DRESS, BODY, CULTURE

Re-Orienting Fashion

The Globalization of Asian Dress

Edited by

Sandra Niessen, Ann Marie Leshkowich and Carla Jones

Oxford • New York

First published in 2003 by
Berg
Editorial offices:
1st Floor, Angel Court, 81 St Clements Street, Oxford, OX4 1AW, UK
838 Broadway, Third Floor, New York, NY 10003-4812, USA

Berg is an imprint of Oxford International Publishers Ltd.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Re-orienting fashion : the globalization of Asian dress / edited by
Sandra Niessen, Ann Marie Leshkowich, and Carla Jones.
p. cm. -- (Dress, body, culture, ISSN 1360-466X)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 1-85973-534-7
1. Costume--Asia. 2. Fashion--Asia. 3. Clothing and
dress--Cross-cultural studies. I. Niessen, S. A. II. Leshkowich, Ann
Marie. III. Jones, Carla. IV. Series.

GT1370.R4 2003
391'.0095--dc21

2002155875

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

ISBN 1 85973 534 7 (Cloth)
1 85973 539 8 (Paper)

Typeset by JS Typesetting Ltd, Wellingborough, Northants.
Printed in the United Kingdom by Biddles Ltd, Guildford and King's Lynn.

Introduction: The Globalization of Asian Dress: Re-Orienting Fashion or Re-Orientalizing Asia?

Carla Jones and Ann Marie Leshkowich[1]

Fashion icon Princess Diana wears a *salwaar-kameez*, or Punjabi suit, as flashing cameras record her latest fashion statement. A *New York Times* fashion spread heralds the arrival of "Indo-chic," a haute couture interpretation of Vietnamese peasant and elite clothing. A savvy entrepreneur in Jakarta commissions rural Batak weavers to make items that will be marketed as "ethnic chic" in high-end boutiques in Indonesia and abroad.

Meanwhile, an Indonesian professional woman wonders whether her custom-made power suit will make the right impression at an interview. A Hong Kong designer wants to experiment with traditional styles, but worries, quite rightly, that the international fashion press will dismiss him as merely a Chinese designer. Korean feminists don *hanbok* in an impromptu fashion show for their colleagues at an international women's conference. And Vietnamese state propaganda posters include colorfully dressed ethnic minority women as signs of the modern nation's diversity and liberal acceptance of different traditions.

During the 1990s, Asian fashion became a noticeable global trend, changing the way that people inside and outside Asia think about and practice dress.[2] Taken from the chapters in this volume, the vignettes above capture three phenomena that together constitute the globalization of Asian dress. First and most visibly, fashion elites and celebrities on the global stage embraced particular elements of Asian style for the world to see. Although present throughout the 1990s, the passion for so-called Asian chic occurred in waves. An initial peak in 1992/93 coincided with the release of high-grossing Asian or Asian-themed films, such as *M. Butterfly*, *Indochine*, *Heaven and Earth*, and *The Wedding*

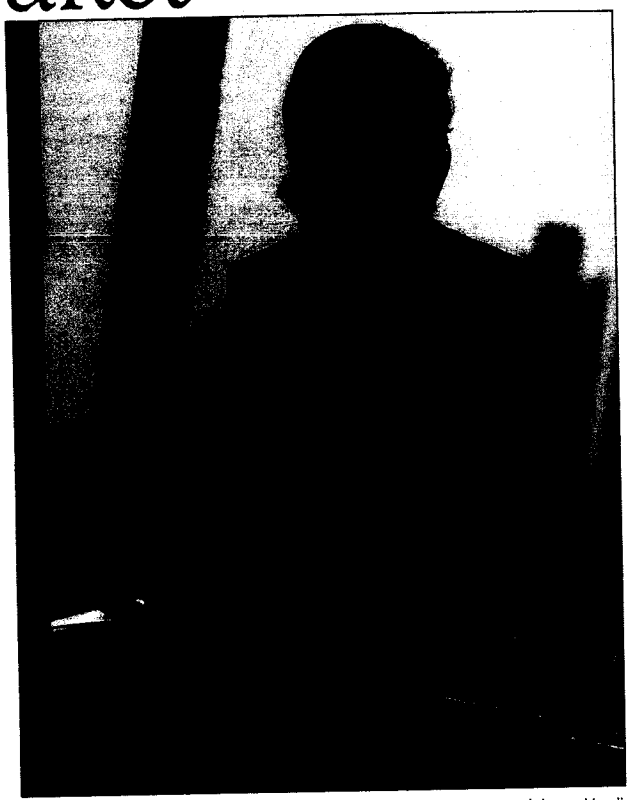
Banquet. Janet Jackson and Madonna produced music videos inspired by Asian images, a Chinese nightclub for the former, and what director Mark Romanek described as a "Zenned-out minimalism" for the latter (Corliss 1993: 69). A second peak occurred in 1997/98, a period in which David Tang held a splashy opening for his Shanghai Tang boutique on New York's Madison Avenue, *Memoirs of a Geisha* topped best-seller lists, and the Dalai Lama became a celebrated pop-culture figure heralded at star-studded benefit concerts to Free Tibet. Throughout the decade, stylistic inspirations and cultural practices from Asia were so prevalent that they had become mainstream, even as they retained an exotic flair. As one American fashion columnist describes the trend, "Now everybody and his mom are 'into' acupuncture, organic vegetables and yoga. Meanwhile . . . sarong skirts and kimono jackets have become part of the working vocabulary of American fashion designers. The Tweeds catalog touts 'the pristine appeal of yoga pants' and Eddie Bauer calls attention to 'the unique mandarin collar' on a white cotton shirt" (McLaughlin 1998).

Second, while North Americans and Europeans explored the exotic yet familiar allure of mandarin collars, Asian men and women confronted the mundane, but increasingly complicated, dilemma of what clothes to make, sell, buy, and wear. As Asian economies flourished, then crashed and began to recover, Asians of different classes, ethnicities, and genders faced the decision of whether they should wear Western or Asian clothing. The former offered a neutrality of appearance and the hope that one might become an unmarked member of a modern international community in which Western suits, pants, shirts, skirts, and dresses are standard fare, but at the possible price of a loss of individual or ethnic identity. The latter seemed to celebrate that identity, while at the same time marking the wearer as Other, as not fully at home in the centers of power and normative Western fashion, even as those norms appeared to embrace Asian aesthetics. In between these two poles lay myriad options for combining, reinterpreting, and adapting clothing to make more particular statements about the wearer's identity and position, with each possibility carrying both costs and benefits.

Third, these decisions were reinterpreted by Asian states seeking to craft visions of national unity for domestic and international audiences by juxtaposing stylized images of modernity, gender, and ethnicity, often in ambivalent or contradictory ways. States such as Singapore, Vietnam, China, and Indonesia touted versions of Asian modernity in which economic prosperity could coexist with, or even be achieved through, commitment to traditional values. Tourist posters echoed this juxtaposition by luring travelers with images of colorful customs, pristine religions, and unique sites, all conveniently accessible through modern cities and airports. In most cases, women clad in traditional dress visually symbolized this timeless, exotic Asian-ness.

Figure I.1 Princess Diana in salwaar-kameez in Pakistan, May 1997. Photo by Graham Tim/Corbis Sygma.

Gaya
Jaket



Jaket berkancing tunggal gaya pemakaiannya bisa diberi aksen scarf. Gaya ini mirip gaya *tuxedo* untuk wanita yang dirancang Yves Saint Laurent pada tahun 1966 minus blus dalam dan dasi pita. Gaya lain jaket adalah berkancing ganda. Jaket ramping ini aksennya terdapat pada deretan kancing plus ikat pinggang.

Figure I.2 Indonesian fashion magazine promoting "Jacket Style" to readers, with text instructing the reader on ways to wear such a jacket, May 1997. Courtesy of *Femina* magazine.

Far from being separate, these three aspects of the globalization of Asian dress are intimately linked and interdependent. Princess Diana's donning of the salwaar-kameez (Figure I.1) was possible because the garment, worn by South Asian migrants, had become a visible presence on London streets. In wearing this outfit, Diana valorized it as an element of international fashion, and this in turn made fashion-conscious South Asian British women, both elite and middle-class, even more eager to be seen in it. The Indonesian woman choosing a power suit turned to a national fashion press for advice about what international looks were "in" (Figure I.2). She also, however, took care to adapt these styles in accordance with local informal and personal standards of what was then considered appropriate and attractive. In both cases, the supposedly global and local in Asian dress are intertwined, interdependent, and mutually determining. This book is about these connections: their specific contours, their significance for Asians, and their implications for contemporary global understandings of "Asia" and "fashion."

The chapters in this volume document the extent to which Asian dress has been globalized. On the one hand, variations of Western clothing are the standard fare throughout much of Asia. On the other hand, the so-called traditional costumes of many Asian countries – garments such as the South Asian sari and salwaar-kameez, Japanese kimono, Chinese cheongsam, Korean hanbok, and Vietnamese *ao dai* – are experiencing a revival in those countries and their diasporic communities. They have also become familiar in style, if not in name, around the globe and serve as muses to inspire European and North American designers.

While the global interest in Asian dress might seem to open new democratic forms of cross-cultural exchange, the chapters in this volume also highlight a disturbing side to these developments: the processes through which Asian dress has been globalized and celebrated within and outside Asia are also profoundly Orientalizing and feminizing. Even as the cross-fertilization of Asian and Western styles is changing the way people throughout the world think about and practice dress, the dress styles and dress practices associated with Asia and Asians have been consistently reworked through processes that might be called "homogenized heterogeneity": their differences are identified, assessed, and appropriated, purportedly with the goal of deciding where Asian dress fits into the global pantheon of clothing configurations. The result, however, is that no matter what form these fashions may take and no matter how praised they may be by fashion elites located in the centers of power, they get defined as somehow lesser than, somehow Other to, and somehow more feminized than their perennial Western foil. As our title, "*Re-Orienting Fashion*" suggests, Asian styles may be reorienting global fashion, but the very same globalization processes that have garnered international attention for Asian dress are re-Orientalizing Asia and Asians.

In this introduction, we establish the theoretical backdrop for the book by weaving together the connections between globalization, Orientalism, gender, and fashion that led to and resulted from the explosion of Asian dress onto the world scene in the 1990s, the period in which the contributors to this volume conducted much of their research. We begin by exploring how Orientalism emerged in the colonial era as a mode of knowledge production that defined "the Orient" as fundamentally Other, feminine, and perpetually inferior to the West in ways that supported colonial domination. The contours of Orientalism are particularly complex when one considers fashion, for colonial dress became enmeshed in struggles over race, gender, tradition, and imitation. As a result, the daily sartorial decisions that Asians made became politically charged tools in contests over identity, status, and power.

We then turn to contemporary contexts to explore how globalization has perpetuated the Orientalist legacy. The tenets of Orientalism have been reworked, challenged, and reinscribed to characterize certain types of people, activities, and items as lesser members of the global family by defining them as Other, local, traditional, and feminine. We find the link between feminization and marginalization of particular significance, for it can be seen not just on the concrete level of economic and cultural experiences, but also on the abstract level of globalization theory. By exploring a specific example of how globalization has been analyzed by one noted anthropologist, we argue that a masculinist bias has diverted scholars' attention from the issue of how the fundamental processes of globalization – the increased movement of people, things, capital, and ideas around the world at an ever-accelerating rate – are profoundly gendered and gendering. By not exposing and critiquing these gendered dynamics, the knowledge generated by contemporary theory risks discursively naturalizing and reinforcing the material, social, and cultural inequities emerging through globalization.

It is a central contention of this volume that globalization as an Orientalizing and gendering phenomenon becomes apparent through an ethnographic focus on dress practices. Understood in its experiential complexity, what people wear is the most visible and sensitive social register illuminating key points of articulation between the broader and more intimate processes of contemporary globalization. By exploring how people dress at different moments, we can reveal the relationship between individual choices, themselves subject to varying degrees of constraint or agency, and larger interests, such as nations, corporations, and markets, that are invested in individuals performing in particular ways. These processes are especially interesting for their effects on people who get caught in the middle because of their class, race, and gender identity or their economic, social, and cultural practices. In this way, the anthropological focus on real people making real decisions connects us to the discursive work of Orientalism.

The use of dress as a means to perform identity is further complicated by the highly competitive, status-conscious, and exclusive world of international fashion. Sandra Niessen documents (Afterword, this volume) how fashion has long retained its power by operating as a definitional system. Fashion leaders possess the ability to name certain groups, typically Western elites, as having "fashion" (changing style trends over time) or being fashionable (dressing in ways consistent with or in the vanguard of those trends). They also define large groups of Others: those in the West who pay little attention to fashion (the unfashionable) or who dress in opposition to dominant fashion (the practitioners of anti-fashion), and those in societies deemed not to have fashion at all (the wearers of "traditional" or "ethnic" dress). Since the colonial era, the fashion industry has spread its production and distribution functions around the world. Cross-fertilization between Western and non-Western fashion systems has been so extensive as to make a distinction between the two no longer tenable. Meanwhile, fashion's definitional apparatus continues to grind, locating those who are deemed to have or not to have fashion in ways that produce new global class differences. In the Afterword, Sandra Niessen considers how this volume's focus on Asian dress practices sheds light on the ways the globalization of fashion, as both an industry and a conceptual mode for characterizing dress, challenges us to develop new understandings of what fashion is, how it operates, who controls it, and what stakes are involved in participating in it.

Our task here is to highlight a different, but complementary, set of questions: Does global interaction with Asia as a form of style allow privileged consumers who know little about Asian people and places to avoid seriously engaging with the cultural substance of those styles? Does performing Asian style mask or enable practices that produce new kinds of global material and cultural differences? How do the Orientalizing and gendering processes propelling the globalization of Asian dress affect the daily decisions that Asians make about clothing? What is the significance of these decisions, both for the wearer and for our conceptions of globalization, Asia, and Asian-ness?

