GENDER, IMPERIALISM AND GLOBAL EXCHANGES

EDITED BY STEPHAN F. MIESCHER,
MICHELE MITCHELL AND NAOKO SHIBUSAWA

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Gender, Imperialism and Global Exchanges

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Introduction: Gender, Imperialism and Global Exchanges

Michele Mitchell and Naoko Shibusawa
with Stephan F. Miescher

Neatly coiffed and tastefully dressed, Marie Schiffer Lafite gazes slightly to the right of the camera in a Cape Town studio photograph that accompanied her 1914 passport application.[1] A long-time resident of South Africa, Schiffer Lafite sought guarantee of re–entry privileges before leaving on an extended visit to relatives in her native Mauritius, a sugar plantation colony in the Indian Ocean east of Madagascar. Piecemeal evidence from early-twentieth-century immigration files in the Western Cape archives tells us that Schiffer Lafite lived in Port Elizabeth for a dozen years before moving westward to Cape Town in 1902, after her first marriage ended. She later married 'Lafite', a French hairdresser, and was working as a shop assistant at the time of her application. The archives do not reveal much more. They do not tell us when or how she emigrated, or whether she came alone, with a family or with others.

Schiffer Lafite's Mauritian origins, however, suggest that she left the plantation economy for a wider range of social opportunities in urban areas with more diversified economies. The ebb and flow of migration that deposited Schiffer Lafite on the South African coast was part of the massive global movement of fortune-seekers and labourers, free and unfree, dating back centuries. Mauritius itself was purportedly an uninhabited island prior to the advent of European colonisation in the late sixteenth century. The Dutch, then later the French and still later the British, established and operated sugar plantations with imported labour from Africa, India and elsewhere in Asia. Schiffer Lafite's ancestry reflected this movement and co-mingling of people; she was labelled 'creole/coloured' by the South African state. Lorena Rizzo's article in this collection underscores that such categorisations mattered to South Africa by the early twentieth century when its state officials came to see classifications as vital to accounting for and controlling the mobility of its African, Asian and European subject populations.

More so than excavating Schiffer Lafite's biography per se, Rizzo analyses such archival photographs for what they can tell us about strategies of governmentality in a modernising South African state.[2] The state archives reveal how an administrative bureaucracy came to oversee and govern a range of life's activities – including monitoring crossings over borders old and new. Yet the archives also reveal how the applicants' own self-representations (knowingly or unknowingly) resisted tidy, essentialising

Gender, Imperialism and Global Exchanges, First Edition. Edited by Stephan F. Miescher, Michele Mitchell and Naoko Shibusawa.
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categorisations and placement. Even further, individuals like Schiffer Lafite used the very categories employed by the South African state to justify their subject positions. Rizzo stresses how Schiffer Lafite's file represents 'tensions of empire' – to borrow from Ann Stoler and Frederick Cooper – because it shows how she used colonial ideals about gendered respectability to contest categorical exclusions based on her race and citizenship.[3] The visual element of the file allows us to see that the assistant shopkeeper carefully fashioned her self-image by wearing a fairly simple, yet chic, shirtwaist and by styling her hair in a manner popular among working women in Europe and the Americas during the 1910s. Schiffer Lafite's investment in a studio portrait may or may not have been especially for the application, but nonetheless underscored that she was a modern, respectable subject. Her strategy appeared to work: a Cape Town immigration officer approved her request for re-entry.

We draw upon an image and archival instance from Rizzo's article to open this special issue on gender, imperialism and global exchanges because her focus on the modernising state and border-crossings is at once compelling and illustrative. To be more specific, Rizzo's analysis of Marie Schiffer Lafite speaks in a particularly productive way to our overarching concern with how gender and sexuality have shaped embodied interactions in colonised settings. This volume contains analyses of gendered exchanges that occurred between colonial and metropolitan locations during periods of both instability and stability. Our contributors consider moments when upheaval challenged colonial regimes or even resulted in decolonisation; they explore how former colonies transitioned into becoming 'nations'; they examine transnational dynamics between modern states. *Gender, Imperialism and Global Exchanges* brings together scholarship that considers the gendered dimensions of sexual, bodily, social, material, political, cultural and intellectual dynamics of empire from a wide range of geographic, as well as temporal, settings.[4]

Articles by Sarah Steinbock-Pratt, Sivan Balslev, Jialin Christina Wu and Shaul Mitelpunkt take up the importance of gendered performance in exhibiting national strength or liberation. Similarly, both W. Chris Johnson and Katherine M. Marino compellingly demonstrate how perceptions and performances of womanhood – not to mention feminism and femininity – could also be mobilised in political struggles connected to decolonisation, anti-imperialism and transnational solidarity. Víctor M. Macías-González, Jane McCabe and Laura Ann Twagira are among the authors here who examine ways in which individuals responded to a globalising world that either expanded or circumscribed their access to power, wealth and status. But while Marie Grace Brown's article on Sudan in this issue refers to the centuries-old networks of trade that connected northeast Africa to South Asia, and articles by Christine Walker and Jessica Hinchy examine the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, respectively, the focus on the global has oriented the volume as a whole towards the twentieth century.

Our call for gendered histories of imperialism and global exchanges ended up, it seems, being decidedly more legible to scholars whose work grappled with a world created by capitalist modernity and hegemonic forms of western colonialism than to scholars working on earlier eras of imperialism. One possible reason for this issue's chronological tilt towards the early modern and modern, particularly the twentieth century, was our decision to think in terms of *global* exchanges, which arguably gestures to capitalist modernity.[5] Whereas earlier empires ruled by the Han, Romans, Guptas, Mongols, Aztecs, Incas, Songhai and others were non-capitalist, modern

colonialism cannot be separated from the emergence of capitalism in Western Europe. Indeed, capitalism implanted modern colonialism in enduring ways that transformed the societies of the colonised and the coloniser. As Ania Loomba has explained, 'Modern colonialism did more than extract tribute, goods and wealth from the countries that it conquered – it restructured the economies of the latter, drawing them into a complex relationship with their own, so that there was a flow of human and natural resources between colonised and colonial countries'.[6] African, Asian and indigenous labour toiled on sugar plantations in the Indian Ocean, the Pacific, the Atlantic and the Caribbean producing for the colonisers both 'sweetness and power', as Sidney Mintz puts it. The sugar economies channelled profits to Europe, particularly as Spain, Portugal, Britain, the Netherlands and France made extensive forays into the Americas. In addition, sugar economies also underwrote entire industries necessary for the functioning of trade and for the trafficking of free and unfree labourers, not to mention the production of items used in diverse transactions: ships, barrels, ropes, iron shackles, weapons, promissory notes, ledgers, pens and inks. Similar economies stemmed from colonial production, cultivation and extraction of commodities and raw sources such as: cotton, tropical fruits, coffee, tobacco, grains, indigo, tea, opium, spices, rubber, silver, diamonds and precious minerals. The sale of these goods proved increasingly profitable for many planters, merchants, intermediaries and seafarers who were now operating across the globe in increasingly interlinked networks.[7] European colonialism thus spurred industry and allowed the primary accumulation of capital for further expansion.[8] Indeed, European colonialism and capitalist modernity has indelibly shaped the world with which we must contend today.

