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Understanding, Identity and Ethnic of Malay-Muslims students in Thailand

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Abstract

This article aimed to study the adaptation process of youths from the three southern border provinces who moved to other areas of Thailand, whose have Islam religious and Malay-Muslims ethnic group who move to study at Prince of Songkhla University Surat Thani Campus (PSU), Thailand. The study based on qualitative, focus group was analyzed using analysis four misunderstanding issues to finding level of adaptation as 1) Teacher day's observation 2) The activity of welcoming freshmen 3) Hijab and 4) Halal food with Youths, aged 18- 24, it found that had three levels of adaptation: The first level, during the first month. They are attached to the identity of the ethnic group. The second level, they have adapted to the identity of the ethnic group. At the same time, they have adapted to the culture or culture to the third level, and when they are in the area for longer, they see themselves as part of a new culture. Moreover, this article will help to open up new perspectives for people of different religions, or individuals in Thai society to better understand the way of life, culture, and differences of Muslim students. Together, people of different ethnicities can learn and accept their cultural differences so that they can live together peacefully.

Keywords: Identity, Religious, Ethnic, Adaptation process, The Malay Muslim Students

1. Introduction

“On an interviewed day for university entrance into Prince of Songkla University, Suratthani Campus (PSU), Thailand where there are a lot of high school graduate students from all over the country waiting for the interview, a young the Malay-Muslim girl from Pattani Province appears among them. Considering her attire, she stands out with a long sleeves blouse, long pink skirt down to her ankles and covering her hair with Hijab. While waiting, she speaks to her father who accompanies her in Meyawe dialect, and when she meets other the Malay-Muslim, she greets them with Muslim greeting instead of ordinary Thai "Wai" Upon the interview completion, she and her father go straight to the Muslim food place.” However, education is even included in the definition of education development for many the Malay-Muslim students as many describe a child with academic success as one who is on "the good path" (Azmitia & Brown, 2000).

One young the Malay-Muslim Students woman who is from three southern border provinces moves to have higher education in Prince of Songkhla University, Suratthani Campus (hereafter PSU). With the physical appearance of attires showing the differences along with speaking dialect that is unfamiliar to ordinary Thais and showing her lifestyle that based on religious guidance, it subsequently leads to the question that she asks herself “**Being as I am, would others in the university be surprised and would they think I am strange? Would they detest me?**” She uncovers some of her doubts that can further arouse a new issue of what makes this the Malay-Muslim young woman come up with such a question of disappointment or what is the conflict between Muslim and non-Muslim, or Buddhist, who are the majority in the university and Islamic belief who are the minority in the place.

One of the fastest growing religions as Islam, Islamic people are rigorous in religious practices or rituals; that is, all performances must be following the will of Allah through the practices of Prophet Mohammad, the messenger (Chaudhury & Miller, 2008). On the contrary, other religious performances which included in the prophet's possible patterns are strictly considered prohibited. Thus, it can be easy to say that a good Muslim means an individual who lives his/her life following the religious guidance of Islamic religious commandments, or another word, Muslim ways of living. However, this can be an issue for a Muslim who is very strict in religious practices

and has to move to other areas to pursue and achieve his/her education as well as to study in places like PSU. Migration to a new society can be complicated for adolescents as they are also experiencing a critical transition to adulthood (Khatereh et al., 2017). This article, therefore, aims to create understanding while learning the Thai Muslim identity through the frame of thoughts on an adaptation by four issues it misunderstands of youths from three border provinces who are Malay-Muslim student's followers and being strict on performing Islamic Practices, and they have to relocate to an area of different identities which is PSU. The study includes how members of the targeted group adapt themselves when they are among students of Buddhism, and the location of the university is in Suratthani Province, where the number of the Muslim population is minimal.

This study focus is on an adaptation process with four issues misunderstand of the Malay Muslim students from the three southern border provinces and seeking and finding problems are conducted to offer ways of living together in the multicultural society that can further lead to concrete guidelines and recommendations. Thus, it is exciting to learn about Muslim students who represent Malay ethnicity and have to be far away from home to study and become a sample group of this article.

The purpose of this research was to study the target groups, how to adjust to their studies at the university, which area of the students was mostly Buddhist students and the area of the university located in Suratthani. Target groups in research are selective follow: 1) The Leader of the Muslim Club and the Vice Chairman of the Club as two students 2) The members of the Muslim Club as four students and 3) The Muslim Students who are studying at first to the fourth year of PSU. The ages range from 18 to 24 years, who were studying are the Faculty of Liberal Arts and Management Sciences and the faculty members of the Faculty of Science and Industrial Technology as 12 students, the total numbers of 20 students. Besides, the researchers used participatory observation during group discussions and focused group using an analysis of four issues, which may lead to the problem of coexistence. There are four issues as follows: 1) Teacher's Day Observation 2) The activity of Welcoming Freshmen 3) Hijab 4) Halal food as well as information from relevant documents and research. The data is then analyzed, examined, discussed and summarized. The Malay Muslim students' groups in that there is an additional focus on developing an individual relationship with Allah as well as on engaging in an autonomous religious developmental experience as opposed to merely replicating early spiritual socialization experiences and family values (Ali, 2006; Chaudhury and Miller, 2008; Duderija, 2007; Peek, 2005). The Malay Muslim student's ways of life are firmly attached to the principles of performances based on religious beliefs and practices, and such religious performances identify their uniqueness.

2. Literature Review

Accordingly, this research opens various adaptation views or perceptions to create mutual understanding Identities, Religion, and Ethnic in between people of different identities especially is Muslim; which can summarize as the following.

Identity is an individual's feeling, and thoughts toward self of "Who am I?" which happens when the individual interacts with others, and such a person looks through him/herself while others also look on. Identity needs self-awareness and certain selective backgrounds, for example, we must reveal ourselves or intentionally accept the identity we choose to be. The importance of self-revealing is to indicate our identity that we belong to one group and how different we can be with other groups, and the "Who am I?" in the eyes of others.

Identity theory has stated that identity is a non-natural occurrence, but it is a cultural creation at a certain period whereas culture is a social construct that is unfixed but ongoing with a pattern of "circuit of culture" Thus, all identities have a "produced" The process that can be consumed and regulated within a particular culture. Creating various meanings through different methods of symbolic systems of representation related to positions or places of identities that we choose are the way to construct our identities (Chalardchai, 2007) and indicated that community lifestyle is a culture. The culture is the way of living together among a group of people that the people's lifestyle correlated with their surroundings which comprise of mutual beliefs, mutual value systems, careers, languages, healthcare, and traditions, or another word, culture is about economy, spirit, society, environment, and health that integrally linked. Hence, while culture is about the integration of the entire ways of the living, modern economy, as currently being understood, seems to separate the two issues by placing money as a core issue and the Malay Muslim lifestyle becomes a designation.

The Malay Muslim students' identity held and linked with the core of being "Malay ethnicity." Through their speaking dialect or another word, the main component of Malay culture is Melayu language), Islamic belief, food, clothing, and its practices. It can say that whoever speaks the Melayu language and chooses to have Malay lifestyle, that individual is a Malay, yet, if a person can talk to Malay but being non-Muslim, that person is not Malay.

The Malay Muslim lifestyle is engaged with three Islamic cores: the principle of faith, the principle of religious commandments and principle of ethics and morals which are the duty that all Muslims must understand and perform. Having faith in Islam must be exhibited and confirmed through words by conducting self-pledging and performing different acts of praying, fasting, making Zakat and attending Haj. Furthermore, this study has argued that Islam becomes a conscious element for Muslims in the three southern border provinces in part due to evolving social interactions related to their religious and cultural minority status (Daiute et al. 2010; Duderija, 2007; Peek, 2005). Moreover, daily performance is mandatory to be by the example set by Prophet Mohammed. Islam also preaches that human beings are sent to live in this earth temporarily, and they live differently regarding knowledge, capability, status, and opportunity in which the differences are aimed for humans to have a mutually positive relationship. The same thing that all humans receive throughout their lives is the test from Allah to exhibit the being of a good Muslim.

3. Method

The qualitative method by focus group, its allowed the researcher to directly interact with a targeted group which is part of this research reveals different issues that may cause misunderstanding and further leads to problems in living together as well as contradiction against Muslim and some non-Muslim. As for this research, four points explained. It is worth mentioning here that all these issues create an uncomfortable feeling for Muslim students because being the university students they are obliged to comply with ongoing institutional practices and traditions. On the contrary, they are Muslim who are loyal to their ancestors' beliefs of a Muslim lifestyle as well as being "Malay ethnicity." The issue seems normal, simple and no complication for students of Buddhist believers, yet for Muslim ones, such a simple thing can be a big problem for them.

3.1 Key Informants

There were includes 1) the leader of the Muslim Club and the Vice Chairman of the Club. 2) The members of the Muslim Club 3) The Muslim Students who are studying at first to the fourth year of PSU from faculty of Liberal Arts and Management Sciences and faculty of Science and Industrial Technology. The total numbers of 20 students as ten males and ten females, who ages range from 18 to 24 years.

3.2 Data Collection

This study used participatory observation during group discussions and focused group, which using a descriptive analysis of four issues to obtain a deep understanding of a young Malay Muslim student's adaptation. For the objectives of this study, we chose to analyze to suit our inquiry into discovering and ways of Muslim life of the Malay Muslim students growing, particularly the challenges they face in adjusting to the new culture of the modern university (Beck, 1992; Lopez, 2004). The qualitative research for better generalization and the syntheses of phenomena versus individuals as invariant structures (Sousa, 2014) and elaborates on reflective matters experienced by the researchers (Englander, 2012).

3.3 Data Analysis

This study analyzed the data qualitatively, using content analysis from the data collection that was carried out according to the following steps 1) to read and review all protocols to acquire a feeling for finding issues that create incomprehension between religions. 2) To explore target groups and to set the samples 3) to developing the question 4) Focus group; the researcher to directly interact with them with a targeted group 5) Collected the issues 6) Analyze together with four target issues. Also, 7) to find the balance between finding themes that are incomprehension between religions. Finally, the study described the Malay Muslim who affected by the understanding issues and seeking problems are conducted to offer ways of living together.

4. Results

4.1 Teacher's Day Observation

Often, The Malay Muslim students have suspiciously been looked at from non-Muslim other religious with a question why don't they participate in this event? Since such participation is a tradition that all good students should perform to show their gratitude toward teachers who provide the knowledge. Muslim followers are as much a student as others, and this is a good activity that all students should take part in. Why all Malay Muslim students exclude themselves and turn to perform other activities where there are entirely Muslim teachers and students participate? Moreover, why are they conducting discrimination?

With such inquiries, many scholars have searched for answers and explained that Islamic followers are not allowed to perform any activities if they are not stated in the Pro-visions by Allah, mainly, the performance that is involved with others of different religions or it is the practice of other religion. Another inquiry then arises: "What is Islamic

Teacher's Day Observation?" The answer is "Prophet Muhammad" is a teacher of humanity, and he has never had anyone perform gratitude practices on him or to commemorate him or order anyone to treat him on a specific set date especially. The evidence of the prophet statement does not reveal any permission to perform such activity. Besides, the prophet's associates have not performed such activity. This clarification also means that Teachers are the guides who direct people to be loyal and respectful to Allah, the one and only. Teachers must do whatever it takes to make people understand Islam. Therefore, teachers are acting as a representative of the prophet who gives people a proper direction and is an excellent example to others. Thus, teachers in Islamic points of view do not need the practice of Teacher's Day Observation because respect should be given only to Allah.

Moreover, there is no other provision from Allah to do so. Therefore, the Prophet Mohammad's practices are concurrently agreed and that there is no example of such practice on Teacher's Day Observation to be followed in Islam. So, the explanation is that. "Teacher's Day Observation ceremony for Muslim students is unnecessary" The adaptation to maintain the identity of the Malay Muslim students for this issue. It is essential to follow:

"Teacher's Day Observation period is very tired most of the explanations for the reasons for not being able to participate in Teacher's Day Observation or the reasons for not being able to contribute to Teacher's Day Observation I have to explain every time. I have to understand and not understand each other. However, most of my friends understand it. However, sometimes they go to visit friends who are doing Teacher's Day Observation. To encourage and buy foods for friends during the activity. All my friends are tired of doing things. The rice service on the water during the activity is probably the best solution, and it is a good one."

(Target group, Interview: 10th June 2018).

4.2 The activity of Welcoming Freshmen

The welcoming freshman is a tradition that has continued in many institutions, and there are many welcoming methods. In some universities, such activity conducted by providing assistance and a warm welcome to impress their freshmen in which this tradition accordingly helps the newcomers in adjusting themselves and simultaneously become unison. Organizing welcoming freshmen activity aims to create a warm welcome for first-year students as well as to have the newcomers obey and strictly follow their senior students. Any violation is considered to disobey or disrespect to the older students. PSU organizes this welcoming activity aiming to create unity between first-year students and older students. Within the Malay Muslim points of view, the activity of welcoming first-year students originates from other culture, not Islam. Unavoidably, there is negligence toward right or wrong in Islamic directions, such as, the uniting of men and women as there is no separation of gender in this event, in fact, they join in working together and having physical closeness which is unacceptable in Islam. Uniting and being touched by the opposite sex are wrong and against religious practices which can go as far as sexual misconduct in the future. What happens at the time is considered crucial.

The adaptation of the Malay Muslim students when attending such activities is partly reflected in the same people. Freshman's 1st Year Acceptance of self-identity as a student is a sign of adapting to volunteerism. At the same time, it is reflected in the form of the Muslim Club of the University, which is the cooperation of the Student Affairs Organization. To keep watch and control to follow the course of religion. This issue is a significant adaptation of Muslim students, including the "Who am I?" As well as "1st-year student of PSU and Muslim students along the way."

4.3 Hijab/Scarves

Covering their heads with scarves for all Muslim female students is strange for those who are from other regions, yet at some places, it does not seem to be an issue. Although Muslim students dress up differently from regular university female students' attires whereas Hijab/scarves context has been continuously creating various disputes, fortunately, there have been no disputes in PSU. Nevertheless, some students in the targeted group provide specific information occurred with her classmates in the case of "Banning Hijab" that a small group of the Malay Muslim female students attending university in the north-East of Thailand and majoring in Industrial Technology in which some subjects involve the work with machines where the reasonable regulations on security require short sleeves clothes and non-Hijab/scarves which, of course, against Muslim practices. Muslim practices, the solution is searched. Sadly, it ended with the ultimate statement by the teacher that orders student to choose between wearing Hijab or no class attendance.

Thai people call Hijab a "scarf" or "headscarf" which does not define its actual meaning. Hijab means to "cover," not only the clothes that cover the external parts of a body but also the manner, body posture, as well as an internal feeling of shame and concentration. Hijab is like a tool to help young Muslim women become cautious and focused

themselves on being within the religious principles. They are aware that they are the representatives of Allah in this world and all their expressions and images reflecting their behaviors are the overall picture of Islam. Thus, covering heads with Hijab does not only mean a cloth to place on a body, but it also indicates an act of acceptance of all principles that come with it.

4.4 Halal Food

Upon having meals at Thai Buddhist food shops, sharing food or being invited to eat is immediately rejected by the Malay Muslim students. The Muslim ways of living on food are to consume “halal” Food specifically, and the forbidding consumption is “Pork” Because Muslims believe that pigs are a four-footed animal that eats everything and they contain many fatal diseases within their bodies. However, if it is in a severe situation where it is impossible to find food and nonfood consumption means fatality, eating pork is allowable. On the other hand, a beverage of all alcohols such as liquor, beer. That was forbidden even if it is for mixing with others and becomes medicine. Such forbidding includes being parts of producers, distributors, servers, or service providers. In cooking “Muslim food,” the cooks must solely be a Muslim, and they have to make food following Islamic principles including clean cooking and clean ingredients while assuring no diseases. It can summarize that Muslim food must be following Muslim provisions, that is, non-mixture of forbidden items such as pork, pig fat or other pig products as well as all animals’ blood. Food made from deadly toxic vegetable, food or beverage containing alcohol and food having critical components is all forbidden. An only one Muslim food shop in the university canteen, comparing to the number of 419 Muslim students, can have a substantial impact to the students, especially when the university regulation states that all freshmen must stay in the university dormitories within the university parameter and that they are not allowed to use motorcycles. All these affect the Muslim students' or the Malay Muslim students' lifestyle, particularly on the consumption of those mentioned above “Halal Food.”

4.5 Summary of the section

Based on the four issues along with the brief explanation to indicate the Muslim lifestyle of the Malay Muslim students, they reveal practices attaching with their beliefs which are susceptible issues and any ignorance can finally lead to a disaster, wherein worst-case scenario, there could be evidence where the Malay Muslim students may have to choose between being a university student and being a Good Muslim. In either choice, it is a disadvantage to the students because if they choose to continue being students, they have to give up their identity but if the students choose to maintain their identity, they have to stop their roles of being a student. Eventually, who is going to be responsible for the students' future knowing that they are the hope for the future of their families? The adaptation is, therefore, a problematic issue for the Malay Muslim students, especially during the first months of moving into the new area. If they can get through the testing of the first month’s period, they should be able to maintain their status of being good students and being praised as a good Muslim. At an initial stage, all involved parties must learn and sincerely want to create a mutual understanding which might be difficult for Thai Buddhist students having the role of a “host” to be aware of the diversities occurring in their daily life. Thus, one of the students in the targeted group said

“A society of learning is the society of intelligence containing those who can comprehend their mutual differences if there is adequate justification along with honest communication with an attempt to understand visitors to reveal good hospitality.”

(Target group, Interview: 10th June 2018).

However, past evidence shows that when differences occur, discrimination arises along with misunderstanding and there is no attempt to look for a mutual solution or to understand the dissimilarities to create the living together effectively" From the four issues discussed in the analysis and adaptation process. The findings from this research show that the Malay Muslim students from three southern border provinces with Malay ethnicity migrate to different areas of religion and ethnicity to three different levels.

4.5.1 Stage one: The first month that is attached to the identity of the ethnic group. Moreover, take a new culture or come in a little or to reject the new culture or the central culture as Teacher day's observation, Halal food, Chorus singing activities of the University and Hijab, etc.

4.5.2 Stage two: during the first month in different areas, there are adaptations to preserve the identity of the ethnic group. At the same time, it has adapted to the new culture or the central culture, or the assimilation culture as, from the students who attended the conference. They are not attached to their ethnic identity or Assimilation culture as the activity of welcoming freshmen and language used etc.

4.5.3 Stage three: within the period of study and live in Suratthani. Considering that they are part of a new culture or a significant culture. The culture called the culture of integration Melayu language used “Tai Language” etc.

5. Results and Discussion

Our findings suggest that nowadays, expressing ideas or views can sometimes lead to conflict that can further extend to the crucial dispute which is because people do not open themselves to learn about one another. That is a conclusion being gained from the focused research group as “Perceiving only the differences and the causes of conflict on the surface, and ignoring the roots of culture, traditions, and origins, yet concentrating only on self without paying attention to impacts toward others while disrespecting others' opinions on being different from self are the best source of destruction on the relationship of living together or living together on the basis of diversity which might be the effectiveness of the future Thai society.” (Target group, Interview: 10th June 2018).

Creativity and avoiding violence, creative learning transfer should be conducted. The roots or origins of all contradictory contexts must be scrutinized by both visitors and hosts which include perceivable issues; issues with deeper roots regardless of the ones that are the impact of social structures or cultural transmission; problems showing has implications toward others; and willingly and genuinely listening and accepting others' different ideas without prior judgment. All these practices will create peacefulness in Thai society.

The unrest situation in the three border provinces during the past 14 years has made others in Thai society create pictures of Muslim living in the provincial areas as people of troublemakers who focus only on self-benefit and disrespect of the laws. Such images come from what the media reveals. Prejudice happens everywhere, and what people from other areas perceive from the media, bias and different negative impressions, e.g., hatred, fear, unclear obtained information or confusion are implanted in the people's mind that eventually turn into stereotype toward Islamic believers of the three border provinces. Of course, The Malay Muslim students from the areas are unexceptional. Such pictures along with traditions and practices that the three border provinces students perform and their identity which might be different from other Muslims' lifestyle could make it more difficult for them to participate in some activities such as welcoming first-year students. It is because deciding to participate in events means an uncomfortable feeling from knowing that it is against their religion, but Non-participation can lead to misunderstanding among peers who are not aware of the Malay Muslim lifestyle. Such a situation makes life difficult for The Malay Muslim students.

6. Conclusion and Recommendation

From the four issues discussed, together with the adaptation process of students moving from the three southern border provinces, whose have Islamic religious and Malay ethnical to study at Prince of Songkla University Suratthani Campus There are only three levels of adjustment and level of adjustment. It is a model called "A Cultural-Ethnic Identity Typological Mode," which ethnic-Oriented Identity, the attachment to the identity of the high self-ethnic group. This model, John Berry, is used to study the adaptation of minority groups in the central culture, this is in line with the first phase of the migratory population, with the first months of the year is closely linked to the identity of the ethnic group. Moreover, take a new culture or come in a little or to reject the new culture or the central culture; this is according to Teacher's Day Observation and Halal Food. (Rujirat, 2009).

6.1 Bicultural Identity

It is the preservation of the identity of the ethnic group. At the same time, it has adapted to the new culture or mainstream culture or called the culture of harmony. In the first months of the same period, there were adaptations to preserve the identity of the ethnic group. At the same time, it has adapted to the new culture or the central culture; this is according to the activities of welcoming freshmen. (Wisoot, 2010).

6.2 Assimilation Identity

It is not inherent in its ethnic identity. They see themselves as part of a new culture or culture. The culture of self-has swept away or called the culture of integration. When asked about the fourth-year students, the only answer that corresponded with the level of adjustment was the students who shared the groups shared a belief in the four-year study. They are not attached to their ethnic identity; this is according to the Melayu language (Khatereh, 2017).

6.3 Marginal Identity

It does not feel like a member of the entire ethnic group. Moreover, in a new culture call this type of adaptation a Marginal Man, but the sample is not consistent with this pattern according to Tien and Sim's research (David et al. 2010: 201-215). The starting point is that all must learn to make real understandings.

Adaptation is a problematic proposition for the Malay Muslim students, especially during the first month of migration to other areas but when I passed the first test. Students will be able to find a way to maintain good student status and maintain a well-respected Muslim path. The starting point is that all parties must learn to make a

real understanding; this may be equally difficult. So, the higher education society, the learned society, can understand each other's differences if there is an explanation. Enough and they communicate with sincerity and understanding of both the visiting and the kind hosts. "However, in the past, when there are many differences, often leads to alienation and lack of mutual understanding because they do not try to find a solution to the problem together. They do not try to understand each other from different points of view, and its difference will be making conflict and violence to each other" (PSU Muslim Club, Interview: 10th June 2018)

The Malay Muslim students' main problems in migrating to study in other areas are the ability to understand the host or insufficient communication to understand each other effectively and if it is in terms of communication which comprises of sender, information sent, channel and receiver, both the misunderstanding and the exit can occur at any of these four issues. The most important thing in this context is the sender who is the Malay Muslim students from three border provinces, and the receiver or the peers who are non-Muslim as well as university personnel along with people residing around the university area who enable to comprehend the living diversity and some limitations. Such comprehension can break the prejudice derived from a misunderstanding which can affect managing problems and further leads to better understanding and sympathizing. (Sudarat, 2016).

Thus, the institution's key role toward identity and cultural diversities is to create multicultural society as well as to focus on organizing the education of multicultural learning. (Unicef, 2011). The study on the multicultural pattern seen as mandatory as it is the readiness creation in overall areas aiming for the most effective multicultural society in which this researcher has found that it should operate as the following.

(1) The Knowledge Construction Process: in this process, curriculum teachers play an essential role in helping students to understand the background of misunderstanding correctly, for example, issues on components of nationality, ethnicity, gender, and social classes of a person or a group of people. (Saemah, ed.al. 2011). As for a social construction in this dimension, university and curriculum teachers must change the learning content of relevant courses or basic courses is mandatory for all students in the subjects of multi-cultures and fundamental human rights, for instance, the subject of living skills, universal laws. Alternatively, another subject that directly involved, such as social science which includes the knowledge of dissimilarity, human prestige, honor the differences, etc. whereas substantial contents that link with the existing subject, i.e., basic political science, politics and governance, common law, etc. or even activity-based theme must be focused. All these points must be implanted in the learning under a perception of "multicultural society of living together under dissimilarity" (Jakob, 2012).

(2) An Empowering School Culture and Social Structure (Betül, 2015) this is a dimension that focuses on cultural adjustment in school organization to suit various groups of students integrally and equally. School administrators, teachers, university personnel, parents, as well as students should take parts in a decision process; creation of cooperation atmosphere; adjustment of media pattern that facilitates all university members; adjustment of curriculums and teaching methods along with activities being responsible by sections, groups or organization within university such as increasing multicultural activities, knowledge exchange to understand identity of Buddhist, Muslim and Christian students, etc. which are under student council and student activity development program.

(3) Opening areas to disclose dissimilarity among people in the same society: this dimension belongs to students and under student activity campaign. It is to implant and boosts the ideas of listening to the minority; create consensus under participation; conduct vision adjustment or adjust old activities toward construction of areas of differences such as arranging a field trip for identity and cultural learning to extend the comprehension space on dissimilarity of identity. (Richard et al., 2017)

Subsequently, the pictures of the Malay Muslim female student wearing Hijab, speaking Melayu (or Jawi), consuming Halal food and greeting others with Salam will no longer be a dissimilarity. This particular student who represents Malay ethnicity moves to areas of a different culture to study is a visitor while another student who is Thai Buddhist, speaks southern dialect, wears a short skirt, greets her teachers or senior students with "Wai" believes in Buddhism, loves her identity of being southern lady' is a host. An initial stage of learning and living together is an important "adjustment process." Although it is imperative to conduct self-adjustment under new surroundings and mechanisms of behavior, idea construction, practical ways, etc., both Thai Buddhist and the Malay Muslim students need to learn to live their lives among dissimilarities. Their stepping over the differences is a challenge aimed to make the Thai society becomes a multi-cultural society that pays attention to happily residing together under diversities. That is, visitors, understand and open their lifestyles and identities while people in the area do the same. Thus, a parameter of PSU becomes the study case, and it can be a guideline in constructing a pattern of living together among students of different identities. If only all students think and are aware that

regardless of year of study, faculty, major or where their domiciles or their backgrounds are, they are brothers and sisters and peers of the society who possess prestige and equality of being human. Faiths or provisions bring them to interact, confront and live together, understand one another through learning by understanding each other to live in such a multicultural society, this is a training ground that initially trains them and makes them ready to go out to the big full world full of infinite diversities.

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Spatial Analysis of Sade Traditional Hamlet in Lombok Island, Indonesia: The Alteration of Sasak Tribe's Traditional Living Space

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Abstract

Hundred years ago, vernacular architecture once triumphed. Unfortunately, poverty and low education bring people facing difficulties in understanding their own culture, building techniques, and village management. This problem then leads them to a bigger issue regarding the alteration of culture and traditional architecture. Among all vernacular architecture in Indonesia, Sasak traditional architecture is one of the unique architectures that still exist until now. However, globalization issue leads the alteration of vernacular architecture includes Sasak tribe culture and traditional village in Lombok island, including the traditional houses. This paper takes Sade Traditional Hamlet as a research subject to provide a deeper understanding of the importance of cultural values of Sasak's living space and settlement. This research shows that the living space and culture of the Sasak tribe in Sade hamlet has evolved and transformed due to the space necessity and financial ability. Among the total 68 houses, 55.8% are the original houses of Sasak people in Sade hamlet, *Bale Tani*, 38.2% are the traditional modified houses, *Bale Bontar*, and 6% are the transitional houses, *Bale Kodong*. Gradually, *Bale Tani* change to *Bale Bontar* house. However, *Bale Tani* could still be preserved by the system of pattern relatives in the family and *awiq-awiq* as customary law. A deeper understanding of the house preservation, traditional material, and cultural values of *Bale Tani* should be taken to create a sustainable conservation method.

Keywords: Vernacular Architecture, Spatial Analysis, Conservation, Sade Hamlet, Lombok, Indonesia

1. Introduction

Indonesia is a home for over 300 ethnic groups and an archipelago of 17,508 islands. It is the world's largest Muslim-majority nation with a total population of 242 million people. Among all island in Indonesia, an Islamic ethnic group called Sasak, live in Lombok island, struggle in holding their ancestral heritage and its cultural values. Limited record and minimum concern of Sasak culture make it difficult to determine an appropriate method in preserving its cultural and architectural heritage. In addition, conservation activities in Indonesia are only focusing on stone architecture. During the colonial era in 1901, the first committee, *Commisie in Nederlandsche-Indie voor Oudheidkundige Orderzoek op Java en Madura*, was created to manage Indonesian heritage. After that, *Monumenten Ordonnantie* no. 238 of 1931, was decreed as the first law regarding cultural heritage. It later became the basis for the establishment of law no.5 of 1992 (UU Cagar Budaya no.5 tahun 1992), which then amended to the law no.11 of 2010 (Aziz, 2014). Among Indonesian architect, conservation issue became more popular as the Old Town Batavia (Jakarta) revitalized by Ali Sadikin in 1970th. Although the conservation issue was very popular, the specific conservation methods for traditional villages in Indonesia still not regulated. The absence of architectural conservation policy in Indonesia leads us to a bigger problem, the alteration, and reduction of our heritage.

Sasak tribe has a unique concept in their settlement and dwellings. Observed deeply, we can see a similar pattern in their traditional settlement. However, in this modern era, many of new settlements are starting to spread along the Lombok Island. Some of the traditional settlement still trying to keep the authenticity of both of its physical

and non-physical value. Sade hamlet is a traditional settlement that considered to be one of those which still keeps their tradition in their settlement and daily life. Entering 21st century, Sade people starting to consider the necessity of more space in their house and settlement. The number of traditional houses rapidly increased, following the growth of the population. On the 2000s, Sade hamlet receive some support from the Indonesian government with well and cement. Moreover, in 2015, they also receive revitalization projects from the government. However, it not yet known if the government understand the appropriate method of revitalization or not, since the local government or the village does not have policy in terms of traditional house conservation. Therefore, this research expected to provide a deeper understanding of the importance of cultural values of Sasak's living space and settlement. Thus, can help preserve cultural heritage along with the values in it.

Most of the research about Lombok usually concerned on the religion aspect or tourism development. Spatial research usually focuses on the northern or western Lombok. A research has been done by Japanese researcher, Wakita (1995), about space organization in the settlement of Bayan village in North Lombok, and to find the connection between houses and *Berugak*. There is also other research by Wirata (2013) about Sasak's tribe traditional house transformation in Segenter hamlet in North Lombok. Meanwhile, the purposes of this research are to identify the alteration tendency of Sasak traditional house and how the Sasak community preserve their traditional houses in correlation with the customary law. This research expected to provide a deeper understanding of the importance of cultural values and in-depth knowledge of the value of Sasak's living space and settlement. Thus, can help preserve cultural heritage along with the values in it.

2. Research Method

2.1 Literature Study

Literature study from books, journal, and articles were conducted to enrich the information about Sade hamlet, the author collected some data about the history of the Sasak's tribe and its religion, Sasak's tribe culture and architecture, and other secondary data. The studies from the previous research are also important to enrich the information for this research. The author also conducts research to some universities in Indonesia to investigate the related research to verify the authenticity of this research.

2.2 Site Survey and Data Sampling

Three times field survey on March, July, and September 2018 were conducted to collect the current data through house measurement and interview. 17 sample of the traditional house was collected along with the house measurement, data of the space function, and interview with the house owner about the house, to record the current detailed data about the space utilization and the modification that has been done in every traditional house. This data was analyzed to obtain the space pattern in the Sasak's tribe traditional house.

2.3 Data Collecting from Local Government

Data from the local government and interview also collected to understand the basic information about the village, the government's program from the village development, and how the government supports the village preservation.

2.4 Data Analysis

Data analysis were done to identify the house's typology and to identify remain part and/or the modification in traditional houses.

3. Overview of Lombok Island and Sade Hamlet

Lombok Island covers an area of 4,700 km² and inhabited by Sasak people for around 2.4 million residents and about 85% of the people are indigenous ethnic Sasak Muslim (Budiwanti, 2012). The area of Lombok Island divided into mountainous, hilly, and flat region. This island has some traditional villages that remain until now, spread among all areas of the island. The traditional villages in Lombok Island have a similar pattern in terms of its architecture, influenced by their ancestor's belief, Wetu Telu. Although now, the Wetu Telu believers can only be found in the Northern area of Lombok, the traditional houses on Central and East Lombok still exist. However, the traditional houses of East Lombok are already not occupied. Currently, Sade hamlet has the biggest number of traditional houses and population, and it is expected that all of the house materials are still traditional in most of its part.



Figure 1. The location of traditional villages in Lombok Island

The hamlet of Sade is a traditional hamlet of Lombok indigenous Sasak people that located in Rembitan Village, Pujut sub-district, Central Lombok, Indonesia. This hamlet is directly accessible from the main road, so visitors and tourists can easily come to visit. The distance from Sade hamlet to Mataram as the provincial capital is around 40 km, while the distance to Lombok International Airport is around 11 km. Sade hamlet located in a dry land with a low number of rainfalls with the average of 84 mm³ per year and the average of rainy days is 7 days (2015) with the average temperature is 24-32 degrees Celsius. This dry condition causes limited types of flora, as well as the difficulties of agriculture in this area. As for the fauna, most people in Sade hamlet raising cattle and goats, and buffalo as their ritual animal. Currently, Sade is inhabited by 529 Sasak people, including 262 men and 267 women (Suarsana, 2015), and covers an area of 1.79 hectares with 68 traditional houses. Along with the houses, there are also other facilities inside the hamlet, such as traditional mosque, multipurpose shelter (*berugak*), rice storage (*alang*), shops, and toilets.

Different from another hamlet and village that built on the flat area, the settlement in Sade built circular because it was built on the hill. It was the habit of the Sasak tribe's ancestor in the past to always looking for a high place to live, so they can be closer to the center point of cosmic. And the closer they are to the cosmic, the faster they can reach the spiritual point and the closer they can see the moon and the stars as their guide in understanding time and direction. For the Sasak people, Mount Rinjani has been seen as a center of spirituality and mysticism. Therefore, the orientation of the Sasak tribe's traditional houses is also based on the direction of *Daya* and *Lauq*. As a whole, the traditional houses are avoiding facing the Mount Rinjani direction. In the traditional settlement that located in north and south (such as Sade, Senaru, and Segenter village), the houses are facing the east and west direction, while in the settlement that located in the eastern part (such as Sembalun village), the houses are facing to the north and south direction. On the interview with the chief of Sade hamlet, there was a customary law called *awiq-awiq* that prohibited the Sasak people in building their house towards Mount Rinjani.

The traditional villages in Lombok Island have a similar pattern in terms of its architecture, influenced by their ancestor's belief, *Wetu Telu*. Although they have similar house form and materials, they have a different style of floorplan and different pattern of village site plan. In the traditional hamlet and villages in Northern area of Lombok, the traditional houses built directly on the ground, with a high level of space in the core as their sacred space. Meanwhile, in Central Lombok, the floor built in levels, following the form of the roof. However, the Sasak tribe's culture and their traditional villages have developed through several stages based on location, availability of material resources, economic condition, and globalization.



Figure 2. The difference of house arrangement in the traditional settlement in Lombok Island (from left to right: Sade hamlet, Segenter hamlet, and Senaru hamlet)

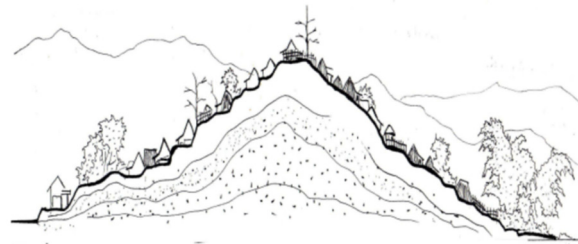


Figure 3. The section drawing of Sade village that located on the hill (Sukawi, 2010)



Figure 4. The roof of the traditional houses in Sade hamlet

Source: <http://www.lombokmandalika.co.id/rumah-tradisional-suku-sasak-lombok-ntb-menarik-untuk-dikenal/>

4. Result: Spatial Analysis of Traditional Houses

4.1 House Typology and Utilization

In Sasak language, house means *Bale*. Besides functioning as a house, *Bale* also considered as a micro social institution called *Bale Langgaq* (household) (Faturrahman, 2016). Generally, *Bale* that located on the coast are different from the bale that located in the mountain or hills. The land condition of the settlement affects the house character and layout. This pattern becomes a reference for us to interpret the traditional architecture of Sasak tribe as a result of a society's creative process in facing natural challenges and then becomes their identity. In this hamlet, the houses are still in traditional form and material. The bottom part is made from mixed soil, rice husk, and cow dung. The middle part, living space, using Timus wood (local strong wood) for the pillars (*tekan*) and woven bamboo for the wall (*bedeq*). Above it is the roof structure that constructed from bamboo that tied with a tree branch (*Saot*) and covered with rice straw (*alang-alang*).

