



Dress and Strategic Bodily Practice:
A Case Study of Women's Socio-political Negotiation in Postwar Taiwan

Lin Shih Ying

Dress and Strategic Bodily Practice:
A case study of women's socio-political
negotiation in postwar Taiwan

Kleding en strategisch lichamelijk handelen:
Een gevalstudie over sociaal-politiek
onderhandelen door vrouwen in naoorlogs Taiwan

Thesis

To obtain the degree of Doctor from the
Erasmus University Rotterdam
by command of the rector magnificus

Prof.dr. H.A.P. Pols

and in accordance with the decision of the Doctorate Board
The public defense shall be held on

Thursday 12 December 2013 at 13.30 hours

by

Lin Shih-Ying

born in Tainan, Taiwan



Doctoral Committee:

Promoter:

Prof.dr. T.W. Ngo

Other members:

Prof.dr. A.A. van Stipriaan Luĩscius

Prof.dr. F. Mengin

Prof.dr. C.I. Risseeuw

Dress and Strategic Bodily Practice:

A Case Study of Women's Socio-Political Negotiation in Postwar Taiwan

Lin Shih Ying

Acknowledgements

My debt of gratitude begins with all of the informants who I have interviewed while conducting this research. Without their life stories and experiences, this work would not have been possible. These people are the key directors of and actors in this dissertation, and have enabled me to both find the appropriate direction to take and complete the journey. I have been lucky that they have let their stories come to life through me.

Secondly, I am immensely grateful to Professor Tak-Wing Ngo for helping me to complete this thesis. His guidance enabled me to form a well-constructed theoretical framework and his encouragement allowed me to elaborate on the essence of the theory and the central theme in this dissertation. Every time he gave me feedback, the entire picture became clearer and my anxieties lessened. I am also extremely grateful for his ongoing help and expertise.

Conducting this research and writing this dissertation has been a long and fascinating journey, and I have had a great deal of help and support from many scholars since starting this project. Special thanks go to Prof. Carla Risseuw (Leiden University, the Netherlands), who provided intellectual input; Prof. Ming-tsung Lee (National Taiwan University, Taiwan), who inspired me to start this research, and gave me rich insights and useful materials; Prof. Melody Chia-wen Lu (University of Macau, Macau), who offered stimulating ideas, helped me to improve my writing skills, and gave me guidance when I was lost. I am also grateful to Shinichi Chen for unselfishly providing me with invaluable sources, ideas, constant encouragement, and friendship, and made this period so much more fun. This work would not have been possible without his generosity.

Finally, I would like to thank all of my friends and family, who have always been there for me when I needed their support. In particular, my mother Cheng Li-chen and best friend Hsu Chia-yuan deserve unending gratitude for supporting me, daring me to dream, encouraging me to overcome problems, and sharing with me all the sweet and bitter experiences. Their love and support will inspire me to go fearlessly into the future.

Summary

This dissertation explores how women have been governed by society, and how they have negotiated to regain control in their own way, by investigating the interrelation between women, body, dress and social structures. Throughout history, bodies have been disciplined by certain social norms, emphasizing social difference and thus benefitting particular groups. Never on the favorable end of this equation, women's bodies have traditionally been the site where such discipline is practiced. Dress is thus a common tool for enforcing order. Hence, to examine the interaction between body and dress is crucial to understanding the relationship between human and society.

This thesis develops the theoretical framework of strategic bodily practice. This theory accounts for the complexities that social forces place on body and dress, and reveals the active nature of individual negotiation, which usually becomes apparent as the strategized and embodied practice of women's dress. On the basis of these concepts, the present study focuses on seeing the body not so much as a passive societal recipient but as an animated entity. Dress is not seen merely as a set of insensate symbols, but as a living tool of mediation. The process of regulation and negotiation in society and among individuals is viewed as an ongoing dialectic process.

The case study examines the interrelations between Taiwanese women's bodies, dress, socio-cultural position, and agency in the post-war era. The complex history and constantly changing social context of Taiwan make it ideal material for developing a theory of strategic bodily practice. This study uncovers how particular forms of dress were used to create a dominating ideology during different periods in the history of Taiwan. It also reveals how changes in the political and the economical situation, as well as the strategic bodily practice of Taiwanese women are reducing this power of dress.

Samenvatting

Dit proefschrift onderzoekt hoe vrouwen beheerst zijn door de samenleving, en hoe zij onderhandeld hebben om op hun eigen manier de controle terug te krijgen, door te kijken naar de relatie tussen vrouwen, lichaam, kleding, en sociale structuren. Door de geschiedenis heen zijn lichamen gedisciplineerd door bepaalde sociale normen die sociale verschillen benadrukten, en die daarmee bepaalde groepen bevoordeelden. Altijd aan het korste eind trekkend, is het vrouwelijk lichaam traditionaal gezien de plaats waar zulke discipline uitgeoefend werd. Kleding is dus een gebruikelijk middel om orde mee af te dwingen. Het onderzoeken van de wisselwerking tussen lichaam en kleding is daardoor cruciaal voor het begrijpen van de relatie tussen mens en maatschappij.

Dit proefschrift ontwikkelt het theoretische kader van strategisch lichamelijk handelen. Deze theorie houdt rekening met de complexiteiten die sociale krachten uitoefenen op het lichaam en de kleding, en onthult het actieve karakter van persoonlijke onderhandelingen, dat meestal duidelijk zichtbaar wordt als het strategisch en belichaamde handelen van de kleding van vrouwen. Gebaseerd op deze concepten consentreert deze studie zich op het lichaam, niet zo zeer als een passieve sociale ontvanger, maar als een geanimeerde entiteit. Kleding wordt niet alleen gezien als een verzameling van gevoelloze symbolen, maar als een levend middel voor bemiddeling. Het proces van reguleren en onderhandelen in de samenleving en tussen individuen wordt gezien als een voortdurend dialectisch proces.

De casestudy onderzoekt de relatie tussen het lichaam, de kleding, sociaal-culturele positie, en agency van Taiwanese vrouwen in de naoorlogse periode. De complexe geschiedenis en constante veranderingen van Taiwan's sociale context maken het uitermate geschikt materiaal om een theorie van strategisch lichamelijk handelen mee te ontwikkelen. Dit onderzoek laat zien hoe specifieke vormen van kleding gebruikt werden om een dominante ideologie te creëren tijdens verschillende perioden in Taiwan's geschiedenis. Het laat tevens zien hoe veranderingen in politieke en economische omstandigheden, alsmede het strategisch lichamelijk handelen van Taiwanese vrouwen, deze macht van de kleding verminderen.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter 1 Introduction	1
1.1 Theoretical contribution: from situated bodily practice to strategic bodily practice	4
1.2 Empirical contribution: contextualizing Taiwanese women's bodies	7
1.3 Research method	9
Chapter 2 Theoretical Review	11
2.1 Sociological discourse and the feminist approach to the body	11
2.1.1 Social constructionist analyses	12
2.1.2 Phenomenologically oriented approaches	13
2.1.3 Structuration theory	14
2.1.4 Gender matters	15
2.1.5 The lived body and social structures are equally important	16
2.2 Situated bodily practice	19
2.3 From situated bodily practice to strategic bodily practice	21
Chapter 3 A Brief Historical Review of Taiwan since 1895: Political and Economic Changes, Body and Dress	25
3.1 Colonial legacy: Japanese colonization 1895–1945	25
3.2 Émigré regime: the construction of ethnic cleavage	27
3.3 The arrival of the democratic era: contested sovereignty, Taiwanization, de-Sinicization and Westernization	30
3.4 The power of state: the rise and fall of the nation-state building project	34
3.5 The power of the global market: from plural fashion to fashion hegemony	36
Chapter 4 The Fabrication of the Nationalized Body: Negotiating a Chinese National Identity and a Submissive Gender Identity	40
4.1 Qipao: gender, nation and identity	41
4.1.1 Dress, nation and gender: the formation of identity	41
4.1.2 The origins of the Qipao: representation of the authoritarian rule of the Manchu	43
4.1.3 The Qipao as an instrument of national construction: the Qipao as national dress	44
4.1.4 The paradoxical representative meaning of the Qipao: Chinese identity vs. Manchurian aristocracy, Chinese nationalism vs. modernity and Westernization	46
4.2 Political representation of the qipao in Taiwan	47
4.2.1 Culture serves the political agenda: the KMT embarks on Sinicization	48
4.2.2 Chinese cultural renaissance in Taiwan: de-Japanization and Sinicization	49
4.2.3 Song Mei-ling (Madam Chiang) as the mother of the nation: the Qipao as national dress in Taiwan	51

4.2.4	Under the auspices of US aid: the promotion of Western ideology	54
4.3	The qipao and women' s bodies in Taiwan	56
4.3.1	The qipao defines national identity: women' s bodies as signifiers of the nation	56
4.3.2	Constraints of the qipao: formation of a submissive gender identity	58
4.3.3	The dual face of the Qipao: national dress as a means to rearrange and consolidate a new social order	61
4.4	Tactics of negotiation: the project to control women' s bodies through Chinese culture and a submissive ideology seems to have failed	63
4.4.1	Chinese national identity blurred	64
4.4.2	The decline of the Qipao: the rejection of a submissive gender identity	66
4.5	Summary	69

Chapter 5 The Industrialized Body: Negotiating Discipline 71

5.1	Mobilization of women from the lower social classes	72
5.1.1	Sewing clothes for the army	72
5.1.2	Industrious and thrifty	73
5.1.3	Economic mobilization: increasing production	74
5.1.4	The story of a female worker – Kima	75
5.2	Uniforms and industrialized bodies	76
5.2.1	How uniforms disciplined bodies	76
5.2.2	Daily background	79
5.3	Three faces of the industrialized body in female workers	85
5.3.1	The dishonoured working body — a disciplined body	86
5.3.2	The desexualized working body – a productive body	87
5.3.3	The female working body — a submissive body	89
5.4	Tactics of negotiation: threefold practices	90
5.4.1	Refusal – the spring hidden in the uniform	91
5.4.2	Negotiation – femininity outside the workplace	92
5.4.3	Appropriating the collective identity created by uniforms – bonding and sisterhood	93
5.5	Summary	96

Chapter 6 The Body as an Agent of Consumption 98

6.1	Ready-to-wear fashion and Wufenpu	99
6.1.1	Fashion as a system	99
6.1.2	Fashion and power: the Western-led fashion system	101
6.1.3	Ready-to-wear clothing and Wufenpu	102
6.1.4	1960s: Patchwork clothes	105
6.1.5	1970s – mid-1980s: generic fashion	107
6.1.6	Late 1980s to the present day: the hegemony of hybrid Western fashion represented in runway shows in the four fashion capitals	108
6.2	Body regulation in the ready-to-wear fashion system	114
6.2.1	Diverse aesthetics, one ideal body	114

6.2.2	Youth aesthetic – youthfulness and smaller size	119
6.3	Tactics of negotiation: female consumers’ voices were heard	121
6.3.1	The selective adoption of Western-led fashion trends: ‘creating’ hybridity	121
6.3.2	The selective adoption of the hegemony of the ideal female body: the voices of older women and young girls	124
6.3.3	Youth and the articulation of age: more than a constraint	126
6.4	Summary	127

Chapter 7 The Customized Body 129

7.1	The transformation of the idea of garment design in Taiwan	130
7.1.1	The schools for brides – garment design as the skill of garment making in the 1960s	132
7.1.2	Industry training in the 1970s – garment design as the skill of producing clothes	133
7.1.3	Fashion design – garment design as style, creativity and value-producing after the 1980s	134
7.1.4	The early 1970s – exclusively expensive clothes	138
7.1.5	The late 1980s – tasteful style	139
7.1.6	The early 1990s to 2000 – creative and forward style	141
7.2	Legitimation of designers’ creativity and the canon of design	142
7.2.1	The legitimation of designer creativity and the canon of design	143
7.2.2	Taiwanese fashion designers’ creativity and the canon of design	144
7.2.3	Similarities between home tailors and fashion designers	147
7.2.4	Home tailors and fashion designers: promotion as a key difference	152
7.3	Fashion design and body regulation	154
7.3.1	The fashionable body – the dominance of 'Western' fashion in the Taiwanese fashion world	155
7.3.2	The body and label obsession	159
7.3.3	Small size	160
7.4	Tactics of negotiation: customized bodies tailored by home tailors	161
7.4.1	The selective adoption of Western-led fashion trends and labels: a way out for home tailors and their clients	162
7.4.2	The selective adoption of the hegemony of the ideal body in the customized body	165
7.5	Summary	169

Chapter 8 Conclusion 170

Appendix One 173

Appendix Two 179

Bibliography 189

Curriculum Vitae 195

Chapter 1 Introduction

This thesis aims to examine the relationship between women's bodies, dress, and political and economic structures. The purpose of doing so is to investigate how women have been variously controlled by different political and economic regimes, and how they have tried to use dress as a means to negotiate this control. The goals are to discover how the interrelations between body and dress reflect changes in social, political and economic contexts in history, and how dress works as a form of mediation to help women face social structures that are often oppressive. The complex history and constantly changing social context of Taiwan make the country a good case when it comes to demonstrating how the interaction between body and dress mirrors changes of societal contexts, and how women practice their agency during their negotiation of these contexts. Moreover, Taiwan is a good case-study for developing a bodily practice theory, as has been achieved in this thesis.

Throughout both the past and the present, and in every society, bodies have been controlled and evaluated to some degree by social norms (Shilling, 1993). Many norms are gendered, and this gendered normalizing tends to develop into social inequalities between men and women (Weitz, 2003). Whether or not individual societies are fair and just to their men and women has been a popular topic of research for many scholars. Some try to find the answer by investigating how women interact with certain social regulations, and the topic of the body has always operated as a valid subject within this line of questioning. Indeed, the body has become one of the most arresting research topics in the field of sociological academia in recent decades, and if one wants to understand how interactions work between people and social structures, it is the perfect subject to study. Moreover, the significance of the body in these research fields has become more important, and, at this point in time, no study of related topics can claim to be comprehensive unless it takes some account of the embodied preconditions of agency and the physical effects of social structures (Shilling, 2005: 1).

While the relationship between social structures and the body has been well researched, that between the body and dress has not been examined as carefully, even though it plays an important role within this field of inquiry (Entwistle, 2000: 11). Since the body must be dressed in almost all social encounters, dress or adornment is one of the means by which bodies are made social. The experience of dress for the body should thus reveal insights into how bodies encounter public and social regimes (ibid: 3, 7). Dress cannot be ignored while investigating how social regimes work with respect to human bodies. Indeed, if one wants to fully understand the relationship between human beings and social structures, the mediating role of dress must be taken into account along with an examination of the body itself.

Throughout history, specific dress has always represented particular historical meanings that reflect the interaction between wearers and social contexts at that time. For instance, in the 18th century, tight lacing was considered to be a sign that European women were less civilized than their male counterparts, and the practice was denoted to be on an evolutionary par with the behaviour of savages. Indeed, in 1882, the Honorary Secretary of the Rational Dress Association, Mrs. E.M. King, stated that civilized men wore decent and comfortable clothing. King was influenced by

the racial degeneration argument of social Darwinists, who believed that women could no longer fulfill their natural and maternal roles when they compressed their stomachs with tight lacing. Darwinists argued that only rational dress made for a civilized and intelligent society, and that it was the people living in barbaric societies who wore meaningless ornaments such as tightly laced clothing. The dress reformers like King argued that women's dress should evolve towards the superior rational men's standard (King, 1882: 4/ Treves, 1883: 497). At that particular period in the history of consumptionist display, the deformed female body formed an important element of male social values; tight lacing was the key instrument in creating this deformed female body (Corrigan, 2008: 80). In another example of dress as evidence of the interaction between wearers and society in a particular historical context, the Russian constructivists of the 1920s regarded human beings as producers above everything else, and the production of clothing was designed to ensure that people felt comfortable wearing it. The new form of dress at the time was designed to fit in with the notions of production and workers' bodies in two ways. Firstly, industrial, agricultural and sporting motifs were printed as patterns on the fabrics used for workers' clothes. Secondly, the clothing was designed to suit workers' lifestyles based on their occupation; the size, form and character of their clothing would vary according to the job they were doing. Dress was thus body-centered (Corrigan, 2008: 85-6). These two examples demonstrate the importance of including dress in research investigating how social regimes influence human bodies. In Taiwan's history, different forms of dress have been imbued with different societal meanings in order to affect the ideology of wearers, in particular to make them obedient conformists. This history makes Taiwan a useful case when it comes to investigating the interactions between dress and ideology.

The experience of how Taiwanese women's bodies have been variously controlled, and how dress became their weapon for negotiating this control, demonstrates how the interrelations between women's bodies and dress perfectly reflect the interaction between wearers and social, political and economic contexts at different periods of time. Taiwan has undergone some extraordinary changes. It has moved from being a colonized country in the early 1900s, to an authoritarian and mainly agricultural society in the 1950s, to today's democratic high-technology powerhouse (Dreyer, 2007). The political and economic circumstances of Taiwan have changed significantly: the country was ruled by Japan between 1895 and 1945, by the Kuomintang (KMT) regime¹ for a period thereafter, and from the late 1980s began its transition into a multi-party democracy.² Taiwan experienced rapid industrialization and economic growth during the latter half of the 20th century, even becoming one

¹The Kuomintang (KMT) was a political party founded by Song Jiao-Ren and Sun Yat-Sen (Xun Yi-Xian) after the xinhai revolution. Its leader, Chiang Kai-Shek (Jiang Jie-Shi), ruled much of China from 1928 until the party fled to Taiwan in 1949 after being beaten by the Chinese Communist Party (CPC) during the Chinese civil war.

²Chiang Kai-Shek died in 1975. His son, Chiang Ching-Kuo, succeeded him to become the president of Taiwan in 1978. In the 1970s, the KMT-led government faced diplomatic and economic crises and lost the public trust of the Taiwanese people, leading to the start of its political and economic Taiwanization (Hu, 2005: 25-6). Ching-Kuo's administration oversaw a gradual loosening of political controls and a transition towards democracy. The Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) was established as the first opposition party in 1986.

of the 'Four Asian Tigers.'³ Since the 1980s, the free-market economy has gradually led the country into the global era, which is reflected in its globalization. Historically, women's bodies have always been regarded as targets to be manipulated in order to legitimize the subordinate position of women in society. Accordingly, examining how women's bodies have been seen and used as objects can reveal how injustice and oppression are organized in a society (Shilling, 2005: 10). When different political and economic changes led to changes in social contexts in Taiwan, women's bodies were controlled by several different political, social and cultural regimes during the brief period following the Second World War. These changes ranged from, for example, the Sinicizing government policy of promoting a Chinese national identity in 1945 (illustrated in Chapters 4 and 5) to the notion of women's bodies being controlled by 'Western-led runway fashion trends' in the fashion system since the 1980s (examined in Chapters 6 and 7). The influence of an ideal of how a woman's body should look, and how women should choose to dress such an ideal shape, has shifted from being politically-driven to market-driven, and the authority of control has shifted from a specific, deliberate national regime to a centralized international culture regime. This research shows how Taiwanese women's bodies have been regulated, and how these women use dress as means to negotiate this control.

Generally speaking, in Taiwanese academia, the body and dress were seen as two separate topics. Either the body was researched to examine the position of women in society, or dress was investigated to discover the meanings reflected by specific clothes. The theory of strategic bodily practice is proposed herein as way to fill the gap. The notion of strategic bodily practice generally encompasses the main concept of Entwistle's theory of situated bodily practice. However, the interaction between the body and how it is dressed is also worth considering when attempting to depict how people encounter attempts to control what they wear.

In addition to addressing this gap, the proposed concept of strategic bodily practice also attempts to remedy the shortcomings of the theory of situated bodily practice. Entwistle claims that her theory draws together theoretical work on the body and the literature on fashion, bringing these aspects to bear upon empirical accounts of dress as a situated bodily practice. Her theory examines both how the social context has its own rules and norms with respect to dress and the body, and how individuals adhere to or reject them (Entwistle, 1997: 1). However, Entwistle's analysis does not entirely demonstrate and account for the complexities of social forces and individual negotiations in daily life (Radner, 2001: 144). In order to remedy this weakness, the notion of strategic bodily practice herein illustrates the complex nature of these social forces and the active negotiations of women in their daily lives. In particular, it accounts for how social actors strategically construct and use their own agency under various societal, political, economic and cultural hegemonies at different periods of time. As mentioned earlier, Taiwan's complex history and experience of being ruled by different political regimes make the country a good case-study for demonstrating the interactions between women, society, the body and dress, thereby helping to build a bodily practice theory. Such an approach also highlights how the notion of strategic bodily practice has been performed by women in history.

³The Four Asian Tigers are Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan. These four countries had high growth rates and experienced rapid industrialization between the early 1960s and the 1990s.

1.1 Theoretical contribution: from situated bodily practice to strategic bodily practice

The theoretical contribution of this study is an attempt to draw out the theory of strategic bodily practice, which paints a clearer picture of the interaction between women's bodies, dress and society. The notion of strategic bodily practice demonstrates a dialectic process of regulation and negotiation in society and among individuals. It reviews the body as a lived body, and reveals the active nature of individuals' negotiations, which are usually demonstrated as strategic embodied practices by women as they choose and wear different forms of dress. The major difference between a strategic and a situated bodily practice is that the former accounts for the complexities of the social forces placed on the body and its interaction with dress.

How different dress styles were formed, and how they have shaped Taiwanese women's bodies at different periods of time, was the first question examined here. Accordingly, how Taiwanese women's agency over their bodies is contextualized through the practice of dress-choosing and dress-wearing is the main question under consideration in this research. Alongside the theory review and fieldwork, the notion of strategic bodily practice is proposed as a way of demonstrating the multiple layers of regulations and negotiations that women face and employ. By applying the theory of strategic bodily practice to the research, it is possible to ensure that some of women's lived dressing experiences are heard, while also enabling an exploration of how their bodies have been governed by different social norms and political regimes. Moreover, such an approach is more suitable than Entwistle's theory of situated bodily practice (1997) when it comes to illustrating how women negotiate the more complicated layers of control through various practices of dress-choosing and wearing at different periods of time. This is because this term, in matching the findings of this study in Taiwan's case, tends to reveal the strategy employed by these women as active agents more than the notion of situated bodily practice.

There have been very few studies focusing on the interaction between women's bodies and dress, or on how these dressed bodies represent the relationships between women and society. In fact, no bodily theories or theories of dressed bodies have yet been developed in Taiwan. Indeed, Western theory is still the main academic resource for Taiwanese research on women's bodies, and there are only a few researchers in Taiwan today who are working on the issue of the female body in relation to dress and society. The majority of these scholars are only working on the politics of the body itself and how it has been controlled by different types of social regime. Most of the relevant literature tends to focus on the discursive, and not the lived, body, while the issue of dress is completely neglected, as is how women can deliberately use clothing as means to negotiate attempts to control them. One notable example is Chen Ming-Zhu's book *Dissemination of Body* (2005). In her research, Chen analyzes the ways in which the politics of the body work in Taiwanese society, such as how Taiwanese women's body hair was considered to be unhygienic, and how the ideal body shape was downsized so that the slim body came into fashion. In her examination of the politics of the body, Chen exposes how the medical industry is trying to profit by asserting these two notions. In this research, however, the related issue of dress is completely ignored. In his work *Body Politics is Genderlized: Textual and Identificational Reading of Erotic Album* (2001), Jung Lo attempts to analyze the body politics of gender as revealed by erotic photo albums in Taiwan. In his research, he shows that these albums,

by means of the images they display, not only reveal people's sexual imagination of male and female bodies, but also reflect the difference in disciplined power in the body display that both sexes undergo. The female body in these albums is subject to discipline far more than that of the male. Unfortunately, dress is again ignored in this research. Moreover, for the most part, these researchers have adopted the perspectives of Foucault, in particular his social constructionist analyses of the ordered body. In Foucault's way of thinking, the body is regarded as the arena upon which disciplines act, and is the locus of discourses of regulation and control. The body is thus mostly considered as a passive agent, and men and women's individual voices are muffled.

On the other hand, most of the research related to the issue of dress in Taiwan only focus on dress itself, and the role of the body tends to be neglected. Most of these studies are historical examinations of dress. For instance, in *Taiwan Hok-lo⁴ women's traditional dress (1860-1945): change, design and modernization* (1993), Su Xu-Jun describes how the traditional dress of Hok-lo women changed at different periods of time in Taiwan, starting in 1860. In *The Map of Fashion and Clothes in Taiwan* (2001) and *the History of Clothes in Taiwan* (2001), Ye Li-Cheng illustrates the general history of fashion and women's clothes in 20th century Taiwan. Both of these studies provide historical pictures and historical material about dress, which is valuable for my research. Nevertheless, it is a pity that there is no clear analysis of how women's clothes are related to their social, cultural and economic positions in society, let alone how women tried to orientate themselves to different societal structures through wearing or choosing different clothes.

This study underlines the notion that if one wants to illustrate the reality of how women's bodies have been controlled, and how women have acted to negotiate that control, a suitable theory to fill the gap in the research fields of dress and the body has yet to be found. The theory of strategic bodily practice is the key to filling this gap, as it invites researchers to investigate how social structures attempt to regulate individuals, and how the lived dress-wearing experiences of individuals allow them to negotiate in society at the same time. The notion of strategic bodily practice is directly evolved from Entwistle's theory of situated bodily practice. The former inherits the main concept of the 'body-in-situation', and emphasizes the interaction between the body, dress and structures. Similar to the situated bodily practice theory, to support its claims it draws on the work of Foucault (1980), Merleau-Ponty (1981) and Bourdieu (1984), as well as the feminist interest in discovering how gender influences women's bodies. The difference is that the strategic bodily practice approach is more able to fully demonstrate and account for the complexities of social forces and individual negotiations in daily life. It also reveals the social forces that differ during different periods, and demonstrates how personal levels of agency change when women are facing different hegemonies under different societal structures at different periods of time. Moreover, in the strategic bodily practice approach, the interacting process between agents, their agency and society at large is dialectical. As a result, compared to the theory of situated bodily practice, that of strategic bodily practice also represents how agents strategically practice their agency through dress. Dress in this theory is not just illustrated as a static weapon, but is instead full of dynamic processes of negotiation and communication between the wearers of clothes and the dominant production system.

⁴Hok-lo is the largest linguistic group in Taiwan. Most of the Hok-lo people trace their paternal ancestry to male settlers who migrated to Taiwan from Fujian in China in the 17th and 18th centuries.

Moreover, it reveals not only how individuals use dress as a means to negotiate different situations, but also how they respond to diverse hegemonies in social worlds to strategically use ready-made clothes or clothes that require communication with producers in their negotiations.

Inherited from the theory of situated bodily practice, the notion of strategic bodily practice suggests that a body is always a body-in-situation, while dress is a component that gives meaning to the body and strategically helps it when it comes to different scenarios in the social world. In Entwistle's research, she examined how power-dressing operates as a discourse on how career woman should dress for the professional workplace. She also considered how such a discourse was translated into actual everyday dress practices for career women in England. Entwistle first acknowledges the body as a social entity, and then demonstrates that clothes are the outcome of both social factors and individual actions. Clothes render the body presentable in a vast range of social situations. Furthermore, they operate to give the body meaning and situate it within a culture in various ways. Examples are how women must adjust the way they walk to accommodate high heels, how they alter the way they breathe to accommodate a corset, and how they adjust the way they bend over to accommodate a short skirt. The notion of strategic bodily practice accounts not only for individual experiences and subjectivity, but also for social structures. Any study of a dressed body as a situated practice should also note the discursive and representational aspects of dress and the way the body/dress is overtaken by power. Such work should also observe how individuals orientate themselves in the social world by the use of dress (among other means). In this sense, this theory emphasizes the interaction of the body with social structures (Entwistle, 2000: 344).

Like the situated bodily practice theory, the strategic bodily practice approach also draws on the work of Foucault (1980), Merleau-Ponty (1981) and Bourdieu (1984) to support its claims. This theory also inherits the feminist interest in carefully sensing how different genders are positioned in society, and sees women's bodies as lived bodies. How the theory has been developed will be illustrated in Chapter 2, but it is the theory of the body that is best able to bridge the gap between the traditions of structuralism, post-structuralism and phenomenology, as it draws on insights from all of these schools of thought. This theory of the analysis of dress as an embodied and situated practice enables us to see the operations of power in social spaces, in particular how this power is gendered, and how it influences the lived body and leads to particular strategies being adopted by individuals (Entwistle, 2000: 39).

Although the main concept of Entwistle's theory has been valuable when it comes to discovering how women have been controlled, and how they have used negotiation to counter this control, it is still inadequate in some ways. As mentioned previously, a demonstration of the complexities of social forces and individual negotiations in daily life was lacking in Entwistle's analysis. The notion of strategic bodily practice provides a way of filling these gaps. Entwistle, as noted above, used the theory of situated bodily practice to illustrate how English career women used power-dressing to deal with the pressures of gender inequality in the workplace in the 1980s in England. However, she only examined one period (the 1980s), one field (the workplace) and one source of oppression (gender). The negotiation tactics used by Entwistle's informants, as depicts them, tended to be more one-dimensional than the more dynamic and strategic approaches discovered in this research. The central thesis in this study is how the different regimes have used power to control Taiwanese women in different periods of time, ranging from 1945 to the 2000s.

Many different societal fields and sources of oppression are illustrated, and it is in this way that the negotiations of Taiwanese women who use dress as a means of interaction are revealed to be more dynamic and strategic than those of the English women in Entwistle's research. Accordingly, the term strategic bodily practice is proposed as more accurately reflecting the scenarios encountered in this research and as a way to highlight the active nature of the negotiations of individuals. This work builds upon Entwistle's contribution by adding an additional layer of complexity, which the revised term of strategic bodily practice is proposed to encompass. More details will be provided in the theoretical review in Chapter 2.

1.2 Empirical contribution: contextualizing Taiwanese women's bodies

The empirical contribution of this research involves an attempt to discover the interrelations between Taiwanese women's bodies, how they dress, their social-cultural positions and their agency. How their bodies have become discipline receivers and how dress has become a means of presenting the active nature of their negotiations are also examined. As mentioned in Section 1.1, this fills the gap in terms of how women's voices and lived experiences with dress have long been neglected in the field of body and dress in Taiwanese research. Indeed, most Taiwanese scholars seem to prioritize Foucault's approach as they investigate women's bodies, which are mainly considered to be passive agents regulated by many forms of societal control. Moreover, it is clear that important aspects of the lived experiences of Taiwanese women have been ignored. It is crucial to link dress, female bodies and their lived experiences if we are to discover how women have been controlled and how they negotiate the process. It is for this reason that this research contributes to the discovery and depiction of the interplay between dress, bodies, the lived experiences of women and society in Taiwan.

This study not only examines how particular forms of dress were used to create a dominant ideology, but also reveals how changes in political and economic circumstances helped to diminish the power of these forms of dress. Furthermore, this research also uncovers how Taiwanese women strategically used a method of negotiation whereby they went beyond just using dress to face-down the dominant ideology of the day, and instead attempted to alter the oppressive philosophy of the dominant form of dress itself. As mentioned previously, women's bodies have often been treated as a focal point for a regime when constructing a hierarchical system, with dress usually being applied as a tool. In Taiwan, clear evidence of this is displayed in every segment of history. Accordingly, this study underlines how and why female bodies became central to the project of nation-state building in Taiwan in the 1950s. In particular, the emphasis is on how the bodies of women from the higher social classes were treated as something to be utilized as a symbol of the ideological discourse used in the construction of the state, while the bodies of other women from the lower social classes were seen as targets upon which to enact particular economic practices of state (Anthias, Yuval-Davis, 1989: 7). Indeed, specific forms of dress, such as the *qipao*⁵ and factory work uniforms, were used to construct specific types of body in order to accomplish the nation-state building project, as will be illustrated in Chapters 4 and 5.

⁵The *qipao*, also known as cheongsam, is a one-piece Chinese dress. This outfit had a high neck and straight skirt, which covered all of a woman's body except for her head, hands and toes.

When the democratic era arrived, a consumption-based society formed in Taiwan in the late 1970s (Chen, 2002). This study shows how the emergence of mass produced ready-to-wear clothing brought the notion of fashion to garment consumption in Taiwan, and how fashion in turn became a hegemonic system with which to influence this form of consumption. This gradual change in the fashion industry in Taiwan is essential when it comes to understanding the transformation of the female body into an agent of consumption. The mass production of ready-to-wear clothing was originally considered to be a liberating force, making fashion a far more democratic system in that it became accessible to all and fostered non-conformity in terms of a variety of aesthetics in the mass media (Lipovetsky, 1994). Paradoxically, however, fashion and clothing can be used to create differences in power and status between the lower and higher classes (Barnard, 2002: 43). This ideology demonstrates how the Western-led fashion industry formed its hegemonic fashion system in order to dominate the global garment/fashion market. Within this global market, Taiwan plays the part of following the trends created by the Western-led fashion industry, from which a pervasive aesthetic of youth and slimness was hidden under these overtly plural manifestations of fashion, presenting new issues to be dealt with. As well as demonstrating how the Western-led fashion system dominates across the globe, including in Taiwan, this study also highlights how Taiwanese women's strategic bodily practices are more actively and strategically involved in the process of designing and making clothes in an attempt to identify the most comfortable way of challenging oppression. This will be examined in Chapter 6.

This study also reveals how the traditional garment production methods in Taiwan, such as home tailoring,⁶ might be a better approach than today's global garment production and design methods when it comes to providing space for female consumers to create agency. In addition, how garment choices have grown since the 1980s in Taiwan, and how designer brands have become popular, are examined. Originally, it had been assumed that women would have more opportunities to articulate how their individual feminine bodies should look by purchasing clothes made or designed by fashion designers. This is because the idea of a fashion design collection usually implies designing for particular themes and groups, meaning that the range of consumers for each product thus becomes narrower and narrower, and consumption may be more individualized or refined. However, after interviewing fashion designers, home tailors and their consumers, it appears that women actually have more opportunities to articulate their individual feminine selves by buying clothes made or designed by home tailors. This is because both international and Taiwanese fashion designer collections are influenced by the Western-led fashion system. This means that there is little room left for consumers own agency, unlike the position with the traditional production method of home tailoring. The interaction between a woman's body and the garments made by a home tailor suggests that women feel as if they have more authority to articulate their personal conception of fashion and the body when dealing with such professionals. This behaviour clearly demonstrates the approach of strategic bodily practice in comparison with that of the theory of situated bodily practice, and this will be examined in Chapter 7.

⁶Home tailors in Taiwan are always women. The reason why they are known as home tailors is because they are typically housewives and tailors at the same time, and usually work from the living rooms of their homes. Clients normally go to these homes to have clothes tailored, and this will be discussed more in Chapter 7.

1.3 Research method

The study includes a discussion of the historical literature, the results of participant observation and evidence unearthed by exhaustive interviews. The interviews normally took place at my informants' places of work or in their homes, where they felt comfortable. Several interview techniques are interwoven in this research: informal, structured and semi-structured. The main interview model was semi-structural, which means that a draft of interview questions was produced prior to meeting each participant, but was sometimes adjusted during the interview process, depending on the circumstances. The entirety of all of the interviews was recorded, and notes were also taken. After the interviews, a verbatim transcript was produced, upon which my analysis was conducted.

There are four main chapters in this study, which together examine the relationships between different clothes and women from various social backgrounds over several chronological periods in Taiwan. Based on the subjects highlighted, different informants were chosen for the interviews. All of the interviews were conducted in Taiwan by the author between July 2008 and April 2009, and September 2009 and March 2010. Appendix 1 sets out the number of people of each type who were interviewed. Then, the backgrounds of the key actors are contained in Appendix 2.

In my research on the *qipao*, my informants were *qipao* tailors and *qipao* wearers who experienced the heyday of the garment between 1945 and the 1970s. These were the people who were most familiar with how the *qipao* was promoted and the hidden agenda behind this. By listening to their life experiences of wearing or tailoring the *qipao*, I attempted to discover whether it has been abandoned as a form of dress with or without the agency of the women who wore it. Alongside the interviews, participant observation was conducted to investigate the processes of how *qipao* tailors make the garment and how *qipao* wearers discuss with these professionals ways to adjust it to meet their needs. Although the circumstances of *qipao* tailoring and *qipao* wearers' preferences today may be very different from the period between the 1940s and 1970s, it is useful to talk to these women to gain insight into the differences between now and then. This information provided me with more clues about how some women negotiate externally imposed controls when choosing what to wear. The research results appear in Chapter 4.

In the part of the research on uniforms, female uniform wearers who used to work in factories from 1945 through to the 1970s were my main interviewees. The social status, lifestyle and daily clothes worn by these women were usually in complete opposition to those of *qipao* wearers, who were not required to do much physical work. The regulation of these female workers' bodies represents another kind of control in Taiwanese society during the relevant period. How these uniforms worked as tools to implement regulation, and how these female workers negotiated this control are the main elements examined in this study. In addition to interviews, participant observation in one factory was conducted to examine in more detail how uniforms and the circumstances of a factory implement regulation. Although uniforms and the conditions of factories today may be very different from the period between 1945 and the 1970s, the information gained from the participant observation still provides clues about how regulation might have been implemented through uniforms and the circumstances of factories at that time. Simultaneously, it has also been helpful to learn more about how female workers negotiate this control. The research results appear in Chapter 5.

In an attempt to discover how the ready-to-wear fashion system has been constructed in Taiwan since the 1980s, the local ready-to-wear wholesale location of *Wufenpu* became the key setting for my fieldwork. Shop owners, clerks, wholesalers, retailers, manufacturers and consumers were my main interviewees. Some shop owners had started their businesses as far back as the establishment of *Wufenpu*, and after interviewing them, a picture of how the construction of a ready-to-wear fashion system was attempted in Taiwan became clear. The interviews with shop owners, shop clerks, wholesalers and female consumers of the clothes from *Wufenpu* provided me with a sense of how the ready-to-wear fashion system has tended to influence women to shape their bodies to match the fashions available for consumption. Listening to these women's voices telling me how they negotiate the system's influence has been important. As well as interviews, information from participant observation was also obtained in some of the shops in *Wufenpu*. During these observations, more clues as to how retailers and consumers communicate their preferences in terms of clothes to wholesalers, shop owners, clerks and manufacturers were found. This information helped me to understand how some participants in Taiwan's fashion industry attempt to negotiate the dominant ready-to-wear fashion system. The research results appear in Chapter 6.

In the final part of this research, in an attempt to see how the ideas of fashion design have influenced women's bodies in Taiwan since the 1980s, Taiwanese fashion designers, home tailors and their consumers became my prime informants. By interviewing them, a broader picture was obtained of: how the notion of fashion design influences the way women see the relationship between how they dress and their bodies; how they began to shape their bodies after the 1980s; and how some women try to negotiate this control. In addition to interviews, a few participant observations were also conducted. In 2009, four fashion shows were attended during Tokyo fashion week with a Taiwanese fashion designer. Learning how to tailor clothes by working with a home tailor was also part of the fieldwork. Indeed, during this period, there was the opportunity to participate in several assignments with this tailor, which enabled me to be involved in discussions with clients about the tailoring of their clothes. These participant observations provided me with more clues about the dominant ideologies produced by the fashion design industry, and how participants therein try to negotiate this control. The research results appear in Chapter 7.

To ensure that the voices of the disadvantaged minority were not overlooked – in this study, women, because the feminist approach in sociology has always tried to fix the flaw that women have been ignored in the construction of the epistemology and methodology of sociology – the philosophy of a feminist approach was applied as a balancing measure. The standpoint theory of feminist theorists was adopted. The important notion of standpoint theory is to start research with the experiences of those who have traditionally been left out of the production of knowledge. In Harding's opinion, the perspectives of marginalized/oppressed individuals, for example women, can help to create more objective accounts of the world. By adopting this approach, there is an acknowledgement that it is important to let the key actors who have normally been omitted from the production of knowledge tell their stories. This is the main philosophy of the methodology of this research.