Yet as Samir Amin stresses, 'Capitalism was not destined to be Europe's exclusive invention'.[9] Given Chinese advances in state organisation, technology and manufacturing, capitalism could have been a Chinese innovation centuries before it appeared in Europe, as Amin, Kenneth Pomeranz and Andre Gunder Frank have pointed out.[10] But such alternatives were precluded once capitalism began in Europe and spread throughout the world by conquest and forceful acquiescence of other societies to reshape their economies to serve European and (later US and Japanese) profit-making goals. Capitalism has always been a worldwide system in aspiration if not in reality. Predicated on a logic of ever-expanding profits, capitalism thus continues to be a system that forever and even voraciously seeks new places and novel ways to 'monetise' (to use a more current term) anything and everything. According to Amin, moreover:

> Historical capitalism, as it has really existed, has always been imperialist in the precise sense that the mechanisms inherent in its worldwide spread, far from progressively 'homogenizing' economic conditions on a planetary scale, have, on the contrary, reproduced and deepened the contrast, counterposing the dominant (imperialist) centres to the dominated peripheries.[11]

In other words, capitalism has created an entrenched asymmetry – a worldwide modernity of unequal exchanges – in which labour is compensated or not according to one's status *and* location on the globe.[12] The very scale and scope, as well as the intrusiveness, of modern colonialism in directing and defining life distinguished it from earlier colonialisms.

Colonialisms that emerged during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were also distinct from earlier empires because of the ways in which human worth increasingly became determined by labour-value. This concept of human worth was distinct

from notions about 'wealth in persons': if such a concept can refer to a person's or community's acquisition of 'outsiders' whose labour can result in wealth accumulation, 'wealth in persons' quite importantly refers to the practice of incorporating ostensible 'outsiders' to replenish populations diminished by war, disease or plunder.[13] From the nineteenth century onward, however, capitalism has particularly relied upon forms of alienated labour that have even transformed workers themselves into commodities who have little – if any – control or creative input into the very goods they produce. Legally enslaved workers experienced a particularly profound alienation from their labour: the enslaved were quite literally commodified and could be 'sold' on the market in ways quite distinct from 'wage slavery'.[14] Crucial to the process of accumulating capital therefore was determining who would be denied full or even partial compensation for their labour power.

To be sure, like gender, concepts about 'race' have been decisive in determining how, whether and to what extent labourers receive compensation. Biologically based notions about human difference and variation became entrenched during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries due to imperial expansion, colonialism and Enlightenment thought. Indeed, as Kirsten Fischer argues, not only did 'assumptions about sexual difference also chang[e] dramatically in the eighteenth century', but 'assumptions of gender, race, and class difference propped each other up in the developing social hierarchy' as well.[15] 'Race' became a particularly significant marker of difference and unequal treatment among humans around the world who lived and toiled in modern colonial contexts with economies built upon unfree labour. Although slavery had existed earlier in various contexts, and whereas both Africans and indigenous populations in the Americas engaged in captive forms of labour both before and after their encounters with Europeans, the advent of European colonialism created a more permanent, heritable system of chattel, racialised slavery.[16] Race, then, served to differentiate between humans whose worth was constructed as beyond price or 'priceless' and humans who became exchangeable and valuated commodities.[17] Thus an individual's labour-value and human worth became pegged to varied yet overlapping racial hierarchies that have persisted long after the end of legal slavery and formal colonisation. Walter Mignolo reminds us that the 'modern/colonial world was founded and sustained through a geopolitical [and economic] organization of the world that, in the last analysis, consisted of an ethnoracial foundation'.[18]

Gender – or perceptions of sexualised and embodied difference – could and did shape notions about power, human worth, economic interactions and diverse forms of work during the pre-modern period and in non-capitalist contexts.[19] Feminist Marxists such as Silvia Federici insist that we must consider gender as another means of assessing how much a person was alienated from her labour.[20] That acknowledged, a critical shift occurred with the advent and expansion of industrial capitalism. As Joanna de Groot underscores, the 'growth of new forms of production . . . and of new forces of market relations and international interconnections' during the nineteenth century resulted in 'increasingly explicit and elaborated arguments for the crucial importance of gender and ethnic differences'.[21] In various locations and contexts during the nineteenth century and since, capitalism and imperialism have had a profound impact – often simultaneously – on gendered forms of productive as well as reproductive labour. And, in terms of a sexual division of labour between women and men, Heidi Tinsman stresses that wage labour can be seen as 'inherently problematic for women' due to the

long-established association of women with unpaid labour in domestic spaces.[22] Gender has, then, powerfully determined labour-value and human worth since the beginnings of capitalist modernity.[23] The contributors to this volume productively demonstrate how gendered, sexualised and racialised notions of human worth went beyond labour-value. They therefore contribute to vital scholarship that considers how people who were considered fully human were accorded a host of political and legal rights, a superior social standing and better access to economic, educational and cultural opportunities.

A common thread throughout the following articles is the matter of who deserved to be treated and recognised as fully human in an era of imperial exchanges and ongoing capitalist globalisation.[24] Work on the subject of imperialism and global exchanges can, of course, focus squarely on the trade of manufactured products and raw resources. Given the centrality of gender, embodiment and sexuality to this volume, the articles herein more closely examine human actions, representations and aspirations. A number of contributors interrogate how, whether and why actors in particular historical contexts either adopted or subverted normative behaviours that dominant populations associated with human integrity. Moreover, the authors consider how concepts about personhood have been shaped by gendered assumptions regarding the very ability to make rational economic decisions, participate in affairs of state, question authority, attain education, travel without supervision or restriction or decide how – and whether – to work for others. Jessica Hinchy, Jane McCabe and Laura Ann Twagira explore work and workers in an extensive manner; Hinchy, Christine Walker and Lorena Rizzo discuss colonial contexts in which enslaved or racialised labour was anything but incidental.

This special issue is also designed to problematise the notion of 'exchange' through critical examination of labour flows and the extraction of resources. 'Exchange' does not refer solely to the extractive or exploitative. A number of authors, including Marie Grace Brown, Sivan Balslev, Sarah Steinbock-Pratt and Víctor Macías-González, note the pleasures and benefits that women and men derived from diverse commodities. Through gender analysis, contributors assess complex and occasionally conflicted forms of interchange – between women and men, women and women, men and men – that involved some degree of mutuality. And, authors such as Jialin Christina Wu, Lorena Rizzo, Katherine Marino, W. Chris Johnson and Shaul Mitelpunkt additionally consider how gender and sexuality shaped forms of interaction and mobility as well as collective resistance, projections of power and militarism. As a whole, this volume contributes to existing literature that reveals how thorough gender analysis of political economies provides a notably productive means of considering both global and globalising practices.

The special issue also contributes to the theoretical and historiographical effort to widen the conventional focus on how the centres dominated the peripheries. For the most part, our authors are less concerned even with how centres and peripheries mutually influenced and constituted each other.[25] Instead, they largely focus on actions primarily located outside the metropoles. From wide-ranging locations, diversely situated with respect to evolving global markets, they examine the movements and exchanges of bodies, ideas and commodities. They analyse the ways in which people took advantage of, made sense of, tried to work with or fought against the conditions wrought by a world forged and indelibly shaped by western imperialism and capitalism. After all, as Cooper and Stoler have pointed out, 'What Europeans encountered in the colonies

was not open terrain for economic dominion, but people capable of circumventing and undermining the principles and practices on which extraction or capitalist development was based'.[26]

We have organised the articles into four major themes or rubrics: labour, commodities, fashioning politics and mobility and activism. This structure is not only intended to illuminate critical connections between the articles within each section. Given that a number of authors address more than one major theme in their respective articles, we have also juxtaposed the organising rubrics themselves in a manner that we hope creates especially revealing and meaningful dialogue *across* different sections of the special issue. There is, then, considerable overlap between historical dynamics and phenomena – including labour flows, consumption, sartorial practices, cultural transmissions, colonialism, nationalism, border crossings, transnationalism, activism and state interactions – that are addressed by the authors who appear in different sections. When we began this collaborative project, our approach to gender, imperialism and global exchanges was deeply informed by a shared sense that it is imperative to highlight sexualised and gendered treatments of *working* bodies. The special issue therefore begins with three articles that focus on the gendered politics of labour.