This study was included three times survey in Sade hamlet on March 4th - 6th, June 29th - July 2nd, and September 22nd - 26th 2018. The survey recorded the house's typology of the traditional houses in Sade hamlet, the current condition of the hamlet, the number of the houses and the traditional buildings, the modifications, and the activities inside the house. Among the traditional houses, there are three types of *Bale* in Sade Hamlet, called *Bale Tani* (farmer's house), *Bale Bontar* (traditional modified house), and *Bale Kodong* (temporary transitional house). The survey recorded 68 traditional houses that include 38 *Bale Tani*, 26 *Bale Bontar*, and 4 *Bale Kodong*. This research will compare the spatial of 8 samples of *Bale Tani* and 8 samples of *Bale Bontar*.

- Houses (68 in total):
 - 38 Bale Tani
 - 26 Bale Bontar
 - 4 Bale Kodong
- Additional facilities:
 - 9 *Berugak* (Multipurpose Shelter)
 - 8 *Alang* (Rice storage)
 - 26 Souvenir shops
 - 1 Mosque
 - 14 Toilets



Figure 5. Site Plan of Sade Hamlet (Author, 2018)

Scale 1: 1800

4.1.1 *Bale Tani* (Farmer House)

The first type is the original house of Sasak people in Sade hamlet called *Bale Tani*, which means farmer house. From 68 traditional houses in total, there are 38 *Bale Tani* houses in Sade Hamlet. 5 of it are considered to be the oldest *Bale Tani* house. The floor of *Bale Tani* built with levels, following the form of the roof. The traditional house of Sasak people contains a special concept regarding the spiritual aspect and commanding women. The mother and the daughter living in higher and safer space, as a symbol of respect and protection. Specifically, the space inside *Bale Tani* is divided into two, indoor part (*Langen Dalem*) and outdoor part (*Langen Duah*). The indoor part consists of *Dalem Bale* room, that used as kitchen and women bedroom, and *Bale Dalem* room that used as delivery room and unmarried women's bedroom.

The outdoor area consists of *Sesangkok* room that divided into the south (*Sesangkok Lau*) which faces the sea and north (*Sesangkok Daya*) area which facing the Mount Rinjani. To enter *Bale Tani*, there is only one access from one entrance. In total, there are only two doors in *Bale Tani*, entrance door and sliding door which connect *Langen Duah* and *Langen Dalem* area.

(a) *Bale Dalem*

Bale Dalem means 'a house inside the house'. This room is considered to be a sacred room. Sasak people in Sade hamlet really protect their daughter, because of their 'kidnapping' tradition in marriage system. The daughter or girl has to sleep in the back space of the house, a room without windows, and only have one access through the other room called *Dalem Bale*. This room is also functioned as a valuable storage room; as prayer room; and as a delivery room.

(b) *Dalem Bale*

Dalem Bale means 'inside the house'. This room functioned as a kitchen (*pawon*), offerings making room, and bedroom for a married woman, who either mother or grandmother. *Dalem Bale* connects the outdoor area and *Bale Dalem* room, which can also be said that this room is the second barrier to protect *Bale Dalem*. Inside the room, we can see a traditional stove from clay called *Jangkih*, and traditional cooking utensils that usually used for ritual and traditional ceremony. When Sasak people are going to do a ritual, such as *Roah Klemak* or *Begawe*, they prepare the offerings and foods in *Dalem Bale* room. To prepare the rice, they pound the rice husk with *Alu*, a 2 meters wood stick to pound, and *Gendang*, a big bucket from wood that used to store the rice husk. After the rice separated with its husk, the rice cooked with the traditional method using a traditional stove called *Jangkih*. When doing a ritual, Sasak people have to do every process with traditional method and using traditional utensils.

(c) *Sesangkok Lau* and *Sesangkok Daya*

Sesangkok room is divided into two areas, the south and the north. The south area called *Sesangkok Lau*, which refers to the direction of the sea, whereas the north area called *Sesangkok Daya*, which refers to the direction of the mountain. *Sesangkok Daya* functioned as a dining room, living room, and receiving room. When the neighbor or guest come to *Bale Tani*, they usually enter and gather in this area. Sometimes, the family from another village or house come to their relative's house and have lunch or dinner together along with some chit and chat. This *Sesangkok Daya* considered as a semi-public area.

Although located in the same area, *Sesangkok Lau* considered as a more private space than *Sesangkok Daya*. Here is the place where father or men usually sleep at night. At the daytime, it sometimes used by the women to take a nap with their babies. Moreover, when Sasak people dead, the body remains at home before burial and laid on the *Sesangkok Lau* with the head heading to Mount Rinjani direction (north). Before Islam enters this hamlet, the Sasak people of Sade hamlet lay the dead body here for one night.

4.1.2 *Bale Bontar* (Round House)

Bale Bontar, that means round-house, is a traditional modified house that was built starting from 1971, correlated to the economic condition of the Sasak community and space necessity, as the population was increasing. *Bale Bontar* has a similar form with *Bale Tani*, and some *Bale Bontar* also has multilevel space in the inside. However, *Bale Bontar* has more room than *Bale Tani* and different space order compared to *Bale Tani*. In *Bale Bontar*, there is no *Langen Dalem* (indoor area) and *Langen Duah* (outdoor area). The space of one of *Bale Bontar* is different from the other *Bale Bontar* house. The number of space and arrangement depends on the house owner. Different from *Bale Tani*, there is no *Bale Dalem* inside *Bale Bontar*. *Bale Dalem* in *Bale Tani* house is functioned as delivery room, valuable storage room, and girls (unmarried woman) bedroom. In *Bale Bontar* house, *Bale Dalem* is no longer exist. So, when the mother giving birth, they will use their parents or relatives house, the *Bale Tani*

house. Furthermore, the valuable storage room moved to another room, and the girls will have their own bedroom. Although has a different floor plan with *Bale Tani*, *Bale Bontar* has room to prepare the offerings.

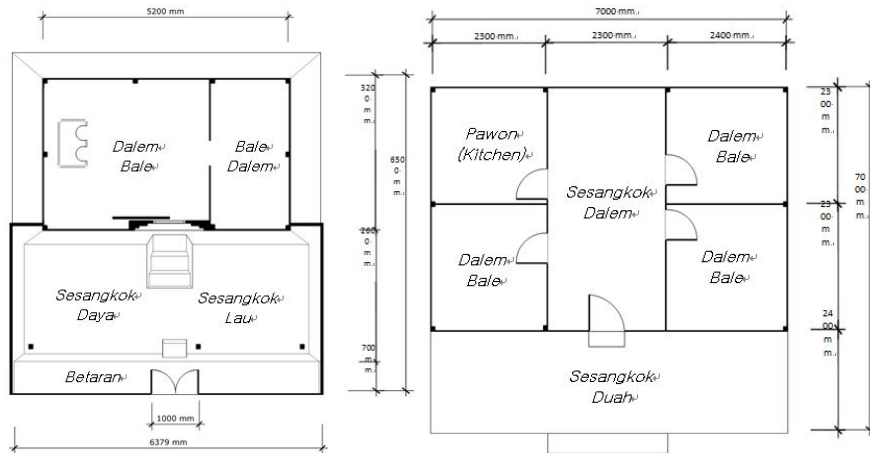


Figure 6. Left: Floor plan of the typical *Bale Tani*; Right: Floor plan of *Bale Bontar* (not typical) Scale 1: 100

4.2 Space Analysis

4.2.1 *Bale Tani* (Farmer House)

The figures below explain about the location of 8 sample of *Bale Tani* and the space utilization.

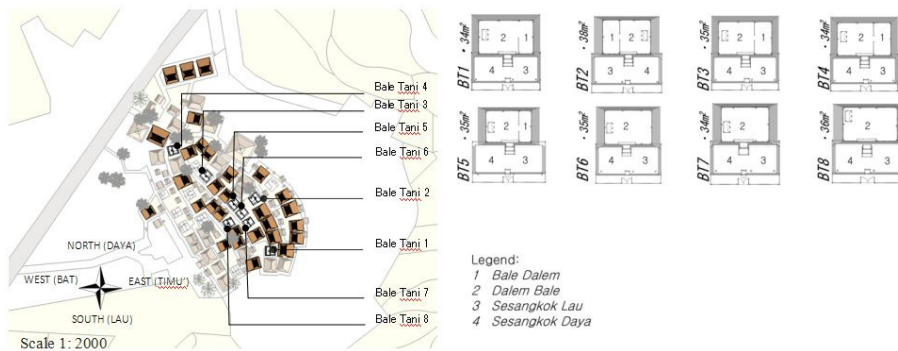


Figure 7. Left: Map of 8 sample of *Bale Tani* in Sade hamlet; Right: Floor plan of 8 sample of *Bale Tani* in Sade hamlet

Table 1. Activity in each space of *Bale Tani* house

House Type	Room Function	Activity in Each House							
		BT1	BT2	BT3	BT4	BT5	BT6	BT7	BT8
<i>Bale Tani</i>	Father's Sleeping Room	3	3	3	-	3	-	3	3
	Mother's Sleeping Room	2	2	2	2	2	-	2	1
	Daughter's Sleeping Room	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-
	Son's Sleeping Room	1	1	1	-	3	1	-	3
	Delivery Room	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	Storage	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	Kitchen	2	2	2	4	2	4	2	2
	Rice Pounding Room	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
	Receiving Room	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
	Dining Room	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Living Room	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	

Legend:
 1 : *Bale Dalem*
 2 : *Dalem Bale*
 3 : *Sesangkok Lau*
 4 : *Sesangkok Daya*

Among 8 samples of *Bale Tani*, all sample have the same pattern for the floor plan. In these past years, the function of some rooms already changed, especially the sleeping room for each family member. In *Bale Tani* house, *Bale Dalam* used for the daughter's bedroom. But currently, many *Bale Dalam* room of the *Bale Tani* house used for a sleeping room for the son. This sometimes occurs because there is no daughter in the family, or because the daughter already got married. Therefore, this space usually used by the son or grandchildren. Among 8 houses, *Bale Dalam* in 4 houses used for son's sleeping room. This is allowed because Sasak people believe if they sleep and live in their birthplace, they will have a strong connection with their ancestor. However, men cannot enter this area when there is a giving birth process.

Dalem Bale room still functioned as kitchen and rice pounding room for offerings preparation. However, 2 of the houses not using this room as a kitchen. These 2 houses using *Sesangkok Daya* room for the kitchen because the woman owner has a health problem which makes her can barely move to the higher room. Whereas the other *Bale Tani* house only occupied by one man who rarely cooks by himself. *Sesangkok Lau* room, which functioned as father's and son's bedroom, being used as its function. *Sesangkok Daya* room, which functioned dining, living, and receiving room, also being used as its function.

5.1.2 *Bale Bontar* (Traditional Modified House)

The figures below will explain about the location of eight sample of *Bale Bontar* and the space utilization of each space.

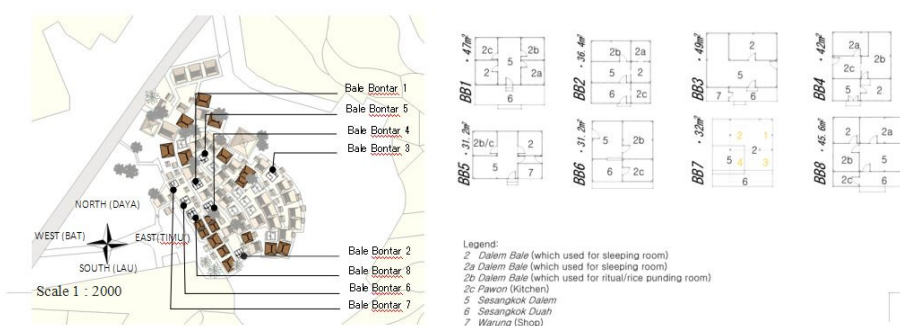


Figure 8. Left: Map of 8 sample of *Bale Bontar* in Sade hamlet; Right: Floor plan of 8 sample of *Bale Bontar* in Sade hamlet

Table 2. Activity in each space of *Bale Bontar* house

House Type	Room Function	Activity in Each House							
		BB1	BB2	BB3	BB4	BB5	BB6	BB7	BB8
<i>Bale Bontar</i>	Father's Sleeping Room	2	2a	-	2a	2	6	2	2
	Mother's Sleeping Room	2	2	5	2/2a	2	5	2	2/5
	Daughter's Sleeping Room	2a	2	2	2/2a	-	-	2a	2a
	Son's Sleeping Room	2a	2	-	-	2	5	-	-
	Delivery Room	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Storage	2b	2b	2	2b	2b	2b	2b	2b
	Kitchen	2c	2c	2	2c	2b	2c	2b	2c
	Rice Pounding Room	2b	2b	2	2b	2b	2b	2b	2b
	Receiving Room	5/6	5/6	5/6	5	5	5/6	5/6	5/6
	Dining Room	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
	Living Room	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Shop	-	-	7	-	-	-	7	-	

Ritual preparation space (important space/required for every house)
 Room Name
 (2) : *Dalem Bale 1*
 (2a) : *Dalem Bale 2*
 (2b) : *Dalem Bale 3*
 (2c) : *Paswon*
 (5) : *Sesangkok Dalam*
 (6) : *Sesangkok Duah*
 (7) : *Warung*

Among 8 samples of *Bale Bontar*, all sample have different patterns for the floor plan. However, the function of the spaces in all *Bale Bontar* house is quite the same. *Bale Bontar* usually has one or more *Dalem Bale* room. However, *Bale Dalam* is no longer exist in *Bale Bontar*. The room that functioned as *Bale Dalam* turned into an ordinary *Dalem Bale*, which used for girl's bedroom of valuable storage room, without the delivery room. The

women who live in *Bale Bontar* usually will give birth at the *Bale Tani* that owned by their family or in the nearest hospital. In *Bale Tani* house, *Bale Dalem* used as a sleeping room for the girls, *Dalem Bale* used as a sleeping room for mother, and *Sesangkok Lau* used as a sleeping room for father and son. Whereas, in *Bale Bontar* house, parents mostly sleep together in the same room and children sleep in the different room. However, in the interviews with *Bale Bontar* occupants, some men also sometimes sleep in the outdoors to protect their family. Although most rooms of *Bale Bontar* made from cement floor, there is one room that required to be built with traditional materials, the offerings preparation room. This room, also called *Dalem Bale*, has to be constructed with traditional floor (mixed soil, rice husk, clay, and cow dung) and built without ceiling. In some houses, it separated with the modern kitchen called *Pawon*.

4.2 Pattern Relatives

As a Sasak family grows and expand, the children have to move out from their parent's house and built a new house after they got married. After the parents or father passed away, the last son must return to their parent's house and live there with their family. In other words, the house will be inherited to the youngest son in the family. In case there is no son in the family, the house will be inherited to their nephew. So basically, one house can only be occupied by one household. This system is one of the methods of how Sasak people preserves their traditional house.

5. Conclusion

This research shows that the living space of the Sasak tribe in Sade hamlet has evolved and transformed due to the space necessity and financial ability. Since it was first formed, traditional houses in Sade hamlet evolved from *Bale Tani* as original house, then *Bale Kodong* as a temporary transitional house, then to *Bale Bontar* as a modified traditional house. Among the total 68 houses, 55.8% are *Bale Tani*, 38.2% are *Bale Bontar*, and 6% are *Bale Kodong*. The comparative study reveals the alteration of the space pattern and the modifications in the house, spatial and structural.

Bale Tani has cultural values, unlike the *Bale Bontar* house. Different from *Bale Bontar*, *Bale Tani* considered as an important place for Sasak people's life because it contains a birthplace room, called *Bale Dalem*, and a death ritual room, *Sesangkok Lau*. Meanwhile, all samples of *Bale Bontar* house does not contain this kind of room, and they usually use their relative's *Bale Tani* house for giving birth or death ritual. This shows that *Bale Tani* is a crucial place for every stage of Sasak people's life, from born until death. Therefore, it must be preserved.

All of *Bale Tani* sample reveals the same pattern of floorplan, which is has *Bale Dalem*, *Dalem Bale*, *Sesangkok Lau*, and *Sesangkok Daya*. However, some houses have several methods in using those room. In *Bale Tani*, the indoor area (*Bale Dalam* and *Dalam Bale* room) considered as a woman's workplace and live, men rarely enter those areas. While the outdoor area is for men and guests. Meanwhile each *Bale Bontar* has different floor plan. However, every house has a room for preparing the ritual offerings and most of the houses still use traditional material for structure. In *Bale Bontar*, almost all rooms can be entered by men. But there is still a room for making the ritual offerings that men could not enter when it is used for ritual. *Bale Tani* could still be preserved by the system of pattern relative. Moreover, there is also *awiq-awiq* as customary law that still has a big influence in traditional house preservation. However, conservation policy is recommended to be established to create a sustainable traditional house and preserve the culture from extinction.

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Conflict of interests

The authors declare that there is no conflict of interests regarding the publication of this paper.

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The Ideology Behind the Power Relations of *Punggawa-Sawi* in Bajo Ethnic Fishermen in North Tiworo, West Muna Regency

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Abstract

The power relations that arise in the life of Bajo ethnic fishermen are predominantly influenced by the ideology practiced by the superior group, *punggawa* to control *sawi* as an inferior group. The purpose of this study is to analyze the ideology behind the power relations of *punggawa-sawi* in Bajo ethnic fishermen in North Tiworo. The method used was a qualitative approach with data collection techniques namely observation, interview and document study. The results of the study showed that the ideology of power, the ideology of capitalism, and the ideology of religiosity are the ideologies that cause the existence of power relations of *punggawa* to *sawi*. The ideologies are used by *punggawa* to lead, control and manage the social, economic, political and cultural life of *sawi* fishermen to get the maximum profit while fulfilling all the interests and desires of *punggawa*.

Keywords: Ideology, Power, Capitalism, Religiosity, *Punggawa*, *Sawi*

1. Introduction

Bajo ethnic groups recognize the sea as they know themselves. Bajo people love the sea because it is considered as part of their lives so it cannot be separated from the sea. One of the most basic reasons for this is the belief that their ancestors came from the sea, lived in the sea, and as sea rulers (*mbombonga di lao*). Thus, the sea provides livelihood, goodness, health, disease and the sea also protects it from disaster (Trisnadi, 2002: 37).

The daily life of Bajo ethnic group in North Tiworo in relation to the social, economic and cultural systems is classified as still very traditional. Traditional systems that are formed largely depend on the rules or norms of social, cultural and economic relations that grow in every action. Traditional traditions and customs are maintained so as to make it easier for bourgeois groups to easily enter and control them. The effect of this is the creation of the social relations system for *punggawa* and *sawi*. The social relation between *punggawa-sawi* in Bajo ethnic fishing community in North Tiworo formed a patron-client bond which at the beginning was the purpose of the relationship between *punggawa* and *sawi* in fishing and sharing the fishing results balanced and fulfilled a sense of justice between the two.

Mattulada (1986: 34) sees the past patron-client relationship as an institution that functions to maintain the collective order and social and economic security for its members. In life on the boat, according to him, there is no clear difference in status and role between *punggawa* and *sawi*. However, the entry of modernization of fisheries since the second half of the 1970s indirectly created a differentiation of the role of work in cooperative organizations that strengthened capitalism. The difference in the profit sharing system in turn affects the reduction of income portion of each group member in relation of *punggawa* and *sawi*.

Along with the development of globalism and capitalism, *punggawa* began to recognize the trading system with traders from outside the Bajo ethnic group. The result is that *punggawa* begins to carry out capitalist practices and power by establishing relations outside the Bajo ethnic group. *Punggawa* as a capital owner with the ability tried to master *sawi* fishermen to always work hard with the aim of getting greater profits while always being able to meet the needs of the market which from time to time continues to increase. In addition, *sawi* fishermen are required to be loyal and obedient by following the rules set by *punggawa* even though they are aware of their detriment.

The entry of globalization and capitalization has changed the social relations between *punggawa* and *sawi* as superior and inferior bond. Trading systems of fish, sea cucumbers, crabs, squid, shellfish and seaweed are

managed entirely by *punggawa* by utilizing *sawi* as labor. For the sake of fulfilling the growing market needs, it takes a lot of *sawi* fishermen. This phenomenon proves that Bajo ethnic society in North Tiworo is able to carry out socio-economic mobility through business expansion towards modern production by practicing the capitalism ideology applied by *punggawa* against *sawi*. The capitalism system practiced by *punggawa* in utilizing *sawi* is not only limited to the socio-economic aspects, but to the fundamental aspects of *sawi*'s life like the religious system. The situation is described by (Kumbara, et al, 2016: 3) that the flow of globalization and modernization has led the ideology of capitalism and materialistic rationalism to transformation not only in the socio-cultural and economic aspects, but also the system of diversity of society.

A change or shift in the pattern of patron-client relations between *punggawa* and *sawi* in Bajo ethnic in North Tiworo, potentially cause some problems. For example, the distribution of capital and uneven income, poverty that continues to occur, and even has the potential to cause conflict between interest groups. If it is ignored, it will cause disharmony between Bajo ethnic groups of *punggawa* and *sawi*. In line with this, Scott (1993: 91-92) states that patron-client relationships originate from the giving of goods or services in various forms that are very useful or needed by one party, and the party that receives the goods or services is obliged to reciprocate the gift.

Changes that occur in *punggawa-sawi* relationship because the relationship between them hangs in relations that are not balanced or unfair in the distribution of income. The binding of this norm relationship is more determined by its function and role of *punggawa* as the main character for all *sawi* who is employed by binding them to loans for money, household goods, and protection or willingness to prepare assistance when needed. The characteristics and behavior of the relationship between social norms of *punggawa* and *sawi* determines the level of relations among Bajo ethnic groups in North Tiworo. In principle, *Sawi* prefer to work with their own relatives rather than having to be governed by others. But it is not realized that the "*spirit of capitalism*" of *punggawa* groups can harm the *sawi* group not only in social relations, but also economically. Based on that, it is important to study the ideology behind the power relations of *punggawa-sawi* in Bajo ethnic fishermen in North Tiworo, West Muna Regency.

2. Research Methods

This study used a qualitative approach. Qualitative approaches have important characteristics that lie in meaning, message, process, and the absence of distance between subject and object of research that is open and scientific (Ratna, 2009: 48). This research was conducted in Bero Village, Mandike Village, Santigi Village, Santiri Village, Tasipi Village, Tiga Village and Tondasi Village, North Tiworo District, West Muna Regency, Southeast Sulawesi Province.

The Sources of data in this study are primary data sources and secondary data sources with the determination of informants using purposive and snowball techniques. Data collection uses observation, interview, and document study techniques. The collected data were analyzed in qualitative descriptive.

3. Results and Discussion

Ideology is a rationale or idea that underlies logical thinking which then makes the idea as a guide in *life* in accordance with the ideas and thoughts. The word ideology can be considered as a broad vision and a way of looking at things. In general, ideology as a collection of ideas, basic ideas, and beliefs that is systematic and provides direction and goals to be achieved in the national life of a nation and state (Budiman, 1996: 21). Ideology is an attempt to define the meaning and world view that supports the ruler and maps of meaning which, although it looks like universal truth, but actually are historically specific understandings, envelop and perpetuate the power of social groups (Barker, 2005: 515). Helmut (1980: 110) gives three explanations about ideology. First, ideology is an expression of human dogmatic thought (reflection on distorted reality). Second, the doctrine of world views (e.g the ideology of the proletariat, capitalism, etc.). Third, as a science, ideology aims to build a system of knowledge.

Ideology is the glue of social relations that brings community members together by applying values with collectively agreed upon norms. Domination of strengths and relationships are reflected in the power of words and discourses. The social meaning of ideology is also constructed in discourse so that solidarity and solidity are maintained (Thompson, 2003: 18). Dijk in (Helmut, 1980: 109) states that ideology is a system and a basis for socio-political knowledge of a group. Ideology is able to organize group behavior which consists of overall opinions arranged schematically about relevant social issues. Based on this definition, a Marxist thinker who is often associated with the concept of ideology, Louis Althusser, argued that ideology is actually a mechanism by which elite groups impose interests and beliefs on the masses in a society (Lewis, 2008: 398). In this study, found three ideologies that exist behind the power relation between *punggawa* and *sawi* in Bajo ethnic fishermen in North Tiworo, namely the ideology of power, the ideology of capitalism and the ideology of religiosity. For more details described as follows.

3.1 Ideology of Power

The Ideology of Power is the ability of a person or group of people to infuse influence on others so that action is in accordance with their wishes and desires. In Bajo ethnic social system in North Tiworo, *Punggawa* is present as a capital owner who is able to regulate and control the social and economic life of *sawi*. In an effort to perpetuate its influence, *punggawa* lends some capital to *saw* fishermen in the form of money and also prepares all equipment and necessities in the form of production equipment that cannot be provided by *sawi* with various conditions and regulations that must be obeyed when given or loaned to a *sawi*.

The production tools that *punggawa* gives to *sawi* in the process change into a form of legitimacy of *punggawa* against their *sawi* that is bonding and controlling the *sawi*. *Sawi* fishermen in North Tiworo in carrying out the sale activities of their catches from the sea, are always based on control according to the rules determined by *punggawa* as the owner of capital and means of production as a result of the consequences of borrowing capital and production equipment borrowed by *sawi*. On the other hand, the *sawi* will be more careful in selling with other *punggawa* in order to maintain the trust of their *punggawa* who lend them capital. Even almost all *sawi* fishermen justify any treatment from *punggawa* toward them. *Sawi* fishermen never have enough strength to fight *punggawa*.

Through mastering fishing tools technology, *punggawa* play an important role in strengthening their position as superior. This power makes *punggawa* have a clear and definite control system to assert their power in front of *sawi*. Bajo ethnic fishermen in Tiworo Utara really depend on the technology and accept all changes that are determined by *punggawa*. Absolute trust in *punggawa* as the owner of the power that rests on capital is able to influence the activity of *sawi* in fishing and this is used by *punggawa* to get the maximum profit. A *punggawa* plays an important role in the process of collecting marine resources and all parts of the production management of fishermen's catches.

The existence of *Punggawa* and *sawi* is basically an inseparable series, both in economic, social and political aspects. As a form of participation and realization of *sawi*'s compliance to *punggawa*, then each catch of the sea is never sold to the other *punggawa*, and *sawi* never moves and serves the other *punggawa*. *Punggawa* as the owner of power and capital can maintain their power to expedite their business by forming a power network with other *punggawa* and outside merchants so that it is increasingly binding on *sawi*'s life as a whole so they can not do anything against the influence of their *punggawa*'s authority. Therefore, *sawi* with all the abilities they have is directed to continuously fulfill all the needs and interests of *punggawa*. The lack of knowledge and ownership of sea-fishing technology tools owned by *sawi* causes them to get worse and easily controlled by *punggawa*.

Punggawa as the holder of the highest power control in the structure of the fishermen's work becomes more existent. Their direct relationship with outside merchants becomes a force of power that continues to hijack *sawi* for the sake of their interests and profits. In the siege of power from various relations built by *punggawa*, the position of *sawi* became dependent and helpless.

3.2 Ideology of Capitalism

The ideology of capitalism is a tool to facilitate the achievement of the interests of *punggawa* in controlling aspects of the production of Bajo ethnic fishermen in North Tiworo. This ideology of capitalism controls the economic life of *sawi*'s fishermen; this is done by *punggawa* by building a trading network with traders from outside such as from Java and Surabaya. In the impetus of this capitalist ideology, *punggawa* applies a system in accordance with their will and desire to gain profit. To achieve this, *punggawa* carried out mastery of important aspects in the life of *sawi*'s fisherman. One of them is by utilizing the poverty of *sawi* family by lending money to help overcome its economic difficulties.

Capital is a natural obstacle for *sawi*'s fishermen in terms of starting their business as a fisherman. The *sawi* who borrows money will be bound by the conditions set by *punggawa* to control the sale of the catches of *sawi* fishermen. *Punggawa* as the owner of the capital has the right to buy every catch of *sawi* based on price the *punggawa* sets. This shows that the power of the *punggawa*'s capital becomes a very effective tool in regulating and controlling *sawi*. The pattern of loan repayments is made in installments taken from each sale results from *sawi* to *punggawa*. If a *sawi* wants the debt to be paid off quickly, there will be a bigger price cut and certainly will be very detrimental to *sawi*.

In carrying out market capitalization, the big *punggawa* creates small *punggawa* under his control by giving capital and then distributing it on other islands in North Tiworo to recruit fishermen to be his *sawi*. The fishermen who lack capital to carry out their fishing activities, will accept the offer with the consequence that all the results of their catches cannot be sold to others. The marine catches collected by the small *punggawa* are then handed over to the big *punggawa* and then distributed to outside traders.

Punggawa is a supplier of business capital and financial assistance who is very instrumental in determining the activity of *sawi* fishermen. In this case, it is placing *sawi* as an inferior group and *punggawa* as a superior group that controls *sawi*'s life. In addition, the function of *punggawa* who becomes a distributor of fishermen's catches makes his role and status stronger in intervening and exploiting the income sources of *sawi*.

In addition to capital issues, there are other central problems that are often faced by *sawi* that is borrowing capital to meet the needs of household when entering the tide season. This means that the sea season does not last all the time, so that the results obtained are also small, such as in the tide season and in moonlight season (*tilla wulan*). In the uncertainty and risk of the crisis, often makes *sawi* shackled by the amount of operational costs incurred every time *sawi* go to sea and even experience losses. To overcome these difficult times, there are no other choices that *sawi* have besides must borrow some money to *punggawa* whatever the risk.

The existence of *punggawa* is felt to be very beneficial for *sawi* in overcoming difficulties. Bajo ethnic society who seems consumptive, make them unable to regulate their financial condition. In their daily life, if they get a lot of catches, then their expenses will increase according to the money they have at that time. This then makes them do not have saving that is sufficient to solve various kinds of debt and their daily needs properly.

The ideology of capitalism applied by *punggawa* in fisheries business is firmly rooted in the socio-economic life of *sawi* fishermen. The capitalism system curbs *sawi* into a model of debts that never breaks which has an impact on the low purchase price set by *punggawa*. In addition, the creation of a market monopoly by *punggawa* makes *sawi* have no other choice in selling their catches to their *punggawa*. The power of capital in the capitalist ideology run by *punggawa* makes *punggawa* have the power that is able to move and influence the aspects of the social and economic life of *sawi* family.

Punggawa people understand the substance needs of *sawi* people, making it easier to create *sawi* dependence on them. In this condition, *punggawa* people usually play a role so that *sawi* will continue to depend on them by offering additional capital loans to *sawi*. For example, by offering to buy or borrow new equipment. In addition, *punggawa* will continue to try to make their *sawi* to remain bound by various means such as offering new capital loans to develop equipment or offering services to buy the needs of *sawi* household, so that *sawi* has a relationship tied to *punggawa*.

In such a situation, *punggawa* get benefits because the more the *sawi* debt, the longer the repayment process will and cause the sales price to remain in the control of *punggawa* and multiply the profit. In addition, another strategy adopted by *punggawa* is to create an emotional bond of kinship by giving gifts to *sawi* on every major day such as Idul Fitri and Idul Adha. This implies that even if *sawi* people have paid off their capital loan, they will not replace the *punggawa* because they assume that their relationship is not only limited to the capital lender but also has become a family who can provide assistance when needed.

Behind the various ways which *punggawa* usually do is actually only business oriented. The main purpose of *punggawa* is to get personal benefits through the fishing catches of *sawi* that is sold to *punggawa* in accordance with the initial agreement. Meanwhile, the problem of capital loans is not questioned by *punggawa*, because fixed capital can be paid through the deduction of sales of catches. Therefore, the ideology of capital applied by *punggawa* will not provide welfare to *sawi*. The power of the *punggawa*'s capital has turned into a power relations system that is able to control *sawi*'s life.

The ideology of capitalism directs the way of thinking and acting the owners of capital to always master and conquer *sawi* activities by mastering the production system to get the maximum profit. *Sawi* helplessness in dealing with *punggawa* hegemony is caused more by the lack of capital and knowledge. These conditions make *sawi* cannot open network access to larger outside traders. On the contrary, *sawi* can only rely on the supply of demand and the giving from their *punggawa*. This condition keeps the existence of the ideology of capitalism in socio-cultural life, of Bajo ethnic especially for *sawi*'s life.

In the interests of capitalism, *punggawa* expand their business activities by utilizing various weaknesses of *sawi*. The strategy applied to strengthen its existence is by applying capital loans. Capital is an instrument to create *sawi* dependence to *punggawa*. Capital is the main weapon for perpetuating *punggawa*'s capitalism ideology. Through this pattern, *punggawa* play a role in determining the market price for *sawi*. The ideology of capitalism finally goes in the same direction and only gives benefits to *punggawa*.

3.3 Ideology of Religiosity

The beliefs of Bajo ethnic towards the supernatural beings who control the sea, do not cause any concern for them to continue fishing. When going to sea activities, Bajo fishermen actually glorify sea dwellers who they usually call grandmothers in the sea such as *bombonga ma dilao*, *mbo janggo*, *mbo tambirah*, *mbo dunggah* as guards

during the fishing. The mention of this name is always hidden and changed to grandmother because the sacredness should not be named. This is believed to be a belief that if the mention is wrong it can offend the dwellers of the sea so that it can bring bad things. Any activity carried out in the sea is always preceded by various rituals, both before going to sea and after going to sea.

Bajo ethnic has an order in carrying out their activities as fishermen. Before going to sea, they first perform a ritual called the ritual of repeling bad things to happen (*nyalamak ma dilao*) or avoiding calamity and asking for the salvation and sustenance of the Almighty God during the sea activity. When they don't do fishing activity, they do a ritual called *mole palibu* performed during the moonlight season (*tilla bulan*) as an expression of gratitude for the sustenance and salvation given by the Almighty God to them while at sea.

One of the benefits of the belief is the control of the attitudes and behaviors of Bajo ethnic community in their daily lives, especially when they go to sea. Arbitrary treatment of the sea is believed to bring various calamities to their lives as a result of the punishment from the sea guard. Obedience and adherence to the religious system is utilized by *punggawa* to control the attitude of *sawi* fishermen. The religious system in belief to the sea guard, contributes to strengthen the power and influence of *punggawa*. This is due to the belief that the sea guard can communicate with shaman (*sandro*). Through this *sandro*, *punggawa* entered and gave *their* influence by controlling the *sandro*, the obedience of *sawi* to *sandro* gives impact to *punggawa*.

The belief of *sawi* to the supernatural beings that exist in the sea makes all of their activities more religious by being filled with various understandings and taboos in life (*pamali*). This was then used by *punggawa* to do covert hegemony to fulfill all their demands and interests. Religious values embedded in a *sawi* make it easy to obey and behave as it is without resistance and rebellion. While *punggawa* do not attach importance to these values in their business matter but only pursues profit.

In the social life of Bajo ethnic people who believe in the sea spirits also believe in the ability and knowledge of *sandro*. *Sandro's* duties and responsibilities are to lead traditional rituals and ceremonies. Every pray offered by *sandro* is believed will protect the fishermen from calamity and can bring sustenance as expected. However, if they do not believe the prays from *sandro*, it can result in reduced sustenance, and there will be damage to sea equipment or frequent calamities.

Punggawa who present with their business interests in life of Bajo ethnic community utilize the religious aspect as a space to control *sawi* through *sandro*. The *punggawa* then begin to form a power relations network with the *sandro* to smooth their intentions and interests. *Sandro* is empowered and utilized to control *sawi* so they keep obeying *punggawa*. This power relations network runs smoothly and indirectly makes *sawi's* life getting worse with the level of prosperity of their family that does not experience development every time. The *sawi* people still routinely carry out capital loans and consider the existence of *punggawa* as the helper and savior in their difficulty. The attitude of religiosity that is used by *punggawa* for their business interests places *sawi* in a weak position because they are confronted with *sandro* as a *punggawa* trustee in leading every ritual they do.

In addition, the belief in taboos (*pamali*) in the life of Bajo ethnic has a special meaning and a role that is so important in carrying out their life activities as a fisherman. *Pamali* is run and adhered by Bajo ethnic fishermen and will not be violated, as for example when taking seawater using rice pots, it will cause fishermen can not get any catches at sea. That belief makes Bajo ethnic community have a compliant, obedient and prudent attitude to their fellow human beings and nature. These obedience and compliance make Bajo fishermen in North Tiworo easier to be controlled under the belief and religion systems. Bajo ethnic fishermen are very obedient to the existence of *pamali*, because it is believed that if it is violated, it will experience bad luck and difficulties such as a catch that is not maximal, even for themselves and their possessions. Religious values grow in every fisherman. The belief system that turned into a view of life in *sawi* fishermen then became a tool for *punggawa* in managing the social life of *sawi* culture.