Chapter 2 Theoretical Review

As has been explained in the previous chapter, the theory of strategic bodily practice is the main theoretical model applied in this research to demonstrate how Taiwanese women use dress as a strategy to negotiate societal controls in Taiwan. The approach generally adopts the main concept from Entwistle's theory of situated bodily practice, but builds on and modifies it due to its limitations when it comes to demonstrating the multiple layers of women's negotiations with attempts to control them. In this chapter, how the theory of strategic bodily practice was developed is reviewed, as is the argument that the theory is suitable for describing how women use dress deliberately as a situated practice.

2.1 Sociological discourse and the feminist approach to the body

How the notion of strategic bodily practice has been developed will be illustrated in this chapter, first through an investigation of the sociological discourse of the body, then a discussion of the approaches to body theory taken by feminist theory, and finally through situated bodily practice research. During this theory review, it will be demonstrated that the concept of situated bodily practice, in which the body is positioned at the centre of the analysis, will be the best model to adopt for developing the notion of strategic bodily practice. The interaction between body, dress and society will also be explored at the same time. After adopting this concept, the strategic bodily practice approach enables the lived body to be articulated through practices of dress, and it is this articulation and the practices that enable it that will be examined in detail in the chapters to come.

Interest in the subject of the body has been on the rise in academia since the early 1980s. There are roughly three reasons for this. Firstly, from the 1960s onwards, feminists have criticized the biological sex/cultural gender divide, arguing that the nature of women's corporeality was used to mistakenly justify their public subordination (Oakley, 1972). Accordingly, the body has become the focus of research in feminist studies. Secondly, ongoing sociological analysis has revealed that the human body has become more popular as an object of various forms of control. For example, Foucault (1981) analyzes how the gender of individual bodies is linked to the management of national populations. Thirdly, the commercialized body has been focused on and analyzed as the centre of people's sense of self-identity in the research into consumer culture. In a consumer society, the body is displayed as a ubiquitous sign, and in the advertising culture it is used to promote appearance and physical control as key concerns for the majority of people. In particular, Giddens (1991) analyzes how the body has been shown to be the vehicle of consumption in consumer culture.

According to Chris Shilling (2005)⁷, the dominant contemporary theories of the body can be classified into three theoretical approaches: social constructionist analyses of the ordered body,

⁷Chris Shilling has written many books which outline how the body relates to research in social theory, for instance *The Body in Culture, Technology & Society* (2005). In this book, he develops a view of the body as a multi-dimensional medium for the constitution of society. In Shilling's view, the body holds the capacity to generate and be receptive to structural aspects of society. It also has creative capacities to practice the embodied agency of the individual.

action or phenomenologically oriented approaches towards the lived body, and conceptions of the body in structuration theory. These three approaches provide us with a focus on the body as the apparent object of study, and also express a deep concern about the fate of the embodied subject in the contemporary era. These approaches now represent the most influential ways in which the social significance of the body has been conceptualized in the field of body research (Shilling, 2005: 16). Examining theories of the sociological discourse of the body by using Shilling's analytical angle helps me to observe both the advantages and disadvantages of applying each of these approaches to this research.

2.1.1 Social constructionist analyses

Social constructionist analysis enables this study to investigate the social, political, cultural and historical background of the subject matter of this research. It is important to both identify how different periods' regimes have formed under different specific social structures and consider how the body is the best location for observing how the disciplines of different social, political and cultural structures have been implicated. In social constructionist analyses of the ordered body, human physicality, as an identifiable and distinct aspect of experience, is considered to be an object that is produced and governed by political, normative and discursive regimes. As the body was historically primarily considered to be a passive agent controlled by all kinds of regulation in society, it was also able to be viewed as a location for society. Based on this concept, these analyses suggest that we can only view these structures by being constructionist. Foucault's perspective sees the body as an object that modern knowledge/power seizes upon and in turn invests with power (Foucault, 1980: 57), and is a typical example of the social constructionist approach. The sociologist Turner clarifies this perspective for later researchers, explaining that Foucault's work shows how individual bodies are managed by the development of specific regimes, as well as how the bodies of populations are managed and coordinated. For example, in the social expectations relating to and the frameworks of diet and exercise, the individual is asked to take responsibility for his or her own health and fitness. This is one way in which individual bodies have been managed and disciplined (Turner, 1985: 161).

However, if the social constructionist analysis approach was the only analytical method applied in a piece of research, how the body is ordered by power relationships could be effectively illustrated, but the lived experience of embodied actions might easily be ignored. Due to its tendency to erase any ontological existence that the body has apart from society, this kind of approach becomes impossible to use to evaluate social institutions in terms of their beneficial or detrimental effects on the body (Shilling, 2005: 17). Indeed, it prevents research from considering bodies as passive agents controlled passively by institutions in society, particularly in a study of the institutions of nationalism and the fashion hegemony. For instance, if this was the only approach applied to this research, a quick judgement might be reached that in the 1980s, the way in which most Taiwanese women chose what they wanted to wear and what body shape they wanted to present was controlled by the fashion hegemony, and they were not allowed to make their voices heard during the process. Yet, on the contrary, in reviewing the interviews from my fieldwork, it is clear that the opinions of

Taiwanese women about the sizes of the clothes sold during this period actually had an impact on the sizes of much of the women's clothing produced and sold in the Taiwanese market. In view of this discovery, Taiwanese women have not been seen as passive agents at any time, and so social constructionist analyses might not be the best choice for this research. Indeed, if this - or only this - theoretical approach was applied to this research, women's voices might be muffled. Regarding the body as a location for society was an important step for contemporary theories. However, by adopting this point of view, the possibility that the body is an active agent of meaning-making in its own right was lost. Moreover, these contemporary theories of the ordering and regulation of bodies often tend to deny the body any ontological materiality, and these perspectives ultimately fail to possess any physical grounds upon which to examine the interaction between the body and society over time (ibid: 53).

2.1.2 Phenomenologically oriented approaches

In response to the lacuna discussed above, there was a rise in the amount of research into the body's own experience of its embodiment. These studies consider the opportunities and constraints of action as caused by the problems of the body itself (Frank, 1991: 43). In this approach, bodies are not simply representations, but have a concrete, material reality (Douglas, 1973). Phenomenology, the brainchild of Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1976, 1981), is one of the leading theories in the forum of body theory. Based on taking a phenomenologically-oriented approach, the lesson of how to listen to women's experiences, and value their voices when analyzing information obtained during fieldwork, has been learned. After all, the structure and meaning of the world is achieved through the medium of body experiences (Merleau-Ponty, 1962: 30, 229). Accordingly, from this point of view, the body is a source of self and society, even shaping people's experiences of the world.

It is valuable to see how Shilling analyzes Merleau-Ponty's body theory: in phenomenology, unlike the Foucauldian perspective, the body is placed at the centre of the analysis of perception, and is also portrayed as a source of society (Shilling, 2005: 15). Here, the body is considered to be an active agent in society's structure. According to Entwistle's (2000) more accessible presentations of Merleau-Ponty's theory:

...our bodies are not just the place from which we come to experience the world, but it is through our bodies that we come to be seen in the world. The body forms the envelope of our being in the world; selfhood comes from this location in the body. Therefore, for Merleau-Ponty, subjectivity is not essential and transcendental: the self is located in a body, which in turn is located in time and space. (Entwistle, 2000: 29)

Merleau-Ponty rejects the idea that bodies could only be objects; instead, the body is seen as a site for subjectivity and consciousness. He argues that our active being in the world is constituted by the body, and that our point of view on and situated experience of our environment are provided by the body (Merleau-Ponty, 1962: 160). His writing on the lived body as a subject enables theorists to question the idea that the individual was ever merely passively dominated by the ordering powers of

political regimes. In his analyses, our awareness of the world is actively embodied, and the body is an intermediary which enables us to be an active source of the world (Merleau-Ponty, 1968).

However, this approach has not developed a conception of how the body can be formed and shaped by different social relations and contexts, and nor has it revealed how body experiences can be applied as a means through which specific body-society relationships can work to attach people to, or alienate them from, their social milieu (Shilling, 2005: 56) In the current research, it is clear that Taiwanese women have had the agency to maintain their bodies in relation to their surrounding social structures since 1945. Notwithstanding the fact that they have had the authority to negotiate the degree of control exerted by social or political regimes, the bodies of these women and their lived experiences were still exposed to social contexts and structures, and were affected to a certain degree. Accordingly, if this theory was the only approach applied to this research, the influence on and degree of dominance of the social structure over the body might be neglected, making this theoretical method unsuitable. For example, it would be impossible to recognize how the KMT government tried to impart a particular Chinese national identity upon Taiwanese women during the 1950s through to the 1970s if women's lived experiences were the only focus, and the opportunity to investigate the practical interaction between social regimes and women's bodies was ignored. Why social structures are an equally important topic to investigate in this research will be explained in more detail in the section on feminist approaches to the body below.

2.1.3 Structuration theory

Although the theories of ordered and lived bodies provide some alternative lines of development, they somehow still replicate the division between theories of structure and agency (Shilling, 2005). Shilling explains that structuration theories have developed to overcome this opposition. As a consequence, this evolution, and structuration theory in particular, offers a more valuable angle of approach when it comes to theorizing the body for the purposes of my research. By applying the concepts of this theoretical approach, it has been possible to see that one must pay attention to how bodies are treated as recipients of social practices and how interactions work between social structures and individuals. Indeed, any results would be biased if the focus was on only one of these factors.

Assumptions on the part of theorists about the mutually constituting nature of social structures and actions were the basis for the development of structuration theories, which rely on the notion that the body is central to society. Pierre Bourdieu is among the most influential proponents of these theories. He proposes that the body is a recipient of social practices and, at the same time, an active creator of its milieu. In Bourdieu's theory of social reproduction, the body is shaped by, yet also reproduces, class inequalities (Bourdieu, 1984: 190). The debate concerning the primacy of either structure or agency with regard to human behaviour is a central issue in sociology, political science and the other social sciences. In this context, agency refers to the capacity of individuals to act independently and to make their own choices freely. On the other hand, structure refers to the recurrent patterned arrangements which seem to affect or limit the choices and opportunities that individuals possess. Bourdieu has developed two key concepts, the 'social field' and 'habitus',

to attempt to transcend the subject/object and structure/agency dualisms. 'Field' is one of the core concepts used by Bourdieu, and is a setting in which agents and their social positions are located. He explains that social fields are not autonomous 'social facts', but depend for their continuation on the social practices of groups and individuals. Habitus is the set of socially learned dispositions, skills and ways of acting that are often taken for granted and which are acquired through the activities and experiences of everyday life. The habitus is a system of durable, transposable dispositions that are produced by the particular conditions of a class grouping, and relate to the way in which bodies operate in the social world. Therefore, the habitus is a concept that links the individual to social structures. In other words, the embodied dispositions that people acquire during their upbringing continuously convert necessities into strategies, and also turn confinements into preferences (Bourdieu, 1984: 190; 1992: 128).

One of the questions this research will set out to answer is inspired by Bourdieu's theory: how can individuals negotiate assigned trajectories? In this study, the search for an answer has involved investigating Taiwanese women's choices of dress as they attempt to adjust to particular circumstances and societal structures. Strategic bodily practice is proposed as an approach to answering this question. Inheriting the main concept from Entwistle's situated bodily practice, dress was considered to be a practical negotiation between the individual and society. A strategic bodily practice approach, meanwhile, requires an acknowledgement of the body as a social entity and dress as the outcome of both social factors and individual actions: it regards the body as a way to position individuals within their environments. The interactions between a subject's creative powers and societal structures have been exposed in this work by applying the theory of strategic bodily practice.

As women's bodies are the focal point of this research, and the issue of how power is gendered is obviously relevant in society, how feminists investigate women's bodies is significant for this study. The feminist Iris Young's approach towards the body, which accounts not only for individual experience, subjectivity and identity, but also for social structures, is similar to the angle taken by the strategic bodily practice approach, and will thus be examined below.

2.1.4 Gender matters

Although feminist theories were not directly applied in this research, their approaches are helpful when it comes to understanding the importance of considering gender in body theory. In particular, this research aims to analyze how Taiwanese women's bodies are controlled by, or are able to negotiate, the social structure in Taiwan. How gender plays a role in body theory, and how women and men are bodily disciplined in different ways, thus becomes a crucial avenue of investigation. Through exploring how power acts on women and men's bodies differently, it has been possible to uncover in more detail how women are controlled in a patriarchy and how they negotiate the system. Taiwan's case highlights the point. For instance, in Chapter 4, how different uniforms in factories have different meanings for men and women, and how these meanings represented a hierarchical system during the 1960s and 1970s, is examined. Such an approach also helps to reveal how the gendered body has been seen and treated differently.

Diamond and Quinby (1988)⁸, and McNay (1992)⁹ consider gender to be a crucial feature of the social construction of the body; it is a fundamental aspect of any account of the body or of how bodies are operated on by power. McNay, for example (below), explains that power does not act on male and female bodies in the same way (Entwistle, 2000: 26). In Entwistle's research, she discovered that even though women had adopted standard masculine dress (the suit) in a particular workplace in England, their identity will always be that of a 'female professional.' In other words, their gender will always be seen as being outside the norm of being 'masculine' (Entwistle, 1997)¹⁰. As Entwistle helpfully explains, there are two reasons for this: first, the body moves through time and space with a sense of itself as gendered, which is why males and females experience things differently in the spaces of the public realm of work. The presentation of the body through dress is also experientially different. Second, women are more likely to be identified with the body than men, and this also necessarily generates differential experiences of embodiment (ibid: 30).

This idea of increased body-identification for women is why it is important for this research to pay attention to the details of how women are identified by way of their bodies. Furthermore, it draws attention to how body-identification has been employed to control women's bodies and turn them into signifiers. For instance, in the 1950s and 1960s, some women in Taiwan were asked to wear the *qipao*¹¹ by their husbands to show how wealthy their families were. These women's bodies were identified as the property of their families and signifiers of wealth by virtue of being objects that displayed wealth. This experience of embodiment helped form the submissive gender identity of some Taiwanese women in that period. Accordingly, gender is a crucial feature in body theories that should not be overlooked. In addition to highlighting the gender norms of society in body theories, most feminist approaches to body theory also attempt to identify a better approach to the gendered body-society relationship.

2.1.5 The lived body and social structures are equally important

According to Young (2005), the feminist theoretical approach to the life experiences of the lived body, including the formation of self-identity and subjectivity, can be characterized by four

⁸ Irene Diamond and Lee Quinby co-write an article called "American feminism and the language of control collected in the book *Feminism and Foucault: Reflections on Resistance*" (1988). In this article, they examine how the language of rights used by contemporary feminists intersected with the problematic discourse of control of the body and sexuality. They argue that the Foucauldian idea of the "multiplicity of human pleasures" and the "cultivation of self-reflexivity" as modes of resistance desexualizes the oppression of women.

⁹In Lois McNay's book *Foucault and Feminism: Power, gender and the Self* (1992), she proposes that some of Foucault's works are valuable resources that open up new possibilities and new directions for the productive convergence of feminism and post-structural thinking. However, she also points out Foucault's limitations, such as how many feminists regard his subject as totally determined, because it is enmeshed in relationships of power and is produced through disciplines and practices. This emphasis cannot explain how individuals may act in an autonomous fashion. This deficiency conflicts with the essential aim of many feminists to rediscover the experiences of women.

¹⁰ In Entwistle's research, she attempts to examine how the theoretical career woman should dress for the professional workplace, and how these rules translated into actual dress practices in the everyday lives of a number of career women in England.

¹¹See Footnote 5.

chronological phases¹². In the first phase, feminists tried to challenge the conviction that 'biology is destiny.'¹³ Creating a linguistic distinction between sex and gender served this purpose. The concept of sex makes a distinction between women and men as a result of their biological, physical and genetic differences. The concept of gender, however, suggests that the gender identity was formed by social, political and cultural forces. Men and women are different in terms of their physique. However, feminists dispute the notion that these differences have any relevance for the opportunities open to both sexes or to the activities that they should engage in. Gender rules and expectations are socially constructed and changeable. Judith Butler (1990) argues that the feminist-proposed distinction between sex and gender still retains a binarism of stable categorical complementarity between male and female¹⁴.

Moi's¹⁵ (1998) argument is that although Butler has successfully questioned the logic of the sex-gender distinction, her theorizing becomes too abstract, and the lived problems the theory is trying to address are ultimately unclear. Young also complained that the concept is not easy for people to use to understand or describe their own experiences (Young, 2005: 15). As Moi and Young's criticisms are valid, this thesis looks beyond Butler for ways to incorporate a feminist perspective. The main goal of this research was to discover how women were controlled, or were able to negotiate sources of control, by making choices in terms of what to wear or how to wear it. A more suitable theory for my research is the notion that it is easier for people to describe their lived experiences, such as the choices they make about dress.

The concept of the lived body, which was proposed by Moi (1999) as an alternative to Butler's approach, helps me to explore women's freedom in constructing themselves in relation to the social environment. Moi states that the lived body is a unified idea of a physical body acting in and experiencing a specific socio-cultural context. In other words, a body is always a body-in-situation. Moi explains how regarding the body as situated is an acknowledgement that the meaning of a woman's body is bound up with the way she uses it, and with what freedom, to act in situations and to make sense of her experiences. The concrete material relationships of a woman's bodily existence

¹²In Iris Marion Young's publication *On Female Body Experience: 'Throwing Like a Girl' and Other Essays* (2005), she claims that feminist gender theories of the body and self-identity in Western academia have experienced four stages. First, they attempted to deconstruct biological determinism. Second, the concept of gender, which suggests that gender identity was socially constructed, was proposed to challenge the concept of sex, which implies that gender identity was biologically determined. Third, the idea of embodiment and the lived body was applied to analyze how the body was constructed by culture and society. Fourth, feminists emphasized that bodies live in social structures to make-up the shortage in the theory of the lived body as being too personal.

¹³'Biology is destiny' refers to the idea that human society and behaviour are to some significant degree determined by our biological inheritance. One version of this argument is based on evolutionary theory, claiming that human evolution has made characteristics such as social hierarchy and gender inequality part of every social system.

¹⁴The gender binary reproduces the logic of heterosexual normativity. Butler declares that gender is nothing other than a social performance. The discursive rules of normative heterosexuality produce gendered performances that subjects reiterate and cite. Furthermore, the sexing of bodies itself continually derives from such performance. Some people become constituted as objects outside the heterosexual binary in the process of a reiterated gender performance.

¹⁵Toril Moi radically rethinks current debates about sex, gender and the body, challenging the commonly held belief that the sex/gender distinction is fundamental to all feminist theory. Moi rejects every attempt to define masculinity and femininity.

and her physical and social environment constitute her facticity. However, she is also an actor, and has the freedom to construct herself in relation to this facticity (Moi, 1999: 65).

Relying on the theory of the lived body proposed by Moi, it is clear that the concept of strategic bodily practice is in turn a better lens through which to see the complete picture of how women's bodies 'live' in society. The dressed body is a more concrete and obvious presentation of how the body is constructed and how bodies can resist fixed structures through strategic bodily practices. Young (2005) has tried to analyze women's bodies by describing how women dress for themselves instead of for others. In her article "Women recovering our clothes"¹⁶ she first describes the existence of femininity as an ideal that is only constructed by patriarchal norms. She also reflects on the devalued position attributed to women who learn to live femininely. However, the woman's body in her analysis is lived, but does not seem to be vivid enough. She theorizes, but actually fails to illustrate, how women's bodies are lived in the sociocultural context by situated, dressed bodily practices. There is no clear interaction between women's dressed bodies and the sociocultural structure. In her article, Young also neglects the analysis of the macrosocial structure; she only encourages women to both speak of the touch¹⁷ and bonding they experience that is hidden from the light of the phallogocentric gaze, and criticize capitalist imperialist fantasies while making up their own. This is not enough. If we want to make it possible to extricate what is liberating and valuable in women's experiences of clothes from what is oppressive, it has been suggested that we need to do what Young has advised in criticizing Moi's concept of the lived body: theorize social structures and their implications for the freedom and wellbeing of all (Young, 2005: 74, 18).

Young claims that she understands that most feminist and queer theories are products of social criticism. These theories always intend to identify certain injustices, explain their sources in institutions and social relations, and propose directions for institutionally oriented action to correct these injustices. This is why it is important for these theories to account not only for individual experiences, subjectivity and identity, but also for social structures. In order to identify both the different sociocultural contexts and structures that have existed during different periods in Taiwan, and how these structures might differently reproduce hegemony to control women's bodies, my work builds on Young's concern for social structures. In particular, Young suggests applying the concept proposed by Alexander Wendt, namely that social theories should provide a picture of the large-scale systematic outcomes of the operations of many institutions and practices that reproduce both constraints for some and specific ways of enabling others, thereby involving multiple realizable outcomes (Young, 2005: 20). Based on an understanding of Wendt's concept, Young states that it is important to know how individuals are positioned in social structures, because, by revealing this, how social structures both constrain and empower individuals will be uncovered.

Social structures position individuals in relations of labor and production, power and subordination, desire and sexuality, prestige and status. The way a person is positioned in structures is as much a function of how other people treat him or her within various

¹⁶"Women recovering our clothes" was published in the book "On female body experience: Throwing like a girl and other essays" Oxford Press: New York, 2005.

¹⁷In Young's explanation, she proposes Luce Irigaray's (1932) idea that feminine desire "moves through the medium of touch more than sight." On the other hand, through visual metaphors, masculine desire was usually expressed (Young, 2005: 69).

institutional settings, as it is the attitude a person takes to himself or herself. Any individual occupies multiple positions in structure, and these positionings become differently salient depending on the institutional setting and the position of others there. (ibid: 20).

It is important to examine the relationships between lived bodies and structures (ibid: 25). In order to illuminate certain, specific relations of power, opportunity and resource distribution, and how these socially constructed experiences regulate women, the analysis of social structures will be applied herein when investigating how lived bodies live in society. For this reason, the strategic bodily practice approach deals more directly and usefully with how the lived, dressed and gendered body relates to structures than the other approaches examined above. Accordingly, this theory is applied in this research.

2.2 Situated bodily practice

The main concept of this theory suggests that the body is always a body-in-situation. In the original theory, the body was acknowledged as a social entity, and clothes were the outcome of both social factors and individual actions. Clothes might not only work as an implement to make the body presentable in a vast range of social situations, but also operate to provide the body with meaning and situate it within a culture in a variety of ways. For instance, wearing high heels changes the way women walk, wearing a corset alters the way they breathe, and wearing short skirts makes them adjust how they bend over (Entwistle, 2000: 344).

This theory accounts not only for individual experiences and subjectivity, but also for social structures. In the situated bodily practice approach, the discursive and representational aspects of dress, and the way the body/dress is overtaken by power, is acknowledged. How individuals use dress to orientate themselves in the social world is also observed (Entwistle, 2000: 344). The notion of the situated bodily practice not only helped me to discover how Taiwanese women's bodies have been controlled by different social regimes, but also enables this study to consider the choices of dress made by Taiwanese women in their attempts to adjust to particular circumstances and societal structures. Within these situated bodily practices, how individuals negotiate the social world can be depicted. Based on this framework, it is explained herein that the concept of the situated bodily practice is a suitable theory for investigating whether and to what degree women have agency in controlling their bodies through the practice of dress.

The work of Foucault (1980), Merleau-Ponty (1981) and Bourdieu (1984) was drawn on to support Entwistle's claims; Foucault's research guides her to an understanding that the body is a socially constituted and situated object, while Merleau-Ponty's theory offers a way to understand dress as an embodied experience. In contrast to Foucault's socially processed body that is insensitive to the issue of practice, Entwistle's situated bodily practice tells us that the body provides an account of practice, and dress is lived and experienced by individuals. Also unlike Merleau-Ponty's body-centered analysis, which overlooks space and gender among its concerns, Entwistle's work develops

a greater awareness of how the movement of bodies through space is an important feature of people's perception of the world and how gender identity is situated in the body.

Bourdieu's theoretical and methodological perspective not only builds a bridge between objective structures and subjective meanings, but also provides a way of thinking about dress as a situated practice. Inspired by Entwistle's theory, how Taiwanese women negotiate dominant structures by making choices about what to wear in particular circumstances is carefully investigated herein. The theory of situated bodily practice is a dynamic theory of embodiment; it inherits Bourdieu's work, enabling there to be an account of the dressed body that does not fall into voluntarism or assume that one is free of the social system. Entwistle (2000), who was the originator of this theory, illustrates that Bourdieu's work (1984, 1989, 1994) is an attempt to develop a dialectic between objectivism and subjectivism. The concept of habitus¹⁸ serves as a link between the individual and society: the way we come to live in our body is structured by our social position in the world, but these structures are reproduced only through the embodied actions of individuals. Based on this concept, Entwistle suggests understanding the dressed body as the outcome of situated bodily practices. Dress in everyday life is a practical negotiation between individuals and a social, structured system, namely the social conditions of everyday life such as class, gender and the rules or norms governing particular social situations. The notions of habitus and situated bodily practices as durable and transposable sets of dispositions allow for some sense of agency. This enables us to consider the choice of dress made by an individual as a personal attempt to orientate him or herself to particular circumstances. It thus recognizes the structuring influences of the social world on the one hand and the agency of individuals who make choices about to what to wear on the other (Entwistle, 2000: 37). Although Entwistle follows in Bourdieu's steps to acknowledge that the embodied actor is shaped by and is an active reproducer of society, she does not follow the route he lays out in characterizing society as composed of multiple social fields. This negligence leaves her theory in danger of viewing contemporary social life as only being governed by a single culture or system. This gap and its implications will be examined in more detail in Section 2.3.

The situated bodily practice approach carefully senses how different genders are positioned in society, and sees women's bodies as lived bodies. Its concept is similar to that of the theory of the lived body proposed by Toril Moi (1999), namely that the body is always a body-in-situation. It also fits the suggestions proposed by Young (2005), whereby illustrating gender requires acknowledging both how women and men's bodies have been seen and how they act differently in society. Through exploring how power acts on women and men's bodies differently, it has been possible in this research to examine how women are controlled in a patriarchy and how they negotiate the system. For instance, in Chapter 5, how different uniforms in factories have different meanings for men and women, and how these meanings represented a hierarchical system during the 1960s and 1970s in Taiwan, is explored. However, Entwistle's theory also fits in with another of Young's suggestions, namely that the theory should account not only for individual experiences and subjectivity, but also for social structures. By applying this theory to this research, it will be possible to highlight the interaction between women and social structures, wherein the dressed body is understood as the

¹⁸Habitus is the set of socially learned dispositions, skills and ways of acting that are often taken for granted, and which are acquired through the activities and experiences of everyday life.

outcome of situated bodily practices, and dress is regarded as a practical negotiation between the individual and society.

This theory of situated bodily practice is, as Entwistle argues, the body theory that is best able to bridge the gap between the traditions of structuralism, post-structuralism and phenomenology, because it draws on insights from these schools of thought. The current research follows her adoption of this theory because of its productive position relative to these earlier schools. Furthermore, Entwistle's view that the situated bodily practice might be applied to show how gender is actively reproduced through the dressed body is of value in this study. The analysis of dress as an embodied and situated practice enables this research to see the operations of power in social spaces, in particular how this power is gendered, and how power influences the lived body and leads to particular strategies being adopted by individuals (Entwistle, 2000: 39). However, this theory lacks the necessary frameworks to illustrate the multiple contexts of social spaces, and so falls short when it comes to describing the variations possible in individuals' negotiations. This will be demonstrated in what follows.

2.3 From situated bodily practice to strategic bodily practice

As mentioned in the previous section and chapter, the major gap in the theory of situated bodily practice is that it fails to completely describe scenarios that are more complex in terms of social forces and individual negotiations, such as is the case in Taiwan (Radner, 2001: 144). In Entwistle's research, the workplace was her only arena of investigation, and the major source of hegemony she is concerned with is gender. The negotiations of women that she demonstrates in her research are flatter and more one-dimensional than those of the subjects in this study. In part, this is because Entwistle has not investigated the fashion system, and thus does not delve into the relationships between different aspects thereof, such as designers, retailers, the fashion media and consumers, although she does note that the ways in which the various elements of the fashion system affect available styles of dress should be investigated in future research (Entwistle, 1997: 268). Due to this lacuna, Entwistle missed the opportunity to discover how her informants might have been able to negotiate the existing fashion system when they faced it. She was thus unaware of how individuals might use dress in strategies to negotiate social structures.

The strategic bodily practice approach was proposed as a way of compensating for the shortcomings of the situated bodily practice theory. Similar to situated bodily practices, the notion of strategic bodily practice is a theory with which to examine how bodies are turned into social beings by dress, and how dress can be seen as an embodied experience which helps individuals to face different social structures in their daily lives. The difference between these two theories is that the theory of strategic bodily practice regards society as an ever-evolving space built of multi-dimensional social fields. It therefore reflects how diversified, undefined social structures allow room for individual variation. As mentioned in Section 2.2, the situated bodily practice theory fails to follow Bourdieu's lead by acknowledging that society is composed of many social fields, each with its own particular and consequential operating logic that is distinct from other social fields (Bourdieu,

1992: 72). It likewise does not consider that these varied social fields are interwoven and determine social positions in the past and present (Bourdieu, 1977: 82). In contrast, the strategic bodily practice approach takes the view that the social dispositions of individuals are influenced by many different social structures/fields, such as occupation, gender, ethnic group and age. It also recognizes that the indications of an individual's social position are also the products of history. Political and economic situations constantly change and alter the symbolic representations of a particular gender, ethnic group and occupation in society. Consequently, when political and economic circumstances shift, the social dispositions and embodied practices of individuals change as well. The notion of strategic bodily practice emphasizes observing the multiple social fields and diachronic social lives that individuals experience prior to investigating their bodily practices. This emphasis is lost in the theory of situated bodily practice.

As Entwistle primarily focuses on illustrating how gender affects women's dressed bodies, she sometimes misses the point that even though they have the same occupation and gender, women of different ages face different limitations and experience different dressed bodily practices when facing domination. For instance, the contemporary social and cultural constructions of beautiful female characteristics often emphasize that women should have attractive, young and slim bodies. As a result, young women are often trapped by the pressure to be young and slim, and struggle in their attempts to dress as such for others. Women from the older generations, however, suffer less from the burden of this aesthetic, and sometimes have different perspectives of their bodies. Indeed, they tend to make less effort than younger women when it comes to dressing to gain the approval of others (Chen, 2010: 83). The strategic bodily practice approach offers a solution to this shortcoming by observing various social fields with a societal structural analysis. Entwistle also neglects to recognize Bourdieu's point that the habitus will be reconstructed when social agents experience new and different life experiences (Bourdieu, 1992: 108-9). The theory of situated bodily practice was developed under a process of static illustration and the brief observation of time. In contrast, the strategic bodily practice approach was constructed by observing many different periods. Within this framework, this approach has more potential for revealing both realistic scenarios in which one faces pressure, and how active individuals can be when they try to overcome societal demands. In this research, it has been discovered that because of its singular acknowledgment of social fields and time, the theory of situated bodily practice only illustrates how people use ready-made clothing to deal with different scenarios. Going beyond the static negotiation that this plane theory offers, the strategic bodily practice approach not only describes how people use ready-made dress as a means of negotiation, but also how they respond to different hegemonies during different periods by using both ready-made clothes and garments that require communication with manufacturers. Accordingly, the derivative theory of strategic bodily practice reveals how agents actively use dress as a strategy for coping with domination.

The strategic bodily practice approach benefits from previous body-related studies. The analyses of social constructionism provide the potential for the notion of strategic bodily practice to be used to understand the body as being socially constituted, and to acknowledge the significance of how social structures influence body construction. Phenomenologically-oriented approaches offer a way to understand dress as an embodied practice, and to recognize how the meaning of dress is

presented through the body. Structuration theory has the potential to conceive the dressed body as an instance of strategic practice, and to see how the power in social spaces operates upon the lived body, and how it results in particular strategies that are used by individuals. Feminist approaches enable strategic bodily practices to acknowledge the concept of gender in social spaces, and to recognize how it influences the different ways in which the gendered body is seen and treated.

The strategic bodily practice theory considers the interrelation between body, dress and society as a dialectical process. It shows how this process changes between agents and social structures, and how the agency performed in different contexts during different periods varies. Taiwan's case helps to illuminate the process clearly. Comparing the different strategic bodily practices of Taiwanese women between 1945 and the 2000s, it is clear that there are differences between the strategic bodily practice of facing the nation-state building project (the period between 1945 and the 1970s) and that of challenging the global capitalist hegemony (the period from the 1970s to today). During the post-war era, Taiwanese women used ready-made clothes as their way to alter the meaning of the dress that denoted regulation. During the period of global capitalism, the strategic bodily practice of Taiwanese women seems to have advanced in terms of its action. These women not only try to change the meaning of available clothing, despite how it is constrained by certain hegemonic systems, but also attempt to participate in the production system to ensure the manufacture of clothing that suits them better. In their strategic bodily practices, they push back the boundaries of societal control, and try to create more space and opportunity for body and dress to interact.

In this study, Taiwan's case is not only used to help develop a theory for manifesting the interactive process between control, agents, agency and their material means, but is also utilized to examine the gap in the theory of situated bodily practice. This research expands on that by Entwistle by studying a longer period, different societal fields and multiple layers of hegemony. Moreover, the negotiations between the women I interviewed and their situations are more dynamic and multi-dimensional than those of the women in Entwistle's work. Herein, many sources of external authority have been investigated, such as national political regimes, international cultural regimes, gender, class and the fashion system. For example, in Chapter 5, there is an examination of how Taiwanese female workers, who are typically raised in the lower social classes, were governed by national economic policies and gender norms in the workplace and society during the post-war era. In Chapter 6, how the so-called Western-led fashion system has controlled Taiwanese women's bodies since the period of consumerism began in the 1980s is explored. Examining the complexities of social forces during different periods has revealed the various and many-layered negotiations of individuals. In Chapter 4, there is an assessment of how some Taiwanese women from the higher social and economic classes tried to use Western-style clothes to negotiate the hegemony of the nation-state building project by the government (the traditional Chinese *qipao* represented this hegemony). In Chapter 5, how female workers also used Western-style clothes to negotiate the regulation imposed by national economic policies (where, in their cases, uniforms represented the hegemony) is highlighted. In Chapter 6, there is a discussion of how some women, as consumers, were able to give their opinions to retailers to be conveyed to wholesalers or manufacturers in *wufenpu*, enabling these women to negotiate directly with industry participants. As a result, it has been demonstrated that wholesalers try to purchase clothes which better match the preferences

of consumers, leading manufacturers to attempt to incorporate Western-led fashion trends into garments that better suit these consumers' tastes. Ultimately, how Taiwanese women experience dress as a situated practice for their negotiations reveals how they actively use dress strategically to push back against the hegemony of different regimes at different periods of time. As the examples in the following chapters will show, what these women have done is not merely a demonstration of situated bodily practices, but is more reflective of strategic bodily practices.

Overall, the strategic bodily practice approach, which is inspired by social constructionist theories of the ordered body, the lived body of phenomenological accounts, the alternatives provided by structuration theories, and Entwistle's situated bodily practice, acknowledges the body as a location upon which societal structures are inscribed; it is a vehicle through which society is constructed, and also a trajectory which connects individuals with society (Shilling, 2005: 19). At the same time, the interrelations between body and dress are recognized as evidence of how political, economic and cultural regimes operate on individuals, and how dress works as a way to reveal individuals' attachment to or alienation from society. Taiwan's case illustrates how strategic bodily practice can be a better approach than the theory of situated bodily practice when it comes to illustrating the diverse layers of the strategies used by individuals in their negotiations. In particular, this research shows that this approach is necessary for describing the tactics of Taiwanese women's strategic negotiations.

Chapter 3 A Brief Historical Review of Taiwan since 1895: Political and Economic Changes, Body and Dress

This chapter aims to illustrate the complexities and contradictions resulting from the succession of different political regimes and the changing state of the economy in Taiwan's history. Political regimes changed from Japanese colonization (1895 -1945) to the post-war authoritarian rule of the exiled Chinese KMT (*Kuomintang*) regime, before being transformed by the arrival of the democratic era. The economy also changed from import-substitution to export-led growth, and finally to economic liberalization. The process created different layers of contention within Taiwanese society. First of all, the KMT's political and economic policies and cultural de-Japanization/Sinicization constructed ethnic cleavages between groups of Taiwanese people. Second, political democratization, economic liberalization and cultural Taiwanization/Westernization led to a new era of competition in terms of the country's national and cultural identity. These inconstant political and economic conditions in Taiwan's history make it a good setting for investigating the interrelations between structural regulation and the embodiment practices of multiple agents.

Due to the many layers of contradiction in Taiwan's history, the interactions between body and dress expressly display the multiformity of women's agency. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the body has always been the location upon and through which different regimes have operated their institutional control, and dress is a basic fact of life. By looking at Taiwan's history, it is possible to discern that the body was not merely a recipient, but also a transmitter or creator of society. Dress is not only an implement for discipline, but also a weapon of the weak — a way to resist and negotiate that discipline. Across the transitions of Taiwan's history, the main source of regulation of Taiwanese women's bodies shifted dramatically from domestic political regimes (national policies) to international cultural regimes (the images and ideals of the Western-led fashion system) during the brief period between 1945 and the 2000s. The interaction between body and dress reveals the history of these interrelations.

3.1 Colonial legacy: Japanese colonization 1895–1945

Taiwan was ceded to Japan by the Qing Dynasty in the Treaty of Shimonoseki in 1895, which accompanied the defeat of China in the first Sino-Japanese War. Taiwan was the first overseas colony of Japan, and its ability to undertake the great work of colonialism demonstrates how Japan was the equal of Western imperialists. For Japan, then, colonizing Taiwan became a key trans/nationalist project with which to intensify Japanese imperialism (Ka, 1995). During the period of its early occupation of Taiwan, the Japanese colonial government focused on consolidating its political-economic authority and achieving financial self-sufficiency (ibid: 82). Japan intended to modernize agriculture in Taiwan in order to obtain foodstuffs and raw materials. It invested in modern infrastructure, ensuring that Taiwan's economy grew substantially during the colonial period. Although the wages earned in the country were not equivalent to the increase in the productivity of industry, the real income and quality of life of the Taiwanese rose steadily under Japanese rule (Jacoby, 1966: 80).

Alongside this progressive economic development, the advances made in the field of education were also remarkable. Japan not only tried to produce a productive labour force, but also loyal subjects of the Japanese Emperor via the education system. In 1937, Japan fomented the Second Sino-Japanese War. During this period, the country required large quantities of supplies. Indeed, following the outbreak of the Pacific War in 1941, the powerful allied forces overwhelmed Japan's national strength, and the country was forced to utilize human and material resources from its colonies. Thereafter, Taiwan was not only the southern boundary of imperial Japan, but also the major source of food for meeting the latter's needs in South Asia. To achieve its aims, Japan not only promoted the industrialization of Taiwan to increase the production of military equipment, but also turned the Taiwanese people into loyal subjects of the Japanese Emperor. The '*Kominka* Imperialization Project' was thus put in place to instill the 'Japanese Spirit' in the Taiwanese populace, with the goal being to fully Japanize Taiwanese society and encourage people to make sacrifices on behalf of Japan during times of war.

