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A Study of Quadrilingualism and Language Shifts in Ukrainian Immigrant Communities in Japan

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1. Introduction

Sociolinguistic situation in Ukraine has been a complicated matter for several centuries during which most regions of Ukraine were under the Russian rule, which was characterized by systematic russification. Nowadays, even after 32 years since the independence, one of its most prominent characteristics of sociolinguistic landscape of Ukraine is a Ukrainian-Russian bilingualism. During the years of independence, the question of language policies in Ukraine was a major dividing point in political life of the country. Up until annexation of Crimea by Russia and conflict in Donbass in 2014, Ukraine was divided between predominantly Ukrainian-speaking pro-Western west and center regions, and predominantly Russian-speaking pro-Russian southern and eastern regions. Two parts of the country usually voted for confronting political powers, and corresponding powers often used the question of language policies as a major point of their political programs (Ruda, 2017).

However, this situation started changing after 2014, when people of Ukraine faced aggression from Russia, and many predominantly Russian-speaking people started to gradually change their language of everyday communication to Ukrainian.

After the full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine in 2022, the process of Ukrainization of Ukrainian society became significantly more rapid. Many people from predominantly Russian-speaking urban centers of Eastern and Southern Ukraine suffered from bombings, occupation, and multiple violations of human rights by Russian army, and using Ukrainian has become a token of support for Ukraine.

Many people moved to other countries, including Japan, as refugees, and faced other problems, such as need to adapt to new conditions of life and use other languages.

For example, most Ukrainians in Japan are expected not to speak Japanese, so they often must use English to communicate with Japanese authorities. Another factor that may be characteristic of sociolinguistic situation among Ukrainian refugees in Japan is that despite possible desire to fully switch to Ukrainian, we predict that many people may still need to use informational resources (for instance, articles and blog posts about life in Japan) written in Russian. In the end, in some cases Ukrainian refugees in Japan may

become quadrilingual in order to adapt to the life in Japan.

The goal of this language contact study is to research how the war and the immigration to Japan influenced choice of languages that Ukrainian refugees in Japan use in public and personal spheres of their lives, and how this affected their emotional attitudes towards different languages.

2. History of Ukrainian-Russian bilingualism in Ukraine

2.1.Ukrainian language and Russian influence until 1991

Roots of current sociolinguistic situation in Ukraine lie in historical processes that took place several years ago. After most parts of modern Ukraine were annexed by Russia in the second half of 17th century, the process of assimilation started, and during 18th century the written Old-Ukrainian language was steadily displaced by Russian in official settings (Masenko, 2010, 43)

In late 18th and early 19th century, the modern literary Ukrainian language starts to emerge on the basis of vernacular Ukrainian dialects of the time. This process occurred in regions with predominant Ukrainian population in both Russian Empire and Austro-Hungary, however, official regulations regarding the usage of Ukrainian were completely opposite in the two empires.

In 1867, Ukrainian obtained an official status in Austro-Hungary and started being broadly used in public institutions and later in schools (Tkach, 2000, 6).

However, in Russian Empire the very existence of Ukrainian as a language separate from Russian was denied by the central government. In 1863, an infamous decree called The Valuev Circular forbode all publications except for belles-lettres works in so called Little Russian (Ukrainian language) and stated that the Little Russian idiom is “nothing more than the same Russian language spoiled by Polish influence” (Masenko, 2010, 47).

After the creation of Soviet Union, the modern standard for Ukrainian was created in the 1920s, when Ukraine enjoyed a short period of Ukrainization and development of dictionaries, literature, and educational programs. However, the soviet government’s stance changed in the 1930s, when teaching in the Ukrainian language in secondary specialized and higher schools was gradually being reduced, the study of the Ukrainian language was stopped in all higher education institutions, except for the Ukrainian department of philology faculties of universities and pedagogical institutes; office administration in Ukrainian was discouraged, and the Ukrainian language was pushed out of the scientific sphere (Zhovtobryukh, 2007, 725)

After the death of Joseph Stalin, this process became milder, and in the 50-60s a lot was achieved in the sphere of Ukrainian studies. Next active stage of Russification began in the 80s, when Leonid Brezhnev, the general secretary of the communist party of the

Soviet Union pronounced the emergence of Soviet nation, a new historical society (Masenko, 2010, 52)

2.2.Ukrainian-Russian bilingualism in years of independence

As a result, after independence of Ukraine in 1991 many Ukrainians ended up being predominantly Russian speaking, especially in large industrial urban centers in the East and South. At the same time, positions of Ukrainian in the western part of the country were the strongest (Levchuk, 2020, 29).

According to the survey conducted by Masenko, in 2010, Ukrainian was a mother tongue for 91.6% respondents in Western Ukraine, 80.8% in Central Ukraine, 67.5% in Northern Ukraine, 29.5% in Southern Ukraine, and 25.8% in Eastern Ukraine (Masenko, 2010, 110).

Another characteristic of sociolinguistic situation in Ukraine is the existence of a mixed idiom consisting of Ukrainian and Russian elements, called *Surzhyk*, which emerges very easily due to the similarities between the two languages. Speakers of Ukrainian dialects or even Standard Ukrainian who move from countryside to large cities oftentimes have no other choice but to adapt to communication in Russian, which leads to emergence of Surzhyk (Masenko, 2010, 63)

2.3.Sociolinguistic situation in Ukraine before 2022

In 2014, after Ukrainians successfully overthrew pro-Russian government in the Revolution of Dignity, Russia annexed Crimea and inspired insurgency in two easternmost regions of Ukraine, Luhansk and Donetsk oblasts. Ukrainian authorities and activists made efforts to promote Ukrainian and reduce the influence of Russia, especially in the spehres of language policty and media.

However, as Matveyeva (Matveyeva, 2017) notes, these events did not have substantial influence on people's opinions regarding Ukrainian-Russian bilingualism. For example, 61.2% of respondents stated that their emotional attitude to Ukrainian did not change, and the emotional attitude to Russian did not change for 73.8% of respondents. As for the question if the two languages function differently in society, 61.1% of respondents believed that Russian continues to function in the Ukrainian society just as it did before. As for Ukrainian, 34.6% of respondents stated that it played bigger role in society, but 42.8% of respondents answered that nothing changed. However, there was a significant difference in opinions depending on generation. For instance, Matveyeva conducted another survey in March 2017 among students of several universities in Kyiv, and it showed that 72% of students believed that Ukrainian had become more prestigious

since 2013-2014 (Matveyeva, 2017, 55).

The bilingualism in Ukraine was also largely sustained because of prevalence of Russian in the media. A survey regarding the use of languages in media was conducted as a part of the "Ethnolinguistic Conflicts, Language Policies, and Contact Situations in post-soviet Ukraine and Russia" project (*Етнолінгвістичні конфлікти, мовні політики й контактні ситуації в пострадянських Україні і Росії*).

As it is stated in (Ruda, 2017), the investigation shows that mass media in Ukraine in 2017 (before the 2022 Russian invasion of Ukraine, but after the conflict in Donbass) in most cases used Ukrainian or Russian language, while media in other languages (like Hungarian, Crimean Tatar or Bulgarian) was only represented on local level.

According to the survey, 23.3% of respondents watched TV mostly in Ukrainian, 16.6% watched it in Russian, and 62.5% watched it in both languages equally. As for textual media, 27.7% of respondents read newspapers and magazines mostly in Ukrainian, but online content was read mostly in Ukrainian by only 13.5%. 24.2% of respondents read newspapers and magazines mostly in Russian, however, with online resources this percentage was as high as 26.2%. Most people stated they read content in two languages equally: 43.2% for printed materials and 44.5% for content on the Internet.

The results of the survey showed a significant divide between different regions when it comes to questions about people's emotional attitudes to possible Ukrainization or Russification of media in Ukraine. Responses to the question "What would think if tomorrow the majority of printed media and TV programs started to be published in Ukrainian?" were as such: 89.5% of respondents in the west, 74.2% in the center, 60.7% in the north, 43% in the east and 35.8% in the south would think of it positively. As for negative attitude to this possibility, only 2.7% of respondents in the west would be against total Ukrainization, while 45.9% of respondents in the south would oppose it.

The similar question of "What would think if tomorrow the majority of printed media and TV programs started to be published in Russian?" showed other interesting results. 83% of respondents in the west, 55.4% in the center and 55.2% in the north would think negatively of a possible Russification of media. On the other hand, respondents in the east were almost evenly divided into those who would oppose this (29.6%) and those who would think it is a positive thing (33.7%). As for the south, the number of those who would support Russification of media was almost twice as many as that of people who would oppose it. Another interesting result is that many people in the south (24.5) and east (32.6%) answered that they are indifferent to this possibility. (Ruda, 2017).

In other words, we may conclude that before the beginning of the full-scale invasion of Ukraine by Russia in 2022, the country was divided on the basis of language and emotional attitude towards the two languages, and no substantial changes to the emotional attitude occurred after the events of 2013 and 2014.

2.4.Changes in usage of Ukrainian and Russian after 2022

The beginning of the full-scale war initiated substantial changes in Ukrainian society. Aside from increase in trust in institutions and rise of patriotism, significant changes also occurred in sociolinguistic situation in Ukraine.

For instance, according to the survey by Info Sapiens (2023), in February 2022, 46% of respondents spoke Ukrainian more often, while 26% spoke predominantly Russian, and 27% spoke equally both Ukrainian and Russian. However, in January 2023, the number of people who more often speak Ukrainian increased to 62%, while the number of people who use Russian as their primary language of communication decreased to 13%. The number of people who use both languages equally also decreased to 22%.

According to the survey by Sociological Group "Rating", conducted on March 19, 2022 (almost one month after the beginning of the war), only 7% of respondents believed that Russian should become an official language in Ukraine, while before the war this number was significantly higher at 25%.

Another survey conducted at the end of 2022 by Kyiv International Sociology Institute showed that compared to data from 2017, the number of people who claimed Ukrainian to be their primary language increased by 8%, while the number of people who prefer Russian decreased by 11%. Significant changes were observed in relation to the attitude to Russian: while in 2014 only 9% considered Russian to be non-important, by the end of 2022 this percentage increased to striking 58%.

Thus, it is apparent that the struggle against Russian invasion inspired significant changes in sociolinguistic situation in Ukraine.

However, the situation in smaller communities of emigrants who also need to use languages other than Ukrainian and Russian, may look different, and this study is an attempt to study the situation in communities of Ukrainian refugees in Japan.

3. Research questions

1) **How did the Russian invasion of Ukraine in 2022 influenced frequency of usage of Ukrainian and Russian and emotional attitudes to both languages by Ukrainian refugees?**
2) **What do emigration to Japan and necessity to use or learn English and Japanese adds to personal experience of Ukrainian refugees in Japan?**

4. Methodology

To address researched questions above, we decided to conduct a survey in

communities of Ukrainian refugees in Japan. As a basis for the questionnaire, we decided to use questionnaires used by Levchuk in his book about trilingualism of Ukrainian migrants in Poland (Levchuk, 2020).

The questionnaire that we created consists of six parts.

The first part contains questions about respondents' personal information, including age, gender, place of birth, place of living before the war, level of education, and ethnic identity. As was shown in previous studies, the age and the place of birth or living of a respondent played a huge role in their choice of language and emotional attitude to the languages.

Next part of the questionnaire features questions about general frequency of usage of the four languages before and after 2022. The first four questions are about how respondents perceive their level of knowledge of each of the four languages. Next questions sound as follows: "How often did you use the X language before 2022?" and "How often do you use the X language now?", with following possible answers: never, very rarely, rarely, once a month, once a week, few times a week, every day.

The third part of the questionnaire features four questions related to respondents' emotional attitude to each language. In this section, respondents could choose several answers at once. The possible answers are as follows: 1. I gladly use/want to learn this language. 2. I can express myself the best with this language 3. My identity is related to this language 4. My loved ones speak this language 5. I can speak with many people in this language 6. It's convenient to use this language for searching things on the Internet 7. I like this language, but I don't feel the need to know/learn it 8. This is just a language of my everyday communication 9. I'm obliged to know/learn it 10. This is a language of rich culture and literature 11. I don't like this language.

The fourth part of questionnaire inquires about the prevalent language of communication before and after 2022 with their families and loved ones, such as parents, grandparents, children, partner/spouse, and friends.

The fifth part of questionnaire asks about the prevalent language of communication before and after 2022 in public sphere, such as: municipal offices, workplaces, educational facilities, for searching information on the Internet, and when watching/reading TV or newspapers.

We would like to note that the questionnaire does not feature a question about the native language of a respondent, because in the situation of bilingualism, this question may confuse people, and their answers might not reflect the actual situation. By asking questions about the language of communication with parents and grandparents we could figure out the native language in respondents' families and see any changes to functionally first and second languages.

5. Preliminary case-study

In this section, we provide analysis of one response to the questionnaire that was obtained at the preliminary stage to test our hypothesis.

The respondent is a woman in her 20s, who lives in Tokyo and who was born in Khmelnytskyi oblast, which is located in the western part of Ukraine. She evaluates her ability of Ukrainian as 5 (the highest rank on this scale), Russian as 4, English as 3, and Japanese as 2.

The first essential change can be observed in the next group of questions. While the frequency of use of Ukrainian was evaluated as "everyday" both before and after the beginning of the war, the frequency of use of Russian significantly changed: from "once a week" to "several times a year". The respondent uses English several times a week and did the same in pre-war times. The frequency of use of Japanese changed from "several times a week" to "everyday", which is natural as the respondent moved to Japan. Thus, we can see, that the respondent started to use Russian significantly less frequently than in pre-war times.

Replies in the section about emotional attitude to different languages perfectly illustrate possible reasons for this decrease. The results are in the following table 1.

Table 1 – Respondent's emotional attitude to languages

What do you feel about each language?	**Ukrainian**	**Russian**	**English**	**Japanese**
I gladly use/want to learn this language	☑		☑	☑
I can express myself the best with this language	☑			
My identity is related to this language	☑			
My loved ones speak this language	☑			☑
I can speak with many people in this language	☑		☑	
It's convenient for me to use this language for	☑		☑	

searching things on the Internet				
I like this language, but I don't feel the need to know/learn it				
This is just a language of my everyday communication				
I'm obliged to know/learn it				
This is a language of rich culture and literature	☑		☑	☑
I don't like this language		☑		

While the respondent associates Ukrainian with all positive items on this list, the only item she chose for Russian is "I don't like this language", which speaks for itself. It is worth noting that English is the language that the respondent uses to search information on Internet and to speak with many people, while Japanese is only used to speak with loved ones.

Replies in the section with questions about prevalent languages of communication shows no changes, for the respondent used Ukrainian with all possible groups of close people before the war, and so does now.

Replies in the section with questions about prevalent languages of communication in public sphere shows obvious changes due to the fact of emigration (e.g., the respondent used to use Ukrainian in administrative bodies, but now uses Japanese there; the respondent also uses English in education institutions now), however, there is one significant change important for our research: the respondent says that she used to search information on the Internet in Ukrainian, English, and Russian, depending on sphere and availability of information, but now uses Ukrainian, English, and Japanese for this.

Finally, in the open question about changes in emotional attitude to languages, the respondent says the following:

"I always liked to learn languages, and I always saw them as characteristics of different peoples, but after the full-scale invasion I felt very strong feeling for protection of my mother tongue and unpleasant feelings for the Russian language; and especially a

feel of guilt that I did not develop my mother tongue and did not use it as much as I should have."

Therefore, we can see that even if the respondent used the Ukrainian language very frequently before the full-scale invasion, after February 2022 she felt a necessity to use Ukrainian more and to protect it because it is her mother tongue. Also, the respondent felt strong distaste for the Russian language, which she used to use from time to time before the invasion.

6. Conclusion

After analyzing previous studies and data from surveys before and after the full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine, we may conclude that the wat had an immense effect on sociolinguistic situation in Ukraine. The situation of Ukrainian-Russian bilingualism in personal and public sphere, which continued since independence of Ukraine, started to slowly shift in favor of Ukrainian after 2014, however, the shift became significant only after the beginning of the war.

Also, the preliminary case-study that we conducted confirmed that our methodology is appropriate to study changes in frequency of using 4 languages and emotional attitude towards them in Ukrainian refugees in Japan. This case-study, despite severely lacking in data, confirmed some of our hypotheses, so we are planning to use the same methodology on a bigger data sample. It is especially important to analyze data from respondents from eastern and southern Ukraine who are likely to be native speakers of Russian, as it can give us many insights into the sociolinguistic shift that is happening now.

Finally, in the future we plan to improve questions about emotional attitude towards languages and collect more information about the effects of immigration on quadrilingualism in lives of Ukrainian refugees in Japan.

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Multiculturalism and Inbound International Students' Mobility in Japan

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Abstract

With globalisation, the number of students heading towards foreign countries for their higher studies has been increasing. As per UNESCO, the number of international students studying abroad at higher education level has exceeded four million over the last decade, which is almost double the number of students who were studying in a foreign country in 2000. Studying abroad opens new doors for students; there are a lot of advantages like better employment opportunities, academic excellence, intercultural exchange and exploration of new countries and many other personal gains (Rustemova et al., 2020). Moreover, it must be noted that international student mobility plays a very important role in making a host country multicultural. Being the third largest economy, Japan has also been attracting a large number of international students from different parts of the world. In this paper, we would like to examine the inbound international student mobility and its influence on multiculturalism in Japan. We will analyse the trend of inbound academic mobility of international students in Japan based on the secondary data and find whether or not it has been helping Japan to be a multicultural nation. According to the data gathered by the Institute for Statistics, there are approximately only 3% of the international students in Japan, as compared to other countries like the USA, the UK, France, Germany etc. We will thus investigate the challenges that Japan might face in terms of multiculturalism and what measures can be taken to increase multiculturalism in Japan through inbound academic mobility.

Key words

Multiculturalism in Japan, Assimilation and Integration, Inbound Academic Mobility, International Students in Japan, Internationalisation of Higher Education

Introduction

In the era of globalisation, the world is shrinking, and more and more people are migrating and leaving their home countries for a multitude of reasons. Student mobility is one of the most important forms of migration. According to Rustemova et al., (2020) studying abroad opens new doors for students and there are a lot of advantages like better employment opportunities, academic excellence, intercultural exchange and exploration

of new countries and many other personal gains. When they expatriate and go to a new country, they carry their experiences, culture(s) and languages with them. Thus, multiculturalism is an inevitable consequence of migration which has been spreading widely with an increasing number of migrants in the world. It is not something new either for Japan, rather it is an old age phenomenon in the land of the rising sun as well which is a "heterogeneous society". Many researchers contradicted, in fact criticised the fact that it has still been referred to as a "homogenous" and "immigrant-free" country (Tarumoto, 2003; Qi, and Zhang, 2008).

Although people from different countries with many cultures coexist in Japan, can we call this coexistence multiculturalism? That is what we are trying to figure out through this research paper. It is said that Japan has its own definition of multiculturalism (Lee and Olsen, 2015) and we will try to distinguish it from what generally it refers to in other social contexts. Our aim is also to investigate the correlation between inbound international students' mobility and multiculturalism in Japan.

In order to do that, first of all we will understand what multiculturalism means in Japan. The second part will focus more on the difference between assimilation and integration. In the third part, we will analyse the trend of inbound international academic mobility in Japan and how it is associated with multiculturalism in Japan. Finally, based on our analysis, we will conclude by providing a few suggestions regarding multiculturalism and international students' mobility in Japan.

Multiculturalism in Japan

Multiculturalism is not a new phenomenon to Japanese society, in fact, it became the topic of high interest during the late 1980s with the growing number of labour immigrants in Japan (Brannen, 2011; Papademetriou & Hamilton, 2000). However, there is a very common myth that Japan is a "homogenous country", this is mainly due to the idea "one nation, one ethnicity" which has caused the confusion that everyone is equal because everyone is Japanese (Tarumoto, 2003; Yamanaka, 1994). Whereas many researchers and academicians have been arguing that Japan is a multicultural society and shelters a lot of migrants. So, the first issue is the lack of acceptance of multiculturalism and second it differs from what it means in other societies during the era of globalisation. Tarumoto (2003) defined it as "internal multicultural logic." Therefore, Japanese interpretation of multiculturalism has a different notion, and we will try to present it in this section.

There have been a lot of misconceptions about multiculturalism in Japan and it has been interpreted differently. This is also due to the Japanese translation of the term

"multiculturalism" - "Tabunka kyousei" which literally means "the coexistence of multiple cultures" (Lee and Olsen, 2015). This Japanese expression does not emphasise the intercultural perspective. Therefore, it may be inferred that multiculturalism in Japan is majorly related to having diversity but not inclusion.

According to Lee and Olsen (2015), Japanese multiculturalism is more assimilative, rather than integrative which means that minorities need to assimilate to the Japanese culture rather than being integrated into the society. In order to better understand this, we first need to study the difference between assimilation and integration which are two of the strategies of acculturation (Berry, 2006).

Assimilation versus Integration

To better understand the multiculturalism in Japan, we must first figure out the distinction between assimilation and integration. Acculturation is defined by Lee and Olsen (2015) and other researchers as the "*society and group-level cultural changes that result from continuous contact between different cultural groups.*" Although assimilation and integration are strategies of acculturation, they have quite different meanings.

Assimilation means giving higher importance to the majority's culture and expecting the minority groups to assimilate in the dominant society by learning their culture and customs. It involves expecting migrants to seek conformity with the host society and its culture. On the other hand, integration, as its name suggests, refers to giving equal importance to both cultures and having mutual respect. As per this strategy of acculturation, majority and minority cultural groups adapt to each other and co-exist mutually.

We can thus say that in the former, the host country expects migrants to follow majority culture and learn their language. Talking about Japan, as per Qi and Zhang (2008), it is very common to "Japanise" foreign students by introducing Japanese culture and norms. Moreover, they even called this concept "anti-multiculturalism" as it does not promote multiculturalism in Japanese society. The idea of expecting foreigners to learn Japanese language to adjust easily in Japan has also been criticised by many academicians.

To satisfy the labour shortage, Kenshusei (company trainees) and Shugakusei (students) are also often expected to learn new skills and study the language to work in Japan (Tarumoto, 2003). Moreover, Japan's decreasing population and economic stagnation have also been considered as major causes to promote multiculturalism in the country (A. Nakamura, Nakamura, and Seike, 2004). However, Lee and Olsen (2015) mentioned that

Japan's efforts are not enough to make its society multicultural, and it needs to take more measures to make migrants feel integrated.

Therefore, integration celebrates diversity and multiculturalism, whereas assimilation means the absorption of minority cultures into the dominant one. These expressions have also been termed respectively as multiculturalism and melting pot. A minor group thus can not feel integrated and accepted until the majority accepts their differences and makes efforts to include migrants in the host society.

As students constitute a large section of migrants, it is necessary to analyse the trend of inbound student mobility in Japan and investigate from the perspective of multiculturalism. In the next section, we are going to first present the situation of international academic mobility in Japan and then find the reasons behind those figures.

Inbound Academic Mobility in Japan

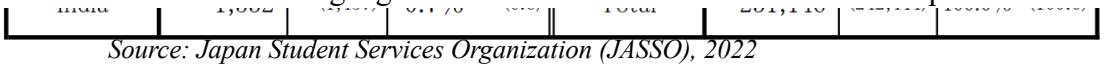
Thanks to globalisation, more and more students go abroad for their higher education. According to the data provided by UNESCO, the number of international students studying in foreign countries at higher education levels has exceeded four million over the last decade, which is almost double the number of students who were studying abroad in 2000. Japan has not been left untouched by this academic migration. Every year a lot of international students also come to Japan for their studies. As per the International Student Survey results conducted by the Japan Student Services Organization (JASSO) in 2022, Japan hosted 231,146 international students across various academic levels as of May 1, 2022. And this number was 181,741 at the higher education level. However, as we can see in the following graph, this number has been constantly declining since 2019 which could be due to the safety measures taken by the Japanese government.

Source: Japan Student Services Organization (JASSO), 2022

We may also observe that many international students study in Japan but according to the data gathered by the Institute for Statistics, there are approximately only 3% of the international students in Japan, as compared to other countries like the USA, the UK, France, Germany etc. Thus, based on these numbers, we may already say that Japan is not one of the most preferred destinations for higher education in the world currently. More research needs to be conducted to investigate why despite being the 3rd largest economy, Japan has not been attracting many international students like other countries.

Moreover, we must also observe where these students, who study in Japan generally come from and what motivates them to do so. In order to know the country wise figures, we

can see the graph below extracted from the report published by the Japan Student Services Organization (JASSO) in 2022. As per this report, most of the international students come from China, Vietnam, Nepal and Korea respectively. Most of the English-speaking countries consist of a very minor fraction of this inbound mobility which is a topic of concern. Is it due to the language barriers or lack of motivation to learn Japanese?



Source: Japan Student Services Organization (JASSO), 2022

Talking about initiatives to invite international students in Japan, one of the major programs "300,000 International Students Plan" was created by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) in 2008 (Nam and Cheng-Hai, 2021). Japan reached this number (312,214) in 2019, however, as discussed earlier there has been a plunge since 2019.

However, as per the education ministry of Japan, it is again trying to increase the number of international students to 300,000 by 2027. In order to do that, Japan must work on its policies and focus not only on increasing the number of international students but also make them feel included in the society.

Conclusion

Japan has been trying to promote multiculturalism by organising events with local municipalities and providing services like multilingual services and Japanese cultural support, but many researchers mentioned previously that these efforts are not sufficient. According to Yoko Demelius (2020) the *lack of clear definition and goals of multicultural coexistence generates obstacles in the attempt to build a multicultural society*. Seeing the declining population, more workforce is required to run the economy and in order to do that, attracting more international students can be one of the strategic measures.

Liang Morita (2017) spoke about the *Japanese exclusionary tendencies* which reduce its chances of attracting highly skilled migrants. They also mentioned the disbelief of foreigners, inequality between the Japanese and foreigners, influence of doing things the Japanese way and the difference between the work culture as some of the reasons, apart from language and culture barriers, for the lower rate of high-skilled workers in Japan.

Similarly, as per a survey conducted by the Japan Association for Promotion of Internationalisation, international students working for Japanese companies called their work experience unappealing due to the long work hours, difference between communication style and biassed treatment at work (Murai, 2015).

Therefore, just increasing the number of international students or migrants will not help

Japan to make it a multicultural country. It must look for techniques to make foreigners feel integrated, so that they would not have to assimilate to Japanese society by forgetting their roots. In conclusion, to convert co-existence into multiculturalism, more steps should be taken to have both diversity and inclusion. In that way, having more international students in Japan will be as beneficial as killing two birds with one stone which will not only help it to have more foreigners and workforce but also make it "truly" multicultural.

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A Re-examination of the Individual Construction Process of the Identity of the Koreans in Japan in Min-Jin Lee's Novel 'Pachinko' [1]

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Abstract: The novel 'Pachinko', penned by Korean-American writer Min-Jin Lee in 2017, is about the lives of Koreans in Japan through an English narrative. This paper mainly analyzes the individual construction of the identity of the main characters in the novel, with a particular focus on the protagonist, Baek Noa. The analysis covers three main aspects: the emergence of crisis, the confusion in identity pursuit, and the reconstruction of self-identity. Koreans residing in Japan find themselves in a liminal space, unable to return to their motherland and assimilate into the new environment. They are constantly struggling on the fringes of identity dissociation, all the while endeavoring to seek the social reality that mirrors their true identity. In addition, each stage of the protagonist's identity construction is far from a linear process. In each stage, there is a constant ebb and flow full of unforeseen twists and introspective moments for the protagonist. The identity construction process of Baek Noa in 'Pachinko' serves as a cognitive reflection of the author, Min-Jin Lee as a Korean in the United States. This implies that the construction of character identity in the novel's virtual world is closely related to the author's contemplation of identity and existential pondering of the value of life in objective reality. Novel creation is also the process of the author's separation and examination of his own identity.
Keywords: Pachinko, Koreans in Japan, identity construction, Min-jin Lee

1. Introduction

The novel 'Pachinko', penned by Korean-American writer Min-Jin Lee in 2017 through an English narrative, is about the lives of Koreans in Japan over four generations through the dual narrative threads of family memory and identity. The identities of different generations and individuals exhibit distinct characteristics. Since its publication, the novel has attracted academic attention, and scholars have analyzed aspects such as identity

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construction, narrative logic, and immigrant literary characteristics of the characters from different angles. However, relevant research has mostly focused on the internal plot or identity of the novel itself. The approach somewhat ignores the interactive relationship between the author and the novel. Put differently, Min-Jin Lee's projection and reflection in the novel also shape the characters. Novel creation serves as the author's examination of inquiry into self-identity. This article does not analyze the development of all the characters or events in the novel but compares the identity construction of two prominent characters, Baek Noa and Baek Solomon due to their distinctive identity construction process. The typicality and uniqueness presented in the novel, as well as the author Min-Jin Lee's projection of the self-identity or cognition of different characters in the novel, are imbued with their own set of characteristics.

2. Literature Review

The novel 'Pachinko', published by Korean-American writer Min-Jin Lee in 2017, was shortlisted for the National Book Award in the fiction category and achieved New York Times bestseller status. It was subsequently adapted into a TV series. The novel has also received widespread attention in academic circles. Yim Jinhee (2019) mainly focuses on the 'place' in the novel, focusing on how 'Pachinko' displays the place consciousness and emotional structure of Koreans in Japan within the context of modern Korean history. This analysis extends to the concept of transcending closed locality centered on national boundaries as well as the meaning and value of coexistence without boundaries. Kim Meeyong (2022) analyzes the survival strategies and identity recognition processes of different generations of Koreans in Japan, such as the hybridity of the first-generation immigrants, the 'taking care of the family' and 'children's education' of the first and second generations, as well as the second and third generation's understanding and consideration about pachinko and settlement and the aspirations of third-generation immigrant Baek Solomon, etc. The novel differs from the analysis of individual identity in general diasporic novels, integrating character identity recognition and construction into the narrative while resisting closed nationalism and racist discrimination. Jang Yongwoo (2022) mainly analyzes the novel from three main aspects: 'A foreign land: adventure for a new life', 'Moving: getting rid of the curse', and 'Fixing: a stranger with nowhere to go', delving deeper into the identity of Koreans in Japan as 'eternal strangers.'

Research on the novel has also been carried out in China. For instance, Yu Hong (2022) analyzed the narrative logic, positing two main narrative lines: a family memory narrative, and an identity narrative, which connects the lives of four generations of Korean families in Japan. In particular, the identity narrative interweaves with the grand historical background, with identity comparison adopted to deeply narrate the protagonist's identity

dilemma and crisis-driven choice under the dual pressure of history and society. Wang Xiaowei and Wang Yuying (2023) analyzed the characters of 'Pachinko' from the perspective of social determinism, examined the inner struggle of Koreans in Japan as they grapple with resistance or obedience to society, and explored the relationship between the great era and immigrants. It sheds light on the psychological activities of immigrants in their quest for self-acceptance and social integration and explains the issue of whether individuals, under the sway of social influence, should resist or obey when the national spirit clashes with self-identity.

Previous research has been immensely insightful, but it mainly focused on the identity construction of the characters within the novel and, to a certain extent, ignored the projection and influence of Min-Jin Lee's own immigration background on the creation of the novel's characters. This paper aims to analyze the identity recognition process of the two representative characters in the novel, Baek Noa and Baek Solomon, while also delving into the projection and influence of the author, Min-Jin Lee, on the identity of the characters in the novel.

3. Baek Noa's identity recognition process

Baek Noa, the son of Sunja and Koh Hansu, struggles with the most intense and contradictory exploration of his identity, particularly as a second-generation Korean living in Japan. Baek Noa's identity crisis and his final suicide should not be caused by his shame at being 'exposed' as a Korean. Instead, it is crucial to consider a gradual deconstruction of his identity cognition in his growth process. In the previous research process, we decomposed its identity construction into three main periods or stages: the emergence of identity crisis, confusion in the process of identity pursuit, and the reconstruction of identity.

(1) The emergence of identity crisis

As a second-generation Korean in Japan, Baek Noa endured isolation and bullying in school because of his Korean identity during his childhood. He suffered taunts and disdain from his classmates and teachers alike. However, Baek Noa harbored a persistent aspiration to earn others through his academic efforts. The novel repeatedly emphasizes Noa's conviction he is not and will never be an ordinary Japanese. Yet, he still continues his pursuit of genuine integration into Japanese society.

While studying as a teenager, Baek Noa grappled with a subconscious awareness of his dissimilarity from other Japanese classmates. However, he did not completely deny his identity as a Korean, but endeavored to become an excellent Korean through diligent

effort, which, however, could not conceal the underlying yearning to assimilate as an everyday Japanese citizen. During this period, internal conflicts brewed within Baek Noa, though they did not manifest strongly. Baek Noa maintained a relatively stable equilibrium through 'negotiation' between the two identities and preserved the 'dual identity' in his heart.

(2) Confusion in the process of identity pursuit

The university years marked a period of most intense conflicts for Noa over his identity. It was during this time that he entered into a relationship with Akiko. However, the relationship between the two was marred by a fierce dispute when Akiko appeared at a meeting between Noa and Hansu without Noa's consent. In the midst of their argument, Akiko directly asked Baek Noa whether he felt ashamed and inferior due to his Korean identity. She stated that she was indifferent to Noa's Korean identity, but this assertion only served to further incense and embarrass him.

