Embroidery, Gender and Self-representation of the Miao Women in the Southeast of Guizhou

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Abstract:

The Miao embroidery, as a vital cultural symbol of the Miao ethnic minority, tightly related with the Miao women. This paper explores how the Miao women represent their gender, emotion and ethnic group through the Miao embroidery. It reveals that in traditional society how the Miao women utilize the embroidery to construct the social gender and to express emotion. It further expresses that when government authority involves into the illustration of embroidery, how the Miao women react to the impact of state power, especially their method of neo-self-representation through the Miao embroidery.

Key Words: Miao embroidery, Self-representation, Gender

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1. INTRODUCTION

The Miao ethnic minority of Guizhou comprises more than one hundred branches. Historically, the embroidered costume was a vivid method to distinguish different branches, and from which the appellations such as "Red Miao", "Multicolor Miao", and “Multi-Color Miao” were extended.¹ Although this cursory method of classification is questioned by Miao study currently, it is still acknowledged that the Miao embroidery is a vital cultural symbol of the Miao ethnic minority.

However, the Miao embroidery is not only a historic and static cultural symbol, but also a form of representation. As Xinjian Xu pointed out, "the traditional forms of representation, such as novel, poetry, essay and drama which are confirmed by literature theory, are not enough to cope with the applications of human's representation. Even though the concept of literariness is extending both in connotation and extension, it is still not capable to response to current issues of representation. Facing to these strong challenges, our disciplines, ideas and tools for analysis should be updated correspondingly."² From this perspective, besides the oral and literary ways, ceremony, song, architecture and costume likewise possess the function of expressing and inheriting ethnic culture.

Moreover, in most branches of the Miao ethnic minority, embroidery is a skill which nearly every woman should master. Thus for the Miao women, the needle is like their pen and the thread is like their ink. They are not only proficient in embroidering, but also spontaneously utilize the embroidery as an effective way to represent themselves.

2. INTERLACED RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE MIAO WOMEN AND THE MIAO EMBROIDERY

2.1 Study of the Miao Embroidery

The Miao embroidery, as a tangible material culture of Miao minority in the southeast of Guizhou Province, P. R. China, was diversely illustrated by prior researchers who primarily concentrated on three dimensions. First, the artistic features of the Miao embroidery drew a lot of attention. Gina Corrigan deemed that Miao's elaborate embroidery is not only their most important possession, but also a major visual art form living in their culture.³ And Shizhong Wu completely interpreted the color, pattern and design of the Miao embroidery on the Miao costumes.⁴ For the second dimension, the cultural connotations of the Miao embroidery were

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¹ This method of category is often seen in ancient books of Guizhou in Qing Dynasty, wherein the most representative ones are the 84 image-texts of Huang Qing Zhi Gong Tu in Qianlong Year that depicted the "costume, hat, body and appearance" of the "Ethnic Miao".


largely studied from archeology perspective. Zhengwen Yang pointed out that in Miao societies, written language is rarely found, and therefore the Miao embroidery serves as a complement of oral tradition to provide tangible evidence of the group's beliefs and history.\(^5\) Xiangyang Zeng considered that the butterfly pattern which is widely found on the Miao embroidery expresses admiration to "butterfly mother"-- the ancestor of Miao.\(^6\) Those studies of the third dimension pointed to the handcraft perspective to discuss the skills and techniques of the embroidery. Tomoko Torimaru depicted 23 types of embroidery skill, including the most exquisite skill-- Split Line Stitch. \(^7\)

One common feature of these studies is that nearly all of them considered the Miao embroidery as a historic, static and closed system, whereas these modern, dynamic and open characteristics in the Miao embroidery were often neglected. Furthermore, the interlaced relationship between the Miao embroidery and the Miao Women was underestimated or even ignored.