The *Kominka* Imperialization Project undoubtedly had an impact on the national/cultural identity of the young Taiwanese, who accepted what they were being taught in school and attended additional training programs (Lee, 2004: 50). During this period of Japanization, Seizo Kobayashi was appointed to govern Taiwan in 1936. He proposed new administrative directions for the Taiwanese people to follow, including Japanization, industrialization, and southward-base construction. The measures implemented included Japanese-language teaching and the adoption of Japanese names. To ensure that Japanese was the only language used in its colony, the colonial government banned the use of Taiwanese in schools. Any violation of the rules led to a slap on the face or punishment in the form of a Japanese textbook transcription exercise. On the other hand, if a Taiwanese family often spoke Japanese in their daily lives, they were honoured with a 'model household award' (Huang, 2002: 100). In terms of other cultural policies, the worship of the Japanese religion was instituted, and the wearing of Japanese clothing and living in Japanese-style houses was also encouraged. All of these measures were dedicated to converting the major Taiwanese religion into Shintoism¹⁹. Furthermore, in 1941, to speed up the Japanization process, the 'Devoted Associations of Imperial Subjects' were established at different levels of both central and local administrations. These organizations aimed to cultivate people's dedication to the war, reinforcing a work ethic and strengthening civil security. In 1943, 94% of children received a six-year compulsory education. Between 1937 and 1945, 126,750 Taiwanese men joined and served in the military of the Japanese Empire, while a further 80,433 were recruited between 1942 and 1945. Of the total of 207,183, 30,304 men, or 15%, died in Japan's war in Asia (Wu, 2002: 212).

On August 10, 1945, after the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan surrendered, bringing World War II to a close. As a result, Taiwan was placed under the administrative control of the Republic of China, after 50 years of colonial rule by Japan. In China, six months after the end of World War II, the conflict between the KMT and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) continued. During 1948, the advantage began tilting in favour of the CCP. As a consequence, the KMT regime retreated to Taiwan on December 7, 1949. This will be examined in Section 3.2.

¹⁹Shinto is the national religion of Japan.

3.2 Émigré regime: the construction of ethnic cleavage

The changes in different national (and forms of) political regimes and the complicated national composition of different ethnic groups ensured that Taiwan's history was complex and full of strife. The KMT regime took Taiwan from Japan in 1945, and its the cultural, political and economic control created divisions between different ethnic groups. This will be illustrated in this section.

The KMT was established in 1912 in China. Sun Yat-Sen²⁰ (also known as Xun Yi-Xian) was the leader of this political party. He was also the leader of an opposition group aiming to overthrow the Qing Dynasty then ruling China. The Republic of China (ROC) was established in 1912 to end the very long reign of imperial rule. Even after the ROC had been established, however, the KMT faced challenges from different warlords fighting for the ruling power of the new national government. The Communist Party of China (CCP) was founded in 1921, and from that time control of the country was a matter of dispute between the KMT and the CCP. The KMT was supported by the United States, while the CCP was supported by the Soviet Union. As a result of corruption problems within the KMT, it was unable to stabilize the political and economic lives of the people of China. The civil war that this brought about favoured the CCP, and eventually the KMT were defeated and fled to Taiwan in 1949. In the same year, the CCP formed the People's Republic of China (PRC). The military conflict between China and Taiwan continued from 1945 through to the 1950s. Although the KMT had fled to Taiwan, it still claimed that it represented the Republic of China, while the Communist Party also declared the People's Republic of China to be the successor state of the Republic of China (ROC). Throughout the cold war, the two regimes each claimed to be the only legitimate Chinese government.

Formalizing Taiwan's governance by an outside authority, the KMT regime retreated to Taiwan on December 7, 1949. During that time, it faced the challenge of its legitimate survival. The KMT government tried to implement political and economic strategies to legitimize its regime in Taiwan. In politics, it tried to Sinicize the people who were living in Taiwan at that time in an attempt to create a mainstream and shared culture among the entire population, with the hope being that a common national identity would eventually develop (Xiao, 2000: 53).

In order to regain China, the KMT attempted to continue its ROC regime's legitimacy in Taiwan at that time. This was because it had to successfully control Taiwan in order to use the country as a base from which to fight the CCP. In light of this goal, anti-communism became a key aim when the KMT retreated to Taiwan. Indeed, in this period, the KMT regulated most literature, art and films to serve its political agenda of anti-communism. For instance, the government organized several movements in the 1950s, including the 1952 Anti-communist Movement and the 1954 Cultural Purification Movement, which will be examined in Chapter 4. Apart from anti-communism, de-Japanization was also on the agenda when the KMT attempted to control Taiwan. Indeed, because of its claim to be the representative of the Republic of China, Sinicization became the preferred method to remove any Japanese influences and to legitimize the KMT's orthodox Chinese status. The Chief Executive, Chen Yi, considered the assimilation in Taiwan, as it had been actualized by

²⁰Sun Yat-Sen (1866-1925) was a Chinese revolutionary and political leader, who was often referred to as the father of modern China. He co-founded the KMT, and served as its first leader.

Japan, to have been very successful, and so the KMT-led government committed most of its efforts to promoting a Chinese national consciousness and to the extirpation of any Japanese influences. In 1946, the Taiwan Provincial Governor's office closed all Japanese newspapers. Moreover, speaking or writing in Japanese was forbidden, and Mandarin was promoted as the official language. Taiwanese students and teachers were prohibited from using Japanese in schools, and they were also forbidden to speak Taiwanese. Doing so could lead to punishment. This practice was known as the rigid “Mandarin-only” policy (Lee, 2004: 60). The Mandarin Promotion Committee was established in April 1946 to counsel teachers on how to teach Mandarin, and also began to edit and publish Chinese newspapers. Meanwhile, the KMT-led government started to reorganize the districts that had been divided-up by Japan during the colonial period. The government also began to rename all roads, using the names of cities in China instead, and even renaming some roads after Sun Yat-Sen (also known as Xun Yi-Xian) and Chiang Kai-Shek²¹ (also known as Jiang Jie-Shi).

However, the de-Japanization and Sinicizing caused the general public to feel a strong sense of antagonism towards the KMT-led government on certain levels. In particular, the unequal treatment of different ethnic groups increased tensions. The composition of ethnic groups in Taiwan is complicated. The original population of the country consisted of Taiwanese aborigines²². The Han Chinese immigrated to Taiwan starting in the 16th century, with the main movement of people beginning when workers from Fujian²³ were imported into the country by the Dutch in the 17th century²⁴. During the 20th century, because of the immigration of the Chinese from China following the retreat of the KMT government, the population of Taiwan increased rapidly, especially in the late 1940s through to the 1950s. These 'immigrants' now comprise approximately 13% of the current population, and are recognized as *waishengren*, which literally means 'external-province person'²⁵. Referring to official government statistics and genetic studies, 98% of Taiwanese people today are descendants of a mixture of Han Chinese and mainly tribal aborigines who intermarried over the previous 400 years, while 2% are Taiwanese aborigines (Lin, 2010). The ethnic groups that make-up the 'Taiwanese people' include the Hoklo (70%), the Hakka (15%), the Chinese (*waishengren*) who immigrated to Taiwan after the 1940s (13 %), and Taiwanese aborigines (2 %). Both the Hoklo and Hakka people regard themselves as *benshengren* (which literally means 'home-province person'), in contrast to the *waishengren* (Xiao, 2004: 105).

A strong sense of antagonism resulted from the unequal treatment of the *benshengren* and *waishengren*. The anthropologist Hill Gates (1981) has highlighted the clear cultural distinctions between *benshengren* and *waishengren* in Taiwanese society, and the role that the latter were to play in Taiwan was definitively conditioned by the country's history as a colonized island. The Japanese

²¹Chiang Kai-Shek (1887-1975) was the generalissimo of the national government of the Republic of China (ROC) from 1928 until 1975. He took control of the KMT after the death of Sun Yat-Sen in 1925.

²²Recent research suggests that the ancestors of Taiwanese indigenous groups had been living on the islands for approximately 8,000 years before the Han Chinese began to emigrate to Taiwan in the 17th century in large numbers (Blust, 1999). There are at least 14 groups of aborigines in Taiwan according to official statistics.

²³Fujian is a province off the southeast coast of China.

²⁴The Dutch colonial government ruled Taiwan from 1624 to 1662.

²⁵Due to the KMT government's historical view that it represented China, Taiwan was regarded as a province of China. Therefore, the KMT government defined the Chinese who immigrated by following it to Taiwan after the 1940s as 'external-province persons.'

colonial government had developed many institutions during its rule to maintain political, social and ideological control over Taiwan. Most of the Japanese people in Taiwan at this time held high-ranking positions in civil and military bureaucracies, government economic enterprises, schools, and similar sectors. When the Japanese withdrew and the KMT arrived, the latter essentially ended the monopoly over state and society enjoyed by the Japanese. *Waishengren* were promoted into positions of power, with most *benshengren* remaining as they were before the change of government. The general structure of society continued along the path originally set by the Japanese. In this structure, the *waishengren* were able to procure civil service jobs within the government with ease, all due to their proficiency in Mandarin. As *waishengren*, they took on most of the key positions within the government hierarchy, while the Taiwanese only served in inferior roles. The KMT governor was viewed as a new version of the Japanese governor. For example, for many Taiwanese intellectuals, who had been educated in Japan during the Japanese colonial period, Japanese was the language they were familiar with, meaning that they suddenly became semi-literate or illiterate, and were no longer qualified for civil service jobs under the policy of 'Mandarin-only'. The Mandarin-only policy desolated Taiwanese intellectuals, the younger generations of which were used to receiving and disseminating information in Japanese (Xiao, 2000: 54). All of this unequal treatment contributed to the antagonism that existed between the *benshengren* and the *waishengren*, and between the Taiwanese people and the KMT government.

On February 27, 1947, the tension between the government and the multitudes finally exploded into anti-KMT violence, a particular example of which was the 228 Incident. This incident started when a cigarette seller was injured and a passerby indiscriminately shot to death by the KMT. In Taipei on the following day, a mob submitted a petition, and many industrial workers, shopkeepers and students protested and went on strike. The KMT government assembled a large military force to attack the breast-beating rebels, slaughtering nearly 30,000 Taiwanese and imprisoning thousands of others. After this massacre, during a time later called 'The White Terror'²⁶, thousands more Taiwanese vanished or were killed or imprisoned, especially the local elite. Many Taiwanese had formed home-rule groups during the reign of the Japanese. The resistance and conflict immediately disseminated through the islands, resulting in irreconcilable differences between the *benshengren* and the *waishengren*.

In addition to the cultural and political controls that created a cleavage between different ethnic groups, economic development in Taiwan was also involved in extending the dispute. People from certain ethnic groups and social classes were mobilized to take part in the state's economic development projects, as will be demonstrated in Chapter 4. In the economic sector, as Tak-Wing Ngo pointed out, the survival imperative of the KMT government, which was brought about by fears of the huge threat of communism's possible take-over, translated into two central missions for all economic institutions: maintaining economic stability and promoting accumulation in Taiwan (Ngo, 2006: 118-147). In its economic mission throughout the 1950s and

²⁶ In general, the term White Terror refers to acts of violence carried out by reactionary groups as part of a counter-revolution. Often, such acts were carried out in response to similar measures taken by the revolutionary side in the conflict. In particular, during the 20th century in several countries, the term White Terror was applied to acts of violence against real or suspected socialists and communists.

1960s, the government strengthened the growth of the Taiwanese economy as its primary goal of statecraft. Then, the principal economic policy in Taiwan gradually transformed from import-substitution industrialization to export incentives. In a notable example, the establishment of an export-processing zone in Kaohsiung in 1965 led to the introduction of special tax incentives to attract international investment. All of these principles led to a boom for local industries and a tremendous increase in exports. Furthermore, export-oriented sectors expanded significantly, and private enterprises also began to develop more rapidly (Wu, Huang, Chung, 2006: 286). Many manufacturing job opportunities opened up all at once as a result of these changes, and the number of female workers required increased to fill the gaps in production. Many Taiwanese women were thus mobilized to participate in economic initiatives, the most significant of which was the economic mobilization of the lower social class *benshengren* women during the 1960s.

3.3 The arrival of the democratic era: contested sovereignty, Taiwanization, de-Sinicization and Westernization

Under the KMT's structure, Taiwanese became a regional identity. However, ever since the development of political localization and democratization in the 1970s, the dispute between different national identities - Taiwanese and Chinese – has continued to be an ongoing political argument in Taiwan, which will be illustrated in this section. Aside from the contentions of national identity, economic developments involving Westernization have also influenced the shaping of a cultural identity in Taiwan. The changes of politics and in the economy created a sandwich-type situation of Taiwanization, de-Sinicization and the Westernization of the national and cultural identity, which will be discussed further in this section.

As well as trying to Sinicize people in Taiwan, the KMT regime also attempted to declare its legitimacy as the representative of China. This representation existed in the context of the cold war, when the KMT was the recipient of US aid. In this context, the meaning of the anti-communism stance of the KMT regime not only represented its will to fight to be a legitimate representative of China, but also paradoxically reflected how it accepted the living standards and cultural values of the US, which will be highlighted further in Section 4.2.4. However, the United Nations General Assembly Resolution 2758 of October 25, 1971, declared that only the delegation of the PRC would be allowed to represent China. In other words, with the PRC not in charge, China was no longer represented in the United Nations (Wang, 1989: 333).

As the KMT government ceased to represent China in the UN, growing numbers of young students were beginning to be concerned about social and political issues. Many criticized the authoritarianism of the KMT and demanded immediate reforms, believing the government would otherwise be unable to survive (Zhang, 1971: 18). A small group of democracy activists who dubbed themselves the 'party outsiders' advanced on local assemblies and the national parliament. Hong San-Syong, a student of the National Taiwan University, advocated that students should require their universities to be reformed first, believing that society would follow. This kind of desire for social change often stimulates the genesis of a new social atmosphere (Hong, 1973: 135). Due to

the diplomatic crisis and the growing discontent based on the unequal distribution of political and cultural power between the *waishengren* and *benshengren*, not only had the KMT government lost its international legitimacy, but its signification campaigns were also proving to no longer be capable of reaching the people of Taiwan.

In order to retrieve the public confidence lost through rampant emigration and capital outflow, the premier, Chiang Ching-Kuo²⁷, launched 10 major construction projects to upgrade the country's industry and improve general development. The construction began in 1974 and was completed by 1979. When confronted by critics and dissidents, Chiang Ching-Kuo became more open and tolerant of political dissent. There were many young professionals being trained and nurtured by his programs in the 1970s, many of them Taiwan-born citizens. When Chiang Ching-Kuo became premier in 1972, he increased the number of Taiwan-born officers in his ministry from three to seven, and these new employees were younger than their predecessors. He also chose to introduce additional members to the executive court²⁸, and began to appoint those belonging to local elite groups to important party and government posts in order to strengthen his local base.

Many Mandarin-speaking, educated Taiwanese began to appear in the middle-classes. Accordingly, growing numbers of Taiwanese outside the KMT began to demand the full civil and political rights enjoyed by the *waishengren* elite. Reformers called for the government to accept the political reality that it was merely the government of Taiwan and was no longer capable of representing China. The Taiwanese sociologist Xiao A-Qin describes the 1970s generation as a 'back-to-reality' generation; these people made sense of the situation and the modern Chinese nationalism of the time and promoted a sense of duty to the country along with other members of their generation. They also attacked the prevailing mentality of isolation and advocated pragmatic ideas and socio-political reforms (Xiao, 2005: 3).

The late 1970s and early 1980s were a tumultuous time within Taiwanese politics. As mentioned previously, the KMT government's migration to Taiwan had marked the beginning of a period of martial law (1949-1987). The KMT enforced press censorship, proscribed new political parties and restricted freedoms of speech, publication, assembly and association. At the same time, the country's economy began to flourish, which allowed many Taiwanese to become members of the new middle class. Free enterprise enabled people to acquire a powerful bargaining chip in their demand for respect for basic human rights. In fact, the notion of rebellion against authoritarianism gradually began to surface and then to intensify. In December 1979, a rally in Kaohsiung organized by *Formosa magazine* commemorated International Human Rights Day. However, this event became a terrible conflict between demonstrators and the military police. The incident came to be known as the Kaohsiung (or Formosa) Incident. Many dissenters were arrested and condemned to long prison terms. Nevertheless, the Kaohsiung Incident was considered to be a significant turning-point for democracy in Taiwan, as it awakened the consciousness of anti-authoritarianism among the

²⁷ Chiang Kai-Shek's son, Chiang Ching-Kuo, succeeded his father as premier of the Republic of China, holding this position from 1972 to 1978, and then the presidency from 1978 to 1988.

²⁸ The executive court is the executive branch of the government of Taiwan. It is headed by a president, and has eight cabinet ministers, various chairpersons of commissions, and between five and seven ministers without portfolio as its members.

general public. After this event, numerous movements began to emerge to protest against autocracy. The democratic movement reached a high point in the mid 1980s, and a request to lift martial law was approved by the general populace (Chen, 2007: 168). The first opposition party, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), was founded in Taiwan in 1986. Finally, in 1987, martial law was lifted by President Chiang Ching-Kuo, who liberalized the political and social systems, and even appointed Lee Teng-Hui, a native Taiwanese technocrat, to be his vice-president. In 1988, after Chiang died, Lee succeeded him as president and a new epoch dawned.

These socio-political reforms induced a cultural movement towards Taiwanization. This movement began to emphasize a Taiwan-centered view of history and culture rather than a China-centered version thereof. The Taiwanese cultural elite promoted the development of nativist literature and culture. Beginning in the 1970s, many novelists wrote stories based on labourers, farmers and the daily lives of common people in order to capture their experiences and illustrate social transformation. The novelist Huang Chun-Ming²⁹, for instance, wrote novels that focused on describing the lives of rural Taiwanese people, and the characters in his books were mostly native Taiwanese fishermen and villagers. His stories are full of neighbourhood temples and references to folk religion under a blazing tropical sun. Many of these stories illustrate the tragic, humorous and genuine lives of ordinary Taiwanese people. Nativist literature gradually grew to become mainstream Taiwanese literature in the 1970s (Lu, 1990: 34). An unprecedented awakened Taiwanese identity and concern for society began to take shape (Lin, 1987: 239). The KMT's China-centered cultural policies were repeatedly challenged, with movements crafting new national-historical narratives that placed the island of Taiwan at the centre of the nation's history.

As mentioned previously, favouring the Chinese or Taiwanese national identity had become a matter of dispute that had been argued by different groups in Taiwan since the late 1980s. Not all supporters of a Taiwanese national identity advocated for the country to be an independent nation-state. However, the movement towards Taiwanization led to Chineseness being downplayed to a certain degree. Before 1992, 52% of the population in Taiwan considered themselves to be Chinese, while 26 % regarded themselves as both Chinese and Taiwanese, and 55 % tended to see the unification of Taiwan with China. By 1996, the percentage of the general public in Taiwan who considered themselves to be Chinese had fallen to 21 % , with the political elites who regarded themselves as Taiwanese making up nearly 60% of the population by this time (Lin, 2002: 93).

Lee Teng-Hui was the key actor promoting Taiwanese nationalism. After he became the president of Taiwan and the chairman of the KMT, he sidelined some *waishengren* in the KMT party and began the Taiwanization process. This caused these sidelined *waishengren* politicians to split from the KMT and, in 1993, form the Chinese New Party (CNP), beginning an ideological battle between a Taiwanese and Chinese national identity. This national identity clash reflected the party support of Taiwanese voters. Before 2000, those with stronger Taiwanese identities were more likely to vote for the DPP, while those who considered themselves to be Chinese were more likely to vote for the KMT or CNP (Wu, 1993). After 2000, these national identities were further polarized into two political factions. Today, these are the pan-blue and the pan-green coalitions. The pan-blue

²⁹ Huang Chun-Ming, who was born in Taiwan in 1939, is an influential Taiwanese literary figure and teacher. He was also hailed as a representative of the nativist literature movement.

coalition believes in a pro-Chinese identity and includes the KMT and the New Party, while the pan-green coalition includes the DPP and the Taiwan Solidarity Union (TSU)³⁰.

Although political democratization and localization led to the rise of a Taiwanese national identity, the influence of Westernization in terms of cultural control in Taiwan should not be overlooked. The impact of Westernization has been felt in Taiwan since the KMT received US aid in the 1950s. Then, a consumer society formed in the 1970s, while economic developments and liberalization in the 1980s also enhanced the impact of Westernization in the country. As a result of the KMT's retreat to Taiwan, the island was faced with a lack of goods and materials, the economy was in recession, and inflation was high. The US Congress passed the Mutual Security Act in 1951 to provide a legal basis for extending aid to Taiwan. Under this legislation, the US government provided military supplies which played an indispensable role in Taiwan's economic recovery. US aid helped the KMT to establish certain valuable institutions and practices of good government (Ngo and Chen, 2008: 24). The intimate cooperation between the KMT and US governments during the cold war led to the pursuit of Western living standards and cultural values, and this will be examined in more detail in Chapter 4.

The US began to cut back its aid in the 1970s, and the uncertainty about its commitment accelerated Taiwan's economic shift from subsidized import-substitution in the 1950s to export-led growth. Development moved from cheap, labour-intensive manufacturing to an expansion of heavy industry in the 1970s. By maintaining exceptionally high growth rates and rapid industrialization between the 1960s and 1990s, Taiwan was named one of the Four Asian Tigers³¹. Unsurprisingly, this economic development helped in the formation of a consumer society. According to an analysis by the Taiwanese scholar Chen Guang-Xing (2002), opportunities for Taiwan's consumer society emerged during the oil crisis of the early 1970s, where the contraction of international markets caused a drastic decline in exports. Manufacturers then turned to the domestic market, and the resulting economic development produced new business opportunities. Statistics show that the average expenditure on entertainment, culture and education quadrupled for each household every month in the 1970s, and a consumer society began to take shape. The 1980s were a period of expansion for this consumer society; consumption grew exponentially with the flourishing economy. During this time, the national income increased, living standards improved and travelling abroad was permitted. More international brands and products were imported to and introduced in Taiwan. The liberalization of markets in the country brought more influence from the West into society. Moreover, in 2002, Taiwan became one of the members of the World Trade Organization (WTO), which spurred further economic liberalization, as will be highlighted in later chapters.

³⁰ The Taiwan Solidarity Union (TSU) is a political party that was established in 2001. The party advocates independence for Taiwan.

³¹ The term 'Four Asian Tigers' refers to the highly industrialized economies of Hong Kong, South Korea, Taiwan and Singapore.

3.4 The power of state: the rise and fall of the nation-state building project

In its Sinicization project, the KMT-led government committed most of its efforts to promoting a Chinese national identity. The *qipao* was promoted as the national dress for women, although this ideal only really applied to those from the upper social classes. The idea was to treat these women's bodies as signifiers of the nation and the *qipao* as the symbol of a Chinese identity. In the government's efforts to promote the Chinese *qipao* as the national dress for women in Taiwan, a number of activities were arranged by the state. For instance, the Taiwanese Bureau of 'China Institute in America'³² held many charity soirees to raise funds. The bureau also put on fashion shows as the primary entertainment at these events, and the Chinese *qipao* was regularly depicted as the key feature. In the meantime, many of the wives of government officers were invited to attend these shows, and nearly all of them would arrive dressed in the style of the *qipao*. Accordingly, the *qipao* gradually became a symbol of lofty social status and simultaneously became the national dress of Taiwanese women. Furthermore, following the development of the film industry during this period, Taiwanese actresses began to participate in international film festivals. *Qipao* were often worn by these women to demonstrate the 'Traditional Chinese Spirit' of Taiwan to other nations. According to an article in *The United Daily News*³³ on May 30, 1957, Taiwanese delegates went abroad to attend Asian film festivals. The delegation enjoyed tremendous popularity at the festival due to the fabulous *qipao* worn by the female delegates. The leader of the delegation, Lee-Yeh, described the event as follows: "The most successful and attractive scene is the traditional Chinese costumes worn by these five female delegates, the delicate and brilliant embroidery of the costumes literally attracting attention from representatives of other nations. It made us proud of the art of classic Chinese embroidery, as well as winning honor for Taiwan." So, according to Lee, it is clear that the promotion of the *qipao* was aggressive.

However, the division between *benshengren* and *waishengren* had an effect on the wearing of the *qipao*. The garment, in addition to serving as a national identifier, played another role as a class marker to differentiate *waishengren* from the upper social classes and *benshengren* from the lower social classes. During the initial period, many Taiwanese women wore the traditional Chinese *qipao* to manifest 'ethnicity' for the new governor of the national government of the Republic of China (the KMT). However, in reaction to the disappointment and great fear caused by the 228 massacre, the number of women wearing the *qipao* fell somewhat (Ye, 2001: 122). Furthermore, because of the government's attempts to retain conservative ways in Taiwan, an attitude which, to a certain extent, controlled the freedom of dress among the general populace, the *qipao* was only ever adopted by certain groups, notable among them the *waishengren* women from the upper social classes. In order to ensure stability on the island, the government announced an Emergency Decree (a form of martial law) in Taiwan on May 20, 1949. Four days later, the Statute for the Punishment of Rebellion was approved by the legislature. On May 27, the Taiwan Garrison General Headquarters (TGGH) began to use the Emergency Decree to: regulate and censor publishing; prohibit the assembly

³² The China Institute in America is a nonprofit educational and cultural institution in New York City that was founded in 1926. It endeavours to bring a deeper level of understanding of China to the people of the United States through education, culture and art.

³³ The United Daily News is a newspaper published in Taiwan. It was founded in 1951 by Wang ti-wu.

and formation of organizations without prior permission; and enforce bans on activities such as organizing demonstrations, making petitions and engaging in boycotts or strikes of any kind by students, labourers, shopkeepers or enterprises. (Wu, 2004: 56).

Following the instantiation of the Emergency Decree, most new laws were inclined towards a more conservative direction. In one law announced on June 12, 1950, the Department of the Interior regulated that every civil servant must wear cloth gowns made with simple, poor fabrics to preclude dilapidation, as well as to manifest the spirit of simplicity during these hard times. Subsequently, this spirit expanded to the general populace and schools. The style of dress of the entire population was restricted by this law. Referring to the report published in the *China Times* in 1956, two women were punished for dressing in shorts while walking down the street. This highlights how the government intended to retain conservative ways, including forms of dress, in Taiwan. Under such social pressure, the *qipao* was only marginally promoted to most civilians. However, it was still worn by some women, mostly *waishengren* and those from the upper social classes, but rarely by *benshengren* from the lower social classes. This will be examined in Chapter 4.

As mentioned in Section 3.2, many *benshengren* women from the lower social classes were mobilized to participate in the economic development put in train by the KMT government. The *qipao* is certainly not the outfit that these women wore; work uniforms were the main clothing worn almost every day. Work uniforms thus became an important way of regulating these women's bodies and attempting to make them docile and productive at the same time. In summary, during the 1950s to 1960s, women from the upper social classes became the visible focal point of the project of nation-state building in Taiwan. On the other hand, it was the Taiwanese women from the lower social classes who were mobilized by the government to become labourers, thereby furthering the state's economic agenda. Upper social class female bodies became the focus and symbol of the ideological discourse used in the construction, reproduction and transformation of ethnic/national categories (Anthias, Yuval-Davis, 1989). As mentioned above, the *qipao* was used as a tool to turn the bodies of women from the upper social classes into a national symbol reproducing a Chinese national identity. Moreover, the *qipao* was used as a tool to form a passive and submissive female gender identity, as will be analyzed in Chapter 4. At the same time, when most women from the lower social classes were mobilized to work in factories, uniforms were used to ensure that these women's bodies were productive and disciplined. Female workers came to see themselves as the inferior sex in the workplace, and so their female bodies were also recognized as 'degraded', increasing their willingness to obey the regulations in the factories. Moreover, the bodies of female workers were controlled by deliberately being dressed in uniforms to denote a lower social status and a lower educational level than that of women from the upper social classes. This will be demonstrated in Chapter 5.

However, since the 1970s, the relationships between the *qipao*, uniforms and Taiwanese women have changed, as have the meanings of discipline instilled by these forms of dress. The programs and resistance movements began to be regarded as political, economic and cultural Taiwanization (Hu, 2005: 25-6), and were ways in which the people of Taiwan claimed ownership of their own nationality. The Chinese identity shaped and propagated by the KMT not only faced immense competition from the PRC internationally, but was also confronted domestically by the

rise of Taiwanese localization. Additionally, because of the impact that US aid had had since the 1950s, Western-style clothes were being chosen to replace the *qipao* by most of the women who used to wear it. Sandwiched between a Chinese and a local identity, and the clash between Western and Eastern culture, the *qipao* was being promoted by the KMT less and less. Moreover, through economic localization and other developments, a consumer society was gradually forming, and female consumers began to have more choice with respect to products. Regardless of social strata, women cooperated in order to take back authority over their bodies through various strategic bodily practices. Soon, the *qipao* faced practical extinction, and almost no one was interested in wearing it, which will be demonstrated in Chapter 4. In addition to the change in the disciplining power of the meaning of the *qipao*, the meaning and disciplinary function of women's work uniforms changed too, mainly because economic conditions altered following the transformation of industry in Taiwan. With the industrial transformation taking place, more women started to work in the service and mercantile industries instead of manufacturing, and the status of women in the labour market gradually increased. The meaning of uniforms has changed since then. Moreover, the interviews with female ex-workers show that they had a 'lived body,' whether it wore a uniform or was able to wear other garments chosen by the wearer. These body experiences took place in a specific hegemonic, sociocultural context, and yet were still capable of strength and movement in relation to this environment through specific strategic bodily practices. This will be illustrated in Chapter 5.

3.5 The power of the global market: from plural fashion to fashion hegemony

Following Taiwan's political liberalization, economic transformation and the formation of a consumer society during the 1970s, it might be assumed that Taiwanese women's bodies would have been less of a focus for regulation and control in the absence of the state-building project. However, the power of the global market has become another socio-economic and cultural force influencing and, to some degree, regulating women's bodies in Taiwan. Fashion, especially Western-led fashion, is a significant hegemonic system which dominates the global garment market, including in Taiwan. Most available garments, whether produced by ready-to-wear companies or fashion designers, follow the trends of this Western-led fashion system. Fashion and dress could be a bridge for communication. However, it could also be a hedge for a player within a global capitalist system with which to consolidate her/his winning status by using fashion as a hegemonic discourse to control or influence other players. This will be examined in Chapter 6 (Barnard, 2002: 52).

As mentioned earlier, the consumer society formed in Taiwan during the 1980s. This originally seemed to allow for different expressions of culture. However, the different cultural expressions in the form of garments were still influenced by a single overarching hegemony, namely the Western-led fashion system. Since the KMT regime operated under the auspices of US aid, Western cultural values were introduced into Taiwan. The Western-led fashion system has, since the 1970s, gradually had more influence on how Taiwanese women choose what to wear. Accordingly, its major aesthetic preference of youth and slimness came to dominate in Taiwan during the period between the late 1970s and early 1980s. This was when a ready-to-wear fashion system was constructed

in *Wufenpu*³⁴, and was also when growing numbers of Taiwanese women became economically independent and had more money to spend on ready-to-wear clothes than ever before. *Wufenpu* was the largest centre for collecting and distributing ready-to-wear clothes during this period in Taiwan. Indeed, in the 1980s, nearly 70% of the clothes sold in Taiwan were bought wholesale from *Wufenpu*, where the fashion trends and major fashion aesthetics of Taiwanese ready-to-wear clothes were greatly influenced by the Western-led fashion system, with Paris as its hub.

Within the global fashion industry supply chain, Taiwan had been the centre for manufacturers since the 1960s. Most of these manufacturers took orders from Western countries, such as the US, France, Italy and other European nations. They thus produced clothes which mostly followed the designs of Western-led fashion trends. Even in the 1970s, when these manufacturers started to produce clothes for Taiwan's domestic market, the garments they manufactured still generally followed the trends of the Western fashion industry. Although the manufacturing industry had matured to some degree by the 1970s, in 1973 the ready-to-wear industry found itself confronted with a strike, due to the upsurge in production costs that resulted from a crude oil price increase. During this strike, numerous manufacturers of ready-to-wear clothing, who at one time had exported their products to other countries, began to again circulate their goods in Taiwan's local market. Accordingly, because of economic pricing and the novelty of the available clothing styles, ready-to-wear garments became prevalent in the local market. The achievement of conquering the local market motivated these ready-to-wear manufacturers, who began to produce garments in Taiwanese sizes. While these manufacturers still took orders from Western countries, they began to produce and sell garments to local markets simultaneously (Ye, 2001: 180). However, they always infused a Western fashion design element into the garments produced for local markets. Accordingly, the trends of the Western-led fashion system were always an important element in what these manufacturers produced.

Originally, *Wufenpu* was the meeting-place of small-scale contractor and sub-contractor factories which took orders from large-scale manufacturers during the 1970s. From the 1980s onwards, these factories started to transform into manufacturers which produced garments for the domestic market. The trends and styles of the clothes they manufactured basically followed those of the Western fashion industry. Fashion magazines, which contained information about this industry, became the bibles of the manufacturers in *Wufenpu*, who read these publications every month to follow what they said about the latest trends.

The Western-led fashion system as perceived in Taiwan is basically a combination of fashion ideas proposed by the four leading fashion capitals: Paris, London, Milan and New York. Paris is the leader within this system, with France successfully promoting the idea that fashion has belonged to Paris since the early 1900s. Paris is a city where fashion is structurally organized. The French fashion trade organization plays a significant role within the system. Indeed, it has been successful in creating institutions which both control the mobilization process of fashion professionals and organize fashion events. Through the means and context provided by such institutions, fashion professionals exercise power and become dominant. The actions of these institutions make the

³⁴ The name *Wufengpu* means "land with five divisions." Now, *Wufengpu* has become the largest clothing market in Taipei, with more than a hundred clothing shops.

French fashion system powerful on a global scale (Kawamura, 2005: 52-4). For instance, the fashion shows that are important for fashion dissemination are arranged by the French fashion trade organization. In order to centralize fashion in Paris (ibid, 85), seasonal fashion shows in the city are one of the strategies used by French fashion professionals to try to ensure that *Haute Couture*³⁵ with a Paris label is the privilege of an elite, while *prêt-à-porter*³⁶ with a Paris label is also a distinct Parisian brand of fashion. Professionals from London, Italy and New York have also participated in organizing their fashion systems since the 1960s (Wang, 2006: 12-4). Indeed, since then, these cities have also been the capitals of global fashion (Emling, 2006).

The growth in awareness of fashion, not just at home but in the world at large, led to the trends promoted by fashion shows in Paris and Milan gradually beginning to influence the styles of clothing available in Taiwan in the late 1980s, not only through fashion shows, but also via fashion magazines. Indeed, because it is able to spread images far and wide, the media is always a contributing factor when discussing fashion. In the 1990s, many international fashion magazines were introduced into Taiwan: *Harper's Bazaar* was translated and published in Taiwan in 1990, and *ELLE* and *Vogue* in 1992 and 1995, respectively. This noticeably extended the spheres of Western influence with respect to the world of fashion. The ready-to-wear manufacturers in *Wufenpu*, local fashion designers and consumers in Taiwan all read these fashion magazines, which were edited by Western fashion industry representatives, to get information on fashion trends with respect to the manufacture, design and purchasing of clothes.

Since the late 1970s, Taiwan has faced another crisis that was relevant to the fashion industry: most manufacturing industries have moved to other countries, and those remaining badly needed to be upgraded (Jiang, 2002). In the textile and garment industry, the idea of fashion design has become a focus since the retreat of manufacturing from Taiwan. Moreover, in the late 1980s, cultural changes also contributed: travelling abroad was permitted, the national income increased and the standard of living improved in the country. Plenty of famous international fashion designer brands were consequently introduced into Taiwan during this period (Ye, 2002). Accordingly, in addition to a general appreciation for Western-led fashion trends and the major aesthetic of youth and slimness, since the late 1980s and early 1990s an obsession with designer labels has also been a key factor when Taiwanese customers buy clothes.

Although the manufacturing industry matured significantly during the 1970s, it, including the ready-to-wear industry in Taiwan, was still confronted with a strike due to the rise of production costs that resulted from the price of crude oil at that time. Moreover, in the 1980s, most manufacturing industries in the country, including the textile industry, faced the predicament mentioned above: in this era of economic liberalization and globalization, a majority of the manufacturing departments of many kinds of industry, including textile and garment production, moved to places with lower costs. Labour-intensive countries such as China, Vietnam and Bangladesh replaced the newly industrialized Taiwan, Korea, Hong-Kong and Singapore as the

³⁵ *Haute Couture* refers to the creation of exclusive clothing which is made to order for specific clients. It is usually made from expensive, high quality fabrics and special designs.

³⁶ *Prêt-à-porter*, ready to wear, refers to factory-made clothing sold in standardized sizes.

main sites of manufacturing. The heads of the textile industry in Taiwan were thus forced either to establish other businesses or to upgrade the content of their production in view of the marginal profits available in the textile and garment sectors (Jiang, 2002). Eventually, building up an original brand in the fashion industry became the goal for Taiwanese industry members. Accordingly, fashion design proved to be the new focal point, which controlled how the clothing industries developed and progressed after the late 1980s and early 1990s. In the environment of this rising fashion design concept, growing numbers of Taiwanese people have started to take notice of fashion design and fashion brands when they purchase clothes. This confluence of factors has created a new chapter of fashion culture in Taiwan.

Choices in garment consumption have blossomed since the 1980s in Taiwan, and designer brands have become popular. Originally, it was assumed that, due to the diversity of the options that such an industry allowed, women would have more opportunities to articulate how their individual feminine body should look through consuming clothes made or designed by fashion designers. However, the notion of wanting to be slim and dressed in a fashionable style by following the Western-led fashion system was still predominant, limiting the choices of these women significantly. Designer clothes also had another aspect that influenced consumers when they purchased garments: the label. A designer label represents the promise of higher quality and exquisite taste. Obsession with fashion design labels becomes, in a way, another regulation when consumers purchase clothes. After interviewing fashion designers, home tailors and consumers, however, this study found that women actually have more opportunities to articulate their individuality by consuming clothes made or designed by home tailors rather than those produced by fashion designers. This will be examined in Chapter 7.

Chapter 4 The Fabrication of the Nationalized Body: Negotiating a Chinese National Identity and a Submissive Gender Identity

This chapter illustrates how Taiwanese women's bodies were governed by the nationalizing and Sinicizing project of the Nationalist Party (Kuomintang, hereafter KMT) between 1945 and the 1970s. In particular, how the *qipao* was used as a tool to construct and form a Chinese national identity is analyzed, as is how a certain form of female dress and body were made to represent the nation during that period. The *qipao*, also known as a cheongsam, is a one-piece Chinese dress featuring a high neck and straight skirt which covers all of a woman's body apart from her head, hands and toes. At the end of the chapter, whether the KMT's political project of nationalizing and Sinicizing through the use of the *qipao*, or whether Taiwanese women rejected passive participation in these body politics, will be examined. In other words, the theoretical framework of 'strategic bodily practice', as defined in Chapter 2, will be applied to analyze the interaction between the structural factors controlling women's clothing, bodies and agency and their own interpretations of their bodies and available dress.

Women's bodies were controlled and regulated as part of the project of nation building in Taiwan from the 1950s to the 1970s. We can describe this presentation of the female body as the creation of a 'nationalized body', as the ideals for the nation were expressed through the female form. The construction or reform of the body was a necessary project as part of nation building for Taiwan (Huang, 2001: 38). As the anthropologist Eicher explains, an individual's style of dress serves to define his or her cultural or ethnic identity (Eicher, 1995:1). Within the nation-building project, dress was usually treated as a tool to form a national identity (Roces and Edwards, 2008). In Taiwan's case, from the 1950s to the 1970s, the *qipao* was the essential tool of nation building. How the process worked is illustrated in Sections 4.1 and 4.2. During this project, the female body normally tended to be the focal point. Women were usually positioned exclusively within the family, were subordinate to the state and patriarchy, and were excluded from public and political domains (Abbott, 1997). The details of these positionings and exclusions will be elaborated on further in Section 4.3. When the nationalist regime retreated to Taiwan after the civil war, the entire population was mobilized to contribute to the project of nation building through a highly concentrated and centralized power structure to achieve its goal of attacking China, as demonstrated in Section 4.2. Women's bodies, as we shall see, were an essential aspect of this project, and as the nationalized body was presented as being dressed in the *qipao*, it played a crucial role.

