

Family Structure and Spatial Order: a Study of Modern Changes in Tujia Etiquette and Custom Culture

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Abstract: Scholars such as Henri Lefebvre and Jameson put forward the concept of spatial politics and ideology, and effectively interpreted the logic of social structural order changes arising from modern urban and rural development. Since modern times, the Tujia Society in western Hubei has evolved from an "Acquaintance society", a "Dual urban and rural" society, to a "One place, two systems" society, the transformation of Tujia etiquette and custom culture into an important symbol of the change of rural order, and the interweaving of the "Reliability" of its rural value space is a process of "Total loss, alienation and reconstruction", the relationship between social groups also presents the multiple patterns of collective differentiation, identity transformation and relationship transfer, and "One place, two systems" constitutes the true portrayal of tujia people in the "Traditional and modern" spatial order. To sum up, it is only with the goal of serving the development of human beings, relying on the strong ability of grass-roots organizations to mobilize, and constructing a good image of Tujia people for the country's development and future life, and in the rural value space to reshape the new "Etiquette" order, can fundamentally eliminate the urban and rural ideological separation and spatial barriers.

Keywords: Tujia Ritual Culture; Spatial Order; Family Structure; New Marxism

Since modern times, significant changes have taken place in the social relations of Chinese rural areas, leaving a profound mark on elements such as communication order, urban-rural relations, and spatial mobility. The village order, based on the "family" unit, has gradually evolved from a "familiar society" to a "rural-urban binary," and further developed into a "one country, two systems" form, reflecting the transition from the "static mirror" of traditional rural society to the "dynamic mirror" of modern society. The "rural-urban binary" formed under specific historical conditions will inevitably gradually dissolve in the process of Chinese-style rural modernization. In the ethnic minority regions of Western Hunan and Western Hubei, the transformation of family structure and rural order has typical, concentrated, and long-term characteristics, which holds important practical significance for advancing grassroots governance and rural revitalization. From a cultural perspective, the specific manifestation of the transformation of Tujia rural spatial order is that under the dissolution of many concepts such as traditional "ritual governance" rural order in the face of marketization, individualization, and legalization, the spiritual space and behavioral order of rural residents become more diverse. The transformation of Tujia rural social forms presents a typical pattern of alienation, return, and creation against this background.

1. A Historical Review of the Study of Ritual and Custom Culture

In January 2018, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued Document No. 1, "Opinions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the State Council on Implementing the Strategy of Rural Revitalization," which elevated rural revitalization to a national strategy. In this strategy, cultural revitalization is the soul of rural revitalization. As a core component of cultural tradition, ritual and custom culture is the foundation of the traditional social structure in China. Mr. Fei Xiaotong's "From the Soil: The Foundations of Chinese Society" provides a profound analysis, stating that traditional rural "ritual and custom" is a kind of freedom to act according to one's desires within certain boundaries, it is "adhering to customs while following one's heart." Therefore, society and individuals find a sense of belonging here, and the entire rural social order relies on the familiarity and reliability of a certain behavior without conscious consideration. It is not difficult to see that the most important reason for the change in the structure of rural society lies in the change of cultural order, fundamentally stemming from the transformation of group values. Scholars have paid high attention to the study of ritual and custom culture in Chinese rural society, focusing mainly on the following aspects.

1.1 Research on the formation of ritual and custom culture under the ancient Chinese imperial system

"Ritual governance" is the core of stability in the traditional Chinese social structure. "Ritual and custom" as a tool of class rule has

undergone a long historical process. In traditional Confucian theory, rituals are means to arrange the national order and create a stable hierarchical society, demonstrating distinctions of nobility and commonality, kinship, gender, and seniority, and also promoting filial piety through actions, teaching beliefs through movements. The Song Dynasty was a foundational period for the development of folk family rituals. As Confucianism flourished and the new folk family system gradually established, the common people's families were no longer bound by the order of "rituals do not apply to commoners," and thus had more ownership over the imperial authority. Some scholars have also examined the issues of ritual and custom in the Western and Eastern Zhou dynasties, believing that during the political crisis in the 9th century BC, the Zhou rituals brought a new order to the Zhou people, breaking the standard explanation of reinforced social hierarchy. During the Ming Dynasty, the rulers attempted to establish the legitimacy of the new regime by redefining the cultural boundaries between the "Hu" and "Han" under the banner of "using the ways of the Xia to transform the Yi," which is a common practice for new regimes to enhance their ruling legitimacy using ritual and custom concepts. The basic consensus is that traditional Chinese ritual and custom were formed in the interaction process between Confucian culture and imperial authority, becoming a tool for feudal social order.