### 2.2 Study of the Miao Women

There were abundant studies on the Miao women in southeast Guizhou, which might be classified into two tendencies in general. One, entitled as “internality”, tended to observe the Miao women's daily life inside their ethnic group. Xiao Zhang described marriage, kinship, economy, and heritage of the Miao women, which provided a female culture specimen with distinct regional characteristic.\(^8\) Meiling Jian discussed the contents of cross-cousin marriage and companion-based emotion in Miao society. She mainly elaborated these contents through the female perspective, and presented the inner tension of the Miao women when they confront conflict between the individual value and the common value of the social group. \(^9\) The other one tendency, entitled as “externality”, noted the impact from external world to the Miao Women. Louisa Schein, in her book *Minority Rules*, investigated the construction of ethnicity, social gender and modernist discourse in a cultural and politic context of the complex multinational country, China, and indicated that Miao women, influenced by the "Internal Orientalism", become the spokesman of the Miao culture.\(^10\)

Through different approaches, these studies commonly prompted the Miao women to "make a voice by themselves". In other words, the process and change of self-representation were key points regarding to the research of Miao women.


2.3 New Perspective: Combining the Miao Women and the Miao Embroidery as a Entirety

After reviewing the literatures in relevant areas, it is suggested not separating the Miao embroidery from its maker and user—the Miao women, since currently the Miao embroidery is still a vivid skill living in the Miao society. Further, by means of the Miao embroidery which closely relates to daily life, a variety of female Miao individuals express their thoughts about matter-and-spirit, and self-and-others.

Thus, from the tight relationship between the Miao women and the Miao embroidery, this paper intends to emphasize the principal position of the Miao women, and to explore how they practice self-representation through embroidery under different circumstances. This issue will be illustrated from two main aspects: 1: to explain the relationship between the Miao women and the Miao embroidery in traditional society; 2. to discuss when the Miao embroidery and Miao women react to the impact of state power, how Miao women use the embroidery to make their voice.

3. TRADITIONAL SELF-REPRESENTATION: HOW THE MIAO WOMEN WRITING INDIVIDUALS AND ETHNIC GROUP THROUGH THE MIAO EMBROIDERY

3.1 Mark of Affiliation

After centuries of immigration, today the Miao ethnic minority are primary scattered in Guizhou Province with nearly half of their population. According to the data from the 5th National Census of China conducted by China government in 2000, there are 4.3 million Miao people living in Guizhou Province. As one of the most undeveloped province in China, Guizhou is famous for the mountainous geological feature of the Karst Landform, which brings natural obstacle for communication and transportation from ancient era till today. Under such geological and historical factors, the Miao ethnic minority are divided into more than 100 subgroups with unique cultural features for each subgroup as described above. Among these features, the embroidery thus serves as a living ethnic mark of each subgroup. Through making the embroidery, the self-identity of Miao women in ethnic community could be enhanced. Furthermore, "Miao women depict images by the charming standard of psychological vision, and therefore not confined by the objective images of things in the real world."11 Since costume with embroidery is a conspicuous mark of one's affiliation, Miao women, as the creator of Miao embroidery, actually unconsciously play a vital role of represent the ethnic mark of their subgroup through their psychological vision. A typical case to illustrate the Miao women's self-representation of ethnic subgroup mark through Miao embroidery may be the dragon, an imaginary animal widely existing in the culture of ancient Asia. Miao women living Bala River basin tend to have their imagination of dragons in embroidery with predominantly green

color, leaf-like or stalk-like bodies. These dragons are usually hornless and footless but have crests on their hands, while the dragons under the hands of Miao women in Shidong town are preferred to be red or blue color, having scale-like body, plus horns, feet and exaggerated ears. By presenting the different images such like dragons in the embroidery, the Miao women living in neighboring areas establish the ethnic mark of their own subgroups respectively and could identify one's affiliation accurately. By means of creating the mark of ethnic subgroup, the Miao women in Guizhou also derive a relatively initiative status in the community.

3.2 Representation of Social Gender

"Through assignment of roles and evaluation of worthiness, girls and boys acquire their gender identities. They learn skills and attitudes that render them functioning members of their community. Females and males are born, but women and men are products of enculturation." Undoubtedly, embroidery is the most effective way to construct gender role in the Miao society. In the Miao ethnic group, embroidery is a skill which nearly every woman should master. Thus for the Miao women, the needle is like their pen and the thread is like their ink. When the Miao girls are four or five years old, they begin to learn embroidering. The girls are taught the standards and behavioral norms of being a good woman. The embroidery skill plays as a vital standard of a good woman in the Miao society thereof. As Anthony Giddens said, "Another route to take in understanding the origins of gender differences is the study of gender socialization, the learning of gender roles with the help of social agencies such as the family and the media. Such approach makes a distinction between biological sex and social gender… Gender differences are not biologically determined, they are culturally produced." When Miao girls grow to the age of marriage, their embroidery skill become basis of mate selection. Girls who wear highly colorful and intricate costumes in Zimei Festival are more popular and easily attract the attention of Miao young man. "They are guided in this process by positive and negative sanctions, socially applied forces which reward or restrain behavior." Girls who wear exquisite embroidered dresses could receive more praise from man (positive sanctions). While those wearing common and crude dresses tend to be neglected by man (negative sanctions). More importantly, the Miao women faithfully learn and obey the expected sex roles imposed by society. They energetically improve their embroidery skill. Meanwhile, they transfer the idea by generations that the mastery of embroidery skill is tightly integrated with femininity. They earnestly practice the gender role of "Miao women" through embroidery.

