutions, uniting people around a common history.

During the 1930s, with Getúlio Vargas assuming the presidency of Brazil, the creation of a national identity for the country began to receive greater attention from the State. During this decade, the topics of nationalization and culture became central in political debates, and in 1937 it became a real State policy (Hackenhaar, 2015). The ideology of the Estado Novo – the political regime during the dictatorial rule of Getúlio Vargas from 1937 to 1945 – aimed at the homogenization of culture, attempting to delimit and define a Brazilian identity. This was undoubtedly one of the concerns of the Vargas government, which began in 1930 but intensified in 1937 with the promulgation of a new Constitution. Throughout its fifteen years in

government, the State also worked on adapting immigrants and their descendants to the values imposed by this ideology, as in nationalist projects like Estado Novo there was no room for coexistence with strong and structured foreign cultural groups like the ones in the regions of colonization" (Schwartzmann; Bomeny; Costa 1939: 91).

During this government, education plays a fundamental role in the nationalization policies. The 1934 Constitution had already dedicated a chapter to Education and Culture, expanding the scope of action of the Federal Executive power on the subject, which was further centralized with the 1937 Constitution. Subsequently, a series of decrees began to regulate the entry and stay of immigrants (Decree-law no. 2265, January 25, 1938/ Decree-law no. 406, May 4, 1938), the prohibition of foreign activities in the country, including foreigners' participation in political activities (Decree-law no. 383, April 18, 1938), as well as the use of a foreign language in public spaces and the circulation of newspapers. In this regard, it is worth noting that until 1937, part of the local newspaper, O Correio do Povo, circulating in the city of Jaraguá do Sul since 1921, was still printed in the German language. Following the institutionnalization of decree 406, the newspaper became printed only in Portuguese language, Article 94: "In rural areas of the country, the publication of books, magazines, or newspapers in foreign languages will not be allowed without the permission of the Immigration and Colonization Council." Finally, Decree-law no. 868, November 18, 1938, aimed to define actions to be taken at the Federal, State, and Municipal levels to "fully nationalize the primary education of all population centers of foreign origin". Thus, the government's takeover of education became the clearest manifestation of the attempt to dismantle a culture that had been gradually built but no longer had a place in the new political structure. Schwartzman, Bomeny, and Costa (1984) emphasize that throughout the

formation period of colonization zones, it was convenient for the Brazilian government to leave the foreign centers on their own (1984: 171). Still, given the ideologies proposed by Estado Novo with the nationalization project, practices such as teaching a foreign language in southern schools represented a threat to their development and the formation of Brazilian patriotic consciousness. The alleged negligence of previous governments with the foreign colonies from the mid-19th century to the 1930s is evidenced by both official sources and the foreign groups themselves who advocate for the preservation of what they built without assistance or support from the government (Schwartzman; Bomeny; Costa, 1984).

The formation of the National State would necessarily and primarily involve the homogenization of culture, customs, language, and ideology. There was no shortage of proposals for creating plans for the "ideological unification of the country," which essentially aimed at eliminating "centers of contamination" identified either with the communists or the Nazis. Cultural standardization implied the exclusion of "foreigners," understood here as groups alien to the nationalization project. The scope of what was considered "foreign" could extend beyond a simple and direct connection to the country of origin (Schwartzman; Bomeny; Costa, 1984: 182).

The book titled *"Colônia Húngara no Jaraguá"* (Hungarian Colony in Jaraguá) was a source for the development of the current research. In it, the authors, Olga Piazera Majcher, Alcionei Macedo Canuto, and Sidnei Marcelo Lopes (2008), present extensive research on Hungarian immigration in the city of Jaraguá do Sul through a narrative that encompasses emotions, experiences, memory, and historical data. The excerpts presented here from this narrative cover the timeline analyzed in the present work, during the Vargas Dictatorship. In

the first pages dedicated to this subject, the authors present an excerpt stating that beyond the closure of schools in the region, aspects related to culture were also lost, "much of the immigrants' culture was lost. Classes taught in German had to be changed. Clubs, schools, shooting societies, and gymnastics societies were closed, seeking to promote the nationalization of the people" (Majcher; Canuto; Lopes, 2008: 142).

The narratives presented in the book confirm that it was not allowed to "sing, pray, or speak" (Majcher; Canuto; Lopes, 2008) in German or Italian in southern Brazil, even when the foreign language was the only one known, "(...) it was forbidden, especially in southern Brazil, to speak German and Italian. And for many - especially in the countryside - it was the only language they knew. It was difficult. Anyone caught speaking a foreign language was reported" (Majcher; Canuto; Lopes, 2008: 143/144). The authors recount episodes that marked the arrest of individuals accused of speaking a foreign language, "Affonso Piazera, my father, often went to talk to the Police Chief, to the Judge, to have the settlers who had spoken German or Italian released from prison" (Majcher; Canuto; Lopes, 2008: 144). The absence of the State mentioned earlier, and the independence of immigrant colonies since their arrival are also confirmed through the narratives.

(...) in the rural area, due to the lack of teachers appointed by the government, classes were taught by someone from the community: in German or Italian. (I remember my parents commenting on this detail: my father, of Italian descent, was literate in the Italian language; my mother, granddaughter, and daughter of Hungarians - who spoke German - had classes in the German language) (Majcher; Canuto; Lopes, 2008: 144).

Schwartzmann, Bomeny, and Costa (1984) present three aspects of the pedagogical actions of

the Ministry at that time, in the pursuit of nationalization. The first is related to the national content that should be conveyed in schools, also emphasizing the use of the Portuguese language uniformly and steadily throughout the country. The authors further clarify that such content was not completely defined. Still, it would not incorporate that search for the deepest roots of Brazilian culture, but instead it would incorporate aspects of modernism, the mystified history of national heroes and institutions, and the worship of authorities (Schwartzman; Bomeny; Costa, 1984: 157). The second aspect characterized by the authors can be defined as standardization through model schools, the creation of national education plans, and mandatory minimum curriculum to be followed by schools, aiming at the ideal of homogenization and centralization. Finally, the third aspect, through the standardization of education, would deal with the "eradication of ethnic, linguistic, and cultural minorities that had formed in Brazil in recent decades, whose assimilation would become a national security issue." (Schwartzman; Bomeny; Costa, 1984: 142). In 1940, the National Institute of Studies and Research (INEP) developed a report that presented the results of measures related to the nationalization of education, showing that in the state of Santa Catarina, a total of 298 foreign schools were closed, and 472 national schools were opened (Schwartzman; Bomeny; Costa, 1984).

Exploring dimensions going beyond the measures of the Ministry of Education, we encounter repressive methods during the construction of Brazilian nationalism. The alleged presence of Nazis in the colonial zones of the south was used as an argument to justify the State and police actions in the region, leading to the institutionalization of repression by the government. Consequently, numerous Germans were detained, accused of Nazism or subversive activities, and were also subject to persecution, including losing jobs in public positions due to previously promulgated decrees.

In the year 1940, in edition 1036 of O *"Correio do Povo"* newspaper, dated July 6th, a local teacher published a note claiming that it was not his fault that a 17-year-old young man and his former student had greeted him in German. In the note, the teacher explains that he had indeed taught the "Brazilian" language and patriotism to the student, but in his family environment, the father did not contribute to the young man maintaining what he learned in the school environment. The teacher alleges that everything in the young man's house is related to the foreigner, and because of that, the young man is once again "transformed," returning to his "primitive state".

Picture 1. Note from a local teacher. Source: Hemeroteca Digital Catarinense, issue n. 1036, 6 of July, 1940.
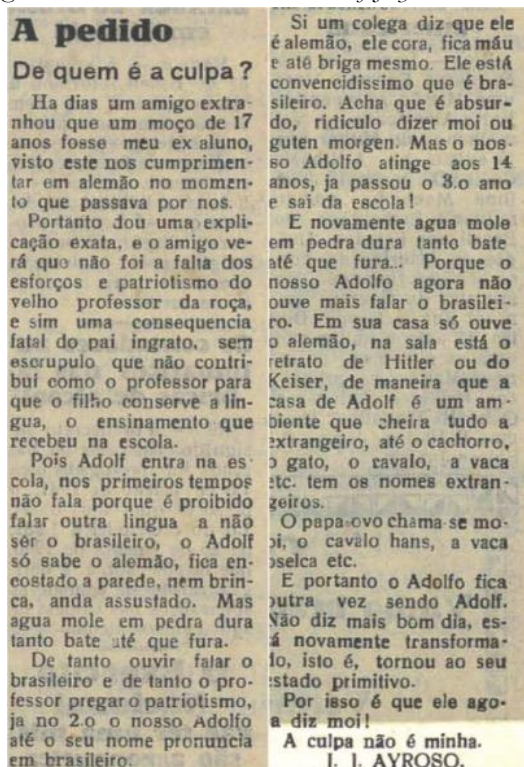
In 1935, edition 791 dated July 13th presented a report referring to the celebration of July 25th in Santa Catarina, called the "Festa do Colono" (Settler Festival). The report pays homage to all immigrants, highlighting the feeling of strangeness on the part of colony members when they received a note from the local government opposing this celebration, "Wanting to separate on this date is a very regrettable gesture" (O Correio do Povo, issue n. 791, 13 of July 1935). In the following years, the festivity was no longer reported by the newspaper.

We must bear in mind that these men, who arrived here 111 years ago from Italy, Germany, Austria, or Poland, came imbued with the idea of adopting a new homeland forever, proving with their actions that they spared no effort to be worthy of the welcome they received. It was these men who opened the native forest, battled wild beasts, and built roads, schools, churches, villages, and cities, which are the pride of their descendants, who still work the plow and continue to appreciate the good Brazilians, without foreign connections, to provide the best services to the nation (O Correio do Povo, issue n. 791, 13 of July, 1935).

In the book which was used as a source, an important sentence from the authors emphasizes that "what was sad, the people sought to forget" (Majcher; Canuto; Lopes, 2008: 146), bringing up a possible rupture of the collective memory, as reflected by Pollak In the text *"Memória, esquecimento, silêncio"* (1989) (Memory, Forgetting, Silence) published in Estudos Históricos 3 (1989), about how traumatic situations can affect and distort the way a community remembers and interprets the past. The author points out the difference between the dominant official memory and the "underground memories" marked by silence, unsaid, and resentment. When it comes to the unsaid, Majcher, Canuto, and Lopes (2008) add that in the period of repression, people felt a lot of insecurity. They did not like to remember, nor talk to their children about details and information from their past, fearing for their offspring. The fear produced

traumas that they avoided passing on (Majcher; Canuto; Lopes, 2008: 144).

Theoretical background

Halbwachs was the first scholar to address the term collective memory. Given that the present study focuses on the occupation and cultural expression of immigrant families in the late 19th century, this is a term constantly worked on. In this sense, Halbwachs argues that individual memory is never solely their own, as no memory can exist independently of society. With clear Durkheimian influences, transferring the phenomenon from the individual level to a sociological level by understanding it as a social fact (Casadei, 2010), Halbwachs (2004) argues that memory fades if we distance ourselves from the group to which it is linked with. He contends that without the social support of our consciousness with the memories of others, all recollection becomes impossible. Thus, individual memory is linked to the memory formed by a person's experiences in various groups over time, "the constitution of memory is, in each individual, a random combination of memories from different groups that influence him" (Casadei, 2010: 155). Memories are shaped within a social context through the groups of which the individual is part. Moreover, the author adds that memory does not create a rupture between the past and the present, keeping from the past what is still alive or can live in the consciousness of the group that holds a certain memory (Halbwachs, 1980). Therefore, nation being the most complete form of a group, national memory would be, in turn, the most complete form of collective memory.

Pollak emphasizes the characteristics of domination and symbolic violence present in collective memory, differentiating it from a Durkheimian approach. For the author, collective memory is dynamic and susceptible to changes over time, caused by different social, political, and cultural influences. In the constructivist perspective, by privileging an analysis of minorities, for example, the importance of underground memories is highlighted, which, in turn, opposes the official memory or national memory, taking on a destructive, homogenizing, and oppressive character (Pollak, 1989). When discussing the possibility of a rupture in collective memory, the author refers to traumatic moments, political changes, technological advances, or cultural transformations, which can affect how a group remembers and interprets its past. Such memories, which the author calls "forbidden," "unspeakable" or "shameful" memories at certain moments, have shadow areas, silences, and "not-said". Thus, when there is a rupture in collective memory, how a particular group remembers and interprets past events can be reassessed, reinterpreted, or even forgotten.

Pierre Nora (1989) had already drawn attention to a characteristic of societies experiencing the process of acceleration of history, "Fear of a rapid and final disappearance combines with anxiety about the meaning of the present and uncertainty about the future to give even the most humble testimony, the most modest vestige, the potential dignity of the memorable." (1989: 13). With this, he attributes to every man the obligation to remember and the role of his own historian. Through the need for the preservation of the past and identity, it ends up composing collective experiences of man, reaffirming that identity has its construction in the past (D'Aléssio, 1992). Nora, characterizing a past that is losing its place to the eternal present, brings with it the loss of identity, suggesting, in turn, attachment to vestiges and traces as a way to counteract the destruction of contemporary speed. The author defines memory as a lived process, present in living groups. Unlike history, which represents the past, memory is a phenomenon always current and in constant evolution, and he adds, "vulnerable to manipulation and appropriation, susceptible to being long dormant and periodically revived" (Nora, 1989, 8). Halbwachs

makes a clear distinction between memory and history, with historical memory being much more external and a representation of the past in a summarized and even schematic way, fragmenting time. He relates it to a cemetery, where the space is measured and "where room must constantly be made for new tombstones" (Halbwachs, 1980: 52). For the author, information from historical memory is cold and impersonal and only gains denser meaning if related to some personal experience. He states that history begins when collective memory ends and collective memory ends when it no longer has the support of a particular group.

Therefore, Nora emphasizes the existence of *lieux de memoire*, the Places of Memory that can be defined as history that still has remnants of memory. Considering the period of the Vargas Dictatorship, a time when codes, symbols, and rituals were given central importance, especially by autocratic regimes established from the 1930s onward, to strengthen the sense of nationalism, architecture was employed as a means to represent and communicate civic and patriotic symbols, contributing to the creation of new national identities. Thus, it is understood that architecture also relates to the intention or creation of a national identity. On the other hand, architecture is inseparable from the region where it is created, from the knowledge of the community, and their lived experiences, in the form of vernacular architecture, as architecture is the material heritage of the relationship between man, memories, time, and place, making visible the way the world touches us (Pallasmaa, 2006). In addition to its traditional constructive and functional purposes, architecture has been playing an important role in embodying and symbolically representing the world of humans. Therefore, it can also be given the designation of *lieux de memoire* in the context of the collective memory of a particular group.

Reflection on the survey data and the possible rupture of memory

Following the theoretical background, when analyzing all the collected data, it leads to a possible rupture of memory or even its distortion. According to the online survey conducted with the community in November 2023, only 22% of respondents affirmed having collective memories of that time. Within this, only half consider them to be many memories that came from mainly grandparents.

As respondents do not remember most of the time (57.1%), they stated not having feelings associated with that period. Meanwhile, 42.9% described a feeling of repression when associated with memories from that period.

When analyzing excerpts from local and state newspapers that cover the study period, repressive measures and arrests, when transformed into cultural memories on newspaper pages, are often represented comically and hilariously. Some examples bring up reports about the temporary imprisonment of a German-speaking parrot and another about the experience of a settler who was summoned to the police station once a month to prove that he did not speak German.

When asked about the existence of any place in the city of Jaraguá do Sul that represents resistance to the repression of cultural expression during that time, from the 22% only one respondent mentioned the Santo Estevão Church, the oldest church in the city, built by the Hungarians in 1922. Finally, another respondent points out that today there is a greater appreciation of Hungarian culture, which has remained hidden for many generations. Another example of hidden architecture is the old houses still preserved in the research area, which possibly had to be covered in an attempt to hide the architectural style, which in times of repression was not acceptable for recalling a foreign architectural style.

Picture 2 - Note on the arrestment of a parrot. Source: Colônia Húngara no Jaraguá (2008), Diário Catarinense Newspaper, 16 of August, 1998.

Delegado manda prender o papagaio que falava alemão

Rico era a alegria da cidade até o dia em que o soldado João Polícia o prendeu. Entristecida, a ave ficou muda até que o prefeito mandou soltar e ela voltou a falar

Rico era o papagaio de Josef Albus, que o trocara por dois jacús em suas andanças pelo interior de Jaraguá do Sul. Esperto, o pássaro falava algumas palavras em alemão e era o orgulho de seu dono, que se gabava das proezas da ave.

A notícia logo se espalhou pela cidade e caiu nos ouvidos do temido delegado Nataniel Cidade, apelidado de "Deutchenfresser" (canibal antigermânico).

Corriam os tempos da 2ª Guerra Mundial, e quem falasse em alemão na cidade estava sujeito à prisão.

O delegado Cidade não teve dúvidas, mandou o soldado João Polícia trazer a ave e a manteve presa por três dias. Não se sabe porque, se por saudade do dono ou uma provável agressão física, tortura ou algo ainda mais forte, o fato é que, durante o tempo em que esteve na cadeia, o papagaio emudeceu. A população ficou condoída da situação do Rico e foi pedir a intervenção do prefeito.

Nomeado pelo interventor, o tenente Leônidas Cabral Herbster, enquanto esteve à frente da prefeitura de Jaraguá, sempre se mostrou um homem sensato. Foi até à delegacia e ordenou ao soldado João Polícia que devolvesse o papagaio Rico a Josef Albus e sua mulher, dona Clara. E o bicho voltou a falar como antes. O delegado Cidade é que foi afastado da cidade. E a história ganhou as páginas da revista O Cruzeiro.

DIÁRIO CATARINENSE □ DOMINGO, 16 DE AGOSTO DE 1998

Picture 3 - Note about the summons of a German immigrant. Source: O Correio do Povo, issue n. 4235, 20 of October 1999.

Memória Jaraguaense
O que faltou para contar... (CXXIII)
Tio Eugênio

Ângelo Piazera

O colono alemão, invariavelmente, uma vez por mês, recebia a intimação para comparecer à delegacia, em dia e hora. E lá chegando, vestido com o melhor terno que deveria ter trazido da Europa, para enfrentar o inverno e de chapéu, descobria-se com a saudação — "Pom tia senhor telekate", a autoridade já despejava uma série de impropérios e ameaçava de cadeia se não confessasse, e o colono protestava, dizendo "Eu non falar alamão, eu não falar alamão", tirano do bolso uma cédula de vinte mil réis, daqueles do tamanho de uma folha de livro e a deitava na escrivaninha do delegado. Fazendo-se de amuado, o 'delega' dizia que essa vez ele deixava passar, mas que não se repetisse, porque então ia conhecer o sol nascendo quadrado.

Ângelo Piazera (neto) falava das coisas que aqui aconteciam, logo depois da instalação do executivo, legislativo e judiciário. Nei Franco era gaúcho de Porto Alegre e casava em Joinville com Edith, filha da conceituada família Cruz Lima, e era nomeado contador da Prefeitura Municipal de Joinville. Chegada a emancipação de Jaraguá, desmembrado do território joinvilense, as famílias Tavares da Cunha Mello e Cruz Lima, se mexiam para ocupar os cargos de cartorários e escrivães da comarca, cuja influência política se fazia sentir. Assim é que, quando aconteciam óbitos e se necessitava fazer inventários, Nei dava acentuada preferência aos advogados joinvillenses, drs. Paulo Medeiros, Marinho Lobo e Plácido Olímpio de Oliveira, ficando o dr. Luiz de Souza só com as sobras. Como contador que era, Nei Franco, também era procurado pelas firmas de maior projeção em Jaraguá, para atender os registros contábeis, que ele atendia, mas que eram assinados os balanços e as demonstrações por contabilistas práticos e licenciados para exercer a profissão. **Voltaremos. Até a próxima.**

Picture 4 - Houses in the research area. Source: By the author (2022)

Conclusion

Censorship and nationalism caused the forgetting of cultural heritages. The marks of erasure, forgetting, and even distortion were felt in this work through analyses based on concepts related to collective memory and its rupture, leading to possible places and memories. Moreover, the possible characteristic of Hungarians and their descendants being part of a culture that was hidden for a long time was brought to light, as an aspect related to the nationalization campaign during the period of the Estado Novo government and its attempt at assimilation and homogenization of the culture, but which may also be related to the strong influence of other ethnicities through time. The present study aims to continue with in-depth research and analysis to understand the role of architectural and visual elements in the settlement and assimilation process of Hungarians and their descendants in Jaraguá do Sul, and how this may have contributed to the subsequent development of a new cultural and rural landscape.

References

Anderson, B. (2021). *Comunidades imaginadas: reflexiones sobre el origen y la difusión del nacionalismo*. Fondo de cultura económica.

Brasil. *Decreto nº 2.265, de 25 de janeiro de 1938*. Available in: http://www2.camara.leg.br/legin/fed/decret/1930-1939/decreto-2265-25-janeiro-1938-345763-publicacaooriginal-1-pe.html. Access in: 18 Jan. 2024.

Brasil. *Decreto-lei nº 383, de 18 de abril de 1938*. Available in: https://www2.camara.leg.br/legin/fed/declei/1930-1939/decreto-lei-383-18-abril-1938-350781-norma-pe.html. Access in: 18 Jan. 2024.

Brasil. *Decreto-lei nº 406, de 04 de maio de 1938*. Disponível em: http://www2.camara.leg.br/legin/fed/declei/1930-1939/decreto-lei-406-4-maio-1938-348724-publicacaooriginal-1-pe.html. Access in: 18 Jan. 2024.

Brasil. *Decreto-lei nº 868, de 18 de novembro de 1938*. Disponível em: http://www2.camara.leg.br/legin/fed/declei/1930-1939/decreto-lei-868-18-novembro-1938-350829-publicacaooriginal-1-pe.html. Access in: 18 Jan. 2024.

Casadei, E. B. (2010). Maurice Halbwachs e Marc Bloch em torno do conceito de memória coletiva. *Revista Espaço Acadêmico*, *9*(108), 153-161.

D'Aléssio, M. M. (1992). Memória: leituras de M. Halbwachs e P. Nora. *Revista Brasileira de História*, *13*(25/26), 97-103.

Hackenhaar, C. (2015). A Campanha de Nacionalização em Santa Catarina (1937-1945): integração cultural e disputas políticas. *Revista Latino-Americana de História*, *4*(14), 151-168.

Halbwachs, M. (1980). The collective memory (F. J. Didder Jr., & V. Yazdi Ditter, Trans., with an introduction by M. Douglas). New York: Harper & Row. (Original work published 1950).

Hobsbawm, E. J. (1992). *Nations and nationalism since 1780: Programme, myth, reality.* Cambridge University Press.

IBGE - Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatísticas. *Jaraguá do Sul.* Available in: https://www.ibge.gov.br/cidades-e-estados/sc/jaragua-do-sul.html. Access in: 20 Jan. 2024.

Kosa, J. (1957). A Century of Hungarian Emigration, 1850-1950. *American Slavic and East European Review*, *16*(4), 501-514.

Lopes, S. M.; Toassi Kita, S. R. *120 Anos da imigração húngara em jaraguá do Sul.* 1 Ed. Letradágua, 2012.

Majcher, O. P. ; Canuto, A. M.; Lopes, S. M. *Colônia Húngara no Jaraguá.* Jaraguá do Sul:

Espaço Comunicação, 2008.

Nora, P. (1989). Between memory and history: Les lieux de mémoire. *representations*, 7-24.

Pallasmaa, J. (2006). Los ojos de la piel La arquitectura y los sentidos Editorial Gustavo Gili.

Palti, E. (2002). Emergencia y descomposición del discurso antigenealógico de la nación. *La nación como problema. Buenos Aires: Fondo do Cultura Econômica.*

Pollak, M. (1989). Memória, esquecimento, silêncio. *Revista estudos históricos*, *2*(3), 3-15.

Schwartzman, S., Bomeny, H. M. B., & Costa, V. M. R. (1984). Tempos de Ipanema.

Seyferth, G. (2011). A dimensão cultural da imigração. *Revista brasileira de ciências sociais*, *26*, 47-62.

Thomázy, T. (2021). Passado–Presente–Futuro? A Manutenção Da Língua Húngara No Brasil. *Revista de Letras Norte@ mentos*, *14*(37).

Vieira Filho, D. (2012). *O patrimônio cultural da imigração em Santa Catarina.* IPHAN, Instituto do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional.

Weissheimer, M. R. (2016). Paisagem cultural da imigração em Santa Catarina. *Identidades: territorio, proyecto, patrimonio*, (6), 105-125.

THE VAMPIRE AS THE MYTHOLOGICAL CREATURE
IN THE CINEMATOGRAPHY OF SOUTH SLAVIC COUNTRIES:
VAMPIRE IN FILMS "LEPTIRICA" AND "HOLY PLACE" - FOLKLORIC JUXTAPOSITION

Author:

Milena Medojevic[1]
University of Debrecen (Hungary)
(Montenegro)

Reviewers:

Gábor Biczó (Ph.D)
University of Debrecen

Norbert Tóth (Ph.D)
University of Debrecen

…and two other anonymous reviewers

Abstract

   Mythological creatures have enchanted and intrigued human beings for ages, and humans unconsciously stimulated their fears and insecurities. People have created a vampire-paranormal obsession that is reflected in everything that human creativity has touched, especially in film adaptations. In this article, readers will see the representation of the mythological creature Vampire on the Serbian film screen. The article dissects two selected films, "She-Butterfly" and "The Holy Place" from the vampire-induced horrors of the South Slavic cinematography. They will representatively be the focus of the study. These examples will reveal how the film of that time conjured up the horror, fear, and general aura of the mythological creature Vampire that has haunted the human race for centuries. In contrast to film representations, the author places a vampire from folklore as a pillar for comparison or a test sample to analyze the similarities, differences, and credibility of the representations in the film. Regarding the supportive material, we will extensively rely on the "Serbian Mythological Dictionary" as it provides a solid collection of various folk explanations and descriptions, which we will use for comparison. The methodological approach includes a description of the film plot with important elements, the analysis of the mentioned elements of interest within separate important parts of the plot, and a comparison with a folklore vampire within the analysis.

   Keywords: Vampire, Folklore, Horror Film, "She-Butterfly", "The Holy Place"
   Diszcipline: Cultural Anthropology, Ethnography

[1] Milena Medojevic. Department of Ethnography, Faculty of Arts, University of Debrecen, Program of Ethnography and Cultural Anthropology, PhD School of History and Ethnography (Hungary) (Montenegro). E-mail address: milena.medojevic@gmail.com, https://orcid.org/0009-0005-9985-0789

Absztrakt:

A VÁMPÍR MINT MITOLÓGIAI LÉNY A DÉLSZLÁV ORSZÁGOK FILMMŰVÉSZETÉBEN: A VÁMPÍR A 'LEPTIRICA'(PILLANGÓ) ÉS A 'THE HOLY PLACE' (A SZENT HELY) FILMEKBEN - FOLKLORISZTIKUS JUKSZTAPOZÍCIÓ

A mitológiai lények évszázadok óta elvarázsolják és lenyűgözik az embereket, és öntudatlanul serkentik a félelmeiket és bizonytalanságukat e lényekkel kapcsolatban. Az emberek különösen a filmadaptációk révén létrehoztak egyfajta vámpír-paranormális megszállottságot, melyben tükröződik az emberi kreativitás. Jelen tanulmányban a szerb filmvásznon megjelenő vámpír, mint mitológiai lény ábrázolásoknak a bemutatására kerül sor. A tanulmány a délszláv filmművészet vámpír-indukálta borzalmából létrejött "She-Butterfly" és a "The Holy Place" című filmeket boncolgatja. E példákból kiderül hogy, hogyan idézte meg a korabeli film a vámpír mitológiai lény rémületét, félelmét és általános auráját, amely évszázadok óta kísérti az emberiséget. A filmes ábrázolásokkal szemben a szerző a néphitből származó vámpírt állítja az összehasonlítás pilléreként, elemezve a filmbeli ábrázolások hasonlóságait, különbségeit és hitelességét. A tanulmány nagymértékben támaszkodik a szerb mitológiai szótárra, mivel ez egy részletes gyűjtemény a különböző népi magyarázatokról és leírásokról. Jelen módszertani megközelítés magában foglalja a filmek cselekményének leírását, elemzését és a népi vámpír felfogással való összehasonlítást is.

Kulcsszavak: Vámpír, folklór, horrorfilm, "She-Butterfly", "The Holy Place"

Diszciplína: kulturális antropológia, néprajz

Vampire roots in Western cinema

To open the doors of South Slavic vampire cinematography to the readers of this article, it is necessary to look back at the Western vampiric seeds and the resulting jungle of vampire filmography that dates back to the beginnings of silent films. One of the first films, made in 1922, about vampires, is the famous "Nosferatu" which is the creation of Friedrich Wilhelm Murnau. Lotte Eisner in her book "The Haunted Screen" defines this film as successful and stylistically fantastically shot. The expressionism with which the director conjures the atmospheric horror of the terrible creature is ingenious because of the slowness with which the shots follow the vampire in one moment, and in the next, present it to a close-up shot where the creature is suddenly huge and terrifying (Eisner, 1925).

This German vampire representation started turning the wheel, but also the idea that light is fatal for vampires. Regarding that information, if one follows the life of a Balkan vampire, he will encounter it as complete nonsense: the vampire certainly functions very well during the day.

Kulišić, describes a part of the vampire's duties as completely human at some point, in his "Serbian Mythological Dictionary" because they can be ordinary people during the day, usually working as butchers or traders, unrecognised. That implies, logically, that the sun does not do much for them in a negative sense, or it gives -1 out of 100 points of damage, in horror video-gaming terms. (Kulišić et.al., 1970) Following the mentioned "Nosferatu", films such as "Dracula" (1931), and "Son of Dracula" (1943) by Universal Pictures studio ensued and inflated the imagination of the audience and creators. Since the thirties and forties, the audience of vampire movies, particularly those who admire the "real vampire" (which will be discussed later), have struggled with the challenge of depicting a

vampire. Namely, when comparing a Western and a South Slavic vampire, a reader will quickly come across a clear distinguishing determinant: the vampire in Western Hollywood films from the 1930s appears as a polished gentleman seducer with a fitting suit, aristocratic manners, a large estate, and wealth. The Serbian vampire wears worn-out village clothes and lives in his grave or an occasional watermill, waiting for the reader to open the door.

Humble Beginnings of the Yugoslav Filmography and the Horror Genre

Yugoslav filmography certainly had, to put it mildly, modest beginnings with their repertoire from the pre-Yugoslav period with a limited budget. Daniel Goulding points out that before the instability and wars of the nineties, filmography from 1945 to 1950 was practically non-existent, unprotected by copyright, under the pressure of communist ideology, unprofessional film crews, and outdated equipment. (Goulding, 2002) Afterwards came the period of the sixties and seventies, which brought a new creative wave of diversity to all those nations and their cultures that reflected the then-Yugoslav and now-independent Balkan countries. However, after the eighties boom, there was a collapse: "Once a vibrant and vivid artistic reflection on Yugoslav ideological and socio-cultural progress, Yugoslav cinema ceased to exist with the violent disintegration of the Yugoslav federation at the end of the twentieth century.." (Murtić, 2020, p.110)

The film "She-Butterfly" begins a horror cinematic adventure. This terrifying masterpiece was shot in 1973, long before the nineties and the era when directors finally found inspiration in this genre. Considering that this beauty of Serbian horror was filmed in a very short time, with a modest budget but an exquisite cast, one could say that they took a long time. However, it is important to mention it as the "cornerstone" of future horror

films, since the She-Butterfly's occult-terror aura still affects modern audiences. Besides films in focus, the readers should be aware of the effect of other horror genre films from the 1990s such as "Sugarloaf", "Full Moon Over Belgrade", a comedy, "Vampires are Among Us", and a typical horror "Vampire" of a recent production from 2020.

Vampire in the film "She-Butterfly"

"She-Butterfly" is a film directed by Đorđe Kadijević, who wrote the script based on Milovan Glišić's short story "After Ninety Years" from 1980 (Picture 1). The film differs from the story itself in several key details, most notably because it does not have a happy ending, as is in the story. Although "She-Butterfly" many considered the first, real, Serbian horror, Kadijević revealed in an interview article with the BBC they did not intend to make a horror, nor did he have such an idea. "Honestly, I was interested in a poetics of fantastic genesis that would enter the space of metaphysics, transcendence, in which Yugoslav film, and even less television, never caught up." Moreover, a film to some extent conceived as a comedy, turned into a horror film that strikes fear into people's hearts to this very age. (Mitrović 2023, pp.10-11).

Picture 1: A poster from the film "Leptirica" (She-Butterfly). Source: TMDB
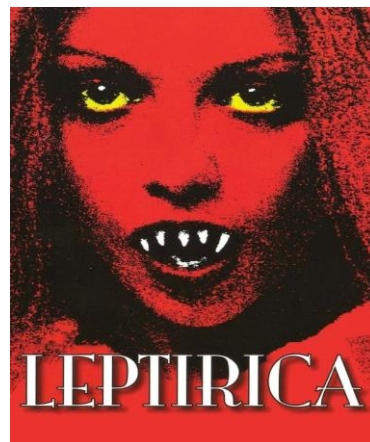
The plot part I

The plot of the film "She-Butterfly" is set in the remote village of "Zarožje", most likely in the second half of the twentieth century, when the film itself was set. In reality, the film was shot in the village of Zelinje, near Zvornik.

The first significant part of the film plot, which provides also the first "plank" in the structure, is the wheat grinding in the mill by the village miller Vule. He must grind the wheat in the mill that springboards the vampire to the viewer. The second significant part of the film plot, which provides the next "plank" in the structure, is the love between Živan's daughter Radojka and the village boy Strahinja, who wants to marry her, however, her father persistently refuses. These two plots are central and the whole vampire adventure revolves around them.

Namely, the adventure in the film begins with Živko bringing grain to the mill, where he and Vule the miller hear the sinister sounds of an unusual bird, which ominously accompany the film whenever the presence of the vampire is hinted at. Vule commented on Živko's nearby daughter mentioning she looks like a "She-Butterfly", thinking of her beauty and gentle behaviour. Before each vampire attack, two repeating actions occur: the mill wheel that grinds the grain stops working, the candle burning in the mill goes out, and the viewers hear the ominous sounds of an unknown bird. Unfortunately for Vule the Miller, the vampire shows up immediately.

