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Evolving Patterns: Conflicting Perceptions of Cultural Preservation and the State of Batik's Cultural Inheritance Among Women Artisans in Guizhou, China

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Evolving Patterns: Conflicting Perceptions of Cultural Preservation
and the State of Batik's Cultural Inheritance Among
Women Artisans in Guizhou, China



Katie Uram

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Figure 1: Village in Danzhai County: Source: Katie Uram

INTRODUCTION

High in the Karst mountains of Guizhou province, a road curves above luscious valleys and rice fields. Along this road sits a two-story wooden building with an elaborate roof in a small complex of scattered wooden buildings. This building is a Miao batik co-op. Guizhou based anthropologist and journalist Wang Xiaomei has business with the co-op's artisans and has brought along our small group of inquisitive Americans so that we can carry out interviews and see batik in a village setting. Walking up a short inclined path, we approach the building and step over the threshold. Inside, a small group of Miao women, wearing intricate embroidered

headbands and traditional indigo and white batik clothing of their own creation, work to preserve their culture through this ancient art form.

The women work at wooden desks, equipped with short wooden stools and small electric warming pots filled with wax. A few of the women apply the melted wax to the white cloth in front of them, painting patterns that include depictions of Miao creation myths as well as traditional cultural images including the “butterfly mother,” fish, dragons, and whirlpools. Other women create modern designs with Chinese characters, a change from the traditional designs passed down from generation to generation. But then, this is not a traditional place. This co-op and others like it are new to the province. They are working to preserve the ancient cultural traditions of the Miao and provide economic support to women who would otherwise leave their local area to find work in a city, breaking a link in the cultural chain. These women batik artists are finding new ways to support themselves and their families while keeping this ancient art form alive.



Figure 2: Miao Batik; Source: Katie Uram

BATIK: TRADITION VS INNOVATION

Batik is a handicraft and art form which uses a wax-resistant dyeing method that has been around for over 2,000 years. Although batik artifacts have been found in a large range of places including India, Indonesia, Egypt, Persia, and Sumatra, this paper focuses on the batik of groups in modern day Guizhou, China.

These groups include the Miao, Buyi, Gejia, Yao, Shui, and Raojia people (Wang 2015; 9). The dyeing techniques and appearance of batik varies not only from country to country, but also to a lesser extent within and among the different ethnic minority groups that include batik among their traditions. My project will emphasize Miao batik as this is the form I was primarily exposed to during my field research.

The cultural significance of batik to the Miao goes beyond a decorative craft. Since the Miao have no written language, they use batik to record their history and folklore. The designs tell stories that can be passed to future generations. Traditional outfits, which include embroidery and batik designs, must be worn in Miao rituals. Doing so enables their ancestors to recognize them and allows their souls to enter the ancestral world. Usually, a person's collection of batik is buried with them. As a result, many traditional patterns and techniques are disappearing (Wang 2015, 162).

Historically, batik-making has been tied to local resources, local practices, and local knowledge. In contrast, current batik-making can be found everywhere thanks to educational institutes and tourism trade in batik art. The art has been adapted and changed by people involved in educational institutes and the tourism economy.

My exploration features Miao batik-making in Guizhou Province and explores several sets of overlapping questions. The first set focuses on the status of the craft of Miao batik-making and the perceptions of its future. Is batik-making a dying art form? To what extent is Batik-making a thriving cultural practice today, or do Miao in China (and other ethnic groups involved in batik-making) perceive an inheritance crisis? My next focus is on the role of institutions and the tourism industry. If taught less and less in the domestic sphere (traditions passed from mother to daughter), what role do public domains such as educational institutions and the tourism industry play in the preservation of batik-making? What changes might a formalized or standardized curriculum have on the art form? What influences might the commercial markets have on batik-making?

Innovation is a key factor in the discussion of batik making and as such, was of particular interest in my exploration. I wanted to understand how batik-makers debated the question of

tradition versus innovation in design and production of batik. What social factors and circumstances lead some to believe there is an inheritance crisis and others not? What social factors and circumstances lead some to embrace innovations in batik-making and others to hold tight to traditional methods?

To research and develop this ethnography, I traveled to Guizhou, China twice where I researched batik production and interviewed artisans and others. In addition, I read original works in Chinese and conducted firsthand exploration in Chinese. I then translated my interviews from Mandarin to English. In addition to contributing to Chinese and East Asian Studies, this project contributes to anthropological studies of globalization, hybridity and cultural preservation by examining the processes involved in the transformation of batik in Guizhou from a local ethnic cultural form to a global form.

Globalization Theory

Globalization is a key concept for tracing the way Miao batik-making—once a tradition local to Miao culture and heritage—has become commercialized and commodified in the realm of Chinese and global tourism. The term globalization has as many definitions as there are academic disciplines, but can be understood as “the development and proliferation of complex, interdependent international connections created through the movement of capital, natural resources, information, culture, and people across national borders” (Globalization, 2012).

Arjun Appadurai nicely emphasizes the ways in which globalization is multidimensional (1990). He enumerates these dimensions as various global flows: flows of people, technology, capital, media, and political ideologies. Appadurai highlights that these movements or ‘flows’ happen in contexts of place by using the term *scapes*. Disjuncture implies that global flows “are not a set of circulating ideas, people, images, and capital that will increasingly expand outward

until the world is 'one.' With this term, Appadurai argues that, far from producing a homogenization effect and creating unity, sameness or equality, globalization more likely results in heterogeneity and disunity. He suggests that global flows instead have the potential to create clashes, misfires, confusions, and even chaos" (Mascia-Lees 2010, 15). How people are affected by these flows depends upon their individual contexts. For instance, batik factory owners and managers experience the economic outcomes of batik production differently than the way in which rural migrant women working in those factories would understand them. Subsequently, these varied experiences could result in different viewpoints on the future of batik-making in relation to identity and social position.

Deterritorialization

The flows described by Appadurai inevitably bring change. How they affect people's lives depends upon context. As people, technology, ideas, media and commodities move from their places of origin, they interact with and change the contexts surrounding the lives of modern people. This is called deterritorialization or "the process by which the cultural, social, and political contexts that affect and define people's lives cease to be confined by territorial borders, boundaries, and distances" (Mascia-Lees 2010, 15). In this way, traditions like batik-making spread beyond their original contexts of homes in minority villages. This process is exacerbated by large flows of rural-to-urban migration taking place across China. These movements "weaken the ties between culture and place as people move from their traditional homelands to [...] new locales over the course of their lifetime [...] [but also has] led to reinsertion of culture into new contexts" (Mascia-Lees 2010, 15). For instance, batik is a handicraft which was confined to the domestic sphere as it was passed down from mothers to daughters for centuries. It has now

broken into the wider, more public sphere in places like Guizhou Forerunner College, and government sponsored expos where it is taught, made, bought, and sold to a new range of people.

Hybridity

As historical ties weaken and culture begins to show up in new locales, the people and artifacts in these flows come in contact with new people, traditions, and ideas. These meetings lead to “the recombination of forms and practices no longer tied to local circumstances into new forms and practices” which is also known as hybridization (Mascia-Lees 2010, 28).

It is necessary to practice caution in using the term, hybridity, as its biological roots and mixed usages have left it with a somewhat controversial background. Indeed, hybridity has often been considered “risky” because it does not indicate or refer to one concept, but instead an “association of ideas, concepts, and themes [...] that reinforce and contradict each other” (Kraidy 2005, vi). The term can and has been applied to topics of race, language, ethnicity, and biology. Therefore, whenever the term is employed, all specific contexts and relevant conditions that helped shape and influence it must be addressed. According to Peter Burke, author of Cultural Hybridity, there are three types, or processes, of hybridization: hybridization of artifacts, of practices, and of people (2009, 13). In Burke’s work, cultural hybridity is frequently discussed as an interchange between two vastly different groups on a larger (national) scale (e.g., Argentina and Brazil, England and Mexico). This use implies that cultural hybridity takes place only in interactions between widely different and large groups. However, I would argue that the process of cultural hybridization also takes place on a smaller scale such as in the practices, perceptions, and artistic styles of different groups of batik artisans from the same province.

Because of its background, some theorists avoid using the word hybridization. Burke offers a discussion of different terminology that have been used as replacements. There are

different terms such as creolization or cultural translation which could be used, each of which has different connotations and usages. These terms are needed “to do justice both to human agency ([using terms like] ‘appropriation’ or ‘cultural translation’) and to changes of which the agents are unaware ([using terms like] ‘hybridization’ or ‘creolization’)” (Burke 2009, 65). However, this does not necessarily call for a complete abandonment of the term hybridity. While alternate vocabulary can be valuable in certain contexts, the scopes of these alternate terms are much narrower and more limiting than that of hybridity. Hybridization often “encompasses the objects and processes captured by equipment terms” (Kraidy 2005, xii). For instance, the term creolization originated and is most frequently applied to areas regarding language.

By contrast, hybridization includes a “diverse intercultural mixture—not only the racial ones—and [...] permits the inclusion of modern forms of hybridization better than related terms like ‘syncretism’” (Kraidy 2005, 1). For this reason, I choose to employ the terms hybridity and hybridization in my own paper. Doing so allows my discussion to span the entire range of my application without the unnecessary confusion brought by the constant switching of terminology that would become necessary with alternate vocabulary. However, I employ these terms neither blindly nor lightly. Vocabulary like hybridity must be applied cautiously. It is necessary to fully acknowledge its background before clearly defining my own intended application. While defining hybridity is complicated and messy, this is not problematic. There is no definitive right answer for usage of this term but its use ought to be thoughtfully considered.

Within the context of this paper, the concept of hybridity is an integral part of examining the changes which batik is experiencing. It also allows better understanding for the debate that is happening around cultural preservation of these minority handicrafts. Hybridization may present

itself in a number of different forms. For instance, in the case of batik, some changes are more conscious than others. Changes which are more conscious or intentional like painting on different types of fabric, or using already-dyed batik fabric to make products like bags or dresses, are often referred to as innovation. These typical changes are made with the market and improved sales in mind. In other situations, hybridity is less conscious and happens when artisans move from their home villages to a new place: i.e., moving from their villages to cities to look for work. In this case, artisans subconsciously integrate new ideas, themes, and techniques into their art. In these instances of increased interaction in changing contexts, some amount of hybridization is inevitable. This connects directly to the question of cultural preservation and its relationship with cultural development.

Cultural Inheritance Crisis

In the Guizhou communities I visited, there is a growing concern regarding the continued cultural inheritance of minority handicraft culture. There are a number of causes for this concern. China is undergoing one of the largest migrations in the world today as working-age people migrate from rural to urban areas. As part of this migration, young women who do not find economic

opportunities in their home villages seek employment elsewhere. This often means seeking work in the city. Many young women also feel that batik handicrafts do not offer an opportunity to earn income because of the lack of market demand and sales channels. At the same time,



Figure 3: Guizhou Province's Location in China; Source: New World Encyclopedia, 2016

consumers in China's urban areas have little understanding of the value—both cultural and monetary—of traditional batik. This traditional craft does not have a functional place in the modern urban settings.

Additionally, increased access to education for girls in recent years means that they are now participating in batik-making less than girls of previous generations. Many students from particularly small villages might not have a local school and therefore may have to travel to nearby counties for education. This means that they have less time at home, especially if they stay in the other county during school. Even those who do not attend boarding schools may have little time outside of their homework and studies. Additionally, even for some students who have time to potentially learn batik, their parents might wish for them to work on their studies instead. An example of this is a Miao batik artisan I interviewed at the Expo named Lin Qiaolian. When she was growing up, only the boys in her family had an education while she stayed at home and learned batik-making and embroidery with her family. She wants her children to learn these crafts eventually, but first wants them to get the education she could not get in her youth. Only after they have gone as far as they can in their educations will she teach them.

At the same time, there is an increasing focus on cultural preservation with efforts being made to promote the growth of these handicrafts. This effort to innovate and make batik and other minority handicrafts more accessible to the market is one way of preserving that culture. Of course, on closer look, there is some disagreement about what constitutes cultural preservation. The term cultural development is one that I heard with some frequency during my fieldwork. In China this term has roots in the sweeping assimilation and “civilizing” projects aimed at minority groups like the Miao. However, “rather than indicating the blatant assimilation of earlier times, cultural development now entails the preservation and commodification of ethnic traditions

which are deemed to contribute to Guizhou's overall economic development" (Oakes 1999b). I use the term cultural preservation as an umbrella term or label that can include the concepts of cultural development, innovation and hybridity.

Especially for those who believe that there is an inheritance crisis, defining cultural preservation is a tricky concept. Their definition likely depends upon their goals for and relationship with the craft. If their bottom line is to save the craft and therefore their culture from extinction, then their goal may be to do whatever is necessary—including updating patterns or taking drastic innovative measures to ensure continued interest from outsiders. This ensures continued interest from markets. Of course, this begs the question: At what point does the change go too far and the traditional art become unrecognizable? Or does this matter? Similarly, if their goal is more economically based, then it is possible that their definition of the term is more flexible.

For those who view culture as a "pure product," the thought of developing or innovating that culture is likely terrifying. Others view batik and elements of culture as constantly changing or simply value the continued existence of their cultural art form in some form over strict adherence to one particular traditional or "pure" form. This is what Tim Oakes (2009) refers to as the "third space" in between the two opposing ends of the tradition-innovation continuum. I would argue that while a number of trends are visible in the factors that affect how these women artisans view the future and current state of batik handicraft, there are ultimately still variations and outliers to those trends because of their individual contexts. The role batik plays for them varies depending on a number of factors and the context that surrounds them.

Guizhou's Ethnic Minorities

As one of China's most ethnically and culturally diverse provinces, Guizhou, which is located in southwestern China, is an ideal place to explore the cultural preservation of batik-making. The Han majority totaled roughly 65% of the Guizhou population and the next nine most populous ethnic groups totaled 32%. Another source counts a higher number of ethnic minorities with over 37% of Guizhou's population being comprised of forty-nine officially designated ethnic minority groups, the majority of which live in designated autonomous regions that make up 55.5% of the provinces land (*New World Encyclopedia, 2016*). At nearly 12%, the Miao is the most prominent minority ethnic group.

Figure 4: Breakdown of Guizhou's Ethnic Composition

Breakdown of Guizhou's Ethnic Composition		
Ethnic designation	1990 census	% of total
Han (汉族)	21,148.8	65.3
Miao (苗族)	3,668.8	11.3
Buyi (布依族)	2,478.1	7.7
Dong (侗族)	1,400	4.3
Tujia(土家族)	1,045.5	3.2
Yi (彝族)	704.7	2.2
Gelao (仡佬族)	430.6	1.3
Shui(水族)	323.1	1.0
Hui(回族)	127.1	0.4
Bai (白族)	123.3	0.4

Source: "Guizhou ethnic composition in 1990" adapted from (Oakes 1998, 119).

Miao Ethnic Identity vs Guizhou Regional Identity

Guizhou became a province when it came under government control during the Ming Dynasty in 1413 AD. Up until this time, Guizhou was primarily inhabited by groups now considered Chinese ethnic minorities. However, this quickly began to change under the colonization policy of the Ming and Qing dynasties that encouraged Han Chinese from surrounding provinces to migrate and settle in Guizhou. The Qing dynasty's policy of replacing local tribal leaders with government officials led to extreme conflict in the form of numerous bloody rebellions primarily led by the Miao minority groups that shook the region up until 1944.

The term “Miao (苗)” has a troubling history that stretches back many hundreds of years. Because of the conflict-ridden history between the “Miao” and Han, “Miao” was simply a category used by Chinese, consolidating many geographically, culturally, linguistically, and economically different groups under a collective group. The name “Miao” was created by the Han. In some reports, it was chosen as a derogatory label meaning “sprouts” or “weeds” likely because part of the character includes the radical for grass and the field radical (Oakes 1998; Harrel 1995). Another theory suggests that the Han people listening to the Miao language thought it sounded like cats and created the name to imitate the sound of a cat (Van Rijn 2016).

Today, the term Miao refers to the Hmong “ethnic minority” group as designated by the government's ongoing ethnic classification project (民族识别 *minzu shibie*) which began in the 1950s. The Hmong group in China has a population of over nine million and encompasses a large number of culturally and linguistically diverse groups. “At the level of common discourse [...] there is some disagreement about whether the Miao are a single unified nationality, but it is not an issue expressed in demands for reclassification” (Harrell 1995, 114). There are a number of terms present both in Mandarin and in local dialects (方言 *fangyan*) that are still used to

differentiate “subgroups.” More importantly, it is vital to recognize the agency of the “Miao” people, because no matter how they are labeled by others, “among themselves, they know what their real name is and how they [are] different from or are similar to other segments of the Miao category” (Harell 1995, 114).

The presence of smaller ethnic identities in Guizhou is being promoted as a regional identity. Local cultural diversity “and difference are no longer regarded as obstacles to capitalist development, but rather have become core features of the expansion of the commodity form” (Oakes 2000, 671). This is called global localism and it strives to “facilitate development and innovation” in areas of regional culture (Oakes 2000, 673). About a third of Guizhou’s population consists of officially recognized “minority nationalities” though many others exist but are not recognized by the government. This diversity presents a complex challenge for the province. Creating a cohesive provincial identity amid such diversity is complicated, but it also allows the province to represent, “in its own way, yet another version of Chineseness” (Oakes 2000, 680).

In 1990, 94% of these minority populations lived in rural agricultural areas of Guizhou (Oakes 1999b). Although beautiful, the highly mountainous Karst landscape of the province severely limits the province’s agricultural production. A significant portion of the landscape (73%) consists of carbonate rocks which causes significant erosion, creating water supply problems and “leads to a deeply dissected landscape of sheer cliffs, gorges, enormous caverns, and sinkholes” (Oakes 1999b). The resulting eroded land and thin, acidic soil makes agriculture difficult. Even so, a large portion of rural residents have long depended upon the land to make a living. However, due to a number of reforms in the post-Mao era, it has become increasingly difficult for Guizhou villagers to live solely from farming. In 2014, Guizhou was the region with

the lowest GDP in China (China Regional Economic, 2013). This high level of poverty has led to an increased number of rural villagers in Guizhou migrating to urban areas in search of employment as well as an increased dependence on women's income (Oakes 1999a).

Ethnotourism in Guizhou

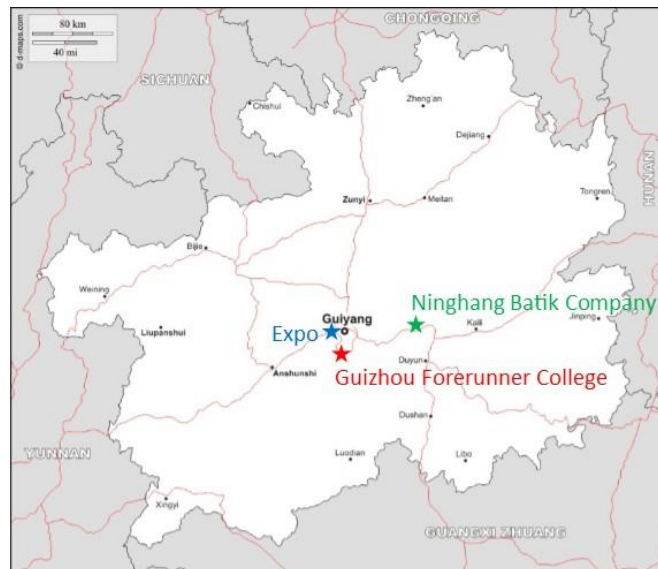
As one of the most ethnically diverse provinces in the country in terms of officially designated Chinese minorities, Guizhou has turned to promoting and selling its ethnic diversity in the forms of both tourism and handicrafts as main industries to alleviate the province's rampant poverty. "In other words, the province's answer to its simmering fiscal crisis [has been] to 'sell Guizhou'" (Oakes 1999a). This process has led "to promoting tourism development as a key component in its drive to both forge a new provincial identity and attract the attention of mobile capital from within and beyond China" (Oakes 2000, 680). Global localism, as seen in Guizhou, allows commonalities of elements of diversity such as cultural handicrafts to enhance tourism though it also enhances morale and pride amongst local people.