4. Conclusion

An ideology plays an important role in shaping the power relation of *punggawa* to *sawi*, that ideology includes power, capitalism and religiosity. The ideology of power is a tool that is used by *punggawa* to influence and control *sawi* life by way of hegemony to achieve the goals and interests of *punggawa*. Then, the ideology of capitalism applied by *punggawa* by establishing a trading system that places them as the owner of capital, by providing assistance to various kinds of loans to *sawi* with the aim to get the maximum profit without regard to the welfare aspects of the *sawi* family. While the ideology of religiosity is a belief system of Bajo ethnic community that is used by *punggawa* to influence and control the *sawi* attitude so that they are always obedient to *punggawa* by utilizing the existence of *sandro* as a respected person.

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Re-conceptualizing the Jordanian Art Education Curricula: Suggested Entries for Teaching Discipline-Based Art Education Theory

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Abstract

The curricula of art education in the elementary and secondary schools of Jordan is limited to teaching technical skills for making art, and students did not receive tangible education about history of art, aesthetic, and critical aspects of art. This study identified the theory of Discipline-Based Art Education (DBAE) and its significance in teaching art, and it provided suggestions for teaching history of art, criticism, aesthetic and artistic production. Furthermore, the study justified the possibility of implementing the DBAE approach in Jordan art education curricula. The research revealed that DBAE theory improved and elevated art education to a new level because the four disciplinary content area played a significant role in the development of essential knowledge and skills in the art such as developing the creativity, appreciation, understanding and learning about the role and function of art in human civilization. The study recommends to include the components of DBAE to art education instruction in Jordanian curricula.

Keywords: Jordanian Art Education, History of Art, Aesthetics, Art Curricula, Discipline-Based Art Education, Learning Outcomes Students.

1. Introduction

Discipline-Based Art Education (DBAE) is one of the most popular trends in art education in the United States of America and most of European countries, and it has attracted interest among many scientists and art educators both inside and outside the this countries. However, despite this proliferation, this theory is still under constant testing and evaluation. Since the emergence of this approach in the mid-eighties, and those at the Getty Center are keen to remain under continuous evaluation to avoid deficiencies and imperfections that prevent its optimal application (Eisner, 1988).

In the early 1960s, Bruner presented his idea that every science must derive from its structure of discipline as a basis for teaching and learning, which prompted Barkan to adopt Brunner's ideas and turn them into facts and ideas for teaching art education. Then, Eisner came up with a curriculum for art education based on the source of knowledge as a basis for art education, which is concerned with the history of art, artistic production, art criticism, and aesthetics (Delacruz & Dunn, 1996). This theory was called Discipline-Based Art Education (DBAE), which is the current research subject that explains the emergence of this theory, its evolution and the bases it adopted. The research also reviews the most important studies that written about it, the extent to which they can be applied in schools, and included in the curricula of art education in Jordan at different levels of education. In addition to showing the positives aspects of this theory and its impact on teaching and learning.

2. Research Problem

The curricula of art education in Jordan are almost devoid of contemporary artistic trends or theories. Which led to the lack of students' knowledge of the importance of art education as a critical factor in the development of thinking experiences, innovations, and skills that promote a broader and more comprehensive understanding of other sciences which resulted in:

1) Students do not know the history of art, that records the heritage, culture, and the historical civilization, and

also they do not recognize the ideas and culture of other nations.

- 2) Students lack knowledge about criticism that leads to critical thinking, the issuance of the decision, and governance, and accepts the opinion and the opinion of others.
- 3) Students do not feel the value of beauty, which leads to environmental, aesthetic appreciation, and promotes good citizenship.
- 4) The decline of artistic production, which connected to creativity and innovation and acquisition of skills in students.

Therefore, this study aims to identify the theory of Discipline-Based Art Education in art education curriculum based on the organized cognitive trend, which focuses on the fundamental role of the history of art, art criticism, aesthetics and artistic production in teaching art education in schools and the feasibility of applying this theory to schools.

2.1 The Objective of This Study

This research aims to identify the Discipline-Based Art Education (DBAE) in teaching art education and its applicability in Jordanian schools. In addition to clarifying the basics of this theory and provide suggestions as a preface for teaching art history, criticism, aesthetics and artistic production through art education curriculum.

2.2 Research Importance

This research derives its importance through:

- 1) Identifying the concept of art education based on DBAE theory, and the extent of its applicability in Jordanian art education curriculum.
- 2) It is concerned with the theoretical and applied aspects of teaching art education.
- 3) Improving the teaching process through teaching higher mental levels, such as critical thinking, analysis, interpretation, judgment, criticism, and decision-making, rather than focusing on teaching artistic production only.
- 4) Encouraging students for innovation and creativity based on contemplative knowledge.
- 5) The need for studies to cover the shortage of teaching art education in schools, and keeping up with the developments in art education methods, strategies, and techniques.
- 6) Contribution to the development of art education curricula to suit our society needs and our educational environment.
- 7) Helping those who are interested in teaching art education to learn about the DBAE.

2.3 Research Questions

To do so, the following four research questions will be addressed:

- 1) What are the theory of DBAE and its significance in art education?
- 2) What is the significance of teaching the four trends of DBAE theory in art education?
- 3) What is the suggested DBAE learning entries?
- 4) What is the possibility of teaching the DBAE through Jordan art curricula?

2.4 Methodology

The researchers adopted the analytical, descriptive method in studying the philosophical trend of this theory through the emergence of this approach, its critique and the extent of their application in the Jordanian Art Education Curricula.

3. The Discipline-Based Art Education (DBAE)

In the past and until the present, the teaching method of art education was how to teach students the techniques of drawing and painting, how to color things and how to make handcrafts ...etc. These art methods continued until a very recent time (and still in some educational environments). When the DBAE theory emerged the methods of teaching changed to a concept that concerned with the overall development of the student regarding developing the cognitive, artistic skills and emotional aspects according to a structured curriculum that can be taught and learned.

The theory of DBAE in teaching art education is one of the most prominent modern concepts in the field of teaching art education in western curricula, especially in the United States of America. It is a comprehensive approach to teaching and learning art education to educate. DBAE supports a diminished emphasis on studio

instruction and instead promotes education across four disciplines within the arts: aesthetic, art criticism, art history, and art production.

DBAE theory was developed primarily by a group of Western art teachers, to suit the need to transfer knowledge and artistic experiences to students in public education. The first definition of this theory credited to William Dwaine Greer, who wrote a paper about it in 1984, in which he announced the nature and characteristics of this theory, which dates back to the 1960s, and he calls it discipline-based art education (Greer, 1984)

Following its foundation in 1983, the Getty Education Center adopted the ideas of art educators leaders who had been calling for a more comprehensive, and multifaceted approach to art education. Therefore, they advocate DBAE as an effective means by which to help students experience the visual arts in a variety of ways. Getty Education Institute programs believe that visual arts should be an essential part of every child's education because through the creation of arts and the inquiry into the art meaning are primary means through which we understand human's experiences and transmit the cultural values (Delacruz & Dunn, 1996).

This theory was initially expected to enable the learner to be exposed to a variety of knowledge and experience in a range of different sciences through art content such as humanities, sociology, history, philosophy, archeology, communication technology, and other general knowledge, by focusing on studying the DBAE that are closely related to art production, criticism, art history and aesthetic. Educators, who integrate content from the four disciplines in the DBAE approach, aim, to provide skills, knowledge, and understanding that enabled students to have a rich experience with art.

The pioneers of art education have confirmed through several conferences held in the United States that these four disciplines of DBAE will enable the art education teachers to teach students the knowledge, skills, and the experiences that work on developing the creativity, appreciation, understanding the significance of artwork and its connection to the professional level and learning about the role and function of arts in human civilizations (Agustin, 2016). Furthermore, the pioneers emphasized that the adoption of a discipline-based art education approach to teaching art education will make the learner able to understand and evaluate the artistic work in different contexts such as moral, philosophical, social, economic, religious, emotional and creative skills.

Among the most important conferences is Penn State University conference, which was held in 1965 and discussed the idea that the education can be done through art and that art is a system or an independent course that can be taught separately from other subject's contents (Efland, 1987). One of the most leading researchers who presented a paper at that conference, and became one of the founders of the DBAE theory as a subject, Eliot Eisner. In his article, Eisner explained that until that date art education was taught, by only artistic production, and that it is necessary to find a new approach to art education that is flexible and fruitful (Eisner, 1988). Other leading scholars at Penn State University conference, Emmanuel Barkan, in which he concluded that there is an urgent need for a theory that could be performed in teaching arts, and that approach should contain the artist's work and the ideas of those who write in aesthetics and criticism (Efland, 1987).

Clark & Zimmerman (1978), are among the other researchers who had efforts about the same subject. They tried to prove that the roles and activities of the artist, the art critic, the historian and the beauty scientist need to be integrated into the production of models to improve the expected output of teaching programs. Although many scholars recognized the need to train the child to be an artist child, they did not provide an organized and sequential method to do so.

Usually judging an artwork include describing, praising or critique the artwork. We try to prove first if that work is an art. This verbal explanation takes place in drawing while students work on their art projects. As the case of the student's participation in the history of art, or in art criticism. However, the discussion about the art focuses on the areas of history, criticism, and the philosophy. These fields affect the artistic production of the students and the level of creative performance. (Hassan, Noor, & Omar, 2014).

The results of these opinions led to creating a methodological content that can be taught by considering the fundamental traits of the content such as:

- 1) The educational content consists of four art disciplines.
- 2) Encourage students for exploration, discovery, creativity and doing researches through the four art fields practices.
- 3) To develop the cognitive, skills and emotional aspects of the students.

4) The four art disciplines work through the cognitive-behavioral theory to promote creativity, imagination, critical thinking and developing the students' abilities and skills to learn about the techniques of handling raw materials and artistic tools.

In 1983, the Getty Center introduced a developed curriculum for art education based on the following facts:

- 1) The art education considered one of the structured knowledge fields.
- 2) The integration of the four disciplines in the curriculum to create an integrated understanding of art within the framework of art education.
- 3) Define the objectives of the art education and reorganize it systematically.
- 4) Design a sequential educational units plan for the four fields of arts with taking into account the psychological logic in the curriculum.
- 5) Define the evaluation and assessment methods.

The following sections will discuss the significance of each discipline in the DBAE theory, as well as learning outcomes, objectives, and teaching entries. Also, it will present the possibilities of implementing the DBAE theory in Jordan art education curricula.

4. Art Production

The art production is an essential human activity. It is the experience of how to create an artwork that gives expression to one's thoughts and feeling. According to Greenet et al. (2014), the production gives students the opportunity to express themselves and show their individuality. Usually, students produce art to expand the individual expression and knowledge of design, and to discover oneself, and the universe. Stewart and Walker (2005) explain that children naturally engage in art, and they enjoy learning and how to use new materials, tools, and techniques so that they accurately express themselves. As children grow up, they learn how to make complicated decisions and judgments to achieve the impact they desire. Moreover, the satisfaction gained from producing art, children also learn through production about the artistic process. Therefore, they can better appreciate the efforts of the artists.

Dobbs (1998) defines art production as the process of responding to visual observation, thoughts, and sensations by creating works of art through thinking, imagination and applying skills using the tools and techniques of each learning experience with different materials.

Denac (2014) continues and clarifies that artistic production includes both expressive and innovative dimensions. Through the passionate aspect, the student produces work of art containing imaginary expression values, which helps the students to express their thoughts and feelings in the actual material. The teacher defines the subject and discusses it with the students as a focus on which the student builds an idea and then begins to practice skills through his work. While the creative dimension aims at enabling the student to face the particular problems through artistic practices, by studying the values, visual relationships, elements and principles of the artistic work, to develop his skills by using the tools, materials, and techniques necessary to create a variety of art forms.

The art production is a critical component of any art program. In the syllabus, art production designed for improvement proficiency exercises with instrumentation, materials, and techniques. As a student's express themselves in a visual medium, that promotes motor development. Students are encouraged to the creative use of art equipment and tools in innovative methods and to explore different media in the process of art production. They are also exposed to multimedia studies and learn the peculiarities of each media, in which they learn how to combine materials in expressive methods. (Greene, 2014; Mannathoko, 2016).

The artistic production is a field for the integrated development of the personality of the student regarding the development of perception, thinking, imagination, and expression. The student also acquires skills such as adapting raw materials, tools, artistic techniques and the methods of composition and problem solving (House et al., 2009).

As a result of art practices, the student's skills will grow and become capable of observation, thinking, dialogue, discussion, expressing a critical opinion and the ability to analyze, interpret and issue monetary judgments:

- 1) Understand the importance of applying the visual art and design principles in the art composition and his/her professional life.
- 2) Develops self-criticism, emotional empathy, and the power of observation, interpretation, and analysis of the technical composition processors.

4.1 Art Production Teaching Objectives

The objectives of teaching artistic production are:

- 1) Acquiring the artistic skills through the technical processors.
- 2) Discovering the innovative methods and techniques through art practices.
- 3) Recognizing the nature of materials, tools and their sources.
- 4) Exploring the various aesthetic values through the surrounding environment.
- 5) Using equipment, tools, and materials in different situations.
- 6) Using the artistic skills and techniques which learned through art education in other sciences.
- 7) Expressing his/her thoughts and feelings within multiple different areas of study.
- 8) Developing higher thinking skills and imagination.

4.2 Entries for Teaching Art Production

The acquisition of technical skills and the ability to use tools and raw materials requires experimentation, perseverance, and patience. Teaching art production through DBAE cannot be done in isolation from the other three disciplines (art history, criticism, and aesthetics). Gaining the technical skills must be done during the study of artist's artworks, by analyzing their works regarding techniques, selection of materials, tools, and the impact of these technical skills on composition form in general. The teacher can interact with students during the technical production by linking this field with the other three fields of arts. To help the art education teacher to teach this discipline, the researchers suggest some ideas that can be input in teaching artistic production:

- 1) The students are given a set of raw materials, and the teacher encourage students to discover and explore the suitability of the raw materials for a particular idea. Then the teacher makes discussions with the students to investigate the compatibility of the plan with the chosen raw materials and tools.
- 2) Utilize images of artworks in a significant way. The teacher will ask the students to identify the artist's methods to solve the technical problems, to select appropriate materials, and identify the primary objective behind the artist's choice of materials and its meaning, and the most significant aspects of the work being studied.
- 3) Explain the impact of artworks on scientific discoveries, by reviewing the new artworks and art techniques in general.

5. Art Production Outcomes Learning

A summary of the most important artistic gains to the learner, the students will be able to:

- 1) Learn how to plan his/her creative ideas.
- 2) Express his/her ideas, opinions and feelings in a tangible physical way and visual forms.
- 3) Organize the art forms effectively in his/her artistic production.
- 4) Understand the visual relations between the aesthetic elements.
- 5) Adapt the tools, materials, techniques, equipment, handwork and artistic professions.

5.1 History of Art

Art and culture cannot be separated from each other because they both relate to the actions and continuation of people. Kleiner (2016) and Woodfield, (2014) defined art history as the discipline that seeks to understand different cultures and ages through studying and analyzing artworks and architecture as a means of communication. The history of art is a vital part of a serious art education program, it deals with many subjects such as painting, sculpture, architecture, design, handcrafts and other works of arts, in order to encourage humanity and sympathy by aching about the other people and societies through their visual expression (Esaak, 2017).

Art history refers to the assortment, chronology, technique and mental ideas, and seeks to learn more about a work of art and the artist who created it, before analyzing and assessing it in a social and cultural context (Stewart & Walker, 2005). Thus, the study of the history of art means the study of different societies, and their activities carried out by man, in addition to his intellectual, cultural contributions, and his contribution to the humanity. Greer mentioned that the art history teaches us to look closely at the works of art and gives us a chance to learn about the close connections that have linked these works to the cultural and historical concepts that have emerged from them (Greer, 1984).

History of Art discipline provide knowledge and understanding about how visual communication has evolved over time, the artist themselves and the environment in which they functioned, the changes that occur in the art field over time, the evolution of artistic style and factors that influenced them, the socio-cultural changes over time and the history of people, the differences in the way art are made from place to place and the means of expression as well as the philosophical underpinning the artists practices (Mannghoko & Major, 2013; Merwe, 2007). This leads to a better understanding of current practices which based on the history and how art evolved over time.

5.1.1 History of Art Teaching Objectives

The objectives of teaching history of art through the artcurriculum to:

- 1) Enable students to acquire some concepts and terminology to help them in their artistic expression.
- 2) Analyze and compare the visual and structural features of artworks and architecture.
- 3) Identify and describe salient aspects of form, structure, and medium.
- 4) Use art historical terminology, locate artworks and architecture within a chronological framework and relate to their broader historical context.
- 5) Practice key elements of the art history discipline, and interpret the cultural significance of art.
- 6) Identify scholarly resources for research in key historical events and movements that affected the artistic production, and present findings in a coherent and persuasive form.

5.1.2 Entries for Teaching History of Art

The idea of connecting studio art with that of history of art began to emerge in 1979. Joining studio art with art history was enhanced through economic recovery and increased European travel by American students. Frankston (1967) stated that The study of the history of art is an essential part of superior art curricula and it is a necessary prerequisite to appreciate art and should be available at all levels. Students study the artworks accomplishments of the past and present as motivation, examples of style or technique, and as discussion topics, especially about cultural, political, social, religious, and economic events and movements.

Eisner (1972) in putting forth the questions that gave impetus to the ideas of his book "*Educating Artistic Vision*," said that knowledge of the past was essential for future decisions. He clarified that ignorance of the past is no necessary virtue, and while knowledge of the past is no guarantee that it will not be repeated, such knowledge does provide one useful frame of reference for looking at the present.

There are many proposals presented by art educators in teaching history of art through art education curricula such as Livi Smith, Eisner, Stephen Dobbs, Paul Getty and others. These educators stressed the importance of educating the history of art to students through:

- 1) Review the history of art in a structured sequence so that it shows the stages of the development of artwork and artistic movements through the chronological sequence.
- 2) Review history of art as a cultural entire so that art history presented as a study of artworks within a particular cultural content.
- 3) Review the fields of creative and artistic knowledge regarding social, cultural, political and religious aspects, which influenced the nature of art objects.
- 4) Display images of artworks from different cultures and epochs and ask students a set of questions as facilitators to help students to:
 - Look carefully at works of art: the objective is to allow the student to think about the contents of artworks and to identify the elements of the artwork.
 - Understands the concept of artist idea: the objective is to make the student feel to create this artwork.
 - Talk about what they observe: the aim is to make the students describe the artwork.
 - Recognize the artist achievements through his artwork: the objective is to appreciate the artist achievements in his society and to introduce the artist's accomplishments to the student.
 - Discuss a variety of interpretations: the objective is to make the student provide his or her interpretation of the artwork subject.

5.1.3 History of Art Outcomes Learning

After studying the art history through art curriculum, the student will be able to:

- 1) Understand the sense of the past and the times in which they live.
- 2) Differentiate between art styles, art movements, and to analyze and interpret the artworks.
- 3) Build and shape their culture, technical language, enriching their vision through the comparison and analyzing the artworks.
- 4) Appreciate the art and the artists' achievements.
- 5) Have a multiplicity vision of the different solutions to the problem, and learn about the various techniques of art.
- 6) Benefits from the artist's creations which considered as a source of inspiration.
- 7) Identifying the subject matter of works of art, their potential meaning and significance, and the larger intellectual, historical, or political trends that impact their production.

5.2 Aesthetic

Aesthetics means perception through sense. Day and Hurwitz (2012) defined aesthetic as the branch of philosophy that address guest questions about the nature of art and beauty; it is meaning and values, questions on our judgment of art whether good or bad and discuss notions as beautiful and ugly. Although aesthetic usually associated with art, it can also be experienced in any subject in the curriculum. Denac (2014) claims that experience in music, dancing, history, mathematics, as well as other subjects, contain the aesthetic component. On the other hand, educators like Phenix (1964) and Abbs (1994) clarifies that the aesthetic component directly associated with art experience and that it combines the affective perceptible and cognitive levels in a unique way.

Aesthetic education is an essential aspect of art education curriculum since it evaluates and heightens the experience of art. It is related directly to understand the content, emotions, and forms of art (Denac, 2014). Aesthetic education is one component of a DBAE approach to art education, and it is simply how to engage in aesthetic inquiry and make an aesthetic discussion to value a piece of art.

Teaching aesthetic in art education is achieved by raising the discussion and questions about the nature of art, and its meaning, its value and its function such as; does this art look real?; how this make you feel?; what kind of shapes do you see?; what the meaning of this artwork?; what the artist ideas or concept through this work?; and what is the purpose of this artwork in society?; and raising many philosophical questions, so that the answer leads us to differentiate between art and other aspects of human production, and to identify the differences between them, which resulted in developing standards for the evaluation of art and judgment of artwork (Carritt, 2016).

Aesthetic questioning is a valuable student experience, encouraging careful and logical thought about everyday experiences and teaching to evaluate different points of view. Classrooms that encourage guided questioning promote multiple viewpoints about the artwork. The inquiry method can have some advantages over a lecture format, by helping students to be more active rather than passive learners and by allowing multiple perceptions to be brought into the curricula. Guided questioning ensures that the language and terms are appropriate for the age or ability levels, and promotes cooperation and teamwork in finding answers for artistic problems. More advantages to the use of inquiry can be the broader range of meanings that are achieved by analysis, frequently more diverse than that of an individual (Granger, 2016).

The benefits of using aesthetic questioning include positive self-esteem, group cohesiveness, and students respect themselves and each other as artists. A curriculum that provides for aesthetics will enhance the opportunities for teachers to provide students with in-depth experience in visual art, offering the typical student a chance to acquire expressive skills through progressive instruction. These forms of instruction enable all students to produce artworks that have aesthetic merit. As students develop artistic skills at various levels of achievement; they can use what they have learned to create works that possess greater artistic value (Loudermilk, 2002).

As a result of teaching aesthetic in art education curricula, students will learn about the aesthetic of different cultures, explore the possibilities of describing and classifying aesthetic phenomena and discuss all possible interpretations of the artwork without the prior knowledge about the artist. Through aesthetic education, the students will develop a aesthetic perception such as experience, evaluating, creating and expressing the beauty, developing the aesthetic sense for proportion and beautiful, developing a relationship towards nature in an interpersonal relationship (Granger, 2016).

5.2.1 Aesthetic Teaching Objectives

The objectives of teaching aesthetic through art education curricula are to:

- 1) Notice the beautiful and aesthetic qualities such as natural wonders, shades, shapes, and pictures.
- 2) Induce a feeling of excitement such as joy and optimism.

- 3) Develop the foundation for aesthetic judgment and evaluating aesthetic qualities.
- 4) Develop a sense of aesthetic values.
- 5) Create aesthetic values in everyday life.

5.2.2 Entries for Teaching Aesthetic

- 1) Method of philosophical aesthetics: This technique is based on studying thinkers' opinions of aesthetics and tracking the aesthetics evolution over time, and this can be considered as an appropriate method to teach aesthetics through art education and compatible with curricula and teaching methods in general education.
- 2) Aesthetic search method: This method is taught to obtain the logical and mental facts contained in the artworks such as the power of meaning, and its ability to convince the connoisseur
- 3) Way of experience and perception of aesthetics: which transforming the aesthetics theories into practices and activities to improve student harmony, as art can provide them with a unique and profound experiences based on the perception of visual and tangible values, as well as the development of skills, which enhance a person's ability to respond aesthetically to different contexts (Bilir-Seyhan, 2018).
- 4) Students select images from an internet site, and they will write about those images by using critical and aesthetic observation, they will share responses with other students.
- 5) Students will use actual artworks, or images of artworks, and discuss the differences between recognizing objects and seeing them from the aesthetic viewpoint. Ask students to describe an artwork and its style, use similarities and differences between artworks to discuss their techniques.
- 6) Each student will have a list of art vocabulary words and questions that he/she can use to conduct an aesthetic discussion.
- 7) Students will study in details and identify historical artwork, they will define the subject and its nature, and they will interrogate its nature and origins.

When applying DBAE in art education curriculum, students can study the aesthetics of different cultures, explore the possibilities of describing and classifying aesthetic phenomena and discuss all possible interpretations of the artwork. For example, they can discuss any artwork without the prior knowledge about the artist.

5.2.3 Aesthetic Outcomes Learning

After studying the aesthetic education through art curriculum, the student will be able to:

- 1) Gain the self- esteem, self-respect, and mutual respect.
- 2) Challenge by asking open-ended questions.
- 3) Express himself in new and different ways.
- 4) Learn the sharing insights with the teacher, classmates, and others.
- 5) Learn how to look and notice the beautiful things.
- 6) Participate in activities that will develop his/her creative abilities.
- 7) Appreciate the art and the artists' achievements.
- 8) Understand something as a whole by combining mind, emotion, experience, analysis, cognition and sensory.

5.3 Art Criticism

Art criticism is talking about art verbally or in a written form. One of the scholars of this theory, Elliott Eisner, described the importance of art criticism in schools and he stated that the future of research plane in the field of art education is unacceptable without the careful study and description, interpretation, and evaluation of what happens in the real world in classrooms (Schabmann et al., 2015). The sixties of this century was the beginning of interest in the teaching of art criticism within the curricula of art education in the United States when a seminar on art criticism held at the University of Ohio in 1966. This seminar had a significant impact on teaching the art criticism within the curriculum of art education at the secondary education level. The aim of the seminar was as an invitation to make the history of art and its philosophy as the center for teaching art criticism to students at the American high school levels.

Art criticism in art education is to enable learners to learn the right ways to talk about artworks through discussions and dialogues between teachers and students in the classroom. The art concepts and terminologies are used to describe, interpret, and analysis works that provide students with an art culture to understand the aesthetics of the

work and criticizes it. Day and Hurwitz (2012) defines art criticism as the art of analyzing and evaluating any approach of art with justification. They explained the purpose of art criticism is to educate students on aesthetics, appreciation, and evaluation of the artwork while facilitating analysis and critical thinking. Blackmon (2015) in her research about art criticism, and how it applied in the classroom, she presented seven types of art criticism; Feldman method 1970, Broudy method 1972, Lankford method 1984, Anderson method 1988, feminist conversation method (1970s), Modernism theory (late 19th century), and postmodernism (late 20th century). Blackmon (2015) clarified that Feldman method is the more widely accepted method in the classroom. This method follows four stages in order, namely, description, analysis, interpretation, and judgment.

This method of art criticism allows students to look at themselves opinions and personal feeling about an artwork. It also will enable students with no prior knowledge of art to evaluate and critique an artwork based on the principles and the elements of art and design (Eskine & Kozbe, 2015).

5.3.1 Art Criticism Teaching Objectives

The objectives of teaching art criticism through art education curricula are to:

- 1) Provide students with the experiences that help to form their aesthetic perceptions.
- 2) Developing the observation skills, love of knowledge and creative thinking.
- 3) Educate students to look at the beauty and make them behave aesthetically.
- 4) Develop the analytical capacity associated with the application of aesthetic standards, and highlight the artwork contents from the discussion objectively.
- 5) Express his/her opinion and accept other opinions.
- 6) Help the student to solve other learning problems through his/her study.
- 7) Develop the aesthetic sensitivity of learners.

5.3.2 Entries for Teaching Art Criticism

Teaching art criticism through art education curricula, students know that they will learn the methods of description, interpretation, analysis, and issuance of judgments. The evaluation will be through making differentiation and comparison between good and bad art and makes their final decision based on specific criteria. The following suggestion activities can be adapted for use with a less experienced student by simplifying the vocabulary and discussion questions.

- 1) Students will use actual artwork, and they will be asked to look carefully and examine the work by asking aesthetic questions and analyze various aspects of art, such as style, shape, color, media, texture, balance, harmony, and the relations between the composition elements. The teacher will lead the group discussion and encourage all class members to participate and to use their imagination to evaluate the artwork.
- 2) The teacher will display some artworks as an example and ask students to make a choice and examine whether he/she likes or dislike the art piece of their choice with identifying the negative and positive aspects that led to the judgment, based on the principles and elements of visual art and design.
- 3) Each student will conduct a peer evaluation through describing, analyzing, interpret and evaluate other student work in writing. Each student will get to see what other students have written about their work.
- 4) Students are given a work of art to critique by writing if they believe the work is successful or not and why. The teacher asks some aesthetic questions to elicit descriptive, analytical, and interpretive statements from the student.

5.3.3 Art Criticism Outcomes Learning

After studying the art criticism through art curriculum, the student will be able to:

- 1) Justify their opinions during decision-making.
- 2) Have the opportunity to develop his/her speaking skills by exchanging feedback with their classmates.
- 3) Realize what kind of art pleases most people.
- 4) Have skills such as artistic, linguistic and social skills that contribute positively to his/her character.
- 5) Develop their critical, self-reliant, problem solving, self-esteem and creativity through judgment.
- 6) Perceive and think critically and gaining experience from artworks language.
- 7) Realize the multiple views of judging and experiencing an artwork, and they overcome their prior opinion.

- 8) Acquire diagnostic and investigative skills as well as the methods of analysis and interpretation.
- 9) Analyze the formal, technical, stylistic, compositional characteristics of works of art.

6. Possibilities of Implementing the DBAE Theory in Jordan Art Education Curricula

Within general education in Jordan, the curricula of art education are taught at all levels, but this curriculum did not raise the topics that lead the students' comprehensive development through their growth levels and have not developed according to the modern art education theories. This lack led to a decline in the level of learning outputs among students in art history, aesthetics, criticism and artistic production.

Implementing the DBAE in public education in Jordan will be an integrated approach to teaching art education because the DBAE theory will lead them to the comprehensive development regarding developing students' cognitive, sense, emotional aspects, artistic skills and aesthetic experience. Teaching these aspects will reflect on student's personality and their abilities to think creatively as well as using the DBAE skills in other sciences through their study levels.

It became imperative reviewing the teaching strategies and practices of art curricula in Jordanian formal school to develop the art education learning outcomes. From this point of view, the researcher proposes to include the DBAE paradigm in Jordan art education since this theory proved its effectiveness in the United States of America and other countries who were involved with the DBAE approach, because of its focus on the comprehensive development of the student. The researcher believes that the DBAE with its components is applicable in the curricula of Jordanian art education at form schools, because of their methodological divisions and the abundance of studies, references and planning methods presented by researchers in this field. Therefore, it is easy to apply this theory to the curricula of art education in Jordan for the following reasons:

- 1) The DBAE theory is a systematic theory divided into four disciplines (art production, art history, aesthetics, and art criticism). So there is a possibility of planing the four disciplines in different formats, which leads to the adoption and implementation of these approaches in public education, universities, and art schools, to teach students the art education in the required comprehensive manner. Also, it is like other theories taught in the other sciences, and its applications will be easy for art education teachers.
- 2) DBAE theory is consistent with the other methods used in teaching, providing the teacher with a theoretical material enriching the theoretical side while teaching the art education curriculum as well as a knowledge source for students.
- 3) Availability of some studies, references and translated books that teacher can use to provide art education classes based on this theory. In addition to benefiting from a large number of educators and academics who studied this trend in-depth.
- 4) The possibility to write a curriculum in general formulations to content, so that teaching art education based on the sequence of each grade level, as well as the successive stages and grades, which suit the student's age and the technical characteristics at each level.
- 5) The possibility of developing an academic textbook for art education that focuses on the four main fields as mentioned above, which includes lessons and successive activities in educational units and experiences that raise the interest of students in arts and the desire to study them.
- 6) Due to the comprehensiveness of this theory in developing an integrated personality of the student, it will give the art education approach an educational and professional dimension that will attract students and make them interested in art and other artistic skills. Moreover, this theory will have a tremendous educational impact on students' future regarding the development of cognitive, skills and emotional aspects.
- 7) The emphasis on teaching art education on the practical side makes adopting DBAE teaching theory a necessity for comprehensive development, such as how to issue judgment, analysis, and interpretation that lead to the individual cognitive integration.
- 8) The possibility of teaching art education to all students with different abilities. Not just those who show talent in their artistic production. This trend also cares for students with special needs, provides them with the instructions in the field of art, and helps them learn at various levels.

DBAE with its four disciplines must receive sufficient support from the Ministry of Education, educators, school principals, and those interested in curriculum development, in addition to the rehabilitation of art education teachers, and clarification of the objectives on which this theory is based on society as well. Besides, it is necessary to create an appropriate educational environment that provides the studios, equipment, materials, and tools for the learner.

7. Conclusion

The curricula of art education in Jordan is mainly a studio-oriented art, though without a guideline, and it's almost devoid of contemporary artistic trends or theories especially in the public primary and secondary schools. Studio-oriented art education alone is not adequate to the needs of a multicultural society undergoing rapid change and requiring various types of input and a variety of viewpoint. Therefore, it became imperative to reconsider and improve the art education curriculum informal Jordanian schools and introduce a consistent body of knowledge, which is represented by the discipline-based art education theory (DBAE).

DBAE theory is a comprehensive approach to teaching and learning art since it is characterized with teaching art in its social, cultural, and historical context. Many educationists have viewed DBAE framework as Eisner, Greer, Barkan, Gilbert, Smoke and others to be the leading framework and the most recommended effective approach in the teaching and learning art internationally, because it integrates the studio work with the theoretical and contextual studies that includes the disciplines of art production, aesthetics, history of art, and criticism.

The DBAE theory is applicable and compatible with the current mode of learning and teaching art in Jordan because it is a comprehensive and systematic theory divided into four disciplines which is possible to be planned in a different format. It's consistent with the other methods used in teaching, the availability of educators, references, and translated articles and books about the theory, the availability of a suitable environment for the theory application.

It must be noted that art subject at schools is no less important than science, math or another school subject. Therefore, art shouldn't be taught without a guideline. Visual art curriculum should be a formal written curriculum developed for all grades levels, and it should be structured sequentially, and evaluated systematically to assess the program effectiveness and student's achievement. Considering that the DBAE in art education concerns all students, not only the gifted, it is advisable to provide the art education classes in the form of instructions that take into consideration the individual differences among the students.

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Leaving Home: Yemeni Students Discuss Study Abroad Migration

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Abstract

The decision to migrate for educational purposes is often stressful, but for those leaving countries embroiled in major warring conflicts, the decision may be overshadowed by feelings of sadness, anger and loss. And for many, the ostensible purpose of migration - education, is overshadowed by the desire or need to leave for economic and security reasons. In such situations, migrants hope they can power through those negative feelings and emerge successful, and with familial honor intact. The narrative weapon used to defeat negative feelings are stories of pride and resourcefulness. In this study Yemeni students studying at a university in Guangdong Province, China were interviewed concerning their decisions to leave Yemen. Participants were between 20 and 30 years old: all were male. Most hailed from Aden or Sana'a or areas adjacent to those major cities and all aligned themselves with pre-1990 South Yemen, as described by their fathers. Narrative analysis revealed a striking similarity: stories of hopeful future redemption through economic opportunities found abroad. Indeed, participants revealed a consuming desire for economic success - an obligation that was energized by feelings of pride in being trusted with custodial duties of familial honor. The results are discussed qualitatively in terms of categorical content and episodic form. This study is limited in that it only includes Yemeni males aligned with pre-1990 South Yemen, and those who hail from Sana'a, Aden or nearby urban centers. Future studies should include women, and those who encompass wider political views and reside in rural areas.

Keywords: Yemeni Migrants, Narrative Inquiry, Content Analysis, Episodic Form Analysis

1. Introduction

Yemen has a long standing tradition of vibrant trade relations in the Middle East, and more recently in Europe and Asia; this has continued to the present time and provides historical underpinnings for migration. Throughout the 17th and 18th centuries India, Iran, Britain and Holland moved coffee, tea and spices through the port of Mocha, a major trading hub and tax collection point for sea traffic from the Middle East, to Europe from the 16th to the 18th centuries (Gopal, 2016). Yemeni traders opened up overland trade routes to Jeddah, avoiding the shallow waters, adverse winds and pirates that sometimes came with routes through the Red Sea. At the beginning of the last century, in the waning days of the Ottoman Empire, the crushing weight of violence and poverty contributed to negotiations in a new era of trade reforms in the Middle East. Yemen stood at the edge of these trade reforms, with Aden, governed as part of British India, standing at the junctures of communication and transportation between the Suez Canal, Mumbai and Zanzibar. A new wave of technology and construction brought about through the Hejaz Railway, running from Medina to Damascus, along with the Suez Canal, facilitated trade and the spread of Yemeni culture north through the region and into Eastern Asia (Blumi, 2003). This leap into modernity engendered a deep cultural crisis.