Faced with Akiko's questioning, although Noa denied it, it was still vaguely visible that Akiko had hit Baek Noa's sensitive chord. As Baek Noa observed Akiko's psychological activities later, he believed that Akiko still treated him as an 'other'. The novel then illuminates Baek Noa's attitude towards his self-identity at this time: he yearned to reclaim his authentic self (that is, 'to be seen as human' mentioned in the book). Baek Noa desires to liberate himself from the constraints of identity, such as Korean and Japanese and become his 'self'. What he coveted most was the return of his own identity rather than the continual liminal space between the two identities.

Why did Baek Noa choose to relinquish both identities and seek the return of his own identity? On the one hand, despite his efforts to assimilate into Japanese society and become an ordinary Japanese, Noa couldn't shake off the shadow of his Korean identity, even as he emulated Japanese behaviors and habits. This kind of 'mimicry' by Baek Noa has also been pointed out by Homi Baba as having the emotional contradiction and one-sidedness of colonialist discourse. Although Baek Noa behaves in a manner indistinguishable from that of a Japanese in daily life and is eager to integrate into Japanese society, his Korean identity is always 'lingering' in his heart.

Coupled with a series of related policies of the Japanese government in history, Koreans in Japan had to live in Japanese society as an 'other' or 'eternal stranger'. Faced with this harsh reality, Noa sought to escape from negative comments, but when he discovered his true identity as the son of gangster Hansu, along with the financial support he received for his higher education, it undoubtedly sent a shock to Noa. In this conflict of identity, Noa held onto his self-esteem and sought self-return as a way of 'escape' from the current reality. In the process of seeking recognition for both of his identities, Noa felt

disappointed. When his ‘marginal identity’ failed to elicit a social response, all that remained for Noa was the return of his own identity.

(3) The failure of identity reconstruction

After Noa's departure from Waseda University, he sought a fresh start in Nagano, where he met a waiter at a cafe who informed him of employment opportunities at a pachinko parlor. In their conversation, Noa denied his status as a foreigner, hinting at a deliberate cover-up. During the interview, Noa once again denied his foreign status and struggled with whether to disclose his real name. Noa has lived as a Japanese in Nagano for several years and seems to have constructed a Japanese identity. Yet, is this the truth? When Sunja finally reunited with her son Noa, Noa also anticipated this day. His reaction was not one of overwhelming surprise, but rather a sense of relief. Shortly after Sunja left, Noa committed suicide by shooting himself, ending his tumultuous and conflicted existence.

<Table 1> Baek Noa’s identity construction process

Deconstruction stage Identity awareness and status	**The emergence of identity crisis**	**Confusion in the process of identity pursuit**	**The failure of identity reconstruction**
Identity awareness	Korean identity	Conflict between two identities	Choose Japanese identity(surface)
	To become Japanese (Inner desire)	Self-pursuit	Korean identity has not been forgotten(inner)
			Seek salvation
Identity balance state	Balanced	Relative balanced	Imbalanced

In terms of identity cognition, Noa’s identity cognition is complex and reciprocating. Noa’s identity as a Korean seems to be gradually fading or blurring, while his identity as a Japanese is gaining prominence. Even amid the period of identity reconstruction, Noa directly acknowledged himself as Japanese, but this does not mean the complete erasure of his Korean identity. In terms of terms of identity balance, Noa's balance gradually changed from balanced to unbalanced, which was an important inducement for his decision to commit suicide. This identity construction process constitutes a universal journey of identity recognition, yet it bears certain particularities and untypicalities.

4. Baek Solomon's identity recognition process

Unlike Noa's internal struggle with identity, his half-brother Baek Moses rejected the notion of being a 'good Korean' like his brother. Confronted with unfair treatment in daily life, he did not passively endure but fought back, living according to the Japanese 'inherent understanding' of Koreans in Japan. Here, we do not analyze the identity construction of Baek Moses, but briefly explore the identity recognition process of his son Baek Solomon. As the third generation of Koreans living in Japan, their life trajectory and identity exhibit different characteristics compared to their predecessors, Baek Noa and Baek Moses.

Baek Solomon, a graduate of Columbia University in the United States, entered the real estate development business on the recommendation of special director Katz. Solomon at Travis Brothers, the Japanese branch of the British investment bank, and, the youngest member of the group, encountered difficulties in purchasing land to build a world-class golf course, and solved the problem with the assistance of his father and Goto. Matsuda Sonoko, a Korean in Japan who initially refused to sell land to the Japanese, agreed to transfer it at a low price after the intervention of Goto. Goto, in turn, also transferred the land to Travis Brothers without any profit. Unfortunately, after the real estate transaction, 93-year-old Sonoko Matsuda passed away. Fearing potential negative rumors during a stock public offering, Katz fired Solomon. During this process, when Katz mentioned the careers of Moses and Goto, Solomon, despite the temporary panic, guided by the advice of Hanako and Phoebe, made the decision to engage in pachinko in the future.

Despite enduring trials in family, relationships, and careers, he does not succumb to the surrounding environment but plans his own life and future. In a crucial moment before her passing, Hanako gave wise advice to Solomon. She advised her lover, as well as her brother Solomon that Moses and Goto were of uprightness and integrity, and Pachinko was not a dirty business and advised Solomon to inherit his father's legacy.

Baek Moses and Baek Solomon jointly run a pachinko shop and planned to settle in Yokohama. However, as Koreans in Japan, they were required to renew their alien registration certificates every three years, implying a lack of complete stability. Solomon contemplated deeply on the prospect of obtaining Japanese citizenship. This is evidenced by his relationship with Phoebe and his rejection of his offer to marry her for the sake of obtaining American citizenship. That is to say, Solomon said that he 'does not want to become a Japanese citizen now,' but also acknowledged that 'maybe one day he will become a Japanese citizen' and 'cannot rule out the possibility of becoming a Japanese citizen.' He once considered that the only means to get rid of the renewal of his alien

registration card every three years was to obtain Japanese citizenship. Solomon harbored no instinctive hostility or resistance to becoming a Japanese citizen. He was born and raised in Japan, and as the narrator says, he is also Japanese in some respects. This distinguishes him from the relatively extreme identity choices made by his parent's generation. Instead, he examines his own identity from a relatively objective perspective and attitude. It is not an American, a Japanese, or a Korean, but only its own objective perspective affording him greater flexibility and liberation in the identity construction process. This is an important difference between Baek Solomon, the third generation of Koreans in Japan, and his parents. While they, who grew up in Japan, were influenced by historical and practical factors, their choices of identity were characterized by a more rigid and, at times, even extreme stance. As a third-generation Korean in Japan, Baek Solomon is no longer obsessed with identity, as seen when he was ridiculed by Katz. He did not place excessive weight on his identity, with a level of maturity in his contemplation of this aspect of self.

5. The comparison between the two characters and the author's identity projection

Above, we briefly analyzed the identity status of Baek Noa and Baek Solomon, the representative characters in Min-Jin Lee's novel 'Pachinko'. Now we will compare the two situations from the perspective of the attitude of identity, the results of identity recognition, and the background that produces such results.

First of all, in terms of identity attitudes, both Baek Noa and Baek Solomon experience a non-unitary process in their identity construction process. Instead, there are multiples and imbalances. In particular, Baek Noa's identity recognition process and balance state fluctuate greatly. His identity recognition can be roughly divided into 'inner desire to become Japanese (identity crisis)', 'seeking self-return (identity confusion)', and 'Seeking self-salvation through suicide (reconstruction of identity)'. These three main stages present a state of 'balance-relative balance-imbalance' in the identity balance state. On the contrary, Baek Solomon, born and raised in Japan, while studying and working in the United States, always understood the injustices he faced as a 'foreigner', but did not dwell on it. He did not absolutely tie himself to a certain country or nation. He places more emphasis on the pursuit of 'self'. This self-pursuit is not only reflected in Baek Solomon's early hope of higher social status through struggle but also in his later efforts to give up his struggle and run a pachinko shop with his father. Compared with Baek Noa, Baek Solomon, as a third-generation Korean in Japan, has a relatively more objective and rational understanding of identity and handles his role as a 'foreigner' in society with a relatively flexible attitude.

Secondly, there is a significant difference in the identity outcomes between Baek Noa

and Baek Solomon. After a series of struggles, Baek Noa ended his tangled life by suicide. On the contrary, although Baek Solomon recognized the injustices of being a Korean in Japan in his life and career, he did not fixate on his identity itself. Instead, he was able to examine the injustices of reality from a relatively objective perspective, allowing him to deal with the injustices and pursue his true self in real life. This is also reflected in his determination not to give up on himself after being betrayed. Instead, he started a new life by running a pachinko shop with his father after dismissal.

Thirdly, the background that produced this result is not unrelated to the two people's growth background. As the child of Sunja and Hansu, Baek Noa grew up in an environment full of ups and downs. The social environment in which he grew up was also imbued with discrimination against Koreans in Japan. He always wanted to become a 'Japanese' different from Koreans in Japan. Especially after he learned that he was the son of Hansu, he believed it unacceptable. The reality undoubtedly shattered the ideal state he had been pursuing. This was one of the important reasons for his extreme choice. On the contrary, as a third-generation Korean in Japan, Baek Solomon grew up in a relatively stable environment during Japan's economic bubble. He was sent to the United States to study by his father. His diverse and relatively stable growth, study, and work environment, to a certain extent, made him prioritize his own personal wishes rather than being too entangled in the identity itself affected by social factors.

In 'Pachinko', the identity choices made by Baek Noa, a second-generation Korean in Japan, and Baek Solomon, a third-generation Korean in Japan, also mirror the author Min-Jin Lee's own journey of identity recognition. To a certain extent, the identity construction process of the above two characters is also a reflection of the early and late stages of Min-Jin Lee's own identity construction as a Korean in the United States.

Min-Jin Lee immigrated to New York with his parents when she was 7. Her father was born in Wonsan, South Hamgyong Province, North Korea and moved south after the truce on the Korean Peninsula. Her mother was born in Busan. After experiencing the war, her parents believed that moving to the United States would help them escape the war. When Min-Jin Lee was 7, her family immigrated to the United States. Initially, they ran a small newsstand and then slowly opened a jewelry wholesale store. This period was marked by the family's struggle to establish themselves in a new environment. At that time, the social security in New York was far less developed than it is now. As a child, Min-Jin Lee often anxiously awaited her parents's return. This period was full of uneasiness and uncertainty. When studying at university, she faced unfair treatment from professors and classmates. She did not remain silent but fought against the injustice and strived for equal treatment. The uneasiness during this period is quite similar to the experience of Baek Noa, the character in the novel 'Pachinko'. During the unstable period, both the author and the characters in the novel were more concerned about identity itself and paid close attention

to society's evaluation of her 'foreigner' identity. This uneasiness is projected into the identity of Baek Noa in the novel, and the author further amplifies the tortuousness of this identity process and presents it in an extreme form in the novel.

There are similarities between Baek Solomon's identity recognition process and writer Min-Jin Lee's relatively late or current experience. Min-Jin Lee studied history at Yale University and then worked as a lawyer. In 1991, she married her Japanese-American husband, marking a period of relative stability in her life. By 1995, Min-Jin Lee had transitioned from her legal career to focus on writing in order to become a professional novelist. During this period, he observed many Koreans around her tirelessly striving for prominence in Western society, yet the majority found their efforts unsatisfactory. In 2007, Min-Jin Lee's husband went to Japan for work, and she joined him. During this period, she re-revised and refined the first draft of her novel and engaged with Koreans in Japan to gain a deeper understanding of their situation. The circumstances of Min-Jin Lee during this period resemble those of Baek Solomon in the novel; both understand the unfairness and discrimination in the society they live in, but they are no longer overly obsessed with identity itself; instead, they focus more on themselves and their pursuits. They are able to objectively and calmly examine various injustices in identity issues from a 'third party' perspective. We can regard the identity process of Baek Noa and Baek Solomon in the novel as projections and synthesis of identity construction by the author Min-Jin Lee at different stages of life, as shown in the following figure:

<Picture 1> Identity projection and interaction between the author and the characters in the novel

6. Conclusion

This paper mainly conducts a preliminary analysis and comparison of the identity recognition and identity construction process of the main characters Baek Noa and Baek Solomon in the novel 'Pachinko' by Korean-American writer Min-Jin Lee. Additionally, it analyzes the projection and reflection of the novel's characters and the process of identity construction from the perspective of the writer herself. The following summary can be drawn:

First of all, from the perspective of the identity and construction process of the two main characters Baek Noa and Baek Solomon, in the novel, they present two contrasting models-extremely turbulent and relatively peaceful. Baek Noa struggled to shed his identity as a Korean in Japan during his formative years. However, upon gaining a deeper understanding of his life experience, this completely shattered his aspirations and ended

his life in an extreme way. Baek Solomon grew up in a relatively stable background, whether in Japan or the United States. Although he recognized the injustice he faced as a 'foreigner', he did not dwell on his identity and instead constantly pursued the realization of his self-worth.

Secondly, considering the interaction between the author Min-jin Lee and the two main characters in the novel, Min-Jin Lee immigrated to the United States with his parents as a child. The initial instability and inner anxieties experienced by her family upon arrival in the United States bear a certain resemblance to Baek Noa's growth process in the novel. Baek Noa's identity construction process can be seen as a more extreme projection and reflection of the writer. On the contrary, Min-Jin Lee received high-quality higher education and became a full-time writer, which can be regarded as a relatively stable stage. The emotional attitude of the writer at this stage can also be projected and realized through Baek Solomon. That is, in a relatively stable stage, the focus shifts more towards the realization of self-worth for both Min-Jin Lee and Baek Solomon.

This paper believes that the main character image in the novel 'Pachinko' represents a process of projection and reflection experienced by the writer herself. The identity construction and cognitive situation of the characters in the novel and the writer outside the novel form a mutual influence, interaction, reflection and projection.

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Laws on Multicultural Issues in Korea

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I. Introduction

In contemporary society, with many individuals moving rapidly and diversely for various reasons, diversity has recently become one of the most crucial topics of discussion. Throughout history, human migration has given rise to diversity in terms of race, religion, nationality, language, and other aspects, often resulting in the creation of new cultures and the emergence of multicultural societies where these cultures coexist. While this is a destiny that future humanity must embrace, the current concept of multiculturalism also brings along negative aspects that can lead to conflicts among its members.

Across the world, people relocate due to reasons like war, political issues, or economic purposes, which can result in significant sociocultural conflicts. This phenomenon has been observed in Korea in the 21st century, as the country has had to accept immigrants from abroad to address its rapidly aging society and maintain its workforce. In Korean society, it is not difficult to find individuals who have immigrated from abroad for various reasons such as work and international marriages.

The international community has established international standards to promote and safeguard the diversity of humanity. Several treaties serve as international legal foundations that support these efforts. The Korean government has also enacted various laws, including the Immigration Control Act, the Basic Act on Treatment of Foreigners Residing in Korea, the Multicultural Family Support Act, and the Refugee Act, while implementing various related policies. The Immigration Control Act regulates matters related to the entry and exit of both citizens and foreigners, as well as their residence management and social integration. The Basic Act on Treatment of Foreigners Residing in Korea outlines the treatment of foreigners residing in Korea to help them adapt to Korean society, utilize their abilities, and contribute to the development and social integration of Korea. The Multicultural Family Support Act provides the foundation for policies supporting multicultural families resulting from international marriages to lead stable family lives.

All of these Korean domestic laws aim to address immigration from abroad while respecting and integrating multiculturalism into Korean society. Social integration, in general, entails sharing the values of the community and making efforts to reduce

discrimination among members. It can be understood as the collective effort of all members of society coming together to address common challenges. The purpose of this paper is to explore how Korean society adapts to the multicultural phenomenon in the international community and examines the legal framework for protecting multiculturalism in Korea. Through these harmonious laws, a multicultural Korean society can find a direction to achieve social integration and become a member of the international community.

II. Multiculturalism in International and Korean Society

1. Multiculturalism in International Society

The advancement of transportation and communication technology has not only made it easier to disseminate information and knowledge but has also significantly increased interactions and exchanges among people from various regions and cultural backgrounds. Therefore, it can be said that the current trend of multiculturalism and diversity is an unstoppable, powerful force in today's global society. However, multiculturalism faces challenges in the international community today. The journey towards a multicultural society promotes values of tolerance and inclusivity and contributes to universal human rights. However, it also gives rise to social divisions and inequality issues as different stakeholders, including nations, ethnicities, and religions, converge in one place.

For example, the issue of refugees seeking to settle in a new country due to civil wars or natural disasters has become a topic of discussion in Western Europe. This began with the eruption of the Syrian civil war in 2011, resulting in the displacement of 12 million Syrian refugees, which became a societal issue in Europe. The significant influx of refugees with diverse cultural, religious backgrounds, and uncertain identities not only increased the economic burden for social integration and resettlement but also raised concerns about its impact on the national system and security issues due to demographic changes. Consequently, EU countries took a passive approach to the refugee issue. In particular, the revelation that two suspects in the November 2015 Paris terrorist attacks had entered Europe disguised as refugees heightened anti-refugee sentiments within Europe to its peak.[3]

In response to this, European countries have been passing the Syrian refugee issue onto Turkey, which is an adjacent country to Syria. Turkey, in turn, has demonstrated compliance with the principle of non-refoulement by opening its borders and granting temporary protection to refugees. Furthermore, they have referred to these individuals as "guests" rather than "refugees," attempting to portray them as visitors to their country

[3] Lisa, Bryant, “After Terrorist Attacks, Support in France for Refugees Fades,” (Bryant 2015)

rather than as security threats or objects of aversion.[4] Turkey's actions can be viewed both as an explicit manifestation of multiculturalism that upholds human rights and universal values and as a strategic use of refugees to enhance its diplomatic influence. For instance, on February 27, 2020, Turkish President Erdogan issued a warning that Turkey would allow Syrian refugees to head to Europe if NATO didn't intervene in the Syrian conflict, following the sacrifice of Turkish soldiers due to actions by the Syrian government. On the other hand, on September 26, 2023, Suella Braverman, the British Home Secretary, made statements in Washington DC at the American Enterprise Institute (AEI), suggesting that "Immigrants, in extreme cases, undermine social stability and pose a threat to national security. This represents the failure of multiculturalism." Such statements highlight the increasing complexity and intricacy of the refugee acceptance issue.[5]

Meanwhile, concerns are growing regarding the coexistence of sexual minorities in society. According to a report by the BBC on August 30, 2023, the Canadian Foreign Ministry issued a warning to its own sexual minority citizens, advising against traveling to US. It has been reported that, compared to 2017, anti-LGBT protests in US have increased by more than 30 times, and at least 18 states have implemented restrictions or prohibitions related to sexual minorities. These measures include limitations on gender-affirming medical care for minors and alterations to school curricula concerning gender identity, which warrant special attention. Notably, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) has revealed that Ron DeSantis, the Republican Governor of Florida, and the state legislature are pursuing legislation that is hostile to both people of color and sexual minorities.[6]

In the end, the contemporary global society, marked by technological advancement and heightened human and material interactions, seems to resemble a multicultural society, outwardly uniting individuals with various nationalities, races, and socio-cultural backgrounds, akin to a salad bowl. Nevertheless, internally, it is witnessing indications of social conflicts, confrontations, and even divisions. Therefore, apart from structural and institutional initiatives to tackle this, there is a necessity for enhancing and fostering awareness in daily life. Additionally, it is imperative to enhance the legal framework to attain these objectives.

[4] OH, Chongjin, “A Comparative Study on the Refugee Acceptance in Korea and Turkey: Focusing on Middle Power Diplomacy” (Oh 2023, 354-357)

[5] Stevens, Robert, UK Home Secretary Suella Braverman Calls for Overturn of UN Refugee Convention in Fascistic Speech. (Stevens 2023)

[6] Perry, Sophie, “Ron DeSantis Says Warning of ‘hostile’ Florida for LGBTQ+ Visitors a ’Stunt’ ,” (Perry 2023)

2. International standards on diversity and multiculturalism

Continuous efforts are being made by the international community for this purpose. Notably, during the 31st session of the UNESCO General Conference in 2001, the Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity was adopted as a part of initiatives to safeguard the value of cultural diversity. This declaration commences with a preamble that encapsulates the concept of culture and the importance of cultural diversity. It consists of 12 articles divided into four sections, emphasizing collaboration in both the public and private sectors and outlining the role of UNESCO in achieving these objectives. Subsequently, the year following the adoption of this declaration, the United Nations designated May 21 as "World Day for Cultural Diversity for Dialogue and Development," thereby upholding the spirit of UNESCO's advocacy for the value of cultural diversity.

In 2005, through government consultations and coordination, the Convention on the Protection of the Diversity of Cultural Contents was formally established. This convention specifies not only the symbolic significance of culture, its values, and meanings but also concrete norms of action that go beyond the direction of the international community. For instance, if a country perceives that its culture is under threat, the convention allows it to establish regulations or provide financial support with the goal of cultural preservation within its territory. Furthermore, Article 20, paragraph 1, states that the convention should be interpreted to avoid conflicts with other agreements, thus addressing potential issues of conflicting interpretations that may arise in the future.

International norms govern the movement of populations entering or moving within Europe, both internally and externally, within regional categories. The Schengen Agreement is a key convention designed to facilitate unrestricted movement across borders among its member countries. Under the Agreement, nationals of member countries enjoy exemptions from border checks, passport controls, and the need for separate customs declarations. When nationals of non-member countries enter a Schengen Agreement member country, they undergo inspections only upon their initial entry into the country.[7] The Dublin Regulation deals with the processing of refugees coming to Europe. It outlines the procedures for determining which country is responsible when a refugee applies for refugee status in a member country of the agreement.

However, these treaties still have outstanding issues that need to be addressed. Firstly, the Schengen Agreement is raising concerns about potential threats to the security of European countries due to the free movement within borders. In fact, even though Abdelhamid Abboud, a suspect in the 2015 Paris terrorist attacks, had photos indicating involvement with ISIS exposed, it was revealed that he was able to freely cross European

[7] EUR-Lex. “Article 6 — Entry conditions for third-country nationals”

borders.[8] As for the Dublin Regulation, while it aims to prevent refugees from "shopping" for their preferred asylum destination and increase the efficiency of the refugee reception system, it also poses a problem where the country that receives asylum applications is compelled to bear the burden. Especially since many Syrian refugees coming through Türkiye after the outbreak of the Syrian civil war first reach Mediterranean neighboring European countries like Greece and Italy, issues of fairness in refugee reception have been raised.

3. Multicultural Phenomenon in Korean Society

Since the formation of a nation on the Korean Peninsula, Korea has upheld the concept of a single-ethnic nation rooted in blood ties and socio-cultural homogeneity for thousands of years. Terms like "Hanminjok" (Korean ethnicity) or "Baeguiminjok" (White-clad ethnicity) have played a pivotal role in defining the Korean identity and served as a strong bond that helped them withstand foreign invasions and long-standing threats. However, this approach also resulted in isolation and detachment from the outside world, and the closed-door policy during the late Joseon period hindered adaptation to change, leading to Korea's isolation from the international community.

Nevertheless, in the era of globalization, present-day South Korea, ranking among the world's top 10 economies with military strength at the 6th global rank and a robust socio-cultural soft power, has recognized the necessity of addressing multiculturalism within Korean society. According to data from the Ministry of Justice's "Immigration and Foreigner Policy Statistical Yearbook," as of 2012, the number of foreign residents in the country had surged by over one million, from 1.445 million to 2.525 million by 2019. Although it dipped to 2.036 million in 2020 due to the impact of COVID-19, it is showing a trend of recovery, reaching 2.246 million in 2022.[9]

Factors like Korea's socio-cultural soft power and its educational environment are believed to have acted as strong attractions for foreigners. From Korea's perspective, the multicultural phenomenon unfolding in Korean society can be viewed as a positive factor since it addresses challenges such as low birth rates, rural marriage issues, and the need for labor replacement in fields that are less preferred by Koreans. This phenomenon is primarily taking root at the community level in Korea, with the case of Hamback Village in Incheon's Yeonsu District serving as a typical example. With a population of 12,000 residents, 7,400 of whom are foreigners, accounting for 61%, Hamback Village is experiencing changes in its commercial landscape due to the increasing influx of

[8] Thompson, Wright, “From the MAG: Paris Terrorist Attacks Spread Fear from Stade de France” (Thompson 2015)

[9] Ministry of Justice, “Immigration and Foreigner Policy Statistical Yearbook”

foreigners.[10] The majority of residents in this area are of Eastern European origin and rely on bread as their staple food, which has led to a gradual decline in the businesses catering to Korean food preferences. At Hamback Elementary School, where 74% of the incoming students are foreigners, cases of Korean students transferring out due to language difficulties have emerged. In an environment where Korean students were once the majority, foreign students are now more prevalent. This situation highlights that Korea has entered a multicultural society.

The multicultural phenomenon is transforming rigid local labor markets. Since 2015, the government has established a system to employ foreign seasonal workers during specific agricultural periods like planting and harvesting, revitalizing labor markets in agriculture-focused regions and promoting legal foreign employment in rural areas. Moreover, Miryang City in Gyeongnam Province successfully placed 336 workers in 218 farms this year through agreements with the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare of Laos, inviting family members of marriage immigrants back to their home countries.

III. Laws on the Multiculturalism in Korea

1. The Characteristic Points of the Multiculturalism in Korea

Korean society is in the process of transitioning into a multicultural society, despite its historical emphasis on a single ethnic identity. This shift began around half a century ago but hasn't led to significant public discourse on multiculturalism. The 21st century has witnessed a notable influx of individuals from diverse nationalities, such as marriage immigrant women from Southeast Asia, immigrant laborers, and international students, causing significant societal changes due to the prior lack of multiculturalism discussions. This transition, happening without comprehensive preparation, has resulted in tensions arising from the erosion of a single ethnic identity and fear of the unfamiliar, shaping the current state of multiculturalism in Korean society.

In the past, Korea, as one of the poorest countries, implemented overseas dispatch as a national policy to earn foreign currency. Men worked in foreign mines, and women were dispatched as nurses, with the foreign currency sent back supporting their families and contributing to the country's economic growth. Today, Korea is among the world's top 10 economies, attracting foreign laborers seeking to earn money. As a result, the older generations perceive immigrants as laborers from developing countries who came to advanced nations for economic reasons. In contrast, the younger generation has had ample exposure to other cultures through social media and the internet, seeing immigrants as

[10] Kim, S, "Half of the residents are foreigners… shake up the commercial and educational landscape" (Kim 2023)

friends, colleagues, or companions and viewing them from a more cultural perspective. While there is a broad understanding of "multiculturalism," there are generational differences in how it is perceived.

The development of a multicultural society generally involves two stages: the first entails demands for the rights and economic treatment of immigrants, including basic survival rights, while the second involves moving towards complete social integration and respecting immigrants' unique cultures. Due to generational differences in perception, Korean society is currently in a state where both stages coexist. Issues like wage arrears for foreign laborers can be seen as arising in the first stage of multiculturalism, while younger generations' interest in unique cultures, like the growing popularity of a mosque in Itaewon as a dating destination, represents progress toward the second stage. However, challenges of reverse discrimination in college admissions and employment related to benefits for multicultural families are also present.

2. Korean Domestic Laws on the Multiculturalism

With the growing proportion of multicultural populations in Korea, the government is taking legislative steps to encourage the integration and well-being of multicultural members. While the Korean Constitution doesn't offer a specific definition for "multicultural," it establishes a connection between multiculturalism and the law concerning human rights, equality, national social security, and social welfare.[11] However, within the legal framework, the definition of the term 'multicultural' can be observed in Article 2 of the Multicultural Family Support Act.

The law is designed to prevent the exclusion of multicultural members from participating in society and outlines the responsibilities of both the nation and local governments to promote their inclusive integration. Furthermore, the act regards multicultural members as recipients of care in the field of welfare administration and specifies support in vulnerable areas. For instance, measures to maintain equal family relationships, protection and support for domestic violence victims, support for medical and healthcare, and policy measures for the education sector targeting multicultural family children are detailed in the act.

The Immigration Control Act is founded on the premise that a certain level of regulation is essential for the efficient management of foreign residents and the preservation of the national social order.[12] This legislation provides definitions for 'citizens,' 'foreigners,' and 'refugees,' while outlining the conditions for the entry and residence of foreigners based on their intentions. Provisions for penalties are included to

[11] Kang, Jieun, "A study on the role and principles of multicultural legislations in Korea" (Kang 2019, 136).
[12] Park, Kwangdong. 2016, "The legal implication on multicultural society" (Park 2016. 69).

address concerns related to public safety. Article 62 specifies the enforcement of forced eviction orders, with paragraph 4 specifically addressing the potential for forced eviction before the completion of a refugee's asylum application process.[13] However, this should not be interpreted as a form of discrimination or exclusion against foreign residents and multicultural individuals living in Korea. Instead, it can be viewed as a regulatory measure aimed at progressing towards a multicultural society through the controlled inclusion of new social members.

The Refugee Act outlines the status and treatment of refugees, which draws its origins from the '1951 United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (referred to as the Refugee Convention)' adopted by the UN, and the '1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees (referred to as the Refugee Protocol)' in 1967. The current refugee law consists of six chapters: Chapter 1 - General Provisions, Chapter 2 - Refugee Recognition Application and Assessment, Chapter 3 - Refugee Committee, Chapter 4 - Treatment of Recognized Refugees, Chapter 5 - Supplementary Provisions, and Chapter 6 - Penalties. Key elements include the definition of the refugee concept in Article 2, the non-refoulement principle in Article 3, grounds for the revocation of refugee status in Article 23, and the protection of those with humanitarian status in Article 47. This refugee law, in conjunction with the Cultural Diversity Act, is regarded as a testament to Korea's potential shift towards becoming a multicultural society

Nevertheless, there is a pressing demand for amendments to the refugee law, primarily owing to the low recognition rate. As of April this year, among a total of 93,270 cumulative refugee applicants, 48,554 have undergone the evaluation process, with only 1,364 individuals, equivalent to a mere 2.8%, being officially recognized as refugees. Additionally, there are 2,516 holders of humanitarian stay permits, indicating that the proportion of refugees protected under the existing legal framework amounts to just 8.0% of all applicants.[14]

The Foreign Workers Employment Act is employed to address the labor needs of companies and promote the legal employment of foreign workers. Specifically, foreign workers employed in Korea are guaranteed the same rights as citizens, which include coverage under workplace accident insurance, protection under minimum wage regulations, and the ability to exercise their legitimate labor rights. Furthermore, Article 7, Paragraph 2, explicitly mandates a Korean language proficiency test for foreign job seekers. While the primary objective of this law is to address the domestic labor shortage, it also serves the function of rigorous management of illegal residents.

[13] Chang, InHo and Sung, JinKi. 2022, "A Study on the Problems and Improvement of the Crime of False Refugee Applications : Focusing on the Limitations of the Current Refugee-Related Laws" (Chang 2022, 236).

[14] Ko, G, "[Lee Heeyong's Global Citizen] Ten years since the Refugee Act came into force...What is the current status of domestic refugees?" (Ko, 2023).

In the current legal framework of Korea, it appears that there exists a concept of multiculturalism within a broad category, and clear definitions for foreigners and refugees have been established along with their respective institutional foundations. However, these laws are facing criticism for treating immigrants as recipients of care and welfare protection, rather than as equal members of the nation. Furthermore, there is a necessity for improvement, as the recognition rate for refugees continues to remain low even after the introduction of the Refugee Act.

3. The Relationship Between the Domestic Laws and the International Laws

There is an international treaty, the 1951 Refugee Convention, that delineates the status of refugees in international law. The Convention recognizes refugees based on specific criteria, including: 1. "Do they have a well-founded fear of persecution?" 2. "Is this persecution based on race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion?" 3. "Is the person outside their country of nationality?" The first two conditions, excluding the third, encompass both objective and subjective elements. For instance, a person who left their home country due to economic reasons and was deprived of basic means of subsistence without their intent is recognized as a refugee. However, someone who left their home country in anticipation of a better future and improved conditions is not considered a refugee. These criteria align with the definition outlined in Article 2 of Korea's Refugee Act ("Refugee" is defined as a foreigner who has a well-founded fear of persecution based on race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion and cannot or does not wish to seek protection from their country of nationality due to such fear, or is a stateless person who cannot or does not wish to return to their country of residence after entering the Republic of Korea).

In international law, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) determines the status of refugees, while contracting states review and establish refugee status through their own domestic legal procedures referencing the Convention. In Korea, these standards are specified in the Immigration Control Act. However, the Convention intentionally uses imprecise or broad language to secure ratification by more countries. This has led to disparities between the refugee categories outlined in the Convention and those defined in domestic refugee laws.[15] Furthermore, there are variations in the entities responsible for providing protection to refugees. For example, according to domestic law, refugees necessitating national-level protection are defined as "individuals seeking asylum in that country." Conversely, based on international law, the UNHCR, overseeing refugees, extends its responsibilities beyond those of contracting states and assumes a

[15] Song, K, "The Concept of Refugees in International Law and The Refugee Recognition Procedure in Korea : With Special Reference to The 1951 Refugee Convention and the Refugee Act of Korea" (Song 2019, 11)

broader role in refugee protection.