Each ethnic minority possesses its own history, language, myths, and traditional styles of dress, cuisine and handicrafts. Ethno-tourism and minority handicrafts like batik, embroidery, and paper-cutting add to the culture and economy of the area. The populations I worked with during my field research, however, were predominantly Miao. For Miao villagers, participation in this "growing ethnic craft tourist economy does not reflect their desire to maintain a mythical 'pre-modern' way of life; nor is it inspired by a need to resist capitalist homogenization" (Oakes 1999a). Instead, their participation is "driven by an acute pressure for economic survival in the insecure political economy of China's commercializing rural sector" (Oakes 1999a). The contribution of the Miao minority and their handicrafts to the economy of the province is significant. It is perhaps ironic that the traditions of the Miao people which were "once marked

for destruction for their ties to the feudal past to the revolution had struggled for so long to overthrow, were now being championed as locally productive technologies of social order” (Litzinger 2002, 47).

BATIK FIELDWORK: PLACES, PEOPLE, AND PROCESSES

Figure 5: Location of Major Field Sites



Source: New World Encyclopedia, 2016

Educational institutions, handicraft cooperatives, and craft expos are important to issues of cultural preservation because of their role in knowledge transmission, commercial production, and distribution. This thesis project was conducted at three such locations during the summer of 2015 and December 2015. These locations offered valuable information and unique angles from which to approach my exploration: Guizhou Forerunner College (Forerunner), a non-profit school that trains student in minority folk crafts; Ninghang, a small batik company employing forty Miao women in Danzhai County; and Colorful Guizhou Expo, a three-day expo devoted to

promoting innovation in ethnic minority handicrafts. After a brief overview of these key sites, I will discuss the data collection methods that I employed in these locations.



Figure 6: Ninghang Batik Company; Source: Rachel Crowl, 2015

Places

Ninghang Batik Factory:

Ninghang Batik (宁航蜡染 *ninghang laran*) was founded in 2009 by boss and owner Ning Manli. The company employs forty-six Miao women in Danzhai County, Guizhou. Danzhai County is a two-hour drive from the city of Guiyang, in southeastern Guizhou Province and is a part of the Qiandongnan Miao and Dong Autonomous Prefecture. According to the website of Easy Tour China—a tour company based in China that offers a “Wild Guizhou”

tour—85.57% of [Danzhai’s population] are Miao nationality who live together with seventeen other ethnic minority groups” (Danzhai City Tour, 2016). The overwhelming majority of ethnic groups including Miao is apparent to anyone who spends time in the county. Even in the more urbanized areas of Danzhai, such as the area where Ninghang Batik is located, the strong presence of Miao culture is evident.

Guizhou Forerunner College (Forerunner):

Forerunner is a non-profit vocational school in southwest Guizhou province that offers subsidized vocational training in hotel management, internet marketing, computer application, tea production, and minority folk crafts to students from impoverished families. Forerunner’s mission is to offer these students vocational training to provide them tools to expand their education and improve their standard of living. Instead of emphasizing a strict grade-based system, the school focuses on experiential learning of “practical and employable skills” (Guizhou Forerunner College 2016). Each major is partnered with a company or corporation that provides students with internships and sometimes employment.

Colorful Guizhou 2015 Cultural and Creative Industries Fair (Expo):

A three-day expo held in the capital city of Guizhou Province, Guiyang, devoted to promoting innovation in ethnic minority handicrafts, the Expo included the unveiling of a museum entirely dedicated to the history and diversity of Guizhou’s ethnic minority handicrafts, including batik, embroidery, and other handicrafts. The Expo spreads across three levels of exhibition space with vendors from a large variety of groups and companies associated with ethnic minority handicrafts, including both Ninghang and Forerunner. Even Xiaomei had a booth to promote her brand, Blue Flower Narrating.

People

Wang, Xiaomei: Journalist, Anthropologist, Mentor

Wang Xiaomei takes pictures everywhere she goes. Lots of them. She snaps pictures of the delicate decorative plants she cultivates, careful hands painting intricate wax patterns on



Figure 7: Restored loom in Xiaomei's office; Source: Katie Uram

white fabric, drying swathes of hanging cloth—indigo and white and full of stories. Xiaomei collects stories, documents them, and protects them. Ancient ones and new ones. Her passion and her mission is to understand, preserve, and celebrate the ancient artwork of the Miao batik and to help the women artisans who create it. She is devoted to the people and their art.

Even the name of her company—Blue Flower

Narrating—shows her dedication to the story of the

Miao. She always wears batik and silver jewelry of the

Miao people and in doing so, shows how this artwork is

important, even in modern times, especially in modern times.

Over the course of my six-week project, Xiaomei acted as my mentor and guide. An anthropologist by training and journalist by trade, she worked with Miao batik artisans in Guizhou Province for sixteen years. In her own words, Xiaomei began her journey “as a journalist, recording the narratives of Miao batik makers in rural Guizhou Province. Over time, I realized the power of these stories to empower women to tell about and reflect on their cultural identity, while at the same time, allowing Chinese people in the city to understand and appreciate traditional minority culture.” Xiaomei’s passion has driven her to create a company, write books,

and find other ways to support the artisans and further her mission to document their stories and promote Miao batik.

With help from grants, she has run over a hundred training workshops and established cooperatives in thirteen villages across Guizhou. Xiaomei has written extensively about the Miao batik artisans in her books: *The Ancient Town of Zhenyuan* (2010), *Memory on Hands: The Life Stories of Sister Yang and Sister Li* (2011), *Blue Flower Narrating* (2013), and *Oral History of Intangible Heritage Inheritors* (2013), and *Translation of Miao Clothing* (2012). With the help of the Citi Foundation's Guizhou Handcraft Grant, Xiaomei has established a number of handicraft cooperatives in Guizhou villages, and started her own batik brand, Blue Flower Narrating, to help empower the women artisans and promote long-term growth of batik and other ethnic handicrafts

Through Xiaomei, I was introduced to artisans who made a variety of different crafts, but I had the most exposure to batik during my study. Xiaomei's support was essential to the success of my research. She provided introductions which helped me establish more immediate rapport with my informants. She is trusted and respected by the people at the co-ops and the companies because of her work and support for these communities. She also provided logistical support which helped me set up initial appointments and introductions and get to appointments. Because of her strong ties with the batik artists and her willingness to help me connect with them, I based my research upon the batik artist community.

Processes

Ethnographic Research Methods:

For this project, I employed a mixed methods approach collecting both qualitative and quantitative data. I worked intensively over six weeks in the summer of 2015 with a follow-up day trip in December 2015. I spent shorter lengths of time (ranging anywhere from an afternoon to five days) at a number of field sites instead of spending all my time at a single field site. Although these brief stints sacrificed a certain level of depth and rapport-building time with informants at each site, they had the benefit of allowing me to interact with a greater number of informants with a broad range of backgrounds and experiences.

During my data collection period, I employed an array of different data gathering methods including direct observation, participant observation, face-to-face ethnographic interviews, surveys, field note writing, analysis of anthropological library sources, as well as collection of photos and text-based artifacts. By the end of the study, I traveled to six different field sites, completed over twenty interviews and nearly sixty surveys, and carried out more than a dozen extended participant observation sessions.

Using both qualitative and quantitative approaches gives a better understanding than can be found in either approach alone. As discussed in Schensul, Schensul and LeCompte (2013:156-57), observational data helped shape my interview and survey questions. My observations, in turn, complemented informant testimony. My survey data allowed me to measure the frequency and correlations of viewpoints or experiences revealed in interviews.

Site Observations

Figure 8: Jotting notes at Ninghang Batik Company



Source: Xiaodeng, 2015.

During a six-week fieldtrip in the Summer of 2015 and in a follow-up day trip in December 2015, I visited a number of field sites but focused on three sites described above: Ninghang, Forerunner, and the Expo. I regularly employed “fly-on-a-wall” direct observation, which is observing research participants in their work routines without altering the environment, keeping in mind that it is

never possible to be completely “invisible” as a western foreigner in China. Whenever possible I also incorporated participant observations. At Ninghang, I took a tour of the company guided by one of the batik artisans who also manages the warehouse. I ate a few meals with the members of the company and visited with artisans while they worked.

At Forerunner, I attended classes, lived in dorms, and shared meals with the other participants of the month-long program. This helped me see batik-making as it was being taught at the school and gave me a better sense of the learning process at Forerunner. It also helped me better understand the people who learn batik-making. Finally, for two days I attended the Expo as a member of the public. I walked around the trade floor exhibits, visited the museum and shops, and watched artisans make their crafts. At each field site, I recorded my observations in a small notebook and, at the end of the day, I recorded full field notes on my computer. These

initial observations and tours put me in contact with potential survey and interview participants, and helped me formulate appropriate questions.

With the help of Chen Zhengfu, an anthropology post-doctorate candidate with similar interests in studying trends surrounding migrant artisan women, I put together a packet of forty-three survey questions. The purpose of most of the survey questions was to help provide a snapshot of the lives of these migrant artisan women. The types of questions included in the survey range from simple identifying and background questions, to scale questions, as well as a few open description questions. Background questions included topics such as age, salary, average hours worked in a day, average number of days worked in a month, etc. A number of scale questions asked about such topics as general satisfaction levels and perceived hardships.

The bulk of the questions were multiple-choice, on topics such as whether or not there is an inheritance crisis, perceived benefits of their art, if they had received formal training for their craft, and questions gauging the prospects of their craft's future. See Appendix 3 for a sampling of interview questions. Over the course of the six weeks, I collected fifty-seven surveys from informants from a range of field sites including artisans at the Ninghang Batik Company, graduates of Forerunner College currently working at Beijing Tangrenfang (北京唐人坊) (the partner company of Forerunner's Handicraft Major) artisans working for another handicraft company represented at the Expo, and a small number of artisans I encountered at various locales during my field research.

Interviews:

Face-to-face interviews are vital to ethnographic research because they allow analysis not only of what informants say but how they say it. It is possible to gather information from the informant's reactions to questions as well as their answers. Face-to-face interviews provided the

stories and in-depth information at the core of my project. I carried out semi-structured interviews, meaning that I endeavored to ask everyone more or less the same questions but allowed flexibility in question order and participant responses depending on the unique set of



Figure 9: Interview in Miao Village; Source: Xiaomei

circumstances of each interview and category of participants (Schensul and LeCompte 2012, 171).

In doing these interviews, I had the invaluable assistance of Xiaodeng, a Guizhou native and graduate student at Guizhou Normal University where I was based. Professor Ren paired us

together because Xiaodeng's research focus is also centered on traditional

minority handicrafts. Because she is from Guizhou, she speaks the local dialect in addition to Mandarin. This proved to be invaluable to the project as she was able to act as translator in situations when informants spoke only the local dialect. She also helped transcribe many of the interviews into Mandarin for me. This was incredibly helpful, again, because of the prevalence of dialects among the informants. As is customary in China when making new acquaintances, I gave each person a small gift such as a candy bar or small token from America. Many seemed appreciative of the sign of respect this gesture provided.

Translation and Analysis:

After arriving home, I began the process of translating, coding and analyzing my interviews, surveys, and field notes, supplementing all this information with secondary reading

sources. In translating the interviews, I collected from my research, I attempted to capture the meaning of the interviewees' words while preserving the essence of how they spoke.

I recognize that translation, itself, is a form of writing and requires interpretation. Therefore, to provide the clearest and most accurate presentation of their speech and meanings, I have provided the original Mandarin text of quoted selections for the reader.

Fieldwork Challenges and Ethical Considerations:

Conducting an ethnographic project across language and culture raises a number of ethical considerations and fieldwork challenges that can impact data collection and analysis. My research was reviewed and approved as ethical by Lawrence University's Institutional Review Board (IRB). The IRB reviewed my data collection instruments including my interview questions, survey questions and my informed consent form. Because I conducted all my field research in Mandarin, I translated my informed consent form, survey, and interview questions into Mandarin. I also reversed the translation process back to English to ensure that the translation into Mandarin was accurate and that it would be understood by participants so they could give their full consent before participating. Pseudonyms used in the paper protect the privacy and confidentiality of research participants unless they prefer to be identified by name.

During my project, I overcame a number of ethical difficulties connected to the working situation, and economic and educational backgrounds of the informants. Many of my informants were illiterate or poorly educated and could not read the Mandarin language consent form. Legal documents were outside their daily experience and were a source of stress for them. To help informants understand my request and the document, I had to present it in a non-threatening way and explain that it was important that they sign the document. This was a significant drain on time and energy initially, but eventually, the informed consent conversations became easier. To

ease the process, I worked with Xiaomei and Xiaodeng to develop a simpler way to explain the informed consent form to the informants.

Similarly, there were some difficulties in collecting survey data because many of the informants were illiterate or had little to no experience being surveyed. To overcome this challenge, we led participants through the questions one-by-one. For instance, at Ninghang, where some participants did not speak Mandarin and spoke only the Miao dialect, we enlisted the help of one young worker who was fluent in both languages. She assisted us in administering the surveys and talked interviewees through the process. On the other hand, some surveys completed at the Expo were self-administered by the respondents.

In general, I encountered some language barriers. I conducted interviews in Mandarin, but for many of my informants, Mandarin was not their first language. Instead, they spoke Guiyang's local dialect (贵阳话 *Guiyang Hua*). In these situations, my graduate assistant, Xiaodeng, interpreted my questions for them from Mandarin to their native dialect and then translated their answers back. These back and forth translations might have caused some initial difficulty in understanding the questions but we ultimately developed a rhythm to this and the interviews become more natural overtime.

EVOLVING PATTERNS



Figure 10: Artisans painting wax pattern onto cloth; Source: Rachel Crowl

BATIK-MAKING:

In addition to reading text sources, I had the opportunity to tour batik-making facilities, and interview artisans. I learned that making batik is a precise and scientific procedure. First, the artist dips their wax knife into a hot wax concoction. This tool is essential to the batik-making process. Although the exact design and shape of the wax knife varies from place to place, the basic design is comprised of several sheets of metal bound together to a bamboo handle. The blades of the knives I encountered during my field research resembled a half-moon atop a pen-sized stick. The bound-together metal blades trap hot wax, allowing for extended, controlled application of the wax. The artist gently taps the tool against the container to rid it of excess wax,

then sets the knife to the fabric. Through a series of smooth and measured strokes, the artist's intended design flows onto the length of fabric stretched before them. Even the most complicated patterns are hand drawn with the thin lines of wax. After the wax has been applied and hardened, the fabric is put through an intensive dyeing process using an indigo-based dye.



Figure 11: Indigo Plants;
Source: Katie Uram

Although many current batik makers purchase premade dye at markets, a substantial number of artisans particularly those still living in rural villages—continue to make their own dye. The most crucial ingredient of the dye is the indigo plant. As such, the plant often acts as an important crop for those artisans still living in rural villages. After harvest, the indigo plant's leaves and branches are soaked in water for several days while the plant rots. Then, the excess water is poured off, and the remaining plant material boiled, strained, and

combined with carefully measured amounts of calcium chloride. The resulting paste is mixed together with liquor (rice wine) and water in large barrels that are then covered and left to sit for an extended period of time until it is time to dye the batik (Wang 2015, 73). The dyeing process is best done in summer months, otherwise the color fades too easily. The fabric is allowed to dry. It is re-dyed and dried repeatedly until the desired shade of blue is obtained. In an interview with Jin Laoshi, a professor at Forerunner College and Guizhou Normal University, I learned that every detail



Figure 12: Vat of indigo dye;
Source: Katie Uram

of the process requires great skill and precision as seemingly minute details like the temperature of the wax during the dyeing process can affect the finished product. After the dyeing processes, the wax is melted off of the cloth by submerging the fabric in hot water. Any residual wax is scrubbed off the fabric after being put in a bath of cold water. Finally, the batik is thoroughly rinsed to remove any excess dye and hung to dry in the sun (Wang 2015, 87).

Of course, batik is more than a collection of blue and white designs on fabric. Many



Figure 13: Froth on vat of indigo dye; Source: Rachel Crowl, 2015

patterns and designs are meaningful. In her book *Memory on Hands: The Life Stories of Sister Yang and Sister Li*, Wang Xiaomei (the Guizhou journalist and anthropologist who acted as my mentor during my field research) describes batik as “a

medium for portraying the spiritual and material relationships between people and the natural world [...] providing a thread between daily life and the spiritual world through a ritual that is still carried out today” (2015). Within the ethnic minority communities that practice batik-making, the craft has a place in many important moments and ceremonial purposes.

Historically, batik has played an important role throughout a Miao woman’s entire life. When a baby was born, patterned batik or embroidered slings were made to carry them. As a part of my field research, I visited a dyeing batik museum about forty minutes outside of Guiyang which had a great number of these slings on display. Among a majority of Guizhou ethnic

minority groups, the batik craft has been matrilineal. It is passed down through the generations as Miao women begin teaching their daughters the craft at a young age. These Miao girls then grow up and teach the craft to any daughters they might have. Another key milestone in which batik has historically played a large part is marriage. In Miao tradition, mothers make a set of highly elaborate batik clothing to serve as their daughter's dowry when they get married. This set of clothing can take many years to complete, therefore mothers will sometimes begin work on the dowry soon after their daughter is born. Throughout their lives then, batik is used for everyday and ceremonial purposes. Eventually, it is used on the occasion of the passing of a family member. Here, batik is made especially for the deceased and then is either buried along with them or burned at their funeral so that they might use it in death (Wang 2015, 138).

While all these uses still play an important role in the lives of some Miao people, large scale out-migration, modernization, and marketization of these crafts have caused significant changes. First of all, fewer and fewer women are learning the craft and many who have previously studied it are now moving to find work in urban areas and do not have time to devote to batik-making and these traditions. More and more, commercial operations have become the site of batik-making, a case of what Appadurai (1990) calls deterritorialization. What marks a "traditional" style handicraft, spans beyond the original contexts in which they were made (rural Miao heritage) resulting in material transformation of batik itself. This includes everything from the fabric used, to the types and styles of patterns left behind from the painted wax, and again to the product into which the batik fabric is turned.

Batik is historically made on "old cloth" (老布 *laobu*), a rough textured cloth handspun from a type of hemp and woven on wooden looms in the women's homes. However, as this is an incredibly labor intensive process, more recently it is common for batik makers to purchase large

bolts of fabric from nearby markets instead. As batik production has become a bigger part of Guizhou's tourism market, the variety in types of fabrics used to make batik have expanded immensely. It is now made on silks, cottons, wool, and other fabrics (Wang 2015). Using these different fabrics in the production of batik is one method of innovation that results in "hybridization" or hybrid forms (Oakes 1999b; Burke 2009).

While there is variation both between and within ethnic groups, most share a number of symbols that largely constitute what are considered "traditional" patterns. But, because most of the women I worked with were Miao, the symbols and patterns I show and discuss here are also Miao and should not be taken to be emblematic of all batik. During my interviews, most discussion of "tradition" versus "innovation" in batik centered on the patterns painted onto the batik itself.

Traditional Designs

Because the Miao do not have a written language, for centuries, batik has served as a tool to record and pass down their folklore, history, surrounding landscapes and ecology. Therefore, the designs and patterns on each piece carry cultural significance. Common symbols portrayed in traditional patterns include but are not limited to: fish, butterflies, dragons, birds, whirlpools, and flowers (Wang 2015; Harrell 1995). Classes at Forerunner, various museum exhibits, and posters at the Ninghang Batik Company explained the various Miao symbols.

"Butterfly Mother" (蝴蝶妈妈 hudiemama)



Figure 14: "Butterfly Mother" Miao traditional batik design;
Source: Katie Uram

The butterfly is perhaps one of the most important symbols seen in traditional batik patterns. In Miao origin myths, the butterfly is the ancestor and mother of the Miao people. According to the legend, after being born from the heart of a maple tree, the butterfly fell in love with and married a god named Youfang (游方) who is sometimes described as a bubble or a whirlpool (Wang 2015). Soon afterward, the butterfly discovered she was pregnant and laid twelve beautiful eggs. However, because the butterfly mother could not sit on her eggs herself, the godly rooster, Jiyu, took her place and brooded over the eggs until they hatched. From the hatched eggs sprang forth a thunder god, a dragon, a buffalo, a tiger, an elephant, a snake, and a centipede. A human boy named Jiangyang (姜央) and his sister also hatched from the eggs. They became the ancestors of the Miao people. (Wang 2015).

Dragon:

Different from the dragons typically associated with mainstream Han culture both in form and meanings, the Miao dragon totem is associated with lightening. Additionally, the snake is believed to be the original form of the dragon.

Birds:



Figure 15: Traditional Miao bird motif; Source: Ning Manli, 2015

Birds in Miao myths symbolize masculinity, and a strong natural desire for sex and reproduction of offspring.

Fish:

A feminine symbol, fish represent fertility and reproduction because of their ability to lay an enormous number of eggs and therefore produce an impressive number of offspring.