3.3 The Integration of Embroidery and Costume in Miao Language

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12 Ibid., pp. 17-44.
15 Ibid.
Linguistic symbol conveys significant cultural information among the diverse semiotic systems. A feminist scholar realized that the word "man" represents human in English and such linguistic usage results in subordinate status of women. "One of the most frequently debated examples of linguistic favoritism toward males is the use of so-called *generic he* and *man* to refer to people without regard to gender .... Continual repetition of English words and expressions, both as speakers and hearers, reinforces cultural evaluations that enhance males' status and disvalue females. These judgments do not originate in the language but arise linguistically to express, supplement, and justify entrenched cultural constructs."  

In Miao society, the words about embroidery and costume are integrated into and commonly used in Miao language. Meanwhile the Miao language powerfully models the social gender intension and extension of the Miao women.

Among the different branches of the Miao ethnic minority, there are a rich set of Miao words describing embroidery and costume. For example, in Wubao village which is famous as "the first village of red embroidery", the costumes is divided into summer clothes, winter clothes, slack suit and formal dress, and each portion for each kind of clothes is named by a specialized word. In Pianzhai Village, there are 120 colors of silk threads used for embroidery, and each specialized color also corresponds to a Miao word. As these words tightly relate to social duty of Miao women, when these words are repeated by Miao women, the gender difference and gender identity between man and women are also repeated and emphasized. As Mary Talbot pointed out, "one view of the relationship between language and gender - which might be called the 'weak' one - is that language simply reflects society, so that social divisions on gender grounds are reflected in patterns of language use.... So the two extremes are language-as-mirror and language-as-reproductive." Taking in this sense, not only embroidery and costume themselves, but also the words in Miao language represented by the Miao women, jointly participate in the construction of gender division in Miao society. The boundary of gender is defined clearly through these words, and the gender identity of the Miao Women is constructed within the practice.

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16 Nancy, Bonvillian., pp. 269-272.
17 Red embroidery is a kind of Miao embroidery which is common in Jianhe County. The name is derived from the main color of threads, usually red and brown, using in the embroidery.
3.4 Expression Emotion of Individual and Ethnic Group

The Miao embroidery is deemed as a vital and mysterious cultural feature of the ethnic Miao minority due to its unique emblazonry and pattern. A mass of writings have illustrated the evolution of history, belief, and culture of the ethnic Miao minority through Miao embroidery. However, for the Miao women who practice embroidery in their daily life, the significance of embroidery is to express ethnic emotion and individual emotion.

Wherein, the ethnic emotion is presented by precisely duplicating and thoroughly inheriting the traditional embroidery patterns, even though most of the Miao women don't understand the accurate cultural meaning of the patterns they embroider. They do this because of their strong respect and admiration to the traditional ethnic culture of Miao. For the aspect of individual emotion, it is mainly presented within the interpersonal communication of the Miao women in their different life stages. For example, most Miao girls make Hebao\(^{19}\) by themselves as a gift to their lover. When they are pregnant, they spend a lot of time in sewing Beisha\(^{20}\) for their baby. In the second half of their life, they are willing to undertake laborious embroidering work, including making wedding gown for their daughters, formal dress for the daughters and daughters-in-law, and even children's dress for the granddaughters. They use embroidery in a subtle way to express their emotion, to maintain and to develop the affection between family members, especially female members.