Labour

It could be said that we are following the example of Adam Smith in *The Wealth of Nations*, the ur-text of capitalist modernity, by foregrounding our work with a section on labour.[27] Our ambition for this special issue is much more modest, of course, and we differ from Smith in our ultimate aim – especially given our commitment to rigorous analysis of gender and sexuality. Our focus is not so much investigating the wealth of nations, but exploring how gender and sexuality have shaped the ways in which people have functioned within a world of increasing unequal exchanges and asymmetries since the advent of European imperialism. Who, where and – as Hinchy shows – *when* one was situated on earth forcefully dictated one's life conditions and chances. Some humans were commodities; others were denied full recompense for the value that their labour yielded for their employers. Indeed, as Marx famously explained, under-compensating or not compensating labour enabled capitalists to accumulate profit or capital.[28] The essays grouped in this section examine the expansion or contraction of access to status, power and material comfort of three very different types of workers: nineteenth-century eunuchs in North India with administrative and military roles; biracial Anglo-Indian young men in New Zealand in first decades of the twentieth century and farmers in French Soudan (Mali) during the Cold War. In addition to focusing on labour, the three articles speak to how gendered notions were central to the conceptualisation of workers.[29]

Increasing global and labour asymmetries notwithstanding, labourers, even slaves, sometimes held positions of power. Jessica Hinchy examines the eunuch slaves known as *khwajasarais*, who held high-status jobs in the state of Awadh in North India during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The *khwajasarais* served as entertainers and musicians, as well as military commanders, negotiators, envoys and transmitters of intelligence. Yet they lost their high-status roles after the British East India Company established a system of indirect rule over Awadh in the nineteenth century. Having eunuchs in politics and administration severely challenged British understandings of

proper gender order. British officials thus believed that *khwajasarais* were merely household slaves who had inappropriately come to dominate the public sphere and kept their rulers secluded in the feminine harem. Initial British attempts to regulate *khwajasarais'* labour and curtail their political influence failed due to the resistance by both the Awadh ruler and the *khwajasarais* themselves. But the British won the final battle, using perceived maladministration and the *khwajasarais'* continued political power as the reason for annexing Awadh in 1856. Once slave-nobles, the *khwajasarais* were ousted from their positions and reduced to poverty. In addition to providing a compelling window into colonial refashioning of slavery, gender and governance in British India, Hinchy shows the centrality of gender and sexuality for an understanding of imperial expansion.[30]

Jane McCabe tells the unlikely, but slightly happier story of adolescent, biracial Anglo-Indian men, who were sent away from their homes in Kalimpong, northeast India, to live in rural parts of New Zealand between 1908 and 1938. Seen as the problematic products of one type of imperial interaction, these biracial men were forced to participate in another exchange in the imperial system – fulfilling a need for farm labour in the settler colonies. In so doing, they could demonstrate that they were more robust than the stereotypical 'effeminate' Indian man, and they could find better economic opportunities and social integration than were available to them in India. This plan to kill two birds with one stone, however, did not go smoothly. The Anglo-Indian men, educated and with more refined notions of masculinity, experienced a cultural clash with the rougher, frontiersmen type of white settler masculinity in rural New Zealand. Still racially marginalised, the Anglo-Indian men found it difficult to become landowning farmers themselves. Finding work instead as wage-labourers or small businessmen, the men did achieve social integration. McCabe's study thus reveals the vision of making Anglo-Indian men into hardy, imperial citizens was limited by the ideologies of race, gender and social hierarchies dominant in New Zealand.[31]

Laura Ann Twagira also studies grand colonial plans to shape men into suitable workers. She distinguishes between smallholder farmers and cosmopolitan workers who were both part of the Office du Niger, the irrigation project launched by the French in the Soudan of the 1930s and continued by the Malian postcolonial government. African forced labour built the Office, which was a distinctly male space. French colonial technocrats sought to turn these men, who frequently felt like slaves, into modern farmers. The post-war era brought the abolition of forced labour and a turn to mechanisation that created the African wage-worker. The Office mechanisation was assisted by international development funds that gained prominence within the Cold War context. Twagira, drawing on oral history research, unpacks how African wage-workers, as technological agents, shaped their own engagements with modern agricultural technology, while also interacting with the international politics of development. The two forms of male work at the Office related to what it meant to be a male farmer, as well as what it meant to be a man working with technology in Mande culture. The men who operated industrial machines claimed esoteric technological knowledge that resembled the secret knowledge of the Mande blacksmith. Twagira examines the gendered African technological culture at the Office that bridged the colonial and postcolonial divide. Significantly, her discussion of heavy machinery speaks to labour and to the use of commodities by workers who perform various tasks; such gendered analysis by Twagira therefore relates to analyses of commodities.[32]

Commodities

The very embodiment of human labour, commodities would not exist were it not for people who manufacture, harvest, mine, extract or otherwise create them into existence as exchangeable things. As items or services that can be exchanged for something else, commodities have – by definition – a market exchange-value. Commodities also usually have a use-value as a thing or service used by someone to satisfy hunger, seek status, alleviate boredom and so on.[33] Earlier studies of consumer culture focused on the exploitative nature of the market economy to labour and to women especially. As feminist scholars pointed out, advertisers and capitalist culture manipulated consumers and consigned women to a secondary role of being, in the words of Victoria de Grazia, 'Mrs Consumer', a disempowered mate to 'Mr Breadwinner'.[34] Women were also unfairly pinned as a source of concerns in the new market economy. Alarm about unruly, voracious female shoppers or commodified female sex workers revealed discomfort about newer social relations that capitalism wrought at different times depending on location.[35] But some, more recent, studies of consumer culture – while not denying the exploitative aspects – have focused on the use-value of commodities and the agency of consumers. These studies have been interrogating the 'politics of pleasure' that consumerism reveals, going beyond assessments of consumer culture as being either 'good' or 'bad'.[36] Yet histories of consumer culture in the English language have remained overwhelmingly oriented towards Europe and the United States.[37] James P. Woodward declares that we still need more studies that analyse consumer culture from the perspective of the Global South and more works that examine transnational consumer culture as an agent of historical change.[38] Happily, Brown's article in this section does the former, while Macías-González does the latter. The article by Walker, on the other hand, adds an important correction to presumptions about the gendered dimension to capitalist accumulation through human commodities (i.e. slaves) before the rise of separate spheres. Overall, the three articles grouped in this section emphasise agency and fulfilment rather than victimisation in the market economy.