Figure 16: Traditional Miao fish design;
Source: Katie Uram

However, the fish design also evolved and took on additional meanings from the Han ethnicity like the idiom “to make a significant advance in one’s career” (‘鲤鱼跳龙门’ *xianyu tiao longmen*) or an auspicious lunar New Year phrase wishing others an abundance of wealth in following years (年年有余 *niannian you yu*).

Sometimes symbols of fish and bird are portrayed together. For instance, fish painted with feathers and beaks, or birds carrying fish in their beaks represents copulation between a male and female couple (Chen 2015, 2). Such combinations of separate totem patterns are not uncommon in Miao batik. These patterns are, in fact, thought of as “conjunctional, based on the Miao people’s philosophy that the [lives] of people animal[s], plants, and insects in the world are equal [and] interchangeable” (Chen 2015, 7). Leading to the creation of patterns depicting butterflies with fish bodies, insects with bird wings, feathered fish or whatever else the artisan wishes to paint. Each new combination of totems holds different meaning. These culturally and geographically local symbols are born from the mythology and surrounding regional environment. However, processes of modernization like the marketization, commodification, and global flows have a deep impact on these traditions.

Innovative Designs:

Fish, butterflies, dragons, birds, whirlpools, and flowers are traditional symbols culturally and geographically born out of the Miao mythology. Meanwhile, innovated batik is not necessarily the opposite of these traditional forms. Instead, it often builds off them, adapting to the desires of the market or the whims of the artisans along the way. Many “modern” patterns include the same elements as traditional patterns—butterflies, fish, and birds—but are drawn in an updated fashion. However, artisans may also choose to create completely new patterns by



Figure 17: Innovated design of cat from internet;
Source: Katie Uram

depicting animals outside the usual cannon. They might paint modern landscapes, or other images.

There is not just one way that images can be drawn. The women often talk about their ability to paint whatever they want. This process includes an amount of improvisation as the artisans combine images as they see fit. This is “sometimes due to contingent and independent events or artisan’s improvising ideas, the cultural elements or the patterns of Miao textile have been

and will be invented and reinvented in multiple ways” (Chen 2015, 6). This inventive and improvisational way of approaching batik results in new forms and patterns.

The spread and flow of technology and media images has had an impact on this local handicraft tradition. One example of this which diverges from both traditional and subtler forms of batik-making comes from Ninghang. They painted a series of cartoon cats and phrases—both of which were found online—to sell to bars for wall decorations. This represents a change from

the past as well as an example of Appadurai's mediascapes resulting in significant changes in patterns for batik. This image represents the intersection of technoscapes and mediascapes because this is not from the Miao culture and because it required the use of computers and the internet to come into existence. In a sense, the batik itself has become a new method of disseminating information (Appadurai, 1990). This particular innovation and many of the innovations that I encountered during this project were driven by economic motivators. Clearly in this situation, the artisans made an active choice in seeking out completely new design themes and images. This purposeful move toward new products represents a clear example of hybridization. However, because the term *hybridization* removes the ownership of this process (Burke 2009, 65) it is relevant here to employ the term *innovation* instead as it acknowledges the agency of the artisans in this process.

SURVEY VIEWPOINTS: INNOVATION VERSUS TRADITION?

Because I wanted to learn how these women's experiences and social positioning affected their perceptions of their handicrafts, I focused my survey analysis on a subset of variables. In particular: age, education, number of years lived in urban areas, number of dependents, monthly income from making and selling their handicrafts, farming monthly income, whether or not they have received outside training in their handicrafts, whether or not they think their handicrafts are experiencing an inheritance crisis, whether or not they think their folk handicrafts should be innovated, and whether they perceive future development prospects of their handicraft to be good or poor.

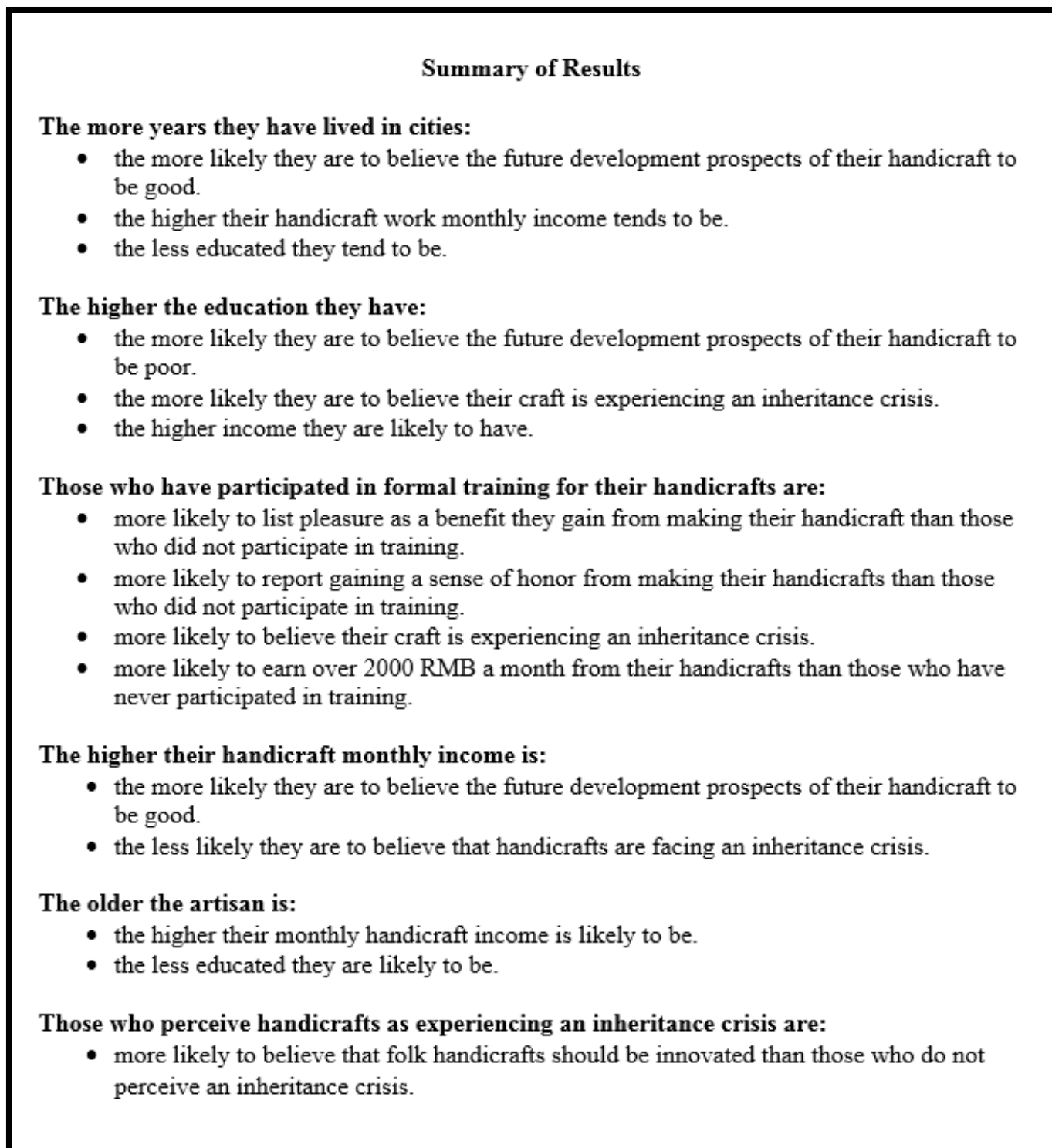
The survey data offer a general snapshot of women who participated in my project, the largest populations being seventeen respondents in the 15-20 age group, fourteen respondents aged 31-40, ten respondents aged 41-50 and seven respondents aged 51-60. Respondents were all

female. The educational background of the respondents fell into three main categories covering different levels of education from illiterate, formal education (elementary, middle school, high school, college), and vocational school. Most respondents had limited to no education. Twenty women were illiterate. Ten had only an elementary or partial elementary school education. Two had middle school education. One had high school education. Two had college education. Eighteen had vocational school education.

Surveys were completed by twenty-seven respondents from Ninghang, seventeen recent Forerunner graduates at *Beijing Tangrenfang* (partner organization of Forerunner's handicraft major), and thirteen artisans from the Expo and smaller field sites that I visited with Xiaomei. SPSS, or *Statistical Package for Social Sciences*, is a quantitative tool for measuring the frequency of and correlations between key factors and variables. Tables for this analysis are in Appendix 6.

A close statistical analysis of these variables in SPSS produced the conclusions in Figure 18 below.

Figure 18: Summary of Results



Result Discussion:

Participants who spent more time living in urban areas tend to have a lower level of education than those who spent less time living in cities (See Table 3). This could be for a number of reasons. Namely, there is a large trend in China in which people move from rural areas to urban areas in search of jobs. These jobs are usually labor intensive, low-skilled, and do not require a high level of education (Miller 2012). Access to education is unequal. Often, when young people cannot afford to attend school anymore, they leave to find work in the city. Once they move to the city and enter the workforce, they are unlikely to return to education. Therefore, the earlier they move from the country to the city, the less education they will ultimately have. At the same time, the populations who have lived for more years in the city earn a higher monthly income from their handicrafts. This is likely due to their longer work experience and therefore (potentially) increased skill level.

Additionally, people with higher monthly incomes from handicrafts are more likely to believe the future development prospects of their handicrafts to be positive (See Table 11) and that there is not a crisis (See Table 12). After all, if they already have a high monthly income from their handicrafts, why shouldn't that be the case in the future? Along the same lines, people who spent more years in the city earn higher monthly income from their handicrafts (See Table 2) and those with higher incomes have a strong tendency to have an optimistic outlook of the future of handicraft development (See Table 1). People who lived in the city for longer have a strong tendency to believe the future prospects of handicraft development to be positive.

The older the artisans are, the less highly educated they tend to be and the more they tend to earn (See Table 14). These artisans are less educated because in their youth, educational opportunities for girls were not available or encouraged. However, even with lower education,

they can earn more because they have more work experience. Also, my survey population was skewed toward younger artisans who made up a significant portion of those surveyed. Most of the young people in my survey (seventeen of the surveys) were Forerunner alumni who had been working for only two to three years. They had less experience than the older workers.

Many artisans receive formal training from workshops and programs run by the government or private companies. The programs are centered on handicraft methods and developing skills. Training is different than higher education which is not focused exclusively on handicraft education. Those with formal training in handicrafts were more likely to express a sense of honor (See Table 8) and joy (See Table 7) from their work than those without the training. They were also more likely to believe that their craft is experiencing an inheritance crisis (See Table 9). Part of their training is becoming aware of the status of their handicraft in society. This is part of the official narrative presented in the training programs.

Interestingly, those with a higher level of education have a strong tendency to believe both that handicrafts are facing an inheritance crisis (See Table 5) and that the future prospects of handicraft development are poor or unclear (See Table 4). After all, the development prospects cannot be good if the ethnic handicrafts are dying out. Meanwhile, it is logical that the reason for more highly educated people to believe that there is an inheritance crisis may, in fact, be education itself. Of course, correlation does not imply causation, but one could say that the entire point of education is to gain new and wider perspectives. Particularly for the seventeen recent graduates of Forerunner Vocational School—whose entire education was based around handicrafts—their education, no doubt, broadened their perspectives and knowledge on handicrafts. These graduates also probably had greater access to knowledge of wider processes than those whose view of the current state of their handicrafts might be limited to their home

villages and place of work in the city or large urban areas. This could also be due, in part, to the attitudes of their teachers on this topic. The students from Forerunner were more highly educated and felt that there was indeed an inheritance crisis in handicrafts. Those who perceive that an inheritance crisis is real are also more likely to believe that handicrafts should be innovated (See Table 15). It might be that they want to preserve the culture and see innovation as a realistic way to continue the culture so that it can be passed to future generations.

These statistics are key in understanding the larger trends that are taking place in these artisan communities. However, they are not enough by themselves. It is easy to get lost in faceless numbers and statistics and forget that these trends affect people's lives. Some of these statistics offer a glimpse into larger trends. Others are useful for understanding what is happening in cultural preservation and the artisans' attitudes toward the crafts. Some trends showing training, education with crisis perception, development, and innovation are more telling of the attitudes towards the handicrafts. However, while the trends described above provide an essential look at the bigger picture, they are insufficient by themselves. To counter this, they need to be grounded and examined in context of the physical and social locations of the people who are experiencing them. In this way, it is possible to observe the disjuncture that is being created in different settings.

My rationale for anchoring this discussion to different locations is to observe differing examples of the global flows described by Appadurai. Each field site I visited has unique features (scapes) defined by its people, resources, physical environment, etc, and therefore has unique processes of batik production. The interactions of such elements and flows influence and build varying perspectives and "imagined worlds" (Appadurai 1990).

PERSPECTIVES

Batik-making may have become more commercialized and global in its consumption, but how that happens takes place in specific locations. Each uniquely influences and is influenced by the wider process of globalization. Therefore, the above trends revealed by statistical analysis must be expanded upon through an analysis within spatial contexts.

In the following section, I feature the key locations introduced above and the perspectives of people I interviewed at each site. My interviews with these women artisans give more in-depth detail. When combined with what I learned of the artisans' backgrounds, the interviews help explain their social positioning in these global scapes and their voices and perspectives on these trends.

Ninghang Batik Company



Figure 19: Ninghang Batik Company Logo;
Source: Katie Uram

Situated inside a four-story, factory-like concrete building, the Ninghang Batik Company is similar to the other buildings in the area. Only a number of large signs announcing the company's presence separate this building from those around it. Beyond the glass doors of the building's main entrance is a large atrium the height of the building with a staircase winding its way up four stories. The walls are painted a light color of bright blue and long lengths of freshly dyed batik cascade from the stair

railings where they are hung to dry. In the far corner of the room opposite the base of the staircase is a door labeled “Dye Room” and an adjacent doorway labeled “Painting Wax Room.”



Figure 20: Ninghang Batik Company’s Painting Wax Room; Source: Katie Uram

The perspective that Ninghang Batik offers on cultural preservation is an interesting one. A large emphasis is placed on the traditional methods of production. All tours at the company begin in the Painting Wax Room (See Figure 20) where visitors can witness and photograph the women artisans painting their designs on cloth. One of the managers, Hua Songlian or Manli, usually leads the tours. During my return trip in December, Songlian led our group into the Painting Wax Room where we witnessed the women artisans creating their intricate designs. Sometimes, the women sing songs for the visitors. The large, rectangular room has long rows of windows on two sides: one facing the road outside, the other facing the parking lot in back. The white room is brightly lit from outside light. Approximately twenty-one women work at the rows of large tables. Many of the women wear traditional Miao embroidered headdress and batik clothing. Each woman has large expanses of white cloth laid out on the table before them, and

most of them work busily. Hunched over the cloth, they carefully draw their designs in wax. Giant batik curtains cover one wall of windows and large batik samples hang from the back wall.

Poster boards give brief descriptions of the Miao and Dong people. This room is quite aptly named as it is where the women artisans work painting simple and elaborate wax patterns and designs onto their cloth canvases. During working hours, the painting wax room has the most vibrant atmosphere. Indeed, the room hums with the sounds of the craftswomen's conversations, singing, and playing children. This atmosphere is added to by the daily stream of outsiders who come to visit, shop at, and tour the facility. In the short time we were there, more than twenty people visited including students from Beijing, local businessmen, a local batik teacher with his group of students, and—most notably—a large international delegation from UNESCO complete with a small TV crew. Xiaodeng and I spent most of our visit in this room facilitating surveys and conducting interviews.

From there, visitors are led to the adjacent dye room which is a smaller and darker room filled with the strong acrid smell rising from a massive concrete vat in the corner. The vat is filled with the indigo dye. The dye is all natural. In another traditional aspect of the production at Ninghang, the dye is made in-house using the indigo plant. The base of the dye has been the same since the company opened and requires constant maintenance. Each day, they must add the correct amount of liquor and water to reach the correct strength. Here again, the emphasis on the traditional (and natural) aspects of the dye is key. They do not use synthetic chemicals or additives in their dye as is commonly done by other companies, factories, and large producers of commercial batik in an effort to cut production costs and speed production.

From the dye room, visitors are led up the stairs to the gift shop—a room the same size as (and above) the painting wax room. It is filled with batik. Directly in front of the door is a small



Figure 21: Ninghang Batik Company Gift Shop; Source Katie Uram

stage with mannequins modelling the company's clothing. To one side are six or so racks of clothing ranging from long skirts to scarves to jackets and qipaos.

These tours are designed to reinforce the Ninghang narrative on cultural preservation. Tours start with the mode of creating batik and natural method of making dye. By the time visitors reach the gift shop, the narrative of the traditional way of making batik has been presented and reinforced. Then, visitors step into the shop which is filled with all of Ninghang's products from small undyed squares of the raw homespun fabric with wax designs to large tapestries depicting scenes of Miao myths to full sets of clothing: dresses, pants, skirts, scarves. It is in this room that innovation becomes obvious. Innovation which I am calling a form of hybridity—a purposeful adaptation of traditional into modern.

Innovation can most clearly be seen at Ninghang in the form of the designs and the finished products. The company weaves together traditional and modern designs. But even

strictly traditional designs are then sewed into clothing such as purses, fans, pillowcases, larger tapestries to create a whole range of products which appeal to modern customers.

This is one form of hybridization since it is taking, blending, and repurposing elements from traditional batik into new products that will appeal to a larger market. This is necessary for Ninghang which is not a museum and depends on sales to stay in business.

Three Voices at Ninghang Batik Company

The following features three women at the Batik Company—Ning Manli, Yu Cuifen, and Peng Lifan—to illustrate the variety of perspectives in relation to ethnic, class and educational backgrounds. As mentioned above, Manli is the founder, boss and owner of the company. Manli is of Han ethnicity and had no background in batik-making prior to establishing her company. She first encountered batik while participating in a travel product design competition hosted in Danzhai with an ethnic art and culture exhibit. Yu Cuifen is a soft-spoken twenty-year-old Miao woman. At the time of our interview, she had just taken China's college entrance exam, the gaokao (高考), and was getting ready to graduate from high school. She hails from a village a couple of hours via bus from the company, but was attending high school in Danzhai. She began studying batik with her mother when she was ten years old and now works at Ninghang during her breaks from school to help ease the financial burden that her tuition puts on her parents. Peng Lifan is a forty-one-year-old Miao woman with a smiling oval face and long black hair kept in a bun atop of her head with a large silver pin. She hails from a village about an hour away from the company. These three women come from different backgrounds and walks of life and offered diverse perspectives.

Although we conducted our interviews with Manli in the more private setting of the upstairs gift shop, this was not possible for the other women because their monthly salary is

based upon the quality and quantity of the batik they make so they needed to work during the interview. This public setting took some adjusting to on my part—particularly since interviews are supposed to be carried out privately and confidentially—but was necessary because time interviewing the artisans would take them away from their work and would have cost them money they would have otherwise earned. This would, therefore, have been unethical. Although it is possible that this also influenced their answers and what they were willing to talk about, I think that this arrangement ultimately aided the interviews as many of the women were initially nervous in the interviews, but being surrounded by their friends and co-workers seemed to make them feel more at ease. Luckily, the noise level in the room was high enough that our interviews could not be heard by most people in the room.

Deterritorialization at Ninghang:

As mentioned above, Manli had no background in batik-making prior to establishing her company. She was immediately drawn to the handicraft and thought because “batik has been passed down for thousands of years, it certainly has reason to exist” [蜡染传承了几千年，它肯定有其存在的道理] and that she could use something as stable and long-lasting to support herself and her family.

Initially, [I] thought I could earn a living off of it, that it would let me feed myself so I could provide for my child. [However], later on I [realized] that [batik] is a kind of culture. Not only can I benefit from it, but I can [use it to] help more people to make a living. I can turn it into a career.

就认为这个东西可以让我来谋生，养活我，我有饭吃，我可以养活孩子，但是后来我就觉得它（蜡染）是一种文化，它不仅仅可以养活我，我可以养活更多的人，我可以把它当做一个事业来做，就是一个这样这样这样（循序渐进）的过程

With that, Manli left her home province of Anhui (安徽) and moved to Danzhai with the express purpose of starting a batik company. After arriving, Manli recruited eight Miao batik artisans from local villages to work for her. The original eight workers recruited others they knew and the company grew into a family in which people live and eat and create batik together.