The film presents it as a hairy, dark-skinned creature with dark eyes, extremely sharp teeth, and large fangs, covered with a black cloak. It attacks the sleeping miller by biting the neck and sucking his blood. After the attack, the mill wheel starts turning again. In the meantime, the villagers find out about the unfortunate incident and reveal that the famous vampire Sava Savanović is active again, even though he died about ten years ago. This causes fear to move into the village again.

The second significant part of the film plot begins with the introduction of Radojka and Strahinja, whose love blossoms but whose marriage is stopped by Radojka's jealous father Živan. Due to disappointment and inability to marry a girl, Strahinja becomes the new miller after the death of Vule, at the suggestion of villagers in Zarožje. However, even the young man's fearlessness does not stop the reappearance of the vampire who announces his arrival in the same way: the mill wheel stops working, the candle goes out, ominous sounds are heard and the vampire appears. However, this time, the new miller Strahinja, being awake, manages to spot the evil creature in time, scares it by falling from the attic of the mill, and survives the night.

Analysis - Part I

To make it easier for the reader to follow the vampire saga, the film will be "paused" several times, to provide the according analysis. The first matter that invites attention is the watermill itself. For centuries, Serbians have been calling the watermill a place where demonic forces and various beings appear. The watermill, as a place necessary for survival (people used it to grind the grain for flour), was logically a frequently visited place in the village. Because of this, they also attracted creatures from the side of "anti-life", i.e. death, a place where life and light are absent. The creature that people most often encountered in the mill was a vampire. According to the collected folk traditions of Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, compiled in the book "Life and Customs of the Serbian People"(Title in original language: Život i Običaji Naroda Srpskoga), one of the places vampires live is a water mill. According to Karadžić, people often saw this mythological creature around grain barns, animal pens, and corn warehouses. (Stefanović Kardžić, 1867) Therefore, it is clear that the vampire, being a primordial human creature,

although bloodthirsty and eager for revenge, still has a "left-over" need for human food. This usually means the creature is attracted by any product made from wheat, corn, or some other grain. Even though it can be assumed that it does not consume human food, it remains a symbol of his former life which he is constantly attracted to.

Furthermore, the ominous sounds, one hears in the beginning, resemble a bird that people often drive away because it invokes misfortune. A raven is the first that comes to mind as the folk consider it "a fatal bird, a harbinger of misfortune and death." (Kulišić, 1980, p.95) Later, that sound coincides with the arrival of the vampire, which leads to the conclusion that this is precisely the way he is announcing himself. This supports the belief that the soul of the deceased who vampirized can move into an animal, or simply change from a human form into an animal form. "From the description of the vampire (…) it can appear in different forms, especially in the form of some animals, such as a wolf, dog, cat, donkey, horse, etc." It is entirely possible that the sound of the "bird" in the film was the sound of a vampire who then metamorphosed himself into a bird. Furthermore, according to the scenario, Vule the miller declares Živan's daughter Radojka looked like a "she-butterfly", referring primarily to her beauty and grace. Later in the analysis, it will be clear why this is important and what it has to do with the mythological creature, therefore, for now, the reader should keep this statement of the miller in mind.

Furthermore, there is a repetition of the actions that emphasize and announce the arrival of the vampire: the stopping of the millstone that grinds the grain, which symbolizes the stopping of that natural event. The stopping of natural events announces the supernatural, that is, the very manifestation of the mythological creature. Afterwards, the candle flame goes out, which in itself symbolizes the absence of light and thus positivity,

goodness, and security. In the Christian context, the wax candle has a special meaning: "(…) wax as a substance that burns, signifies our deification (i.e., our nature that is purified by the Divine fire), and finally, the wax, on which the flame burns, or that light, signifies the union and strength of our love and peace." (Solunski 2019, p.134).

In this sense, it is logical to assume there is no peace in the village's watermill. The night itself has its symbolism since all these events happen during this time. According to the "Mythological Maps, "the night is associated as the main time for the activity of strange demonic creatures such as Mora - a night butterfly that presses on the chest and sucks blood(...) a witch = morinja (Trpanj) 'an unmarried woman who sleep at night' ". (Petrović, 2000, p.118) Then there is a vampire "(...) who transforms at night as a wolf or an owl and kills people and animals." (Petrović, 2000, p.124)

Moving past the bird sounds, the film viewers meet the vampire face to face, literally, and extremely dramatically: two dark, menacing eyes surrounded by a hairy face peering through the hollows of the watermill's walls. This creature is depicted, as mentioned earlier, covered in a black cloak, hairy, dark-skinned with barbed sharp teeth reminding of the ones of a piranha fish. This partly corresponds to the descriptions of vampires from folklore because, as mentioned earlier, a vampire is co-identified with a werewolf: a hairy animal, often dark in colour, with sharp teeth, and fangs. Johnson and Oldys define the creature as a menace that attacks people during their sleep and sucks their blood. (Johnson & Oldys, 1745:358) Having that in mind, the role of the teeth is clear.

It is interesting to mention in the context of the description of vampires if we compare the script of the film with the story which inspired the director (who is also the screenwriter): the Milovan Glišić's vampire or Sava Savanović was described as "a tall man, red as blood in the face. (...) Bloated like a paunch. Whole as if he was put to the grave

yesterday, all red, seems like blood itself." (Glišić, 2017, p.187) There is no mention of any hairiness, sharp teeth, or the rest of the description that makes the movie vampire terrifying, however, the fact that there is no such description in the story does not mean that the screenwriter strays away from the mythological records. However, Glišić was more accurate since Čajkanović describes the vampire as "a demonic creature with supernatural qualities who is just a reanimated, undecomposed body (Čajkanović, 1994 a, p.103). Therefore, physically he looks like a normal, living man as his body remains the same since the moment of the funeral.

After the first attack on the miller Vule, the villagers also mention Sava Savanović, whom they suspect has become a vampire again, thinking he is probably the one killing and torturing the villagers. Sava Savanović is a fictional character from the short story by Milovan Glišić, based on the supposedly first case of a vampire recorded in Europe. Unlike Sava Savanović, Petar Blagojević (Peter Plogojowitzs in German), was a real persona whom Ernest Frombald mentioned in the report from the former "Wienersches Diarium". According to the report, Peter Plogojowitzs killed more than nine villagers in 1725, after his own death (Frombald a, 1725). The name of Frombald himself, who attended the entire Vampire hunt and destruction was unknown to the public, and it was Garcia Marin in his article from 2020 who revealed the name and described the events in the village of Kisiljevo. Namely, this Imperial Provisor, a member of the Habsburg Military Frontier in Serbia, escorted the entire process (Garcia, 2021). The whole vampire drama where the villagers and the priest dug up the body and found it completely undecomposed was first mentioned in the original. However, the copies that followed later and the comments from the new editions of the Wienerisches Diarium newspaper contributed to the loss of details that were key to the whole story, as well

as to the loss of Frombald's first name. (Frombald b, 1725)

The Plot Part II

In the sequel, the villagers visit the old prophetess who confirms that this is Sava Savanović and reveals the location of his grave. The villagers and the village priest decide that it is time to stop Sava Savanović's bloody campaign. The only way to do it is to follow a special folkloric vampire hunt to heal the community from the bloodthirsty creature. According to the template, it is necessary to have a black stallion that will lead the villagers exactly to the place where Sava Savanović was buried, for only a black stallion knows and can feel the place. As the prophetess said the grave is in a "crooked ravine under a crooked oak", the words clearly emphasize that it is a symbolically wicked place, difficult to find. The black stallion successfully finds the grave and now viewers can see a classic medicine for vampire destruction. The template includes what the viewers see: the unearthing of the coffin and the driving of a hawthorn stake through Sava Savanović's heart. The priest recites the prayer and pours holy water into the hole from the stake. At that moment "the butterfly" emerges from the coffin. The key element in this scene is the butterfly and how the characters emphasize it by capturing and killing it because that is the only way to "finish off the vampire". However, the villagers do not succeed and the butterfly escapes. In the further development of the film, the love between Strahinja and Radojka continues again because Strahinja decides to kidnap and marry her despite her father's opposition. The village supports him and officially declares him the village miller. The night before their wedding, by the Serbian village customs of the time, the bride is "guarded" from the groom so that there would be no sexual intercourse before the marriage. However, Strahinja ignores the rule and reaches the young woman who, to his astonishment, has a large

bloody wound under her breasts. At that moment, the scenario reaches its climax when Radojka transforms into a vampire, a hairy, dark-skinned creature with sharp teeth, in a female form. Radojka, now completely transformed into a female vampire, jumps on Strahinja's back and drives him to the crooked ravine where the villagers drive a stake through the vampire's heart. Radojka forces Strahinja to pull out the stake and in a dramatic drama, he succeeds in knocking her off his back and impaling her with the same stake. The coffin opens again and reveals not Sava Savanović but Radojka, now a dead vampire. In the meantime, the villagers continue to celebrate, unaware of the previous events, after which they find Strahinja sitting motionless on the ground with a butterfly in his hair.

Analysis – Part II

The village prophetess has her role in the mythological world, most often as a witch who, with her predictions and occult knowledge, discovers the burial place of the vampire Sava Savanović. The "Mythological Dictionary (Title in the original language: "Mitološki Rečnik") describes her work as witchcraft: an occult and diabolical activity that both the elderly and the young engage in, "secretly in the evening and at night, naked and silent, without looking back or being observed by others." (Kulišić, 1980, p.88) "Nobody tells any young and beautiful woman that she is a witch, it's just those old hags." (Vasiljev, 1928, p.52) The black stallion symbolically has a special role in the mythological world because, due to its nature and its role in that world, it has the power to find similar demonic creatures.

> *It was believed that a colt (stallion), especially a black one and without a mark, would not cross the grave with a vampire in it. Hence, when it was thought that there was a vampire in the cemetery, they brought out the stallion and walked him over the graves. If it happened that he wouldn't cross a grave, it was believed that he had found a vampire.* (Kulišić, 1980, p.131)

The crooked ravine and the oak tree are, according to folklore, places where demonic forces meet and which mortals should avoid. "Some oaks, similarly to some other forest trees, were believed to be "shady" — they contained all magical writings — and they were not to be cut because the one who did so could die immediately or would suffer for a long time and finally die." (Kulišić, 1980, p.398). Furthermore, the very process of driving a hawthorn stake through a vampire's heart is full of mythological elements, therefore one can start with the material from which the stake was made. Čajkanović writes that, in addition to its supernatural powers, the hawthorn also has "cosmic" powers, for the Slavic people believed the world rested on the hawthorn branches. "A black dog constantly bites the hawthorn, and if it were to bite through it, the world would perish, that's why St. Peter crosses it with his stick from time to time and the hawthorn comes back to the old measure." (Čajkanović a, 1994, 170) Čajkanović also points out that next to the oak, the hawthorn has the strongest influence against the evilest of demons. "The best protection is, of course, hawthorn (see hawthorn), i.e. hawthorn stake or hawthorn thorn, from which the vampire always runs away and is the easiest to kill." (Kulišić, 1980, p.59) The priest recites a prayer and sprinkles holy water, which in the Christian context has its properties as a protective agent against demonic creatures. The Orthodox Encyclopedia also calls it "Agaism" the meaning of "Sanctified Water" or "Holy Water", which is marked "Big A" if the origin is more highly sanctified, and "Small A" if it is of a lower elevation, therefore less power. An example of higher holy water with stronger power or Big A is Epiphany water and the water of the holy act of Baptism. (Zheltov & Nikiforova, 2008) Therefore, as such a sacred object, it carries enormous power in the fight against demonic creatures such as vampires who act extremely negatively in contact with it.

Afterwards, the viewers have the opportunity to see the result of the ritual when the butterfly flies out of the coffin. Now the readers should remember the meaning of the butterfly from the very beginning. In the first scenes, miller Vule calls Radojka a "she-butterfly, and this scene fully assembles the puzzle. From the beginning, the film hints that the innocent, beautiful girl is a disguised vampire or at least his future victim. The butterfly creature itself is one of the metamorphoses of the vampire, which is why people believe that the soul of this creature resides in the butterfly. However, it is possible that it could also be the body of a bird, snake, cat, or some other animal. "The butterfly that comes out of the vampire's mouth represents the soul of the deceased, that is, the spirit that even when destroyed can live and act independently" (Kulišić, 1980, p.123)

In the further description, the viewers understand that the impaling of "Sava Savanović" meant, in fact, that Radojka the vampire was also impaled. When the coffin is opened once more, she is now in the place of Sava Savanović. This sequence of events of the "vampire switch" according to mythological logic and folkloric beliefs has no explanation and does not make sense. This chain of events can only indicate the possibility that the vampire Sava Savanović bit or otherwise infected the innocent girl Radojka, after which she became a vampire who haunts the villagers. However, this is not resolved in the film and is left to the viewers to guess. As for folklore beliefs, a vampire can turn another human into a vampire, but this rarely happens. Most often, one becomes a vampire through sinful life, the external influence of demonic forces, or by birth itself. "Some people can become vampirized during their lifetime, but as a rule, it only happens after death (...) "Vampirović" is a child born from the relationship between a normal woman and a vampire. A child conceived in this way, according to belief, has a special ability to recognize a vampire, i.e. sees him, can talk to

him, and kill him (v. vampire). (...)" (Kulišić, 1980, p.59)

Furthermore, the very end when Strahinja sits crestfallen on the ground with a butterfly indicates a neutral outcome with no positive or just seemingly negative results. Despite all the actions of the villagers and Strahinja's interference in the process of destroying not one, but now two vampires, nothing was achieved because the ritual was not completed! Describing one of the forms of vampire ("vampirić" in Serbian), the Serbian Mythological Dictionary points out that when killing a vampire, "the most important thing is to kill that butterfly because if it happens that it escapes, destroying the body is in vain." (Kulišić, 1980, p.60). The denouement of the film is the fact that no one managed to kill the butterfly, which is why its soul, according to beliefs, continues to live and waits to move into a new victim.

Vampire in the film "The Holy Place"

"The Holy Place" is another film by Đorđe Kadijević, shot in 1990, inspired by the short story "Viy" by Nikolai Gogol who wrote the story back in 1835 (Picture 2).

Picture 2: A poster for the film "Sveto Mesto" (The Holy Place). Source: IMDB

The Plot – Part I

The plot of the film "The Holy Place" can be divided into three important parts. The first one begins with the opening scenes in which three young theologians are wandering along a deserted road, returning from a fair, in search of shelter. In the background, they hear an ominous howl reminiscent of a wolf. Soon after, the theologian Toma notices a black carriage moving along the road with a young, beautiful woman. The carriage passes Toma at high speed and continues in the distance towards the rest of the group. Toma runs up breathless in fear that the carriage will run over his companions only to discover that the other two theologians have not seen any carriage on their way. Soon after, they find a hut with a sullen and ill-tempered old woman, where they seek shelter. She separates them, sending Toma to the stable and the other two to the house. In the background, the theologian Tom again notices the mysterious black carriage, now standing quietly on a nearby hill. He reaches it but finds it empty. As he spends the night in the barn, he hears the wolf howling again in the background. Soon after, a dishevelled old woman, the owner of the hut, appears at the scene and insinuates that she wants to have sexual relations with the young theologian. He refuses. She then attacks him wildly, letting out inhuman screams, after which she grabs the theologian and jumps on his back, screaming, howling, and making him run mindlessly down the field. The hurried old woman now looks like a wild witch sitting furiously on the theologian's neck, screaming while he repeats the "Our Father" prayer out loud. He manages to throw her off him and kill her, after which she transforms into the young, beautiful girl he saw the day before in the carriage. At that moment, the carriage passes him again.

Analysis – Part I

The first "vampiric element" to notice is the howling of the alleged wolf in the background of the three theologians. There is a possible connection between the howling and the existence of werewolves in South Slavic mythology. Karadžić defines the werewolf as "a man into whom (according to folk tales) after 40 days of death some devilish spirit enters and revives him (turns into a vampire)." (Stefanović Karadžić, 1867, p.213)

The next important scene, which the reader should remember for subsequent analysis, is the moment when the theologian Toma notices an ominous carriage carrying a mysterious girl in black. Another important detail is that he was the only one who saw the carriage, considering the two friends exclaimed they did not even see it pass by. Here, the black carriage also represents a negative omen for Toma and the fact that he was chosen as a victim by the young girl in the carriage. The old lady who reluctantly welcomed the theologians into her house turns out to be the mythological creature "Karakondžula" who, by her very nature, targets young men. This creature is usually represented as an old woman, a demonic, lost soul that, as people in Serbian Kosovo believe, sits above the house's front door in the evening. As soon as anyone, especially a male, leaves the house, she jumps on his back and rides him to the nearby river until the roosters start to crow. (Kulišić 1980) This matches the specific horror that Toma endured. During the Karakondžula's attack, the theologian Toma recited the Christian prayer "Our Father" which, with its spiritual effect, influenced the Karakondžula. This is why he succeeded in overthrowing and killing her. However, after killing the demonic creature, Toma saw she had transformed into the young girl he saw the day before, and then, after the seeming "murder", he again noticed the carriage that transported her. This indicates that it was indeed the girl in black that he saw. Several transformations of one mythological creature into another are already taking place here. It can be said that in addition to the Karakonžula, readers have the opportunity to see a potential female vampire. This vampire has

the power of transformation for at one moment she was a human being in a carriage, and in the other an old, enraged woman, and then again, a young girl. There is a power of transformation, but whether it was a female vampire or some other mythological creature, in this part of the analysis is not clear, at least for now.

Plot – Part II

The second important part of the film plot continues with Toma's trip to Lord Županski's mansion to recite a prayer for his late daughter. Upon his arrival, Toma is surprised to see the girl from the carriage, whom he killed the night before, in a coffin. On second glance, he notices with shock the portrait of Mistress Županski, who looked like an evil old woman from a hut. The next night, Toma is locked up by the workers in the church to read a prayer for the repose of the dead girl's soul. At one point of the prayer reading the girl gets up from the coffin. Scared out of his mind, the theologian falls to the floor and draws a circle around himself in the sand on the church floor. While drawing a circle with his finger, he also drew "IN". Thomas takes the Holy Scripture and uses it to shield himself from the girl's gaze. Katarina Županski, the deceased girl, walks around him but does not enter the circle, after which she returns to the coffin. The next morning, workers come to unlock the church and after breakfast explain the lewd history of the Županski family. The discussion about the existence of witches and other demonic forces turns into individual confessions where each wor-ker reveals the promiscuity of the young mistress, who, in addition to having sex with all of them, also had an incestuous relationship with her father. According to the story of one worker, on the Holy Saturday before Easter, the father tried to enter the church with his daughter, but he failed because she collapsed in front of the entrance and for a moment transformed into the late Mistress Županski. Another worker said that the weight of her husband's and daughter's sins disturbed her so much that even after her death, late Mistress Županski was unable, as the worker said, "to calm down even in the afterlife" In the evening when the moon is full, she reportedly "howls like a she-wolf" and roams the fields.

Analysis – Part II

If Toma and the readers of this article were not convinced until now that there is a paranormal game of mythological creatures in the midst, then they were convinced when the theologian arrived at the estate of Lord Županski. There he notices the girl he allegedly killed the night before, in the coffin. The next strange thing he notices is the portrait of the late Mistress Županski, who looks identical to the old witch, the mythological creature Karakondžula he fought the night before. The entanglement between several characters and their "human and non-human forms" is obvious. It is not entirely possible to distinguish with certainty who transforms into whom. However, the following possible cycle and sequence of transformations are suggested (Figure 1):

Figure 1 Cycle and sequence of transformations of the Županski females
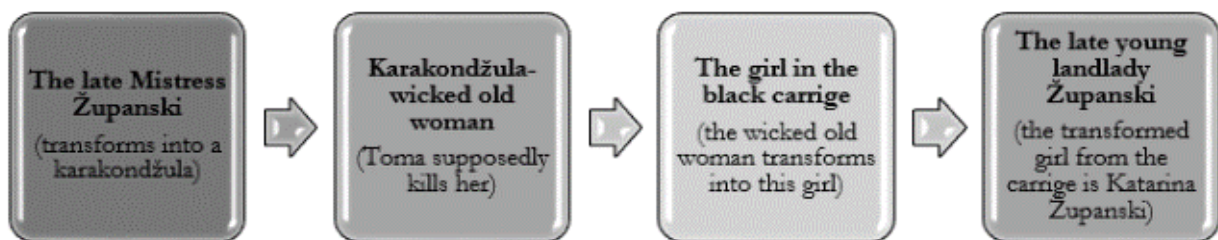
A special part of the analysis is devoted to the beginning of Toma's prayers for the repose of the soul of Katarina Županski. Although the film plot never precisely indicates that she was a vampire, the atmosphere and her behaviour during the "re-vivals" from the coffin indicate that the deceased "vampirized". Čajkanović states that according to a "pre-animistic" understanding, a vampire is "a dead body rising from the grave", therefore, it is a sign that a person has "vampirized". (Čajkanović a, 1994) In this film, Katarina, as well as her late mother, never literally tried to suck the blood out of anyone. However, in their own way, they did "suck the life out" of each of their victims. Toma recites a prayer for the repose of the soul and the deceased girl starts her horrific dramatics. The late Serbian Patriarch Pavle spoke of the "Prayer for the repose of the soul" as a necessity because in Christianity both living and the dead are alive in the Lord God, referring to the transfer of the spirit to eternal life. Therefore, it is the duty of those who are alive in the body to remember the deceased through this prayer. In this way, the living can help their sins be forgiven even after their earthly death (Milaković, 2023).

In this sense, Katarina Županski's reaction to priest Toma's attempt to help her with prayer is clear. Furthermore, Toma draws a circle around himself in the sand, on the church floor, for his protection. He writes "IN" with his finger which is a part of the acronym INRI - "*Iesvs Nazarenvs Rex Ivdaeorvm*" which translates to "Jesus of Nazaret – King of Jews", written at the cross when the Jews crucified Jesus Christ. (Biblija Stari i Novi Savez, 2013, John 19:19 -22) One of the other protective tools, he also used was the Holy Scripture as the ultimate Christian spiritual guide.

The possibility of the existence of mythological creatures is revealed to the viewers of the film for the first time when the estate workers discuss the existence of witches, alluding to their young, now deceased, landlady Katarina. In support of that, they share her promiscuous life and incest with her father. This can be counted as one of the characteristics of vampires who are said to have an increased sexual desire, especially when interacting with human, living creatures. "Vampires were first sexualized to strike fear into people of the taboo and sinfulness of sexual behavior, but later, this sexualization became a metaphor for repressed desires, until finally, their sexualization caused them to be humanized." (González Rosario, 2021, p.1).

Karadžić as well as other authors such as Čajkanović talk about folk belief that vampires are deceased men that rise from the graves and besides striking fear into people, they usually show themselves to their wives in the home where they once lived. "A vampire also often visits his wife (and especially if she is beautiful and young) and sleeps with her(...)"(Stefanović Karadžić, 1867, p.214) Čajkanović even mentioned a supposedly real encounter between a widowed wife Cvija and her vampire husband:

> ...*The old peasant Paja Tomić... died... on April 9 of this year. Shortly after his death, his wife Cvija began to complain that her dead husband came to her like a ghost during the night and that he was running around home and scaring the household. Some believed Cvija, some didn't, but she constantly claimed that her husband became a vampire and came every night. It lasted for a whole month, when, they say, the sons noticed a vampire in the house.* (Čajkanović b., 1994, p.101)

The proof that Katarina Županski had vampiric abilities even before her death and that she may not have been a human being at all, was her collapsing in front of the church on Holy Saturday, before Easter. There is also the possibility that Katarina was born a vampire, which leads to the conclusion that one of the parents, most likely the late Mistress Županski, was a vampire herself. In any case, if she was not a vampire until death, she certainly

was after death. The reader should remember that one of the workers precisely said that she "howled like a she-wolf" at night because of the weight of her daughter's sins and that her soul cannot find peace. This completely matches the description of vampires as beings who, due to a sinful life or external sinful influences, "live" after death as wanderers without peace, seeking satisfaction in drawing the life out of living creatures. However, as can be seen from the entire film, they never succeed completely, which is why they rage and express dissatisfaction. A very important element can be noticed if the reader remembers the howling of the wolf in the background of the first scenes of the film. This coincides with the story that the late vampire landlady howls at night because of the restlessness of her soul. Therefore, the howling the theologians heard was the vampirized landlady Županski who later greeted them as a wicked old woman in the cabin.

Plot – Part III

The third important part of the plot of the film begins with theologian Toma reading another prayer for the repose of Katarina's soul. On the second night, however, the vampiric girl becomes an enraged, terrifying creature. She floats in the air, screams and makes terrifying noises that drive Toma mad. He, on the other hand, remains protected in his circle. In the morning when the church is unlocked, Toma comes out with completely grey hair as a sign of huge shock. Later, the maid recounts a mysterious encounter with a furious, black cat, which she stabbed with scissors in an attempt to drive it away. The next morning, while bringing bath water to her young landlady, Katarina, she noticed that she had an injured hand, wrapped in bandages. In the sequel, the theologian Thomas, having no choice, goes for the third night, to recite the prayer for late Katarina's soul. This time he draws a circle even further from the altar and reads the prayer fearfully. He approaches the

coffin and sees that it is empty, but when he turns around, the deceased woman is standing behind him. He falls into the coffin and Katarina enters standing, aggressively stepping on his genitals, just like she did with the deranged servant Nikita. In the morning, the people in the village along with lord Županski find Toma in the coffin with the deceased Katarina. The mob throws him out, after which one of them hits him on the head with a mace. In the finale of the film, the audience sees three theologians again, with one of them now carrying Toma's body over a donkey. They find shelter in the same hut belonging to the old woman. She takes one of the theologians into the house and orders the other to go to the stable. In the background, the theologian from the stable hears terrifying howling and notices a black carriage on the hill. Soon after, just like at the beginning with Toma, the old woman enters the hut hinting at the possible sexual encounter which the theologian refuses. However, the old woman gets closer and closer and at one point jumps on him wildly while the young theologian screams in agony. The film ends with a scene showing Toma, apparently, dead.

Analysis – Part III

After the second prayer in the church, the viewers of the film see the heightened aggression of the vampire girl due to the impossibility of harming the young theologian. One can interpret this as the spiritual power that Thomas receives as a theologian and a believer within the protective circle, surrounded by prayer and the Holy Scripture. The maid's story about the appearance of a black, ominous cat that attacks her, coincides with the theory that vampires, like witches, "Moras" (pl. of Mora)(note: "Mora" is a creature from the category of the witches who repented for their wicked ways, and now solely strangle people in their sleep by cutting off their air supply.see: Vuk Stefanović Karadžić "Životi Običaji Naroda Srpskoga"

1867:216), and other mythological creatures can also transform into animals, most often birds, cats, and snakes. The possibility that the demonized cat was the vampire Katarina can also be confirmed by the maid's testimony that the next day she saw Katarina's hand wrapped around the place where she stabbed the cat with scissors. In the mythological world, it is known that if a person kills an animal suspected of being a transformed witch or vampire, he or she kills the demonic creature itself. Therefore, it is clear that, although she did not kill her, the injury that the maid inflicted on the cat was transferred to the cat's human form, the young Mistress Katarina. In the sequel, when Toma reads the prayer in the church for the third time, he makes a mistake and leaves the protective circle, stops reading the Holy Scripture, which the she-vampire uses, and attacks him by stomping on his genitals in the coffin. The aforementioned is self-explanatory, and the genital injury of the theologian Toma symbolizes the punishment for his lust or at least his fascination with the beautiful mistress Katarina. In the end, the mob kills Toma, by which the vampire indeed managed to hurt him indirectly.

The film ends as it began, with the scene of three travelling theologians, with the difference that the theologian Toma is dead. The other two ritualistically repeat the action that will lead one of them, apparently, to the same fate as the unfortunate Toma. They stop by the evil old woman's cabin again, who separates one of them in the stable as she did with Toma. This is the repetition of the first ritualistic step. In the background, the theologian from the stable hears howling, which is the second ritualistic step that has been repeated. The third ritualistic step occurs when the theologian notices an ominous, black carriage in the distance, just as Toma saw on the first day, and with that, the viewers of the film surely now understand that he is the next victim. The fourth ritualistic step occurs with the arrival of an old woman who insinuates a desire for a relationship with a theologian, which

he refuses, after which she becomes enraged and turns into a Karakondžula. This completes the ritual and leaves the rest of his fate for the viewers to guess, although, in the last scene showing the dead theologian Toma, not much is left to the imagination.

Summary

The final word of this analysis is primarily reflected in the roots of the creature that served as an inspiration for the film achievements of both the Western and South Slavic countries. That root grew in folklore, in the imagination and real experience of people, which turned into collections of folklore stories, fantastic novels, silent films, and modern adaptations that strike fear into the heart. This article briefly introduced readers to the beginning of horror in Western filmography, the process of development of Yugoslav film, and methodically, step by step, dissected and analyzed the plots of the films "She-Butterfly" and "The Holy Place" as representatives of the high-quality, albeit sparse, South Slavic horror genre. With the help of the analysis, the reader was acquainted with the mythological creature "Vampire" and its forms, similar creatures, and other mythological elements through the film medium inspired by folklore.

References

Biblija Stari i Novi Savez: John, 19:19 - 23. (2013).

Čajkanović, V. (a) (1994). *Stara Srpska Religija i Mitologija* (V. Đurić, Ed.; 5th ed.). Srpska Književna Zadruga Beogradski Izdavačko - Grafički Zavod Partenon M. A. M.

Čajkanović, V., & Đurić, V. (b) (1994). *Sabrana Dela iz Srpske Religije i Mitologije: Knjiga I* (2nd ed., Vol. 1). Srpska Književna Zadruga Beogradski Izdavačko - Grafički Zavod Partenon M. A. M. (Original work published 1991)

Eisner, L. H. (1925). *The Haunted Screen: Expressionism in the German Cinema and the Influence of Max Reinhardt.* University of California Press.

Frombald, E. b. (1721, July 21). Copia eines Schreibens aus dem Gradisker District in Ungarn. *Wienerisches Diarium.* Retrieved November 14, 2023, from http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=wrz&datum=17250721

Frombald, E. a (1725, July 21). Copia des vom Herrn Frombald kayserlichen Cameral Provisore zu Gradiska imKönigreich Servien erlasenen Briefs anno 1725. Die im Königreich Servien damals in Schwung gegangenen sogenannten vanpiri oder Blutsauger betreffend. *Wienerisches Diarium*, 25–26.

García Marín, Á. (2020). Imperial Provisor Frombald's First Name— Discovered. *Journal of Vampire Studies*, *1*(1), 119n11.

Glišić, M. (2017). *Pripovetke: Posle Devedeset Godina.* Portalibris. (Original work published 1880)

González Rosario, S. (2021). *The Humanization of the Vampire and Dehumanization of the Queer Community* [MA thesis]. University of Puerto Rico.

Goulding, D. J. (2002). *Liberated Cinema: The Yugoslav Experience, 1945-2001* (2nd ed.). Indiana University Press, Bloomington and Indianapolis. (Original work published 1985)

Johnson, S., & Oldys, W. (1745). *The Travels of Three English Gentlemen: Vol. IV: Vol. IV.* T. Osborne, in Gray's-Inn.

Kulišić, S., Petrović, P., & Pantelić, N. (1970). *Srpski Mitoloski Recnik.* Izdavacko Preduzece Nolit.

Milakovic, D. (2023, November 4). Zadušnice – dani usrdne molitve za upokojene • Radio ~ Svetigora ~. *Radio Svetigora.* Retrieved November 17, 2023, https://svetigora.com/zadusnice-dani-usrdne-molitve-za-upokojene/

Mitrović, N. (2023, April 15). Film i Đorđe Kadijević: Pola veka „Leptirice", ostvarenja koje je "veći utisak ostavilo na gledaoce, nego na kinematografiju." *BBC News Na Srpskom.* Retrieved November 9, 2023, https://www.bbc.com/serbian/lat/srbija-65247493

Murtić, D. (2020). An Ordinary Warrior and his inevitable defeat: representation in Post-Yugoslav cinema. In *Springer eBooks* (pp. 109–125). DOI 10.1007/978-3-030-33436-9_7

Petrović, S. (2000). *Srpska Mitologija - Mitološke Mape sa Pregledom Južnoslovenskog Prostora* (2nd ed.). Prosveta Niš.

Solunski, S. (2019). *O Hramu Božijem i o Služiteljima u Njemu* (2nd ed.). Lio.

Stefanović Karadžić, V. (n.d.). *Život i Običaji Naroda Srpskoga: Opisao i za Štampu Prigotovio Vuk Stefanović KAradžić* (2nd ed.). Štamparija L.Somera[L.Somer PrintHouse].

Vasiljev, S. (1928). *Slovenska Mitologija* [PDF]. Srbobran, Beograd. https://www.svetlostistine.org/Knjige/SlovenskaMitologijaVasiljev/SlovenskaMitologija_Vasiljev.pdf

Zheltov, M. S., & Nikiforova, A. YU. (2008). АГИАСМА[AGAISMA]. In *Православная энциклопедия[Pravoslavnaya entsiklopediya].* Retrieved November 16, 2023, from https://www.pravenc.ru/text/63290.html

FLOATING "HOME": THE CHINESE DIASPORA AND THE DYNAMICS OF TRAVEL

Author:

Liu Meng[1]
University of Debrecen (Hungary)
(China)

Reviewers:

Gábor Biczó (Ph.D)
University of Debrecen

Norbert Tóth (Ph.D)
University of Debrecen

…and two other anonymous reviewers

Abstract

The phenomena of migration and diaspora are becoming more common in the context of globalization, and the idea of "home" has taken on several dimensions and complexity for dispersed populations. In order to investigate how the concept of "home" is recreated in the diaspora, this study focuses on Chinese immigrants. The study examines how culture and geography interact to define "home," drawing on the idea of "diaspora," and how travel affects "homemaking" in Chinese Migratory Movements. Additionally, the study discusses maintaining cultural continuity in globalization and reshaping individual and collective identities in the practices of "travelling-in-dwelling, dwelling-in-travelling" (Clifford 1992,108).