Cultural and historical forces leading to the dislocation and uprootedness of entire populations in late modernity have, to an extent, lead to a crisis in psycho-social identity. Hammack (2008) believes that identity is formed by cognitive, social and cultural phenomenon that together "are manifest in a personal narrative constructed and reconstructed across the life course, and scripted in and through social interaction and social practice" (pp. 222-225). Such narratives often reveal "contested collective meaning [whereby] individuals may be motivated to adopt an identity that preserves a sense of ontological security that minimizes existential anxiety" (pp. 222-225). The strength of that motivation is influenced by psycho-social necessity, often accompanied by a personal need to find fulfillment through education or work. In the case of individuals struggling through personal or social disruption, a change of physical surroundings from areas of social upheaval to areas of relative tranquility, accompanied by hopes of future financial wellbeing may enable not only minimization of anxiety, but bring

renewed hope for a meaningful and rewarding future: enrolling in study abroad programs is the initial route many select.

Educational migration has traditionally flowed from less-developed to more highly developed countries; from the educational periphery to the educational center (Altbach, 2007). Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development numbers indicate an overall increase in migrant students from about 3 million in 2005, to about 4.5 million in 2015, with 73% (2015) studying in OECD countries, primarily the European Union, the United States, the United Kingdom and France. Students from Asia accounted for 53% of study abroad students, and of those, 22% hailed from China, the largest share among reporting countries. China is unique in that its acceptance of foreign students has also been rising dramatically, from approximately 250,000 in 2009 to 442,000 in 2016, over 2% of the world's tertiary international student population (OECD, 2016). China has become both the largest supplier of foreign students in the world, and the 2nd largest destination for foreign university students, after Japan, in Asia. Indeed, China's Ministry of Education, in 2015, proposed raising the then number of international students in the country from 398,000 to 500,000 by 2020 (Wen & Hu, 2018). According to the Ministry of Education (2018), it has largely succeeded in that goal, with 489,000 as of 2017.

Many of these students hail from areas of disadvantage, relative to China, and this situation is likely to continue. Given this increase in student migration, China's educational systems are likely to come under increasing strain due to psycho-social, cross-cultural, and financial life goals of foreign students. There is a dearth of research concerning psycho-social stresses of Yemeni university students in China. A crucial preliminary step in mitigating potential conflict is to understand the backgrounds of migrant students; the current narrative study contributes toward that first step.

Although Yemeni students make up a very small percentage of the international student population in China they disproportionately come from chaotic societal and educational environments. Indeed, between 2015 and 2018 half a million high school students dropped out of school, in a country where less than 50% of eligible primary/high school aged students are actually enrolled. That dropout rate rose to 2 million in 2018 in part due to a lack of teachers; 67% of public school teachers have not been paid for two years, causing a dramatic teacher exodus (UNICEF, 2018). Fewer than 10 percent of students who graduate from high school pursue university education. In 1997 there were about 53,000 students in Yemen's seven universities, but through massive government expenditure and promotion that had risen to about 185,000 by 2006 (The World Bank, 2008). The ongoing war has caused a reversal of that trend, with the World Bank describing the near future economic prospects as "grim" (The World Bank, 2015, p. 15), and contributing to a rapid decline in the economy, with a knock on effect in tertiary education. A study by Mohammad Al Soofi, a professor of education at Sana'a University found that dozens of university buildings have been completely destroyed due to the war. Professors have not been paid in months, most students cannot pay fees, and dropout rates in 2018 were about 50% (Darem, 2018). Many students who are financially able to consider university realize that their educational and job prospects are likely enhanced by overseas study.

China has been increasing its placements and scholarships for Yemeni students. In 2010 it initiated its "Study in China Program", encouraging Yemeni, and other international students, to consider China as an educational destination. That program was further propelled by the country's drive in educational development through the aggressive "Double First Class" initiatives begun in 2015 (Peters & Besley, 2018). This has resulted in increased enrollment of foreign students, many from developing countries, including Yemen.

2. Narrative Inquiry

Lodi-Smith, Philipe and Houle (2016) suggest that individual's life stories ought to be understood as core elements of personality that are associated with psycho-social well-being; narratives provide clear predictors of contentment which includes satisfaction and success in chosen endeavors. Importantly, they stress that the creation of meaning from narratives assists in the formation of personal identity, thereby assisting in the creation of a sense of purpose.

Roxana Waterson (2007) believes that narrative methodology is a greatly under-utilized research tool within the social sciences, due in part to the fuzziness concerning how to present and analyze records of personal historical experiences; perception is fuzzy and open to wide interpretation. Nevertheless, having engaged in narrative methodology for over 40 years, she believes its strength and weakness are one in the same, lying in the uniqueness of personal voice - usually multiplied countless times by those who have gone through similar experiences. In countries such as Yemen where it is common for individuals, even of a relatively young age, to have lived through several distinct regimes with conflicting requirements, lives become fractured by competing values and alliances. Narrative inquiry, at its core, is concerned with revealing these fractures and how they have

impacted individuals.

While in the early years of narrative data collection there was a preoccupation with identifying ‘typical’ lives (e.g. Malinowski’s study of spiritualist practitioners (Note 1), that rationale has been augmented. Hoskins (2007) feels that, even within a homogeneous society, it is the uniqueness of perspectives, or engagement with the breadth of perspectives that provides insight, and that this breadth of perspective may be demonstrated in a variety of ways, which the narrative researcher should be aware of when collecting and analyzing data. Some of these include genre, the politics of public and personal memory, and views/remembrances that oppose those considered historically accurate.

Genre may include songs, poems, storytelling, acting or reference to objects held or discussed by participants. Heirlooms, weapons - especially if used in combat, and articles of personal religious significance are sometimes used as a focus for discussion. Often discussion centers on the perceived life quality enhancement, or the ability to triumph over adversity that the object has afforded the participant. Hoskins (2007) advises that personal triumph against adversary - “the Horatio Alger story genre in American culture, where a young hero strives against adversity to achieve fame and fortune” (p. 93), occasionally surfaces in personal narratives. In terms of the politics of memory, Hoskins (2007) indicates that researchers should be aware of the sometimes quickly changing features of societal power relations and the effect that these may have (or not have) on the relaying of events. This is particularly important where participants futures may be influenced by governments or cultures sensitive to adverse comments. Individual experiences and views do not necessarily represent what is often taken to be the wider historically accepted view of events. Hoskins (2007) draws our attention to the fact that one can experience success and prosperity in the midst of cultural deprivation and chaos. Such narratives serve to highlight the uniqueness of individual lives.

Polkinghorne (1988) describes the ideal narrative as a “gathering of events into a meaningful story ... through which life events are conjoined into coherent, meaningful, unified themes” (pp. 126, 131). He points out that narration should be more than simply a recording of events; or more even than a recording of events with analysis. It is the creation of personal identity, the construction of events, and perhaps most importantly, the allocation of merit or noteworthiness. Clandinin and Connelly’s (2000) simply put truism provides the grounding: “Why narrative? Because experience” (p. 50). Clandinin and Connelly (1994), expanding on Dewey’s belief that narratives must be contextualized within situation, continuity and interaction, feel that narratives should also reach inward to our hopes, feelings, aesthetic and moral values; in effect establishing the locus of identity control, as well as extending outwards, affecting the reader and in so doing create the possibility for social transformation. Narratives are bound to memory and are thus temporal, just as they are bound to place. While economic, political and social forces have come together at a given place and time to make migration the clear alternative for those living through upheaval, those forces always bring about discontinuity, dislocation and uprootedness. They strain relationships and tests moral values. Economic and social injustices often precipitate. Common memory, revealed through narratives of time and place, reveal injustices and form catalysts for the embarkation into new lifeways designed to recapture agency, relocating it within the individual, a process “likely to invoke strident forms of reawakening” (Niezen, 2004, p. 40).

The examples below illustrate themes of disruptive pasts, negotiation with family members, searching for independence through education and work, and developing possibilities for future education and employment. These themes dominated participant discussions, and were placed within past, present and future timeframes. The written narratives in the remainder of this paper are authentic. Word choice and grammatical changes have been made only when clarification is necessary.

3. Method

I employ a social-constructivist narrative approach to data collection. Such inductive methodologies are utilized to avoid the binary dichotomies typically found in positivist statistical research. People’s storied lives become prominent: we imagine a face, rather than see a statistic. Narrative data collection is often the method of choice when the researcher wishes to allow the participant maximum unrestricted expression, or when the participant might wish to control the direction of the interview. For example, Riessman (2015), and Morris (2017) allow participants the narrative latitude to discuss their end of life experiences while undergoing severe illness. Bury (2001) discusses how individuals lose personal identity when undergoing traumatic illness when subsumed into the bio-medical ‘grand narrative’. Gray (2001) investigates coping strategies of autistic teenagers and their parents in meeting the challenges of daily life. Clough (2002) and Murray (2010) utilize story-telling and narrative with adolescents suffering from family stress and breakdown. Brante (2012) investigates critical incidents among teachers in abhorrent working conditions, using narrative interviews. Gonzalez-Lopez (2015)

invokes narrative methodology to examine the effects of psycho-therapy used with adolescents suffering the after-effects of physical abuse. Klots (2011) uses narrative methodology in order to uncover the overt and hidden lives of migrants in the United States. Benish-Weissman (2009) uses narrative interviews as a starting point to discuss immigrant trauma among two dozen Soviet migrants in the Middle East. Martyn (2018a, 2018b) uses a narrative methodology in discussing social action planning in an educational setting among migrant workers in Asia.

Denzin (1989) describes narrative data collection as:

Tales of events that are significant for the narrator and his or her audience. A narrative as a story has a plot, a beginning, a middle and an end. It has internal logic that makes sense to the narrator. A narrative relates events to a temporal, causal sequence (p. 37).

Although narratives may progress from a beginning to an end, structurally, the story itself may follow no particular timeline. Indeed, it may flow forward, reverse, digress, and lurch forward again, uneasily. The narratives in this paper have no endings - they describe lives that are in transition; but transition does not imply limbo. In fact, the participants are moving forward, making plans, preparing for their new lives. Polkinghorne (1995) believes that narratives reveal those who are “attempting to progress to a solution, clarification, or the unravelling of an incomplete situation” (p. 7). Yemenis interviewed in this study certainly fall within that description.

Student assistants, designated by a department in a Guangdong China university, were contacted with requests to suggest a list of students that I could use as contact references. I had specifically asked for a listings of Yemeni students and the assistants supplied me with ‘Wechat’ contacts. Individual students were contacted and arrangements were made to interview them individually. We met either in a common space on the campus, or at a nearby café. Interviews were recorded and later transcribed with emergent themes and patterns noted. In thematic analysis emphasis lies in the events and their implications for the speaker. As such, ‘messy’ language is transformed to make it more readable, with care taken not to alter meaning.

Four typical cases are presented. This report focuses on the pre-departure events, attendant preparations concerning the decision to study abroad, and the inherent emotional turmoil involved. Aspects of the interviews involving adaptation to life in China, including successes, frustrations, and building new relationships; and how participants felt their time in China might affect their futures in terms of possible further study, work, family and relationships, will be covered in subsequent reports.

I used an approximation of “convergent interviewing” (Goodley, Lawthom, Clough, & Moore, 2004, p. 85) in order to organize our discussions into a chronological, biographical account and to allow participants maximum flexibility in answering questions. This was useful in that the interviews were conducted in English; I do not speak Yemeni, nor is my Putonghua adequate for interview purposes. When arranging the interviews some participants expressed concern that their English might not suffice (in fact, we had no difficulty communicating). We started with casual conversation, then moved into the three broad areas noted above, and within these broad areas, narrowed the discussion to specifics when appropriate.

Individuals and groups construct identities through storytelling. Storied construction of the self is necessarily fluid, whereby we are constantly in a fluctuating situation of “being” and “becoming” that varies in intensity and content throughout the storytelling process. There is an aspect of discursively constituted co-construction in interviews, whereby established meaning for the participant, and co-constructed meaning, is sometimes fluid. Riessman (2008) points out that the audience, or interviewer, exerts a crucial influence on this construction - on what can and cannot be said, what can be taken for granted and what needs explaining. In the case of international students there is the often unspoken understanding that they are in their host country as guests and must be respectful in all situations. This can, in some cases, cause a communication barrier - some things are left unsaid.

In transcribing the recordings, I followed Clough’s (2002) method of removing myself from conversations, except where a question prompt would add clarification or indicate a change of conversational direction. As in data collection, I employ qualitative analysis.

Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach and Zilber (1998) classify and organize narratives into two dimensions: holistic versus categorical, and content versus form. Holistic analysis examines life stories as a whole, with sections examined in light of the whole. For example, Clough (2002) examines social and learning disfunctions among youth in disadvantaged areas of England by examining general attitudes and behaviors. Goodley (2004) examines the lives of the cognitively disadvantaged, giving them a public voice with the hope of generating public dialogue

into their condition; the overall narrative provides insight into specific social disadvantage. Moore (2004) examines the life of a quadriplegic using holistic analysis, with the aim of improving the lives of future sufferers, and documents his decision to commit suicide. Categorical analysis, or traditional content analysis, subdivides text into micro sections - sentences, phrases, individual words which are examined. This is often undertaken to examine a phenomenon affecting a particular group of people. For example, Pavelko and Owens (2017) use sample utterances and grammatical analysis (SUGAR) to examine age related changes in children's abilities to cognitively transcribe and understand utterances. Ladefoged (1988) examines micro-utterances using the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) to determine voiced, bilabial and, nasal sounds for insights into the voiced production of English by non-native speakers.

In the current study I select portions of the transcribed narratives that exemplify emergent themes. Life decisions and rationales within these themes are then examined. Thus, categorical content analysis is well suited to the data.

Holistic analysis of form examines narratives in terms of their implied story construction; that is, it takes a literary approach to analysis. Gregen and Gregen (1986, 1988) believe that every story can be examined in terms of its plot and can be graphed in terms of progression, regression, stasis or a combination, by examining issues that include hopes for the future, setbacks, illness, wellness, relationships, birth, death and new beginnings. In their book *Narrative Means to Therapeutic Ends*, White and Epston (1990) take the view that narratives may be used in aid of reassessment of a participants life view, for example from victim of circumstance to hero of his or her own life story. Their view reflects that of, Becker (1971, 1973), who believes that self-esteem acts as an anxiety buffer, deflecting the horror of complete self-awareness, by allowing us to become our own hero. Heroic self-esteem mitigates the lethargy and lack of life-control brought about by negative life circumstances. On the other hand, categorical analysis of form examines the complexity of description and arguments - in particular the inconsistencies, inaccuracies or illogical reasoning that may be found in narratives. Linde (1993) describes categorical-form analysis focusing on stylistic or linguistic characteristics - issues such as types of metaphors used and frequency of passive versus active utterances.

In this paper I examine emerging trends in the participants language from the perspective of a modified holistic form analysis - episodic form, which looks at emotional content. This content is then graphed to indicate changes in positive and negative emotion during our conversation.

But it is important to point out that there is much overlap between dimensions. Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach and Zilber (1998) caution us not to be overly didactic in applying analysis as, "the separation of 'whole' from 'category' is, in reality, not clearer than that between 'content' and 'form'" (p. 169).

4. Analysis

4.1 Jaden: Pre-Departure

Jaden's (Note 2) family considered sending him abroad since he turned 18, three years ago. Jaden recalled the event that led to their commitment to his life progress.

McAdams et al. (1997) refers to stories that move progressively toward more situationally and emotionally negative conditions as 'contamination' sequences, while those that take a more positive upward note are referred to as 'redemption' sequences. Such sequences are typically graphed to provide a visual reference. Lieblich et al. (1998) also visually represent sequences that cause an upward, downward or irregular pattern to stories. In my analysis I graph the episodic form, the highs and lows of emotional content present in the telling of the story.

Jaden began our conversation with a dramatic remembrance of waking up early one morning to the sound of exploding bombs. In recounting this, his voice was pitched and his arm and hand gestures animated. This settled into a resignation that, even if the war did not last long, the economic damage would take decades to repair. This contamination sequence was moderated by a more nuanced discussion of Jaden's childhood and his exuberance and pride when discussing his educational achievements, and the unmistakable pride he took in his city and family. The discussion of his missed opportunity to study in France fluctuated between pride, at his educational achievements, and a feeling that, even though studying in France was no longer possible, he had found a way forward through migration to China - a redemptive ending. The progression of Jaden's narrative episodes are graphed below.

Table 1. Jaden: Pre-departure Analysis

Transcribed Text	Specific Content	
1. Imagine the bullets and missiles are falling all around. Imagine the things that will happen. It's horrible.	Categorical Content	Episodic Form
2. My father didn't have a good study background. He only went to the 6 th grade so he used to work selling tickets for the cinema, selling magazines or newspapers. He works as a chef. My duty is to improve the situation of our family. I owe that to my father.	¹ bullets/missiles ² father's work ³ economic stagnation	¹ fear ^{2,10} familial duty
3. The economy has really stagnated. It was much better before 1990, when North and South Yemen united.	⁴ civil war	
4. After 4 years there was war because people in the south wanted to go solo. The north won. I had to leave.		⁵ distrust
5. I heard rumors that the former president of Yemen sold some of our land to Saudi Arabia when the war started. They're just rumors, but its actually believable.	⁵ rumours of corruption	
6. Life in Sana'a was good when I was a kid. The best life; educated people, urban. It's the biggest city in Yemen, with city life. The city is beginning to rot now, along with people's lives.	⁶ good city life turned to rot	⁶ anger, fear ^{6,7,8} pride of place, duty of protection
7. But Old Sana'a is untouched. There are no [construction] projects in the Old City because the buildings were made to last. They are hundreds of years old and protected from the war by the surrounding buildings. But my father's home is just outside the old city. It seems safe for now.	^{7,8} old city protected for now	
8. Yemeni people are really proud of their cities, where they live. They must protect them. They would be very upset if Old Sana'a is damaged.		
9. In primary and high school I was one of the top students in the country. If I get 90 in final high school exam that is considered very good, but I got 96.22.		^{9,10} pride of self
10. The expectation is for me to study abroad. I have 7 brothers and sisters and only I can do this. It is my obligation.	⁹ top student	¹¹ broken dream, contamination
11. I almost had a scholarship to France. Each year Total Oil Company offers scholarships to high school graduates who get over 90%. I got 96.22 so I was one of the accepted students. They arranged an interview time. But that was the starting time of the Houthi rebellion going inside the capital city. And the French embassy was the first embassy to close. So I waited for some time to see what would happen, you know maybe the rebellion would end and the embassy reopen, but actually it didn't, and the fighting got worse and worse, so I had to decide on another country. My father told me I could go to China, so I came here.	¹⁰ familial expectation ¹¹ scholarship to France	¹¹ the way forward



Figure 1. Jaden: Episodic Form

4.2 Nadheer: Pre-Departure

Nadheer discussed the need to utilize his training in accounting, for the benefit of his family.

Nadheer immediately drew attention to the war, but unlike Jaden, he did not indicate personal experience with the conflict. His concern centered around how the war had affected the economy and his father's future in clothing design and wholesale. Family duty, and in particular patriarchal duty, was considered very important for all participants. Nadheer clearly viewed his father as a source of inspiration and leadership both artistically and through business - a business that after 20 years was destroyed. Nadheer believed it his duty to assist in rebuilding that business, and regarded the conflicting political aspirations with disdain. That disdain grew as he continued to consider how his father's financial future was being destroyed.

Table 2. Nadheer: Pre-Departure Analysis

Transcribed Text	Specific Content	
1. Nowadays in Taizz there is some war, some trouble. Many of the shops have closed.	Categorical Content	Episodic Form
2. I was in an international school; did my Cambridge exams. I was concentrating on business and hoped to work for my father, to become his accountant one day. Sadly, impossible at the time.	¹ some war, some trouble ² studied business	^{2,3} crushed hopes ^{3,5,6,7,8} pride in father
3. When my father was young he studied clothing design, then opened his own retail shop and eventually started selling wholesale. That was my desire also, but again I was prevented.	³ father studied clothing design ⁴ artistic aspects of design	⁴ pleasure of recall
4. He still works in clothing design, and loves the artistic aspects of design - you know, the entire presence of any person, man or woman, can be altered by a simple design element.	⁵ father's design	^{5,6} duty and desire to help father
5. My father was very aware of the impressions particular clothing designs bring out.	knowledge	⁷ hope for the future
6. It is my duty and my desire to help my father in his design work but I am very good with numbers.	⁶ very good with numbers	⁸ anxiety for future
7. I think accounting is where I can really assist his business.	⁷ accounting	⁹ conflicts of national loyalty
8. Most of the big traders in Taizz bought from my father. He had a successful business for about 20 years. But then the war came - we lost so much. Now I don't know.	⁸ success and loss	
9. Taizz has suffered so much because of its location. You know, it is not firmly in the south or the north but sits between the two locations. So we have citizens who say, "oh, we must be with the south because it is progressive." And we have citizens who say, "no, it is the north that needs our assistance." This is really terrible. You need to keep quiet and mind your own business. But how can you make progress living like that.	⁹ how can you make progress ¹⁰ power, wealth, infrastructure	^{9,10,12,13} anger
10. The main thing is power and wealth. People in the north feel they lack political power.	¹² Houthis looking to control	¹¹ pride of place
11. The south has the oil and the seaports and better infrastructure. The south was developed under the British and later under the Soviets, so it was comparatively well off. Aden is a British built port, and from there you can control shipping throughout the Middle East. That is where the economic power lies.	^{12,13} foreign power involvement	
12. The Houthis, mostly in the north, try to get power from Iran. They are really looking to control the entire country, even though they are just a small minority.	^{11,13,14} financial disaster	
13. Saudi Arabia's involvement in this issue is causing a financial headache.		
14. You can't progress while you live in Yemen. It has been a financial disaster for my father.		¹⁴ concern for father

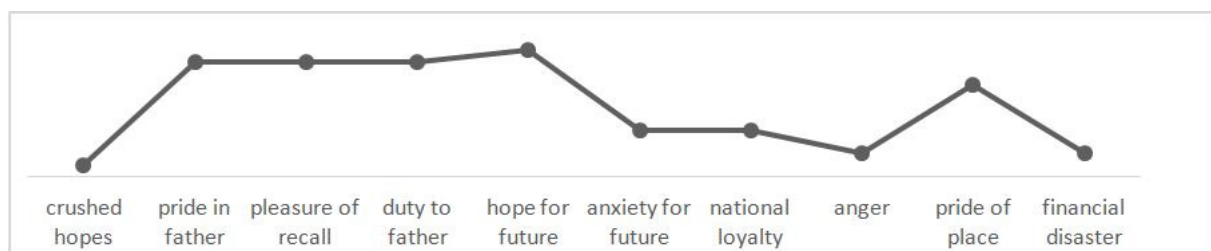


Figure 2. Nadheer: Episodic Form

4.3 Yasser: Pre-Departure

Yasser discussed intolerable regressive national manipulation by politicians, leaving departure the only option for personal progress.

Yasser's recollections went from sadness to anger as he considered how the past prosperity of his home city, Aden, had been destroyed by those from the former North Yemen. He regarded the development potential of North Yemen as very low, and believed it would be a financial burden to those in the south, and especially Aden, which he regarded as a previously "wonderful city". He feared that the country would never regain its pre-1990 prosperity. When discussing Aden, his fathers and his uncles, Yasser exhibited a great deal of pride, exemplified by his father's trust and reliance, manifest in the words, "you are a man, so you do it"!

Table 3. Yasser: Pre-Departure Analysis

Transcribed Text	Specific Content	Episodic Form
1. Aden was a very prosperous city before 1990, when North and South Yemen united. Northern Yemen wished to unite because of the oil in the south. Before 1990 the south was prosperous, with only 2 or 3 million people, compared to 18 million in the north.	Categorical Content ¹ pre-war prosperity ² now we've got shit	^{1,6} sadness ^{2,3,6,7} anger
2. We had socialism supported by the Soviet Union and a better quality of life - good healthcare, good education, strong economy with good salary. Now we've got shit.		
3. Can you imagine what happens when you let 18 million barbarians into a small prosperous area with only 3 million?	³ 18 million barbarians ⁴ past opportunities	
4. My father got scholarship to Russia. He was there 8 years and got a master's degree in Aircraft Engineering. He was just a guy from the countryside, but he had that opportunity.	⁵ British built Aden into a wonderful city	⁴ pride in father ⁵ pride in city
5. Our colonizers were British. They built Aden into a wonderful city.	⁶ wars, inflation, poverty	⁵ admiration for colonizers
6. Our present life situation and education came from after 1990. We didn't find any good situation for the whole country. It's just like wars, inflation, poverty.	⁷ manipulated by politicians	
7. The Yemeni people are being manipulated by politicians.	⁸ uncles studied abroad.	
8. I have 7 uncles. Five of them studied outside: Russia, Germany, Bulgaria, Cuba. They all live abroad now. I majored in accounting. I'm an accountant. My mother don't want me to go abroad but my father say, 'you are a man, so you do it!' My father tell me that the family's future is in China, and we can study and work here together.	'You are a man, so you do it!'	⁸ pride in father and uncles



Figure 3. Yasser: Episodic Form

4.4 Hussein: Pre-Departure

Hussein discussed the need to avoid financial ruin and find economic stability, which has required a transient lifestyle for his family.

Hussein began by commenting on his father's decision to relocate the family to Saudi Arabia, 26 years ago. He believed this was a momentous and brave decision, taken to avert financial catastrophe - and even more auspicious, given that his mother was pregnant with him at the time. Hussein exhibited a very high degree of admiration for his father, particularly in his father's tenacity in earning a living, no matter what the situation, or where he had to go to succeed. When Hussein discussed political and economic situations that threatened the family, these seemed to serve as vehicles by which he could interject comments about the resourcefulness of his elder male relatives.



Figure 4. Hussein: Episodic Form

Table 4. Hussein: Pre-Departure Analysis

Transcribed Text	Specific Content
1. I live in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia. I have been there my whole life. Actually, my father began looking into a move to Saudi Arabia about 40 years ago.	Categorical Content ¹ father took family to Saudi Arabia
2. No matter how you build your business up, it might crash down in one month's time.	^{1,2} trust in father ² financial
3. My father's business in Saudi Arabia is doing well now.	² it might crash down
4. My whole family move there 26 years ago. At that time my mother was pregnant with me.	³ father's business doing well
5. My father and uncle are in the clothing business together. They move to wherever they get the best price; Thailand, Indonesia, Turkey and now China. You buy here, you sell there. That's why I'm in China.	³ father's business doing well ⁴ mother was pregnant with me
6. The border was very open. But that has changed dramatically. The Yemeni and Saudi markets are more separate with guards stopping and searching, stopping and searching, taking anything that they do not want you to carry across. In this situation a decision has to be made: Should we remain in our home country or live across the border. We cannot easily have it both ways.	⁴ mother was pregnant with me ⁵ move wherever they get best price ⁶ remain in our home country or live across the border?
7. When we had North Yemen and South Yemen the economic situation was much more stable. South Yemen is rich in oil resources, North Yemen rich in agriculture. They complemented each other, but of course South Yemen was much richer. But when the countries united in 1990 it created havoc, leading to the civil war in 1994. The military leaders from the north killed many of the leaders in the south. At that point the Houthis, with money from Iran, instigated a complete rebellion to take control of the country.	⁷ pride in father ⁴ perilous trip ^{5,6} pride in male resourcefulness ⁷ anger ⁷ civil war havoc ⁷ involvement of Iran

5. Discussion

Yemen has a vibrant centuries old history of trade throughout the near and middle east and reaching into China and the far east in more recent times. Historic trade routes along with their associated economic concerns have recently been severely disrupted, leading to economic and social turmoil, limiting education and casting families into unknown futures. Families undergoing anxiety brought about by dislocation and uprootedness will often seek future-affirming steps which at least appear to offer hope in times of chaos. Such hopes often reside with older male children who become custodians of the family's future.

Although migration for education or work has typically flowed from less-developed to highly developed countries, procedures are long, cumbersome and offer no certainty. For Yemeni students, China offers a swifter, more cost-effective alternative with good alignment in terms of trade.

Yemeni students at a university in Guangdong Province discussed aspects of their lives, propelling them to seek education in China. In discussions they often exhibited the highs and lows of individuals undergoing rapid shifts in living arrangements and cultural adjustments. These are visually represented in episodic form graphs, which present attitudes and emotional expressions which change from moment to moment depending on the subject under discussion. Jaden began his discussion with a description of waking up at night to the sounds bullets, missiles and bombs - fear was evident. After some time when discussing a failed bid to become a scholarship student in France, his mood inched into unhappiness, but some minutes later, when elaborating on his current experiences in China, he clearly felt a sense of pride in discovering the way forward; or, in other words, his narrative went from "contamination" to "redemption" (Adler et al., 2017; Benish-Weisman, 2009; Lieblich et al., 1998; McAdams, Josselson, & Lieblich, 2001). Nadheer also began by talking about the war, especially in terms of how it had crushed people's dreams, but he quickly moved on to discussing his duty in assisting his family, and especially his father, in securing their future. But he also realized that regardless of how hard he and his father work, they are unlikely to overcome national turmoil that has ruined the economy. In the end, as shown in his episodic graph, he ended our conversation at about the same contaminated level. Yasser began by discussing how the country had changed from pre-1990 to the present. He was both sad and angry, feeling that the economic downfall was due to ill-considered political decisions. His mood picked up quickly when discussing his father and uncles, the wonderful historical aspects of Yemen, and even the British and Russian colonizers. Our discussion ended well, with Yasser quite convinced that he could succeed and bring honor to the family. Hussein's father had made a critical decision to move the family to Saudi Arabia, where Hussein was born. Hussein expressed unreserved trust in his father's decisions and later, extended that to his uncles. He spoke with a great deal of pride about the virtues of male intrepidity and resourcefulness. This was a theme common to all participants.

6. Conclusion

Identities are often contingent upon performance. It is through performance that we attribute importance and make known what we believe to be true. In discussions with Yemeni university students, it is clear that the tribulations brought about by war and financial devastation have been catalysts for personal growth. Fathers, along with uncles and other elder male family members, have been the propellants pushing these students toward successfully coping with whatever adversity comes their way. It is clear that participants are highly motivated toward economic success, and that this drive comes from older male family members in whom participants exhibit a great deal of pride and affection.

Interestingly, though Yemen is currently undergoing one of the most destructive wars of this century, in terms of human suffering and death, none of the participants alluded to the humanitarian toll. Issues of a humanitarian nature were never directly mentioned, perhaps because it is an ongoing conflict with potential to cause much painful soul-searching regarding national and ethnic priorities. At one point though, I did raise this question, and received a surprisingly terse comment. One participant simply said: "If they have money they can leave."

In future studies, a wider representation of the Yemeni population would be desirable. I was limited to students enrolled in a university in Guangdong Province, China. All participants had allegiances to pre-1990 South Yemen, and hailed from urban districts. It is also suggested that future studies include Yemeni women. There are far fewer Yemeni women than men studying in China, and I was unable to find women who would discuss their experiences and motivations for leaving Yemen. A future study conducted by a woman may alleviate this limitation.

Notes

Note 1. Malinowski, B. (1925). *Magic, science, and religion and other essays*. New York: Doubleday.

Note 2. Participants names are pseudonyms.

Conflict of interests

The authors declare that there is no conflict of interests regarding the publication of this paper.

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Disenfranchisement as a Tool of Class War

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Abstract

This work explores the issue of disenfranchisement for Soviet citizens during 1926-1931 Troitskosavsk Municipal Soviet (council) Election campaigns and is based on archival data and various election authority reports. It has been shown that disenfranchisement could be used as one of the tools to fight against citizens of bourgeois views and create the New Soviet Society.

Keywords: Election Law, Right to Vote, Disenfranchisement, Non-Voters, Election Rights, Restoring Subjective Voting Rights

1. Introduction

Subjectively, each and any citizen of at least 18 years of age shall have the right to vote and exercise this right at will. Eligibility to vote and the fundamental principles of this right are established in Russia mainly through the State Constitution, which shall guarantee that the state subjects (citizens) participate in state government and shall be “the supreme direct expression of the power of the people” (*Constitution of the Russian Federation, 1993*), who shall express their power by taking part in formation of elected bodies of state government, local self-government, and referendums. Throughout the world, disenfranchising criminal convicts is a common practice. Russian election laws also contain a provision establishing that citizens who were previously (or are currently) convicted or serving time in prison may be disenfranchised.

Currently, elections in Russia are governed by the Constitution of the Russian Federation from 1993 year, art. 1 and 3, and are democratic. The term ‘democratic elections’ is used in a sense that citizens are free to exercise their rights at will. Election authority reports on voting turnout at the President Elections and the State Duma Elections indicate that the elections in contemporary Russia are democratic. The RF President Elections 2012 had the voting turnout of 65.34%, while the same indicator for elections that took place on 18 March 2018 reached 67.47% (*Elective Commission Reports*). Voting turnout for State Duma elections was as high as 47.62% in 2003, 63.78% in 2007, 60.21% in 2011, and 47.88% in 2016 (*Elective Commission Reports*). The voting turnout results indicate that the elections were the actual unrestricted expression of power of Russian people. But was it always the case?

2. Literature Review: History of Election during First Period of Soviet Power

In 1918-1936 Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR), voting rights were governed by the Constitution adopted on 10 June 1918 that has Section 4 establishing the principles of active and passive suffrage (voting rights) (*Constitution of the RSFSR 1918*). First of all, Chapter 13 of this Constitution contains a detailed list specifying who shall have and who shall not have voting rights. However, the legal procedures for disenfranchising and restoring voting rights were not duly established in the state and all the regions until 1920s. Disenfranchising was used as a tool of the class war in the Soviet Russia from 1918, when the First Constitution of 1918 was adopted, to 1936, when the so-called *Stalin's Constitution* entered force.

We are not going to cover all the social and demographic parameters of municipal and rural non-voters in the Buryat-Mongolian Republic. However, we do mean to consider how Chapter 4 of the Constitution was used against particular individuals in the Troitskosavsk - Buryat-Mongolian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (BMASSR) during 1928 elections. To clarify our further statements, we will quote the provisions of Chapter 13 Clause 65:

“The following persons shall enjoy neither the right to vote nor the right to be voted for, even though they belong to one of the categories enumerated above, namely:

- (a) Persons who employ hired labor in order to obtain from it an increase in profits;
- (b) Persons who have an income without doing any work, such as interest from capital, receipts from property, etc.;
- (c) Private merchants, trade and commercial brokers;
- (d) Monks and clergy of all denominations;
- (e) Employees and agents of the former police, the gendarme corps, and the Okhrana (Czar's secret service), also members of the former reigning dynasty;
- (f) Persons who have in legal form been declared demented or mentally deficient, and also persons under guardianship;
- (g) Persons who have been deprived by a Soviet of their rights of citizenship because of selfish or dishonorable offenses, for the period fixed by the sentence.”

A similar list of persons to be disenfranchised existed in the RSFSR Constitution of 1925 года, Art. 69 (*Constitution of the RSFSR, 1925*).

The number of such non-voters was substantial and varied region to region. For example, the RSFSR Western Region alone had the increase in non-voters from 1040 thousand in 1927 to 3038 thousand during 1925-1926 campaign (Valuev, 2003).

There were 2433390 disenfranchised non-voters, or 4.5% of the adult population, in RSFSR. In 1925, the number of rural non-voters amounted to 1706025 citizens (3.9%), as compared to 1390747 citizens (3.3%) during 1926-1927 campaign. The percent of the non-voters surged almost everywhere (*Soviet Elections and Structure of USSR Government, 1931*).

The overall number of non-voters throughout the USSR increased by 700 thousand. As a result, 3716 thousand people (4.9% of the adult population) were disenfranchised. 4.1% of rural population were made non-voters (*Results of RSFSR Elections to Soviets 1929*).

Article 15 of Instruction for City and Rural Soviet (council) Elections and Convocating Soviet Congress dated 26 November 1926 (*Instruction for City and Rural Soviet (council) Elections, 1926*) established the social groups to be disenfranchised and the potential procedure for restoring the voting rights to previously disenfranchised people ‘currently engaging in socially useful productive work, provided they prove themselves loyal to the Soviet Regime.’ The non-voters had a right to appeal against the resolution of the Electoral Commissions within one week upon the List of the Disenfranchised is published or acknowledged.

3. Analysis: Elections in Provincial City Troitskosavsk during 1926-1931 Years

The documents 1-3 show that some of the citizens disenfranchised under Electoral Commission resolutions did appeal to higher commissions with some appeals even answered favorably. As for Troitskosavsk, disenfranchisement was imposed on all ex-officers of the Tsar's Army, including both those that had taken part in the Civil War among the White and those who had had no part in the War at all, and also officers' wives, in addition to the citizens falling under the categories present in the mentioned list established by the Constitution. Disenfranchisement Decrees were based on lists provided by the Municipal Court, Aimak Executive Committee Administrative Department, or party cell data.