3.5 Construction of Kinship

Most branches of the Miao ethnic minority in southeast of Guizhou Province are under an institutions of patrilocal residence and patronymic name. Moreover, the public power and domestic power are usually controlled by male. All of these institutional elements jointly compose the dominant patrilineal descent in the Miao society, especially the marriage institution of patrilocal residence. Under this marriage institution, the women need to immigrate into an alien environment after their marriage, which consolidates the gender

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\(^{19}\) Hebao is a kind of purse with embroidery on it. It is usually a love token that Miao girls give to Miao boy.

\(^{20}\) Beishan is a kind of swaddling clothes with embroidery on it. The Miao women in Guizhou use it to carry infant.
structure of male-host and female-guest. It is acknowledged in feminist anthropology that kinship is not only bonded by consanguinity, marriage and bilateral descent, but also influenced by political, economical and ideological elements. Analogous phenomena may be seen in many feminist ethnography studies. For example, Karin Willemse in her study on Sudan women, argued that for women, the concept of family and kinship should further comprise those who have the same religious belief as them and who they trust in.21

In other words, kinship is not simply corresponding to consanguinity and marriage, but is a result of human cultural construction. The subordinate status of the Miao women after marriage forces them to deliberately broaden their living space by means of establishing and consolidating relationships with other women. Under such circumstance, the intercommunication about embroidery skill among the Miao women and the reciprocity of embroidery items serve as a flexible and sentimental way to construct and consolidate social support networks. Such social support networks are on the basis of non-consanguinity and non-affinity, and thereby help to reconstruct the kinship of Miao society.

4. CONTEMPORARY RE-REPRESENTATION: HOW THE MIAO WOMEN RESPONSE TO THE STATE POWER AND RECONSTRUCT THEMSELVES BY MIAO EMBROIDERY

4.1 Background: How the China Government represents Miao people and the Government Itself

The second dimension of this article will explore how the state power influences the Miao embroidery, the Miao women and their relationship. As a multinational state, China always considers the construction of national unity and the cultural pluralism with high priority. Under the background, Miao women and Miao embroidery also participate into the process of the construction.

4.1.1 The Other-Representation of Miao Ethnic Traits

A nation's ethnic traits are closely related to the construction of its unity, while the construction of ethnic traits is also tightly connected with ethnic culture and history. For an instance, Rong Jiang viewed "wolf" as a key trait of nomad. The term "wolf" corresponds to aggressive and staunch trait, whereas the traits of agricultural nations are usually gentle and cooperative. From the perspective of social gender study, these two opposite types of traits are similar to masculinity and femininity. According to Bob Cornell, the masculinity always relates to these elements that are ambitious, brave, possessive, bellicose, and competitive. While the femininity is tend to present totally contrary characters that are smooth, gentle, shy and cowardly. The ethnic presentation system held by China government is trying to construct distinct femininity on the Miao ethnic traits. And such construction greatly depends on the Miao embroidery.

At first, the Miao embroidery corresponds to a strong "femininity" for its smooth, beautiful and elaborate art form, and is against to the rough and vigorous masculinity. Secondarily, in the traditional value system of China, the Confucianism requires that the women should follow the "Three Obediences" and the "Four Virtues" to keep tame. The embroidery is a type of "Fu Gong", a component of "Four Virtues". Therefore, for most of government conducted narratives regarding to the image of the Miao ethnic minority, especially the image of the Miao women and Miao embroidery. Through the embroidery that is women specialized, this practice may strengthen the tame traits of the traditional Miao women, and enhance the weight of the traits in the Miao ethnic traits.

4.1.2 Contemporary State Representation

Under the global background, on one hand, an influence of globalization is accelerating cultural homogenization. As a result, for the purpose of protecting cultural diversity, the "Cultural Consciousness" proposed by Xiaotong Fei is adopted by Chinese government as a guideline of the national cultural policy. On the other hand, as China's hard power got a huge progress during recent years, the promotion of soft power becomes a new target of the China government. The minority cultures, considered as an element of "cultural industry", are naturally integrated into the territory of soft power of China. Under the cultivation of China government, the Miao embroidery moves towards the production line of cultural industry from interior of Miao community and enters into the modern market economy.