Keywords: Diaspora; Chinese Immigration; Home; Cultural Identity; Travel Theory
Diszcipline: Cultural Anthropology, Ethnography

Absztrakt
LEBEGŐ "OTTHON": A KÍNAI DIASZPÓRA ÉS AZ UTAZÁS DINAMIKÁJA

A migráció és a diaszpóra jelenségei egyre gyakoribbá válnak a globalizáció kontextusában, és az "otthon" fogalma is több dimenziót és összetettséget hordoz magában a szétszóródott népesség esetében. A tanulmány a kínai bevándorlókra összpontosít, annak megismerése érdekében, hogy az "otthon" fogalma miként jön létre a diaszpórában. A tanulmány azt vizsgálja, hogy a kultúra és a földrajz hogyan hatnak egymásra az "otthon" meghatározásában, a "diaszpóra" eszméjére támaszkodva, valamint vizsgálja azt is, hogy az utazás hogyan befolyásolja az "otthonteremtést" a kínai migrációs mozgalmakban. A tanulmány emellett tárgyalja a kulturális folytonosság fenntartását a globalizációban, valamint az egyéni és

---
[1] Liu Meng. Department of Ethnography, Faculty of Arts, University of Debrecen, Program of Ethnography and Cultural Anthropology, PhD School of History and Ethnography (Hungary) (China). E-mail address: liu.meng@arts.unideb.hu, ORCID ID: https://orcid.org/0009-0002-4058-076X

kollektív identitások átformálását az "utazás a lakásban, lakás az utazásban" (Clifford 1992,108) gyakorlatában.

Kulcsszavak: diaszpóra; kínai bevándorlás; otthon; kulturális identitás; utazáselmélet.

Diszciplína: kulturális antropológia, néprajz

Introduction

In addition to increasing population mobility physically, the deepening of global migrations has had a noteworthy effect on how diasporic cultures understand and experience "home." This study looks at how Chinese immigrants, who make up one of the biggest diasporic flows in the modern world, dynamically reconstruct "home." Through examining the relationship between travel, diaspora, and the idea of "home," this study advances our knowledge of the challenges encountered by transnational communities. It also provides a critical analysis of how travel functions in the continual process of creating a home, arguing that "home" is a fluid concept created by constant movement and cross-cultural interactions rather than a static location in the diaspora.

Home in Diaspora

The term "Diaspora" emerged as a result of Jewish immigration and the spread of religious culture. As scholar Martin Baumann points out that in its original context, "the 'diaspora' turned out to be an integral part of a pattern consisting of a fourfold process of sin or disobedience, dispersion and exile as punishment, repentance, and finally return and gathering"(Baumann, 2000, 316). The concept of the Diaspora, which clearly transgressed the boundaries of the Jewish community, began in the 1950s and 1960s as a result of the African American civil rights movement. The anti-imperialist and anti-colonial movements on the African continent gave rise to the new term "African Diaspora" (African Diaspora) with a distinctly political meaning, which demonstrated the political sensibilities of the leaders and scholars of the African civil rights movement of the time (Melvin, 2004, 430). The academic flow that began with the diaspora as a specific life form did not stop there. In the 1970s and 1980s, with the unprecedented expansion of the number of people, scale and distance of global cross-border mobility, cross-border survival gradually became the norm. The word diaspora, which is full of rich connotations such as migration, hometown, memory, imagination, etc., has been more and more commonly transplanted to various migrant groups under the pen of scholars. As Gabi Shefer (1986, 3). explicitly puts it a minority group known as the "modern diaspora" is made up of immigrants and their offspring who work and live in the nation from which they left but have close material and emotional ties to their home country. This one highlights the gradual characterization of modern diaspora groups as communities with transgressive characteristics. It is thus clear that the terms that were once primarily used to describe the Jewish, Greek and Armenian diasporas have taken on broader connotations, encompassing such diverse terms as "immigrant, expatriate, refugee, guest-worker, exile community, overseas community, ethnic community" (Khachig, 1991, 4-5).

According to Clifford (1994, 305), the primary traits of the diaspora are "history of dispersal, myths/ memo-ries of the homeland, alienation in the host (bad host?) country, desire for eventual return, ongoing support of the homeland, and a collective identity importantly defined by this relationship".

Furthermore, William Safran discusses the traditional elements of diasporas, emphasizing themes of dispersion, exile, and the idealization of the homeland. Taking "homeland" and "return" as an important basis, Safran (1991) proposes six characteristics of contemporary diaspora groups:

1) they, or their ancestors, have been dispersed from a specific original "center" to two or more "peripheral," or foreign, regions;

2) they retain a collective memory, vision, or myth about their original homeland – its physical location, history, and achievements;

3) they believe that they are not – and perhaps cannot be – fully accepted by their host society and therefore feel partly alienated and insulated from it;

4) they regard their ancestral home- land as their true, ideal home and as the place to which they or their descendants would (or should) eventually return – when conditions are ap propriate;

5) they believe that they should, collectively, be committed to the maintenance or restoration of their original homeland and to its safety and prosperity; and

6) they continue to relate, personally or vicariously, to that homeland in one way or another, and their ethnocommunal consciousness and solidarity are importantly defined by the existence of such a relationship (Safran, 1991, 83-84).

According to Safran, the memory of home and the myth of return are essential features of contemporary diaspora, and for the diaspora in a foreign land, the bond of "home" can have a cohesive effect on the diaspora. The collective consciousness and solidarity of ethnic minority diaspora groups can provide a defense mechanism against unfair treatment by the country of removal. The "return" is largely mythological in nature and can be seen as an eschatological concept (similar to the second coming of Christ) in which the majority of the diaspora do not actually or intentionally return to their homelands, and which is presented as a utopia – or heterotopia – to make life in a foreign country more bearable (Safran 1991, 84-85).

Gabriel Sheffer (2003, 55) similarly emphasizes the importance of the homeland for diaspora groups, pointing out that although diaspora communities, represented by Jews, Greeks, and Armenians, have different reasons for leaving their homelands to survive in a foreign country, these communities share a common characteristic: they have always maintained a connection with their homeland and have a desire to return to it.

Thus, the essence of diaspora is centered on "home." However, the desire to return home should not be confused with the desire for a homeland, and this is where the distinction between 'mythic place of desire in the diasporic imagination' and 'the lived experience of a locality' is made (Brah 1996, 192). Brah argues that at the heart of the concept of diaspora is the image of a remembered home at a distance in both time and space. This "place of origin" may be the subject of a continuing "ideology of return" (ibid., 180). Additionally, despite their occasional attachments to certain locations or social groups, migrants may feel unable to see these locations as home due to practical issues like housing, language barriers, etc., 'yet the experience of social exclusions may inhibit public proclamations of the place as home' (ihid., 193).

However, the concept of diaspora has in fact been expanded to include situations not related to forced dispersion or a desire to return.

The Hungarian diaspora, for example, is not characterized by a search for roots in the Chinese community in Hungary or a desire to return permanently to the motherland. They put down roots in the Chinese community to do business to sustain their lively-hoods, and they maintain their relationship with their homeland through regular visits to it.

As Vijay Agnew and Rishma Dunlop (2005, 4.) argue, diaspora is defined by its ability to rebuild culture in different locations. And diaspora can denote a transnational sense of self and community and create an understanding of ethnic and racial bonds that transcends nation-state boundaries and bor-ders. People who live in the diaspora have constant tensions between their physical and metaphorical homes, between living "here" and remembering "there," and between their memory of their birthplace and their connection to it.

This tension forms the genesis of hybrid identities. Clifford's intervention suggests that rather than being rooted in a singular origin, diasporic identities are produced through multiple attachments, often characterized by a sense of hyb-ridity and cultural mixture (Clifford 1994,302-338). Hybrid identities are a response to the realities of living between, or among, multiple cultural trade-tions, negotiating belonging, and navigating the often-fluid boundaries of cultural norms and ex-pectations. As Bhabha argues being excluded and undergoing perpetual change are the sources of hybridity. He argues that "the representation of difference must not be hastily read as the reflection of pre-given ethnic or cultural traits set in the fixed tablet of tradition. The social articulation of differ-rence from the minority perspective is a complex, ongoing negotiation that seeks to authorize cultural hybridities that emerge in moments of historical transformations" (cited in Jussawalla 1997, 29.).

Negotiated negotiation in the group makes the self a flexible region, where the self is linked by memories of the past and anticipated memories of the future of the ever-changing present (Hall, 2015, 226.). This process exacerbates the blurring of group boundaries comprising the self. Ethnic and racial groups are gradually assimilated and minority identities will eventually disappear(Cornell and Hartmann, 1998, 44.). Thus, we should acknow-ledge that the concept of diaspora is shifting towards discussions about "home" rather than remaining a static, definitive paradigm. In add-ressing this topic, we discover that travel emerges as an undeniable factor. We should recognize that the notion of diaspora is evolving rather than soli-difying into a definitive paradigm. Clifford (1994, 306.) notes that the Jewish (as well as the Greek and Arme-nian) diasporas can be viewed as non-normative starting points for discourses on travel or hybridization in new global contexts.

Building on this, the concept is further extended and expanded. We should also concur with Safran's six features defining diaspora but acknowledge that the significance of "travel "in this concept has been overlooked. In this article, we propose to under-score the importance of travel and discuss it within the broader context of diaspora characteristics, while preserving the essence of Safran's definition of diaspora.

Chinese Dwelling-in-Travel

The literature on diaspora and home has in-creasingly focused on the transient and fluid expe-riences of migrants as they navigate identities across borders. The traditional understanding of "home" is based on a static description, often asso-ciated with static, boundary, identity, and immu-tability. Heidegger argues that dwelling is an essen-tial feature of existence, and that space is given meaning by the act of dwelling, and that people acquire a sense of real existence (Heidegger, 1971, 161.).

Bachelard (2009, 2.) describes how the home be-comes the original space in which people's earliest experiences take place and how this shapes their perceptions of the external world. More than that, the home is not just a physical or a geographical place, but often an emotional space, an amalgama-tion of multiple emotions associated with a special place (Easthope, 2004, 128-138.). Thus, people's emotional attachment to special places is often a

key factor in the formation of "home" (Tuan, 1974, 4)(Note: All Chinese translations by Liu Meng, 2024).

And the experience of place is repeated through daily habitation and habituation (Massey 1992, 65-84). The home thus becomes the most important spatial scale to which a place is attached (Papastergiadis, 1998, 2.). However, when the definition of home is discussed in the context of migration, the mobility of family members has broken the fixed spatio-temporality of home (Minh-ha, 1994, 14.).

Home is no longer a fixed location, and along with traveling, home can be home-making by moving.

In the interaction between "home," "travel," and "dwelling," modern mobility has drastically altered migrants' "sedentary lifestyles" (Bauman, 2000, 13.).

For the Chinese diaspora, travel is more than just the physical movement from one location to another; it may also be a way to improve the financial conditions of families. Chinese migrants do not stay in one home forever, and their notion of "dwelling" in the field of travel encompasses a wide range of experiences. The economic situation of Chinese immigrants has always been a major factor driving the mobility of Chinese people. Throughout Chinese history, people have left their homes to survive and develop, and this has always been shaped by mobility. "Migration" or "mobility" has been the basic survival strategy of the Chinese people (Li, 2009, 75.). Therefore, Chinese migrants move "in search of better living conditions for themselves and for their loved ones or escaping dramatic situations in their homeland" (Lee, 1966, 47-57.). Thus, the traditional link between home and the fixed space of the house is slowly disintegrating (Wardhaugh, 1999, 92.). The meaning of travel for Chinese migrants is actually, what James Clifford calls, "dwelling-in-travel" (Clifford, 1992,108.). However, even when Chinese people establish their homes while traveling, they

still show attachments and material ties to their original hometowns. The migrants often carry with them the desire to revitalize their families and even clans, and their "roots" remain firmly planted in the land where they were born. What the Chinese call a family may live in different places thousands of miles away from each other, but through economic reciprocity, they still regard each other as a family. Thus, Chinese migration is not a separation from their birthplace and innate blood group, but rather a geographic expansion of existing ties (Li, 2009, 75.). When these migrants earn money, they send it back home to build houses and land for their families, to support the elderly and relatives who are unable to migrate with them, and even to support the construction of their hometowns. In a series of interviews, respondents testified:

Taking advantage of my children's summer vacation to have two months of free time, I went back to China to help my parents rebuild their house, two months I do not dare to delay at all, the whole day at home to keep an eye on the progress of the construction. I will go back to China this summer to continue to help my parents rebuild their house [. . .] I went abroad to earn money in order to support my family's living (Li, 2022). (Note: The source of the information comes from the author's interviews with Hungarian Chinese immigrants in the context of immigrant interviews being embedded in the global context):*„I've been abroad for 20 years and I've been sending money to my family every year, and now I'm 60 years old, so I've kept this habit for 20 years. I work to make my family's life better"* (Yang, 2021).

„I think Chinese people are used to supporting their hometowns when they make money in foreign countries. Those who have done well in their hometowns donate money to the construc-tion of their hometowns, repair temples, and help the poor and needy" (Liu, 2022).

It is thus clear that Chinese migrants are not only keeping their "roots" in their hearts but also moving with their "homes" on their backs. This has

also formed the characteristics of Chinese migration culture, which is characterized by both "keeping" and "leaving," and the coexistence of geographical separation and attachments and economic connection.

In the context of Chinese migration, the concept of "home" is extended, as Chinese migrants are often on the move and their homes "float" with them. This suggests that Chinese migration is an ongoing process rather than a one-time event. Clifford (1997, 3.). concluded that "Dwelling was understood to be the local ground of collective life, travel a supplement; roots always precede routes".

The home of Chinese immigrants is constantly constructed in the process of mobility, and a certain compromise is reached through their daily lives and taking into account past and present conditions (Ahmed, 1999, 329-347.). This makes "dwelling" dynamic.

The dynamism of "dwelling" is manifested in the form of transnational travel of the Chinese, which keeps the Chinese as travelers stuck between the "place of emigration" and the "place of immigration." In order to travel smoothly and continuously, Chinese migrants create "channels" between places of emigration and places of immigration. Such channels are not physically real spaces but are woven by underlying kinship networks (Li, 2009, 79.). One section of the channel connects the place of origin, and the other end connects the various places of migration. People in the place of origin are influenced by relatives working in other countries and have higher expectations of "earning money" and want to follow the example of the "successful" people around them to work abroad (Lin. 2002a, 9.). Migrants in the sending country have formed a network of migrants organized in the form of an "acquaintance society." Through the migrant network, it is easy to borrow large sums of money to go abroad, and the migrant network can continue to assist the migrants to get employment and live in other countries after they arrive (Myers et al., 1997, 93-134.). As Mr. Chen, who owns a merchandise store in Hungarian Chinatown, said: *„The Hometown Association has been of much help to me in settling here. When I first came here, I had a serious illness that almost killed me. My compatriots from my hometown association made donations to me in our hometown association's WeChat group. I didn't really know many people at that time, but everyone in my hometown association transferred money to me and donated to help me get better"* (Chen 2021).

The nostalgic feeling of being away from home makes it easy for migrants to integrate into migrant networks in the sending country. Migrant networks accelerate the exchange of people, money, and culture in the sending country, which makes more Chinese people choose to travel. As the respondents testify, once the migrant network is formed, young people who stay and work in their place of origin can easily be regarded as "unproductive" and discriminated against by other people in the same community. In this environment, some young people are forced to "travel."

However, Chinese migrants traveling do not stay in one place all the time. Migration has actually become a way of life for migrants from the diaspora, with laborers moving through space in search of higher returns whenever conditions permit (Li, 2009, 80.). For example, in New Zealand's census ethnic group classification, "Chinese" includes "Cambodian Chinese," "Malaysian Chinese," "Vietnamese Chinese," "Singaporean Chinese" and other subcategories (Kang, 2015, 169-214.). The hyphenated features of these names reflect the continuous migration of Chinese. In addition to the economy as a driving force, environmental factors have also become the reason for the continuous travel of migrants. For example, due to the exclusionary policies for the Chinese of the Indian government in the 1960s, many Indian Chinese migrated to Canada, the United States, and Australia to seek development (Zhang, 2008, 13-17.).

The first batch of Chinese people who went abroad to "seek gold" after earning money, in addition to supporting their hometowns will also focus on the education of their children. Educational migrants have become an important group of Chinese overseas immigrants. Based on the Chinese family values – namely, "everything is for the children"– they change the purpose of emigration after the birth of their children to better education for their children. The desire for higher quality education and better opportunities for their children has prompted Chinese migrants to consider continuing to move to countries that offer a quality education system, and China remains the top source of international students in the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia, Japan, Germany, New Zealand, South Korea, and Malaysia in the 2022/23 academic year (China News Service, 2024). As a result, their travel patterns are not simply transformed from "rootedness" to "returning home"; instead, it shows a transnational pattern between "rootedness" and "returning home" (Liu, 2003, 234.). As Clifford (1992, 101) claims, the traveler is not a "intercultural" or "native" cultural figure Travelers do not intend to clarify their relationship between themselves and their place of residence (see Gaál-Szabó 2023, 132-133); they are simply stuck between the place from which they moved out and the place to which they moved in order to keep traveling for their own migratory purposes.

In the process of traveling, the migration of people is accompanied by a perso's active choice of the purpose of the migration. Just as Homi K. Bhabha answers how the formation of a home must be accompanied by one's subjective will,

„People often use very distinct narratives, choices, and judgments to assess whether or not a particular place qualifies as a home, and then create a home in certain places. My hometown is in Mumbai, my work-related home is in the United States, and London used to be the 'in-between' space for a home, but all of that has changed. So I *think change is ongoing. It depends a lot on the decisions you make"* (Chang and Shi, 2009, 16.).

It can be seen that despite the fact that the home keeps transforming with different situations, the home can be differentiated into the center and the periphery. However, the individual has always played a major role in this process, which is attributed to the individual's active choice. The Chinese migrants'choice of travel destination in this process also determines where the "home-making" takes place. In addition to traveling for economic and educational reasons, a small number of people are traveling for a variety of purposes. The continued growth of Chinese immigration can be attributed to a confluence of factors, including skilled migration, family reunification, and others. Skilled migrants usually emigrate after living in a place for a period of time in search of a country that offers better treatment. For example, two-thirds of Chinese immigrants in Germany are skilled migrants, leading all countries. These people tend to work in technical jobs such as information technology, engineering, mathematics and natural sciences (Peng, 2019, 201.). Often detached from the traditional Chinese network of vernacular migrants, they work on their own in order to realize their careers. Migration for family reunification purposes occurs on the basis of migration networks, where one person in a family goes out to work and picks up his or her own family after stabilizing. Or when one's family has stabilized, one picks up one's close relatives to work as a group. So, it often happens that in a Chinatown, the stores next to each other are probably owned by their own relatives. As Mr. Yeh, the owner of a curtain store in Hungary's Chinatown, said.

„My sister and I have our stores together, so often my daughter and my sister's daughter go to school together, and my sister and I pick up and drop off the kids from whoever has the time. That's how we all helped each other get by. When our daughters grow up we agreed to send our children to study in England together" (Ye 2023).

103

The example of Mr. Ye is just a microcosm of the lives of millions of Chinese living in expatriate communities. When they arrive in a place, they don't stay there forever; they change their place of dwelling depending on the purpose of their migration. The continuity of the corridors between places of emigration and places of immigration ensures that the Chinese are not confined to one place. But they don't always move to countries with better economic conditions; in a twist of angle, they choose to move in the opposite direction. Chen (2006,14-21) Rushing's research on "Little Ameri-cans" born in the United States, who have U.S. citizenship and are sent back to their hometown of Fuzhou to be raised shortly after birth. He suggests that transnational fostering in the diaspora is in fact the formation and extension of an international migration network. They essentially do not travel anywhere they want to go and will choose to travel in the reverse direction of some members of their families when they felt that the conditions for travel were not met. But each act of migration creates migration incentives for later migrants by accumulating migration capital (Massey and Espinosa, 1997, 939-999.). So once migration has started it is difficult to stop it, and even if it returns there is a tendency to migrate again (Amelie F. Constant, Klaus and F. Zimmermann 2011, 495-515).

Conclusion

Chinese immigrants are a diasporic group, and their attachment and loyalty to their homeland is deeply rooted in the group's consciousness. The Chinese migrants' view of the "ties with hometown" and the idea of "honoring the ancestors" have made their connection with home even stronger. The concept of diaspora is shifting to talk about "home."

Mobility has become the main form of continuous contact with different spaces at different geographical scales in the process of migration, which has a unique role in the construction and reconstruction of "home." From this perspective, migration can be seen as the process of constructing and reconstructing home through mobility. Home is the most basic place of social practice, which is expressed by mobility or embedded in mobility through daily life (Nowicka, 2007, 71.).

Earlier studies of home are often associated with staticity, boundaries, identity, and immutability. In this study, however, we argue that "home" can actually inhabit more than just one place. Transnational families are completely separated geospatially. Faced with a divided family, individual family members try to reconfigure their "home" life. Various efforts or adjustments are made to maintain their "home." As Blunt et al. remind us: "Home is not a simple existence, but a made one" (Blunt and Aowing, 2006, 23.).

This study borrows from Clifford's concept of "dwelling in travel" (Clifford, 1992, 108.). It talks about the relationship between home and travel and residence. It is argued that the family is not only the unit of accounting for international migration decisions, but also the point of destination for their migration decisions. And they are actively integrated into the diaspora community under the influence of home ties. The diaspora community network also provides various supports for those who want to "travel" from hometown. But Chinese migrants do not stop traveling once they arrive in a place. The reasons for traveling include economic opportunities, educational pursuits, skilled migration in search of a better salary, family reunion, etc. For Chinese migrants, the purpose of travel does not remain unchanged. As the purpose of migration changes, migrants may continue to travel.

However, traveling does not always remain a migration to other countries but is also accompanied by the phenomenon of return. This is because, with the role of family ties, migrants cannot just go away and never return, but remain

inextricably linked to the place of export after they have moved out.

"Home" signifies more than a geographic location in the transnational context; it is an embodiment of cultural identity and emotional anchorage. The findings show that traveling is not merely a physical movement but also facilitates the flow of cultural elements, allowing Chinese immigrants in diaspora to find their "home" within a multicultural context.

References

Agnew, V. (2005)(ed.). *Diaspora, Memory and Identity: A Search for Home.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Ahmed, S. (1999). Home and away: Narratives of migration and estrangement. *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 2 (3): 329-347. DOI 10.1177/136787799900200303

Bachelard, G. (2009). *The Poetics of Space.* Translated by Zhang Yijing. Shanghai: Shanghai Translation Publishing House.

Bauman, Z. (2000). *Liquid Modernity.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Baumann, M. (2000). Diaspora: Genealogies of Semantics and Transcultural Comparison. *Numen* 47 (3): 313-337.
DOI 10.1163/156852700511577

Bhabha, Homi K. (1994). *The Location of Culture.* London: Routledge.

Blunt, A. & Dowling R. (2006). *Home. London*: Routledge.

Brah, A. & Coombs A. (2000). *Hybridity and Its Discontents.* London: Routledge.

Brah, A. (1996). *Cartographies of Diaspora: Contesting Identities.* London: Routledge.

Chang J. & Skaidi S.(2019). Homi Bhabha: Theoretical Construction as a Political Empowerment – Cultural Dislocation, Diaspora and Identity Politics. *Journalism*, 01: 14-19. DOI 10.15897/j.cnki.cn51-1046/g2.2019.01.002.

Chen, Ri-sheng (2006). The 'Little Americans' of Tingjiang, Fujian: A New Group of Children of Immigrants in Transnational Foster Care. *Journal of Overseas Chinese History Studies*, no. 2: 14-21.

China News Service. Report States China Remains the Largest Source of International Students. March 5, 2024. https://www.chinanews.com.cn/gn/2024-03-05/10174425.shtml.

Clifford, J. (1992). Traveling Cultures. In Grossberg L., Nelson C. & Treichler P. (eds). *Cultural Studies*, 96-116. New York and London: Routledge.

Clifford, J. (1994). Diasporas. *Cultural Anthropology* 9 (3): 302–338.
DOI 10.1525/can.1994.9.3.02a00040

Clifford, J. (1997). *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Constant, Amelie F., & Zimmermann Klaus F. (2011). Circular and Repeat Migration: Counts of Exits and Years Away from the Host Country. *Population Research and Policy Review* 30, (4). 495-515. DOI 10.1007/s11113-010-9198-6

Cornell, S. & Hartmann D. (1998). *Ethnicity and Race: Making Identities in a Changing World.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press.

Daniels, I. M. (2001). The 'Untidy' Japanese House. In Miller D. (ed). *Home Possessions: Material Culture Behind Closed Doors,* 201-229. Oxford: Berg.

Easthope, H. (2004). A place called home. *Housing, Theory and Society* 21 (3): 128-138. DOI 10.1080/14036090410021360

Melvin E., Ember Carol R., and Ian Skoggard (2004)(eds.). *Encyclopedia of Diasporas: Immigrant and Refugee Cultures around the World.*

Gaál-Szabó, P. (2023). Traveling and Postculturality: Baudrillard Revisited. In Emilia Parpală and Carmen Popescu *(Eds.) Cultural Dialogues.* Craiova: Universitaria.

Stuart H. (1990). Cultural Identity and Diaspora. In Rutherford J. (eds). *Identity: Community, Culture,*

Difference, edited by Jonathan, 222-237. London: Lawrence & Wishart.

Heidegger, M. (1971). *Poetry, Language, Thought.* New York: Harper & Row.

Jussawalla, F. (1997). South Asian Diaspora Writers in Britain: Home versus Hybridity.In Kain, G. (ed.). *Ideas of Home: Literature of Asian Migration.* 17–38. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press.

Xiaoli, Kang (2015). Post-World War II Southeast Asian Chinese Overseas Migration. In *Post-World War II Southeast Asian Chinese Overseas Migration*, 169-214. Xiamen: Xiamen University Press.

Lee, E. (1966). A Theory of Migration. *Demography* 3: 47–57. DOI 10.2307/2060063

Li, Minghuan (2010). Diaspora: Definition, Differentiation, Aggregation, and Recon-struction. *World Ethno-National Studies.* 5: 1-8.

Lin Sheng (2002). The Study of the Mechanism of Illegal Immigration. *Youth Studies.* 10: 8-18.

Liu Hong (2003). *Post-War Transformation of Chinese Society in Singapore: Local Sentiments, Regional Networks, and Global Vision.* Xiamen: Xiamen University Press.

Massey, D. (1992). Politics of Space/Time. *New Left Review,* no. 196: 65-84.

Massey, D. S., & K. Espinosa. 1997. What's Driving Mexico-U.S. Migration? A Theoretical, Empirical, and Policy Analysis. *American Journal of Sociology* 102, (4). 939-999.

Minh-ha, T. (1994). Other than Myself/My Other Self. In Robertson G. et al (eds).*Travellers' Tales: Narratives of Home and Displacement,*14. London: Routledge.

Myers III, W. H. (1997). Of Qingjing, Qinshu, Guanxi and Shetow: The Dynamic Elements of Chinese Irregular Population Movement. In Smith P. (ed). *Human Smuggling: Chinese Migrant Trafficking and the Challenge to America's Immigration Tradition*, 93-134. Washington, DC: The Center for Strategic and International Studies.

Nonini, Donald M. (2008). *The Global Chinese.* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Nowicka, M. (2007). Mobile locations: construction of home in a group of mobile transnational professionals. *Global Networks* 7 (1): 69-86. DOI 10.1111/j.1471-0374.2006.00157.x

Papastergiadis, N. (1998). *Dialogues in the Diaspora: Essays and Conversations on Cultural Identity.* London: Rivers Oram Press.

Peng, Linji, comp. (2019). Overview of Overseas Chinese Affairs. In *Overseas Chinese Affairs Review*, 201. Guangzhou: Guangdong People's Publishing House. Reprinted in *Global Times*, May 16, 2017.

Safran, W. (1991). Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return. *Diaspora* 1 (1): 83–99. DOI 10.1353/dsp.1991.0004

Sheffer, G. (1986). A new field of study: Modern diasporas in international politics. *Modern Diasporas in International Politics* 8.

Sheffer, G. (2003). *Diaspora Politics: At Home Abroad.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tölölyan, Khachig. (1991). The nation-state and its others: In lieu of a preface. *Diaspora* 1 (1): 3-7. DOI 10.1353/dsp.1991.0008

Tuan, Yi-Fu (1974). *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes, and Values.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Wardhaugh, J. (1999). The Unaccommodated Woman: Home, Homelessness and Identity. *The Sociological Review* 47 (1): 91–109. DOI 10.1111/1467-954X.00164

Wood, D., and R. J. Beck. 1994. *Home Rules.* Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Zhang, Hua (2010). Diaspora: Concepts and Contexts. *Journal of Ethnic Studies* , (5). 1-8.

Zhang, Xiuming (2008). Marginalized Groups: The Transformation of the Indian Overseas Chinese Community. *Journal of Overseas Chinese History Studies* (4). 6-23.

THE JINN – THE CULPRIT OF THE ARABIC WORLD

Author:

Kinga Németh[1]
University of Debrecen (Hungary)

Reviewers:

Gábor Biczó (Ph.D)
University of Debrecen

Norbert Tóth (Ph.D)
University of Debrecen

…and two other anonymous reviewers

Abstract

The article attempts to ponder on the prevalent religious beliefs, urban (vernacular) legends, everyday customs and traditions related to the figure of the jinn and its origins. The study will discuss the mentioned from the point of view of official Sunni Islam, in order to better unweave the disposition Islam towards superstitions and vernacular beliefs. The aim of study is to provide the generic Islamic concept about the jinn and to place it into a context within the framework of individual interpretations of the interview subjects who reside in Kuwait, are Sunni Muslims, men, and women, between the age of 18-65. The applied resources were the Holy Quran, websites marked authentic for Quran interpretations, and contemporary and past literature written on the subject. Further, several interviews with the local Arabic community, blogs, articles of urban legends, and Ruqyah are the backbones of the present paper.

Keywords: Jinn, religious beliefs, urban (vernacular) legends, Sunni Islam, Arabic community

Diszcipline: Cultural Anthropology, Ethnography

Absztrakt

A DZSINN - A VÁDLOTTAK PADJÁN AZ ARAB VILÁGBAN

A tanulmány a dzsinn alakjával és eredetével kapcsolatosan elterjedt vallási hiedelmek, városi (népi) legendák, mindennapi szokások és hagyományok bemutatására tesz kísérletet a hivatalos szunnita iszlám szemszögéből, annak érdekében, hogy jobban kibogozhassuk az iszlámnak a babonák és a népi hiedelmek iránti hajlamát. A tanulmány célja a dzsinnről alkotott általános iszlám koncepció ismertetése és kontextusba helyezése a Kuvaitban élő, 18-65 év közötti szunnita muszlim férfiak és nők egyéni értelmezéseinek keretein belül. A felhasznált források a Szent Korán, a Korán-értelmezések szempontjából hitelesnek mi-

---

[1] Németh, Kinga. Department of Ethnography, Faculty of Arts, University of Debrecen, Program of Ethnography and Cultural Anthropology, PhD School of History and Ethnography (Hungary). E-mail address: nemeth.kinga@gmail.com, ORCID ID: https://orcid.org/0009-0003-2973-2002

nősített weboldalak, valamint a témáról írt kortárs és korábbi szakirodalom voltak. Továbbá a helyi arab közösséggel készített több interjú, blogok, városi legendákról szóló cikkek és a Ruqyah képezik a tanulmány gerincét.

Kulcsszavak: Dzsinnek, vallási hiedelmek, városi (népi) legendák, szunnita iszlám, arab közösség

Diszciplína: Kulturális antropológia, néprajz

The article attempts to ponder on the prevalent religious beliefs, urban (vernacular) legends, everyday customs, and traditions related to the figure of the jinn and its origins. The paper will discuss the mentioned from the point of view of official Sunni Islam, which is a primary objective in order to better unweave the disposition Islam towards superstitions and vernacular beliefs. Any aspiration to communicate with or seek out the intervention of any non-human entities (i.e. jinn, Shaytan, use of magic, etc.) apart from Allah is extra-norm and shall be considered as a sin of dire consequences to its pursuer. Forbidden are thus also any acts other than the Islamic imperatives (of charity, Hajj, Omrah, prayer, etc.) that are carried out to influence others or the future by means of magic, summoning different beings, fortune telling from coffee (which is extremely overused despite the prohibition), casting different spells, communication with the dead, belief in superstitions, use of talismans, etc. In spite of such Islamic and time-to-time legal prohibitions, such services are still openly offered on social media, and the demand seems to be endless even at the price they are offered. The local group in question are the Sunni Arab Muslims that are above the age of 18, have a Kuwaiti residence, from all genders and professions.

Their census information and initials are published throughout this article with regard to their privacy. I publish the full information of the interview subjects everywhere I have their consent. The snowball method was used to find the interview subjects.

As it is a very common vernacular viewpoint, talking about the jinn also summons them, and makes them present with the speaker, therefore discussing such subjects is involuntary for most Muslims within the researched community, but even Christians.

Thus, most interview subjects resided to quoting the Holy Quran in the beginning, and only multiple conversations helped get closer to the core of their vision of the jinn. In this instance, such statements imply that peculiar enmeshment of the vernacular and official Islam can be observed through everyday practices, as according to official Islam, mere conversations about the Jinn, do not summon them, make them present by all means, hence, the 'users' of the religion still reach back to the holy Quaran and full-time specialists to counter a phenomenon that does not exist from the viewpoint of their official religion.

Shaikh Mohamad Al Naqwi (imam, khatib, public speaker) said; „No, it most probably does not summon the Jinn, but even if it does, the jinn are most welcome. […]" His answer implied on one hand that Islam considers the Jinn as creatures existing in another, parallel world to others, they are part of everyday life, whilst the Holy Quran effectively protects us from their harm. On the other hand, we can conclude, that summoning the jinn in any shape or form, is part of the vernacular religion only.

Summoning the jinn is a phenomenon like sympathetic magic and is frowned upon by Abrahamic religions.

The interview subjects were slow and suspicious to open up about their personal experiences with the jinn, often they broke out in a confused laughter, making jokes about it and using other means of deflection. „Bismillah!" (بسم الله) they exclaimed most of the time, which means „In the Name of Allah", and it's the first line of the Holy Quran (Surat Al-Fatihah; „In The Name of Allah, The All-Merciful, The Ever-Merciful.").

These initial words of the Holy Quran are recited when Muslims want to travel, go to work, enter their homes, or start or finish their meals. One of its functions is protection against harmful entities or problems (that may be the result of the jinn's presence).

The aim of the present article is to provide the generic Islamic concept about the jinn and to place it into a context within the framework of individual interpretations of the interview subjects that reside in Kuwait, are Sunni Muslims, men, and women, between the age of 18-65.