Christine Walker shows us that the expanding global market allowed women, as well as men, to seek profits through the trade of a variety of commodities, including humans. Focusing on eighteenth-century women who ran transatlantic import-export businesses with bases in Jamaica, the largest and wealthiest British slaveholding colony, she challenges us to rethink conventional notions as to who maintained the Atlantic slave trade. Overseeing what would be multi-million dollar businesses today, some savvy female entrepreneurs knew how to snatch huge profits during the period's imperial wars. They speculated; they borrowed and lent money; they hired privateers. Even female entrepreneurs who did not operate on such a grand scale were hardly just consumers; although some of the wealthier ones inherited their fortunes from their husbands and parents, all female entrepreneurs were both breadwinners *and* consumers. The extant records do not allow definitive racial identification, but most of these women were likely white, with English ancestry from both parents. Some, however, were free women of colour who had once been slaves themselves. Walker thus shows how European legal and customary regimes enforcing patriarchy or even racism were more an ideal than reality. Colonial capitalism afforded opportunities for women also to profit from chattel slavery despite English laws on coverture.[39]

Marie Grace Brown looks at female consumer agency on a very different scale than Walker's slave-holders. Brown examines *tobes* – long rectangular cloths (similar

to South Asian saris) – that were the traditional outerwear of Sudanese women. For centuries, *tobes* or *toubs* came from near and far, reaching Sudan from African-Asian trade routes in earlier periods and also from the North Atlantic-Mediterranean corridor since British colonisation. Long presented as gifts from their fathers or sons to mark special occasions, *tobes* were often prized garments – finely textured damask or brightly patterned splashes of colour – in which Sudanese women enveloped themselves. After Sudanese independence in 1956, *tobes* gained added significance to women. On one hand, Sudanese women proudly wore these traditional garments as an expression of a new nationalist pride, and on the other, as they wrapped *tobes* intimately around their bodies, they felt a tangible connection to a larger, cosmopolitan world. *Tobes* were not only imported from afar, but also evocatively marketed with references to contemporary, global events. Brown thus shows how a traditional garment, sold with the latest styles and names, hooked Sudanese women into a larger network of markets and capitalist desire.[40]

Also investigating larger networks of markets and capitalist desire, Víctor Macías-González looks at how privileged Mexican men created homophile havens within Mexico City during the mid-twentieth century, a relatively new phenomenon that became possible with capitalist modernity. As John D'Emilio has explained, prior to wage labour, there existed little to no social space for gay identities or substantive affiliations beyond the family.[41] But as a visible gay community grew in Mexico, same-sex relations and *afeminado* behaviour were attacked and seen as problematic, especially in the aftermath of the 1910 Revolution. In contrast to the United States, however, there was no lavender scare in Mexico; gay men were usually not persecuted if they assumed 'proper' bourgeois identities. Thus Mexican gay men – if they could afford to do so – sought privacy that became increasingly available in the housing stock of the fast-growing metropolis. Macías-González emphasises the transnational nature of these elite men: they brought back to Mexico fashions and cultures they acquired while living and travelling abroad, and they circulated foreign, homophile texts and imagery. Their 'bachelor pads' became 'an icon of modernity' and they vied against each other in 'their homes' expressions of originality, taste and elegance'.[42]

We grouped these three authors together because they show how people made sense of and took advantage of the larger globalising world and their place in it. Like Brown, other authors in this issue discuss clothing, but their studies differ in that they show how clothing and fashion were used with a more explicit political purpose.

Fashioning politics

Dressing one's body is an intimate way one interfaces or mediates the self with society. As Karen Tranberg Hansen and D. Soyini Madison have pointed out, examining practices of dress allows us to analyse social, political and cultural contexts – about 'identity, status and rank, protest, power, and much more'.[43] Dress is a public activity, one that is influenced by others – both in terms of emulation and avoidance – and people have lived 'in a world where one is forced to make a visual presentation of one's self and to witness the self-presentation of others'.[44] Moreover, with the advent of global market relations, the possibilities for dress widened considerably. Consumers were no longer bound to sumptuary laws or customs that restricted dress according to status or occupation, but in contrast, were encouraged to purchase more

and more items to fashion themselves. Because fashion choices also signified affiliations and revealed aspirations, conflicts among citizens based on race, class and gender could often be seen in dress.[45] Indeed, at the turn of the twentieth century, Thorstein Veblen and Georg Simmel observed how fashion functioned to differentiate between classes and served to exacerbate social tensions.[46] Yet Joshua I. Miller as well as W. H. Sewell have countered that fashion also signified solidarity and allegiance – an explicit avowal of group membership. The articles in this section focus on nationalist group belonging and identification rather than division. While the article by Steinbock-Pratt focuses on femininity, the articles by Balslev, Wu and Mitelpunkt examine masculinity. Fashion, Miller has argued, communicates social and political matters, and thus the way one dresses can be considered a part of democratic culture.[47] This particular aspect of analysing the gendered politics of representation is what brings the four articles grouped together under this rubric, 'fashioning politics'.

Sivan Balslev examines how elite Iranian men during the first forty years of the twentieth century innovated a new model of masculinity based on their engagement with Europe. Educated in Europe or in western-style institutions in Iran – rather than in religious institutes of higher learning – these elite men embraced a set of ideas about gender, politics, dress and sexuality that contrasted the traditional with the modern.[48] Focusing on dress and self-presentation, Balslev explains that Iranian men stopped using henna, dying their beards black or shaving their heads. They began taking off their hats indoors, but keeping on their shoes. And, doffing tribal dress and headgear, they began wearing western-style suits, which they believed exuded 'respectability, rationality, seriousness and discipline', and would help unify the new Iranian nation. The elite men, however, were not willing to accept thorough social transformation. When non-elite men began to emulate such practices, they were disdained as *fokoli* or manqués who were excessively westernised. Balslev thus demonstrates how fashion and cultural practices served as a social arena in which struggles over political authority were fought.[49]

Similarly, Sarah Steinbock-Pratt examines nationalist aspirations expressed through dress. She analyses how dress and comportment appeared to be a 'safe' way for colonised people like the Filipinos to express their aspirations of equality and/or independence. Often told that they were representatives of their nation, male and female Filipino students considered how their dress and bodies – both within the Philippines and the United States – would reflect on Philippine progress and civilisation (or modernity). Those studying in the United States took care to dress well in order to distance themselves from prevalent American stereotypes about dirty 'Orientals'. That is, the relatively privileged Filipino students strove to distance themselves from Asian labourers, even though many of the students themselves had to work as cooks, dishwashers and domestics in order to support their studies. On special occasions, such as Rizal Day celebrations and independence rallies, the female students donned distinctive mestiza-style dresses to emphasise their Filipino identity. The politics of dress were charged for Filipino students, and especially for female students. How the women dressed came to personify questions regarding their proper role in society and the nascent feminist movement in their nation, as well as Philippine independence.[50]

Rather than challenging colonialism outright, the Malayan youth in Jialin Christina Wu's article tried to fashion themselves after the British by joining the Scouting Movement. Wu examines how the Malayans used scouting to enact an idealised version of

Anglicised masculinity, how the British introduced scouting to colonial Malaya and what purpose it served the colonial rulers.[51] Scouting was founded by British lieutenant general Robert Baden-Powell and intended to provide mental, physical and spiritual training, as well as imbue youth with a dose of what Baden-Powell's contemporary, Theodore Roosevelt, called the 'barbarian virtues'.[52] To counteract the perceived enervating effects of modern, industrialised society, scouting encouraged outdoor 'survival' skills – the sort supposedly still retained by 'primitive' cultures. Scouting also emphasised British martial skills and mental fortitude at a time when the British empire was beginning to wane and capitalist modernity was dealt a devastating blow by the global Great Depression. Hence, the British had multiple reasons to promote a mishmash of 'indigenous' Native American and African references in scouting. The mishmash notwithstanding, the Malayan scouts took the games and activities quite seriously. Appropriating other indigenous cultures enabled these boys, mostly from elite backgrounds, to play at being white, and at being frontiersmen. Colonised, but not displaced, the Malayan boys ironically played at being settler colonists.