In areas related to the labor of multicultural members, there are domestic and international laws, respectively, Act on Employment of Foreign Workers – International Convention on the Protection of Rights of All Migrant Workers and Their Families (ICMW). The ICMW describes individuals who work in a country other than their home country as migrant workers. This convention defines various types of migrant workers with their rights. However, many of the regulations related to this are subject to the discretion of individual nations. This characteristic is due to the limitations of international law in exercising legal binding force, as well as the recognition of the significant impact that international labor issues can have on the security, economy, and social conditions of host countries. Korea is not a signatory to this convention, and thus, it is not legally bound by it. However, considering the increasing number of multinational workers and the need to enhance the protection of their rights, Korea could consider aligning its domestic laws with the ICMW standards and explore the possibility of ratifying the convention in the future.

In order to achieve the goals of social integration outlined in Korea's multicultural laws, immigrants must systematically learn the language and culture, among other things. This process enables them to actively participate in Korean society and attain self-reliance. Korea's social integration programs encompass a range of activities aimed at providing education, information, counseling, and various services to assist immigrants in demonstrating their abilities within Korean society. Article 39 of the Immigration Control Act, typically the initial point of contact for immigrants in Korea, governs social integration programs for foreign individuals who aspire to change their status to a more favorable resident status, such as obtaining Korean nationality.

Korea introduced its first immigrant social integration program when the Basic Act on Treatment of Foreigners Residing in Korea was enacted in 2007. Article 11 of this law specifies that resident foreigners can receive support for education, information dissemination, and counseling related to the fundamental skills and knowledge necessary for living in Korean society. This law establishes the legal foundation for policies that promote the stable settlement of foreigners residing in Korea, laying the groundwork for other immigration or multicultural-related laws. The Multicultural Family Support Act outlines government services such as family counseling, spousal/parenting education, family life education, language interpretation, legal counseling, and administrative support.

IV. Conclusion

The Legal standards for diversity and multiculturalism in the international

community have evolved in various forms. Most of these international laws are based on the premise of respecting human individuality and ensuring that human rights are respected in a peaceful environment. Members of the international community strive to harmonize their domestic standards with international standards when setting their own national regulations. Korea is aware of this situation and should also take an interest in multicultural issues within its society. Korea's multicultural standards can be found in various domestic laws, and the common denominator in these domestic laws is the recognition of diversity, the protection of multicultural phenomena, and the establishment of mechanisms for social integration.

However, Korean society cannot yet be said to have fully and properly adapted to the multiculturalism. The sentiments of society members are not yet natural, and there is still much to be improved in related laws. For example, there is criticism that the Basic Act on Treatment of Foreigners Residing in Korea, which targets legally residing foreigners in the country, and the Multicultural Family Support Act, which specifically targets multicultural family members, have the potential for overlap or conflict. Korea's Refugee Act, the first of its kind in Asia, is also difficult to consider as working perfectly.

For Korean society to naturally embrace this rapid pursuit of diversity and multiculturalism from abroad, efforts are required not only in improving institutional mechanisms but also in the mindset of existing society members. To achieve a social integration, it is necessary to inform new people about the existing order, but members must also accept that multiculturalism is unavoidable and be able to do the difficult practice of acknowledging and making concessions to social diversity. Moreover, leniency and concern for those who are prone to be marginalized should spread throughout society and among its members. It may not be an easy task, but it is necessary for the real Multiculturalism in the society.

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Navigating Multiculturalism:

Strategies in South Korea

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Abstract: This paper endeavors to delineate the findings from an analytical discourse on the pedagogical perspectives prevalent among multicultural households in the Republic of Korea. The initial segment of the discourse undertakes a concise theoretical examination of terminologies such as 'lingua franca', 'heritage language', in conjunction with constructs like 'transcultural familial unit', 'bicultural pupil', 'adolescent acculturation in educational settings', and 'intercultural pedagogy'. Subsequently, the latter segment illuminates the current educational paradigm within Korean society, necessitating the development and enactment of bespoke pedagogical strategies to address the intricate tapestry of cultural plurality manifested by the presence of bicultural students.

South Korea at the Threshold: Transitioning into a Multiethnic and Multicultural Society

As of the end of last month, the proportion of foreigners among residents in South Korea has nearly reached the 5% benchmark that defines a multiethnic and multicultural nation according to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). With the rapid increase in the influx of foreign workers, it is projected that next year South Korea will officially become a multiethnic state. Excluding the early immigration adopters such as North America and Europe, it is rare for countries to surpass a 5% foreign national demographic. However, it has been pointed out that our society is not yet fully prepared to coexist with foreigners. As of September's end, there were 2,514,000 foreigners residing in Korea, constituting 4.89% of the total population of 51.37 million. The proportion dropped to 3.8% in the year of the COVID-19 pandemic but has been increasing annually since. The dependency on foreign nationals has grown to the extent that industries such as shipbuilding, construction sites, and small and medium-sized enterprises could not continue their businesses without them. A similar situation is observed in restaurants in large cities and rural farms. Including the estimated 430,000 undocumented residents, the proportion effectively reaches 5.7%, already placing the nation within the threshold of a multiethnic and multicultural state.

This issue extends beyond industrial sites. There are numerous local universities that

would fail to meet their student quotas without international students, and graduate schools in the metropolitan areas also struggle to form research teams without them. Japan, which has previously experienced a shortage of young talents, is now aiming to become a 'country of choice for foreigners' by incentivizing the acquisition of visas for IT professionals and highly educated individuals. In response to the urgent requests from businesses, the South Korean government has increased the intake of foreign workers. However, the pace of this increase is slow, and discussions on establishing an integrated Immigration Office for foreign-related affairs remain sluggish. In contrast, last year, the OECD member countries welcomed 6.1 million new immigrants, a 26% increase from the previous year. Most advanced nations are relaxing their visa issuance criteria and competing to attract foreign talent as a measure to revitalize economies affected by low birth rates and aging populations.

The foreign national proportion within Korea's population is expected to exceed 5% for the first time next year, meeting the OECD criteria for a 'multiethnic and multicultural' nation. South Korea is accepting foreign workers at a much faster rate than Japan (2.38%). As we enter the era of multiculturalism, it is being argued that it is time to readjust the policies for integrating foreigners. According to the Ministry of Justice and the Ministry of Public Administration and Security, as of the end of September, the number of 'long-term and short-term foreign residents' in Korea reached a record high of 4.89% (2,514,000 people) of the total population of 51.37 million. This number includes 1,957,000 long-term residents with visas such as overseas Koreans, long-term labor, sailors, and permanent residents, as well as 557,000 short-term residents who stay for less than 90 days. The percentage of foreign residents in Korea, which had fallen to 3.79% in 2021 due to the COVID-19 pandemic, recovered to 4.37% last year. This year, with the surge in foreign worker immigration through the Employment Permit System, the 5% mark is imminent. An official from the Ministry of Public Administration and Security anticipates that "considering the increase in students and workers after COVID-19, the official foreign national proportion will surpass 5% of the population for the first-time next year." The '5% foreigner' benchmark is commonly used among demographers and international organizations to define a multiethnic and multicultural state. South Korea is essentially the first country outside Europe and North America to reach this stage. Japan, which began actively accepting foreign workers through the Technical Intern Training Program in 1989, still has a foreign national proportion of just 2.38% (2.99 million out of 125.41 million). Amidst unprecedented low birth rates and rapid aging, the influx of foreign workers into Korea is expected to steepen. As Asia's fastest entrant into a multiethnic and multicultural society, that urgent legislative reform is necessary.

The presence of foreigners is no longer unfamiliar in schools and workplaces. Entering a multiethnic and multicultural state implies that at least one in twenty residents is a foreigner, a second-generation immigrant, or a person with a multicultural family background. This diverse population is found not just in big cities like Seoul or Busan but

also across smaller regional cities. One can find the increased influence of foreigners even in the industrial sector. In shipbuilding cities such as Geoje and Ulsan, many shipyards could not maintain operations without the contribution of foreign workers. Similarly, in cities like Ansan and Siheung, known for their concentrations of small and medium-sized manufacturing enterprises, there is a heavy reliance on foreign labor. In the agricultural sector, the shortage of labor is severe, with more than 60% of agricultural workers being foreign nationals. Likewise, the restaurant industry in Seoul and other large cities heavily depends on the labor of foreign nationals. This dependency is also evident in academia: certain local universities would face difficulties in enrolling enough students without the presence of international students.

Countries worldwide are competing to attract foreign talent in response to aging populations and low birth rates. Japan has set a target to transform into a 'preferred destination for foreigners' by easing the visa acquisition process for IT specialists and highly educated individuals. In South Korea, despite the increasing dependency on foreign labor, the intake of foreign workers is still slow, and the establishment of an integrated Immigration Office for related matters remains sluggish. Meanwhile, the OECD reports that member countries welcomed 6.1 million new immigrants last year, a significant increase from the previous year. Entering this new era, South Korea must reconsider its policies on foreign integration. It's not only about increasing the number of foreigners but also about designing and implementing policies that promote seamless social integration.

Legislative Framework and Policies Pertaining to Multicultural Integration in South Korea

Korea has traditionally perceived itself as a homogeneous society; nevertheless, migratory trends over recent years have initiated a transformation not only in the demographic composition but also in the conceptualization and administration of multiculturalism within the nation. It is imperative to delineate the construct of multiculturalism within the Korean milieu, scrutinize its evolution, and identify the legislative enactments and policies pertaining to multiculturalism that have been instituted. Moreover, a rigorous analysis of the ramifications of these policies on multicultural educational paradigms and methodologies is warranted. A confluence of factors has precipitated the promulgation of specific integration statutes and the formulation of multicultural policies in Korea. These include the escalating influx of immigrants and the socioeconomic marginalization and ethnically rooted prejudice facing migrant spouses. Contrary to the conservative Korean press's narrative, which posited that migrant spouses and their ethnically heterogeneous offspring might precipitate social disquietude rather than ameliorate the nation's demographic quandaries (Kim, 2014), the Roh Moo-Hyun government commissioned the Presidential Committee on Aging Society

and Population Policy to devise strategies for the inception of a ‘multicultural society’. The upshot was the enaction of ‘multicultural’ integration legislation and policy frameworks, namely, the ‘Basic Act on the Treatment of Foreigners in Korea’ (2007), the ‘Support for Multicultural Families Act’ (2008), and the promulgation of 'Multicultural Education' initiatives (2007). Subsequent to these legislative efforts, however, scholars have proffered critiques of the government's conceptualization of ‘multiculturalism’. The Roh Moo-Hyun administration initially adopted the term ‘multicultural’ as a politically palatable surrogate for the descriptor ‘mixed-blood’. As explicated by Lee (2015), subsequent Korean administrations have utilized the term ‘multicultural family’ to refer specifically to familial units comprising a Korean national and a spouse of divergent ethnic or cultural provenance. The interrogation here is the extent to which Korean policy frameworks acknowledge the intrinsic diversity of the Korean society and how these statutes impact the social standing of migrant spouses and progeny of mixed ethnicity. The Korean National Assembly enacted the ‘Basic Act on the Treatment of Foreigners in Korea’ in 2007. According to Younghee Shim (2010), this Act was envisioned to facilitate the acculturation of foreign nationals within Korean society, leveraging their unique competencies towards the collective advancement and societal cohesion of Korea. Notwithstanding, the Act functions more as an articulation of intent, bereft of definitive policy formulations. Its significance is undiminished, however, as it necessitates the formulation of a quintennial ‘Comprehensive Immigration Policy Plan’ to elucidate the nation’s specific integration strategies. Thus, the ‘First Comprehensive Immigration Policy Plan’ was ratified under the Lee Myung-Bak administration in 2008. This Plan targets the socio-economic disenfranchisement and ethnically anchored discrimination afflicting migrant spouses, albeit attributing the genesis of such issues to these individuals' integration challenges within Korean society. The Plan explicitly states that the inadequate adaptation of marriage-based immigrants to Korean society erodes familial foundations and levies substantial social expenditures. Despite prolonged residence, many marriage-based immigrants possess insufficient proficiency in Korean language and cultural understanding to navigate Korean society with ease. This deficiency exposes them to discrimination and human rights violations.

The Korean interpretation of ‘multiculturalism’ as it pertains to non-ethnic Korean migrants is also mirrored in the ‘Support for Multicultural Families Act’. This Act is the sole legislative instrument effectuating the policies outlined in the Comprehensive Plan, achieved by allocating project-based funding to NGOs, enabling them to operate as Multicultural Family Support Centers. These entities ostensibly aim to cater to ‘multicultural families’, yet in practice, they predominantly serve the primary beneficiaries of Korea’s immigration policies: migrant spouses and their children. Researchers have observed that the support initiatives of these centers lean towards the assimilation of migrant spouses into Korean society by prioritizing their reproductive roles and conforming their lifecycle to that of the prototypical Korean woman. This

encompasses a trajectory from marriage preparation through to childbirth, child-rearing, and eventual integration into the labor market. Such a paradigmatic approach sidelines the diverse educational backgrounds, professional experiences, or career aspirations of these individuals, pigeonholing them into a maternal archetype (Younghee Shim, 2010) Furthermore, Kim (2011) elucidates that the Centers' programs emphasize Korean language and cultural acculturation for migrant spouses, provide matrimonial education for Korean partners, and offer assistance to domestic violence victims, alongside prenatal and postnatal support. The initiatives also entail instructing parents on literacy and academic support for their children, challenging discrimination against multicultural families, and furnishing Korean language and cultural enrichment classes for their children. Thus, the Centers focus on the reproductive aspect of migrant spouses and the assimilation of multicultural families into Korean society. In a recent legal development, the Ministry of Health and Welfare (2021) has pledged to subsidize child care and early education for all children within 'multicultural families' aged 0 to 5 years, irrespective of household income. By extending benefits and special allowances to migrant spouses through these support measures, the government anticipates alleviating the socio-economic tribulations of these individuals. Simultaneously, these tailored support initiatives carry the unintended consequence of impeding social integration, as they are disbursed through the Multicultural Family Support Law rather than through conventional welfare channels. Consequently, these benefits are exclusive to migrant spouses, ostracizing them from native Koreans who might be experiencing analogous socioeconomic difficulties.

This bifurcation of social support, as Radtke (2010) observes, cements the 'migrant spouse' as a distinct, minority class, thereby exacerbating the dichotomy with the majority populace. In summation, while South Korea's legislative measures and support mechanisms aspire to address the pressing issues of economic privation and ethnically based discrimination that migrant spouses confront, they are predicated on the notion of these individuals serving a reproductive function within the nation and assimilating into the prevailing Korean societal norms. The state's approach, which ascribes the economic and socio-cultural adversities faced by migrant spouses to their lack of cultural assimilation, fails to renegotiate the mono-ethnic, mono-cultural national identity with the broader Korean society. This demarcation relegates those who do not conform to the ethnic and cultural benchmarks of 'Koreanness' to a subordinate citizenship status.

Exacerbating the issue is the fact that the support measures directed at multicultural families construct migrant spouses and their families as dependent cohorts, thereby perpetuating their deviation from the indigenous Korean population. This highlights the imperative for the South Korean government to actively engage with the entirety of Korean society in reconceptualizing its self-identification from a mono-ethnic, mono-cultural national identity to one that embraces a multi-ethnic, multicultural ethos, thereby facilitating a more seamless integration of immigrants as South Korean citizens. To assess

whether and how the government intends to navigate this transformative process, the ensuing chapter will delve into the substance of South Korea's multicultural education and its role in redefining the construct of 'Korean' within the nation's increasingly diverse social fabric.

Strategies for Diverse Educational Integration

Since the initial observations of the increasing diversity within South Korea due to international marriages and the influx of foreign workers, the trends have continued to shape the demographic landscape of the country. According to more recent statistics, the prevalence of international marriages and the presence of foreign workers have become more pronounced. The number of North Korean defectors has also continued to grow, reflecting the ongoing complexity and expansion of South Korea's multicultural fabric. South Korea's economy has advanced, now ranking among the world's largest, the societal shift towards greater inclusivity and openness has necessitated the evolution of its educational strategies to meet the needs of an increasingly diverse population. n education, children from multicultural backgrounds, including those from international marriages and foreign workers' families, continue to face significant challenges. Language barriers, cultural dissonance, and social isolation are among the hurdles that need to be overcome for these children to succeed in the educational system.

To address these issues, South Korea has expanded and refined its legislative and policy framework. The country has introduced comprehensive measures aimed at fostering an inclusive education system and providing broader support for multicultural families. This includes the enhancement of legal provisions that mandate cultural competency and anti-discrimination training within schools. Recent educational reforms have focused on integrating multicultural education into the core curriculum, ensuring that all students receive instruction that reflects the diverse society in which they live. These reforms aim not only to assist students from multicultural backgrounds in acclimating and succeeding within the educational system but also to educate all students about diversity and inclusivity, thereby cultivating a more harmonious society. The Ministry of Education now mandates that educational programs and curricula include components that address multiculturalism, equipping students with the skills and knowledge necessary to navigate a society enriched by a variety of cultural backgrounds. The aim is to encourage understanding, respect, and social cohesion among all members of the South Korean community.

Furthermore, to ensure that children from multicultural families have equal opportunities, the government has put forth substantial efforts to support their educational and social development. This has included language acquisition programs, social integration initiatives, and the provision of various forms of assistance to help these children and

their families overcome the socioeconomic challenges they may face. These initiatives reflect South Korea's ongoing commitment to fostering an education system and a society that are inclusive, equitable, and reflective of the nation's rich cultural diversity. Since the initial observations of the increasing diversity within South Korea due to international marriages and the influx of foreign workers, the trends have continued to shape the demographic landscape of the country. According to more recent statistics, the prevalence of international marriages and the presence of foreign workers have become more pronounced. The number of North Korean defectors has also continued to grow, reflecting the ongoing complexity and expansion of South Korea's multicultural fabric. As South Korea's economy has advanced, now ranking among the world's largest, the societal shift towards greater inclusivity and openness has necessitated the evolution of its educational strategies to meet the needs of an increasingly diverse population.

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The Status of Multicultural Students in Korea

Classification	Total	Elementary School	Middle School	High School
2012	46,776	33,740	9,627	3,409
2013	55,498	39,360	11,280	4,858
2014	67,465	48,225	12,506	6,734
2015	82,135	60,162	13,827	8,146
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2018	122,212	93,027	21,693	10,688
2019	137,225	103,881	21,693	11,234
2020	147,378	107,694	26,773	12,478

Table 1 Number of Multicultural students in South Korea

The inaugural assessment of the demographic prevalence of multicultural students within the South Korean educational landscape was conducted in the year 2012. This table illustrates the demographic trend of multicultural student populations in South Korean educational institutions from 2012 to 2020, segmented into elementary, middle, and high schools. Over this eight-year period, there is a clear upward trajectory in the total number of multicultural students. In 2012, the total number of multicultural students registered across all school levels was 46,776. The majority of these students were in elementary school, accounting for 33,740, followed by 9,627 in middle school, and the smallest cohort in high school with 3,409 students. By 2013, there was a notable increase across all educational levels, with the total multicultural student population growing to 55,498. The elementary sector saw an increment to 39,360, the middle school student count rose to 11,280, and the high school population increased to 4,858. The upward trend continued into 2014, with a total multicultural student population of 67,465. Elementary schools had 48,225 students, middle schools had 12,506, and high schools experienced a significant rise to 6,734 students. The table shows a skipped period until 2018, indicating a considerable increase over the intervening years. By 2018, the total number of multicultural students had surged to 122,212, with elementary schools containing 93,027 students, middle schools accommodating 21,693, and high schools housing 10,688 students. The increase persisted into 2019, with the total number of multicultural students reaching 137,225. This was notably reflected in the elementary school population, which grew to 103,881 students, while the middle school count remained the same as in 2018 at 21,693, and the high school segment increased to 11,234 students. The most recent data from 2020 shows a continued rise, with the multicultural student population standing at

147,378. Elementary schools comprised the largest share with 107,694 students, middle schools had 26,773, and high schools continued their steady growth to 12,478 students.

Classification	Total	Domestically Born	International Students	Late-entry Immigrants
2018	122,212	98,263	15,629	8,320
2019	137,225	108,069	20,459	8,697
2020	147,378	113,774	24,453	9,151

Table 2 Current Enrollment Status by Type of Multicultural Students

From 2018 to 2020, South Korea experienced a notable increase in its multicultural student demographics, as illustrated by the tabulated data. In 2018, the total number of multicultural students recorded was 122,212, which escalated to 137,225 in 2019, culminating at 147,378 by the end of 2020. This progression signifies a consistent upward trajectory in multicultural student enrolment across this time frame. A closer scrutiny of the categories within the multicultural student body presents noteworthy insights. The cohort of domestically born students, presumably those born in Korea to immigrant families, manifested a growth from 98,263 in 2018 to 113,774 in 2020, underscoring a substantial rise. This increase could potentially reflect the wider societal integration and natural population growth within the immigrant communities in Korea. International students, likely to be those who have migrated to Korea for educational purposes, also saw an appreciable surge from 15,629 to 24,453 over the given period. This could indicate Korea's expanding appeal as an international education hub and its enhanced educational outreach. The group labeled as 'Late-entry Immigrants,' perhaps referring to students who immigrated to Korea at an older age, demonstrated a smaller yet steady increment from 8,320 in 2018 to 9,151 in 2020. This consistent growth may suggest ongoing migration trends and the extension of Korea’s educational resources to late-arriving immigrant youth. The data collectively suggest a diversifying educational landscape in Korea, with increasing numbers of students from varied cultural backgrounds. This diversification brings to light the evolving nature of Korea’s societal composition and the potential implications for educational policy and curriculum development to address the needs of an increasingly heterogeneous student population.

This steady increase in the multicultural student population over the years underscores the ongoing diversification of South Korea's youth demographic and suggests a growing need for adaptive educational policies and resources to accommodate a more culturally varied student body. Efforts have been made to actively support children of multicultural

background since 2000: Proposals on "The Act for Protection and Support of Immigrant Families." Intended to provide a compulsory multicultural education and government welfare for immigrants by marriage, "The Act to Support Inter-Racial Families' requiring schools to provide them with education based on anti-discrimination and non-prejudice ground, and 'The Act to Support Multicultural Families' requiring members of multicultural families to learn the Korean language and to be educated for social adaptation (Office of Lawmaker Gyeong Hwa Ko, 2006, 2007). Additionally, the Ministry of Education and Human Resources Development announced the 'Plan to Educate Children of Multicultural Families' in 2006 and 2007, urged its implementation, and revised the National Curriculum adding 'Multicultural Education' as a subject.

Multicultural students face various interrelated problems at school, which prevents them from equal participation in the South Korean education system. Among the most significant issues are their underdeveloped Korean language abilities, a poorly developed scholastic attitude and being socially excluded by their Korean native peers. One of the official responses to this situation was the announcement of the Roh Moo-Hyun administration in 2006 that the South Korean government would implement 'multicultural education' in Korean schools "as a solution to underachievement in schooling and minority disintegration" (Lee, 2015). Later, the Lee Myung-Bak administration implemented 'multicultural education' in 2009 as part of the seventh curriculum. This development is important because the national school system, as one of the state's primary tools for nation-building, has the potential to bridge the difference between South Korea's multi- ethnic, multi-cultural reality and the vision of a mono-ethnic, mono-cultural national community which is still dominant among the South Korean population.

It is indisputable that this 'picture' is very complex, and it is the result of many interrelated factors, among which the influence of mass media. It has also been established that South Korean elementary school textbooks provide one-dimensional descriptions of nation-states in which they do not distinguish between ethnic and cultural variety within the nation-states in question. One 'instrument' in this process is schoolbooks. For example, South Korea's elementary school textbooks do not recognize, to speak in Parekh's (2010) terms that 'cultures' contain a plurality of elements. Rather, by conflating culture, ethnicity, and nation into one essential, homogeneous image these textbooks teach students that cultures, ethnic groups and nations are mutually exclusive. Furthermore, as these textbooks combine essential descriptions of 'Other' nations with subjective narratives on the relative development or 'historical character' of these nations, textbooks do not 'reduce prejudice' but rather perpetrate the existing 'hierarchy of nations' in elementary students' national imaginary'. Thus, these textbooks abet the perpetuation of negative stereotypes toward 'multicultural families' nation-states of origin, such as 'underdeveloped' Vietnam or 'hostile' Japan.

Conclusion

Drawing upon the insights gleaned from the upward trend in multicultural student populations in South Korea, it is evident that diversity is an intrinsic characteristic of contemporary societies. The perception and management of such diversity are contingent upon the frameworks and strategies that education policies implement to address multiculturalism. Effective educational practices are pivotal in cultivating an environment where diversity is not only acknowledged but also celebrated as a societal asset. In South Korea, the gradual recognition that Korean society is no longer homogenous has sparked legal and educational reforms. Nevertheless, the data suggests that this is merely the inception of a comprehensive approach required to accommodate the complexities of a multicultural populace. As student demographics continue to evolve, there is an imperative need for education systems to foster inclusivity and multicultural competency. This entails a curriculum that is not only responsive to the needs of a diverse student body but also one that embeds cultural sensitivity and intercultural dialogue as core components. Moreover, it is incumbent upon policymakers and educators to extend their vision beyond the classroom. Multicultural education should be viewed as a continuous, collaborative process involving students, parents, teachers, and the wider community. Policies should be directed toward creating an ethos of mutual respect and understanding, dismantling prejudices, and promoting the benefits of cultural pluralism. Investment in teacher training is crucial, equipping educators with the skills to navigate and celebrate cultural differences, fostering an atmosphere where multiculturalism is perceived as an enriching element of the educational experience. Additionally, parental engagement programs are vital in reinforcing the values of multicultural education within the home environment, promoting a consistent message of diversity and inclusion.

In conclusion, while South Korea has made strides in acknowledging its cultural tapestry, there remains a significant journey ahead. The nation's educational policy must be dynamic, embracing a proactive and inclusive approach that not only tolerates but embraces diversity. It must strive to empower students from all backgrounds to contribute meaningfully to a society that views its cultural mosaic not as a challenge to be surmounted but as an invaluable resource to be nurtured. The fabric of Korean society, interwoven with threads of various hues and textures, stands as a testament to the potential of multiculturalism as a catalyst for innovation, growth, and social cohesion in the 21st century and beyond.

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Toward Cosmopolitan Society in Korea: The Identity of 'Koreans+' and Korean Society

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- Dual Nature of Identity: Sameness and Selfhood

Identity derives its meaning from the concepts of 'sameness' or 'uniformity.' The late Latin term 'identitas' serves as its etymological origin, with English words like 'the same' and the third person demonstrative pronoun *'idem'* tracing their roots back to it(Aristotle 1933; 2014). Examining the Latin etymology further, we find the term 'identitas' shares its etymological origin with the Greek term 'tautotes.' The Greek term 'tautotes' is derived from 'autos,' which encompasses the meanings of 'selfhood(ipse; self)' and 'sameness'(idem; same) (Stroll 1967). In sum, identity encompasses two distinct meanings, both 'sameness' and 'selfhood.'

Identity as 'sameness' becomes something that, despite changes in the physical and conceptual environment, maintains that sameness. It involves preserving one's uniqueness, one's existence as a unique self. Consequently, this kind of identity leads to the fundamental question, 'What am I?' On the other hand, selfhood represents the exclusive 'difference,' which means 'otherness' (Yang 2006: 70). Identity as 'selfhood,' in the end, is not about human lives confined to a single time and space but rather about evolving in response to change, not being confined to one time and space. This leads to questions about change and creation, the 'patterns' of identity, prompted by the question, 'Who am I?'

In this regard, ethnic identity is paradoxical in its meaning because it simultaneously encompasses unchanging identity in the form of *sameness* and a changeable identity in the form of *selfhood*. Forms that seek to eliminate differences and those that focus on acknowledging distinctions inevitably move in different directions. However, it's important to highlight that these two aspects can be interconnected through inter-subjectivity, especially within the societal space constructed by various 'identities.' In the realm of society, where individuals and groups each possess their own identities, they can meet, interact, and either transform or maintain their identities, emphasizing that these two concepts are not inherently contradictory. This dialectical evolutionary perspective on identity demonstrates the dynamism of identity in the international context and can also be viewed as an expression that captures the dynamics of diaspora.

- **Defining *Joseonjok*: *Joseonjok* and Identity**

Expanding upon the prior discourse on identity, let us take an individual within a societal context as an illustrative case. Such an individual harbors distinguishing attributes that demarcate them from others, engaging in processes that encompass self-awareness and involvement in community belonging or assimilation. Throughout this trajectory, individuals cultivate an awareness of both intrinsic and extrinsic elements, namely lineage and cultural facets, which serve as determinants for validating their societal status. These constituents become foundational aspects and standards of an individual's self-identity. In particular, the manifold acquired elements, arising from cultural assimilation, contribute to the multifaceted identities exhibited in contemporary multicultural societies. These multifaceted identities undergo transformations in response to temporal and spatial shifts, giving rise to two pivotal and mutable identities amidst them: ethnic identity and national identity.

The multifaceted identity that forms the basis of South Korea and the Korean ethnic group is epitomized by the *Joseonjok*. Chinese Korean, as integral constituents of the broader Chinese nation's 'grand family,' have consistently maintained a composite identity that encompasses both national and ethnic facets. However, with China's 'Reform and Opening-up' policies, the establishment of diplomatic relations with South Korea has further accentuated diversity. On one hand, through the 'encounter with South Korea,' the identity of 'Chinese *Joseonjok'* has been reaffirmed (Lim and Kim 2002). On the other hand, through their overseas migration and residence, new identities such as *'Joseonjok* in Korea'(Piao 2011), 'Neo *Joseonjok'*(Kim 1994), and even 'East Asian *Joseonjok'*(Lee 2006; Li 2014) have been emerging.

<Table 1> Population of *Joseonjok* in Key Countries[16]

China	South Korea	Japan	Total
Approx. 1.7M	Approx. 620,000	Approx.	Approx. 1.89M – 1.99M

[16] In the case of China, according to the "2021 China Statistical Yearbook(2021年中国统计年鉴)", statistics are provided only for *Joseonjok* registered within China's borders(境内), excluding those who hold overseas permanent residency or foreign nationalities. In contrast, the statistics provided by the Overseas Koreans Agency in South Korea encompass individuals with Chinese nationality, regardless of their current country of residence. Therefore, there is a considerable amount of overlapping data between the statistics from China and South Korea. The total population of *Joseonjok* presented in <Table 1> is an estimate that includes the populations of both '*Joseonjok* with Chinese nationality' and '*Joseonjok* who have naturalized in South Korea,' along with the addition of *Joseonjok* in Japan.

		70,000 – 80,000	(Estimated)

Among China's 56 ethnic groups, the population of the ethnic group known as *Joseonjok* is approximately 1.7 million. According to a law established in 1952, these *Joseonjok* people are ensured rights concerning economic, cultural, linguistic, traditional, and religious rights by the Chinese government, alongside being designated as pioneers, protectors, and builders in the political and legal context of China as an ethnic minority. *Joseonjok* people are primarily distributed in the northeastern three provinces of China, with a notable concentration in Jilin Province. They have been granted two autonomous administrative regions: the Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture and the Changbai Korean Autonomous County, which enable them to form self-sustaining communities of a certain scale.

The trajectory leading to such legal and political status is accompanied by historical intricacies. Various hypotheses abound regarding its origins, encompassing indigenous provenance, Yuan and Ming dynasty migrations, 19th-century emergence, and late Ming and early Qing migrations. The prevailing focus, however, centers on the period extending from the late Ming and early Qing dynasties to the mid-19th century. Two primary historical contentions emerge: one posits the *Joseonjok's* origin as rooted in those who either remained during the late 1619 Ming-Qing wars when Joseon dynasty's King Gwanghaegun dispatched over 13,000 troops to assist the Ming dynasty or were abducted during the events of the *Jeongmyo Horan* (정묘호란) in 1627 and the *Byungja wars* (병자호란) in 1636. The alternative theory suggests that Joseon individuals who migrated to Manchuria in the mid-19th century subsequently established their residential communities. These discussions hold significance due to the implications they carry for intrinsic identity. The consensus regarding the historical narratives and origins underpinning their intrinsic identity constitutes a pivotal factor in distinguishing their acquired identity.

In the discourse of Chinese *Joseonjok* identity, a prominent representation emphasizes modern national identity, labeling them as 'Chinese nationals of *Joseonjok'* or simply 'Chinese'(Huang 2013). This perspective is firmly grounded in contemporary national identity, a concept intrinsically associated with nationality, as defined by the ideologies of modern nation-states. In contrast, intrinsic identity places a strong emphasis on its diasporic nature, encompassing historical narratives. Instances of this phenomenon include the concepts of 'dual identity,' 'biculturalism,' as exemplified by the 'marginal culture theory,' as well as the notions of 'diaspora identity'(Bang 2013), and 'the third identity'(Park 2011), all of which reflect the dynamic coexistence between *Joseonjok* and the Korean Peninsula(Zheng 1997).

