

## The Anthropology of Dress

Since beginning to study the use, significance, and meaning of dress, I have been intrigued with the wide variety of disciplines such as art history, history, anthropology, sociology, folklore, philosophy, economics, and women's studies that contribute to the topic of dress. I am also amazed by the insularity of many scholars who do not venture beyond the boundaries of their disciplines when accessing bibliographic sources for their own research. Thus, I have chosen to highlight anthropology because I suspect that the scope of writing in that discipline may come as a surprise to many scholars writing about dress (and perhaps even to many anthropologists who would not expect the topic to exist).<sup>1</sup> Anthropology contributes scholarship that relates to understanding the place of dress in culture, and I define the anthropology of dress simply as the study of dress by anthropologists.<sup>2</sup>

In this article, I concentrate on published writings in English from anthropologists and exclude other writings even though they may have an "anthropological approach."<sup>3</sup> I highlight four aspects of anthropology (holism, culture, fieldwork, and women's involvement) that have contributed to the study of dress. I follow this with a chronological survey of published works on dress by anthropologists, both articles and books, from the roots of the field at the end of the nineteenth century through 1999.

### Contributions from Anthropology for Studying Dress

Anthropologists study human behavior, or as Tim Ingold says in the *Companion Encyclopedia of Anthropology*:

Anthropologists study people . . . [but] it is not so obvious how—if at all, anthropology may be distinguished from the many other

branches of the human sciences, all of which could claim to be studying people in one way or another. Medicine is concerned with the workings of the human body, psychology with those of the mind, history studies people's activities in the past, sociology their institutional arrangements in the present, and so on. The list could be extended almost indefinitely. What then, is the distinctively *anthropological* way of studying people?<sup>4</sup>

### Holism

Ingold answers his question by stating that this distinction is partially a result of the importance of anthropology's subfields, for they give anthropology the gift of holism. The four subfields interconnect the biological, social, historical and cultural dimensions of human life that might otherwise be divided among several disciplines.<sup>5</sup> This commitment to holism is the first contribution of anthropology to the study of dress; holism forces us to look at dressing the body within a larger sociocultural context of such factors as kinship, the political economy, lack or presence of hierarchy, and ideological belief systems.

### Culture

The second contribution of anthropology is the concept of culture with its obvious implication of cultural diversity. Culture, as an idea or theory, has been thoroughly scrutinized over the years. One example is the mid-twentieth century book by Alfred Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn, titled *Culture: A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions*, in which they analyzed and categorized 164 definitions.<sup>6</sup> A more recent one is *Culture: The Anthropologists' Account* by Adam Kuper.<sup>7</sup> Culture as an idea is about how human beings teach and learn "proper conduct" within a specific setting. Through language and role models, humans learn how to behave from other human beings, and

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this transmission of knowledge carries across generations. Thus, culture and history are closely intertwined, for we are taught how to behave; we are not programmed genetically. We learn to wear fur or feathers (or to despise or avoid wearing them); we are not born with them. Furthermore, we can decide to change our minds or be persuaded to change our minds about wearing or not wearing them. By accepting the idea that culture is about teaching and learning "proper conduct" within a specific setting, we can learn about cultural diversity. We see that other people do not live by our rules. "Our ways" of learning how to treat family, friends and neighbors or about what to wear and not to wear and how to sit and stand can be completely different from others. They can feel as strongly about the rightness of their choices as we feel about the rightness of ours. Thus, the concepts of culture and cultural diversity are important contributions from anthropology in analyzing the meaning of dress.

## Fieldwork

A third contribution from anthropology is fieldwork. This contribution is attributed to Bronislaw Malinowski who is known for his extended research in the Trobriand Islands from 1914 to 1918 (Figure 1).<sup>8</sup> As most anthropologists agree, this process of living among a group and learning the indigenous language is necessary for real understanding of human behavior in another culture. Fieldwork allows us to observe people firsthand and become engaged with them in order to understand and interpret their behavior rather than relying on the observations and comments of others. The practice of fieldwork is shared by researchers in other disciplines; the direct observation of dress and associated behavior, along



Figure 1. Detail, Trobriand women from Bronislaw Malinowski's *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (1922).

with learning the indigenous words and phrases that define actual items of dress and related practices, allows a more thorough understanding of what I call the "complex act of dress."<sup>9</sup>

## Women's Involvement

A fourth contribution of anthropology is women's involvement. When reading early histories of many disciplines, one might assume that only men, especially white men, made contributions to any given field. A surge of interest in many disciplines about women's involvement in the sciences and humanities exposes women's early contributions to anthropology.<sup>10</sup> Most interestingly, Franz Boas wrote in 1920 to a colleague: "I have had a curious experience: All my best graduate students are women."<sup>11</sup> In fact, during Boas's tenure at Columbia University, over twenty women received doctoral degrees, the majority of them doing fieldwork in the Southwest.<sup>12</sup> However, as in other disciplines, only in the last twenty-five years have women

anthropologists been recognized for their work.<sup>13</sup> In *Women Writing Culture*, Ruth Behar chides Clifford and Marcus for the overwhelming absence of women contributors in *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* and declares that the contributions of Elsie Clews Parsons (1875-1941) qualify her to be designated the "mother" of American anthropology.<sup>14</sup> Heightened interest in the contributions of women and gender issues have become important in the anthropology of dress. Biological differences are socially interpreted categories that provoke strong cultural interpretations related to dress; clearly, in the following chronological review, more women than men have chosen to study dress.