The applied resources were the Holy Quran, websites marked authentic for Quran interpretations, and contemporary and past literature written on the subject. Further, several interviews of the local Arabic community, blogs, articles of urban legends and Ruqyah are the backbones of the present paper.

As cornerstones of the belief system of the local community are the Holy Quran and the Hadith, these scriptures are definitive to everyday life, and customs in this geographic area. Therefore, the mentioned texts are referred to, quoted, and explained in the paper wherever it is necessary. The language of communication with the interview subjects was Arabic and English, however, they were all published in English only.

The Jinn (جَنّ / جُنّ)

The Jinn in the Holy Quran and other Sunni Islamic resources

The Jinn are complex creatures appearing in the Holy Quran and other sources from preceding eras.

The popular contemporary translation of the word is to „*hide*" or „*conceal*", however, the Encylopedia of Islam (B. Lewis, Ch. Pellat, J. Schacht, 1991, 546-550) offers a different alternative to a wider scope of interpretation:

„They were created of smokeless fire (Quran LV, 14), while mankind and angels, the other two classes of intelligent beings, were created of clay and light. [...] Their relation to Iblis the Shaytan, and to the Shaytans is obscure. In the Quran, XVIII, 48, Iblis is said to be a jinn; but according to the Quran, II, 32, he is said to be an angel. In consequence there is much confusion, and many legends and hypotheses have grown up on this subject. [...] The Arab lexicographers try to make the word jinn derive from 'idjtinan', 'to be hidden or concealed' (see Lane, s.v., djinn and Al-Badawi, on II, 7). But this ethymology is very difficult, and the possibility of explanation through borrowing from Latin (genius) is not entirely excluded. The expression „naturalem deum uniusciusque loci" (Serv. Verg. G., i, 302) exactly expresses the formal localization of the djinn (cf., e.g., Nöldeke, Mu'allakat, I, 74, 78 and ii, 65, 89) as well as their standing as semi/divinities in old Arabia (Robertson Smith, Rel. of Semites, 121; Ger. Tr. (Stübe), 84. ff.)." (B. Lewis, Ch. Pellat, J. Schacht, 1991, 547.)

The word *'genius'* in this context is postulated in classical resources as the 'natural divinity of humankind, of one thing or all places' („naturalem deum uniusciusque loci"). Contextualizing the before mentioned, the jinn in pre-Islamic Arabia seems to be the divinities of certain locations. The word *'genius'* thus refers rather to extraordinary capabilities in the original book (Servius, Georgica)

as brought to light by the Encyclopedia of Islam. As authors that are later to be recited will demonstrate, this character of a semi-divinity was accepted into the lore of Islam as the ever-existing, harmful entity that humankind must fend against. The harmful characteristic is attributed to the pagan origins under the interpretation of this article.

When asked, Shaikh Mohamad Naqwi (imam, khateeb, public speaker) said, that Islam considers the jinn as an ever-existing entity. To the inquiries as to why certain pre-Islamic (pagan) phenomena take up particular roles in the Islamic lore while others are rejected and ostracized, M.N. emphasized that it's most probably because the jinn pose a great danger to all, and we must protect ourselves through Islam, the Holy Quran. The jinn is ever present, existing since the time humanity came into existence, and they have sworn to let mankind stray away from God. They cause illness, mental health problems, marriage problems, crime, and so on. For that reason, the jinn have a particularly important place in human life and Islam, in order for us to be able to take the necessary protective measures against them.

In conclusion, the jinn went from a pagan semi-divinity to a monotheistic harmful entity, the evil itself. It is inevitable to emphasize that Islam connects pagan (pre-Islamic) deities, divinities, and practices with evil, and the phenomena that in anthropological terms can be described as survival phenomena is what represents what's evil for mankind.

To venture further into the Islamic context of the jinn, they, as well as human beings, worship the one God but have free will to follow any religion."And I did not create the jinn and mankind except to worship Me". (Surat Al-Dhariyat, verse 56.). In the 72nd verse of the Quran, the jinn defy their belief in false gods, and venerate the Prophet Mohamed for his monotheism. Hence, jinn still can follow any religion other than Islam, they can con-

vert or revert out of their free will. The ones rejecting to follow the One God are called *Shaytan*. Shaytan was the jinn that refused to prostrate before Adam, therefore he was ostracized from Heaven.

„So the angels prostrated all together— but not Iblîs, who refused to prostrate with the others. Allah asked, "O Iblîs! What is the matter with you that you did not join others in prostration?" He replied, "It is not for me to prostrate to a human You created from sounding clay moulded from black mud." Allah commanded, "Then get out of Paradise, for you are truly cursed. And surely upon you is condemnation until the Day of Judgment." Shaytan appealed, "My Lord! Then delay my end until the Day of their resurrection." Allah said, "You will be delayed until the appointed Day." Satan responded, "My Lord! For allowing me to stray I will surely tempt them on earth and mislead them all together, except Your chosen servants among them." Allah said, "This is the Way, binding on Me: you will certainly have no authority over My servants, except the deviant who follow you, […]" (Al-Hijr 30-42).

The Encyclopedia of Islam and the recited Quranic verses imply that Shaytan is a jinn – „So they prostrated themselves, except Iblis. He was one of the Jinn […]" (Surat Al-Kahf, verse 50) and he, being superior to Adam (him and the angels were created from clay and light, while Shaytan – Iblis - was created from fire), refuses to prostrate before man. Shaytan is between divine and human, therefore he cannot prostrate before a human being, thus he defies God's Order, who forsakes him, and orders him out of Heaven. Shaytan's determination in consequence is to let mankind stray away from the path of God which is clearly represented in Islam, as well as vernacular beliefs and practices.

The Encyclopedia of Islam proceeds to explain the nature of the jinn further, broken down to

Islamic and the vernacular point of view, the latter by country, further reinforcing its point of view on the transformation of the character of the jinn from a pagan divinity to the villain of a monotheistic religion.

1. „The djinn in pre-Islamic Arabia were the nymphs and satyrs of the desert, and represented the side of the life of nature still unsubdued and hostile to man. [...] But in the time of Muhammad djinn were already passing over into vague, impersonal gods. The Arabs of Mecca asserted the existence of a kinship (nasab) between them and Allah (Ku'an, XXXVII, 158), made them companions of Allah (VI, 100), offered sacrifices to them (VI, 128) and sought aid of them (LXXII, 6).

2. In official Islam the existence of the djinn was completely accepted, as it is to this day, and the full consequences implied by their existence, were worked out. Their legal status in all respects was discussed and fixed, and the possible relations between them and mankind, especially in questions of marriage and property, were examined. Stories of the loves of djinn and human beings were evidently of perennial interest. [...] There are many stories too, of relations between saints and djinn; cf. D.B. Macdonald, religious attitude and life in Islam, 144.ff.

3. The jinn in folk-lore. The transition to this division comes most naturally through the use of the djinn in magic. Muslim theology has always admitted the fact of such a use, though judging its legality varyingly. The Fihrist traces both the approved and the disapproved kinds back to ancient times, and gives Greek, Harranian, Chaldean and Hindu sources. At the present day, books treating of the binding of djinn to talismanic service are an important part of the literature of the people. All know and read them, and the professional magician has no secrets left. In popular stories too, as opposed to the tales of the professed litterateur, the djinn play a large part." (Lewis, Pellat and Schacht, 1991)

Robertson Smith, and Macdonald attempt to provide a rationalized explanation as to how the character of the jinn developed from being a pagan transcendent entity to the creation of Allah, and a crucial further somewhat "tamed" figure of Islam.

„In fact, the earth may be said to be parceled out between demons and wild beasts on the one hand, and gods and men on the other. To the former belong the untrodden wilderness with all its unknown perils, the wastes and jungles that lie outside the familiar tracks and pasture grounds of the tribe, and which only the boldest men venture upon without terror; to the latter belong the regions that man knows and habitually frequents, and within which he has established relations, not only with his human neighbors, but with the supernatural beings that have their haunts side by side with him. And as man gradually encroaches on the wilderness and drives back the wild beasts before him, so the gods in like manner drive out the demons, and spots that were once feared, as the habitation of mysterious and presumably malignant powers, lose their terrors and either become common ground or are transformed into the seats of friendly deities. From this point of view, the recognition of certain spots as haunts of the gods is the religious expression of the gradual subjugation of nature by man." (Robertson Smith, in Macdonald 1909, 134.)

The Encyclopedia, Macdonald and Smith seem to agree that the jinn evolved and developed in pre-Islamic Arabia, whilst being accepted by the followers of Islam as an ever-present entity, embodying beliefs around malintentions and harm, which are connected to the unseen and the invisible.

The unseen postulates as the godly plan, that neither the jinn nor humans have access to or

permission to know it. Further, the jinn belong to a parallel world that is invisible and forbidden to human. The borders between worlds are clearly drawn.

Vernacular beliefs in Arabia and Islamic scholars widely accepted the existence of the jinn, which became parts of everyday human lives even through such intimate acts as sex and marriage as mentioned before (MacDonald 1909). It's not only that the jinn "made it" to the bedroom of believers but such acts also were frequent subjects of legal arguments;

„Around the possibility of marriage between mankind and the Jinn an immense literature has gathered. The general position is that such marriages have frequently taken place and are lawful; some few canon lawyers, however, deny their legality on qur-anic grounds. According to the present code of Ottoman law, following the school of Abu Hanifa, such marriages are illegal; one reason alleged is because a Jinni may appear in either sex. But these legal doubts the broad belief of the Muslim people laughs to scorn. Probably every Muslim has heard of or been in some relation to some man or other, who was known to have married a female Jinni." (Macdonald, 1909, 143.)

In conclusion, the jinn are not only related to Shaytan, but Shaytan is a jinn himself, and the jinn consider themselves to be above man. They are invisible, but are able to take on any form to deceive human beings and divert them from the righteous path. They are able to see people, but people can only see them, if they want to be seen by them. They can follow any religion as they will, they can convert, revert, marry, take on human form, or possess humans to marry them and use them for their own purposes. They, just as mankind from the Islamic point of view, are supposed to follow Islam. The jinn are able to reach Heaven, but are forbidden to set foot beyond a certain point. If they try it, and with the intention to eavesdrop, meteorites will strike them.

„Indeed, We have placed constellations in the sky, and adorned it for all to see. And We protect-ted it from every accursed devil, except the one eavesdropping, who is then pursued by a visible flare." (Surat Al-Hijr 16-18)

„Indeed, We have adorned the lowest heaven with the stars for decoration and for protection from every rebellious devil. They cannot listen to the highest assembly of angels for they are pelted from every side, fiercely driven away. And they will suffer an everlasting torment. But whoever mana-ges to stealthily eavesdrop is instantly pursued by a piercing flare." (Surat As-Saaffat 6-10)

Pagan Arabs thought that the jinn are able to see the „unseen" (Macdonald, 1909), making consider-able efforts to fathom the sacred secrets of the transcendent as opposed to the official Islamic stance on the matter. „When We decreed Solo-mon's death, nothing indicated to the subjected jinn that he was dead except the termites eating away his staff. So, when he collapsed, the jinn realized that if they had really known the unseen, they would not have remained in such humilia-ting servitude." (Surat Al-Mulk 5)

Conclusively, Islam rejects the pagan viewpoint that the jinn would be able to see the unseen or eavesdrop the godly plans (as explained above). Scholars of the official religion keep innervating followers to turn to God and his word, the Holy Quran only, and utilize no tools other than what is prescribed to them by the holy scriptures which clearly outlines Islam's opposition to the pre-Islamic era. „When you recite the Quran, seek refuge with Allah from Satan, the accursed. He certainly has no authority over those who believe and put their trust in their Lord. His authority is only over those who take him as a patron and who –under his influence–associate others with Allah in worship" (An-Nahl 98-100), and although the jinn are between deities and humans, it is forbidden to seek their help by all means, which, to the contrary

is a great part of magical practices of magicians and occul-tists throughout the Islamic world.

„At the present day, books treating of the binding of djinn to talismanic service are an important part of the literature of the people. All know and read them, and the professional magician has no secrets left. In popular stories too, as opposed to the tales of the professed litterateur, the djinn play a large part." (Lewis, Pellat, Schacht, 1991)

Iblis mislead mankind when Adam was created, and since then the aim of the jinn that follow Shaytan is let human kind astray from the righteous path of God.

„And Satan will say to his followers after the judgment has been passed, „Indeed, Allah has made you a true promise. I too made you a promise, but I failed you. I did not have any authority over you. I only called you, and you responded to me. So do not blame me; blame yourselves. I cannot save you, nor can you save me. Indeed, I denounce your previous association of me with Allah in loyalty. Surely the wrongdoers will suffer a painful punishment." (Ibrahim 22)

The jinn don't have enough power to influence humans against their will, and they are unable to apply force of any sorts. „I only called you and you responded". (Ibrahim 22) The jinn only inspire man to commit evil acts, and make evil appear righteous.

In polytheistic Arabia, gods were female, in a sharp contrast to the monotheistic Islam in which women cannot be preachers or fill in religious positions, God is male. Monotheism seemingly established the basis of modern patriarchy, which represented itself on religious platforms, according to which men are the sole providers. Important aspect is the transformation from polytheism to monotheism through which polytheism is represented as a false belief system, an evil faith, that is from Shaytan. Iblis mislead mankind when Adam was created, and since then the aim of the jinn that

follow Shaytan is let human kind astray from the righteous path of God.

„And Satan will say to his followers after the judgment has been passed, „Indeed, Allah has made you a true promise. I too made you a promise, but I failed you. I did not have any authority over you. I only called you, and you responded to me. So do not blame me; blame yourselves. I cannot save you, nor can you save me. Indeed, I denounce your previous association of me with Allah in loyalty. Surely the wrongdoers will suffer a painful punishment." (Ibrahim 22)

„The jinn don't have enough power to influence humans against their will, and they are unable to apply force of any sorts. „I only called you and you responded". (Ibrahim 22) The jinn only inspire man to commit evil acts, and make evil appear righteous.

Instead of Allah, they only invoke female gods and they ˹actually˺ invoke none but a rebellious Satan cursed by Allah – who said, „I will surely take hold of a certain number of Your servants. I will certainly mislead them and delude them with empty hopes. Also, I will order them and they will slit the ears of cattle and alter Allah's creation." And whoever takes Satan as a guardian instead of Allah has certainly suffered a tremendous loss. „Satan only makes them false promises and deludes them with empty hopes. Truly Satan promises them nothing but delusion." (An-Nisa 117-120).

Thus, polytheism in the given context is a false belief from Shaytan, and those who follow false gods, follow Shaytan who deluded them, and they are cursed by Allah.

In conclusion, for Muslims, the Quran and the Hadith are the righteous path, the Prophet Mohamed is their role model. Muslims reach back to their scriptures throughout all and any situations that require guidance, as these scriptures are the most important authorities that direct all aspects of life. In Islamic context, every single word of the Quran is straight (directly) from God (Allah)

KÜLÖNLEGES BÁNÁSMÓD, X. ÉVF. 2024/SPECIAL ISSSUE

himself, therefore it represents the most perfect and superior truth to all Muslims. Any other statements that oppose the Quran are considered either misunderstandings, misinterpretations, mistakes, or the work of Shaytan. If a Muslim diverts from the Islamic way of life, commits a sin in Islam, it is often referred to as the work of Shaytan, or possession by the jinn.

The ever-present evil in mankind

Both mankind and the jinn have received free will from Allah who accurately instructed them about right and wrong. The Holy Quran provided exact orders and directions for all aspects of life, and also, individuals must be able to distinguish right and wrong based on conscience, as many interview subjects recalled („*You have a mind, you know what is right, what is wrong*" – M. 45-year-old male, Yemeni interview subject).

Among Sunni Muslims, it is a prevalent vernacular belief that a jinn is sitting on the left, and an angel is sitting on the right side of every human. The angel is providing the right suggestions, and the jinn (all interview subjects used Shaytan and the jinn interchangeably throughout all interviews, clarifications were only received when they were prompted) is trying to compel the individual to stray from God's path. (29-year-old Palestinian woman, R.). All interview subjects have concluded that sinning can only be the work of the devil. Sin is due to the individual's incapacity or unwillingness to adhere to the Islamic way of life, listening to the devil instead of the angel. (41-year- old Syrian woman, F.).

„See, if we are sitting here, and we are bored, what are we doing? We are talking about other people. Is it right or wrong? (It's wrong. The author). So it means, that because we are bored, we are weakened, and we listen to Shaytan (Iblis, the author), and we do the wrong thing. But possession is different." (R).

R. was referring to the evil (jinn or Shaytan) that is attempting to compel human beings to do the

forbidden or act unrighteous even by such a miniscule deeds as everyday gossiping, which is, along with slandering, forbidden in all Abrahamic religions. People however being fallible, tend to still talk about the non-present out of weakness or boredom despite the prohibition. Therefore consciousness, and constant reminders through prayers and regular readings or the Quran to a Muslims are primary in everyday-life.

M. explained the same question as follows:„*See Kinga, God gave us a mind why? He gave us a mind to differentiate between right and wrong. You have a mind, so you can know. Always. So, it is the work of Shaytan. He is always there. And also, God created Shaytan and the jinn before us but they are still below us. So those who do bad things, are doing against God, as we are all a little piece from God. This way, we can never understand him fully, but those who do bad things, can only follow Shaytan. All the bad things on this Earth are the work of Shaytan.*

It is prevalent that M. assumed intentionality of consciousness at Creation to human beings. He explained that even without knowing the teachings of the Quran, people's consciousness shall tell them what's the right way. Humans received a mind to understand, distinguish, differentiate between right and wrong, and if one follows the path of Islam, they will never abandon righteousness. All people are a small piece from God, therefore we all know the difference between right and wrong. Deciding to do the wrong thing therefore can only be due to listening to the wrong suggestions from the jinn (Iblis).

- *So how do you know if something is the work of Shaytan or the jinn, if they are both trying to lead you away from God and make you do bad things?*
- *It's easy to know, it has very obvious signs. Those who are possessed by the jinn will act abnormal, their movements will be strange, they will be talking strange and will do strange things. If it's the work of Shaytan, the person will act normal, but simply choose to do bad things. It's always the person's choice. If you are*

possessed by the jinn, you have no choice, as it has taken over your mind and body. (F.)

Being possessed, and simply following the wrong suggestions are however two entirely different phenomena. Being possessed means that an entity has taken control over the mind and the body of the individual, who has no choice over the course of actions taken, therefore no responsibility either. Defendants of often use it as a defense at court as it happened to me even on one instance;

- *Why did you do it?* (the author).
- *The devil was playing on my mind.*

The defendant answered this to my question after being caught and taken to court for assaulting me. Shaikh M. N. explained later, his answer was assumably a lawyer's suggestion to decrease liability over his actions, as it is widely believed and accepted, that if a jinn possessed the human body, the human being himself has no or limited responsibility over his actions, therefore claims of possessions are often used as a defense tactic. In this case, the defendant's claims were not given credit, which shows the extent of individual judgment based on the person's Islamic literacy and common sense applied in each situation.

Another interview subject has shed light on the nature of the jinn from a different perspective.

- *Please mention an example of experiencing the jinn's work.*
- *Well, my mother always checks on us to see if we are sleeping. Once it was close to Fajr, and I wasn't sleeping, and I heard my mother coming, so I hid under the blanket. I heard her walking in, and I felt that she was standing at the headboard. After about 3 minutes, I decided to check what's happening, as I didn't hear my mother leaving the room. I walked into her room, and I saw her sleeping deeply. I asked her if it was her, the next morning, but she said she didn't come to my room. I think it was the jinn. (R.)*

Fajr is the first Islamic morning prayer before sunrise. As per popular belief, the jinn like to appear before humans at the border of light and dark, day and night. They often appear before people in their bedroom, they pretend to be people the others know, they trick the one's who see them. On one occasion relatives of R. had a marital argument, as the husband was blaming the wife that she didn't bring the tea he asked from her, while the wife swore that he didn't ask for anything, she didn't even enter the room. The argument was settled by agreeing that the jinn played with their senses.

A. A. (40-year-old Kuwaiti woman) recalled the below incident: „*You know, we always cover our food, and never leave anything outside. Once, I just forgot to cover the fresh food outside, the lids weren't on the pots properly. I heard clanking the entire night, I was scared a lot. I gathered courage, I went to the kitchen, and I found all the lids on the floor. I put them back properly, so that the jinn are not tempted.*"

It is a common understanding withing the community in question that the jinn are enticed by food. Throughout my personal experiences and my research, I observed two coping mechanisms. One of them is leaving food outside for the jinn, so they are happy and satisfied, and the other is the opposite; keeping everything immaculate. Always putting food away neatly, never leaving any leftovers, crumbs outside, never leaving food uncovered, therefore the jinn are not tempted to appear. One strategy attempts to cope by acceptance and cooperation, the other strategy aims to keep the jinn as far as possible.

When I asked R. (42-year-old Lebanese woman) if she could recall any incident related to the jinn, she provided a unique, wider scope of context, which revealed that even within Islam there is a plethora of undeciphered perceptions and interpretations related to the jinn.

„*For example, our Islam is different from the Islam here* (in Kuwait, and the Gulf countries), *because we are "Druze"*

- *This means that we do things different, and we think different. For example, I had a cousin, who was able to*

tell you many things that you would be surprised. He was 4 years old, and they had a builder over, to repair their bathroom. When he saw this man, he said „They betrayed me! They killed me!". The man looked at him, absolutely surprised, and my cousin's parents asked him, if he knew who he was, and he answered that it's not him. His parents were taken aback. He asked him, do you have a big picture on your bedroom wall of your brother? He answered yes. He is dead, he said. It was impossible for him to know this. The builder's relative fought in the Civil War in Lebanon, and he had to catapult from his plane, but he got stuck with his parachute in a tree. His own troop shot him, because they thought he was an Israeli soldier, while the Israelis also were shooting at him. He died there. This is why I say we see things different.

- *So what happened there?*
- *Well, here, people would say that it is the jinn, but we know that it is a memory from his previous life. Many people believe in this Kinga, even Freud proved it through hypnosis. [...]*

The interview has clearly shown how these individuals may use the fusion of official religion and vernacular practices or even modern beliefs to construct viable explanations to phenomena they otherwise cannot interpret;

R. emphasized that in the specific context (Lebanese Druze), the same phenomena that would be interpreted by Islamic specialists of Kuwait as the work of the jinn (the case of the shot air force-service member) can be represented in a different, modern, spiritualistic/scientific context (previous lives, reincarnation, Freudian experiments, new-spiritual movements). The boy was seeing things he wasn't supposed to see; a dead person's past, and the vision was invoked by a person that the boy has never met previously, and he had no chance ever hearing the narrative before. When asked, other interview subjects, after a little or no thinking, said that it's probably the jinn's work, as the boy was not supposed to see the past of a dead person. Also, Islam does not support the idea of

reincarnation and previous lives. However, with the renaissance of new-spiritualism also affecting scientific interest and research, new methods of interpretation became available to decipher a phenomenon that is difficult to understand. Reincarnation, and multiple lives are still widely under research on the other hand, therefore scientifically the possibility of reincarnation, previous lives, and especially being able to tap into the memories of those lives are unproven just yet. Such ideas fall under the scope of the individual's personal belief system.

- *Or... here is something else, again, it didn't happen to me, and I don't really believe in these things, I am not comfortable talking about them, as I have no such experiences. So, I had a cousin who told me that she has experienced strange things, the jinn kept playing around with her.*
- *What do you mean?*
- *They let her things disappear, ate her food too. She ended up leaving food outside for the jinn.*
- *And did the jinn eat the food?*
- *Yes, always.*
- *Does everyone leave food outside for the jinn?*
- *Many people.*
- *What else?*
- *One day, she got really fed up, and she wanted to be pretty for the day, she was doing her makeup, and the jinn took her favorite eye pencil! She got really angry and told the jinn: „Now, it is really too much! This day is really important to me, I want to be pretty, put my pencil back! She went to the other room, and when she came back, she found her pencil where she left it previously.*
- *Do you think it was really the jinn?*
- *I think so, but I wasn't there. But these things keep happening to her."*

The jinn are ever- and omnipresent in the life of all Muslims. Their existence and presence are just as self-evident as breathing air. No Muslim would

ever question the existence of the jinn. They may disagree on the extent of the interference of the jinn in everyday life, but no one of them would ever deny it. Even such miniscule things may be attached to the activity of the jinn as disappearing leftovers or small objects.

Attending a kashta (desert barbeque) I had the opportunity to observe that the one cooking, will always bury the oil, and the organic waste (45-year-old Egyptian man, A.). Being asked why they are doing it, they told me that one reason is that the jinn are always present around us, especially at night, and that we share a world. No one would be pleased if they threw waste around their house. The other reason given is that the jinn love to eat up the leftover food that people leave around, it entices them. To prevent it, it's better to hide the leftovers and the waste. A. often spends nights and days in the desert, and he is convinced that the jinn are all around us at all times. He recalled multiple instances when his dog ran into the night, chasing the jinn, explaining that many animals are able to see the jinn. Also, the jinn can appear in forms of different animals.

„Djinn appear to men in many different forms, most often in the guise of animals, such as; — a black cat (without any light markings), a goat (kid, or he-goat), a black dog, a duck, a hen with chickens, a buffalo, a fox; or else in human shape; either as men of ordinary size or dwarfs, and sometimes as men of gigantic stature (many who claim to have seen them describe them as quite white, thin, and as tall as a minaret or a telegraph pole); they also appear with the features.

Another prevalent belief that I often encountered is that most nightmares are caused by the jinn. This belief is also approved by official Islam. According to Islam, our soul leaves the body when we are sleeping, and the jinn uses our vulnerability in our dreams to either possess humans or to compel them to do evil. „I used to see dreams (and was so much perturbed) that I began to quiver and have temperature, but did not cover myself with a mantle. I met Abu Qatada and made a mention of that to him. He said: I heard Allah's Messenger (ﷺ) as saying: A good vision comes from Allah and a (bad) dream (hulm) from devil. So when one of you sees a bad dream (hulm) which he does not like, he should spit on his left side thrice and seek refuge with Allah from its evil; then it will not harm him." (Sahih Muslim 2263a, Book 42, Hadith 9).

It is clearly stated in the above section, that bad dreams are coming from Shaytan himself, the precaution of Muslims of not telling bad dreams of others, is implying the firm belief, that mere words, and talking about the evil is able to summon it, bring it to presence (as emphasized at the beginning of the paper), which as per written evidence seems to be a vernacular belief.

According to the Holy Quran (Chapter 12, Sūrat Yūsuf) the dreams of true believers that come from God will come true near the Day of Judgement, whilst telling one's dreams (vision in this instance) is not suggested, as it can harm the listener or the speaker. (In this chapter, the brothers plot to kill Yusuf not much after he tells his dream to his father, who warns him against talking about his vision). However, in this chapter it is also emphasized, that the brothers plot against Yusuf because they think that he is being favored by their father, and not as a result of talking about his vision. Since bad dreams are from Shaytan, the recommendation of official Islam is to listen to or recite certain sections of the Quran. If one is to complain about nightmares, they are certain to receive these verses by all means as a protective measure against evil.

It can also be observed on various occasions, that Muslims set the Quran on audio playback when leaving their homes, as it protects their place from harmful entities (jinn). The day usually starts with cleaning and the use of bokhoor which is similar in function to the incense in use by Catholics. The bokhoor is used multiple times a day, due to its pleasant scent and its protective, cleaning qualities

attributed to it by Muslims (in vernacular tradition it's even used for cleansing. They lit the bokhoor and the individual must stand over it with their legs apart, and even pass over it. They use it after weddings, when they assume that someone received the evil eye, or as simple precaution as well).

Entering a Muslim household wearing shoes is also considered an outrageous disrespect as it brings dirt in the house, and the jinn love dirty places (such as toilets and bathrooms). Reaching for the food, or eating it using one's left hand is a certain sign of the presence of the jinn with the individual, or, rudeness at the least. „If anyone of you eats, let him eat with his right hand, and if he drinks, let him drink with his right hand, for indeed the devil eats with his left hand and drinks with his left hand." (Ibn 'Umar)

As per the explanations of M.N., we were advised in the Hadith to use our right hand for all the good things we do, and the left for the less pleasant actions, therefore we shall follow. *"Apart from the jinn, there is also a pragmatic reason" - he said – "About 80 percent of the human population, if not more are right-handed, and being humans, we are comfortable to do everything with our dominant hand. Now, imagine… Someone just coughs or sneezes, and covers their face by the right hand, then goes and shakes hands with you, or offers food from the same hand. It is not only that we are instructed to follow, it's not only about the jinn, it's a very pragmatic way of life, we're very practical people. Keep the unpleasant and unclean things for the left hand, and shake hands, offer food, eat by, etc. the right one. This way, these things are surely not mixing up."*

Related to this simple custom, an abundant context of the Islamic and vernacular customs and beliefs can be observed. The vernacular belief is that the jinn occupy the left side, therefore they use their left hand for everything unpleasant to protect themselves from the jinn, but my interview subjects never brought up any hygiene concerns throughout the interview other than shaikh M.N. Whilst official Islam also agrees with the connection of the jinn and the left side to an extent, with examples like the one above, we are offered a rather profane explanation of everyday practices. Only within this one example, 2 dimensions, the transcendent belief system, and the profane use could be described and observed.

The left side is generally attributed to the jinn by the Muslims interviewed. The jinn of the Islamic world exist and strive in filth, and therefore immaculate cleanliness of one's attire and space has absolute priority. Thinking even of the *Wudhu*, the ritual wash before prayer, the opposition between the cleanliness and divine, and dirt – evil is undeniable. When Muslims perform Whudhu in preparation for prayer, they are also getting ready to connect to the divine and to rid the evil. Washing the crotch area, the face, ears hands and soles with water are mandatory before each prayer, unless someone didn't break the previous Whudhu (didn't commit an unclean, unislamic act). The Wudhu is broken by any act that is extra-norm to Islam, such as smoking, the consumption of alcohol, etc.

The jinn live at empty, horrific places, such as abandoned ruins, secluded locations of the desert, caves, dump yards, etc. If a water resource is not available, the believer wanting to pray, can use a certain sequence of movements to clear their face and hands in the sunlight, which is a repeated reference to the connection between divine, cleanliness and light, whilst the jinn are attributed to darkness and filth. Such places with dirt, must be avoided by Muslims. „Even in daytime precautions have to be taken with regard to certain places such as water-closets, remote corners where rubbish is piled or where dirty water overflows, at the foot of trees, quiet dirty corners on river-banks, the base of walls above the gutter, enclosed dark places in houses (like lumber-rooms) etc." (Lewis, Pellat and Schacht, 1991)

With regards to places assigned to the jinn, the most infamous urban legend of Kuwait is the jinn-

wedding. The different variations of the same narrative are well known among the Muslims of Kuwait and other countries as well. The event had a great press-popularity, several publications and videos can be found on the web, detailing the events that happened to a popular Kuwaiti singer, *Nourah Ali*, who arrived at a wedding as the star singer. On her arrival, the house was lavishly lit, the music was on, the guests were having the time of their lives. Nourah started to feel dizzy, ran from the room in panic and fainted. When regaining consciousness people started to ask her what happened, and she told them that she noticed that the wedding she attended, wasn't a wedding for humans, but the jinn. The crowd that gathered to help her didn't understand what house she was mentioning. When she looked up, she saw that the building that she just left was in ruins, it had no lights, the music wasn't on, and no guests were arriving or leaving. When I asked my interview subjects whether they think the narrative was true, they all said that they are not sure, but probably yes, as these kinds of things keep happening, and they are real. Also, the narrative presents all aspects of the jinn's world and nature. The jinn wedding appeared in a secluded area in a ruined house, and the jinn appeared to the singer in a human form, let alone that she was invited. A misleading mirage appeared in front of Nourah, and only small things (such as goat legs) were the tell-tale signs that she was misled by the jinn. What appears in the narrative, is that even good willing people might be misled and deceived by the jinn, they can divert our sense of reality, therefore, we're never truly safe, and precautions are always necessary.

Another video (our objective is to understand the contemporary representations of the jinn; therefore, the authenticity of the materials is not discussed here) is presenting the interaction between a man and a woman at a secluded building. Throughout their conversation, the woman keeps repeating that she has married a jinn. The woman wears an abaya (traditional robe of Muslim women), her face turned to the corner, speaking in an eerie, weak voice. The man tries to interact with her, but when he realizes what he is facing, starts reciting the holy Quran, to apply protecting measures against the jinn, exclaiming „*Subhan Allah! The legs are not human legs!*", which is a sure sign that the creature is a jinn. As previously mentioned, it's not only possible that the jinn appear before us in human form or that they possess a human being, remaining concealed, but they can also marry and have children and intercourse with humans for instance in the Arabian nights.

„Stories about the jinn and sexual and amorous liaisons and marriages with humans strongly infiltrate this narrative. Not only do these worlds exist side by side, but they also interact and communicate. The recognition, acceptance and tolerance of the existence of the world of the jinn are so naturalized, that sexual and romance attachments with them are also expected and accepted." (Ghanim, 2018, 52.)

„The book called Al-Fihrist, a catalogue raisonne of Arabic literature of about looo A. D., gives a separate section to "Names of Those of Mankind Who Loved the Jinn and Vice-versa." It is really sixteen titles of books of their love stories. Similarly, in the numerous collections of love stories there are chapters given to "Lovers of the Jinn."" (Macdonald, 1909,144.)

Naturally, from an Islamic standpoint intercourse with or through the jinn is not acceptable, and it is classified as possession. The folklore, or vernacular interpretation is that the popular forms of *Ruqyah* (popular in this case means any methods that are not prescribed by the Scriptures or accepted by Islamic laws) are effective methods to rid of the jinn, hence, it is forbidden in official Islam. Despite the prohibition, even imams offer their services, some of them even for money (which is forbidden) to help people get free from their assumed or real possession by the jinn.

An article, published by the European Journal of Medical and Health Sciences, goes into great detail as to means and criteria to recognize possession, while making a considerable attempt to prove that traditional, Islamically approved Ruqyah shall be a standard complementary part of general treatment of mental illnesses, as most mental disorders do fit the jinn-possession criteria set up by the authors. Their claim is based on the findings of a study done on three non-Muslim patients of mental disorders. The group hypothesized in agreement with Islamic principles that the symptoms of mental disorders result from the inter-psyche conflict between the human psyche and the jinn psyche let it be a Muslim or a non-Muslim patient. The authors also recommend, that people diagnosed with mental illness are also to be screened for jinn-possession. The conclusion of their research and article was that the main clusters of mental disorders (without details) in symptoms show significant overlapping with their criteria developed for jinn-possession screening. The research done and the attempts made, show the extent of the presence of the jinn and their effect on our everyday lives.