The Municipal Court provided the Electoral Commission with 2 lists. The first list contained surnames of the citizens disenfranchised by court judgment for 2-5 years (1926-3, 1927-7 and 1928-6 citizens). The second list consisted of surnames of ex-officers, military officials, policemen (also provided below as Table 1). The Aimak Executive Committee sent a list of 9 priests. The town had several party cell election districts established. The lists written by party cells had a substantial number of citizens included (156) and very peculiar descriptions of the lifestyles and political activities that became the reason to include them. ‘An obvious ideological backslider, speculator, ex-speculator, reseller, merchant, black market dealer, related to merchants, worker at a butcher shop, jeweler's wife, ex-tradeswoman, 2nd level school teacher, major tradeswoman, meat seller's husband, caregiver for dependants, drayman, transports people by drought horse, beerhouse host, cattle buyer, visits nomad camps, involved with Harbin due to being active participants of Ungern and Semenov's bands, enthusiastic white bandit, involved in bringing Chinese troops across our borders, communicates with brother living in Manchuria, socialist revolutionary, unemployed, has a priest brother, ex-officer, socialist revolutionary distributing

propaganda for elections, arrested in 1924 for counter-revolutionary correspondence, former Socialist Revolutionaries party member.’

Here is an impressive excerpt from the last list (National Archive of Republic of Buryatia (NARB), sheet 17, 17 backside). ‘Minister Malyshev, Sosnina Street. A priest. Wife of Minister Malyshev, Sosnina Street. Have profits from house holding. **Aunt Grunya**, Serova Street. Sells beer, kwas, ravioli, uses waged labor. (bold italics by the author). Rychkova, Naberezhnaya Street. Builder working for a border detachment.’

Let us look into the list of the disenfranchised for the Soviets Elections of 1928 provided by the Municipal Court (NARB, sheet 21), the republican Electoral Commission resolution to disenfranchise Barozzi de Els, I.N. (NARB, sheet 9), and an appeal by the wife of ex-Ataman (headman) of the Third Military Unit of the Transbaikal Cossack Army to restore her voting rights (NARB 9, sheet 2, 3).

Table 1. Ex-officers of the White Army living in Troitskosavsk (Resolution: to Electoral Commission)

No.	Full Name (surname, name, patronymic)	Social Position and Rank
1	Korobin, Sergei Sergeevich	a war-time official
2	Lizunov, Nikolai Ustinovich	lieutenant of the Semyonov’s Army
3	Lesanobskiy, Kazimir Vikentevich	warrant officer of the Old Army
4	Kanter, Oleg Pavlovich	warrant officer of the Semyonovich’s Army
5	Kokovin, Leonid Mikhailovich	junker of the Old Army
6	Kokorin, Pantleimon Semyonovich	junker of the Kolchak’s Army
7	Izhboldin, Dmitri Aleksandrovich	war-time official
8	Zarubin, Innokentiy Dmitirievich	lieutenant of the Semyonov’s Army
9	Buinovskiy, Mikhail Nikolaevich	sub-lieutenant of the Kolchak’s Army
10	Bobrov, Aleksandr Semyonovich	warrant officer of the Semyonovich’s Army
11	Burin, Pyotr Petrovich	lieutenant colonel of the Old Army
12	Nikiporenko, Konstantin Semyonovich	official of the war time and the Semyonov’s Army
13	Baranovich, Eugeni Vladimirovich	staff captain of the Semyonov’s Army
14	Khalturin, Semyon Aleksandrovich	Semyonovich Army warrant officer
15	Pravoverov, Aleksander Vasilievich	Kolchak Army warrant officer
16	Yakimov, Georgi Dmitrievich	official of the war time and the Semyonov’s Army
17	Lozakovich, Sergei Dmitrievich	official of the war time and the Semyonov’s Army
18	Anisimov, Innokentiy Nikolaevich	sub-lieutenant of the Semyonov’s Army
19	Chirkov, Mikhail Nikolaevich	sub-lieutenant of the Semyonov’s Army
20	Dyomkin, Georgi Stepanovich	official of the war time and the Semyonov’s Army
21	Samoilov, Mikhail Vasilievich	official of the war time and the Semyonov’s Army
22	Overin, Ivan Afansievich	official of the war time and the Semyonov’s Army
23	Buinovskiy, Nikolai Yulianovich	Kolchak Army Colonel
24	Barozzi de Els, Ivan Nikolaevich	Old Army Colonel
25	Nikolaev, Pavel Vasilievich	sub-lieutenant of the Semyonov’s Army
26	Berg, Vasilij Germanovich	Kolchak Army warrant officer
27	Lisetskiy, Nikolai Anisimovich	sub-lieutenant of the Semyonov’s Army
28	Chirkov, Iosif	sub-lieutenant of the Semyonov’s Army

After that, a list of former police officers follows, including 2 bailiffs and 4 policemen (NARB 9, sheet 21).

Table 1 includes 6 officers of various ranks and military officials who did not take part in the Civil War with the White Army but were still added to the non-voter list. Among the mentioned officers who did not serve in the White Army, No. 24 is Barozzi de Els, Ivan Nikolaevich.

You can find his service record from the *Razvedchik Journal* (*Razvedchik*, 1915), which was being published up to 1917 in St. Petersburg, below (Figure 1). As can be seen in Figure 1, the last date there is 01.08.1916. During the period, Ivan Nikolaevich served as the Ataman (headman) of the Third Military Unit of the Transbaikal Cossack Army. He retired due to health issues on 15 April 1917 (under Order No. 334). He took no part in the Civil War neither with the White Army, nor with the Red Army. His and his son’s life are described in (Parkhomov, Barotsti, 2011).

As can be seen (Figure 1), Ivan Nikolaevich made his contribution, had merits to the Country and was faithful in

his duty in the Old Army. None of paragraphs in Chapter 65 Article 13 of the RSFSR Constitution applied to him.

In addition to the ataman's personal record, he had three sons who served in the Pre-Revolutionary Army and took part in the Great War. One of them, lieutenant Nikolai, died a heroic death at the Western Front in 1916 and was posthumously awarded IV degree Saint George's Cross. Another son also served at the Western Front also was awarded the Order of St. Stanislav IV degree and St. Anne IV and III degree and returned to Troitskosavsk in 1918 for his leave (Parkhomov, 2018).



Figure 1. Service record of Barozzi de Els, I.N. from the *Razvedchik Journal*, 1915. Orthodox. Basic education in the Irkutsk Military Progymnasium. In service since 28.07.1883. Graduated from the Irkutsk Infantry Military School. Made an officer in the IV-th East Siberian Lineal Squadron. Sub-lieutenant (since 13.12.1886). Lieutenant (since 13.12.1890). Sub-esaul (about 1893, awarded on 22.11.1893 for a merit). Esaul (1899, awarded 06.05.1899 for merits). Senior Aide-de-Camp in the Office of the First Military Unit of the Transbaikal Cossack Army (30.10.1900-18.01.1907). Assistant Ataman of the First Military Unit of the Transbaikal Cossack Army (18.01.1907-08.07.1913). Lieutenant Colonel (1908, 26.02.1908 for a merit). Ataman of the Third Military Unit of the Transbaikal Cossack Army (since 08.07.1913). Colonel (1913, 05.10.1913 for a merit). As of 01.03.1914 and 01.08.1916, the title and rank remain unchanged. Awards: II Degree St. Stanislav (1907), II Degree St. Anna, IV Degree St. Vladimir (Supreme Order of 13.06.1915).

Sources: Colonels listed in order of precedence. The list established as of 01.03.1914. St. Petersburg, 1914; Colonels listed in order of precedence. The list established as of 01.08.1916. St. Petersburg, 1916; Supreme Orders of the Military Department//*Razvedchik* No.1297, 15.09.1915

In our opinion, Ivan Nikolaevich was disenfranchised due to the general extrajudicial and class-based approach of the decision-makers. He was considered a person not loyal to the Soviets and a citizen without any employment record after the Revolution. This point of view is supported by the following document 1 drawn up by the BM ASSR Central Electoral Commission that was to reconsider the decision of the Municipal Electoral Commission (NARB, sheet 6).

Document 1.

«Troitskosavsk

Meeting of the Troitskosavsk Municipal Electoral Commission

Held on 8 January 1931

Agenda: Letter of Request of the Central Electoral Commission dated 9.11. No. 109-b to reconsider if Barozzi-de-Els is to be disenfranchised.

Resolved as follows: Having considered all the materials in the Barozzi-de-Els Disenfranchisement Case, we

found that: as per art. 15, the citizen in question shall be denied the right to vote as a former Cossack Ataman who have showed no loyalty to the Soviet Rule during all the period thereafter and has no employment record for the period of revolution.

This copy shall deem true and duly signed.

I certify this a true copy. Popova, Secretary.

BM ASSR Central Electoral Commission.

Your Ref.No. Od -1019 dated 23.12.1929.

Our Ref.No. 294 dated 31.12. this year

Please find materials in the Barozzi-de-Els Disenfranchisement Case attached, namely: appeal, exempt from the Aimak Electoral Commission protocol. In addition, Mr. Barozzi-de-Els received exempt from the BM ASSR Central Electoral Commission protocol, where his request to restore him in his right to vote is also denied.

Attachment: as described above.

Zharkoi, Municipal Soviet Deputy Chairman.

Kopylevich, Secretary.

As of now, Ivan Nikolaevich Barozzi-de-Els is supported by his son, Ponteileimon Ivanovich Barozzi-de-Els, who works for the Troitskosavsk Cooperative Society as an accountant.

Likhonin, Municipal Soviet Chairman.

Popova, Secretary.'



Figure 2. No-voters. Retired Colonel and Ataman of the Third Military Unit of the Transbaikal Cossack Army Ivan Nikolaevich Barozzi de Els with his wife Antonina Klavdievna. (Troitskosavsk 1929 ?)

It is astonishing and respect-inspiring that his wife decided to try and appeal the resolution of the Electoral Commission concerning her voting rights. Her appeal strikes you as an extremely well-formulated writing in term of both Russian language and law (NARB, sheet 2, 3, see Document 2, Document 3 below).

Document 2.

“To: Troitskosavsk Municipal Soviet Electoral Commission.

From: Citizen Antonina Klavdievna Barozzi-De-Els.

Appeal.

The Disenfranchisement List for the Municipal Soviet Elections published by the Commission had my name listed on account of me being a wife of a former ataman. However, paragraph II art. 12 of the Instruction for

Soviet Elections adopted by the SSR Central Executive Committee Presidium of 28 September 1926, which is in effect during elections to date, state that ‘family members of those disenfranchised shall not be disenfranchised, unless they are dependants of those disenfranchised.’ I am not my husband’s dependant, as he is disabled, and we both are our son’s dependants, which is the reason why I have never been disenfranchised before this year.

Due to the fact that my disenfranchisement has no standing in the Soviet Law, I find it unjust and hereby appeal to restore my civil rights.

Please inform me of subsequent resolution by sending it to my residential address: Troitskosavsk, 1 Ispolkomskaya Street.

22 December 1928.

A. Barozzi-De-Els.”

The Municipal Electoral Commission considered the appeal and resolved it favorably (See Document 3).

Document 3.

“Troitskosavsk.

Troitskosavsk Electoral Commission.

Antonina Klavdievna Barozzi-De-Els Disenfranchisement Case.

Start Date 1928. End Date 1928.

Appeal by Citizen Antonina Klavdievna Barozzi-De-Els.

Exempt from Scheduled Meeting Protocol No.3 of Troitskosavsk Electoral Commission.

Held on 24 December 1928.

Agenda: 6. Appeal by Citizen Barozzi-De-Els, A.K. to restore her right to vote. Nazimov.

Due to the fact that Antonina Barozzi-De-Els is not materially dependent on her husband, who is a former ataman, Ivan Nikolaevich Barozzi-De-Els, and is her son’s dependant instead, we find it legitimate to restore the voting rights of Antonina Klavdievna Barozzi-De-Els ” (NARB, sheet 24).

4. Comparison of Electoral Systems in Russia and Australia

We could conclude the analysis of disenfranchisement as a tool to fight unwanted social layers in the USSR and Russia here. However, we found a way to compare elections through the part citizens of the same surname took in it in the USSR with foreign practice in addition to comparison with the modern-day Russia.

Ivan Nikolaevich and Antonina Klavdievna had a son, Vsevolod, who took part in the Civil War with the White Army of Ataman Semyonov. After the Army was defeated he emigrated to Manchuria with his wife Elizaveta Yakovlevna. They had a son there whom they named Or. After his father died in Harbin, Or with all his family (mother, wife, son and daughter) emigrated to Australia (Parkhomov, 2018). They moved several times and ended up in Paramatta where in 1960 they became Australian Citizens and were included in the Paramatta Electoral Rolls (Figure 3). Thus having lived 8 years in Australia before obtaining the right to vote in the next State Elections in 1962 and Federal Elections in 1963.

 Australia, Electoral Rolls, 1930-1980 1930S View Image	NAME: Elisaveta Barotsi De Els RESIDENCE: 1963 - Parramatta , Parramatta, New South Wales, Australia
 Australia, Electoral Rolls, 1930-1980 1930S View Image	NAME: Marina Barotsti RESIDENCE: 1963 - Parramatta , Parramatta, New South Wales, Australia
 Australia, Electoral Rolls, 1930-1980 1930S View Image	NAME: Or Barotsti RESIDENCE: 1963 - Parramatta , Parramatta, New South Wales, Australia

Figure 3. Paramatta Electoral Rolls (Australia)

Australian election system should also be mentioned. Unlike the Soviet Union and Russia where citizens could be deprived of their right to vote, Australia has compulsory voting system. Voting is compulsory at federal elections,

as well as State and Territory elections. It became compulsory in 1922. This law was introduced due to low voting turnout during federal elections (59.38 %), which meant that the parliament elected could not be considered legitimate. (Compare to turnout of 47.62% in 2003 and 47.99% in 2016 for the State Duma Elections in Russia). Australia enforces compulsory voting. People in this situation are asked to explain their failure to vote. If no satisfactory reason is provided (for example, illness or religious prohibition), a fine (ranging from 20.00 to 70.00 \$AU) is imposed, and failure to pay the fine within specified period may result in a court hearing and additional penalty (*Electoral system of Australia*).

5. Conclusion

In the light of the above data, it can be concluded that disenfranchisement in this individual town, as well as in the USSR in general, was based on the family and social background without taking into account biography, merits and current status of a non-voter. Disenfranchisement was one of the main tools used by the Soviet Government to fight against citizens of bourgeois views and change the social structure by implementing the *Policy to Eliminate the Class of Kulaks* (Ergina, 2011). However, statistic data provided above shows that disenfranchisement was 4.1% in rural areas of the USSR and 3.9% in rural areas of the RSFSR, which means that non-voters were mostly from the well-educated urban population: former officers, officials and small-scale manufacturers.

To sum it up, electoral law in post - Soviet Russia and a country of well-developed democracy is quite different from the Soviet one. Several generations of one family name had to learn this difference the hard way.

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Conflict of interests

The authors declare that there is no conflict of interests regarding the publication of this paper.

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Causes, Consequences and Impact of the Great Leap Forward in China

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Abstract

The founding of the People's Republic of China did not put an end to the political struggle of the Communist Party of China (CPC), whose policies on economic development still featured political motivation. China launched the Great Leap Forward Movement from the late 1950s to the early 1960s, in hope of modernizing its economy. Why this movement was initiated and how it evolved subsequently were affected by manifold reasons, such as the aspiration to rapid revolutionary victory, the mistakes caused by highly centralized decision-making, and the impact exerted by the Soviet Union. However, the movement was plagued by the nationwide famine that claimed tens of millions of lives. Thus, fueled by the Forging Ahead Strategy advocated by Mao Zedong, the Great Leap Forward that was influenced by political factors not only ended up with utter failure, but also deteriorated the previously sluggish economy to such an extent that the future economic, political and social development was severely damaged. This study will explore the causes, consequences and impact of the Great Leap Forward in China.

Keywords: Great Leap Forward, Highly Centralized Decision-Making, Forging Ahead Strategy, Mao Zedong

1. Introduction

The Great Leap Forward Movement began at the Second Session of the Eighth National Congress of the CPC in May 1958. The Great Leap Forward Movement included “the general approach of building socialism”, “Great Leap Forward” and “people's commune”, thus earning the name of “Three Red Flags Movement”. The movement emerged as a product of the “general approach of building socialism”, the core of which, namely the slogan of “much, fast, good and saving”, was proposed in the second half of 1955 and quickly implemented in the work nationwide. In around October 1957, the Central Committee of the CPC made a clear arrangement for the Great Leap Forward Movement. The rapid emergence of such movement in agriculture catalyzed the same movement in industry. The “Great Leap Forward” movement in agriculture and industry also promoted such movement in a wide range of fronts, such as transportation, commerce, culture, education and healthcare. Due to the insufficient experience of socialism and the consequent poor understanding of the laws of economic development and the basic situation of China's economy, the Great Leap Forward Movement was directly related to the criticism against the “anti-leap forward” approach. After PRC was founded, the whole country was so eager to achieve success that Mao Zedong prioritized the rapid economic development since 1953. In the absence of foreign aid and with internal struggle, the Great Leap Forward Movement failed in the PRC that was founded for less than 10 years, which triggered a hugely negative impact on China's economy at that time and later. The subsequent Cultural Revolution was launched by Mao Zedong who aimed to purge dissidents and consolidate his authority. In addition to the economic loss that was severer than that of the Great Leap Forward, the Cultural Revolution also caused great political turmoil that resulted in social unrest, educational stagnation, talent gap and waste of human resources. Most scholars have attributed the failure of the Great Leap Forward to policy errors, which were not acknowledged by Mao Zedong who even sent the economy and people of China to a deeper dilemma by eliminating dissents in the Cultural Revolution.

The Great Leap Forward was the product of multiple interactive factors, among which the international environment then merited attention. From the perspective of China, it adopted the strategy of prioritizing heavy industry because regular development could no longer meet the needs of extracting agricultural surplus in the

Forging Ahead Strategy. Externally the blockade of imperialism, the excessive desire of the socialist camp to surpass its capitalist counterpart, and the deterioration of the relations between (the Communist Parties of) China and the Soviet Union led to the Great Leap Forward. The precise analysis and judgment of the international situation lay foundation for the correct approaches, principles and policies on socialism; socialist modernization should invariably adhere to the two-pronged principle of independence and opening up; economic development must follow its own inherent objective laws (Yu, 2004). Yang (2005) pointed out that the “Great Leap Forward” was a socialist philosophy of development deviating from the right track and fueled by the sole pursuit of instant benefit; essentially the movement fantasized about breaking away from objective laws and realizing the great socialist advance merely through subjective will; its basic form was to launch mass movements that violated the law of development and the people-centered approach, resulting in disastrous consequences. Given that the discussion on the causes of the Great Leap Forward Movement is of great practical significance to the socialism with Chinese characteristics, this study is to explore the causes, consequences and impact of the Great Leap Forward Movement in China.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Adoption of the Forging Ahead Strategy

Jiao (2000) pointed out that Sun Yat-sen, Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping all carried out the Forging Ahead Strategy in Chinese history. Sun Yat-sen lived in an era when the Chinese nation was haunted by repeated crises and internal and external difficulties; Mao Zedong’s era was characterized by wars and revolutions; Deng Xiaoping’s era featured opportune timing, geographical convenience and good human relationship. Wang (2005) indicated that the national security threatened by the Korean Peninsula War and the blockade and embargo by the West on China’s economy directly motivated China to adopt the Forging Ahead Strategy. The priority to heavy industry development in the first Five-Year Plan aimed to bridge the gap between the industry of China and that of developed countries immediately. The grain exports were 2,092,600 tons in the year before the Great Leap Forward (1957), 2,883,400 tons in 1958, and amounted to 4,157,500 tons in 1959. Despite the decline to 2,720,400 tons in 1960, the grain exports during the three-year famine were still significant. As regards grain imports, the statistics were 166,800, 223,500, 2,000 and 66,300 tons from 1957 to 1960, and the number soared to 5,809,700, 4,923,000, 5,952,000 and 6,570,100 tons from 1961 to 1964. Apart from the declining conventional food supply, Liu (2010) added another six causes to explain the Great Famine: (1) public canteen; Chang and Wen (1997, 1998) argued that the public canteen system eliminated household kitchens and collectivized farmers’ grain stocks, so a large number of free riders should be held accountable for the food over-consumption that triggered the famine in 1958; (2) priority to urban areas: Kung and Lin (2003) used the rate of food purchase as an indicator to measure the policies inclined to urban areas. According to these two researchers, the urban population during the Great Leap Forward grew at such breakneck speed that the central government had to purchase more grain from rural areas to satisfy the food demand of the growing urban population; (3) Areas of food deficiency: Fan and Meng (2006, 2007) held that under the system of unified purchase and marketing, urban residents were the first social group to guarantee food supply institutionally, followed by the people of areas of food deficiency. The residents of major food production areas were least taken into account in terms of food assurance, so they were the most vulnerable to famine when the grain production fell; (4) Political radicalism: Kung and Lin (2003) held that the leaders of the southern region, more desperate to show their loyalty to the central government, were more inclined to implement radical policies than their northern counterparts; (5) governmental capacity of disaster relief: Chou (2003) said that despite the intensified effort made by provinces to increase the amount of returned grain, a string of political factors, such as pro-exaggeration and anti-rightism, had downplayed such response and relief; besides, some provinces with high mortality rate kept dispatching large quantities of grain in the height of famine, indicating that most provinces did not receive grain from the central government or other provinces despite having known what was going on and distributed returned grain for famine relief; (6) “historical memory” of the famine: Tsao (2005) indicated that people in the famine-hit areas, ranging from the civil population to local grass-roots officials, paid much more attention to grain than those in areas without famine. Therefore, these famine-hit areas did not exaggerate the grain production in the Great Leap Forward, thus dissolving the great pressure of compulsory grain acquisition by superior governments and alleviating the food shortage during the famine.

Regarding the causes for China’s adoption of the Forging Ahead Strategy, the author summarizes the points of view by Liu (2000) as follows: (1) This is an inherent requirement to overcome internal pressure and immediately develop the Chinese economy of poor foundation; (2) It is an external need to tackle external pressure, rapidly shorten the economic gap between China and advanced countries, and shatter the Western policies of isolation, siege and blockade; (3) China boasted advantages in population and resources and the

superiority of the socialist system; (4) The national economy was restored in 1952, a mere three years after the founding of the People's Republic of China; the confidence of the Chinese nation was hugely bolstered by the victorious Korean Peninsula War (resisting the United States while aiding DPRK), successful land reform and repression on counter-revolutionaries and a series of counter-revolutionary elements; (5) The rapid economic development of socialist countries fueled by the Forging Ahead Strategy, such as the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, catalyzed China's imitation of their socialist partners; (6) China lacked in the experience of large-scale economic development and overlooked the objective economic laws. The partial emphasis on human subjective initiative prompted China to take the Forging Ahead Strategy and even endeavor reduce the time of "Forging Ahead"; (7) The consciousness of small producers, the majority of whom were farmers, prevailed in the Chinese society, laying a solid massive and ideological basis for China's Forging Ahead Strategy; (8) Mao Zedong was ambitious; (9) Mao Zedong's subjectivism and personal arbitration; (10) Mao Zedong's poetry temperament and romantic sentiment. Huang (1989) held that in order to achieve the goals set by the "Forging Ahead" strategy, the following basic relationships in specific policies should be well addressed: 1) the relationship between reform and development; 2) between accumulation and consumption; 3) between speed and efficiency; 4) between basic industry and processing industry; 5) between economic investment and educational investment; 6) between self-reliance and opening up.

In view of the 10 points of view raised of Liu (2000), the author agrees to some of them. The author gives credit to the first two opinions, (1) overcoming internal pressure and (2) overcoming external pressure, in that these two measures were necessary given what was occurring at that time. (3) Although population and resources were indeed advantages of China, but at the end of 1978 Deng Xiaoping abandoned the 30-year socialism and turned to reform and opening up and market economy, which proved that the socialist system did not boast superiority. (4) The military victory in resisting the United States and aiding the DPRK did not gain benefit from foreign countries. Instead the intensifying hostility against the West cut off the introduction of funds and technology. The negative side of the political victory showed that movements caused serious internal friction. (5) Even if the Forging Ahead Strategy of Soviet Union and Eastern Europe prompted China's imitation, the antagonism against the Soviet Union deprived China of aids received by other socialist countries in Eastern Europe. (6) The lack of experience, neglect of objective laws, partially subjective Forging Ahead Strategy and the desire to shorten the process demonstrated policy errors and exaggeration. (7) The massive and ideological foundations of small producers with peasants as the main body served as a breeding ground for the autocratic system. (8) and (9) displayed the autocratic arbitration of the dictator. (10) is Liu's personal view.

Mao Zedong first expressed this idea clearly at the National Congress of the CPC in March 1955, where he proposed to catch up with or surpass the most powerful capitalist country in the world in a few decades. At the preparatory meeting for the Eighth National Congress of the CPC in August 1956, he affirmed, "We trail the United States by 60 years. We will surpass them in 50 or 60 years. This is a responsibility." Mao also repeated similar words at the end of 1956 and 1957. In November 1957, Mao led a delegation of the CPC to Moscow for a conference of representatives of the Communist Party and the Workers' Party of all countries. During the meeting, when Mao heard Khrushchev's proposal that the Soviet Union should catch up with and surpass the United States in 15 years, he changed his original rhetoric and proposed that China should take around 15 years to surpass Britain in steel and major industrial products. On December 2, the 8th National Congress of Trade Unions was convened, where Liu Shaoqi, on behalf of the CPC Central Committee, announced the vision of catching up with Britain proposed by Mao in Moscow. In 1958, the slogan of catching up with Britain was loud during the Great Leap Forward, and the time for this goal was continuously shortened, along with the target extended to Britain and the United States. In the second session of the 8th National Congress in May 1958, Li Fuchun proposed: "seven years for Britain, 15 years for the United States". Then Mao revised the slogan as "seven years to catch up with Britain, plus eight or ten years to catch up with the United States". On June 22, Mao Zedong commented in a report submitted by Bo Yibo that "instead of 15 years or seven years, it will take only two to three years to surpass Britain. Possibly in two years (Chi & Wang, 2000)."

Here are the comments by Chi and Wang (2000) on Mao Zedong's Forging Ahead Strategy: 1) The strategy was beyond China's reach; 2) Without a reference, it was difficult to show the economic strength by taking only several indicators, such as steel, as the target of catching up with Britain and the United States; 3) It is not advisable to pursue a sensational outcome in a short period of time, not advisable even at a temporarily high speed, because taking steel as the main approach with scarce external aids was bound to ruin the comprehensive economic balance; 4) The purpose of the Forging Ahead Strategy originally aimed to make the country and its people prosperous, but only the former was stressed while the latter was overlooked. The excessive emphasis on catching up and surpassing greatly hindered the improvement of living standards.

Hsu (2004) holds that: (1) China then launched the Great Leap Forward due to the twofold needs to catch up with the Western developed countries and transform the economic impoverishment and backwardness rapidly; (2) The tide of “Forging Ahead”, along with the new changes of the two antagonist camps in the international communist movement, exerted a significant impact on Mao's decision to take on the Forging Ahead Strategy; (3) The ahead-of-schedule completion of the socialist transformation of means of production and ownership and the successful First Five-Year Plan served as testament to the CPC's capacity of leading the people to win the new democratic revolution and also to gain the victory of the socialist revolution and development. According to Xu Jingong, in the goose-shaped development of Asia after World War II, China's “Forging Ahead” was after Japan, NIES and ASEAN. Therefore, Mao Zedong's “Forging Ahead” was not successful, but Deng Xiaoping's succeeded, before which China could not be incorporated into the goose-shaped theory.

The literature review shows that the decision to adopt the Forging Ahead Strategy was made in an external environment of the Western pressure and the successful experience of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe; this strategy was fueled by the overconfidence generated in the successful completion of the First Five-Year plan. However, the uncertain time limit of the “Forging Ahead” and the fixed indicators to measure the movement demonstrated the roughness of the policy.

2.2 Launching and Failure of the Great Leap Forward

From 11 to January 22, 1958, the CPC Central Committee held a working meeting in Nanning, Guangxi, which unleashed the Great Leap Forward. From March 9 to 26, 1958, the CPC Central Committee convened a Political Bureau Meeting in Chengdu where high speed was determined as an indicator for the Great Leap Forward. From May 5 to 23, the Second Session of the Eighth National Congress of the CPC was convened in Beijing, establishing the guiding ideology of the Great Leap Forward. From August 17 to 30, the CPC Central Political Bureau Meeting was held in Beidaihe to push the Great Leap Forward to its peak (Lo & Su, 2006).

In 1955, Mao Zedong advocated catching up with the United States in iron and steel production in 50 to 60 years. However, stimulated by his meeting with Khrushchev in the Soviet Union in 1957, Mao changed the schedule and launched the Great Leap Forward that aimed to surpass Britain in 15 years (Hu, 2011). Nevertheless, Wu (2001) believed that Mao's speech in Moscow was not a cause for the ideological changes in the “Forging Ahead”. On the one hand, Mao was too excited and emotional when he presented this idea inspired by the Soviet Union's ambition to surpass the United States in 15 years. On the other hand, Mao did not propose this idea groundlessly or blindly. He based his idea on: (1) the comparison between the growth rate of China's steel output and that of Britain; (2) experience and aid offered by the Soviet Union; (3) the Chinese people's aspiration to economic prosperity. Thus, Bo Yibo did not consider reckless the goal of catching up with Britain in 15 years in terms of total steel output. According to the data available at that time, in 1972 (15 years later), the steel output of Britain was estimated to reach 36 million tons, while that of China was expected to amount to 40 to 45 million tons. In practice, the steel output of Britain reached 28.22 million tons in 1970 but dropped to 22.32 million tons in 1972. After the three-year “Great Leap Forward”, China's steel output surpassed 18.66 million tons, but dropped sharply to 6.67 million tons in 1962. After adjustment, the steel output of China rebounded to 23.38 million tons in 1972. This gap indicates that without the Great Leap Forward, China's steel output in 1972 could have surpassed that of Britain easily. Mao's goal of catching up with Britain in 15 years was not impossible (Wu, 2001).

In August 1958, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPC held an expanded meeting in Beidaihe, where it was decided that the steel output in 1958 should double that of 1957 to 10.7 million tons and reach 27-30 million tons in 1959. After the meeting, a nationwide massive movement for steelmaking was launched. It was estimated that the subsidies for small blast furnaces in 1958 alone reached CNY 4 billion exceeding one-tenth of the fiscal revenue (only CNY 38.76 billion) (Bo, 1993). By the end of 1958, a total of 11.08 million tons of steel had been produced, of which only 8 million tons were qualified (Bo, 1993). On August 29, 1958, the Central Committee of the CPC convened the Beidaihe Conference, where the resolution of “establishing rural people's commune” revised and edited by Mao Zedong was passed. According to this resolution, the central government explicitly ordered a massive movement through large-scale debates and extensive participation of people. The movement of large-scale people's commune swept across China. By the end of September of that year, over 740,000 agricultural cooperatives nationwide had been merged into 23,284 “people's communes” (Bo, 1993).

Chien (2008) indicated that the Great Leap Forward Movement was an economic development movement haunted by overall failures in China's effort to explore its socialist path. At that time, the mentality of “Forging Ahead” became a momentum that merited attention, driving people to become increasingly irrational and

deviating from the conventional track. In practice, the trend of “Forging Ahead” was so intense that it ultimately went to extreme. The lessons left by this movement are profound enough to remind people not to repeat the previous mistakes, and have also inspire China's economic development, especially the current one. The people's commune was an important part of the Great Leap Forward advocated and promoted by Mao, in that the people's commune was in line with how Mao perceived socialism. The commune was a historical derivative of the Great Leap Forward, and also a form of social organization that was necessary to ensure the practice of the Great Leap Forward (Kuan, 2002). According to Kuan, the early “People's Commune” had the following characteristics: (1) large scale; (2) high degree of public ownership and elimination of privatization; (3) unity of government and commune, extensive scope and great authority of management; (4) militarized institution, collectivization of daily life; (5) rationing system that combined the supply system with the wage system (Kuan, 2002).

The entire Great Leap Forward Movement was launched in the form of massive movement, because Mao was convinced that in doing so China's economy would develop faster and better than that of the Soviet Union. However, such massive movement proved to exert a negative impact on many aspects of the Great Leap Forward (Li, 2009). The Great Leap Forward was triggered by the underdeveloped socialist planned economy adopted by China at that time. The more economically underdeveloped a country is, the greater the internal and external pressures exist. The Great Leap Forward occurred against this backdrop. The Utopian ideas widely existing in all social strata, intense dishonesty, and demographic pressure brought about by traditional fertility concepts had a significant impact on the launching of the Great Leap Forward. Utopian ideas are the theoretical basis of the Great Leap Forward. Basically, in the dishonest social atmosphere, the farce of the Great Leap Forward led the country into disaster, and population pressure affected the formation of the Great Leap Forward to a certain extent. As regards the reasons for the failure of the Great Leap Forward, Wada (2001) summarized the following three: (1) hot-head guideline caused by problematic policies; (2) declining grain output due to successive disasters; (3) abolition of collaboration and decreasing output generated by deteriorating relations with partners. Over 40 million people starved to death statistically. Pei (2008) gave five reasons for the famine: (1) low productivity due to unfairness; (2) scruples for proposing rational opinions due to political movements; (3) reduced grain production due to increasing output of iron and steel; (4) insufficient local food supply due to grain purchase by the central government; (5) deficient food supply due to over-export. Liu (2010) argued that the main reasons for the food shortage of farmers included: (1) compulsory public canteen system, (2) governmental grain acquisition in favor of urban areas; (3) high collective accumulation of “people's communes”.

After 1960, due to natural disasters and the withdrawal of experts sent by the Soviet Union, the slogan of “surpassing Britain and catching up with the United States” died down. In May 1960, when Montgomery, General of the British Army, visited China, Mao told him that “building a strong socialist economy in China will take 100 years or more, 50 years will be impossible”. In January 1962, Mao Zedong pointed out at the expanded Central Working Conference that due to the huge population, weak foundation and backward economy, it seems impossible for China to catch up with and surpass the most advanced capitalist countries in the world in less than a hundred years (Chi & Wang, 2000). Although Mao's remarks could not be considered the recognition of failure, they indicated that Mao deemed the Great Leap Forward as a reckless move.

Li (2009) indicated that the Great Leap Forward Movement was a serious mistake made by the CPC in exploring the path of socialism. The main causes for the Great Leap Forward Movement were as follows: since the founding of the PRC, the leaders of the Central Committee of the CPC headed by Mao Zedong and the people nationwide were excessively eager to achieve success, resulting in their improper criticism on the “anti-leap forward” opinions; the highly centralized leadership system was problematic; mirroring the mode of the Soviet Union, China intended to shake off the influence of the Soviet Union and explored a Chinese-style socialist approach. During the famine caused by the Great Leap Forward, the government's exporting a large amount of grain without import was the best portrayal of policy errors. The Great Leap Forward caused the industrial retrogression because of the failure of the nationwide steelmaking, which also dragged down the progress of agricultural production plans. The failure of the people's commune triggered the severe famine. The failure of the Great Leap Forward was obviously a man-made disaster, but the government attributed it to natural calamity. In 1962, Mao Zedong kept affirming the general “leftish” approach at the expanded working conference of the Central Committee of the CPC attended by over 7,000 people. Therefore, democratic centralism, not implemented properly, focused more on centralization without democracy, leading to the eruption of the Cultural Revolution (Pang & Chin, 2003). Deng Xiaoping's success in “Forging Ahead” resided in the access to capital and technologies of advanced countries, the scarcity of which explained for Mao's failure of the same strategy. Besides, Mao's failure could also be attributed to internal factors (low-efficient and erroneous policies).

3. Impact of the Great Leap Forward

Some researchers believe that the Great Leap Forward ruined the economy by shattering its overall balance. Some hold that the serious consequences of the Great Leap Forward should not be confined to the direct economic losses of up to RMB 120 billion. After the Great Leap Forward, it took five years to adjust the national economy before it was restored to the 1957 level. In the middle of and after the Great Leap Forward, Mao remained reluctant to fully acknowledge the mistakes of the Great Leap Forward and took the attitude towards the Great Leap Forward as a criterion to tell whether people were revolutionary or not. Thus, in the 10th Plenary Session of the 8th Central Committee of the CPC, he proposed the Party's fundamental approach in the socialist stage, followed by a left-wing socialist educational campaign aimed at cracking down on the capitalist roaders. This campaign resulted in the undue repression on a large number of grass-roots officials and the subsequent Cultural Revolution (Hsieh, 1995).