1.2 Study of ritual and custom culture in the process of modernization in China

Traditional Chinese culture is full of rich content regarding ideals and reality, humanities and nature, customs and order, and has become an important cultural resource for national rejuvenation. Some scholars have proposed that in the process of modernization in China, the interaction of ritual and custom is internalized as a way to cultivate oneself and externalized as a way to govern others. Thus, the formation of a ritual order is not only China's national conditions and national character but also the essence of ritual and custom society. On the other hand, with the fading of the images of "home" and "hometown" for modern people, it is necessary to remember homesickness, which requires the restoration of rural rituals and customs. This kind of ritual and custom is different from traditional ones; it is equal, inclusive, and positive, becoming a key aspect of the reconstruction of rural society. Some scholars have suggested that given the gradual decline of ritual and custom order under the current traditional grassroots political ecology, optimizing the grassroots political ecology requires continuously promoting the convergence of ritual and custom with the rule of law. In summary, the inheritance and innovation of ritual and custom culture is an important path in the reconstruction of grassroots social order in China.

2. Constructing the Space Theory of Rural Social Change

A group of new Marxists represented by Lefebvre and Jameson proposed the spatial political and ideological nature, providing a new perspective for the study of rural revitalization in China. To discuss the relationship between rural social change and spatial theory, it is necessary to review the basic clues and connotations of the emergence of spatial theory. Human historical practice has shown that the modernization (modernization) of a country and nation is accompanied by urbanization. Marxism initially paid attention to the important significance of urban space expansion for the development of human society.

There was a major turning point in the understanding of space with the birth of "The Production of Space" (1974) by Lefebvre, a French sociologist who was a new Marxist, proposing the "trialectics of social space" (also known as "the dialectics of social space"). On the basis of the classical Marxist spatial theory, he shifted the mainstream perspective from the "dichotomy of time and space" to the issue of space. Space began to be seen not only as a carrier of material production but also as being produced purposefully by humans, having strategy and politics. It itself has historical, political, and ideological significance. ^[15] Lefebvre summed it up as "space is a product filled with various ideologies." Another American spatial theorist and new Marxist scholar, Jameson, also believes that space expression has "all expressions, no matter how weak, must penetrate what we call political unconsciousness, and all expressions can be interpreted as symbolic thoughts on the fate of the group."

For traditional Chinese rural society, in this unavoidable urbanization process, whether it is the emotional sustenance of returning to one's roots or the nomadic life of leaving the city, a considerable number of "rural" residents have unique spatial imprints deep in their souls. From a different perspective, the old, weak, women, and children who stay in the countryside due to various reasons undoubtedly consider the rural lanes as the fundamental means of livelihood, but their longing for the outside world often lingers due to their previous experiences of traveling far away. On the other hand, most people who have left the countryside through various means such as working, doing business, or studying, roam between the tall buildings in the city. Even if they have obtained urban citizenship, due to concepts, human feelings, and other multiple restraints, regardless of how far the physical space is, most rural sentiments are still present in the spiritual space. It is not difficult to draw a reasonable conclusion that traditional Chinese rural society also conforms to several characteristics of the spatial imagery and political structure in the process of urbanization (modernization), bearing the spiritual meaning, material meaning, and value demands of the changing rural etiquette culture, maintaining some traditional forms, and carrying the individual and collective spatial imaginations in urbanization.

Due to factors such as geographical location and cultural tradition, the Tujia rural society in western Hubei has relatively slow urbanization, and it is a key area for targeted poverty alleviation and rural revitalization in the new era. Compared with the material form of traditional rural society, the biggest change is the new birth of social order and the reconstruction of social structure. Under the premise of living without worries about food and clothing, "life politics" and "spiritual imagination" have become important components of people's lives. It can be said that the change of Tujia etiquette culture is closely related to the transformation of rural space, weaving three logical paths: first, the connotation of rural life changes from "natural society" to "modern society".