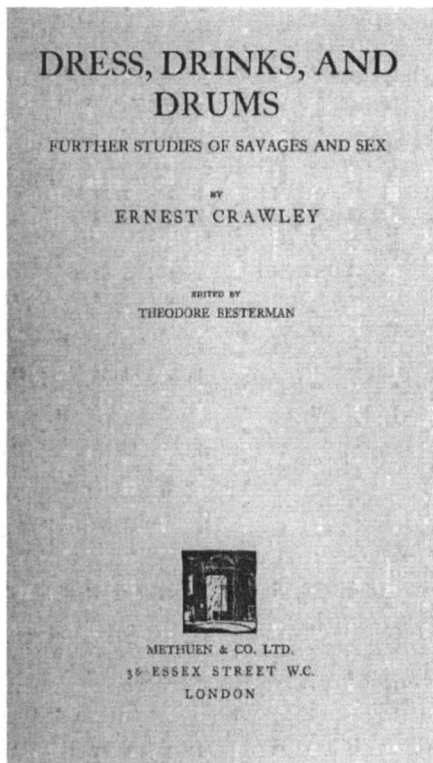
## Chronological Survey

I present a comprehensive, but not exhaustive, bibliographic survey of anthropologists who write on dress, in English, from the discipline's inception through 1999, a period of approximately

125 years. This survey emerges from my own extensive library and from searching additional works cited in bibliographies. However, certain areas still need systematic plumbing, such as the early ethnographies from the American Southwest and careful searching of specific area studies such as Latin America and Asia.<sup>15</sup> Since my intent is to expose the continuous thread of anthropological research and writing on dress, I concentrate on providing brief descriptions of the written works and not a thematic classification.

The first publications on the topic of dress appeared during the late nineteenth century, a time in

Figure 2. Ernest Crawley's title page from *Dress, Drinks, and Drums: Further Studies of Savages and Sex* (1931).



anthropology often designated as the "curio cabinet" stage. At that time, both facts about and artifacts from other peoples of the world were gathered by travelers and then studied by anthropologists who rarely conducted field research. Two well-known names, Sir Edward Burnett Tylor and Sir James Frazer, along with Ernest Crawley, epitomized this phase.<sup>16</sup> Crawley considered dress and its importance to humans in detail by writing a lengthy essay titled "Dress" in 1912 for the *Encyclopedia of Religion* (later reprinted in a volume titled *Dress, Drinks, and Drums: Further Studies of Savages and Sex*).<sup>17</sup> (See Figure 2.) Supported by cross-cultural examples, his discussion developed various theories about the origins of dress and astutely concluded: "Speculation alone is possible when dealing with the genesis of dress."<sup>18</sup>

Noteworthy sections of his essay included dress symbolism, the social psychology of dress, nakedness and dress, dress and social grade (or dress through the life course), sexual dress, and sacred dress. However, much of Crawley's writing smacked of the social evolutionism popular in that era as found in his usage of words such as "savages." Also typical of his time, he was insensitive to concerns about gender. Shortcomings aside, Crawley keenly observed the use of dress in social and cultural terms:

The great bifurcation of dress is sexual.<sup>19</sup>

[D]ress is the most distinctive expression in a material form of the various grades of social life. The biological period thus becomes a social period of existence.<sup>20</sup>

The cross-cultural and cross-temporal implications of his generalizations anticipated our continued research and analysis. Indeed, gendered dress is ubiquitous and becomes salient in socializing and enculturating children into adulthood.

Crawley saw no area of the study of dress and the body as off-limits. He scrutinized dress of the dead and mourning dress with vivid examples of various customs, topics generally avoided or ignored in later work. As modern medicine contributes to longer life spans, death is not always sad and sudden, for dress can play a part in death and dying and provide clues to understanding human values and key family relationships.<sup>21</sup> Another area little pursued since his essay is that of nudity and dress. Crawley declared: "When clothing is firmly established as a permanent social habit, temporary nudity is the most violent negation possible of the clothed state."<sup>22</sup> His observation is still intriguing and worthy of research, for there are many instances where temporary nudity or stripping oneself of clothing is considered violently antisocial. However, in our contemporary Euro-American world, public near-nudity or what I have called the "display of skin,"<sup>23</sup> particularly for younger women, seems to be newsworthy and attention getting.<sup>24</sup> Crawley noted the importance of global exchange at the time he wrote, which diminishes any ethnocentric idea we may have that globalization is a recent phenomenon:

A remarkable tendency is observable at the present day, which is due to increased facilities of travel and inter-communication, towards a cosmopolitan type of dress, European in form.<sup>25</sup>

The curio cabinet period of anthropology stretched into what is acknowledged as the fieldwork era begun by Malinowski. However, fieldwork by women anthropologists in the Southwest flourished at the turn of the century. As one example, Alice Fletcher worked with Francis La Flesche, an Omaha Indian man, to publish a voluminous work on the Omaha in 1911 that included analyzing the significance



Figure 3. Alice Fletcher and Francis La Flesche analyzed the meaning communicated in the various types of wrappings within Omaha dress practices in "The Omaha Tribe" (1911).

of different ways of wearing and wrapping garments (Figure 3).<sup>26</sup> In another example, Matilda Coxe Stevenson reported her findings on Pueblo Indian dress.<sup>27</sup>

Alfred Kroeber took a different approach to the anthropology of dress by exploring the concept of order in that early period. He measured women's evening gowns from 1844 through 1919 and concluded that "regularity in social change" exists, and later conducted similar research with Jane Richardson in 1940.<sup>28</sup> His devotion to the idea of anthropology as a science and his use of quantitative research also importantly contributed to the study of dress.

Alfred Radcliffe-Brown's early research on the body decoration practices of the Andaman Islanders was an example of the fieldwork approach and structural-functional analysis. He interpreted these practices as a desire for protection and display, marking "the relation of the individual to the society and to that force or power in the society to which he owes his well-being and happiness."<sup>29</sup>

Although fieldwork was firmly established in anthropology by the 1930s, the three anthropologists who wrote entries for the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Ruth Benedict on "Dress," Ruth Bunzel on "Ornament," and Edward Sapir on "Fashion," included some armchair theorizing divorced from fieldwork about such topics as origins and functions.<sup>30</sup> Some apt observations emerged, such as Sapir's statement that "Fashion is custom in the guise of departure from custom."<sup>31</sup>

Many ethnographies through the 1960s included a chapter or section

describing dress, no doubt influenced by the then-bible of fieldwork, *Notes and Queries on Anthropology*, that instructed researchers about what data to collect on the topic.<sup>32</sup> *Mongol Costumes* in 1950 is possibly the first European ethnography on dress published in English.<sup>33</sup> Henny Harald Hansen, a Danish anthropologist, combined her talents as a painter, tailor's cutter in Paris, and anthropologist to analyze 400 items that had been collected on expeditions in the 1930s to Mongolia by Henning Haslund-Christensen, a Danish explorer. She meticulously measured, described and assessed each item according to an earlier scheme developed by Gudmund Hatt on Arctic skin dress to provide exemplary documentation and a theoretical perspective for understanding the production and use of garments in another cultural setting.<sup>34</sup> In addition, her analysis and the excellent color photographs of the 1983 edition of various ensembles inspire ideas for top-notch museum displays.

In the 1950s and 1960s, four examples emerged that analyzed the meaning of dress, rather than merely describing it. Paul Bohannon's article, "Beauty and Scarification amongst the Tiv," came from his research in Nigeria and documented changing fashions in scarring, but also pointed out that the tactile sensations resulting from scarring carry significance in intimate interactions.<sup>35</sup> Simon Messing analyzed the detailed meaning associated with different ways of wrapping garments in Ethiopia in "The Non-Verbal Language of the Ethiopian Toga" and Robert Murphy, the use of the veil by Tuareg men, not women, in "Social Distance and the Veil."<sup>36</sup> Terrence Turner scrutinized the significance of body painting practices within the social structure of Brazil's Tchikrin people.<sup>37</sup>

In contrast to the above examples in which dress appeared to be a sideline

interest, Sidney M. Mead, a Maori, chose the topic as his focus in *Traditional Maori Clothing*.<sup>38</sup> He worked from a structural-functional perspective and gave a detailed analysis of the various forms of Maori clothing and changes over time, perhaps the first indigenous ethnography of dress in English written by a trained anthropologist.<sup>39</sup> His book foreshadowed many publications that followed in the next three decades with a variety of thematic theoretical perspectives arising in the discipline almost simultaneously (such as semiotics, symbolism, reflexivity, gender studies, Marxism, and interpretivism).<sup>40</sup>

In the early 1970s, two monographs, again apparently sidelines of original field research, appeared. One is *Self-Decoration in Mount Hagen* by Andrew and Marilyn Strathern, and the other *Nuba Personal Art* by James Faris.<sup>41</sup> The Strathern book, with exquisite detail, dwells on the "primary emphasis which Hageners place on adorning their own bodies."<sup>42</sup> They provided examples of body painting, feathered headdress, wigs and tally marker necklaces worn in festivals, which they related to two central values of Hagen society—the first, clan solidarity and prestige; the second, individual wealth and well-being. The Stratherns summarized as follows:

Dances themselves provide an opportunity for demonstrating both clan solidarity and individual excellence . . . [for] the prestige of the clan coincides with that of its members. It is themselves that they decorate, for it is through men's personal achievements that renown is brought to them and their clan alike.<sup>43</sup>

Faris's research on the Nuba offered different findings. Body painting, oiling, and hair design are carried out by the Southeastern Nuba of Sudan, a classless society, primarily for aesthetic reasons to show off the body, rather than for

symbolic, functional or ritual ones. Faris concluded:

The principal exercise is the celebration and exposure of the strong and healthy body. And it is probably in the concern with health that we find the material origin of the art tradition. A paramount emphasis of this study is that aesthetics stem from material origins and are not independently existing ideas.<sup>44</sup>

Hilda Kuper, in a thoughtful article titled "Costume and Identity," documented clothing as a symbol of social differentiation in Swaziland with examples of the conflicts that emerged when Western ideas of fashion were introduced into the seemingly traditional scene.<sup>45</sup> In 1978, two books by Ted Polhemus, one on the body and another (with Lynn Proctor) entitled *Fashion and Anti-Fashion: An Anthropology of Clothing and Adornment*, forecast his continuing dedication to the study of the dressed body.<sup>46</sup>

In 1979, *The Decorated Body* by Robert Brain and *Fabrics of Culture: An Anthropology of Dress*, co-edited by Justine Cordwell and Ronald Schwarz, were published.<sup>47</sup> The first stressed the multitude of body modifications around the world, anticipating the outpouring of books in the 1990s on body piercing and tattooing by a wide variety of popular writers. In the second, Cordwell and Schwarz introduced their book by declaring that anthropologists "are relatively silent about the meaning and function of dress and adornment . . . [but] In contrast, the natives (*sic*) who are the subject of our queries are generally cognizant of how they and others are dressed."<sup>48</sup> Their volume also anticipated the flurry of publications on the anthropology of dress that continues into the twenty-first century. Thirteen of the twenty-three authors came from disciplines other than anthropology, acknowledging that theoretical,

comparative, and ethnographic approaches arose from a wide academic world and encompassed a wide range of cultures.

The 1980s began with Patricia Anawalt's work on late pre-Hispanic and MesoAmerican dress as analyzed from the Aztec codices in Mexico.<sup>49</sup> In 1983, Liza Dalby included a chapter on kimono in her book on *Geisha*.<sup>50</sup> And in 1989, three books added momentum to publications. Annette Weiner and Jane Schneider co-edited *Cloth and Human Experience*, another interdisciplinary volume with four of the eleven contributors being non-anthropologists.<sup>51</sup> Although this volume focused on cloth, the works of several contributors centered on the role of clothing, such as the chapter by Gillian Feeley-Harnik on how Malagasy dress separated the living from the dead, and Bernard Cohn's chapter on the role of attire in nineteenth century colonial India.<sup>52</sup> The other two books undergirded Museum of Mankind exhibits in London. One was by Michael O'Hanlon, *Reading the Skin: Adornment, Display and Society among the Wahgi*, based on his fieldwork in Papua New Guinea, which resulted in an exhibit titled "Paradise."<sup>53</sup> Shelagh Weir's outstanding book *Palestinian Costume* also accompanied an exhibit of the same name.<sup>54</sup> She emphasized that her initial assumptions of "one village, one style" and a contrast of traditional and modern dress were not upheld. She narrowed her research site to one village known for its fashion leadership in the Jaffa region, Beit Dajan. She discovered that change occurred in so-called traditional dress. Many books by anthropologists appeared in the 1990s—ethnographic monographs that stemmed from field research centering on dress as well as edited volumes that supplied cross-cultural and single-culture examples. Substantial publications on dress from museum exhibits continued, as shown in Margot

Schevill's *Maya Textiles of Guatemala* in which she analyzed the 252 textiles collected by Gustavus Eisen in 1902 for the Phoebe Hearst Museum of Anthropology.<sup>55</sup> She supplemented his collection notes with data from her own Guatemalan fieldwork. Carol Hendrickson supplied a perspective of contemporary Guatemalan dress in *Weaving Identities: Construction of Dress and Self in a Highland Guatemala Town*.<sup>56</sup> Her rationale for studying Guatemalan dress typified the intent of several of the authors of the 1990s regarding a focus on dress as part of material culture:

The material world must be understood as a cultural system, that objects reflect a wealth of cultural categories, and that meaningful patterns relate all "objects" with a cultural universe.<sup>57</sup>

Also in 1993, Liza Dalby in her book *Kimono* delved into the history and use of kimono and style changes and stated that the Japanese perceived the kimono as a primary form of clothing only after contact with the Western world, from 1868 onward.<sup>58</sup> Sandra Niessen, in *Batak Cloth and Clothing: A Dynamic Indonesian Tradition*, analyzed the dynamics of how Malay-Muslim, Christian missionary, and European colonial dress influenced and changed the dress of nineteenth-century Bataks in the highlands of north central Sumatra.<sup>59</sup> Through these examples, the authors recognized that "ethnic" dress begins when group members compare and contrast their dress to that of others.