In the expanded working conference of the CPC Central Committee attended by over 7,000 people in 1958, Liu Shaoqi, instructed by Mao, made an oral report in addition to a written one as instructed by Mao Zedong. However, the drawbacks and errors of the Great Leap Forward acknowledged in the oral report were more serious than those in the written one, and the former clearly stated that the main culprit for the famine in many places was man-made disasters while natural disasters only made it worse. These words greatly displeased Mao Zedong. Liu was so brave that he uttered the truth and criticized the "Great Leap Forward" launched by Mao; Deng Xiaoping was kind and pragmatic. Not outspoken, he had never tried to justify Mao's "Three Red Flags"; Zhou Enlai took the big picture in mind and strictly reflected himself; while keeping Mao's authority intact; Zhou honestly faced the national difficulties without being afraid to tell the truth. Among the high-ranking leaders, Lin Biao deviated from others by boasting Mao's "Three Red Flags" and portraying Mao as the embodiment of truth. According to Lin's rhetoric, all the mistakes and drawbacks during the Great Leap Forward should be attributed to the inability to grasp and implement Mao's ideas and instructions. Encouraged by Lin, Mao was even more reluctant to reflect on himself and held a grudge against Liu, marking the preface to the Cultural Revolution (Chang, 2006).

After the Cultural Revolution was launched in 1966, the management system was ruined, labor discipline was absent, planning and statistics system collapsed, and the rampant Red Guards and armed conflict by the worker class paralyzed production and traffic. As a result, the total losses of national income in that decade amounted to approximately RMB 500 billion (Chu, 1985). In addition to the substantial economic losses, Tsai and Dou (2003) revealed that the Cultural Revolution had a great impact on the human resources in the upcoming years. For example, the average length of education of the population over 15 years old in 1982 was 4.8 years. Eliminating some of the effects caused by the Cultural Revolution, this figure was estimated to be 5.6 years, meaning that the Cultural Revolution cut the potential human resources stock by 14.3% (Tsai & Dou, 2003). In addition, the Great Leap Forward caused the break-up of the Sino-Soviet relation. Many practices and objectives of the Great Leap Forward received constant doubt and criticism from Soviet cadres and experts. Khrushchev criticized the "People's Commune" system implicitly in his report for the 21st National Congress of the Soviet Communist Party. In early June 1960, the CPC publicly distributed materials criticizing the Soviet Communist Party at the World Trade Union Conference in an attempt to force the Soviet Union to correct its mistakes, while the Soviet Communist Party sieged the CPC delegation in Bucharest in late June, with the purpose of subjecting the CPC to compliance. As neither side was ready to compromise, Nikita Khrushchev announced that he would withdraw all Soviet experts working in China within a time limit, bringing the antagonism between China and the Soviet Union known to the public. The dialogue between the Communist Parties of China and the Soviet Union in July 1963 showed once again that there was no room for compromise between China and the Soviet Union. The breakdown of the Sino-Soviet Union relation was irrecoverable (Shen, 2005). In a word, the Great Leap Forward had caused negative effects on the politics, economy, society and culture in China, and resulted in the loss of economic and technical assistances by foreign countries. Internationally the loss of support by the Soviet Union made the situation even more difficult for China.

4. Conclusions

After PRC was founded in 1949, it was plagued by various economic difficulties, but it involved in the Korean War the following year. China, claiming victory in the Korean War, received no benefit and even raised the hostility of the West, thus cutting the access to external technologies and fund. Many struggle movements were launched in China, which caused political chaos, economic losses and social unrest. The Great Leap Forward Movement fueled by Mao Zedong's strategy of "catching up with Britain and surpassing the United States"

ended up with great economic recession and even political struggle. The Great Leap Forward, which invested colossal resources in the whole country, proved to an utter failure. Following the movement, the famine killed tens of millions of people. The decade-long political storm hit the politics, economy and society severely. During the three-year Great Leap Forward, China's science and technology movement experienced a special period of "Great Leap Forward". This was a process of initial preparation and mobilization, strong competition in all walks of life and the upsurge of the leap forward tide. Encouraged by the idea of "Forging Ahead" during the "Great Leap Forward", the science and technology in China marked a new chapter in the history. This movement paved the way for China's science and technology, and also contributed to its smooth development.

Liu (2010) listed the causes of the famine, such as the decline of traditional food supply, public canteen, orientation to urban areas and areas of food shortage, political radicalism, governmental disaster relief capacity, and "historical memory" of famine. Opinions vary among scholars who hold different arguments. In addition, according to the 1981 China Economic Yearbook, the grain exports in the year before the Great Leap Forward (1957) and during the three-year famine (1958-1960) were maintained between 2 to 4 million tons. Therefore, the erroneous export during the famine was caused by human errors instead of by natural calamity. As Chi and Wang (2000) pointed out, the industrial failure lied in the fact that only a few indicators such as steel were set as the goal to catch up with Britain and surpass the United States, which could hardly show economic superiority. The priority given to steel and the movement without external aids were bound to undermine the comprehensive economic balance.

The "Great Leap Forward" inspired by Mao's Forging Ahead Strategy was originally an economic topic. At first, the failure of the movement triggered famine, but eventually it evolved into Cultural Revolution, becoming a political or even military problem. Wang (2002) held that Mao's "Great Leap Forward" was based on his intention to get rid of the framework of the Soviet socialist model and "break a Chinese-style way". The experience of previous revolutionary victories made him regard "the masses and class struggle" as the correct way to develop socialism with Chinese characteristics. Historically Mao Zedong had achieved brilliant victories in the attempt to localize Marxism in China, but he also experienced severe failures such as the Great Leap Forward and the subsequent "Cultural Revolution", which contain profound experience and lessons. To sum up the causes for the failure of the Great Leap Forward, external factors include a world in the cold war and the absence of advanced technologies and funds provided by the West; internal factors include the incalculable adverse effects under erroneous policies. In addition, the relationship with the Soviet Union broke up, due to the disagreement between the views of China and the Soviet Union on the Great Leap Forward, resulted in the disruption of fund and technologies provided by the Soviet Union. The withdrawal of Soviet aids hindered China's economy, which had found itself in predicament, from further development for a very long time. These were tangible harm caused by the Great Leap Forward. Besides, seemingly invisible, the severely negative impact on China in all aspects lies in the talent gap caused by the 10-year Cultural Revolution. During this turbulent decade, students at all levels were deprived of the right to receive education. This erroneous policy not only afflicted the economy, but also caused great losses in culture, education, politics and military.

Conflict of interests

The authors declare that there is no conflict of interests regarding the publication of this paper.

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Recognition of Variety for \$100 Malaya Japanese Invasion Money Pick Number M8a: Capital Block Letter M and Number of Ropes

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Abstract

In this paper varieties which have not been described in numismatic reference book of the World War II Remembered-History in Your Hands-A Numismatic Study and numismatic major catalogues of Pick and KN Boon are introduced. It is shown that the \$100 Malaya Japanese Invasion Money, Pick number “M8a” (Pick # M8a) has other types of varieties by scoping their capital block letter “M” and “number of ropes” respectively. The recognition of variety on paper money is an important problem for private collectors and numismatic researchers responsible for the classification of numismatic collections. The paper presents a research approach for recognizing unlisted varieties in paper money of M8a. Using convenience sampling, 81 pieces of the \$100 M8a were analysed for the dimension, faceplate, backplate and block letter. This paper provides an insight for Japanese Invasion Money collectors to be aware of regarding the new varieties found from the paper money.

Keywords: Japanese Invasion Money, Malaya, World War II

1. Introduction

Japanese forces attacked Malaya in late December 1941. By February 15, 1942, they occupied the entire Malaya and Singapore. During their occupation, they introduced a new currency. This new currency was issued in order to replace the British currency. According to Kratoska (1992), the pre-war British currency remained legal tender but rapidly vanished from the open market, and by 1943 the economy operated on the Japanese currency, commonly referred to as “banana” money because the ten-dollar paper money features a motif of a banana plant. By the end of the occupation, the country experienced massive inflation as large quantities of money were printed and put into circulation.

The Malaya Japanese invasion money or Malaya JIM was a currency issued by the Military Japanese Government in Malaya (including Singapore), Sarawak, Brunei and North Borneo during the Japanese occupation from December 1941 to September 1945. When the British officially surrendered Singapore on February 15, 1942, the Japanese replaced all the pre-war II currencies with the Malaya JIM for Malaya, Sarawak, Brunei and North Borneo.

In numismatic, there are four series of Malaya JIM. The Japanese introduced the first series at the same time the invasion took place in the late 1941. This series consisted of 50 cents block MA and MB (Pick # M4a), \$1 (Pick # M5a), \$5 (Pick # M6a) and \$10 (Pick # M7a). The \$1, \$5 and \$10 paper notes started with capital block letters MA and ended with capital block letters MB, followed by six digits of serial number. The insufficiency of the first series and the dire needs for a small denomination for circulation forced the Japanese to introduce the second series of Malaya JIM in September 1942. There were seven denominations in this series: 1 cent (Pick # M1a & b), 5 cents (Pick # M2a & b), 10 cents (Pick # M3a & b), 50 cents from capital block letters MC to MT (Pick # M4b), \$1 (Pick # M5b & c), \$5 (Pick # M6b, c & d) and \$10 (Pick # M7b). This second series did not have the six digits of serial number for \$1, \$5 and \$10.

In February 1943, the battle of Guadalcanal started the turning point for the Allies’ victory against the Japanese in the Pacific area in World War II (Griffith II, 1963). Each time the Japanese lost a battle in World War II, the Japanese military currency depreciated, including the Malaya JIM. Inflation in the Japanese occupied areas was high. At this point of time, the small denominations no longer had their significance. In 1944, the Japanese introduced the third series of Malaya JIM for Malaya, Sarawak, Brunei and North Borneo. This series consisted of three denominations, namely \$10, \$100 and \$1000. The \$10 in this series had a slanted capital block letter M

and it was given the Pick # M7c. There were two types of \$100 issued in this series. The first type had a straight capital block letter M (Pick # M8a & c) and second type had a slanted capital block letter M (Pick # M8b). The largest denomination in this series was the \$1000 with capital block letter MA (Pick # M10a).

In 1945, the Japanese was continually defeated by the Allies in World War II. This situation caused hyperinflation in all the Japanese occupied areas including Malaya, Sarawak, Brunei and North Borneo. In order to overcome the hyperinflation and to gain back public confidence, the Japanese through the Southern Development Bank issued the fourth series of Malaya JIM. This was the last series issued by the Japanese before they officially surrendered in September 1945. The last series consisted of only two large denominations, namely \$100 (Pick # M9) and \$1000 (Pick # M10b). The \$100 in this series was more popularly known as the “rubber tapper” paper money. The \$1000 had a slanted capital block letter M. According to Wong (1996) and Nader and Kessel (1976), this series was being used and circulated in Malaya and Singapore only.

Previous numismatic books and articles have studied and analyzed the characteristics and varieties for all the Malaya JIM series but not specifically on the M8a. For instance, see Slabaugh (1963), Toy and Meyer (1967), Nader and Kessel (1973, 1976), Ogawa, Kozono and Boling (1987), Schwan and Boling (1995) and Wong (1996) about the characteristics of Malaya JIM. From another angle, previous studies have focused only on the economic consequences related to Malaya JIM in Malaya (Kratoska, 1992; Huff & Majima, 2013). Others focused on the use of Malaya JIM for political objectives (Cheah, 1979) and on the post-war financial analysis (Rudner, 1975).

In the Standard Catalog of World Paper Money (SCWPM) General Issues 12 edition (2008), the \$100 Malaya JIM was grouped under 5 different Pick numbers. These Pick numbers are M8a, M8b, M8c, M8s and M8x (see Table 1).

Table 1. Category of Malaya JIM \$100 Pick M8a

Pick reference number	Description
M8a	M with vertical upstroke and downstroke. Watermark paper.
M8b	M with sloping upstroke and downstroke. Paper with silk threads, without watermark.
M8c	Block letters only. Watermark. Woven Paper.
M8s	Specimen
M8x	Purple face.

Source: The Standard Catalog of World Paper Money General Issues 12 edition (2008)

From the above references, there is a lack of information about the detailed studies on the two areas of the M8a. These two areas are the main focus of this study. The first area focuses on the capital block letter M on the face. Meanwhile, the second area scopes on the “number of ropes” on the back of the paper money.

The contribution of this paper is to enrich the literature in recognizing two characteristics of M8a which have never been studied before. More specifically, it studied the capital block letter M on the face and the “number of ropes” on the back of the paper money M8a. This was done by analyzing physically 81 pieces of the paper money focusing on the two specific areas of interest.

This paper is organized as follows. In Section 2 the state of the art on Malaya JIM \$100 of the capital block letter M with vertical upstroke and downstroke recognition is reviewed. In Section 3 the characteristic extraction of two areas on this Malaya JIM \$100 is explained. This is a methodology section. Next, the findings and discussion are shown in Section 4. A conclusion in Section 5 closes the paper.

2. State of the Art on Malaya JIM \$100 Pick # M8a

The recognition of the Malaya JIM M8a is mainly based on its size, paper texture and printing. It has vertical upstroke and downstroke printed capital block letters MT using a black ink. There is a consensus view from numismatic literature that the M8a was grouped under the third series of Malaya JIM (Schwan & Boling, 1995; Wong, 1996; Hale, 2014; Linzmayer, 2017). This means the M8a was circulated in Malaya, Sarawak, Brunei and North Borneo circa 1944.

The description about the M8a paper money centers around the image of rural life in Malaya. The face printing of M8a shows palm trees and a Malay house by water. It is not clear whether the water is part of a stream or a pond. Meanwhile, the back printing of the paper money shows a man standing beside two buffaloes in a stream. Figure 1

shows the face and the back of the common Malaya JIM \$100 M8a while Table 2 summarizes its general characteristics.



Figure 1. Face and Back of Malaya JIM \$100 M8a

Table 2. General Characteristics of M8a

Characteristic	Description
Size	172mm x 83mm
Faceplate (length)	163mm
Backplate (length)	152.5mm
Color (Face)	Grey purple with brown grey tint
Color (Back)	Brown
Paper Texture	Woven and non-woven
Type of Printing	Engraving for Face and Lithographed for Back
Watermark	Quadrille Design
Issuer	Yokohama Specie Bank

Sources: Schwan & Boling (1995), Wong (1996), Hale (2014)

Previous numismatic literature has described the general characteristics of M8a. However, the previous literature does not specifically focus on M8a. Therefore, the literature content of this Section is more on the overall of Malaya JIM. This is to help readers to get a view of the brief and overall characteristics of \$100 Malaya JIM.

Numismatic catalogues describe M8a characteristics based on color, design, type of printing, watermark and design of capital blocks MT (Slabaugh, 1963; Toy & Meyer, 1967; Hale, 2014; Tan, 2016; Boon, 2016). Meanwhile, a catalogue from Linzmayer (2017) attributes additional information about demonetization of the JIM. Linzmayer's catalogue also explains briefly the meaning of "Greater Japan Imperial Government" on JIM.

Ogawa, Kozono and Boling (1987) used different term to describe the color and watermark for M8a. The face of the paper money was printed in intaglio, dark brown, gray and purple. The color for the back remained brown. As for the watermark, a word called "arabesque" was used. In design, the term arabesque refers to an ornamental design consisting of intertwined flowing line. In addition to that, Schwan and Boling (1995) described the difference of M8a watermark. It has two types of quadrille design. These two designs are called as "horizontal" and "diagonal" quadrille papers.

3. Methodology

This paper intends to explore the variety of Malaya JIM \$100 Pick number M8a. A total of 81 pieces of M8a paper money were analysed. These 81 pieces were obtained from the collection of a personal JIM collector from Malaysia. The information about the basic characteristics is as shown in Tables 1 and 2. Convenience sampling was used in this study for the purpose of collecting the sample. This type of sampling is a non-probability sampling method, cost-effective and its simplicity of sampling allows data collection to be facilitated in a short period of time.

All M8a cases in the sample were examined for their authenticity. First, it was done by matching all the 81 cases with the characteristics from Tables 1 and 2. This was an essential procedure for the validity test in this study. Then, the sample was examined on two specific areas; (1) the printed capital block letter M on the face side and (2) the number of "rope" on the back side. To study these two characteristics, each M8a paper money in the sample was coded and handled according to the numismatic practice. This was to ensure that the physical condition of the paper money was well protected. The numismatics practice includes looking into the paper of the M8a for

watermark identification. This is the main “characteristic” to distinguish the M8a from other Pick numbers of JIM\$100. In the current study, this was done by using a lamp with bright light and a magnifying glass. A checklist was provided to fill in the information. This observation method was developed by using a modification method from Hoyo-Meléndez et al. (2016).

Figure 2 shows the two specific areas on the M8a. These two characteristics were coded and were converted into nominal data. This conversion process followed a procedure from Maudes, Rodríguez and García-Osorio (2007). The process took four days to complete. A Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) version 20.0 was used for the coding process and for the analysis of the data. Data obtained later were used for the purpose of exploratory analysis.



Figure 2. Two specific areas of study for M8a

4. Findings and Discussion

Preliminary work includes an assessment of the tactile characteristics of the paper, examination using a lamp with bright light and a magnifying glass. This evaluation allows identification of differences within the sample in terms of the two characteristics studied. Furthermore, a checklist was used to differentiate the paper money for the purpose of classifying the sample into the two specific areas of study.

Table 3 shows the results for the dimension, faceplate and backplate of the 81 cases. The shortest dimension was 169 x 81mm (1, 1.2%) while the longest dimension was 173 x 83mm (3, 3.7%). The highest frequency for the dimension was recorded as 171 x 83mm (13, 16%), followed by the value of 172 x 82mm (11, 13.6%). Other dimensions were less than 10 in terms of the frequency. For the faceplate, majority had a value of 162mm (38, 46.9%). Besides the value of 162mm, there were 5 other different measures of the faceplate. The other 5 different measures recorded in this study were 161.5mm, 162.0mm, 162.5mm, 163.0mm and 163.5mm. As for the backplate, there were 3 different measures recorded obtained from the sample. The 3 measures were 152.0mm, 152.5mm and 153.0mm.

There were two types of woven paper for M8a paper money, namely horizontal type and diagonal type. Woven is a structure that interlaces yarns of paper money. This study demonstrates that majority of the sample was grouped as a non-woven paper (60, 74.1%). There were 18 (22.2%) cases which had a horizontal type. As for the diagonal type, only 3 (3.7%) cases were found. Table 4 shows the distribution of woven and non-woven paper of M8a in this study.

In this study, the values for M8a dimension, faceplate and backplate appeared to be more than one value when compared with information from Schwan and Boling (1995), Wong (1996) and Hale (2014). See Table 2 for the comparison. These differences were due the lack of standard operating procedure related to the printing activity during World War II. The production of M8a by the Japanese during World War II did not focus on standard dimension, faceplate and backplate due to the hectic environment. This means the quality standard of the paper money was compromised (Harrison, 1998). Furthermore, the printing was done in batches and at different locations (Wong, 1996).

One of the two objectives of this study is to identify the design of capital block letter M on the face and second to identify the number of ropes on the back of M8a. From Sections 1 and 2, it has been found that previous studies did not focus on these two objectives (see Slabaugh, 1963; Toy & Meyer, 1967; Ogawa, Kozono, & Boling, 1987; Schwan & Boling, 1995; Wong, 1996; Hale, 2014; Tan, 2016; Boon, 2016). For the first objective of his study, it was found that there are 4 varieties printed for the capital block letter M. Majority of the cases belong to the normal printing of capital block letter M (70, 86.4%). This variety was commonly found on M8a

and it has been widely shown as references in numismatic literature (Boling, 1995; Wong, 1996; Hale, 2014; Tan, 2016; Boon, 2016). 7 (8.6%) cases had an extra ink under the both arms of capital block letter M. Others were printed in bold capital block letters (3, 3.7%) and were printed without any capital block letters (1, 1.2%). Figure 3 shows the position of extra ink printed under the two arms of the capital block letter M compared with the normal capital block letter M.

Table 3. The Dimension, Faceplate and Backplate of M8a Samples

Characteristics	Measures in mm	Frequency	Percentage
Dimension	169x81	1	1.2
	169x82	2	2.5
	169.5x82	1	1.2
	169.5x83	2	2.5
	170x81	3	3.7
	170x81.5	1	1.2
	170x82	4	4.9
	170x82.5	2	2.5
	170x83	6	7.4
	170.5x81.5	1	1.2
	170.5x82	2	2.5
	171x82	8	9.9
	171x82.5	2	2.5
	171x83	13	16
	171x83.5	1	1.2
	171.5x82	1	1.2
	171.5x83	2	2.5
	172x82	11	13.6
	172x82.5	2	2.5
	172x83	6	7.4
	172x83.5	3	3.7
	172.5x83	1	1.2
	173x82	2	2.5
173x82.5	1	1.2	
173x83	3	3.7	
Faceplate	161.5	2	2.5
	162.0	38	46.9
	162.5	12	14.8
	163.0	27	33.3
	163.5	2	2.5
Backplate	152.0	52	64.2
	152.5	4	4.9
	153.0	25	30.9

Table 4. Woven and Non-woven Paper

Paper	Frequency	Percentage
Non-woven	60	74.1
Horizontal Woven	18	22.2
Diagonal Woven	3	3.7

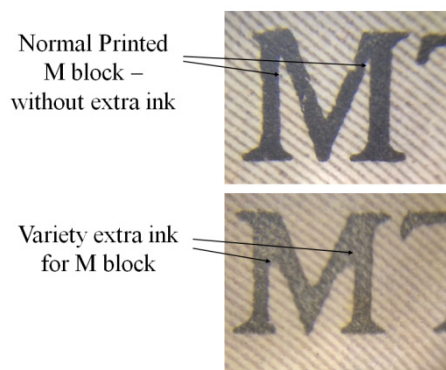


Figure 3. The position of extra ink printed under the two arms of the capital block letter M compared with the normal capital block letter M

The second objective of the study is to identify the number of ropes at the back of M8a. From this study, majority of the sample is of one rope (73, 90.1%). 4 cases indicate 2 ropes on their back. Figure 4 shows the one-rope and two-rope varieties obtained from this study. The one-rope variety is printed between the stream and the body of the second buffalo (see Figure 4 top photo). There is no additional rope seen from the one-rope variety. As for the two-rope variety, the first rope is printed in a similar way as the one-rope variety. However, there is another rope. This second rope connects the first buffalo with the second buffalo. A photo in Figure 4 illustrates the position of the second rope.

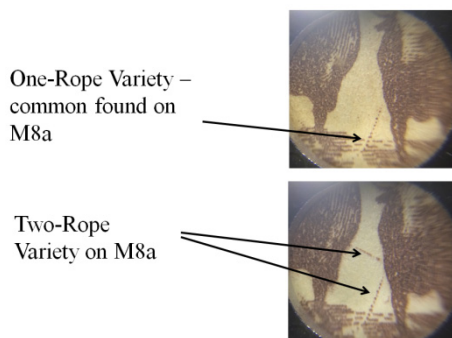


Figure 4. One-rope (top) and two-rope (below) varieties

Cross tabulation analysis was performed in order to observe the joint distribution among the types of paper (woven or non-woven), types of printed capital block letter M and number of ropes on the sample. This was a process that combined and summarized data from the sample. Tables 5 and 6 shows the cross tabulation results.

From Table 5, it is shown that the non-woven paper of dominates over the normal printed capital block letter M (55, 78.6%) and has a large number of one-rope variety 57, (74.0%). This indicates that the M8a was widely printed using normal paper (non-woven) with one-rope variety. In relation to the type of printed capital block letter M with the number of ropes, 66 pieces (85.7%) appear on the normal printing of capital block letter M and with one-rope. The two-rope variety exists on the normal type of printed capital block letter M (4, 100%). None of the sample shows an association between extra ink, bold and without block.

The cross tabulation analysis provides useful insights about the grouping of M8a from the most common variety to the rarest variety. The most common variety is the combination of normal paper (non-woven), normal printing of capital block letter M and one-rope. The next combination is horizontal woven, normal printing of capital block letter M and one-rope. In this study, the combination of diagonal woven, normal printing of capital block letter M and one-rope receives less integration. Based on these three integrations, it can be concluded that the rarest combination is diagonal woven, extra ink printed under the arms of capital block letter M and two-rope. There is no integration of these three characteristics found in this study. Figure 5 summarizes the grouping of M8a from this study.

Table 5. Cross Tabulation between Types of Paper, Types of Printed Capital Block Letter M and Number of Ropes

Paper Type	Type of Printed Capital Block Letter M				Total
	Normal	Extra Ink	Bold	Without Block	
Non-woven	55 (78.6%)	2 (28.6%)	2 (66.7%)	1 (100%)	60 (74.1%)
Horizontal Woven	13 (18.8%)	5 (71.4%)	0	0	18 (22.2%)
Diagonal Woven	2 (2.6%)	0	1(33.3%)	0	3 (3.7%)
Total	70 (100%)	7 (100%)	3 (100%)	1 (100%)	81 (100%)
	Number of Ropes				
Paper Type	1		2		Total
Non-woven	57 (74.0%)		3 (75.0%)		60 (74.1%)
Horizontal Woven	17 (22.1%)		1 (25.0%)		18 (22.2%)
Diagonal Woven	3 (3.9%)		0		3 (3.7%)
Total	77 (100%)		4 (100%)		81 (100%)

Table 6. Cross Tabulation between Types of Printed Capital Block Letter M and Number of Ropes

Type of Printed Capital Block Letter M	Number of Ropes		Total
	1	2	
Normal	66 (85.7%)	4 (100%)	70 (86.4%)
Extra Ink	7 (9.1%)	0	7 (8.6%)
Bold	3 (3.9%)	0	3 (3.7%)
Without Block	1 (1.3%)	0	1 (1.3%)
Total	77 (100%)	4 (100%)	81 (100%)

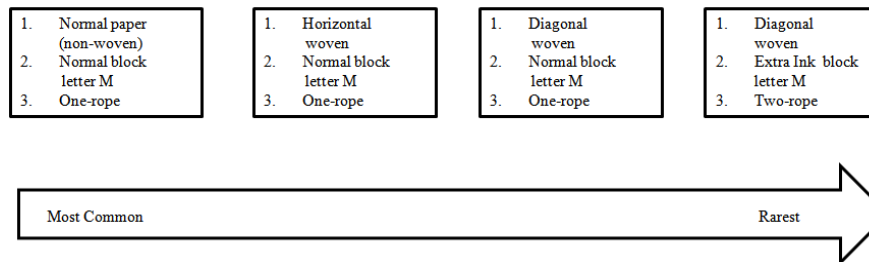


Figure 5. Grouping the Characteristics for M8a from Most Common to Rarest

The existence of variations on Malaya JIM M8a requires further investigations due to the lack of previous studies on this topic. The Japanese occupation of Malaya was from 8 December 1941 to 2 September 1945. Within this period, the Japanese administration actively printed Malaya JIM. Without the serial number as a control on production, this paper money created more supply rather than the demand. As Huff and Majima (2013) and Rudner (1975) pointed out, the Japanese occupation administration in the Southeast Asian countries required large financial support. This could only be done by printing large quantities of money which created hyperinflation.

As stated earlier in the beginning of this paper, there was a lack of previous studies pertaining to M8a especially for the identification of extra ink on the capital block letter M and the number of ropes. Views and findings from Slabaugh (1963), Toy and Meyer (1967), Nader and Kessell (1973, 1976), Ogawa, Kozono and Boling (1987), Schwan and Boling (1995) and Wong (1996) manifest the limitations of the information pertaining to the two issues. In a related literature, a review from Wang (2004) only summarized very briefly the Japanese occupation currency during World War II in Malaya and Singapore.

The findings in this study will potentially extend the knowledge in numismatic about M8a. For example, in numismatic catalogue such as the SCWPM, it makes numismatic reference for M8a become more specific according to its varieties. The numbering system in the numismatic catalogue requires changes due to the new findings from this study. For example, the Pick reference in the SCWPM for the extra ink printed under the arms of capital block letter M is proposed to be M8a1 while the normal printed capital block letter M remains as M8a. Meanwhile, the possible Pick reference for the two-rope variety is M8a2. Streek (2004) argued that numismatic collectors are able to gain specific knowledge on their money collection through understanding of the numismatic

references. Furthermore, they might gain additional value from their banknotes collection when they send their paper money for grading purpose to the grading professional agencies. It would increase the intrinsic value for collectors' paper money collection. From the business perspective, it provides insights into historical economic trends (Harnsberger, 1988). In short, the new reference numbers would give additional value and information for JIM collectors, old banknotes sellers, antique auction houses and grading professional agencies to provide more details on varieties for M8a.

5. Conclusion

The study of the capital block letter "M" and "number of ropes" on Malaya JIM \$100 Pick number M8a enables an extension of numismatic knowledge especially the World War II money. It provides additional knowledge on the varieties of M8a. Although previously there was limited literature about the varieties for M8a, the findings in this study may provide valuable information for numismatic catalogs, professional paper money grading agencies, JIM collectors, numismatic auction house and old money sellers. This study has explored in detail about the varieties of information related to the printing of capital block letter M and the printing of two or one-rope. Furthermore, it also provides information on the grouping of characteristics of M8a from common to the rarest integration using cross tabulation analysis.

Conflict of interests

The authors declare that there is no conflict of interests regarding the publication of this paper.

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Fashion Designers and National Identity: A Comparative Empirical Analysis of Chinese and Korean Fashion Designers

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to observe the similarities and differences between contemporary Chinese and Korean fashion designers in understanding the concept of national identity. To achieve this objective, the literature review and in-depth interview were conducted. The results are as follows: Firstly, the model that interprets the influence factors of designers' awareness of national identity was built. Under the social background of national identity, including governmental role, features of culture, openness of social system and the international and economic status, features of fashion and fashion designers influence on national identity expressed in designers' fashion works. Secondly, three main similarities between fashion designers' awareness have been found. The first is that both Chinese and Korean fashion designers emphasize broader regional concept about national identity; the second is that influence of national identity is subtle and not obvious; the third is that fashion designers have mixed consciousness of self-identity and national identity. Thirdly, there are three main differences between Chinese and Korean fashion designers' awareness. The first is that the adoption of ethnic national identity in fashion design is more related to the traditional ethnic elements in Chinese while modern elements were favored more by Korean. The second is that Chinese designers as a whole showed a deeper comprehension of traditional ethnic culture or philosophy than Korean designers do. The third is that more solid and positive attitude toward the government caused Chinese designers to have a more intensive civic national identity.

Keywords: national identity, civic national identity, ethnic national identity, chinese fashion designer, korean fashion designer

1. Introduction

The concept of national identity has existed in the field of fashion for a long time. Fashion also reflects more or less national identity via designers' adoption of national or cultural elements. In 1970s and 1980s Japanese fashion designers first appeared on the stage of Paris Fashion Week with their unique oriental philosophy and Japanese culture, gaining a steam of Japanese style in Western countries. When viewing the collections of English fashion designer Alexander McQueen, a strong taste from Victorian era could be perceived, which is due to his deep love for the historical garments of his country. Moreover, Vivienne Westwood, called the 'Godmother of Punk', also keeps exploring English classic tradition and hereby pushed the English charm to the highest position. As it were, there are innumerable links between fashion and national identity through fashion designers' creation.

In the recent runway show, it is also not difficult to see that more and more fashion designers in the world have begun to adopt their own country's elements which could represent national identity in their design works. Russian designer Gosha Rubchinskiy, with his eponymous brand, became a new force suddenly in global fashion market by assimilating Soviet Union culture in his 2017 SS collection, such as a symbolic socialist flag and the Russian national flag

Literature related to national identity involves cultural (Lee, 2016), economic (Kwon & Chi, 2010), political (Law, 2013) and other various fields, but there is not so much specific literature which connects national identity with fashion directly. In addition, in the few current research most of which only concentrates on one country, such as Denmark (Melchior, 2010), China (Tsui, 2014), there appear to be lack of the perspective of native designers. Most of which written on Chinese and Korean fashion and national identity formation concentrate on historical or traditional dress (Clark, 2012; Gang & Park, 2010; Jeong & Choi, 2013; Kunz, 1996; Soh, 2011), China and Korea,

as the two main countries of East Asia, have huge differences in the terms of state form and political institutions. For example, Korea is a typical capitalist country whose fashion follows Western countries tightly while China, as a socialist country, keeps its national or ethnic features in fashion to a great extent. It seems very essential and interesting to explore the differences between the two countries from the perspective of national identity. Therefore, not surprisingly, researcher selected China and Korea as two objects in this study.

Therefore, this research is expected to explore both Chinese and Korean fashion designers' understanding and attitudes towards national identity via in-depth interview and seek for the manifestation of national identity in modern fashion design. Furthermore, according to the comparative study between China and Korea, both of the two countries' fashion designers could get useful enlightenment of how to adopt and understand the national identity better in their works. The main question in the paper is how emerging fashion designers do perceive national identity and how national identity affects their works. And also it is to find out if there are differences between two countries. The fashion designers have been asked their awareness of national identity in terms of both civic and ethnic dimensions.

The result of this study will not only give a reference of how national identity is shown in nowadays fashion designers' works and how it affects them, but also being expected that fashion designers could get useful enlightenment of how to adopt and understand national identity better in their work for developing their fashion career in a globalized market, which is also meaningful to deepen cooperation and exchange between China and Korea. China and Korea are two significant countries located in Eastern Asia, and the development of which is also expected to be super significant to the rise of Asian fashion.

2. Literature Review

Nation consists of one or more ethnic groups and is based on a political entity, all ethnic groups inside share agreed legal system, public culture, economic and political life. National identity supplies individuals with a sense of who they are in a state, which could be also seen as an awareness of affiliation to the nation that gives people a sense of who they are in relation to others, or infuses them with a sense of purpose that makes them feel at home (Keane, 1994). Smith's dichotomous model is one of the classic models of national identity, which contrasts the ethnic-genealogical and the civic-territorial (Smith, 1991). Especially from comparative perspective, there seems to be a consensus regarding the distinction between 'civic' and 'ethnic' definitions of nationhood. Civic dimension emphasizes more fluid features of identity such as political rights, duties, and values, which are imagined as kinship through shared acceptance of political institutions and norms. In contrast fixed cultural markers and bloodlines characterize the ascriptive dimension of identity, which is usually referred as an ethnic dimension. To be specific, ethnic conception of national identity links membership with ancestry, nativity, religious or cultural custom. (Ha & Jang, 2015).

In China it is until the opening of the 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China that changed the economic and political situation and did Chinese fashion begin its new development along with the opening up reform. In 1980s, the first generation of fashion designers made a figure in China. It was until 1993 that the establishment of China Fashion Designers' Association made fashion designers develop in a vocational way and then from 1998 to 2008 which is an important 10 years for Chinese fashion designers being active in international arena (Kim, 2014).

Compared with the early socialist ideology that affected China, Korea has been influenced by western clothing cultures under the liberal ideological trend of capitalism from the founding of the republic. Without the impact of fashion dead time, Korean fashion kept developing from the very beginning. As early as 1955 the term 'fashion designer' was adopted by Nora Noh and Korean first fashion show was held in Seoul in 1956, following with the first Korean International Fashion Week being held in 1959. Then Korean designers started to look for opportunities entering into international arena.

Except Chinese flag, which is the symbol of China and reflects Chinese political and historical dignity, the adoption of some other political elements in fashion design is flexible in China of nowadays. It is clear that nowadays fashion does not reflect one's political ideology anymore, for instance, it is ridiculous to say that if a designer creates the design adopting green military uniform and being stylized in Cultural Revolution period means that he or she does support the Cultural Revolution. The political elements are only symbols and cannot be seen as political inclination in nowadays.

When refers to Chinese political suits in the history, Mao's suit or Sun Yetsan suit are still the main stream even in the 21 century and still mainly selected by Chinese national leaders or government. SE7EN became famous due to the reform of Sun Yetsan suit which is full of features of civic national identity of China at 2014 APEC (Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation) conference (“柒牌 2014 年 APEC 会议官方指定服装正式亮相北京[2014

APEC Conference Uniform in Beijing by SE7EN]", 2014). And it is worth mentioning that Vivienne Tam, selected as the top 50 most beautiful people in the world by American magazine <People>, became famous in global fashion field due to her launching collection adopting elements of Mao Zedong' suit in 1995. And 18 years later she applied political elements again in 2013 Fall/Winter New York Fashion Week, grasping the world's attention once more. Her collection was titled 'Mao Zedong Collection', which means that Long live President Mao, Long Long live President Mao (Mao zhu xi Wan Sui Wan Wan Sui). When she was asked about the concept of this collection, she said that she was interested in various political events happened nowadays, what she wanted to deliver was more than fashion itself (Huafang, 2013)

There are lots of fashion designers have attempted to make the connection between visible-symbolized culture and fashion. Media frequently report famous Chinese fashion designers who well-utilize distinct Chinese ethnic cultures. Guo Pei, as one of the outstanding representative Chinese Haute Couture designers, adopted Chinese ancient embroidery technic every time in her runway show, which delivers the extensive and profound meaning of Chinese traditional culture and also Lawrence Xu is famous for the combination of Chinese and western style. He used to apply western draping skills with classic and oriental designing elements. His 2015 Spring/Summer collection showed the world the magnificent and beautiful historical scroll of Chinese heritage Dunhuang. It is one of the most significant historical and cultural signs of the East, which is also a bridge between modern fashion and ancient civilization, facilitating the implementation of fashion and romance, modern and history (Guanchao, 2015)

Before the success of democratization, Korea was in a long-term dictatorship period; citizens had to follow the government's rules, ideologies or institutions without independent options. That was one of the reasons behind clothing-unification; fashion was full of political intentions during this period. Currently, in the globalized world today, the restraining force that the politic has to fashion has become weaker and weaker, and fashion has been generalized into the expression of an individual's personality. Designers adopt these political elements in their design without political intention but only to create the new fashion or express their views to social problems. Although there is also National Flag Laws in Korea, the citizens seem less sensitive and more tolerant to those designs adopting national flags elements.