In contrast to Manli who encountered batik later in life, Peng Lifen started learning batik from her grandmother when she was only eight:

I was eight years old. I just had my grandmother. My grandmother was our hometown's teacher, [she] taught those small children and painted costumes to earn a living. My grandfather died very early. My grandmother was only thirty years old, when my Grandfather died. [Then] it was just her and the entire family had no food to eat. Every time she'd paint a costume for them, they'd give her some rice to eat. She painted [batik] for her entire life. When I grew up, I painted [batik] with my grandmother. My mother was out working and rarely painted, [so] my grandmother is the one who taught me everything [about batik]. If my grandmother were still here, she's be over 100 years old right now.

八岁的时候。我就有一个外婆，我外婆都是我们家乡的老师，都是那些教小孩，就搞那个盛装啊，我外公就早都去世啦，外婆只有30岁，外公就去世了，她一个人在，没饭吃了，就天天给他们画这个，搞一件衣服，他们就给点米给她吃，她就一辈子就画这个。我长大了，我就跟着我外婆画，我妈妈呢就去干活，她很少画，都是我外婆教我的。如果我外婆在呢，现在就一百多岁了。

Lifen is not educated, but is learning to read and write. She has previous temporary work outside of the home (打工 *dagong*) including experience at a hotel, an embroidery company, and a restaurant. With two children, a nineteen-year-old daughter, and twelve-year-old son, she is the sole provider for her family because her husband “is not hard working, [...] it's me who supports the family” [老公不争气，一点也不给我挣钱，是我养家]. She has worked at the company since its opening six years ago. She found the work when she brought her children to a nearby kindergarten and heard that it was an embroidery factory “[but actually], it is a batik company

and I love painting [batik]” [不是绣花厂，所以蜡染厂，我最喜欢画花了]. When she began working here she stopped farming, and “moved my kids and granny to be all together here” from their emptying village [家里就没有人啦，就要我的小孩老太就全部来这里啦]. In agreement with survey results, Lifan is an example of a worker who has lived in the city for longer and tends to be less educated (Table 3).

Because ethnic handicrafts in Guizhou have historically been produced in small village homes, it is a significant change to see these same handicrafts being made occupationally in companies and factories in larger towns and cities. Even the slight contextual shift of moving batik-making from the artisans’ village homes to the Ninghang Batik Company changes the batik-making process and associated experiences. This is a key example of deterritorialization as it shows how social, political and cultural contexts of people’s lives stop being confined by boundaries, borders, and distances (Mascia-Lees 2010).

Deterritorialization requires movement out of one place and into another. This can be a physical movement, but can also be the movement of ideas, art, or cultural practices. One of the ways that deterritorialization is present at Ninghang is the movement of the women artisans from their hometowns and villages to Danzhai in order to work at the company. Without these new ethnoscares, a term coined by Appadurai (1990) to mean flows of people in various contexts around the world, many of the women artisans might never have met each other had they not come to the company. This is also true for Manli who moved to Danzhai from a different province. Working together in this new situation creates a whole new context for the creation of their batik and influences the artisans’ artistic decisions (patterns) and also how they physically create their handicrafts. Their movement through this ethnoscape, therefore, has led these women to encounter their craft in a different way, interact with new people while painting batik, gain

access to formal training, and compete in weekly competitions among their co-workers (Appadurai, 1990).

For example, Cuifen is a college-aged student surrounded every day by people who are much different than she is—both in age and education level. She is more highly educated and her co-workers bring a different approach to the art form. Yet, living with these women and creating batik with them each day has an impact upon her own thoughts and maybe even her patterns. She enjoys this and finds it beneficial, “I think it’s great. Everyone lives together and talks together. Conversing together with the elderly members of the group sometimes has benefits as well, even though they aren’t educated.” [我觉得挺好的，大家一起生活，然后一起说，和那些老人一起交流嘛，有时候会觉得很有趣，虽然他们没文化，跟他们在一起久了，觉得他们很有趣]. This is another example of how this ethnoscape brings different people together with others they might never encounter.

Diverging from the survey results which connect those who perceive an inheritance crisis with being more likely to believe that folk handicrafts should be innovated, Cuifen does not believe there is a crisis. However, she likes innovated designs—a view which is more commonly associated with artisans who believe there is an inheritance crisis.

Availability of resources affects how the artisans interact with batik-making at the company versus their home settings. At the company, all the materials are readily available to the artisans allowing them to focus on creating crafts rather than securing fabric, wax, dye and other items which might not be available or affordable otherwise. Time is another resource which might not be available outside the company. Artisans working at home must balance batik-making with farming, family duties and other demands. When working at the company, they can focus solely on the production of batik.

For many artisans at Ninghang, the job presents an opportunity for a stable income and participation in their culture. Manli recognizes the importance of this reality for her workers:

If they have money and security, then they will be willing to work. These are the most basic things handed down. The government says to demand heritage and preservation, [but] these are all empty words. How does one pass on heritage? You can't possibly pass on heritage when you are starving. We must have food, clothes, and enough money to raise and send our children to school; only then is she [referring to her employees] willing to do this. Otherwise, they will not be willing to work [making batik] and will [instead] go outside to find temporary work.

她有钱了，有生活保障了，她就愿意去做，这是传承下去最基本的东西，政府说，要传承，要保护，都是空话，怎么去传承，大家不可能饿着肚子去传承吧，必须要有饭吃，有衣服穿，有钱养孩子，有钱让他（孩子）读书，她才愿意去做啊，否则她就不愿意做，选择到外面去打工。

Cuifen also commented on the financial security she has because of her work at Ninghang and the influence this has had on her batik. When I asked if her patterns have changed at all since coming to work here, she emphasized economic security:

Yes, they have definitely changed since I've come here. I can earn money here, help out my family. [Since arriving] I think my studies won't result in a burden for my parents. It's like that, a lot more relaxed [than before]. Looking for a job whilst at school is a kind of experience—I think it is better.

有啊，来这里肯定有变化，然后就是来这里可以挣钱，帮助家里面，然后就觉得上学就不会给父母造成负担，就这样子，轻松很多啊，在读书期间找工作，是一种体验，我觉得也是比较好的。

Without this opportunity to work at Ninghang Batik Company, many of the artisans would otherwise be working temporary jobs in various cities, or farming at home. They would not have the time or opportunity to devote to their craft or contribute to the cultural preservation of batik-making. All people who leave their birthplace to establish lives in a new place “face a number of difficulties and challenges. For example, they must find ways to reproduce their way of life and settings which might be inhospitable to the maintenance of their cultural traditions”

(Mascia-Lees 2010; 16). This is also true for the Miao women artisans. In the Miao ethnic group, it has long been the job of women to pass on cultural traditions like batik-making. In China's current economic climate, many women who would otherwise have stayed in their home villages must migrate to urban areas in search of whatever employment opportunities they can find. This is often temporary employment in construction or other such labor intensive jobs that leave little time for the production of traditional crafts. Such circumstances “can be especially stressful for women who are more frequently than men given the responsibility of cultural reproduction—the passing on of traditions to the next generation” (Mascia-Lees 2010; 16). At Ninghang and everywhere I went—though it is expanding in context—making batik is still predominantly done by women. When left with little time and resources, their ability to continue their batik-making traditions are challenged.

Because Ninghang sells its batik products not only locally in the county or regionally, but also internationally to countries including

America, France, Japan, and Taiwan, some of their pieces also appear in foreign museums. At the end of our last day in the Ninghang, Xiaodeng and I stopped by Manli's office to thank her and say our farewells. I said I hoped to return in December and after graduation. At this Manli told us about other foreign friends of the company including a French art teacher named Mireille who saw a few of the pieces hanging in a museum in France. Upon seeing these pieces, she decided to discover where the artwork came from and who made it. Her journey led her to China, then to Guizhou, to Anshun, and finally Danzhai where she—at last—found her way to



Figure 22: Wax paintings on cloth;
Source: Rachel Crowl, 2015

Ninghang Batik Company. When she arrived Mireille began crying. Manli asked her why and she replied with the story of how she got there. The French art teacher now visits for a month every year. These are global connections.

Cultural Preservation at Ninghang:

Cultural preservation is essential to the Ninghang Batik Company's business model even though it presents challenges. On one hand, it is difficult financially to compete against the low prices that some competitors can offer because they create batik quickly with machines and cheap inks. On the other hand, the quality and authenticity of the company's work is a strong selling point. The Ninghang Batik Company strongly adheres to the traditional elements of batik-making process and is being recognized for it. The government is pushing for cultural preservation and as part of that effort, awarded Ninghang Batik Company a plaque for being a National Intangible Cultural Heritage Base (Oakes 1999b).

The company's commitment to cultural preservation plays into the narrative that the state is pushing and also provides a selling point to customers who value authenticity and high-quality products. In her interview, Manli describes customers who come to her from Kaili which is another huge batik center where machine production is more common. They come to Ninghang because they know the products as authentic and of better quality. This was seen in the case of a luxury hotel which purchased 200 pieces of art from the company because of its high quality and authenticity. Manli's passion for authenticity shows in her negative regard for the batik made in Anshun, a Guizhou city famous for its batik:

Anshun's batik has a much bigger name compared to Danzhai, but uh, I'll say it bluntly, Anshun's batik has already lost its soul. Most of [their batik] embodies Han culture. Moreover, most of it isn't made by hand; it is printed by a machine, and the dye they use is made with chemicals. [...] They are anxious to achieve

quick success and get instant benefits. [You can] make money really quickly [that way], isn't that right? [Just] reduce the cost. We can't do it that way here.

你看安顺蜡染比丹寨名气更大，但是呢，我也毫不客气地说，安顺的蜡染，它已经把它的灵魂丢掉啦，它大部分都是汉文化了，并且呢，它不是用手工制作，它是用机器印刷染料是用化工染料来染[...] 他是为了急功近利，就很快能得到钱，是吧，降低成本，那我们不能这样做。

Pointing to the plaque awarded by the government marking Ninghang Batik Company as a national site for intangible heritage, Manli continued:

Why did we receive this sign? It's because we stick to [tradition]. This plaque—of all the country's batik, we are the only [...] national heritage base of Miao batik. [...] Now, we still persevere in adhering to batik's three essential elements: purely handmade, pure plant dyes, and pure natural fiber fabrics. Most of our designs [incorporate] Miao totems, Miao symbols, Miao language, the story of Miao people's migration, and the hardships of the Miao nationality.

安顺的蜡染，它已经把它的灵魂丢掉啦，它大部分都是汉文化了，并且呢，它不是用手工制作，它是用机器印刷染料是用化工染料来染，那我们还是坚持用蜡染的三要素：纯手工制作；纯植物染料；纯天然纤维面料；我们里面画的多是苗族的图腾，苗族的符号，苗族的语言，苗族迁徙的故事，苗族一路上的艰辛。

In the eyes of the government and companies like Ninghang, it is increasingly necessary to pursue cultural preservation efforts in batik and other ethnic handicrafts as is seen in companies like Ninghang. However, cultural preservation is not a simple thing. As discussed above, Ninghang's model of cultural preservation largely rests on the traditional batik-making process. Manli commitment to the continuation of tradition represents a mix of cultural and entrepreneurial motivations.

Manli frequently posts images of recent batik works and products from the company on the social media platform, WeChat. She posts the images with captions discussing the meanings behind the patterns, updates on the artisans' lives and other topics. This serves as a means of

promotion by making the company more visible. This not only helps sales and raises awareness of Miao batik, but also educates the public about the craft and its history, and promotes ideas of cultural preservation.

Miao batik images on WeChat represent another example of the changing context of and spreading knowledge of batik. This relates to Appadurai's technoscapes—the circulation and use of technology like WeChat— and pertains to mediascapes that “provide information and images from around the world” (Powell and Steel 2011). Thus, through WeChat media images of the artisans' batik are able to reach beyond the people who come to the company and beyond those who buy the company's products. As the images become more pervasive, they also become accessible to a larger audience. This audience can see the pictures and comment on them in a way similar to Facebook “likes.”

With this faster exchange of information, Ning Manli is able to receive feedback from people with whom she is connected. These people include friends, family, and a whole range of people involved in the field of batik-making and handicraft preservation. There is a WeChat group of 100 plus members dedicated to Guizhou ethnic handicrafts. Members of the group write and share articles about preservation and other related topics—some of which have been written about Ninghang Batik company. Manli and other members share the articles. This process propagates these images and knowledge of batik into a wider audience that can, in turn, have influence.

The WeChat app is a technoscape that facilitates communication and the spread of information among people in this larger batik-making and preservation community. WeChat is also a mediascape because it shares images. Mediascapes “tend to be image-centered, narrative-based accounts of strips of reality” (Appadurai 1990, 330). Appadurai's term mediascape refers

to “both to the distribution of electronic capabilities to produce and disseminate information (newspapers, magazines, television, stations and film production studios) which are now available to a growing number of private and public interests throughout the world, and to the images of the world created by these media” (Appadurai 1990). Therefore, WeChat is a mediascape because it trades images and the images themselves are also the mediascapes.

The mediascapes discussed in relation to the internet-cat batik (Figure 17) were other mediascapes influencing their batik: i.e, images Manli found on the internet then adapted for purposes of making batik of her company. But in this instance, her own mediascape is part of the narrative because the images she sends are ones created by the company. These, in turn, have the possibility to influence the designs of other people. As others see these designs, it influences their understanding either consciously or subconsciously (Appadurai 1990).

Given the flows of people, technologies and images related to batik-making what does Cuifen, the twenty-year old high school graduate, think about the cultural preservation of batik-making? After graduating from college, she hopes to find a job at a hospital somewhere in Danzhai, but plans to continue painting batik and one day teach the craft to her kids. She wants to teach her children batik because “if it isn’t passed down...I feel it would be a great pity.” [就是我觉得不传承下去，我觉得很可惜的这样子] Therefore, she intends to do so, even if she finds herself living in a larger city or far-away place devoid of batik.

How does age and educational status condition opinions on whether there is a cultural transmission crisis concerning batik-making? One of the youngest workers at the company, Cuifen is surrounded by co-workers representing a range of ages. In terms of educational status, most of them tend to fall on the lower side of the spectrum from illiterate to having a middle school education. Being on the comparatively higher end of the education spectrum, Cuifen does

not think that there is a crisis. She counters the trend I found in my survey data that respondents with more education tend to actually believe that there is a cultural transmission crisis for their handicraft (See Table 4). Perhaps it is because Cuifen is so positive and resolute in her capacity to continue batik-making and pass the tradition down to her children that she does not believe that batik is currently experiencing an inheritance crisis.

Lifen and I never explicitly discussed if she thought there was an inheritance crisis. In her interview, however, she suggests a preference for traditional over innovated batik designs. For instance, when asked what she enjoys most about painting, she said the “fish and the butterfly mother” because “[fish are a] symbol for fortune and richness [and] the Butterfly Mama is our Miao ancestor.” [鱼，是四季有鱼四季发财那种；蝴蝶妈妈呢，是我们苗家的祖先，所以就喜欢画，是这样]. Lifen highlights the historical and cultural meaning behind the symbols she paints.

Later in the interview, Lifen further illustrated her high regard for traditions by explaining to me that she is in the process of preparing a set of traditional clothing for when her daughter marries:

We are all hard-working mothers. We’ll give our daughters a dowry. Miao mothers are very hardworking. Every Miao family with a daughter has to prepare a dowry for them. A very ceremonious, very grand set of clothing.

都是勤劳的母亲，会给女儿做嫁妆，苗族的母亲真的是很勤劳的，每个只要有女儿的家庭都会给女儿准备一套嫁妆。很慎重、很大、很隆重的一套衣服。

Processes of cultural preservation take place on a multitude of levels ranging from international policies to seemingly simple tasks carried out by individuals. Lifen participates in the cultural preservation of her traditions by providing her daughter with a dowry. Lifen has taught her daughter how to make batik although she does not have any time to participate

currently in batik-making. In this way, Lifen participated in the cultural preservation of her traditions by teaching batik to her daughter. However, her daughter is going to college and has no time to work on her dowry or participate in any batik-making. Because of this, Lifen is creating the dowry for her daughter so the tradition can continue. Without her efforts, the tradition would lapse in her family.

When asked if she thinks her move away from the village to Danzhai caused her to lose any of her culture, she laughed and responded – gesturing to the batik around the room. “Culture? Our culture is this!” she said, explaining that she and her co-workers wear their Miao-style clothing every day. Her reaction points to the “on-going performance and reconstruction [of culture [...] [in a] space of mixture, impurity and contamination” (Oakes 2009). While the production of batik at Ninghang represents a divergence from the original context of mothers and daughters creating in the domestic sphere, the culture is not restricted to that setting. It is alive in the company and in the batik clothing that women wear, the patterns and stories they paint. Even though these women are no longer in their villages, many of them, like Lifen are still able to continue aspects of their culture and traditions like the making of dowry. Lifen continues this aspect of her culture by bringing the tradition to her new locale.

Hybridity at Ninghang

As discussed in the beginning of the paper, hybridity can be a difficult term to pin down though it is broadly defined as the “recombination of forms and practices no longer tied to local circumstances into new forms and practices” (Mascia-Lees 2010). However, more definition is needed. One way that Peter Burke narrows the definition is by splitting it into three large groups including the hybridization of artifacts, of people, and of practices. This paper examines the

hybrid practices and artifacts that come into play through careful innovation of batik patterns and products.

At all three locations of this study (Ninghang, Forerunner, and Expo), hybridization of artifacts translates to updating old patterns and batik designs and integrating modern elements into the design itself. The hybridization of practices (Burke 2009) here applies to the actual process of making batik. One of the ways this is seen at Ninghang is through incorporating modern designs and adding products not historically associated with designs such as purses, fans, and hats. When asked if she put any innovation into the traditional patterns of flowers, birds, butterflies and fish, Manli responded:

Of course. What is innovation? [You can] be creative with fabric. You can't always use homespun cloth. Homespun cloth is very limited. We can use [fabrics like] silk, or wool to make batik, [to make] the fabric innovative. Then the pattern must also be innovative. You [could wear clothes] entirely covered in totems, [but] people think that wearing that totem on the body is strange, you know? Of course you want to retain these things. You need to [retain them], but you also need innovation, you know?

当然了，创新是什么，面料上要创新啊，你不可能老是用土布，土布很窄，那我这个丝绸也可以做啊，这个羊毛也可以做啊，所以面料上要创新啊，然后这个纹样上也要创新啊，你全部是图腾，人家说，那个图腾穿在身上怪怪的，是吧，当然这些东西你要保留，你要有，但是创新也要有，是吧。

Because the Ninghang Batik Company is a business, it must embrace change in some aspects so that it can compete. At least part of its focus must be on sales. The company holds an in-house competition. During my visit, the prompt of the competition was to integrate elements of old and new together.



Figure 23: Gift Shop at Ninghang with traditional and innovated products; Source: Katie Uram

Peng Lifan's adherence to these traditional aspects of Miao culture does not prevent her from appreciating or participating in the creation of innovated elements of culture, but instead informs and shapes her unique perspective on the topic. When asked what she had painted for the in-house competition they had completed that day, she responded:

[The things] I painted today... are basically all related to what people used to paint [back in the day] ..., just... not painting modern [designs]... basically, [current designs] are all related to how people used to paint, how elderly artisans used to paint. [Even then] you still need to think what to combine and weave it together with, in order to have it look nice. That's how [I] think about modern designs.

今天我画啦，就基本都是老人的那个.....，就是.....，.....，不是画现代，基本画的都是以前老人怎么画，以前老人怎么画，你还想要编什么配起来才好看，现代的那种是这样想。

Lifen views modern designs as an extension of traditional patterns and the techniques used by batik artisans of previous generations. Her comment points towards the innovative side

of modern designs and that new batik should be based upon and grow out of the old. This is a perfect illustration of innovation and the *prosaic third space* of hybridity (Oakes 1998) as an alternative way of viewing culture. The third space allows us to view the dichotomy between new and old, tradition and innovation, not as a dichotomy, but instead in a liminal third space in which the culture (here handicrafts) is being renegotiated, performed, and created (Oakes 1998). Lifan does not think of traditional and modern designs as separated or kept in completely unrelated boxes. Instead, she says that the two can be woven together. Tradition is not fossilized. There is no pure form of it. Traditional and modern can be brought together into something that is constantly renegotiated (Oakes 1998). Something that occupies that third space and allows for the creation of something new.

Guizhou Forerunner College



Figure 24: Campus of Guizhou Forerunner College: Source: Forerunnercollege.com

I visited Guizhou Forerunner College (Forerunner) on two separate occasions. The first visit was a short day trip with a group led by Xiaomei. The second visit was with the graduate assistant, Xiaodeng. During that four-day visit, we stayed in dorms and participated in the beginning of their month long crash-course for local people to learn about handicraft making.