In summary, Joseonjok's identity can be delineated as 'transnational,' encompassing

both their Chinese national identity and their diasporic dual identity. Their identity also mirrors the transformations stemming from population migrations. Consequently, irrespective of the provenance of *Joseonjok* residing in China, various foundational shifts have propelled them towards identities such as *'Joseonjok* in China,' *'Joseonjok* in Korea,' and '*Joseonjok* in Japan'. Moreover, independently of their historical roots, *Joseonjok* are in the process of shaping an inter-border East Asian identity as global citizens.

- **The Complex Identity of *Joseonjok***

To comprehend the evolution of *Joseonjok* society and their changing consciousness, it is imperative to engage in discourse and comprehension across three fundamental dimensions. These dimensions revolve around the perspectives of *Joseonjok* as Chinese nationals, *Joseonjok* as constituents of the Korean ethnic group, and *Joseonjok* as global agents in the realm of political economy. These perspectives are underpinned by the intricate interplay of intrinsic and acquired identities, engendering both shared and distinctive identity facets, concurrently indicative of ongoing societal transformations. Adopting this analytical framework enables an examination of the diverse manifestations of identity within South Korean society.

The immutable intrinsic identity, specifically the lineage of *Joseonjok* as descendants of the Korean populace rooted in the Korean Peninsula, cannot be refuted without compelling scientific evidence. Over an extensive period, *Joseonjok* have existed within the framework of the Chinese nation, cognizant of a composite identity encompassing national and ethnic dimensions. With the initiation of diplomatic relations between China and South Korea in 1992, *Joseonjok* instigated a 'Korean encounter' after a period marked by the Cold War. Historical interactions that transcended the division of the Korean Peninsula and the Cold War have given rise to novel identities, including *'Joseonjok* in Japan,' *'Joseonjok* in Korea,' and even *'Joseonjok* in East Asia,' alongside the existing identity of *'Joseonjok* in China.' These emerging identities have evolved through the dynamics of international politics, transitioning from Joseon-in(Korean) to *Joseonjok*, from Chinese nationals to overseas compatriots and East Asians, resulting in a multifaceted and intersecting array of identities.

Therefore, from the perspective of *Joseonjok*, the identity of those who have experienced life in other countries like Korea or Japan appears in a more complex form than that of *Joseonjok* who are rooted in a single region. Furthermore, since the foreign experiences of *Joseonjok* do not necessarily signify a permanent return to the host country but can lead to a potential return to China, in other words, a circular migration, the supranational and mixed nature of their identity may exhibit an even more multiplex and intricate pattern(Lee, 2020). This pattern is evident in surveys conducted with *Joseonjok*.

As highlighted in numerous sociological studies, when asked "Where is your homeland?" an overwhelming majority of respondents emphatically answer ‘China,’ emphasizing their national identity. However, in terms of language identification, when asked “Which language do you consider your mother tongue?” 35.1% chose Korean, while 64.9% chose ‘both Korean and Chinese,’ with no respondents selecting Chinese as their mother tongue (Lee, 2020, p. 474).

From South Korea's perspective, the encounter with *Joseonjok* has been a learning process. South Korean society has been accumulating experiences through its interactions with *Joseonjok*, resulting in the development of more sophisticated relationships and mutual identity formation. This foundation is expected to intersect with various academic identities in South Korean society, such as supranationalism, multiculturalism, immigration policies, and the East Asian community. It may also influence the formation of another dimension of South Korean national identity, alongside the Korean diaspora in Japan. This significance is amplified by the fact that a considerable number of *Joseonjok* in South Korea are not merely “sojourning” in the country but are obtaining South Korean nationality through the process of naturalization. In other words, they are harmonizing their nationality and ethnic identity through institutional efforts, unifying their identity. Throughout this process, they, at least on the surface, acquire equal legal status and national identity as South Koreans. Nonetheless, they have not achieved full assimilation into Korean society, yet they maintain their distinctive complex identity, which, in turn, fosters the creation of a 'community within a community.[17]

Undoubtedly, these experiences have the potential to facilitate the evolution of Korean society toward multiculturalism. At the same time, however, it is imperative to underscore that the issue of “politics of identity” stands as a pivotal point of contention. Korea conspicuously lacks the experience of transmutation into a multicultural society, with its historical narrative primarily composed of the colonial legacy, the Korean War, and episodes of coerced migration. This deficiency readily engenders a proclivity for insular identity formation. This scenario is, in part, attributable to the entrenched conventional perspective that regards the *Joseonjok* as a form of compatriots, while concurrently coexisting with the view of them as ‘foreigners holding Chinese nationality.’ Consequently, there exists a palpable potential for identity conflicts as distinct groups endeavor to reassert their identities. In light of this, the reappraisal of the *Joseonjok* community emerges as a pivotal asset to Korean society and the inaugural stride towards

[17] According to the ‘*2021 Immigrant Status and Employment Survey Results(2021 년 이민자체류실태 및 고용조사 결과)*’ released by Statistics Korea on 21 December 2021, in the five-year period from 2016 to 2021, 49,400 people were granted naturalisation, with China accounting for 46.7% of the total, and *Joseonjok* accounting for 36.2% with 17,900.

advancing into a global citizenship society. In essence, it necessitates a contemplation of the duality inherent in the politics of identity, encompassing its emancipatory and potentially coercive functions.

- Institutional Change in South Korea and the Multilayered Identity of the *Joseonjok*

As described above, the *Joseonjok* diaspora currently living in South Korea has formed a distinct identity from that of the *Joseonjok* diaspora in China. The weight and importance of certain identities in their dual and triple identity structure change flexibly depending on factors such as the international political environment, the transformation of the economic structure, and the intensification of social conflicts. According to the migration system theory, the variables that have driven *Joseonjok's* migration to South Korea are transnationalism and political system, such as China's '*Reform and Opening-up'* in 1978 and Deng Xiaoping's '*South Tour Speeches'* in 1992. Among them, the immigration and compatriot policies of the host country, namely South Korea, did not simply facilitate the influx of Joseojok into South Korea, but also influenced the formation and transformation of the identity of the Joseojok in South Korea. Indeed, the main difference between *Joseonjok* in Korea and *Joseojok* living in other countries is the legal status they are granted.

For example, *Joseonjok* in Japan are not granted any different status than Han Chinese living in Japan. However, the South Korean government, through the Overseas Koreans Act and related policies, provides Joseonjok in Korea with different treatment than Han Chinese and other foreign nationals. In particular, the *Act on the Immigration and Legal Status of Overseas Koreans* (hereinafter referred to as the Overseas Koreans Act), enacted in 1999, grants overseas Koreans a legal status similar to that of nationals, expanding their rights to enter and leave the country, stay in the country, and own real estate.

<Table 2> Residency Status of Overseas Koreans and *Joseonjok* in South Korea[18]

Visa type	Overseas Korean Visa (F-4)	Working Visit (H-2)	Permanent Resident (F-5)	Others	Total
All Expatriates	529,828	104,953	127,876	86,369	849,026
Joseonjok	374,251	88,612	123,714	71,648	658,225
Share	70.6%	84.4%	96.7%	82.9%	77.5%

[18] As of September 30, 2023

Source: Ministry of Justice Korea Immigration Service. *Monthly Statistics September 2023*. http://bit.ly/45Mb9JF

Among them, the introduction of a system that recognises the right to vote for foreigners is the most significant in adding layers to the identity of *Joseonjok* in South Korea. *The Public Official Election Act,* which was amended by the National Assembly in June 2005, grants the right to vote in Local Elections to foreigners over the age of 19 who have been granted permanent residency status for three years. As shown in Table 2 above, the overwhelming majority of overseas Koreans with permanent residency status are *Joseonjok*, and this legislation effectively guarantees them the right to vote in the Local Election. Thus, a large number of *Joseonjok* living in South Korea can play a role as political actors, i.e. voters, who can directly elect local governors, local councillors, superintendents, heads of basic local governments, and members of basic councils in the areas where they live.

Considering that most countries, including the United States, North Korea, and Japan, do not grant voting rights to *Joseonjok*, regardless of whether they have obtained permanent residency, it is possible for *Joseonjok* in South Korea to cultivate a sense of identity and belonging through participation, which is not achievable in these countries. Nevertheless, the right to vote is not guaranteed to the same extent as it is for the general population of South Korea. In other words, *Joseonjok* are granted the right to participate in politics as 'residents' but not as 'citizens' or 'nationals' of South Korea, creating an identity that is distinct from that of Koreans or *Joseonjok* residing in other countries.

As mentioned above, South Korea, with its "Monoethnic state" background, has had difficulty in socially integrating *Joseonjok* who has this complex identity. Aside from the personal level factors such as the multi-layered identity of *Joseonjok*, this is also due to the fact that *Joseonjok* are at the centre of national and societal debates in South Korea's politics, society, and foreign affairs. In South Korean society, Joseonjok are often described as fellow countrymen who share the same heritage, while at times, they are portrayed as 'criminals threatening the safety and stability of Korean society,' and occasionally, as the root cause of cultural and 'ownership' disputes between South Korea and China. They are forced to make a binary choice between national identity and ethnic identity whenever friction arises between South Korea and China, including the 'THAAD issue,' and such 'tensions' act as a core factor hindering the development of South Korea's multicultural and convergent society. The first step in Korea's transformation into a global citizenship society is to recognise the complementary, rather than contradictory, nature of the multi-layered identities of *Joseonjok* in South Korea.

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Translation as Transcending Language and Culture: What Are Indonesian Translators' Consciousness and Values?

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Introduction

In interlingual translation, it is impossible to translate meanings perfectly because each language structure and culture are different. Translation always has issues —which is better, direct translation or indirect translation? This issue was discussed by M.T. Cicero in 1 BC and Hieronymus in the late 4th century AD (Munday 2016, 13).

After the 1950s, translation was studied as a systematic analysis in which the goal of translation is equivalence: The meaning and value of a text written in one language and translated another are equal. Equivalence is used in two senses in translation studies, broad-sense equivalence and narrow-sense equivalence. Broad-sense equivalence is about politics, equal status in authority, or cultural relativism in anthropology. Narrow-sense equivalence is pragmatic or syntactic.

However, the definition of equivalence was doubtful. Translation has been studied from several perspectives; in the 1970s, dynamic translation studies began, and in the 1990s, translation studies began as communication in a cultural–social context. In these studies, researchers pointed out that the act of translation is sometimes accompanied by strategy and violence or abuse, indicating that translation is not merely an act of language conversion but also an act of cultural transcendence.

Multiculturalism Movement in Translation Studies

In translation studies that discuss translation as communication of cultural-social context and an act of cultural transcendence relevant to strategy or violence, Venuti (1995) discussed translator's invisibility in Anglo-American culture. Related to the issue, Venuti (1995) proposed two translation directions: domesticating translation and foreignizing translation.

Domesticating translation is a fluent text in which "the translation is not in fact a translation, but the 'original'" that has spread in Anglo-American culture (Venuti 1995, 1). This translation strategy risks not only the translator's invisibility but also the reduction of a foreign text to the target language's (TL's) cultural values. Domesticating translation creates relations with cultural others "as imperialistic abroad and xenophobic at home" (ibid. 17).

On the other hand, foreignizing translation is not easy to read as a text because it includes awkward expressions, but it provides divergent values for registering linguistic and cultural differences in foreign texts. Therefore, foreignizing translations avoid a

decline in cross-cultural acceptance. Through discussion about foreignizing translation, Venuti posed a challenge to "force translators and their readers to reflect on the ethnocentric violence of translation and hence to write and read translated texts in ways that seek to recognize the linguistic and cultural difference of foreign texts" (ibid. 41-42).

This theory has affected translation studies, translators, and critics not only in Anglo-America but also in other countries, cultures, and languages. This movement can be seen as one of multiculturalism in translation studies.

Nevertheless, most previous studies are similar to comparative studies on certain aspects of source text's (ST's) and target text's (TT's), and there are few studies on translators who engage in transcultural activities. Additionally, it is not clear how the translation process works. The translation strategies discussed in research are rarely consciously or intentionally used; moreover, translators mostly reflect their consciousness and values in the translation.

This study is intended to clarify translators' consciousness and values by analyzing processes from the interpretation of the ST to the production of the TT.

Subject of This Study

As a fundamental problem of translation, if the concepts and words of the source language (SL) do not directly apply to the TL, a literal translation of the ST will be difficult to understand for readers who do not know the ST, and cultural equivalence will be lost. Translating the semantic content of the ST often results in a translation that is unfaithful to the ST.

Figurative expressions are rhetoric used in a variety of languages, but because of the "functionality of the cultural environment, different cultures make it difficult to translate metaphors as they are" (Makino 2018, 47). Figurative expressions can potentially highlight the problem of translation very well. Therefore, this study uses the Japanese similes of *"youni," "youna," "mitaini,"* and *"mitaina,"* all of which literally means "as if." Similes require a lot of processing effort in interpretation and translation for the object of the study.

The process of interpreting and translating works with a mixture of author-specific and Japanese-specific figurative expressions might be more complicated than that of other literary works; therefore, this study is focused on Haruki Murakami's works.

Kafka on the Shore and *Norwegian Wood* were translated into Indonesian for the first time in 2005. Today, eight of Haruki Murakami's works have been translated into Indonesian. *Kafka on the Shore* was translated from English and might have yielded results outside the scope of this study; therefore, it was excluded. Three works were then selected, a number deemed sufficient to extract the figurative expressions: *Norwegian Wood*, *Hear the Wind Sing*, and *1Q84*, in order of the year in which they were translated.

To compare ST and TT, the three works were textually converted for computer processing, manually modified, and separated into one sentence each STs and TTs. Then,

a parallel corpus-style database was created to attach Japanese sentences corresponding to Indonesian sentences, from which all examples of the target expressions *"youni," "youna," "mitaini,"* and *"mitaina"* were extracted and classified into four categories by meaning and function according to Maeda (2006) and Mutsuro and Kawaki (2000). Appearance similarities were further classified into three subcategories (manner, metaphor, and equality). From these, the metaphor expressions that are the subject of this study were extracted.

Analysis

Result of Translators' Interviews

The translation process was analyzed to identify the translators' consciousness and values via a method based on the translators' interviews, Sperber and Wilson's (1986/1995) relevance theory and Gutt's (1991/2004; 2014) translation theory.

According to the interviews, Jonjon Johana, who translated *Norwegian Wood* and *Hear the Wind Sing*, clarified that he translated what the author wanted to express and relays his linguistic intuitions.[1] Ribeka Ota, who translated 1Q84, makes translations as similar as possible to the originals; that is, she wanted to translate what was described in the ST and decline additional expressions, so that the Indonesian reader receives the same feeling as the Japanese reader.[2]

These two translators implied that they did not consider the translation strategy, even though they knew about it.

In terms of analyzing translators' consciousness and values in the translation process, how do these aspects appear in the study?

Analysis of the Translation Process

This study uses relevance theory and its application theory, cognitive interpretation for translation to analyze the translation process.

According to relevance theory, "an utterance is intended as an interpretation of one of the speaker's thoughts" (Sperber and Wilson 1986/1995, 234). Utterances are not always literal, and "communication is successful not when hearers recognize the linguistic meaning of the utterance, but when they infer the speaker's 'meaning' from it" (ibid. 23). This study's analysis follows the steps below.

First, enumerate assumptions that an individual may have based on knowledge, experience, etc., and the new information that they may have obtained from the context. Second, deduce those assumptions and new information. In the deductive process, as Gutt (1991/2004, 379-386; 2014) suggests, this study includes what the translators considered relevant for TT readers (e.g., how the word is used in the SL, how often it is used, and what it conveys to the reader), whether it is a dead word in the TL's cultural context, and who the intended audience is.

Results of the interviews conducted with Mr. Jonjon Johana on November 24, 2022,

and with Ms. Ribeka Ota on December 9, 2022, revealed that neither of them had specific readers in mind. For convenience, this paper refers to readers who access the text in Indonesian as general readers, and the audience is broadly defined.

Analysis of the Case Study

This is an example of a simile in *1Q84 BOOK3.* This example scene involves Ushikawa, who is secretly watching the main characters, Fuka-eri (Eriko Fukada) and Tengo through a telephoto lens camouflaged outside the window. One day, Fuka-eri became aware of this and stared steadily at him through the end of the lens. They were face to face through the viewfinder.

[ST]
牛河は自分が深田絵里子という少女に、全身を文字通り揺さぶられていることに気づいた。彼女の身じろぎひとつしない深く鋭い視線によって、身体のみならず牛河という存在そのものが根本から揺さぶられているのだ。まるで激しい恋に落ちた人のように。（Murakami 2010, 104）

[TT]
Ushikawa mendapati sekujur dirinya diguncang secara harfiah oleh Fukada Eriko. Tatapan tajam gadis itu yang tiada tergoyahkan bukan saja mengguncang raganya, tetapi juga lubuk jiwanya, bagaikan orang mabuk kepayang. (Murakami 2013, 348)

[English translation of ST]
Ushikawa knew that Eriko Fukada had literally shaken him to his core. Her unwavering, pointed gaze shook him not only physically, but to the center of his being, like someone who had fallen passionately in love. (Murakami 2012, 1142)

Comparing ST and TT, “fallen passionately in love” has been rewritten and translated into “*mabuk kepayang*,” which literally means “get intoxicated by Pangium,” an Indonesian idiom meaning to “fall in love.”

[ST]

まるで	*激しい*	*恋*	*に*	*落ちた*	*人*	*の*	*よう に。*
as.if	passionately	love	in	fall-PRF	person	of	like

‘As if a person who had fallen passionately in love.[3]’

[TT]

[…]	*bagaikan*	*orang*	*mabuk*	*kepayang.*
[…]	as.if	person	get.intoxicated	pangium

'As if a person who falls in love.'

The readers assume that the following assumptions (1 a-c) regarding "a person who had fallen passionately in love" can be made, and assumptions (2 a-e) can be made about Ushikawa, which need to be considered in the inference process.

(1)
a. "A person who had fallen passionately in love" here represents Ushikawa.
b. "A person who had fallen passionately in love" is more passionate modality than a person who falls in love.
c. "A person who had fallen passionately in love" might have a large impact.

(2)
a. Ushikawa spies on Tengo and Fuka-eri because he knows about the relationship.
b. Ushikawa is a man in his mid-forties.
c. Ushikawa has a medium-sized build.
d. Ushikawa felt his heart shaken by Fuka-eri's sharp glance.
e. Ushikawa does not really fall in love with Fuka-eri.

If we deduce with (1a) in mind and in relation to (2d), "as if a person who has fallen passionately in love" obtains representation (3).

(3)
Ushikawa felt so shaken by the sharp look he received from Fuka-eri that he could metaphorically be described as someone who had fallen passionately in love.

If the intended readers are general readers, then according to (1) through (3), it is preferable to use "*mabuk kepayang* (get intoxicated by Pangium = fall passionately in love)", which is easy to imagine when read in Indonesian.

The direct translation of "fall in love" in Indonesian is "*jatuh cinta*," which literally means "fall" and "love." However, Pangium seeds contain hydrogen cyanide and are deadly poisonous if consumed without precooking correctly, and the Indonesian idiom "*mabuk kepayang* (get intoxicated by Pangium)" gives readers a more perceptible image of "falling passionately in paralyzing love."

In this case, the meaning in the ST context was translated into an expression familiar to TT readers. Accordingly, this indicates that the translators' consciousness and values are reflected in the context-dependent meaning and its translation into an equivalent expression for TT readers. The translation process can be described as follows. First, the translator understood the meaning of the words and expressions of the ST. Second, the translator was conscious of what the original author wanted to convey and the cultural

and social context of the ST. Then, they created the TT by translating the ST into expressions suitable for the TL.

Results and Discussion

This study analyzed 24 examples that can be considered to reflect biases of the translators' consciousness and values. The main findings of this study are as follows: First, translators tended to be more conscious of the ST context if it included obvious Japanese classical expressions and cultural elements. Second, translators who transcend language and culture are involved in literary retention. Third, translators translate what the author expresses. Therefore, phrases that are not Japanese cultural expressions are translated directly (linguistically), and the TT included some of the American culture that the author brought to the ST.

For example, here are examples of the ST's culture involved in TT culture translation and non-ST culture involved in TT culture translation.

[ST]

…軟膏　は　飛ぶ　ように　売れ　始めた。 (Murakami 1979, 104)

…ointment TOP fly like sell start-PRF

'Ointments had started to sell like hot cakes.'

[TT]

…salepnya mulai laku keras. (Murakami 2008, 78)

…ointment=DET start sell.well hard

'Ointments had started to sell very well.'

This is a cross-cultural translation in which the Japanese idiom "sell like hot cakes (*飛ぶように売れる*)" is translated as the Indonesian idiom "sell like hot cakes (*laku keras*)." However, this study uncovered double cross-cultural translation.

[ST]

ホットケーキ みたいに 作る　そばから どんどん 売れている。 (Murakami 2009, 294)

hot.cake like make soon faster sell-PROG

'They sell like hot cakes as soon as they are made.'

[TT]

Begitu dicetak, langsung terjual seperti pancake, *kue dadar.* (Murakami 2013, 469)

so PASS-print directly PRF-sell like pancake pancake

'As soon as they are printed, they sell like pancakes, *kue dadar*.'

In the ST, the author used the English loan expression "sell like hot cakes (*ホットケーキみたいに売れている*)." In the TT, its translation is "sell like pancakes, *kue dadar* (*terjual seperti* pancake, *kue dadar*.)" The TT provides an additional explanation of Indonesian cakes, *kue dadar*. Therefore, the TT includes three cultures: Japanese, Indonesian, and American.

Japanese translations of American literature, for example, Richard Brautigan's works translated by Kazuko Fujimoto and Kurt Vonnegut's works translated by Shigeo Tobita, influenced Haruki Murakami (Murakami and Shibata 2000, 219-220). Hence, double cross-culture translation appears in not only nouns but also in styles.

Conclusion

To summarize the main findings of this study, translators try to translate what the author has expressed and tend to be conscious of the ST's context. What they value and try to recreate in the TT are described above. Consequently, TTs include several cultural expressions because of the translators' consciousness and values, and the author, Haruki Murakami, brought the American culture to which he refers to STs.

The investigation of the multiculturalism movement in translation studies is not sufficient; the results of this study stress that to transcend cultural and language boundaries, translators are required to interpret what an author expressed in the ST and its context, as opposed to translation strategies, and we need to develop this investigation continually.

Abbreviations

DET determiner
PASS passive
PRF perfect
PROG progressive
TOP topic

Source Data

[Japanese Source Text]

Murakami, Haruki. 1979. *Kaze no uta wo kike*. Tokyo: Kodansha.
———. 1987. *Noruwei no mori*. Tokyo: Kodansha.
———. 2009. *1Q84 BOOK1*. Tokyo: Shinchosha.
———. 2009. *1Q84 BOOK2*. Tokyo: Shinchosha.
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[Indonesian Target Text]

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[1] From an interview using Zoom conducted on November 24, 2022.

[2] From an interview using Zoom conducted on December 9, 2022.

[3] All ST and TT English translations where no translator is specified are done by the authors.

Characteristics and Causes of Religious Pluralism in Cambodia

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Cambodia, as a multi-ethnic country in South-East Asia, is characterized by a pluralistic religious structure, reflecting rich cultural traditions and deep historical heritage. Buddhism, as the state religion, has dominated history and present-day society, while Islam, Christianity, Brahmanism and some indigenous beliefs also exist and influence the lives of local residents to varying degrees. This phenomenon of religious pluralism is not only the result of the exchange and integration of various cultures in the long history of Cambodia, but also closely related to the country's political changes, social structure and globalization process. The purpose of this paper is to provide an overview of the phenomenon of religious pluralism in Cambodia, to explore the historical background and social factors of its formation and development, and then to analyze the characteristics of religious pluralism in Cambodia, so as to provide a comprehensive perspective for an in-depth understanding of religious and cultural diversity in Cambodia.

I. Overview of the phenomenon of religious pluralism in Cambodia

The phenomenon of religious pluralism in Cambodia is reflected in the absolute dominance of Buddhism and the coexistence of other religions. Buddhism is not only deeply rooted in history, but also plays an important role in contemporary society, profoundly influencing people's daily lives and cultural traditions. At the same time, Islam, Christianity, and various indigenous faiths remain active among certain ethnic groups and regions, forming a complex interaction with Buddhism. This religious diversity highlights the openness and inclusiveness of Cambodian culture and provides a rich perspective for the study of the country's social structure and cultural changes.

1. The dominance of Buddhism

The dominance of Buddhism in Cambodia is not only a manifestation of the dimension of religious belief, but also an important part of culture, social life and historical heritage. In Cambodia, a Southeast Asian country, the influence of Buddhism permeates all aspects of the country, and almost all Cambodians are influenced by Buddhism to varying degrees. Historically, Cambodian Buddhism can be traced back to the 3rd century B.C. when the kings of the Peacock Dynasty of India sent monks to the present Thailand, Burma and Cambodia to teach[19] . According to Chinese ancient texts and Cambodian inscriptions, Buddhism developed in Cambodia in the 5th and 6th centuries. Over time, Buddhism

[19] Zhong Nan, ed. 2014.Introduction to Cambodian Culture. Shanghai: World Book Publishing Co.

gradually took root in Cambodia and reached its peak during the Angkor Dynasty in the 12th century AD. King Jayavarman VII, a devout Buddhist, not only promoted the spread of Buddhism in the country, but also ordered the construction of a large number of Buddhist temples and monastic colleges, making Buddhism a pillar of the state. Even though the country's religious policy underwent many changes in the later historical period, Buddhism still maintained its irreplaceable position in Cambodian society.

At the cultural level, the influence of Buddhism on Cambodia is evident. Both ancient temple architecture and exquisite sculptures and paintings are deeply marked by Buddhism. These works of art not only display Buddhist stories and philosophies, but have also become an important part of Cambodian national culture. In Cambodia's traditional festivals and religious ceremonies, Buddhist elements are ubiquitous and have become part of people's lives.

In terms of social life, Buddhist temples play multiple roles in Cambodia. They are not only places for religious activities, but also centers for community education, charity and cultural activities. In the temples, monks not only teach Buddhism, but also take on the social responsibility of educating children and helping the poor. They enjoy a very high social status and respect from the people, and have become an important force for social stability and harmony.

The teachings of Buddhism emphasize compassion, peace, patience and moderation, and these values are deeply rooted in people's hearts and have become an important part of the character of the Cambodian people. In their daily lives, people follow the teachings of Buddhism and try to be tolerant, friendly and humble, and this social culture is important for maintaining social stability and national unity in the country.

Overall, the dominance of Buddhism in Cambodia is multifaceted, not only in terms of religious beliefs, but also in terms of culture, social life and historical legacy. The values and teachings of Buddhism have profoundly influenced the thinking and behavior of the Cambodian people, making it a key factor in shaping the unique social identity of Cambodia.

2. Other religions

While Buddhism is dominant in Cambodia, Islam, Christianity, and various indigenous faiths are also present in the country and have influenced Cambodia's religious and cultural diversity to some extent.

Islam: Islam is the second largest religion in Cambodia[20] . Cambodia's Muslims are predominantly Cham and Malay, and most of them live in the capital city of Phnom Penh and areas along the Mekong River. Islam entered Cambodia in the 15th century through commerce and marriage unions, and has been around for centuries. The Cham people have maintained their own unique cultural and religious traditions while integrating into Cambodian society and culture. The first documented Islamic school in Cambodia was

[20] Zhong Nan, ed. 2014.Introduction to Cambodian Culture. Shanghai: World Book Publishing Co.

established in Battambang province in 1948. However, it was not until a few decades later, with the support of foreign countries and donors, that madrasa education gained a foothold on Cambodian soil[21] .

Christianity: Christianity was first introduced to Cambodia in the early 18th century in the form of French missionaries. These missionaries arrived a few years before Cambodia became a French protectorate. The number of Christian converts at this stage is recorded to be very small. As French influence in Cambodia grew in the late 19th century, one of their main goals was to ensure "freedom of movement within the country and freedom to preach for the Roman Catholic faith" (Chandler 171).

Indigenous beliefs: Some of Cambodia's indigenous peoples still maintain their traditional beliefs and rituals, which often involve the worship of nature and ancestors. Indigenous beliefs play an important role in Cambodia's religious diversity and reflect the country's rich cultural and spiritual life.

In general, Islam, Christianity and indigenous beliefs, although not as prevalent as Buddhism in Cambodia, are still an important part of Cambodia's religious diversity. These religions and beliefs have coexisted with Buddhism at the historical and cultural levels, and together they have shaped the unique religious landscape of Cambodia.

II. Exploring the causes of Cambodia's multireligious society

As a country with a long history and complex culture, the phenomenon of religious ecological pluralism in Cambodia is the result of a combination of factors. These factors permeate all levels of the country, from the deep-rooted development of history to daily cultural exchanges, and from the construction of political and legal institutions to rapid socio-economic changes, all of which have had a profound impact on religious pluralism. In exploring this phenomenon, we must broaden our perspective to multiple dimensions, dig deeper and analyze how each factor intertwines and interacts, thus influencing and shaping the pattern of religious pluralism in Cambodia. Historical factors provide us with a macroscopic view of how religious pluralism has spread and developed in different historical periods; cultural exchanges, on the other hand, show how different cultures have interacted with each other to promote the formation of religious pluralism on a more microscopic level; and political and legal factors are related to the construction of institutions and policy orientation at the national level, which have a direct impact on the degree of religious freedom and pluralism. Political and legal factors are related to the institutional construction and policy orientation at the national level, which directly affect the degree of religious freedom and pluralism. By analyzing these factors in a comprehensive and detailed manner, we are able to understand and grasp the phenomenon and nature of religious pluralism in Cambodia in a more profound way, and lay a solid

[21] Delaney, A., & Scharff, M. 2010. Faith-inspired organizations and development in Cambodia. World Faiths Development Dialogue.

foundation for further research and study.

Historical factor

Throughout Cambodia's long history, various religions and cultures have intermingled with each other and together shaped its unique pattern of religious pluralism. Brahminism, Mahayana Buddhism, Hinayana Buddhism were once popular in Cambodia, and later on, Islam, Taoism, and Christianity brought by colonial rule entered with the migration of ethnic groups[22]. In the initial stage, Hinduism and Brahmanism were not only religious beliefs, but also tools used by the rulers to consolidate power and conduct social administration, but the rulers during this period did not reject other religions. For example, Brahmanism was the most prevalent religion during the Funan period, but at the same time, the Funan king sent emissaries to China to offer Buddhist holy relics. The state religion during the Chenla period was still Brahmanism, but people also worshipped Buddha statues such as the Goddess of Mercy, during this period Buddhism and Brahmanism were in a phase of fusion[23] . During the Angkorian period from the 9th to the 12th centuries, the status of Buddhism gradually increased, and although Buddhism was in a dominant position, Brahminism was not discriminated against.

Cultural exchanges

Cultural exchanges have played an indispensable role in promoting religious pluralism in Cambodia. Located in Southeast Asia, Cambodia shares borders with a number of neighboring countries, and the development of its culture and religion has been profoundly influenced by the neighboring countries.

First, cultural exchanges with Thailand and Laos have deepened the influence of Cambodian Buddhism. The cultural and religious exchanges between these countries, which share a southern Buddhist tradition, have reinforced the dominance of Buddhism in the region. The transmission of classics, exchange of monks and religious art have enriched the Cambodian Buddhist tradition and contributed to the diversification of religious practices and beliefs.

Second, interaction with Vietnam introduced the Mahayana traditions of Catholicism and Buddhism. Historically, Vietnam has been strongly influenced by Chinese culture, and its religious traditions incorporate elements of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism. Through cultural exchanges with Vietnam, Cambodia has been exposed to more diverse religious concepts and practices.

In addition to the influence of neighboring countries, the introduction of Western culture has also contributed to religious pluralism in Cambodia. During the French colonial period, Christianity was introduced into Cambodia, and although its influence was relatively limited, it still added new elements to religious pluralism in Cambodia. In addition, with the process of globalization, Western culture and values have also entered

[22] David Chandler, 2008, A History of Cambodia, New York: Routledge.

[23] Zhong Nan, ed. 2014.Introduction to Cambodian Culture. Shanghai: World Book Publishing Co.

Cambodia through various channels, providing new space for reflection and practice of religious pluralism.

In general, cultural exchanges have provided a strong impetus for religious pluralism in Cambodia. Religious and cultural exchanges between neighboring countries have allowed Buddhism to take hold, while bringing in other religious traditions. The introduction of Western culture has further enriched Cambodia's religious ecology, making it a religiously diverse society.

Political and legal factors

The Government of Cambodia has played an active role in promoting religious harmony. The Government has not only supported the construction of religious facilities for different religious groups, but has also enacted laws to guarantee equal access to public services and employment opportunities for religious minorities. Through these measures, the Government has demonstrated its respect and support for religious pluralism.