Considered as a whole, the chapters in this volume imply a theoretical framework for approaching these problems that combines insights from performance theory and practice theory. Performance theory, particularly as developed by Butler (1990), highlights the possibilities for agentive creation of identity through the manipulation of appearance. Practice theory (Bourdieu 1977 [1972], 1984; de Certeau 1984), in contrast, emphasizes the ways in which tastes are shaped by and constitutive of social positioning through such factors as class, educational level, race, ethnicity, or gender. Combining the two by focusing on *performance practices* allows us to see how, within a constrained and treacherous field of already constituted identities, people nonetheless have room to maneuver by fashioning themselves. These self-fashionings, however,

always risk reinscribing preexisting negative characterizations, such as the ones created through gender and Orientalism upon which we focus.

Within a global context in which Asia and Asian-ness are already saturated with constraining significations, self-Orientalizing and internal Orientalizing become understandable, but fraught, strategies for the performative construction of identity. The extent to which Asian dress is reorienting fashion versus re-Orientalizing Asia rests fundamentally on the factors of who is performing, with what intentions, under what circumstances, and before what audience. We suggest that studying the ways in which mid-level actors decide to make, wear, buy, or sell clothing in different Asian contexts can defy the Orientalist stereotypes of Asian style as passive and traditional, even as those actions are often made invisible in global cultural, rhetorical, and material practices that feminize Asia and the fashion world.

Dressing, Gendering, and Orientalizing the Colonial Subject

What are the conditions that have positioned dress, both in Asia and as read by outsiders, as marked Other or feminine? What factors shape current interpretations of how Asians choose to dress, and of styles that appear to be Asian in global cities, be they Jakarta or New York? Addressing these questions requires a historical perspective. Although only two contributors to this volume directly discuss colonialism, we find that colonial discourse and domination linked dress to specific kinds of meanings, meanings that continue to circulate in the contemporary era. Edward Said's analysis of Orientalism (1994 [1978]) provides a compelling frame for understanding these dynamics. Said argues that imperialism created ideologies and representations of fundamental opposition between groups labeled East and West. This enterprise entailed defining and categorizing what the Orient was, a feat of knowledge production accomplished through scholarly research, "exotic travels," and mass-mediated images such as postcards and exhibitions.[3] When combined with direct military force, colonial-era Orientalism as a way of seeing and knowing facilitated domination by Othering and feminizing colonized peoples, casting them as timeless, exotic, passive, or oppressed, but always fundamentally different from and inferior to those in the West. Orientalist discourse sometimes established Western superiority by baldly defining Others as unrepentant savages or backward races. At other times, however, Said finds that the discourse operated more subtly. For example, Orientalist scholars, including archaeologists, historians, and ethnographers, conducted extensive research to identify the charming or valuable aspects of a group's heritage. Their "discoveries" were then celebrated in ways that suggested that the people to whom these traditions

belonged were ignorant of their worth and hence in need of Western masters to teach them about themselves.

Building on Said, we argue in this section that the effects of the creation of Orientalist categories and modes of discernment are particularly striking for matters of style in Asia. Through Orientalism, differences in appearance and clothing were often read by the colonizers as indexes of deeper differences, even as the colonizers' discursive categories created the reality they supposedly described. Knowing what styles were fashionable in the metropole, collecting items from natives who were unaware of the value of their own cultural charms, enforcing dress codes among settlers, or critiquing native dress styles as imitative of the West or backwardly bare all served to make style an important terrain for negotiations over power. While some European colonial powers in Asia were met with forms of undress that they read as charmingly simple or disturbingly exposed, others were presented with sophisticated forms of civilization and appearances that took considerable discursive work to critique.[4] Reducing these varied forms of difference to simply bad or excessive style attempted to contain the threat of moral and political conflict. While we do not suggest that all forms of colonial rule were uniform or monolithic, we are interested in how a shared concern with matters of culture, and by extension matters of appearance and dress, served to cement apparently natural differences between colonizer and colonized. These discourses continue to shape readings of dress practices today, so that even when Asian dress is celebrated, such moves perpetuate a script of a dominant, knowledgeable West and an inferior, ignorant Orient. Four themes – race, gender, tradition, and imitation – show particularly well how ideas about dress and difference in several Asian colonial-era contexts were reworked, dropped, and picked up again in ways that made these ideas seem natural.

First, racial difference was read from dress practices under conditions of rule, both in the colonies and in Europe. For example, Emma Tarlo's research argues that British colonial rule, and Indian nationalism later, relied on strategic uses of masculine dress (1996). Tarlo describes how British colonials saw the Indian dhoti as emblematic of the savage and effeminate Indian male: savage because the item left the torso and lower legs unclad, and effeminate because the draped fabric more closely resembled the voluminous shirring of European women's dress than the more tailored straight lines of men's suits.[5] That the dhoti could be so associated with racial inferiority shaped later nationalist rhetoric such that, as Partha Chatterjee has argued, Indian men seeking an alternatively modern Indian national culture felt they had no choice but to wear the European-style suit (1993).

Not all critiques of racial inferiority were made on the basis of bodily exposure or simplicity of fabric. Elaborate and luxurious garments could similarly

be read as morally suspect forms. A striking example is that of Chinese silks. Early European explorers described Chinese court culture and trade in silks as impressively civilized. The silk trade from multiple Chinese dynasties to Rome and later to Northern and Western Europe was the result of the greater Chinese ability to produce fine fabrics, and of the European desire for a luxurious textile, for both men and women. Yet the drape and sheen of silk also eventually took on an effeminacy associated with the perceived decadence of Chinese culture. As a result, by the beginning of the eighteenth century, Europeans no longer found silk an appropriately masculine fabric for men's clothes (Honour 1961: 31; Steele and Major 1999: 71). Precisely because of such distinctions between morally upright, utilitarian Western dress and sumptuous, decadent native clothing, Asian elites sometimes held on to elaborate styles or developed even more luxurious ones. This could serve as a silent protest against colonial attempts to usurp their power or as an attempt literally to fashion themselves as still possessing that power. According to Jean Gelman Taylor, this was the case in the Dutch East Indies during the mid- to late nineteenth century (1997). As aristocratic and royal families' material power decreased, males donned increasingly elaborate clothing. Aristocratic women were likewise important elements symbolizing this now fading power, as they were photographed in ever more restrictive and sumptuous clothing associated with "tradition," such as the wrapped sarong.[6]

Second, and linked to this, we see that native women were deemed needy of rescue from native culture and native men precisely because of their supposed connection to tradition. Colonial discourse found in native women a particularly attractive symbol for justifying rule, thereby making gender a salient factor in debating cultural differences. Colonialism in its Orientalist form inscribed privilege as masculine, and masculinity as European. The European male was young, virile, clean and fully clothed, often in a suit (cf. Smith 1995; Tarlo 1996; Wilson 1985). In turn, the colonized male was dehumanized, represented as either brutishly male or effeminate. In this struggle over political power, native women served as particularly fertile symbolic terrain. In some versions of Orientalist logic, proof of the native male's backwardness could be found in his treatment of native women, as measured against a universal index of civilizations. As Frantz Fanon argued about colonial fascination with the veil in Algeria, the struggle over women's appearance had high stakes, "wrenching her free from her status . . . shaking up the [native] man" (1965: 39). Much of the rhetoric justifying colonial conquest rested in the liberation of native women from the tyranny of native men. In colonial India, Partha Chatterjee argues that the civilizing mission of British conquest was based on eradicating "barbarism" evidenced by a whole canon of "traditions" which oppressed Indian womanhood (1993: 118).[7] Bound feet provided a similar

rationale for expanding Western presence in China. This "curious erotic custom" (Levy 1966) served nicely as evidence that Chinese elite culture was actually barbarism masquerading as sophistication (Fan 1997; Steele and Major 1999; Wang 2000).

Third, colonial relations configured dress and gender in ways that affected nationalist movements and subsequent postcolonial states, through claims to "tradition." This process began before actual independence in many cases. To continue with examples from Chatterjee's research, once "tradition" was linked to women in colonial rhetoric, an indigenous bourgeoisie that was in large part the invention of colonial policies had little choice but to resist subjugation on the same terms, that is, over the treatment of women. Women became the boundary for marking colonizer from colonized. As a result, they came to stand for two highly stylized senses of the nation: the traditional essence requiring defense from outside contamination, and the internally different Other, the one that made the nation aware of itself. An imagined middle-class native woman was recast, not as evidence of Indian backwardness, but as the repository of a superior Indian "tradition." For example, Bengali men, acting in the outer material world of business and politics, had little choice but to wear European-style clothing. However, Bengali women were increasingly encouraged by Bengali men to preserve and present local culture through the use of "traditional" dress, i.e., the sari. Bengali women were therefore charged with upholding tradition through avoiding adoption of European manners or styles "such as the blouse, the petticoat, and shoes" (Chatterjee 1993: 122).

Fourth, and finally, even though new nationalist movements found it necessary to adopt forms of European style while seeking political legitimacy, they nonetheless sought to distinguish themselves from direct mimicry of European styles. Consistent with the Orientalist narrative, however, "native" attempts at approximating and reworking colonizers' styles could never fully succeed, no matter how hard one strove. Such attempts typically failed on two levels: first, in the eyes of the fellow colonized and, second, in those of the colonizers. Emma Tarlo describes how Indian men who chose to wear a European-style suit were initially ridiculed by their fellow class and ethnic peers. Similarly, Vicente Rafael documents how Filipino elites who dressed in European suits to participate in the American census were branded traitors in nationalist plays (2000). To colonizers, such attempts appeared as failed imitations, proof that natives were incapable of originality.[8] Racial difference not only endured in spite of one's dress, clothing made it even more evident. Yet as Homi Bhabha argues (1997), mimicry is never complete, it is never a direct reinscription of the dominant narrative. For example, Dipesh Chakrabarty has suggested that while colonial Indian women's magazines promoted companionate marriage

and orderly, clean homes, which might appear to imitate European styles, they nonetheless did not wholly endorse colonial models of ideal womanhood (1992).[9] Rather, such magazines profiled women who did imitate European women (such as by wearing a blouse and skirt, or by playing tennis) as comical, absurd or tragic. In fact, new forms of national femininity were seen as selectively rejecting European femininities as hypersexual, consumerist, and inappropriate to newly forming national cultures.[10]

While the themes of race, gender, tradition, and imitation emerged and were elaborated upon in different configurations in particular historical settings, all colonial Orientalisms shared key features. First, they were the result of unequal and sometimes violent contact between colonizing and local populations. Second, they rested on a constant script of difference and superiority. Viewing the world as having distinct and opposing cultures, evident in part by the unique and perhaps antithetical ways that people dressed, was an appealing frame for interpreting social, political, and stylistic encounters in the colonial era. The fact that conditions of colonial subjugation and domination not only facilitated but required the success of such dominant discourses may make them seem irrelevant to the current era, in which the world is supposedly being brought closer together under global exchanges of ideas and money. Yet, the very same Orientalist logic that cast Asia as feminine or women's dress as traditional in the colonial era continues to have salience today, under the apparently new guise of globalization.

Globalization and the Production of Feminized Locals

On the surface, colonial Orientalism and contemporary globalization seem quite different. The former drew its authority from the careful study and institutionalization of difference in order to compartmentalize the world into discrete and unequal regions. The latter, with its increase in the frequency, quantity, and importance of flows of people, things, capital, and ideas around the globe, seems to rest on breaking down barriers to draw us into common channels of communication and community.[11] Looking deeper, however, scholars began in the 1990s to suggest that globalization is as productive of difference as it is of similarity. In addition, we find that these differences depend on many of the same discursive tropes of race, gender, tradition, and imitation that were previously deployed in colonial contexts. To explore the construction and effects of such rhetoric, we consider in detail one example of gender stereotypes: an image of women as timeless exemplars of localized tradition marginal to global processes. Not only is such a description empirically inaccurate, but its continued prevalence in both popular culture and scholarly

accounts suggests that globalization itself needs to be explored as a gendered process producing and reproducing conceptions of a feminized, local Other.

When anthropologists first began considering globalization in the 1970s and 1980s, their foremost concern was to determine whether these processes were hurting or helping the supposedly local producers of local cultural traditions that had constituted their traditional object of study. The first round of evidence fueled critiques of globalization as neo-imperialist processes that incorporated people, often forcibly, into international capitalist structures. Images of a world drinking Coca-Cola and donning Levi's jeans encapsulated the threat of homogenization: an erasure of local distinctions and conformity in cultural practices in which people would look the same, act the same, and use the same goods. Although scholars concerned about homogenization sought to liberate peoples around the globe from colonial and neo-colonial domination, they shared the colonial-era supposition that the adoption of Western products or styles by non-Western peoples was an unreflexive, uncritical, and problematic form of imitation involving a rejection of their traditional cultures. Whether those traditional cultures were being derided by colonials as backward or lauded by leftist scholars as authentic expressions of ethnic identity and history, "culture" in both views seemed an essential feature bequeathed to a group as a racial or genetic inheritance that they could abandon only at their peril.[12]

By the 1990s, anthropologists and other scholars of globalization found reason to be optimistic about the fate of cultural heterogeneity. First, as part of a broader turn toward the study of consumption practices,[13] many noted that when products are used in different contexts, even products as synonymous with American corporate capitalism as Levi's jeans (Ong 1987), Coca-Cola (Miller 1997), and McDonald's (Watson 1997), their meanings are transformed.[14] Second, in the 1990s, the growing desire among Euro-American populations for clothing and other items of "ethnic chic," a development with which we began this introduction, suggested that globalization allowed for multidirectional cultural exchange. Young Malaysian girls working in electronics factories may be discarding sarongs in favor of jeans (Ong 1987), but trendsetters within the society where the jeans originated were now freely experimenting with those sarongs. Far from dying or fading away, diversity under globalization seemed to be more mobile and hence more widely appreciated.