In *From the Land of the Thunder Dragon: Textile Arts of Bhutan*, Diana Myers and Susan Bean also documented through an exhibit that the textiles used in Bhutan "are an evolving art and have been for centuries, changing as their role in Bhutanese life has evolved."<sup>60</sup> Similarly, Ted Polhemus's catalog that accompanied the Victoria and Albert Museum exhibit titled *Streetstyle: From*

*Sidewalk to Catwalk* provoked interest in the contemporary "styletribes" of the United Kingdom and the United States.<sup>61</sup> Thoughtful articles on dress in the 1990s included those by Karen Hansen on second-hand clothing in Zambia and by Joseph Nevadomsky on dress and identity in Benin.<sup>62</sup> Several editors narrowed their volumes to one area or continent of the world. For example, in *Clothing and Difference: Embodied Identities in Colonial and Post-Colonial Africa*, the authors emphasized the interplay of indigenous forms of African dress and Western influences.<sup>63</sup> *Languages of Dress in the Middle East* included nine diverse ethnographic papers on this regional area.<sup>64</sup> *Outward Appearances: Dressing State and Society in Indonesia* assessed many facets of Indonesian dress history and contemporary life.<sup>65</sup> Judith Perani and Norma Wolff concentrated primarily on Nigerian examples in *Cloth, Dress, and Art Patronage in Africa*.<sup>66</sup> *Beauty Queens on the Global Stage: Gender, Contests and Power* focused on the Western phenomenon of the beauty pageant now popular all over the world, with obvious implications about body and dress.<sup>67</sup> In addition, anthropologists contributed chapters to *Dress and Gender* by Barnes and Eicher, *Dress and Ethnicity* by Eicher, and *Beads and Bead Makers: Gender, Material Culture and Meaning* by Sciamia and Eicher.<sup>68</sup>

Single-authored books also appeared, such as Polhemus's *Style Surfing: What to Wear in the Third Millennium* and Emma Tarlo's work on Gujarat in *Clothing Matters: Dress and Identity in India*.<sup>69</sup> *Cloth That Does Not Die* by Elisha Renne developed the argument that the making and wearing of cloth by the Bunu Yoruba paralleled changing conditions in modern Nigeria, for the use of handwoven cloth continued even though production dwindled markedly.<sup>70</sup> In 1997, Dorinne Kondo

deconstructed gender, race and “Orientalism” in *About Face: Performing Race in Fashion and Theater*.<sup>71</sup> Michaelae Haynes scrutinized an elite ritual of dress in *Dressing Up Debutantes: Pageantry and Glitz in Texas* (Figure 4).<sup>72</sup> Fadwa El Guindi, in *Veil: Modesty, Privacy and Resistance*, provided another breakthrough in untangling some of the multifaceted aspects of covering the head, the face and / or body (Figure 5).<sup>73</sup> In these volumes, the writers developed new interpretations about meaning and the place of dress in negotiating identity, moving from analysis of a bounded culture to focusing on global interconnections.<sup>74</sup>

Gendered craft production within a global market was another major and rich theme that arose in the 1990s. Two Latin American examples included *Kuna Crafts, Gender, and the Global Economy* by Karin Tice, and *Crafts in the World Market: The Impact of Global Exchange on Middle American Artisans*, an edited volume by June Nash.<sup>75</sup> While these two works focused on the production and exchange of textiles such as Kuna *mola* appliques or Guatemalan backstrap-loom-woven textiles, they also analyzed the use of these textiles as dress. For example, Robert Carlsen illustrated that textile production becomes an important aspect of culture in contemporary highland Guatemala; a multiplicity of ethnic identities are constructed through the use of these textiles as dress.<sup>76</sup>

The role of museums and work by anthropologists in museum settings needs acknowledgement. Mounting exhibits of artifacts collected from or based on field research enriches viewers’ visual experience and knowledge. An exhibit provides opportunities to experience the impact of both single items and total ensembles of dress by seeing the color, silhouette and materials used from culture to culture. The accompanying museum publications,

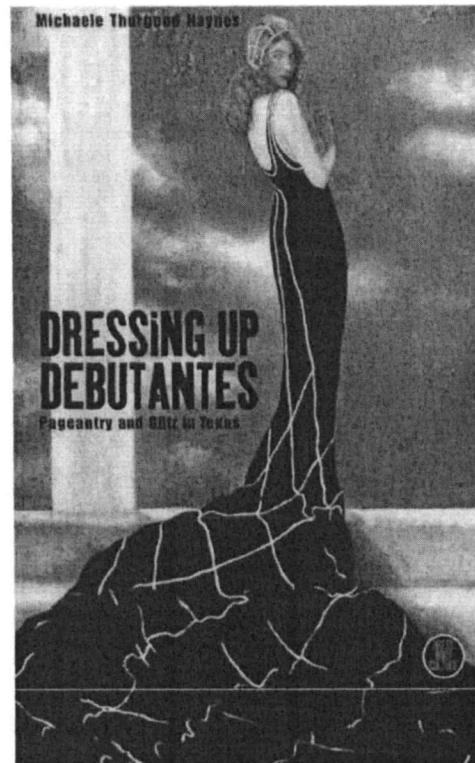


Figure 4. Michaelae Haynes’s book cover for *Dressing Up Debutantes: Pageantry and Glitz in Texas* (1998).