Actually, the interlaced relationship between the diversity of original culture and cultural industry is just a method for China contributing "modernity". From the viewpoint of British sociologist Antony Giddens, modernity is an abbreviation of modern society or industry civilization: "modernity means social life or organization mode, which emerged in Europe in 17th century, and influenced the world to varying degrees." In this sense, the modernity equals to "industrial world" and "capitalism", comprising the competitive commodity market and the commodity production system during the commercialization process of labor force. It is a type of architecture of world view, economy system and political system. The Chinese scholar Hui Wang also pointed out that "the capitalistic globalization has been a most important international phenomenon in the contemporary world. The socialistic reform of China brought China's economy and cultural production into the global market." Accordingly, the space dimension of China modernity consists of three elements that are national culture, globalization and the neo-liberalism of market economy.

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22 Cultural Consciousness means people who living in a certain cultural and historical circles have known one's limitations on its culture, and the development history and the future full understanding. In other words, it is the cultural self-awareness, introspection, and self creation. Xiaotong, Fei. 1997, Discussion on Culture and Cultural Consciousness, Beijing: Qunyan Press.
For above reasons, after the Miao embroidery entered into the global market system, it is worth to explore the Miao women who were living closed and who is exposing in the worldwide economic and cultural stage, to research how they interpret such change.

4.2 The multi-dimension re-representation by the Miao women

After presenting the interlaced status between traditional power and state power, and discussing the change on Miao embroidery, this article will focus back to principal part, the Miao women, to explain how they cope with this change through embroidery and costume. Henrietta Moore once said, "It is important not only to present women as oppressed and discriminated against, but also to analyze their perceptions of and responses to the state."

One point that this article intends to emphasis is that the Miao women largely applies the Miao embroidery to reflect their intension.

4.2.1 "Change Costume" and the Option of Identity

During the fieldwork investigation, I found that even in major traditional festival and ceremony, the Miao men usually wear so called "Guest Dress" brought from market. On the contrary, the Miao women in the same occasion wear manually embroidered Miao "formal dress". Based on her investigation on the Miao community in Xijian, Louisa Schein proposed that the Miao community in Xijiang has established a hierarchical culture system. The Miao men take part in making up "their" women to be a feature of their minority. The Miao men even play a role of culture broker, providing the ethnic culture presented from their women as a kind of product to outsider. According to Parker's "host/guest" description theory, the Miao men in fact treat their ethnic group with a guest perspective, and leave the Miao women to hold a host identity in ethnic cultural identity. Thus the unbalance situation between the traditional male and female costume implies the guest identity of the Miao men and the host identity of the Miao women.

However, who control the options of the Miao women's identity? How well the Miao women exert their initiative? What is the reason of choosing or not choosing? All these issues are key portions of the self-re-representation of Miao women. I believe that although the Miao women are apparently passive, they do have a subtle ability and requirement for identity change. For example, in Pianzhai village, Shidong town, Taijiang country, when the Zimei Festival is coming, a large amount of tourists arrive. The Miao women with formal dress show together in the day. Through this option, they positively react to the strategy that is to attract tourists by "minority female style" to develop tourist industry. After the sun sets, as the tourists leave, the young Miao ladies dress up fashion costume to chat and to play with these Han dressed Miao men. The balance of costume implies Miao women's understanding of gender equality. Similarly, when the Miao women work outside, they seldom wear their ethnic traditional costume, even though they may embroider costume of their own branch during leisure time.

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the context of industry, they realize that their identity should be factory girls who work in product line skillfully, rather than a "minority girl" to satisfy the hunting of cultural novelty.

4.2.2 Moving from "private territory" toward "public territory"

As per traditional feminist anthropology theory, the social space of male locates at public territory, whereas the social space of female is restricted to private territory, that is, family. Since the state power pays attention to and utilizes the Miao embroidery, the Miao women catch the chance to break the fixed gender division mode of labor by means of their embroidery skill to move from family toward outside world. A typical case is these women who are entitled with "Intangible Cultural Heritage Successors" of different style of Miao embroidery such as broken thread embroidery and tin embroidery. These women could neither understand the concept of "Intangible Cultural Heritage" nor the duty of "Technique Successors". However, they actively cooperate with local government to exhibit the ethnic culture to outside world, and faithfully take the responsibility of narrator. It is primarily because that this new identity that the government grants to them creates a possibility to break through the old social space.

For the aspect of the spatiality of public space, when these women are asked about the largest change after they are entitled as "successor", most of answers are that it brings chances to visit outside world. Practically, they seek to obtain more chances to "visit outside world" by cooperating with local government. For the aspect of sociality of public space, they are also absorbed by state power and local politics. Some become the first native female member of CCP (China Communist Party) at local area, or the women's director of their village. By their political identity, they could derive more individual power and rights. Correspondingly, after the switch from interior to exterior, their gender roles are therewith changed. The Miao women actively response to the relevant practice of state power for their embroidery technique, because this body technique is a powerful tool to extend their social gender space at their living circumstances.