Rather than the either/or paradigm of homogeneity versus heterogeneity, a rich assortment of studies focusing on cross-cultural consumption now suggests that globalization is producing what David Howes refers to as a "multiplicity of possible local–global articulations" (Howes 1996: 6).[15] Such studies also argue that these articulations are the result of encounters negotiated on unequal terrain. What we have, then, is what might be described as *homogenized heterogeneity*. Difference is appreciated, but it is also characterized and commodified

globally through flows of knowledge, money, and people structured in accordance with relations of power.[16] In the process, difference is transformed. Its edges are smoothed and its contours are flattened so that it fits more neatly into its assigned pigeonhole in the global display of culture. Certain groups and activities thus come to embody "tradition" more than others, a move that seems to reflect appreciation for diversity, but that can also position the groups in question as Other to global modernity.

Just as colonial Orientalisms depended on the discursive work of ruling classes and scholars, the contemporary production of homogenized heterogeneity rests on the definitional work of new kinds of global economic, social, and cultural elites. Ulf Hannerz (1996) has described one such elite class: the relatively well-off, educated, and globally sophisticated "cosmopolitans" whose passionate pursuit of the new and diverse drives the creation of global culture.[17] At the opposite end of the spectrum are locals: those whose orientation remains rooted in everyday experiences and local frames of reference.[18]

While being a cosmopolitan or local may seem an empirical affair, these statuses in fact depend as much on ideological orientations for apprehending the world as on concrete, measurable factors such as income, education, or consumption preferences. According to Hannerz, cosmopolitans may move around the world in clearly transnational projects, but they can also remain at home and consume the diversity of food, clothing, movies, art, etc. that global processes bring to their doors. Meanwhile, locals can travel and yet retain a fundamentally local perspective. Determining which passengers on an international jet flight or which diners at a local "ethnic" restaurant are or are not cosmopolitan thus rests on trying to fathom the intentions and perspectives motivating their actions. This feat is often accomplished through associative logic in which intention is ascribed based on the observed or presumed tendencies of others with whom one appears to share characteristics, most commonly gender, race, ethnicity, class, place of residence, religion, and education. Unfortunately, such an endeavor is prone to stereotyping. Ulf Hannerz's discussion of locals is instructive in this regard. He is noteworthy among prominent theorists of globalization for his attention to the concrete details of human actors' experiences. Nevertheless, in trying to characterize those experiences, he risks reproducing stereotypes about the local and traditional – stereotypes that in this case have much to do with gender.

As an example of a transnationally mobile local, Hannerz cites a 1985 *International Herald Tribune* article describing Nigerian market women's regular travels between Lagos and London (Harden 1985).[19] By wearing loose-fitting clothes, they were able to smuggle products in both directions: outbound, they strapped dried fish to their thighs and upper arms; on the return flight, they carried frozen fish sticks, dehydrated milk, and baby clothes. Hannerz

characterizes such acts as not cosmopolitan: "The shopping trips of Lagosian traders and smugglers hardly go beyond the horizons of urban Nigerian culture, as it now is. The fish sticks and baby clothes hardly alter structures of meaning more than marginally" (103). No matter where they go – and these particular traders go quite far – locals retain a fundamentally insular perspective.

The example of Nigerian traders caught our attention, primarily because their gender and the gendered nature of the commodities they carried (baby clothes, milk, and fish used in meal preparation) leapt off the page in what was otherwise a gender-neutral discussion of how people locate themselves as privileged cosmopolitans. Why, we wondered, did these internationally mobile women and their imported goods seem so obviously local? What further meanings were deployed by categorizing people and their activities in this way? What does this suggest about globalization as a gendered and gendering process?

An initial answer may be that associations between women, the traditional, and the local seem obvious. Indeed, in societies around the world, women *are* often held up as the bearers of tradition, as inculcators of cultural values through their roles in childrearing, and hence as somehow more connected to the space of home. As described above, many of these ideologies were explicitly deployed by colonial regimes and anticolonial nationalist movements. The problem is that anthropologists, since Sherry Ortner (1974) and others (Collier 1974; Rosaldo 1974) explored the question of whether and why women appear to be universally subordinated, have tended to treat these characterizations, not as concrete and accurate descriptions of fact, but as discourses, as symbolic representations of the world and how it is gendered. By assuming the meaning of gendered activities, we not only miss the opportunity to interrogate how globalization processes construct gender, but risk further reproducing and naturalizing problematic gender stereotypes that a priori dismiss certain types of people, activities, and positions as insignificant.

How might an analysis of globalization as gendered and gendering complicate the claim that Nigerian women traders are not cosmopolitan? To start, it requires looking beyond stereotypes of women, domesticity, and locality to explore the broader context shaping the Lagos–London baby clothes trade. The newspaper article cited by Hannerz provides rich detail about this: how short-lived affluence during the 1970s oil boom, subsequent hard-currency shortages, government import restrictions, an overvalued exchange rate, and price controls on airline tickets combined to create strong Nigerian demand for imported goods and the opportunity to acquire them through extralegal measures (Harden 1985). The vibrant trade that resulted involved not just women, but men, many of them well-connected bureaucrats, and not just baby clothes and foodstuffs, but electronics, parrots, automotive parts, cosmetics, and consumer electronics. As for the baby clothes, they might be seen in Nigeria

as the height of modern style, in large part because they come from a place as powerful and exotic as London. Smugglers thus may be crucial mediators through which elites and others in Lagos acquire the material goods literally to fashion themselves (and, in this case, their children) as cosmopolitans conversant with global heterogeneity.[20] Dehydrated milk might carry the same sort of associations; we know, for example, that much to the dismay of public health officials who promote the nutritional and hygienic superiority of breast milk, dehydrated milk and baby formula have spread quickly around the world precisely because of their mass appeal as emblems of modernity.

Within this broader context, it becomes hard not to see Nigerian traders and the items in which they traffic as intimately implicated in processes of globalization. The only way to know for sure what the items carried by the traders represent is to trace these items, their histories, and their meanings, and to look at who creates, transports, sells, and consumes them, and why. That this may not seem necessary reflects just how taken-for-granted are the associations between women, the local, and the traditional.

We have focused on one example because we find it to be illustrative of what feminist scholars have critiqued as a widespread "masculinist" tendency in studies of globalization in which women are either entirely absent or assumed to occupy subordinate positions. Aihwa Ong (1999), Kamala Visweswaran (1994), Dorinne Kondo (1997), and Carla Freeman (2001) have noted similar problems in the work of Arjun Appadurai (1996, 1990) and David Harvey (1989). The critiques tend to focus on the authors' abstraction of global processes so that they become unmarked and ungendered. This amounts to an erasure of how gender and other factors unequally shape access to processes of cultural production and material accumulation. In different ways, these critiques suggest that, far from being a statement of fact or essential identity, whether one is mobile, global, and transnational, or nonmobile and local is a historical development, emerging through the particularities of political economy, social stratification, and gender roles and ideologies.[21] To put it succinctly, whether one is male or female, with all that may imply in a given cultural context, shapes how one experiences and participates in globalization.

While critiquing theories of globalization for not paying sufficient attention to women is significant, we find that this risks distracting us from the potentially radical implications of gender analysis. Simply looking at women is not enough. Rather, we must focus on processes of gendering that, as Gayle Rubin (1975) has argued, divide the world so that spheres of human activity and knowledge become conceived of as masculine and feminine in ways that valorize or constrain that activity. Citing female traders as an example of the local in an increasingly global world not only erases these particular women from globalization, but replicates gendered categories that define the local as

feminine and Other to globalization processes. What's more, it is not just women who get assigned to the feminized local realm, but all who traffic in what can be defined as locally meaningful goods.

This discursive move should seem familiar to students of Orientalism: a realm of the world gets defined as feminine and Other to a more masculine and powerful subject in ways that confirm that subject's mastery of or superiority to the Other. Through such gendering processes, globalization reworks and perpetuates the Orientalist philosophies developed with colonialism. To the extent that theorists of globalization do not explicitly unpack these associations, they reproduce and legitimate them, much as Said claims an earlier generation of Orientalist scholars defined their object of study in ways that confirmed this region's Otherness and lent credence, however unintended, to colonial domination. When these gendering moves occur today on the global stage within the already feminized realms of fashion and Asian culture, the associations become all the more insidious and powerful. It is to these issues of contemporary Orientalism that we turn below.

Continuing Orientalist Legacies through Fashion

During the 1990s, several prominent and stereotypical images of Asia coexisted comfortably in the cultural landscape of Europe and North America. In terms of style, we saw the proliferation of trendy "Oriental" lifestyle elements described in romantic prose designed to conjure up visions of a timeless, exotic, spiritual, and mysterious land. Geopolitically, there was the specter of a Chinese military apparatus and government actively rejecting Western democracy. Another image was of the Asian businessman, often Japanese or Chinese, wielding a cell phone and briefcase as he traveled the region making the deals that propelled the Asian Economic Miracle. Spending the money generated by that miracle was the brand-conscious female consumer of luxury goods who slavishly followed trends that originated in Europe or the United States. And behind these images was the specter of subservient Asian women, in myriad forms: from uncomplaining yet overworked factory laborers, to demure and subservient geishas, to oppressively veiled Pakistani Muslim women, and hypersexual Thai prostitutes.

These images are rife with contradictions: a spiritual Asia, a superficial Asia focused on consumption, an economically and militarily powerful Asia, an oppressed Asia, a demure Asia, an erotically charged Asia. Why can such dramatically different stereotypes as these comfortably coexist in Western minds? While these images reference particularly modern features of globalization – transnational factories, global fashion, mass consumption, international

capitalism, and sex tourism – the assumptions, viewpoints, and discursive moves through which these images are produced are by no means new. Contemporary ways of knowing and representing the Oriental Other as timeless, exotic, untouched, dangerous, passive, inscrutable, or oppressed are the legacies of earlier Orientalist frameworks developed to understand and subjugate Asia. Although much of this occurred under colonial domination, a period that has now ended in its formal sense, these categories of difference continue to have enormous explanatory appeal in the current era of globalization and the uncertainty that it has created about Western political, military, and economic dominance. As Orientalist logics circulate to counter this uncertainty, they are also subtly reworked to take account of new realities and thus produce new contours of difference. We see this as occurring in three ways. First, the masculine threat posed by Asian economic and military strength is reworked to seem androgynous or feminine. Second, diverse Asian cultures and histories are reduced to mere stylistic flourishes and hence feminized as part of the preserve of fashion. Third, Asian women are described as unambiguously oppressed and rendered passive, either by global capital or by their own traditions. As such, they are seen to be in need of rescue by enlightened Westerners.

During the 1990s, the two most threatening images of Asia circulating in North America and Western Europe centered on Asian economic and military prowess. These were usually rendered as a Japanese corporate powerhouse ready to outcompete Euro-American industry and a Chinese military machine capable of rejecting and defeating the forces of Western democracy.[22] Even so, the images provoking such panic contained ready-made possibilities for neutralizing the threat. The Japanese businessman with his suit and cell phone, as Dorinne Kondo points out (1997), was rendered not as hypermasculine, but as anonymous and effeminate. He was no longer a threat to the West, but an unsuccessful mimic of it, either a corporate drone who did what he was told or a duplicitous, unethical competitor. Similarly, Chinese soldiers seemed less men than machines who followed orders and marched in step, not because of an affirmative commitment to country, but because they valued life differently and unquestioningly followed orders. In such ways, even images of a masculine Asia become rhetorically rendered as androgynous, passive, and perhaps even feminine.

The second dimension of contemporary Orientalist discourses of Asia is that of Asia as a source of exotic style. It strikes us as not coincidental that at the same time as the Asian Economic Miracle and Chinese military might sparked Orientalist anxiety in the West, Asian chic became all the rage in international fashion. This version of Asia has been a sort of utopian and euphoric embrace of elements of particular Asian traditions that now have come to stand for an undifferentiated Asia. From haute couture collections such as John Galliano

for Christian Dior, which in 1997 featured bright reinterpretations of the Chinese cheongsam, to renditions of rice bowls and chopsticks aimed at the American middle class by mass retailers such as Pottery Barn and Pier One, Asian-ness has been reduced from a potentially threatening and unmanageable Other to a mere fashion statement. This process of glossing certain items as generically Asian alters the meanings and practices associated with them and erases their specific cultural and national origins. Asian chic is something that, while aesthetically appealing to many, is ultimately a trend: something simply to be consumed and then moved beyond.

We are not suggesting that a conspiracy of fashion-industry power brokers negotiated with global political and economic leaders to create a solution to a perception of a Yellow Peril lapping at American shores. But neither would such a conscious collusion have been necessary, for that is the power of discourse. Strikingly, the end to the "miracle" of Asian dominance in the late twentieth century came at the hands of foreign-currency investors as many of the region's currencies collapsed in 1997. Yet just as the painful economic crisis affected more and more Asian countries through 1998 and 1999, so did the cachet of dressing and decorating in an Asian style increase in North America and Europe. Asia is indeed an invented construction, something that says more about an unmarked West than it does about any particular culture or nation in the region called Asia, but it is nonetheless a very real construction. It has become a commodified identity that corporations can define and sell as an invented yet racialized style.

That the threat to Western superiority posed by Asian business, military, and cultural strength was countered by reducing Asia to a style statement on the terrain of fashion – an industry with fascinating gendered connotations – suggests this move to be an emasculating or feminizing one. As a privileged site of production, fashion – particularly "high fashion" or haute couture – is a powerful sphere of cultural production. Nonetheless it is imagined as a feminized world. Its target audience is primarily female. Its constituents are thought to consume excessively and to be uncritically enthusiastic about personal decoration – charges disproportionately leveled at women.[23] The world of fashion appears obsessed with surface appearances over hard, cold realities such as finance.[24] Even though the high-fashion world is populated by men, the most successful designers are assumed to be homosexual (i.e., not fully masculine), and those who do engage in heterosexual relationships are greeted with raised eyebrows as the exceptions that prove the rule.