In order to understand how the *qipao* represented a particular ethnic group, which was in turn made to represent the national identity, Section 4.1 examines theories of how the politics of dress works as a process of cultural authentication and how this practice formed an identity. The history of the *qipao* since the 16th century is also traced. Section 4.2 explains how it became the national dress in Taiwan and was used to represent a Chinese national identity and Sinicize Taiwanese women. In 4.3, the KMT government's use of the *qipao* to regulate Taiwanese women's bodies will be assessed. Here we will see that some women's bodies in Taiwan, dressed in the *qipao*, became the focus and a symbol of the ideological discourse used in the construction and reproduction of a Chinese identity.

Moreover, forcing women to wear the *qipao* emphasized their supposed passiveness and submission as a crucial element of gender identity. Section 4.4 highlights the KMT project of controlling women's bodies through Chinese culture, and how Taiwanese women worked within this project. In particular, information gained from Taiwanese informants is drawn upon, along with the main theory of strategic bodily practice and relevant research that is built upon scholarly studies from this period. Looking back on this period from the present, it now seems that the submissive ideology failed, and most women found ways to fight back against the attempts to control them. This research therefore tries to discover why this submissive ideology was ultimately unsuccessful.

4.1 *Qipao*: gender, nation and identity

The *qipao* became a crucial item of clothing in the KMT government's efforts to form a national Chinese identity among women in Taiwan. For instance, the first lady, Song Mei-ling (Madam Chiang), wore the *qipao* to attend all events in public in order to represent a national identity, which will be highlighted in Section 4.2. So, why the *qipao*? To answer this question, its history must be understood. The *qipao* is a form of dress that is full of ambiguity. It literally means the robes of the *qi* people (Manchurians), representing the Manchu aristocracy. However, it was used as a national dress denoting Chinese identity to distinguish between the West and East when the Qing dynasty was overthrown and the Republic of China was established in 1929. Moreover, during the 1920s to 1940s, the styles and shapes of the *qipao* were influenced by Western fashions in Shanghai, and the garment became known as the *modern qipao*. By this stage, the item had a somewhat paradoxical character, because it seemed to symbolize Chinese identity, but still denoted Manchurian aristocracy. It also demonstrated the influence of modernity and Westernization. This ambiguity will be examined in this section.

The *qipao* has represented ethnicity or national identity in China since the 16th century. Furthermore, it has served over time not only to distinguish between people from different nations or ethnicities, but also to define people from different social classes in the same society. In Section 4.1.1, how clothing was commonly treated as a tool to form a national or gender identity, and how the process and system worked theoretically, are illustrated. Section 4.1.2 examines the way in which the *qipao* became recognized as a form of ethnic dress during the Qing dynasty in China. Then, in Section 4.1.3, how the *qipao* grew to become the national symbol of Chinese women is depicted, while Section 4.1.4 describes how the *qipao* took on a paradoxical character during and after the 1920s in China.

4.1.1 Dress, nation and gender: the formation of identity

The importance of clothing as an expression of political identity was largely ignored before the 1990s. In the edited book *The Politics of Dress* (2010), Roces and Mina argue that when nations came to be imagined in Asia, the invention of national dress became an essential element of invented tradition. Their contribution illustrates how the politics of dress has been incorporated in

constructions of nationality in both Asian countries and the Americas, and also reveals how political regimes manipulate sumptuary practices in order to create national identities and to legitimize hierarchies of power. Governments usually tend to present dress as a symbol of the nation (Roces and Edwards, 2008). In some analytical approaches to the topic, we can see clearly how dress was used as a tool to reflect nationality, ethnicity, and so on. For instance, Roces (2008) analyzes how Filipino dress represented Filipino national identity in opposition to that promoted by Western dress in the Philippines throughout the 20th century. Emma Taylor (1996), meanwhile, illustrates how India's political leaders used clothing as a strategy to further their agendas, underscoring the political significance of dress on both an individual and a national level during the independence movement. Thus, dress can be seen as a powerful signifier of nationality, class, gender, and religious and political orientations throughout history. Clothing has served as a symbolic code to mark individuals as particular kinds of people, and has long facilitated human adaptations to a diverse range of environments (Jonsson and Taylor, 2003: 159).

Moreover, dress has also served as a fundamental marker of 'us' and 'them' in struggles for political power, and the role that the gendering of dress plays in politics is hard to ignore (Roces and Edwards, 2008). Women, across both history and geography, have usually been marginalized from the core of political power. They have been taught to be subordinate to the family and the state, and the politics of dress and the body usually reflects this notion. For instance, Thorstein Veblen³⁷ explained how the tight lacing of the female body in American society in the late 19th century represented the extent of a husband's wealth: such a man had so much money that his wife clearly did not need to engage in lowly, productive work. Veblen argues that some female dress demonstrates "the wearer's abstinence from productive employment. The tightly-laced corset in economic theory is substantially a mutilation, the purpose of it is to lower the subject's vitality, and make her obviously unfit for work" (Veblen, 1994: 105-6). Only women who did not need to be economically or domestically productive could afford such restrictions to their bodily movement. This is mostly seen in the case of women from the higher social classes. To borrow Corrigan's apt description, "the more hobbled a woman was, the greater the social prestige of the family" (Corrigan, 2008: 79). From Veblen's demonstration, we can see that women were forced to be subordinate to men or the family. The women Veblen studied became submissive in their society through sartorial constructions of gender, which also happened in Taiwan, as will be highlighted in more detail in Section 4.3. Accordingly, it can be seen that dress mirrors not only national, but also a gender identity.

As noted in my introduction, to explain how the dress system works to define identity, the anthropologist Eicher states that a person's style of dress serves to define his or her cultural or ethnic identity (Eicher, 1995: 1). Eicher describes the way in which a regime might try to shape people's perceptions of their identity by using a dress code as a Cultural Authentication Process (CAP; *ibid*: 145). Erekosima and Eicher identified four broad categories of inter-related steps in cultural authentication: selection, characterization, incorporation and transformation (SCIT). To select a particular external cultural practice or product is the first step in the CAP. The second is

³⁷ Thorstein Veblen's most famous publication "The Theory of The Leisure Class (1899)" argues that economic life is driven not by notions of utility, but by social vestiges from pre-historic times.

to characterize the selected item in some symbolic form in society. The third step, incorporation, occurs when the innovation occupies some functional role within the cultural system by being part of a move towards meeting some adaptation need in the receiving society. The final step is when the adopted product or practice is transformed in itself, which usually entails a change of setting and forms for the products. Later in this chapter, how the *qipao* was promoted as national dress and as an authentic representation of Chinese identity in Taiwan is demonstrated. The research also reveals how the KMT attempted to put the CAP strategy into practice for the *qipao* in Taiwan.

4.1.2 The origins of the *Qipao*: representation of the authoritarian rule of the Manchu

This section contains a description of how the *qipao* played a symbolic role, even during its early evolution. The *Qipao* represented Manchu rule during the Qing dynasty (1644 to 1912) in China, and was used to symbolize the cultural and ethnic distinctions between Han³⁸ and Manchu women. Even in the early stages of its existence, the *qipao* was already being used to symbolize the segregation of different social groups (Wang, 2005). The Qing dynasty, founded by the Manchu people of northeastern China, was the last Chinese ruling dynasty. The previous dynasty, the Ming, was the last empire ruled by the Han (the ethnic majority in China). The Manchu ruled China as a minority, and so the Han Chinese regarded them as foreign invaders. Manchu women traditionally wore the *Qipao*, while Han women in the Ming dynasty usually wore an open cross-collar shirt as an upper garment and a type of skirt as a lower garment. Most Han women maintained this style of dress during the early Qing period, and this differentiated them from their Manchu counterparts.

In this case, the *qipao* reflected public policy; it was a tool of the Qing dynasty's imperialism and a marker of different groups (Molony, 2008). The *qipao* displayed the cultural and group-affiliation differences between Han and Manchu women. It essentially represented the authoritarian rule of the Manchu minority in the Qing empire, thus already demonstrating an ability to symbolize the segregation of different social groups. The reason Han women were allowed to wear their traditional clothing styles was, strangely, a result of the great antagonism that existed between the Manchu and Han Chinese due to the strict rules of the Qing dynasty. In order to force other ethnicities into submission and to maintain control of the country, starting in 1644 the Qing rulers enforced a series of 'Imperial laws' which regulated people's daily lives, one of which forced all Han Chinese men to wear a queue³⁹: "To keep the hair, you lose the head; to keep your head, you cut the hair" (Zhao, 2003: 180). Men were also required to wear traditional Manchurian clothes. However, at the start of Qing rule, Han revolts were widespread, resulting in mass killings of Han Chinese throughout the country. This aggression between the Manchu and Han Chinese eventually led to the Qing rulers making certain concessions regarding the dynastic laws. Some customs that were seen as not being in direct contradiction to Qing policies were tolerated, and the Han Chinese were allowed to defer to certain older traditions inherited from the Ming dynasty. For example, men were

³⁸ Han Chinese is the largest single ethnic group in China. The Han Chinese founded the Ming dynasty (1368–1644), which was the ruling dynasty before the Qing dynasty in China.

³⁹ The queue or cue is a man's hairstyle. Hair on the front of the head is shaved above the temples every ten days and the rest of hair is worn long and gathered up into a ponytail.

still required to wear their hair in a queue, but women were allowed to keep the traditional Ming hairstyles and clothing. In addition, both males and females under a certain age were exempt from complying with particular rules (Zhao, 2003: 181).

As Han women were allowed to keep the clothing customs of the previous dynasty, two completely different styles of clothing — Manchu and Han— coexisted during the Qing dynasty. In the interests of preserving the culture of Manchurian traditional dress, and to also distinguish between Manchu and Han women, the Qing rulers passed certain strict laws. Emperor Jiaqing⁴⁰ declared that if any Manchu women were seen with wide sleeves similar to those of their Han Chinese counterparts, their fathers and brothers were to be punished immediately. This ensured that Manchu women retained a distinct clothing style which distinguished them from Han females (Chen, 2004: 591).

4.1.3 The *Qipao* as an instrument of national construction: the *Qipao* as national dress

In this section, how the role of the *qipao* in China changed with the influx of Westernization from the end of the 19th Century and into the first half of the 20th Century is illustrated. In the 1920s, the *qipao* came to be regarded as the national dress of China. As such, it distinguished between the feudalistic Qing dynasty and the Republic era, and came to represent the resistance against the imperialism of Western nations. In addition, wearing the *qipao* marked a difference between Eastern and Western women.

On the 10th of October 1911, the Xinhai Revolution⁴¹ began, and numerous provinces began to secede from Qing control. The Last Emperor of China, Puyi⁴², abdicated on the 12th of February 1912. This collapse of the Qing dynasty brought an end to over 2000 years of imperial China, and the Republic of China was founded through the efforts of the father of modern China, Dr. Sun Yat-Sen⁴³. Conscious of rebellion, internal pressure and a series of concessions to foreign powers, the intellectuals of the late Qing dynasty realized that the country needed to take drastic measures. To strengthen China against the West, they suggested that there should be a period of modernization and complete elimination of the feudal court politics that had harmed the development of the state. From 1902 to 1919, Cai E⁴⁴ promoted an almost 20 year-long movement of national reform called *Kuo Min Kai Tsao Yun Tung*.

The Taiwanese sociologist Huang Jin Lin considered *Kuo Min Kai Tsao Yun Tung* to be a movement of bodily reconstruction. This policy first emerged around the 20th century, and was an attempt to create an educated body of people instilled with a strong sense of Chinese nationalism

⁴⁰ Jiaqing, who reigned from 1796 to 1820, was the fifth Qing emperor to rule China.

⁴¹ The Xinhai revolution was motivated by anger at government corruption, frustration with the government's inability to restrain interventions by foreign powers, and by the majority's resentment towards a government dominated by an ethnic minority.

⁴² Puyi (1906-1967) was the 12th and final member of the Qing dynasty to rule China.

⁴³ Dr. Sun Yat-Sen (1866 – 1925), also known as Xun Yi-Xian, was a Chinese revolutionary and political leader, often referred to as "the father of modern China". For more, refer to Sun Yat-Sen, *1866-1925 The Millennium Biographies/ Hong-Kong*, 1999.

⁴⁴ Cai E (1882-1916) was a Chinese revolutionary leader and warlord.

(Huang, 2005). The policy advocated a collective political identity, wherein all were devoted to the nation as a whole. Each step of bodily reconstruction attempted to build up a new government and a new nation that would be capable of confronting old feudalism and Western imperialism. The 'body' was to become a field in which the political practice of nationalism could be accomplished by each social agent (citizen) through formatted discourse and the interaction of power and knowledge (Huang, 2005: 34). The bodily reconstruction movement involved certain improvements in women's rights, such as a ban on foot-binding⁴⁵, improvements to education and the legitimization of a form of national dress.

In this movement of national reform, women's bodies in particular became the focal field where the political practice of nationalism was accomplished. Educated Chinese began to regard foot binding as a symbol that made them appear to be barbaric to foreigners, and it also weakened the nation because of the notion that an enfeebled mother would inevitably breed weak sons. These ways of thinking eventually led to a complete ban on foot-binding. The campaign was actually supported by the imperial court because of the idea that an expanded female labour force would be critical to the economy of the nation. The intellectual Zhang Zhi-dong⁴⁶ complained that women with bound feet were incapable of working at all, thus restricting them to being completely idle and knowing only how to consume and contributing nothing to production. It could thus be understood that the goal of the anti-foot binding policy was not merely female equality, but the very survival of the empire. Women's bodies have been used in this instance as a location for bodily reconstruction that attempted to build up a new government and a new nation. National dress is thus another way to see that women's bodies and reproductive roles were made to represent the nation.

In accordance with Chinese political and cultural tradition, a change in national dress tends to go hand in hand with a change of regime; the style of dress symbolizes the rise or fall thereof (Zhou, 2004: 30). After Dr. Sun Yat-sen had overthrown the Qing dynasty and established the Republic of China, he initiated the development and legitimization of a republican uniform (national dress) and dress code. So, on the 16th of April 1929, the government issued the Uniform Statute. Men were required to wear the *Zhongshan* suit⁴⁷, while women had two different types of dress to choose from, one being the republican *qipao* (a relic of the student uniforms of the Qing dynasty, and different from the traditional *qipao* worn by Manchu women) and the other a blouse and skirt. The republican *qipao* ultimately won the day in terms of popularity (Wang: 2005: 199). This system of national dress was primarily established to distinguish between the feudalistic Qing dynasty and the Republic era, and was also promoted to be a symbol of resistance against the imperialism of Western nations. In this sense, republican clothing carried with it a certain aura of patriotism, and obedience and allegiance towards one's country was celebrated through this style of dress. The *qipao* became so popular that it was referred to as the 'Women's National Dress', and became synonymous with

⁴⁵ Foot binding was a custom practised on women for approximately 1000 years in China, beginning in the 10th century. The feet were bound at the age of about six or seven when the bones of the young girls' feet were fully developed, but the arch of the foot was not.

⁴⁶ Zhang Zhidong was an eminent Chinese politician during the late Qing dynasty. He advocated controlled reform.

⁴⁷ The *Zhongshan* suit is known in the West as the Mao suit. Sun Yat-Sen introduced the style shortly after the founding of the Republic of China.

national identity. The *qipao* also separated Eastern and Western women in terms of ethnicity and national identity.

4.1.4 The paradoxical representative meaning of the *Qipao*: Chinese identity vs. Manchurian aristocracy, Chinese nationalism vs. modernity and Westernization

In the previous section, it is argued that the *qipao* grew in significance and became a symbol of patriotism and modernity. However, in the process of modernization and industrialization during the 1920s, 30s and 40s, the *qipao* fell under the influence of trends in Western tailoring. These modifications of style caused a major controversy. The *qipao* could not be seen as a purely modern Chinese garment, since it was still considered to be a relic of the Qing dynasty, thereby representing the Manchu aristocracy. Then there was the distinction between West and East, as Western tailoring and the fashionable image of the *qipao* led to questions being raised about modernity and Chinese tradition. Contemporary China had originally intended to use the *qipao* to segregate itself from feudalist China and the West, yet this symbolism seemed to suffer under the invasion of China by Western popular culture.

During the period between the 1920s and 1940s, China's capitalist economy began to take-off, and a bourgeoisie and civil society began to take shape in places like Shanghai. 'Modern' Chinese women were increasingly seen in a variety of public contexts, and this was particularly notable during the May Fourth Movement⁴⁸. Intellectual reformers began to use the magazines of the day to radically challenge Confucian China and its traditional concept of women (Harris, 1995: 64). Initially, the symbolic modern woman was part of a modernizing discourse that made the dream of a new nation possible (Edwards, 2000: 117). Yet, in the 1920s, 30s and 40s, many discussions printed in journals and magazines by male intellectuals began to criticize the appearance and concept of the modern woman. Some scholars decried the rapid pace of change occurring in China as a result of modernization and the efforts of those who seemed to be blind worshippers of Westernization. As a consequence, due to the modernization/Westernization of the *qipao*, whereby its tailoring was influenced by Western tailoring skills and habits, the image of the *qipao* wearer became negative.

In this period, there were several varieties of the *qipao* in fashion. The modern version changed along with Western trends. Soon, high-necked *qipao* with bell-like sleeves and black lace at the hem of the gown were worn, and the modern *qipao* became noted for accentuating the figures of those who wore it. For the first time, Chinese women were able to purchase clothing themselves as they were given access to jobs, and it became important for them to demonstrate modern tastes as consumers. Enthusiasm for modernization was therefore juxtaposed with a fervor for consuming modern commodities (Edwards, 2000: 124). Due to this close association of fashion and consumption, the image of the *qipao* wearer was often criticized.

Some intellectuals worried that modernity itself had become desirable and attractive, rather than

⁴⁸ The May Fourth Movement was an anti-imperialist, cultural and political movement that grew out of student demonstrations in Beijing on the 4th of May 1919 which were protesting against the Chinese government's weak role in unequal treaties with Western nations.

a representation of dynamic political intent. They also became concerned that taking care of their appearance had sidetracked women from more important political concerns. The *qipao* had taken on a paradoxical character. It seemed to signify a common 'Chinese' identity, yet it still brought to mind the clothing of the Manchurian aristocracy and the sense of prestige associated with it. The *qipao* also represented nationalism, while at the same time highlighting the influence of modernity and Westernization. In the 1930s, the silhouette of the *qipao* became increasingly tight-fitting (by the mid-1930s, slits on both sides of the *qipao* were popular), and it began to symbolize sexual availability. This kind of tight dress was seen as suitable only for rather slim woman to wear, and activists therefore decried the fact that modernity and liberation had become available only for thin women (Chen, 2004:616). The 'modernity' of the *qipao* thus began to be doubted (Edwards, 2000: 131).

As a form of national dress, the *qipao* symbolized patriotism. However, during the 1920s, 30s and 40s, it began to be influenced by Western trends. This was seen by some as a threat to China, especially as the trend grew in popularity. And yet, as a relic of the Qing dynasty, the *qipao* did not represent modern China. Thus, its Western alterations led commentators to question both modernity and Chinese traditions.

4.2 Political representation of the *qipao* in Taiwan

The *qipao* was promoted as national dress to construct a Chinese national identity, meaning that women's clothes and bodies were made to represent the nation. The *qipao* thus represented politics and nationality in Taiwan during the period from 1945 to the 1970s. Between 1937 and 1945, the Chinese civil war was fought on and off due to the enmity between the KMT and the Communist Party of China. The KMT was finally defeated by the communists in 1949, and its leader, Chiang Kai-Shek⁴⁹, led his troops and refugees to Taiwan. The continuing military conflict between the two countries turned the years from 1945 through to the 1950s into a time of martial anti-communism (Taylor, 2009). In this period, the KMT regulated most literature, art and films to serve its political agenda of anti-communism. It also embarked on Sinicization, which will be elaborated on in Section 4.2.1. The 1960s and '70s were a period of political anti-communism (Xiao, 2005), as the KMT government came to believe that nationalism was primarily a political principle and an important tool in creating a common national identity in Taiwan. This national identity could be further achieved through a shared culture, and so the propaganda of the Chinese Cultural Renaissance was propagated to accomplish this goal. Within this propaganda, de-Japanization and Sinicization were the two main cultural aims, and are examined in 4.2.2. Sinicization in particular was applied to accomplish the anti-communism and de-Japanization project, and the *qipao* was used as a political tool to form a Chinese national identity through the bodies of some of the women in Taiwan. This will be examined in 4.2.3. Finally, in Section 4.2.4, how the Western ideology paradoxically influenced Taiwan while the KMT attempted to Sinicize the country's people is explored.

⁴⁹ Chiang kai-shek (1887-1975), also known as Jiang Jie-Shi, served as Generalissimo of the national government of the Republic of China from 1928 to 1975, taking control of the Kuomintang (KMT) after the death of Sun Yat-Sen in 1925.

4.2.1 Culture serves the political agenda: the KMT embarks on Sinicization

During the period of martial anti-communism, the KMT government believed that in order to attack China, it had to culturally reform and dominate Taiwan. It therefore attempted to use cultural movements as political agendas to convey the importance of anti-communism. These movements introduced Chinese morality and ethics to Taiwanese society to stress the importance of anti-communism within Taiwan. This period can be described as the first step in how the KMT regime tried to culturally dominate the Taiwanese, and it was the beginning of the KMT trying to use Chinese culture to reform Taiwan. It can thus be seen why the KMT regime continually tried to use the *qipao* (representing a Chinese national identity) as its national dress to instill a Chinese national identity in the Taiwanese.

After the defeat of the KMT in the civil war in 1949, Taiwan was treated as the new base from which the party could launch counterattacks on the People's Republic of China (PRC). There were some small-scale armed conflicts between the PRC and Chiang Kai-Shek's Republic of China (ROC) in the 1950s. With the goal of regaining China, the KMT declared martial law⁵⁰ in Taiwan in 1948 in an attempt to maintain a hold on the state and its people as the cold war developed. Due to the armed conflicts taking place at this time, the period from 1945 through to the 1950s was also considered to be a time of martial anti-communism (Taylor, 2009).

Under the authoritarian rule of the KMT, any perceived opposition to the government was considered to be illegal and was dealt with harshly. At this stage, the KMT embarked upon Sinicization, promoting certain elements of 'traditional Chinese culture' as legitimate and superior and banning and discouraging others. The *qipao* was one of these elements, as will be explained later in Section 4.2.3. In this period, most cultural policies were used to serve the political agenda. The KMT controlled Taiwan's cultural development by encouraging people to abandon ties with some elements of Taiwanese culture inherited from the Japanese colonial era (1895-1945) (Lu, 1988: 193). The people of Taiwan had organized various modern political, cultural and social clubs during the period of Japanese rule. The Association of Taiwanese Literature and Art, for example, was established in 1934, while the Association of Taiwanese Poets was set up in 1939 as Taiwanese intellectuals searched for a 'Taiwanese spirit' and the essence of Taiwanese culture. However, after the 2-28 incident in 1947 and the ensuing period of White Terror⁵¹, many of these Taiwanese cultural elites were murdered by the KMT and the expression of 'local' culture was virtually banned.

The KMT organized several movements in the 1950s, including the 1952 Anti-communist Movement, the 1954 Cultural Purification Movement and the 1955 Art and Literature Struggle. These movements were in line with Chiang Kai-Shek's guiding principles of cultural development for Taiwan:

- 1) Morality and ethics are the distinguishing features of Chinese culture.

⁵⁰ Martial law is the imposition of military rule by military authorities over designated regions on an emergency basis. It is usually only temporary.

⁵¹ The 2-28 incident was an anti-government uprising in Taiwan. It actually began on the 27th of February, 1947. However, it was suppressed by the KMT government, and thousands of Taiwanese vanished, were killed or were imprisoned

- 2) The political philosophy of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen's Three Principles of the People⁵² is the modern legacy of Chinese culture.
- 3) Anti-communism is a battle of culture and morality. (Xiao, 1990: 82)

The anti-communism and anti-Russian mobilization campaigns aimed to turn Taiwan into a base from which to attack communist China. Chiang Kai-Shek believed that the materialism of the May Fourth Movement had led to an unbridled pursuit of wealth and a collapse of Chinese morality. He therefore believed that the starting point of an eventual counterattack against communist China was a period of social and cultural reform in Taiwan (Jiang, 1953: 26).

In the Cultural Purification Movement, the KMT initiated a series of campaigns to 'guide' literature and art, the aim of which was to alter the basic notions and sentiments of the public (Chen, 1985: 34). The KMT confiscated books and forced many magazines out of business. In the Art and Literature Struggle, the KMT insisted that all art and literature of value ought to have a clear anti-communist message. Since literature and art are often naturally subversive of the status quo, there was very little created in the 1950s that did not in some way suffer from the constraints of KMT censorship. Indeed, the majority of work produced in this period was merely political propaganda (Ye, 1987: 88).

4.2.2 Chinese cultural renaissance in Taiwan: de-Japanization and Sinicization

In order to understand how the *qipao* was used to Sinicize Taiwanese women and create a united Chinese identity within Taiwanese society, we need to look at other examples of how the KMT regime started to culturally dominate Taiwan. This will enable us to see the *qipao* as part of an ongoing national process. The *qipao* was used as a political tool, and did not emerge in isolation. In the 1960s, the KMT government changed its strategy of anti-communism from a martial strategy of military might to a political approach. In order to build up the nation to fight against communist China, the KMT increasingly saw the importance of focusing on governing Taiwan, as some Taiwanese still viewed the government as foreign. It thus decided to Sinicize and fully de-Japanize Taiwanese society. This period was the second step in how the KMT regime tried to completely dominate the Taiwanese people in an attempt to instil ideas of anti-communism and encourage the fight against China.

There have been no armed conflicts between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of China since the 1960s. However, following the Chinese Communist Party's launch of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution on the 16th of May 1966, and with an increase in Western cultural influence in Taiwan, the KMT government continued to believe that nationalism as a political principle was an important tool for creating a common identity. Believing that this common national identity could be further achieved through a shared culture, the Chinese Cultural Renaissance Committee was established to accomplish this goal. In addition, in response to the American

⁵² These Three Principles of the People are the principles of nationalism, democracy and the people's livelihood. This political philosophy developed by Dr. Sun Yat-Sen was part of a philosophy to make China a free, prosperous and powerful nation.

government's threats to cut aid to force the KMT to reduce its military expenditure, it changed its political aims from military force against China to a political declaration of anti-communism (Xiao, 2005). Therefore, the period from the 1950s through to the 1970s came to be seen as a period of political anti-communism.

From the 1950s to the 1960s, Taiwan rapidly industrialized, as its economy grew at a fast rate. The government traded agricultural exports for foreign currency and imported industrial machinery, thereby developing the industrial sector. Tariffs were raised to control foreign exchanges and restrict imports, and so the government took care to protect domestic industry. By the 1960s, and in response to rising wages, the factories of many industrialized nations were gradually moved to Taiwan because of its low labour costs. Taiwan then changed its economic policies to pursue export expansion. Aid from the US also helped the country to reform its post-war economy, and constituted more than 30 per cent of domestic investment from 1951 to 1962. These improvements led to huge advances in industry and living standards, and also increased Western cultural influences on Taiwan. This will be considered more in Section 4.2.4.

On the 16th of May 1966, the Chinese Communist Party launched the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, while the youth of China formed Red Guard units all over the country. Chinese students were mobilized in a campaign to rid China of the 'Four Olds' of Chinese society (old customs, old culture, old habits and old ideas). Many old books and other works of Chinese heritage were destroyed, and streets were given new revolutionary names. Chiang Kai-Shek believed that the development of culture was the foundation of all varieties of nation-building, and viewed the Cultural Revolution as the complete destruction of Chinese culture (Jiang, 1974: 45). In response, he proclaimed Sun Yat-sen's birthday, the 12th of November, to be Chinese Cultural Renaissance Day in Taiwan. The KMT established the Committee of Chinese Cultural Renaissance on the 28th of July, 1967. This renaissance was, from its inception, steeped in nationalism and anti-communism (Xiao, 1990: 92). In 1974, Chiang Kai-Shek quoted Fichte's⁵³ *Addresses to the German Nation*, saying how the strength of a nation's culture determines its spirit and will to fight (Yu, 1977, 171).

In these addresses, Fichte comments that individuals are merely echoes of the nation and state. He claims that citizens have to be molded by the state through education and propaganda to heighten nationalistic patriotism (Fichte, 1808). Equivalent to Fichte's concept, the KMT regime believed that the legitimated 'culture' of the nation should be controlled through the means of education, the written word, and so on. For instance, documents from the Chinese Cultural Renaissance Committee reported that Taiwan in the 1960s was experiencing dynamic social change. Land reform resulted in a large number of surplus agricultural labourers, who were thus available to work in urban sectors. The United States orientated the Taiwanese economy towards import-substitution industrialization⁵⁴ and invigorated the market. Taiwan began to develop into a prosperous, industrialized and developed country with a strong and dynamic economy. Yet this development worried the Chinese Cultural

⁵³ Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762 – 1814) was a German philosopher. His famous work *Addresses to the German Nation* (1808) is a central text for the philosophy of nationalism.

⁵⁴ Import-substitution industrialization (ISI) is a economic policy that advocates replacing imports with domestic production. In this policy, a country seeks to increase its local production of industrialized products in order to reduce its foreign dependency. (Nelson, 2009: 88)

Renaissance Committee. Alongside the considerable increase in American cultural influence, the committee began to pay attention to how Western capitalist nations industrialized, and what social problems they faced while doing so. It was believed that serious problems existed in these developed countries that were related to the effects that better living conditions had on standards of morality. Therefore, the committee aggressively promoted a 'new life movement.' The government believed that it should carefully control the four essential needs of the people (food, clothing, housing and transportation). It also believed that a traditional Chinese spirit should be advocated in society to increase Chinese national sentiment (Chinese Cultural Renaissance Committee, 1971: 67).

The Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement was not only a response to the Cultural Revolution and the social problems of developed Western nations, but was also part of a policy of Sinicization. By Sinicizing Taiwan, the KMT regime tried to create a mainstream and shared culture among the entire population, with the hope being that a common national identity would eventually develop. The nationalists held the view that the Taiwanese had been slaves of the Japanese⁵⁵ and needed a period of moral and ideological shaping before they could enjoy full rights as citizens of the Republic of China. All things Japanese were totally prohibited. For instance, Japanese-speaking Taiwanese authors were required to write only in Mandarin, and Japanese music was banned. The KMT attempted to Sinicize the Taiwanese by propagating its version of Chinese culture to create a Chinese identity in Taiwan (Xiao, 2000: 53).

Ernest Gellner has explained how nationalism works as a mode of political legitimacy to create a universalistic spirit of the nation, and this can be seen in Taiwan as the KMT tried to create this spirit by Sinicizing Taiwanese culture. Gellner believes that nationalism is primarily a political principle and an important tool for accomplishing political goals; it is a means of establishing political legitimacy by ensuring that ethnic or cultural differences do not become political. Therefore, nationalism carries with it a universalistic spirit that crosses culture and ethnicity. The establishment of a standardized mainstream culture through education and the written word has been applied to accomplish modern nationalism. This homogeneous and centrally sustained mainstream culture becomes almost the only culture with which people willingly identify when it penetrates the entire population and not simply an elite minority. This new culture thus becomes an unlimited source of political legitimacy (Gellner, 1987: 55). Chinese culture in post-war Taiwan was established and represented as official, homogeneous and patriotic by the KMT regime. Indeed, KMT campaigns intended to immerse everyone in this mainstream culture, creating a common national identity through a shared culture.

4.2.3 Song Mei-ling (Madam Chiang) as the mother of the nation: the *Qipao* as national dress in Taiwan

In order to see how the *qipao* was presented as national dress, the role that the First Lady of Taiwan,

⁵⁵ Taiwan was colonized by Japan between 1895 and 1945. When the first KMT governor-general, Chen Yi, arrived in Taiwan, he expressed apprehension about the success of Japanese assimilation. In a famous speech, he said, [The Japanese enemy] not only degraded [Taiwanese] minds into servility. (Hsiau, 2000:52)

Song Mei-ling⁵⁶, played in its promotion cannot be overlooked. The *qipao* was Song Mei-ling's signature dress, and as she became idolized as the 'Mother of the Nation', her style choices had more and more influence. Accordingly, understanding Song Mei-ling's relationship with the *qipao* can help us to explain how it came to be the national dress, and how it continued to Sinicize its wearers.

As part of the construction of a shared national culture, some famous personalities were turned into 'idols.' During the 1950s, Song Mei-ling became the other legitimate idol in Taiwan alongside Chiang Kai-Shek. In 1950, the former devoted herself to organizing women's associations, significant among which was the National Women's Association of the Republic of China. The media played an important role in the process of idolizing the 'mother of the nation', and a review of magazines such as *Chinese Women*⁵⁷ illustrates the way in which Song Mei-ling was represented as a great leader for women, as evidenced by the following extract concerning the establishment of the Chinese Women's Association of Anti-communism and Anti-Russian Sentiment:

The great leader of the women's association Madam Chiang [Song Mei-ling] just came back to Taiwan. In order to encourage most women to join the camp of anti-communism and anti-Russian sentiment, Madam Chiang believes that women have to be organized as in the war period. Thus, Madam Chiang quickly established the Chinese Women's Association of Anti-communism and Anti-Russian sentiment. Many branches have been founded. (1950, Vol.1 No.1, pp 8)

According to the article, the opinion of the masses on this new association was positive, and Song Mei-ling's leadership and achievements received great encouragement from the press. The association was active in education, and the recipients of its assistance were not only the elderly, women and children, but also soldiers and residents of Taiwan. For example, *Youth Warrior Daily*⁵⁸ praised Song Mei-ling's leadership of the Women's Association as showing the way forward for women's movements. Women now, for the first time, had a chance to form organizations and contribute to their country with great ambition. This was one of Song Mei-ling's most significant contributions (1957, Vol.4 No. 3, pp6-8). In addition to the compliments from Taiwan, magazines also reported praise for Song Mei-ling from other countries as a purposeful part of the creation of her image as the mother of the nation:

Song Mei-ling accepted a certificate of special honors at Indiana. The awarding representative was Mr. Nate, Executive Chief of Council of American Anti-Communist Council. When Mr. Nate conferred the award to Song Mei-ling, he said, "I express my sincerest gratitude to our respectful guest, Madam Chiang, for her contribution to human liberty in the world. It's my honor to give you the certificate of special honors here." (Yi, 1959: 3)

⁵⁶ Song mei-ling was born in Shanghai, imperial China, on the 5th of March, 1898 and was the wife of Chiang Kai-Shek.

⁵⁷ *Chinese Women* is a magazine that was first published in July 1950 by the National Women's Association of the ROC. The magazine was published to promote the propaganda of the government in order to encourage women in Taiwan to cooperate with the nation-state building project. Most readers of *Chinese Women* were *waishenren* and from the higher social classes.

⁵⁸ This publication was published and controlled by the KMT government to promote its propaganda.

Song Mei-ling gave a short lecture when she passed through the Philippines in the 1950s, and this was enough for the country to be really friendly toward Taiwan⁵⁹, such was the resonance of her words and action. This is proof of Madam Chiang's great international reputation and respect (Bin, 1950: 19).

Many stories reported in the magazine *Chinese Women* portrayed Madam Chiang as a great assistant leader to Chiang Kai-Shek, who she was praised for helping to organize Taiwan. Moreover, her outstanding diplomacy was often complimented.

As Song Mei-ling was idolized as the mother of the nation, her everyday outfit, the *qipao*, became favoured as the national dress. The KMT regime attempted to form a Chinese national identity in Taiwan by promoting Chinese culture as the mainstream national culture and by requiring people to wear or recognize the *qipao* as the national dress for women. As the anthropologists Eicher and Roach-Higgins explain, clothes serve to define a cultural or ethnic identity, and we can see that the *qipao* in Taiwan was selected and used to form a Chinese identity. A person's style of dress serves to define his or her cultural or ethnic identity (Eicher, 1995: 1). It is therefore common for a regime to try to shape people's perceptions about their identity by requiring them to dress in some representative fashion, creating a collective national identity through the dress code. Eicher calls this strategy a Cultural Authentication Process (CAP), which refers to specific elements of clothing that are identified as ethnic (ibid: 145). How the *qipao* was promoted as the national dress and as an authentic representation of Chinese identity in Taiwan demonstrates the CAP as it operated in Taiwan.

It is no surprise that wearing the *qipao* became a particular cultural practice within certain social communities and higher social classes. For instance, when the first Miss China contest was held in April 1960 in Taiwan, the contestants all wore a *qipao* to parade down the catwalk. Indeed, a participant's ability to do justice to the beauty of the *qipao* was crucial to the judges. There was even a question on what the *qipao* represented to 'Chinese' women during the competition's general knowledge quiz. One of the contestants answered:

The *qipao* is the official national outfit of Chinese women. You can always purchase an elegant one with a tasteful design at a reasonable price. You can also accentuate your figure by wearing it. (Xu, 2007: 181)

By using the phrase "Chinese women", the contestant was referring to herself as Chinese, even though she lived in Taiwan. The *qipao* was thus considered to be the national outfit for representing Chinese women in Taiwan, serving as an implement to define national culture and Chinese nationalism. The *qipao* was also iconically portrayed as an elegant and tasteful artifact. Moreover, it was intensively promoted by the KMT government to accomplish the CAP process. In many high schools and colleges, female students were taught how to make the *qipao* in dress-making or home economics classes⁶⁰. *Qipao* tailors, speaking below, provide evidence of how it was promoted in Taiwan.

⁵⁹ This article described how Song Mei-ling was a great diplomat of Taiwan.

⁶⁰ Home economics is the field of study that deals with the economics and management of the home and community. Female students at junior and senior high schools in Taiwan were normally obliged to attend home economics classes.

Qipao tailor Mr. Lee was born in Beijing, China, in 1939. He came to Taiwan following the KMT government's retreat in 1945. He was recognized as a *waishenren* (see footnote 25). Mr. Lee explains that because he was not always a good student, and didn't like going to school, his parents told him to learn some skills to enable him to make a living in the future. Luckily, the famous *qipao* tailor Mr. Xiu, who also came to Taiwan in 1945, was a family friend, meaning that Mr. Lee was able to work as an apprentice from the age of 14. After the usual apprenticeship of three years and four months, Mr. Lee officially qualified as a *qipao* tailor in 1956. He claims that he was the most talented student. Indeed, Mr. Xiu liked him so much that by the time he decided to retire, Mr. Lee had become his preferred candidate to take over his business, a process that began in 1961.

His tailor's shop was located in the old downtown area in Taipei, which was a busy and bustling location (close to the Taipei train station). There used to be between eight and 12 *qipao* tailors in Mr. Lee's shop during the 1960s. Now, there is only him and one other *qipao* tailor in the shop⁶¹.

My master Mr. Xiu taught students how to make the *qipao* at the National Taiwan Normal University and Shih Chien University. Sometimes he went on TV to advocate the beauty and national symbolism of the *qipao*. He also taught housewives in the Chinese Women's Anti-communist Organization how to make them. In the 1960s, if women wanted to study abroad or get married, they had to know how to sew first. No one would be interested in marrying a woman who didn't know how to make clothes. (Mr. Lee, *qipao* tailor)

According to Mr. Lee's comments, Mr. Xiu retained a close relationship with the KMT, as many of his clients worked for the government. He was thus invited to provide teaching on how to make the *qipao*, and was asked to promote to the public its beauty and national symbolism. After the *qipao* had been recognized in 1929 as the national dress in China, it was again promoted as the national dress in Taiwan in the 1960s in order to form an authentic Chinese identity in the country. By encouraging some women in Taiwan to adopt this dress code, a collective national identity was thereby promoted.