Freedom of religion and belief is enshrined in Cambodia's Constitution and laws, along with a range of laws and regulations related to religion. The Cambodian Constitution clearly states the principle of freedom of religion and belief and requires the Government to protect this right[24]. According to the Constitution, citizens have the right to believe in any religion or not to believe in any religion, as long as this does not interfere with other religions and does not affect public order and security. The Constitution of Cambodia designates Buddhism as the State religion, reflecting the reality that the majority of the country's population is Buddhist. However, the Constitution also requires the Government to protect the right to freedom of religion of followers of other religions. The law explicitly prohibits religious discrimination and does not allow religious groups to publicly criticize other religious groups. However, the law does not specify the consequences of violating this prohibition.

In general, Cambodia's Constitution and laws are designed to guarantee freedom of religion, while also regulating the registration and activities of religious groups. Freedom of religion is a constitutionally protected right, but in some cases, the law may impose some restrictions and conditions on the activities of religious organizations.

III. Characteristics of religious pluralism in Cambodia

1. The close links between religion and the monarchy

In Cambodia, the relationship between religion and the monarchy is extremely strong, and this link is based to a large extent on Buddhism. Not only is the royal family a major supporter of Buddhism, but members of the royal family themselves often participate in Buddhist religious practices and rituals. This relationship has led to Buddhism having a very high status and influence in Cambodia. For example, King Norodom Sihanouk

[24] International Religious Freedom Report for 2021 United States Department of State.Office of International Religious Freedom.

became a monk during his reign[25] , demonstrating the royal family's deep faith in and support for Buddhism. This close union between the royal family and religion, which is rare in many other countries, not only strengthens the position of Buddhism in Cambodia, but also gives the royal family a stronger base of support among the people.

2. Unique experiences of religious recovery

The period of Khmer Rouge rule wreaked havoc on Cambodia's religious institutions, and Buddhist monks in particular suffered severe persecution. During this period, almost all temples were closed or destroyed and a great deal of religious cultural heritage was destroyed[26] . However, after the fall of the Khmer Rouge regime, the Cambodian government and society invested a great deal of resources and efforts in restoring religious institutions and traditions, and thousands of temples were restored and the monastic community was revived. The United Nations has also provided support and assistance in this process. Religious restoration of this scale and speed is quite rare globally and reflects the deep feelings and strong desire of the Cambodian people for their religious traditions.

3. Maintenance and integration of indigenous beliefs

Although Buddhism and Hinduism are dominant in Cambodia, in some areas indigenous beliefs are maintained and form a unique blend and interaction with religions such as Buddhism. These indigenous beliefs are often associated with nature and ancestor worship and are closely related to people's daily lives. This deep integration of religious pluralism not only preserves Cambodia's unique cultural heritage, but also adds a unique dimension to the country's religious pluralism.

4. The positive role of religion in social harmony

Cambodia's multi-religious environment is often recognized as an important factor in promoting social harmony. Different religious groups are usually able to maintain relations of mutual respect and friendly cooperation, providing a solid foundation for national stability and social harmony. Religious groups have played an active role in education, health care and social services, which have played an important role in improving the living standards of the people and enhancing social cohesion.

To summarize, the uniqueness of religious pluralism in Cambodia is reflected in the close connection between religion and the monarchy, the unique experience of religious restoration, the preservation and integration of indigenous beliefs, and the positive role of religion in social harmony. These features not only constitute a unique landscape of religious pluralism in Cambodia, but also provide valuable cases and experiences for the study of religious pluralism in the world.

IV. Conclusion

[25] Li Qinhe Zhao Wei. King Sihamoni of Cambodia's Buddhist Diplomacy with China. http://news.china.com.cn/world/2018-12/01/content_74803701.htm.

[26] Delaney, A., & Scharff, M. 2010. Faith-inspired organizations and development in Cambodia. World Faiths Development Dialogue.

After an in-depth analysis of the process of religious pluralism in Cambodia in modern times, we can clearly see that Cambodia's unique pattern of religious pluralism has been shaped by a combination of historical, cultural, political-legal and socio-economic factors. This not only reflects the country's deep cultural heritage and historical changes, but also demonstrates its unique insight and experience in managing religious pluralism.

The development of religious pluralism in Cambodia has important lessons for other countries. On the one hand, it tells us that religious pluralism is a complex social phenomenon that needs to be guided and managed through laws and policies on the basis of respect for traditions and protection of cultural heritage. On the other hand, it also emphasizes the important role of religion in promoting social harmony and maintaining national stability.

Harmonious religious coexistence in a pluralistic religious environment is not only possible but also beneficial. This has provided us with valuable experience and reference in dealing with religious issues in our own countries. In the future, we should continue to study and explore in depth the issues of social management and cultural inheritance in the context of religious pluralism, with a view to contributing our wisdom and strength to the building of a harmonious, inclusive and stable society.

"Brother of the forest-dwellers": Culture, Community, and Boundary-making in Isabelo de los Reyes's *El Folk-Lore Filipino*

Ethan Chua

Although the term "multiculturalism" would be a touch anachronistic to describe one of the prevailing concerns of Filipino nationalists in their late-19th century propaganda campaign against the abusive structures of Spanish colonialism, questions similar to the ones we use to frame discussions of multiculturalism in national contexts today were at the front of their minds. These nationalists wondered whether there was such a thing as a Filipino culture autonomous from Spanish colonial rule, whether there was a Filipino community distinct from Spanish colonial classifications, and of how, if ever, to define the cultural boundaries of that community. Such questions come to the fore in one of the most idiosyncratic works produced by that generation of Filipino nationalists, the two-tome folklore collection *El Folk-Lore Filipino*, compiled and published by the tireless Isabelo de los Reyes in 1889. In the section of *El Folk-Lore Filipino* titled "Terminology of Folk-lore," De los Reyes declared, "Brother of the forest-dwelling Aetas, Igorots, and Tinguianes and born in this remote Spanish colony, where civilization shines though with a dim light, I sincerely confess that I know very little … about the new occupation of human thought called *Folk-Lore*."[27] Aeta, Igorot, and Tinguian were all, in De los Reyes's time, blanket terms for a range of communities who, for reasons both geographic and political, had remained relatively autonomous from Spanish imperial rule.[28] Many of De los Reyes's compatriots - the emergent urban, educated, reformist elite of Filipino society called *ilustrados*[29] - would see little in common between themselves and these "forest-dwellers," to the point of disavowing their display in the 1887 Madrid Exposition as a propaganda attempt by Spanish colonial authorities to deliberately misrepresent Filipinos as "savages."[30] For De los Reyes to thus declare himself "brother" to the Aetas, Igorots, and Tinguians was a provocative position, complicating *ilustrados*' own claims

[27] Isabelo de los Reyes, *El Folk-Lore Filipino: Tomo I* (Manila, Tipo-Litografia de Chofre y C[a], Escolta, 1889), 18. Translations mine unless otherwise specified.

[28] These same terms are used today (with the slight variation in spelling of "Tingguian" for "Tinguian") to describe a variety of indigenous groups living in northern Luzon. However, for reasons I will elucidate later on in the essay, it would be a mistake to assume a straightforward contiguity between the Aetas, Igorots, and Tinguianes of De los Reyes's text and their present day counterparts.

[29] Paul Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 65.

[30] Ibid., 36.

to be the most enlightened representatives of a newly conceived national community and culture. Nevertheless, even as De los Reyes declared his fraternal feeling for these communities, he also betrayed anxieties about their inclusion in the national community through stereotypical characterizations of them as superstitious, prone to manipulation, and, indeed, savage. More than a century later, in which the contemporary Filipino state has both legislatively enshrined the status of Aetas, Igorots, and Tingguians as indigenous peoples in the Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act of 1997 while simultaneously militarizing their communities and limiting their sovereignty, De los Reyes's work remains a fascinating touchstone in the question of the relationship between the Filipino national community and its internal others.

Zomians? Cultural Minorities? Indigenous peoples?

Although *El Folk-Lore Filipino*'s first volume was published in 1889, a major challenge in discussing the complexities of Isabelo de los Reyes's discursive intervention is the risk of anachronism in how to refer to the Aetas, Igorots, and Tinguianes whom De los Reyes relies on as both rhetorical figures and authorial foils. In contemporary terms, Aetas, Igorots, and Tinguianes (today, Tingguians) are called "indigenous peoples" by Filipinos, but this seemingly straightforward descriptive term requires historicization. In fact, the implicit distinction between "indigenous" and other Filipinos that's taken for granted in today's Philippines is the result of a series of political, legal, and discursive definitions of the national community within which we can better situate De los Reyes's intervention.

As Noah Theriault notes, "there was no racialized settler/aboriginal dichotomy [in the colonial Philippines] to serve as a basis for indigeneity … Philippine indigeneity has its roots in colonial history - a legacy of how colonial authorities divided and ruled the native population."[31] Although Isabelo de los Reyes and other *ilustrados* differentially distanced themselves from the Aetas, Igorots, and Tinguianes they described, this disidentification was not done on the basis of who did or did not have "native" ancestry in the Philippines. Instead, many *ilustrados* adopted a racialized line of distinction based on perceived degrees of native acculturation to the norms of Spanish civilization:

"A … line of distinction divided those who were inside and outside Hispanic Catholic civilization … On the territorial frontiers of the Spanish colony, there were the *infieles*, the still-unconquered highland animists of Luzon, often collectively referred to as "Igorots" … Those who were "inside" Hispanic Catholic evangelization and "unmixed" in blood … were called *indios*, a term adapted from the New World context."[32]

[31] Noah Theriault, "Agencies of the Environmental State: Difference and Regulation on the Philippines' "Last Frontier"" (PhD dissertation in Anthropology, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2013), 4.

[32] Kramer, 39.

As Kramer alludes to in the above quote, distance from Hispanic Catholic evangelization was also associated with a specific relationship to territoriality. "Igorots," as a blanket term, referred to highland-dwellers who were distinguished from farmers and city-dwellers in the lowlands. Although separated by a sea from the highland region of East and Southeast Asia that geographer Willem van Schendel termed "Zomia,"[33] these *infieles* nevertheless resembled van Schendel's (and, later, James Scott's) Zomians in their practice of lifeways distinct from the inhabitants of lowland societies and their relative autonomy from the governing reach of the state.[34] During the later period of colonial rule by the United States, this civilizational distinction between "Christian" and "non-Christian" Filipino peoples was institutionalized in the governing charter of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes and territorialized "in the form of special provinces," with a "Mountain Province" designated to "correspond to the animist highlanders of Luzon."[35]

How durable were these distinctions between lowlanders and highlanders, *infieles* and *indios*, and Christians and non-Christians in the context of the postcolonial Philippine state? In his classic collection of essays in Philippine studies, *Cracks in the Parchment Curtain*, scholar William Henry Scott recounts an instance during a conference in Baguio in December of 1973 where "an Igorot student in the audience addressed a question to the chair which began with the words, "Sir, before we were cultural minorities…""[36] In Scott's account, the phrasing of the Igorot student's question caused confusion among many in the audience who were used to a dehistoricized rendering of Igorot difference from Filipino culture as primordial. Scott argues instead that this seemingly timeless difference was a consequence of Spanish colonialism's heterogeneous impact on Filipino communities. Through centuries of Spanish occupation, some Filipino communities came "to assimilate more and more of their conquerors' culture," while others "preserved more of the culture of their ancestors."[37] Although Scott rightly historicizes the assumed difference between the Igorot "minority" and the Filipino "majority," his culturalist account risks eliding the power of colonial rulers (and Filipino nationalists) to naturalize and racialize ostensibly self-evident cultural distinctions.

Meanwhile, Noah Theriault touches on the institutional enshrinement of the definition of communities such as the Igorots in the legislative activities of the contemporary Philippine state. The Indigenous Peoples Rights Act of 1997 juridically

[33] Willem van Schendel, "Geographies of knowing, geographies of ignorance: jumping scale in Southeast Asia," Environment and Planning D: Society and Space, 20, 6, 2002.

[34] See James Scott, *The Art of Not Being Governed: an Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2009), 17-18.

[35] Kramer, 5.

[36] William Henry Scott, *Cracks in the Parchment Curtain and Other Essays in Philippine History.* (Quezon City, Philippines: New Day Publishers, 1982.), 28.

[37] Ibid., 40.

defined communities such as the Igorots as indigenous peoples "historically differentiated from the majority of Filipinos," marking them off from an assumed cultural and national norm, even as it "provided for indigenous territorial, political, and cultural rights."[38] Still, the contemporary parlance of "indigenous peoples" when referring to Igorots, Aetas, and Tingguians has connotations other than those of neoliberal governance: as Linda Tuhiwai Smith recounts in *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, the term "indigenous peoples" was deliberately taken up in the twentieth century by the American Indian Movement and its transnational allies to signal a global solidarity amongst dispossessed and marginalized communities with historical ties to their ancestral lands.[39]

So, what then to call the Aetas, Igorots, and Tinguianes who appear in *El Folk-Lore Filipino*? "*Infieles*," in the Spanish colonial sense, or "non-Christian tribes," in its American incarnation, would risk conflating the folkloric gaze of Isabelo de los Reyes with that of the colonial administration he was implicitly critiquing through his work. The theoretical work that Willem van Schendel and James Scott have done in their discussion of "Zomian" communities is vital to this essay's analysis, but the term "Zomian" itself suggests a transnational collective of highlander peoples that Isabelo de los Reyes would not have had in mind. "Indigenous peoples" is anachronistic in both its governmental and activist senses. It would also be semantically confusing, as Isabelo de los Reyes refers to himself as an "indígena de Filipinas" (best rendered in English, perhaps, as "native of the Philippines") in the Spanish text, while also setting himself apart from the Aetas, Igorots, and Tinguianes (he refers to himself as a *brother* of these groups, not as a member of them). "Cultural minorities," while seemingly more apt, risks taking for granted that Isabelo de los Reyes assumed not only the cultural difference of Aetas, Igorots, and Tinguianes, but also that he believed there was a majority culture among Hispanized Filipinos - a belief decidedly belied by the contents of *El Folk-Lore Filipino*, with its emphasis on the regional diversity of Filipino folk cultures. Instead, I propose as shorthand Isabelo de los Reyes's characterization of the Aetas, Igorots, and Tinguianes as "forest-dwellers" or "mountain-dwellers," as these are the labels immanent to his text, and they hopefully carry less of the baggage of anachronism or presentism, even as they may seem vague in scope. I hope to demonstrate in the work that follows both the continuities and idiosyncrasies De los Reyes's "forest/mountain-dwellers" have with their discursive counterparts of *infieles*, non-Christian tribes, cultural minorities, Zomians, and indigenous peoples.

"Forest-dweller" epistemologies

[38] Theriault, 4.

[39] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (London, UK: Zed Books, 2012).

In *El Folk-Lore Filipino*, De los Reyes makes a complex argument for the epistemological status of "forest-dweller" knowledge, arguing that the folkloric practices of peoples such as the Igorots and Tinguianes have a valuable place in the overall archive of scientific knowledge, even as he denigrates these practices as "unenlightened." According to De los Reyes, "[Folklore's] object … is to collect those legends, traditions, proverbs, and superstitions which are conserved by the people, for their study and comparison with those of other countries, to deduce relative theories regarding prehistoric man."[40] However, De los Reyes does not limit the ambit of folklore to the study of man's past. Rather, he significantly enlarges the scope of the discipline by referring to it as "a general archive at the service of all the sciences," one that "has as its object the selection, collection, and publication of all the knowledges of the people in their diverse branches."[41] This expansive scientific archive, importantly, is not limited to the written word, but includes "oral tradition," vernacular practices such as local idioms, and also encompasses "the names of sites and places that are not mentioned in maps."[42] Most tellingly, even "superstitions" that are maintained by the people deserve a place in this archive, despite the seemingly diametric opposition between superstitious belief and scientific knowledge.[43] Isabelo de los Reyes would defend this claim regarding the epistemological status of superstition in the July 1885 issue of the paper *El Comercio*:

"When *El Eco de Vigan* … saw Ilocano superstitions in my *Folklore*, they gave me to understand in a little lecture that superstitions should not be included in folklore because this English word means "popular knowledge." I recommended to them that they read the discourse on folklore by the eminent writer, Doña Emilia Pardo Bazan, President of the *Galician Folklore*, to discover their error, and also asked them what, then, superstitions were if not one kind of popular knowledge?"[44]

As such, even as De los Reyes feels, in *El Folk-Lore Filipino*, the need to ground his definition of folklore within the discourses of a larger European scientific community, he ultimately propounds a discipline whose grounds of classification challenge received notions of empiricism and rationality by referencing multiple and diverse "knowledges of the people" [conocimientos del pueblo].[45]

This definition of folklore, however, poses a potential contradiction: what happens when the beliefs and practices that folklore documents as part of the realm of human knowledge seem to go against the classificatory schemes of science folklorists use to sort truth from falsehood? De los Reyes implicitly addresses this contradiction by rhetorical

[40] De los Reyes, 9.

[41] Ibid., 10.

[42] Ibid., 10.

[43] Ibid., 9, 11, 14.

[44] Cited in (and translated by) Scott, 250.

[45] De los Reyes, 20.

example. Say, he suggests, that a "savage of the forests of Abra" discovered a cure to cholera more effective than "the anticholeric virus of doctor Ferran"[46] - wouldn't folklorists rush to record this cure? For if not, they would lose "a jewel that can very well be claimed, given that [folklore's] etymological significance does not exclude the knowledges of the people…"[47] This rhetorical example - where one of De los Reyes's "forest-dwellers" discovers a boon to modern medical knowledge - buttresses an updated definition of folklore's aims that he offers, as a practice "which aims to collect all the data that unenlightened people know and have, that have not yet been studied."[48] It is here that the discursive status of De los Reyes's "forest-dweller" becomes clarified - as both a potential bearer of knowledge whose folk practices might contribute to the rational project of science, as well as an "unenlightened" figure whose same practices mark him as a "savage." There is value enough in the folk knowledges of "forest-dwellers", De los Reyes suggests, that instead of dismissing them as irrational superstition, scientists might serve to learn from their observation. Yet, at the same time, the value of "forest-dweller" epistemologies only becomes legible once "forest-dweller" practices are located within the grid of scientific knowledge. Thus, the folklorist - like their counterpart, the ethnographer - occupies a privileged place in being able to understand the knowledge of "savages" better even than the savages themselves.

"Forest-dweller" politics

Apart from their discursive centrality in De los Reyes's definition of folklore as a scientific practice, the "forest-dwellers" make another significant appearance in his satiric account of the failures of the Philippine colonial bureaucracy, "Administrative Folklore?", a subsection of *El Folk-Lore Filipino* which is distinguished from the rest of the text by both its fictionalized narrative and satirical tone. "Administrative Folklore?" tells the story of Isio, a young and idealistic man who takes a low-ranking position in the colonial government, is subject to the indignities of bureaucratic corruption, and who, giving up on his initial ambitions, flees to the mountains where he tricks a group of Igorots into rising up in a failed revolt against Spain. Megan Thomas has already carefully examined the account as a pointed attack on the Spanish colonial status quo[49]; in this paper, my focus is instead on the pivotal role that the Igorots play in Isio's story.

In his briefly successful appeal to the Igorots to rise up against the colonial government, Isio's uprising is almost certainly a parallel to the rebellious activities of Diego and Gabriela Silang, Ilocanos who took advantage of the British capture of Manila

[46] Ibid., 20.

[47] Ibid., 20.

[48] Ibid., 20.

[49] See Megan Thomas, *Orientalists, Ilustrados, and Propagandists: Filipino Scholarship and the End of Spanish Colonialism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), Ch. 3.

in 1762 to declare a short-lived independent polity. After Diego Silang's assassination, his widow, Gabriela, fled to Abra to take shelter with her extended family. De los Reyes provides his own gloss on the Silang revolt in *El Folk-Lore Filipino*, narrating Gabriela's move to Abra as a matter of strategy: "[Gabriela Silang] set out to avenge the murder of her husband and took her wealth to Abra, to join a considerable platoon of Tinguianes and Igorots."[50] According to De los Reyes, however, Silang's troops are routed because of their susceptibility to trickery. In their siege of Vigan, the site of the murder of Silang's husband, Silang's companions are convinced that the hedges of Vigan "[are] armed troops with rifles"[51], causing them to flee and return to their homes.

The parallels in Isio's story are evident. After Isio flees to the forests in order to escape the tyranny of the Spanish government, he employs a series of illusions and tricks to convince the Igorots of the region to join him. Significantly, he couches his rhetoric in a syncretic religious system called "Anitería malaya," which draws from the practices of the forest-dwelling Igorots, but "perfected and reduced to a rational system."[52] The term "Anitería" employed by De los Reyes has its etymology in the term "anito," ancestor spirits, nature spirits, and other non-human agents believed to hold special powers in a variety of Philippine folk religions. Although the Igorot troops inflict serious casualties against the Spanish forces, the death of Isio to a sergeant's bullet causes the Igorots to scatter, as the one "who they considered an invulnerable prophet" is bested by the new true gods - "the bullets of the Spanish."[53]After the skirmish, the Igorots flee "into the thickets of the mountains, returning to their previous way of living."[54]

Yet, apart from De los Reyes's historical allusion to the uprising of the Silangs against Spanish rule, another reading of "Administrative Folklore?" becomes apparent in his interesting description of the means by which Isio recruits the Igorots to his cause. Isio's "Anitería malaya," a syncretic ideology that draws from local practices but arranges and perfects them in a "rational system,"[55] bears a striking resemblance to De los Reyes's own project in *El Folk-Lore Filipino*. Just as Isio situates Igorot practices in an ostensibly more coherent system through the application of rational categories of thought, De los Reyes himself situates local practices of popular knowledge in a scientific grid through the application of the standards of folklore studies. The parallels between Isio and De los Reyes are provocative - does De los Reyes, perhaps, mean to suggest that there is something anti-colonial about the scientific work of folklore, as a work that can channel local practices into communal anti-colonial struggle? In this regard, the adjective

[50] De los Reyes, 238.

[51] Ibid., 238.

[52] Ibid., 328.

[53] Ibid., 331.

[54] Ibid., 331.

[55] Ibid., 328.

"malaya" to describe "Aniteria" is particularly interesting, alluding as it does to the possibility of a larger Malay community within which the Igorot cosmology might be situated. The notion of Filipinos as belonging to a larger Malay race, as explored by Nicole CuUnjieng Aboitiz in *Asian Place, Filipino Nation*, was one way by which Filipino nationalists theorized a potential basis for struggle against colonial rule across boundaries of culture and community.[56]

Or perhaps there's also a hint of the ironic, self-deprecating authorial voice that De los Reyes employs in calling himself but a "humble native," considering that Isio's ambitions to lead the Igorots in a revolutionary resistance are quickly cut short by Spanish bullets. This is particularly striking when we consider the contrast between Isio's claim, through De los Reyes, to have crafted a perfect system, and the brute practicality of his defeat by the "new true gods" of Spanish arms. Through Isio, we can see in De los Reyes's folkloric work the scientific pretension to denigrate particular forms of local and cultural knowledge as imperfect and unsystematized - hence, the need for the outsider to come in and conduct an epistemological civilizing mission. This tilt in De los Reyes's work - he, after all, explicitly refers to the Igorots and other communities associated with them as "savages" - is undeniable, and a testament to the discursive overlap between De los Reyes's declaration of brotherhood with his forest-dwellers and the more equivocal position of his *ilustrado* peers. But, this very pretension is also a kind of tragic, prideful flaw in Isio, leading to his death, whereas his Igorot compatriots are able to return "to their previous way of living."

Rereading the story of Isio from a "Zomian" perspective

Although Isio's encounter with the Igorots is framed from his - and, through the authorial parallel I mentioned above, De los Reyes's - perspective, there lies in the text the possibility of a speculative reading from the point of view of the Igorots. The erasure of Igorot voices from De los Reyes's account of Isio's uprising is evident, and they are presented as passive and superstitious actors prone to ideological manipulation by multiple parties. Yet, if we follow De los Reyes's provocative assertion that superstition is also a form of popular knowledge, we can reframe the narrative from a cosmological alternative to the empiricist reading presented by Isio. The Igorots in "Administrative Folklore" are incredibly alert to the balance of power demonstrated by the intercession of non-human agents; Isio's invocation of "Anitería" suggests a syncretic system that builds on already existing beliefs among the Igorot community in the agentive power of ancestral spirits, or anitos. Is it Isio who calls upon these spirits, or could it be that it's these spirits who move Isio? Without Isio's appeal to "Anitería," and without the grounding of this cosmological system within Igorot beliefs, then there would have been no uprising to

[56] Nicole CuUnjieng Aboitiz, *Asian Place, Filipino Nation: A Global Intellectual History of the Philippine Revolution, 1887-1912* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2020).

begin with.

Likewise, consider the response of the Igorots to Isio's death. Instead of martyring themselves to Isio's cause and continuing to fight the Spanish, the Igorots make the strategic decision to flee. Though De los Reyes's allusion to "the bullets of the Spanish" as "new true gods" can be read as ironic in character, it can also be read against the grain as another allusion to a world wherein non-human entities make meaningful material interventions. If we take Isio's gods seriously, then perhaps we should take Spanish gods seriously as well, and see in the encounter between Isio and the colonial forces a clash in competing cosmologies which the Igorot observers are party to, yet have no strong allegiances towards. The Igorots here could be read as deftly employing what James Scott terms "weapons of the weak," temporarily siding with Isio for the possibility of gaining advantage against Spanish incursions into their homelands, only to retreat once the spirits prove unable to protect him. Though this is by no means a resounding victory for the Igorots, neither is it a damning defeat - instead, the mobility and ideological flexibility of this mountain-dwelling community allow its members to take what advantages they can when these are presented, and then to retreat to a domain where colonial (and national) projections of centralizing power remain tenuous at best.

Conclusion

In their intellectual and political activity, Filipino nationalists in the late 19th century made multiple attempts to define, demarcate, and discipline the emergent national community. Those peoples who dwelled on the edges of Spanish colonial power - including the Igorots, the Aetas, and the Tinguianes - exercised a particular pull on the *ilustrado* imagination. By labeling these forest and mountain-dwellers as unchristianized savages, *ilustrados* were able to buttress their own claims to political leadership through a civilizing discourse of racial capacity. Yet, in *El Folk-Lore Filipino*, the *ilustrado* activist Isabelo de los Reyes presented a divergent point of view through both his declaration of "brotherhood" with the Igorots, Aetas, and Tinguianes and his conviction that the knowledge of these communities was an integral part of the scientific project.

As I've demonstrated, there were sharp limits to Isabelo de los Reyes's divergence from the viewpoints of his peers. He was just as content to label these forest and mountain-dwellers as "savages," and one can justifiably read his folkloric project as another iteration of a civilizing discourse which saw local practices as unsystematic and unenlightened, and thus in need of scientific classification. Yet, at the same time, the multivocality of *El Folk-Lore Filipino* suggests other possible readings that complicate this position. For one, if superstition and popular folklore are, as Isabelo de los Reyes contends, legitimate forms of knowledge, then surely there is more to understanding the world than scientific empiricism? It is not only that local practices might, as in Isabelo de los Reyes's hypothetical example of the Aeta who discovers a cure to cholera, contain in them newfound scientific insights, but also that these local practices themselves mobilize other forms of being, knowing, and acting, as the story of Isio in "Administrative

Folklore" illuminates. Likewise, the civilizing project of scientific classification finds in Isabelo de los Reyes's "humble native" an ironic mouthpiece, one that can sing the praises of an all-encompassing archive of human knowledge while simultaneously suggesting the ultimate fallibility of such a project. In a contemporary Philippine context where indigenous peoples are still subject to the civilizing discourses of the state, this time through rhetorics of development, modernization, and counter-insurgency, the complicated figuration of forest and mountain-dwellers in Isabelo de los Reyes's *El Folk-Lore Filipino* productively points to the ironies, follies, and contradictions inherent in Filipino projects of imagining national communities.

Tracing the Transmission Route of La Na Ma: A Study on Maritime Knowledge Carriers and Cultural Exchange along the Maritime Silk Road

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The term "Lǎ Nà Má" 剌那麻 first appeared in the political treatise *Mi Shu Jian Zhi* 《秘书监志》 "The Record of the Imperial Secret Book Collection" compiled by the Yuan Dynasty scholars Wang Shidian and Shang Qiweng. According to previous research by scholars, La Na Ma is a transliteration of the Persian word "Rāhnāmah", which means "navigational guide". As a navigational guide, La Na Ma has been present in Persian, Arabic, and Chinese texts since the 11th century AD, and it essentially corresponds to the maritime routes of the ancient maritime Silk Road in the Indian Ocean region. For the sake of convenience, in the following text, La Na Ma will be used to refer to navigational guides in both Persian and Arabic.

The uniqueness of the content, historical context, and geographical coverage of La Na Ma has attracted the attention of some scholars. Due to limited available materials, some scholars have only provided general discussions of La Na Ma. In the early 20th century, Indian scholar Hādī Hasan listed and translated verses related to La Na Ma found in the poems of Persian poet Nizami in his book *A History of Persian Navigation*. In the late 20th century, Chinese scholars Chen Dezhi and Huang Shijian briefly introduced La Na Ma in the second volume of *Collection of Papers on Zheng He's Voyage to the Western Sea*s and *An Illustrated Commentary on the Chronology of Sino-Western Relations*, respectively. Huatao suggested that La Na Ma was a navigational book related to maritime routes in the Far East and Southwest Asia.

Previous research mainly focused on summarizing the Persian origins of the term La Na Ma and identifying its sources in Chinese or Persian literature. However, these studies did not delve into deeper interpretations and examinations, nor did they explore the dissemination of maritime knowledge associated with La Na Ma. Therefore, this paper aims to clarify the specific meaning and usage of La Na Ma by examining its mentions in Persian, Arabic, and Chinese literature. It also attempts to establish the transmission pathways of La Na Ma as a carrier of maritime knowledge between different regions along the Maritime Silk Road. Through this process, the paper seeks to shed light on the potential for the eastward transmission of Islamic geographical and maritime knowledge during the Yuan Dynasty.

La Na Ma in ancient Chinese and foreign texts

In existing documents, records of La Na Ma being used as a navigational guide can be traced back to the year 1135. In the latter half of the 15th century, Ahmad ibn Mājid, a renowned Muslim navigator known as the "Lion of the Sea", authored an Arabic navigational guide titled *Kitāb al-fawā'id fī uṣūl 'ilm al-baḥr wa al-qawā'id* or *The Book of Useful Information on the Principles and Rules of Navigation*. In the section titled "The Origins of Navigation Techniques", he recounted that he had come across a navigational guide written in the Islamic year 530 (corresponding to the year 1135 AD), referred to as "Rahmānj", and had learned about the achievements of earlier navigators from it. The citation is as follows:

At that time, there were three renowned navigators, namely Muhammad bn shādhān, Sahl bn abān, and Laith bn kuhlān, who was also known as the son of Kāmilān. My understanding of the above information comes from the navigational guide "Rahmānj" written in the Islamic year 530, which was passed down to me by his grandson.

The Arabic term "Rahmānj" (navigational guide) mentioned in the cited passage is indeed a loanword from Persian, where "Rāhnāmah" was Arabized into "Rahmānj"" as it evolved. From the provided information, it is evident that the La Na Ma of the late 12th century not only recorded information about maritime routes but also included evaluations or descriptions of earlier navigators.

The Persian poet Niẓāmī Ganjavī's work *Iskandarnāmah* is one of the earliest Persian texts related to La Na Ma, and it is believed to have been composed in the late 12th to early 13th century. *Iskandarnāmah* is an epic narrative poem that recounts the deeds of Alexander the Great. In its 35th section, titled "Alexander's Second Journey Through India", the author mentioned La Na Ma three times. In the poem, when Alexander's fleet encounters ocean currents, experienced old sailors/ navigators consult their La Na Ma to assess the appropriate course of action. It is noted that "when they examined the navigational guide (Rāhnāmah) again, they found that they had to turn back." The crew strictly follows the warnings and instructions provided in the La Na Ma and warns Alexander that the location is very dangerous, emphasizing that it is the last port mentioned in the navigational guide (Rāhnāmah). Later in their journey, when the group encountered an unfamiliar white city in the desert, the accompanying personnel inquired about the city's ownership and its name as mentioned in the road guide (Rāhnāmah) to learn more about it. It appears that in *Iskandarnāmah*, La Na Ma is relevant to both maritime and land-based travel environments. However, it is currently uncertain whether the La Na Ma mentioned in the text for the two different travel environments represents different sections within the same guidebook or if they are separate guidebooks with distinct contents.

The 13th century Arabic geographical work, *Tārīkh al-Mustabṣir*, illustrates the interaction between travelers and La Na Ma (Rahmānj). This book was authored by the Arab traveler Ibn al-Mujāwir. Ibn al-Mujāwir's full name is Yusūf bn Ya'qūb al-Dimashq,

and he was born in Damascus, growing up in Baghdad. He embarked on journeys throughout the Arabian Peninsula and various regions of India, and he compiled his travel experiences into this book. In the “Seven Birds” section of *Tārīkh al-Mustabṣir*, Ibn al-Mujāwir discussed La Na Ma (Rahmānj).

The author of "Rahmānj" mentions that if a traveler at sea sees seven birds, it indicates that they are near the island of Socotra. Regardless of whether it is day or night, dawn or dusk, if a ship approaches or passes by Socotra Island from any direction, one can spot seven birds.