3. Multiple Scenes of Change in Tujia Ritual and Custom Culture

Traditional Chinese society is a 'familiar society.' Just as Mr. Fei Xiaotong believed, in a familiar society, we can have the freedom to do as we wish without overstepping boundaries. Here, the boundaries are not laws, but rather 'rituals and customs' that are derived from habit. The saying goes, 'Following customs is following the heart.' Therefore, in this context, society and individuals are closely connected, and the order of the entire rural society stems from the reliability of being familiar with a certain behavior without hesitation. The change in Tujia ritual and custom is precisely the process of the 'loss, alienation, and reconstruction' of this 'reliability' in the transformation of rural social order.

3.1 Loss of Reliability

The change in Tujia ritual and custom culture begins with the 'loss of reliability.' In traditional ritual and custom culture, cultural symbols and spiritual values embodied in 'ritual' items gradually disappear from the customs. For example, during the Spring Festival, every household used to make 'nian gao' (rice cake) as a traditional gift, with inscriptions like 'dragon and phoenix bring auspiciousness, ' 'great luck and great profit, ' 'peace year after year, ' and 'congratulations and prosperity.' The material, workmanship, and size all reflected the value judgment of the hosts, which was the basic impression about 20 years ago. With the expansion of rural social space and the broadening of channels for rural resource acquisition beyond the needs of survival, as well as the lack of rural labor, the traditional atmosphere of the Spring Festival ritual and custom culture has become increasingly faint. This 'arduous and unsatisfactory' cultural symbol no longer has a space for survival. Nowadays, only in the tourism market can one occasionally catch a glimpse of it, and its significance itself has turned into a prop to deceive tourists. This is just a microcosm of the gradual loss of Tujia ritual and custom culture, which shows that certain traditional customs no longer dominate the rural order, and is a side shadow of the rural social space moving toward the city.

3.2 Alienation of Reliability

With the penetration of the market economy, rural and urban spaces are closely linked, and rural resources are temporarily unable to support the development needs of more demands, especially with the emergence of social stratification and wealth disparity in rural society, leading to further differentiation of rural society. Another manifestation of the change in Tujia ritual and custom is the 'alienation of customs, ' with the typical manifestation being the rapid monetization, simplification, vulgarity, and even politicization of 'human relations.' The 'thickness of red envelopes' has become the main criterion for 'thin human relations, ' and the domain of human relations has become a space where multiple powers compete. Traditional rural Tujia communities are not particularly sensitive to political life, and land resources have become the focus of social conflicts. The events of land disputes are frequent. In the past ten years, the rural social space has gradually expanded from simple agricultural production to overall 'development needs, ' and human interactions are no longer simply emotional exchanges, but more about maintaining relationships and building a community of interests. It is worth noting that in the change of ritual and custom culture, the value of 'neighborly friendliness' has also faced enormous challenges, and 'not fearing scarcity, but fearing inequality' is one of the main reasons for the 'alienation of reliability.' This image of the 'alienation of customs' stems from the pursuit of social identity positioning by rural residents, and the spiritual pursuit of maximizing attention and interests, which is also the result of the expansion of the connotation of rural social space.

3.3 Reconstruction of Reliability

The change in Tujia ritual and custom culture is not only about the 'present being inferior to the past, ' but also about actively adapting to the development of rural social space, especially when rural society transitions from a simple 'material carrier' to a domain of 'spiritual pursuit, ' a large number of new rituals and customs emerge. Since the new era, the biggest change in rural Tujia communities is the organization and infiltration of power by party and government institutions, turning the rural social space into a place of politics and ideology. The change in customs gradually returns from decomposition and alienation to spiritual pursuit and value orientation. 'Money' has acquired multiple meanings from the substantial exchange value, and 'material objects' as carriers of emotions have begun to return. The popular 'empty-handed visits' that emphasize emotional exchanges have achieved an expansion from the immediate material space to a higher and broader spiritual space, making rituals and customs a larger bond of affection in the community. For example, the 'fellow villagers group' who work in the city

no longer reside in their hometown's 'one mu, three fen' land, and the concept of 'fellow villagers' has also transitioned from the same group, village, and township to the same county, city (prefecture), and province, expanding the living space, which is also the expansion of spiritual space. It is precisely due to the organization of the party and government."