Shaul Mitelpunkt's article on images of settler colonists takes a different approach to the politics of self-fashioning. He argues that changing US depictions of Israeli soldiers reflected not only political realities in Israel, but also the cultural and political realities of the United States. The militarism of the Israeli settler colonial state succeeded in fulfilling the desire of Zionist founders to remove old, European notions of the effeminate Jew and 'endow the image of the Hebrew with masculine beauty'.[53] Yet especially in the aftermath of their victory in the 1967 war, depictions of this masculine beauty included a softer side. Israeli soldiers were seen as being able to enjoy the gentler aspects of civil society without diminishing their martial prowess. This depiction of a youthful patriot was attractive to US mainstream outlets because it stood in such contrast to American uproar about the Vietnam War. This image, however, was not unchanging. With Israeli defeat in the 1973 war and the growing criticism of the Occupation of Palestinian Territories, the glowing assessment of Israeli soldiers faded somewhat in US public discourse. Mitelpunkt's essay, then, shows the limits of self-fashioning by considering how its reception depends on the will or perhaps the entirely separate concerns of the receiving power.

Mobility and activism

As much as there are limits to self-fashioning, individuals within various historical contexts have engaged in border crossings, migrations and collective mobilisation in order to refashion themselves, their political circumstances and their material conditions. Perceptions of people as gendered and sexualised beings have profoundly shaped – in changing yet overlapping ways – mobility across space within and across historical contexts. Feminist interactions and organising have been a notably significant form of collective mobilisation both locally and globally. Whereas some feminist politics have emerged out of colonising or racialised dynamics and while not all feminists have been anti-imperialists, there are nonetheless vital ways in which feminism has provided women and men with powerful means to resist various forms of oppression and exploitation. Moreover, close analysis of feminist politics that accounts for colonialism, imperialist impulses and asymmetrical developments between different

geographical locations – something that Katherine Marino and W. Chris Johnson both realise in their articles – provides an important lens on major historical phenomena.

This observation is perhaps especially true when we consider feminist mobilisation that occurs across borders or that explicitly seeks to bring together activists from multiple geographic locations. Indeed, consideration of such feminist politics provides a revealing insight into our exploration of gender, empires and global exchanges. As Mrinalini Sinha, Donna Guy and Angela Woollacott have stressed:

> . . . the history of feminisms and internationalism is a lens through which we can view modern world history. Through narratives of women's international organising we can see, for example, . . . the ascendancy of European and other empires from the late nineteenth century, and with it Western feminism's imperial roots. We can see the emergence of anti-colonial movements, and with them nationalist feminisms in the twentieth century. We can observe the creation of a self-consciously international women's movement within international socialism . . . we can observe the shift to the more decentred global structures of transnational capitalism.[54]

If these vital insights perhaps speak most directly to Katherine Marino's article on Pan-American feminist activism, they also apply to W. Chris Johnson's contribution on black radicalism and anti-colonialism. And, whereas Lorena Rizzo does not necessarily speak to organised political activism in her article, her work provocatively explores how people navigated colonial regimes and manipulated existing structures in order to attain passports required to realise their desire or need to be mobile. Quite significantly, Marino, Johnson and Rizzo all explore various forms of embodied relationships and practices.[55]

Whereas many of the essays in this volume have focused on exchanges that primarily flowed from the Global North to the South, Katherine Marino examines how Latin American feminist activists influenced the northern hegemon. Beyond their pointed analyses of class rights, many Latin American feminists construed maternalist politics (including certain forms of protective legislation) differently than did their North American counterparts. To Latin American feminists, legal and economic rights were equally essential to women. Generally associating the United States with imperialism, they viewed their US counterparts with some suspicion until the crisis of the Great Depression and rise of fascism prompted them to forge a new Pan-American feminism predicated on a Popular Front ideology. With fascism poised to strip away women's rights, radical leftist Latin American feminists like Chilean Marta Vergara and liberal, anti-communist US feminists like Doris Stevens felt compelled to join forces. Focusing on the affective ties between Vergara and Stevens, Marino shows not only the importance of personal relationships in forging international feminist movements, but also how Vergara managed to convince Stevens to embrace (at least publicly) maternity rights not as 'protective' legislation, but as an economic and social right. The Pan-American feminists' activism, Marino argues, helped place 'women's rights' as part of international 'human rights' at the founding of the United Nations in 1945.[56]

W. Chris Johnson limns the transatlantic connections among black liberation movements by examining the political lives of four young women born in Trinidad and Tobago. Althea Jones-Lecointe, Jennifer Jones and Beverley Jones were daughters of an anti-colonial activist mother; Erica Williams was the daughter of Eric Williams, scholar-turned-first president of the new nation. The eldest Jones sister, Althea, migrated to Great Britain for university and became a leader of the Black Panther Movement.

Jennifer and Beverley joined the National United Freedom Fighters (NUFF), a radical guerrilla force that emerged in the 1970s to challenge Williams's presidency. Erica, who was also studying abroad, came home 'to guard her father's bedside with a pistol' and mediated standoffs between her father and his government regarding Williams's retirement. In their differing ways, then, Erica and the Jones sisters militantly challenged authoritarian patriarchy, but ultimately, unsuccessfully. Beverley was killed in an ambush, and Jennifer was arrested. Erica went back abroad after being unable to convince her father to step down from office. By analysing the story of these women, Johnson urges us to rethink the masculinist narratives that have dominated the scholarship on anti-colonial and radical black activism across the Atlantic.[57]

The final essay of the special issue is by Lorena Rizzo, whom we discussed and summarised at the outset of this introduction and whose article is in this section because she, too, considers how people navigate a world not of their own making.[58] Moreover, we place her in this section because at one level, her passport-seeking subjects moved across borders, and we are defining 'activism' expansively to include individual, as well as collective, agency. But on a more profound level, we do so because a better life and more opportunities for female workers like Schiffer Lafite – that is, adjusting the asymmetries and unequal exchanges of capitalist modernity – is what Marta Vergara and Beverley Jones fought to attain for themselves and for others.

Conclusion

This special issue illuminates gendered and sexualised aspects of individual empowerment, self-presentation, collective solidarities and strategic mobilisations. Individually and in concert, the articles offer significant historiographical contributions to gendered histories of work, dress, material culture, play, mobility, activism, political imaginaries and resistance. The settings for the thirteen articles in this volume span the globe: New Zealand, Singapore, Philippines, India, Iran, Israel, Sudan, South Africa, French Soudan (Mali), Great Britain, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, the United States, Mexico and Argentina. In other words, every continent except Antarctica is represented. Although we had initially hoped to include work by authors who examine pre-modern periods dating back to antiquity, there is arguably a certain coherence to the fact that the chronology of this issue bridges the early eighteenth century through to the late twentieth century. And, in one sense, the chronology comes full circle: it begins with an early stage in the creation of global asymmetries in Christine Walker's study of female traders and slaveholders based in Jamaica and Britain and extends to W. Chris Johnson's analysis of radical Trinidadian feminists who challenged the continued subject position of their newly independent nation in the global capitalist order. The contributors in this volume offer exciting interventions that will, we believe, spark productive debate as their work collectively underscores the centrality of both gender and sexuality to various (and often embodied) global exchanges.