As per modern Islamic medicine research, most mental disorders develop as a result of the jinn's actions. Some individuals, state to practice Ruqyah, and ask astronomical amounts for their assumed services. The highest amount demanded and paid for such a procedure was around 16 000 KD (about 16 million HUF). In these cases, (not considering ethical concerns), the enmeshment of vernacular and official Islam can be observed through everyday practices. Although the specialists of official Islam and the country's laws make tremendous efforts to fight off such customs, they are still on the rise, due to the popularity of vernacular beliefs opposed to official Islam, attached to the jinn.

Kuwaiti oral historian, Reem AlAli working at the Yarmouk Cultural Center Kuwait said, that occasions called Al Zār even at the beginning of the 60's were gatherings of women, and were believed to be used for the removal of harmful entities. (The Zār is a term for a demon or spirit (Jinn in this context), assumed to possess individuals, mostly women, causing discomfort or illness). Reem proceeded to explain during the interview, that the Zār occasions in Kuwait were either formal or informal social get-togethers that served as an outlet for women to share their problems with others, using their gathering as an outlet for stress. They gathered in a house, where they were attempting to rid of the jinn, or remove any harmful entities, curses. These occasions were prohibited after some time, and they are not permitted today. This informal social institution does not exist in a form that is within the norms of the Islamic community, therefore it is under the scope of vernacular beliefs.

The form of Ruqyah process through which the imam is touching the possessed individual or does anything other than reciting the Quran are also extra-norm to Islam. According to official Islam's point of view, the only effective protection against the Jinn is the Islamic way of life, and, mainly, practicing the five pillars of Islam, (which are monotheism - there is only one God, and the prophet Muhammad is the messenger of Allah, prayer five times a day – salat, charity - zakat, pilgrimage – hajj, and fasting – sawm), and the recital of Quranic verses.

Summary

In summary, the official point of view of Islam is that any acts that are not prescribed by the Quran or the Hadith, or those that are prohibited by the same scripture are extra-norm to Islam, however the individuals practicing their religion often enmesh boundaries between vernacular and official rituals, practices and beliefs, not always being able to distinguish between cultural and religious phenomena. Such enmeshment seems to be on the rise despite the efforts of Islamic institutions and

laws. For a Muslim the most important religious authorities to turn to with questions regarding everyday life such as marriage, bringing up children, social or financial matters, or questions related to Islam, are the Quran, the Hadith, imams and khatibs.

Mosques are not only places of practicing religion, but also are important semi-formal social institutions that provide venue for meetings and discussions between actors of the local community, the centers of discussing everyday matters, religious questions. Their role in maintaining group coherence, directing community life, interpersonal interactions are undeniably the most important. The authority of the words of an imam are rarely questioned within local communities, therefore their guidance is crucial in the matter of fending against the jinn, identifying possession, and so on.

The cited resources imply the conclusion that the character of the jinn existed in pre-Islamic Arabia and that it is not only a survival phenomenon in anthropological terms, but also the related, and introduced social practices, vernacular religious customs and traditions survived and developed throughout the centuries. Official Islam and full-time religious specialists accept and emphasize on the existence of the jinn and their world, but refuse the related vernacular customs and traditions, which are considered extra-norm to official Islam. Theological arguments between schools and denominations of Islam, further complicate understanding and distinguishing between vernacular and official religion for an outsider (i.e. Duruz). Thus, throughout my research, I also reached back to the holy Quran and websites branded authentic, to maintain a unified, standard way of brief analysis and description of official religious standpoints. During interviews I attributed significance to which Islamic school does the individual identify with, as long as it was significant to understand the interview subject's identity. As per my observations in the last 10 years in Kuwait, due to the ethnical

fragmentation of the country, different cultures, religions and their schools are in constant interaction both on formal and informal grounds. The result of intercultural interactions is not only the constant conflict of different viewpoints, but also the enmeshment of the knowledge of different Islamic schools, cultures, vernacular practices on an individual level that result in a Babels of customs to be unveiled and better understood.

This paper aimed to serve an insight to the prevalent vernacular phenomenon present in the Sunni Islam community in Kuwait, emphasizing on the contrast between official religion and vernacular beliefs and practices.

References

Dua against bad dreams and the Jinn https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nIy6C6iMTTg

El-Zein, A. (2009). *Islam, Arabs, and Intelligent World of the Jinn.* NY: Syracuse University Press.

Ghanim D. (2018). *The Sexual World of the Arabian Nights.* Cambridge University Press. 52-64.

Hamidi, A.R., Ridzwan, Z., Saludin, M.R., & Hussin, S. (2022). Diagnosis of Jinn Possession amongst Non-Muslims with Mental Disorders Using Jinn Possession Scale. *European Journal of Medical and Health Sciences, 4 (3).* 29-31. DOI: 10.24018/ejmed.2022.4.3.1342

Ibn 'Umar, Manners of Eating and Drinking https://hadeethenc.com/en/browse/hadith/58122

Lewis, B. Pellat, CH. and Schacht, J., (1991). *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, Volume 2, II. Leiden, E.J. Brill. 547-550, 631

Macdonald, D.B. (1909). *The Religious Attitude and Life in Islam*, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press.

Nourah at the Jinn Wedding. https://www.youtube.com/shorts/Z9Mvybi4JZQ, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-wWgMIAZ8cQ

Surat At-Tawbah (Repentance), verse 30-42 https://quran.com/al-hijr/30-42

Surat Al-A'raf (The Battlements), verse 11-17
https://quran.com/en/al-araf/11-17

Surat Al-Hijr (Thamud's Habitation), verse 16-18
https://quran.com/en/al-hijr/16-18

Surat Saba (Sheba) verse 14
https://quran.com/en/saba/14

Surat As-Saffat (Those Ranged in Ranks), verse 6-10 https://quran.com/en/as-saffat/6-10

Surat An-Nahl (The Bee), verse 98-100
https://quran.com/en/an-nahl/98-100

Surat Ibrahim (Abraham), verse 22
https://quran.com/en/ibrahim/22

Surat An-Nisa (Women) verse 117-120
https://quran.com/en/an-nisa/117-120

Surat Yusuf (Joseph), verse 10
https://quran.com/12?startingVerse=10

The Book of Dreams, Sahih Muslim, Abu Salama
https://sunnah.com/muslim/42

The woman married to a jinn
https://www.youtube.com/shorts/OOFZCaehHV8

Zeitlin, I.M. (2007). *The Historical Muhammad.* Polity. 59–60.

LENT AND EASTER IN THE PHILIPPINES:
CATHOLIC RELIGIOUS PRACTICES IN THE DISCOURSE OF GENDER PERFORMATIVITY

Author:

Jose Antonio Lorenzo L. Tamayo[1]
University of Debrecen (Hungary)
(Philippine Islands)

Reviewers:

Prof. Gábor Biczó (Ph.D)
University of Debrecen

Norbert Tóth (Ph.D)
University of Debrecen

…and two other anonymous reviewers

Abstract

Filipinos consider Holy Week as the holiest of days of Lent and Easter. During this time, the country is shrouded with centuries-old rituals and practices that persist in contemporary times. Using the framework of gender performativity, this study examines three forms of *pamamanata* (devotion): *pagsasanto* (taking care of a religious image), *penitensya* (penance), and *salubong* (Easter procession). The aim is to identify *pamamanata* practices that align with the feminine, masculine, gay, and those bordering between masculine and feminine tropes. The study maximized data from the author's fieldwork and ethnographic materials written by academics. This study found that the three *pamamanata* traditions are gendered practices and that these are affected by the agencies of the family, community, and religion.

Keywords: pamamanata, pagsasanto, penitensya, salubong, Holy Week, Philippines
Discipline: Cultural Anthropology, Ethnography

Absztrakt
NAGYBÖJT ÉS HÚSVÉT A FÜLÖP-SZIGETEKEN: KATOLIKUS VALLÁSI GYAKORLATOK A NEMI PERFORMATIVITÁS DISKURZUSÁBAN

A filippínók a nagyhetet a nagyböjt és a húsvét legszentebb időszakának tartják. Ez idő alatt az országot évszázados rituálék és gyakorlatok lepik el, amelyek a mai napig fennmaradtak. A tanulmány a gender

---

[1] Jose Antonio Lorenzo L. Tamayo. Department of Ethnography, Faculty of Arts, University of Debrecen, Program of Ethnography and Cultural Anthropology, PhD School of History and Ethnography (Hungary) (Philippine Islands). E-mail address: jolotamayo@gmail.com @gmail.com, ORCID ID: https://orcid.org/0009-0006-3843-9408

performativitás kereteit felhasználva a *pamamanata* (áhítat, odaadás) három formáját vizsgálja: *a pagsasanto* (egy vallási kép gondozása), a *penitensya* (vezeklés) és a *salubong* (húsvéti körmenet). A cél a feminin, maszkulin, meleg, illetve a maszkulin és feminin típusok közötti határesetnek számító pamamanata-gyakorlatok azonosítása. A tanulmány maximalizálta a szerző terepmunkájából és a tudósok által írt néprajzi anyagokból származó adatokat. A tanulmány megállapította, hogy a három pamamanata-hagyomány nemek szerinti gyakorlat, melyekre a család, a közösség és a vallási szervezetek is hatással vannak.

Kulcsszavak: pamamanata, pagsasanto, penitensya, salubong, Szent Hét, Fülöp-szigetek

Diszciplína: kulturális antropológia, néprajz

The first Easter mass in the Philippines was held on April 16, 1521, on Limasawa Island in Leyte when Portuguese conquistador Ferdinand Magellan arrived in the archipelago in the name of Spain after a perilous sea voyage that lasted for more than a year (Regidor, 2021; National Geographic Society, 2023). Although this vital information is not exactly significant since the "systematic and durable evangeli-zation" took place after forty years (De Castro, 2021, as cited in Regidor, 2021), it nonetheless gave a pretext of what was to come for the social and religious life of early Filipinos. Magellan's image of the Santo Niño (Holy Child) bequeathed to the wife of Rajah Humabon became a potent symbol of Christianity for the natives. When Miguel Lopez de Legazpi arrived four decades later in 1565 and fully colonized the country, evangelization took a footing. Early Filipinos were subsequently immersed in other forms of Christian icono-graphy and the doctrines of the Church. In the contemporary period, aside from the revered image of the Santo Niño, the image of the suffering Christ evokes an enormous following among fervent Filipino Catholics. The *pasyon* (Passion of Christ), which narrates the life of Jesus Christ in didactic poetry and is chanted during Holy Week in front of makeshift altars across the country, may explain this fascination with the image of the suffering Christ. Ileto (1979) argues that the *pasyon* allowed Filipinos in the 19th century to identify with the suffering of Christ at a time when expressing protest or discontent regarding abusive friars, the rich, and those in power was not an option. This consciousness is sustained until today as many Filipinos persistently endure hardships and social injustices.

The statue of the Black Nazarene, which is fondly called by devotees *Poong Itim na Nazareno*, perfectly exhibits the manifestations of suffering: half-kneeling, bearing the weight of the cross, crowned with thorns, looking at the skies in deep thought, and seemingly accepting the will of God. Even if Holy Week is still a few months ahead, the procession every January 9 in commemoration of the image's *traslacion* (transfer) from the Recollect Church in the walled city of Intramuros to Quiapo Church (now the Minor Basilica and National Shrine of the Black Nazarene) drew millions of devotees annually. It is also considered the "most massive procession in the country" (Calano, 2015, p. 168). During the procession, a suffocating number of mostly male devotees clad in maroon shirts ferried the *andas* (processional float) of the *Nazareno* in the streets of Manila – neither minding the heat nor exhaustion – with some eager devotees who braved the crowds to get close to the *andas* to wipe the *Nazareno* with their hand-kerchiefs. Filipino journalist Rina Jimenez-David branded the devotion to the *Nazareno* as "*Batya't Palu-palo* Spirituality" (washbasin and wooden club), which caters

to the marginalized and the urban poor (as cited in Calano, 2015, 167).

The Filipinos' high regard for the suffering image of Christ does not stop through the image and devotion to the *Nazareno*. It is simply the starting point that will reach a peak when the season of Lent and the Easter Triduum come into the picture. In the Christian trade-tion, Lent is a forty-day period that starts on Ash Wednesday and ends by sundown of Maundy Thursday. This season consists of fasting, abstinence, prayer, and almsgiving as preparation for the resurrection of Jesus Christ on Easter (United States Conference of Catholic Bishops [USCCB], 2024). In contrast, the Easter Triduum is considered the most important season in the liturgical calendar as it completes the Paschal Mystery of Christ, which happens between the evening of Maun-dy Thursday and the evening of Easter Sunday (USCCB, 2024). The Paschal Mystery, in layman's terms, is the "process of dying and rising, death and new life" (Loyola Press, 2024), but theologically it is the accomplishment of Christ's work of redemption through "his Passion, death, Resurrection, and glorious Ascension" (Catechism of the Catholic Church, 1993, 1067).

In the Filipino tradition, the most important days of Lent and Easter begin from Palm Sunday to Easter Sunday. Filipinos call these sacred days *"Mga Mahal na Araw,"* loosely translated as Days of Love, taken from the words *"mahal"* which means love, and *"araw"* referring to a day. There is no exact explanation for why Holy Week is termed *"Mga Mahal na Araw,"* however, it may be referential to the loving act of Christ as he sacrificed himself to be crucified and died on the cross to redeem mankind. During these holy days, rituals adorned with mysticism, folk practices, gore, and pageantry shroud the country's rural and urban centers.

The point of this article is not only to highlight the image of Christ's suffering through the rituals that abound in the Philippines during Holy Week but to emphasize that many of these ritual tradetions exist in the framework of gender performativity. As exemplified in the *Nazareno* procession, most devotees who wheeled the image back at Quiapo church were dominated by men.

The pervasive "macho" culture present in Philippine society aligns with the devotion to the *Nazareno*. Bonilla (2021, 42) explains that male devotees see the image "oozing with the masculinity of sacrifice." Such conception also falls with Van Gennep's (1960) "rites of passage" wherein an act of initiation is largely part of transition rites. Tremlett (2006) adds that the *Nazareno* procession is an example of a critical occasion when lowland Filipino men experience the ritualized performance through their bodies. When it comes to gender performativity, Butler (1988) emphasizes that gender is not a stable identity that enables certain actions to proceed but it is something that is manifested through time by a "stylized repetition of acts" (p. 519). She furthers that "the acts by which gender is constituted bear similarities to performative acts within theatrical contexts" (p. 521). On the one hand, performativity is not concerned about the act being performed rather it concerns itself with how the act is conducted repeatedly (Ton, 2018). Moreover, while there are certain actions attached or expected with one's gender, these actions may either conform or oppose in the context of gender (Butler, 1988). Khan (2022) also emphasizes that religion is a gendered concept because it uses gender codes and allows the gendering of "other practices, concepts or peoples, labeled as religious" (p. 154).

As in the *Nazareno* procession, I argue that the rituals and associated traditions during Holy Week in the Philippines are gendered practices and fall under the dictum of gender performativity because they contain feminine, masculine, gay, or both masculine and feminine overtones. Rituals during Holy Week are also repetitive practices – an important component of gender performativity – as these

happen annually. As such, these rituals conti-nue to be sustained because the locals are usually exposed to them starting from childhood. Aside from yearly observance, the custom of *pamamanata* (from the root word *panata*), a vow or a devotional pledge, is the starting point of why many of these rituals continue to survive in contemporary times. Maca-ranas (2021) elaborates that the act of *pamamanata* stems from the Filipino value of *pakikipagkapwa*, a sense of fellowship, wherein *utang na loob* (the feeling of indebtedness) is crucial. Jocano (1967) identifies that *pamamanata* is a form of repayment between a subordinate (flagellant) and a superordi-nate (God). In this case, the penitent is expected to con-duct his promises, which usually take years or even a lifetime, in exchange for God's protection against sickness, malice, and other untoward events.

From years of attending and observing Holy Week rituals in both the city and the province, I posit several ways in which locals become exposed to ritual practices that have been part of *pamama-nata*. Starting as mere spectators, they eventually morph into actual participants in these ritual practices. There were those individuals who were asked by their parents to help in the preparations when they were young. Gradually, they were able to imbue the tradition and later, as adults, they eventually inherited the practice. This custom is common among those families who conduct the chan-ting of the *pasyon* every Holy Week or those families who take care of a *santo* (image of a saint) that joins the processions. More so, some indivi-duals began observing a certain ritual from a dis-tance (e.g., from other families, from friends, peop-le from the church) when they were adolescents and eventually decided to conduct the practice later in adulthood out of personal interest. Some indi-viduals experienced a miracle in their lives (e.g., a cured illness, passing an exam) or they had special intentions that they wanted to achieve. The pre-vailing question now is how these *pamamanata*

traditions in the Philippines become gendered practices. What Holy Week ritual traditions do align with the feminine, masculine, gay, or bor-dering both feminine and masculine tropes? This study seeks to shed light on this question by re-viewing available ethnographic data derived from my fieldwork and those written by academics on three ritual traditions during Holy Week: *pagsasanto* and *prusisyon* (caretaking of a religious statue and procession), *penitensya* (penance), and *salubong* (Eas-ter procession).

Pagsasanto and prusisyon

Conducting a *prusisyon* (procession) is a passion of Filipinos. Every fiesta commemorating the me-morial of the town or patron of village saint is not complete without a procession after the liturgy in church. Central to the procession is the image of a saint called *santo* dressed in rich velvet and em-broidery, regally enthroned on a *carroza* (pro-cessional float) decorated lavishly with flowers and made more dramatic by iridescent lighting powered by generators. The longest and most osten-tatious processions in the Philippines happen every Holy Week. Some towns conduct processions almost all days of Holy Week featuring *santos* or *pasos* (tab-leaus) that depict solitary images or themes from the passion of Christ. These sacred images are cared for by well-to-do individuals and families ter-med *camareros* (custodians of *santos*). These *camareros* are required to maintain the upkeep of these images and make sure that they participate in the annual processions. Meanwhile, the term *pagsasanto* is a generic term that describes the beliefs and practices aligned with the care-taking of the *santo* (Romerosa & Antonio, 2021). The practice of *pagsasanto* was introduced by the Spaniards through the imposition of Christianity in the archipelago. The first *camareras* recorded in the annals of Philippine history came from Santo Domingo Church in Intramuros in Manila, who served as

cus-todians to the image of *Nuestra Señora del Santísimo Rosario de La Naval* (Our Lady of the Holy Rosary of La Naval) as early as 17th century. These *camareras* were old rich women from influential families who devoted their time and financial capacity to maintain the image of the *Santo Rosario*; however, documents from the Dominican archives also suggested that men also became *camareros* to the image (Galang, 2013).

Traditionally, *pagsasanto* was exclusively performed by affluent matrons or families who wielded political or financial prestige in the community, given the elaborate preparations behind the custom that consumed plenty of resources (i.e., bedecking the *carroza* with decorations, usage of gas and generator, embroidered garments of the *santo*, feeding the people joining and pulling the *carroza*, payment for brass bands). These matrons or families were active in church and were usually known for their philanthropic works. In the study of Tamayo (2020), *pagsasanto* was regarded as a practice of the landed gentry or the *hacienderos,* and their influence also extended to the religious life of their servants and tenant farmers. There was also an indigenous belief that the potency of the *santo* could only be achieved if the rituals offered to it were lavish (Jocano, 1967). *Camareros* were then expected to con-duct ornate rituals for the *santo* to grant their supplications. In Guagua, Pampanga, Mrs. Romana Limson-Reyes, who came from a line of distinguished ancestry, reflects the *pagsasanto* tradition in the context of the landed. Having a rich provenance, Mrs. Reyes inherited the statue of the *Mater Dolorosa* (Sorrowful Mother), which until today has a fivehectare agricultural land. Before the eruption of Mount Pinatubo in 1991, this agricultural land supported the expenses for the upkeep, processions, and related rituals of the *santo*. The family also holds an annual *pabasa*, a time when family members go back to the province, reunite, and participate in the processions during Holy Week (Tamayo, 2020).

To put it in context, the practice of *pagsasanto* was already present in Filipino culture even before the Spaniards colonized the Philippines. Our ancestors practiced animism as part of their culture. During rituals, statuaries called *anito, likha, larawan,* or *taotao* which represented the spirits of the dead and various deities were central to the celebrations (Gatbonton, 1979). These idols were carved using different materials including stone, wood, bone, the tooth of an animal, and precious metals like gold (Barrows, 2016, as cited in Tamayo, 2020, p. 117). In addition, a system of sponsorship already existed in the precolonial tradition. As rituals consumed numerous resources, the local elite was expected to shoulder the expenses, whereas those below them practiced vo-lunteerism (Calma, 2009). While the Spaniards tried their best to eliminate traces of pre-colonial beliefs, the use of idols in religious services migrated and disguised in the vene-ration of *santos* in the Catholic Church. Macdonald (2004) calls this process "transformative continuity," which happens when there is a transposition of "a preexisting structure into a new idiom." Given that the natives saw parallelism between their idols and the *santos*, the veneration of the saints became palatable and easily digested as part of the cultural fabric, which survives until today. This is the reason Filipino anthropologist, Fernando Zialcita, highlights how *santos* are worshipped and treated as if they are ancestors (1998, as cited in Macdonald, 2004, p. 89).

Over time, traditions related to *pagsasanto* gained another transformation, but still retained aspects of transformative continuity. Since the early 2000s, there has been an increasing interest among gay men in practicing *pagsasanto* and becoming *camareros* of *santos*, including those that joined Holy Week processions. The studies of Piamonte et al. (2020), Romerosa and Antonio (2021), and Sestoso and Madula (2019) explored this aspect of *pagsasanto*. Sestoso and Madula (2019) cited the cases of Reggie and Marvin who both hailed from Malabon

in Metro Manila, referred to themselves as gay men, and owned processional *santos* for Holy Week. Their findings revealed that the environment where Reggie and Marvin grew up, the people surrounding them, and the religion of their families influenced their interest in becoming *camareros*. While Reggie admitted to creating makeshift altars on their rooftop and offering flowers to small statues, Marvin was always with his grandmother in the parish church who was part of a lay organization, and when at home he used his robots to reenact processions wherein his toys served the equivalent of *santos*. In today's parlance, Marvin's child's play is called *karu-karuhan* (like a processional carriage), which has been accepted by some pa-rishes to encourage evangelization among ado-lescents. Initially, Reggie was requested to take care of a processional image of the *Mater Dolorosa*, but the original owner eventually decided to bequeath it to him after observing how he passionately kept the image. In contrast, Marvin inherited several *santos* from his family; however, he also commissioned images of his own including a processional image of *Santa Cleofe* (St. Mary of Clopas) when he started earning.

In the study of Romerosa and Antonio (2021), they found that *pagsasanto* among gay *camareros* became a platform where they could "exercise their agency, cultivate their capacities, and negotiate their identity" (p. 60). Alluding *pagsasanto* tradition among the affluent, they posited that the current practice is a form of repositioning aligned with the role and identity of gay *camareros*. Coming from the periphery, gay *camareros* now assume a central role in the practice of *pagsasanto*, which is a form of *pama-manata* in the Catholic church. Both authors also acknowledged that *pagsasanto* is part of gender performativity combined with elements of identity construction and negotiation, which is reflected in three related practices regarding *pagsasanto*: *pag-aalaga* (caretaking), *gayakan* (decorating), and *pag-sama* sa prusisyon (joining the procession). In the

interviews they conducted, the families of some respondents were hostile to gay *camareros* when they played with dolls during their adolescence but tolerated them when they played with statues of female saints, Jesus Christ, and the Virgin Mary, especially when they performed *karu-karuhan*.

Moreover, Piamonte et al.'s (2020) study determined the agents of socialization in Philippine society that guided the way for gay *camareros* to practice *pagsasanto*. They reveal that family, school, and community are three agents of socialization that highly influence gay *camareros*. Family as an agency indicates that gay *camareros* were already immersed early in various practices related to *pagsasanto*, citing family members who were either conducting a *pabasa* or practicing *camareros* themselves. The school is also an important agency in the process of being a *camarero* since many of the respondents were products of Catholic institutions that exposed gay *camareros* to devotional acts. In addition, the local communities allowed them to reinforce their exposure to *pagsasanto* as they lived in locations where there were strong inclinations to the rituals and practices of the Catholic church.

While many may conceive the active participation of Filipino gay men in the traditions and practices of the Catholic church as a recent phenomenon, I argue that it is simply a resurgence of an old tradition deeply rooted in the pre-colonial context of the Philippines. Even before the Christianization of the Philippines, religion was already a gendered practice in the archipelago. The *babaylan* (also *cata-lona*) led the rituals conducted by our ancestors and they were also respected figures in pre-colonial society. While women usually assumed the position of *babaylan*, men were also allowed to become one for as long as they performed and dressed like women. Garcia (2004) notes that these "gender crossers" were referred to then as *bayoguin*, *bayok*, *agi-ngin*, *asog*, *bido*, or *binabae* to describe their feminized state. Like the native women, they obtained the same rights such as getting married to a man

and performing sexual relations with him. Despite the *babaylan's* limitation of not bearing children, they were considered concubines and allowed their partners to have children with other women (Garcia, 2004).

When the Spaniards arrived, the missionaries saw this tradition as vile and did everything to annihilate the practice. As a result, the *bailanes* experienced hardships: fleeing to the mountains and being branded as witches, assisting the *datu* (chieftain) to ward off the colonizers, or forcibly converting to Christianity (Salazar, 1996; Limos, 2019). Those who converted to Catholicism assisted the priests during liturgies, maintained the church, and helped prepare for processions (Salazar, 1996). In a way, the *bai-lanes* who converted seem to be the first ones to practice *pagsasanto*, given their roles in preparing for processions. The practice of the Christianized *bailanes* transformed in the contemporary period in the context of *pagsasanto* wherein Filipino gay men have now the agency and opportunity to continue what the *bailanes* initially started.

Penitensya

When I talk of *penitensya*, I am reminded of a time when my cousin brought her Korean students to our province in Hagonoy, Bulacan one Good Friday to witness the flagellations and a crucifixion. As we observed how the posterior of half-naked men was being punctured by shards of glasses attached to a wooden frame or metal blades, one of her male students was so petrified that he eventually collapsed. For an outsider, this tradition may be something gruesome but for Filipinos, especially those living in the countryside of lowland Tagalog areas, such practices are ordinary and part of the cultural practices during Holy Week. *Penitensya* is a form of penance that is widely practiced in the Philippines, particularly on Maundy Thursday and Good Friday when dozens of flagellants parade through the streets of mostly rural areas and a series of crucifixions on designated locations. As

someone exposed to these practices every Holy Week between my childhood and teenage years, I observed that these acts of *penitensya* were commonly practiced by men.

In Hagonoy, there were several types of *penitensya* that I encountered. There were flagellations called *hampas-dugo* (to strike and then blood) where a long line of penitents walking along the streets at midday hit their backs with thin bamboo sticks attached to a cord. As they hit their backs, blood oozed from their punctured skins that heavily stained their white pants. There were also those groups composed of teenage and mature men wearing white shirts who carried white or black wooden crosses called *mamamasan*. In the evening, some male penitents crawled the streets and they stopped at every *kubol*, a makeshift chapel along the streets where the *pasyon* is chanted, where they were beaten by an assistant using *tsinelas* (slippers) attached to a wooden pole. Throughout my time in our province, I only observed one crucifixion as this practice was more common in Kapitangan, a barrio in Paombong, Bulacan, and Cutud, a barangay in San Fernando, Pampanga. Prudente (2017) notes that the motivations why penitents conduct these practices are to atone for their sins and thanksgiving for the graces they received (as cited in Wight & Victoria, 2021, p. 2).

While self-mortification was introduced by Spanish missionaries between the 16th and 17th centuries (Tiatco & Bonifacio-Ramolete, 2008), flogging was already used during the pre-colonial period as a lighter penalty instead of enslavement (Mintzs, 2006, as cited in Moratilla, 2018). As Christianity spread on the islands, the missionaries elevated the meaning of self-mortification when they associated it with purifying both body and soul from sin. The natives adopted this practice for they believed that their sins would be atoned and that their souls would reach potency by corporal punishment (Moratilla, 2018). The position of the Philippine Catholic Church today regarding *penitensya* is

contrary to what the early missionaries taught early Filipinos. Although not condemning those who conduct *penitensya*, high-ranking clerics expressed that such practices are redundant because – by theology – Christ already endured death on the cross to redeem mankind from sin. They furthered that too much attention to the "physical pain" during Good Friday limits the faithful from appreciating the message of Christ's resurrection on Easter. More so, some penitents believed that self-mortification is a substitute for the sacraments of the Church such as confession and communion (Bautista, 2011).

The study of Alejandrino Jr. and Reyes (2019) may give a possible explanation why men are usually the participants of *penitensya* rites. In their study, the authors conducted in-terviews with five penitents who started to join the *penitensya* rites when they were between 14 and 21 years old. The study found that family is an important agent in why the penitents decided to conduct the practice. Primarily, some penitents started to conduct *penitensya* when a family member became seriously indisposed. If not, the practice served as a family tradition that was passed on from father to son. In Cutud, a *barangay* in San Fernando, Pampanga, a man named Tatang Temyong was the first known Filipino who was crucified on the cross in 1962 (Barker, 1998, as cited in Tiatco & Bonifacio-Ramolete, 2008, p. 64). Instead of being tied on the cross for several minutes as part of the act in the *sinakulo* (a play reenacting the passion of Christ), he requested to deepen his *panata* through the act of cru-cifixion. The study of Tiatco and Bonifacio-Ramolete (2008) agrees with one of the findings of Alejandrino Jr. and Reyes (2019) regarding illness as some of their respondents pledged to be the *Kristo* (penitent to be cru-cified) in Cutud due to their health-related intentions, particularly on family members who were sick.

While further studies are needed to identify why *penitensya* is mostly attributed to men, an alternative explanation probably lies in how Filipino men perceive the notion of *pagkalalaki* (manhood). Aguiling-Dalisay et al. (1995) inquired about how Filipino males from three cultural groups (Tagalog, Ilonggos, and Mara-naw) perceived *pagkalalaki*.

Their inquiry found that men in the three cultural groups see an aspect of manhood in terms of physical strength. The respondents cited that men were stronger, could lift heavy objects, and were prone to last longer in physical activities. They also emphasized that manhood was about responsibility, highlight-ting their obligations to help their families and communities. Connecting this finding to the context of the penitents, the environment where the penitents belong became an agent for them to perform the "male gender" through constant exposure to family and community traditions.

This is reflected when the penitent inherits the tradition from his father or when he is motivated to perform his *panata* because of his family. The concepts of *lakas* (strength) and *tapang* (courage) are also embedded in *penitensya. Tapang* is seen here through the example of Tatang Temyong who was not satisfied with his *panata* and valiantly decided to be crucified. *Lakas* reflects on the penitents' capacity and endurance to lift heavy objects such as a wooden cross or to walk barefoot for some kilometers amidst the scorching heat and the searing pain brought by flagellation. Despite the morbid representations of *penitensya*, the penitents felt a sense of being *maginhawa* (lightness of being) because, by overcoming extreme pain, the "heaviness" they felt in their hearts was finally emancipated (Bautista, 2011).

Salubong

The epitome of Holy Week rituals in the Philippines is achieved during Easter Sunday. Compared to the somber rituals that happened in previous days, the celebration of Easter is commemorated with a festive rhythm. Aside from the liturgy that happens inside the church, the most

anticipated event is the *salu-bong*, a ritual procession conducted at dawn where the image of the Re-surrected Christ (*Cristo Resucitado*) meets the image of the Virgin Mary (*Virgen Alegria*). This *salubong* or meeting is usually held at the church patio and many locals attend to witness the event. The two images will come from different places (usually a chapel in a nearby *barangay*) and, by the end of the procession, both images will meet at the parish church. As the processions commence, fireworks called *kwitis* are released in the night's air to wake people up and signal that the *salubong* rites already started.

The *salubong* can be categorized as a gendered performance because men and women are traditionally separated during the processions. In our province and even in the city where I lived, men customarily joined the image of the Resurrected Christ while the women followed the image of the Virgin Mary. Upon reaching the church, the crowd converges, the images approach the *Galilea*, a platform, and prayers are presided over by the parish priest. The *Regina Caeli* (Queen of Heaven), a musical antiphon, is sung by a child dressed like an angel. After which, the black veil covering the face of the Virgin Mary that symbolizes sorrow is detached usually by the same child who sang the antiphon. In some towns, it is still a tradition to burn an effigy of Judas Iscariot.

The effigy contains an assortment of fire-crackers and will produce intoxicating sounds once lit.

The origins of *salubong* are not mentioned in the Scriptures. However, Antonio and del Castillo (2021) mention that it may have origi-nated from the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius, which circu-lated in the 16th century through the Jesuits who conducted missions in the Philippines. Given the creative techniques of the Jesuits in evangelization, they add that the Jesuits may have used "'dramatic and semidramatic forms as valuable pedagogical methods to spread the Catholic faith'" (Nshimiri-mana, 2019, as cited in Antonio & del Castillo,

2021, p. 78). Out of all the rituals during Holy Week, I argue that the *salubong* has the most femi-nine overtone. First, the Filipino value of being "*makaina*" (maternal or motherly) is depicted in the celebration. While the Scriptures mentioned that Jesus first appeared to Mary Magdalene, the *salu-bong* refocused the attention on the mother of Jesus. This was a popular Filipino interpretation of the resurrection wherein Jesus would have appea-red first to the Virgin Mary instead of the apostles and Mary Magdalene. In addition, the parishes in some towns also maximize an all-female ensemble during the *salubong*. The parishes in Sto. Tomas and Minalin in the province of Pampanga, for example, have an all-female choir that sings the *Alleluia* while the two images are fronting each other (Antonio & del Castillo, 2021).