In the TV program "Music Bank" held by KBS, Korean idol group Block B was dressed in reformed Korean school drill uniform. The designer referred to the pattern of Korean school drill uniform in the particular historical period and combined it with modern cutting, making the group members and audience satisfied. The 2016 Fall/Winter collection by CHARM'S delivers the emotion of military to the audience via the adoption of military-symbolized khaki color and the match of Flight jacket with sunglasses (Chun, 2016)

In most cases, Korean ethnic culture elements such as Hanbok and traditional patterns are considered by fashion designers more when they try to design for political leaders or the first lady. The new president, along with Korean first lady, visited the United States in 2017. The first lady dressed in a white coat painting with blue trees created by Korean artist Jeon Younghwan. The clothing she wore in the following days were all blue, as well as the president's tie. The color was from the Korean Presidential Palace, Blue House which is the symbol of peace, trust, success and hope. It is obvious that Korea president looks forward to the success of the Korea-America political talk (Kim, 2017)

Lie Sangbong introduced Korean traditional beauty to the world according to his 2015 Fall/Winter collection which was inspired by oriental ink. The black peony pattern on the garment is recreated via Korean traditional ink painting. He is considered the Korean fashion designer who is good at applying Korean traditional elements. In the collection all of the detailed elements are full of the designer's deep and strong emotion into the reinterpretation of Korean culture ("역시 이상봉!" 뉴욕 패션계 찬사["It's Lie Sang-bong!" New York fashion applauds"], 2015)

3. Research Method

3.1 Measuring Tools

The research question was solved by conducting the in-depth and unstructured interviews, which were mainly based on fashion designers' personal designing experience and subjective opinions. The researcher gained designers' inferential comprehension to national identity by adopting a number of leading questions, the hidden relation between the national identity and the modern fashion design was then revealed.

The questionnaire consists of 2 parts based on the questions used by Tsui (2014) and Peidong (2013) in their researches. Before the essential questions, some basic demographic questions were asked, which was referred to the book < China Fashion: Conversations with Designers >, written by Christine Tsui (2014), for the reason that these demographic questions such as interviewees' age, education background, overseas experience could have

impact on their awareness of national identity. The first part of the interview questions was centered on the background of fashion designer's brand, brand positioning and brand concept. According to the analysis of these questions, a general subconscious awareness of how fashion designers understand the concept of national identity can be found. Factors such as the reason for applying brand name in foreign language, or the original intention of setting the brand can all affect the designers' understanding of national identity. The second part was related to the awareness of civic national identity. The research borrowed some questions about the political and civic characteristics of clothing from the paper written by Sun Peidong (2013). These questions included: in which occasion could fashion be full of political features, what are the representative elements of civic national identity and how they are reflected, whether the support of fashion industry from the government can strengthen the civic national identity and so on. The third parts discussed the theme of ethnic national identity and fashion. Questions such as: what is ethnic culture, which features it has, how it was showed in nowadays fashion, which kind of ethnic culture was getting more and more popular recently and how it affected fashion design were asked. And the last part was about comprehensive questions including how designers being aware of the national identity, in which occasion do they feel the stronger national identity, how the national identity affects their designing progress and so on.

3.2 Collection of Materials and Samples

Interviewees are those fashion designers who have their own studios or work in the designer brand, and have been presenting both SS and FW collections during recent three years. Ultimately, totally 20 fashion designers including 10 Chinese fashion designers and 10 Korean fashion designers were selected respectively. For Chinese designers the interviews were conducted in Chinese and for Koreans in Korean. Under the agreement of the designers, their real names were utilized except one Chinese designer and two Korean designers. The Demographic characteristics of these designers are listed in Table 1.

Interviewees who were selected via the website of Shanghai Fashion Week and Seoul Fashion Week and then contact information such as email address, could be obtained via various ways. The researcher sent emails to those selected designers for participation. The methodology of convenience sampling and snowball sampling were conducted. The interview was conducted from 05th, November, 2017 to 18th, November, 2017, when Chinese fashion designers were interviewed in the first week in Beijing and Shanghai and then Korean designers were visited in the following next week in Seoul. The interview places, such as coffee shop, tea shop or designer's studio, were discussed and confirmed with interviewees before the interview started. The interview was conducted in the form of one-on-one conversation lasting one and a half hours. The unstructured interview outline was organized before the interview and interview contents could also be adjusted or enriched properly according to the situation. Before the interview, the researcher explained the letter of consent and introduction for research participation in details, which was checked strictly by ○○○○○ IRB (IRB No. 1710/003-014). Conversation was recorded under the agreement with interviewees.

Table 1. Demographic Characteristics of Interviewees

People's Republic of China				Republic of Korea		
	Brand	Name	Age	Brand	Name	Age
1	Doris Zhang women's wear	Zhang Shangchao	33	ANTIMATTER casual wear	Kim Jiung	32
2	Ginger fashion interior	Jiang Qiong	31	AJO, AJOBYYO casual wear	Kim Sehyung	29
3	Ms Zhao fashion print	Zhao Yini	31	CHANGSINSA men/women's wear	*Felicse	25
4	PRAJNA men/women's wear	*Miao Yan	57	EcommaE women's wear	Lee Eunhee	34
5	Sansetiquette women's wear	Li Yue	28	Gain-g men's wear	Kang Gilung	26
6	Shine Seven casual wear	Mellon	24	GREEDILOUS women's wear	Park Younhee	39
7	SORSAKS men's wear	Yao Yueting	27	Katology fashion accessory	Uh Kyungjin	33
8	Uncompleted men's wear	Zhu Yin	37	PALE TURQUOISE women's wear	Park Lynjun	25
9	WU ZHI fashion accessory	Chen Dandan	28	SAIMI JEON women's wear	Chun Saimi	38
10	Xi women's wear	He Linxi	26	RE;CODE women's wear	*Jaesik	27

Note: "*" indicates the designer under the false name

3.3 Data Analysis and Interpretation

The in-depth interview aims to explore the fashion designers' deep understanding national identity nowadays and get useful enlightenment of the relation between national identity and fashion. For the purpose, it is necessary to figure out questions according to comprehensive observation and analyses, such as which type of national identity interviewees are aware of, what is the external reason resulting in this type of national identity, whether fashion design is affected by national identity, and how national identity is manifested in fashion design. Therefore, this research organized the recording data into texts first, and based on these edited literal data, the Grounded Theory proposed by Strauss & Corbin (1998) was adopted.

The analysis was based on three steps which are open coding, axial coding and selective coding. Open coding is linked to the concept extraction of a line, a sentence, a paragraph or wholesome text and then develops categories or subcategories to be put in order in the course of time. Axial coding can be seen as the process of relating codes (categories and concepts) to each other, via a combination of inductive and deductive thinking. The basic framework of generic relationships is understood to include categories related to centralization phenomenon, causality, strategy, context and arbitration terms and consequences, so that it can provide a comprehensive understanding of the designers' awareness of national identity. Lastly, selective coding is the process of choosing one category to be the core category, and relating all other categories to that category. After segmenting all the materials via the opening coding methodology, 63 concepts, 29 subcategories and 13 upper categories were exported in Chinese part, while 69 concepts, 31 subcategories and 13 upper categories were exported in Korean part. And finally, four categorizations were sorted out based on the 13 upper categories, which are respectively, social background of national identity; characteristics of fashion designers; features of fashion and features of national identity on fashion. The example of the opening coding process was listed as follows in Table 2. The final analysis result was examined under 3 scholars who are well experienced in the field and conducted related research based on Grounded Theory before so that the validity of this research could be assured.

Table 2. Example of Opening Code

NAME/ BRAND	STATEMENTS	CONCEPT	SUB- CATEGORY	UPPER CATEGORY	CATEGORI- Z ATION
Zhu Yin/ Completed	<i>A few years ago, the effect of the first lady was quite strong. The Chinese style garments that the first lady was dressed in were said to be made by the domestic fashion designer: Ma Ke, hence she got super fame in China via the media. The First lady favors Chinese fashion brands and would like to wear them overseas. I also feel very proud of it, I think it will certainly affect some people to design styles like this in fashion field.</i>	The first lady promotes the Chinese design to develop in the direction of adopting cultural elements.	Representative Support of the First Lady		
				Governmental Role	Social Background of National Identity
Li Yue/ Sansetiquette	<i>Many clothing associations hold a number of clothing competitions under the government's support. If got the government's support, I could concentrate on my work more with little pressure on financial problem. I think the government should be the best choice if the qualification from the government is not strict. I will feel that I was supported by the government, which is very dependable.</i>	It will be less stressful under the support of the government.	Designers Trust in the Government		

4. Model for fashion designers' awareness of national identity

Finally, the model, which explains fashion designers' awareness of national identity was built as Figure 1. It was built as the results of the data analysis and interpretation based on the interviews with designers. The social background of national identity includes governmental role, features of culture, openness of social system and international and economic status. With the help of the social background of national identity, features of fashion, characteristics of fashion designer, and features of national identity on fashion were shaped. In the whole social fashion environment, the way people enjoy fashion, the tendency that the consumers adopt culture, the designers' attitudes towards elements of national identity, as well as designers' self-identity are all direct influential factors on the designers' awareness of national identity. The features of national identity expressed in fashion were affected by social background both directly and indirectly and also reflect features of fashion, characteristics of fashion designers at the same time.

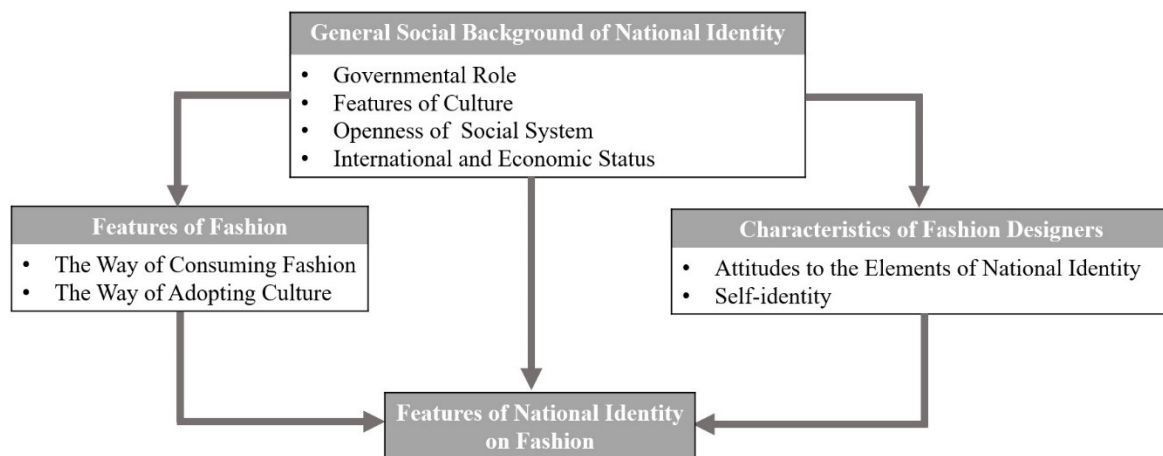


Figure 1 Model for Fashion Designers' National Identity Awareness

The details of factors which play meaningful roles in the model have been explained as below with the interviewees' quotations.

4.1 General Social Background

The social background is one of the most basic factors which influence on national identity: national power corresponds to its cultural confidence; therefore, difference in national power and status of the nation is an important indicator of how confident designers from the two countries are of their nation's culture. From a societal perspective, the society's acceptance level is also a significant indicator of the strong national identity.

4.1.1 Governmental role

The government plays a significant role in promoting the emergence of national identity. For most designers, the Chinese government's support to both fashion and cultural industry would accelerate and enhance citizen's sense of belonging to the nation. The main stream culture that the government advocated will certainly be reflected on designers' works. Recently, the traditional cultural renaissance movement which reflects the national identity is strengthening the designers' national identity indirectly. The recognition of traditional ethnic culture, from a wider perspective, equals to the recognition to the nation.

Nowadays, the revival of Chinese traditional culture has become a cultural trend in China. What the politics did is actually promoting the cultural renaissance. The cultural renaissance advocated by the government directly leads customers' favors in the market.

Jiang Qiong, Ginger, 31

The Korean designers' trust towards the government seems to be less than that of those in China. The support for designers provided by private-owned enterprises seems to have won favor of the designers over the government. And many of designers argue that it is better to strive for the private enterprises investment so that the fashion system operation could be more effective.

I think the government's support is not as good as what the enterprise provides. As you can see, Paris or New York Fashion Week is not supported by the government but some commercial enterprises who can provide sufficient financial fund. I remember that our government provided us designers with a space to experiment once but there was nothing available at all from my point of view.

Fellicse, CHANGSINSA, 25

4.1.2 Features of Culture

The traditional cultural renaissance movement does not mean the rejection to western culture but a protection to ethnic culture, which could provide one more choice in people's cultural consumption. For fashion designer, the trend that the traditional culture became popular again is expected to make many designers return back to experience the traditional lifestyle, which is a process of looking for and admitting ethnic national identity. The influence from the ethnic culture is subtle.

Nowadays, aesthetic education of traditional culture is more and more popular in our daily life. It seems that many people surrounded me begin to study traditional instrument such as Zheng or Chin compared with the western piano or guitar. Regardless of the age, Chinese people would like to go to drink a cup of tea and start to enter into this type of life full of traditional atmosphere.

Jiang Qiong, Ginger, 31

In recent years, the overall cultural characteristics of South Korea are still somewhat westernized. The interest of young people in traditional components is relatively low compared to that of China. From a societal point of view, the weakening of the traditional ethnic culture of the country to a certain extent, has slowly led to a cognitive difference between Chinese and Korean designers about the national identity.

It looks like that people in our country prefer western culture more than Korean one. I learned Taekwondo when I was a kid, but there are fewer people studying it nowadays. Instead, boxing is getting more and more popular. The traditional Korean culture has not been an obvious popularity.

Kang Gilung, Gain-g, 26

4.1.3 Openness of Social System

From the designer to consumer, the ability of acceptance to Chinese ethnic culture is high in the field of Chinese fashion. All of them have played a significant role in Chinese ethnic culture promotion. As a matter of fact, consuming western culture is still a mainstream although there are more and more consumers who began to favor traditional ethnic culture elements. Therefore, it seems very important for fashion designers to maintain the balance between national identity and international identity.

I launched a collection related to the Chinese 24-solar terms which widely applies digital printing patterns in the design. When we tell our consumers about the stories behind each printing, they really liked it, and the acceptance of these traditional stories or printings is much higher than I expected.

Zhang Shangchao, Doris Zhang, 33

In terms of open social system, Korea is much more favorable to the new and different culture. They tend to enjoy trying modern civilization and Americanized habit. Most of the Korean designers being interviewed had relatively negative attitude on too obviously traditional elements.

Domestic consumers do not like clothes with Korean traditional elements. When I asked the manager why they do not like them, she said the consumers seem a little bit reject Korean traditional elements and what they prefer more is modern and clean design.

Jaesik, RE:CODE, 27

4.1.4 International and Economic Status

The pursuit of western fashion is based on their advanced international status of science and technology. With the growth of international economic power and the rise of international standing, the national culture was gaining more attention then. Chinese ethnic culture, as a representative of showing national confidence and personality, will accelerate the ethnic national identity.

I think fashion is always the stuff behind the global economic environment. If the country was awesome, I mean, if it had strong economic strength, the world would pay close attention to it and then the culture inside, furthermore, the fashion inside.

Zhao Yini, Ms Zhao, 31

Most of the Korean designers being interviewed had a relatively low expectation to Korea's national power even though it is much stronger than ever globally. The weakness in national power or international and economic status led to their lack of confidence in their own culture, which facilitated their designs tending to reflect culture from outside more or not the national one.

I don't know whether I was a patriot or a traitor if I say that our country is not powerful anymore globally, especially recent years. There is a great gap between the rich and the poor in Korea, and so does China. However, the Korean national strength on the whole is still weak due to various reasons such as small territory. We still rely on many other countries economically, for example, the United States or China.

Park Lynjun, PALE TURQUOISE, 25

4.2 Characteristics of Fashion Designers

The second important factor is the characteristics of fashion designers. The personal characteristics of fashion designer, including the attitudes towards traditional culture and self-identity, have a direct effect on fashion designers' awareness on national identity. How fashion designers perceive the cultural and political elements, as the most direct manifestation in clothing, will reflect how they are aware of national identity. Fashion design, as a totally privatized thing, should be considered under the effect of self-identity.

4.2.1 Attitudes towards National Identity

Almost all Chinese fashion designers view Chinese ethnic culture as the traditional ethnic culture only, which is due to the excellence and the diversity of Chinese culture in the history. The richness of Chinese traditional ethnic culture promotes a lot of Chinese fashion designers being favor of it, whether the visible one or the invisible one. The Chinese culture is competitive in their point of view and it is very pitiful for not being inherited.

I am so proud of our culture which is not available in other countries. It would be fairer for me to say 'competitiveness' instead of 'responsibility' when refers to Chinese culture. The transition of the layers and the gradation of colors in hand embroidery on Chinese clothing is still vivid though it has been hundred years. It is kind of a pity that such a good-looking technic could not be adopted in nowadays fashion design widely.

He Linxi, Xi, 26

Korean designers' understanding of traditional cultural elements mainly focuses on two aspects. On one hand, they feel sorry for the continuous elimination of the traditional culture and regretted the lack of Korean culture presented to the world. On the other hand, they agree that the historical trend resolved to such a cultural development and change. With the continuous infiltration of contemporary culture, more contemporary and modern trend has been set naturally and they are very essential to Korean fashion designers.

The Chinese culture left in China nowadays is something that has been filtered by the modernization. The traditional culture is various and abundant, but only few things remained at last. Korea is in the same situation and so is France. The stuff we are using now are what being selected by the era. I think the development of the traditional culture is a process being selected, being exploited, and then being developed or being eliminated.

Chun Saimi, SAIMI JEON, 38

When asked what Korean culture is, most Korean designers did not mention the traditional ethnic culture that many Chinese designers did, but concentrated on the modern lifestyle in Korea. In general, South Korean designers' feelings and emotions for the integration of modern culture in their own lives are much more significant than those of traditional culture. This is a more interesting attitude difference between China and South Korea's designers.

I don't think Korean culture is very clear or distinctive, that is why a lot of people keeps looking for what the Korean ethnic traditional culture is in recent years. However, to be honest, if we consider this question from a different angle, I think the modern culture that mixed various foreign features in our country nowadays is also an important part of Korean culture itself.

Kim Sehyung, AJO, AJOBAYO, 29

4.2.2 Self-identity

As a whole, Chinese fashion designers hold a stronger sense of belonging to the nation rather than designers from other countries. A lot of Chinese designers want to let the world agree with the Chinese culture or Chinese fashion. Under this strong sense of belonging, the ethnic pride was enhanced. However, as time goes by, this sense of belonging has a tendency to become weaker and weaker.

Chinese designers really pay much attention on Chinese national identity but I think there will be fewer people acting like that in the future.

Li Yue, Sansetiquette, 28

Designers' works were seen as a carrier to promote environmental protection, and some of designers advocate to slow down the pace of production. More and more fashion designers express their attitudes through the essence of slow fashion from two perspectives: the inheritance and sustainability. The deeper human care was given to the design, and more and more Chinese and Korean were affected by these slow fashion ideologies then.

The four seasons in Shanghai is more and more indistinct compared with it when I was a child. Obviously, the result of this situation is highly linked with the destroying of the environment. Gradually, I want to remind people about such things related to environment-protecting through my design.

Zhang Shangchao, Doris Zhang, 33

I think the Korean spirit that was showed in my design is full of the feature of Jeju Island. It is future-focused, and many green, blue and silver color were adopted. I hope the beautiful environment of Jeju Island could be reserved in the future.

Park Lynjun, PALE TURQUOISE, 25

In fact, for designers from all countries, before they have achieved a high international status, they all have a certain expectation towards the development of the design industry in their own country and are eager to seek a kind of identity and recognition. This recognition will naturally strengthen the designers' national pride and promote the formation of a stronger ethnic national identity. As with China, Korean designers also feel that building such a strong national identity will take time.

When I was launching my New York collection, the most frequently asked question is "What is the house brand in Korea?" I could not figure it out, which is not because that we Korean did bad design works but for the reason that we do not have any long-established brand like the western countries have, hence we need more time to attain this goal from generation to generation. I wish in the near future, when Korean designers were asked the same question again, it will be so honorable if my brand could become that house brand.

Park Younhee, GREEDILOUS, 39

4.3 Feature of Fashion

The third important factor is features of fashion. Under the influence of the general influence of national identity, fashion shows two main features. First is the way people consuming fashion as cultural products or the commercial products. Second is the attitude and way to adopt traditional ethnic elements in fashion. These elements, as the typical representative of national identity, will have direct impact on the designers' awareness of national identity

4.3.1 The Way of Consuming Fashion

In China, fashion is not only viewed as a commercial product but also a cultural product. Many Chinese brands attempt to combine the brand itself with Chinese culture, which was seen as the carrier of delivering culture. It is good for expanding the concept of fashion, and has significant impact on delivering and developing fashion. It is the combination with the culture that attracts more designers' focusing on ethnic elements, and then their awareness of national identity will be affected.

We found that there is no suitable clothing to interpret Zen life when we advocate it. We hope to present it through clothes. With the deep development of Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism culture in our country for so many years, it has been integrated into our lives. It is still worth being explored that how they were reflected on clothes. Our brand has done the initial attempt and has got some people's recognition.

Miao Yan, PRAJNA, 57

One of the most fundamental differences between Korean fashion and Chinese fashion is that Korea regards fashion mainly as a commercial activity. The degree of combining with culture and the government's support to cultural activities is lower than China, in Korean fashion designers' view. In the deepening consumer era, with the fast development of economy and the weakness of unsubstantial traditional culture in Korea, the support on fashion from culture has become weaker and weaker, which is the inevitable result of the industrialization.

On the forum during the Seoul Fashion Week held last year, a Chinese buyer raised a question that what can Korea fashion show to the world if it lost the support from cosmetic and idols, which I think is very important and worth considering. Of course, it is a fact that our country really did well in selling the idols or cosmetic contents in the level of VMD (Visual Merchandising), but when it refers to something just belongs to Korea fashion, it is yet to seek. Therefore, I feel a little bit pity of it.

Fellicse, CHANGSINSA, 25

4.3.2 The Way of Adopting Traditional Culture

Under the influence of Chinese national identity, there is an important feature of fashion which is the wide adoption of traditional elements. It shows many different characteristics based on the richness of Chinese ethnic culture. In addition to the most basic Chinese symbolized elements for example, the embroidery, more and more designers tend to be affected by the invisible—spiritual culture in order to express Chinese spiritual features. The background of fashion design which is based on the ethnic culture elements has a very important influence on the direction of the fashion designers' awareness of national identity.

Some people may simply think that putting more embroidery on clothes means the adoption of Chinese elements, which I do not agree with. I think these designs are too superficial. It is better to determine the concept of artistic conception before designing. For example, you may feel one bag special when you first see it, and then after a while, you can feel the Zen feeling behind the bag, the adoption of Chinese culture in this bag obviously is not direct and simple. I feel we still need to dig cultural connotation deeply, and combine it subtly with the design.

Chen Dandan, WU ZHI, 28

In contrast, Korean fashion industry has taken on a more industrialized model, weakening the relation between culture and fashion, and uses more modern culture rather than traditional culture, which is in contrast with the understanding of national identity that Chinese designers have.

In fact, I would rather hide the historic background behind my design than put them in front. In comparison with traditional elements, modern culture is the more easily accepted source where I gain the inspiration.

Kim Sehyung, AJO, AJOBYAJA, 29

5. Conclusion

The similarities between Chinese and Korean fashion designers' awareness of national identity were examined. There are three main similarities. Firstly, with the subtle integration of Asian culture and the development of globalization, both Chinese and Korean fashion designers view national identity as a concept beyond the national boundaries. Representing or introducing Asia is a more adopted situation when they show their design works in the international stage. Oriental style, as basic cognition of Chinese and Korean fashion designers in western's view, has also accelerated the rise of Asian fashion. Meanwhile, national elements have become an alternative or not necessary in their designing processes. It is the alternative that represents an attitude that makes both Chinese and Korean fashion designers stand in a position where all the worldwide culture can be shared or communicated without prejudice. This attitude can be seen as the precondition before the emergence of the national identity concept that is beyond the national boundaries. Secondly, it is the subtle influence of national identity. The impact that national identity has on fashion designers is not obvious. An individual's background and growing environment, a country's national language and its characteristics, its national politics and its history; these accumulated factors are all permeated in the national daily life and then reflected on the individual, both in ethnic and civic perspective. It can be said that the relation between the national identity and the designer can be considered as the relation between the blood and the body. The influence of national identity is the process of the blood flowing, which leads to the run of various organs in the body. The individual's lack of the national identity directly means the lack of the most essential sense of belonging to the life. In many cases, the national identity of designers can be reflected in their work itself even though it was not in his or her intention. Lastly, it is the mixed consciousness of self-identity and national identity. Since fashion designing is very private and personal, self-identity has the most direct and intense effect on a designer's work. Self-identity that set the tone for the designer brands is actually inspired from the nation where designers are living, which could return to the national level again. Fashion designers seek to establish themselves and their brands globally, which could also be seen as a recognition process of their respective nations. As mentioned, it is often that national identity influences the designers' self-identity, and in turn affects the result of the design; therefore, from a more macro perspective, such as from the nation's point of view, self-identity and national identity are two inseparable identities. In other words, national identity, as a higher category, can only be felt in some special occasions.

The differences between Chinese and Korean fashion designers' awareness of national identity were investigated. There are three main differences. First is understanding ethnic national identity in a modern or traditional way. Under the influence of the governmental role played in traditional culture and the brand identity as well as the brand scale contained inside, Chinese fashion designers hold the opinion that ethnic national identity refers to a sense of belonging to traditional Chinese ethnic culture, which has a long and rich history. Nevertheless, from Korean fashion designers' point of view, Korean ethnic national identity is not the most representative of their national identity, the modern culture and what we are living with in this country is the most representative. This distinctive awareness results in the adoption of ethnic national identity in fashion concentrating on traditional ethnic elements more by Chinese fashion designers while modern ethnic elements were favored more by Korean fashion designers. Second is the deep or plain understanding of ethnic national identity. For Chinese fashion designers, clothing is given the meaning of inherited responsibilities especially in the dimension of the traditional ethnic culture. For most of Chinese fashion designers, it is not very difficult to interpret the relation between their design and traditional ethnic culture, in both visible and spiritual way. Contrastively, for most of Korean fashion designers, it seems different. They almost do not like to consider the inherited feature of ethnic culture in their designing progress. Most of them would not like to make some connections between their design and ethnic

culture or traditional philosophy. Third is the strong or weak civic national identity. Korean fashion designers as a whole showed less positive attitudes towards the government in supporting fashion designer's brands compared with it in China, instead, the private enterprises seem a better choice for them. The less positive attitude to the government and institutions hence formulates a weak civic national identity in Korea in fashion designers' views. While in Chinese case, the government really plays a significant role in supporting fashion, together with the rise of Chinese international status and economic strength, these factors all help to bring about the stronger trust on Chinese government and then result in the stronger civic national identity in fashion field.

This research provides inspiration for both Chinese and Korean fashion designers in understanding Chinese and Korean fashion industry from the national identity perspective. For Korean fashion designers, it is meaningful to deepen the understanding of Chinese ethnic culture from traditional perspective and adopt appropriate Chinese ethnic elements when entering into Chinese market. For Chinese fashion designers, they are ought to focus more on modern perspective of Korean ethnic culture and rethink the core of Korean ethnic culture in order to reduce the directly-expressed ethnic feelings and better meet the requirements from the global market. As a result, it can be seen as the basic material of market strategy in order to enter in both Chinese and Korean market for fashion designers from these two countries.

As a matter of fact, the Chinese fashion industry shows some distinctive geographical features. However, due to the limited ability of the researcher and the vast territory of China, it is difficult to invite and research on a wider range of fashion designers in China. Getting the support from fashion designers from various areas in both China and Korea, or not just the only 20 designers, will bring out a more comprehensive understanding in the awareness of Chinese and Korean fashion designers in a universal way. And insufficient literature analysis seems a limitation since the study has been focused mainly on the empirical analysis. In the future study, quantitative and qualitative research are expected to be conducted together so that the result of this research can be more comprehensive and reliable.

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The Belt and Road Policy and Traditional Chinese Culture

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Abstract

Since the 18th CPC national congress, the development of socialism with Chinese characteristics has entered into a new era. In the new context of development, Chinese President Xi Jinping has put forward the Belt and Road Policy. The Belt and Road Policy is not only a major decision for China to promote regional economic integration and international economic and trade exchanges, but also a project to spread traditional Chinese culture. The Belt and Road Policy initiative bears the mission of spreading the Chinese civilization and building a community with a shared future for humanity. It attempts to provide a set of Chinese solutions to the bottleneck of global development and demonstrates the cultural confidence of the CPC.

Keywords: China, The Belt and Road Policy, Traditional Chinese Culture

1. Introduction

Chinese President -Xi Jinping said in the 19th CPC national congress that socialism with Chinese characteristics has entered into a new era, marking a new historical juncture in China's development. In the report, he also mentioned that the Belt and Road (B&R) Policy -construction has achieved remarkable results. The B&R is not only a strategy for international and regional economic development, but also a “golden key” for strengthening all-round cooperation among countries around the world. Among them, the dissemination of traditional Chinese culture is an indispensable part. Under the background of China's new era, it is of great significance to understand the construction of B&R and the spread of traditional Chinese culture in order to deeply understand Chinese civilization and China's national strategic layout.

In his speech at Nazarbayev University in Kazakhstan on September 7, 2013, President Xi Jinping put forward the initiative of jointly building the “Tilk Road Economic Belt” with innovative cooperation models. In a speech to the Indonesian parliament on October 3, he put forward the idea of jointly building the 21st-Century Maritime Silk Road with southeast Asian countries. This marks the beginning of China's B&R initiative. On March 27, 2015, the national development and reform commission, the ministry of foreign affairs and the ministry of commerce in Bo-ao Asia on jointly issued the “vision and actions of jointly building the Silk Road Economic Belt and the 21st-Century Maritime Silk Road”, which marked “the Belt and Road” program, led by China formally entered the stage of comprehensive construction, also marks the Chinese positive impetus region to participate in the change of the role of globalization and international economic new order.

In May 2017, B&R International Cooperation Summit was held in Beijing. This is the highest-level and largest international conference within the framework of B&R initiated by China. In his keynote speech, President Xi Jinping pointed out that since the launch of the B&R in 2013, it has gradually been transformed from an idea into an action, from a vision into a reality, and yielded fruitful results. First, policy communication has been deepened. Second, infrastructure connectivity has been strengthened. Third, unimpeded trade continued to improve. Fourth, financial connectivity continued to expand. Fifth, increasing people-to-people connectivity. At the meeting, all parties agreed to build B&R into a road to peace, prosperity, openness, innovation and civilization. In April 2019, Xi Jinping pointed out in the opening speech of the second B&R International Cooperation Summit Roundtable that the goal of jointly building B&R international cooperation is to create more benefits for people of all countries and make greater contribution to building a community of Shared future for mankind.

In order to cooperate with B&R construction planning, as early as 2016, the B&R cultural development action plan (2016-2020) formulated by the ministry of culture of China makes specific arrangements from the aspects of B&R cultural exchange mechanism construction, cooperation platform, brand building, cultural industry development and trade cooperation. Among them, especially for the internationalization of traditional Chinese culture spread made a specific arrangement.

Since the B&R was put forward, its planning has been more focused on infrastructure construction and economic development, but it also contains the communication, development and common prosperity of different cultures. This reflects the value and significance of traditional Chinese culture in the interaction between China and the world today.

2. View

The B&R put forward by Chinese President Xi Jinping embodies the wisdom and essence of traditional Chinese culture, such as the concept of valuing justice over interests, peace and cooperation, and innovation and opening up.

2.1 *"The Belt and Road" Reflects the Concept of Valuing Justice over Profits in Traditional Chinese Culture*

In the long process of natural economic development in ancient China, the traditional cultural thought with Confucian ethics as the core was formed. This traditional Chinese cultural thought is reflected in the economic life and People's Daily communication. It mainly focuses on the relationship between righteousness and interests. It takes "seeing benefit and thinking about justice" as the core, "benevolence", "justice", "sincerity" and "faith" as the fundamental, and advocates putting benevolence, justice and morality before interests, and social collective interests before personal interests.

The traditional concept of righteousness and interests is always carried out in the history of Traditional Chinese culture and ideology, which is regarded as one of the important issues in Chinese ethical relations. For example, Zhu Xi, a master of Neo-Confucianism in the Ming dynasty, believed that "the doctrine of righteousness and profit is the first principle of Confucianism". In the debate of justice and interests, there are mainly such viewpoints as "justice is valued and interests are neglected", "justice and interests are unified", "justice and interests are considered" and so on, putting the concept of "justice" in an extremely important position. The Belt and Road not only borrows the concept of silk economic and cultural exchanges gradually formed in the Han and Tang dynasties, but also reflects that China takes care of the vital interests of neighboring countries and regions in the development process. In a nutshell, China places its economic thinking about national development in the context of the developing world as a whole, as well as in the context of historical and global developments.

The highest value goal of the concept of righteousness and interests of traditional Chinese culture is to pursue social harmony, which is highly consistent with the collectivism insisted by socialism with Chinese characteristics. Collectivism is an important gene of the socialist economy with Chinese characteristics. It not only focuses on the economic development of a particular person or region, but also comprehensively considers the economic development of the whole society, the whole country, or even a region or the whole world. From the perspective of traditional Chinese culture and economic theory, B&R runs through the value appeal of collectivism and is committed to improving the overall well-being of different regions and local residents in the world.

2.2 *"The Belt and Road" Embodies the Concept of Peace and Cooperation in Traditional Chinese Culture*

Since the 18th national congress of the communist party of China, President Xi Jinping, taking into account the new situation in traditional Chinese culture and international politics and economy, has put forward a new approach of unswervingly pursuing peaceful development and win-win cooperation. Among them, President Xi Jinping stressed that peace-loving is a tradition of Chinese culture and the Chinese nation is peace-loving. To uphold peaceful development is an important historical experience of the CPC in its revolutionary exploration and social practice. The zero-sum mentality can no longer meet the current needs. To achieve prosperity and development, the country needs to adhere to peace, development, cooperation and win-win situation in light of the current trend of world development. This is the modern value of the concept of "harmony" in traditional Chinese culture. China upholds the principles of amity, sincerity, mutual benefit and inclusiveness, and advocates that China's diplomatic activities with neighboring countries should follow the principles of good-neighborliness, security and prosperity, and fully respect the sovereignty of neighboring countries. The Silk-Road embodies the spirit of peace, cooperation, mutual benefit and mutual benefit in traditional Chinese culture. The B&R was put forward under the guidance of this series of international cooperation and exchange ideas. It implements the spirit of traditional Chinese culture, emphasizes the establishment of harmonious, cooperative and peaceful relations

between the whole and the individual, realizes the common development and prosperity of all countries and regions in the world, and opposes hegemonism.

Innovative and open attitude is an important quality of traditional Chinese culture. On traditional Chinese culture, President Xi Jinping has put forward the concept of “creative transformation” and “innovative development”. The first is about the transformation and development of traditional Chinese culture itself. Second, on this basis, we should face the future and expand the new connotation of Chinese culture. The Chinese nation is an important member of the world nation. The development of Chinese national culture cannot be separated from the development of world civilization. Likewise, the development of world civilization cannot be separated from the development of Chinese national culture. Therefore, traditional Chinese culture should not only go to the future, but also face the world.