Notes

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1. See cover image, as well as image in Lorena Rizzo, 'Gender and Visuality – Identification Photographs, Respectability and Personhood in Colonial Southern Africa in the 1920s and 1930s' in this volume, pp. 688–708, here p. 694.
2. For a foundational statement on 'governmentality' (also 'art of government' or 'rationality of government') see Michel Foucault, 'Governmentality', in Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon and Peter Miller (eds), *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality* (London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991), pp. 87–104.
3. Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (eds), *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).
4. Significantly, *Gender, Imperialism and Global Exchanges* is part of a larger conversation initiated by scholars who have previously published works that address – some more extensively than others – gender, sexuality and empire. The following works are examples of such literature: Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992); Inderpal Grewal, *Home & Harem: Nation, Gender, Empire, and Cultures of Travel* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996); Alice Conklin, *A Mission to Civilize: The Republican Idea of France and West Africa, 1895–1930* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997); Julia Clancy-Smith and Frances Gouda (eds), *Domesticating the Empire: Race, Gender, and Family Life in French and Dutch Colonialism* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1998); Laura Wexler, *Tender Violence: Domestic Visions in an Age of US Imperialism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000); Lora Wildenthal, *German Women for Empire, 1884–1945* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001); Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge & Imperial Power* (2002; repr. Berkeley, University of California Press, 2010); Laura Briggs, *Reproducing Empire: Race, Sex, Science, and US Imperialism in Puerto Rico* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); Catherine Ceniza Choy, *Empire of Care: Nursing and Migration in Filipino American History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003); John Tosh, *Manliness & Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Essays on Gender, Family, and Empire* (New York: Pearson, 2005); Philippa Levine (ed.), *Gender & Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Eiichiro Azuma, *Between Two Empires: Race, History, and Transnationalism in Japanese America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005); Angela Woollacott, *Gender & Empire* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006); Ann Laura Stoler (ed.), *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006); Mrinalini Sinha, *Specters of Mother India: The Global Restructuring of Empire* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006); Margaret D. Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race: Settler Colonialism, Maternalism, and the Removal of Indigenous Children in the American West and Australia* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009); Sarah A. Curtis, *Civilizing Habits: Women Missionaries and the Revival of French Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); Antoinette Burton, *Empire in Question: Reading, Writing, and Teaching British Imperialism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011); Cathleen D. Cahill, *Federal Fathers & Mothers: A Social History of the United States Indian Service, 1869–1933* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011); Damon Ieremia Salesa, *Racial Crossings: Race, Intermarriage, and the Victorian British Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Tony Ballantyne, *Webs of Empire: Locating New Zealand's Colonial Past* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2012); Sikata Banerjee, *Muscular Nationalism: Gender, Violence, and Empire in India and Ireland, 1914–2004* (New York: New

York University Press, 2012); John McKiernan-González, *Fevered Measures: Public Health and Race at the Texas-Mexico Border, 1848–1942* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012) and Rebecca Rogers, *A French Woman's Imperial Story: Madame Luce in Nineteenth-Century Algeria* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013). For a recent overview of empires and imperialism, see Jane Burbank and Frederick Cooper, *Empires in World History: Power and the Politics of Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010).

5. Although we may commonly think of technology, industrialisation, secular rationality and mass production as the dividing feature between the 'modern' and the 'pre-modern', a fundamental difference that separates the epochs is a view towards human worth based on their value to produce wealth. We use the terms 'pre-modern', 'early modern' and 'modern' advisedly, aware as we are that they have limitations if not Eurocentric bias. We further recognise that, for historians, usage of such terms varies by field and that scholars also refer to historical periods by using language such as 'pre-colonial', 'colonial', 'national' or 'postcolonial'. For incisive commentary on assumptions behind the term 'modern' and within 'modernisation theory', see Barbara Weinstein, 'Developing Inequality', *American Historical Review* 118 (2008), pp. 1–18. See also Barbara Weinstein, *The Color of Modernity: São Paulo and the Making of Race and Nation in Brazil* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015).
6. Ania Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*, 2nd edn (1998; repr. London: Routledge, 2005), p. 9. See also Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton, *Empires and the Reach of the Global, 1870–1945* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012) and Emily S. Rosenberg (ed.), *A World Connecting: 1870–1945* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2012).
7. Sidney W. Mintz, *Sweetness & Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York: Viking, 1985). See also Paul E. Lovejoy's classic statement about slavery within Africa, *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983). Other relevant analyses include: Claude Meillassoux, *The Anthropology of Slavery: The Womb of Iron and Gold*, tr. Alide Dasnois (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); Hilary Beckles and Verene Shepherd (eds), *Caribbean Slave Society and Economy* (New York: New Press, 1991); David Eltis, *The Rise of African Slavery in the Americas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) and Pier M. Larson, *History and Memory in the Age of Enslavement: Becoming Merina in Highland Madagascar, 1770–1822* (Portsmouth: Heinemann, 2000).
8. Harry Magdoff pointed out that 'primitive accumulation' was a bad translation of Marx's original *ursprüngliche Akkumulation*. *Ursprünglich* means 'initial' or 'original', which is closer to 'primary' than 'primitive'. We thus say 'primary accumulation' as it more clearly communicates the concept. Harry Magdoff, 'Primitive Accumulation and Imperialism', *Monthly Review* 65, 5 (2013), pp. 13–25, here p. 15.
9. Samir Amin, *Ending the Crisis of Capitalism or Ending Capitalism?*, tr. Victoria Bawtree (Cape Town: Pambazuka Press, 2011), p. 41.
10. The Chinese had a centralised state; technological and scientific knowledge; manufacturing techniques and secular, rational thinking. For a discussion of why the Chinese did not become the dominant global economic power before Great Britain and other nations, see Amin, *Ending the Crisis of Capitalism*; Andre Gunder Frank, *ReOrient: Global Economy in the Asian Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); Kenneth Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).
11. Samir Amin, *The Law of Worldwide Value*, tr. Brian Pearce and Shane Mage (1978; repr. New York: Monthly Review Press, 2010), p. 84. For further discussion, see also Derek Sayer, *Capitalism and Modernity: An Excursus on Marx and Weber* (London: Routledge, 1991).
12. To say that there has been a worldwide modernity of unequal exchanges since the advent of capitalism is to acknowledge this historic and current worldwide asymmetry. It does not mean we reject the aspirational hopes expressed in the notion of 'alternative modernities'. To be sure, the so-called promises of modernity – affluence, education, medical access, democracy, social liberalism and so on – have yet to be realised today by the vast majority of the globe's seven billion people. Europe has yet to be 'provincialised', and Eurocentric hegemony persists.
13. Suzanne Miers and Igor Kopytoff (eds), *Slavery in Africa: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1977), pp. 3–81. Claude Meillassoux offers a fairly trenchant critique of Miers and Kopytoff in *The Anthropology of Slavery*, pp. 9–40. In his work on captive labour and the captive exchange economy in the Southwest Borderlands (present-day New Mexico in the United States) from the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries, James Brooks engages the work of Meillassoux as well as Miers and Kopytoff. See James F. Brooks, *Captives & Cousins: Slavery, Kinship, and Community in the Southwest Borderlands* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), pp. 32–5. For an analysis regarding the impact of capitalism on the slave trade and notions about wealth in persons within

Africa, see Joseph C. Miller, *Way of Death: Merchant Capitalism and the Angolan Slave Trade, 1730–1830* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988). A useful, overarching statement about the concept of 'wealth in persons' as well as discussion about critical historiographical debates over the concept may be found in Jane Guyer, 'Wealth in People, Wealth in Things – Introduction', *Journal of African History* 36 (1995), pp. 83–90.