4.2.3 The Change on Social Division of Labor under Market Economy Context

Currently, the Miao ethnic minority is still labeled as "primitive" and "underdeveloped" by mainstream society. However, driven by the power of market economy, even most branches located at remote mountainous regions have been connected to the modern social system. "Through division of labor and international trade in daily life, the connection between local region and the world has been involved in an evolution". At Miao minority area, two new trends of division of labor, that are change of gender division of labor, and division of labor among embroidered women, are emerged. According to Maxism economy theory, most of feminists insist that the inequality of economic status leads to the inequality of gender. Suggested by the theory, the inequality of gender in Miao community today should be aggravated, because the women undertake housework with a heavy workload level similar to men only in private territory, and in the age of market economy, the labor seems to be significant only when it bring money. Nevertheless, when the embroidery enters into outside market, the embroidery slices and costumes which were original for personal use are turned to commodity. The economic value of embroidery even exceeds these man-produced commodities.

Under such premise, many Miao women skilled in embroidering join into a family business model of "accept outside order-finish the order at home-obtain profits". Meanwhile, the heavy agricultural work and even some house work that were originally undertook by these women are assigned to the men member in their family, so that the old gender division mode of labor is replaced by a new mode under the circumstance of market economy. Moreover, division of labor inside the female community is emerged. In the traditional Shidong Miao community, the embroidery portions on costume, comprising the plane embroidery at wristband, the embossed embroidery at neckband, the split-thread embroidery at shoulder part, and the weaving embroidery at lappet for which different embroidering skills are applied, were all independently finished by an individual or with the help from experienced mother. While during recent years, since the Shidong government strengthens the propaganda of embroidery, and also since the number of tourists rapidly increases, the demand of handmade embroidery exceeds supply. The Miao women at most villages in Shidong, e.g. Pianzhai Village, Tanglong Village, Fangzhai village, and etc, seek to develop an adaptive solution for such change. Thus the production mode of modern industry is introduced in to reach a maximum productivity of embroidery. The Miao

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women in above villages spontaneously organize groups to found internal production line of embroidery. In this group, each member is assigned to finish an embroidery portion that she is most skilled at in a costume. The leader who is generally the most skillful member in the group is further responsible for mentoring other members and using her reputation and influence to get orders. As a result, the new production mode may save one fifth time cost of tailoring. In traditional society, the Miao women in Shidong are connected with each other for highly analogous embroidery mode among individuals and the lack of the division of work. However, contemporarily these connections more likely establish on the teamwork and cooperation based on the requirement of the division of work. In other words, the connections today among the Miao women are including both traditional, emotional and matrilineal connections, and modern and rational connections.

4.2.4 Variable Ethnic Identity

As described above, through embroidery, the Miao women achieve the transition of individual's role. They have successfully transformed their dominant identity, and broken through the old public space, and changed the division of labor. They even seek to empower themselves and to reconstruct social gender. During this process, the ethnic identity of the Miao women is variable. From one aspect, this ethnic identity is emotional and inherited. Although the Miao women substantially abandon their traditional costume in daily life, embroidering costume with their hand is still an important element of their life. The exhibition with formal dress at ceremony embodies both the collective conventionality and their confidence of the ethnic identity. While for another, under the influence of state power, when the Miao women realize that the embroidery could help them to improve material life, to reconstruct the gender division of labor, and even to promote their social status, their firmness and enthusiasm to tradition, and their practice of ethnic identity are actually driven by political and economic interests.

5. CONCLUSION

Taking an example of the Miao minority in the southeast of Guizhou province, P. R. China, the Miao women are neither passive victims of paternity or manus, nor inactive recipients of the China ethnic political behavior. Through the embroidery - a "female technique", they become active participants of Miao ethnic culture and social order, and continuously reconstruct their role of social gender during the process of modernization and globalization. They are the intrinsic tension between self- and other-representation. Ultimately, this article intends to depict a clear ethnographic picture of the Miao women through their embroidery, and to provide a reference of the living status of ethnic minority women in China society.

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