4.2.4 Under the auspices of US aid: the promotion of Western ideology

How the KMT regime used the *qipao* to create a particular national and ethnic identity (Chinese identity) and to Sinicize people in Taiwan is an illustration of Eicher's Cultural Authentication Process. However, the KMT not only tried to Sinicize people in Taiwan, but also attempted to declare its legitimacy as the representative of China.⁶² This representation existed in the context of the cold war, when the regime was operating with the benefit of US aid⁶³.

⁶¹ See Appendix 2, Mr. Lee.

⁶² See Chapter 3.2.

⁶³ As a result of the retreat of the KMT to Taiwan, the island had to face up to a lack of goods and materials, an economy in recession and severe inflation. The US Congress passed the Mutual Security Act in 1951 to provide a legal basis for extending aid to Taiwan. Under this act, the US government provided military supplies that played an indispensable role in the economic recovery. US aid helped the KMT to establish certain valuable institutions and practices of good government (Ngo and Chen, 2008: 24).

In the context of the cold war, the meaning of the anti-communism stance of the KMT not only represented its will to fight to be a legitimate representative of China, but also paradoxically reflects how it accepted the living standards and particular cultural values of the US. From the 1950s onwards, the US worked to form a lifestyle unlike that in communist countries. Through magazines and propaganda, the United States attempted to promote an 'American lifestyle' (tightly bound with the concept of freedom) to Asian countries. The US ambassador to Taiwan, Karl Rankin⁶⁴, once claimed that the journal *Today's America* (Jin Ri Mei Guo; changed to *Today's World*, Jin Ri Shi Jie, in 1952), which was published by the US Informational Agency (USIA)⁶⁵, influenced the lifestyles and cultural values of the middle classes in Taiwan (Zhao, 2005). The USIA publications were regarded as a 'soft power' that aimed to dominate the ideology of Asian countries (Chen, 2009).

This dominant soft power was also reflected in American influences on education in Taiwan (Zhao, 2001). During the 1950s and '60s, a popular slogan in universities was "Let's study at the National Taiwan University⁶⁶ first, and go to study abroad in the universities in America as a second step" (Wang, 2005: 36). It is interesting to see how the US was regarded as an important place to be educated by many Taiwanese at that time. Indeed, in the 1960s, when Taiwan's economy was orientated by the US government in the direction of import-substitution industrialization, the pursuit of a modern and progressive material life became the target for almost every citizen in the country. The reflection of modernization was only projected by America at that time. Accordingly, Westernization became the code word for modernization. In a nutshell, US aid and the accomplishment of the American dream (going to study in America) strengthened the influence of the US on Taiwan (Yin, 2006: 87-8), and meant that the KMT's representation of China actually had two political meanings: 1) the legitimate representation of China, and 2) the pursuit of Westernized living standards, modernization, and political and cultural values.

The close cooperation between the KMT and the US government during the cold war led to the pursuit by the Taiwanese people of Westernized living standards, modernization, and political and cultural values. However, it is intriguing that the promotion and practice of these political ideologies and values actually contradicted the political ideology of the KMT in its fight to represent 'legitimate' China. On the one hand, the regime tried to use the *qipao* to Sinicize people in Taiwan, while on the other, the pursuit of American political values brought with it a Western lifestyle, cultural values and clothing. Western clothing in particular represented a Westernized lifestyle and standards, which in turn threatened the existence of the *qipao* which was, eventually, usurped. Accordingly, the political representation of a Chinese identity through the wearing of the *qipao* was eclipsed. This will be elaborated on further in Section 4.4.1.

⁶⁴ Karl Rankin was appointed as ambassador to Taiwan from 1953 to 1957.

⁶⁵ President Dwight D. Eisenhower established the United States Information Agency in 1953. The mission of USIA was to understand, inform and influence foreign audiences in the promotion of national interest, and to broaden the dialogue between Americans and their counterparts abroad.

⁶⁶ The National Taiwan University was founded in 1928 and is recognized by most Taiwanese as the best university in the country.

4.3 The *qipao* and women's bodies in Taiwan

In this section, how women's bodies in Taiwan have been regulated by the *qipao* as the national dress is investigated. In particular, in 4.3.1, how the female form in Taiwan has been regarded as a signifier of the nation is illustrated. Then, in 4.3.2, there is an examination the ways in which the constraints of wearing the *qipao* caused women to become submissive. Finally, Section 4.3.3 argues that because the *qipao* was only affordable by women with a higher social status, it not only served to define cultural Chinese identity, but also worked as a tool to rearrange and consolidate a new social order in Taiwanese society. In this way, it became a symbol of social exclusion.

4.3.1 The *qipao* defines national identity: women's bodies as signifiers of the nation

Within the propaganda of the nation-state building project in Taiwan, the KMT government treated women as the symbol of the nation, and not as active agents. In particular, women's bodies were treated as signifiers of the country. Women were positioned within the family, were made subordinate and conformable to the state and patriarchy, and were excluded from public and political spheres.

Taiwanese women were thus incorporated in the anti-communism and anti-Russian project, and were encouraged to remain within the domestic sphere (private domain) as an act of cooperation. Women were therefore kept away from the public domain, and were considered to be submissive to the authority of the state. The family as an institution was encouraged to consolidate patriarchy with society and the state. This excerpt from an article in *Chinese Women* entitled "Family is the Base for Anti-Communism" explains how the propaganda at that time tried to encourage women to treat the family and home as a base from which to cooperate with the government in the fight against communists:

The very first desire of the people who now stay in Taiwan is to fight against the Communists and Russia, and to recapture China. The completion of this great project can not only rely on slogans, the armed forces, or assistance from friendly soil, but also each individual should participate in the scheme and contribute to it. What should we housewives do to support the project? I suggest housewives consider the home as our base for contributing. Home is fundamental to society. We should see the home as a battle unit, and the housewife is the commander. Housewives should cooperate with the government and its strategy in order to form a solid alignment. (Wong, 1951: 1)

Propaganda such as this persuaded women to conform, with the family and home held up as the stronghold for hegemonic nationalism. The KMT's mobilization of Taiwanese women is proof of how, as feminists argue, the division between public and private is a patriarchal notion that has been used to exclude women and their concerns from politics. In Taiwan's case, the state, the state-constructed culture, and the education system all attempted to construct the family as a private institution outside state interference within which women were exploited, subordinated and excluded

from political interventions. For instance, most women were taught to be the natural caretaker of their parents-in-law within their family; on the other hand, men were told to make their careers their priority (Wen, 1996: 316; Abbott, 1997: 307).

Furthermore, co-operation between the family and wider society is essential when it comes to retaining a system of patriarchy, and so the fate of the three patriarchal institutions - the family, society and the state - are interrelated. The family is the keystone of this stratification system, and the primary mode by which the social mechanism is maintained (Millett, 2000: 45-9). Based on the interrelation between the family, society and the state, the patriarchal system in Taiwan reigned, and most Taiwanese women were relegated to the domestic sphere and asked to become subordinate to the authority of the state. Meanwhile, their bodies were regarded as tools to be used to accomplish the nation-building project. Taiwanese women were thus excluded from public and political spheres, and were regarded as symbols for the nation instead of as having real, active agency.

Taiwanese women's bodies were considered to be a symbol of the nation in two different ways, which are subsets of the feminists Floya Anthias and Nira Yuval-Davis's (1989) five ways to mobilize women when they are asked to participate in ethnic and national processes. These five ways are outlined below. According to Anthias and Yuval-Davis, first, women can reproduce, increasing the number of the ethnic collective. Second, they can reproduce the boundaries of ethnic or national groups. Third, they can participate in the ideological reproduction of the collective, and can act as transmitters of culture. Fourth, they can signify ethnic or national differences, becoming a focus for the construction of ethnic or national categories. Fifth, they may participate in national, economic, political and military struggles. It is primarily the fourth aspect of this theory that is of interest in this chapter, when consideration is given to the fact that the bodies of Taiwanese women from the upper classes were mobilized from 1945 through to the 1970s as signifiers of ethnic or national categories.

The mobilized Taiwanese women can be divided into two different groups: women from the upper social classes and those from the lower social classes. Most of the latter were asked to become participants in national, political and military struggles in relation to state practices (Anthias, Yuval-Davis, 1989: 7), and so their bodies became instruments of production. For example, they were mobilized to make clothes for the army, and were asked to be industrious and thrifty during times of war. This mobilization of these women, which is the fifth point referred to above, is examined in Chapter 5.

On the other hand, women from the upper social classes became signifiers of ethnic and national differences (the fourth point of Anthias and Yuval-Davis's theory). During the period under consideration, most *qipao* wearers came from two groups, the first of which was women from the upper social classes and with economic backgrounds that did not usually require them to work. An example is as the so-called *guan fu ren*, which literally means ministerial servants' wives. The other group is women who are usually employed in offices, like secretaries, whose work does not involve much moving of the body. These women were asked to wear the *qipao* to display the Chinese national identity, and so their bodies became symbols of the nation that the KMT wanted to propagate. First Lady Song Mei-ling represented the women from the upper social classes in Taiwan,

and she always dressed in a *qipao* in public, especially when hosting foreign visitors. A report from the United Daily News⁶⁷ refers to this:

In 1953, the annual military parade was held at an air force base in Taipei. President Chiang Kei-Shek invited the Vice President of the United States, Richard Nixon, and his wife to attend the ceremony. An officer's uniform, white gloves and black leather shoes were worn by President Chiang. His countenance was beaming. Song Mei-ling wore a refined *qipao* in dark grey with a black jacket, white gloves, and black high heels. She appeared elegant and poised. (United Daily News, 1953)

Song Mei-ling's preference for the *qipao* signified her Chinese nationalism and advantaged social status. As a representative of the upper classes, she had the new privilege of representing patriotism through the *qipao*. Her clothes, and therefore her body, were signifiers of Chinese nationalism.

4.3.2 Constraints of the *qipao*: formation of a submissive gender identity

This section demonstrates how the *qipao* constrained the body of the wearer and caused the individual's figure to conform to an image of traditional Chinese women who are inferior and submissive to men. This traditional image kept women in a private arena, namely the home. Most men worked in the public sphere, and became the hosts of the family. Women were not allowed out to pursue their own agendas, and in the family had to be submissive to men. It has been argued that when women wore the *qipao*, they were under an additional restriction in terms of their movement, as the inconvenience of wearing the outfit is similar to that caused by foot-binding. Women had been encouraged to be submissive and passive through foot-binding in the past, and were now being treated in a similar way by wearing the *qipao*.

One of my informants among the *qipao* wearers, Ling, was born in Tsinan, China in 1937. She came to Taipei, Taiwan with her family in 1945 following the KMT's retreat. Ling identifies herself as a *waishenren*.⁶⁸ When she was in elementary school, her mother used to make clothes and even shoes for her. Ling graduated from college in 1957, and became a secretary in the government-owned company China Petrochemical Development Corporation (CPDC).⁶⁹ After making money on her own, she began to buy her own clothes or wear a *qipao* that was tailor-made by a *qipao* tailor at the time. She used to wear a *qipao* to the office in the 1960s.

When Ling worked as a secretary, she and her colleagues used to go to balls to dance and meet boys. She mentioned that she rarely wore a *qipao* to attend a ball, because it is too stiff to wear when dancing. She did not meet her husband, Kon, at a ball; he is a son of a family friend. Kon was born in Tsinan, China, in 1936. He came to Taiwan with his family in 1945 and now also works at the CPDC. Ling's parents liked Kon very much, and thought he was a decent man with a good job. They believed that he would be a good husband, meaning that he would make enough money to raise

⁶⁷ The United Daily News (*lian he bao*) was founded in 1951 in Taiwan.

⁶⁸ See Footnote 25.

⁶⁹ The China Petrochemical Development Corporation (CPDC) was established on April 24, 1969. Once a state-owned enterprise under the supervision of the Ministry of Economic Affairs, it was privatized in 1994.

children and take care of the entire family. They therefore persuaded Ling to go out with and marry Kon after the couple had known each other for only three months. Once married, Ling and Kon had three children, the oldest a daughter, and two sons. When their daughter started elementary school, Ling (then 31) left her job and became a full-time housewife, and has been ever since. The only *qipao* she has kept is her wedding gown.⁷⁰

Most of the *qipao* wearers I spoke to complained about how hard it is to wear. Ling is one of these wearers:

I don't like wearing the *qipao*. I always feel uncomfortable in it. The neckband is too stiff, and the waistline is always too tight. I feel like I can't breathe normally when I wear it. And the narrow skirt makes walking difficult. My mom always told me that *qipao* were designed for women who didn't have to work and just stayed at home waiting for their husbands. That's why *qipao* weren't designed for women to move comfortably. (Ling, 75 year old *waishenren* woman)

You aren't able to stride or run when you're in the *qipao*. If you try, you'll definitely fall down. When you dress in the *qipao*, you can't move without restriction. You're expected to walk like a traditional Chinese lady. (Tong, 78 year old *waishenren* woman)

Tong and Ling are both *waishenren* women who moved to Taiwan from China when they were children. Both married in their early 20s, and did not have to work thereafter. Although neither of them wore the *qipao* as an everyday outfit, they both claim that they had had plenty of chances to wear it in the past. For instance, they usually wore the *qipao* to go out with their husbands or girlfriends. However, they both complained about its constraints. A *qipao* constrains walking postures and movement, as wearers are forced to walk with their chin up and chest out, meaning that the swaying of their figure becomes apparent. This attractive but inconvenient way of moving restricts women's bodies, and in this way was similar to foot-binding. In China's Qing dynasty, foot-binding was a representation of beauty and social status. Men appreciated the women's small feet, and because the binding caused women to walk in a swaying fashion, they were thought to look extremely delicate. With their feet bound, moving became difficult and their behaviour was therefore constrained. Likewise, the *qipao* constrains behaviour, not only in terms of the way women walk, but also with respect to what they eat:

You can't be hunchbacked, splay-footed or knock-kneed when you dress in the *qipao*. Its silhouette makes you walk with your chin up and chest out. You can easily judge whether someone is elegant and well-educated or not by observing how she walks or sits in the *qipao*. One more important thing to be aware of is its waistline. It's important to have a sexy and curvy waistline while you are wearing the *qipao*. Some of my friends used to complain that they couldn't eat much before wearing it. If you want to look sexy in the *qipao*, go on a diet for a couple days before you want to wear it. (Chi, 68 year old *waishenren* woman)

⁷⁰ See Appendix two, Ling.

The following excerpt from my interview with retired secretary Ling reveals how easy it is to adjust the way one walks to deal with the constraints of the *qipao*. It also shows how the *qipao* has been manipulated as a powerful tool with which to easily change habits and, in particular, regulate women's behaviour:

When I worked as a secretary, I had to wear the *qipao* to work almost every day. One of our duties was to accommodate guests and visitors, and we were required to wear the *qipao* to show respect. Normally, we only had to wear the short *qipao*. Long *qipao* were worn to ceremonial receptions. We were taught to behave more ladylike, be fascinating and attractive when we were in the *qipao* and accommodating important guests. I believe it's easier to behave more ladylike in the *qipao* than in other dresses, because its special silhouette means you have to walk in a particular way. For example, you definitely can't stride. Normally you walk with your chin up and chest out while dressed in the *qipao*, which makes your body curves and the way you move look attractive. I believe all men (most of our clients are men) enjoy seeing it. We always made fun of ourselves, saying that we were just big flower vases when we were dressed in the *qipao* to receive guests. (Ling, 75 year old *waishenren*)

It has been argued that by requiring women to wear the *qipao*, which constrains them both physically and mentally, they were made to be submissive and subordinate to men. Moreover, the restrictive nature of the *qipao* links to Thorstein Veblen's interpretation of the tight lacing of the female body as representing a husband's wealth (Veblen, 1994: 105-6). One of my informants, a *qipao* tailor's wife named Song, who also worked as a *qipao* tailor herself, explains:

Most of our customers were upper-class, wealthy women from downtown.⁷¹ Most of them were *waishengren*. Their husbands always liked to see them wear the *qipao* to show how rich the family was. If you can wear the *qipao* every day, it means you don't have to work physically or do any chores.

Personally, I always wore clothes I made myself, and they were usually pants. I seldom bought clothes from other shops or tailors. Some people had their clothes made by 'family garment makers.' It wasn't cheap to have them make your clothes, but it was still cheaper than buying a *qipao*. (Song, a *qipao* tailor's wife and *benshengren*⁷²)

Song told me that most of her clients were from wealthy *waishenren* families. Most of them did not have to work, and received pocket money from their husbands. These women relied on their families/husbands economically, and were expected to wear beautiful clothes, like the *qipao*, to show how rich the family was. Yet the beautiful and constraining *qipao* not only regulates the behaviour of women physically, but also mentally. An example is Chi's explanation that she has to walk with her chin up and chest out. This is a physical behaviour, but nevertheless requires constant mental attention to be paid to how the body is moving. Likewise, Ling (see Footnote 70) has to behave in a

⁷¹ Downtown was a bustling area located in Taipei's *Zhongzheng* District between the 1950s and the 1970s. There were many tailors and dressmakers in the area, and many rich *waishengren* also lived in the district.

⁷² See Chapter 3.2.

more ladylike way in a *qipao*. Ling and her co-workers (all secretaries) also engage in self-derision, describing themselves as big flower vases when they were dressed in the *qipao* to receive guests. Most of Song's *waishengren* clients wear the *qipao* to show off the wealth of their husband/family. This evidence demonstrates how the *qipao* has been used to reinforce a woman's submissive identity as governed by families, husbands and even the patriarchy in the workplace.

4.3.3 The dual face of the *Qipao*: national dress as a means to rearrange and consolidate a new social order

When the KMT fled to Taiwan in the 1950s, its original ambition was to attack China. Accordingly, anti-communist and anti-Russian sentiments were promoted. The entire population of Taiwan was encouraged to devote itself to the country. Women were asked to practice thrift and sew clothes for the army, and many publications urged them to stop wearing luxurious clothes such as the *qipao* and devote themselves to the state-building project. Nevertheless, paradoxically, many women from the upper social classes continued to wear the *qipao* at the government's behest. For instance, Song Mei-ling still wore a *qipao* in her public appearances. On the other hand, women with a lower social status were too poor to afford the *qipao*, and came under greater pressure to promote the government's ideal of thrift. Differences in social status were made obvious through women's bodies and the way they were dressed, and *qipao* tailors became the witnesses to these differences.

According to *qipao* tailor Mr. Lee (see Footnote 61), most of his clients were from wealthy families, as they were the only ones who could actually afford to buy the *qipao* at that time:

Most of my clients were celebrities, ambassadors' wives, ministerial servants' wives and so on. Even the wife of the president of the Philippines, the daughter in law of President Dwight D. Eisenhower,⁷³ and [winner of the Miss China competition] Yu Yen were all my clients. When they attended banquets and other official occasions, they needed to dress up and sometimes chose the *qipao*.

A lot of ministerial servants' wives liked to have their *qipao* made with fabrics imported from West Germany, Italy, Japan and Hong Kong. They never complained about the price. Most illustrious and influential people lived in Shanghai, and they cared about their attire and appearance a lot. That's why all the best *qipao* tailors opened shops in Shanghai as well. When all these famous people moved to Taiwan, all these *qipao* tailors moved, too. My master was one of these *qipao* tailors. It's also interesting that most of my clients are *waishengren* women. (Mr. Lee, *qipao* tailor)

After Mr. Lee started to take over the tailor's business from Mr. Xiu in the early 1960s, he also took on most of his regular clients. Mr. Xiu, as noted previously, was a famous *qipao* tailor back in Shanghai, and many of his clients were people who moved to Taiwan following the KMT government's retreat there in 1945. These people were known as *waishengren*. Many of the *waishengren* women are ministerial servants' wives, and most of them do not have to work and have

73 Dwight David Eisenhower was the 34th President of the United States from 1953 to 1961.

servants at home. According to Mr. Lee, many of these women spend their time playing mahjong.⁷⁴ Generally speaking, most of the women who could afford the *qipao* were *waishengren*, while most of the *benshengren* women, the Taiwanese local residents, could not:

Most women couldn't afford to wear the *qipao* in the '60s. But more *waishengren* women could afford to wear it than *benshengren* women, because more of them had had a higher education and had better jobs, such as working as secretaries in offices. I was the only *benshengren* woman working as a secretary in my office. We all liked to wear the *qipao* to the office. We also liked to wear it when we had buffets in the hotel during the holidays. (Wan, *benshengren* 70 year old retired secretary)

Wan is a *benshengren* woman. She grew up in Chiayi,⁷⁵ and moved to Taipei to complete her college education in the 1950s. After graduating, she chose to live in Taipei and work for the state-owned CPC Corporation.⁷⁶ Most of her colleagues were *waishengren* women; she was the only *benshengren* who worked as a secretary in the office. In her view, most *waishengren* were better educated, which was why they had better jobs. Wan claims that she had worked very hard to complete her college education, because she had wanted to get a job at this large, state-owned company. Indeed, she had worked as a part-time waitress to earn enough money to afford her tuition fees. Most of her friends from childhood (the majority of whom are *benshengren*) stayed in Chiayi and have never attended college, let alone worked for a big company or been able to afford expensive dresses like the *qipao*.

As noted above, in the 1960s, when the KMT government started its project of Chinese Cultural Renaissance, the *qipao* was promoted once again as the national dress for women. However, at the same time, many women were mobilized to work in factories in the export processing zone.⁷⁷ Moreover, the concept of seeing the living room as a factory was promoted, and so most women also worked hard at home. Physically, they were unable to wear the *qipao* because it was too restrictive for factory work. Furthermore, as *benshengren*, most of them were still too poor to afford such a garment in any event:

It was almost impossible for *benshengren* to wear the *qipao* because most of us were really poor. We had to work hard every day to make money to raise our children, and so I didn't have a *qipao* made until my 45th birthday. Aside from the poor finances of my family, I had to work as a full-time labourer in a factory. I couldn't even imagine wearing the *qipao* to work. I can barely move when wearing it, never mind do factory work. (Chen, *benshengren* 80 year old woman)

Chen's description is typical of the responses of my *benshengren* interviewees who experienced

⁷⁴ Mahjong is a game that originated from China and is played by four players. It is similar to the Western card game rummy.

⁷⁵ Chiayi is located in the plains of southwestern Taiwan. Agriculture is the key to economic development in Chiayi.

⁷⁶ The CPC Corporation is a state-owned petroleum and gasoline company in Taiwan.

⁷⁷ The export processing zone was also known as a free trade zone, which is an area of a country where some of the normal trade barriers such as tariffs and quotas are removed. In order to attract more new foreign investment, some bureaucratic requirements are even lowered. The export processing zone can also be defined as labour intensive manufacturing centres that involve the importation of raw materials and the exportation of factory products. The export processing zone in Taiwan was established in 1966.

the heyday of the *qipao* in the period from the 1950s to the 1960s. Most of them explained how impossible it would have been for them to afford the *qipao*, or wear it to work, during this period. This illustrates how the garment became a tool with which to differentiate between the social statuses of women in society. Those from the lower social classes were mobilized to practice thrift and work as labourers, and the *qipao* was too expensive and impractical for their daily lives. This is in contrast to the position of some *Waishenren* women, who wore the *qipao* in that period because their husbands wanted them to show-off the wealth of their family.

4.4 Tactics of negotiation: the project to control women's bodies through Chinese culture and a submissive ideology seems to have failed

There are two political representations of the *qipao* in Taiwan, as discussed in Section 4.3: a Chinese identity and the means to form a submissive identity for women. However, through my interviews with women from both the higher and lower social classes, it is clear that their bodies are not passive agents. The key negotiation of these women was to revolt against the engendered body promoted by the nation-building project, and the Chinese national identity built up by the KMT government seems to have failed to take hold. First of all, although the *qipao* was constructed as a form of national dress, most women (usually from the lower social strata) could not afford to wear it, and so the exhortation to promote Chinese culture could not influence them. Although these women's bodies were still mobilized by the KMT government through the economic mobilization of lower class women (discussed in Chapter 5), they were not made into a passive symbol of either the nation or its ethnicity by being clothed in the *qipao*. Secondly, in my interviews with Taiwanese women, it became clear that they rejected the *qipao* as a clothing choice over the course of the 1950s, '60s and '70s. These women's bodies did not simply represent a social metaphor; instead they were living forms, not passive agents. Although women could not entirely avoid the nationalist construction of the *qipao* during the 1950s and '60s, due to the Taiwanization of politics and culture and economic liberalization (Hu, 2005: 25-6), the emphasis on the *qipao* subsequently lessened, and a Western ideology and lifestyle and Western cultural values became popular in Taiwanese society. Moreover, a consumer society was gradually forming, and there was soon a variety of clothing available to buy. Women from the upper classes grasped the opportunity to become active against the old, rigid power structures and ultimately abandoned the *qipao*, eliminating its potential to control their bodies.

In this section, how these Taiwanese women have dealt with the *qipao* and proven the concept of 'strategic bodily practice', as explained in Chapter two, is illustrated. Dress in everyday life is a practical negotiation between individuals and a social, structured system, which includes the social conditions of daily life such as class, gender, and the rules or norms governing particular social situations. It therefore enables us to consider a person's choice of dress as a personal attempt to orientate him or herself to particular circumstances, thus recognizing the structuring influences of the social world on the one hand, and the agency of individuals who make choices about what to wear on the other (Entwistle, 2000: 37). During my interviews, it was possible to speak to many women who not only wore the *qipao*, but also altered it to make it more wearable and comfortable. These

women had thus actually found some space to try to win back the authority to control their bodies, and this will be elaborated on later in this section

4.4.1 Chinese national identity blurred

In the 1970s, the KMT-led government faced a diplomatic crisis, and lost the public trust of the Taiwanese people. As a consequence, it began a programme of political and economic Taiwanization (Hu, 2005: 25-6). The *qipao*, which represents Chinese identity, was no longer emphasized. Moreover, because of the growing influence of the West, Western-style clothes were chosen to replace the *qipao* by most women who used to wear it.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, after the 2-28 Incident in 1947, fewer women wore the *qipao* because of the irreconcilable differences between *benshengren* and *waishengren* that were created, with the *qiqao* normally being worn by *waishengren* women and as a representative of Chinese identity (Ye, 2002: 122;). As well as the 2-28 Incident, political, economic and cultural Taiwanization reduced the influence of the *qipao* in Taiwan. As discussed elsewhere, while the communists declared the People's Republic to be the successor state of the Republic of China, the nationalists defended the Republic of China in Taiwan as the sole legitimate Chinese government. This continued throughout the cold war. However, in 1971, the PRC was declared to be the only legitimate representation of China in the United Nations. This diplomatic crisis not only demonstrated to the KMT government that it had lost its international legitimacy, but also meant that its campaigns were incapable of reaching the people of Taiwan (Zhang, 1971: 18). Faced with this diplomatic catastrophe, the KMT gained greater authority for its regime with a period of political and economic Taiwanization (Hu, 2005: 25-6). Ten massive building projects were set in train to upgrade the country's industry and make general improvements. Some local Taiwan-born citizens were trained as young professionals in the KMT government. Economic and political Taiwanization led to cultural Taiwanization. Accordingly, a Taiwan-centered view of history and culture was developed, and the status of the Chinese-centered view was challenged. As a consequence, the status of the *qipao*, which represented the latter, was downgraded and promoted less.

Along with the reduced emphasis placed on it by the KMT regime, the role of the *qipao* was also gradually influenced by Western cultural values. The initial political representation of the *qipao* had been the Chinese identity. This was threatened by the introduction into the Taiwanese market of Western clothing, which represented a Western lifestyle and cultural values, as discussed in Section 3.2.4. As the KMT tried to modernize Taiwan using US aid, the lifestyle and cultural values of the West seemed to have quickly become a more important ideology than the traditional one. Those who began to wear Western-style clothing might not have been doing so with any particular political purpose. However, whether consciously or unconsciously, choosing Western clothes suggested a rejection of the *qipao*. The more Western clothing was accepted and worn by people in Taiwan, the less of an effect the *qipao* had as an implement of political propaganda.

It has been established in the previous sections that the KMT regime attempted to Sinicize Taiwanese women by encouraging some of them, especially those from the upper social classes, to wear the *qipao*. These women's bodies were used as signifiers of a Chinese identity, and it is

therefore paradoxical to see that Western fashion trends and clothing were also promoted in the magazine *Chinese Women*, which was published by the government. Through the introduction of these Western clothing trends in magazines, the Western lifestyle began to be portrayed, or at least received by readers, as superior to traditional Taiwanese or Chinese lifestyles. After interviewing women who explained that they preferred wearing Western-style clothing to the *qipao* in the late 1960s, it is my view that the Westernization of clothing threatened Chinese identity as represented by the *qipao*. One of my interviewees, Hsu siao, worked as an accountant in the late 1960s. She told me that she sometimes went out with friends after work, and when they did they always liked to wear fashionable Western clothes:

I liked to sometimes go out with friends after work in the late '60s, although my parents didn't like me hanging out with them too often. They always wanted me to stay home, be their good daughter. We [Hsu siao and her girlfriends] always liked to wear Western fashionable clothes in the late '60s, especially if we had the chance to meet up with some guys from other companies. (Hsu siao, 70 year old *waishenren* woman)

Retired secretary Ling (see Footnote 70) mentioned the same thing. She explained that she and her co-workers hardly ever wore the *qipao* to go out, because Western clothing was so much more convenient and also more fashionable:

The reason why we girls liked to wear Western clothes to go out is, first of all, we felt free to move around in them. I don't think we could have felt free to behave how we wanted in the *qipao*. Also, Western clothes were considered more fashionable than the *qipao* in the late '60s. (Ling, 75 year old *waishenren* woman)

Women had begun to have agency in Taiwanese society, and were thus able to affect the existence of the *qipao*. Although they may not have had enough power to change the societal and cultural structure, they were able to alter their circumstances to some extent through strategic bodily practices. In particular, they were able to choose to abandon the uncomfortable *qipao* and wear Western clothes instead.

According to the *qipao* tailors interviewed, the number of clients has been falling since the late 1960s. Indeed, the interviewees claim that most clients tend to buy Western-style clothes instead of the *qipao*:

A lot fewer people were interested in the *qipao* after the late '60s. Most of my clients tended to buy Western clothes instead. (Mr. Hsu Rong and Mr. Lee, both *qipao* tailors)

The heyday of the *qipao* business in Taiwan was in the '60s. There were often customers seen lining up at opening time of the store on a daily basis. My shop was extremely famous, and many noted celebrities were my clients. It cost quite a lot to have a *qipao* made in my shop, but still many well-to-do women wanted to have their *qipao* made here. Since the late '60s, though, business has gradually got worse. You couldn't find any apprentices and so there were fewer and fewer *qipao* tailors. Many of them changed professions. Some became taxi drivers and others became restaurant owners. (Mr. Lee,

qipao tailor)

Mr. Hsu Rong and Mr. Lee (see Footnote 61) have both been *qipao* tailors since the 1950s, and they both experienced the heyday of the *qipao* in Taiwan. However, the circumstances where lots of people were lining up to buy the *qipao* did not last for long. Some women, like the retired accountant waishenren, Hsu siao, and Ling (see Footnote 70), who come from better social and economic backgrounds, started to choose more fashionable and comfortable Western clothing to wear in the late 1960s. The Chinese identity shaped and propagated by the KMT thus faced enormous competition from the major force of Westernization, which accompanied US aid. The KMT's goal of creating a Chinese identity clashed with Western culture, and became blurred. The *qipao* therefore faced practical extinction as fewer and fewer people were interested in wearing it.

4.4.2 The decline of the *Qipao*: the rejection of a submissive gender identity

As well as a means to project the KMT's Chinese identity, the *qipao* also represented the submissive gender identity of women. In Section 4.3.2, it was argued that the physical constraints of the *qipao* are similar to the inconvenience of foot-binding, and that both of these methods were used as a way to constrict women's behaviour. By wearing the *qipao* and binding their feet, women were hobbled and could be kept indoors. The traditional ideology of women being kept inside and men going out to work as the head of the family was thus promoted. The inferior status of women is clear in this ideology. In addition, some women were encouraged by their husbands to wear the *qipao* to show-off the wealth of their family. Under these circumstances, these women were subsidiary to their husbands, and their *qipao*-dressed bodies become symbols. Overall, it can be argued that women were forced into a submissive gender identity by wearing the *qipao*.

However, along with the gradual Westernization that affected the existence of the *qipao*, another social change occurred in the 1970s: the gradual formation of a consumer society. The US began to cut aid back in the 1970s, and the uncertainty about its commitment accelerated Taiwan's shift from subsidized import-substitution in the 1950s to export-led growth. Development moved from cheap, labour-intensive manufacturing to an expansion of heavy industry in the 1970s. By maintaining exceptionally high growth rates and rapid industrialization between the 1960s and 1990s, Taiwan became known as one of the Four Asian Tigers.⁷⁸ The consumer society was also taking shape in the 1970s, with economic development raising the average amount of the basic wage. Meanwhile, the average expenditure on entertainment, culture and education quadrupled for each household every month (Chen, 2002). Generally, this allowed women to have more freedom to make decisions about their consumption of garments.

The interviews have confirmed that some women in Taiwan in the late 1960s, particularly those from the upper social classes, actually began to have the agency to make decisions about own their clothes. Their decision to abandon the *qipao* demonstrates the concept of strategic bodily practice in action. That is to say, these women make wearing particular forms of dress an embodied and

⁷⁸ The term Four Asian Tigers refers to the highly industrialized economies of Hong Kong, South Korea, Taiwan and Singapore.

strategic practice, and a kind of practical negotiation with the social structural system. Therefore, their abandonment of the *qipao* enables us to see how power influences the lived body and results in particular tactics by individuals (abandoning the *qipao*) to negotiate dominance (or to counteract an enforced, oppressive Chinese identity and submissive gender identity expectations). This demonstrates that we can regard a person's choice of dress as a personal attempt to orientate him or herself to particular circumstances (Entwistle, 2000: 37). These Taiwanese women showed that they had a certain degree of agency over their bodies through dress. We can call this process 'embodiment practice.' These women felt uncomfortable and that their behaviour was constrained by wearing the *qipao*, and therefore decided either not to wear it, or to alter it. These actions prove that these women were not just deploying a situated bodily practice, but a strategic bodily practice which not merely implements dress as a strategy for negotiating with authority, but includes an attempt to change the meaning of the dress that represents domination. By engaging in these strategic bodily practices, women eventually became empowered and threw off the uncomfortable *qipao*, thereby rejecting the submissive gender identity that it had represented.

Wearing the *qipao* was inconvenient and constraining, and many of my informants expressed their dislike for doing so. For example, one of my informants, Young, explained how constraining the *qipao* was when she wore it every day at work. As Western clothes became popular, she discussed how she eventually locked her *qipao* away:

I used to wear the *qipao* to work in the office. Although I don't really have to do work that needs a lot of body movement, I sometimes still felt uncomfortable wearing it. For example, after I had lunch, I always felt my stomach sticking into my clothes. So, I gradually stopped wearing the *qipao*. Also, Western dress started to be popular in the late '60s. I then tended to wear this instead of the *qipao* to go to work. Now my *qipao* is locked-up in my closet. (Young, 72 year old *waishenren* woman)

During this period, most *qipao* wearers came from two groups: women from a higher social and economic background who do not usually have to work, like the so-called *guan fu ren*; and women who are usually employed in offices, for example as secretaries, and whose work does not require a great deal of body movement, like my informant Ling (see Footnote 70). Young belongs to the second group, and has worked as a secretary in the office of the state-owned CPC Corporation⁷⁹ since the late 1950s. She mentioned that some of her co-workers (secretaries) were encouraged to wear the *qipao* at the office, because the manager liked to see them wearing it, especially when there were visitors to the premises who needed attention. Young's manager saw the service provided by these *qipao*-wearing secretaries as a representation of his status in the company. However, according to Young, she did not precisely follow the preferences of the manager when making decisions about what to wear. She thus chose to wear Western outfits to go to work, just because she felt less comfortable wearing the *qipao*.

For the women who came from lower social and economic backgrounds, their jobs usually involved a lot of movement. They therefore have limited experience of wearing the *qipao*. The home tailor Ko is one of these women. Ko has worked as a home tailor since she was 16 in the 1950s, but

⁷⁹ See Footnote 76.

has only worn a *qipao* once, and then only because one of her clients encouraged her to make one for herself. She thus made the outfit and tried it on, but did not enjoy wearing it and decided not to do so again, because her work requires her to move about a lot. She therefore wears comfortable clothes (with a looser silhouette):

I've only worn the *qipao* once. Based on the experience, I decided not to wear it again and I gave it to a friend. It turned out she didn't like to wear it, either. We both think it's too uncomfortable. You don't get to move actively while you are in the *qipao*. You don't even get to turn your neck easily. The collar is simply too stiff. It makes me almost feel like I'm being suffocated. Also, you have to be in good shape to look good in the *qipao*. When we get older, it's hard to lose weight, let alone to keep a good body shape. (Ko, 72 year old *benshengren* woman)

Economic changes brought women the authority and agency to be able to choose what they wanted to wear. As well as the general trend of choosing not to wear the *qipao*, those who did decide to do so would often have the silhouette and shape of the garment altered. My informant Pan daili, who is the wife of a ministerial servant, told me that although she used to wear the traditional *qipao* in the 1960s, she has tended to wear Western clothes since then. Moreover, if she wants to wear the *qipao* today, she prefers to wear an altered version:

I used to wear the traditional *qipao*. I usually asked Mr. Wang (*qipao* tailor) to make it for me. Although it was tailor made, the silhouette of it still hampered my movement and made me a bit uncomfortable. I remember that at some point, probably since the '70s, an altered version of the *qipao* appeared. It has a zipper, whereas the traditional *qipao* has a buckle, which makes it more difficult to wear and take off. The silhouette of the altered *qipao* is very different from the traditional one. First of all, the altered one is made in two pieces. You have a top and a skirt. Second, it's loose. Basically the silhouette is a straight line. You don't reveal the curves of your body wearing it. Third, the collar is not stiff. Fourth, the skirt is loose. Fifth, the slit of the skirt is appropriate. All of these characteristics make the altered *qipao* look very different from the traditional one and you feel more comfortable in it. (Pan daili, 75 year old *waishenren* woman)

My informant Ma was a secretary when she was young, and she recalled having to sometimes wear a *qipao* to go out to dinner with friends in the 1960s. Although she complained that it was uncomfortable, she also revealed that she felt it was the trendy thing to wear at that time. Ma and her friends eventually stopped dressing in the *qipao* when a wider selection of clothes became available in the 1970s. If they have to wear one now, they only choose altered versions:

The traditional *qipao* is too uncomfortable to wear. All of my female friends used to complain about it when they had to wear it. So we asked our friend who is a home tailor to make an altered one for us. Because we're old ladies, we tend not to show our imperfect body shapes. So our altered *qipao* don't reveal our curves at all. Instead, they help us to hide our imperfections. For example, normally the traditional *qipao* is sleeveless. But

the altered qipao is made with sleeves to cover my fat arms. (Ma, 73 year old waishenren woman)

Some women were expected to adopt a Chinese national ideology and submissive identity by wearing the *qipao* as the national dress during the 1950s and '60s. However, as we have seen, most women could not actually afford the *qipao* at that time. I had assumed that the women who did not wear the *qipao* had escaped from the control of the Chinese nationalism project, but in fact they were actually controlled by another national hegemony - the economic mobilization of lower class women, which will be discussed in the next chapter (Chapter 5). Along with Taiwanized changes to the political and cultural structure, which had an impact on economic conditions, a consumer society formed in Taiwan. It has been argued that, regardless of social strata, women over the course of these decades gained the power to enact a strategic bodily practice and choose what they wanted to wear and how they wanted to wear it. As a result, the *qipao* has been kicked out of fashion by these empowered women in Taiwan and replaced by Western clothing. Accordingly, the project of forming a Chinese identity and a submissive gender identity through the wearing of the *qipao* seems to have failed.