14. Eric Williams, *Capitalism & Slavery* (1944; repr. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994); C. L. R. James, *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution* (1963; repr. New York: Vintage Books, 1989); Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (1971; repr. Cape Town: Pambazuka Press, 2012); Richard S. Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624–1713* (1972; repr. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000); Miller, *Way of Death*; Giovanni Arrighi, *The Long Twentieth Century: Money, Power and the Origins of Our Times* (1994, repr. New York: Verso, 2010); Kathleen J. Higgins, *'Licentious Liberty' in a Brazilian Gold-Mining Region: Slavery, Gender, and Social Control in Eighteenth-Century Sabara, Minas Gerais* (University Park: Penn State Press, 2000); Laurent Dubois, *Avengers of the New World: The Story of the Haitian Revolution* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2004); Megan Vaughan, *Creating the Creole Island: Slavery in Eighteenth-Century Mauritius* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005); Patrick Manning, *Slavery, Colonialism and Economic Growth in Dahomey, 1640–1960* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Walter Hawthorne, *From Africa to Brazil: Culture, Identity and an Atlantic Slave Trade, 1600–1830* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010); G. Ugo Nwokeji, *The Slave Trade and Culture in the Bight of Biafra: An African Society in the Atlantic World* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Chouki El Hamel, *Black Morocco: A History of Slavery, Race, and Islam* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Roquinaldo Ferreira, *Cross-Cultural Exchange in the Atlantic World: Angola and Brazil during the Era of the Slave Trade* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Mariana Candido, *An African Slaving Port and the Atlantic World: Benguela and its Hinterland* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013).
15. As much as Fischer makes these observations about colonial North Carolina, her claims arguably have much broader applicability to other colonial settings with enslaved populations. Kirsten Fischer, *Suspect Relations: Sex, Race, and Resistance in Colonial North Carolina* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002), pp. 3, 5. In her study of colonial Texas, Juliana Barr argues that, 'by the eighteenth century, Europeans drew on categories of race and class to explain the social, economic, and political customs and laws governing all aspects of life'. She nonetheless contends that whereas 'some Indian peoples in North America expressed awareness of European categories of race in the eighteenth century, gender was the organizing principle of kin-based social, economic, and political domains within and between native societies'. See Juliana Barr, *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman: Indians and Spaniards in the Texas Borderlands* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), pp. 9–10. See also Verena Stolcke, 'A New World Engendered: The Making of the Iberian Transatlantic Empires', in Teresa A. Meade and Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks (eds), *A Companion to Gender History* (Malden and Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), pp. 371–89; Brooke N. Newman, 'Gender, Sexuality and the Formation of Racial Identities in the Eighteenth-Century Anglo-Caribbean World', *Gender & History* 22 (2010), pp. 585–602.
16. For further discussion, see, among others, Brooks, *Captives & Cousins* and Karen Ordahl Kupperman, 'Presentment of Civility: English Reading of American Self-Presentation in the Early Years of Colonization', *William and Mary Quarterly* 54 (1997), pp. 193–228.
17. We use 'valuated' here in addition to 'exchangeable' because an unfree worker or acquired outsider (or material item, for that matter) could be exchanged without having a specific market price attached. The 'price' of many unfree labourers exchanged on the market fluctuated as with any commodities, but commodities who were human were able at times to manipulate their market value – for instance, by attempting to alter perceptions of their physical or mental health in order to avoid sale. Sharla M. Fett, *Working Cures: Healing, Health, and Power on Southern Slave Plantations* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002); Stephanie Smallwood, *Saltwater Slavery: A Middle Passage from Africa to the American Diaspora* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007).
18. Walter D. Mignolo, 'The *Enduring* Enchantment: (Or the Epistemic Privilege of Modernity and Where to Go from Here)', *South Atlantic Quarterly* 101 (2002), pp. 927–54, here p. 935. For allied analysis, see Cedric Robinson, *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000).
19. The following are but a few select examples of gender scholarship on this front: Hitomi Tonomura, 'Black Hair and Red Trousers: Gendering the Flesh in Medieval Japan', *American Historical Review* 99 (1994), pp. 129–54; Julia M. Asher-Greve, 'The Essential Body: Mesopotamian Conceptions of the Gendered Body', *Gender & History* 9 (1997), pp. 432–61; Maria Wyke (ed.), *Parchments of Gender: Deciphering*

the Body of Antiquity (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); Leslie Peirce, *Morality Tales: Law and Gender in the Ottoman Court of Aintab* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); Rosemary A. Joyce, 'Gender in the Ancient Americas: From Earliest Villages to European Colonization', in Meade and Wiesner-Hanks (eds), *A Companion to Gender History,* pp. 305–20; Nerea Aresti, 'The Gendered Identities of the "Lieutenant Nun": Rethinking the Story of a Female Warrior in Early Modern Spain', *Gender & History* 19 (2007), pp. 401–18; Marc Baer, 'Manliness, Male Virtue and History Writing at the Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Court', *Gender & History* 20 (2008), pp. 128–48; Merry Wiesner-Hanks, *The Marvelous Hairy Girls: The Gonzales Sisters and Their Worlds* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009); Caroline Dodds Pennock, '"A Remarkably Patterned Life": Domestic and Public in the Aztec Household City', *Gender & History* 23 (2011), pp. 528–46; Lynda L. Coon, *Dark Age Bodies: Gender and Monastic Practice in the Early Medieval West* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011); Ruth Mazo Karras, *Unmarriages: Women, Men, and Sexual Unions in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012). In *Oedipus and the Devil: Witchcraft, Sexuality and Religion in Early Modern Europe* (London: Routledge, 1994), Lyndal Roper explores 'capitalism and magic in early modern Germany' (pp. 125–44). Although David Nirenberg is not necessarily a gender historian, his chapter on 'Sex and Violence Between Majority and Minority' in *Communities of Violence* contains analysis of 'six dynamically related genders' in the Crown of Aragon during the fourteenth century. Jewish women and men, Muslim women and men and Christian women and men constituted these six genders according to Nirenberg. See David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), pp.127–65, here p. 148.