The college itself is a modern campus complete with an outdoor track and soccer field, two cafeterias, several large scattered buildings filled with classrooms, several dorm buildings, housing for teachers and international volunteers, and a student-run hotel, all connected with a smoothly-paved road. A gift shop in the campus cultural center doubles as an embroidery classroom. Shelves at the back of the room displayed student crafts including dolls dressed in the traditional costumes of minority groups, embroidered handbags, batik scarves, and silver work. The classroom included a seating area with comfortable couches and chairs and a small table set for tea. Most of the room was taken by the twenty or so special desks used for embroidery making. The desks faced away from the back wall of crafts and towards the large window. Each desk had small samples of embroidery works in progress.

During our day trip to campus, Jin Laoshi led our group on a tour through the Batik-making Building. In a room on the first level of the building, there was a huge square table

covered with 20-30 samples of dyed batik made by the students. We left the room and climbed a set of narrow stairs to an area where six students were gathered around two small dye vats. They dyed samples that they had previously applied wax to in various patterns and drawings. At the school, each student applies wax and dyes their own samples.

My second visit to Forerunner College was for four days during a month-long workshop hosted by the college. At this workshop, people from surrounding villages came to learn batik and other crafts taught at the school.

Three Voices at Guizhou Forerunner College

As described above Guizhou Forerunner College (Forerunner) offers a degree in Minority Arts and Crafts Design and Production. Teachers in the program include academic and local experts and older inheritors of the craft who learned it at home or in their culture. The experts and handicraft inheritors teach courses together.

For many people, learning batik and other handicrafts presents a unique opportunity to further one's education, particularly for a population that might otherwise not have access to higher education. The group of people the major brings together are from a variety of backgrounds including different hometowns and ethnicities. For example, Jin *laoshi* (老师) of Han ethnicity teaches at Guizhou Normal and is an expert in cultural preservation. She also teaches classes at Forerunner in the history and culture of batik and has a background in museum management and minority studies.

Wen Meifeng, a student at forerunner, is of the Yi ethnic minority. It is important to note that batik is not a handicraft traditionally practiced by the Yi people. Similar to some other Forerunner students I talked with, Meifeng had no background in batik or the other handicrafts taught at the school prior to arriving at Forerunner. Having scored poorly on the high school

entrance exams, she was unable to enroll into local high schools and unable to join the army like her father wanted. Instead, she learned about Forerunner and enrolled at the school to further her education.

Finally, Xia Zhilan, a student at Forerunner of Miao ethnicity found the chance to further her education at Forerunner like many of the Guizhou Forerunner College students hailing from impoverished families. After her middle school graduation, representatives from Forerunner reached out to her and her family, telling them about the school and minority arts major. Although her family initially misunderstood and thought the school to be out of reach, the school was persistent. After getting in touch with her again and a couple of mix-ups and crossed wires, Zhilan decided to attend the school.

Deterritorialization at Forerunner

According to one of the students I interviewed, all minority students have to start off in the handicraft major though they can switch out at any point. In the major they learn not only a variety of handicrafts, but also the legends and myths behind the crafts they study and different variations of the crafts as they appear in different ethnicities. This program also seems to emphasize local, provincial, and group identity over singular ethnic group identities or individual identities. Students who approach batik and crafts from other contexts are also able to form connections and attachments to these handicrafts and their traditions. However, the connections they form will be of a different sort. They will be formed in a different context that changes the connections and ultimately changes ideas and perceptions of the crafts.

The students come from a large variety of backgrounds, some of them are not Miao. Some are other minorities. Some are Han. Some come to Forerunner from as far as three hours away. All have different upbringings and backgrounds which they bring to the production of

their handicrafts- of batik. These backgrounds cannot be “left at the door.” Some of the women are coming to this craft for the first time with no background knowledge of batik. However, their personal histories and lives influence the products they create.

The students without background in batik begin by copying patterns when first learning the craft. Then, they might integrate—perhaps subconsciously—elements from their world view. They are learning the myths and the legends behind the patterns but it is up to them to interpret the legends and to include them or not and to integrate them with other elements as they see fit. Therefore, broadening the production of this craft to include a more diverse group of people as Forerunner does, will have an impact on both the perceived notions on future of the craft as well as an impact on the craft itself.

Forerunner is changing the context (deterritorialization) of how these handicrafts are being made. Many students come to learn this craft not because it is necessarily their cultural heritage (though it is for some) but as a means to further their education. They choose the major for a number of different reasons. Zhilan, for instance, chose the major because she thought she “wouldn’t be good at studying the other [majors], [no matter how hard I try].” [就是其他的感觉得我们学得都不好嘛，学也应该学不好]. She liked the other girls in the major and was entranced after seeing them “embroider particularly beautiful flowers.” [那些学姐绣的花，都特别的漂亮].

Like others with higher education, Zhilan believes there is an inheritance crisis which reflects the findings of the survey results. Even though she believes the craft is experiencing an inheritance crisis, she also prefers traditional batik and believes that it has meaning which is lacking in the modern batik. This preference for traditional over innovative does not connect to the survey results in which artisans perceiving an inheritance crisis believe that the craft should

be innovated (See Table 15). Meanwhile, Meifeng believes that there is an inheritance crisis which agrees with the survey findings indicating that people with higher education are more likely to believe the future development of handicraft is poor.

Her opinions also echo the survey findings that those with formal training believe there is an inheritance crisis. It is informative that neither Meifeng nor Zhilan had a background in batik before coming to Forerunner. This is changing the context of batik-making because this is their first significant impression of and experiences with batik. This shapes their understanding of the art (compared to artisans who were raised with the craft) and ultimately shapes the future of the art as they pass their knowledge on to the next generation.

Hybridization at Forerunner:

Students at Forerunner learn and apply different styles and variations of batik and other handicrafts in new contexts. Therefore, their craft is different than if they had learned it at a young age from their mothers or grandmothers. Many of the students who attend the school for its Minority Arts and Crafts Design and Production major or who attended the month-long intensive program had little to no experience in making these handicrafts previously. Therefore, they had little to no preconceived notion of how to make the craft. They were not relearning the skills but learning them for the first time. Since Forerunner is a vocational school—aimed at teaching the students skills that they can use to make a living after graduation—it makes sense that the school emphasizes production of marketable crafts. Therefore, methods of innovating the craft—such as combining batik and embroidery together—are actively promoted by the teachers

at the school. Meifeng was excited about creating new designs and items by combining techniques and materials:

Batik-making used to be simple; now you can make very modern skirts, qipaos; you can also make those handbags, earrings, boots, etc. I really like that, making them modern, [because] then lots and lots of people will all start to like them. Young people all like new [things], [but] don't really like old things. Then you can use [the batik] to make modern clothing. When there is a new cut, you can add[batik] onto it, make it a bit ethnic, and also a bit fresh.

以前蜡染做得很朴素的现在你可以做成裙子、旗袍，很现代化的，还可以做成那个手提包，可以做成耳环，做成那种靴子的鞋子，我挺喜欢的，让它有点现代化，然后很多很多人都会去喜欢，年轻的人都喜欢新的，不太喜欢老的，然后你可以把它做来现在的衣服，哪个款式新出了，你可以把它做在上面，又有一点民族风范，有一点新的那种。

Meifeng learned this approach from her teacher who said that “we could put modern thoughts into studies; that we could embroider totems on batik, then put a batik design on top of the embroidery and you have a very modern method!” [你可以综合你的理想，有点现代化，你可以把现代的思维放进去学，你可以把那些图腾刺绣放在蜡染上面，然后又拿蜡染的画又放在刺绣上面，就很有现代化的那种做法]. Meifeng was inspired by the possibilities of making new items.

During my second visit to the school, I had the opportunity to sit in on a couple of Jin Laoshi's lectures on batik. She explained how everyone has a different understanding of the batik patterns. Instead of painting these patterns to be realistic in appearance, they want to paint more abstractly so that people can still tell what they are painting but the images are not so realistic that others can copy the design. They bring their own unique style and flavor to the art. She was of the opinion that it is best to have a more abstract style for this reason. During the same class, she talked about the meaning behind some of the patterns. For instance, she used the example of a fish painted with two eyes which is actually two fish. She also explained that the

design with a frog with a fish belly and two birds connected by their tails. This design represents having many sons. These patterns would be given to couples after they marry.

Curious to learn more about this process, I later asked Jin Laoshi in an interview to elaborate on how to combine traditional and modern elements, she explained her views at length. According to Jin Laoshi, there are inheritors who are current carriers of this intangible culture and who know the techniques and stories behind the images. These are the artisans who learned the craft from someone before them and who are now the caretakers of the craft. Many might not have much education or speak Mandarin.

At the other end of the spectrum are what Jin Laoshi calls the designers. They are the people at the business side who want to bring batik to market but who do not necessarily know how to communicate with the artisans or how to create batik themselves. So, people like her are required to stand in the middle in order to make the connection or act as a bridge between these different worlds. Jin Laoshi considers herself a “bridge in the middle. I understand traditional culture [and] at the same time my head is full of ideas of modern people. So then by means of this bridge [it is possible] to combine past things together with a number of fashionable and modern arts.” [那必须通过中间一个桥梁，就是我又懂得这个民族文化，但是同时我的脑筋里面也具有现代人的一些理念，然后通过中间的这种沟通就会把过去的东西，过去的文化和现代的一些时尚，现代的一些工艺，手段才能结合在一块，然后做出一些符合现代消费心理的东西]. She understands how to balance the ancient elements of batik with the modern. For instance, “the butterfly knot is modern craftwork, but its surface has elements from the past on it. So how does [one] design this butterfly knot? The middle requires someone who is able to describe [its] story and the same time be able to communicate with the designers.” [比如说一个蝴蝶结，是现代的工艺，但是它上面的元素是过去的，那怎么样去设计这个蝴蝶结呢？中间需要

一个可以讲述这个故事的人，同时呢，又能够把设计师和他进行交流的人。] She believes her role to be essential because if “someone independent like Wang Xiaomei or like me wants to pass down this inheritance, we do a lot of research so that we can have a sufficiently deep combination [of both sides]. And then we in the middle [act as] a bridge, we want to [facilitate] their communication. This way is easy.” [如果有一批像王小梅、像我们这种就是自立于要把这种文化传承下去的时候，我们会去做很多田野（田野调查），就会和这些传承人能够有深度的结合，然后我们中间是一个桥梁，我们要把他们（传统手工艺人与现代设计师）沟通起来，这样就容易]. Jin Laoshi acts as a cultural translator between inheritors and designers. It is important to her as a goal of Forerunner, that the artisans will learn both elements and be able to act as both inheritors and designers so they will not require a translator to go forward. This will change the dynamic for the future and hopefully allow batik to have an easier way going forward. In an analysis of innovation, this role of a “bridge” which Jin Laoshi plays can be described by the term cultural translation (Burke 2009).

Jin Laoshi’s views are valuable to Forerunner because she is the one instructing the artisans on the creation of batik and her views are being taught to students. She is considered an expert in the field beyond Forerunner and her ideas and perspective have a wide impact. She believes that innovation is valuable and that to prepare batik and move it from households to the marketplace requires a conscious shift. This is not being done by accident. Jin Laoshi helps shift works from their traditional context to a form that is ready to be consumed or bought by the market. Even the logo of the Minority Cultural Center at Forerunner is an example of their



Figure 25: Logo of Guizhou Forerunner College: Source: www.ForerunnerCollege.com

efforts to innovate traditional handicrafts. At first glance it looks like a butterfly but on closer inspection it reveals that the butterfly is made of fish and birds, and whirlpools—all totems in Miao batik—blended together. This happens in traditional batik-making, but the style of the logo is computer-generated and obviously new.

Cultural Preservation at Forerunner

Meifeng believes that there is an inheritance crisis “because these days people don’t like that kind of ethnic handicraft. Right now there are lots of people who don’t know how to make batik or embroider. Young people don’t like it. [So these handicrafts] are currently gradually disappearing. If not carried on now then later it will die out.” [因为现在的人们都不喜欢那种民族的手工艺了，现在的蜡染、绣花，好多人都不会了，年轻的人都不喜欢，他们现在逐渐减少，如果现在不传承的话，以后可能会逐渐消失] Meifeng is a Forerunner student and therefore falls at the high end of the education spectrum. Her responses match the results of the survey data (See Table 5).

Also, interestingly, Meifeng much prefers traditional patterns to modern ones. I found this surprising since she had no prior background in the handicrafts and yet, aesthetically, she preferred the traditional patterns and was fond of the stories behind the traditions that her professors taught in class. She describes her interest in traditional stories:

The teacher tells us and we learn. She is always telling us [these stories], planting them in our hearts, and we remember them. I really like listening to [these] stories. I like those traditional kinds [...] because ever since I was little I have never been too fond of modern [things]. Anyway, I don't like wearing that kind of [modern styled] clothing. It's just that I don't whatever the current fashions are. I love that kind of ethnic style, wearing that kind of clothing makes me feel pretty and beautiful, it is good looking with lots of patterns and is also simple. When I started, I assumed studying traditions would only entail studying all the traditional patterns that came before.

老师给我们说了，我们就学，她就一直给我们讲啊讲，讲到心里面，就记住了，我也很喜欢听故事。我喜欢那个传统的[...]因为我从小就不太喜欢太现代的，反正穿衣服我也不喜欢很那个，就是现在出什么款式，我也不会喜欢，我很喜欢那种民族风范的，感觉穿着那种衣服又好看花样又多，然后穿着又那个朴素。我开始的时候，我以为是学传统，就是只有把以前的图样啊那些全部学下来。

Although many students come to the minority handicrafts major with little to no experience in making these crafts, prior to their arrival at Forerunner, Zhilan and her two classmates, who came from her same village had never even heard of batik, embroidery, or the other crafts before. Her impression of the crafts there were entirely based on her class curricula and experiences at the school.

Zhilan did not have any prior experience, knowledge, or deep personal connection to these handicrafts. She quickly grew to gain a great appreciation for learning and making them—particularly traditional styles. Because the traditional styles “mean a great deal. No matter what is said about contemporary patterns, I still get the sense that they don't have much meaning.” [传统的，传统的有很多意义，现在的再怎么话也感觉没什么意义。] She further says:

Right now there are very few people learning this. If we learn this well, then we can return to our hometowns and teach people there. However, if we don't learn then later on there will be practically no one left who knows how. If we don't learn, then it will all disappear. [...] [If it disappears] I'd feel I've failed our ancestors... I'm not sure how to say it.

因为现在很少有人来学这个，如果我们把这个学好的话，我们就可以回到家乡教他们嘛，如果我们不学的话，后面的基本上都不会了，如果我们不学的话，都失去了。就感觉挺对不起那些祖先的，额。。。不知道怎么说。

Thus, Zhilan’s response is in line with the survey conclusions because she thinks that there is indeed a cultural inheritance crisis (See Table 5).

Colorful Guizhou 2015 Cultural and Creative Industries Fair (Expo)



Figure 26: Site of the 2015 Colorful Guizhou Cultural and Creative Industries Fair; Source: Katie Uram

During my last week in Guizhou, I attended The Colorful Guizhou 2015 Cultural and Creative Industries Fair with Professor Ren, Xiaomei, and fellow Lawrence student-researchers Olivia and Heather. The three-day fair was held at a 2,400-square-meter exposition hall in Guiyang and highlighted the importance of handicrafts and cultural and creative industries to the identity and economy of Guizhou. The event attracted over 130 exhibitors including “twenty national-level and provincial-level inheritors to demonstrate intangible cultural heritage skills at the fair and teach visitors crafts and skills” (Yang 2015). As defined by the United Nations Educational, Science and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), intangible cultural heritages are the “traditions or living expressions inherited from our ancestors and passed on to our descendants” (Intangible, 2016). These can include rituals, oral traditions, social practices, performing arts,

and the knowledge and skills to produce traditional crafts. In an interview for an online newspaper, the curator of the expo said that “further development of the cultural and creative industries in Guizhou must depend on intangible cultural heritage” noting also that “intangible heritage is the most important feature and advantage of the province’s cultural and creative industries” (Yang 2016).

The Expo shows off different forms of Guizhou’s minority intangible cultural heritage with an equally large focus on the innovation of these forms. Representatives at the expo were artisans and representatives of 130 companies, many of whom promoted various new and innovated forms of various handicrafts. The conference center looks brand new, with obvious spots of construction in the parking lots and piles of rubble at the side of the road. As we walked to the entrance, Professor Ren explained that the center hosts various activities that attract businesses to Guizhou’s culture and arts. Xiaomei took us upstairs to one of the larger expo floors. The cavernous room had concrete floors, an incredibly tall ceiling, and stall after stall of exhibit spaces for companies and groups.

The Colorful Guizhou Cultural and Creative Industries Fair is an annual event hosting hundreds of people interested in all aspects of batik and other cultural handicrafts. Artisans, instructors, buyers, producers, journalists, researchers, exporters all attend the convention to show off what they do and to see what others are doing. As the name suggests, the fair focuses on both the creative aspect of cultural crafts and also the economic and business aspects. Both the Ningang Batik Company and Guizhou Forerunner College had a presence at the fair and so I encountered a number of people whom I had met (and interviewed) at those locations. A large flow of people, technology, and ideas pass through this giant meeting of stakeholders for ethnic handicrafts.

There is also a strong emphasis on innovation with both artisans and companies coming and showing off innovative products and processes. The focus was so strong that there was an entire section of the Expo dedicated to innovation technologies and products that relate to Guizhou's intangible heritage.



Figure 27: Xiaomei's booth at the Expo; Source: Katie Uram

Two Voices at the Expo

After quickly looking around Xiaomei's expo space, Olivia, Heather, Xiaodeng and I went to the neighboring stall in search of people to interview. We were lucky to find someone almost immediately. The neighboring stall was occupied by Lin Qiaolian, a Miao woman batik artist demonstrating batik wax painting at a small and short wooden table so low to the ground that we had to sit on the floor or short stools. This table was at the center of her little expo area,

and was surrounded by six to eight smaller tables spaced evenly around it. Each smaller table had a small wooden kit to “make your own batik.”

Mingzhu, the batik artist, also demonstrated her technique at the booth in which Xiaomei promoted her brand, Blue Flower Narration. A fifty-year-old Miao woman with dark hair pulled back in a bun, Mingzhu wore a beautiful, detailed embroidered jacket which she had made herself. More reserved than our last interviewee, Mingzhu initially seemed slightly guarded in the way she interacted with us and in some of her answers as well. Although as the interview progressed, she appeared more relaxed and became more open in her answers. Like many Miao women of her or her mother’s generations, Mingzhu learned both batik-making and embroidery from her mother at a young age.

Our first day at the expo proved to be the most productive, yielding two full-length, in-depth interviews. The first of which was Lin Qiaolian. Qiaolian is a 40-year-old Miao woman with long curly hair pulled back in a ponytail and bangs covering her forehead. She wore a colorful shirt of her own making, the body of which was deep-almost-black blue, while the sleeves had bands of white, green, bright orange, and small detailed batik stripes at the cuffs of the sleeves. She smiled and cheerfully answered our questions, giving in-depth answers freely, and even elaborating when we asked her to do so.

The youngest of nine children, Qiaolian began studying batik with her mother and older sisters when she was seven years old. She has never attended school. Her family did not allow her or any of her five sisters to attend school though her brothers were allowed to go:

For girls, everyone used to say it was a waste to educate girls because they would marry into other families, and if they didn’t know how to make handicrafts then they will be unmarriageable. [So we] weren’t allowed to go to school. [Because of this] I am very sad now. If other people invite me to go out, I’m afraid these students would look down on me. I don’t know if they really like and respect me.