From the above excerpt and the overall content of the book, it can be understood that Ibn al-Mujāwir used La Na Ma exclusively for guiding maritime navigation, and he employed a method that combined biological information with locations to determine geographical positions.

By the mid to late 13th century, in the other end of the Maritime Silk Road, the Yuan Dynasty also had documented records related to La Na Ma, as mentioned at the beginning of this article in the *Mi Shu Jian Zhi*. Also known as *Mi Shu Zhi* and *Yuan Mi Shu Jian Zhi*，Mi Shu Jian，the Imperial Secretariat was the official agency responsible for managing books and records in the Yuan Dynasty. The *Mi Shu Jian Zhi* compiled by Wang Shidian and Shang Qiweng is a political treatise of the Yuan Dynasty. This book was compiled between 1341 and 1370 and provides detailed accounts of the administrative changes and systems of the Yuan Dynasty.

In Volume Four of *Mi Shu Jian Zhi* titled Zuan Xiu（纂修）， the description of La Na Ma is as follows:

On the sixteenth day of the second month in the twenty-fourth year of the Zhiyuan (至元) era, the Imperial Secretariat, Mi Shu Jian, issued a decree to the coastal regions of Fujian. This decree instructed the local maritime Huihui (Muslim) community that if they possessed manuscripts of La Na Ma written in Huihui script, they were to submit them.

The mention of La Na Ma in the year 1287 (the twenty-fourth year of the Zhiyuan era) indicates its close relevance to maritime activities during the Yuan Dynasty. The existence of this record signifies two important points. First, it suggests that by the Yuan Dynasty period, Persian-language navigational guides had already spread eastward to the eastern regions of Asia. Second, it confirms the significant value of La Na Ma for understanding the maritime conditions in the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea during that time. The ruling class in the Yuan Dynasty was drawn to this significance, prompting official decrees to obtain and systematically document “La Na Ma manuscripts written in Huihui script”.

In the latter half of the 15th century, the renowned Muslim navigator Ibn Mājid, often referred to as the “Lion of the Sea”, authored what modern scholars recognize as a significant La Na Ma, titled *Kitāb al-fawā’id* or *The Book of Useful Information*. Ibn Mājid was born in 1434 in the region of Ras al-Hadd on the Arabian Peninsula and passed away in 1500. He was a prolific writer throughout his life, but his most renowned work

is the *Kitāb al-fawā'id*, which was written in 1475. This book is considered the oldest surviving La Na Ma and contains a wealth of information drawn from Ibn Mājid's extensive experience navigating the Indian Ocean, Persian Gulf, and the Red Sea.

Kitāb al-fawā'id includes valuable insights into astronomy, geography, and navigation, especially focusing on the prevailing monsoons, sea routes, marine life, and mineral resources in the waters around the Arabian Peninsula. It is a remarkable resource for understanding historical maritime navigation and is of great historical and navigational significance.

Similar to the use of La Na Ma by Arab travelers in the 13th century, Ibn Mājid's work also describes a method for determining the location of Socotra Island. However, what sets Ibn Mājid apart from Ibn al-Mujāwir is the method he cites, which relies on geography and sound. He explains,

When departing from India, you will encounter places resembling Shihr and its surrounding regions. The old Rahmānj (navigational guides) mention that when you see a mountain partially emerging from the sea, you should throw something (and listen for a sound). If you hear an echo, it is Socotra Island; otherwise, it is Shihr and its surrounding areas.

This method combines geographical features and sound to identify the specific location of Socotra Island, offering an alternative approach to navigation.

While *Kitāb al-fawā'id* served as a form of La Na Ma, it also provides insights into the content that was traditionally encompassed by La Na Ma. These pieces of information are applicable to routes from al-Aṭwāḥ, the Strait of Hormuz, Mukrān, Yemen to Mecca, as well as the Kunkan route. These details and navigational cues are not merely confined to the writings of a single mariner, a book, or the contents of one person's mind; rather, they are the accumulation of knowledge from multiple mariners over extended periods. They represent the compilation of various maritime pieces of information by outstanding mariners from different eras. The clarification of existing texts helps us understand the specific reference of La Na Ma. In comparison to records like Zheng He's Navigation Chart, which depicts the voyages of Zheng He and includes navigational maps, Ibn Mājid's *Kitāb al-fawā'id* lacks similar navigational maps and needle route information. Due to the scarcity of extant literature, it remains unclear whether earlier versions of La Na Ma used by Ibn Mājid included maps or not.

It can be said that La Na Ma is not only a guide for land routes but also a comprehensive practical navigation tool that combines records of maritime routes, descriptions of islands and coastal geography, and other crucial maritime information. Richly illustrated and containing a series of tables for identifying geographical locations, it was an essential resource for ancient mariners when setting out to sea. It served as a vital medium for disseminating and recording maritime knowledge of that era. Furthermore, the above-mentioned compilation works have also clarified how La Na Ma was used:

(1) Determining the geographical orientation of specific locations (applicable to both land

and sea route guides). La Na Ma, as a repository of accumulated maritime knowledge by mariners throughout the ages, encompasses various methods for determining geographical locations, including schematic maps, information about the surrounding biology of regions, celestial navigation data, and more. The documented records mentioned above indicate that La Na Ma could be used to establish geographical positions through textual descriptions and imagery.

(2) Providing travel recommendations and highlighting hazardous areas (applicable to both land and sea route guides). In *Iskandarnāmah*, experienced sailors consult La Na Ma to identify the locations of dangerous areas and make decisions about whether to proceed further. Similarly, in *Kitāb al-fawā'id,* Ibn Mājid provides information about hazardous zones in various maritime areas to caution other mariners.

(3) Planning navigation routes. In Ibn Mājid's La Na Ma, clear descriptions are provided for the monsoon seasons in areas such as the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea. These are combined with routes for travel to and from various locations, marking the optimal navigation routes between the Indian Ocean, the Persian Gulf, and the Red Sea, along with suitable times for maritime journeys. The book introduces three types of navigation routes: coastal navigation, direct navigation between two ports, and precision navigation with previous data and directions. Additionally, it outlines routes for circumnavigating the globe.

(4) Disseminating maritime knowledge. In *Kitāb al-fawā'id,* Ibn Mājid introduces various navigational instruments and provides information on marine life, geography, and mineral resources in the Red Sea and other maritime areas. These valuable records served as a foundation for future mariners exploring the oceans and provided rare research materials for modern scholars studying marine life and environmental changes in the Indian Ocean.

The above-mentioned texts provide a concise overview of the transmission pathway of La Na Ma as a carrier of maritime knowledge. This term originated in Persian, later spread to the Arabian Peninsula, and became widely used by Arab mariners to refer to maritime guides. It subsequently traveled along the Maritime Silk Road to reach Fujian, China, in the eastern part of the Eurasian continent. It then appeared in the political treatise *Mi Shu Jian Zhi*. This journey of transmission reflects the cultural exchange and dissemination of maritime knowledge across different regions along the Maritime Silk Road.

La Na Ma and *Mi Shu Jian Zhi*

Maritime books, or navigational guides, have existed in ancient times. The frequent appearance of La Na Ma in both Chinese and foreign literature after the 11th century to refer to maritime guides can generally be attributed to the strong collaboration between Persian mariners and Persian merchants. The rich maritime experience accumulated by Persian mariners over generations provided crucial technical support for the long-distance voyages of Persian merchants. Consequently, the term La Na Ma became known among the people living along the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean coast, and it was used to name similar navigational guides. In comparison to the extensive documentation and use

of La Na Ma in Arabic literature, there is currently only one known Chinese text, *Mi Shu Jian Zhi*, that records the term La Na Ma.

Next, we will explore why La Na Ma as a navigational guide found its way into official documents. According to the records in *Mi Shu Jian Zhi*, in the year of Yiyou（乙酉） in the Yuan Dynasty (1285), Emperor Shizu（世祖） of the Yuan Dynasty, Kublai Khan（忽必烈）, ordered the compilation of *The Chronicle of a Unified Yuan* （大元一统志）(also known as *The Chronicle of a Great Unified Yuan*) that took 18 years to complete. This endeavor aimed not only to establish the legitimacy of the unified state but also to legitimize newly incorporated regions through written records.

In this process, officials first collected and organized existing records, including military, administrative, and geographical data. Then, in the year of Zhiyuan in the Yuan Dynasty, they took action to obtain "La Na Ma written in Huihui script" from Fujian and assigned two craftsmen from the Ministry of Personnel to create color-illustrated geographical maps, which were much more extensive than previous records. This provided a clear official basis for the inclusion of the term La Na Ma in *Mi Shu Jian Zhi*. The compilation of *The Chronicle of a Unified Yuan* drew materials not only from previous dynasties' records and contemporary local records but also from overseas geographical treatises. La Na Ma belonged to the category of overseas geographical treatises. From the perspective of legitimizing newly incorporated regions, the overseas geographical treatise La Na Ma helped clarify the geographical positions of certain coastal areas. Simultaneously, it made it possible for other official Yuan Dynasty documents to access the maritime information contained in La Na Ma.

Following the official timeline, it becomes evident that during the Mongol-Yuan period, rulers pursued a cultural policy of assimilation and actively engaged in open foreign relations, promoting the fusion of various ethnicities and creating a new high point in the history of Sino-Western relations. The Yuan Dynasty had frequent interactions with the three major Khanates through both the maritime and overland Silk Roads, facilitating significant cultural exchanges. To accommodate the needs of foreign exchanges, the Yuan Dynasty officially promoted the learning and use of three languages: Mongolian, Chinese, and Iṣṭifa 亦思替非文 (Iṣṭifa is a specialized symbol system for financial management based on Arabic and Persian scripts.). This further strengthened the spread of Islamic culture in China.

As commercial trade, population movement, and cultural interactions increased, various scientific knowledge from regions along the maritime Silk Road engaged in rich dialogues. The records of 21 different titles of Huihui books in *Mi Shu Jian Zhi*, the mention of seven Xiyuyixiang 西域仪象 (Western observation instrument) in Yuan Shi 元史·天文志 (History of the Yuan Dynasty: Astronomy), and the spread and usage of Huihui medicinal formulas 回回药方 all serve as evidence that scientific and technological knowledge entered the Yuan Dynasty through Huihui people. Simultaneously, the maritime technology and knowledge of the Yuan Dynasty became

enriched. In this context, the knowledge carrier of Persian Gulf coastal mariners, La Na Ma, became known along the Fujian maritime route. Its wealth of verified maritime information was recognized by Yuan Dynasty officials, allowing it to serve as an overseas geographical treatise and be included as a reference in the compilation of *The Chronicle of a Unified Yuan*.

Conclusion

By reviewing the literature related to La Na Ma, we can gain a clearer understanding of its usage and the approximate route through which it spread as a "navigational guide" along the Indian Ocean coast. The Persian term La Na Ma, originally referring to both land and sea guides, gradually became specialized as a navigational guide as it spread to coastal regions. Based on existing records, it can be inferred that La Na Ma was widely used in the 13th century, during which the maritime information it contained was recognized and accepted by Yuan Dynasty navigators, leading to its inclusion in official records.

Exploring the reasons behind the appearance of La Na Ma in *Mi Shu Jian Zhi* provides further evidence for understanding the Yuan Dynasty rulers' efforts to legitimize newly acquired territories, the cultural exchange between the East and West during the Mongol-Yuan period, and the sources of overseas knowledge that the Yuan Dynasty embraced. On the other hand, the presence of La Na Ma in the political records of Eastern Eurasian empires suggests that maritime knowledge from the Persian Gulf coast had already spread to the Yuan Dynasty. This, in turn, provided valuable maritime knowledge for later Chinese mariners venturing to the Persian Gulf.

After the fall of the Yuan Dynasty, the Ming Dynasty collected a large number of Yuan Dynasty texts, including *The Chronicle of a Unified Yuan.* From this, it can be inferred that the maritime information contained in La Na Ma was likely one of the sources of knowledge used by Zheng He during his voyages in the Indian Ocean under the Ming Dynasty.

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The Multicultural Aspects of the Royal Cemetery at Ur and the Background of New Social Order Experimentation

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Introduction

The Royal Cemetery at Ur found by Woolley spans the later third millennium BC with the latest burials probably dating to the late Akkadian period or early third Dynasty. Woolley coined the term "Royal Tombs" to describe the sixteen brick and stone burials in the cemetery.Royal tombs were used as elite burial sites for a relatively long time; the most widely accepted chronology dates this period from 2600 to 2350 BC (Reade 2001, 1-29).

It demonstrated Woolley's reasonably comprehensive digging process, as well as extensive descriptions of objects and individuals found in the tombs. The number of graves initially assigned by Woolley had reached a total of 1851 (Woolley 1934, 411-484) , later 260 additional burials were reported, while the numbered objects reached 18212, later reached 20093 (Woolley 1955, 167-220) .

A selection of the most important finds from Ur in the Penn Museum are listed in the catalogue of Zettler and Horne. According to Zettler's catalogue (Zettler 1998, 75-174), these grave objects mainly fall into six categories: cylinder seals, jewerly, metal vessels, shell vessels and containers, stone vessels, tools and weapons. Many of these grave goods were likely imported from surrounding regions including Afghanistan, Egypt, and the Indus valley. It's easy to see the diversity in forms, raw materials, and processing techniques of these objects from the catalogue.

Besides, the Royal Cemetery of Ur clearly parallels many of the categories of items discovered in Kish Cemetery, and artifacts are frequently put in similar locations on or close to the deceased's body, further demonstrating a shared tradition.

This article attempts to reveal the multicultural elements of the Royal Cemetery of Ur and examine it within the historical context of the ED III period (2600-2350 BC), when Mesopotamian rulers were experimenting with a new social and political order.

Elements from the Indus Valley

Woolley reported more than 400 cylinder seals of the Royal Cemetery period, among them are some peculiar seals, which are special in subject and style. As shown in the table, there are stamp, button, and cylinder seals. The majority of these seals' subjects are animals (unicorn, scorpion) with inscription in Indus characters. These seals have distinct Indian traits that set them apart from Mesopotamian seals.

No.	Description	Context
U.7027	Stamp seal steatite, of Indus Valley type	From a plundered grave
U.16181	Stamp seal of Indus Valley type	Surface find
U.16220	Cylinder seal, shell, of Indus Valley type	In the filling of the Dungi mausoleum.
U.16397	Button seal of glazed pottery bleached white; Indus Valley type	Surface find
U.16747	Stamp seal, steatite, of Indus Valley type	From the upper soil over site
U.11181	Steatite stamp, with a scorpion and a sign of writing rectangular with handle above	From PG/791
U.11958	Cylinder seal, white shell, unicorn type, with Indus script	Sargonid period, found loose in the soil
U.17649	Stamp seal, grey steatite originally glazed; button type, with inscription in Indus characters	Found in the filling of PG/1847

Tab. 1 Partial Indus seals in Woolley's report (1934, 1955)

There are more Indian style seals from different periods in Gadd's research (Gadd 1933, 3-22).

Fig.1 Stamp & button seals of Indian style, Gadd 1993.

Fig.2 Cylinder seals of Indian style, Gadd 1993.

The cutting and manufacture, in addition to subject and style, might reveal a seal's provenance. A stamp seal with Sumerian libation subject (U. 18928), but the cutting is quite unlike any other seal, it's more likely to be an attempt of Indus craftsman to deal with a Sumerian subject. While occasionally there are seals of Indus subject and style but the form argues for Mesopotamian manufacture in cylinder (U. 16220). It would appear that there were certain Indian traders resident at Ur to whom the true Indus seals belonged, and they might further procure for themselves seals locally cut to suit their own taste

(Woolley 1955, 50).

This was the age when the civilisations of the Indus and the Euphrates came most closely into contact, a dozen or more seals found at Ur testify to the commerce between the two countries, and we have another sign of it in the bleached carnelian beads. While carnelian was manufactured in many areas between India and Iran, the very long carnelian beads and the beads of etched carnelian represent two distinctive types of object that can most confidently be regarded as originating in India or the Indus region (Kenoyer 1997, 262-277). The bleached part of these beads are designed in the form of a figure eight, this type can be identified with certainty as imported from a Harappan center in the Indus valley, more detailed descriptions and pictures see Pittman's article (Pittman 1998, 110-117).

Fig.3 String of beads, Pittan 1998

Fig.4 Beads with gold and lapis lazuli, Pittman 1998

Artifacts of Egyptian Style

It has long been acknowledged that Egypt and Mesopotamia had some direct or indirect communications, and scholar like Wengrow（Wengrow 2010，xiii）insists that both Egyptian and Mesopotamian society fed from a common "cauldron of civilization". Despite Woolley's denial of Egypt's influence on Sumer（Woolley 1934, 395-396）, several artifacts found in the cemetery are still demonstrated in Egyptian style.

A kind of vessel in form of an ostrich egg is widespread in the 3rd millennium BC, a number of eggshells are found in graves as testified in the Royal Cemetery at Ur and the later Cemetery A at Kish. Woolley recognized more than ten eggshells, the majority of which are shattered and in poor condition, with traces of red paint visible. Only the gold one (Fig.5, U. 11154) found in royal tomb PG 779 is restored, which belongs to the king Urpabilsag.

Ostrich eggs have been discovered as early as the aceramic periods in North Africa being used as containers. In predynastic Egypt, ostrich eggs were placed in the graves, and many of the Egyptian eggs were decorated with paint or incised lines (Hansen 1998, 70-72). Although the materials and decorations of eggshells have evolved in Mesopotamia, they should be inspired by Egypt in the initial shape and idea.

Fig.5 Gold ostrich shell U. 11154, download from Ur-online database

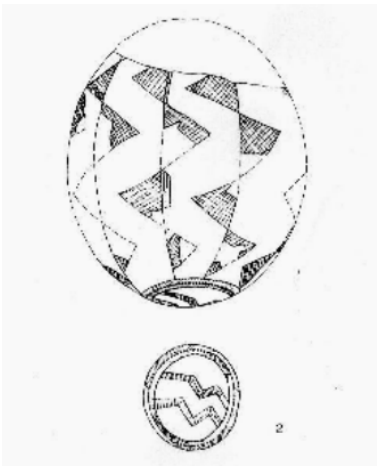

Fig.6 Ostrich egg decorated with geometric incisions, Mainz am Rhein, Remains of the Predynastic Settlement, 1989

Besides, a large copper relief found in king Meskalamdug's grave PG 789 (U. 10475) has been recognized as ultimately Egyptian in inspiration. The relief shows the motif of lion associated with naked fallen enemies, which was considered close to neo-Assyrian art of the first half of the 1st millennium BC by Woolley. Hansen stated that it originated from Egyptian art in which the pharaoh as lion tramples his enemies (Hansen 1998, 67-68). Perhaps in this context, the lion does not symbolize the king, but rather a warlike god. This particular combination of lion and naked fallen enemies did not survive in the imagery of Sumerian art.

Another object related to Egypt is a mace-head (U.18223) of fine white limestone reported by Woolley in 1955, the form of a flat disk with mushroom stem resembling Egyptian types of First Pre-dynastic date. There are about 70 beads of crystal, agate, carnelian, steatite and granite with this mace-head (Woolley 1955, 186). Other than that, there is no more information of it. And a metal axe type (Type A13) also had counterparts in Egypt, but appeared suddenly and soon was dropped out of use, the axe type not last long in Sumer neither. I will not go into great depth about it in this piece.

Raw Materials and Their Provenances

The Royal Cemetery at Ur, as one of the most sensational discoveries in the archaeological history of Mesopotamia, is a massive treasure trove, from which the artifacts are incredibly valuable. Not only the manufacturing processes are complicated, but almost all of the raw materials required such as metals and stones only via long-distance trade.

Lapis Lazuli

Lapis lazuli was extremely popular in the Royal Cemetery of Ur, it can be cut into pieces for inlay decoration, beads or jewelry, or carved into statues and amulets. The most widely accepted provenance of lapis lazuli is in the Badakhshan province of Afghanistan. Badakhshan mines are considered as now as the only sources of the lapis lazuli in ancient times, although other sources have been taken into consideration: Chagai Hills of Pakistan, Pamir mountains, Siberia, Iran, and Sinai (G. Herrmann 1968, 21-57; M. Casanova 1989, 49-56).

Unworked lapis like hair or beards of animal figures in mosaic work found at Ur illustrates that lapis was imported as raw material, and craftsmen must deal with it for their particular intends. The same situation happened to carnelian, crystal, and other stones for decoration use. It's quite common to find unfinished beads of carnelian and crystal, and in the poor grave PG 958 Woolley found a bag containing the stock-in-trade of a bead-maker (Woolley 1934, 206).

But during the Akkadian period, lapis lazuli became extremely rare. Pittman suggests that's because, under the control of Akkadian Empire, the supply that had previously flowed freely through the hands of the maritime merchants had been cut off or diverted. Trading links to the eastern plateau were apparently broken (Pittman 2013, 321-322). The discovery of unworked lapis in Tarut Island proves the existence of maritime trade routes and implies that it was an important center of exchange on Tarut Island during the Early Dynastic Period (Laursen & Steinkeller 2017, 15).

Gold and Silver

Gold was normally utilized in the most prestigious royal tombs at Ur as a precious metal, and it is usually in the form of alloys with silver and copper (Moorey 1994, 217-218; Hauptmann 2018, 100-131). There are ribbons, vessels, weapons, tools, statuettes, and various jewelry made of gold or gold alloys in the cemetery. Before the explosive appearance in the Royal Cemetery, only a few pieces of gold were found in southern Mesopotamia (including a fragment of gold wire from the late Ubaid period at Ur, and a goat amulet from the Late Uruk period at Uruk) (Moorey 1994, 222).

On the origins of gold, scholars have differing views. Moorey examined ancient textual references, modern source regions, and scientific source detection, but non of the hypotheses could confirm the provenance of Ur's gold. Possible origins are: south-east Turkey (Mardin); western Tukey (Pactolus); western Iran; Aratta; Indus Valley (Meluḫḫa); the Gulf (Dilmun); Egypt and Nubia. The ancient Mesopotamians may have imported gold from all the potential areas at various times.

A recent research based on geochemical considerations and osmium isotope analysis of the PGM inclusions in the Ur gold suggests potential geographical sources including the placer deposits of northern Afghanistan, which are in close vicinity to the mines from which the much-used lapis lazuli was exploited (Jansen 2016, 12-23). There could be more linkages between Ur and Afghanistan expected as this report revealed.

While the provenances of silver are relatively clear: Sumerian literary evidence listed regions in Iran, the Gulf, and the Indus valley, including Dilmun, Aratta, Elam, Marhashi, and Meluhha, all of which are to the east or south of Mesopotamia; Sargon of Akkad referred to a locale in Anatolia as the “Silver Mountain”; moreover, as the lead-silver deposits are widespread in Turkey, Anatolia has the greatest quantity of geologically identified silver-bearing ores of any of Mesopotamia's neighbors. In the 3rd millennium, it becomes evident that silver trading from Anatolia down the line of the Euphrates into Sumer (Moorey 1994, 234-235).

Copper

The Royal Cemetery at Ur provides miscellaneous fittings in copper, arsenical copper, and tin-bronze. As shown by the University of Pennsylvania's Mesopotamian Metals Project, 42 percent of the objects analyzed were found to be made of arsenical copper (Muhly, J.D 1993, 129).

Magan is thought to have been one of the first sources of copper in Mesopotamia. As early as the Jamdat Nasr period painted ceramics of Mesopotamian origin appeared in the Oman peninsula, and it has been believed that this represented the start of a relationship between Mesopotamia and Magan, as the Oman peninsula was known, in part for the procurement of copper, that would last for millennia (Potts 1997, 168).

In the 3rd millennium Sumerian texts, copper reached Uruk from Aratta, and all three of the regions Magan, Meluhha, and Dilmun are associated with Copper. Magan was referred to as the “mountain of copper. which proved that Magan was certainly a land producing the metal.Much of the Magan copper, on the other hand, arrived in Mesopotamia via the intermediate Dilmun, which can be found in the late third and early second millennia on the modern-day Bahraini islands. During the reign of Lugalanda, various merchants being commissioned by the Lagash royalty to travel to Dilmun with an objective of purchasing copper and tin bronze. The merchants also served as diplomatic envoys. Copper is included in the list of gifts delivered to the queen of Lagash by the queen of Dilmun (Marchesi 2011, 189-199).

However, metallurgical examination of Babylonian copper artifacts from the Early Dynastic III and Sargonic periods shows that Babylonia obtained the majority of its copper from Omani ores throughout these periods. While Makkan strengthened its northern and eastern ties, metallurgical study shows that copper exports to Babylonia increased during the Early Dynastic III and Sargonic periods. Steinkeller (Laursen and Steinkeller 2017, 19-23) pointed out that Babylonian sea ventures in the Gulf were limited to Dilmun, and Dilmun merchants were essential in the Dilmun-Makkan mercantile connection, they purchased copper and other products like lapis lazuli, gold, and carnelian there. The latter products arrived in Makkan via the trade routes leading from southeaster Iran (Marhaši) and the Indus Valley (Meluhha).

Funeral Customs attested in Kish Cemetary

Kish is a northwestern Mesopotamian city that was primarily ruled by Akkadians during the Early Dynasty. Two separate cemeteries, known as the "Y" and "A" cemeteries, were excavated at Kish during the ED III period, contemporaneous with the royal tombs of Ur. Because the artifacts are frequently placed in similar locations on or near the deceased's body, it is possible that the two cemeteries have a shared tradition.

Moorey proposed comparing the chariot burials to some very rich shaft graves in Ur, the Kish chariot burial pattern is similar to tomb PG 1232, both in dimension and richness (1978: 96). Besides, a banquet scene cylinder seal found at Ur (U. 11904) depicts a woman with horn-like cymbals, which are also seen in the hands of a woman on the Kish inlaid plaques (Woolley 1934, 338). These artifacts are evidences of cultural similarities between Ur and Kish.

One particularly remarkable artifact found at Ur is a seal with inscription “Mes-anni-padda, king of Kish, consort of nugig (Inanna)” (U.13607). Mesannepada’s inscription also appears in Mari “Mesannepada, king of Ur, son of Meskalamdu, king of Kish” (Marchesi 2004: 183-184). Evidently, Mesannepada assumed the position of the ruler of Ur, yet he concurrently held the distinctive status of being the king of Kish and the consort of the deity Inanna. No preceding ruler of Ur had a similar title before.

As Gelb (Gelb 1977, 15) pointed “The title "King of Kish" is not on a par with the titles King of Akkad, Ur, Uruk, Lagash, or of any other state of Babylonia. It is the only title among them so full of prestige as to acquire, in the course of time, the meaning of King.” This practice probably reflecting a hierarchy unknown at Ur before the time of Royal Cemetery.

During the Early Dynastic III period in Mesopotamia, it appears that the region was divided into multiple political entities. There were indications of some form of alliance between the major cities in southern Sumer, but Ur did not seem to be part of this alliance. However, we currently do not have a clear understanding of the administrative organization of this alliance, although some believe that the alliance was subordinate to Kish (Marchesi 2015, 139). Nevertheless, the Kish culture elements and unique burial customs reflected in the Ur tombs should be seen as an exploration and experimentation of a new social order.

Conclusion

In this article, I have presented various artifacts, along with their raw materials and provenances, that demonstrate the multicultural aspects of the Royal Cemetery at Ur. These artifacts not only highlight the diverse cultural influences within the region but also imply the international connections of Ur and its political experiences during the Early Dynastic period.

We can obviously infer the following conclusions from the provided materials and the diversity they prevail:

Obviously, Ur was strongly linked to the Indus Valley, particularly the Harappan civilization, during the Early Dynastic period. There was not just a lot of trading going on, but also may lots of individuals moving around. In Ur, there were indications of Indian merchants or craftsmen. Although the creative style is influenced by Egypt, it has little direct interaction with the country.

The diverse sources of raw materials and the prosperity of trade shows that Ur had great regional influence during the Early Dynastic period, and the local craftsmen and local processing of artifacts also show that craftsmen of Ur had considerable high technical level and production capacity.

The resemblance in funeral customs indicates the cultural impact of Kish on Ur. The sacred nature of Mesannepada's kingship, symbolized by his association with the goddess Inanna, is connected to its secular aspect, which is interestingly manifested not in his own title of Ur but in the presumed more prestigious Kish supremacy. To some extent, it is an embodiment of the exploration and practice of a new social order.

As for trade, Ur benefited more from the marine route, mostly through Dilmun and Magan, the crucial transit ports, in order to receive commodities from Afghanistan, Meluhha, and other countries, due to its geographical location at the mouth of the Gulf. We still know very little about how the northern trade road functions since all documentary sources are from southern Sumerian sites. Anatolia's ore raw materials can be utilized as a backup or substitute for other raw material sources.

Besides, although not addressed in this article, there are a few topics that deserve more examination:

The marine commerce route was plainly disrupted, numerous minerals like lapis lazuli were dramatically decreased. Another theory is that the material supply was cut off when the Harappan civilization fell apart.It has been suggested (Moorey 1994, 246) that the eclipse of the Indus Valley civilization in the second millennium BC brought the booming Indus-Mesopotamian commerce up the Gulf to an end, although this has yet to be proven conclusively. A comprehensive understanding of the links between Ur and the Indus Valley civilization might help us to interpret the connotation behind material diversity.

No need to say, trade plays a vital part in civilization. G. Algaze's "world system" thesis, which was refuted by updated and solid evidence in 2001, was a leading proponent of trade as the major driver in Mesopotamian state development. In his opinion, trade's crucial role is more of a cause than a result of social complexity. By re-examining how trade was organized and its influence on early Mesopotamian civilization, J.N. Postagate (Postagate 2003, 5-25) cast doubt on it. Returning to Ur, what role does the city-state play in international trade, and how does trade affect its development? That would be a complicated issue to investigate.

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Stagnant Waters and Restless Bodies: Tropical Medicine and Limits of Colonial Mobility in the Indian Ocean World, 1918 – 1939

Vikram Vinod

Introduction

In the interwar period, the British empire was hopelessly confronting a problem - the empire was too sick to work for their Majesty. Many illnesses ravaged pax-Britannia but none more dangerously than malaria. In 1898, Ronald Ross, a doctor and member of the Indian Medical Service established within the scientific community "that malaria can be transmitted from infected mosquitos as they bite healthy hosts"[57]. This did not imply that the end of malaria was near.[58] Knowing that mosquitos were a problem, was only part of the problem. Several questions animated the minds of medical officers, capitalists, and politicians - Can we eliminate all mosquitos? Is it possible to eliminate all mosquitoes? And how do we get on with business in the meantime?

Subjects of the empire living in malarial conditions included soldiers in Punjab, 'White settlers' in Kenya and Uganda, and Tamil Plantation workers, working even beyond the subcontinent - in Ceylon and the Federated States of Malaya. Following the end of World War I, the British Empire expanded its territories in the Indian Ocean World and substantially improved its control of mobility in this space. It was a new phase of moving the Empires' subjects across its new territories. In Ceylon, Malaya, and along the Western Ghats of the Indian Subcontinent, forests were actively being cleared and being folded into the colonial-capitalist economy. By the 1930s European capitalists were sourcing a lot of their labor from the Madras Presidency. In Africa, the British Empire was keen on expanding their white settlements and even had large conventions in England, encouraging people to settle in Africa.[59] The moving people of the Empire were facing a

[57] Guillemin, Jeanne. "Choosing Scientific Patrimony: Sir Ronald Ross, Alphonse Laveran, and the Mosquito-Vector Hypothesis for Malaria." *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 57, no. 4 (2002): p. 386

[58] According to the The World Health Organization recorded 247 million cases of Malaria in 2019, globally, "Fact Sheet about Malaria." Accessed May 6, 2023. https://www.who.int/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/malaria.

[59] Lowry, Donal. Review of *Review of Unfit for Heroes: Reconstruction and Soldier Settlement in the Empire between the Wars*, by Kent Fedorowich. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 25, no. 4 (1999): p. 703

life-threatening disease, malaria. The Empire is no stranger to Malaria and has a long history of confronting it. Richard Grove notes that by the fifteenth century, "the need to deal with tropical diseases widened the role of the surgeon so that he became indispensable and of increasingly high status in the commercial world".[60] The fifteenth-century surgeons on the ship had in the Interwar period become doctors, entomologists, surgeons, and surgeons, who now constituted the scientific and were part of an organized scientific community, Tropical Medicine. The paper will argue that Tropical Medicine was the source of biopower that enabled colonial mobility in the Indian Ocean World.