These impressions continue in spite of the fact that garment industries have been touted as the first step toward globalizing a developing economy, a move whose dependence on a supposedly docile feminine workforce might be seen as implying a contrast to the clearly masculine character of global industry.

Anthropological studies of female factory laborers provide clear support for the ways that industrial regimes consciously draw upon patriarchal ideologies to control their labor force, often colluding with national governments and workers' families to keep young women in line and their appetites, both material and sexual, under control (Mills 1999; Ong 1987; Salaff 1995 [1981]; Wolf 1992). In material and symbolic terms, then, laborers in the fashion industry are subject to a gendered system of production in which they are the passive, feminized mass to be ordered and controlled by what would seem to be gendered as the masculine structure of industrial production.[25] But, material production is different from cultural production, and it is on the discursive level that fashion is feminized.

When the idea of "Oriental" style is added to the already feminized field of fashion, the discursive production of gender becomes all the more complicated and powerful. The striking proliferation of things "Oriental" at the precise moment that Asia appeared to enter global circuits of wealth and power clearly calls for critical analysis for what it reveals about continued Orientalisms in the West. It also raises the much less apparent, but perhaps more provocative, question of what happens when these styles reverberate back to the sites from which they are imagined to have come.

The case of Princess Diana's donning of the salwaar-kameez mentioned above provides a useful example. A garment that had been worn by North Indian and Pakistani women for generations was suddenly deemed "fashion" by British socialites, not just because Princess Diana was a person whose every fashion choice was followed closely but because it made sense in a comfortable Orientalist logic. In this way, a cultural form that had been invisible to Western consumers was made chic through the recognizing and expert eye of an outsider. The garment had to cross a border to become "fashion," in a way that it could never have been while South Asian women wore it, and the only person capable of taking it across that border was a privileged celebrity and outsider. Another effect of the garment's journey was to make it seem newly chic to those very women who had always worn it in their everyday lives. The irony for them, however, was that pride in their garment's new fashionability could be interpreted through Orientalizing logic as a kind of enlightenment, a consciousness about the value of their garment that could only come from the Western fashion establishment telling them what was precious in their cultural heritage and what was not. The effect, then, was that these very women could appear to be imitating Western fashions even as they were said to be wearing their own traditional clothing.

This brings us to the third aspect of Orientalizing discourses about Asia, namely the ways in which notions of Asian style reinforced preexisting images of an essentialized, feminized Oriental Other powerless both at home and on

the job. Even as critiques of Orientalism are commonplace within the academy, images of the voiceless, agency-less, victimized Asian woman still hold enormous explanatory power. One such example can be found in anti-globalization movement rhetoric that focuses almost unproblematically on the docility of the Asian female sweatshop worker, reproduced as an often mute symbol for a transnational movement. The campaign has been effective in linking global brand names, like Nike and Reebok, to images of poor underage women working in transnational factories. Such images are based on the material reality of harsh factory-floor working conditions. Yet the extent to which such campaigns have been able to raise general public consciousness about these issues has also been the result of discursive work. Representations of docile factory women, even as they call attention to very real circumstances of exploitation, confirm long-standing Western stereotypes of the subservient Asian woman.

So compelling are discourses of victimization and passivity that they readily explain other Asian women's behavior, even when those behaviors occur in dramatically different contexts or at opposite ends of the class spectrum. Passiveness, and the oppression it implies, thus come to be read as a function of an essential cultural or national identity, rather than as the result of limited material power. A few additional examples will clarify this. In contrast to the docile factory laborer toiling in the trenches of production, it would be tempting to see the image of the consuming wealthy Asian woman as an important corrective. Yet even this stereotype is often read as an expression of a peculiar cultural essence. Although luxury fashion lines in Europe earn a significant portion of their revenues from sales in Asian markets, those consumers are interpreted as blindly following the dictates of a fashion system or obeying mass group tastes. Rather than shopping to articulate a unique personal identity, as Western consumers might sympathetically be read, such women are imagined as selfishly and unreflexively seeking status (or face) through acquisition of Western luxury goods.[26] Similarly, images of oppressed Asian women coexist comfortably in Western media with stereotypes of the savvy but restrained sexuality of the kimono-clad geisha, popularized in Arthur Golden's 1997 Novel *Memoirs of a Geisha*. The geisha was celebrated as nostalgic proof of the gentility and eroticism of Asian femininity, something Western women lack. At the same time, it implied a critique of the brutality of a society that would develop such an institution.

Images of passivity and oppression therefore work not only to erase striking cultural contradictions among various stereotypes, but also to make class differences seem less visible. Asian women's oppression is explained as a function of their being Asian and female – their essential national and cultural identities – not as a function of an often highly limited access to resources that

might produce that oppression. It is precisely these problematic stereotypes that the contributions to this volume challenge. They do so by uncovering the practices and meanings surrounding the production, circulation, and consumption of clothing items, both "traditional" and "modern," and by both Asian men and women. In doing so, they expose the Orientalist workings of globalization that have either denied agency to Asians in general and Asian women in particular or consigned them to the realm of tradition. By highlighting the particular positions Asian consumers and producers occupy, the contributors tease out the interconnections between class and identity.

Asian women are thus not simply modern producers or traditional consumers, but a mix of all simultaneously.[27] The very same women who may be oppressed by harsh labor conditions, low pay, and coercive regimes of labor discipline on the factory floor may choose to use part of their wages to purchase fashions through which they craft themselves as members of a new generation less beholden to traditional strictures on feminine decorum. Or, they may use their paychecks to purchase newly chic "traditional" outfits. As liberating as these sartorial statements may be, they can also carry prices: the disapproving scrutiny of others for challenging standards of feminine modesty, the material reality that Third World money spent in mass consumption tends to flow back to First World corporations, or the erasure of agency due to the assumption that wearing kimonos (or salwaar-kameez or sarong or hanbok or cheongsam or ao dai) is just something that Japanese (or South Asian or Indonesian or Korean or Chinese or Vietnamese) women do. Making sense of these choices and their ramifications requires charting how and why particular people are acting through both agency and constraint, and to understand the dialectical relationships between these characteristics. One way to do this, we suggest, lies in combining insights from performance theory and practice theory.

The Practice of Performance

Choosing what clothing to make, sell, or consume are all acts of performance because they provide an opportunity to display oneself to others in ways that can register one's actual or desired identity along a variety of lines – class, occupation, gender, sexual preference, race, ethnicity, religion, age, marital status, educational level, location of residence, etc. As such, performing difference or alliance through dress is simultaneously an act of politics and of self-making. Judith Butler has argued, based on the work of Michel Foucault, that performance is always more than the pure outward expression of an inner, essential self. Rather, such a self does not exist. It is precisely through performing that identities are made under conditions of unequal access to power and resources. As such, it is a constitutive and political act (1990).[28]

The metaphor of performance proliferated in academic circles in the 1990s because it resonated with fantasies of self-making, of rejecting prefabricated identities and challenging constraints by becoming who we want to be. If identity were simply a performance, then recognizing that it was not based on anything material or essential offered the possibility for reinvention.[29] These reinventions could be obvious or, more importantly, quite subtle. Even as people appeared to be performing the roles assigned to them, they might add little touches of irony or parody that could highlight just how constructed, just how much of a charade the whole affair was. If these points could be recognized as such, then the arbitrariness of identity would be exposed in ways that might allow for even more autonomous self-creation through role-play. This was a particularly strong thread in Butler's thinking about sex and gender. As Rosalind Morris claims, "By asserting that the body assumes its sex in the culturally mandated practices of everyday life, the theory of gender performativity offers the possibility of re-styling that body in non-normative and occasionally subversive ways" (Morris 1995: 573). Performativity seemed the newest chapter in scholars' ongoing "romance of resistance" (Abu-Lughod 1990).

It is in the very metaphor of performance, however, that problems with this approach to dress and identity arise. Ironically, theorists who took as their point of departure the constraints and expectations that demand that we behave in certain ways may have underestimated just how constraining this context could be. While performativity emphasizes playing at roles, performance in fact is highly structured work. Performers require costumes, roles, and scripted lines and movements that they then memorize and enact before a critical audience. None of these is created by or dependent solely on the performer. Even improvised performances interact with audience expectations; they may challenge or startle us, but they do so by engaging us through shared understandings. All performances thus depend on preexisting conditions and meanings with which one may be able to play, but not without significant limitations. We may choose to dress in a certain way in an attempt to achieve a more privileged identity, but whether that performance is perceived by other people as believable, as "real," and hence whether we are recognized and validated as the person we wish to be, depends on how we have been previously classified. The task becomes to identify how these internally and externally produced constraints emerge, and how they affect performances.

This is precisely what practice theory has sought to do. One of the main goals of practice theory, as outlined by Bourdieu (1977 [1972], 1984) and de Certeau (1984) is to show how social and cultural structures become translated and enacted through individual daily practices, such as habits of speech, physical mannerisms, or dress, and taste in art, music, or literature. As such, practice theory shares performance theory's emphasis on how abstract social and

cultural categories become expressed and reproduced through individual actions. According to Rosalind Morris (1995), it was precisely this shared concern and the already established appeal of practice theory that provided fertile ground for the proliferation of performance theory in the 1990s.

We see in the two theories, however, a crucial difference in the weight they give to preexisting constraints. Intended as a corrective to structuralism that would allow for improvisation, uncertainty, and individuality in social life, practice theory nonetheless seems to depict people as trapped in structures that they helplessly reproduce. For example, Bourdieu (1984) convincingly shows that class is not simply economic, but social and cultural. His discussion of social and cultural capital gained currency mostly because it squared with the fluidity of late twentieth-century life, in which people of the same income may be perceived as having different class status depending on their family backgrounds, education, clothing choices, and preferences for art, music, reading, etc. At the same time, however, practice theory risks making these class distinctions seem static; class status may not be the result simply of income, but it can be calculated, almost arithmetically, by taking account of how education and social connections shape taste. Little room is afforded for individual choice or idiosyncrasy, the very factors that practice theory hoped to address.

We have, then, two theories designed to track how social and cultural forms get reproduced and reworked through individual role-play. One (practice theory) risks reducing people to the sum total of their socially and culturally defined roles. The other (performance theory) overemphasizes the notion of play in "role-play" in an attempt to focus on the artificiality of identity, the agency of the individual performer, and the potential subversiveness of even the most banal practices of dress and self-display. What is needed is a synthesis of the two: an attention to *performance practices* that tracks the constraints shaping and limiting identity creation and subversion. Even if we view the performance of self as stemming from conscious choice, we must recognize that our desire to be a certain way is not entirely self-generated, nor can we determine the outcome. The desire to perform emerges within the concrete circumstances of our existence and the way that existence has been characterized by others, and it is often with those others that the success of the performance, in the eyes of both performer and audience, is debated and determined. As such, even the performance of a desired identity can feel mandatory, and its effects can be ambiguous.

Rebecca N. Ruhlen's study of the Korean hanbok (Chapter 3 of this volume) aptly captures the uncertainty arising from attention to performance practices. Ruhlen's chapter begins with a recollection of her encounter with a senior staff member at a Korean feminist organization. The staff member normally wore Western-style clothing to work, but, on the day she was scheduled to meet with

a potential donor, she donned a hanbok instead. Ruhlen's astute analysis of this episode highlights the complicated agency involved in this choice of dress. The woman had clearly *decided* to wear a hanbok, and she chose a particularly fashionable style then considered quite modern. Even a modern hanbok, however, conjures up images of a traditional Korean woman, a fact which Ruhlen claims this particular woman consciously manipulated. She wore a hanbok in order to shroud her potentially threatening feminism in the guise/garb of the more traditional and properly demure Korean woman. Do we interpret wearing the hanbok as a performance foisted upon the woman that forces her to reenact a demure femininity so as to reinscribe the secondary status that she otherwise seeks to challenge through her activism? Or, do we see it as a conscious display to garner affirmation by an audience, expressed in the concrete form of a donation that will enable her to continue working to change gender relations in Korea? If the performance is conscious in order to manipulate her intended audience, as Ruhlen suggests it is, is it what Rosalind Morris (1995) has identified as a parodic performance, one also intended mimetically to expose how arbitrary the construction of this vision of Korean femininity is? Following in this line, does the parody succeed? It seems not to, for as Ruhlen notes, wearing a hanbok is interpreted, not just by unastute outsiders, but by Korean women themselves as just something that "we Koreans do" (page 134). To turn the wheel even further, then, what might or might not be a conscious performance to reproduce gendered assumptions mimetically in order to achieve a preformulated goal gets interpreted by the audience as an unconscious expression of essentialized gender and national identity. This outcome seems to suit the performer just fine in the short term, but it poses troubling implications for her long-term goal of reworking gender relations in Korea.

Ruhlen's analysis underscores the centrality of concepts of femininity to the practice of performing identity through dress. Being marked as part of the category "female," with all its associations with tradition and domesticity, shapes Korean women's access to modernity. They are nonetheless participating in modernity in ways that might work to their symbolic and material advantage. In doing so, they may also be able to alter the conditions of their gendered marking. The new hanbok is new, but it is also old, and the gender identity associated with it is being reconfigured and reconfirmed. Whether the performance is in fact a reconfiguration or a reconfirmation seems to depend on other factors. What access to capital – social, cultural, and economic – does the performer have? How much attention is the audience going to pay to determining the purpose behind this performance?

Projecting these concerns outward to the international stage, we suggest that by analyzing the articulations of transnational capital and human activity as

performance practices, women's actions can be seen as neither the result of a totalizing Orientalist gaze from a Western fashion industry, nor the enacting of postcolonial national scripts, nor the unproblematic expression of self. Yet the extent to which practices of dress performance are intended or received as political or resistant acts depends on the audience(s). Acts that may seem resistant in a local context can take on alternative and less radical meanings in a global context, and vice versa. Given the weighty discursive legacy of Orientalism, its reworking through globalized economic and cultural structures, and the gendering processes associated with both, self-Orientalizing and internal Orientalizing emerge as reasonable, yet highly fraught, modes for individual and state-sponsored performances of gender and national identity on the domestic and international stages.