4. Fission of Rural Social Order in the Modernization Process

Traditional rural Chinese society has always been rooted in one place, with people being born, growing up, and dying there. Not only is the population mobility small, but the ways and channels of obtaining resources (mainly land) have also rarely changed. The foundation of the "customs" lies in the traditional "acquaintance society," and the Tujia customs are no exception. The previous discussion focused on the changes in the "reliability" of the "customs," mainly in terms of the form of rural order. However, as the social group of rural residents (or the so-called dominant order) is concerned, the fundamental change in Tujia customs and culture does not lie in the "customs (order) itself," but in the people who practice the "customs (order)." Since the reform and opening up, the fission of acquaintance society mainly refers to the differentiation of rural resident groups, the transformation of rural resident identities, and the changes in rural resident relationships. It is precisely the change in the rural resident group itself that makes it necessary and possible to reshape the rural order space.

4.1 Group Differentiation

As one of the regions transitioning from tradition to modernity, the Tujia rural society can be viewed from the perspective of the dual urban-rural space. The first change in rural society is the differentiation of rural resident groups, which can be divided into at least three types: the left-behind group, the migratory group, and the relocated group. This differentiation is mainly based on differences in living space and does not imply a hierarchy, but from the perspective of "acquaintance" relationships, these three groups, although from the same rural area, are gradually decreasing in their connection to the rural space. With the passage of time, the relationships will naturally be severed by "thousands of mountains and rivers, tall buildings," and the inevitable trend is from familiarity to politeness, and then to forgetfulness. This process is also an inevitable part of the transformation of Tujia customs. At this time, the criteria for measuring rural space are the distance of the space and the frequency of travel. Once the rural area cannot support the demands of the left-behind group, the expectations of the migratory group, and the memories of the relocated group, the rural society will inevitably decline rapidly, turning into a "deserted village," while conversely, there is hope for the revitalization of the rural area.

4.2 Identity Transformation

In the transformation of Tujia customs and culture, the second typical feature of the change in the rural resident group is the rapid transformation of identity, mainly from being a "natural person" to being a "social person." Traditionally, politics has never been the theme of rural life, and for thousands of years, the idea of "men plow, women weave, self-sufficiency" has been deeply ingrained, and diligence and honesty are the "customs." However, since the Chinese proletarian revolution, politics has gradually become the dominant force in rural areas, especially during the collective era. "Political leadership" is by no means an empty slogan; it is closely related to the daily lives, livelihoods, and life and death of the ordinary people. With the transmission of the ideology of the Chinese Communist Party, the "acquaintance society" is no longer the source of "customs" and its "reliability," but has become an "alienation channel" for obtaining resources. This "acquaintance" is no longer the same "acquaintance." In other words, whether consciously or unconsciously, rural residents have been drawn into an unprecedented political and social movement, that is, the political space. Therefore, rural revitalization cannot be spontaneous, but must be the revitalization organized, participated in, and led by the political party.

4.3 Relationship Transformation

The emphasis of the acquaintance society is on the "reliability" or stability of "customs" (rules). However, once rural social space begins to apply urban rules, especially when market economy conditions are excessively emphasized, rural residents naturally choose to seek benefits and avoid harm, pursuing maximum benefit. When more rural residents return from the city, "equivalent exchange" and "speculative rationality" become the "magic weapon" for the wise to become wealthy. The rural area operates according to the spirit of the market "contract," and the acquaintance society naturally collapses. When rural relationships follow market principles, "acquaintances" often become "strangers," and just like the popular "cheating the familiar" in the market, the "acquaintance" relationship becomes less reliable. The changes in rural relationships brought about by purely economic relationships are only one aspect of the alienation of the acquaintance society, but undoubtedly, the change in economic relationships is the most fundamental change, which will inevitably cause a comprehensive change in the rural social space.