4.5 Summary

The project of constructing the nationalized body is, for some, a necessary process in nation building. The KMT government in Taiwan attempted to control and regulate the bodies of its citizens, especially those of women, to express its national ideals and thereby create nationalism. This form of nationalism was primarily a political principle and an important tool in accomplishing the KMT's political goal of anti-communism and being able to govern Taiwan successfully. Woman's bodies became the focal point of the mobilization of Taiwanese people to contribute to their country from 1945 to the 1970s, and the *qipao* played a significant role in this.

This chapter describes the nation-state building project with respect to women's bodies in Taiwan as an attempt to reinforce the notion that a woman lives her body as an object (Young, 2005: 71). As Iris Young (2005) states, the patriarchal society attempted to define women as objects and mere bodies. First of all, governments usually tend to present dress as a symbol of the nation (Roces and Edwards, 2008), and the *qipao* was used as national dress to Sinicize Taiwanese women in Taiwan. Moreover, some women were asked to reproduce the ethnic collective, signify national differences and become a focus for the construction of ethnic or national categories when they were asked to participate in ethnic and national processes (Anthias, Yuval-Davis, 1989: 7). Taiwanese women's bodies were considered to be signifiers of the nation, as they were encouraged to wear the *qipao* as the national dress in order to present a Chinese national identity. Additionally, linking the nature of the constraint of the *qipao* to Veblen's interpretation of the tight lacing of the female body as representing a husband's wealth (Veblen, 1994: 105-6) enables us to see the *qipao* working as a means to reinforce the passive and submissive ideals of the female gender identity. Alongside societal and cultural structure changes, these Taiwanese women have carried out strategic bodily practices by resisting the edicts pressed upon them in abandoning the *qipao*. It has been argued that the Chinese national identity and the submissive gender identity that the *qipao* had represented were

blurred by the changes to societal and cultural structures and by women's strategic bodily practices.

The societal and cultural structures in Taiwan changed significantly during the decades under study in this project. From the 1960s to the 1970s, there was first the gradual Westernization of lifestyles and cultural values. Second, a consumer society was forming for the first time. When the rigid structures of politics and culture were essentially replaced by Taiwanization, Westernization and economic liberalization (Hu, 2005: 25-6), the *qipao* as a dress code not only lost its power to differentiate social groups, but soon began to be threatened with alienation itself. Referring to the key concept of the theory of a situated bodily practice that is applied in this thesis, dress is a practical negotiation between individuals and the social, structured system of everyday life, and enables us to regard a person's choice of dress as a personal attempt to orientate him or herself to the social world (Entwistle, 2000: 37). In some cases, Taiwanese women chose Western-style dress as means of rejecting the discomfort of the *qipao*, even though Western-led fashion trends were to, intriguingly, themselves become a dominating system that now influences how women choose what to wear and look at their body shapes. This will be discussed in Chapters 5 and 6. In cases where the *qipao* has not been entirely eliminated as a clothing choice, some women have altered its traditional shape to remove its original constraints. These examples demonstrate how some Taiwanese women have deployed strategic bodily practices (rather than just situated bodily practices), because they not only use dress as a form of mediation with which to face the dominant ideology, but instead also try to alter the oppressive ideology of the dress which itself represents oppression. Through this strategic bodily practice, Taiwanese women seem to have evaded the attempt to instil a Chinese national identity and a submissive gender identity among Taiwanese women through the *qipao*.

Chapter 5 The Industrialized Body: Negotiating Discipline

In Chapter 4, there was an examination of the notion of the nationalized body, primarily in the form of a discussion on how the bodies of elite women in Taiwan were seen as signifiers of the nation. In this chapter, the focus is on the bodies of women from the lower social classes and how they were mobilized not to stand as symbols of the nation, but to enact particular economic practices of state (Anthias, Yuval-Davis, 1989: 7) between 1945 and the 1970s. For example, some women were mobilized to participate in military and economic initiatives, the most significant of which was the economic mobilization of the lower classes during the 1960s. These women were called upon to become disciplined, productive and submissive workers to comply with the KMT regime's national industrialization project. Their bodies have thus been defined as industrialized bodies. In this chapter, there is an examination of how these bodies were mobilized, and whether and how women have been able to negotiate with the dominant power of the state.

During the 1960s, work uniforms were key socializing objects in Taiwan's politico-economic order. Likewise, in Japan, uniforms played a part as powerful socializing components of a material culture. McVeigh analyzes how the state attempts to deploy its totalizing effects through uniforms, for example those worn to school. Through the wearing of uniforms, and in preparation for their future roles, students are gendered, nationalized and geared towards capitalist production (McVeigh, 2000: 15). In Taiwan's case, work uniforms were implemented and factories were established by the state to produce a gendered and nationalized workforce ready for capitalist production. Moreover, it was not only work uniforms, but also timetables and work spaces that served to regulate the bodies of female workers to make them docile and productive. Similar effects could be seen in China in the 1980s, not only in the uniforms themselves, but also in the working environment and regulations in workplaces that were used to develop a female workforce when China began to be integrated into global capitalism (Pun, 2002).

During the 1960s, Taiwan's economic policy was changed with a view to pursuing export expansion. In 1960, the government enacted regulations designed to encourage investment, and began to actively compete for foreign investment in Taiwan. In 1966, the government established the Kaohsiung Export Processing Zone⁸⁰ to expand the country's manufacturing production. Taiwan then became an integral part of the international system of labour and a source of a cheap workforce for more advanced economies. The number of female workers required to meet Taiwan's production needs rose, and, as a result, increasing numbers of women came under the influence of the policies put in place by the government. In this chapter, the ways in which the bodies of these women have been regulated and disciplined by factory work since the 1960s is discussed. Uniforms were introduced to make these workers more obedient and productive. Uniformed bodies proclaim a uniformed self, which signifies control not only of the social self, but also the inner self and its formation (Joseph, 1986: 65). Sections 5.2 and 5.3 highlight how uniforms construct a particular

⁸⁰ An export processing zone is also known as a free trade zone, which is an area in a country where some of the normal trade barriers, such as tariffs and quotas, are removed. In order to attract more foreign investment, a number of bureaucratic requirements are also lowered. An export processing zone can also be defined as a labour-intensive manufacturing centre, where raw materials are imported and factory products are exported. The export processing zone in Taiwan was established in 1966. (Ho, 1991)

disciplined habitus of female workers (Craik, 2005). In addition, consideration is given to how the governance of space, time and lifestyle in official dormitories (subsidized and grace and favour accommodation) helped make the regulations imposed by uniforms more powerful. Moreover, how the tactics of negotiation appeared, as these female bodies came under the control of others, is also demonstrated in Section 5.4.

How women's bodies and clothes are interrelated, and how women try to reclaim control over their bodies through styles of dress are the major concerns of this research. To these female workers, dress in their everyday life is a practical negotiation with the socially structured system that they inhabit. This system comprises the social conditions of daily life such as class, gender and the rules or norms governing particular social situations (Entwistle, 2000: 37). In the process, domination and negotiation swing like a pendulum between the idea of oppression on the one hand and defiance on the other. This, of course, oversimplifies the complexity of everyday life with respect to the politics of historical agents (Pun, 2002: 78). As a result of my fieldwork, it has become clear that Taiwanese female workers protect themselves and negotiate the regulation of their bodies by using situational opportunities, regardless of whether they are seen as docile or lived bodies.

5.1 Mobilization of women from the lower social classes

In the KMT's nationalization project, women from the upper and lower social classes were mobilized in different ways. As discussed in Chapter 4, most of the former became signifiers of national differences. The majority of women from the lower social classes, meanwhile, were enrolled by the KMT as participants in national economic, political and military initiatives (Anthias, Yuval-Davis, 1989: 7). For example, in the post-WWII period of the 1950s, they were mobilized to make clothes for the army and were expected to be industrious and thrifty. This is explored in Section 5.1. After 1960, however, these women were physically mobilized to become economically productive, as will be seen in 5.1.3.

5.1.1 Sewing clothes for the army

At one of the funding conferences of the ROC's National Women's Association on 17th April 1950, Song mei-ling (also known as Madam Chiang), the First Lady of the Republic of China, announced a variety of activities to be organized by the association aimed at rewarding the troops. At this time, the ROC troops were in combat with the communist army of the PRC, and so one way in which the women of Taiwan could benefit the nation was by sending care packages to those on the frontline. Housewives who were also members of the NWA and aged between 20 and 30 were the target audience. For example, they were asked to make cloth shoes and underwear, and they would also source medicine and other goods (Chiang, 1980: 758-789). As more women were mobilized to collect and make underwear for soldiers, two methods of collection evolved: some underwear was acquired through voluntary contributions, while the rest was made by housewives brought together by the NWA.

Most of the women who were mobilized to sew clothes for the army were from the lower social classes, and were brought together on weekends at the NWA's headquarters or at one of its branches in other cities. In addition, a number of female students from schools, universities and vocational establishments were assembled to sew expedition clothes during their winter and summer vacations. Increasing numbers of women were happy to make such clothing, especially those living in poor economic conditions; even though they were not paid financially, they benefitted in other ways, including from the social support provided to them. For example, in the summer months, many of these women claimed that it was pleasurable to sew clothes, as it offered them the chance to be inside a cool building and escape Taiwan's blazing summer heat (Hong, 1954: 12). Moreover, to encourage more women to get involved with this activity, children's care centres were set up⁸¹ as there was some concern that there might be women who wanted to contribute but were unable to do so because they were at home taking care of their children. The richer women usually had servants, and so were not in such desperate need of support in this respect. The children at the care centres were given milk and cookies twice a day, which was a bonus for their mothers, as these items were expensive at the time. In this way, the poorer women were able to benefit from the support provided by the NWA (Shen, 1956: 6-9).

Most of the women from the upper social classes were not mobilized to sew clothes for the army. In fact, most of them were not required to do any physical labour at all, and only appeared at the premises of the NWA to give interviews to the press. Madam Chiang, always a focal point for the media, dressed in an elegant *qipao* when she visited injured soldiers, makeshift orphanages or workshops where numerous women were busy sewing uniforms, thereby greatly exploiting her photogenic potential to promote nationalistic patriotism. There was an obvious contrast between the hardworking women in the workshops and their well-dressed visitors. As noted in Chapter 3, women were mobilized to participate in ethnic and national processes in five ways. Those in the workshops were asked to take part in national, economic, political and military struggles, while the well-dressed visitors were encouraged to participate in signifying ethnic or national differences (Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1989).

5.1.2 Industrious and thrifty

Women were encouraged to be industrious and thrifty during the 1950s and '60s. One particular article in the magazine *Chinese Women*⁸² suggested how women could save money on clothing, food, transportation and so on. They were also advised not to waste money on luxury clothes, and to only purchase simple and unadorned items (Pi, 1952: 2).

⁸¹ *Chinese Women*, 1951, 05.

⁸² *Chinese Women* is a magazine that was first published in July 1950 by the National Women's Association of the ROC. It was published to promote the propaganda of the government, in this case encouraging women in Taiwan to cooperate with the nation-state building project. The press was published and controlled by the KMT government. During the 1950s, the government attempted to prepare the country for war. At that time, this magazine gave itself the mission of regulating behaviour and implanting the ideas of anti-Communism and resisting Russia in the minds of women through discussions of daily matters.

In reality, it was only the women from the lower social classes who were mobilized, while their richer counterparts retained their luxurious lifestyles. Although the notion of frugality was promoted by the KMT, the pages of *Chinese Women* (published by the government) depicted fashionable, sumptuous clothes. The fact that some articles in the magazine encouraged women to be prudent while others promoted luxurious fashion trends suggests that there were some who were expected to be thrifty and some who were not (Liu, 2008).

As for clothing, on 12th June 1950, the Department of the Interior passed a law asking every civil servant to wear clothing made from simple fabrics; there were material and food shortages and poverty prevailed, meaning that public servants had to wear plain cloth shoes to demonstrate their modesty in these difficult times. In 1951, the government encouraged the publication of several commentaries advising women to adopt the 'Spirit of Mulan.'⁸³

In the "spirit of Mulan", everyone is encouraged to practice thrift. Young women should change out of their civilian clothes, wear military uniforms and join revolutionary camps. As such, we urge every woman living on this free island to change out of their *qipao* and high heels and cease wearing makeup. Put on your shirts, pants, and flat shoes and model a life of frugality. This is where our drive to promote frugality begins. (The United Daily News⁸⁴, 1951)

As official propaganda pushed the idea that the primary role of women was as key participants to the nation-building project, the regime shifted much of the burden of responsibility for shortcomings in consumption from the state onto the working population and women in particular. Propaganda exhorted women not to wear the *qipao* and high heels in the interests of frugality. It also encouraged them to serve the nation by sewing uniforms for the military. In contrast to this, however, Song mei-ling always visited injured soldiers, orphanages and workshops in her elegant *qipao* in order to foster a patriotic spirit. This nurturing mother's attire was clearly distinct from that of her adoring public.

5.1.3 Economic mobilization: increasing production

There was another important form of mobilization of women during the period between 1945 and the 1970s, namely economic mobilization. The need for large amounts of cheap labour in Taiwan increased during war time, and it was predominantly women who filled the gaps. Women now had to be responsible not only for their families, but also for the work that had been left behind by the men who had gone to war (Chen, 1991: 209-10). During the 1960s, official women's organizations encouraged an increase in the country's production, promoting *Jia Ting Dai Gong* (which literally means domestic sideline enterprises) as a way for women to help to increase productivity. This propaganda encouraged women to use their 'spare time' (meaning time that was not spent being

⁸³ The "Spirit of Mulan" refers to the following folklore, which is well known in Taiwan: when the Huns invaded China, the Chinese emperor ordered a general mobilization of the armed forces, and each family was given a conscription notice. In the case of the Hua family, the father was forcibly enlisted as he had no son. As the father was old and disabled, his daughter, Hua Mulan, secretly posed as a man and joined the army in his place.

⁸⁴ The United Daily News was founded in 1951. It is one of the three biggest newspapers in Taiwan.

a wife and mother) to make money at home, for instance, by earning money through the sale of homemade handicrafts. Women's associations, fellowships and affairs' associations occasionally held training courses to develop women's productive skills. The content of these courses included sewing, knitting, cooking and making artificial flowers, which were activities with a dual benefit: on the one hand, women could earn a little money in their spare time, while on the other, such practices could bolster the national economy and thus contribute financially to the war effort.

In addition to household sideline projects, manufacturing was another way that women could contribute to the nation by increasing its productivity. During the 1960s, the Western industrial countries experienced rapid economic growth following the Second World War. Confronting the pressure of increasing wages and issues of environmental protection, these nations transferred labour-intensive and highly polluting industries to countries in the third world. At the same time, Taiwan designated export processing zones as special economic districts. The establishment of the Kaohsiung Export Processing Zone in 1966 signalled the arrival of labour-intensive industries. The 1970s and '80s were a golden period of production. From 1966 to 1973, the average annual industrial growth rate reached 17 per cent (Huang, 1999), and the number of labour-intensive industrial plants increased just as rapidly. This growth corresponded with an increase in the numbers of female workers in the manufacturing industry; between 1966 and 1973, the average growth rate in female employment in this sector reached 7.5 per cent (Liu, 1984). By 1970, the number of female employees in the manufacturing industry was more than twice the amount in 1960, growing from 207,000 to 574,000. This number reached almost 900,000 in the 1980s.

The 1950s saw a tidal wave of female rural-urban migration in that young rural women began to work in the country's factories. Their jobs were mostly secondary, non-technical and low-paid. For the rural poor at that time, salaries were just enough to cover costs at home and subsidize the young male members of the family to enter higher levels of education. In the context of the war time economy, women solved the serious problem of a lack of male workers and assisted in the rapid accumulation of government and commercial capital (Liu, 1989: 339-40). As the number of female workers in Taiwan increased quickly after 1960, it became important to regulate and control this new element of the workforce. Section 5.2 will discuss further how female workers were disciplined through the use of uniforms and the regulation of space and time during the 1960s and '70s.

5.1.4 The story of a female worker – Kima

Kima was born in Kaohsiung, in the southern part of Taiwan, in 1944. She is a *benshengren*. There are seven children in her family, and Kima is the oldest daughter. She started work in a factory in Kaohsiung when she was 14, which is below the permitted working age in Taiwan. Her parents thus had to borrow an identification card from a neighbour to enable Kima to work in the factory. She has worked in five different factories, most of which were located in the Kaohsiung Export Processing Zone.

When Kima was 20, her parents started to help her to find a husband, and asked a *mei po*, a female matchmaker, to assist in the search for a suitable candidate. The first man Kima was fixed up with, Liao, became her husband. Liao owns a grocery store. Kima's parents had told her that Liao

owned this store and that he also had his own house. This latter fact was important, because it meant that Kima would not have to work too hard to help her husband buy a place to live. At that time, buying a house was necessary for a family, but affording one was difficult. Accordingly, Kima's parents were happy to find her a man who already had his own home.

Although Liao had his own grocery store and house, Kima insisted on working in the factory, even after she got married. This is because she felt more secure making her own money, as she had worked from the age of 14. Moreover, as Kima's mother-in-law lives with her (because Liao is the oldest son), she preferred to keep working (despite being married with children) as she did not like dealing with her for 24 hours a day at home. Kima has three children, and her mother-in-law has always helped her to take care of them. At the last factory where Kima was employed, she first started as a labourer. She then became a supervisor on the assembly line, before finally becoming a secretary in the office. This was at a factory/company where she had worked for over 10 years. She retired to be a full-time housewife in 2006. Now, she is also responsible for taking care of her mother-in-law⁸⁵.

5.2 Uniforms and industrialized bodies

Section 5.2.1 explores how the characteristics of uniforms were an attempt to transform female workers in Taiwan into industrialized bodies. Moreover, the possibility that the formation of industrialized bodies could not have been completed without the regulation of space and time in factories and dormitories is considered. Therefore, in Section 5.2.2, the attention is turned to the temporal and spatial dimensions of these places in order to examine how they reinforced and completed the formation of industrialized bodies.

How uniforms, working environments and working situations act as training technologies has a long history when it comes to creating workers. In a recent study, Pun Ngai (2002) examines the development of female factory workers at the time when China was integrating into the global economy and becoming an industrial powerhouse. Even though this development happened in China as recently as the 1980s, some 20 years later than in Taiwan, their cases are remarkably similar. Pun highlights how the techniques of disciplinary power over the body are deployed in the workplace to produce a docile, disciplined, yet productive female working body (Pun, 2002: 20). How the uniform continued to work as a tool to create a hierarchy in the workplace in China during the 1990s is similar to how this happened in Taiwan, as is how the assembly line and timetables produced a docile working body through regulation.

5.2.1 How uniforms disciplined bodies

Labourers' uniforms were used to regulate the bodies of female workers in Taiwan during the 1960s, compelling them to work obediently and produce for both the factory and their country (nation-state).

⁸⁵ See Appendix Two, Kima.

In these ways, the bodies can be seen as industrialized bodies. Uniforms, which were introduced to make these workers more obedient and productive, ultimately shaped the identities of those who wore them, rendering their very bodies a part of the industry, as well as becoming a leitmotif of their clothes-self, that is, the different 'self' that everyone presents through their choice of clothes (Craik, 2005: 4). Moreover, as Joseph explains, uniformed bodies constantly proclaim a uniformed self, which is a self-presentation with a uniform on the body. This signifies control, not only of the social-self but also of the inner-self and its formation (Joseph, 1986: 65). When people wear a uniform, they are in effect embodying a rule. The wearing of uniforms constitutes a central bodily technique for the actualization of a persona and habitus. A persona is a social role or character played by an actor, while the habitus is a set of socially learned dispositions, skills and ways of acting that are often taken for granted and are acquired through the activities and experiences of everyday life. The wearers of uniforms learn to behave as corporate automata, following rules with perfect precision. Uniforms construct a particular habitus and negotiate identity and the self because they are an extension of the "social body" (in contrast to the "personal body") and its constructed "techniques"⁸⁶ (Craik, 2005: 7-14).

There are four features of the uniform categorized by Joseph: the uniform as revealing and concealing status position; the uniform as a group emblem; the uniform that suppresses individuality; and the uniform as a certificate of legitimacy (Joseph, 1986: 66-68). The following sections will discuss these four characteristics in order to explain how uniforms transformed the bodies of female workers into industrialized bodies in 1960s' Taiwan.

The uniform makes the wearer's position and status more visible than other types of dress. It is read as an indicator of status or membership in an organization. Moreover, it helps to reveal the hierarchical status of the factory in Taiwan and the wearers' places within it:

I've worked in this company for over 10 years. First I started to work on the assembly-line in the factory, and then I became a supervisor in the factory. After this, I became the secretary for a manager. These three jobs required three different kinds of uniform: I wore a green uniform when I worked on the assembly line; I was in a white uniform when I worked as a supervisor; finally, I wore the *qipao* when I worked as a secretary in the office. When I worked as a supervisor, I needed to monitor the workers on the assembly line. It was easier for me to recognize them from the other workers (who were not managed by me) if they wore different uniforms. (Kima, 68-year-old female, ex-secretary and factory worker)

In Kima's narratives, different uniforms denote hierarchal positions in the factory. Uniforms in green were worn by those working in the factory itself, while white uniforms were worn by their supervisors and the *qipao* by secretaries in the office. Kima explains that when she was employed as a supervisor, and needed to monitor other workers, uniforms of different colours were the key method she used to recognize people. Uniforms can be seen to work as a device for denoting

⁸⁶ In Craik's explanation, uniforms are an example of social body techniques, and body techniques are a product of cultural specificity and historical variability. There are no natural human body techniques. Techniques are learned and then become internalized (Craik, 2005: 7).

different statuses or hierarchies in factories, as they identify the workers to be regulated and monitored. Similar to Pun's ethnography, the colour of the uniforms differentiates managers, office clerks and factory labourers (Pun, 2002: 145).

A uniform specifies a group. Its inherent association therewith makes it assume the properties of a totemic symbol of the group. In Japan, for example, student uniforms allow others to know at a glance to which unit the students belong (McVeigh, 2000: 83). Furthermore, a uniform in some sense becomes the group; it becomes the focus of thought and affect. My interviews with female workers show that many companies in Taiwan tried to use uniforms as a group emblem or symbol:

The chief of the company always said that our company was a big family. There were over 600 members of staff working for the company. If we all dressed in our own clothes, then we wouldn't feel like we worked in the same group. The chief hoped that if we felt like we were part of a group, we would feel more loyal to the group and might want to work harder to contribute to the group. Also, the president of the company needed to be able to recognize the staff working in this group. That's why we had to dress in this ugly uniform. Even when we started to work in the office, we still had to wear the same uniform as the factory workers. (Co, 64-year-old female shop owner, ex-factory worker)

Co was employed as a female worker when she was young in the 1970s. At first, she worked in the factory. Then, after a couple of years, she was promoted and started to work in the office as a secretary. She explains how the head of the company thought that requiring employees to wear the same uniform would make everyone feel like they belonged to the same group, and he hoped that every member of staff would want to devote him or herself to the company. This was typical of attitudes whereby companies aimed to persuade their staff to see themselves as members of a team by forcing female employees to wear uniforms, hoping that this would make these women feel more loyal to the company and more willing to work hard.

The conformity imposed by a uniform confers its symbolization. The uniform suppresses individual idiosyncrasies of appearance, habits and behaviour. As a result, many female workers in Taiwan found their work uniforms restrictive:

I didn't like wearing my uniform. It made me look like a man, because the male workers also wore it. What's more, the women had to wear headscarves, which made us look like old ladies. I didn't like that, either. (Roy, 69-year-old female, ex-factory worker)

Roy was employed as a factory worker from the age of 18. She explained that when she was that age, she wanted beautiful clothes to attract men. However, she had to work in the factory, where the uniform was compulsory. She was certainly not allowed to wear the clothes she liked. For her, the blue uniform and headscarves were restrictive; these outfits repressed her desires to dress in a way that made her look more attractive. One supervisor I spoke to, Lay (below), told me that he thought it was useful to suppress workers' individual appearance idiosyncrasies and regulate their habits and behaviour through the use of uniforms:

I think it was useful to ask workers to wear uniforms to suppress their individuality and to make them become more obedient to the rules in the factories. The principle of the idea [asking workers to wear uniforms] is similar to asking students to wear uniforms in schools. It's like students just become conformable when they put on their uniforms. After wearing uniforms, they just automatically are aware of their united identity as a student, and they automatically know they have to obey the rules at school. (Lay, 70-year-old male, ex-supervisor in a factory)

Lay worked as a supervisor in a factory in Taiwan between the 1960s and 1980s. He is confident that he was a good leader. In his view, uniforms are able to suppress workers' individuality in important ways and make them more conformable and more likely to obey the rules. Student uniforms in Japan denote a similar notion, the suppression of individuality. Indeed, some Japanese students argue that a uniform dress code takes away their freedom and denies them the opportunity to express their personality. (McVeigh, 2000: 84)

The uniform is a symbolic declaration that an individual has mastered the relevant group skills and will conform to group norms and standardized roles. A group certifies an individual as its representative and assumes responsibility for the member's activities by permitting him to wear the uniform. In Taiwanese factories, uniforms have long been used as a means of group identification:

There was only one entry gate in the factory where I worked. There was a security guard standing in front of the gate to make sure no strangers walked into the factory. That's why we had to wear uniforms, so the security guard was able to identify whether we worked for the factory or not. (Lee Chuchu, 67-year-old female, ex- factory worker)

Lee Chuchu's explanation is typical of those I heard from women who worked in factories between the 1960s and '80s in Taiwan. All of them commented on the strict security of the factories, with guards at every entrance. The uniform thus served as the permit needed to enter the premises, and also declared the standardized role of these women as employees in the factory.

5.2.2 Daily background

Aside from the regulation of uniforms, the control of space and time in the factories or dormitories as a daily background to women's lives also exerted control over their bodies during the economic mobilization set in train by the KMT regime. The governance of space, time and even the lifestyle in dormitories helped make the regulation imposed by uniforms more powerful. How discipline was created by space, time and general life in dormitories will be explained in the sections that follow. Moreover, there will be consideration of how this discipline, working as a daily practice alongside uniforms, served to form and regulate the industrialized bodies of female employees.

1. Space as discipline in the formation of industrialized bodies

This section explores how space was used to control female workers, and the assembly line and surveillance practices are the two main aspects of this. In Taiwan, factories became spaces in which

the bodies of female workers were disciplined to produce a unified identity and collective workforce. The layout of factories was designed to allow panoptic surveillance, and under this constant inspection, the bodies of female employees were framed as docile and productive. This reflects Foucault's view of space as a technique of power regulation. Space is not a neutral place unrelated to the operation and accumulation of power and knowledge; rather, it is a process and the result of external power representation (Huang, 2000: 233).

In Pun's analysis, the first technique of the disciplinary machine was to place workers' bodies in the production line. Here, bodies worked like cogs in a machine, pinned down to a specific position, and were regarded as functional and productive (Pun, 2002: 81). An assembly line regulates individuals in coordinated action. The movement of the assembly line is thus the movement of power. Like a chain, it is not only positioned on an individualized body, but is also linked to other individuals to form a collective social body devoted to the singular aim of maximizing production. The assembly line ensures effective production through collective labour: "It is ritual, rhythmic, totalizing, and it is the art of disciplining" (ibid, 86). Female workers were positioned on the assembly line as docile components. Many of my informants revealed their feelings of awkwardness at being placed in production lines and their fears of being seen as idle and letting their colleagues down.

The workers all sat next to each other along the assembly line. When I first started to work there I was very nervous, because the products kept coming non-stop. I had to concentrate and be very careful. If something went wrong on my section, it would jeopardize the sections of the others. (Huang, 62-year-old female, ex-factory worker)

I always felt guilty if I had to go to the toilet when I was on the assembly line. The process of production was delayed if any one of us ever had to go to the toilet. (Kima, 68-year-old female, ex-secretary and factory worker)

Moreover, the pressure to be obedient forced female workers to sacrifice their right to relax their bodies during work. Some even had to worry about working while they were pregnant:

If you were pregnant, you were asked to do your work in a more relaxed way. But, most people still worked hard. Usually we were allowed 56 days for maternity leave, but almost every expectant mother worked until the day she gave birth. We didn't want to affect production. One absence in the assembly line could cause a shortage of production. (Nan, 64-year-old female, ex-factory worker)

During the heyday of the export-processing zone, we often worked overtime, and of course we had to work on weekends during that period. Although we all wanted to have the day off, we still went to work. One absence would affect the whole production of the assembly line. (Kao Meiling, 65-year-old female, ex-factory worker)

Nan was one woman who worked on the assembly line when she was young. She grew up in a poor family. Her father was sick and her mother did not make much money, but still had to raise five children. Nan had to start to work when she was 15 to support her younger siblings so they could go

to school. When she was pregnant, she worked until just before the day she gave birth so as to not affect the production of the factory. In Kao Meiling's case, she also worked as a team member on the assembly line when she was 20. She explained that although she would have liked to have had days off at the weekends, she usually went to work then if the factory asked her to, again so as to not affect production. It is clear that individual bodies were required to accommodate the production line, rather than the production line having to accommodate the individual bodies (Pun, 2002: 90). The bodies of the female employees were rendered docile through work on the assembly lines. Women reduced their personal demands to the lowest level possible during the working process to ensure that the assembly line operated smoothly and successfully. Manufacturing used the restrictive nature of the assembly line by partitioning individuals in a manner that reduced sociality. Moreover, it was hoped that this would neutralize any particular group dynamics brought into the workplace. The isolation of employees allowed employers to better control their labour force (Shilling, 2004: 80), a task that was made more manageable through the regulation of space afforded by surveillance.

Surveillance facilitates the individualizing fragmentation of the power of labour (Foucault, 1979: 145). To explain the coercive use of surveillance in manufacturing, Foucault utilized the example of the spatial arrangement of the Oberkampf printing factory in France and its relation to the regulation of labourers. "There were 132 tables on the ground floor, arranged in two rows, and at the end of each table stood a rack on which printed material was left to dry. This arrangement of bodies and machinery allowed supervisors to walk up and down the central aisle. In this way, the supervisors could observe the individual's application and quality of work, and also reduce unproductive communication between workers. Furthermore, this arrangement of space allowed bodies to be ranked and compared according to their skill and speed. Workers could be re-distributed within the productive process in order to maximize production" (ibid, 143-4). Thus, it can be seen that this organization of space in manufacturing allows for surveillance by supervisors. Under strict observation, most workers become more aware of their performance. Accordingly, the reorganization of space facilitates the disciplining of workers' bodies. One of my informants, Lin, worked in a factory for over 20 years. When she was young, she needed to make money to support a younger sibling in school. Then, when she got married, she still needed to earn money to support her brother-in-law's schooling. She mentioned that all of the workers were aware of being monitored, and they understood that their performance would be scored:

There was a merit system in the factory. It relates to someone's willingness to work overtime, their competence, and quality control. Workers were scored every month. We also had an annual evaluation. You knew what score you had based on how much bonus you got. The score was A to F. If you were evaluated as A, you received more of a bonus. F was the worst score, and so if you got an F, you would get less of a bonus. The supervisor did the evaluations. One of his duties was surveillance. Supervisors monitored us all the time. (Lin Chia, 60-year-old female, ex-factory worker)

All the supervisors or chiefs were strict. They usually walked around to monitor us. We could only have a little chat when the supervisors were not watching us. (Kao Meiling, 65-year-old female, ex-factory worker)

Lin Chia and Kao Meiling's experiences of being monitored are similar to those of many of the other female employees I interviewed. Almost all of them mentioned that they were under surveillance while working in a factory. Most of them disliked this, but were aware that they were being rated. They therefore knew that they could not be negligent. The bodies of these female workers were not only adjusted to the discipline of the assembly line, but were also under near-constant surveillance. These bodies thus came to conform to the pace of operations. The constant surveillance facilitated the individualizing fragmentation of the power of labour, which is characteristic of the factory (Foucault, 1979: 145). The power of surveillance was penetrating, and these workers became objects to be gazed at.

2. Time as a discipline in the formation of industrialized bodies

In this section, how time was used to control female workers is examined. Time was not only utilized to discipline workers, but to also quantify their production, thereby commodifying labour.⁸⁷ The basic structure of the working week allowed individuals to sell their embodied labour as capital, with factory owners extracting surplus value therefrom in a standard capitalist system (Marx, 1954). As a result, the regulation of time for female workers in the factories became stricter. With such a rigid timetable, bodily mechanization (i.e. workers disciplining their bodies to be controlled) was inevitable. Physical bodies were thus turned into machine parts with a clear commercial value (Huang, 2000: 209).

In Pun's study, the timetable is the key to disciplining female employees in the workplace (Pun, 2002: 96). Indeed, the timetable is a basic technique used to program workers' factory lives and build up a work habit. As women worked within the confines of a timetable from one day to the next, this regulation of the body and mind produced ideal female employees. Because of their large numbers, the calculation of working hours became an important development in determining wages. Labour timetables were thus commercialized and became a tradable commodity in the market (Huang, 2000: 199). Placing a body in a disciplinary space and then measuring and analyzing it are the most basic ways to exert disciplinary power over bodies. However, this is not enough to produce a perfectly disciplined and productive body; the management of time is also crucial (Thompson, 1967: 56-97). In the cases discussed here, the timetable was used to instil a strict temporal structure in the minds of the female workers.

For most of the female employees I interviewed, the regular working day lasted for eight hours, with a lunch break of 50 minutes to an hour. This break divided the working day into two sections, with an additional 10 to 15 minute break during each of these. The women were not allowed to take other breaks during working hours without good reason. Although going to the toilet was allowed, workers rarely exercised this right. Most of those I spoke to stated that when they first started to work, they found it exhausting. Nevertheless, they all got used to the timetable after a while. Moreover, there seems to have been a common belief in the 'survival of the fittest':

When I first started to work as a factory worker I used to feel so tired and thought that break time was too short. I always felt that I had not had enough rest, but still had to head

⁸⁷ Labour can be calculated by time and can thus be sold.

back to the assembly line. It took time to get used to this. After a period, I did get used to it. It's survival of the fittest. If you don't get used to it, the only thing is to be kicked out. (Hsu Han, 66-year-old female, ex-factory worker)

Like Kima (see Footnote 85), Hsu Han also comes from a poor family. Her parents raised eight children, and she is the second oldest daughter. She started to work in a factory to support her family when she was 16. To keep her job, she had to make adjustments (mostly to her physical reactions of feeling tired after a long day at work) to fit in. She explained that the regular timetable meant that she gradually got used to the conditions at work. Indeed, this timetable actually made work highly routinized among the female employees. This "technology of the self" (Foucault, 1988) obliged workers to adhere to the strict timetable of the factory. They trained themselves to get used to the difficult circumstances of working, and believed in the survival of the fittest. Moreover, as the calculation of wages came to be based on the calculation of working hours, the notion that 'time is money' was also adopted, as we will see in the following section.

Almost every female factory worker I interviewed was born into a poor family. These women were thus all responsible for making money to support their families:

I lived with my in-laws after giving birth. I was planning to stay at home to take care of my children, but my mother-in-law suggested that I should go out to work. She thought it was a waste for two women to take care of the children. Also, the cost of raising children had been gradually increasing almost every year. So I started to work as a factory worker. Most Taiwanese women devoted themselves to the family. (Lee Chuchu, 67-year-old female, ex-factory worker)

I started to work in the export-processing zone when I graduated from junior high school. I was supposed to go to senior high school after graduation, but my dad wouldn't let me. He would only allow me to be a student if I got into the College of Education, because after graduation from there, you would immediately get a job as a teacher. That's why I had to work after graduating from junior high school. I was under 16 at that time. If you were under 16, you weren't allowed to work in the export-processing zone. I had to borrow an ID card from one of my neighbours to work there. There were actually many young girls under 16 working in the export-processing zone because of poverty. (Jonnie, 68-year-old female, ex-factory worker)

Just like Kima (see Footnote 85), these young girls were usually asked to make money for their families. During the heyday of the export-processing zone, female employees were asked to work overtime to maximize production. These women all adopted an obedient work ethic over time, because most of them wanted to make more money to support their poor families. The notion that time is money was internalized and thus became a force that disciplined the bodies of these women:

The director always told us how many products we should complete over a certain period. We all worked very hard to make it, and usually we worked overtime for it. Some workers even complained when they were unable to work overtime, because they wanted to

make extra money. Sometimes workers complained about the additional shifts and extra working hours, but when they were told to take on extra shifts, they still agreed. We all wanted to make more money. Sometimes we worked so hard we even skipped dinner just to complete the work. (Lin Chia, 60-year-old female, ex-factory worker)

When I was young, I was so busy with my work and making money. I worked almost every day at that time. Basically, the factory was my home. During weekdays, I always worked for an extra four hours after my regular shift. I worked on weekends as well. All I can remember from my youth is that I worked and worked all day to make more money. (Liang, 64-year-old female, ex-factory worker)

Lin Chia was employed as a factory worker for over 20 years. As noted above, she first needed to make money to support her siblings, but after getting married still needed to earn money to support her brothers-in-law. She believes that time is money, which is why she sacrificed the chance to rest in order to grasp every opportunity to work extra shifts. Liang also believes in the notion that time is money. She even mocks how she spent her youth working. It is obvious from the accounts above that the notion that time is money created a new pattern of living in these young women's lives. The construction of this capitalist mode of thought reflects Thompson's idea that the relation between human life and time has become one of aggression and conquest (Thompson, 1967: 90). Hence, for these women, life itself became an alien flow of fragmentary time; the working day was disguised minute by minute. By adopting the notion that time is money, workers incessantly squeezed their efforts from the limited timeline in order to do more work during the time available (Haraszti, 1978: 57).

3. Discipline of time and space in dormitories: entry protocol

In addition to controlling space and time during the working day, factory bosses and national governments (KMT) were also keen to control labourers' bodies outside the workplace, so as to ensure a stable and lasting workforce.

After the establishment of Taiwan's export processing zone in the 1960s, the government became concerned not only with how factories regulated their female employees during working hours, but also with how these workers could be made more productive through regulation beyond the workplace. The accommodation and shuttle buses provided for female workers became issues to which the KMT government paid special attention (Chen, 1968: 20-21). Song Mei-ling even became the honorary president of the "Organization of the Establishment of Female Dormitories." This body was set up to do as its name suggests in an attempt to stabilize the provision of female labour (Chen, 2008: 49-86). So, in order to avoid a drop in the size of the female workforce due to workers leaving their employment in the factories (there were, for example, some cases of women who went home after work and never returned), the KMT regime broke with the logic of capitalism, which holds that workers are allowed to use their private time as they see fit, and instead attempted to impose a near-total regulation of space and time on female employees.

The establishment of dormitories for female workers became the main way for factory owners and the state to control these employees after work. Indeed, most of the factory dormitories

in Taiwan were set up to provide accommodation exclusively for women. The protocol for the dormitories was usually strict. For instance, the women staying there were generally required to return to their accommodation before 9 or 10pm. Furthermore, men were prohibited from visiting at all times. According to Wan, a 68-year-old former factory worker, the dormitory where she stayed had a strict entry protocol:

The dormitory I used to live in when I worked in the factory had a very strict guard. Not only did I have to be in the dormitory before 9pm - the matron would make a roll call every evening then - but also there were no men allowed in the dormitory. Even my father was prohibited from entering. I remember that there was one time when he wanted to give me some medicine because I felt sick, and he had to wait for me at the front gate, so I went there and collected it. (Wan, 68-year-old female, ex-factory worker)

Wan had worked from the age of 17, as she had to make money to support her family. Her home was far away from her place of work, and so the head of the factory encouraged her to stay in the dormitory to save time and money. According to Wan, the entry protocol was strict in her accommodation, which exemplifies the tight regulation of time and space associated with these dormitories and also illustrates the diverse ways in which the state apparatus attempted to control the bodies of female employees and the labour force more generally. Accordingly, the regulation of space and time during work, and their further manipulation in the context of the dormitory, can be seen to work together in the formation of uniformed industrialized bodies.