Internal and Self-Orientalizing as National and Personal Strategies

Ruhlen's research on Korean feminists' use of the hanbok in local and international contexts provides a rich example of how wearing an item of supposedly traditional dress can be seen by the wearers as expressing pride in national identity. Such moments can serve to reify and make all the more natural the comfortable link between nation and gender. At the same time, the specific instances Ruhlen describes raise a complication: what do we make of a feminist, one who in many ways wishes to challenge Korean traditions, wearing an item so associated with tradition?[30]

If the image of a feminist wearing traditional clothing seems contradictory, that may be precisely the point, for it communicates the sense that women are, as Norma Alarcón, Caren Kaplan, and Minoo Moallem have argued, "both of and not of the nation" (Alarcón et al. 1999: 13). Because women are seen as fodder for symbols, they can simultaneously be imagined as essentially maternal and iconic of a national body, yet also different, citizens who must prove their worth through high-stakes performances of identity. The stakes become even higher in a context of globalization and transnational exchange that seems to challenge or at least destabilize that identity. Thus, while transnational exchanges in wealth or ideas appear to facilitate a well-meaning transnational feminism, these representations are still grounded in, and reinscribe, national affiliations. Orientalizing gazes, both across and within national boundaries, can serve local national goals. The feminist clad in traditional garb reinterpreted as a modern fashion statement provides Koreans unsure about their status within a globalized economy with a reassuring image that even as things change, the core of national identity remains in Korean hands.

Orientalist rhetoric is therefore co-opted, but also further elaborated, in local Asian contexts in ways that are specific to differences in power and gender, yet also serve the nation. Two forms in particular have been identified by scholars: internal Orientalism and self-Orientalism. Finding ways to interpret how each of these strategies shapes the intentions, context, and effects of Asian women's various dress choices requires that we attend not only to the oppressive institutions that benefit from their choices, but to the self-making and nation-making consequences of those decisions.

Several authors studying postcolonial and nationalist conditions in Asia have described forms of "internal Orientalism." Geraldine Heng and Janandas Devan (1992) describe an "internalized Orientalism" in the patriarchal Singaporean state that identifies those elements *within* the nation that prevent it from fully achieving a state of development that can prove it has "arrived" on the international front. In this case, those segments of the population charged with dragging down national success are consistently classed, raced, and gendered. Through a 1980s "debate" on marriage and reproductive choices, poor women of color were blamed for preventing the national success of Singapore.

Louisa Schein defines a second form of "internal Orientalism" within China. While exoticized Others are often deployed by states as a sort of exotic color that will lure sightseers, the Chinese state, according to Schein, creates a fuller spectrum of exoticized Other that has little to do with international tourism or global politics. Rather, Schein describes how the Chinese state and urban Han Chinese have created a domestic narrative of Otherness about ethnic minorities that casts the Miao ambivalently as both backward and "titillating" (2000: 101). Their proximity to nature is evidence of lack of civilization but also of erotic simplicity. Not surprisingly, the symbol of ethnic identity that serves so malleably as both positive and negative is the ethnic woman, usually dressed in colorful, ethnically identifiable clothing.

In both examples, states seeking to position themselves as civilized, strong, and worldly do so through rhetorics of self-assessment that locate progress disproportionately with certain groups and displace the blame for limitations onto clearly identifiable Others. Much as colonial states justified their rule by defining the problems of the races they sought to control as a natural feature of those races and hence one they were powerless to address themselves, modern Asian nations often identify the Other within. They do so both to rationalize economic, social, or cultural obstacles and to establish the nation, usually dominated by ethnic majority groups, as the appropriate vehicle to address those problems by civilizing the internal Other or, at the very least, constraining it.

This brings us to a second form of Orientalism that has been identified by contemporary scholars of Asia, that of self-Orientalizing. If Orientalism has an ambivalent array of meanings, then claiming control over representations of exoticism can appear to reverse the imbalance of power between the West and the Rest. Just as national discourses of internal Orientalizing allow Asian states to seize control over the process of defining who is Other, so can producing and consuming an exoticized image of one's own cultural identity be a technique for asserting discursive control that can seem to turn the negative narrative of Western Orientalism on its head.

The Asian Values debate in insular Southeast Asia has been a particularly energetic case of such work. One example is that of the Singaporean state, which has invested deeply in creating and embracing a neo-Confucian identity. The campaign, headed by Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew in the 1980s and picked up by other regional leaders in the 1990s, excavated and celebrated a narrow interpretation of Confucianism as the shared transnational heritage of all successful Asians. Part of the appeal of this rhetoric to leaders and many citizens was that it inverted the colonial-era accusation that Confucian philosophy might prevent full development (e.g., Marx's Asiatic Mode of Production, or Max Weber's argument that Confucianism was too hierarchical to allow flexible change). The Singaporean strategy has been to promote a version of Confucianism that not only instills pride in the Singaporean population for its "tradition" but provides the cultural rationale for a patriarchal state and its tactics in generating a skilled and globally attractive labor force. According to Aihwa Ong (1991, 1997), such self-Orientalist narratives are often told by national male leaders to attract foreign investors by depicting female workers as having a racially and culturally specific ability to do repetitive physical work for long hours. In this way, the now familiar refrain on the docility of Asian women workers is the result, not just of Western stereotyping, but of well-documented official investment rhetoric by Asian governments to perpetuate those stereotypes.

These self-Orientalizing moves highlight the problematic politics through which conditions of domination are resisted, yet reproduced. This can occur even when one consciously intends to combat Orientalisms. Dorinne Kondo (1997) calls such attempts "counter-Orientalisms" and uses this term to describe the ways in which Japanese fashion designers mobilize stereotypes of Asian-ness to question difference. Their efforts, however, rest on a form of self-Orientalizing that ultimately reinscribes difference.[31] Part of Kondo's discussion concerns an ad campaign for the Japanese Suit, a garment produced by Rei Kawakubo's line Comme des Garçons in the late 1980s and marketed especially to Japanese businessmen. The ads, according to Kondo, sought to counter negative global images of Japan and Japanese masculinity, ranging from

military defeat in the Second World War to the emasculation of contemporary Japanese men that we described above. The ads do so by evoking emotionally laden images of a particularly Japanese masculinity that is spiritual, harmonious, authentic, and forward-looking, even as it has been marked and Orientalized. All of this is then declared embodied in a Japanese Suit designed to appeal to conservative businessmen who might otherwise be wary of "fashion." Kondo reads the ads as doing two things at once. On the one hand, the ad campaign offers a way for Japanese men to create an affirmative masculinity that arms them against Western dominance. On the other hand, this masculinity is reactive, in that it is established on a terrain in which Japan is perpetually positioned as effeminate and inferior. The campaign plays on this fact, for in attempting to convince potential customers of the very need for such a thing as a Japanese Suit, it reinforces Japanese men's insecurities by implying the unsuitability of the British suit for their racialized bodies and identities. The Japanese Suit is thus intended to counter Orientalist depictions of Japan, at the very same time as its successful evocation of consumer desire rests on and confirms Japanese men's anxieties about being inferior mimics of Western capitalist powers.

Internal and self-Orientalizing are never simply unidirectional moves by elites against the disempowered. Just as indigenous bourgeoisies used selective strategies of "tradition" and "modernity" to resist colonial identities, so too are postcolonial populations selectively embracing elements of exoticism that serve their own purposes of self-orienting. Gender can figure centrally in this regard around questions of both masculinity and femininity. While Kondo focuses on images of Japanese manhood, the complicated conditions of who is Orientalizing whom and why similarly preclude easy interpretations of victimization or domination in representations of Asian women. Women's choices to attempt counter-Orientalisms by playing with images that might otherwise be seen as if one were Orientalizing oneself contrast with stereotypes of passive, docile Asian women, while nonetheless still reinscribing difference. It is here that this volume's dual focus – first, on Asian states' internal Orientalizing practices through images of clothed women; and, second, on mid-level, feminized Asian actors' self- and counter-Orientalizing dress practices – becomes particularly instructive.

The Chapters: Asian Dress as Re-Orienting and Re-Orientalizing

It has been our aim in this introduction to demonstrate how dress has been a primary tool in representing and deploying national and gender differences, from the days of colonial Orientalisms to the equally Orientalist context of

contemporary globalization that simultaneously promotes Asian chic, national costumes, and Western fashion. It should not be surprising that it is primarily through the feminized arena of dress that Asian nations respond by constructing internal Others so as to imagine themselves as masculine agents directing civilizing processes of economic development. It should also not be surprising that it is through dress that Asian women as consumers, marketers, and producers perform self-Orientalizing displays that contain the possibility for the kinds of counter-Orientalisms Kondo identified. As powerful and as telling as dress may be for performing alterity and resistance, it is highly limited. Just as Dick Hebdige (1979) observed about the potential for political resistance through subcultural style, styles are vulnerable to manipulation by commodity capitalism and the dominant cultural order precisely because they are so plastic and open to multiple interpretations and reinterpretations. Far from being a liberatory space of personal expression or a frivolous pastime, Asian dress has become a profound site of contestation, a source of global fascination, and a space for national debate. This makes the dress choices that Asians themselves make all the more significant.

Ultimately, we need to find some way to confront the complexity, ambiguity, and ambivalence that surround the dress decisions Asians make and the dress representations of Asia and Asians that circulate within Asia and around the world. Looked at together, the chapters in *Re-Orienting Fashion* suggest one way to do this: focus on the conditions surrounding contemporary Asian dress, from a resurgence of interest in traditional or indigenous dress, to the simultaneous adoption and adaptation of Western dress by Asians, to the embracing and reworking of Asian fashion elements by Western designers and consumers. While the precise implications of the individual instances documented in this volume vary, these chapters all seek to consider the ramifications of and conditions for using dress to make meaning in a variety of settings. The authors question the self-evident interpretations of particular moves by exploring them in context, as strategies of internal and self-Orientalizing that are part of social, cultural, economic, and political landscapes rife with specific and often contradictory stakes. They do so through an ethnographic focus on performance practices by those individuals and nations who have been marginalized by Orientalism and globalization, yet who nonetheless possess some ability to shape the conditions of their self-representations.

It is here that a focus on mid-level actors in Asian fashion becomes instructive. This volume looks at those who fall squarely in the middle between the supposedly powerful and powerless: the Asian designers, merchants, and consumers who make decisions about what clothing to make, to sell, and to wear. Often invisible in studies of globalization and fashion that focus on the macro and the powerful or in anthropological works which tend to explore

the lives of the clearly dispossessed, mid-level actors need to be examined as economically, politically, and culturally of crucial importance. They are producers, but not the disempowered working classes assumed in the literature on women and development. They are consumers, but not the type of powerful "global dictators" heralded by theorists of consumption such as Daniel Miller (1995a). By critically engaging with Orientalisms in all their forms, and reorienting attention to the intermediate players in global exchanges, the chapters expose the struggles, political limits, and possibilities mid-level actors face. Instead of voiceless victims or powerful agents, these are people who are betwixt and between, whose dress decisions involve complicated moves of internal and self-Orientalizing and are as likely to yield material benefit or cultural status as they are to reproduce economic, social, cultural, or symbolic marginality. That's what makes them so interesting.

Four of our authors (Niessen, Leshkowich, Ruhlen, and Bhachu) take as their point of departure the rediscovery of Asian women's so-called traditional dress, either by Asian women themselves or by interested external parties. One way to interpret this trend is to understand these fashions as continuations of ancient traditions. In attending in fine detail to each of these instances, the authors find that cases of apparent tradition are in fact strategic rediscoveries and remakings of tradition. In this way, wearing traditional dress can be seen as trendy, modern, or fashionable precisely because it is a self-Orientalizing move that often involves a distanced gaze or nostalgia for a precapitalist past. Indeed, the chapters by Niessen, Leshkowich, Ruhlen, and Bhachu challenge typical stereotypes of Asian women as easy symbols of either modernity or tradition. Rather, many of the women they describe are strikingly aware of the stakes involved in their choices. At the same time, transnational and domestic interactions involving divisions of class, gender, and ethnicity often shape how and when women choose to perform self-Orientalizing moves and whether these moves enhance or diminish the performer's status.

Sandra Niessen explores three scenarios from the history of Batak clothing to show how the design changes effected by this North Sumatran group's supposedly traditional weavers have been profoundly entangled in global fashion dynamics. Niessen begins by tracing how tumultuous social change during the Dutch colonial era and ongoing trade with Malays led Karo Batak weavers to discard their customary blue indigo dye in favor of the rarer and higher-status red – a color that is now seen as typically Karo Batak. Today, that same dynamism and incorporation of outside influences are apparent in the creation of what Niessen refers to as "modern traditional" outfits. These are clothes, such as the "Toba Batak sarong," that are recent innovations, combining traditional Batak patterns or weaving techniques with external design influences and materials to create ethnic-chic outfits. Niessen's account

of Batak clothing highlights the dynamism of this fashion system in ways that challenge conventional notions of a dichotomy between unchanging traditional dress and ever-changing Western fashion. Such accounts should prompt us to reconsider how scholars define fashion and understand its workings, an argument which Niessen explores further in the Afterword to this volume.

It is important to see Bataks as having a fashion system, but Niessen's chapter also highlights the disadvantages of participating in larger circuits of clothing design and marketing. What for Bataks is a combination of income-earning and the reproduction of ethnic identity is also the reproduction of class and ethnic inequality in the larger Indonesian and global context. From colonial times to the present era of globalization and ethnic chic, Batak weavers clearly have exercised agency in responding to outside forces and making "strategic design decisions." But their survival has entailed a loss of control. They have become laborers whose designs are commissioned by outsiders or quasi-outsiders, such as the cosmopolitan "Ibu M.," a Batak woman living in Jakarta whose access to high-end fashion boutiques has given her a self-Orientalizing perspective. She knows how to translate Batak designs into fashions that will sell in urban Indonesia and abroad. As the styles gain currency through the design work of Ibu M., the weavers' agency gets erased. Lacking the privilege necessary for self-Orientalizing to be interpreted as a mark of status, they are instead assigned the label of traditional, the internal and eternal Others within the Indonesian nation who are left to drift into "anonymous obscurity."