The essence of the transformation of Tujia customs lies in the gradual disintegration of traditional acquaintance society relationships. With the social differentiation, identity transformation, and relationship changes of rural resident groups, rural residents will inevitably create a new space for the reconstruction and development of rural society, which is the new rural political space. When the party and government

inject their power and resources into the rural areas, due to their strong political mobilization capabilities, the rural social space gradually expands at multiple levels, including political, economic, and cultural aspects. Rural residents, whether consciously or unconsciously, become "political people," and this is the source of the strength for the revitalization of rural areas in the new era.

5. The Spatial Reconstruction of Tujia Rural Order in the New Era

Using the spatial theory of new Marxism to consider the issues of rural society in China is undoubtedly a new attempt. In particular, a group of modern Western new Marxists have spared no effort to criticize the class differentiation in urban space in the post-capitalist era and to rebuild the utopian vision, providing useful references for today's research on the revitalization of Chinese villages and urbanization. American scholar Mark Gottdiener put it more bluntly: "Specific social culture is the basis and source of spatial meaning." Tujia traditional culture has unique ways of expression. In the process of modernization or urbanization, some aspects may be lost, abandoned, or replaced, which are normal phenomena. However, it is worth noting that this "reliability" transformation cannot be without bottom line or without goals, and even more so, completely lost in the pursuit of "commodified space." It must be based on the actual development of regional society, with the inheritance of spiritual culture as its foundation, and innovative governance as its path, to reconstruct a rural spatial order with Tujia characteristics. Specifically, it is necessary to handle the following three pairs of relationships well.

5.1 The reconstruction of the spatial order of Tujia rural areas needs the effective organization mobilization and the return of the subject of "People".

For a long time, China's grass-roots units have been able to mobilize and organize with strong propaganda and leadership to complete the social revolution and rural transformation. However, with a series of major reform practices, such as the household contract based on output and the abolition of agricultural taxes, the channels of "Leading the work of rural centers" are gradually reduced, resulting in the weakening of the ability. On the other hand, with the thawing of the urban-rural dual system, rural human resources flow to the city in large quantities, and the goal of rural construction also presents the extreme pursuit of "Urban material culture", part of the traditional cultural practices become "Materialized" tools, has lost the original carrier of spiritual and cultural significance. In view of this, we should actively guide the masses from the simple pursuit of "Material wealth" to pay more attention to the return of "Spiritual value" and think more about social value judgment as "Human".

5.2 The reconstruction of the spatial order of Tujia villages requires the inheritance and development of traditional culture and socialist culture.

The land of Jingchu has created a brilliant historical and cultural heritage, and the Batu culture, due to its geographical location and stage of development, has been relatively well preserved and is a very valuable spiritual and cultural asset. In recent years, the exploration of traditional cultural values represented by cultural tourism has also achieved great success, driving a group of people to become wealthy, but there are also many problems such as excessive consumption, insufficient innovation, and homogeneous competition. In the process of using traditional culture to promote rural revitalization and grassroots governance, it is necessary to do a good job of separating the false from the true, preserving the good, and fully tapping into the excellent core of regional ethnic culture, rather than just entertaining the public and serving consumption, always adhering to cultural confidence; secondly, we must adhere to tradition while being good at innovation, especially integrating elements of socialism with Chinese characteristics, adhering to the value orientation of socialist culture, returning to the "spiritual essence" of culture, and making good use of new media, network information technology, etc., continuously innovating cultural dissemination methods, and creating regional cultural brands.

5.3 The reconstruction of the spatial order in Tujia rural areas requires shaping the future positive image and innovative ethnic regional social governance of the Tujia people.

All along, the Tujia people were full of enthusiasm for a better life, and the mountains had created their simple and diligent nature. However, with the frequent migration of people, the young labor force was constantly being lost, at the same time, the rapid expansion of urban population aggravates the tension between local employment and the wastage of arable land, which leads to the picture of continuous contraction of rural space and rapid expansion of urban space. In order to actively guide the masses to construct the image of a better life, it should be a great beauty space of "Harmony between man and nature, unity of material and spirit, and non-flattening of social relations". On the other hand, social governance at the grass-roots level should be an organic unity of law-based governance, moral governance and physical governance. It is necessary to cultivate the awareness of the rule of law in governance, respect cultural customs, and take the lead of model cadres at the grass-roots level, to "Lead by example, physical presence", so that the masses convinced, firmly follow the party's faith.

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