女孩嘛，大家都说这个女孩子读书了嫁到别人家去什么都没有，还有学不会工艺的话嫁不出去。就不准读书。我现在很伤心。要是别人请我出去，我还怕这些学生瞧不起我了。也不知道他们特别喜欢，他们很尊重我。

Batik-making has been a part of Qiaolian's life since she was "really little—around the time I would have been able to start attending school—I began studying batik painting instead. Because for us Miao women, if we weren't able to paint batik or embroider, then we wouldn't be able to marry out. Even then, if we [somehow manage] to marry out, [we] wouldn't be able to marry into good families." [很小的时候，也能开始读书的时候我就开始画。因为我们苗族要是不会画蜡染不会绣就嫁不出去，嫁出去也嫁不到好人家。]

Mingzhu still lives in her home village although she does not live there exclusively. Instead, she splits her time between working and living at home and going out to find temporary work (打工). She travels anywhere from nearby in her home county to a neighboring province. These temporary jobs—usually in construction such as building houses for people—constitute her main source of income. Like many rural people of Guizhou, Mingzhu cannot earn enough income from farming. She works in construction and then "when you're finished and have some free time, you just return to do more farming. Then you have a good source of finances. If you had been at home the entire time dry farming, then it would have been impossible to earn sufficient funds." [然后你做完了，有空的时候，又该做农活的时候，又倒回来做一些农活。然后才有经济来源。如果一直在家干农活的话就没办法。]

When we asked if she uses her batik-making and embroidery as sources of income, she did not give a direct answer. Instead, she described one of the vital cultural functions the crafts play:

Batik and embroidery are our minority culture; [they are] a tradition that has been passed down. Every single person [should] make them so every girl has [those skills]. Generally speaking, when our daughters marry they are [given] dozens of sets of batik and embroidered clothes. Usually they have something around twenty or thirty sets. Nowadays, however, everyone is [moving to urban areas] to find temporary jobs, so [girls are given fewer], but the minimum should be ten sets. So as a girl, if you don't make it yourself then you depend solely on your parents, but there is no possible way they can spend a lifetime making clothes for you to wear.

蜡染和刺绣这是我们少数民族的（文化），这是一种传统传下来的。每一个人都要做，所以每一个女孩都有。一般来说我们这女孩子，一般结婚就有几十套（蜡染、刺绣服装）。一般都有二三十套吧。像现在，人家都出去打工了，很少的话，最低也要十几套。所以你作为一个女孩子，你不做的话光靠父母做的话，那父母他不可能一辈子做衣服给你穿。

Both Qiaolian and Mingzhu recall a time when batik making was mainly associated with domestic and village culture.

Deterritorialization at Expo

By its very nature, the Expo is a kind of exercise in deterritorialization. Handicrafts traditionally created in homes are brought into a very public setting with the goal to interact with an increasingly wider circle of people (both creators and customers). Deterritorialization is a complex process in which many elements are changing at the same time. One element is the movement of the artisans from their original villages to new locations such as working at Ninghang, attending school at Forerunner or even participating in the Expo at Guizhou. As they move, the artisans are redefining the contexts in which these crafts from their homes are seen and created. Many people besides the individual artisans are involved in this process including

companies, tourists, government officials and other interested parties that attend conferences and expos like the Colorful Guizhou Exposition.

These groups and individuals are the very definition of Appadurai's idea of ethnoscaples or the “landscape of persons who constitute the shifting world in which we live: Tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles guest workers and other moving groups and persons” (Appadurai 1990; 32). These ethnoscaples are an essential part of deterritorialization. People moving from place to place constitutes the changing of contexts that is happening. They are part of the changing contexts which in turn change their own experiences as they encounter new people and ideas. All these things lead to hybridity and the shifting of ideas and practices of cultural preservation.

These moves do not have to be a permanent, but can be short visits. For instance, on a trip to Kaili to visit her sister, Qiaolin saw people selling Miao clothing on the side of the road and she realized that this craft that she had been making all her life (in a different context) could be used as a means to support herself and her family. For Qiaolin, economics is a key consideration. As a girl, she was not allowed to go to school and she learned batik-making from her mother. Her family farmed and raised pigs, but it was not enough to support the family so they had a very hard life as subsistence farmers. Any money earned from selling pigs had to go back to buying food or more livestock. This changed for her one day when she was traveling to Kaili to see her sister. She spotted people selling Miao clothing along the side of the road:

As soon as I saw it [I thought], Wow, you can sell these things! So then I [quickly] returned home to that village [I just mentioned]. I took a baby sling and clothes and returned to Kaili and sold them. [I thought], wow, this is a great business. I brought 1,100RMB worth of items with me and sold them for 4,600RMB. That's three times the value. I earned *three* times the value of the items!

我一看到，噢，这个东西可以卖呀。那我就回到家乡，我就那个家乡就收。我就收这个背带和衣服，我就把它们收起来，我就拿来凯里卖。诶，这个生意还好做。我收 1100 块的东西来，我就卖了 4600 块。赚了三倍。我就赚了三倍。

This inspired her to start a business. Qiaolin moved from her village to Kaili when she realized that she had found an economic path that could help her family. In this “Aha!” moment, Qiaolin realized that batik could exist outside the context she had known previously. Her movement through the scape of Kaili led to that realization and brought her into contact with these new ideas. Had she not have been visiting her sister, she might not have realized that batik was something that could be sold.

However, just as Appadurai's flows contort and move unevenly through the scapes they encounter, so too does deterritorialization. It is "asymmetrical and unequal [...] all the world inhabitants and all social classes experiment deterritorialization, but they do it from differentiated or unequal conditions and contexts" (Marti 2006). The movement of these flows is unique for each person and within each context. For instance, Qiaolin—who rarely attends events like the Expo—lived in a village then moved to the city of Kaili for sixteen years so that she could turn batik-making and instruction into her full time occupation. By contrast, Mingzhu still lives and makes batik in her original home village, and comes to events like the Expo more frequently to sell her batik for supplementary income. Their dissimilar backgrounds cause them to engage with and experience Expo differently.

At the Expo, the way people flow and interact is different than in other contexts. The Expo brings together all different sorts of people with different backgrounds but all focused on local culture and these handicrafts. And so, the attractions people have at the Expo are going to be less random and very specific to these handicrafts.

One form of deterritorialization is the physical move of practices from their traditional context to new places like Ninghang or other companies at the Expo where the practices are commoditized. In one sense, being commoditized could be a form of cultural preservation (depending upon who is asked) because it brings people to the craft. It gives people the opportunity to spend more time with the craft which would not happen if they had to spend their time working other jobs instead of making batik, even though the batik they are making is for economic purposes. This change in purpose of the craft—if not carefully handled--could lead to contradiction in some of the inherent goals of cultural preservation. It could preserve the objects (batik) but threaten the ceremonies and culturally significant roles of those objects. This contradiction gives rise to many questions: If artisans create batik for economic benefits, how does it affect the batik in terms of its traditional ceremonial or personal use? If the artisans use their time and energy creating batik of traditional or innovative designs, will they still have time, energy, or desire to create the batik for the burial ceremonies or wedding dowries? How will batik, which has now become deterritorialized by virtue of its broader creation and availability be viewed? Will it keep its impact as a crucial ceremonial object (and process)? Or will it become quaint and outdated?

Cultural Preservation at Expo:

Batik was introduced to Qiaolian as a vital part of her heritage as something required for her future. Because of this, the crafts still carry a weighty significance for her and cultural preservation is very important to her. It is vital to her that they continue to be passed on. For Qialin, switching to the business of making and selling handicrafts (in addition to her family business centered on preserving crafts) has allowed her to send her children to school, which is something she desperately wanted for herself but could not have. Therefore, her main driver of

the production of these handicrafts is economic and she is attuned to the entire business side of batik.

Qiaolin is a pragmatist to a certain degree and focuses on the economics of batik, but at the same time, she recognizes the value and importance of passing down these crafts. And preserving them. “Only by passing down the crafts are we able to develop it.” [把这个手艺传承下去，大家才一起把它发展]. While she has keen business acumen and is very focused on the business side, she doesn’t lose sight of the importance of cultural preservation. More importantly, she has made the cultural preservation of batik her mission:

There are also some people who say I’m really stupid, ‘why do you want to teach students? Doesn’t that just create more competition for you? But I say never mind that the [batik] economy will only develop as long as people are interested in it. I’d like to teach everyone this handicraft. Not to mention I have numerous designs in my head, this picture has thousands upon tens of thousands of possibilities, and they are all in my head.

反正也有人说我太傻了，你为什么要教给学生，这样的话不是很有竞争吗？我说没关系呀，只要大家愿意，经济才有发展嘛。我愿意把这个手艺教给大家。反正我脑子里面有那个图片，这个图片有几千个几万个都可以。都是在我脑子里面的

However, because she never had an education, it is of utmost importance that her own children excel in their education. She prioritizes it above teaching them batik or embroidery:

Because I don’t have an education, I fear they won’t study well, so I never taught them [batik or embroidery]. I tell them to study well. I’ll teach them when they graduate. First is learning all there is to learn from school. I never had an education, and so think that education is extremely important. First make them study well, after that it doesn’t matter if they learn this well or not. I will be at home every day [embroidering and making batik], and that should suffice.

因为我没有读过书，我怕他们学习不好，我就不叫他们做。我叫他们好好学习。等他们毕业了再慢慢学吧，我再教他们。先把学习学好。我没有读过书，觉得这个书太重要了。让他们先把这个书读好，然后要是学这个嘛，没关系，我会到时候在家里面天天做，应该可以。

It is difficult to determine the relation of Qiaolian's answers to survey data. I did not ask her directly about inheritance crisis or what she thought the development prospects were. But her comments indicated that she thought the prospects were good enough to start a business related to the inheritance crisis. In fact, she developed a business and moved to a city to do so. She continues to teach the handicrafts, but has interesting thoughts on traditional versus innovated batik. She does not prioritize one over the other, but believes that traditional kinds need to be saved and innovative forms used to draw in the market and bring new people to crafts. For her, it is about survival.

Qiaolian is devoted to teaching batik to anyone who wants to learn. It has become her vocation and she shares it with anyone who is interested. While she did not explicitly express a belief in an inheritance crisis, however, she expressed a sense of urgency in teaching younger people to do batik so that it will continue. It is "When my eyesight goes bad then I won't be able to paint well anymore. So as students right now are willing to learn, then I am very happy to teach them [how to make batik], to pass on the handicraft." [到时候眼镜不好了，画了就不好



Figure 28: Embroidery on leaf at Expo;
Source: Katie Uram

了。现在要是学生愿意学习我很高兴教大家去做，把这个手艺传下去]。Qiaolian is doing everything in her power to prevent an inheritance crisis by passing her skills down and teaching this craft to anyone possible.

Mingzhu grew up surrounded by the tradition of batik-making and embroidery and passing the skills from mother to daughter. She says that "if [as an ethnic minority woman] you don't know how to embroider then it won't get passed down. Therefore, every single girl that

becomes a mother wishes for our own culture to be passed down. Thus, every girl [learns] and makes [batik and embroidery].” [所以你作为一个女孩子，你不做的话光靠父母做的话，那父母他不可能一辈子做衣服给你穿。加上你是一个女孩，你本身是一个少数民族的话，如果你不会绣花的话，那就传不下去。所以每一个，她做母亲的，她都希望我们自己的民族传统希望传下去。所以每一个女孩子都会做。] Now that Mingzhu has a daughter of her own, she is in the process of putting together sets of batik and embroidered clothing for her daughter’s future dowry. Mingzhu also matches the survey results of those artisans who are older and less educated (See Table 14). Having received only a couple years of elementary school level education, Mingzhu should—according to my survey conclusion—not be concerned with an inheritance crisis (See Table 5). However, she matches the survey results which indicate that those who support innovation also believe in an inheritance crisis.

Two sources of influence for Mingzhu which might complicate her view on the inheritance crisis are her friendship with Xiaomei and her repeated attendance to Expo and similar events at which discussion of inheritance and the future of batik is predominant. All these things make up her social positioning and her physical positioning which influences her attitudes.

However, Mingzhu still lives in her village and has extensive experience working a variety of temporary jobs including work in construction and in factories. She has been a part of and witnessed both sides of the large rural-to-urban migration. This has led her to believe that Miao handicraft culture is indeed facing an inheritance crisis. She worries because:

Right now there are lots of girls who don’t know how to make [our handicrafts], because they are waiting to go away for school and then find work out there. So none of them can make [our handicrafts]. Because of this, we are all really worried [and] scared that this heritage will be lost.

现在有很多女孩子不会做了。因为她们等读出书来就跑到外面去打工了。所以她们都不会做了。所以我们也担心，就怕我们这个传承会丢掉了。

While Mingzhu never explicitly stated what she thought of the current prospects for developing batik and embroidery, she seemed hopeful that developing these handicrafts and moving them toward the market may be the best way to ensure their future cultural transmission.

Hybridity at the Expo:

The Colorful Guizhou Cultural and Creative Industries Fair is a bustling event that draws artisans, tourists, and special interest groups from across the province and China. It is a massive convention for people engaged in various aspects of local Guizhou craft-making and its innovation. Batik, embroidery, hand-made paper, and other crafts ranging from traditional to modern and everything in between are represented. Simply by attending Expo, the artisans are exposed to different forms and expressions of products and craft-making which—in turn—gives them new ideas. Seeing innovations by others broadens their views and the scope of possibilities in their minds. They carry these ideas with them when they return to their own work spaces and perhaps, they will incorporate these new elements—either consciously or subconsciously—into their own art.

This harkens to Burke's descriptions of hybrid images and how exposure to new images changes the artists. He explains this phenomenon with the example of how the arrival of western images (engravings) in China gave Chinese artists “an awareness of an alternative to their own conventions representing a landscape [and] liberated them from these conventions and allowed them to make innovations of their own” (Burke 2009, 16). Exposure to new people, techniques, ideas, and media is a powerful tool for helping the artisans expand their own views of their craft. Understanding interactions with these scapes is important because they “are the building blocks

of [...] imagined worlds, that is, the multiple worlds which are constituted by the historically situated imaginations of persons and groups spread around the globe” (Appaurai 1990, 329).

The experience for these artisans at Expo is one that expands their imagination and allows them to become familiar with landscapes and “cultural products alien to their locality, create new materials for the re-elaboration of the local experience, develop transnational cultural links, take cultural diversity to the locality, reinterpret standardized cultural products or set the conditions for hybridization to take place” (Marti 2006). Attending the Expo is a powerful and inspiring event for the women batik artisans who are so passionate about their craft. The ideas they encounter pique their imaginations and contribute in unexpected ways to the process of hybridization in their batik.

CONCLUSION

In the mountains of Guizhou Province of China, Miao women artisans work to support their families, and in doing so, they are preserving an art form that has been an integral part of their cultural identity for centuries. The blue and white images of their totem animals, people, legends, and nature have been shifting from their original contexts into new places and social landscapes. This process of deterritorialization is leading to the evolution of the images themselves through innovation and hybridization.

In this project, I sought to better understand the evolving practices of batik-making and their effect on these women artisans’ perceptions of their art form through the lenses of hybridity and Appadurai’s disjuncture and global flows. At the beginning of this paper, I posed a series of questions. As mentioned above, I began by asking to what extent batik-making is a thriving cultural practice today, or if Miao in China (among other ethnic groups involved in batik-making) perceive an inheritance crisis? I next asked what role public domains such as

educational institutions, enterprises, and the tourism industry play in the preservation of batik-making. And lastly, how do local batik makers ponder and debate traditional versus innovative practices?

Particularly in recent years in Guizhou, there has been growing concern among officials about the continued inheritance of the craft. This concern has been fueled by social changes in which the traditional matrilineal inheritance of the handicraft has diminished or been interrupted. However, the question of whether batik-making is a thriving cultural practice or is perceived to have an inheritance crisis is complicated by the deterritorialization of batik-making. The process of deterritorialization is a double-edged sword because the changing of context for these women from their places of birth has a huge effect on the development and future of their crafts. On one hand, if they end up at a place like Ninghang they can continue the production of their craft though it is affected by all the elements of innovation and hybridization of images and practices. On the other hand, there are only so many places like the Ninghang Batik Company or Guizhou Forerunner College. So, an (arguably) larger group of women and girls from the countryside who are migrating out to find jobs in the city, will end up in non-batik-making jobs. As these women move through these ethnoscares, the change of context puts greater pressure on them and creates the inheritance crisis sensed by a large portion of the community.

The survey data showed that there are certain independent variables which affect artisans' perceptions of the future of their handicraft, such as education level, training, years in the city, and age. All influenced how each artisan understood and viewed the future of their craft. I discovered that education plays a key role in the perception of the future of handicrafts. Those with higher education levels believed that the future development prospects of their handicraft were poor and that there is an inheritance crisis. These perceptions were also shared by those

who had participated in formal training for their handicrafts. However, those who had higher monthly income from their handicrafts were more likely to believe that the future development prospects of the handicraft were good and that there is no inheritance crisis.

It is important to note that artisans' views are colored by their individual contexts, histories, and social factors (the scapes that Appadurai's describes). The views of artisans at Ninghang differed from those of Forerunner and those differed from artisans at the Expo. Even within each location, the artisans' unique perspectives colored their understanding and perspectives of everything including their perception of the future of their handicraft. Because "a landscape looks different depending on how you look and who is looking" (Powell and Steel 2011), each artisan's view of the future of batik-making and the presence of an inheritance crisis ultimately depended upon their perspective.

The next question that I explored was the role public domains such as educational institutions, enterprises, and the tourism industry play in the preservation of batik-making. Since Guizhou is one of the poorest regions, the province is turning toward cultural heritage as a means of economic renewal. Batik-making in Guizhou is more than an art form and the government now has a stake in the survival of this art form. Therefore, they have an interest in developing programs and hosting events like the Expo which push the crafts toward innovation and marketization. Formalized training at institutions such as Guizhou Forerunner College contribute to the success of this process by teaching students a curriculum grounded in traditional batik-making with the intent of development through integration of modern elements. Therefore, these institutions influence the crafts by steering them toward innovation.

This focus on innovation affects the design and production of batik-making. This results in local batik makers and other stakeholders debating questions of traditional versus innovative

practices. I explored this question by looking at trends present in my survey data and analyzing how these trends might play out in the scapes which these artisans navigate. I did so by using illustrative examples from interviews with these artisans. In general, those who believed that there was an inheritance crisis also viewed innovation as a means to ensure that their culture would be passed down to future generations. However, similar to artisans' views and perceptions of the inheritance crisis, their perceptions on and how they negotiate questions of development and innovation were varied and dependent on their place in the scapes and social positioning. Their understanding of the craft and their personal histories and the influence of institutions like Forerunner weigh in on their perceptions of this debate.

This case shows the division between categories of globalization (hybridity, deterritorialization, and cultural preservation) are complicated. If it seems that in this paper there has been a great deal of overlap in discussions, this has been intentional. These three elements of globalization are analytical threads that are difficult to untangle from each other. One cannot be analyzed or discussed without touching on the others.

As batik becomes commoditized, it is vital to continually survey the relationship between tradition and innovation. It is also essential to constantly reevaluate the definition of cultural preservation and carry forward including the voices of the artisans in these discussions. While there already exists a broad body of work centered on the theories of globalization, hybridization, and cultural preservation, there is little in the English language literature which contributes to this discussion and shines a light upon the women themselves and their views on their handicraft. I have sought to bring together Appadurai's theories and the voices of the Miao women batik artisans of Guizhou. This is essential, because talking about these artisans without relating their

words and thoughts, removes them from the heart of the conversation which they—above anyone else—should occupy.

Even though modern economic and social pressures have greatly affected batik-making in Guizhou and there is a strong perception that the inheritance of batik-making is in crisis, batik is not a dying art form. Rather, it is a changing one. With the efforts of educational institutes and tourism trade, Miao artisans are finding ways to continue their batik while new artisans and others are recognizing batik as a treasure worth preserving and enabling for future generations.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Who's Who? Guide to Informants

Peng Lifan: Forty-one year old Miao artisan at Ninghang Batik Company

Yu Cuifen: College-aged student who also works at Ninghang Batik Company

Jin Laoshi: Instructor at Guizhou Forerunner College

Xia Zhilan: Student at Guizhou Forerunner College

Wen Meifeng: Student at Guizhou Forerunner College

Lin Qiaolian: Artisan at Expo who occupied stall next to Xiaomei's exhibit

Mingzhu: A fifty-year-old Miao batik artisan interviewed at the Expo

Ning Manli: Boss, Founder, and Owner of Ninghang Batik in Danzhai, Guizhou

Heather: A fellow Lawrence Student-Researcher conducting a project with Olivia

Olivia: A fellow Lawrence Student-Researcher conducting a project with Heather

Hua Songlian: A manager at Ninghang Batik Company who led tours

Wang Xiaomei: Anthropologist journalist from Guizhou, China. Acted as my mentor and guide during my field studies

Xiaodeng: One of Professor Ren's graduate students who assisted me during my study.

Xiaodeng interpreted my questions from Mandarin to local dialect *Guiyanghua* and answers from *Guiyanghua* to Mandarin. She also assisted with transcription of interviews and surveys.

Professor Ren: Professor at Guizhou Normal University, a friend of Lawrence University, helped Heather, Olivia and I with the process of getting to China and the arrangements in country.