Ann Marie Leshkowich's account of the Vietnamese ao dai offers a parallel case of how the circumstances of globalization have prompted a self-Orientalizing reinvention and rediscovery of so-called traditional dress. Here, however, the outcome seems more positive, because both the Vietnamese nation and the urban middle-class women in Ho Chi Minh City who tailor, sell, buy, and wear the garments benefit from the reconfiguration of an imagined tradition in the ao dai. By tracing the garment's circulation historically and during the 1990s' "ao dai craze," Leshkowich shows how this supposedly indigenous garment has in fact emerged through the incorporation of external stylistic elements: from China, France, and the United States in the past, and from international fashion trends and diasporic kin today. These influences have made the garment a hybrid product, one that seems familiar and yet fashionable to its contemporary wearers in Vietnam and in the Vietnamese diaspora. The garment is also familiarly exotic to outsiders, and their appreciation for it only enhances its status within Vietnam. While Vietnamese tend to celebrate the garment as reflecting a charming traditional femininity, Leshkowich suggests that this tradition has become valuable precisely because of its emergence as a modern, popular trend consistent with the global turn toward homogenized heterogeneity. As she writes, "The decision to wear an

ao dai is just as influenced by global fashion trends as is the decision to buy Levi's" (000). The women who make or buy ao dai are thus engaging in self-Orientalizing to position themselves as conversant with cultured modernity by claiming knowledge of their ethnic heritage and a globally informed understanding of why that heritage is valuable and fashionable. The enduring appeal of finding national unity and difference on the bodies of Vietnamese women is clear, but so is the fact that being part of such a trend can afford middle-class women personal pleasure, social status, and material benefit.

In a different context, the Korean feminists whom Rebecca N. Ruhlen studies chose to wear the hanbok at national and international women's events and for fund-raising purposes, but not because they necessarily embraced some essentialist version of Korean traditional femininity. Quite the contrary, for as feminists they explicitly advocated challenging elements of women's traditional roles. Instead, they saw the moment of the Asian Economic Crisis and foreign financial intervention through the IMF as a politically charged context in which to reestablish Korean national identity to both foreign NGO observers and to themselves. They found an available and readily understandable avenue for doing this through an appeal to the past and through a sense of frugality, messages they felt they could convey through a hanbok that was nonetheless reconfigured as modern fashion and dubbed a "lifestyle hanbok." At the same time, this symbol of femininity seemed attractive precisely because it softened the potentially hard edges of feminism and insulated the wearers from accusations that feminism is a form of Western neo-imperialism that produces "Yankee whores" (page 130). The women may have claimed that wearing hanbok is just something that Koreans do, but there seemed a self-awareness to their decision to self-Orientalize. We have already described how Ruhlen's discussion vibrantly captures the stakes involved in such a move. Here, let us simply reiterate that the success of the hanbok as a feminist strategy depends in part on the concealment of it as a conscious, political move, at least on the terrain of gender. To the extent that wearing the hanbok seems natural, however, essentialized notions of Korean femininity go unchallenged and risk becoming reinscribed.

With Parminder Bhachu's study of the British South Asian women who design and market salwaar-kameez, we see women who are astutely aware of what is at stake in the contest over their appearances. The British Asian clothing merchants whom Bhachu studied have been able to exploit and profit from a trend toward salwaar-kameez in the United Kingdom, as well as other Western European settings, precisely because of their savvy awareness and creation of trends. Interestingly, this awareness has come from what might otherwise seem to be women tailors' and designers' positions of marginality, as intergenerational cycles of multiple migration have constructed them as

outsiders in various new locales, and yet made them expert in understanding the contours of those differences and how to navigate them. Bhachu demonstrates that British South Asian women have successfully recoded the salwaar-kameez as both an expression of national and personal pride and a trendy fashion garment appealing to an increasingly diverse clientele, including Princess Diana. As a result, the designers have experienced commercial success. Yet, given the fact that the period of Bhachu's research coincided with the spread of violent racial conflict on British streets, we wonder to what degree celebrations of Asian styles, in particular a romanticized, feminized representation centered on women's dress, provide a kind of superficial multiculturalism that ultimately still refuses to address the racialized differences of British social life. Of all the chapters in this volume, the benefits of self-Orientalizing seem greatest for the women described by Bhachu, and they welcome the affirmation provided by the salwaar-kameez's entry into high fashion. It may be that these fashion developments provide a point of entry for substantive cross-cultural engagement and dialogue. There is nonetheless still a danger that the agency and creativity of South Asian designers will be interpreted by others as the essentialized and unreflexive expression of their femininity and South Asianness.

The chapters in this volume seek to destabilize the link between woman and nation by revealing how the connections are always historically specific, politically oriented, and the result of cultural work. In their exploration of representations of ethnic minority women in Vietnamese government propaganda posters, Hjorleifur R. Jonsson and Nora A. Taylor find that the foundations for a national need to identify and control ethnic difference lie significantly in a postcolonial condition. Jonsson and Taylor argue that the versions of ethnic difference through which the Vietnamese state has promoted national unity, both in the mid-twentieth century and in the 1990s, relied on a self-Orientalizing link between traditional women's dress and national identity. They trace this discursive strategy to French efforts to entrench colonial rule through ordering and classifying the different races dwelling in their domain. A newly independent Vietnamese government, faced with the task of defining itself and the people in whose name it rules, turned to the preexisting Orientalist classificatory apparatus of the French colonial state, imbuing it with Marxist rhetoric about nation, modernity, and progress. Even as the state today propagates a multiethnic vision of the modern Vietnamese nation, it deploys highly stylized and partial icons of that difference in order to feminize it and hence render it controllable, manipulatable, and ordered. The propaganda poster is the contemporary heir of the French divide-and-rule policy, a vehicle for expressing the magnanimity of the ethnic Vietnamese majority state toward its internal, and eternally backward, minority Others. As Jonsson and Taylor

found, the response of these Others can often be to reject these markers by embracing non-signified dress. Women's dress thus becomes a pliable symbol for signifying backwardness at certain moments, and national superiority at others. That the minority people being signified do not respond by embracing and recoding their supposedly ethnic costumes as trendy fashions, as in the cases described by Bhachu and Leshkowich, testifies to their alienation from material and discursive centers of power. They simply do not have the privilege of self-Orientalizing.

Just as the chapters in this volume belie the impression of ethnic dress as easy continuations of timeless tradition, they also complicate what seem to be instances of simple adoptions of "Western" style. Carla Jones describes how Indonesian women who chose to adopt dress styles in ways that might be interpreted as a wholesale embrace or unconscious, but failed, imitation of the modern. These women's interest in global trends might also seem like an example of the sort of unreflexive, superficial pursuit of status or face that is a common stereotype of Asian women consumers. But Jones's account of Indonesian women who enrolled in courses on appropriate and professional appearance emphasizes the importance of class position when analyzing questions of dress and personal identity. In these courses, middle-class and aspiring middle-class women in the Javanese city of Yogyakarta sought expertise from wealthier and higher-status women who had greater access to global trends. Jones shows how these students treated research and choices about dress as a way of participating in the struggle over national culture in Indonesia. State development programs for women during the New Order regime of President Suharto engaged in self-Orientalizing claims that linked an invented version of traditional dress to conservative forms of femininity, domesticity, and housewifery. Official rhetoric suggested that women's dress choices be read as indexes of moral rather than class difference, even as this period saw the creation of increasingly deep class divisions under the regime's embrace of industrial capitalism. As a result, what might appear to an outside observer as a direct copy of a Western suit, in fact communicated the wearer's attempt to claim some control over her own appearance and propriety. At the same time, the wearer's use of that suit as a tool for attempting upward class mobility complicated official narratives that had decoupled dress from class. Jones shows that through Indonesian public concern over the appropriate form of the model woman citizen, the connections between nation and woman have to be continually remade, in part through the fashioning of the Indonesian woman's body.

In a similar way, but on the other end of the design spectrum, Lise Skov's analysis in Chapter 7 reveals the double bind Hong Kong fashion designers feel. Skov describes Hong Kong fashion designers who see no contradiction

between being proudly Hong Kongers and their desire to create "Western" fashions, yet foreign buyers who exercise control over orders and commercial success reinscribe fundamental Orientalist differences they see between East and West. Such designers experience frustrating limitations on their creativity, professional and financial success, and personal identities, yet do not understand their desire to "make it" in the world of "Western" fashions as being inconsistent with pride in their Chinese heritage. Skov's piece reveals how Hong Kong designers find the global trend for "Chinese" fashions to be ultimately disempowering. While Shanghai Tang chic provided enormous cachet and wealth to Hong Kong entrepreneur David Tang and a select few elites, many aspiring and less powerful Hong Kong designers found the trend suffocating, preventing them from viable economic success unless they designed "Chinese" styles. If they took this route, however, they risked being seen as "ethnic" designers doing what supposedly comes naturally to them as a legacy of their heritage, and hence not as independent agents pushing the boundaries of fashion. Not having made it in the fashion business means that experimenting with self-Orientalizing design strategies poses the same risk of a loss of agency for cosmopolitan Hong Kong designers that Niessen described for rural Batak weavers.

Against a backdrop of Orientalism that has defined and continues to shape the meaning of Asian dress styles and practices, even in this era of globalization, the seven chapters of this volume demonstrate that self-Orientalizing and internal Orientalizing have become widespread and viable techniques for attempting to acquire material and discursive power. These moves, however, inevitably involve trade-offs, as certain kinds of difference get challenged and reworked to advantage, while others get reinscribed. Dress may be key to a performative construction of identity, but the effects of that performance seem largely to lie beyond the performer, with an audience that may or may not be amenable to having its assumptions exposed and its discursive constructions questioned.

In her Afterword, Sandra Niessen points to another way in which this volume exposes assumptions and questions discursive constructions: namely, what she describes as the Orientalist discourse that assumes "fashion" as stylistic innovations over time to be exclusively a Western phenomenon. Niessen provocatively suggests that this conception of fashion, one that remains largely unchallenged by fashion theorists, rests on an oppositional West/Rest construction. Empirically speaking, this opposition no longer holds, for the chapters in this volume amply demonstrate how thoroughly Asian dress has become enmeshed in global fashion practices. Discursively, however, the opposition remains strong, and has even gathered momentum, as people around the world evaluate their own dress practices through the lens of a dichotomy

between the modern West and the traditional Rest. Accepting this dichotomy thus amounts to confirming the discursive terms on which the international fashion industry bases its power. Playing on this volume's title, Niessen calls for a "re-orientation" of fashion theory to take account of the production of fashion/anti-fashion oppositions as integral to the discursive and material power of global fashion.

Conclusion

Taken together, the studies in this volume highlight the ways in which the globalization of Asian dress, both in terms of the spread of Asian style throughout the world and in terms of the growing prevalence of other forms of dress in Asia, has been accomplished through Orientalist ways of knowing, particularly the construction of an opposition between a modern, masculine West and a traditional, feminine Orient. Interest in Asian style during the 1990s may have stemmed from a genuine desire for cultural appreciation or a recognition of the growing global power of Asian economies, but it tended to reduce heritage and difference to a feminized, essentialized, and unthreatening accent or an exotic flair.

These processes are particularly interesting in their effects on people who get caught in the middle because of their class, race, and gender identity or their economic, social, and cultural practices. In this introduction, we have argued that, as a whole, the case studies in this volume suggest a productive methodology for tracking these effects: an attention to performance practices that combines insights from both practice theory and performance theory. By looking at the practice of Asian dress performances, we can explore the decisions Asians, within and outside of Asia, make in ways that highlight the agency in their creation of self, while at the same time exploring the constraints on those choices – constraints typically posed by preexisting discourses and positions. We can also look at the ramifications of those choices, particularly the circumstances under which the highly fraught strategies of self-Orientalizing and internal Orientalizing succeed or fail in garnering material and symbolic power for those who deploy them.

The volume's title *Re-Orienting Fashion* reflects our goal of revealing how the globalization of Asian dress has been accompanied by a contradictory traffic in representations of Asian men and women through the surfaces and appearances of their bodies. The chapters in this volume analyze Asian dress practices within constrained terrains as often simultaneously empowering (and hence re-orienting of global power structures) and disempowering (and therefore re-Orientalizing of Asia and Asians). By attending to the material and

discursive stakes of fashion as a site for performing racial and gendered difference, we suggest that the authors in this volume position fashion and gender as fundamental, yet under-studied, elements of the global circulation of wealth and images. What people choose to make, sell, or wear is a vibrant site for the generation of wealth under global capitalism that relies on circulations of value that are not only economic but also psychic, personal, and national. These chapters reveal contradictions between images of Asian women as passive preserves of national cultures or as evidence of corruption and Western masculine domination. One goal of this volume is to offer a correction to these images through ethnographies of those women and men who stand to lose or gain by making fashion choices. By charting their choices, the limitations they face, and the meanings they make, the authors expand our understanding of how both globalization and Orientalism continue to be refashioned in everyday life. As a result, each chapter carefully disabuses us of any simple confirmation that power, both material and discursive, is written onto women's bodies. Rather, this volume challenges us to recognize the players and the stakes involved in shaping what we all wear, and why what we wear matters.

Notes

1. This introduction is the result of three years of conversation and collaboration. During that time, we have benefited from the kind assistance and keen insights of several readers. Sandra Niessen and Bruce Knauft have offered insightful critique of numerous versions of this text and have been constant and patient sources of support, for which we are most grateful. We would also like to thank Carla Freeman, Joanne Eicher, and one anonymous reviewer for reading and commenting on drafts of this chapter. The Vernacular Modernities Program, funded by Emory University and the Ford Foundation, and a Research and Publications Grant from College of the Holy Cross provided us with the funds to develop and reflect on the ideas in this chapter. We would also like to thank our families, particularly Meredith Leshkowich, whose care and good humor allowed us to concentrate on this project.