President Xi Jinping has proposed that to create a new splendid Chinese culture in the future, there are four ways: first, we should base ourselves on the basis of the excellent traditional Chinese culture. Second, it should be guided by the theoretical achievements of sinicization of Marxism, which not only contains the Chinese revolutionary tradition left by the early Chinese communists, but also contains the accurate understanding of the essence of socialism since the reform and opening up. Third, it should be closely combined with era calls, take care of the current historical reality, and reflect the spirit of era; Fourth, we need to keep an open and inclusive attitude and draw on the beneficial achievements of world civilizations.

Similarly, the B&R should be oriented to the world and the future, which cannot be separated from open exchanges with different civilizations in the world. Civilizations are colorful, equal and open. Countries should enhance exchanges and mutual learning to jointly promote the progress of human civilization and world peace and development. To promote inter-civilization exchanges and mutual learning, we need to uphold the right attitude and principles. Different ethnic groups have their own track of development and evolution, and civilizations are diverse. The Chinese civilization and other civilizations have their own merits, just like a hundred flowers blooming in full bloom. At the same time, there is no distinction between high and low civilizations. Civilizations are equal in status and should treat each other with respect and tolerance. The Belt and Road stressed that the traditional Chinese culture in the collisions with the world civilization and the process of communication, not only to the dialectical reference, and insist on confidence, our culture bravely “going out”, learn to learn from all the good civilization achievement of human society, seek wisdom from a different civilization, to build with Chinese characteristics, Chinese style, Chinese style culture brand, to show the unique charm of the Chinese culture.

3. Conclusions

The fine traditional Chinese culture is extensive and profound and has a long history. Through thousands of years of accumulation, it has gradually compiled the cultural genetic code of the Chinese nation, which is engraved on the identity of Chinese people. It has always shaped, nurtured and nourished the way of thinking, value orientation, cultural habits and behavior of the Chinese people. Since modern times, under the impact of western culture with religion and reason as the main symbols, Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism, Law and other traditional Chinese cultural forms have gone through many twists and turns, constantly breaking through their own limitations, and responding to the development requirements of era calls, they have undergone creative transformation and innovative development, and the concentrated essence of thought has always been shining.

In the process of economic, trade and cultural exchanges with the world, the B&R Policy proposed by China will become an important window to show the elegant style of traditional Chinese culture and socialist economy and culture with Chinese characteristics. It also will provide new opportunities for China and international exchanges on “harmony” and “cooperation”. We should realize that the Belt and Road Policy embodies the wisdom of traditional Chinese culture, embodies the value of traditional Chinese culture in the development of world civilization, and shows the unique content of Chinese temperament, image and spirit in the new era.

Conflict of interests

The authors declare that there is no conflict of interests regarding the publication of this paper.

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Seeking Identities Across the Worlds---A Critical Analysis of Ang Lee's Film *The Wedding Banquet*

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Abstract

Up till the present, most researches on Ang Lee's films focused on cultural difference and cultural clash in the area of cultural studies. The identity problems facing by the Asian diasporas are neglected by past researchers. Based on the exploration of cultural identity from the perspective of diaspora in cross-cultural world, this paper picks up the Chinese English film *The Wedding Banquet* as an exemplification to interpret cultural identity politics of the immigrants in America. In the film *The Wedding Banquet*, the protagonists' identities are fragmented as the coming of the joyous parents comes from Taiwan for the wedding. This exploration of identity can help us to understand the exilic essence of the immigrants' identity. For the immigrants, identity is always floating and travelling, without a final destination, except some temporary location. The happy ending of the film could be viewed as the "hybridization" of cultural recognition and as the ultimate solution to the identity problem and the Chinese-American cultural confrontation.

Keywords: Migrant, Wedding Banquet, Homosexual, Cultural Identities

1. Introduction

1.1 Situating Ang Lee's Film *the Wedding Banquet*

Ang Lee was born in Taiwan while educated in America. On the one hand, being influenced by his family, he was rooted with the traditional Chinese culture like Taoism and Confucianism. On the other hand, more than twenty years' life in American offered him the opportunity to receive Western education. Standing at the intersection between different cultures, he goes deep into the Chinese traditional culture as well as manages to justify it through a different lens with the penetration of Western culture. The reason why I choose *The Wedding Banquet* (1993) directed by Ang Lee to study is because of its primary plot---interracial romance. The struggle for love and individuality is closely connected with the protagonists' complicated identities by way of negotiation between personal, familial, communal, and social concerns, which is used to suggest the intersection of gender, class, ethnicity, and nationalism in Asian Diasporas' pursuit of their reconstructed identities.

The film *The Wedding Banquet* has been honored at film festivals and hailed around the world. The prizes won include the nomination for the best foreign film at the 1994 Academy Awards, the Golden Space Needle of the Seattle International Film Festival and the Golden Bear by the Berlin International Film Festival. It tells a story about a young Chinese Immigrant-Wei-Tung's life in America. Simon and Wei-Tung are a gay couple living together in Manhattan. To still the doubts of Wei-Tung's parents, Simon suggests a marriage of convenience between Wei-Tung and Wei-wei, an immigrant in urgent need of a green card. Complications arise when the joyous parents arrive for the wedding and a huge cross-cultural banquet is arranged to celebrate. However, being trickled by the guests in the wedding, Wei-wei seduces the drunken Wei-Tung and becomes pregnant. Simon is extremely sad when he finds it out, and his relationship with Wei-Tung begins to deteriorate. After several chaotic scenes of generational and cultural conflicts in the Gao's family, the film ends with a reconciliation: Wei-wei agrees to give birth to Wei-Tung's baby while Mr. and Mrs. Gao return to Taiwan with an acceptance of the gay couple's partnership.

2. Literature Review

Up till the present, there are many researches on Ang Lee's films. Most of the studies paid attention to its distinctive artistic features and the intricate film language, all of which are related to film studies. Some scholars

also tried to assimilate the film with the literary text by deplotating the narrative function of the film-preambles. The essay *On the Forms and Narrative Functions of Film Preambles at Present* by Chen Linxia is typical in this branch. Ang Lee attaches great importance to the plot and rhythm in his treatment of film preambles, and favors classical narration. This is a very striking feature of Ang Lee's films. However, the discussions are very traditional and there is little touching on its cultural exploration.

In Culture Studies, the embodiment of Occidental and Oriental cultures, Ang Lee's attitudes toward Chinese traditions and his divarication to the theme of homosexuality are popular topics. In *Diverse Identities in Interracial Relationships: A Multi-ethnic Interpretation of Mississippi Masala and The Wedding Banquet*, Lan Dong build upon theories of multi-ethnicity and inter-ethnicity in his examination of heterogeneity and multiplicity within the body we label "Asian diaspora". This essay helps us to note the prominent multiethnic and interethnic relations among racial groups, while hasn't pointed out the location of Asian-Americans' culture identities. In *The Oriental and Occidental Cultural Aspects in Ang Lee's Films* that published in *Huawen* periodical, Li Chen dwells her discussion on the different cultural concepts on Ang Lee's trilogy: *Pushing Hands*, *The Wedding Banquet* and *Eat Drink Man Woman* and also the director's individual opinion upon the future for Chinese films. Her article helps us to learn much about Occidental/Oriental culture, while has little touch on the problems of identity. Li Hui, in her essay *The Cultural Wonders in Ang Lee's Films*, carries out a research on the collision between different cultures. The compromise of the conflict signifies that Chinese culture is being marginalized. The author is very pessimistic about Chinese culture, for she doesn't realize the characteristic of hybridity of culture. *This Scenery is Good Alone-Random Thoughts about the Film of Homosexuality* is an essay hitting upon the topic of homosexuality. Its author, Zhou Qiongrui holds that *The Wedding Banquet* represents the aesthetic style at the beginning of the new century. This new wave of films of homosexuality was receiving great attention, especially after the release of Ang Lee's another film—*Brokeback Mountain*. This observation is popular among many critics. However, as Wang Ping records in his article, what Ang Lee himself wants to emphasize in this film is the power of love, which can overcome cultural difference no matter between the same sex or between woman and man (Wang, 2004, p. 87). The essay *The Paradox of Transgressing Sexual Identities: Mapping the Micropolitics of Sexual/Subjectivity in Ang Lee's Films* written by Che-ming Yang intends to adopt a perspective of multiculturalism by focusing on the films of Ang Lee. To be more specific, the objective of this essay is no more than an attempt to (re)examine some contemporary means of representation (e.g. pop music, films, novels, TV programs) as manifested in Ang Lee's films of gender in the hope of exploring the process and problematic of cultural formations in the era of globalization characterized by multiculturalism. Che-ming Yang argues that Lee's representation of sexual identity corresponds to Butler's major argument about the contingency and transgressivity of sexual desire/identities. His essay mainly talks about the homosexual problem in Ang Lee's films, while other problems met by the diasporas are excluded. All of the above essays provide different ways for us to understand Ang Lee's films, but have not probed deeply enough under the general "culture" to deal with the sensitive political topic of "culture-identity".

Based on the research findings mentioned above, this paper intends to move beyond the surface structure of the Sino-American cultural clash, furthers into the identity politics, and examine the cultural identity problems in the modern migratory era. The critical analysis of Ang Lee's *The Wedding Banquet* will reveal how immigrants' identities are constructed in the Sino-American cultural context, and that the cultural identity is not static but in the dynamic process of becoming. Encountering social hurdles and crossing cultural boundaries, the immigrants will be able to cultivate new identities. The focus of this paper will be on presenting the process of the reconstruction of the immigrants' identities in *The Wedding Banquet*. In the study of the film, the following research questions are to be closely examined:

- 1) In what way do the Chinese way of wedding banquet and the case of homosexuality represent the cultural confrontation and identity crisis?
- 2) What factors are functioning in the process of the reconstruction of immigrants' culture identity?
- 3) What is the location for the immigrant's identity in an ever-increasing trend of globalization?

3. Body

3.1 Identity-Seeking

3.1.1 Stages of Identity Formation

Identity formation is the process of the development of the distinct personality of an individual regarded as a persisting entity (known as personal continuity) in a particular stage of life in which individual characteristics are possessed by which a person is recognized or known (Scholte, 1996, p. 39). This process defines an individual to

others and themselves. The construction of identity, personal and collective, is a pervasive and crucial aspect of social life. That is to say, the need for recognition - to define oneself (or who one wants to become) and to have that identity acknowledged by others - is a first-order preoccupation in social relations. There are modern questions of culture that are transferred into questions of identity. "Cultural identity is the (feeling of) identity of a group or culture, or of an individual as far as she/he is influenced by her/his belonging to a group or culture, and cultural identity remarks upon: place, gender, race, history, nationality, sexual orientation, religious beliefs and ethnicity" (Barker, 2000, pp. 231-2). The pursuit of identity ranks alongside quests for subsistence, power, communication and knowledge. The process of shaping identity is, among other things, at the core of human existence (Scholte, 1996, pp. 39-40). Based on this recognition, it is not difficult to understand why identity-seeking has always been a motif in cross-cultural films. Chinese Americans have been struggling with psychological and social dilemma of the identity crises ever since their immigration to America, so identity-seeking naturally becomes one of the most important themes in Chinese American films.

As Barbara Warren (1973) points out, "the movement from childhood into maturity is a movement into consciousness of ourselves as subjects - a consciousness that lifts us from a stage of development in which we are cared for by other people to one in which we must take care of ourselves" (p. 2). Though everyone is tempted to stay in the child's world forever if the outside world reality permitted, a person has to go through three stages of identity formation in earning the right to be called fully human, an essential individual. If a culture serves as a homebase for identity-seeking, the three stages can be termed as "home-keeping", "home-leaving" and "home-accepting".

The first stage is that of the child when one is naively unaware of cultural conventions and surroundings. "Home-keeping", or exclusion from the outside world keeps one in a state without any doubt or suspicion. An identity is shaped by those who are close to the child, and forged from the perspective of other people such as family members, and the adults and other individual around the child.

This initial upbringing, limited as it is, may not stay on a par with entanglement in the variety of social relationships. That is to say, even during the first stage, the "Other" (culture, rationality, logic), in a sense, operates behind the scenes. It is this awareness of the tension between the "Self" (nature, naivety, imagination) and this "Other" that leads to "home-leaving" at the second stage. The pressure of "growing-up" drives one forward into the real world, and begins to produce effects at the very beginning of this period. Thus, a critical result appears: disappointment at what one has learned and grasped eagerness for new things and new knowledge. In this period, how to survive in the world becomes the most serious problem, and "making a living" becomes the most important thing in one's life. Hardships require abilities, and naivety is bound to be replaced by miseries or agonies. Therefore, gradually, people struggle to gain their identity.

The problems in this identity-recognition process cannot be solved until the third stage - "home-accepting", when one feeds at home with oneself. In this stage, one's "identity-seeking" process becomes quite natural for it conforms to human life in the respect of the latter's temporal being in the world, such as one may fulfill one's target of career, finds one's basis to interpret the world, etc. The identity is there within the process of its seeking, rather than in the structure of the given culture defining and restricting it.

Obviously, this process of identity-seeking would be much more complicated in multicultural circumstances, comparing within a given culture. An ethnic identity is the identification with a certain ethnicity, usually on the basis of a presumed common genealogy or ancestry. Recognition by others as a distinct ethnic group is often a contributing factor to developing this bond of identification. It could be understandable that Chinese immigrants often find themselves in an identity dilemma when they are in America, especially where are different kinds of racism, which encourage the breakdown of their traditional Chinese values, and they have to struggle with a new culture. They are often confronted with such questions as: What is their place in America? What are their responsibilities? What should they teach their children? How many of the Chinese ways are to be trained? In what ways are they to keep their ethnic identity but still become Americans? So, how to define oneself and how to locate oneself becomes a common puzzle for the immigrants.

3.1.2 Identity Dilemma of Ang Lee

Ang Lee was born in Taiwan, while studied film and started his directorial career in the United States. It is the personal daily life experience of being "Chinese" in New York City that drives Ang Lee to invoke Chineseness in his films to define his identity. According to William Safran (1994), the "ideal type" definitions of diasporas are those who form "expatriate minority communities" and they have the following characteristics: 1. They are dispersed from an original "center" to at least two peripheral places; 2. They maintain a "memory, vision, or myth about their original homeland"; 3. They "believe they are not-and perhaps cannot be-fully accepted by their host

country”; 4. They see the ancestral home as a place of eventual return; 5. They are committed to the maintenance or restoration of the homeland; and 6. The group’s consciousness and solidarity are “importantly defined” by this continuing relationship with the homeland (Clifford, pp. 304-5).

Ang Lee’s real-life experiences exemplified what Safran described. Although he was physically displaced from Taiwan to the U.S., as a second-generation mainlander growing up in the social background of identifying with the China Proper and de-Taiwanese cultural policies enforced by the ruling Nationalist Party (Kuomintang) back then, Ang Lee symbolically and culturally went through twice displacements from his imaginary homeland—China. Especially with the rise of ethno-racial issues in the 1990s, identity problems become more troubling for the immigrants in America. People come to realize the shallowness of American identity as it clouded diversity of culture. To the Chinese Americans, should they be called Chinese, American, or Chinese American? These questions are quite thorny as they try to make a proper evaluation of their identity and belonging. Being in a totally new place, the immigrants have to learn the new language and culture. They have to cope not only with the sense of nostalgia but often also with the hostility of a unfriendly population. For many ethnic Chinese, who have been away from their ancestral homeland, find themselves in a dilemma: they are essentialized by the Anglo whites sometimes as the “Yellow Peril,” sometimes as the “Model Minority,” and their life becomes therefore a constant struggle to find and maintain their proper self and sense of belonging. Even on the settler status was taken on the board, clear boundaries are drawn between themselves and their white neighbors. While some boundary walls are breaking down, others are being made even stronger to keep out the migrant, the refugee and the exile. They are included and excluded in many ways. “Language, nostalgia, loss, search for identity” are the problems the emigrants have to face (Hall, 1996, p. 5). Speaking a new language, the emigrants will find that the signifier has become severed from the signified. The words they speak don’t stand for things in the same unquestioned way they did in their native tone. Gradually, their mother language becomes a dead language. After a process of falling into the new life, the emigrants would gradually begin to feel at home in “The New World”. They share with their American locals an acute sense of dislocation and the equally acute challenge of having to invent a place and an identity for themselves without the traditional supports. However, they still cannot avoid the feelings of anomie, loneliness and emotional repression. Some people don’t feel at home where they are; they are unhappy and they look back. They are still assailed by the problems of identity. They are remade in the new frames of culture. “Their identity is to do not with being but with becoming” (Hall, 1996, p. 6). For Ang Lee, he himself once describes his own experience of being diaspora in New York as follows:

“To me, I am a mixture of many things and a confusion of many things... I am not a native Taiwanese, so we’re alien in Taiwan today, with the native Taiwanese pushing for independence. But when we go back to China, we’re Taiwanese. Then, I live in the States; I am a sort of foreigner everywhere. It’s hard to find a real identity.” (Berry, 1993, p. 54)

3.1.3 Identity-Seeking as Seen in the Film

Ang Lee’s *The Wedding Banquet* (1993) is a film that transcends, on a metaphorical level, to a story represents the issue of the Asian diaspora’s identity as a mixture. Gina Marchetti (2000) incisively points out that this film “deals less with the development of an Asian American identity among Chinese immigrants than with the creation of a transnational sense of Chinese identity” (p. 54). In this film, Ang Lee tries to explore various Chinese identities—young/elder, man/woman, heterosexual/homosexual, all combined to form a feast of human interactions that allow us to reflect on the process of the identity-reconstruction.

From the very beginning of the film, the audience learn that Wei-Tung is a successful real estate man and an American citizen. He leads a comparatively wealthy life, with a man loves him. He has assimilated to American culture successfully. The only thing that frustrates him is the secret (gay relationship with Simon) that he keeps from his parents. No matter how much he loves and respects his parents, and how carefully he keeps all of their tokens and gifts from Taiwan, Wei-Tung dares not to tell them the truth of his real sexual identity. Here is a dialogue reveals Wei-Tung’s dilemma at the beginning of the film:

Simon: Why don’t you just tell them?

Wei-Tung: Shit.

Simon: No, really, Wei. Someday, I am just going to call your father and tell him myself.

Wei-Tung: I told mine.

Simon: Look at yourself. Your parents send you a form in the mail and you practically pee your pants. You are an adult. As a matter of fact, you’re practically middle-aged.

However, we know that Wei-Tung does not confess his sexual orientation to his parents until the family conflicts break out. As an obedient Chinese son, he cannot tell it out frankly for the Oriental identity is characterized by having a family and strongly believing in filial piety. Wei-Tung is afraid of his parents' reaction and the familial ramifications that his "coming out" would bring.

"So heavy!" Wei-Tung exclaims early in the film, as we watch him walk, weighted down by the "heavy baggage" of his parents' gifts. In this scene, we can clearly sense the heavy burden on his psyche. He suffers fragmentation of identity and role confusion (how can he be the good son while also being at peace with being gay?). Such a conflict is inevitable when a person is unable to integrate their conflicting roles. As the only child, Wei-Tung's family expects much from him, and expects it rigidly. In the dialogue talking about Wei-Tung's father's illness between Wei-Tung and Sister Mao (the girl from *Singled Club* in Taiwan to have a date with Wei-Tung, which is settled by Wei-Tung's mother), the expectation from Wei-Tung's family can be felt clearly:

Sister Mao: Your mom told me that when they took him in the ambulance, there was a huge traffic jam. He was in pain, really suffering. She thought he was going to die, but he hung on for one last wish.

Wei-Tung: What wish?

Sister Mao: To hold his grandchild.

Wei-Tung: What's this?

Wei-Wei: My depression special.

Wei-Tung: You're really that poor?

Wei-Wei: Just depressed. Immigration showed up at work yesterday. Luckily I got there late.

Wei-Tung: As usual.

Wei-Wei: Yes. They got Emily. If they get me, I'll be meeting Emily in Shanghai. Emily was my best friend. Now I've lost my job and my friend.

As a Chinese American woman, it is more difficult for Wei-Wei to consolidate a new gender identity in America, because her gender identity development is further complicated by the dual forces of sexism and racism both in the culture of origin and in the majority culture. It is widely recognized that Chinese American women suffer double oppression. They are the victims of both American hegemonic ideology, which devalues them because of their race, and patriarchal ideology (Note 1), which devalues them because of their gender. Such devaluation poses serious challenges for Chinese American women in terms of achieving an independent personal and group identity. So for Wei-Wei, as she herself also realized that, if she wants to stay in America, she has to marry an American citizen:

Wei-Tung: You've been having so many troubles, and all I do is pressure you for rent. Here. I brought you an air conditioner.

Wei-Wei: But the electricity costs? Out of work again. I'm such a fool. Always hoping you'll like me.

Simon: Anyway, Wei and I would like to invite you out to dinner.

Wei-Wei: It will be my farewell dinner.

Wei-Tung: Your what?

Wei-Wei: Really. I can't last any longer. No money, no job, no green card. No stupid American will marry me.

So, it is no wonder why Simon suggests a marriage of convenience between Wei-Tung and Wei-wei. In this way not only can Wei-Tung defer the suspicions of his parents and take a big tax break, but also for Wei-wei, she can stay in America legally. However, such things are never so simple and ideal. Wei-Tung and Wei-wei will continue to face the cultural clash and identity clash if they remain so innocent and idealistic in their understandings of the multicultural society and the Americanness identification. When the issues of the Chinese way of wedding feast and the case of homosexuality come into the foreground, their perfect solution to the problems failed.

3.2 *The Location of the Immigrants' Cultural Identity*

3.2.1 Fragmentation and Transformation of Chinese Immigrants' Identity

Identity is really a puzzle to many diasporic Chinese immigrants, because it involves questions of "Who am I?", "Where do I belong?" and "Where shall I go?", which are fundamental to people's survival. The meaning of identity in modern times, as Christopher Lasch (1987) points out that: "refers both to persons and things. Both

have lost their solidity, their definiteness and continuity.” (pp. 23-29). These identity problems faced by ethnic minorities are attributed to a great extent to the rise of colonialism, as Frantz Fanon (1967) says, “because it is a systematic negotiation of the other person and a furious determination to deny the other person all attributes of humanity, colonialism forces the people it dominates to ask themselves the question constantly: “In reality, who am I?” (p. 87) Therefore, it is quite understandable that immigrants often feel homeless and lose sense of belonging in the host culture.

In the process of identity reconstruction, as Turaine (1988) said, “the individual or collective appeal to identity is thus the obverse of social life, whereas the latter is a network of relations, the focus of identity is all at once that of individual, communities and states” (p. 75). That is to say, people’s identity is affected by different social and cultural factors, which function in the process and compete with each other for the control of the individual subjectivity. The individual then has to be “constantly subjected to a range of possible meanings, and is therefore an unstable site of constructions and reconstructions which often overlap” (Easthope, 1996, pp. 68-9).

At the beginning of the film, we see Wei-Tung as a somewhat selfish young man who has attempted to assimilate American culture. But at the end, we can clearly notice the change of Wei-Tung into a more mature adult, ready to shoulder real responsibility in a committed homosexual relationship. We see a man who has made peace with his identity as a gay man from a traditional Chinese culture and as a caring and filial son who accepts his duty to the family. In the end, Wei-Tung is fully aware the cultural shaping of his hybridity and the fragmented building of his consciousness, which is the very source of his confusion about cultural identity.

According to the anthropologist Gordon Matthew (2000), the culture shaping of the self within any culture is basically thought at three different levels of consciousness: the deep shaping that takes place beyond the self’s control and beyond all but indirect comprehension; the middle-level shaping that exists beyond the self’s full control but within its comprehension, and the shallow shaping that all comes into being with what the self sees as full control and comprehension (pp. 12-15). This model of culture shaping is not only helpful in the analysis of the personal identity, but also illuminating to the explanation of the hybridity construction in American cultural settings. On these grounds, Wei-Tung’s identity hybridity and confusion could be better understood.

First, there is, deep at bottom, what Matthew (2000) regards as the “taken-for-granted level” of consciousness shaping, which means the shaping by a particular language and set of social practices that condition us as to how we comprehend self and world (ibid p. 12). Generally speaking, this level of consciousness is formed and constructed unconsciously in the process of socialization and in due time evolves for the most part below the level of consciousness (ibid p. 13). As in *The Wedding Banquet*, before immigrating to America, Wei-Tung has been nurtured by the Chinese culture, thus the value of family has been rooted as a part of his deep memory in subconscious. Even after successfully embodying the America’s commonly prescribed values of competition, success, achievement, and perfection, his Chinese cultural shaping at this level will never disappear, as it withdraws from the foreground to the background. To some extent, it is hard to escape from the cultural shaping at this level, because such a period of socialization and acculturation applies to all.

The middle level of the cultural shaping is at what Matthew (2000) call the “shikata ga nai level”, which means “there is nothing I can do about” or “that is life”. This level is expected by the self not as “underlying but as extrinsic to the self” (ibid p. 13). At this level, the construction of “self” is bound by “the power of discourse”. Usually, the individual subject is aware, partially or fully, of the hegemonic essence of the cultural discourse, but the real problem is that there is no chance to act against it so long as he still wants to be “in” the culture. We can see this more vividly in Wei-wei. As a Chinese immigrant, Wei-wei is an independent woman living by herself trying to make ends meet anyway she can at the beginning. She is a painter but has part time jobs such as being a waitress. But finally, she becomes domesticated and lives as a traditional Chinese woman: she is married with a child, wears long conservative dresses rather than the bizarre ones she wore before, and her hair is nice combed. Only through this transformation, she can get the “green card” and safely lives in America and then come to realize her American dream.

The third and also the most shallow and most fully conscious level of the cultural shaping involves the formation of “the cultural supermarket” (ibid, p. 14). It is the level at which any individual can feel that they are able to freely pick and choose the way they want to live in. Globalization and multiculturalism bring the cultural supermarket into being, in which all cultures confront and communicate and individuals are given the freedom of choice and identification. At this level of “free” identifications, Wei-Tung tries to make a balance between American and Chinese culture - the conflicts involved in the film *The Wedding Banquet* seem all solved: Wei-Tung’s parents accept the truth of their son’s sexual orientation, Wei-wei promises to keep the up-coming baby, while Simon also agrees to stay with Wei-Tung as “the other father of the baby”. Wei-Tung arrives at the “symbolic identification”

where he can identify himself with his will. In a sense, it is a level of freedom and liberation, but somehow it is still a freedom under the manipulation and maneuver of the dominant culture, and the remembrance of the native culture that will always linger and haunt. One's recognition of identity is very situational. Just like Wei-Tung, his suffering of fragmentation at first is at least partly due to his ignorance of himself, especially of his situation of hybridity. In one situation he can feel very American, at another time Chinese - or hold both identities at the same time. But this recognition of the multiplicity and situationality of social identities does not mean that people can freely choose any identity they want or to attach any meaning they want to any particular identity. History and current power relations create and shape the opportunities people face in their day-to-day lives, giving some people "ethnic options" and others "racial labels." (Waters, 1999, p. 47)

So, fragmented between the home and host cultures, the reconstruction of Wei-Tung's consciousness can never be complete and unified and his cultural identity can only be an unstable state of confrontation and communication. In metropolitan cultures like America, it is impossible that the native or the adopted culture can be presented in "pure" sense. We should get to acknowledge the characteristic of "hybridity" of culture.

3.2.2 Hybridity: Transcendence of Identity as a Way Out

Different from the traditional logo-centrism in the Western culture to subvert the traditional culture view of binary opposition, what is suitable to the present situation is that hybridity (Note 2) of culture. The cultural hybridization, according to Pieterse, "distinguishes cultural response, which range from assimilation, through forms of separation, to hybrids that destabilize and blur cultural boundaries. This involves the opening up of "imagined communities" (Barker, 2000, p. 256). In the film, two cultural traditions are juxtaposed in time and space. Hybridization only occurs out of recognition of difference and then would produce something new. "All cultures are zones of shifting boundaries and hybridization" (Bhabha, 1996, p. 258). Semantically hybridization refers to the mixture or blending of two different or even contrastive elements, while pragmatically it refers to crossbreeding and suggests inferiority. But its meaning has undergone dramatic changes in the past few decades. Originally it was used in the field of botanical or biological studies, referring to the selective breeding of plants to produce new varieties with specific qualities of the improved performance, and later it was considered as a "stigma" in the colonial discourse concerning racial purity and the horror of "miscegenation" (Young 10). Now this word is usually thought as "crossing the races" and accepted by many scholars, even by those who are unwilling to realize the hybridization of cultural identities.

In the film, after a series of tricks played by the young generation, all of them get frustrated and come to confront their true identities. In Wei-Tung's self-confessed conversation with his mother, he takes a critical step toward wholeness. For the first time, he openly embraces all aspects of his being. Having Confessed his deepest secret, he is freer to channel his energies to handle his other identity crisis. Wei-Tung's way of adaptation to western world is quite conventional, fully accepting America's established values of competition, success, achievement, and perfection. Successfully embodying these cultural values allows him to experience the rewards of social acceptance, accomplishment, power, and personal satisfaction. As an Eastern immigrant successfully assimilated into the Western cultures, Wei-Tung demonstrates an exceptionally fluid identity with an ability to navigate a duality of worlds --- that of homosexual and heterosexual; Asian and American. By the marriage to Wei-wei, Wei-Tung got a child unintentionally. Therefore, with the "new family", Wei-Tung must mediate between having Simon as his true partner and accepting Wei-wei and the child as his nuclear family. Having tried to make a balance between Western and Eastern cultures, Wei-Tung creates a new concept of family allowing him to fulfill his familial responsibility of carrying on the family line. Wei-Tung's fake marriage with Wei-wei provided a mechanism to re-assimilate him into the mainstream Chinese culture. He has gained some self-awareness, has deepened his intimacy with the people he values, and has relieved his burden of concealment. He has begun to integrate his identity and realized the conception of "hybridity" of culture.

Homi Bhabha (1996) once describes the basic nature of cultural hybridization as this: "the transformational value of change lies in the rearticulation or translation, of elements that are neither the one, nor the other, but something else besides, which contests the terms and territories of both" (p. 28). Evidently, the most characteristic feature of the cultural hybridity is the ambiguity and the indeterminacy. But how to understand the "ambiguity" will solicit the contrastive attitudes toward hybridity and result in very different cultural prospects. To understand it as a static and ossified term and take the ambiguity as a loss of unity and identity will incur the so-called phenomenon of hybridity-phobia.

In *The Wedding Banquet*, Mr. Gao is wise enough to understand the problem faced by his son and accepts his true identity by the end. The final take of the helpless father-raising his arms in slow motion to be frisked by the airport security- suggests a submission to life by an aged retiree as a possible victory for gaining an heir - a grandson - to

the Gaos. After all, shortly before the departure, the father, a typical Chinese male who makes little physical contact, holds tightly Simon's hand rather than Wei-wei's to bid farewell, fully acknowledging Simon as a member of the family. The father seems to give his blessing to the formation of a happy yet non-conventional family. His acceptance of an alternative marriage may drive from a rather conservative reason, though, namely, the prospect of carrying on the family name through the homosexual son. That is to say, the ethnic tour into the gay interracial lifestyle is normalized and mainstreamed by a traditional premise. This transformation did not appear to be painful at all. Though even Mrs. Gao still thought that "maybe it (homosexuality) is only temporary. He may get over it. Maybe a woman hurt him and he developed a psychological problem". But Wei-wei confirms her that it's not like what Mrs. Gao thought, she had better accept the truth. Mrs. Gao acknowledges this by saying: "I know that". Through this, Ang Lee wants to convey the idea that the problem of homosexuality can be solved through negotiation. As exemplified by Mr. Gao, it is not that difficult to accept homosexuality even for a very traditional Chinese citizen. Lee creates a win-win situation in which homosexuality is accepted while familial duties (to marry and have children) are also fulfilled:

Wei-wei: I will find a way. A tough man takes responsibility for his actions.

...

Wei-Tung: Wei Wei wants to know if you will be one of the fathers of her child.

Simon: Sure.

Wei-Tung: Then you'll stay?

Wei-wei: You must, for the sake of the child. Now that I'm keeping the baby, we'd better go tell Pa, he's going to be a grandfather. He'll be so happy.

Ang Lee develops this plot and exploits it in order to express his views on homosexuality and its compatibility with the Chinese traditions. Only after the traditional understanding of the hybrid ambiguity is transcended and a positive and dialectic appreciation achieved can the problem of culture and identity be properly addressed.

Likewise, ambiguity or hybridity can be political in its inborn resistance to any forms of cultural domination and discrimination. Homi Bhabha points out,

"Resistance is not necessarily an oppositional act of political intention, nor is it the simple negation or the exclusion of the 'content' of another culture, as difference once perceived...[but] the effect of an ambivalence produced within the rules of recognition of dominating discourses as they articulate the signs of culture difference" (Bhabha 153)."

In his opinion, cultural resistance does not necessarily mean the violent confrontation or serious opposition of one culture against another; it means the deployment of ambivalence or ambiguity within the dominant cultural framework through inevitable deformation and displacement. And in this special way hybridity "unsettles the mimetic or narcissistic demands of colonial power but re-implicates its identification in strategies of subversion than turn the gaze of the discriminated back upon the eye of power" (ibid 173). In this sense, though ambiguity or ambivalence is the main strategy of cultural hybridity in subversion, ambiguity in identity does not necessarily mean the ambiguity of consciousness. Alternatively, hybridity does not simply mean the overlapping of two kinds of cultural consciousness, but the rebirth of an entirely new cultural self.

In the end of the film, it seems that everyone is happy, and they seem to have a greater understanding and respect for one another's choices. The fake marriage between Wei-Tung and Wei-wei creates many conflicts, and forces each character to rethink what his/her identity is. Ang Lee proposes a solution for this problem of homosexuality in this film. Finally, Wei-Tung screws up his courage and confesses that he is gay. Even though Mrs. Gao is not willing to accept the truth at the beginning, she too is forced to embrace her son for who he is. In the end, we see all the different people (identities) make peace with one another; the greatest indicator of this is when Mr. Gao accepts Simon as his son's partner. It may well be argued that this is the result of Wei-wei's pregnancy, the coming of a child is a promising sign of new identity shaped by the combination of very different identities. This also signifies that cultural purity has become only a beautiful dream in today's era of globalization and multiculturalism, and in its place is hybridization.

4. Conclusion

In the previous discussion, we have dwelt on how Chinese immigrants tried to establish new cultural identity of their own by negotiating the contradictions between the Eastern and Western worlds. Given the racialized and politicized themes in the film *The Wedding Banquet* as well as the director's personal ethnic background as an Asian director, great attention have been paid on the film *The Wedding Banquet*. With the above discussion, the

process in which Asian Diasporas come to realize and negotiate for their individual identities of diversity and complexity is highlighted. We can sense that diaspora culture is a continuous process, and the relationship between the diaspora culture and the host culture is, according to Homi Bhabha (1996), a “negotiation” (p. 23). The diasporic culture adapts itself optionally to the host culture, merging and developing into a new culture which is closely linked to, however meanwhile, different from, the host culture and home culture. This cross-culture process is often described as “hybrid”, which Homi Bhabha (1996) regards as the product of cultural translation (p. 34). In this process of cultural translation, the diasporic identity is consistently renewing and transforming due to the differences. As Stuart Hall (1996) asserts that cultural identity is a matter of “becoming” as well as “being”, being to the future as well as to the past (p. 38). Contemporary cultural pluralism and globalization has offered an opportunity for greater density of cross-cultural interchange: the reduction of the physical boundedness of time and space, and the breaking down of the natural connections between identity and place, identity and tradition, particularly on the immigrants’ part. Under such circumstances, the focus of identity construction should be relocated from differentiation to melting point. The construction of one’s identity should no longer depend on the erasure of what one is not. The “Self” is to be partly discovered in those who were previously described as the other. Not only can hybridity be a subverting strategy to resist the hegemonic identification and discrimination from the dominant culture, but also can be an effective way to release the immigrants from the suffering of cultural dislocation and identity fragmentation. Through analyzing the film critically, I am tempted to point out that hybridity is a noteworthy keyword in identity politics: it is not only an ideal state of cultural identity in theory, but also the ultimate direction of the movement of both cultures and identities in real life.

Notes

Note 1. Chris Weedon defines “patriarchal” in *Feminist Practice and Poststructuralist Theory* as “power relations in which women’s interest are subordinated to interest of men” (1997, pp. 1-2).

Note 2. Originally, hybridity is a technical term in the Botanical Studies and then extended in its implication. Robert Young appropriates the term to the ethnographical studies and especially in the studies of black-white hybridity in his great critical work *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race*, London: Routledge, 1995. Then Stuart Hall and Bhabha introduce the term to the field of cultural studies and initiate the study of hybridity in culture field. In the cultural studies, hybridity means not only the mixture or blending of two collective cultural identities on the part of cultural subjects. For more information, please refer to their books in this field, such as, Bhabha’s *Location of Culture*, Hall’s *Cultural Identity and Diaspora*, etc.

Conflict of interests

The authors declare that there is no conflict of interests regarding the publication of this paper.

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