Appendix 2: Informed Consent Forms

Informed Consent Form

项目标题

来自乡村的女性在城市打工的生活体验

调查人联系方式

本人受到来自美国劳伦斯大学的学生凯蒂的邀请，完成这份调查表格。凯蒂的指导教师是人类学研究的 Carla 教授。

调查目的

这份调查问卷的目的是获悉在城市打工的乡下女性的生活经历，并且一些非政府组织采取的帮助他们克服困难的措施。

调查对象

这份表格的调查对象为：在城市工作的农村妇女，为帮助这些劳动妇女而建立的组织的管理者和工作人员，建立留守妇女与进入城市的妇女的联系。

拒绝或中途拒绝填表的权利

我理解该调查表已通过劳伦斯大学伦理委员会的批准，其首要目的是保护受调查人员的权利。我完全自愿参与调查，如果我拒绝也不会有任何不好的结果。如果我想要在任何时候退出此调查，其是没有惩罚和利益损失的，可以立即联系凯蒂，她的电话号码是 182-8612-2742。我也理解调查人员有权利决定是否参与我的调查。

过程

如果我（被调查者）同意参与调查，那么下列几项调查过程会发生在一——
地点：**组织，或者您的家里（在被您邀请的情况下），或者公共场所如公园或餐馆。
参与一小时长的采访
参与者不会受到任何身心的伤害
参与者不会被当做试验品

风险

据研究者所知，参与调查项目不会给参与者带来任何具有严重风险的伤害。在采访关于妇女工作者生活上的挑战时，具有敏感信息的话题可能会被提出。但是，您有权利在采访中途提出休息的请求，或者拒绝采访。

好处

面对生活经历和挑战也许能够成为一种好的宣泄，并且这项调查可能能够帮助为农村户口的城市打工人群而建立的组织更好的明白并面对当前的挑战。

参加研究的代价和赔偿

我了解我参加该项目没有报酬，我将得到的仅是作为调查者的热忱之心，以此来作为我帮助的补偿。

匿名，没有身份的信息（比如名字，身份证号等）会被人公布或出版。

研究者很努力采取措施防止别人（除了研究者和助手研究人员以外）知道我参加了这份研究。无论是写在纸或电脑上，写笔记，研究信息等，研究者会用假名。我了解所有的研究信息都不会被我公布。

保密性（保密性是指虽然研究者会有参加研究者的记载，但是这个信息是保密的）

我了解除非法律要求研究者透露这个信息，否则这个信息是保密的。研究者会把假名分配给参加研究者。做研究者会把这个有参加研究者的识别信息单放在安全的地方，而且做研究者不会把这个单子跟别研究信息放在一起。只有做研究者和助手做研究人员能看这个信息。研究做完以后，做研究者会把所有的同意书和别的识别信息删掉。

问题，建议，担忧，还是 抱怨

在决定是否接受邀请参加这个研究之前，我可以问我关于这个研究课题的任何问题。

如果我有问题、建议、担忧 或抱怨该研究，我随时可以给研究者（Katie）打电话或发给她电子邮件。她的电话号码是 182-8612-2742，她的电子邮件是 Katie. uram@yahoo. com

如果我有有什么关于参与者的权利问题，我可以随时给劳伦斯大学研究负责人，William Skinner 博士发电子邮件。他的电子邮件是 irb@lawrence. edu 。

签名

参加研究者

我的签名说明我的年龄是十八岁以上而且也说明我同意参加这个研究课题

参加研究者的签名

日期

做研究者

我向参加研究者解释这个研究课题的目的、危险、好处等。我回答了参加研究者的问题，而且也给他们一份同意表格。

做研究者的签名

Date 日期

Informed Consent Form

Title of Project

Migrant Women Experiences

Researcher's Name(s) and Telephone Number(s)

I have been invited to participate in a research project conducted by Katie Uram (Katherine.b.uram@lawrence.edu) of Lawrence University. She is being supervised in this research by Professor Carla Daughtry, Anthropology Department.

Purpose

The purpose of this research is to examine the experiences and challenges faced by Migrant Women workers as well as the kind of work that is being done by organizations dedicated to helping migrant women workers adjust to life in the city and deal with the challenges they face.

Participants

The participants in this research project are Migrant Women workers, workers or administrators at organizations (NGOs or GONGOs) dedicated to helping migrant workers, and women workers still living in rural areas with a connection to people who have migrated to urban areas.

Right to Refuse or Withdraw

I understand that this research has been approved by Lawrence University's Institutional Review Board, whose primary goal is to protect human subjects in research. I understand my participation in this research is completely voluntary. There will not be any consequences if I refuse to participate. I understand I can withdraw from the research at any time without penalty or loss of benefits. I will contact Katie Uram at (phone number redacted for thesis submission) should I decide to withdraw from the research. I also understand the researcher has the right to withdraw me from participating in the research at any time.

Procedures

If I agree to participate, the following will occur:

- 1) Location: _____ organization, or your home (at your invitation), or at a public space like a park or restaurant.
- 2) Participate in 1 hour long interview
- 3) Nothing will be done to the participants
- 4) Experimental procedures will not be used

Risks

To the best of the researcher's knowledge, there will be no serious risks of harm associated with participation in this research. It is possible that sensitive topics will be discussed that possible minimal psychological risk in reflecting on the challenges they face. However, you are welcome to take a break from the interview, or opt out entirely.

Benefits

It is possible that reflecting on experiences and challenges face may be cathartic. Additionally, there is a chance that this research may be able to help the organizations identify challenges faced so that they may be able to address and help mitigate said challenges.

Cost and Compensation of Participation

I understand there are no costs to me as a result of my participation in this project. I will receive a small token of gratitude from the researcher as compensation for my help.

Anonymity (Anonymity means that no identifying information, such as name, ID number, or other information that could be used to identify a person is collected so the privacy of participants is assured).

Every effort has been taken to prevent anyone who is not on the research team from knowing that I participated in the study. Pseudonyms will be assigned to all participants and referred to as such in all notes and records both handwritten and electronic. I understand that any information derived from this research project that personally identifies me will not be released.

Confidentiality (Confidentiality means that the researcher (or perhaps the instructor) will have a record of who participated but the data will be kept private.)

I understand the data collected in this study will be kept confidential unless disclosure is required by law. Specifically, the researcher will assign pseudonyms to all participants. The master list of participants and their identities and corresponding pseudonyms will be kept separately from all collected data, and stored in a secure location. Only Katie Uram (the researcher) and a research assistant/transcriber will have access to this information. After the study is completed, all consent forms and any other identifiable data will be destroyed.

Questions, Suggestions, Concerns, or Complaints

Before I decide whether to accept the invitation to participate in this project, I can ask any questions about the project that I have now.

- If I have any questions, suggestions, concerns, or complaints about this project, I can call Katie Uram at (phone number redacted for submission)
- If I have questions about my rights as a participant, I may contact the Chair of the Lawrence University IRB, Dr. William Skinner (920) 993-6025 or irb@lawrence.edu.

Signatures**Participant:**

By my signature, I am affirming that I am at least 18 years old and that I agree to participate in this study. I understand I will receive a signed copy of this consent form.

Signature of participant

Date

Printed name of participant

Person Obtaining Consent:

I have explained to the participant above the nature, purpose, risks and benefits of participating in this research project. I have answered any questions that may have been raised and I will provide the participant with a copy of this consent form.

Name of [authorized] person obtaining informed consent

Date

Appendix 3: Sampling of Interview Questions

<p>1. Background Questions</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> How old are you? What is your ethnicity? Where is your hometown? How much education do you have? How many people are there in your family? Do you have any children? <p>2. Exploratory Questions</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Could you give me an introduction about your job? How did you come to find this job? Generally speaking, what do you do every day? How do you get along with the people around you? <p>3. Batik Questions</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> When did you begin learning batik? Who did you learn batik-making from? What kind of designs do you enjoy painting? Do you have a preference towards traditional or modern patterns? Do you think that batik is facing an inheritance crisis? Do you have any thoughts regarding the development of batik? Since arriving in the city, has your handicraft undergone any changes? What thoughts do you have on how to pass down ethnic handicrafts? <p>4. Student Oriented Questions</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> How did you choose your major? Before coming to Forerunner, did you have any prior experience making batik? What do you want to do after graduating? 	<p>1. Background Questions</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 您今年多大? 您是什么民族? 你的老家在哪里? 您的受教育程度是什么? 你家有几口人? 你有没有孩子? <p>2. Exploratory Questions</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 请您给我介绍一下您的工作。 你是怎么找到这份工作的? 一般来说你每天都做什么? 你和你周围人相处得如何? <p>3. Batik Questions</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 一般来说你每天都做什么? 你跟谁学了蜡染? 你喜欢画什么样的图案? 你比较喜欢传统还是现代的图案? 你觉得蜡染有没有传承危机? 你对蜡染的发展有什么看法没有? 来到城市中后你的手艺有没有什么变化? 你对如何传承民族手工艺有什么想法? <p>4. Student Oriented Questions</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 你是什么决定学这个专业? 来 GFC 之前你有没有学过画蜡染? 你毕业以后有什么打算?
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Appendix 4: Survey

少数民族手艺人调查问卷

填表说明:

①请在每一个问题后您所选择的选项上划圈或打钩，或者在_____处填上适当的内容。

②若无特殊说明，每一个问题只能选择一个答案。若要求选择多项答案，题目后面会有所标注。

③填写问卷时，请认真阅读，按要求填写。若有任何问题，请向调查员咨询。

民族: _____

您的性别

- 男
- 女

您的户籍地: _____

请问您的年龄:

- 15岁以下
- 15-20岁
- 21-25岁
- 26-30岁
- 31-40岁
- 41-50岁
- 51-60岁
- 60岁以上

请问您来到这个城市几年了?

- 一年以下
- 1-2年
- 3-5年
- 5-8年
- 8-10年
- 10年以上

请问您的受教育程度是:

- 不识字
- 小学
- 初中
- 高中
- 中专
- 大学

您的身份是？

- 国家级非遗传承人
- 省级非遗传承人
- 州级非遗传承人
- 县级非遗传承人
- 一般手艺人

您的手艺是？（多选）

- 刺绣
- 蜡染
- 芦笙
- 织锦
- 百鸟衣
- 陶瓷
- 银饰
- 手工纸
- 酿酒
- 其他

您家劳动力中有几个负责挣钱？

- 0
- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 5个以上

他们的主要挣钱工作是？（多选）

- 在家务农
- 外出打工
- 刺绣
- 蜡染
- 制作芦笙
- 跑运输
- 在村里开商店
- 制作衣服
- 开蜡染坊
- 其它

您的手艺每个月能为家里带来多少收入？

- 500以内
- 500-1000
- 1000-1500
- 1500-2000
- 2000-2500
- 2500-3000
- 3000以上

家里的农作物或牲畜全年能为全家带来多少收入？

- 5000以下
- 5000—8000
- 8000—10000
- 10000—15000
- 15000—20000
- 20000—30000
- 30000以上

除上农作物或牲畜外，家里还有其它收入能为全家吗？（多选）

- 土地出租
- 房屋出租
- 土地补贴
- 非遗人员补贴
- 其它

平时您家里哪些地方需要花钱？（多选）

- 孩子上学
- 日常生活开支
- 化肥农药
- 购买牲畜
- 购买饲料
- 租房
- 医疗费
- 礼金
- 建房子
- 其他

您觉得手艺给您带来了什么？（多选）

- 荣誉
- 经济收入
- 乐趣
- 社会地位
- 被尊重
- 什么都没带来
- 其他

您的手艺给家里或自己带来了改变吗？

- 有
- 没有

若有，您觉得最大的改变是什么？

- 有了收入，在家庭地位提升了
 - 有了收入，家里生活有所改善
 - 可以时不时出去参加比赛活动，见识一下世面
 - 其他（若其他请你写下来）
-

您心中的价值观（想法）在出去后和出去前有什么变化没有？

- 有
- 没有

您觉得您们民族的手工艺有没有传承危机？

- 有
- 没有

您找到工作是怎么找到的？（多选）

- 通过老乡或亲戚找到
- 通过城市的劳务市场
- 雇方来老家招工
- 报纸、广播、电视
- 当地政府组织
- 在街头等待
- 其他

您是否参加过培训？

- 参加
- 没有参加

若您参加培训，培训费用是由？

- 个人
- 当地政府
- 用人单位
- 非营利组织

您平均每天工作多少小时？

- 8小时以上
- 8小时以下

正常情况下，一个月能您休息多少天？

- 8天及以上
- 5-7天
- 3-4天
- 1-2天
- 完全没有休息日

对于以后生活的打算（多选）

- 希望长期居住在城里
- 希望取得城市户口
- 赚够了钱就回老家
- 想尽快回老家
- 走一步看一步

请问您对你们本民族手工艺的发展前景如何？

- 前景好，有很大的发展空间
- 前景不好，没有什么发展空间
- 说不好

如果某项民间手工艺失传了，您会有什么感觉？

- 民间手工艺的失传是中华民族文化的一大损失，会十分遗憾
- 民间手工艺的失传是城市化发展、工业化大生产的必然，没有出乎意外
- 民间手工艺的失传对自身而言无关紧要，影响不大

如果有孩子，且他/她对民间手工艺感兴趣您会支持他将其作为自己的职业么？

- 会，民间手工艺前景好，有很大的发展空间
- 不会，民间手工艺前景不好，没有什么发展空间

请问您对民间手工艺进行创新的态度是

- 民间手工艺不应该创新，否则就失去了其传统的特色
- 民间手工艺应该进行创新，只有这样才能在时代发展中有生存的可能

无所谓

你有没有收到什么组织的帮助？

- 有
- 没有

如果有，请问是什么方面的帮助？（多选）

- 经济
- 手工艺
- 家庭
- 教育
- 其他

如果有，您对您收到的组织的帮助满意吗？

- 极不满意
- 不满意
- 满意
- 非常满意

您觉得在城市中发展的民间手工艺会遇到哪些困难？应如何解决？

请问您对推动民间手工艺发展有什么意见和建议？

我们的调查结束了，再次向您表示感谢！如果您对我们的调查有什么意见、建议和要求，欢迎写在下面。

Ethnic Minority Artisan Survey

Instructions:

- ① For every question please indicate your answer by drawing a circle or a tick mark, or fill in the _____ with the appropriate content.
- ② Unless there is special instruction, you should only choose one answer for every question. Questions requesting more than one answer will be marked after the title.
- ③ When Completing the questionnair, please read carefully and fill in the form as required. If you have any questions, please consult the surveyor.

Ethnicity: _____

Sex:

- Male
- Female

Your place of holdhold registration (hukou):

What is your age?

- Under 15 years old
- 15-20 years old
- 21-25 years old
- 26-30 years old
- 31-40 years old
- 41-50 years old
- 51-60 years old
- Over 60 years old

How long have you lived in this city?

- Under 1 year
- 1-2 years
- 3-5 years
- 5-8 years
- 8-10 years
- Over 10 years

What is your education level?

- Illiterate
- Elementary School
- Middle School
- High School
- Vocational School
- College

What is your ID?

- National Level Intangible Heritage Inheritor
- Provincial Level Intangible Heritage Inheritor
- State Level Intangible Heritage Inheritor
- Country Level Intangible Heritage Inheritor
- Average Artisan

What handicrafts do you make? (choose all applicable)

- Embroidery
- Batik
- Lusheng (a reed-pipe instrument)
- Brocade
- 100 birds clothing
- Ceramics
- Silverwork
- Handmade paper
- Liquor distillation
- Other

How many bread winners does your family have?

- 0
- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- Over 5

What are their main jobs?(choose all applicable)

- Farmwork at home
- Going out to find temporary jobs
- Embroidery
- Batik
- Making Lusheng reed-pipes
- Transportation
- Running a shop in the village
- Making clothing
- Running a batik workshop
- Other

How much income do you earn from your handicraft every month?

- under 500
- 500-1000
- 1000-1500
- 1500-2000
- 2000-2500
- 2500-3000
- over 3000

How much income does your family earn from farming or livestock in a year?

- under 5000
- 5000—8000
- 8000—10000
- 10000—15000
- 15000—20000
- 20000—30000
- over 3000

Other than farming and livestock, what sources of income does your family at home have? (choose all applicable)

- Leasing Land
- Leasing Home
- Land Subsidy
- Intangible Cultural Heritage Subsidy
- Other

What expenses does your family usually have? (choose all applicable)

- School Tuition for Children
- Daily living expenses
- Chemical Fertilizer, Pesticide
- Purchasing Livestock
- Purchasing Feed
- Rent
- Medical expenses
- Gifts
- Building a house
- Other

What do you think your handicrafts have brought you? (Choose all applicable)

- Honor
- Income
- Joy
- Social Status
- Respect
- Nothing
- Other

Has your handicraft brought any changes to your family?

- Yes
- No

If yes, what do you think the biggest change is?

- Now with income, my family's status is improving
- Now with income, my family's life has improved
- From time to time I have been able to participate in competitions, been able to see the world
- Other (if so, please write your response below)

Have your values changed at all since going out to find temporary work?

- Yes
- No

Do you think your ethnicity's handicrafts are experiencing an inheritance crisis?

- Yes
- No

How did you find your job? (choose all applicable)

- Through home or family connections
- Through the city labor market
- Recruited by employer
- Newspaper, advertisement, or television
- Through a local government organization
- From waiting in the streets
- Other

Have you ever participated in formal training?

- Have participated
- Have never participated

If you have participated, who paid the training fee?

- Individuals
- Local government
- Employer
- NGO

How long do you typically work every day?

- Under 8 Hours
- Over 8 Hours

Under normal circumstances, how many days of rest do you get in a month?

- More than 8 days
- 5-7 days
- 3-4 days
- 1-2 days
- No rest days

What plans do you have for later in life? (Choose all applicable)

- Hope to live in town for a long time
- Hope to earn city residence (hukou)
- Earn enough money to send remittances back home
- Want to return as soon as possible
- Take things one step at a time

How do you perceive the future development prospects of your ethnicity's handicrafts?

- Prospects are good, there is much room for development
- Prospects are poor, there is no room for development
- Hard to say

If your ethnicity's handicraft were to be lost, how would you feel?

- The extinction of folk handicrafts would be an enormous loss to Chinese culture, I would feel incredibly sorry
- The extinction of folk handicrafts is inevitable due to urbanization and the necessity of industrialized production, it would not be out of the blue
- The extinction of these handicrafts has no real relation to me, it would have little effect on me

If you have children, and he/she become interested in folk handicrafts, will you support them in their career?

- Yes, future prospects are good, there is much room for development
- No, future prospects are poor, there is no room for development

What is your attitude towards the innovation of ethnic handicrafts?

- Folk handicrafts should not be innovated, this would lead to them losing their special characteristics
- Folk handicrafts should be innovated, only then do they have the possibility to develop
- Indifferent

Have you received any help from any organizations?

- Yes
- No

If yes, in which of the following areas did you receive help? (choose all applicable)

- Economic
- Handicrafts
- Family
- Education
- Other

Are you satisfied with the help you have received from your organization?

- Not Satisfied
- Satisfied
- Very Satisfied

In the midst of urbanization, what sorts of difficulties do you think folk handicrafts are experiencing? How should these be solved?

What opinions and suggestions do you have regarding the promotion of folk handicraft development?

This survey has concluded, thank you again for your participation! If you have any comments or suggestions please write them below:

Appendix 5: Statistical Tables

Table 1: Perceptions of Handicraft Development in relation to Number of Years Artisans have Lived in Urban Areas

A χ^2 test of Independence was conducted between the variables *Handicraft Development* and *Years Lived in City* to test whether the proportions were different in each group. Cells show observed values over expected values. The test produced the following result:

How are the Future Development Prospects of your Ethnicity's Handicrafts?	Number of Years Lived in an Urban Area			
	Under 3 Years	3 - 5 Years	Over 5 Years	Total
Future Development prospects are good. There is much room for Development	6 12.2	14 12.8	13 7.9	33 33.0
Future Development Prospects Poor or Unclear	14 7.8	7 8.2	0 5.1	21 21.0
Total	20 20.0	21 21.0	13 13.0	54 54.0
$\chi^2 (2) = 16.691, p < .001; \Phi = .556, p < .001$				

In order to boost the expected cell frequencies, I grouped the *Years Lived in the City* variable into three categories: *Under three years*, *Three to five years*, and *Over five years*. All expected cell frequencies were greater than five. The results in the contingency table indicate that there is a statistically significant association between handicraft development and years lived in the city. $\chi^2(2) = 16.691, p < .001$. There is a strong association between the two variables, $\phi = .556, p < .001$. From this we are able to infer that The longer women artisans live in urban areas, the more likely they are to believe that future development prospects of their handicrafts to be good.