20. Silvia Federici, *Caliban and the Witch: Women, the Body, and Primitive Accumulation* (New York: Autome-dia, 2004). See also Kathi Weeks, 'Subject for a Feminist Standpoint', in Saree Makdisi, Cesare Casarino, and Rebecca E. Karl (eds), *Marxism Beyond Marxism* (New York: Routledge, 1996), pp. 89–118. For allied analyses, see Jeanne Boydston, *Home & Work: Housework, Wages, and the Ideology of Labor in the Early Republic* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990) and Kathi Weeks, *The Problem with Work: Feminism, Marxism, Antiwork Politics, and Post Work Imaginaries* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011).
21. Joanna de Groot, '"Sex" and "Race": The Construction of Language and Image in the Nineteenth Century', in Catherine Hall (ed.), *Cultures of Empire: Colonizers in Britain and the Empire in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (New York: Routledge, 2000), pp. 37–60, see esp. pp. 37, 40.
22. Heidi Tinsman, 'Reviving Feminist Materialism: Gender and Neoliberalism in Pinochet's Chile', *Signs* 26 (2000), pp. 145–88, here p. 152. It is important, however, to remember that through wage-labour, capitalism could and did have also a liberating effect on women, allowing them greater leverage to challenge patriarchy and more opportunities to create a social world beyond the home. See Tinsman, 'Reviving Feminist Materialism'; Heidi Tinsman, 'Politics of Gender and Consumption in Authoritarian Chile, 1973–1990: Women Agricultural Workers in the Fruit-Export Industry', *Latin American Research Review* 41, 3 (2006), pp. 7–31; Karin Alejandra Rosemblatt, 'Welfare States, Neoliberal Regimes, and International Political Economy', *Journal of Women's History* 25, 4 (2013), pp. 149–62.
23. Studies of gender and capitalism include Roberta Hamilton, *Liberation of Women: A Study of Patriarchy and Capitalism* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1978); Mary Murray, *Law of the Father? Patriarchy in the Transition from Feudalism to Capitalism* (New York: Routledge, 1995); Jane C. Ollenburger and Helen A. Moore, *A Sociology of Women: The Intersection of Patriarchy, Capitalism, and Colonization* (Upper Saddle River: Pearson, 1998); Deborah Rosen, *Courts and Commerce: Gender, Law, and the Market Economy in Colonial New York* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1997); Richard Grassby, *Kinship and Capitalism: Marriage, Family, and Business in the English-Speaking World, 1580–1740* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000). Works on gender and modernity include Laura Engelstein, *The Keys to Happiness: Sex and the Search for Modernity in Fin-de-Siècle Russia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994); Rita Felski, *The Gender of Modernity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995); Tani Barlow (ed.), *Formations of Colonial Modernity in East Asia* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997); Marcia Stephenson, *Gender and Modernity in Andean Bolivia* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1999); Antoinette Burton (ed.), *Gender, Sexuality and Colonial Modernities* (London: Routledge, 1999); Barbara Sato, *The New Japanese Woman: Modernity, Media, and Women in Interwar Japan* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003); Agatha Schwartz, *Gender and Modernity in Central Europe: The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and Its Legacy* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2010).
24. See, for example, commentary and articles by Rachel Sturman, Samera Esmeir, Miriam Ticktin and Megan Glick in 'Forum: Gender and the Human', *Gender & History* 23 (2011), pp. 229–82.
25. See, for example: Cooper and Stoler, *Tensions of Empire*, p. 2; Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton (eds), *Bodies in Contact: Rethinking Colonial Encounters in World History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005); Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose, *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the*

Imperial World (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton (eds), *Moving Subjects: Gender, Mobility, and Intimacy in an Age of Global Empire* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009).

26. Cooper and Stoler, *Tensions of Empire*, p. 5.
27. Readers may be surprised to find labour emphasised in Smith, but this is likely due to the fact that neoliberal discourse has impoverished our understanding of *The Wealth of Nations* such that Smith's opus has been essentially reduced to two words, 'invisible hands', in order to justify a notion that a market economy should be completely unregulated. Smith, but more notably David Ricardo and Karl Marx after him, adhered to the labour theory of value wherein a commodity was worth the labour expended to create it. To Smith, labour was therefore basic to understanding how a nation accumulated wealth and power, and he thus began his opus with an examination into labour. Marx, in contrast, starts with commodities as the base of his analysis in *Capital.* Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations* (1776; repr. New York: Bantam Classics, 2003); Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*, vol. 1 (1867; repr. Penguin Classics, 1990); David Ricardo, *The Principles of Political Economy and Taxation* (1817; repr. London: J. M. Bent & Sons, Ltd., 1911), pp. 5–32.
28. Moreover, further reducing pay has been the most significant way for capitalists to maintain or increase profit margins. See Marx, *Capital*, vol. 1, pp. 430–38.
29. The historiography on gender and labour is notably robust; we cite but a few key works here: Pamela Sharpe, *Adapting to Capitalism: Working Women in the English Economy, 1700–1850* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1968); Mary Nolan, *Social Democracy and Society: Working-Class Radicalism in Düsseldorf, 1890–1920* (1981; repr. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Julie A. Matthaei, *An Economic History of Women in America: Women's Work, the Sexual Division of Labor, and the Development of Capitalism* (New York: Schocken Books, 1987); Laura Lee Downs, *Manufacturing Inequality: Gender Division in the French and British Metalworking Industries, 1914–39* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995); Mary Jo Maynes, *Taking the Hard Road: Life Course in French and German Workers' Autobiographies in the Era of Industrialization* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995); Kathleen Canning, *Languages of Labor and Gender: Female Factory Work in Germany, 1850–1914* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996); Nancy L. Green, *Ready-to-Wear, Ready-to-Work: A Century of Industry and Immigrants in Paris and New York* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997); Ronald J. Duncan, *Crafts, Capitalism, and Women: The Potters of La Chamba, Colombia* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000); Tera W. Hunter, *To 'Joy My Freedom: Southern Black Women's Lives and Labors after the Civil War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997); Evelyn Nakano Glenn, *Unequal Freedom: How Race and Gender Shaped American Citizenship and Labor* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002); Lisa A. Lindsay, *Working with Gender: Wage Labor and Social Change in Southwestern Nigeria* (Portsmouth: Heinemann, 2003). For critical analysis of gender, work and 'economic citizenship', see Alice Kessler-Harris, *In Pursuit of Equity: Women, Men, and the Quest for Economic Citizenship in 20th-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).
30. Jessica Hinchy, 'The Sexual Politics of Imperial Expansion: Eunuchs and Indirect Colonial Rule in Mid-Nineteenth-Century North India', in this volume, pp. 414–37.
31. Jane McCabe, 'Remaking Anglo-Indian Men: Agricultural Labour as Remedy in the British Empire, 1908–1938', in this volume, pp. 438–58. Important scholarship about 'imperial citizens' or 'imperial citizenship' includes: Laura Tabili, *'We Ask for British Justice': Workers and Racial Difference in Late Imperial Britain* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994); Nadia Y. Kim, *Imperial Citizens: Koreans and Race from Seoul to LA* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008); Frederick Cooper, 'From Imperial Inclusion to Republican Exclusion? France's Ambiguous Postwar Trajectory', in Charles Tshimanga, Didier Gondola and Peter J. Bloom (eds), *Frenchness and the African Diaspora: Identity and Uprising in Contemporary France* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009), pp. 91–119; Sukanya Banerjee, *Becoming Imperial Citizens: Indians in the Late Victorian Empire* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010); Karen M. Kern, *Imperial Citizen: Marriage and Citizenship in the Ottoman Frontier Provinces of Iraq* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2011); Siew-Min Sai, 'Educating Multicultural Citizens: Colonial Nationalism, Imperial Citizenship, and Education in Late Colonial Singapore', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 44 (2013), pp. 49–73.
32. Laura Ann Twagira, '"Robot Farmers" and Cosmopolitan Workers: Technological Masculinity and Agricultural Development in the French Soudan (Mali), 1945–68', in this volume, pp. 459–77.
33. See the general definition of use-value in Marx, *Capital*, vol. 1, pp. 125–6.
34. Victoria de Grazia, 'Introduction', in Victoria de Grazia and Ellen Furlough (eds), *The Sex of Things: Gender and Consumption in Historical Perspective* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), pp. 1–24, here p. 4.