Viray's (2019) study on the *sayaw ng bati* (dance of greeting) in Boac, Marinduque and Angono, Rizal focused on the dancerly attitudes of the perfor-mers. This dance ritual is characterized by the wa-ving of a flag, which symbolizes the triumph of Jesus through his resurrection. In Boac, the dance is performed by a pair of male and female dancers, whereas the one in Angono is strictly performed by two female dancers – the *tenyenta* and the *kapitana*. According to Viray, the choreography of the *sayaw ng bati* is influenced by the devotion to the Virgin Mary. Miriam Miciano, one of Viray's interview respondents in Boac, expressed that the movement of the female dancer should be ladylike comparable to Maria Clara, a fictional character from the book of Jose Rizal characterized as delicate and conser-vative. She added that this Maria Clara attribute of the choreography could also be attributed to the traits of the Virgin Mary who was soft-spoken and humble. In contrast, Viray found that the *tenyenta* and *kapitana* in Angono should embody the following traits associated with the Virgin Mary: "*babaeng matimtiman* (decorous woman), *maganda* (beau-tiful), *matapat* (honest), *marunong* (wise), and *malinis* (clean)" (p. 104).

As can be observed with the rituals asso-ciated with the *salubong*, the tempo of the Holy Week rituals shifted from themes of pain and suffering, which evoke a highly masculine trope, towards joyfulness that features several feminine under-tones. Culturally, it shows the affection of Filipinos for the Virgin Mary as a maternal figure. The *salu-bong* underscores the prominence of motherly love and the Filipinos' sense of being *makaina*. These are reflected in the belief that Jesus first appeared to her mother, the presence of an all-female ensemble in several towns, and the choreography of the *sayaw ng bati* that contains the traits of the Virgin Mary. Likewise, the "female gender" is felt through these varied performances.

Conclusion

Drawing from Butler's (1988) framework on gender performativity, this study proved that *pamamanata* in the Philippines during Holy Week in the context of *pagsasanto*, *penitensya*, and *salubong* are gendered practices. These traditions are repeatedly performed annually which allows the participants to be exposed early as many of their families are practicing different forms of *pamamanata*. The com-munities where the participants live also contri-bute to the deepening of their awareness, given that the places where these communities reside strongly practice Holy Week-related traditions. Moreover, these agents contribute to how the par-ticipants understand gender and gender identity construction in various *pamamanata* practices.

In *pagsasanto*, the transformation of the practice from being matron-centric to gay men who are now at the center of being *camareros* is a resurgence of a custom dating back to the pre-colonial period. These gay men reflect the position of the *bailanes* in doing religion. It also proves that Filipino gay men contribute to the sustainability of *pagsasanto* and that they play a significant role in the Catholic Church in the Philippines today. In *penitensya*, the notion of *pagkalalaki* surrounds the characteristics

of the male penitents. *Lakas* and *tapang* are embo-died by male penitents who are motivated to con-duct their *panata* because of their families, commu-nity, and their faith. In *salubong*, the embodiment of the female gender in several Easter rituals is highlighted by the Filipino value of *makaina*. This value becomes an agent in framing the *salubong* rites as can be exemplified by the role being played by certain participants and even in the choreography of the dance performers.

As a reflection, the *pamamanata* practices in the Philippines during Holy Week show us that tolerance is at the forefront of all ritual traditions. As Pope Francis expressed, "Who am I to judge?" (2013, as cited in Chappell, 2013).

References

Aguiling-Dalisay, G., Nepumuceno-Van Heug-ten, M.L., & Sto. Domingo, M.R. (1995). Ang pagkalalaki ayon sa mga lalaki: Pagaaral sa tatlong grupong kultural sa Pilipinas. *Philippine Social Sciences Review*, *52*(1-4), 143-166.

Alejandrino Jr., R.P., & Reyes, C.C. (2019). *Sa ngalan ng pananampalataya: Lived experiences of individuals practicing self-flagellation every Holy Week* [Bachelor's thesis, Cavite State University]. Academia.

Antonio, B.A., & del Castillo, F. (2021). The role of Mary Magdalene in the Easter "salubong": A religious exploration. *Asia Pacific Journal of Management and Sustainable .Development*, *9*(1), 76-81.

Bautista, J. (2011). The bearable lightness of pain: Crucifying oneself in Pampanga. In A. Dańczak & N. Lazenby (Eds.), *Pain: Management, expression and interpretation* (pp. 151-159). Interdisciplinary Press.

Bonilla, C. (2021). Pilgrimage to and with the Black Nazarene: The aesthetics of devotion in Quiapo, the Philippines. *International Journal of Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage*, *9*(2), 38-45. DOI [10.21427/d3sj-eg74](10.21427/d3sj-eg74)

Butler, J. (1988). Performative acts and gender constitution: An essay in phenomenology and feminist theory. *Theatre Journal*, *40*(4), 519-531.

Calano, M.J. (2015). The Black Nazarene, Quiapo, and the weak Philippine state. *Kriti-ka Kultura* 25, 166-187.
DOI 10.13185/KK2015.02511

Calma, E. (2009). "Cordero" A descriptive and functionalist study of the Maundy Thursday potato lamb feast in Morong, Rizal, Philippines. *Asian Studies*, 45(1-2), 43-56.

Catechism of the Catholic Church. (1993*). The celebration of the Christian mystery*. The Vatican.

Chappell, B. (2013). Pope Francis discusses gay Catholics: 'Who am I to judge?'. *NPR*. https://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2013/07/29/206622682/pope-francis-discusses-gay-catholics-who-am-i-tojudge#:~:text=Answering%20a%20question%20about%20reports,who%20am%20I%20to%20judge%3F%22

Galang, R. (2013). *A cultural history of Santo Domingo*. UST Publishing House.

Garcia, J.N.C. (2004). Male homosexuality in the Philippines: A short history. *International Institute for Asian Studies Newsletter*. Retrieved January 9, 2024. https://www.iias.asia/sites/default/files/2020-11/IIAS_NL35_13.pdf

Gatbonton, E.B. (1979). *A heritage of saints*. Editorial Associates Ltd.

Ileto, R.C. (1979). *Pasyon and revolution: Popular movements in the Philippines*. Ateneo de Manila University Press.

Jocano, F. (1967). Filipino Catholicism: A case of religious change. *Asian Studies*, *5*(1), 42-64.

Limos, M.A. (2019). The fall of the babaylan. *Esquire*. https://www.esquiremag.ph/long-reads/features/the-fall-of-the-babaylan-a2017-20190318

Loyola Press. (2024). *The Paschal Mystery in everyday life*. https://www.loyolapress.com/catholic-resources/family/catholic-teens/catholic-teachings-for-teens/the-paschal-mystery-in-everyday-life/

Macaranas, J.R.G. (2021). Understanding folk religiosity in the Philippines. *Religions*, *12*(800), 1-14. DOI 10.3390/rel12100800

Macdonald, C.J.H. (2004). Folk Catholicism and pre-Spanish religions in the Philippines. *Philippine Studies*, *52*(1), 78-93.

Moratilla, N.C.A. (2018). Exotifying bodies: Self-flagellation, abjection, and social me-mory. *Rupkatha Journal on Interdisciplinary Studies in Humanities*, *10*(3), 149-157.
DOI 10.21659/rupkatha.v10n3.12

National Geographic Society. (2023). *Apr 27, 1521 CE: Magellan killed in Philippine skirmish*. National Geographic. https://education.national geographic.org/resource/magellan-killed-philippine-skirmish/

Piamonte, S.B.H., Quintos, M.A.M., & Iwayama, M.O. (2020). An exploratory study on the practice of pagsasanto by openly-gay santeros. *Philippine Social Science Journal*, *3*(3), 44-53. DOI 10.52006/main.v3i3.275

Regidor, A. (2021). *Limasawa vs. Butuan: The first Easter Mass*. University of the Philippines Diliman. https://upd.edu.ph/limasawa-vs-butuan-the-first-easter-mass/

Romerosa, P., & Antonio, J.F. (2021). Beco-ming a gay caretaker of a religious image (camarero): Catholic devotion in the Phi-lippines as a gendered social practice. *Simulacra*, *4*(1), 57-70.

Salazar, Z. (1996). The babaylan in Philippine history. *Women's role in Philippine history: Selected essays* (pp. 209-222). Center for Women's Studies.

Tamayo, J.A.L.L. (2020). Contemporary cama-reros: Santos sponsorship in the Philippines today. *International Journal of Intangible Heritage*, *15*(1), 116-130.

Tiatco, A.P., & Bonifacio-Ramolete, A. (2008). Cutud's ritual of nailing on the cross: Perfor-mance of pain and suffering. *Asian Theatre Journal*, *25*(1), 58-76.

Ton, J.T. (2018). *Judith Butler's notion of gender performativity: To what extent does gender performativity exclude a stable gender identity?* [Mas-ter's thesis, Utrecht University]. Utrecht University Student Theses Repository.

Tremlett, P.F. (2006). Power, invulnerability, beauty: producing and transforming male bodies in the lowland Christianised Philippines. *School of Oriental and African Studies (University of London)*. 1-26.

United States Conference of Catholic Bishops. (2024). *Easter Triduum.* https://www.usccb.org/prayer-worship/liturgical-year/triduum

United States Conference of Catholic Bishops. (2024). *What is Lent?.* https://www.usccb.org/prayer-worship/liturgical-year/lent

Van Gennep, A. (1960). *The rites of passage* (M.B. Vizedom & G.I. Caffee, Trans.). The University of Chicago Press. (Original work published 1908)

Viray, B.L. (2019). Greeting the Virgin Mary: The dancerly attitudes of the bati in salubong.*Journal of English Studies and Comparative Literature*, *18*(1), 83-112.

Wight, A.C., & Victoria, M. (2021). 'Hayan na ang mga hampas-dugo! (The penitents are coming!)': Penitensya as religious-dark tourism. *Tourist Studies*, *22*(2), 1-25. DOI 10.1177/14687976211067261

INTERSECTIONALITY AS A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK TO STUDY MIGRANT WORKERS' LIVED EXPERIENCE WITH INEQUALITIES AND SOCIAL POSITIONING

Author:

Manh Kha Tran[1]
University of Debrecen (Hungary)
(Vietnam)

Reviewers:

Prof. Gábor Biczó (Ph.D)
University of Debrecen

Norbert Tóth (Ph.D)
University of Debrecen

…and two other anonymous reviewers

Abstract

   Intersectionality depicts the intricate interplay of various social categorizations in shaping the experiences of individuals or communities rather than single categorization alone. This article attempts to introduce intersectionality as an essential theoretical framework for research and analysis of migrant workers' lived experience with social inequalities, and at the same time, their social positionings. Initially a critique of academic feminism from a Black activist and more inclusive perspective, intersectionality has been quickly adopted by researchers from other fields as a framework due to its usefulness in researching inequalities. By tracing intersectionality back to the context where Crenshaw coined the term, together with the presentation of its key proponents and analyses of two case studies, this article hopes to shed light on the way intersectionality can be an essential tool to explore the way migrant workers employ their multiple and intersecting identities to seek upward social mobility.

   Keywords: intersectionality, migrant workers, social mobility, migration

   Discipline: cultural anthropology

Absztrakt

AZ INTERSZEKCIONALITÁS MINT ELMÉLETI KERET A MIGRÁNS MUNKAVÁLLALÓK EGYENLŐTLENSÉGEKKEL ÉS TÁRSADALMI POZICIONÁLÁSSAL KAPCSOLATOS TAPASZTALATAINAK TANULMÁNYOZÁSÁHOZ

---

[1] Manh Kha Tran. Department of Ethnography, Faculty of Arts, University of Debrecen, Program of Ethnography and Cultural Anthropology, PhD School of History and Ethnography (Hungary) (Vietnam). E-mail address: khatmkgrad@gmail.com, ORCID ID: https://orcid.org/0009-0006-9080-2948

Az interszekcionalitás a különféle társadalmi kategorizálások bonyolult kölcsönhatását ábrázolja az egyének vagy közösségek tapasztalatainak alakításában. Jelen tanulmány megkísérli bevezetni az interszekcionalitást, mint alapvető elméleti keretet a migráns munkavállalók társadalmi egyenlőtlenségekkel kapcsolatos megélt tapasztalatainak, és egyben társadalmi pozícióinak kutatásához és elemzéséhez. Az interszekcionalitás kezdetben az akadémikus feminizmus fekete aktivista és befogadóbb perspektívájú kritikája volt, majd gyorsan átvették más területek kutatói is elméleti keretként, mivel hasznos volt az egyenlőtlenségek kutatásában. Jelen tanulmány az interszekcionalitást visszavezeti a Crenshaw által megalkotott kontextusra az elmélet fő támogatóinak bemutatásával és két esettanulmány elemzésével. A tanulmány rávilágít arra, hogy hogyan lehet az interszekcionalitás alapvető eszköz annak feltárásához, hogy a migráns munkavállalók hogyan alkalmazzák többszörös és egymást keresztező identitásukat a felfelé irányuló társadalmi mobilitás érdekében.

Kulcsszavak: interszekcionalitás, migráns munkavállalók, társadalmi mobilitás, migráció

Diszciplína: kulturális antropológia

Intersectionality: Key Components and Background

Intersectionality, rooted in feminist sociology, emerged notably through the pioneering work of Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989) during the late 1980s and early 1990s. It depicts the intricate interplay of various social categorizations such as gender and race in shaping the experiences of individuals or communities (Cooper, Brittney 2016). These intersecting factors intertwine to form overlapping and interdependent systems of discrimination or disadvantage. Initially, intersectionality functioned as a critique of academic feminism from a Black, activist, and more inclusive perspective (e.g., Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1992; Crenshaw, 1989; Lutz, 2014). Scholars such as Moraga and Anzaldúa however expanded the concept for other fields, namely anthropology, and included other categoryzations (Ngeh and Pelican, 2018). Black activists, as well as Latina, post-colonial, queer and Indigenous scholars have all produced work that reveals the intricate interplay between social categorizations and processes that shape human lives (Bunjun, 2010; Collins, 1990; Valdes, 1997; Van Herk, Smith, & Andrew, 2011). While there remains a lack of consensus on the definition of intersectionality (Wynn, 2020), its key proponents agree that members of minority groups face inequalities in varying configurations and degrees of intensity.

According to Hankivsky (2014), intersectionality features the following key components: first and foremost, it recognizes that individuals possess multiple social identities (e.g., race, gender, class, sexuality, etc.) that intersect and interact with one another. Given human lives are multi-dimensional and complex, lived realities are shaped by different social factors and social dynamics operating together rather than by single categories alone. Moreover, people can experience privilege and oppression simultaneously, depending on social con-texts. Intersectionality also suggests that the way certain groups, especially those with overlapping marginalized identities, may be overlooked or marginalized within dominant discourses and frameworks. This invisibility can perpetuate systemic inequalities and hinder efforts to address social injustices. Additionally, Hankivsky highlighted that relationships and power dynamics between social configurations and processes (e.g., racism, classism, heterosexism, ableism, ageism, sexism) are linked. Given how

power operates within social systems and structures, intersectionality explores the way intersecting identities shape social actors' experiences of privylege and oppression; it emphasizes the importance of recognizing and challenging systems of privilege and oppression to achieve social equality. Multi-level analyses that link individual experiences to broader structures and systems are crucial for revealing how power relations are shaped and experienced. Intersectionality also underscores the impact of structural factors such as institutional discrimation and systemic inequalities, in shaping social actors' access to opportunities. It shows how different social identities can intersect to produce unique forms of marginalization and disadvantage.

Finally, intersectionality is explicitly oriented toward transformation, building cooperation among different groups, and working toward social equality.

Kimberlé Crenshaw first introduced the term *intersectionality* in her 1989's notable work, *"Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics."* This paper was published in a legal journal, and Crenshaw herself was, and still is, a legal scholar. The United States at the time was experiencing a growing number of automotive plants where a substantial workforce was necessary, they however tended to only hire white (most appropriately Caucausian women) women for secretarial and administrative positions, and Black (most appropriately men of African descent) men for manufacturing and floor works. This phenomenon left Black women who sought employment in a difficult position because they could not compete with members of other social categories for employment, and even if they landed a position, it would have been a challenge for them to earn promotions. Employers generally dismissed complaints regarding the situation with the rationale that it was neither an issue of gender or race, for women as a whole and Black people as a whole

were not discriminated against by any means (Wynn, 2020).

Having studied the cases from the 1970s and 1980s, Crenshaw noticed a gap in the legal system that overlooked the experience of Black women, and this is where she coined the term intersectionality to address the „*double discrimination"* that Black women were facing (Crenshaw, 1991). To use her words in the paper: „Black women sometimes experience discrimination in ways similar to white women's experiences; sometimes they share very similar experiences with Black men. Yet often they experience double dis-crimination – the combined effects of practices which discrimi-nate on the basis of race, and on the basis of sex. And sometimes, they experience discrimination as Black women – not the sum of race and sex discrimination, but as Black women."

Crenshaw employed the concept of intersectionality to illustrate the complex realities of Black women, who faced discrimination not solely due to their race (Black) or gender (woman) alone, but at the intersection of both identities (Black+woman). This intersection gave rise to uni-que forms of oppression that were frequently overlooked within conventional feminist and antiracist analyses. Despite Crenshaw being a legal scholar and how she devised intersectionality as a legal framework to understand the way members of minority groups experience inequalities, it is evident that the title of her work indicated that this framework would also be useful for feminist and antiracist theories and practices (Wynn, 2020).

Prior to Crenshaw, intersectionality was not entirely novel (Wynn, 2020). Numerous ideas at the time were already emerging to address issues relating to Black feminism. American writer and professor Audre Lorde once mentioned that „there is no such thing as a single-issue struggle because we do not live single-issue lives"(from Audre Lorde's 1982 speech, Learning from the 60s). Or for instance, the following paragraph from

The Combahee River Collective Statement: „The most general statement of our politics at the present time would be that we are actively committed to struggling against racial, sexual, heterosexual and class oppression and see as our particular task the development of integrated analysis and practice based upon the fact that the major systems of oppression are interlocking" (CR Collective, 1977: The Combahee River Collective Statement).

Sharing similar sentiments with the two mentioned examples, the idea to combat in-equalities by studying multiple social categories, rather than just one, was not entirely new. In the context of the United States during the 1960s, Black women found themselves experiencing sexism and racism when involved in the civil rights and women's liberation movements, respectively.

Black women also found that in both cases, the primary issues from those movements were not necessarily the ones that were of cardinal im-portance and relevance to them (Wynn, 2020). Taking from the moment Crenshaw coined a term to facilitate the understanding of the double discrimination in the lived experiences of Black women, intersectionality was then quickly adopted by researchers from other fields as a framework due to its usefulness in researching inequalities (Ngeh and Pelican, 2018).

While most intersectional analyses have predominantly centered around gender, class, ethnicity, and race, there may also be additional categories depending on social contexts (Nash, 2008; Osanami and Ngeh, 2017). In recent years, intersectionality has even become a relevant approach in migration studies (Anthias, 2012; Bastia, 2014).

Intersectionality in Researching Migrant Workers

High-income countries have shown themselves to be attractive locations for migrants to pursue incomes or career opportunities better than in their home countries (Langedijk, 2023). This phenomenon resulted in the diverse backgrounds of workers migrating to high-income countries. Migrants' educational achievements range from none to post-academic degrees (Blanpain, 2005) and thus result in varying degrees of treatment. In the case of domestic workers in many countries in the Middle East, there even exists a racial hierarchy revolving around who gets hired and who does not. Incidents of migrant exploitation raise concerns about unfair treatment of migrants stemming from their diverse backgrounds such as countries, cultures, and socio-economic statuses.

To understand the migrant workers' experience with inequality is to possess skills that enable researchers to thoroughly understand how the migrants' multiple and intersecting social identities come at play. Intersectionality allows researchers to analyze the complex and multifaceted nature of migrant workers' experiences, considering how factors such as gender, race, and class intersect to shape their access to employment, wages, working conditions, and social integration, and thus has rendered itself an essential framework to study migrant workers.

Additionally, intersectionality prioritizes the experiences and viewpoints of marginalized communities, including migrant workers who encounter intersecting forms of oppression (Dag Hammarskjold Foundation, 2023, 65.). Through integrating intersectional methodologies into research, scholars can amplify the voices of migrant workers and identify the challenges they face. Intersectionality also sheds light on structural inequities, including discrimination in the labor market, immigration policies, and social marginalization, and in shaping the experiences of migrant workers.

By studying the intersection of different systems of injustice, researchers gain insight into the systemic hurdles that migrant workers face, and at the same time, advocate for policy reforms to make

them better. The employment of an intersectional approach in research can lead to the development of more effective and fairer interventions and policies for migrant workers (Dag Hammarskjold Foundation, 2023, 65.).

By understanding the intersection of identities and structural inequalities, policymakers can tailor initiatives to tackle existing obstacles and promote the rights and well-being of migrant workers.

On the other hand, there exists a lack of studies that delve into the way migrant workers actively employ their multiple and intersecting identities to pursue upward social mobility (Ngeh and Pelican 2018). Lutz (2015) contended that social actors do not endure disadvantages and social constraints alone but also actively make use of their multiple identities to enhance their social positionings. Implementing from the methodological proposals of Anthias (2012) and Lutz (2014), in a study that explores the experience of African migrant workers in Dubai, Ngeh and Pelican (2018) contend that African migrants flexibly employ their intersecting positionalities, in particular ethnicity, nationality, race, and gender, to renegotiate their place in the segregated UAE economy and seek upward professional and social mobility.

This is one of the few studies that strategize an intersectional approach to not only identify differrent vectors of inequalities, but also to illustrate the way inter-secting identities can become a powerful tool for migrant workers to negotiate their social positionings.

Intersectional Analyses of Migrant Workers' Lived Experience

Intersectional analyses on the migrant workers' complex interactions of identity and experience involve a nuanced examination of how multiple and intersecting social identities can shape their lived realities. This part of the article will attempt to suggest a step-by-step guide for an intersectional analysis:

Identifying Intersecting Identities: researchers identify the diverse social identities present within the migrant worker's communities. These identities may include social categories such as nationality, ethnicity, race, gender, age, religion, language proficiency, educational background, legal status, and occupation. The identified factors vary from individual to individual, all contingent on circumstances. Researchers may face combinations of multiple social categories at once where they often intersect and interact with one another to shape migrant workers' lived experiences with migration, employment, social integration, and access to resources and opportunities.

Exploring Structural Power Dynamics: researchers analyze the power dynamics inherent in inter-secting social identities within the context of migration. This involves examining how factors such as race, gender, legal status, and socioeconomic backgrounds intersect to render the migrant workers' vulnerable to exploitation, discrimination, and marginalization. For instance, when studying domestic migrant workers in the Middle East, one should focus on the social hierarchy between the sponsor and the sponsored, which functions under the form of the Kafala sponsorship system (a sponsorship system for migrants who want to work in several Middle Eastern countries such as the UAE, Saudi Arabia, and Jordan).

The racial hierarchy among domestic workers where Filipina migrants are the most desired, while African domestic workers remain the least (Ngeh and Pelican 2018), should also be well studied because it helps dismantle a system of injustice that thrives on the expense of the migrant workers. By exploring the power dynamics between the social actors, researchers may be able to identify inequalities expressed through multiple and intersecting social categories.

Contextualizing Social Inequalities: researchers contextualize the intersecting identities of migrant workers within broader sociopolitical and economic contexts. In particular, they will consider how structural inequalities, institutional discrimination, migration policies, and global economic forces shape the migrant workers' experiences and opportunities in their host countries. Contextualizing social inequalities enables researchers to see the bigger picture which helps identify the roots of social inequalities (Hankivsky, 2014).

Identifying Patterns and Themes: researchers examine the migrant workers' lived experiences to identify patterns and themes that shape their realities. From these findings, we can reflect on our own positionality and biases throughout the research process. Researchers can then critically examine how their own intersecting identities may influence their interpretations of migrant workers' experiences and shape their interactions with research participants.

By analyzing the complex interactions of identity and experience among migrant workers through an intersectional lens, researchers gain a deeper understanding of the multifaceted ways in which migration intersects with other social factors to shape individuals' lives. This nuanced understanding can inform more inclusive and effective policies, programs, and interventions to support migrant workers and address the systemic inequalities they face.

In the following part of the paper, I will present two case studies and attempt to analyze them using an intersectional approach to illustrate how intersectionality is an essential framework to study migrant workers' lived experiences.

Case study 1: Tanko advancing from security to real estate

In their paper titled *Intersectionality and the Labour Market in the United Arab Emirates*, Pelican and Ngeh (2018) documented the way a Cameroonian man, Tanko, strategically employed his multiple identities to advance from security to real estate. In

Cameroon, Tanko worked in the secretariat of various state establishments for almost five years before his departure to Dubai to *"seek greener pastures."* In this Gulf country, Tanko was working for a security company with a humble salary and therefore attempted to seek other jobs that pay better wages. Limited by his educational background and experience, Tanko failed to land a job in real estate. Later on, Tanko managed to stay in touch with an Indian real estate broker who frequented the luxury apartment tower where he worked and was introduced to the broker's boss under the pretext of him *"also being a Black man."* The boss turned out to share the same nationality as Tanko, Cameroonian, and assigned Tanko tasks as a form of job examination. Tanko managed to complete the tasks more than successfully and landed a position at the boss' real estate company. Under the Emirati *kafala* sponsorship system, which involves paying a certain amount of money to the current employer for the termination of the current contract, Tanko found himself struggling to pay the fees. After having discussed with the apartment owner, who happened to be an Egyptian Muslim, Tanko managed to terminate his current contract as the apartment owner offered to lend him some money because *"I am African too."* At the real estate company, Tanko excelled at his new job and was promoted to branch manager after a year. At the point of the interview, there were already seven real estate brokers working under Tanko, most of whom came from minority backgrounds. From this case study of Tanko, it is visible that he had effectively employed his multiple and intersecting social identities (e.g. Black, African, man, etc.) to pursue upward social mobility in the UAE (Ngeh and Pelican, 2018). With the *kafala* sponsorship system notorious for limiting social actors' rights and mobility (Ngeh and Pelican, 2018), it is remarkable that Tanko was able to defy the system by implementing the very social categorizations that could have been otherwise used against him.

Applying an intersectional approach to study the case of Tanko, Ngeh and Pelican (2018) first identified his multiple and intersecting identities such as Black, African, Cameroonian, etc., and then proceeded to dissect the context of migrant workers working in Gulf countries by citing multiple studies on the topic. In particular, Ngeh and Pelican highlighted several names of scholars whose works explore the role of ethnicity, nationality, and race as structuring features of Gulf labor markets (Ewers and Dicce, 2016; Nagy 2006; Mahdavi 2011; Vora 2008), and then the study of Malit and Tchiapep (2013) on how African migrant workers face more structural disadvantages in finding adequate employments in Dubai. According to their studies, the common occupations for African migrants in Dubai are in security services and frontline hospitality (e.g., doormen, reception staff, waiters, shop assistants, etc.,) which offer poor wages and limited opportunities for professional advancement. Wages are generally linked to the migrant workers' nationalities, which put African migrants towards the bottom end of the hierarchy. The case of Tanko stands out for Ngeh and Pelican because despite significant disadvantages, there exist ways for African migrant workers to negotiate their way to secure well-paid white-collar professions (Ngeh and Pelican, 2018). This is to say that by employing an intersectional approach, Ngeh and Pelican succeeded in the discovery of more findings that support their hypotheses regarding the case of African migrant workers in Dubai. Particularly, they shed light on how being Black or African or Cameroonian can be advantageous in situations where it is possible to evoke sympathy and solidarity on the basis of shared social identities. This finding supports a conclusion from their previous study on how alienation and discrimination against foreigners appear to promote the need for solidarity between foreign migrants (Ngeh 2011:107).

Case study 2: Myla employing her East Asian identity to start a K-pop (Korean Pop Music Culture) business

In my previous publication concerning the kafala sponsorship system in Jordan (Tran, 2023), I had Chinese migrant worker Myla serving as a case study to support the idea, echoing the hypotheses of Ngeh and Pelican, that the migrant workers can effectively implement their intersecting identities to pursue upward social mobility despite visible disadvantages. In this paper, I will present the case of Myla again with a better focus on how to dissect her case utilizing the proposed intersectional approach.

During my trip to Jordan to conduct the fieldwork for my master thesis in 2020, I met Myla, a twenty-six-year-old woman from Chongqing, China. She was a member of the Jordan K-pop Lovers community (JKL) where young people living in Amman meet to share and discuss their interest in Korean Pop Music. Myla arrived to Jordan in 2016 *"out of boredom"* as a way to avoid her mother because *"she is very controlling and makes my life miserable."* Back in Chongqing, Myla attended Chongqing Jiaotong University for three semesters studying Business Administration before dropping out, for attending college was never her wish but rather her mother's. With the help of a relative, Myla made her way to Jordan to work in an Asian grocery store in Jabal Amman. Based on the nature of the Kafala-influenced sponsorship system in Jordan, Myla is tied to her employer in terms of legal status and mobility. In theory, her employer could have possessed total control over her work mobility, social life, or even confiscated her passport (though prohibited by laws), Myla was nevertheless given the freedom after work and was neither exploited nor physically and mentally abused like many migrant workers in Jordan. „*…oh my boss is also Chinese, he is super cute and lets me do*

whatever I want. We Chinese are supposed to take care of each other you know."

Myla became a member of a local K-Pop community in 2019 and actively participated in nearly all of the offline events of community. Reflecting on her experience, Myla noted that making friends was *'extremely easy'* and attributed this success to her identity as an Asian woman, given the notable female composition of the community.*"…you know what's interesting? Everyone in these meetings just wants to talk to me, probably because I am Asian, and it is the closest thing to K-pop they could ever find here…"*

Myla became popular in the JFL community quickly. With the connections newly established, Myla started her own business where she purchases K-Pop merchandise such as CDs, posters, and K-Pop-themed accessories from China and distributes them to her friends in Amman. These purchases are then transported to Jordan together with the products from the grocery store as part of an agreement with her employer. With K-Pop grows exponentially in its popularity, Myla's business has only thrived ever since. She no longer works for the grocery shop but nevertheless still pays her employer monthly fees (to cover her tax duties in Jordan), and this very transaction is what has kept her stay in Jordan legal. It is even more significant to mention that her employer does not ask for any additional fees and offers to transfer Myla's purchases from China for free because they are *"both Chinese and Chinese people are supposed to help each other."*

Following the guidelines suggested in the previous chapter of this article, we will first attempt to identify Myla's social categorizations/identities based on observations and interviews. Myla is a Chinese, woman, young adult. The next step is the context surrounding her life in China and in Jordan, for example: the relationship with her mother, with her employer, the sponsorship systems that enabled her employment in Jordan, the dynamics of the K-Pop community she was in, etc. From the

identified social categorizations and contexts, we can proceed with a literature review in order to understand the said categorizations and contexts. Drawing from the story of Myla, we can see that she has effectively employed her multiple and intersecting identities (e.g., Chinese and woman) to navigate through life in Jordan. She first found a job in Jordan aided by a relative in China, worked in an Asian grocery shop in Amman, effectively made friends in the K-Pop community using her popularity as an Asian *and* woman, and has her employer helping her maintain the legal status by keeping the job functional on paper. With the *Kafala* system still functioning in all constraints, Myla has successfully navigated through the system to thrive in Jordan using her multiple and intersecting identities (Tran, 2022). Similar to the case of Tanko where Ngeh and Pelican highlighted the notion that practices of alienation and discrimination against foreigners appear to promote the need for solidarity between foreign migrants, we can see that Myla and her employer protect and support each other over shared nationality and ethnicity, or how she seeks communities that share similar features to that of her own (i.e., the Korean Pop community) to avoid alienation. All that were illustrated effectively by an intersectional approach in studying and analyses.

Conclusion

This paper so far has attempted to introduce intersectionality as a concept, traced its background, highlighted its potential in researching migrant workers, and proposed a guideline for analyses with two case studies presented. Drawing from the previous key points and components of intersectionality, and from the illustration of the two presented case studies, I would conclude that the application of intersectionality in researching migrant workers does offer a powerful lens to understand their multifaceted lived experiences and

challenges. By acknowledging the interconnectedness of various social identities such as gender, race, class, and nationality, an intersectional approach helps uncover the nuanced ways in which structural inequalities intersect to shape the lived realities of migrant workers. Because of this, intersectional research helps amplify the importance of adopting inclusive policies and practices that address the unique needs of diverse migrant populations. This entails recognizing and dismantling intersecting forms of discrimination and oppression, while also amplifying the voices and agency of marginalized migrant communities. Furthermore, it highlights the necessity of advocating for labor rights, access to social services, and pathways to citizenship that uphold the dignity and well-being of all migrant workers.

Embracing intersectionality in migrant worker research not only deepens our understanding of their experiences but also paves the way for more equitable and inclusive approaches to advocacy, policymaking, and social change. By centering intersectional perspectives, we can work towards building more just and inclusive societies where the rights and dignity of all individuals, regardless of their migration status, are upheld and respected.

Reference

Anthias, F. (2012). Intersectional What? Social divisions, intersectionality and levels of analysis. *Ethnicities,* 13(1):3–19.
DOI 10.1177/1468796812463547

Anthias, F.; Yuval-Davis, N. (1992). *Race, Nation, Gender, Colour and Class and the Anti-Racist Struggle.* London & New York: Routledge.

Bastia, T. (2014). Intersectionality, Migration and Development. *Progress in Development Studies*, 14(3):237–248.
DOI 10.1177/1464993414521330

Blanpain, P. R. (2005). *Confronting globalization* (bulletin of comparative labor relations series set) (Illustrated ed.). Kluwer Law International.

Bunjun, B. (2010). Feminist organizations and intersectionality: Contesting hegemonic feminism. *Atlantis*, 34(2), 115-126.

Collins, P. H. (1990). *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment.* New York: Routledge.

Cooper, B. (2016). Intersectionality. In Disch, L.; Hawkesworth, Mary (eds.). *The Oxford Handbook of Feminist Theory.* Oxford University Press. 385–406

Crenshaw, K. (2016). *The urgency of intersectionality.* TEDWomen 2016.

Crenshaw, K. (1989) Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory, and antiracist politics. *The University of Chicago Legal Forum* 140, 139–167.

Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color. *Stanford Law Review.* 43 (6): 1241–1299. DOI 10.2307/1229039

Dag Hammarskjold Foundation (2023). Intersectionality: Experiences, views and visions for change. *Development Dialogue* no. 65.

Ewers, M. & Dicce, R. (2016). Expatriate labour markets in rapidly globalising cities: Reproducing the migrant division of labour in Abu Dhabi and Dubai. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 42(15):2448–2467.
DOI 10.1080/1369183X.2016.1175926

Hankivsky, O. (2014). *Intersectionality 101.* The Institute for Intersectionality Research & Policy. SFU.