usually published as books rather than as catalog lists, permit the idea of the exhibit to live beyond the exhibit itself. These exhibits extend knowledge into public communities-at-large, beyond the academic “ivory towers.”

## Conclusion

In the above survey of writings in English by anthropologists on dress, the four contributions (holism, culture, fieldwork, and women’s involvement) I attribute to anthropology are virtually self-evident. Throughout the writings, the concept of holism is paramount: dress is analyzed, as part of a larger configuration of human behavior of a specific people in a

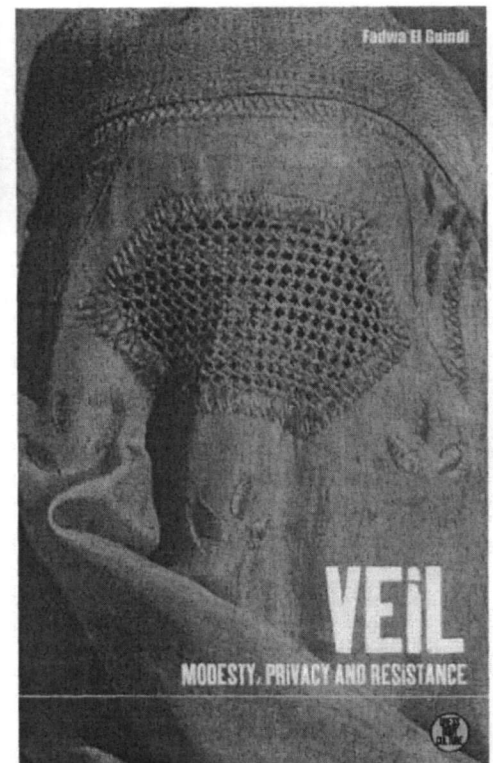


Figure 5. Fadwa El Guindi’s book cover for *Veil: Modesty, Privacy and Resistance* (1999).

specified time and place. The culture of specific people in relation to their habits of dress is also analyzed, with cultural diversity in dress from group to group becoming readily apparent. Fieldwork as a method of collecting data encouraged rich descriptions and analyses of the many variations and permutations of meanings attached to dress. The exceptions to fieldwork-based analyses are limited to such examples as those in the curio-cabinet stage and the essays written by Benedict, Bunzel, and Sapir. The role of women in anthropology, their attention to gender issues and interest in the topic of dress has resulted in more research and publications on the topic by women than by men. For example, the majority of books noted above from 1989 to 1999 were written, co-authored or co-edited by women. Women's sensitivity and attention to the topic of dress fairly obviously stems from the subcultural milieu of women and their frequent involvement in, concern and care for their own and others' dress.

The history of the anthropology of dress mirrors the history of anthropology itself, proceeding from cross-cultural examples from the curio-cabinet era to in-depth interpretive studies of one culture. A thread of agreement runs through these books and articles in that dress is presented as an effective communication system about personal and sociocultural identities.

<sup>1</sup> This paper was first written for presentation as a Distinguished Scholar Lecture at the 1999 International Textile and Apparel Association meeting. In my introduction, I commented on my perception of a significant difference between the goals of textiles and clothing scholars and the goals of anthropologists in studying dress. The interdisciplinary field of textiles and clothing originated in the U.S. in

colleges as "Home Economics," based on a concern with solving problems of everyday life and improving the human condition. Scholars from this background center on textiles and clothing as subject matter, just as dress historians and museum curators do. In contrast, anthropologists focus generally on human beings as sociocultural animals and study dress from that perspective. I want to thank my research assistants, Susan J. Torntore and Theresa M. Winge, for their help, and Helen Callaway, Lidia Sciana, Linda Welters, and the four anonymous reviewers who made thoughtful and useful suggestions.