5.3 Three faces of the industrialized body in female workers

This section contains an analysis of the way in which the regulation of the uniform, which was intended to fashion female employees in Taiwan into a disciplined, productive and submissive workforce, gave rise to three faces of the industrialized body: the dishonoured working body, the desexualized working body and the disciplined female working body.

There were two main periods of industrialization in Taiwan after the Second World War. The first coincided with the development of the export processing zone in the 1960s, and the second with the growth of heavy industry in the 1970s. Both of these phases of industrialization were supported by the KMT government, as they were seen as contributing to the 'modernization' of Taiwanese society. Accordingly, female employees were mobilized in the 1960s and male workers in the 1970s.

Heavy industry was widely promoted by the KMT in the 1970s. The China Steel Corporation⁸⁸ was one of the key companies invested in by the government to develop heavy industry in Taiwan. During this period, most of the male employees at China Steel had to wear uniforms to work in the factory. According to one of my informants, Chen, who had interviewed many male labourers who worked at the company in the 1970s, these men were actually proud of their uniforms. They even liked to wear them in public

88 The China Steel Corporation is the largest integrated steel maker in Taiwan. It was founded in the 1960s and officially established in 1971. It was transformed into a state-owned company in 1977. The government of Taiwan still owns a large portion of its stocks, and so the chairman of the company is appointed by the government.

settings, such as department stores, because the uniforms demonstrated that they worked for an important company and were therefore part of Taiwan's modernizing vanguard.

In contrast, the uniforms worn by female Taiwanese workers at this time were not so highly thought of. As these two periods of industrialization were considered to be playing a part in modernizing Taiwanese society, both the female and male employees could have viewed themselves as pioneers or patriots. Why then did the women come to feel so differently about their main mode of identification? This question will be answered in the section below.

5.3.1 The dishonoured working body — a disciplined body

The state apparatus and industrial capitalists in Taiwan sought to dishonour the bodies of female workers in order to identify them as an inferior social class that needed to be ruled, educated and disciplined to create a better society.

Uniforms have a long history that runs in parallel with the development of social forms of distinction and distinctiveness. Rules about uniforms stem from more general rules about modes of dress (Craik, 2005: 14) that have long been used to differentiate between different groups in society all across the world. For instance, sumptuary laws existed in European society which regulated who could wear what under which circumstances (ibid, 14). While no such laws existed in Taiwan, political and economic factors did affect how people chose what to wear and how to dress. The uniforms worn by female workers have distinguished them from other women in Taiwan since the 1960s, resulting in the same preservation of social hierarchies as in societies with sumptuary laws. Uniforms thus became entrenched as a sartorial system of demarcation along lines of social roles and status.

In my fieldwork, I observed that most female employees had to work in factories because they were born into poor households. Their families were not able to support them through school, and so most of them had had the benefit of only a low level of education. They were therefore usually judged as being somewhat uncultured. In one article, a writer complained that even though female employees laboured in modernized factories, they still spat on the ground, which is a most uncivilized form of behaviour. So, while industrialization brought changes to society, habits that were often viewed as unrefined persisted among female factory workers (Tong, 1969). These women were thus discriminated against according to their specific identities as employees (Chen, 2010: 251). It was not only newspapers that indulged in this practice; television programmes produced in the 1980s also discussed how female workers had caused social problems ever since the 1960s. In one show, these women were criticized for their lack of sexual knowledge, which was said to be the reason why most of them had had children out of wedlock. The report viewed female workers as girls who had not been well educated (ibid. 234). By wearing uniforms, these women were readily identified. Accordingly, wearing work uniforms in public became something to be loathed:

Our uniforms were blue shirts and awful grey jackets. People could not fail to identify us as workers while we were wearing this awful outfit. Most of us felt ashamed wearing the uniform. If people recognized our identities as women workers, they would think

straightaway that we must have been born into poor families and have not been educated well. If we wanted to go shopping after work, we definitely took off our uniforms so that no one would recognize us as workers. (Kima, 68-year-old female, ex-secretary and factory worker)

I didn't like my uniform when I worked as a factory worker. It was too ugly and looked like pyjamas. I also didn't want people to recognize that I was a woman worker. Because I bet most people would think that I'm not educated very well because I'm a woman worker. Many of us wore our civilian clothes under our uniforms. When we went out for lunch, we would take off our uniforms and go to the canteen in our civilian clothes. Also, when I went home after work, which was only a five or 10 minute bike ride, I still insisted on taking off my uniform. (Tong Li, 64-year-old female, ex-factory worker)

Kima (see Footnote 85) and Tong Li had worked since the 1960s. In their comments, we can see that they believe that their uniforms were synonymous with a low social status and limited education. For this reason, they came to be seen as dishonourable. Uniforms thus provided a system that differentiated working women from those belonging to the upper classes, and in this way they served to reinforce existing social hierarchies. Female workers' uniformed bodies were therefore seen as belonging to those with a lower social status and a lack of education. These bodies were therefore represented as forms that needed to be disciplined.

5.3.2 The desexualized working body – a productive body

The uniforms worn by female employees not only suggested that their bodies needed to be disciplined, but also facilitated this by physical and psychological means. The uniforms of female workers in 1960s' Taiwan were intended to transform the bodies that wore them into something more productive. When visiting factories and investigating how uniforms interrelate with female employees' bodies, it is clear that these bodies have come to be governed by and incorporated into the disciplinary power inherent in the production system. For example, the uniforms of the female workers were usually quite loose to enable them to work without any physical restrictions:

Although I think our uniform for the factory was really ugly, it was quite loose and so when you wore it you could easily perform any movement you liked. The top was a white shirt, and the bottom was blue trousers. They were tailor-made according to your figure. (May, 62-year-old female, ex-factory worker)

The uniform I had to wear was a blue shirt. It was loose. Although I think it made me look like I lacked energy, it made me feel relaxed at the same time. We had to move our hands frequently during work, so it was better for us to wear loose shirts as uniforms. We were asked to wear trousers, mostly because trousers don't cause any inconvenience when you move.

(Nan, 64-year-old female, ex-factory worker)

According to May and Nan, even though they did not like their loose and ugly uniforms, they appreciated the fact that they let them move and work without any physical restrictions. Peter Corrigan, in his book *The Dressed Society* (2008), notes how work uniforms are designed to be loose to enable easier and better production. He explains how the design of a workers' uniform is crucial to their construction and how the idea of being both comfortable and mobile became the foundational philosophy behind them. Uniforms must also fit in with contemporary economic conditions and satisfy the demands for hygiene. On this subject, Corrigan cites Soviet historian Tatyana Strizhenova (1989), who also sees significance in the fact that work uniforms are loose so as to encourage production:

Great significance was attached to the creation of new forms of clothes for the workers. In 1918...the Workshop of Contemporary Dress was set up. Its aims were formulated by Lamanova [a famous designer] herself at the first *All-Russian Conference of Art and Industry* in 1919. 'Art must penetrate all forms of daily life, stimulating the artistic taste and sensitivity of the masses. Artists in the field of dress, using basic materials, must create simple but at the same time beautiful clothes that are suited to the new demands of working life.' (Strizhenova, 1989: 9)

It is also significant that a worker's uniform is body-centred. In this respect, I agree with Alexandra Exter's (1989) claim that workers' clothing must be adapted to suit them and their work. The clothing of a worker who engages in physical labour derives its design from the exigencies of work and the movements of the body. It must also be structured in harmony with the proportions of the human body (Exter, 1989: 171). It can be seen, therefore, that the clothing of Taiwanese female workers was designed to fit bodies immersed in physical work and movement.

A significant point to make here is that this type of clothing, which allowed workers to move without constraints, usually made its wearers look androgynous. These heterogeneous social subjects were constructed as a unified social body in the workplace, leading to their ultimate desexualization. This process was intended first and foremost to construct a coherent and unified identity for women, which, it was hoped, would cause them to become as productive as their male counterparts. Generally speaking, when women enter masculine occupations, such as blue-collar jobs, they are pressured to perform 'asexual femininity', showing no signs of womanhood in their dress and demeanour (Garber, 1992: 43). As Craik notes, female factory workers are usually portrayed in television programmes and newspapers as having social problems, such as being unstable, ambivalent or weak. Hence, uniforms as costumes serve to give credibility to strong notions of masculinity, but less credence to ideas of femininity (Craik, 2005: 91). The uniforms associated with blue-collar jobs suppress individuality, constructing an occupational persona that eliminates feminine attributes:

There were 600 employees in the company at that time. Apart from the managerial staff, all of the employees wore the same uniform, no matter what sex you were. Basically, if you didn't look carefully, sometimes you wouldn't recognize the sex of the employee wearing the uniform. It was easier to manage the workforce if everyone wore the same uniform. You could treat them all the same no matter what gender. Some managers from

other companies complained that you have to take more care of female workers because of their emotions. But this happened less in my company. All employees wore the same uniform, and so they were unisex. I could treat them all the same way. Plus, if you asked women workers to wear the same uniform as the male workers, they wouldn't have to waste time thinking about what they're going to wear in the morning. This reduced the chance of them being late. (Lin Song, 64-year-old male, ex-manager of a factory)

In the case described above, the manager Lin Song believed that forcing female workers to wear the same uniforms as their male colleagues would make them behave more like men, both mentally and physically. In this way, these female workers would be as productive as their male counterparts. The management strata in the factories believed that male employees were better workers than females in many respects. For example, the men rarely showed any emotion and were said to spend less time thinking about what to wear. They were thus thought to be more productive and were seldom late for work. Accordingly, from a management point of view, transforming female workers into asexual working bodies would ensure equal productivity among the genders.

5.3.3 The female working body — a submissive body

In the previous section, we saw how the uniforms worn by female workers served to dishonour and desexualize the female body to create a disciplined and productive workforce. When we examine this workplace discipline more closely, the specific disciplinary power produced by a sexual (and hierarchical) division of labour is recognizable. When managers want female employees to be productive, they *desexualize* them; when they want these women to be easily controlled, they *sexualize* them, invoking their femininity as a sign of weakness. In Japan, the uniforms of women who work in offices (e.g. secretaries) are evidence of the fact that the individuals who wear them are those who normally occupy the lower ranks of an organization or nationwide economic system in terms of status and power. The dress codes of these women demonstrate the relationship between femininity and male dominance of the workforce (McVeigh, 2000: 121).

According to my field research, the cheap labour in factories was usually provided by women, who were assumed to be essentially submissive and in need of regulation. The management strata consisted almost entirely of men, with women only given the opportunity to work in supervisory positions. The worlds of management and assembly workers were clearly delineated according to gender (Pun, 2005: 145). Wearing uniforms distinguished female workers from male managers, who employed dress as a degrading and submissive symbol of the feminine labour force. In the factories of the 1960s and '70s, women were most definitely the weaker sex. My informant Nan described her experiences of this sexual hierarchy:

The workers who worked on the assembly lines were all women. There were no men on the assembly lines in our factory at that time. But the supervisors were all men. There were three different levels of worker, and different work content was divided between these three different levels. After being scored as A, you could get upgraded once. If you wanted to upgrade to the top-most level, you had to pass an exam and complete a thesis. Normally

women workers hit a glass ceiling after achieving a certain level. We barely knew of any women workers who had made it to the management level. (Nan, 64-year-old female, ex-factory worker)

Uniforms represent the power symbols of the management strata. They identify individuals as being from particular positions, as well as situating them within sexual hierarchies. Women and men wore different uniforms depending on their different work positions and statuses (ibid.149). These various uniforms were usually used to emphasize the difference in status between the management strata and the workers. Uniforms also enforced multiple regulations on labourers' bodies:

The women workers on the assembly line had to wear green uniforms. The examiners [who inspected what was made on the assembly line] wore white uniforms. Supervisors wore grey jackets. Managers wore suits. The supervisors and managers were all men. The secretaries sat in the office. They wore *qipao* and high heels. They tended to be gorgeously dressed every day. (Wan, 68-year-old female, ex-factory worker)

As Wan explained, attending to the conventions of dress in a particular company or factory could reveal the hierarchical structure of the entire working system: the white uniforms of the examiners represented a higher status than the green uniform worn by line operators. Furthermore, the grey jackets of the supervisors signalled their supervisory role on the production line, the suits worn by managers illustrated the highest level of management, and the *qipaos* of the secretaries alluded to their upper class background (a woman was only able to wear the *qipao* if she was wealthy and did not do physical labour). Different outfits implied different statuses within the working environment. As most in the upper-management stratum were men, the uniforms strengthened the representation of sexual hierarchies. The female workers in green uniforms either consciously or unconsciously came to view themselves as an inferior sex in their workplace. Their bodies, which were the bodies of the inferior sex, were thus also degraded. As mentioned by Wan, in contrast to the *qipao*, which revealed the secretaries' feminine curves, the green, loose uniforms worn by women on the factory floor showed only the extent to which their labourers' bodies were desexualized. Compared to the suits or grey jackets worn by the male managers, the green uniforms came to symbolize submissive, attentive, disciplined female bodies governed by male authority. In uniforms, the bodies of female workers were not only asexual, but also inferior and submissive.

As we have seen, uniforms were manipulated to mould the industrialized bodies of female workers into three forms: the dishonoured (disciplined) working body; the asexual (productive) working body; and the disciplined (submissive) female working body. These three forms were easily ruled and governed, and it is in this way that the ruling class has used uniforms as a tool to regulate Taiwanese working women since the 1960s.

5.4 Tactics of negotiation: threefold practices

During the 1970s and '80s, and because of the industrial transformation taking place, the job opportunities in the manufacturing industry fell, and the tertiary sector (i.e. the service industry)

began to expand, thereby creating more jobs, especially for women. These jobs were no longer limited to factories, and so the use of factory uniforms as a regulating force thus fell. During the period spanning the 1960s through to the 1980s, there were many young labourers willing to accept low wages, and they are one of the reasons why rapid industrialization occurred in Taiwan. At that time, 20% of labourers worked in the manufacturing industry, and 33% of them were women (Labour Force Research Centre of Taiwan, 1971). The situation had changed by the 1980s; the employment rate and industrial value of the manufacturing industry had fallen. At this time, more people started working in the service and mercantile industries than in manufacturing. Likewise, the status of women in the labour market continued to gradually rise. In the service industry by 1994, 45% of workers were women (Directorate-General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics, Executive Yuan, R.O.C, 1997).

It was not only the meaning of regulating uniforms that altered following the economic changes referred to above; during the 1960s to the 1970s, female workers also employed tactics of negotiation towards the control that was implemented via uniforms. Indeed, through this research and my interviews with many of the women who worked in factories during this period, it is clear that these women's bodies were not simply passive in this process. Accordingly, this section will explore the ways in which female workers negotiated the control of the factory and the discipline of the state apparatus.

In Section 5.4, Taiwanese female workers were revealed to have used three kinds of strategic bodily practice as tactics of negotiation: i) refusing to wear uniforms in public to avoid discrimination; ii) dressing as femininely as possible after work, since they had to wear asexual uniforms during the working day; and iii) appropriating the collective identity created by uniforms to produce their own sisterhood, which was mobilized to resist the management at work. These different bodily/dressing practices, which were used in different spaces and at different times, can be seen as examples of the tactics used by individuals to negotiate domination. Moreover, how they appropriate the bond of sisterhood (formed by the work uniform while working together in the factory) as their collective identity with which to negotiate with the management is a good example when it comes to proving that the bodily practices of these women are not just situated, but also strategic. The fact that these women actively try to transform the meaning of the form of dress that implements control and discipline, and not just use it as a means for their negotiation, shows that the concept of a situated bodily practice is not enough to describe what is going on. In this chapter, the embodiment of uniformed (industrialized) bodies was considered to be a kind of situated practice, which shows: how the power of the state apparatus and industrial capitalism operate in social spaces, and how this power has an impact on female workers' bodies, giving rise to the tactics described above.

5.4.1 Refusal – the spring hidden in the uniform

The uniforms of female employees have been manipulated as implements to facilitate social division in Taiwan since the 1960s. Most of the female workers at this time were born into poor families who could not afford to support them through higher education. These employees were generally portrayed as uneducated, uncivilized and undisciplined in magazines and newspaper articles.

Moreover, as these women came to be identified by their work uniforms, the clothes were seen as personifying the negative features associated with their socioeconomic status, such as a lack of knowledge or culture. Unsurprisingly, the derogatory judgements attached to the uniforms caused their wearers to want to dress in them even less.

Although female workers could not destroy the rigid symbolic order of uniform-wearing overall, a subtle subversive power was derived from their refusal to become merely dishonoured subjects. Most of the female workers I spoke to told me that they wore their own clothes under their uniforms and removed the latter whenever they left the factory. This refusal to wear their uniforms after work can be seen as a form of everyday negotiation, and a simple yet subtle way to challenge the dominance of those above them:

Most workers in the export-processing zone had to wear uniforms in the 1970s. Most women wore their civilian clothes under their uniforms. When they went for lunch or went home from work, they tended to take off their uniforms and wear their civilian clothes. We didn't want other people to recognize us as factory workers, because they would think we were uneducated. (Joey, 66-year-old female, ex-factory worker)

Half of my clothes were tailor-made, and half of them were bought from ready-to-wear stores. I didn't like my uniform. People would recognize me as an illiterate woman worker if I wore it outside the factory. That's why I always wore my civilian clothes hidden under the uniform. When I went for lunch, I just took off the uniform and wore my civilian clothes. There was a big night market near the factory, and I sometimes liked to go there shopping with other women workers after work. When I went there with them, of course, I took off my uniform and wore only the civilian clothes hidden underneath. (Komei, 64-year-old female, ex-factory worker)

Both Joey and Komei were employed as factory workers between the 1960s and 1980s. They both mention that if they wore their work uniform outside the factory, they felt looked down on by others, which is why they changed their clothes after work. In the factories, women's bodies were controlled and disciplined as they were forced to dress in uniforms and sit alone on the assembly lines. Their bodies became part of a collective social unit devoted to the singular aim of maximizing production. However, these docile bodies were considered to be dishonoured, inferior forms that needed to be disciplined, even outside the workplace. Hence, when female workers were beyond the factory walls, and thus beyond the surveillance of their supervisors, most of them took off their uniforms to avoid discrimination.

5.4.2 Negotiation – femininity outside the workplace

Female workers were forced to disguise their femininity during working hours, when they were obliged to wear androgynous uniforms. They were thus part of a process of desexualization in the workplace, which aimed to create a unified social body geared towards increased productivity. However, domination cannot exist without the seeds of rebellion, and in certain circumstances these women fought against the control of their bodies by industrial powers. Through my fieldwork, I

discovered that these female bodies were 'lived bodies' (Moi, 2001), and deployed strategic bodily practices to express themselves and transform their surroundings and relationships. In particular, these women exercised their rights of expression outside the workplace. Most employees resent being told by employers how to present themselves outside work (Shilling, 2005: 83), and these Taiwanese women were no exception; they tried their best to dress as femininely as possible after work in an effort to combat their desexualization within the workplace:

I worked from 8 o'clock in the morning to 5 o'clock in the afternoon. My work was sewing clothes. I had to wear a uniform to go to work every day. The advantage of this was that I didn't have to spend time planning what to wear every morning. But girls always like to dress up a bit. Every girl wants to look pretty after all, that's natural. So it's a bit boring to wear the same clothes every day, especially when the uniform is ugly and masculine. Plus, if we wore something loose or masculine after work, I think we would feel like we were still at work instead of taking the day off.

When we women workers got together outside working hours, we always liked to get dressed up. We tended to wear our finest clothes, and wore makeup and perfume, trying to look more feminine and attractive. (Joey, 66-year-old female, ex-factory worker)

I had to wear loose uniforms every day, but I enjoyed wearing something tighter to show off my body. When I wore a tighter dress after work, I felt released. I could only wear my miniskirts and tight shirts after work or during holidays. Once I put on my tighter clothes, I felt the holidays and felt good. I think tighter dresses made me look attractive. There were many men who had a crush on me at that time. (Meiyu, 68-year-old female, ex-factory worker)

Based on Joey and Meiyu's explanations, they both think that their uniforms in the factories were loose and masculine and hid their feminine body. Most importantly, these clothes reminded them of being at work, and so dressing differently when away from the factory was important. Because their uniforms were masculine, feminine dress was the preferred option in order to feel 'off duty.' Uniforms transformed female workers into asexual bodies, which were constructed as a coherent identity and governed according to the disciplinary power of the production system. However, as my interviews have revealed, female workers were not always passive actors; their bodies were lived bodies. If they had to suppress or even eliminate their femininity during working hours, they dressed as femininely as possible at other times to regain the control that they relinquished at work.

5.4.3 Appropriating the collective identity created by uniforms – bonding and sisterhood

The final tactic of negotiation used by female workers was the appropriation of the collective identity created by uniforms to produce a sense of sisterhood, which was used as a kind of collective strategic bodily practice to resist the management at work. Iris Young (2005) has explained that patriarchal fashion has created a paradigm in which women dress for the male gaze. However, she argues that outside the orbit of the male gaze, there are three pleasures that women take in clothes:

touch, bonding and fantasy. This concept of bonding is thus introduced to the current analysis. Although a woman might feel guilt from the pleasure derived from having or wearing clothes, clothes usually serve as threads of bonding and sisterhood. Women often have stories to tell about their clothes, and take pleasure in and bond with one another by sharing these tales. They also bond with each other by shopping together for clothes. In my research, it is clear that bonding and feelings of sisterhood were common the female workers in Taiwan. Indeed, in the factories, uniforms led to collectivism among these female employees. However, they appropriated this collectivism by forging their own bonds outside the workplace:

I still keep in touch with some of the women who worked with me in the old days. When we worked in the factory, we could sometimes have a chat during work time, as long as we completed our work on time and without mistakes. That's why I became very close with some of the women who sat around me. We dressed in the same uniforms every day. It made us look like a group. We were very close, just like sisters. We liked to go out and get together when we had a day off. We usually went shopping together. Sometimes we went out to meet male friends together as well. (Kima, 68-year-old female secretary, ex-factory worker)

I worked in the same factory for seven years. I liked to have a chat with the other women workers while I was working, but I could only chat when I was on night shift, because the supervisor didn't keep a close eye on us during the night shift. We all dressed in the same uniforms; the supervisor dressed in another kind of uniform. We were like students in a class; the supervisor was a teacher who always likes to punish naughty kids in school.

Blackouts during night shifts were the best moments for us, because we could take a break. Sometimes we took a nap, and sometimes we just kept chatting. We talked about everything: boyfriends, family, dreams... I liked to go to the cinema or go clothes shopping with other women workers. We gave our opinions about clothes to each other. (Meiyu, 68-year-old female, ex-factory worker)

We all hated our uniforms. They were ugly. We always liked to have our clothes tailor-made on the same day we got our salary. There was a tailor who had her shop just across from our factory. We liked to go to her and have our clothes made. I never had any idea about what kind of clothes would look good on me, so I always asked the tailor to make me the same dress as my colleague had. She had vision. I believed in her taste. She always offered her opinions as well. (San, 62-year-old female, ex-factory worker)

In Kima's (see Footnote85) and Mei's explanations, uniforms made them feel affiliated to other members of the group who wore the same outfit, helping to create a sister-like bond for Kima and her colleagues. In Meiyu's case, this bond made her feel like she was in a class with classmates. The bond between San and her co-workers was more special, and arose from their common hatred of these clothes. The collective spirit imparted by shared work and uniforms was thus appropriated by these women, who used it to create their own sisterhood. Based on these bonds, they engaged in collective strategic bodily practices to resist the management:

All the managerial men were strict. They watched us all day long. Many things were prohibited, such as listening to music, eating snacks and having chats. When we saw these men in the factory, we had to bow to show respect. But we girls always showed a little resistance behind their backs. For example, we sometimes took off our hats and we often chatted when the supervisor was not around. Sometimes we passed snacks around. (Liang, 64-year-old female, ex-factory worker)

My colleague and I used to hang out when we didn't have to go to work. We talked about everything: romance, family issues, gossip. Sometimes we complained about the strict control of the working system. We complained about our vests all the time. We all thought they were ugly and unnecessary to wear during work except to symbolize our identity as women workers in the factory. So we sometimes simply didn't wear them to work. After a while, the supervisor stopped caring about it. The vest seemed to have been abandoned by us after all. (Huang, 62-year-old female, ex-factory worker)

The bonding seems to have given these women more courage to negotiate with respect to the control exerted by their supervisors. In Liang's case, she and her colleagues took off their hats when the leader was not around. Liang also explained that the leader was strict in terms of keeping an eye on them; he not only monitored how the women worked on the assembly line, but also liked to inspect their clothing. He sometimes complained that their hats were not being worn in the right way, which is why Liang and her colleagues sometimes liked to take them off when he was not around as a form of resistance. The bond between Huang and her co-workers seemed to give them the courage to be bolder; they simply stopped wearing the vest that symbolized their inferior status in the factory, and ultimately succeeded in challenging the dominance there. Although this resistance did not break the dominant structure of the rulers, the sense of sisterhood it produced allowed these women to become braver and more united in the face of workplace coercion. Moreover, these inter-worker bonds lasted even after the women had retired:

I've put on a lot of weight and my body shape has changed since I was injured in a car accident. I used to like to dress up and buy lots of beautiful clothes, but now I rarely shop for clothes because it's too difficult to find nice things to wear. Wan and I worked in the same factory when we were young. Because we sat next to each other, we become very close. Before the car accident we often used to go out. Now I can't walk without a stick. I barely leave my house. But, Wan still keeps coming to visit me. She always brings me food and clothes, and shares a lot of interesting stories with me. (Liang, 64-year-old female, ex-factory worker)

Most of us are retired, and most of our children are now grown up. We have plenty of free time. We go to karaoke, or even go dancing together. I feel lucky to have friends around during retirement, especially as we share the same memories. After all, most of us worked together in the same factory for several years. (Chi, 60-year-old female, ex-factory worker)

5.5 Summary

In this chapter, it has been shown how, following World War II, the bodies of most lower class women in Taiwan were transformed into industrialized bodies. First, uniforms have a long history that goes in parallel with the development of social forms of distinction and distinctiveness (Craik, 2005: 14), and the bodies of female workers were dressed in uniforms to denote their lower social status, a limited education, and a need to be disciplined. The negative connotations attached to uniforms meant that these women came to represent such derogatory ideas. Wearing work uniforms in public thus became a source of shame, as it differentiated working women from those belonging to higher social classes. Second, work uniforms were designed to be loose to enable easier and better production (Corrigan, 2008), and made their wearers appear androgynous. This process of desexualization was intended to construct a coherent and unified identity for women, and to thus make them as productive as male workers. When women enter masculine occupations, they are often expected to hide their femininity by altering their dress and demeanour. Female factory workers tend to be portrayed in the media as having social problems, while men are seen as a valuable workforce. Third, the worlds of management and assembly line workers were clearly depicted according to gender (Pun, 2005: 145). Emphasizing the femininity of women to show that they are inferior to men was crucial to the management of the factories; most members of the management strata in these factories were male, and they always wore different uniforms from the female employees. Moreover, the secretaries in the factories always wore the *qipao*, which revealed their feminine curves. It also caused female workers to become more submissive. They were seen as the inferior sex and were thus rarely promoted to management positions, which were dominated by men. Within this gendered and hierarchical system, female workers came to view themselves as the inferior sex, with weak, degraded bodies.

The meaning of the regulation of uniforms has changed since the 1970s, when the manufacturing industry was gradually replaced by the service sector, and more women began to work therein than in the factories. However, following my interviews with many female workers, it has been argued that they were not in fact passive actors. These women had lived bodies (Moi, 2001). They made their choice of dress a personal attempt to orientate themselves to particular circumstances, thus recognizing the structuring influences of the social world on the one hand, and the agency of themselves as individuals who make choices about what to wear on the other (Entwistle, 2000: 37). Although their bodily experiences took place within a hegemonic socio-cultural context, they were still capable of expressing agency in the face of oppression. Although such negotiation did not immediately change the gendered hierarchies of power, female workers articulated how they wanted to live within the circumstantial constraints of social structures. The tactics of negotiation employed by these women were threefold. First, they refused to become merely dishonoured subjects, and chose to wear their normal clothes hidden beneath their work uniforms, which they took off as soon as they left the workplace. Second, they deployed strategic bodily practices to express themselves and transform their surroundings and relationships. Indeed, because they were obliged to wear asexual uniforms at work, they tended to dress as femininely as possible after work. Third, women can find solidarity in clothes, and often have stories to tell about what they wear, bonding with one another by sharing these tales. They also bond by shopping together for clothes

(Young, 2005). Work uniforms led to additional bonding, and these women appropriated their factories' collectivism to create their own sisterhood and unite in resistance against the management, often basing their bonding on a shared dislike for or rebellion against the proscriptions of the uniform. Their appropriation of the bond of sisterhood created by the work uniform shows them actively trying to participate in transforming the dominating implications of the work uniform, which is a representation of the dominating ideology itself. These actions are therefore more fittingly described as strategic bodily practices than as situated bodily practices, which are normally illustrated only by using dress as means to negotiate against control.

Chapter 6 The Body as an Agent of Consumption

The consumer society has taken shape since 1970s, while the 1980s were a period of expansion, and consumption grew exponentially with the flourishing economy. As a consequence, choosing ready-to-wear clothing became one of the important decisions for women to make.

In this chapter, how Taiwanese women's bodies came to be seen as agents of consumption in the 1980s is examined. There is also a discussion of whether or not (and, if so, to what extent) any agency has been performed by these women and their bodies. It was in the 1980s that the idea of 'Western' runway fashion (the Western-led fashion system) started to influence many of the practices of garment consumption in Taiwan. To understand this era, it is crucial to comprehend: how the Western-led fashion system was constructed, how the ready-to-wear fashion system in Taiwan was established, and how the latter influences the formation of female bodies as agents of consumption. The main theory applied in this chapter is that of seeing fashion as a system, which was proposed by the fashion theorist Entwistle (2000). In addition, Kawamura's (2005) further explanation of fashion as a system of institutions that produces the concept, as well as the phenomenon and the practice, of fashion is also considered. Furthermore, all of the practices of these complex institutions, such as design, display, manufacture, distribution, and sales, affect how a fashion system is produced (Davis, 1992: 200). Paris is the centre of the Western-led fashion system (Kawamura, 2004), and to see how it was constructed, and how the French Fashion Federation and fashion professionals in Paris helped to establish it, is examined. *Wufenpu* was the largest centre for collecting and distributing ready-to-wear clothing in Taiwan during the 1980s. Indeed, almost 70 per cent of the clothes sold in Taiwan were bought wholesale from the area in this decade. For this reason, *Wufenpu* is the focus in this study, as it is a major site where the institutions mentioned above are manifest, thereby enabling the production of the ready-to-wear fashion system in Taiwan to be understood.

Gilles Lipovetsky's (1994)⁸⁹ concept of how the ready-to-wear industry changed the fashion phenomenon in France is used to analyze how this phenomenon also occurred in Taiwan. Lipovetsky highlights that the mass production of ready-to-wear clothing was originally expected to create a democratic dynamic of fashion. These democratic aspirations were anticipated by scholars to have been accessible due to ready-to-wear clothing turning fashion into a democratic system. However, we now know that this belief that fashion is equally accessible to all is outdated. Of course, fashion is still approachable for all to a certain degree, depending on the amount of time and talent someone with limited funds can devote to its attainment. The ready-to-wear phenomenon represents mass production and mass consumption, which theoretically enables fashion trends to be attainable by the populace at large, although economics and other social factors always play a part in how access is distributed. Still, when fashion came to be seen as approachable for all, various styles and plural aesthetics began to appear, seemingly brought about by this democratic dynamic. Paradoxically, however, there is still a shared aesthetic of youth and slimness that is hidden below these plural body performances. Fashion seems to have led consumers directly into

⁸⁹ In Gilles Lipovetsky's work *The Empire of Fashion* (1994), he bounds across 2000 years of Western history, and attempts to show how the evolution of fashion from an upper-class privilege into a vehicle of popular expression closely follows the rise of democratic values in France.

a new predicament: although widespread access to fashion originally brought various styles and plural aesthetics to society, the hidden universal aesthetics referred to above also emerged shortly thereafter. However, after conducting the fieldwork, it must be concluded that most Taiwanese women are not passive agents, which will be demonstrated in Sections 6.3 and 6.4.

6.1 Ready-to-wear fashion and *Wufenpu*

In this section, how the ready-to-wear fashion system in Taiwan formed in *Wufenpu* is examined. Given that *Wufenpu* was a major formative site within the Taiwanese fashion industry, with almost 70 per cent of the clothes sold wholesale in Taiwan coming from there since the 1980s, it was the most appropriate site for my examination of how the ready-to-wear fashion system was formed in the country in that decade. It is also illuminating to view this fashion system as it existed in Taiwan alongside the hegemony of hybrid 'Western' fashion, such as Western runway fashion and Japanese interpretations thereof. The ready-to-wear fashion system in *Wufenpu* reveals that the so-called Western fashion available in Taiwan is actually a hybrid style. In 6.1.1, the theories referred to above will be applied in my exploration of the ready-to-wear fashion system as the dominant structure regulating women's bodies in Taiwan. Moreover, how this took shape in the 1980s is considered in more detail. First, I introduce the concept of seeing fashion as a system, which I use to demonstrate how the hegemony of fashion came about in Taiwan in the 1980s. Section 6.1.2 illustrates how the so-called Western-led fashion system has been constructed. Then, in Section 6.1.3 through to 6.1.6, the production of garments and the distribution (essentially through fashion magazines) of fashion concepts in *Wufenpu* are investigated to highlight how the ready-to-wear fashion system has formed in Taiwan.

6.1.1 Fashion as a system

By using the approach of seeing fashion as a system, it can be revealed how participants such as producers, retailers and consumers in the ready-to-wear fashion production system in Taiwan actually communicate with each other. Some, like garment merchants, do it person-to-person by talking to consumers directly to get their opinions. Others, like garment manufacturers, do this indirectly through mass communication by reading fashion magazines to get inspiration for the clothes to be produced for the season. It is important to examine how all participants act as team players in order to understand how this system has been formed. Exploring fashion as a system allows researchers to form an accurate picture of all that fashion truly is. "The fashion system is not merely a clothing system. Clothing and dress are simply the raw material from which fashion is formed, and fashion as a belief is manifested *through* clothing." (Brenninkmeyer, 1963: 6) To understand fashion, one must therefore explore the full-scale interaction between production, distribution and consumption within the fashion system.

There is a consensus among a number of theorists that, by definition, fashion is a system of dress characterized by an internal logic of regular and systematic change (Entwistle, 2000: 45).

Anthropologist Ted Polhemus associates fashion with an ideology of social change and a social climate in which change is also possible and desirable. Such change emerges only under a particular set of social and historical circumstances (ibid, 50). To be specific, those of us who study fashion may state that fashion phenomena occur only in a particular social context that allows for a critical amount of social mobility and fluidity. Knowing fashion then requires an understanding of the relationship between fashion and societal and historical circumstances. Moreover, as Koenig states, we must destroy the widely held prejudice that fashion is only concerned with the external covering of the human form in dress, jewelry and ornaments. As a universal social institution, fashion affects and shapes individuals as well as society as a whole. This means that it is not enough to discuss fashion solely in terms of clothing worn (Koenig, 1973: 40). Indeed, fashion as a system is considered by many contemporary fashion researchers to be the most accurate representation of what fashion is. However, what the fashion system precisely is has been defined in different ways by different researchers, and each utilizes a different approach.

With their theory of emulation and status competition, Simmel⁹⁰ and Veblen⁹¹ were among the first to relate fashion to the social position of fashion actors and to social differentiation and integration. Roland Barthes's (1985) *The Fashion System* demonstrates a complete break with the then-existing disciplines of costume studies, and his approach has had a significant influence on contemporary fashion theory. In contrast to the title of his book⁹², the system of clothing rather than the system of fashion is actually the main subject of Barthes's analysis. Indeed, as Davis explains, the two concepts are very different. How fashion works is a process, from creation to consumption. The design, display, manufacture, distribution and sale of clothing are all institutions that affect how this system becomes apparent (Davis, 1992: 200). Fashion is a hybrid subject; various agents, institutions and practices that intersect to produce fashion must be considered in any kind of fashion analysis. Entwistle argues that, overall, fashion combines the dual concepts of 1) fashion as a cultural phenomenon and 2) fashion as an aspect of manufacturing with an emphasis on production technology. Additionally, the importance of clothing production and its role in the creation of fashion should have been more emphasized in research about the production system in the field of fashion studies (Leopold, 1993: 101).

In order to understand the fashion system comprehensively, a "systems of provision" approach is useful, and focuses on the ways in which production and consumption intersect (Entwistle,

⁹⁰ Georg Simmel was a well-known German sociologist. He examined the phenomenon of fashion as apparent in rapidly changing patterns of taste. According to Simmel, fashion is a vehicle for strengthening the unity of the social classes and for making them distinct. Members of the upper classes tend to signal their superiority and act as the initiators of new trends. But upper-class taste is soon imitated by the middle classes.

⁹¹ Thorstein Veblen was an American sociologist. He argues that distancing oneself from the hardships of productive labour has always been the conclusive sign of a high social status. So, upper-class taste is not defined by things regarded as necessary or useful, but by those that are the opposite. To demonstrate non-productivity, members of the so called leisure class conspicuously waste both time and goods.

⁹² Roland Barthes is a French philosopher and semiotician. His criticism contributed to the development of structuralism, semiotics and existentialism. In Barthes' s famous book *The fashion system*, he attempts to analyze the relationship between images and text in the production of fashion. He uncovered a system of meaning of semantic analysis by using descriptions from magazines. Barthes notes that fashion is an inscription which results from a technique by code.

2000: 209). In addition to production and consumption, researchers must explore the various actors in the system, as these intermediaries, such as retailers, provide the crucial link between the two (ibid. 210). Similarly, Kawamura coined the term “fashion-ology” to describe a sociological investigation of fashion, which is a way of treating fashion as a system of institutions that produces the concept as well as the phenomenon and practice of fashion (Kawamura, 2004: 1). Kawamura considers the fashion system to be a persistent network of beliefs, customs and formal procedures which together form an articulated social organization with an acknowledged central purpose. As for the people in this network, some introduce or propose changes in dress, while others adopt at least some of the suggested changes. The proposers and adopters in the network must communicate with each other, whether directly on a person-to-person basis, or indirectly through mass communication (ibid. 48). To acknowledge fashion as a system helps us to understand how the Western-led fashion system works as a hegemonic cultural system across the world.

6.1.2 Fashion and power: the Western-led fashion system

This section aims to illustrate how the Western-led fashion system is constructed. According to Douglas and Isherwood, goods are neutral, but their uses are social, whether as fences or bridges (Douglas and Isherwood, 1979: 12). In a similar way, fashion and clothing can be seen as forms of communication. The activities of this communication could be viewed as neutral. Alternatively, the operations and workings of the power of fashion and clothing can be examined as valued, but not innocent. For example, fashion and clothing as cultural phenomena can be understood as practices in which class relations and class differences are made meaningful. In other words, fashion and clothing may ensure the functioning of a dominant system which establishes, sustains or reproduces positions of power within a social order (Barnard, 2002: 42). This ideology can be seen in how the Western-led fashion system built up its hegemony in the global capitalist market.