2. In using the term "Asian" to describe the globalization of Asian dress, we do not mean to suggest that such a singular or homogeneous place called "Asia" exists. To the contrary, this volume seeks to highlight the problematic use of a label to capture or describe a diverse and vibrant region that has come to be labeled Asia. Yet precisely because the appeal of the category has been so successful in Western rhetoric about an Asian Other, we use the term in this introduction to refer to the discursive category that is popularly known as Asia.

3. To North American audiences, *National Geographic* is perhaps the most familiar example of mass-media images of a primitive and authentic Other. As Catherine Lutz and Jane Collins argue about the narratives of difference and progress promoted in that magazine, exotic dress has been a particularly salient way for editors and readers

to interpret difference through an evolutionary framework as variously primitive, authentic, or just "bad taste" (1993: 93).

4. These discourses were by no means limited to Asia or the Middle East. As Jean Comaroff argues, colonial discourses of difference and superiority were made in the context of imperial conquest in Africa as well. She states that the joint endeavor of the civilizing missions of Protestant missionaries, colonial conquest, and industrial capitalism in South Africa made clothes "at once commodities and accoutrements of a civilized self. They were to prove a privileged means for constructing new forms of value, personhood, and history on the colonial frontier" (1996: 19).

5. Tarlo's discussion of colonial dress focuses largely on the politically charged and limited choices men made in the colonial period. Tarlo does not address the issue of women's dress, rather suggesting that women seemed to maintain "traditional" forms of dress. As discussed below, Partha Chatterjee's research argues that women's dress in India had as much to do with a strategically nationalist invented tradition as it did with an apparently natural and continued tradition.

6. During this time, Dutch colonists were likewise affected by this unequal traffic in ideas, enacting in the Indies new forms of gender relations that offered both new freedoms and limitations to European women. Taylor links these to European women's early embrace of the sarong in the eighteenth century, and to their ultimate abandonment of it in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in favor of European fashions that enforced racial and gender boundaries. However, the colonial state particularly deployed the masculine symbolism of the uniquely colonial suit, one that included Javanese batik and embroidery. In so doing, the colonial suit not only imitated the dress of the European middle-class gentleman, but also acquired "a significance as the costume of the ruler rather than of the citizen" (Taylor 1997: 97).

7. In a similar vein, Lata Mani's research on the debate of the practice of *sati* in colonial India reveals how wresting political and military control from the native man was founded on the fantasy of European liberation of the native woman (1998).

8. Vicente Rafael argues that this trope of the native "penchant for mimicry" was central to the American discourse of "benevolent" colonialism in the Philippines. Because Filipinos were perceived to have no capability for original thought, they required instruction on how to be civilized, thereby justifying the American presence as teachers and rationalizing Filipinos into subjects for subjugation (2000: 34).

9. Chakrabarty analyzed bourgeois domesticity in colonial Bengal through domestic science textbooks and magazines for women. He found that these texts focused on crafting cultural distinctions between "European" and "Indian" through the domestic sphere. As such, there was agreement on the need to adopt apparently culturally neutral practices like hygiene, discipline, and order in the home, but more negotiation about what companionate marriage meant. The notion that a Bengali wife should also be her husband's friend was, Chakrabarty argues, threatening to the very order of authority in the home, for it suggested that a wife should be "a modern individual" (1992: 13). Similarly, Stoler and Cooper (1997) argue that indigenous bourgeoisies were highly influenced by the colonial rhetoric in which these classes were formed. Domestic arrangements, notions of family intimacy, and dress were all linked to attempts to form morally comparable complements to colonial superiority.

10. India is not the only example of how European styles were seen as inappropriate for new national femininities. Tai (1992) argues that the image of the "New Woman" was problematic for 1920s Vietnamese anticolonial revolutionaries. They wished to link a new, modern Vietnamese femininity to an emerging sense of the nation, but rejected European forms of femininity, as exemplified by wearing Western fashions and cosmetics such as lipstick. Similar imagery is common in the revolutionary era-writings of the Dutch East Indies. See, e.g., Achdiat Kartamihardja's *Atheis* (1981 [1952]), or Adboel Moeis's *Salah Asoehan* (1982 [1928]), in which female characters who wear European-style clothes, lipstick, and perfume fail to find happiness or meet tragic fates.

11. Because globalization involves the flow of things, ideas, and people across national borders, the current era is also often described as one of transnationalism. The difference between the terms lies mostly in the scope of the activities they describe. Globalization often refers to abstract processes not located in any particular place, while transnationalism describes the more concrete movement of people and things across nation-states (Kearney 1995; Basch et al. 1994; see also Appadurai 1996; Cvetkovich and Kellner 1997; Giddens 1990; Hannerz 1996; Robertson 1992; Wilson and Dissanayake 1996).

12. For overviews of the homogenization perspective, see Miller (1995a, 1995b) and Howes (1996). Arjun Appadurai notes that left-leaning scholars in media studies were particularly influential in making such arguments and cites Hamelink (1983), Mattelart (1983), and Schiller (1976) as examples (Appadurai 1996: 32). Ethnographic studies of local resistance to commodity capitalism (see, e.g., Taussig 1980 and Lan 1985) bolstered this view.

13. Within anthropology, consumption has gone from being criticized as inauthentic, superficial, and uncreative to being seen as a meaningful, personal, and innovative way to construct and express identity or as a potentially subversive site of resistance. See, for example, Abu-Lughod (1990, 1995b), Bourdieu (1984), Breckenridge (1995), Burke (1996), Carsten (1989), Comaroff (1990), Douglas and Isherwood (1978), Freeman (2000), Hannerz (1996), Howes (1996), McCracken (1988), Mackay (1997), Rutz and Orlove (1989), Toren (1989), and Weismantel (1989).

14. This observation has become so prevalent that at least four different terms have been coined to describe it: "hybridization" (García Canclini 1992), "creolization" (Hannerz 1996), "domestication" (Tobin 1992), and "localization" (Appadurai 1996). The difference between these terms seems to stem from the extent of local agency, the amount of creativity involved, and the degree to which the particular product in question becomes transformed (see, e.g., Howes 1996).

15. Examples include those focusing on "ethnic" art, clothing, dance, and tourism, such as Abu-Lughod (1990), Breckenridge (1995), Cvetkovich and Kellner (1997), Errington (1989), Freeman (2000 and 2001), Hendrickson (1996), Howes (1996), Kondo (1997), Price (1989), Savigliano (1995), Schein (2000), Steiner (1994), Tarlo (1996), and Tobin (1992).

16. Similar points have also been made about the creation of visions of culture for internal, domestic consumption. For example, Richard Wilk claims that the idea of something called Belizean culture emerged in the late 1980s, through the operation

of a global system promoting "*structures of common difference*, which celebrate particular kinds of diversity while submerging, deflating, or suppressing others" (Wilk 1995: 118, italics in original).

17. Arjun Appadurai identifies a similar category of elites: the transnational migrants who move across various global "scapes" (1996).

18. This distinction between cosmopolitans and locals mirrors other social scientists' understanding of the global/local dichotomy (see, e.g., Ong 1999; Wilson and Dissanayake 1996).

19. The article appears originally to have been published by the *Washington Post* (Harden 1985). All references in this introduction are to that version.

20. Economically speaking, the smuggling routes might be a primary way that such items enter Nigeria. The original article's discussion of the scope of illegal trade – $5 billion in 1983 alone, or approximately half of the country's total income from exports – provides support for this assessment (Harden 1985).

21. For example, Ong notes that transnationality among Chinese subjects, whether it be through flexible citizenship, migration, or multiple residences, is conditioned by "family regimes that generally valorize mobile masculinity and localized femininity" (1999: 20).

22. For more detail and analysis on the rhetoric of that moment, see Nonini and Ong (1997).

23. This gender bias has an interesting history. Davidoff and Hall (1987) trace it to the late eighteenth- to early nineteenth-century origins of a British middle class that viewed the world as separated into two domains, the public and the private, the former being male and powerful, and the latter being female and of lesser significance. Mica Nava (1997) argues that by the Victorian era this link between women and domesticity had so deeply entrenched fears of women's entry into the public sphere that social commentators and subsequent scholars rhetorically lambasted shopping as a wanton, lustful display of unrestrained feminine desire. Women's shopping was thus glossed as private, sexual, and dangerous, rather than as public, economic, necessary, and positive. According to Susan Bordo (2000), this conflation of consumption with dangerous feminine appetites continues today and can be seen in ads that simultaneously urge women to give in to their desires, while also suggesting that those desires are illicit. In contrast, as Campbell (1997) and Gladwell (2000) demonstrate, ads targeting men show none of this complexity or ambivalence and instead espouse clear utilitarian messages about how the items illustrated would unproblematically fulfill men's basic needs.

24. The distinction between the "fake" world of style and the "real" world of work was one shared by Second Wave feminists in the United States, who critiqued consumption in general and fashion in particular for trapping women in unfulfilling domestic roles and objectifying them as sexual objects to be displayed through dress and makeup. Women were urged to reject consumption by entering the productive world of work and embracing a more utilitarian or natural appearance (cf. Friedan 1963; Brownmiller 1984).

25. This view is, of course, complicated by a factor that Maria Mies (1986) points out: women exist on both sides of this divide, in both the First and Third Worlds. In

the First World, they act primarily as consumers; in the Third, they serve as producers. Mies's analysis equates the international division of labor and consumption with a patriarchy in which First World women consumers are singly oppressed, while Third World female producers are doubly so. While we see ample cause to complicate Mies's consumer/producer dichotomy, her claims support the idea of an unquestionably masculine global industrial regime.

26. Descriptions of Japanese luxury goods shoppers by both Japanese and foreign observers are striking in their implication that these individuals, most of them women aged 25–35, lack restraint, maturity, and agency. An article on the Japan Economic Foundation website describes "carefree young women with deep pockets" whose "brand fever" and "buying binge" are unchecked by economic recession (Japan Economic Foundation 2001). In a special *Time Magazine Asia* issue on how the world sees Japan, Natalie Warady describes the "factory-like" scene in the Paris Louis Vuitton store, as Japanese tourists wishing "to buy anything with a logo" wait for hours and are then briskly processed by curt salespeople (2001). In the same article, Naoki Takizawa, a designer for Issey Miyake, is quoted as worrying that "some of them [Japanese women] feel much more security when they wear the same thing as everyone else." Mari Kawasjee, the communications director at Louis Vuitton Japan "loves her job," but worries that "'brand-name articles are like drugs'" (Kobayashi 2002). Fumiteru Nitta's research (1992) challenges such dismissive characterizations. Nitta found that Japanese tourists in Hawai'i often purchase luxury items as gifts for families and friends back home and invest considerable research, time, and thought in doing so.

27. This view is consistent with recent challenges in scholarship on gender and development to Maria Mies's (1986) earlier characterization of First World women as consumers and Third World women as producers. See for example Freeman (2000), Mills (1999), and Mohanty (1997).

28. Butler's now well-known interpretation of the personal dress styles of lesbian women makes this point nicely. She argues against the suggestion that the choice to wear either "butch" styles, which mimic masculine dress, or "femme" styles, which mimic feminine dress, simply reinforces the dominant heterosexual narrative. Rather, to Butler, such choices are politically subversive precisely through their mimicry.

29. Scholars working in anthropological, sociological, and cultural studies have found performance theory especially useful in interpreting embodiment, gender, and resistance. See, for example, Bettie (2000), Boddy (1989), Combs-Schilling (1989), Garber (1992), Herdt (1993 [1984]), and Herzfeld (1985).

30. This moment seems to confirm what Chandra Mohanty has identified as a central limitation of transnational feminism, namely the continued reinscription of nation and woman as mutually codetermining, with "third world woman" as a timeless victim (1997).

31. Kondo develops this concept from Marta Savigliano's analysis of the Argentine rediscovery of tango (1995). Scholars working in other world regions have found similar counter-Orientalist strategies at work (see, e.g., Conklin 1997). A particularly striking example is the phenomenon of veiling among elite and middle-class women

in a variety of countries, such as Egypt, Indonesia, and Malaysia. These movements have strategically relied on rhetoric that can be called counter-Orientalist, but which scholars have argued also brings unique and unintended consequences for the women in and excluded from these movements (see, e.g., Abu-Lughod 1995a, Brenner 1996, Ong 1990). Edward Said, in the afterword to a later edition of *Orientalism*, also comments on the limits of using Orientalist logic in political critique. He argues that attempts to prove an essential positional superiority usually re-inscribe problematic stereotypes (1994 [1978]).

References

Abu-Lughod, Lila (1990), "The Romance of Resistance: Tracing Transformations of Power Through Bedouin Women," *American Ethnologist* 17(1): 41–55.

—— (1995a), "Movie Stars and Islamic Moralism in Egypt," in *Social Text* 42: 53–68.

—— (1995b), "The Objects of Soap Opera: Egyptian Television and the Cultural Politics of Modernity," in Daniel Miller (ed.), *Worlds Apart*, London and New York: Routledge.

Alarcón, Norma, Kaplan, Caren, and Moallem, Minoo (1999), "Introduction: Between Woman and Nation," in Caren Kaplan, Norma Alarcón, and Minoo Moallem (eds), *Between Woman and Nation: Nationalisms, Transnational Feminisms and the State*, Durham: Duke University Press.

Appadurai, Arjun (1990), "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy," *Public Culture* 2(3): 1–24.

—— (1996), *Modernity at Large*, Minneapolis: Minnesota University Press.

Basch, Linda, Schiller, Nina Glick, and Blanc, Cristina Szanton (eds) (1994), *Nations Unbound*, Langhorne, PA: Gordon and Breach.