- <sup>2</sup> I arbitrarily define "anthropologists" as individuals either with degrees in anthropology or who identify themselves as such.
- <sup>3</sup> The topic will be greatly enhanced by a survey of anthropological writings in other languages.
- <sup>4</sup> Tim Ingold, *Companion Encyclopedia of Anthropology* (London: Routledge, 1994), xiii.
- <sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, xv.
- <sup>6</sup> Alfred L. Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn, *Culture: A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions* (New York: Vintage Books, 1952).
- <sup>7</sup> Adam Kuper, *Culture: The Anthropologists' Account* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999).
- <sup>8</sup> Bronislaw Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (London: G. Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1922).
- <sup>9</sup> Joanne B. Eicher, "Dress, Identity, Culture, and Choice: The Complex Act of Dress," in *Proceedings of the International Textile and Apparel Association* (Monument, Colo.: International Textile and Apparel Association, 1995), 8-11.
- <sup>10</sup> Ute Gacs, *Women Anthropologists: A Biographical Dictionary* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988); Barbara A. Babcock and Nancy J. Parezo,

*Daughters of the Desert: Women Anthropologists and the Native American Southwest* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1988); Nancy J. Parezo, ed., *Hidden Scholars: Women Anthropologists and the Native American Southwest* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1993); Ruth Behar and Deborah A. Gordon, eds., *Women Writing Culture* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995); Sherry B. Ortner, *Making Gender: The Politics and Erotics of Culture* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1996).

- <sup>11</sup> Babcock and Parezo, *Daughters of the Desert*, 2.
- <sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>13</sup> Books such as Michelle Rosaldo and Louise Lamphere's *Woman, Culture and Society* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974) were strategically written and titled to offset Harry L. Shapiro's *Man, Culture and Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956). Shirley Ardener's edited volumes *Defining Females: The Nature of Women in Society* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1975), *Perceiving Women* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1975), and *Women and Space: Ground Rules and Social Maps* (1981; reprint, Oxford and New York: Berg, 1997), with Jackie Waldren, are other examples.
- <sup>14</sup> Behar and Gordon, *Women Writing Culture*; James Clifford and George E. Marcus, eds., *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986), 17.
- <sup>15</sup> My knowledge of African sources may be the most complete at this writing.
- <sup>16</sup> Sir Edward Burnett Tylor, *Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Art, and Custom* (1873; reprint, New York: Harper, 1958); Sir James G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion* (1890; reprint, New York: Macmillan, 1998).

- <sup>17</sup> Ernest Crawley, "Dress," in *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. James Hastings (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1912), 40-72; Ernest Crawley, *Dress, Drinks, and Drums: Further Studies of Savages and Sex* (London: Methuen and Co., Ltd., 1931).
- <sup>18</sup> Crawley, *Dress, Drinks, and Drums*, 2.
- <sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 54.
- <sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 117.
- <sup>21</sup> For example, a hospice nurse told me that her terminal patients were willing and eager to discuss what they wanted to wear in the coffin.
- <sup>22</sup> Crawley, *Dress, Drinks, and Drums*, 111-12.
- <sup>23</sup> Joanne B. Eicher, "Dress, Gender, and the Public Display of Skin," in *Dress and the Embodied Self*, eds. Elizabeth Wilson and Joanne Entwistle (Oxford and New York: Berg, forthcoming in 2001).
- <sup>24</sup> Examples include movie star and model Elizabeth Hurley at the Academy Awards (1994) in Versace's safety-pin dress; rap artist Lil' Kim at the MTV Video Music Awards (1999) in a jumper, of her own design, that exposed one breast; and movie star and pop artist Jennifer Lopez at the Grammy Awards (2000) in Versace's transparent and open below the navel dress.
- <sup>25</sup> Crawley, *Dress, Drinks, and Drums*, 172.
- <sup>26</sup> Alice Fletcher and Francis La Flesche, "The Omaha Tribe," in *Twenty-Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1905-1906* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1911): 17-672.
- <sup>27</sup> Matilda Coxe Stevenson, *Dress and Adornment of the Pueblo Indians*, Ms. No. 2093, Bureau of American Ethnology Archives. (Washington D.C.: National Anthropological Archives, 1911).
- <sup>28</sup> Alfred L. Kroeber, "On the Principle of Order in Civilization as Exemplified by Changes of Fashion," *The American Anthropologist* 21 (1919): 235-63; Alfred Kroeber and Jane Richardson, "Three Centuries of Women's Dress Fashion: A Quantitative Analysis," *Anthropological Records* 5, no. 2 (1940): 111-53.
- <sup>29</sup> Alfred R. Radcliffe-Brown, *The Andaman Islander: A Study in Anthropology* (Cambridge, Mass.: The Harvard University Press, 1922), 319.
- <sup>30</sup> Ruth Benedict, "Dress," in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, 235-37; Ruth Bunzel, "Ornament," in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, 496-97; Edward Sapir, "Fashion," in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, 139-44 (New York: Macmillan, 1931).
- <sup>31</sup> Sapir, "Fashion," 140.
- <sup>32</sup> Committee of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, *Notes and Queries on Anthropology* (1874; 6<sup>th</sup> ed., reprint, London: Routledge and Kegan Ltd., 1960). One example of following the *Notes and Queries* format is Allan R. Holmberg, *Nomads of the Long Bow: The Siriono of Eastern Bolivia* (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Print Office, 1950).
- <sup>33</sup> Henny Harald Hansen, *Mongol Costumes* (1950; reprint, London: Thames and Hudson, 1983).
- <sup>34</sup> Gudmund Hatt, *Arktiske Skinddragter i Eurasien og Amerika* (Copenhagen: J. H. Schultz, 1914); an English edition, *Arctic Skin Clothing in Eurasia and America*, was published in 1969.
- <sup>35</sup> Paul Bohannon, "Beauty and Scarification amongst the Tiv," *Man* 56 (September 1956): 117-21.
- <sup>36</sup> Simon D. Messing, "The Non-Verbal Language of the Ethiopian Toga," *Anthropos* 55, nos. 3-4 (1960): 558-60; Robert Murphy, "Social Distance and the Veil," *American Anthropologist* 66, no. 6 (1964): 1257-74.
- <sup>37</sup> Terrence Turner, "Tchikrin: A Central Brazilian Tribe and Its Symbolic Language of Bodily Adornment," *Natural History* 78, no. 8 (1969): 50-59; 70.
- <sup>38</sup> Sidney Moko Mead, *Traditional Maori Clothing* (Wellington: A. H. and A. W. Reed, 1969).
- <sup>39</sup> Although Petr Bogatyrev, a Slovak, wrote *Functions of Folk Costume in Moravian Slovakia in 1937*, the original was published in Slovak and only became available in English in 1971, when it was translated by Richard Crum.
- <sup>40</sup> See Alan Barnard, *History and Theory in Anthropology* (London: Routledge, 2000) for an appreciation of the development of the many orientations and analytical approaches.
- <sup>41</sup> Andrew Strathern and Marilyn Strathern, *Self-Decoration on Mount Hagen* (London: Gerald Duckworth and Co., Ltd., 1972); James Faris, *Nuba Personal Art* (London: Gerald Duckworth and Co., Ltd., 1971).
- <sup>42</sup> Strathern and Strathern, *Self-Decoration on Mount Hagen*, 1.
- <sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 173.
- <sup>44</sup> Faris, *Nuba Personal Art*, 114.
- <sup>45</sup> Hilda Kuper, "Costume and Identity," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 15, no. 3 (1973): 348-67.
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- <sup>48</sup> Cordwell and Schwarz, *Fabrics of Culture*, 1.
- <sup>49</sup> Patricia Rieff Anawalt, *Indian Clothing Before Cortes: MesoAmerican Costumes from the Codices* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1981).
- <sup>50</sup> Liza C. Dalby, *Geisha* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1983).