Table 2: Total Monthly Income Earned from Handicrafts in relation to Number of Years Lived in Urban Areas

A χ^2 test of Independence was conducted between the variables *Years Lived in Urban Area* and *Monthly Handicraft Income* to test whether the proportions were different in each group. Cells show observed values over expected values. The test produced the following result:

Total Monthly Income Earned from Handicrafts	Number of Years Lived in Urban Areas			
	Under 3 Years	3 - 5 Years	Over 5 Years	Total
Under 1000CNY	14 6.5	3 6.9	1 4.6	18 18.0
1000 - 2000CNY	5 7.6	13 8.0	3 5.3	21 21.0
Over 2000CNY	1 5.8	5 6.1	10 4.1	16 16.0
Total	20 20.0	21 21.0	14 14.0	55 55.0
$\chi^2(4) = 31.325, p < .001; \tau_b = .606, p < .001$				

In order to boost the expected cell frequencies, I grouped both Years Lived in Urban Area (under three years, three to five years, and over five years) and Monthly Handicraft Income (Under 1000CNY, 1000-2000CNY, and over 2000CNY). Two cells (21%) have expected frequencies less than five. However, this is less than the generally accepted 25% cut-off (George and Mallrey 2009;113). The results in the contingency table indicate that there is a statistically significant association between Years Lived in Urban Area and Monthly Handicraft income. $\chi^2(2) = 31.325, p < .001$. There is a strong, positive association between the two variables, $\tau_b = .606, p < .001$. From this we are able to infer that the longer women artisans live in urban areas, the higher the monthly income they receive from their handicraft tends to be.

Table 3: Education Level in relation to Number of Years Artisans Have Lived in Urban Areas

A χ^2 test of Independence was conducted between the variables *Education Level* and *Years Lived in Urban Areas* to test whether the proportions were different in each group. Cells show observed values over expected values. The test produced the following result:

Education Level	Number of Years Lived in Urban Areas			
	Under 3 Years	3 - 5 Years	Over 5 Years	Total
Illiterate	3 7.5	10 7.5	7 4.9	20 20.0
Formal Schooling	1 5.3	9 5.3	4 4.3	14 14.0
Vocational Schooling	16 7.2	1 7.2	2 4.7	19.0
Total	20 20.0	20 20.0	13 13.0	53 53.0
$\chi^2(4) = 28.315, p < .001; \phi = .731, p < .001$				

In order to boost the expected cell frequencies, I grouped the *Years Lived in the City* variable into three categories: *Under three years*, *Three to five years*, and *Over five years*. Education level was grouped into three categories: *Illiterate*, *Formal Schooling*, and *Vocational Schooling*. *Formal Schooling* included elementary, middle school, high school, and college. It is worth noting that the highest education level was predominantly vocational school.

Three cells have expected frequencies less than five and is therefore submitted with hesitancy. The results in the contingency table indicate that there is a statistically significant association between Levels of Education and Years Lived in Urban Area. $\chi^2(4) = 28.315, p < .001$. There is a moderate association between the two variables, $\phi = .731, p < .001$. From this we are able to infer that the more years the artisans lived in urban areas, the less educated they tended to be.

Table 4: Perceptions of Handicraft Development in relation to Level of Education

A χ^2 test of Independence was conducted between the variables *Handicraft Development* and *Level of Education* to test whether the proportions were different in each group. Here again, I used the grouped education variable. Cells show observed values over expected values. The test produced the following result:

Level of Education	How are the Future Development Prospects of your Ethnicity's Handicrafts?		
	Future Development Prospects are Good. There is much room for Development	Future Development Prospects are Poor or Unclear	Total
Illiterate	17 11.7	2 7.3	19 19.0
Formal Schooling	9 8.6	5 5.4	15 15.0
Vocational Training	6 11.7	13 7.3	19 19.0
Total	32 32.0	20 20.0	52 52.0
$\chi^2(2) = 13.514, p < .001$; Cramer's $V = .510, p < .001$			

In order to boost the expected cell frequencies, *Education Level* was grouped into three categories: *Illiterate*, *Formal Schooling*, and *Vocational Schooling*. Formal Schooling included elementary, middle school, high school, and college. All expected cell frequencies were greater than five.

Because the significance level is under .05 we are able to reject the null hypothesis and conclude that there is a dependent relationship between the type of schooling respondents received and whether or not they believe that future development prospects of their handicraft to be promising. $\chi^2(2) = 13.514, p < .001$. There is a strong association between the two variables, Cramer's $V = .510, p < .001$. From this we are able to infer that the higher the level of education the women artisans have, the more likely they are to believe the future development prospects of their handicraft to be poor.

Table 5: Perceptions of Ethnic Handicrafts' Inheritance Crisis in relation to Level of Education

A χ^2 test of Independence was conducted between the variables *Crisis Perception* and *Education Level* to test whether the proportions were different in each group. Cells show observed values over expected values. The test produced the following result:

Do you think that Ethnic Handicrafts are experiencing an Inheritance Crisis?	Education Level			
	Illiterate	Formal Schooling	Vocational Schooling	Total
Yes	11	13	17	41
	15.2	11.4	14.4	41.0
No	9	2	2	13
	4.8	3.6	4.6	13.0
Total	20	15	19	54
	20.0	15.0	19.0	54.0
$\chi^2 (2)=7.646, p<.022$; Cramer's $V=.376, p<.022$				

In order to boost the expected cell frequencies, Education Level was grouped into three categories: Illiterate, Formal Schooling, and Vocational Schooling. Formal Schooling included elementary, middle school, high school, and college. The results in the contingency table indicate that there is a statistically significant association between *Inheritance Crisis Perception* and *Level of Education*. $\chi^2(2) = 7.646, p<.022$. There is a strong association between the two variables, Cramer's $V=.376, p=.022$. From this we are able to infer that the higher the level of education the women artisans have, the more likely they are to believe the future development prospects of their handicraft to be poor. However, 50% of the cells have expected frequency count less than 5. Therefore, this is a hesitant analysis.

Table 6: Monthly Handicraft Income in relation to Level of Education

A χ^2 test of Independence was conducted between the variables *Education Level* and *Recoded Handicraft Income* to test whether the proportions were different in each group. Cells show observed values over expected values. The test produced the following result:

Level of Education	Monthly Handicraft Income			
	Under 1000CNY	1000 – 2000CNY	Over 2000CNY	Total
Illiterate	2 6.7	11 7.6	7 5.6	20 20.0
Formal Schooling	2 5.0	5 5.8	8 4.2	15 15.0
Vocational School	14 6.3	5 7.4	0 5.3	19 19.0
Total	18 18.0	21 21.0	15 15.0	54 54.0
$\chi^2(4) = 25.754, p < .001; \text{Cramer's } V = .488, p < .001$				

In order to boost the expected cell frequencies, I combined variables within *Education Level* and within *Monthly Handicraft Income*. The variable *Education Level* was grouped into three categories: *Illiterate*, *Formal Schooling*, and *Vocational Schooling*. *Formal Schooling* included elementary, middle school, high school, and college. While I grouped *Monthly Handicraft Income* into three variables: *Under 1000CNY*, *1000-2000CNY*, and *Over 2000CNY*. One cell has an expected frequency less than 5. However, this accounts for only 16% of the total cells, which is an acceptable level. The results in the contingency table indicate that there is a statistically significant association between *Levels of Education* and *Recoded Handicraft Income*. $\chi^2(4) = 25.754, p < .001; \Phi = .691; p < .001$. There is a strong association between the two variables, *Cramer's V* = .488; $p < .001$. From this we are able to infer that the higher education the artisans have, the greater their monthly Handicraft income tended to be. *

*The chart shows that between the variables of *Illiterate* and *Formal Schooling*, those with more education are more likely to earn a higher monthly salary. This trend is thrown off when the variable of *Vocational School* is brought into consideration. However, this can be explained since 17 of 19 respondents in the *Vocational School* variable are recent graduates of Forerunner College currently working at the Beijing Tangrenfang (the Beijing company partnered with Forerunner's Cultural Heritage Center). The vast majority of these 17 alumna are in the either in their first year or two of their internship with the company or in the first couple of years of their full employment there. Therefore, as young, new interns and employees at the same company it makes sense that so many fall into the lowest income bracket. However, were they to move back to Guizhou it is entirely possible and likely—based on the results of the Crosstabulation between *Illiterate*, *Formal Schooling*, and *Monthly Handicraft Income*—they would earn a higher income than they do presently.

Table 7: Receiving Joy as a benefit from their Handicraft in relation to whether or not they have Participated in Formal Training

A χ^2 test of Independence was conducted between the variables *Handicraft Benefit Joy* and *Formal Training* to test whether the proportions were different in each group. Cells show observed values over expected values. The test produced the following result:

Do you Receive joy as a Benefit of your Handicraft?	Have you Ever Participated in Training?		
	Have Participated in Training	Have Never Participated in Training	Total
Yes	28 23.7	12 16.3	40 40.0
No	4 8.3	10 5.7	14 14.0
Total	32 32.0	22 22.0	54 54.0
$\chi^2(1) = 7.372, p = .007$; Fisher's Exact Test $p = .011$; $\Phi = .369, p = .007$			

All expected cell frequencies were greater than five. Because this is a 2x2 contingency table, we are able to use the Fisher Exact Test which yielded a significance of .011. This shows that there is a significant relationship between the two variables of *Formal Training* and *Receiving Joy from their Handicrafts*. $\chi^2(1) = 7.372, p = .011$. There is a moderate association between the two variables, $\phi = .369, p = .007$. From this, we can infer that people who are artisans who participated in formal training are more likely to report receiving joy from making their handicrafts than those who have not participated.

Table 8: Receiving Honor as a Benefit from their Handicraft in relation to whether or not they have Participated in Formal Training

A χ^2 test of Independence was conducted between the variables *Formal Training* and *Handicraft Benefit Honor* to test whether the proportions were different in each group. Cells show observed values over expected values. The test produced the following result:

Do you Receive Honor as a Benefit of your Handicraft?	Have you Ever Participated in Training?		
	Have Participated in Training	Have Not Participated in Training	Total
Yes	14 8.9	1 6.1	15 15.0
No	18 23.1	21 15.9	39 39.0
Total	32 32.0	22 22.0	54 54.0
$\chi^2(1) = 9.988$; Fisher's Exact Test, $p = .002$; $\phi = .430$, $p = .002$.			

All expected cell frequencies were greater than five. Because this is a 2x2 contingency table, we are able to use the Fisher Exact Test which yielded a significance of .002. This shows that there is a significant relationship between the two variables of *Formal Training* and *Honor as a Handicraft Benefit*. $\chi^2(1) = 9.988$ $p = .002$. There is a moderate association between the two variables, $\phi = .430$, $p = .002$. There is a moderate association between the two variables, $\phi = .430$, $p = .002$. From this, we can infer that those who participated in training are more likely to report gaining a sense of honor from making their handicrafts than those who did not participate in training.

Table 9: Artisans' Perception of Handicraft Inheritance Crisis in relation to their Participation Status in Formal Training

A χ^2 test of Independence was conducted between the variables *Formal Training* and *Crisis Perception* to test whether the proportions were different in each group. Cells show observed values over expected values. The test produced the following result:

Do you think that Ethnic Handicrafts are experiencing an Inheritance Crisis?	Have you ever Participated in Formal Training?		
	Have Participated in Training	Have Not Participated in Training	Total
Yes	28 24.4	14 17.6	42 42.0
No	4 7.6	9 5.4	13 13.0
Total	32 32.0	23 23.0	55 55.0
$\chi^2(1) = 5.258$, Fisher's Exact Test $p = .028$; $\phi = .309$, $p = .022$			

All expected cell frequencies were greater than five. Because this is a 2x2 contingency table, we are able to use Fisher's Exact Test which yielded a significance of .028. This shows that there is a significant relationship between the two variables of *Formal Training* and *Crisis Perception*. $\chi^2(1) = 5.258$; Fisher's Exact Test $p = .028$ There is a moderate association between the two variables, $\phi = .409$, $p = .022$. There is a moderate association between the two variables, $\phi = .369$, $p = .007$. From this, we are able to infer that artisans who have participated in formal training are more likely to perceive an inheritance crisis than those who have never participated in training before.

Table 10: Artisans' Participation Status in Formal Training in relation to their Monthly Handicraft Income

A χ^2 test of Independence was conducted between the variables *Formal Training* and *Monthly Handicraft Income* to test whether the proportions were different in each group. Cells show observed values over expected values. I grouped income into two variables so that each would have expected count values greater than five in each cell and provide a clearer trend. The test produced the following result:

Have you Ever Participated in Formal Training?	Monthly Handicraft Income (CNY)		
	Under 2000CNY	Over 2000CNY	Total
Yes	17 22.7	15 9.3	32 32.0
No	22 16.3	1 6.7	23 23.0
Total	39	16	55
$\chi^2(1) = 11.732, p < .001; \phi = -.462, p < .001$			

All expected cell frequencies were greater than five. The results in the contingency table indicate that there is a statistically significant association between *Monthly Handicraft Income* and *Formal Handicraft Training*. $\chi^2(1) = 11.732, p < .001$. There is a strong association between the two variables, $\phi = -0.462, p < .001$. From this we are able to infer that artisans who have participated in training are more likely to earn over 2000 CNY per month than those who have never participated in formal training.

Table 11: Perceptions of Handicraft Development in relation to Total Monthly Income Earned from Handicrafts

A χ^2 test of Independence was conducted between the variables *Handicraft Development* and *Monthly Handicraft Income* to test whether the proportions were different in each group. Cells show observed values over expected values. The test produced the following result:

How are the Future Development Prospects of your Ethnicity's Handicrafts?	Monthly Handicraft Income (CNY)		
	Under 2000 CNY	Over 2000 CNY	Total
Future development prospects are good. There is much room for development	20 24.3	14 9.7	34 34.0
Future Development prospects poor or unclear	20 15.7	2 6.3	22 22.0
Total	40 40.0	16 16.0	56 56.0
$\chi^2(1) = 6.738, p < .009$; Fisher's Exact Test, $p < .009$; $\phi = -.347, p < .009$			

All expected cell frequencies were greater than five. Because this is a 2x2 contingency table, we are able to use the Fisher Exact Test which yielded a significance of .009. This shows that there is a significant relationship between the two variables of *Handicraft Development* and *Monthly Handicraft Income*. $\chi^2(1) = 6.738, p < .009$. There is a moderate association between the two variables, $\phi = -.347, p < .009$. From this we are able to infer that the more money artisans make from their handicrafts a month the more likely they are to perceive the future development prospects of handicrafts to be good.

Table 12: Perception of Ethnic Handicraft Inheritance Crisis in relation to Total Monthly Income Earned from Handicrafts

A χ^2 test of Independence was conducted between the variables *Perceived Crisis* and *Monthly Handicraft Income* to test whether the proportions were different in each group. Cells show observed values over expected values. The test produced the following result:

Do you think that Ethnic Handicrafts are experiencing an Inheritance Crisis?	Monthly Handicraft Income (CNY)		
	Under 2000CNY	Over 2000CNY	Total
Yes	28 30.9	16 13.1	44 44.0
No	12 9.1	1 3.9	13 13.0
Total	40 40.0	17 17.0	57 57.0

$\chi^2(1) = 3.941$. $p < .047$; Fishers Exact Test, $p < .044$; $\phi = -.263$, $p < .047$

One cell has an expected frequency less than 5. As this accounts for 25% of all cells (the generally accepted cut-off), this remains at an acceptable level. Because this is a 2x2 contingency table, we are able to use the Fisher Exact Test which yielded a significance of .044; This shows that there is a significant relationship between the two variables of *Perceived Crisis* and *Monthly Handicraft Income*, $\chi^2(1) = 3.941$, Fishers Exact Test, $p < .047$. There is a moderate association between the two variables, $\phi = -.263$, $p < .047$. From this, we are able to infer that the more money artisans make from their handicrafts a month, the less likely they are to believe that handicrafts are facing an inheritance crisis.

Table 13: Age of Artisans in relation to Total Monthly Income Earned from Handicrafts

A χ^2 test of Independence was conducted between the variables *Age Groups* and *Monthly Handicraft Income* to test whether the proportions were different in each group. Cells show observed values over expected values. The test produced the following result:

Age Groups	Monthly Handicraft Income			
	Under 1000CNY	1000 – 2000CNY	Over 2000CNY	Total
Under 20 Years Old	13 6.0	5 6.6	0 2.4	18 18.0
21 – 40 Years Old	6 7.3	9 8.1	7 6.6	22 22.0
Over 40 Years Old	0 5.7	7 6.3	10 5.1	17 17.0
Total	19 19.0	21 21.0	17 17.0	57 57.0
$\chi^2(4) = 24.854, p < .001; \text{ Tau-b} = .582, p < .001$				

One cell (11%) has an expected frequency less than 5. As this accounts for less than 25% of all cells (the generally accepted cut-off), this remains at an acceptable level. Because the significance level is under we are able to reject the null hypothesis and conclude that there is a dependent relationship between *Age Groups* and *Monthly Handicraft Income*, $X^2(4) = 24.854$, $p < .001$. There is a strong association between the two variables, $\text{ Tau-b} = .582$, $p < .001$. From this we are able to infer that the older these artisans are, the higher their monthly handicraft income is likely to be.

Table 14: Age of Artisans in relation to their Education Level

A χ^2 test of Independence was conducted between the variables *Age* and *Education Level* to test whether the proportions were different in each group. Cells show observed values over expected values. The test produced the following result:

Age Groups	Education Level			
	Illiterate	Formal Schooling	Vocational Schooling	Total
Under 20 Years Old	0 6.7	1 5.0	17 6.3	18 18.0
21 – 40 Years Old	9 7.4	9 5.6	2 7.0	20 20.0
Over 40 Years Old	11 5.9	5 4.4	0 5.6	16 16.0
Total	20 20.0	15 15.0	19 19.0	54 54.0
$\chi^2(4) = 43.959, p < .001; \text{Cramer's } V .638, p < .001$				

In order to boost the expected cell frequencies, both *Education Level* and *Age* were grouped into three categories: *Illiterate*, *Formal Schooling*, and *Vocational Schooling*. Formal Schooling included elementary, middle school, high school, and college. *Age* was grouped into Under 20 years old, 21-40yo, and Over 40 years old. One cell (11%) has an expected frequency less than 5. As this accounts for less than 25% of all cells (the generally accepted cut-off), this remains at an acceptable level.

Because the significance level is under .05 we are able to reject the null hypothesis and conclude that there is a significant relationship between *Age* and *Level of Education*, $\chi^2(4) = 43.959, p < .001$. There is a strong association between the two variables, Cramer's $V .638, p < .001$. From this we are able to infer that the higher the artisans' age, the less educated they are likely to be.

Table 15: Perceptions of Ethnic Handicrafts' Inheritance Crisis in relation to Handicraft Innovation Preference

A χ^2 test of Independence was conducted between the variables *Crisis Perception* and *Handicraft innovation* to test whether the proportions were different in each group. Cells show observed values over expected values. The test produced the following result:

Are Ethnic Handicrafts Experiencing an Inheritance Crisis?	Should Ethnic Handicrafts be Innovated?		
	Handicrafts should NOT be Innovated. This would Lead to them Losing their Special Characteristics	Handicrafts should be Innovated. Only then do they have the Possibility to Develop	Total
Yes	13 15.9	28 25.1	41 41.0
No	8 5.1	5 7.9	13 13.0
Total	21 21.0	33 33.0	54 54.0
$\chi^2 = 3.696, p < .055$; Fisher's Exact Test; $p < .056$; $\Phi = -.262, p < .055$			

All expected cell frequencies were greater than five. Because this is a 2x2 contingency table, we are able to use the Fisher Exact Test which yielded a significance of .056. The level of significance does not fall below the traditional cut off of $p < .05$. Therefore, it is with some hesitancy that I submit this result, $\chi^2 = 3.696$, Fisher's Exact Test; $p < .056$. The level of significance differs on by a very small margin. This indicates that the chance that this result was produced by accident is 5.6% instead of 5%. Additionally, there is a weak association between the two variables, $\Phi = -.262, p < .055$. As the significance level of the Phi effect size also exceeds $p < .05$, this too is submitted with some hesitancy. In case of significance, we are able infer that Artisans who believe that their handicraft is experiencing an inheritance crisis are more likely to think that folk handicrafts should be innovated than those who do not perceive an inheritance crisis. This trend corresponds to my expectations and makes sense with the other results.