Langedijk, J. (2023). *Intersectionality and labour migrants' experiences. An intersectionality perspective on labour migrants' working experiences and subjective well-being: gender and education.* Tilburg University.

Lutz, H. (2014). *Intersectionality's (brilliant) career – how to understand the attraction of the concept?* Working Paper Series "Gender, Diversity and Migration" no. 1, Goethe-University Frankfurt.

Mahdavi, P. (2011). *Gridlock: Labour, migration, and human trafficking in Dubai.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Malit, F. & Tchiapep, O. (2013). *Labor Migration and Deskilling in the United Arab Emirates: Impacts on Cameroonian labor migrants.* Working Paper 171, ILR School, Cornell University.

Moraga, C. & Alzadúa (1981). *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color.* London: Persephone Press.

Nagy, S. (2006). Making Room for Migrants, Making Sense of Difference: Spatial and ideological expressions of social diversity in urban Qatar. *Urban Studies*, 43(1):119–137.

Nash, J. (2008). Rethinking Intersectionality. *Feminist Review,* 89:1–15. DOI 10.1057/fr.2008.4

Ngeh, J- (2011). *Conflict, Marginalization and Transformation: African migrants in Sweden.* Umea: Umea University, Department of Sociology.

Ngeh, J. & Pelican, M- (2018). Intersectionality and the Labour Market in the United Arab Emirates. *Dietrich Reimer Verlag* GmbH. 175.

Tran, M. K. (2023). The Kafala System: exploring intersectionality in the integration of migrant workers to the labor market in Jordan. *Special Treatment Interdisciplinary Journal [Különleges Bánásmód Interdiszciplináris folyóirat]*, 9. (1). 197-206. DOI 10.18458/KB.2023.1.197

Valdes, F. (1997). Foreword: Poised at the Cusp: LatCrit Theory Outsider Jurisprudence and Latina/o Self-Em powerment. *Harv. Latino L. Rev.*, 2, 1.

Van Herk, K. A., Smith, D., & Andrew, C. (2011). Identity matters: Aboriginal mothers' experiences of accessing health care. *Contemporary Nurse*, 37(1), 57–68.

Vora, N. (2008). Producing Diasporas and Globalization: Indian middle-class migrants in Dubai. *Anthropological Quarterly*, 81(2): 377–406.

Wynn, E. (2020). *Introduction to Intersectionality.* Babraham Institute.

REDEFINING THE SOCIETAL ROLE OF WOMEN AMONG THE BUKUSU COMMUNITY OF BUNGOMA COUNTY IN WESTERN KENYA (1945-1923)

Authors:

Damaris Simuli Werunga[1]
University of Debrecen (Hungary)
(Kenya)

Gábor Biczó[2] (Prof., Ph.D)
University of Debrecen (Hungary)

Reviewers:

Katalin Mező (Ph.D)
University of Debrecen

Norbert Tóth (Ph.D)
University of Debrecen

…and two other anonymous reviewers

Abstract

This text delves into the redefinition of the role of women among the Bukusu of Bungoma County in western Kenya from the year 1945 to 1923. The paper's main objective is to investigate the origin of the change of roles of women among the Bukusu people. The research holds the hypothesis that there is an origin for the prevailing transformations of roles of women among the Bukusu. It makes use of existing literature such as books, journals, articles, magazines, and newspapers, and existing observations. This research is significant in adding new knowledge to the anthropological studies of women with a particular focus on the Bukusu women of Bungoma County in Kenya. The research design employed in the article is historical methods with the utilization of books, journals, and research works as secondary sources that will back and complement the author's observations. The article establishes that changes in the roles of women in the Bukusu community emanate from missionary activities, colonialism especially the colonial cash crop economy, and political modernization in the region.

Keyword: Bukusu people, the role of women, Kenya

Diszcipline: Cultural Anthropology, Ethnography

---

[1] Damaris Simuli Werunga. Department of Ethnography, Faculty of Arts, University of Debrecen, Program of Ethnography and Cultural Anthropology, PhD School of History and Ethnography (Hungary), (Kenya). E-mail address: wdamarissimuli@gmail.com, ORCID ID: https://orcid.org/0009-0004-4043-9250

[2] Gábor Biczó (Prof., Ph.D.).Department of Social Sciences, Faculty of Education for Children and Special Educational Needs, University of Debrecen (Hungary). E-mail adress:biczo.gabor@ped.unideb.hu, ORCID ID: https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3797-3060

Absztakt:

A NŐK TÁRSADALMI SZEREPÉNEK ÚJRADEFINIÁLÁSA A NYUGAT-KENYAI BUNGO-MA MEGYE BUKUSU KÖZÖSSÉGÉBEN (1923-1945).

A tanulmány a nők szerepének újradefiniálását vizsgálja a nyugat-kenyai Bungoma megye, bukusui közösségének körében, 1923 és 1945 között. A kutatás során könyvek, folyóiratok, cikkek és újságok felhasználására került sor, valamint megfigyelésekre is támaszkodik. A tanulmány új ismeretekkel gazdagítja a nőkről szóló antropológiai tanulmányokat, különös tekintettel a kenyai Bungoma megye bukusui asszonyaira. Összességében megállapítható, hogy a bukusu közösségben a nők szerepében bekövetkezett változások a missziós tevékenységekből, a gyarmatosításból, különösen a gyarmati pénztermelő gazdaságból és a politikai modernizációból erednek a régióban.

Kulcsszó: Bukusu nép, a nők szerepe, Kenya

Diszciplína: Néprajz, kulturális antropológia,

Introduction

The Bukusu people, the second largest tribe of the Luhya ethnic community in Bungoma County in western Kenya, have been known in Kenya to have stringent cultural practices such as vigorous male circumcision, wife inheritance, polygyny, and funeral taboos, among others. However, there have been noticeable changes in the recent past in the decline in these cultural practices. Women's roles in the Bukusu community have undergone significant changes since the 19th century, with several social, economic, political, and cultural developments influencing these shifts. Women's roles are cultural constructions of the community; what women are socialized into are the communities' expectations of women. There are overarching trends that demonstrate the transformation of Bukusu women's roles, such as a historical perspective that looks through the lens of traditional roles. Such roles include childrearing, household responsibilities, and caregiving to the family and community. Bukusu women play roles as breadwinners, engaging in political activities and no longer staying at home; instead, they attend schools and take up professional jobs. They are also constantly changing gender norms through shifting attitudes and media representation due to their exposure to global information, ideas, and influential ideologies.

The once explicitly defined and practiced roles of Bukusu women have been experiencing a myriad of shifts. Women's roles have significantly transformed in globalized Kenya which is more exposed to the world in social, economic, political, and technological aspects.

Transformation in this effect denotes the change in the whole community or an individualized level. In addition, it requires a shift in mindset, skills, and desire to embrace the selected traditions and convictions involved in changing their position in the community. Bukusu women are breaking the glass ceiling by going far beyond Bukusu's fixed norms to adopt postmodern characteristics geared towards human diversity and multiplicity of perspectives. For example, more Bukusu women occupy public spaces like their male counterparts; they provide for and sustain their families. Feeling that they are no longer subjected to the traditional role of managing the welfare of the extended family and community, they are pre-occupied with nuclear family welfare and primarily children, from arranged marriages for Bukusu women to choosing their spouses.

Traditionally, Bukusu women belonged to the clan (Satai, Koyi and Mukangai, 2021). A Bukusu woman was required to be given instructions by her husband and any other communications from the clan members. The author recounts her late dad's quarrels with her mother when she would visit her parents or invite her relatives to their homes without her father's knowledge. He always said her mother bypassed his rule as the head of the family.

There are plenty of studies on women, especially with the establishment of the anthropology of women. The discipline has become diverse in the sense that women are no longer studied in isolation; rather, men, as their opposite counterparts, are studied concurrently. Even with that, anthropological scholarly works on Bukusu women have a dearth representation. Despite the peak in women's studies, works on Bukusu women are scarce and fragmented. When they exist, they are often studied alongside the general Bukusu community, if not the Luhya community at large. The traces of women in gender studies in Bukusu are rarely exclusive. The topic is significant in the current era, where the anthropology of women has attained diverse attention from intellectual scholars and activists. As an anthropologist, the author focuses on the social science concerned with unearthing the changes in women's roles.

The article begs to answer the question about the origin of the change in the societal role of a woman in the Bukusu community of Bungoma County in western Kenya. It aims to ascertain the origin of the transformation by holding an assumption that there are factors underpinning the position of a woman in the Bukusu community. It also brings the hitherto intricacies of Bukusu women's studies, focusing on their roles. It also seeks to redefine the societal role of Bukusu women of Bungoma County in western Kenya by taking a central interest in the origin of the changes in women's roles in the Bukusu community. It presents the inception of changes in women's roles, pointing out the factors that contributed to the changes in various African communities, tracing this from precolonial times of the missionaries, colonial times, independence, and globalized Africa. The discussions address the transitions of women's roles and views on the phenomena and the implications of the changes in contemporary communities with a theoretical overview that explores the empirical developments in the Bukusu community. This paper hopes to significantly contribute to the fast-growing anthropological women's studies in the not-so-delved Bukusu community. It has been emphasized that the seasons of life regarding women have not received adequate attention in many African cultures, particularly Kenya (Barasa, Akama, and Gutwa, 2023).

Research Method

The article assumes a systematic literature review where relevant texts related to the topic of discourse are consulted and critically examined. The texts reviewed are relevant to the deliberation on the roles of women in the Bukusu community. In addition, the author's observation complements the literature review. Thus, an autoethnography, a study of one's own culture has been applied through the revelation of the author's reflections on the natives' understanding of the changes (Adams, Jones, and Ellis, 2015). In this autoethnography, narrations by the author about her observations on the natives the past and present convey the findings.

The article describes the textual unobservable as well as observable contextual understanding of the traditional roles of Bukusu women and their corresponding changes over time. In so doing, different models of women's roles as a culture have been applied -cultural relativism-, to understand the Bukusu community as a unique culture in its context. Different kinds of literature and observations evoke divergent perceptions of the change

of roles of women. This combination of literature and observation enables cognizance of the numerous components of society including economic, political, and social systems that underpin the roles of women and their current manifestations.

The basic approach to cultural anthropology is identifying the problem and choosing the field site (Bonvillain, 2010). In this regard, the geographic focus is Bungoma County, formerly Bungoma District, a town in the former western region of Kenya, near the Kenya-Uganda border. It is the headquarters of Kenya's Bungoma County. The specific spots include Kimilili, Kanduyi, Kabuchai, and Sirisia sub-counties which are predominantly Bukusu-inhabited.

Figure 1. The map below exhibits the geographical spot of Bungoma County in Kenya. The map of Kenya is indicated on the map of Africa and subsequent depiction of the geographical spot of Bungoma County in Kenya.

This paper relies on related literature and emic observations about the Bukusu community. Tracing lineage in the Bukusu community, the researcher deliberates on her understanding of women in Bukusu. More data emanates from random observations of several Bukusu women talking about their feelings, attitudes, and perceptions with the author.

Textual and content analysis has been applied in this text owing to its reliance on observation and textual materials. Texts have been subjected to critical analysis to ascertain their applicability. Secondary data of the literature has also been backed with observable data.

Literature Study, Observation, and Interpretation

This section of the paper contains a review of the related literature and the author's observation of the community on the topic from a general perspective in Africa to the specific case of the Bukusu community in Kenya. Christianity, colonialism, wars, modernization, and independence have acted as catalysts for the shifts. Before delving into the sequence of women's role changes, discussing the initial and almost fixed gender roles of women is crucial in this undertaking. It lays the fundamental basis for understanding the past before transiting into the interplays of the activities that shaped the roles that are continuously changing to date.

Overview of Change in Roles in Some Women in African Communities

Women played critical roles in pre-colonial Africa. They were active drivers of social cohesion, decision-makers in homes, and stakeholders in economic resources from land to food (Saungweme, 2021). For instance, the Yoruba of Nigeria were active long-distance traders. However, colonialism brought new terms and policies and their cultural perception that influenced African tradetional social, economic, cultural, and religious roles. At the onset of colonialism, men's and women's roles were significantly changed. That marked the beginning of the transformations of present-day changes in African communities.

Change in society is prompted by diverse factors according to the study findings in Ethiopia and Uganda. It was established that the main drivers of norm changes by pointing out economic develop-

ment, political mobilization, law and policies, demographic change, urbanization and migration, conflict and displacement, education, and information (Marcus, 2015). Accordingly, factors informing changes in women's roles in the community are like those that informed the changes in the roles of Bukusu women.

A study on gender role changes in an African household establishes that women empowerment is growing in South African communities (Khosa-Nkatini, Buqa, and Machimana, 2023). Women are in executive positions that often require time away from home. The author adds that gone are the days when women were told they belonged to the kitchen. Women empowerment in Kenya has been observed in Kenyan communities as is the case in the Agikuyu community of central Kenya. Examining the Bukusu community gender roles through the lens of household management helps understand the practical aspects of the changes in women's roles and relate them to the factors that contribute to the changes in domestic roles.

Precolonial Traditional Roles of Bukusu Women

In the late 19th century before the arrival of the first missionaries in Kenya in 1844, Bukusu community culture was inherent in its members. Men and women executed roles in the community as the culture fixed them. One of the notable roles of women was to bear children in large numbers was a traditional desire and societal expectation of a woman. Most women have about 7 children as this was one of the qualities required for an ideal woman and wife for that matter (Plucknett, and Smith, 1989). Bearing many children was a role that women were required to play as children were seen as sources of labor for the family and community because farm activities such as planting, weeding, and harvesting were the duty of women and children (Precious, and Onyango, 2020). Children were

also believed to protect families and clans and ensure support for aging parents.

Bukusu women were active participants in various community positions, such as in the community's political, economic, and social practices. The article adopts a sequential discussion of women's roles in the Bukusu community and their transitive pattern. In the pre-colonial economy, Bukusu women played a critical role in the community's food production. They actively participated in planting crops, weeding, harvesting, food processing, preservation, and processing, preparation for sale, and cooking for consumption. This role was a considerable contribution to household resources. This implies that Bukusu women were active contributors to the community's economy through the sale of surplus food produce and individual household resources. They had an active role in economic growth and, thus, were depended on by the community and households for food security. For instance, women were in control of the agricultural produce of families and communities because women and children tilted farms to ensure food security (Nasimiyu,1984).

Other economic roles of Bukusu women particularly those who were beyond childbearing age included pottery. Women within the childbearing age bracket were restricted by Bukusu cultural taboos that considered them impure to practice an almost sacred associated practice (Simiyu, 1991). It is further noted that the art of pottery not only served subsistence needs such as water preservation and traditional liquor *"Chang'aa"* and *"Busaa"* but also led to the exchange of other goods with other Luhya and non-Luhya communities. They would trade their pots for goods such as fish, iron hoes, and ornaments in traditional markets. To further demonstrate the division of labor between men and women in the Bukusu community in pre-colonial Kenya, women practiced horticulture. While land clearing was done by men, women pre-

pared soils, planted, weeded, and harvested crops. They had the responsibility to take care of trees planted by men. This analogy could imply that the caretaking responsibility was vested in Bukusu women (Luyia, 2024).

Like their counterparts in other Luhya communities, Bukusu women had a salient responsibility in the traditional housebuilding among the Bukusu. While men prepared the thatching materials and did the roofing, women repaired walls and floors by flattening them with mad and cow dung (Muleka, and Okoth, 2022). However, this was different from other non-Luhya communities like Kikuyu where women thatched houses, a role that was and still is a taboo in the Bukusu Community where women are forbidden from climbing the roof of a house.

Christianity in Modernizing the Bukusu Women

Missionary activities in Africa, Kenya, and Bukusuland in Bungoma precede colonialism. The Friends African Mission, the Mill Hill Mission, the Church of God, and the Church Missionary Society (Anglican) were established in the western regions of Bungoma, Kakamega, and Busia between 1902 and 1906. Faced with numerous challenges such as resistance, illiteracy, diseases, and poverty, the missionaries introduced Mission schools and hospitals. By 2016, the missionary centers had mushroomed in Bungoma as will later be discussed in the successive paragraphs.

Due to high levels of poverty, women, children, and the poor in African communities became ardent followers of Christianity (Kasomo, 2010). They sought refuge and solace in the church's ideologies of equality. The majority of Bukusu men resented Christianity as it was disparaging the African traditional cultures, yet they were the custodians of the traditions. From the sociocultural phenomena preservations recorded tales, Bukusu men who rallied against Christianity joined the traditional religious sect such as the *Dini ya Musambwa*. Since majority of women and children were poor, they were easily converted to Christianity by being provided with monetary support, food, and clothing. The mentality that the church was rich attracted more Bukusu women. The majority of Bukusu women are Christians and are highly devoted to the Church and many have leadership positions. Sometimes this role of women in church does not settle well with Bukusu women who accuse their spouses of infidelity and family neglect. A bizarre occurrence ensued during her short sabbatical, the author's neighbor found church women congregants in his home and chased them away saying they had made her wife obstinate.

Missionaries paved the way for colonialism in that the introduction of Western was designed to "civilize and "uplift" African women by installing Western European ideologies (Adawo et al., 2011). A case in point is the advocation of the nuclear family model instead of the African traditional extended family model. With Western religion and culture, Africans were influenced to denounce their traditions as backward, primitive, and destructive (Segueda, 2015). Christianity led to the Bukusu community discarding some of their cultural practices, such as polygyny, which was initially a cultural prerogative of a Bukusu man to decide whether to marry more wives. More Bukusu women enrolled in schools, vocational institutions, and training colleges such as nursing and education; women were no longer confined to domestic duties as they worked away from home and increased their household income with their husbands, who also worked as professionals. The missionary ideals enlightened Bukusu women to shun the idea of their husbands marrying an extra wife. Thus, women gained a voice to change the tradition of Bukusu polygyny a traditional practice that was a source of prestige leadership, and wealth This position was well-pronounced by Christian women who believed in one-man-one-wife Christian

teachings. This also implies that divorce became a choice for Bukusu women who could not accept sharing a husband with co-wives. Bukusu women assumed an active role in declaring their position in marriage, unlike in the traditional setting, where husbands made decisions solely.

Further, education and empowerment of women and girls in various parts of Africa, as in Kenya and Bungoma in western Kenya, increased female literacy and skills. This led to African girls entering professions such as teaching, clerical, and nursing. Other literate women were employed in cities, establishing new female elites that were instrumental drivers of change. This has been confirmed that upon overcoming the Bukusu resistance, Christianity, mainly Catholicism and Protestantism in Bukusuland thrived in setting up churches, schools, technical colleges, clinics, and hospitals in places like Kibabii, Misikhu, Kimilili to name but a few which transformed the economy, and cultural changes of Bukusu people. The two denominations impacted the Bukusu people relatively in equal measure as their mission was not only to evangelize but also to modernize the Bukusu people (Wasike, Lilechi, and Moindi, 2021). The far-reaching effects of Christianity included early Bukusu women who worked as nurses in mission hospitals and teachers as the main skilled careers, sparking a shift in the perspective among Bukusu people who traditionally perceived women as homemakers.

Colonial Roles of Women in the Bukusu Community

The colonial period in Kenya from 1920 to 1964 saw significant roles among the Bukusu people of Bungoma County. Women who previously held custodianship of domestic roles such as being caretakers of children and properties in homesteads started active engagements in diverse roles both domestic and those hitherto culturally meant for men. For instance, women traditionally, Bukusu

men milked cattle however, this role is reversed in the contemporary Bukusuland, as women often do it (Wasike, Lilechi, and Moindi, 2021). This was perhaps inversed when men left home for urban-based jobs occasioning women to step into spaces of men in domestic responsibilities. Women were also forced to work extra on chores that children performed and were now going to school. With the trend of men's absence in homes, it can be posited that women's dependence on men started to gradually reduce and turn to self-reliance. Several reasons justify the increased responsibilities for Bukusu women during the colonial time in Kenya as will be examined in the subsequent discourses.

Unlike other Luhya communities such as the Wanga who collaborated, the Bukusu resisted British colonialism, especially during the construction of the Kenya-Uganda railway. Bukusu men went to fight the Britons on the slopes of Chetambe Hills in Bungoma West and Mt. Elgon in northern Bungoma. In the participation of the war, men left their homes under the care of women. Of lacking sophisticated weaponry, many Bukusu lost their lives as compared to women who for unknown reasons were only captured and later released as the war came to an end (Scully, 1974). These accounts are reflections of the destabilization of the community's traditional way of life. Women majority of war survivors became family and community breadwinners. In essence, women were rendered with more responsibilities in the homes and on farms.

Traditionally, it was the prerogative of Bukusu women to distribute and supply traditional foods harvested to the families and community at large. However, this role was reversed at the onset of cash crop farming was introduced along with modern farming methods and new markets by colonial masters. Men became sole custodians of cash crop farm produce and the sale of the surplus. This does not mean that cash crop farming stopped women from working on farms, rather Bukusu continued

to supply labor on cash crop plantations. In addition, cash crops did not abruptly stop traditional farming of food crops such as millet, sorghum, and cassava, as women continued with food crop farming, albeit on garden-like portions. It can be postulated that with the colonial introduction of the cash crop economy, Bukusu women's agricultural responsibilities involved a balance between working on both cash crops and food crops farms, therefore claiming that women's responsibilities increased on one hand and lost some entitlements on the other is sufficient.

Additionally, Africa's female farmers seemed to live analogous to woman-the-gatherer women's original and massive contribution to the productive economy (Di Leonardo,1991). Pointing out Engels' classic that women's relegated roles were due to the rise of private property and the state. This is especially evident because communal land ownership in Bukusuland did not stand the test of time. Women who had a rightful share of the operation on the land became the only providers of labor to the pieces of land. Men decided what should be planted and how much should be sold from the produce as they were registered landowners.

Change and Continuity of Roles of Bukusu Women in Colonial Kenya

With the advent of colonialism in Kenya, economic patterns changed from substance farming to a commercial economy with extensive farming of cash crops such as cotton, coffee, sisal, and tea for export. Bukusu women lost their cultural role during the introduction of cash crops in western Kenya and Bungoma District in the 1960s. The cash crop economy was a shift from the traditional economy where men and women alike had an equal share in the domestic sphere roles (Hepburn, 2023). These changes in economic production trickled the value of the economic role of women in the community and household. With the high demand for labor by the colonial masters, men

moved to cities and towns to work in production factories and farms, and women's roles and rules were doubled as they took up the roles of men to fend for families.to necessitate the availability of more land for commercial agriculture, the British introduced the Land Consolidation and Registration Plan (Swynnerton Plan) which gave land rights exclusively to men. From the author's observations in the villages and people's narratives, there are families whose husbands have never been home since they left to take up jobs in the towns. Wives are always fending for their families by themselves through small-scale farming on the pieces of land that they do not have exclusive rights to.

Bukusu women's roles in the colonial economy shifted and diversified into trading activities such as petty selling of farm produce, beer brewing, and poultry products. Women left alone with children and entire families to take care of resorted to all responsibilities initially played by men, such as herding animals and repairing granaries. Women ensured the total welfare of the entire household since husbands worked far away from home and occasionally visited families. These sentiments are evident in many families in rural and urban Bungoma County, which encounter a surge in women as the head of the household. From the preserved tales of the author's descendants in taped records, a peculiar trend in Lukhuna village of the Kimilili sub-county is women who constantly fend for their families despite having their husbands in formal employment. They do manual jobs and brew beer to get money to buy food for their families, including their husbands. The inclination of women's role as heads of households changed to the extent that even Bukusu men rarely participate in economic activities such as working on farms; instead, they act as supervisors.

Globalization on Bukusu Women

Globalization in anthropology denotes the intensification of global interconnectedness, insinuating

a world of movement and mixture, contact and linkages, and incessant cultural interaction and exchange (Inda, and Rosaldo, 2002). In addition to other factors that cause cultural dynamics, globalization too influences interconnections and subsequent changes. As is the case in Kenya, globalization entails the exposure of communities to global culture through mainly exposure to pervasive media culture. Media culture illustrates the conveyance of information and ideas to consumers through mass media such as through media outlets comprising television, radio, newspaper, and the internet (Browne, 2004). In this context, media and popular culture are instrumental in appealing to women around the world. For instance, the discourses on women's empowerment and the formation of women's movements have won a large section of women around the world.

Popular and mass culture plays an essential role in the construction of exclusive ideas on perceptions, gender relations, and masculinity and femininity (Tiwari, K. 2019). For instance, they influence the changing cultural perceptions in society about gender roles and stereotypes. As such, the two have blurred the boundaries between virtual and physical realities, creating new parameters in identity construction and fashion and the apparent realignment of gender identities. Touching on the contemporary as well as globalized country, the advances made in digitalized media, and movements propelled in popular culture, the article taps into the plausible influence of media culture on the Bukusu community's traditional cultures regarding the changing roles of women. Resonating with the ideals spread by media culture, Bukusu women practice westernized values fed by the media which appear to be at odds with the traditional values of Bukusu. A casual discussion with Bukusu men pointed out their dissatisfaction with the overexposure to media that influences them to negotiate their roles in the family such as babysitting, and cooking. They expressed concern over the waning tradition of women's active role in the domestic space.

From the author's observations, women in the contemporary Bukusu community are at liberty to choose from a variety of marriage options such as the traditional bride-wealth system, Christian marriage with or without bride-wealth, elopement, and single parenthood. Many of the Bukusu households are now headed by women due to the long-term male wage-labor migration. It has been observable that youthful marriages are negotiated between partners, and it is upon the couple to mutually agree on their type of marriage without family or relatives' interference. This trend overrides the traditional norm of parents' and clansmen's frontline involvement in arranged marriages for their daughters. It was established that upon reaching puberty, a Bukusu girl was expected to get married as the culture valued marriage. In this case, a woman had the responsibility to get married to perpetuate her lineage and bestow her social status as a woman in the community (Wandiba, 2003).

The author has often observed two neighbors selling the farm produce without involving their wives and claiming the produce came from their land, and they decide what to do with what comes out of it. This right was in retrospect vested in men when communal land ownership came to an end. While it is an option, land inheritance is minimally practiced due to the existing patrilineal land inheritance of the community and because the traditionally communally owned land is now under private ownership. The buying or selling of land is an individual affair hence, Bukusu women are now permitted to inherit land as it is in contemporary Kenya. Nonetheless, Bukusu women commonly acquire land through purchase.

In the current Bukusu community, a continuous shift in the economic and education of women is evident. Women's enlightenment through national and local forums has paced the rate at which women define their status in the community. An

umbrella of women groups around the country such as the National Council of Women of Kenya, Kenya Girl Guides, and Mother's Union gained momentum to push women to improve their livelihoods. This has been replicated in the villages where women have group formations *"chamas"* or rather unions in which they pull resources through table banking resulting in their economic elevations. This was also reiterated by the reports that *chama* women are now and community organizations that hitherto supported male leaders have changed the view on women as leaders (Kimeu, 2022). These are some of the enablers of their independence offering a reprieve for women who yearn for economic independence.

The Kenyan government has gradually expanded women's rights and opportunities in education, employment, and political participation. Kenya has signed on to various global agreements that promote women's emancipation (Kenyatta, 2023). Women's role in politics has been an essential discourse since the promulgation of the 2010 Constitution, which has seen increased women's representation in Kenyan politics. The competition between women against men in political contestations is almost at par. Bukusu women have taken active roles in national politics and government positions, such as heading ministries. At county levels and grassroots levels, women are taking leadership responsibilities a change that is gradually taking due to the underlying Bukusu cultural references. Reiterating the slow-paced change was the current Bungoma County Deputy Governor who during an interview with United Nations Women Africa (UNWA) asserted "In 2013, I wanted to become the Deputy governor but because of the cultural aspect, people in my community said it was not time to be given leadership". Her desire to be in leadership was realized in the 2022 Kenya general election when she was picked by Ken Lusaka, Bungoma County governor as his deputy. There has been additional representation of women in the

county assembly of Bungoma signifying a historical, cultural transformation of Bukusu women from domestic to public realms.

In this globalized world era, the Bukusu community's roles of women roles are shifting due to the emphasis placed on the nuclear family alienating the extended family. Women are no longer held responsible for the community's welfare. This has also seen a decrease in several childbirths per Bukusu woman. Women are responsible for the number of children they desire to bear without being bound by their husbands or the community's expectations (Stefano, Davis, and Corsane, 2014). In a friendly talk with Joseline, a Bukusu friend, she asserts that she is personally content with having only one child as she can only comfortably take care of one. Citing her personal choice to have one child, she notes that motherhood, wifely, and career responsibilities are too demanding. She further stresses that the increasing cost of living makes her choice more justifiable. Her perception points out the direct and indirect high cost of living to Bukusu women reduction in childbirths.

To date, it is uncommon to see a polygamous family despite the Kenyan government legalizing polygamy in 2014, a reversal of the colonial laws that had criminalized it (Stefano, Davis, and Corsane, 2014). When it happens, it leads to divorce, and separation as witnessed when a childhood neighbor separated from her husband when he married a second wife. Such occurrences were uncouth and only connoted the woman's disrespect not only to the husband but also to the entire relatives. With family and cultural influence on women fast declining, it depicts an aberration from the traditional Bukusu role of women to be deferential in marriage.

Conclusions

From the literature review carried out in this article, it can be deduced that as the world continuously undergoes social, economic, and political

changes, societies around the globe are significantly changing. African societies have assumed a fast pace in the transformations since their colonial time to date, which has had significant implications on cultures. These changes are enforced by the emancipation of women in societies worldwide. For this work, a comparative perspective has been undertaken based on specific institutions and communities in Africa and Kenya.

Likened to other Kenyan communities where the changing roles of the Gikuyu women and family structure are caused by dual-income families, education, religion, new economic opportunities and economic autonomy and attitude change towards de facto men inevitably make women family breadwinners (Ng'endo, 2002). The article establishes that various factors inform the changing Bukusu women's roles. The Bukusu women's roles are dynamic and not fixed as they were traditionally. Bukusu women are constantly shifting their positions in the community and society at large thereby redefining and reconstructing a new identity differrent from the Bukusu culture. They are entering new spaces away from domestic spaces, becoming empowered, and independent in decision-making. The Bukusu community is largely accommodative and compliant, enabling the changes to ensue.

The missionary activities in Bungoma had a significant influence on the role of women in the family and community at large. For instance, denouncing some cultural practices, such as the introduction of education, eventually led women into professional jobs away from the domestic sphere. Colonialism also serves as the origin of the changes in women's roles among the Bukusu. This was witnessed in the establishment of the colonial economy, whereby Bukusu men were recruited into commercial agriculture, and women were left preoccupied with roles initially carried out by men. Women's responsibility to take care of children and the general welfare of the community increased. With that, we can attest that changes in the culturally instituted roles of Bukusu women are traced back to colonial times and Christian missions in Kenya and Bungoma County.

Globalization has had far-reaching influence through movements such as media culture, spreading information and ideas, changing perceptions and attitudes of Bukusu women, and shifting their place in society. The stringent Bukusu cultural expectations of women do not tie them. There are emerging associations of women in the villages and towns, empowering women to redefine their roles in the community. Through such, the text unravels the conundrum that women in the Bukusu community are modernized and urbanized, and their roles are increasingly becoming negotiated and mediated. From the mentioned observations by the author, this article assists with the nuances of the community's interpretation and perceptions of women's role changes in the Bukusu community context. It demonstrates how Bukusu women's roles have been changing since pre-colonial times. From their roles being confined to being a wife through arranged marriage, childbearing, and nuclear and extended family welfare, to food production, and distribution, Bukusu women's roles have transformed into personal roles in choosing a spouse, decision to bear children, education, entering workforce and politics.

References

Adams, T. E., Holman, J., & Ellis, C. (2015). *Autoethnography*. Oxford University Press

Adawo, L., Gikonyo, L. W., Kudu, R. M., & Mutoro, O. (2011). History of feminism in Kenya. Kenya Group, Kenya.

Barasa, N. M., Akama, S. J., & Gutwa, O. P. (2023). *The Untold Folklore Stories of the Bukusu Women of Western Kenya: A Vanishing Cultural Heritage.* Utafiti Academic Press.

Bonvillain, N. (2010). *Cultural Anthropology*, 2nd edition. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Browne, R. B. (Ed.). (2004). *Popular culture studies across the curriculum: Essays for educators*. Mc-Farland

Di Leonardo, M. (1991). *Introduction: Gender, culture, and political economy: Feminist anthropology in historical perspective*. In Gender at the Crossroads of Knowledge, University of California Pres, California. DOI 10.1525/9780520910355-003

Hepburn, S. (2023). Women in Kenya. In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of African History*. DOI 10.1093/acrefore/9780190277734.013.1607

Inda, J. X., & Rosaldo, R. (Eds.) (2002). *The Anthropology of Globalization*: A Reader. (1 ed.) (Blackwell Readers in Anthropology). Blackwell Publishers. USA

Kenyatta, G. N. (2023). The Political Participation of Women in Kenya. *Journal of International Women's Studies*, *25*(2), 5.

Kasomo, D. (2010). The role of women in the church in Africa. *International Journal of Sociology and Anthropology*, 2(6), 126-139.

Khosa-Nkatini, H. P., Buqa, W., & Machimana, N. (2023). Gender role changes in African households: A challenge to theology and psychology. *In die Skriflig*, *57*(1), 1-7.

Kimeu, C. (2022). *Kenya elections bring a new wave of female leaders to the fore*. Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2022/aug/24/kenya-elections-bring-new-wave-of-female-leaders-to-the-fore

Kenyatta, G. N. (2023). The Political Participation of Women in Kenya. *Journal of International Women's Studies*, 25(2), 5.

Luyia (2024). Encyclopedia of World Cultures. Retrieved 01. 08, 2024 from Encyclopedia.com: https://www.encyclopedia.com/humanities/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/luyia

Marcus, R. (2015). *How do gender norms change?- Knowledge to action: Understanding*. Overseas Development Institute, London.