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- <sup>52</sup> Gillian Feeley-Harnik, "Cloth and the Creation of Ancestors in Madagascar," in Weiner and Schneider, *Cloth and Human Experience*, 73-116; and B. S. Cohn, "Cloth, Clothes and Colonialism: India in the Nineteenth Century," in Weiner and Schneider, *Cloth and Human Experience*, 301-355.
- <sup>53</sup> Michael O'Hanlon, *Reading the Skin: Adornment, Display, and Society among the Wahgi* (London: British Museum Publications, 1989); *Paradise: Portraying the New Guinea Highlands* (London: British Museum Press, 1993).
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- <sup>56</sup> Carol Hendrickson, *Weaving Identities: Construction of Dress and Self in a Highland Guatemala Town* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993).
- <sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 40.
- <sup>58</sup> Liza C. Dalby, *Kimono: Fashioning Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993).
- <sup>59</sup> Sandra A. Niessen, *Batak Cloth and Clothing: A Dynamic Indonesian Tradition* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1993).
- <sup>60</sup> Diana Myers and Susan Bean, eds., *From the Land of the Thunder Dragon: Textile Arts of Bhutan* (London: Serindia Publications, 1994), 20.
- <sup>61</sup> Ted Polhemus, *Streetstyle: From Sidewalk to Catwalk* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1994).
- <sup>62</sup> Karen Hansen, "Dealing with Clothing: *Salaula* and the Construction of Identity in Zambia's Third Republic," *Public Culture* 6, no. 3 (1994): 503-23; Karen Hansen, "Transnational Biographies and Local Meanings: Used Clothing Practices in Lusaka," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 21, no. 1 (1995): 131-45; Karen Hansen, "Other People's Clothes? The International Second-hand Clothing Trade and Dress Practices in Zambia," *Fashion Theory* 4, no. 3 (2000): 245-76; Joseph Nevadomsky, "The Clothing of Political Identity: Costume and Scarification in the Benin Kingdom," *African Arts* (winter 1995): 62-73, 100.
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- <sup>73</sup> Fadwa El Guindi, *Veil: Modesty, Privacy and Resistance* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 1999).
- <sup>74</sup> A detailed discussion, not possible within the space constraints of an article, will be forthcoming in a book underway with the working title *The Anthropology of Dress* (Oxford and New York: Berg).
- <sup>75</sup> Karen E. Tice, *Kuna Crafts, Gender, and the Global Economy* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995); June Nash, ed., *Crafts in the World Market: The Impact of Global Exchange on Middle American Artisans* (Albany: State University of New York, 1993).
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