In the pages of tropical medicine, nearly three decades after Ross's discovery, there was little consensus on whether the breeding of mosquitoes should be eliminated or should the immunity of the people be pursued. This will analyze the scientific controversy between the 'old school' and 'modern school' within the discipline of Tropical Medicine. The old school, which included Ronald Ross and Malcolm Watson, believed that the mosquito-malaria cycle could be targeted and eliminated, not entirely, but substantially. For this, the mosquito must be studied, and the study must be followed by appropriate engineering or oiling to eliminate the mosquitos' access to stagnant water. Malcolm's anti-malaria schemes in Federated Malaya were used to substantiate these claims. American experiences in Panama were particularly inspiring to Ross and Malcolm, with Ross writing in the preface to Malcolm's monograph on anti-malaria work in Malaya, notes –

"[A] disease which hampers all human work, especially that of the pioneer and the planter, to a degree which will scarcely be believed in this country; and the task before the Government was to subdue this enemy if possible. I have said elsewhere that the Panama Canal is being dug with a microscope, and I believe that the same instrument will double the wealth of the Federated Malay States."[61]

Unlike American counterparts, British experts were deterred from vector control, due to the failures of vector control at Mian Mir, a town named after a Sufi Saint next to Lahore in Punjab. This town housed a military cantonment that became the site of a failed vector-controlled experiment.[62] Rohan Deb Roy argues that the discovery of the connection between malarial plasmodium and mosquitoes and the new zeal to eliminate, if possible,

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[60] Grove, Richard. *Green Imperialism: Colonial Expansion, Tropical Island Edens and the Origins of Environmentalism, 1600-1860*. Studies in Environment and History. Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995. p. 30

[61] Ross, Ronald in Watson, Malcolm, Arthur Robartes Wellington, and Peter Sinclair Hunter. *The Prevention of Malaria in the Federated Malay States: A Record of Twenty Years' Progress*. 2d ed., rev.Enl. New York: E. P. Dutton & co, 1921. P. X

[62] Rehman, Nida. "Unsettling a Sanitary Enclave: Malaria at Mian Mir (1849–1910)." *Planning Perspectives* 37, no. 1 (January 2, 2022): p.48

even eradicate, did not delegitimize the application of quinine, or at least until 1910.[63] Quinine was malleable, in its constitution, and its proposed use. The controversy between the modern school and the old school presents a site where the status of quinine was challenged by mosquito-centric vector control schemes. Quinine is a chemical product that is extracted from Cinchona tree bark. They were bought from Peru and planted across experimental plantations in "colonial Africa and the East and West Indies, particularly, Dutch Java, British India, Ceylon and Jamaica and French Algiers" by colonial merchants in the 1850s.[64] Deb Roy shows that the commodity and its application had imperial prestige in the scientific circles.

'Modern School' v. 'Old School'

Steven Shapin and Simon Schaffer argue that in the history of science, the space of a scientific controversy is important to analyze the development of scientific consensus and also, the marginalization of the opposing positions, scientific or others. These controversies involve "disagreements over the reality of entities or propriety of practices whose existence or value are subsequently taken to be unproblematic or settled".[65] While applying this method of analysis, Shapin and Schaffer warn that the analyst must symmetrically treat all sides of the debate, i.e., it would be a "great mistake for the historian simply to appropriate and validate the analysis of one side to scientific controversy".[66] The scientific experts debating in the *Indian Medical Gazette* and the *British Medical Gazette* come from vastly different backgrounds and specifically disagree on the effectiveness of a method and the site of anti-malaria effort – stagnant water or the malarial body.

The sole determinants of their argument were not limited to 'effectiveness of the plasmaquine for anti-gametocyte schemes or specificities' or 'geographic variabilities in the vector control schemes'. Their conversation tends to push areas related to the ethics and economics of tropical medicine.

The 'modern school' argued that malaria is a 'social disease' and that "diet, housing, economic status, general sanitation, and other factors play a part".[67] The conflict between

[63] Roy, Rohan Deb. "Quinine, Mosquitoes and Empire: Reassembling Malaria in British India, 1890–1910." *South Asian History and Culture* 4, no. 1 (January 2013): p.. 74

[64] Deb Roy, Rohan, ed. "'Fairest of Peruvian Maids': Planting Cinchonas in British India." In *Malarial Subjects: Empire, Medicine and Nonhumans in British India, 1820–1909*, 17–70. p. 18-19

[65] Shapin, Steven, and Simon Schaffer. *Leviathan and the Air-Pump: Hobbes, Boyle, and the Experimental Life*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 2011. p. 7

[66] Ibid

[67] Group, British Medical Journal Publishing. "British Medical Journal." *Br Med J* 1, no. 3604 (February 1, 1930): p. 207

these schools first emerges from an article on anti-malarial measures in Kenya and Uganda by a retired military doctor and advisor to the British Ministry of Health for Tropical Medicine, Col. S.P. James. The article questioned the privilege vector control as the main approach to the anti-malaria response and argued that malaria was a social disease.

James recommends setting up "a special organization for the study of the local problems in detail, in order to decide what are the appropriate measures to be applied".[68] His article examines anti-malarial responses specifically for the 'white man' who has to travel to 'malarious countries'. Colonial perspectives on Kenya and Uganda deferred substantially from those in South Asia or Southeast Asia. James's visit to Kenya and Uganda is situated around the time when colonial empires 'scrambled' to settle Africa and were very keen on developing white settlements in Kenya. The visit was sponsored by the Crown Agents for the Colonies and aimed to identify suitable means for the white settlers to avoid the scourges of malaria. The whiteness of such a position and the colonial agenda in this social turn of the malaria strategies is evident in the *British Medical Gazettes*' commentary on this James' report's recommendation for mosquito screening –

"So far from Colonel James's recommendation as to screening going far, .as our contemporary says, " to vitiate the value of what is otherwise a useful and stimulating document, ' it is a recommendation which, if put into operation, will do much towards wiping out one of the greatest barriers to the successful colonization of Kenya, and abolishing those tragedies of lost health and lost hope which disfigure the history of the white man's attempts to establish himself with his family in malarious countries"[69]

Randall Packard notes that James' aversion to the anti-vector approaches stems from the failure of the infamous Mian Mir experiment.[70] The project aimed to eradicate malaria in a military encampment in Lahore, Punjab through a series of sanitation and drainage projects. But the project, which ended up costing Rs. 70,000 (about half a million dollars in present value), yielded poor results, and eventually, this experiment led to an infamous controversy between Ronald Ross and James, with Ross accusing the James of a poorly understanding of mosquito-malaria cycles and mismanaging the scheme in general.[71] Packard notes that in the 1920s and 1930s, Tropical Medicine and its response to malaria were debated between "supporters of vector control and those who preferred to focus on

[68] Ibid, p. 207

[69] Ibid, p. 208

[70] Packard, Randall M. *The Making of a Tropical Disease: A Short History of Malaria*. Johns Hopkins Biographies of Disease. Baltimore, Md: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007. Epub copy.

[71] Bhattacharya, Nandini. "The Logic of Location: Malaria Research in Colonial India, Darjeeling and Duars, 1900–30." *Medical History* 55, no. 2 (April 2011): p. 200. W.F. Bynum, 'An Experiment That Failed: Malaria Control at Mian Mir', Parassitologia, 36, 1–2, (1994), 107–21.

the human host and the malaria parasite".[72]

S.P. James during his term in the League of Nations subcommittee on malaria went as far as saying, "[H]ardly anything has retarded the effective control of malaria so much as the belief that, because mosquitoes carry malaria, their elimination should be the object of chief concern and expenditure".[73] The link between the quinine and "social upliftment" – here quinine forms temporary means through which, plantation workers can work, soldiers can soldier, and white settlers can settle till the social, economic, and environmental aspects can 'evolve' to a much more favorable and feasible condition.

The director of the Ross Institute and the leading expert on vector control Malcolm Watson responds critically to James by highlighting that James' racial considerations are inconsiderate and impractical. He argues that ignoring anti-vector control and waiting for the population to develop immunity while focusing on social and economic enhancement assumes that racial immunity will be developed in a lifetime. He suggests that this is not the case and that it would probably take thousands of years for such kinds of racial immunity to develop.[74] He notes, "Those who have seen native races acquiring partial immunity (and it is never more than partial) are aware of the appalling loss of life that occurs among both children and adults during the process."[75]

Anti-Malaria Scheme in the Plantation

In 1925, WM Wesley Clemesha at the request of the Travancore Tea Estates, visited their plantation located at the Peermade – Vandiperiyar tract of the South sections of the Western Ghats located at the erstwhile Kingdom of Travancore. The working conditions at these plantations were extremely dangerous for the Tamil workers and the European staff.[76] Most of the workers who worked on their plantation came from Tinnevelly (Tirunelveli), Ramnad (Ramanathapuram), and Madura (Madurai).[77]

The former civil servant, Clemesha undertook this project with JH Moore, the chief medical officer of the Travancore Medical Fund, an association founded to provide medical care for the owners and workers at the tea plantations in the Peermade in 1919.[78] This organization was quite similar to Clemesha's primary employer, the Ceylon Estates Proprietary Association. It was

[72] Packard, *The Making of a Tropical Disease: A Short History of Malaria*.

[73] Ibid

[74] Watson, Malcolm. "Antimalarial Measures." *Br Med J* 1, no. 3605 (February 8, 1930): p. 260

[75] Ibid. p. 259

[76] Clemesha, Wm. Wesley, and J. H. Moore. "Five Years' Anti-Malaria Measures on the Travancore Tea Companies' Estates." The Indian Medical Gazette 65, no. 12 (December 1930): p. 674

[77] ILO India Monthly Report, June 18. p. 27

[78] *Joint Stock Companies in British India and Mysore*. Superintendent Government Printing, India., 1921. p. 40

not unusual for plantations in Ceylon and Travancore to work in tandem, and they often saw themselves as an extension of each other.[79] They tend to plant similar crops such as tea, rubber, and coffee.

Clemesha and Moore published the results from their experiments in malaria control in Travancore Tea Estates. In their paper, they were able to show that their anti-malaria scheme was able to reduce spleen rates from 10 to 82 percent, in 1925, to from 2 to 6 percent in 1930.[80] Their method of choice was a combination of the anti-larval measures (i.e., anti-vector measures) along with a plasmaquine treatment. Plasmaquine was a German-developed synthetic quinoline derivative.[81] Clemesha and Moore note that their anti-vector measures were unsuccessful on their own and that it was the introduction of anti-gametocyte, i.e., the application of plasmaquine along with the anti-vector efforts that produced positive results. For many in the 'modern' school, this was confirmation of their medical and scientific convictions.[82]

Clemesha and Moore's observations were not just limited to the direction of Tropical Medicine in Travancore and Ceylon, but also the whole subset of the regions that "tropical medicine" claimed expertise over. The main opposition to Clemesha's argument for a plasmaquine treatment came from Malcolm Watson.

Watson responded to the article by Clemesha in a barrage of accusations, such as –

Clemesha had not instituted proper anti-vector measures in the first few years when his work produced poor results.[83]

The positive results of plasmaquine, were positive results from Watson's brief visit to Travancore and the correct application of anti-vector schemes, under Watson by the managers of the plantation.[84]

Watson's rebuttal came too late. By then *Indian Medical Journal* had on multiple occasions endorsed plasmoquine in the form of articles and editorials.[85] Unlike, James' turn towards social considerations white settlers recommended setting up special officers. On the plantation, the

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[79] Sivasundaram, Sujit. "Towards a Critical History of Connection: The Port of Colombo, the Geographical 'Circuit,' and the Visual Politics of New Imperialism, ca. 1880–1914." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 59, no. 2 (2017): p. 367

[80] "Malaria Control." *The Indian Medical Gazette* 65, no. 12 (December 1930): p. 705

[81] Gill, C. A. "The 'Control' of Malaria with Special Reference to Treatment." *The Indian Medical Gazette* 66, no. 6 (June 1931): p. 334

[82] Ibid p. 334

[83] Watson, Malcolm. "Anti-Malarial Measures in Travancore." *The Indian Medical Gazette* 67, no. 4 (April 1932): p. 235

[84] Ibid. P. 235 - 236

[85] "Plasmoquine and Malaria Control." *The Indian Medical Gazette* 66, no. 11 (November 1931). Gill, *"The 'Control' of Malaria with Special Reference to Treatment."* (June 1931). "Malaria Control." *The Indian Medical Gazette* 65, no. 12 (December 1930)

argument was different. Most medical officers directly or indirectly suggest that plantation life itself uplifted the living conditions of the Tamil workers and that plasmaquine was meant to help them continue their work.

Ceylon Malaria Epidemic 1933 – 35

Willfred Chellapah, a Tamil Christian from a suburb of Jaffna Ceylon had moved to Singapore with the help of his siblings.[86] In Singapore, he studied to become a malaria assistant. Owing to racial barriers he moved to Ceylon in 1939, where he worked for the Royal Sanitary Institute and was based outside of Kandy.[87] He was part of the new anti-vector project in Ceylon.

The 1934- 1935 Malaria epidemic in Ceylon highlighted that quinine alone is not an effective means of prevention and that public sanitation cannot be ignored. At the height of the epidemic, the officers in Ceylon aggressively applied quinine-based products on the people exhibiting malarial symptoms. They were injected with quinine products, *atebrin musonat*, and additionally, quinine was given by mouth.[88] Several doctors were shocked by this zeal over quinine. One expert noted that "intravenous injections, both of atebrin musonat and quinine were superfluous and dangerous."[89]

In 1939, Chellappa was dispatched from Singapore to Kandy to implement an "old school" method of vector control by measuring the spleen of children below 11 years and executing the drainage construction in areas with a high spleen rate. He continued to work in Kandy till 1941. He was then hired to work as an assistant to Chief Medicine a secret JW Shah, chief medical officer of Southeast Asia Command, to work on a secret project involving DDT, which was being imported to Asia for the first to aid the British against Japan in Southeast Asia from of World War 2.[90]

Conclusion

The social turn in anti-malaria efforts tended to turn away from engineering approaches to pharmaceutical approaches that were centered on the body of the host. The following comments from an editorial in the *Indian Medical Gazette* described the phenomenon as -

"It is little wonder, therefore, that in the past, when devising anti-malarial schemes, the sanitarian

[86] AN 000353/Communities of Singapore/Chellapah, Wilfred/Oral History Center, National Archives Singapore

[87] Ibid

[88] "Discussion on the Malaria Epidemic in Ceylon 1934–1935." *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine* 29, (March 1, 1936), p.561

[89] Ibid

[90] AN 000353ommunities of Singapore/Chellapah, Wilfred

has turned away from the pharmacist and has looked to the entomologist and the malarial engineer as his only hope of obtaining assistance. However, the introduction of plasmoquine has thrown a heavy weight on the pharmacist's side of the balance and has made it advisable that many problems should be re-weighed under the new condition."[91]

The social turn in anti-malaria discourse more concretely meant a turn towards the body of the host and quinine-based pharmaceutical intervention. By the 1940's vector control measures that were pushed aside as uneconomic, gain new life under the leadership of Fred Soper and the Rockefeller Center.[92] The economic feasibility of vector control also changed due to the popularity of DDT.[93]

This paper tried to highlight how malaria data operates in the transnational space of Tropical Medicine. International organizations that govern contemporary migration emerged from older Imperial structures. Alison Bashford notes that "the interwar period, both the desire for more and better epidemiological intelligence and the new media available, created shifting global lines of communication". Furthermore, Bashford notes that data traveled in "hard copy" from the Indian Ocean, through the Suez Canal, straight to the metropole in London.[94] Ironically, data on Tamil migrants argue for the social upliftment of white settlers in Kenya and Uganda. The convergence of racial, geographical, and biological constitutions of people, in the case of Tamil and White Europeans. Metrics such as spleen rates and death rates formed the knowledge through which biopolitics was understood and negotiated the movement of the people into spaces they were unfamiliar with.

[91] "Plasmoquine and Malaria Control." *The Indian Medical Gazette* 66, no. 11 (November 1931): p. 636-637.

[92] Stepan, Nancy Leys. *Eradication: Ridding the World of Diseases Forever?* Reaktion Books, 2013. P. 13

[93] Ibid, P. 14

[94] Bashford, Alison. "Global Biopolitics and the History of World Health." *History of the Human Sciences* 19, p.72

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The Resilience of Witchcraft: A Discussion on the Traditional Order Reflected in *Safari ya Lamu* in the Swahili Region

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Abstract: Witchcraft, known as the oldest mystical ritual in human history, has not retreated from the annals of human history with the advancement of technology. Instead, it has continued to coexist with human communities in ways beyond imagination. Whether in Asia or Africa, in the modern societies dominated by technology, witchcraft still maintains its place. Taking the East African region as an example, since the introduction of Christianity in Ethiopia in the 4th century AD, monotheistic beliefs have become the norm in East Africa. However, traditional orders such as animism, ancestor worship, idolatry, and witchcraft, which should be in conflict with these monotheistic doctrines, have not disappeared with the spread of Islam or Christianity in the East African region. On the contrary, these traditional orders have become embedded in local communities, shaping a unique social and cultural structure specific to East Africa. In his novel "*Safari ya Lamu*," Kenyan writer John Hamu Habwe presents to readers, through the protagonist Musa, an intriguing story of how a young man from the Kenyan hinterland struggles against the local representation of power in the form of the wizard Mkuki in another cultural community, namely the Swahili region. This paper conducts a textual analysis of the conflicts between the main characters, Musa and the wizard Mkuki, in the novel. It also discusses the resilience of African traditional orders in the face of foreign cultures by considering the historical development of witchcraft and indigenous traditions in the Swahili region. Based on the social resilience of traditional orders, represented by witchcraft, in African society, this paper further discusses the trend of "Africanization" in Swahili culture and the role of traditional orders in the modernization process in East Africa.

Keywords: African witchcraft; Swahili culture; traditional orders; Swahili language literature.

Introduction

Throughout human history, political and economic systems in various countries and regions have often developed alongside the advancement of productive technologies, showing a progressive trend that continually tends towards improvement. However, the synchronous development of societies' understanding of the world and the evolution of scientific and secular institutions is not always closely intertwined. This is because an individual's worldview is influenced not only by the current social environment but also

by the ongoing conditioning from pre-existing knowledge systems within their community. Witchcraft is one such traditional knowledge system that continues to exist in modern East African society. James George Frazer (Frezer 2019) referred to witchcraft as "*a system of distorted natural laws, a set of misguided principles for guiding actions, a science, and an ineffective craft.*" William Perkins (Perkins 2012), on the other hand, believed that witchcraft is "*an evil art accepted for the desire to create miracles for people.*" In the past, people often confused witchcraft, magic, and sorcery because, from their outcomes (at least in the eyes of believers), they all involved methods that turned the impossible into the possible through an unknown supernatural power. James L. Brian once cited Thomas O. Beidelman in his study of the Wakaguru people in Tanzania (Beidelman 1971), providing a distinction between witchcraft, magic, and sorcery:

Witchcraft: Witchcraft involves actions or rituals performed by individuals who are believed to possess inherent supernatural powers or are in contact with supernatural forces. These actions can be either beneficial or malevolent and are typically seen as beyond the control of the practitioner. The power of witchcraft is often attributed to an innate, unchangeable quality.

Magic: Magic refers to rituals and practices that employ supernatural forces or symbols, but the power is not inherently tied to the practitioner. Instead, it relies on the proper execution of the rituals and the manipulation of these supernatural elements to achieve a desired outcome.

Sorcery: Sorcery, in contrast, is the use of supernatural powers to harm others intentionally. Practitioners of sorcery are believed to intentionally invoke malevolent forces or entities to cause harm or misfortune to others. Sorcery is often seen as a learned skill rather than an inherent quality.

These distinctions help clarify the different methods and beliefs associated with witchcraft, magic, and sorcery.

From Beidelman's explanation, it's evident that when both the practitioner (witch/wizard) and the outcomes are malevolent, the relevant practice is undoubtedly witchcraft. This characteristic also exists in the way people in the Swahili region of East Africa perceive witchcraft. For example, in Swahili, witchcraft used for malevolent purposes is referred to as "*uchawi*," and those who use it to harm others are called "*mchawi*" (witch/wizard). On the other hand, witchcraft used for benevolent purposes is called "*uganga*," and those who use it to heal others are known as "*mganga*" (wizard doctor or healer). The subjective intent of the practitioner and the outcomes of these practices collectively distinguish between magic, sorcery, and witchcraft. In the Swahili region, whether it's the benevolent

"uganga" or the malevolent "*uchawi*," both are part of the traditional practice of "witchcraft" and the traditional order it carries. This paper primarily discusses and analyzes witchcraft, the power wielded by malevolent practitioners for the purpose of harming others, in the Swahili language novel "*Safari ya Lamu*." It then follows the text to discuss the strong resilience of indigenous traditional order structures represented by witchcraft in the historical development of the Swahili region in East Africa.

1. Order Conflict Triggered by Travel

"*Safari ya Lamu*" is a travelogue-style novel written by Kenyan author and scholar John Hamu Habwe, published in 2011. The story revolves around Musa, a customs officer from Nairobi, who embarks on a vacation to Lamu Island, Kenya, following a promotion. During his journey, Musa becomes entangled in a series of events with the wizard Mkuki[95], narrowly escaping death. Eventually, he is able to restore his normal life through witchcraft, finding inner peace. Similar to many renowned Swahili language novelists, Professor John Hamu Habwe is also a scholar of Swahili language. He has taught at the University of Nairobi for many years, conducting research in Swahili language and literature. Alongside his academic work, he has been a prolific writer, with 17 literary works published to date, showcasing his productivity as an author. Besides his academic research and literary creations, Habwe has also worked as a Swahili language translator and language consultant for international organizations such as the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), World Health Organization (WHO), and the East African Swahili Commission (EAKC). He has provided consultancy, editing, and advisory services to publishing institutions, educational organizations, and companies in Kenya and abroad. His extensive work experience has enriched the content of his novels, broadening his perspective and providing keen insights into the social ecology of East Africa. "*Safari ya Lamu*" is an excellent example of this. Apart from the main storyline featuring the conflicts between the protagonist Musa and the wizard Mkuki, Habwe also addresses numerous issues present in Kenyan society. These subplots are cleverly interwoven into various chapters, offering readers ample material to gain an understanding of Kenya. Most of these stories are narrated by Musa, and through his interactions with the relevant characters, the novel further enriches the central conflict concealed within it: the order conflict between "tradition" and "modernity."

Musa, a devout and hardworking Muslim, did not continue his education after graduating from high school. Instead, he started from the lowest temporary position at the Nairobi Customs and, through his diligence and a stroke of luck, gradually worked his way up to

[95] The choice of the name "Mkuki," meaning "spear" in Swahili, for the antagonist wizard in the story is significant as it emphasizes the character's formidable supernatural powers and aggressive nature.

become an employee with his own independent office. Throughout this journey, he continued to use his savings to cover his father's medical expenses at the Kenyatta Hospital in Kenya.

While his career progressed smoothly, Musa's life was also set on a clear path. His fiancée, Maria, the daughter of a parliamentarian, was of noble character and exceptional beauty. The two were set to marry soon, and their love life was sweet and fulfilling. In fact, his superiors even granted Musa special leave with pay for over a month to allow him to relax and enjoy his pre-wedding days. Everything seemed perfect.

After much consideration, Musa chose Lamu Island as his destination for this supposed relaxed and joyful trip. However, what should have been a carefree journey had a significant impact on Musa's life and allowed readers to observe the influence of traditional orders within the Swahili region of East Africa.

Why did Musa choose Lamu as his destination? In the book, Habwe provides an interesting description that sheds light on this choice:

"Si watu wengi waliojua Lamu ni sehemu ya nchi ya Kenya. Hata katika akili singeweza kukisia sifa za kisiwa hicho. Kila nilipowazia Lamu, nilikumbuka visiwa kama Zanzibar na Pemba." (Habwe 2011, 5)	"Few people realize that Lamu is Kenyan territory. Even my subconscious can't recall the island's characteristics. Whenever I think of Lamu, I usually associate it with islands like Zanzibar or Pemba."

This message suggests that Lamu is often overlooked and not as well-known as other islands in the region, such as Zanzibar or Pemba. Musa's decision to visit Lamu may have been driven by a desire for a less touristy and more off-the-beaten-path experience. It also adds an element of surprise and discovery to his journey, as he doesn't have preconceived expectations of the island.

Lamu's relatively lower profile and its unique cultural and historical significance may have made it an appealing choice for Musa's vacation, as it allows for a different and less explored experience.

In history, Lamu Island has been considered the cradle of Swahili culture, and according to Mugane, it was one of the early core areas of the Swahili region (Mugane 2015, 33). The Lamu Island dialect, Kiamu, is also regarded as an important carrier of traditional Swahili literature (Mugane 2015, 118). This island, which plays a significant role in the long history of East African Swahili culture, is portrayed in the novel as a place forgotten even by a senior Kenyan customs officer like Musa. It's as if it has faded from people's memory.

Habwe's description of Lamu in the novel is thought-provoking. In reality, Musa should not have been so unfamiliar with Lamu, as his father had previously worked on a railway project in the Mombasa region. Through his father's stories, young Musa learned a great deal about the Swahili region of Eastern Kenya. On an individual level, his father's narratives symbolized Musa's past, while on a collective level, Lamu symbolized tradition in the Swahili region.

In the modern context, traditional symbols like Lamu are hidden, and within the context of his family, Musa's father, the storyteller, is now lying in a room at Kenyatta Hospital. Whether in macro or micro experiences, Musa's perception of tradition and the past is fading away. However, with the option to choose other destinations, including popular Western tourist spots, Musa unknowingly embarks on a journey to Lamu, destined for a

dramatic transformation of this fading perception.

As Musa's bus departs from Nairobi, he officially enters a world filled with surreal elements. Before Musa reaches the Swahili region of Eastern Kenya, Habwe provides some preliminary insights into this challenging and tumultuous journey:

As Musa departs from Nairobi on his way to Mombasa, he finds that there are very few Black passengers among the travelers. Most of the passengers are of Asian descent, and Musa's identity shifts from being in the "majority" to being in the "minority."
Along the way, Musa witnesses a gruesome car accident, but the local residents are primarily concerned about the spilled gasoline resulting from the accident, and they rush to grab it. The police, who represent the official authority, struggle to respond effectively as their patrol car is out of gas, and they have to walk to the accident scene. The legal order of modern society seems to have quietly left the scene during the journey, and a state of disorder and Machiavellianism prevails.
The journey from Nairobi to Mombasa covers vast, desolate, and sparsely populated stretches of savannah. It stands in stark contrast to the bustling urban life of Nairobi and Mombasa, making it seem isolated and devoid of human presence.

As Musa observes everything happening along the way, he is surprised that the Kenya beyond Nairobi doesn't align with his initial expectations. It seems that the influence of modern order is confined to the Nairobi highlands, situated at an altitude of over 1600 meters. As Musa's bus heads eastward, the influence of modern order gradually diminishes. While modern order weakens, the influence of another form of order, namely witchcraft, continues to strengthen. It is a traditional power that stands in stark contrast to the understanding of a Nairobi civil servant like Musa.

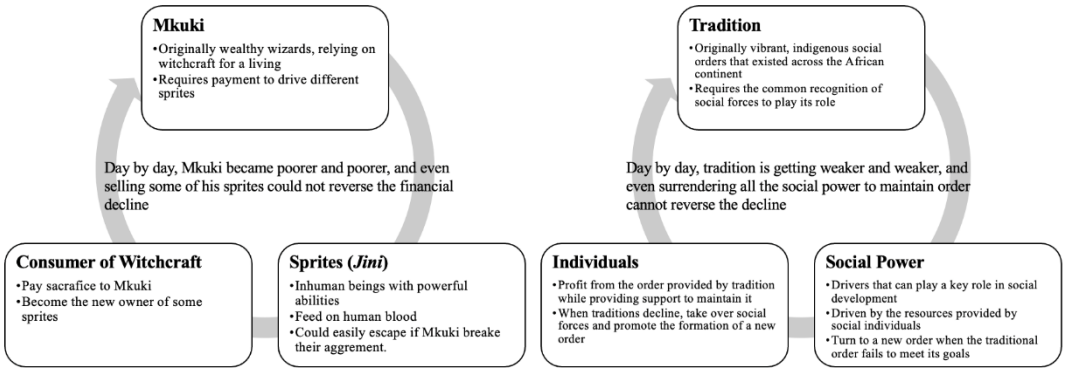
2. The Living Force in the Forgotten Land

Before officially touring Lamu, Musa arrives in the coastal city of Mombasa and then proceeds to Lamu from Mombasa, making a few detours to visit other islands on the way. Musa, who initially held high moral values, undergoes a significant change in his mindset when he enters this unfamiliar environment. On his first night at the Blue Star Hotel in Mombasa, he violates the Muslim prohibition on alcohol. After consuming six bottles of beer, Musa encounters the beautiful Maimuna and engages in a romantic relationship with her. Little does he know that Maimuna is the wife of the renowned wizard Mkuki, and she had also been promised to one of Mkuki's elves. Musa finds himself torn between betraying Maria and having an extramarital affair with a dangerous wizard's wife on one hand, and being unable to let go of his attachment to Maimuna, continuing to tour with her in Mombasa and its surroundings, on the other.

However, just as Musa is immersed in holiday joy with Maimuna and is about to embark on his journey to Lamu, he receives a threatening letter. The sender of the letter is none other than Mkuki. In the letter, he claims to have control over Musa and every move he makes with his wife Maimuna. Mkuki warns that if Musa does not heed his advice, he will face dire consequences (Habwe 2011, 44). At this point, witchcraft, this supernatural force, tears apart the ordinary facade of Musa's Lamu journey, bringing a traditional order that had previously existed only in oral stories to the forefront for the readers.

Musa travels to Lamu with Maimuna, feeling anxious and uneasy. Along the way, Maimuna introduces him to a wealth of knowledge related to witchcraft, including stories about the various elves working under her husband Mkuki. According to Maimuna, Mkuki was once a wealthy man, but he spent all his wealth on raising his elves. Over time, many of these elves have left, and the remaining ones have been sold by Mkuki to new owners. The novel does not narrate Mkuki's past history with nested sub-stories, as it does with other side stories. Instead, it is recounted through Maimuna's words, presented in a straightforward, neutral, and objective manner.

In this process, just as the symbol of Lamu has been hidden, Mkuki, who should be the central character in the story, is also concealed. If we view Mkuki as a representative of traditional order and then decode the elves and their new owners, Habwe's intention in setting up the narrative can be explained as follows:



Mkuki, the wizard in the story, symbolizes African indigenous traditions and carries a name with historical significance in resisting colonialism. He holds a position as the most powerful wizard in the local African community. His reputation and influence are so high that they form a kind of order centered around witchcraft. For instance, when Mkuki first appears before Musa, the local elders all agree with his accusations against Musa, and even the staff at the Blue Star Hotel warn Musa about Mkuki's power in the area. These characteristics create an image of Mkuki that is starkly different from Musa, who works

as a civil servant in the modern government.

Mkuki's character represents the resilience and significance of traditional African beliefs and practices in the face of modernization. It underscores how, in some parts of East Africa, these traditional systems continue to hold sway alongside or even in contrast to the modern order of government and bureaucracy. This contrast serves to highlight the complexity and depth of cultural and societal elements within the story.

Habwe, in the novel, spares no detail in describing Mkuki, and this character appears in person more than once in the story. However, when it comes to introducing his history, Mkuki's character, who should be the central figure, is concealed. Similarly, whether it's Mkuki without an independent story or Lamu Island, which "very few people realize," as traditional symbols in the Swahili region, they are presented in the novel as objects that are retold and introduced, even if there has been real contact. This creates a sense of elusiveness surrounding them.

This elusiveness is representative of the state of African indigenous traditions in contemporary narratives. Habwe even strengthens this feeling of the unseen in the present through the contemplative debates among the elderly on Lamu Island:

"Lamu ilikuwa ni kisiwa ambacho kimepotea," alisema Bwana aliyejulikana kama Maridhawa.	"**Lamu is a place that no longer exists**," a man named Marizawa said.
"Mimi siamini," alisema Barua.	"I don't believe it," Barua said.
"Kwa nini huamini?" Aliuliza Bwana Tembo.	"Why don't you believe it?" Mr. Tengbe asked.
"Siamini kwa sababu hapana ushahidi wa madai hayo ambayo kila mtu yuwato," alisema Barua.	"I don't believe it because there is no evidence to prove this cliché that everyone talks about," Barua said.
"Ushahidi gani. Kuna watu walioishi katika hicho kisiwa," alisema Tembo.	"What evidence do you need? The people who used to live here are the evidence," Tengbe said.
"Sasa kama waliishi wao walinusurika vipi?" Aliuliza Barua.	"If they lived here, how would they be saved now?" Barua asked.
"Walitoka kwa madau yao, yakhe," Maridhawa alisema kwa dhati.	
...	
"Kipo wapi kama hakiingiliki?" Barua aliteta.	

"Si lazima uwe na uwezo wa kuingia mahali ndipo useme kipo," Maridhawa alieleza huku akishika vizuri glasi ndogo iliyojaa sharubati hadi ikawa inamwagika.	"Of course, they would leave by boat, my friend," Marizawa said sincerely.
	...
"Hicho kisiwa bwana kipo tu kwa Wazungu. Kimefukuzwa watu wetu kikawekwa Wazungu," alisema Barua. (Habwe 2011, 100-101)	"If it can't be entered, then where does it exist?" Barua quipped.
	"Admitting a place's existence doesn't necessarily require you to have the ability to enter it," Marizawa explained, holding a nearly overflowing glass of juice.
	"The island does exist, but only for Westerners. Our people were driven out, and Westerners were pushed in," Barua said.