Mkutu, K., Gioto, V., & Mkutu, T. (2020). Masculinity and Intimate Partner Violence in Kenya: Hearing the Voice of Men. National Crime Research Centre, United States International University-Africa and REINVENT Programme, Masculinity and Intimate Partner Violence 2020

Muleka, M. A., & Okoth, P. G. (2022). The Salient Socio-Agentive Position of Women in the Traditional African Society: A Case of Abaluhya Women of Western Kenya. *The International Journal of Humanities & Social Studies*, 10 (9). 11-18. DOI 10.24940/ theijhss/ 2022/v10/i 9/ HS2209-004

Nasimiyu, R. K. (1984). *The Participation of Women in the Political-Economy of Kenya: a Case Study of Bukusu Women in Bungoma District, 1902-1960* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Nairobi).

Ng'endo, P. (2002). *Changing roles of the Gikuyu women and their implications for the family*. University, Nairobi.

Plucknett, D. L., & Smith, N. J. (1989). *Kenya - The role of women in economic development (English)*. A World Bank country studyWashington, D.C.: World Bank Group. http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/818631468752379876/Kenya-The-role-of-women-in-economic-development

Precious, W. J., & Onyango, G. (2020). Masculine Justification of Polygamy Among the Bukusuof Bungoma County Kenya. *International Journal of Academic Research in Business and Social Sciences*,10(6), 804–812. DOI:10.6007/IJARBSS/v10-i6/7375

Satia M., W., Koyi S., and Mukangai D. M. (2021). Effects of Colonialism on the Bukusu Culture. Bungoma County of Kenya between 1900 and 1970. *Research Article*, 2 (2). DOI 10.47310/Hjel.2021.v02i02.009

Saungweme, F. (2021). A Critique of Africa's Post-Colonial Freedoms Through a Feminist Lens: Challenging Patriarchy and Assessing the Gains. *Perspectives Africa, (1)*, 7-12.

Segueda, W. E. (2015). Imported religions, colonialism, and the situation of women in Africa. *Schriftenreihe Junges Afrikazentrum 3*.

Scully, R. T. K. (1974). Two Accounts of the Chetambe War of 1895. *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, *7*(3), 480–492. DOI 10.2307/217255

Simiyu, V. G. (1991). The emergence of a sub-nation: A history of Babukusu to 1990. *Trans-African Journal of History*, 125-144.

Stefano, M. L., Davis, P., & Corsane, G. (Eds.). (2014). *Safeguarding intangible cultural heritage* (Vol.8). Boydell & Brewer Ltd.

Tiwari, K. (Ed.). (2019). *Gender and Popular Culture: Identity Constructions and Representations*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Wasike, O. R., Lilechi, M. C., & Moindi, K. M. (2021). Challenges Faced by the Missionaries: A Case Study of Mill Hill Missionaries at Kibabii Catholic Mission, Kenya 1903 to 1970. *International Journal of Science and Research*, 10 (9), 364-374. DOI 10.21275/SR21902110120

Wandibba, S. (2003). Kenyan cultures and our values. *Wajibu*, *19*(1), 3-5.

KONFERENCIA/CONFERENCE

IX. KÜLÖNLEGES BÁNÁSMÓD NEMZETKÖZI INTERDISZCIPLINÁRIS KONFERENCIA PROGRAMJA

PROGRAM OF THE 9TH 'SPECIAL TREATMENT' INTERNATIONAL INTERDISCIPLINARY CONFERENCE

IX. KÜLÖNLEGES BÁNÁSMÓD NEMZETKÖZI INTERDISZCIPLINÁRIS KONFERENCIA
9TH 'SPECIAL TREATMENT' INTERNATIONAL INTERDISCIPLINARY CONFERENCE

A rendezvény időpontja/date of the conference:
2024.04.12. /12.04.2024

A konferencia helyszíne /	**Conference venue:**
Debreceni Egyetem	**University of Debrecen**
Gyermeknevelési és Gyógypedagógiai Kar	**Faculty of Education for Children and Special Educational Needs,**
4032, Hajdúböszörmény (Magyarország)	**4032, Hajdúböszörmény (Hungary)**
Désány u. 1-9.	**Désány str, 1-9.**

A konferencia támogatója:
Magyar Tudományos Akadémia
Pedagógiai Bizottságának Gyógypedagógiai Albizottsága

Supporter of the conference:
Hungarian Academy of Sciences
Committee of Pedagogy Special Education Subcommittee

A konferencia szervezője/
Organiser of the conference:
Debreceni Egyetem Gyermeknevelési és
Gyógypedagógiai Kar
The Faculty of Education for Children and Special
Educational Needs of the University of Debrecen

és a /and

Különleges Bánásmód Interdiszciplináris Folyóirat
Szerkesztősége
The Editorial Board of the Journal of Különleges
Bánásmód [Special Treatment]

PROGRAM

PLENÁRIS ELŐADÁSOK /PLENARY SECTION	
Helyszín: Konferencia terem/Conference Auditorium D002	
10.00-10.10	**Megnyitó ünnepség** Közreműködők: Mező Katalin (PhD) és Tóth Norbert (PhD) DE GYGYK valamint a DE GYGYK gyógypedagógia szakos hallgatói **Opening ceremony** Contributors: Katalin Mező (PhD) and Norbert Tóth (PhD) DE GYGYK and students of DE GYGYK

10.10-10.20	A konferencia résztvevőinek köszöntése Biczó Gábor (PhD, Prof) A DE GYGYK tudományos dékánhelyettese, tanszékvezető egyetemi tanára Welcoming the participants of the conference Gábor Biczó (PhD, Prof) Deputy Academic Dean of DE GYGYK, Head of Department University Professor
10.20-10.30	A konferencia résztvevőinek köszöntése Kiss Attila Hajdúböszörmény város polgármestere Welcoming the participants of the conference Attila Kiss Mayor of the Hajdúböszörmény City
10.30-10.40	A konferencia résztvevőinek köszöntése Mező Ferenc (PhD) A Különleges Bámásmód Interdiszciplináris Folyóirat főszerkesztője EKKE, egyetemi docense Welcoming the participants of the conference Ferenc Mező (PhD) Editor-in-Chief of the Interdisciplinary Journal of 'Special Treatment' Associate Professor, EKKE
10.40-11.30	Plenáris elődás **A különleges bánásmód gyógypedagógiai pszichológiai megközelítésben** Előadó: Bolla Veronika (PhD) Az ELTE Bárczi Gusztáv Gyógypedagógiai Karának egyetemi docense Plenary lecture **The Special Treatment in the Aspect of the Psychology of Special Education** Lecturer: Veronika Bolla (PhD) Associate Professor at the Faculty of Special Education, Bárczi Gusztáv ELTE
11.30-11.40	Meglepetés előadás Felkészítő: Árkosi Julianna (PhD) DE GYGYK adjunktus Surprise performance Prepared: Julianna Árkosi (PhD) DE GYGYK, assistant professor
11.40-11.50	A plenáris ülés zárása / Closing of the plenary session

11.50-12.30	Ebédszünet Kísérő programok: kiállítás megtekintése a Parafa Gallérián A DE GYGYK bejárása Lunch break Accompanying activities: Exhibition at the Cork Gallery Tour of the DE GYGYK

<table>
<tr><td colspan="2" align="center">SZEKCIÓ ÜLÉSEK/SECTION
ELSŐ SÁV/ FIRST ZONE: 12.30-13.45</td></tr>
</table>

1. szekció

**Konduktív pedagógiai és speciális mozgásfejlesztési eljárások
a sajátos nevelési igényű gyermekek/tanulók ellátásban**

Szekcióvezető:
Mező Katalin (PhD)
DE GYGYK, főiskolai docens
Helyszín: 13. terem/Room 13. C107

12.30-12.45	***Nézetek a konduktori szakértelemről*** Túri Ibolya (PhD) Semmelweis Egyetem Pető András Kar, főiskolai docens
12.45-13.00	***Konduktorok szerepe az inkluzív nevelés előkészítésében*** Zsebe Andrea (PhD) Semmelweis Egyetem Pető András Kar dékán, főiskolai tanár és Mátyásiné Kiss Ágnes Semmelweis Egyetem Pető András Kar, igazgató és Hodász Kata Semmelweis Egyetem Pető András Kar, tanársegéd
13.00-13.15	***A gerincdeformitások megjelenése és megelőzésének módszerei*** Müller Anetta (Prof., PhD) Debreceni Egyetem, Gazdaságtudományi Kar, Sportgazdaság és menedzsment Intézet, egyetemi tanár
13.15-13.30	***Mozgássérült személyek gépjárművezetési tapasztalatai az érintettek és az oktatók szemszögéből*** Oravecz Adrienn (PhD) Semmelweis Egyetem Szaknyelvi Intézet, tudományos munkatárs
13.30-13.45	***Autizmus spektrumzavarral élő gyerekek mozgásfejlesztésének módszerei*** Müller Anetta (Prof., PhD) Debreceni Egyetem, Gazdaságtudományi Kar, Sportgazdaság és menedzsment Intézet, egyetemi tanár

Section 2
Education and Care of Children/Students with Special Educational Needs
English Language Section

Section Leader:
Magdolna Nemes (PhD)
University of Debrecen
Faculty of Education for Children and Special Educational Needs, college associate professor
Helyszín: Emeleti előadó/ Upstairs Auditorium   A114

12.30-12.45	***Early childhood Education for Children with Special Needs: Dilemmas and Challenges*** Gabriella Kállai (PhD) ELTE Bárczi Gusztáv Faculty of Special Needs Education, senior lecturer (Hungary)
12.45-13.00	***Preschool Teachers' Attitudes and Preparation in the Implementation of Inclusive Education*** Lii Lilleoja (PhD) Tallinn University (Estonia), lecturer & Helin Puksand (PhD) Tallinn University (Estonia), associate professor
13.00-13.15	***School-Based Innovative Practices in Specific Learning Disabilities: STICORDI Model*** Mustafa Yunus Eryaman (Prof., PhD) Çanakkale Onsekiz March University, Education Faculty, Primary Education Department, professor (Türkiye) Sinan Kalkan (PhD) Çanakkale Onsekiz March University, Education Faculty, Department of Special Education, assistant associate professor (Türkiye) Yahya Han Erbaş (PhD) Çanakkale Onsekiz March University, Education Faculty, Department of Educational Sciences, associate professor (Türkiye) Levent Çetinkaya (PhD) Çanakkale Onsekiz March University, Education Faculty, Department of Educational Technology, associate professor (Türkiye)

13.15-13.30	***Teachers' Perceptions Regarding the Integration of Digital Learning for Autism Spectrum Disorders (Asd) Students in Inclusive Classrooms***
	Nor Amalina Binti Rusli (Drs.)
	Doctoral School of Human Sciences, University of Debrecen, Hungary, (Malaysia)
13.30-13.45	***Innovative Methods of Teaching Languages to Learners with a Specific Learning Difficulty***
	Nemes Magdolna (PhD)
	DE GYGYK, college associate professor (Hungary)

3. szekció
A nevelés társadalmi és nevelés-tudományi megközelítései I.

Szekcióvezető:
Bocsi Veronika (PhD, habil)
DE GYGYK, egyetemi docens
Helyszín: 19 terem/Room 19.   C208

12.30-12.45	***Az óvodáskorú gyermekek ellenálló képességének előmozdítása: Egy akciókutatási program eredményei*** Erdei Róbert (PhD) Miskolci Egyetem, BTK Tanárképző Intézet, egyetemi docens
12.45-13.00	***Kognitív kompetenciák felmérése hátrányos helyzetű óvodások körében Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, Hajdú-Bihar és Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg megyében*** Szerepi Sándor (PhD) DE GYGYK, egyetemi docens
13.00-13.15	***A társadalmi háttérváltozók szerepe az iskolaválasztásban*** Inántsy Pap Ágnes (PhD) Szent Atanáz Görögkatolikus Hittudományi Főiskola, főiskolai docens
13.15-13.30	***A Magyar Ifjúság 2020 adatbázisának másodelemzése: középiskolások idegennyelv-használatának vizsgálata*** Markovics Katalin (Drs) Debreceni Egyetem, HTDI Neveléstudományi Doktori Program
13.30-13.45	***Az olvasás gyakoriságát alakító tényezők ifjúsági mintában*** Bocsi Veronika (PhD, habil.) DE GYGYK, egyetemi docens

4. szekció

A képességek és készségek fejlesztésének korszerű útjai

Szekcióvezető:

Mező Ferenc (PhD)

A Különleges Bánásmód Interdiszciplináris Folyóirat főszerkesztője. egyetemi docens

Helyszín: 7. terem/Room 7.   A027

12.30-12.45	**„Zsonglőrködés a hatékony tanuláshoz" - új készségek elsajátítását ösztönző módszerek az Óbudai Egyetem fakultatív képzésén** Prokai Piroska Óbudai Egyetem, Rejtő Sándor Könnyűipari és Környezetmérnöki Kar, mestertanár és Pál-László Bendegúz Magyar Zsonglőr Egyesület, zsonglőr
12.45-13.00	**A társasjátékok előnyei a szociális készségek fejlesztésében és a közös-ségépítésben** Juhász Orchidea (PhD) Közösségi Szolgálati Iroda (KÖSZI), irodavezető, Miskolci Egyetem
13.00-13.15	**„Nagy lépés kis cipőben" - avagy minden az Ovi-Sportról, amit eddig tudunk** Rábai Dávid (PhD) DE GYGYK, adjunktus
13.15-13.30	**Kreatív részképességek: a flexibilitás szerepe a kreativitásban** Mező Ferenc (PhD) Eszterházy Károly Katolikus Egyetem, Eger, egyetemi docens Mező Katalin (PhD) DE GYGYK, főiskolai docens
13.30-13.45	**Kreatív részképességek: az originalitás szerepe a kreativitásban** Mező Katalin (PhD) DE GYGYK, főiskolai docens Mező Ferenc (PhD) Eszterházy Károly Katolikus Egyetem, Eger, egyetemi docens

Section 5
Cultural Diversity, Cultural Knowledge I.
- English Language Section

Section Leader:
Norbert Tóth (PhD)
DE GYGYK, assistant lecturer
Helyszín: Földszinti előadó/ Ground Floor Auditorium   A029

12.30-12.45	***Assimilation and Acculturation processes in the study of inter-ethnic marriages*** Nazira Nurkozhakyzy Abdinassir (Drs.) Doctoral School of History and Ethnology Ethnography and Cultural Anthropology Program, University of Debrecen, Hungary (Kazakhstan)
12.45-13.00	***Redefining Women's Societal Roles among the Bukusu Community of Bungoma County in Western Kenya*** Damaris Simuli Werunga (Drs.) Doctoral School of History and Ethnology Ethnography and Cultural Anthropology Program, University of Debrecen, Hungary (Kenya)
13.00-13.15	***Mythological Creature "Vampire" in the Cinematography of South Slavic Countries: Vampire in Films "Leptirica" and "Holy Place" - Folkloric Juxtaposition*** Milena Medojevic (Drs.) Department of Ethnography, Faculty of Arts, University of Debrecen, Program of Ethnography and Cultural Anthropology, PhD School of History and Ethnography, Hungary (Montenegro)
13.15-13.30	***Lent and Easter in the Philippines: Catholic religious practices in the discourse of gender performativity*** Jose Antonio Lorenzo Tamayo (Drs.) Department of Ethnography, Faculty of Arts, University of Debrecen, Program of Ethnography and Cultural Anthropology, PhD School of History and Ethnography, Hungary (Philippine Islands)
13.30-13.45	***The Local Wisdom of Luang Islands: Hygeralai of History Aspect*** Efilina Kissiya (Drs.) Department of Ethnography, Faculty of Arts, University of Debrecen, Program of Ethnography and Cultural Anthropology, PhD School of History and Ethnography (Hungary), History Education Study Program, Faculty Teacher Training and Education Science-Pattimura University (Indonesia) & Gabor Biczo (Prof., Dr.) DE GYGYK, főiskolai tanár

6. szekció
A nevelés múltja és jelene a társadalmi hatások függvényében

Szekcióvezető:
Pornói Imre (PhD)
DE GYGYK, főiskolai tanár

Helyszín: 6. terem/ Room 6.   A026

12.30-12.45	***A higiéniáról szóló diskurzus a néptanítók szerepvállalása vonatkozásában a Néptanítók Lapjában a Klebelsberg-korszak első éveiben*** Frank Tamás (PhD) Semmelweis Egyetem Pető András Kar, Budapest, adjunktus
12.45-13.00	***A nehezen nevelhető gyermek problémájának elméleti és gyakorlati vonatkozásai a két világháború közötti Magyarországon*** Pornói Imre (PhD) DE GYGYK, főiskolai tanár
13.00-13.15	***Suicidal Crisis in the Face of Social and Vocational Reintegration / Öngyilkossági válság a társadalmi és szakmai reintegrációval szemben*** Anna Boguta The Pontifical University of John Paul II in Krakow (Poland)
13.15-13.30	***A játszóterek pedagógiai elemzése – egy paradigmaváltás tanulságai*** Fenyő Imre (PhD) DE GYGYK, egyetemi docens és Fekete Anna DE GYGYK hallgató
13.30-13.45	***Eredményességi és hatékonysági mutatók a pedagógiai szakszolgálatokban*** Tózsa-Rigóné Nagy Judit (PhD) Miskolci Tankerületi Központ, Miskolc, szakmai vezető, oktatáskutató
13.45-14.00	**SZÜNET/BREAK**

SZEKCIÓ ÜLÉSEK/ SECTION
MÁSODIK SÁV/SECOND ZONE: 14.00-15.15

7. szekció
A sajátos nevelési igényű gyermekekkel/tanulókkal kapcsolatos teoretikus és empirikus megközelítések

Szekcióvezető:
Pető Ildikó (PhD)
DE GYGYK, egyetemi docens
Helyszín: 13. terem/Room 13. C107

14.00-14.15	***A tanulási zavar azonosításának új lehetőségei – A valószínűségi változókra alapozott diagnosztika*** Vida Gergő (PhD) Soproni Egyetem Benedek Elek Pedagógiai Kar, egyetemi docens és Vigh Dajcs Bernadett Soproni Egyetem Benedek Elek Pedagógiai Kar, mesteroktató
14.15-14.30	***Diszlexiások képességmintázatának hatása az idegennyelv-tanítás négy alapkészségére*** Kovács-Csatári Annamária (PhD) DE GYGYK, óraadó
14.30-14.45	***Integrálunk? Integrálunk. Az egyéb pszichés fejlődési zavart mutató gyermekek integrációja- tapasztalatok egy kérdőív alapján*** Burom Katalin Eszterházy Károly Katolikus Egyetem Gyógypedagógiai Intézet, mesteroktató
14.45-15.00	***Mérsékelt intellektuális képességzavarral élő tanulók adaptív funkcionálási szintjének hatása a szülők szubjektív megterhelés érzetére*** Nagy Erika DE GYGYK mesteroktató
15.00-15.15	***Értelmileg akadályozott gyermekek étkezése*** Pető Ildikó (PhD) DE GYGYK, egyetemi docens

Section 8
Current Issues of Educational Science
- English Language Section

Section Leader:
Magdolna Nemes (PhD)
University of Debrecen
Faculty of Education for Children and Special Educational Needs, college associate professor
Helyszín: Emeleti előadó/ Upstairs auditorium   A114

14.00-14.15	**Supporting Students with Anxiety in their Studies** Tiiu Tammemäe (PhD) Tallinn University, School of Educational Sciences, associate professor (Estonia) & Hanna Allmäe Tallinn University (Estonia) & Eleriin Sild Tallinn University (Estonia)
14.15-14.30	**Participation in Sports Among Disadvantaged Slovak Children** Židek Péter (PaedDr.) Selye Janos University, Faculty of Education, assistant professor (Slovakia)
14.30-14.45	**The Theory of Multiple Intelligence and the Reggio Emilia Approach's effectiveness in International Institutions of Early Childhood Education in Dubai** Fatemeh Faroughi (Drs.) Doctoral School of Human Sciences, University of Debrecen, Hungary (Dubai)
14.45-15.00	**Pronoun-drop in Farsi: A Case Study of Bilingual Children Speakers** Hajian Foroozan (Drs.) University of Debrecen, Hungary
15.00-15.15	**Disability-stricken family** Anna Jędryka (MA, univeristy student) The Pontifical University of John Paul II in Krakow (Poland)

9. szekció
A nevelés társadalmi és neveléstudományi megközelítései II.

Szekcióvezető:
Bocsi Veronika (PhD, habil)
DE GYGYK, egyetemi docens
Helyszín: 19 terem/Room 19.   C208

14.00-14.15	***A szakiskolai lemorzsolódás jelenségének igazgatói perspektívái az Észak-magyarországi, Észak-alföldi és Nyugat-dunántúli régiókban*** Rétháti Csilla (Drs) DE GYGYK, tanársegéd
14.15-14.30	***Hallgatói kompetenciák fejlődése egy mentori ösztöndíjprogramban*** Ádám Anetta (PhD) Közösségi Szolgálati Iroda (KÖSZI), Miskolci Egyetem
14.30-14.45	***A külföldi hallgatók, mint különleges bánásmódot igénylő egyetemisták*** Dusa Ágnes Réka (PhD) Felsőoktatási Kutató és Fejlesztő Központ (CHERD), titkár és Dabney-Fekete Ilona Dóra (PhD) Debreceni Egyetem, Bölcsészettudományi Kar, Nevelés- és Művelődéstudományi Intézet, adjunktus
14.45-15.00	***Nem produktív vagy „szuper crip"? – Fogyatékossággal élő személyek az emberi erőforrás menedzsment akadémiai diskurzusában Magyarországon*** Svastics Carmen (PhD) Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Bárczi Gusztáv Gyógypedagógiai Kar, egyetemi tanársegéd
15.00-15.15	***A szenzoriális színház szerepe a speciális nevelési területek színterén*** Dan Beáta Andrea Puscas Carla, Wagner Andrea, Demény-Gavallés Csenge, Oláh Andrea Bonitas Speciális Oktatási Központ, Nagyvárad (Románia) és Árkosi Julianna (PhD) DE GYGYK, adjunktus

10. szekció
Állatasszisztáció a pedagógiában I.

Szekcióvezető:
Lovas Kiss Antal (PhD, habil)
Debreceni Egyetem, egyetemi docens
Helyszín: 4.terem/Room 4. C102

14.00-14.15	***Az egyetemista érzékenyítő kutya alkalmazásának lehetőségei a Debreceni Egyetem Gyermeknevelési és Gyógypedagógiai Karán*** Lovas Kiss Antal (PhD, habil) DE GYGYK, egyetemi docens
14.15-14.30	***Az állatasszitált terápiák az autizmussal élő gyermekek terápiájában – egy szisztematikus irodalmi áttekintés eredményei a gyógypedagógus képzés fókuszából*** Vigh-Dajcs Bernadett Soproni Egyetem, Benedek Elek Pedagógiai Kar, mesteroktató és Vida Gergő (PhD) Soproni Egyetem, Benedek Elek Pedagógiai Kar, egyetemi docens
14.30-14.45	***Terápiás kutya a tanítási órán*** Bundáné Takács Brigitta Szent József Óvoda, Általános Iskola, Gimnázium és Kollégium, pedagógus
14.45-15.00	***Az állatasszitált terápiák az autizmussal élő gyermekek terápiájában – egy szisztematikus irodalmi áttekintés eredményei a gyógypedagógus képzés fókuszából*** Pálinkás Réka (Drs) és Müller Anetta (Prof.,PhD) DE GTK, egyetemi tanár
15.00-15.15	***Az óvodapedagógus szerepe az állatasszisztált pedagógiai tevékenységben*** Balogh Beáta DEGYGYK Gyakorló Óvoda, intézményvezető

Section 11
Cultural Diversity, Cultural Knowledge II.
– English Language Section

Section Leader:
Norbert Tóth (PhD)
DE GYGYK, assistant lecturer
Helyszín: Földszinti előadó/ Ground Floor Auditorium   A029

14.00-14.15	***Intersectionality as a Theoretical Framework to Study Migrant Workers*** Tran Manh Kha (Drs) Doctoral School of History and Ethnology Ethnography and Cultural Anthropology Program, University of Debrecen, Hungary (Vietnam)
14.15-14.30	***Exploring the Efficacy of Student Community Service Program (KKN) in Higher Education Institution: A Case Study In Indonesia*** Hesti Miranda (Drs) Doctoral School of History and Ethnology Ethnography and Cultural Anthropology Program, University of Debrecen, Hungary (Indonesia)
14.30-14.45	***The Jinn – The Culprit of the Arabic World*** Kinga Nemeth (Drs) Doctoral School of History and Ethnology Ethnography and Cultural Anthropology Program, University of Debrecen, Hungary
14.45-15.00	***Ethical leadership in cross-culture*** Maram Hani Falah Alshawabkeh (Drs) Doctoral School of History and Ethnology Ethnography and Cultural Anthropology Program, University of Debrecen, Hungary (Jordan)
15.00-15.15	***Cultural Resistance and Collective Memory: The Impact of Nationalism of the Vargas Dictatorship on Hungarian Heritage in Jaraguá Do Sul – SC*** Fernanda Lucia Maes (Drs) Doctoral School of History and Ethnology Ethnography and Cultural Anthropology Program, University of Debrecen, Hungary (Brazil)

12. szekció
Zene – Pedagógia – Zenepedagógia

Szekcióvezető:
Tamásiné Dsupin Borbála (PhD)
DE GYGYK, főiskolai docens

Helyszín: 7. terem/Room 7.   A027

14.00-14.15	***Alternatív zenei irányzatok sokszínűségének elmélete*** Tamásiné Dsupin Borbála (PhD) DE GYGYK, főiskolai docens és Hovánszki Jánosné (PhD) DE GYGYK, ny. főiskolai tanár
14.15-14.30	***Alternatív zenei irányzatok sokszínűségének gyakorlata*** Hovánszki Jánosné (PhD) DE GYGYK, ny. főiskolai tanár és Tamásiné Dsupin Borbála (PhD) DE GYGYK, főiskolai docens
14.30-14.45	***Az adatokra épülő zeneterápia: a modell alkalmazása sajátos nevelési igényű gyermek fejlesztésében*** Árkosi Julianna (PhD) DE GYGYK, adjunktus
14.45-15.00	***Egy csepp az osztály hangok világában: esettanulmány*** Muntean Loredana (PhD) Nagyváradi Egyetem (Románia), egyetemi docens
15.00-15.15	***Itt a kosár, mi van benne?*** ***A népi gyermekjátékok komplex fejlesztő hatása interetnikus környezetben*** Juhász Erika Nyíregyházi Egyetem Zenei Intézet, mesteroktató
15.15-15.30	**SZÜNET/BREAK**

**SZEKCIÓ ÜLÉSEK/SECTION
HARMADIK SÁV/ THIRD ZONE: 15.30-16.30**

13. szekció
Állatasszisztáció a pedagógiában II.
Szekcióvezető:
Lovas Kiss Antal (PhD, habil)
Debreceni Egyetem, egyetemi docens
Helyszín: 4.terem/Room 4. C102

15.30-15.45	***SNI-s gyermekek mozgásának fejlesztése terápiás kutya segítségével*** Muntean Loredana (PhD) Nagyváradi Egyetem (Románia), egyetemi docens és Balogh Eva Zita Nagyvárad, Bonitas Speciális Oktatási Központ, pszichopedagógus
15.45-16.00	***Állatasszisztált tanítási órák - mesterprogramom és annak gyakorlati megvalósítása*** Zombor Márta Szent József Óvoda, Általános Iskola, Gimnázium és Kollégium, igazgatóhelyettes
16.00-16.15	***Állatasszisztált képzés helye a pedagógusok reziliencia fejlesztésében*** Mészárosné Gupcsó Tímea DE GYGYK, mesteroktató
16.15-16.30	Beszélgetés, a szekció zárása. A szekció résztvevőinek invitálása a konferencia záróülésére.

14. szekció
Irodalom – Művészet – Pedagógia
Szekcióvezető:
Bujdosóné Papp Andrea (PhD)
DE GYGYK, főiskolai docens
Helyszín: 19 terem/Room 19.   C208

15.30-15.45	***Az olvasás fejlődése alsó tagozaton – a literációs környezet hatása*** Elekes Györgyi (PhD), Apor Vilmos Katolikus Főiskola, főiskolai tanár és Sipos Zsóka (PhD), Apor Vilmos Katolikus Főiskola, főiskolai docens
15.45-16.00	***A beszéd grammatikai szerkesztettségének fejlesztési lehetőségei óvodás gyermekeknél*** Szabó Ágnes (PhD) DE GYGYK, főiskolai docens
16.00-16.15	***A rendszeres mesehallgatás és az óvodáskorú gyermek spontán anyanyelvi fejlődésének kapcsolata*** Egeresi Erika Szegedi Kis István Református Gimnázium, Technikum, Általános Iskola, Óvoda és Kollégium, pedagógus
16.15-16.30	***Előítélet és kora-gyermekkor – a mesék és a gyermekirodalom lehetséges szerepe*** Fenyő Imre (PhD) DE GYGYK, egyetemi docens és Sipos Viktória Ivett, hallgató
16.30	A szekció résztvevőinek invitálása a konferencia záróülésére.

15. szekció
A szociális gondoskodás aktuális kérdései

Szekcióvezető:
Túri-Galán Anita (PhD)
DE GYGYK, adjunktus
Helyszín: 6. terem/ Room 6.   A026

15.30-15.45	***A Támogatott Lakhatás jelentősége a sérült emberek önálló életvitelének megteremtésében*** Fucskó Mónika Nyíregyházi Egyetem Alkalmazott Humántudományok Intézete, tanársegéd
15.45-16.00	***The First Three Years of the Shool Social Work*** Szecskó János DE GYGYK, tanársegéd
16.00-16.15	***A gyermekszegénység alakulása a Kisteleki járás településein*** Laki Ildikó (PhD) Milton Friedman Egyetem, főiskolai docens és Kocsis Péter Csaba (PhD) DE GYGYK, adjunktus
16.15	A szekció résztvevőinek invitálása a konferencia záróülésére.

16. szekció
A digitális eszközök és a mesterséges intelligencia megjelenése a köznevelésben
Szekcióvezető:
Mező Ferenc (PhD)
A Különleges Bánásmód Interdiszciplináris Folyóirat főszerkesztője, egyetemi docens
Helyszín: 7. terem/ Room 7.   A027

15.30-15.45	***Digitális adminisztráció az óvodai tehetségtámogatás szolgálatában*** Szilágyi Barnabás (PhD) DE GYGYK, főiskolai docens
15.45-16.00	***Gyermekek a digitális világban*** Túri-Galán Anita (PhD) DE GYGYK, adjunktus és Sólyom Anna, hallgató
16.00-16.15	***Digitális egyenlőtlenségek a fogyatékossággal élők körében*** Túri-Galán Anita (PhD) DE GYGYK, adjunktus
16.15	A szekció résztvevőinek invitálása a konferencia záróülésére.

Section 17
Cultural Diversity, Cultural Knowledge III.
- English Language Section

Section Leader:
Norbert Tóth (PhD.)
DE GYGYK, assistant lecturer
Helyszín: Földszinti előadó/ Ground Floor Auditorium   A029

15.30-15.45	***Psychotherapeutic Journeys into the Spiritual World of Healing on the Wings of Gnawa Music: An Anthropological Study*** Meryem Madili (Drs) Doctoral School of History and Ethnology Ethnography and Cultural Anthropology Program, University of Debrecen, Hungary (Morocco)
15.45-16.00	***Floating "Home": The Chinese Diaspora and the Dynamics of Travel*** Liu Meng (Drs) Doctoral School of History and Ethnology Ethnography and Cultural Anthropology Program, University of Debrecen, Hungary (China)
16.00-16.15	***Causes and Consequences of Language Assimilation in Local Roma Communities*** Norbert, Tóth (PhD) DEGYGYK, assistant lecturer & Ibolya, Nagygyőriné Kerti DEGYGYK, master instructor
16.15-16.30	***Art brut as a space for constructing the meanings*** Elżbieta Lubińska-Kościóle (PhD) The Pontifical University of John Paul II in Krakow, Poland & Grzegorz Godawa (PhD, habil) The Pontifical University of John Paul II in Krakow, Poland
16.30	A szekció résztvevőinek invitálása a konferencia záróülésére.

18. szekció

A sport, mozgás szerepével kapcsolatos korszerű vizsgálatok

Szekcióvezető:

Müller Anetta (Prof., PhD)

Debreceni Egyetem, Gazdaságtudományi Kar, Sportgazdaság és Menedzsment Intézet, egyetemi tanár

Helyszín: 13. terem/Room 13. C107

15.30-15.45	***A fogyatékos és hátrányos helyzetű gyerekek nevelőinek sportpreferenciái és fogyasztói szokásai*** Laoues-Czimbalmos Nóra (PhD) DE GYGYK, adjunktus és Žídek Péter (PaedDr.) Selye Janos University, Faculity of Education, assistant professor (Slovakia) és Szerdahelyi Zoltán (PhD) DE GYGYK, adjunktus
15.45-16.00	***Az időskori fizikai aktivitás és az egészség kapcsolatának vizsgálata Hajdúböszörményben*** Szerdahelyi Zoltán (PhD) DE GYGYK, adjunktus és Laoues-Czimbalmos Nóra (PhD) DE GYGYK, adjunktus
16.00-16.15	***Sportolási szokások szerepe a munkahelyválasztásban*** Balogh Renátó (PhD) DE GTK, Sportgazdaság és menedzsment Intézet, adjunktus
16.15-16.30	***Integrating Mindfulness into Sport: Exploring Theory and Practice*** Lengyel Attila (PhD) DE GTK, adjunktus
16.30	A szekció résztvevőinek invitálása a konferencia záróülésére.
16.30-17.00	**A konferencia záróülése/ Closing ceremony of the conference** A szekcióvezetők rövid beszámolója a szekciókban zajlott eseményekről. Brief reports from the section chairs on the events of the sessions.

A konferenciára az előadók jelentkezése lezárult.

Amennyiben érdeklődőként szeretne részt venni a konferencián, várjuk szeretettel a jelentkezését.

Jelentkezési határidő:
Érdeklődő résztvevőknek: 2024. április 10.

Jelentkezés a konferenciára:

The registration of speakers for the conference is closed.

If you would like to participate in the conference as an interested party, we look forward to your application.

Application deadline:
To participate in the audience: 10. April 2024.

To register for the conference:

https://docs.google.com/forms/d/e/1FAIpQLSfaj3OuHkyU4wpBG8XLOqZYrK-iJ9NorNCZOdkLm9WO1Jgbqw/viewform?vc=0&c=0&w=1&flr=0

Üdvözlettel:
a konferencia szervezői

Yours sincerely:
The Conference Organizers