Bettie, Julie (2000), "Women Without Class: *Chicas*, *Cholas*, Trash, and the Presence/Absence of Class Identity," *Signs* 26(1): 1–35.

Bhabha, Homi (1997), "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse," in Frederick Cooper and Ann Stoler (eds), *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Boddy, Janice (1989), *Wombs and Alien Spirits: Women, Men, and the Zar Cult in Northern Sudan*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Bordo, Susan (2000), "Hunger as Ideology," in Juliet B. Schor and Douglas B. Holt (eds), *The Consumer Society Reader*, New York: The New Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre (1977 [1972]), *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (trans. by Richard Nice), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

—— (1984), *Distinction*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Breckenridge, Carol A. (ed.) (1995), *Consuming Modernity: Public Culture in a South Asian World*, Minneapolis and New York: University of Minnesota Press.

Brenner, Suzanne (1996), "Reconstructing Self and Society: Javanese Muslim Women and 'the Veil'," *American Ethnologist* 23(4): 673–97.

Brownmiller, Susan (1984), *Femininity*, New York: Linden Press/Simon and Schuster.
Burke, Timothy (1996), *Lifebuoy Men, Lux Women: Commodification, Consumption and Cleanliness in Modern Zimbabwe*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
Butler, Judith (1990), *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, New York: Routledge.
Campbell, Colin (1997), "Shopping, Pleasure, and the Sex War," in Pasi Falk and Colin Campbell (eds), *The Shopping Experience*, London: Sage.
Carsten, Janet (1989), "Cooking Money: Gender and the Symbolic Transformation of Means of Exchange in a Malay Fishing Community," in Jonathan P. Parry and Maurice Bloch (eds), *Money and the Morality of Exchange*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Chakrabarty, Dipesh (1992), "Postcoloniality and the Artifice of History: Who Speaks for 'Indian' Pasts?" *Representations* 37: 1–26.
Chatterjee, Partha (1993), *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
Collier, Jane Fishburne (1974), "Women in Politics," in Michelle Zimbalist Rosaldo and Louise Lamphere (eds), *Woman, Culture, and Society*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.
Comaroff, Jean (1990), "Goodly Beasts and Beastly Goods," *American Ethnologist* 17(2): 195–216.
—— (1996), "The Empire's Old Clothes: Fashioning the Colonial Subject," in David Howes (ed.), *Cross-Cultural Consumption: Global Markets, Local Realities*, London and New York: Routledge.
Combs-Schilling, M.E. (1989), *Sacred Performances: Islam, Sexuality, and Sacrifice*, New York: Columbia University Press.
Conklin, Beth (1997), "Body Paint, Feathers, and VCRs: Aesthetics and Authenticity in Amazonian Activism," *American Ethnologist* 24(4): 711–37.
Corliss, Richard (1993), "Pacific Overtures," *Time*, 13 September: 68–70.
Cvetkovich, Ann and Kellner, Douglas (eds) (1997), *Articulating the Global and the Local*, Boulder, CO: Westview.
Davidoff, Leonore and Hall, Catherine (1987), *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780–1850*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
de Certeau, Michel (1984), *The Practice of Everyday Life* (trans. by Steven Randall), Berkeley: University of California Press.
Douglas, Mary and Isherwood, Baron (eds) (1978), *The World of Goods*, London: Allen Lane.
Errington, Shelly (1989), "Fragile Traditions and Contested Meanings," *Public Culture* 1(2): 49–59.
Fan, Hong (1997), *Footbinding, Feminism and Freedom: The Liberation of Women's Bodies in Modern China*, London and Portland, OR: Frank Cass.
Fanon, Frantz (1965), *A Dying Colonialism*, New York: Grove.
Freeman, Carla (2000), *High Tech and High Heels in the Global Economy: Women, Work and Pink-Collar Identities in the Caribbean*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

—— (2001), "Is Local : Global as Feminine : Masculine? Rethinking the Gender of Globalization," *Signs* 26(4): 1007–37.
Friedan, Betty (1963), *The Feminine Mystique*, New York: Norton.
Garber, Marjorie (1992), *Vested Interests: Cross Dressing and Cultural Anxiety*, New York: Routledge.
García Canclini, Nestor (1992), *Consumers and Citizens: Globalization and Multicultural Conflicts*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
Giddens, Anthony (1990), *The Consequences of Modernity*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.
Gladwell, Malcolm (2000), "Listening to Khakis: What America's Most Popular Pants Tell Us about the Way Guys Think," in Jennifer Scanlon (ed.), *The Gender and Consumer Culture Reader*, New York: New York University Press.
Golden, Arthur (1997), *Memoirs of a Geisha*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
Hamelink, Cees J. (1983), *Cultural Autonomy in Global Communications*, New York: Longman.
Hannerz, Ulf (1996), *Transnational Connections*, London and New York: Routledge.
Harden, Blaine (1985), "Flying Smugglers Supply Nigerians," *Washington Post*, October 10: A29.
Harvey, David (1989), *The Condition of Postmodernity*, Cambridge: Blackwell.
Hebdige, Dick (1979), *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*, London and New York: Routledge.
Hendrickson, Carol (1996), "Negotiating Identities in Consumption: Global Markets, Local Realities," in David Howes (ed.), *Cross-Cultural Consumption*, London and New York: Routledge.
Heng, Geraldine and Devan, Janandas (1992), "State Fatherhood: The Politics of Nationalism, Sexuality, and Race in Singapore," in Andrew Parker, Mary Russo, Doris Sommer, and Patricia Yaeger (eds), *Nationalism and Sexualities*, New York: Routledge.
Herdt, Gilbert H. (ed.) (1993 [1984]), *Ritualized Homosexuality in Melanesia*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
Herzfeld, Michael (1985), *The Poetics of Manhood: Contest and Identity in a Cretan Mountain Village*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
Honour, Hugh (1961), *Chinoiserie: The Vision of Cathay*, New York: Harper and Row.
Howes, David (ed.) (1996), *Cross-Cultural Consumption: Global Markets, Local Realities*, London and New York: Routledge.
Japan Economic Foundation (2001), "Brand Fever Bucks Recession," *Journal of Japanese Trade and Industry*, September/October, http://www.jef.or.jp/en/jti/200109_004.html, accessed 3 August 2002.
Kartamihardja, Achdiat (1981 [1952]), *Atheis*, Jakarta: Balai Pustaka.
Kearney, M. (1995), "The Local and the Global: The Anthropology of Globalization and Transnationalism," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24: 547-65.
Kobayashi, Tsutomu (2002), "Publicist Finds Riding the Brand Name Wave Full of Thrills," Mainichi Daily News Interactive, 19 February, http://mdn.mainichi.co.jp/japano/0202/020219vuitton.html, accessed 3 August 2002.

Kondo, Dorinne (1997), *About Face: Performing Race in Fashion and Theater*, London and New York: Routledge.
Lan, David (1985), *Guns and Rain: Guerrillas and Spirit Mediums in Zimbabwe*, London: James Currey.
Levy, Howard (1966), *Chinese Footbinding: The History of a Curious Erotic Custom*, New York: W. Rawls.
Lutz, Catherine and Collins, Jane (1993), *Reading National Geographic*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Mackay, Hugh (ed.) (1997), *Consumption and Everyday Life*, London: Sage.
Mani, Lata (1998), *Contentious Traditions: The Debate on Sati in Colonial India*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
Mattelart, Armand (1983), *Transnationals and the Third World: The Struggle for Culture*, South Hadley, MA: Bergin and Garvey.
McCracken, Grant (1988), *Culture and Consumption*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
McLaughlin, Patricia (1998), "Capricious," Internet document http://interactive.phillynews. com/sunmag/712/style.shtml, accessed 25 June 2002.
Mies, Maria (1986), *Patriarchy and Accumulation on the World Scale: Women in the International Division of Labor*, London: Zed.
Miller, Daniel (ed.) (1995a), *Acknowledging Consumption*, London: Routledge.
—— (1995b), "Consumption and Commodities," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24: 141–61.
—— (1997), "Coca-Cola: A Black Sweet Drink from Trinidad," in Daniel Miller (ed.), *Material Cultures*, London: University College London Press.
Mills, Mary Beth (1999), *Thai Women in the Global Labor Force: Consuming Desires, Contested Selves*, New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
Moeis, Abdoel (1982 [1928]), *Salah Asoehan*, Weltevreden: Balai Poestaka.
Mohanty, Chandra Talpade (1997), "Women Workers and Capitalist Scripts," in M. Jacqui Alexander and Chandra Talpade Mohanty (eds), *Feminist Genealogies, Colonial Legacies, Democratic Futures*, London: Routledge.
Morris, Rosalind C. (1995), "All Made Up: Performance Theory and the New Anthropology of Sex and Gender," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24: 567–92.
Nava, Mica (1997), "Women, the City and the Department Store," in Pasi Falk and Colin Campbell (eds), *The Shopping Experience*, London: Sage.
Nitta, Fumiteru (1992), "Shopping for Souvenirs in Hawai'i," in Joseph J. Tobin (ed.), *Re-made in Japan: Everyday Life and Consumer Taste in a Changing Society*, New Haven: Yale University Press.
Nonini, Donald and Ong, Aihwa (1997), "Chinese Transnationalism as an Alternative Modernity," in Aihwa Ong and Donald Nonini (eds), *Ungrounded Empires: The Cultural Politics of Modern Chinese Transnationalism*, New York and London: Routledge.
Ong, Aihwa (1987), *Spirits of Resistance and Capitalist Discipline*, Albany: State University of New York Press.
—— (1990), "State versus Islam: Malay Families, Women's Bodies, and the Body Politic in Malaysia," *American Ethnologist* 17(2): 258–76.

—— (1991), "The Gender and Labor Politics of Postmodernity," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 20: 279–309.
—— (1997), "Chinese Modernities: Narratives of Nation and Capitalism," in Aihwa Ong and Donald Nonini (eds), *Ungrounded Empires: The Cultural Politics of Modern Chinese Transnationalism*, New York and London: Routledge.
—— (1999), *Flexible Citizenship*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
Ortner, Sherry (1974), "Is Female to Male as Nature is to Culture?" in Michelle Zimbalist Rosaldo and Louise Lamphere (eds), *Woman, Culture, and Society*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.
Price, Sally (1989), *Primitive Art in Civilized Places*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Rafael, Vicente (2000), *White Love and Other Events in Filipino History*, Durham: Duke University Press.
Robertson, Roland (1992), *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture*, London: Sage.
Rosaldo, Michelle Zimbalist (1974), "Woman, Culture, and Society: A Theoretical Overview," in Michelle Zimbalist Rosaldo and Louise Lamphere (eds), *Woman, Culture, and Society*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.
Rubin, Gayle (1975), "The Traffic in Women: Notes on the 'Political Economy' of Sex," in Rayna Reiter (ed.), *Toward an Anthropology of Women*, New York: Monthly Review Press.
Rutz, Henry J. and Orlove, Benjamin S. (eds) (1989), *The Social Economy of Consumption*, Lanham, MD: University Press of America.
Said, Edward (1994 [1978]), *Orientalism*, London and New York: Vintage.
Salaff, Janet W. (1995 [1981]), *Working Daughters of Hong Kong*, New York: Cambridge University Press.
Savigliano, Marta (1995), *Tango and the Political Economy of Passion*, Boulder, CO: Westview.
Schein, Louisa (2000), *Minority Rules: The Miao and the Feminine in China's Cultural Politics*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
Schiller, Herbert I. (1976), *Communication and Cultural Domination*, White Plains, NY: International Arts and Sciences Press.
Smith, Carol (1995), "Race-Class-Gender Ideology in Guatemala: Modern and Anti-Modern Forms," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 37(4): 723–49.
Steele, Valerie and Major, John (1999), *China Chic: East Meets West*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
Steiner, Christopher B. (1994), *African Art in Transit*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Stoler, Ann Laura and Cooper, Frederick (1997), "Between Metropole and Colony: Rethinking a Research Agenda," in Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (eds), *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
Tai, Hue-Tam Ho (1992), *Radicalism and the Origins of the Vietnamese Revolution*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Tarlo, Emma (1996), *Clothing Matters: Dress and Identity in India*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Taussig, Michael T. (1980), *The Devil and Commodity Fetishism in South America*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
Taylor, Jean Gelman (1997), "Costume and Gender in Colonial Java, 1800–1940," in Henk Schulte Norholdt (ed.), *Outward Appearances: Dressing State and Society in Indonesia*, Leiden: KITLV Press.
Tobin, Joseph J. (1992), "Introduction: Domesticating the West," in Joseph J. Tobin (ed.), *Re-made in Japan: Everyday Life and Consumer Taste in a Changing Society*, New Haven: Yale University Press.
Toren, C. (1989), "Drinking Cash," in Jonathan P. Parry and Maurice Bloch (eds), *Money and the Morality of Exchange*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Visweswaran, Kamala (1994), *Fictions of Feminist Ethnography*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
Wang, Ping (2000), *Aching for Beauty: Footbinding in China*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
Warady, Natalie (2001), "The Customers," *Time Magazine Asia* 157(17), 30 April, http://www.time.com/time/asia/features/japan_view/fashion_sb1.html, accessed 3 August 2002.
Watson, James L. (ed.) (1997), *Golden Arches East*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.
Weismantel, Mary (1989), "The Children Cry for Bread," in Henry J. Rutz and Benjamin S. Orlove (eds), *The Social Economy of Consumption*, Lanham, MD: University Press of America.
Wilk, Richard (1995), "Learning to Be Local in Belize: Global Systems of Common Difference," in Daniel Miller (ed.), *Worlds Apart*, London and New York: Routledge.
Wilson, Elizabeth (1985), *Adorned in Dreams: Fashion and Modernity*, London: Virago.
Wilson, Rob and Dissanayake, Wimal (eds) (1996), *Global/Local*, Durham: Duke University Press.
Wolf, Diane (1992), *Factory Daughters*, Berkeley: University of California Press.