This debate about whether Lamu still exists actually took place in the central square of Lamu Island, an important gathering place for the local residents. The elders who have lived here for generations play Swahili board games (Bao) while discussing "Lamu or not Lamu," which may sound absurd at first. However, this sense of displacement precisely confirms Musa's previous state of knowing Lamu only by name but not by experience. The Lamu that existed here in history, representing traditional order, has now disappeared from people's awareness. Witnessing the disappearance, the Lamu people express their thoughts daily like old Chinese phrase "花非花，雾非雾（flower is not a flower, mist is not mist）."

However, the hidden traditional order is not as fragile as readers might imagine. On the contrary, it possesses extraordinary resilience. The debate among characters like Marizawa about the existence of Lamu proves that the past Lamu has never faded from people's consciousness but has continued through one debate after another. To further highlight the vitality of the traditional order, Habwe selected another character to illustrate this point.

In the novel, what connects Musa and Mkuki is Mkuki's wife, Maimuna. The beautiful Maimuna is a native Swahili girl, and her marriage to Mkuki is merely because her parents

considered her as the payment for the services of Mkuki the wizard, so there is no love between them. When you analyze these characters based on the symbols they represent, you can naturally discover that Maimuna, on one hand, is a dependent and tool of the traditional order (represented by the Lamu wizard, Mkuki), and on the other hand, she seeks a new perspective and joy provided by the modern order (represented by Musa, the civil servant from Nairobi). Her identity creates an irreconcilable contradiction with the goals she pursues. This conflict ultimately ends with Maimuna's sudden death due to a heart attack in the hotel where Musa was staying. Although the police investigation revealed that Maimuna's death had nothing to do with Musa, he was still detained for a period. To make matters worse, after the case was published in the newspapers, Musa's fiancée Maria in Nairobi learned of his infidelity and decided to cancel their engagement. After these trials and tribulations, Musa, who returned to Nairobi, knew he was in the wrong with Maria and could only accept reality. But he didn't get a chance to breathe because his body began to stiffen and lose consciousness from time to time, even experiencing hallucinations. He could see many malevolent spirits threatening him, even including the deceased Maimuna. This poor Swahili girl also accused Musa of causing her death. Musa believed that all of this was Mkuki's curse, and the retaliation of the wizard didn't end with Maimuna's death. Musa sought help from his colleague and good friend, Mohammed, who personally went to Lamu to negotiate with Mkuki. Finally, with Mohammed's help, Musa paid Mkuki as a form of ransom to lift the curse and gradually regained his health. Mkuki, the wizard representing the traditional order, demonstrates the tremendous influence of this traditional order.

From Mohammed's account, readers can learn that even though Mkuki has very few spirits left under his command and is living in poverty, his magical powers continue to be so strong that everyone is in awe. People come to him daily for divination and witchcraft consultations, and Mkuki's humble home remains a bustling place in the local area. Moreover, as the plot unfolds, Mkuki in Habwe's portrayal is no longer a mere malevolent wizard who uses magic to harm others; he is also a wizard doctor who can use his magical powers to heal people. Mohammed's observations and impressions of Mkuki are quite different from the initial impressions that Maimuna and Musa had of him.

Mkuki's attacks on Musa and Maimuna are not just a means of venting his anger. In his own words (Habwe 2011, 114-115), it's a "necessary means of upholding morality." In summary, Mkuki has his own set of values and, to uphold these values, witchcraft can be used both for harm and for good. Thus, he is not a purely malevolent wizard but rather a supernatural agent who brings a certain order to the local community, which plays a role in the stability and development of the local society. In other words, Mkuki doesn't exist as an individual based on his own characteristics but is determined by the community environment he belongs to. This character setting aligns with the traditional African

philosophy of human beings being determined by the community environment they are in, rather than individual traits (Menkiti 1984). Material wealth or poverty doesn't have much correlation with the respect Mkuki enjoys in the local community. Whether he is wealthy or not, people have unwavering faith in his magical powers.

In the story, there's an intriguing detail when Mohammed goes to meet Mkuki in Lamu. Mkuki examines Mohammed and informs him that he currently has an enemy who wishes him harm. However, he can pay a fee, and Mkuki will perform a ritual to turn the situation in his favor. Mohammed agrees to this, and he pays Mkuki 100 shillings (roughly 5 Chinese yuan) (Habwe 2011, 248). In the context of 2023, the monthly salary for Kenyan customs officials ranges from 23,611 to 80,104 shillings (WageIndicator 2023). Even considering an increase in the average wage levels over ten years, spending 100 shillings for averting disaster or turning one's luck around is by no means expensive. As a widely accepted part of the local community and traditional order, people bear the financial cost of witchcraft without hesitation. The "cost-effective" witchcraft services, in turn, preserve and maintain this order, allowing it to thrive in Lamu and have profound effects on people like Musa and Mohammed in Nairobi. This serves as a reminder that the romanticism of the Swahili region is far from gone. However, it is essential to recognize that this doesn't mean "existence equals justification." In the context of the text, Mkuki's existence highlights the resilience of African traditions when competing with modern orders, a resilience that remains valid even in a real historical context.

3. The Social Resilience of Traditional Order

In his novel *"Safari ya Lamu*" Habwe adeptly showcases the enduring influence of traditional orders in the Swahili region through a narrative woven around witchcraft. This inevitably prompts one to ponder: why, despite the influences of the introduction of Islam, colonial rule, and the struggles for national liberation, has the Swahili region retained such a potent indigenous African tradition like witchcraft? What significance does this tradition hold for the Swahili region and, indeed, the inland regions of East Africa?

To answer this question, one must first focus on the vital topic of "*Decolonizing the Mind*" that has immense significance for African literature and African society as a whole. Renowned Kenyan writer and scholar Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, Nigerian writer Obi Wali, Senegalese writer David Diop, and others began to address the issue of language as a medium in African literature in the 1960s. They astutely pointed out that uncritically accepting English and French as the inevitable media for educated Africans to write in was a mistake, as it denied them the opportunity to advance African literature and culture (Thiong'o 1994, 24-25). Thus, they warned that African writers must accept the premise that genuine African literature must be written in African languages. The scholars made these warnings not as alarmist rhetoric against the existing linguistic order in Africa but

as a rational call for the discovery and preservation of Africaness in the post-colonial era. The question of which language African literature should be written in is not just a matter of culture but one of order. While Ngũgĩ and Diop championed African-language literature, many other African writers composed in native African languages. Although their fame and global impact were relatively limited compared to those writing in European languages, they nurtured a loyal readership within Africa, creating a vibrant ecosystem of African-language literature. Authors like Heruy Wolde Selassie from Ethiopia, Girmachew Tekle Hawaryat, Shabaan Robert, Ebrahim Hussein from Tanzania, Abdullatif Abdalla and Ken Walibora from Kenya, Benedict Wallet Vilakazi, Archibald Campbell Jordan, Mazisi Kunene from South Africa, Okot p'Bitek from Uganda, Daniel O. Fagunwa from Nigeria, and many others dedicated a century to providing written literature in native African languages, ensuring the immortality of languages such as Swahili, Yoruba, Zulu, Amharic, and others in print (Thiong'o 1994, 24). If one agrees with the basic premise that language is the medium of literature and culture, these authors and scholars undoubtedly emerge as staunch defenders and protectors of African traditional culture. Their efforts provided Ngũgĩ with the confidence to declare the slogan of "Decolonizing the Mind" in the 1960s and '70s, challenging the dominance of European-language writings in African literature. These endeavors have demonstrated that indigenous culture and traditional orders continue to thrive in contemporary Africa.

Since Edward Said first introduced the post-colonialism theory, discussions about the neocolonial predicaments faced by various African nations and regions after achieving national independence have been numerous. The decolonization of political systems does not seem to have facilitated comprehensive decolonization for Africa. Kenyan scholar Pal Ahluwalia (Ahluwalia 2001, 14) once provided a macro-level explanation of the impact of colonialism in Africa:

"*In the case of Africa, the term post-colonial does not mean 'after independence'. Rather, it is a concept which takes into account the historical realities of the European imperial incursions into the continent from the fifteenth century onwards. These incursions manifested themselves in the transatlantic slave trade. The violent conquest of the continent in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, in what may be described as the 'scramble for Africa', formally lasted until the decolonisation processes were complete. These processes began in the 1950s and culminated in the 1990s with the liberation of South Africa. Nevertheless, the enduring legacy of colonialism continues to be characterised by its neo-colonial practices.*"

In the real context, African cultural heritage, including language, culture, and practices such as witchcraft, has not disappeared due to colonial rule. In Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o's view, this may be a case of "simplicity as the ultimate sophistication." African farmers use

indigenous languages, adhere to traditional orders, and even have unwavering faith in traditional religious practices, allowing traditional order to persist under the dominance of colonial rule. People haven't considered other extraneous factors, but have simply continued to use the language and lifestyle they have always known. It's this simple repetition that has allowed traditional order to continue with remarkable resilience and is likely to persist into the foreseeable future, ultimately helping Africans achieve "decolonization of the mind."

Interestingly, besides the inertia of compliance within related communities, there is another factor contributing to the vitality of traditional orders like witchcraft in the Swahili region. This factor is the opposition to witchcraft within the framework of modern order. The existence of witchcraft as a result of opposing witchcraft may sound paradoxical at first. However, Amy Nichols-Belo of the University of Virginia, in her research conducted in Mwanza, Tanzania, found that the more the local government opposes witchcraft practices and tries to eradicate them with a scientific and rational approach, the deeper people's understanding and acceptance of witchcraft becomes (Nichols-Belo 2014). Nichols-Belo provides ample evidence to illustrate that in Mwanza, witchcraft is the only order on which the weak can rely when they cannot obtain help within the existing order. This order becomes stronger when faced with external opposition, just like the continuous discussions by elderly individuals such as Marizawa in "The Lamu Portraits" contribute to the existence of Lamu. In this light, the enduring presence of traditional orders in the Swahili region and across Africa, displaying remarkable resilience, becomes easier to understand.

4. Conclusion

The Swahili Coast has long been a region of intense cultural exchange and complex historical interactions in East Africa. The confluence of cultures and histories from various regions, including inland Africa, West Asia, South Asia, Southeast Asia, and Europe, has collectively shaped the unique socioecological landscape along the East African coastline. To understand this socioecological environment, the study of Swahili language literature is essential because "literature is a social practice, and when used as a medium of language, it becomes a social creation." Kenyan author John Habwe's "The Lamu Portraits," which centers around Musa, a customs officer in Nairobi, reveals that traditional orders, represented by practices such as witchcraft, still possess significant vitality in the Swahili region of modern society. These traditional orders continue to have profound implications for contemporary life.

In conjunction with the history of the emergence and development of the "decolonization of the mind" agenda in East Africa, there is reason to believe that traditional orders rooted in indigenous traditions have been, are, and will continue to be an important force for

anchoring local identities amidst the processes of modernization. Simultaneously, their vitality may even strengthen through confrontation with external forces. Therefore, in future interactions with communities in this region, it is important to take full account of the social resilience of traditional orders and seek the best means of communication and interaction. The Swahili culture has remained vibrant to this day, rooted in its unchanging African core despite the external factors it has encountered throughout its history, and it may even be growing stronger, as evident by the increasing prominence of inlandization trends in Swahili language over the past decade. In studying the modernization processes in East Africa, particularly in the context of African indigenous cultural development represented by Swahili culture, the power of traditional orders should be given due consideration and incorporated into the scope of future research.

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Reframing Multicultural Discourses through Language Stereotypes: Stand-up Comedy as a Cultural Lens in Kenya

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Abstract: The construction and evolution of Kenya's multiculturalism has gone through a long process. Although most concepts of multiculturalism in Kenya emerged in post-colonial societies, flexible tribal identities with residence, language, and culture as common features had already laid the foundation for Kenya's multiculturalism before the arrival of the colonizers. Currently, achieving a multi-ethnic, integrated state remains a key challenge in Kenya's political reform process. To better clarify the multi-ethnic, multicultural context and ethnic segregation brought about by the politicization of ethnic identity in Kenya, this study uses stand-up comedy as a medium to examine multicultural discourse in Kenya, providing insights into how comedians represent and engage with different cultural identities and how their performances shape public perceptions and attitudes toward multiculturalism. In addition, the study explores the distinguishing features of inward and outward ethnic issues in the discursive construction of Kenyan stand-up comedy. Since Swahili is the official or national language of many countries in East Africa, humorists are adept at capturing the diversity of Swahili use as identity marks. By examining how comedians navigate and engage with cultural identities, this study sheds light on the dynamics of cultural interaction and the role of humor in shaping public attitudes towards multiculturalism.

Keywords: Kenya, multi-ethnic, stand-up comedy, Swahili, functionalism of hu

PAPER

from Indirect Rule to Politicization of Ethnic Identity

Historical Evolution of Ethnic Identity in Kenya

Kenya, a nation with over forty distinct ethnic groups, has a complex history of ethnic identity construction. Before colonial rule, tribes like the Gikuyu practiced decentralized tribal democracy, with leaders chosen through democratic elections. The arrival of

colonialists disrupted these traditional systems, imposing “indirect rule” and creating tribal reserves. This change undermined the traditional democratic leadership selection process within tribes.

Economically, Kenyans suffered land appropriation and hut taxes, leading to the establishment of “white highlands” where indigenous Kenyans lost their land. More than 16,700 square miles of land were allocated to white settlers, forcing Kenyan peasants to become “squatters.”

One specific event that showcases this disruption is the colonial policy of “indirect rule,” where specific tribes were co-opted to cultivate chiefs and headmen loyal to the colonial authorities.

Politicization of Ethnic Identity

The struggle for independence in Kenya involved significant resistance, notably the “Mau Mau” movement, predominantly led by the Gikuyu. Post-independence, the Gikuyu gained political prominence, exemplified by President Kenyatta's leadership. Kenyatta skillfully navigated internal conflicts among different ethnic groups to secure the Gikuyu's political and economic dominance. A specific example of this is Kenyatta's manipulation of the rivalry between Luo revolutionaries Odinga and Mboya, his alliance with the Kalenjin against the Luo, and his gradual weakening of the Kamba's influence in the military, ultimately securing the Gikuyu's dominant political and economic position (高晋元 1981).

Despite this dominance, ethnic tensions persist. In 2008, a political crisis erupted, with opposition leader Raila Odinga accusing President-elect Kibaki of fraud, leading to widespread violence. This crisis was rooted in ethnic divisions, highlighting the continuing challenges of ethnic-based politics.

The Persistence of Ethnic Identity

Even with constitutional reforms in 2010, the politicization of ethnic identity remains a significant challenge in Kenya. The colonial legacy of boundary demarcation and ethnic-based political organization has reinforced ethnic identities, hindering the realization of a multi-ethnic, integrated nation.

In conclusion, the history of Kenya's ethnic identity is marked by specific events such as “indirect rule” policies and the 2008 election crisis. These events illustrate the ongoing challenges of achieving a multicultural, integrated nation in the face of deeply rooted ethnic identities and political divisions.

Multicultural Narratives in Kenyan Stand-Up Comedy

Kenya, a nation characterized by its rich cultural diversity, grapples with ethnic issues that permeate not only political activities but also Kenyan people’s daily lives. These

issues have found a unique platform for expression in Kenyan stand-up comedy, offering a lens through which to explore ethnic conflicts and tensions in a multicultural context. This paper embarks on an exploration of the multicultural discourse prevalent in Kenya by analyzing popular segments from the *Churchill Show*, a prominent Kenyan comedy program. The focus is on segments centered around ethnicity, aiming to provide insights into how comedians adeptly represent and engage with diverse cultural identities.

The Churchill Show

The *Churchill Show*, hosted by the celebrated comedian Daniel Churchill Ndambuki, premiered on the Kenyan television network NTV in 2007. Filmed live at the iconic Carnivore in Nairobi, this program, in addition to featuring interviews with a diverse range of celebrities, primarily serves as a platform for stand-up comedy. Comedians from various East African countries take the stage to showcase their talent and engage with the audience.

The show has given rise to a spin-off program known as *Churchill Raw*. Distinguished by its live format and direct audience interaction, which offers a unique experience for viewers.

Unique Attributes of Stand-Up Comedy:

Compared to traditional comedy shows, stand-up comedy exhibits distinctive features that set it apart. It does not confine itself to a singular thematic focus, allowing comedians to explore a wide range of topics, mirroring the complexity of contemporary life. This flexibility ensures that stand-up comedy remains relevant and relatable to people's daily experiences.

Moreover, the collective nature of group comedy shows, such as the *Churchill Show*, diminishes the individual influence of performers. This collaborative environment fosters a diverse range of performances, catering to the ever-evolving preferences and needs of the audience. The continuous influx of new talent into the comedy industry infuses the field with vitality and freshness.

Stand-up comedy's enduring popularity is attributed to its dynamism, offering a combination of topicality and real-time performance. This dynamic nature contributes to the program's energetic and sustained appeal. Furthermore, the broad public acceptance of stand-up comedy underscores the cultural significance of humor in Kenyan society. The enduring presence of comedy shows on the list of “most popular TV shows” reflects the public's appreciation for humor culture.

Multicultural Narratives in Churchill Show

In a multi-ethnic nation like Kenya, the “ethnic issue” has been a perennial concern. Despite the sensitivity and complexity associated with this topic, viewers display a remarkable willingness to engage with hilarious ethnic matters. This phenomenon

underscores the readiness of Kenyan society to engage in open discussions, embrace humor, and seek understanding amidst the complexities of cultural diversity.

The *Churchill Show*, with its multicultural narratives and ethnic humor, offers a unique vantage point for examining the role of humor in addressing ethnic issues. It fosters a better understanding of cultural identities and contributes to the ongoing dialogue on multiculturalism in Kenya.

Humorists as both Outsiders and Insiders

Humor, an integral aspect of human existence, possesses the unique power to transcend boundaries and resonate with diverse audiences. Comedy performers, whether born with the gift of humor or cultivated through practice, wield this power in shaping narratives that revolve around societal nuances, including "community issues." This chapter delves into the intricate world of ethnic humor in Kenya, focusing on the roles of comedy performers who navigate the complex terrain of being both outsiders and insiders in their cultural contexts.

Ethnicity and Ethnic Humor

To comprehend the dynamics of ethnic humor, it is imperative to explore the underlying constructs of ethnicity. Davies defines ethnicity as a broad term encompassing a group of people who perceive themselves and are perceived by others as a collective entity with shared cultural traditions, real or imagined common descent, and a distinct identity. A crucial element in this construct is the recognition of distinguishing factors that set a particular ethnic group apart from its neighboring communities. These distinctions should be evident enough for outsiders to discern (Davies 1990).

Ethnic humor, on the other hand, is defined by Apte as a form of humor that derives pleasure from portraying the behaviors, customs, personalities, or any other characteristics of a group or its members through the lens of their socio-cultural identity (Apte 1985). In the context of Kenya's major ethnic communities, ethnic humor often amplifies specific traits, idiosyncrasies, and predispositions, thereby enabling the humorist to embody the dual role of an outsider, expressing a sense of superiority, and an insider engaging in self-deprecating humor.

Eric Omondi's Ethnic Humor:

Eric Omondi, an emerging comedian featured on The *Churchill Show*, exemplifies the utilization of ethnic humor in the Kenyan comedy scene. As a Luo, Omondi often indulges in what can be described as "verbal ridicule" directed at the Gikuyu ethnic group.

"The Luos and Kikuyus […] (are) very different, very unique, almost the same but very different. Like the Kikuyus, Kikuyu is the national language, and Luo is the international.

[laughter] For Luos, money is not a problem and for Kikuyus, money is not everything; it is the only thing… [Laughter]" (Eric 2011)

This is a live performance from 2011, Omondi playfully jests about the distinctions between the Luo and Gikuyu communities. He humorously exaggerates the dominance of the Gikuyu by facetiously referring to Gikuyu as the "national language" while dubbing Luo as the "international language." Omondi's quip reflects the prevailing notion of the Gikuyu's significant political and economic influence in Kenya, while maintaining the Luo's assertion of cultural richness and international appeal.

In another jest, Omondi comically portrays the Luo as living in opulence, driving luxury cars, and displaying an air of affluence. Conversely, the Gikuyu are depicted as calculative and miserly individuals. Omandi's portrayal of wealthy, decent Luos reflects his sense of superiority as a Luo. These humorous portrayals mirror widely held stereotypes about these two major ethnic groups and serve as comedic commentary on societal perceptions. Eric Omondi's comedic performances provide a captivating glimpse into the intricate world of ethnic humor in Kenya.

Hamo's Ethnic Humor:

Hamo, renowned as "The Professor of Humor," presented a notable segment on The *Churchill Show* in 2021 titled "How to Tell a Gikuyu from a Luo." In this humor-packed performance, Hamo tackled the age-old "ethnic dispute" between the Gikuyu and the Luo ethnic groups, drawing upon prevalent stereotypes and perceptions to craft his comedic narrative.

Last time I was talking about if you want to know the difference between a Kikuyu and a Luo man. Take them to a funeral ! ... That is where a Luo man atakuwa amepanga laini kwenda kuangalia body (When a Luo is queuing to pay respects to the deceased). Aii Otiato! You've left us this early? ... It is just last week we were with you in my premium Mercedes. Hmm? Na who am I going to give money na nisingoje kurudisiwa (and not expect to get it back?) ...

But a Kikuyu man, a kikuyu man will be composed, quite sober. He'll walk to the coffin, look at the coffin. Ana huzuni nyingi hata atafanya ishara (He walked towards the coffin, looking very sad and made a cross in front of his chest) ... Utafikiri anaomba, lakini kile kinachopita ndani yake ndiyo ina shida (You might think he's praying, but you have no idea what's going on in his head) ... (He thinks) Ujaluo kweli ni mbaya (Luos are really bad). Unajua hata mtu amekufa anavalishwa 70 thousand worth suit (You see (Luos), even when they die, they have to wear clothes worth $70,000)! Lakini kitu kinaniwasha kabisa ni hii gold chain (But what annoys me most is this gold chain)! Hii ni pure karat gold (It's a pure gold necklace!) Imagine! Unajua ni watu wangapi wanaokufa South Afrika wakichimba kutafuta hiyo gold walete juu (Do you know how many deceased

people in South Africa are trying to dig out gold)? Sisi tunachukua tunarudisha chini. Ujinga! Tuna ujinga, tuna ujinga (We had it, but we buried it in the ground. Stupid! We're stupid! Stupid!) ... [Cast repeatedly taps again his right index finger on his brain and the audience laughs aloud] (Hamo 2021)

The segment began with a playful reference to Hamo's earlier explanation of how to tell Gikuyus apart from Luos. He used a common Kenyan scenario - a funeral - as the setting for his jokes. Hamo humorously highlighted how some people tend to take the opportunity for self-promotion even at a solemn event like a funeral.

Hamo then portrayed a typical funeral scene involving a Luo expressing condolences. He introduced a fictional character named Otiato and humorously mourned his untimely passing. The humor came from the sharp contrast Hamo depicted between the two ethnic groups, especially their attitudes toward money and material possessions. He humorously depicted the Gikuyu as money-oriented and practical individuals, while the Luos were shown as extravagant even in death, wearing expensive clothes and jewelry.

The central theme of Hamo's humor revolved around the perception of wealth, symbolized by a gold necklace worn by the deceased. Hamo exaggerated the value of the necklace, playfully comparing it to the efforts of South Africans digging for gold. The humor arose from the exaggeration and absurdity of the situation, highlighting the stereotypes often associated with the Luo and Gikuyu communities.

What makes Hamo's performance interesting is its reliance on the existing perceptions and stereotypes held by the audience about the two ethnic groups. In this context, humorous material isn't created from scratch but is presented in the form of jokes that resonate with the audience, generating excitement and laughter.

Crucially, Hamo's performance illustrates a common approach used by comedians on The *Churchill Show*. They skillfully navigate the line between being outsiders and insiders. Hamo, who is from the Gikuyu community, humorously made fun of Luo stereotypes and, in the process, turned a potentially offensive comment into an act of self-deprecation. This technique, employed by many performers, helps avoid causing offense and lightens the atmosphere. It also highlights the comedians' ability to play the roles of both outsider and insider performers, engaging the audience in shared laughter and fostering a sense of unity.

Mediating Multiculturalism with Foreign Cultures

Comedians on the *Churchill Show* tend to emphasize the unique characteristics and tendencies of different ethnic groups, using these traits as a source of entertainment for their audience. The show includes comedians from various East African countries, going

beyond Kenya's borders. The "both outsider and insider" humor approach also applies to foreign comedians. For comedians from countries other than Kenya, it might not be suitable to delve into the differences among Kenya's ethnic groups. Instead, they focus on variations among different nationalities in East Africa.

It's essential to recognize that since the show is recorded in Kenya with a predominantly Kenyan audience, one common way to avoid potential offense is to highlight external differences when most of the audience belongs to the group being humorously portrayed. Here, we present an excerpt from a performance by a Ugandan comedian, Omogi, where he humorously compared the Kenyan female operators to the Nigerian female operators.

Regarding the English language, Nigerians are portrayed as speaking with a strong Nigerian-English accent and Kenyan women as kind, polite and patient [...] Communications (Safaricom) was one of our sponsors. They chose a Kenyan lady to speak to us. When you call Safaricom, a very polite and patient lady tells you, "The mobile user is not available at the moment." So you call again and she tells you again: "The mobile user is not available... [Audience responds "connected"]"... You can call a million times and she will still tell you very patiently, "The mobile user cannot be connected." She will even say in Kiswahili, "Samahani, mteja wa nambari uliyopiga hapatikani... (Sorry, the subscriber you have dialed is not available at the moment)" [Audience Response] Sorry, the subscriber you have dialed is not available at the moment.

If you go to Nigeria; the correspondent in Nigeria, a lady from Nigeria, she will only tell you once: "Mobile subscriber not available!" [thick Nigerian English accent] [audience laughter]. So you try calling again. The person replies, "Hello, didn't I just tell you that I couldn't find a mobile user?" [Laughter] "What's your problem, dumbass?" [thick Nigerian English accent]. (Omogi 2012)

In this context, instead of comparing the ethnic group of the audience (Kenyans) with the ethnic group of the performer (Ugandans), the performer introduces a third ethnic identity (Nigerians) for comparison with the audience's ethnic group (i.e., Kenyans). By taking this approach, the performer positions itself as an outsider, thereby avoiding direct conflicts and disagreements.

In order to avoid causing offense, comedians often find ways to include themselves in the group they are mocking. Sometimes, they convey that they have friends within the ridiculed group, thereby conveying that they do not hold animosity toward the group. In other instances, they emphasize that these specific "foolish behaviors" are not limited to any one group but are widespread:

"We all don't know how to give directions. I met a young boy. He was around 9 years old, and I asked him, 'Where is the museum?' The boy looked at me and said, 'I don't know.' As I was walking back, the boy called me in the most local way (whistles), and I knew that

was meant for me because I am a VIP (Very Improved Peasant). So I come back thinking that maybe the boy has remembered where the museum is. Instead, he showed me his friend and told me, 'This is my friend, and he doesn't know either.' But it is not only in Kenya; it also happens in Uganda. You ask for directions at your own risk." (Omogi 2012)

In the first part of his performance, Omogi, as a Ugandan, humorously switches gears with an unexpected twist, which initially bemuses the audience. However, as it becomes apparent that his humor risks offending the Kenyan majority, he rapidly transitions to a self-deprecating mode to diminish the outsider's sense of superiority and foster closeness with the audience.

Here, we witness how the contributions from a foreign multicultural perspective complement and mediate the local multicultural landscape, and how confronting different nationalities inadvertently fosters unity among Kenya's various ethnic groups. In this way, the comedians play a unique and influential role as cultural mediators and satirical commentators, bridging gaps, and facilitating discussions on ethnicity and identity.

Language Diversity as Identity Markers

Given that Swahili is the official or national language in many East African countries, including Kenya, humorists excel in capturing the diversity of Swahili language usage in Kenyan society. They use phenomena such as dialects, accents, homophones, borrowed words, and language familiarity to depict multicultural characteristics.

In the following joke, a humorist from the Kenyan coastal region, Majimoto, humorously highlights the coastal people's sense of superiority in their mastery of standard Swahili. He teases that coastal people, unlike the Meru people, are exceptionally skilled in Swahili. He mimics the Meru people's accent when speaking Swahili to achieve a humorous effect..

"Wajua mi natatizika sana nyie watu wa bara mwatatizika sana na Kiswahili (You know, I always feel sorry for you people from the interior when it comes to Swahili). Halafu si ndio tumebarikiwa twajua Kiswahili sana (For us, we are so lucky to be proficient in Swahili). Ndio maana wale mapresenta wa ripoti za saa moja wengi ni wa Mombasa (That's why most of the evening news presenters come from Mombasa). Sasa wajua nini, kuna ripota mmoja ni rafiki wangu sana. Sasa tulikuja naye hapa town moja sijui inaitwa nini – akaripoti hapo (As you know, I have a reporter friend. I accompanied him to a nearby town for a news report). Anaanza tu kuripoti: 'Tuko katika mji huu wa Chuka, kaunti ya Meru ambapo asubuhi ya leo katika bucha ya Bwana Karimi kumetokea wizi wa mabavu.' (He began his report, saying, 'We are in Chuka town, Meru County, where this morning, at Mr. Karimi's slaughterhouse, a violent robbery occurred.') Wameru wakamkatisha: 'Mbro tangaza ukweli. Hao watu hawajaiba mbavu, wameiba steak.' (The Meru people interrupted him: 'Brother, you need to tell the truth. Those people

didn't steal ribs; they stole steaks.')" [Laughter] (Majimoto 2015)

In this episode, Majimoto humorously teases the Meru people's non-standard Swahili, which leads to a misinterpretation of the phrase "wizi wa mabavu" (violent robbery), as if the robbers stole "mbavu" (ribs), since "mabavu" and "mbavu" sound alike in Swahili. This wordplay is based on the fact that the Meru people, known for their nasal pronunciation, have a different way of pronouncing Swahili words. Although Kenyans are multilingual, their proficiency in various languages varies.[96] Most coastal people consider Swahili their mother tongue, while in other regions, Kenyans learn Swahili as a second language.

The joke from Majimoto humorously points out the challenges faced by those from the Kenyan interior in mastering Swahili, contrasting them with the coastal region where Swahili proficiency is relatively high. This linguistic divide is evident in media representation, as seen in the choice of news presenters predominantly from Mombasa. The joke involving a Meru reporter's miscommunication humorously highlights the distinctive linguistic qualities among various Kenyan communities and their interactions with the official Swahili language, emphasizing the cultural diversity within the country. Majimoto's joke highlights the linguistic superiority of one ethnic group over another.

Furthermore, performers excel in using *Sheng*, a hybrid language that combines Swahili and English, to achieve comic effects. *Sheng* initially thrived among urban youth in Nairobi, influenced by various local languages. While it was primarily the language of urban youth, it has transcended social classes and geographic borders, spreading to neighboring Tanzania and Uganda. For example, as mentioned earlier in the section on "Distinguishing Kikuyu from Luo," Hamo effortlessly switches between Swahili and English, which is a common language phenomenon in Kenya. On one hand, it reflects a widespread linguistic practice, and on the other hand, it stems from the sense of superiority brought by external cultures. A comedian named Pilipili once jokingly commented that Kenyans love speaking English, especially when dating, even if they need to use it for a bathroom break. These jokes illustrate Kenyans' linguistic attitudes and ideologies, showcasing how language, dialects, and accents have become markers of multicultural identities in the culturally diverse Kenya.

Easing Interactions with Outsiders and Strengthening Bonds within Communities

Comedy shows are hugely popular in East African countries because the performers are charismatic and can entertain live audiences effectively. Moreover, the people in East

[96] In June 1928, Swahili was standardized in Zanzibar, and this standardized Swahili, known as Zanzibar Swahili, is now taught as a second language. Consequently, Zanzibar, located in the coastal region, is widely regarded as the home of the most standard Swahili.

Africa are generally open to humor, which adds to the appeal of comedy. Various groups have different levels of acceptance and tolerance for humor, likely because of factors like ethnicity, religion, and political views. In this context, the group being targeted by humor is referred to as the “reference group.” This emphasizes the significance of the audience and the context in shaping how humor works.

Although Kenya's comedy scene is still relatively young, there's plenty of evidence to suggest that it's a growing and evolving field. Kenyan audiences are quickly learning to enjoy the jokes delivered by talented comedians. These comedians are particularly skilled at using the rich diversity of languages and cultures in Kenyan society to highlight the differences between various ethnic groups. Within the functionalist perspective, comedians are good at using humor to make serious topics less heavy, which helps them address sensitive issues in a light-hearted way. This elevated role of humor underlines the importance of the “Wit and Joker” in this society.

Comedians establish a set of normal procedures that make everyday jokes a part of social customs and turn them into a kind of strategic activity to achieve specific goals. Humor doesn't just help ease interactions with outsiders, but it also strengthens bonds within communities. However, because humor can be critical or satirical, comedians have to be careful that it doesn't accidentally cause tension within the group. They often use self-deprecating humor and jokes that involve elements from different cultures to bring various ethnic groups in Kenya closer together. This process also encourages Kenyans to think about where ethnic stereotypes come from and the negative impact they can have. This kind of humor is a way for Kenyans to deal with important issues, like reducing conflicts, and is a valuable tool for promoting unity among different ethnic groups.

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