This fashion system is basically constructed by four fashion capitals, Paris, London, Milan and New York, seasonal runway shows are held. Paris is the leader within the system, and France has successfully reproduced the idea that fashion has belonged to Paris since the 1900s. Alongside the deliberate moves made by its organizers, there is a common understanding that Paris is the fashion capital of the world. According to Kawamura's analysis, it is not only its creative resources, but also its powerful institution that has made Paris such a well-known fashion capital. Paris is a city where fashion is structurally organized. The French Fashion Federation (FFF) plays a significant role within the system (Kawamura, 2004: 38, 2005: 52), and there are also fashion journalists, editors, publicists, trade fair participants and fashion designers in the fashion system who interact with each other to preserve and grow its hegemony. The FFF – *La Chambre Syndicale de la Couture Parisienne* – was established in 1911. Its main role is to determine which fashion houses are eligible to be true *Haute Couture*⁹³ and *prêt-à-porter*⁹⁴ designers in order to promote the designs of its

⁹³ *Haute Couture* refers to the creation of exclusive clothing. *Haute couture* fashion is made to order for specific clients. It is usually made from expensive and high quality fabrics, and special designs.

⁹⁴ *Prêt-à-porter* refers to factory-made clothing sold in standardized sizes.

members. The federation attempts to institutionally construct a hierarchy between producers of clothes who are members and those who are not. Moreover, as the social hierarchy of designers more or less corresponds to the production process of clothes, the aesthetic taste of high fashion is legitimized during the process. For instance, there is an attempt to distinguish Haute Couture from other custom-made clothes, and prêt-à-porter from other ready-to-wear designs, labelling them as high fashion that is only affordable by a wealthy elite (ibid, 28-9).

As noted above, setting the dates of seasonal fashion shows is also one of the major tasks of the FFF. These shows help to confirm the leading position of Paris in the fashion industry. After the dates are set, a list of the shows taking place in the city is sent to fashion gatekeepers — member journalists and editors - all over the world. Runway fashion shows are rituals that habitually reaffirm both the status of Paris as the foremost fashion capital and the role of the Parisian fashion system in leading the world. These seasonal fashion shows first began in France in 1910. Their nature has changed from being simply a trade to more of a cultural event, perhaps even a ritual. Rituals, by definition, create emotional ties and a form of collective bonding, both of which connect a group. The participants who come to Paris every season are not only interested in reaffirming existing talented designers, but are also there to re-confirm their membership and reinforce the global conviction that the best designers can be found in Paris. Through this ritualistic interaction, the belief that Paris is the fashion capital of the world is maintained (Kawamura, 2004: 61-2). Fashion designers organize their shows to exhibit their work to fashion magazine editors, newspaper journalists and publicists. Fashion editors and journalists use their rhetoric to make the designers appear charismatic, and their job is to make these designers successful and famous (ibid, 66-71). These gatekeepers help designers to get noticed in the fashion world, so that their clothing and fashion concepts are disseminated across the globe.

Through the means and context provided by these institutions, fashion professionals exercise power and become dominant within the fashion system; the actions of these institutions make the French fashion system powerful on a global scale (Kawamura, 2005: 52-4). Because fashion shows are important for fashion dissemination, French fashion professionals employ a strategy to try to maintain *Haute Couture* and *prêt-à-porter* with a Paris label as the privilege of an elite. The goal is to centralize fashion in Paris (ibid, 85). London, Italy and New York have thus had to develop and maintain their own fashion systems. London's fashion has been gradually growing in importance since the 1960s, while Milan had its heyday during the 1980s, and New York has been recognized as a fashion capital since its popular culture spread all over the world during the late '80s (Wang, 2006: 12-4). Together, these four capitals dominate global fashion.

6.1.3 Ready-to-wear clothing and *Wufenpu*

As mentioned in Chapter 3, Taiwan was the key contracting manufacturer in the global garment industry supply chain during the 1960s. These manufacturers took orders from Western garment companies and produced the clothes led by Western fashion trends. In the 1970s, these manufacturers started to distribute their clothes to the local market, but the styles and trends of these garments still followed those of the Western fashion industry. *Wufenpu* was originally a place where small-scale

contracting and sub-contracting factories gathered and took orders from large-scale contracting manufacturers during the 1970s. These factories and manufacturers in *Wufenpu* started to produce clothes for the local market in the 1980s. Accordingly, in order to understand how the Western-led fashion system influenced Taiwan's garment market, *Wufenpu* is a necessary starting point for any research.

In Section 6.1.2, there is an examination of how the ready-to-wear industry was established in Taiwan, and how *Wufenpu* has become the most important hub for clothing wholesalers and retailers in the country. In the 1960s, *Wufenpu* was originally the location for workshops undertaking the household production of garments to meet the needs of local ready-to-wear manufacturers taking orders from Western countries. Since the late '70s, however, it has gradually become the place where most local vendors, retailers, wholesalers and general consumers buy their ready-to-wear garments (Ke, 1992: 16-9). *Wufenpu* is thus the most appropriate location for my examination of how the ready-to-wear fashion system was formed in Taiwan in the 1980s.

Ready-to-wear clothing is labour intensive to produce and has a high Economic Value Added (EVA)⁹⁵ (Lee, 2001: 51). The ready-to-wear clothing industry used to provide a great many jobs in Taiwan, but has lately been on the decline along with the textile industry in general (Lin, 1996: 469-501). Current research on the development of the clothing industry in Taiwan divides the development of ready-to-wear clothes into four main stages.

In the first stage, from 1949 to 1960, a number of textile companies withdrew from China following the KMT government's flight to Taiwan in 1949. Many of these companies took some time to establish their operations locally, and all clothing and materials were initially imported. The KMT greatly supported the development of the industry due to its ability to provide jobs and meet the need for clothing (Wu, 1989: 6). In the second stage (1961 – 1967), the relocation of the synthetic-fibre industry from Japan was an excellent opportunity for Taiwan to establish and develop its own. In Japan, the manufacturers in this business had suffered from a slump in the Japanese economy in 1958 and from overproduction in 1964, leading to reduced productivity and the relocation of factories to other countries with lower costs. Japan therefore invested in these industries in Taiwan, which was, at the same time, consuming synthetic-fibre materials from Japan. The Taiwanese ready-to-wear garment industry began to take off as a direct result (Huang, 1997: 69). In the third stage (1968 – 1987), after exports of Taiwanese textile products achieved a favourable balance in 1966, they continued to grow, reaching a historical climax of 32.31 per cent in 1971. Taiwan, Hong Kong, Korea and Japan were the four primary exporters of ready-made clothes in the world in 1972 (Wu, 1989: 7). During this phase, Taiwanese textile and ready-made clothing industries reached their apex in terms of production and exports (Su, 2005: 10).

As for the final stage (1989 -), the Taiwanese ready-to-wear industry has been in decline since 1988 for several reasons. First, an increase in wages made Taiwan less competitive. In an era of liberalization and globalization, the textile and garment industries moved their manufacturing to countries with lower costs, aided by greater regional economic integration and quotas. Labour-intensive countries with newly industrialized economies such as China, Vietnam and Bangladesh

⁹⁵ Economic Value Added (EVA) is a sense of nothing more than the traditional, common sense idea of profit.

replaced Taiwan, Korea, Hong-Kong and Singapore as the main exporters of textiles and clothing. Second, a rise in international protectionism⁹⁶ reduced textile exports from Taiwan, which were, for instance, affected by the strengthening of the NAFTA overseas. Later, Europe and Canada took measures to make imports selective and limited their number, which had a serious impact on the Taiwanese ready-made clothing industries. Third, New Taiwan Dollars underwent a currency revaluation. Fourth, Taiwan suffered from the invasion of imported ready-made clothes (Jiang, 2002: 12-15). Fifth, the country fell victim to a lack of competitive fashion design. According to a report by the Taiwan Institute of Economic Research⁹⁷, the Taiwanese ready-to-wear industry was unfamiliar with international fashion trends, lacked funding for design research and had a shortage of fashion designers (Su, 2005: 14). However, although Taiwan has not been the most successful place since the 1980s when it comes to exporting textiles and clothing, the manufacture of clothes to fulfill the needs of the local market still continues to develop. This is why *Wufenpu* has itself continued to grow since the 1960s.

On August 7th 1958, a flood catastrophically damaged nearly all of Taipei City. As part of the relief effort, the government relocated veterans⁹⁸ living in the vicinity of Taipei train station to *Wufenpu*. The Ministry of National Defence helped to build 1200 one-and-a-half-story temporary homes for the veterans, and this area was called Wufenpu a-tsu-a (the "*Wufenpu* street houses"). In the 1960s, many people from other places in Taiwan, including Fung Yuang,⁹⁹ migrated to Taipei to make a better living. Indeed, before 1985, the shop owners of *Wufenpu* mainly came from Fang Yuan in the middle part of the country, and these people today still comprise 44.5 per cent of all of the shop owners in Wufenpu. *Wufenpu* thus became known as the second home of people from Fang Yuan. Fang Yuan is a town located alongside the coast. Its land is infertile and only suitable for growing ipomoea and peanuts, which are categorized as low economic-value agricultural products. The main way to earn money in Fang Yuan was oyster farming. However, most people did not make enough from agriculture and so moved to other places to look for opportunities to make a living. Some of these people moved to Wufenpu to work in the garment industry and rented houses from the veterans. The first floor of the house was usually used as a shop for ready-made clothes produced from fabric discarded by the factories making ready-to-wear clothing for exportation. The second storey served as a living space or for tailoring. As the demand for labour in the industry grew, growing numbers of workers arrived from Fang Yuan. The houses of the veterans were gradually sold to the newcomers after a few years. *Wufenpu* therefore developed into a special ready-to-wear wholesale hub for clothing retailers in Taiwan (Ke, 1992: 5-29).

In the following section, the different stages of development in *Wufenpu* and how these came about are examined, while Table 6.1 summarizes three major stages and changes in the area.

⁹⁶ Protectionism refers to policies or doctrines that protect businesses and workers within a country by restricting trade with foreign nations.

⁹⁷ The Taiwan Institute of Economic Research was established on September 1, 1976 as the first private independent think tank in Taiwan. The main purpose of the institute is to actively engage in research on domestic and foreign macro-economics and industrial economics in order to provide consultations to the government and enterprises and to promote Taiwan's economic development.

⁹⁸ These veterans generally mean the veterans who came to Taiwan with the KMT government when it fled from China in 1945.

⁹⁹ Fang Yuan is a town in Chang Hua County, Central Taiwan.

Table 6.1

	1960s	1970s – Mid-1980s	Late 1980s – Present
Business Model	Retail sales; household workshop.	Dependent wholesale workshop; independent wholesale factory.	Direct-selling store; wholesale service.
Buyer	Vendors on day & night markets.	Service wholesalers, retailers and vendors.	Service wholesalers, retailers, vendors and general consumers.
Product	Patchwork clothes.	Clothes in a generic style.	Various styles of clothes.
Fashion	Ready-to-wear fashion system that has not yet been formed.	Generic fashion.	Hybrid 'Western' fashion hegemony.

6.1.4 1960s: Patchwork clothes

The average living standard of Taiwanese women in the 1960s was still low, and the majority still lived in poor economic conditions. Clothes were considered to be a basic need, and not as products to show off one's wealth. Accordingly, the idea of fashion had not yet become a major concern for the majority of people when purchasing or having clothes made.

Retail sales and household workshops were the main business model in *Wufenpu* in the 1960s. The garment workshops were small in scale, and most of them were owned and operated by a single family. The fabric they used was obtained from ready-to-wear factories that made clothing solely for exportation, and had been left over because it was unmarketable due to some minor flaw. These family businesses produced their clothing in simple and basic styles from these left-over fabrics. These clothes were known as *cha-a-sun*, or patchwork clothes. Most of the time, the workshop owners would sell their clothes directly to vendors working on the day and night markets. Sometimes, they even became sub-manufacturers for large-scale ready-to-wear factories (Jiang, 2003).

The government systematically developed Taiwan's textile and clothing industries throughout the 1950s. However, the supply of basic attire was not enough for members of every social class in Taiwanese society. The needs of women from the higher social classes were always satisfied, but those of their counterparts from the lower social classes were not. With basic attire no longer in short supply for the former, they began to be interested in fashion or particular styles. Some Taiwanese women made their own clothes, some hired home tailors, and a very few went out to shop for imported clothing, typically from Japan. Japanese magazines (e.g. *Lady Boutique*¹⁰⁰) and the Taiwanese publication *Chinese Women* served as reference points for the home tailors.

The content in these two magazines tended to teach women how to make their own clothes. According to my fieldwork, most Taiwanese women in the 1960s did not have the money or time

¹⁰⁰ *Lady Boutique* is a fashion magazine targeted at married women, and typically features more classic styles.

to think about what to wear or what clothes to buy. Accordingly, most of them did not really read fashion magazines at that time. However, if they wanted to make or have clothes made by home tailors for a special occasion, they might make an exception. For example, most Taiwanese women in the 1960s only bought new clothes when they were about to get married. On these occasions, they would sometimes go to a home tailor, where they had the opportunity to read magazines, choose a dress featured on their pages, and ask the home tailor to make it. According to one of my informants, factory worker Kima (Chapter 5):

When I was 17, I worked in a factory. I remember that I usually wore dresses that had been abandoned by relatives. I only got to have new clothes when I was getting married. I got married at 18, and my mom took me to the home tailor. I got a chance to read magazines (*Lady Boutique*) there, and chose the clothes I liked. I got to pick three outfits at that time. I remember I chose three *yang zhuang* [literally means Western dresses]. They were beautiful. (Kima, 68 year-old female)

Kima is a typical example of a Taiwanese woman from a lower social and economic class in the 1960s. It was thus uncommon for most Taiwanese women to have new clothes at that time, and those that they did choose for rare, special occasions such as weddings were often made by home tailors who copied them from pictures in magazines that essentially only featured Western styles of dress. It has therefore been argued that Taiwanese women in the 1960s had no clear ideas about fashion. With no particular style of their own to identify with, they started to accept the idea that the Western clothing in the magazines they read was more beautiful and refined than Taiwanese clothes at the time.

Moreover, as mentioned in Chapter 4, women were encouraged to be industrious and thrifty during the 1950s and '60s. Indeed, magazine articles suggested ways in which women could save money on clothing, food, transportation, and so on. They were also advised to not waste money on luxury clothes and to only purchase simple and unadorned garments (Pi, 1952: 2). Therefore, the majority of the clothes produced in that period in *Wufenpu* were patchwork items. People did not expect patchwork clothes to be fashionable. One interviewee explained:

I come from the middle part of Taiwan, Fang Yuan. When I was 15, my aunt asked me to come to Taipei to work for her as a seamstress. I did and have worked for her for over 15 years. I remember when I first worked for her, the main clothes we made were patchwork clothes. We collected the left over fabrics from the factories, and patched different fabrics into clothes. This was accepted by many people in the '60s, because most people were poor. It was only the budget clothes they could afford. I also wore patchwork clothes. Most of us didn't ask to wear fashionable clothes. Of course, we didn't dare to think our patchwork clothes would be fashionable, either. (Hu Fengli, 66 year-old female, retired seamstress).

Hu Fengli's description is a typical reflection of many women's life experiences in the 1960s, as they usually grew up in poor economic conditions. Most of these women had to work in order to support their families, just like Hu Fengli. They therefore had neither the time nor the money to care about

what was fashionable. Indeed, most Taiwanese still had to struggle to make a living in the 1960s, so dressing in luxury clothes was not an option for them. There was thus no way that a ready-to-wear fashion system could have formed in that period.

6.1.5 1970s – mid-1980s: generic fashion

The main production models in *Wufenpu* during this period were those of dependent wholesale workshops and independent wholesale factories, which will be examined separately in this section. Moreover, although fashion magazines in the 1970s had started to introduce the notion of fashion to some Taiwanese readers, most of the women I interviewed claimed that they could still not afford to buy fashionable clothes. As a consequence, clothes that were convenient to wear each day were their main choice. These items had a generic style and no particular design. The biggest clothing manufacturers and wholesalers in the 1970s in *Wufenpu* thus mainly provided the generic-styled garments that were convenient for everyday wear.

The market for cheap ready-to-wear clothing began to expand in the late 1970s, and the production model changed. Manufacturers used to sell clothing directly to consumers, but wholesale retailers soon became their main clients. At this time, many female workers arrived in the area from towns across Taiwan. Production, however, remained small in scale, with an average of five to seven workers per workshop. Meanwhile, the owners of the workshops did not take their products directly to the market, so they still lacked connections with retailers. The owners usually sold their merchandise to service wholesalers, which in turn sold to retailers, making workshops dependent on the wholesalers (Jiang, 2003).

Industrialization in the 1970s created many jobs in Taiwan. This growing working class did not have time to make its own clothes, and could not afford tailored clothing or items from department stores, meaning that cheap garments from street vendors or the markets were all they could afford. The market for cheap ready-to-wear clothing expanded gradually during the 1980s. Not only did domestic markets expand, but many wholesalers from Southeast Asia took advantage of the undervalued New Taiwanese Dollar and came to *Wufenpu* to purchase cheap ready-to-wear clothes. Business boomed, and the success attracted even more newcomers to *Wufenpu*, which was by then a huge commercial centre for ready-to-wear wholesalers. Retailers then began to come directly to *Wufenpu* to buy clothes, reducing the earlier dependence on service wholesalers (Jiang, 2003).

Sister, *New Sister*, *Women* and *New Women* were popular local magazines read by female students and factory workers in the 1970s in Taiwan. The content of these magazines was largely celebrity gossip, romantic stories and relationship advice, with very little about fashion. What information there was came in the form of photos showing trendy ways to dress. The trends in the pictures were always taken from the garment industry. For instance, there were many pictures in *Sister* showing girls in miniskirts, which were featured as the hit item. Some female labourers described how they liked to take turns reading *Sister* when they had a break in the factory:

I remember one of the girls in the factory named Sue. She always liked to bring *Sister* to work and we usually took turns to read it. We often talked about the romance story and

fashion trends. We even went shopping for trendy clothes [*Sister* was viewed as a guide to fashion trends] together when we had more pocket money. I remember that Sue and I even bought the same mini skirt once, because we saw the blond model in *Sister* wearing a mini skirt, and she looked so pretty. However, we had to wear uniforms every day, and most of the time we didn't have much of a budget to buy clothes. (Meiyu, 68 year-old female, retired labourer)

Meiyu (Chapter 5) was employed as a factory worker in the 1970s, and is typical of the women from the lower social and economic classes. Most the time, these women had to work to make much needed money, so beautiful clothes that were impractical for work were not necessities. Moreover, most of these women did not have much of a budget to spend on buying beautiful things to wear. However, although they were unable to buy beautiful clothes very often, on the rare occasions that they had additional money, they would read local fashion magazines to get an idea of what to buy.

Although information about some fashion trends has been available since the 1970s in Taiwan, most people could still not afford to buy fashionable clothes very often at this time. The clothes made in *Wufenpu* from the 1970s to the mid-1980s were generic in style. The inspiration for their production sometimes came from clothes sold in department stores, but shoppers usually chose garments which had little to no design:

I sometimes went to look for clothes on the day or night markets or even department stores. I bought clothes as a reference to produce similar items. The clothes I found were basically generic styles, because I didn't think the seamstress I had hired would know how to make clothes with complicated details. I also think that most of my customers would have preferred clothes with simple shapes and designs in the '70s. (Lian, 65 year-old shop-owner in *Wufenpu*)

Generally, the owners of independent wholesale factories produced between one and 10 styles of clothing per season. Sometimes, they even continually produced the same item for many seasons running if it was popular. Therefore, there was no particular idea of fashion at this time. When most consumers were buying their clothes, fashion was not a priority; they tended to think of practical concerns first. For example, many of my informants claimed that they chose clothes which were convenient to wear each day in the 1970s. They did not buy fashionable clothes, because they were too expensive. It is easy to see why a generic style of clothes was the main style produced and sold in *Wufenpu* in the '70s, as no clear picture of a Taiwanese ready-to-wear fashion system had formed at that time.

6.1.6 Late 1980s to the present day: the hegemony of hybrid Western fashion represented in runway shows in the four fashion capitals

Since the late 1980s, fashion has become the key selling-point of clothes in *Wufenpu*. According to my research, this fashion scene spread in Taiwan (*Wufenpu*) in diverse ways and in many layers. Most of the trends were represented culturally as Japanese or Korean. However, it has been argued

that these fashions were mostly Western runway fashion trends¹⁰¹ interpreted by Japan and Korea. It is therefore my view that the 'Western runway fashion hegemony' arrived in Taiwan in a kind of hybrid form (a multi-layer set of interpretations that were mostly from Japan and Korea).

In the 1990s, most wholesalers in *Wufenpu* gave up manufacturing in-store. At that point, instead of manufacturing clothing, the second floor of the old houses was then used to store stock. Some wholesalers even began to purchase clothing from Japan, Korea and China, with very few manufacturers remaining in the area. Due to the low wages in China, increasing numbers of ready-to-wear factories moved there to increase profits, with most of them settling in *Humen*.¹⁰² Many wholesalers in *Wufenpu* would travel to China to purchase clothing, sometimes as often as twice a month. Some of them also flew to the *Dongdaemun* market¹⁰³ in Korea to get some ideas before flying to China. To increase profits, some *Wufenpu* wholesalers even invested in garment factories in Humen. Currently, more than 70 per cent of all wholesalers in *Wufenpu* regularly go abroad to purchase their products, but *Wufenpu* is still the largest wholesale hub in Taiwan. There are currently two main business models utilized in *Wufenpu*, and these are described separately below (also see Table 6.2).

There are two different types of direct-selling store business models in *Wufenpu*.

- (1) Some store owners have factories in Taipei County and manufacture their own clothing. Due to higher wages and limited materials, these factories usually manufacture T-shirts in a simple style.
- (2) Some store owners own factories in China, and have complete control over the appearance and design of their merchandise from the manufacturing stage onwards. Ideas are usually taken from magazines and the internet. These store owners typically fly to China twice a month, sometimes stopping first in Korea to buy samples as reference materials. One of my informants, Mr. Zhang, who owns a shop in *Wufenpu* and a factory in China, is typical of this kind of store owner.

¹⁰¹ These runway fashion trends were basically promoted by the four major fashion capitals, Paris, Milan, London and New York. Paris and Milan were the main fashion capitals in the 1980s. A fashion capital is a location which is influential in the fashion world and is also a place where fashion is important. There are traditionally four fashion capitals: Paris, New York, Milan and London. During the Renaissance era, Italy was Europe's main trendsetter. In the late 16th century, because of the influence of the Elizabethan era, London became a major city with respect to European fashion. In the 17th century, with the power of the French court under Louis XIV, Paris became Europe's main fashion centre. Paris continued to be the world's fashion capital until the 1960s and 70s. In the Victorian era, London also became a major fashion centre. Then, New York City grew as a fashion capital in the 1950s, and its influence remained through the 20th century. Milan, with its practical chic, has continued to be a the powerful fashion city since the 1960s. Ever since then, London, Paris, New York and Milan have been the leading fashion capitals in the global fashion world (Emling, 2006).

¹⁰² *Humen* is a town within the *Dongguan* prefecture-level city in the Guangdong Province of southern China. It is a city that is full of consumer goods factories.

¹⁰³ The *Dongdaemun* market is a market and shopping centre in Seoul, South Korea and the largest of its kind in the country. It first opened in July 1905. In total, the market has 26 shopping malls located over 10 blocks, 30,000 specialty shops and 50,000 manufacturers.

Table 6.2

	Direct-selling store with factories in Taiwan	Direct-selling store with factories in China	Service wholesaler
Business model	Direct-selling store in <i>Wufenpu</i> and manufacturing in Taiwan.	Direct-selling store in <i>Wufenpu</i> and manufacturing in China.	Buys clothes from manufacturers located in <i>Wufenpu</i> ; wholesalers based in <i>Wufenpu</i> selling imported clothing; wholesalers based in other parts of Taiwan and abroad (Korea and mostly China).
Product	T-shirts	Mostly garments for teenage girls and women.	Mostly garments for teenage girls and women.
Fashion ideas	Fashion magazines and department stores.	Western fashion magazines, Japanese fashion magazines (the Japanese interpreted Western runway fashion trends as wearable styles),reference materials from Korea (the Koreans interpreted Western runway fashion trends as wearable styles).	Western fashion magazines, Japanese fashion magazines (the Japanese interpreted Western runway fashion trends as wearable styles),reference materials from Korea (the Koreans interpreted Western runway fashion trends as wearable styles).

Mr. Zhang was born in Taipei in 1975. He went to study in the United States when he was 12. He then completed his bachelor's degree there, with a major in finance. After graduating from university, he worked for a couple of companies in the States as a marketing planner. In 1998, he met his girlfriend Jill in LA. Jill's father ran two stores selling teenage girls' clothes in *Wufenpu*. Jill wanted to return to Taiwan to help her father manage his stores, and Mr. Zhang decided to accompany her in 1999 to help out. After working together for a year, they had a huge row about the most appropriate business plan for the stores and broke up in 2000. Mr. Zhang subsequently acquired the know-how required to manage a store selling clothes in *Wufenpu*. He therefore decided to open his own garment shop there in 2001. First, he hired two clerks to take turns in the shop while he worked as the buyer. This meant that he had to go to China two to three times a month. After two years working in this business, he realised that if he wanted to make more money, he needed to open his own manufacturing plant in China to reduce costs. Moreover, he knew that he could also sell clothes to other wholesalers from *Wufenpu* and other retailers all over Taiwan. Mr. Zhang opened his manufacturing business in China in 2003. The main targets for the clothes he sells are teenage girls

and women between the ages of 20 and 35. He now has over 30 employees at his manufacturing plant in China. There are also still two clerks working in Mr. Zhang's shop in *Wufenpu*. He still goes to China once or twice a month, but the manager there reports to him every day¹⁰⁴.

Mr. Zhang described the process:

I go to China twice a month. I spend seven to 10 days there each time. The main purpose of my going is to check on the production side. We make about 18 to 20 sets of clothes every two weeks. Basically, I find pictures online or in the magazines of clothing I'd like to sell and send them to pattern makers in my factory in China for a sample. After the sample is made, I check it out, and if it's ok, then I'll have my factory produce the clothes.

The inspiration for the production always comes from magazines. I read many fashion magazines a month to search for inspiration. The magazines I read are basically are international publications, like Vogue and Elle. Japanese magazines are also on my monthly reading list.

(Mr. Zhang, shop owner in *Wufenpu* who also owns a factory in China)

Under the wholesale model, a seller has four different sources for clothing: manufacturers located in *Wufenpu*; wholesalers based in *Wufenpu* selling imported clothing; wholesalers based in other parts of Taiwan; and those based abroad, where store owners travel to select clothing to import directly. This latter business model is the one most in use in *Wufenpu*, and most of the shop owners who specialize in items for teenage girls and women have to fly to China twice a month. Some stop in Korea first, but do not place any orders there because of the high prices. They more commonly purchase samples as a reference and then fly to China to find something similar. Mrs. Lee has been a merchant in *Wufenpu* for almost eight years, and the main products in her stores are ladies' clothes. She describes her process below:

I always fly to Korea before I go to China to get a good idea of what the fashion trends are for the season. This helps me buy clothes in China. Otherwise, there are too many choices in China and it's too difficult to make my selections there.

What's more, all the fashion trends I read about in the Western fashion magazines will become wearable clothes on sale in Korea after the Korean merchandisers interpret them. If I go there to buy reference materials first, this saves me some time. (Mrs. Lee, a shop owner in *Wufenpu* specializing in ladies' clothes)

Mrs. San has owned a shop in *Wufenpu* for over 10 years, and sells clothing for teenage girls. She describes the process:

Ten years ago, I tended to place my orders in Korea because the quality of the clothing manufactured in China was too poor at the time. I don't do that anymore though due to the price wars in *Wufenpu*. I start by getting ideas in Korea and then buy the clothes in China afterwards. (Mrs. San, owner of a shop in *Wufenpu* selling teenage girls' clothing)

¹⁰⁴ See Appendix two, Mr. Zhang.

According to Mrs. Lee, reading fashion magazines is a very important step for direct-selling store owners and service wholesalers in *Wufenpu*. Accordingly, to get a complete understanding of this system, it is important to see how fashion magazines have evolved during the relevant period (the 1980s to the present day).

After the lifting of martial law¹⁰⁵ in the 1980s, information on international runway fashion trends poured into Taiwan. Western fashion magazines were first allowed in at this time, and were highly accessible before long. Fashion in Taiwan began to catch up with international runway trends due to this new access to magazines from Japan, Europe and the United States (Ye, 2002).

The Taiwanese-language editions of international fashion magazines such as *Bazaar*, *Elle*, *Cosmopolitan*¹⁰⁶, *Marie Claire*¹⁰⁷ and *Vogue* were first published in 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993 and 1996, respectively. With quick access to up-to-date fashion information from the West, the fashion market internationalized. The notion of fashion has thus been well-known to most Taiwanese women since the 1990s, and many of them are today concerned about fashion when they buy their clothes:

When I was in my 30s (in the '90s), I worked as an accountant. I enjoyed going shopping for new clothes when I got paid. Many girls in my office liked to do the same thing. We sometimes went shopping together. Before we went, we liked to read the fashion magazines first. We sometimes took turns in buying magazines like *Vogue* and *Elle* each month and then lent them to each other. We talked about the trends before we went shopping together; for instance, we always shared our opinions on what the trends were for the season. (Blue, 50 year-old female, retired accountant)

Blue is a woman who had her own job in the 1990s and no one to support. She was thus able to spend her money on clothes. Most economically independent women like Blue during this period were aware of what was fashionable and were influenced by fashion magazines when deciding what to buy. The trends reported in these magazines were mostly taken from Western runway shows. Taiwanese consumers and the native, old-fashioned garment industries were thus overwhelmed by this fashion information.

Moreover, some Japanese fashion magazines also began to publish Taiwanese-language editions at the start of the 21st century. An example is *mina*¹⁰⁸, which became available in Taiwanese in January 2003. Most of these Japanese magazines still promoted Western runway fashion

¹⁰⁵ Martial law is the imposition of military rule (usually temporarily) by military authorities over designated regions on an emergency basis when the civilian government or civilian authorities fail to function effectively, for example when there are extensive riots and protests, or when disobedience of the law becomes widespread.

¹⁰⁶ *Cosmopolitan* is an international women's magazine. It was first published in 1886 in the United States as a family magazine, was later transformed into a literary magazine, and eventually became a women's magazine in the late 1960s.

¹⁰⁷ *Marie Claire* is a monthly women's magazine first published in France. The magazine covers health, beauty and fashion topics.

¹⁰⁸ *Mina* fashion magazine (Japanese edition) was first published in Japan in March 2001 by SHUFUNOTOMO Co., Ltd. Its target audience is young women aged between 18 and 20.

trends. For example, in *ViVi*¹⁰⁹ in June 2011, the Japanese editor highlighted the trend for "loose, transparent, soft" clothing, which she claimed was the key thing to wear to emulate celebrities. She also claimed that these fashion trends were promoted by the Western fashion bloggers (specifically a Parisian fashion blog) who introduced the runway fashion trends in Paris.

Even though the trends covered in Japanese magazines were still primarily reports of Western runway shows, the most obvious difference between these and Western publications was that the Western runway trends the Japanese featured were considered to be more wearable. It is therefore arguable that these Western trends perceived by Taiwanese consumers were hybrids, mixing Western sensibilities with other interpretations. For example, the trend for transparency was actually the leading fashion trend promoted in most of the runway shows in 2009, and was featured on *Vogue.com*.¹¹⁰ Yet the clothes presented in the runway shows were considered to be too transparent in Taiwan as the models' breasts were fully revealed.

Wufenpu shop owner Mr. Zhang¹¹¹ mentioned that he had read about this trend in 2009 from the runway reports, but recognized that it was too edgy for Taiwanese consumers. However, after seeing how the trend was interpreted in Japanese magazines, he saw how to turn it into something wearable. So, the concept is essentially taken from Western runways, but some details come from interpretations by Japanese magazines. These trends can thus be regarded as hybrid Western fashion trends. It was at this point that the hybrid Western runway fashion hegemony established its leading role in the garment industry and the sphere of garment consumption in Taiwan.

The clothes sold by direct-sale stores with factories in China are basically produced and inspired by Western runway fashion trends, or Japanese/Korean interpreted hybrids thereof. Most of the trends covered in Japanese magazines and sold in Korea today originate from Western runways. Taiwanese merchandisers then take inspiration from them to manufacture clothes for Taiwanese consumers, as Mr. Zhang explains:

Most Western fashion trends seen in runway shows are unwearable. They are mostly concepts of the trends. These trends were interpreted into wearable styles in Japanese magazines and on Korean clothes markets. That's why as well as reading Western fashion magazines, I still need to read Japanese magazines and go to collect reference materials in Korea. (Mr. Zhang, shop owner in *Wufenpu* who also owns a factory in China)

In another example, a shop owner in *Wufenpu*, Yang, tells a similar story:

Before I go to China, I have to collect enough information to buy clothes there. Because there are too many shops in *Humen*, if I don't have any references, I don't think I would know how to buy clothes there. Basically, I need to know what the main fashion trends on the international runway shows are. I get this information from reading the magazine

¹⁰⁹ *ViVi* is a Japanese fashion magazine published by Kodansha and targeted at women aged between 17 and 27. It (Japanese edition) was first published in May 1983. The Taiwanese edition of the magazine first appeared in 2000.

¹¹⁰ *Vogue.com* is the fashion website run by the famous fashion magazine *Vogue*. It is a website that introduces fashion trends seasonally.

¹¹¹ See Footnote 104.

In Fashion. Besides that, I also read a lot of Japanese magazines. The main trends from the runway shows are usually unwearable, but are interpreted by Japanese magazines into wearable styles. That's why I usually read Japanese magazines to see how these edgy Western trends translate into wearable styles for general consumers. (Yang, shop owner in *Wufenpu*)

Mr. Zhang and Yang are shop owners in *Wufenpu*. Their target clients are women between the ages of 20 and 35. Mr. Zhang owns a factory in China, and most of the clothes he sells in his shop are produced there. Yang does not manufacture the clothes she sells in her shop, but purchases them in *Humen*. Both of them claim that Western runway trends are still the main fashion ideas that they have to be aware of each season before they start to manufacture or buy clothes. By Western runway fashion trends, they mean the trends promoted on the international runway shows mainly in Paris, London, Milan and New York.

Moreover, they both explain that the clothes worn by the models in the runway shows are not particularly wearable. Accordingly, they also like to read Japanese fashion magazines as a second source of inspiration, claiming that these interpret the trends into wearable clothing styles. This helps them to know what clothes to manufacture or buy to satisfy their customers in *Wufenpu*. It is clear to see in this example how fashion information and clothing trends are conveyed to Taiwan by these ready-to-wear manufacturers or wholesalers from both Western fashion magazines (and thus the Western world) and Japanese/Korean interpretations thereof. Apparently, then, the hegemony of hybrid Western fashion as interpreted from that represented in the runway shows in the four fashion capitals has existed in Taiwan since the late 1980s.

6.2 Body regulation in the ready-to-wear fashion system

In this section, how Lipovetsky (1994) analyzed the fashion phenomenon in France after the introduction of ready-to-wear clothing is utilized as a reference point to examine how this phenomenon changed in Taiwan after the introduction of ready-to-wear in *Wufenpu*. This approach is also used to investigate how the idea of fashion became an impetus for body regulation for many Taiwanese women.

6.2.1 Diverse aesthetics, one ideal body

Although many different aesthetics and styles were brought into Taiwan by the ready-to-wear fashion system, paradoxically, a single ideal body figure and shape was emphasized at the same time. Ironically, these varied aesthetics and styles all require an identical ideal body shape - young and beautiful - as will be demonstrated later in this section.

The predominance of *haute couture*¹¹² clothing in the 1960s in France gradually gave way

¹¹² *Haute couture* is French for high dressmaking or high fashion, which refers to the creation of exclusive custom-made clothing. *Haute couture* is made to order for a specific client. It is usually made from high-quality, expensive fabric, and is sewn by experienced seamstresses.

to new centres of creativity in the fashion world, altering the standards and ideals of high-class elegance and feminine charm. The 1960s and '70s were an age marked by the fragmentation of fashion standards, giving rise to a great variety in aesthetics and style. As Lipovetsky notes, several styles reached a level of creative autonomy. The elegant look of Chanel, the Hollywood vamp of Mugler, the ironic concoction of styles from Gaultier, and the Japanese look of Miyake Yamamoto were all popular within the same period. Each style had a very individualistic character, inviting the wearer to break the rules or uphold convention as he or she saw fit.

As noted earlier, Taiwanese clothing styles before the 1980s were mostly simple and changed very little, with an emphasis on quantity. The 1980s, however, was the start of an era of consumption (Chen, 2002), and the circumstances of politics and the economy changed. In the 1960s, the growth of export processing industries was emphasized in Taiwan. This was followed by import substitution¹¹³, which was promoted by the government in the '70s. During this time, the buying of imported products was not encouraged. Internationally, however, Taiwan's domestic market-access was pressed to be liberalized and deregulated under the threat of 'unfair trade' sanctions initiated by the US government in the 1980s. At the same time, domestically, the export-orientated Taiwanese economic miracle engendered a lot of idle capital in the market and promoted the normal populace's purchasing power as well. National incomes increased, and so did the available selection of clothing. Taiwanese women found themselves able to purchase more clothes at a reasonable price. Quantity in this era gave way to style and variety, and this trend was reflected in *Wufenpu*.

Cheap and less fashionable ready-to-wear clothes no longer satisfied consumers from the 1980s onwards, which is why most shop owners in *Wufenpu* started to sell or manufacture clothes that followed fashion trends (Ke, 1992: 190). In the 1990s, there were approximately 405 ready-to-wear wholesale shops in *Wufenpu* (ibid, 66), but this number had risen to approximately 930 by December 2002. There are various types of shop, although those catering for teenage girls are in the majority. Women's apparel is next, followed by casual wear and children's clothing. It is interesting to note that clothing for teenage girls and women comprises almost 60 per cent of the garments on sale in the entire area (Jiang, 2002: 58-59), demonstrating that feminine wear is still in the majority in *Wufenpu*. Based on my fieldwork in *Wufenpu*, the feminine clothes on sale there can be roughly divided into five styles (See Table 6.3). These are:

1. **Japanese *kawaii*¹¹⁴ fashion** : clothing that accentuates the 'cuteness' of the wearer. The designs are usually taken from Japanese magazines such as *Mina and Kera*¹¹⁵.
2. **Japanese OL ("Office-Lady")¹¹⁶** : Japanese OL clothing is usually designed to convey the obedience and loyalty of the traditional Japanese woman, and thus tends to be classic and ladylike in style.

¹¹³ Government strategy that emphasizes replacing imports to encourage local production for local consumption, rather than producing for export markets.

¹¹⁴ *Kawaii in Japanese* literally means loveable or adorable. Cuteness has been a prominent aspect of Japanese popular culture, clothing, personal appearance, behaviour and manners since the 1970s.

¹¹⁵ *Kera* is a popular Japanese punk fashion magazine. Originally known as *Keraouac*, the name has become synonymous in recent years with the rise in punk, Lolita and gothic fashion trends in both Japan and internationally.

¹¹⁶ An 'office lady' is a female office worker in Japan who generally performs pink-collar tasks such as serving tea and undertaking secretarial or clerical work.

3. **Korean Wave/Korean fever** : Gala Television¹¹⁷ began broadcasting Korean dramas in 1995, beginning a Korean Wave in Taiwan. Many other TV stations followed suit, and broadcast shows featuring Korean cuisine, travel, music, culture and language. The sudden surge in the popularity of South Korean culture was dubbed "the Korean Wave" or "Korean fever." Taiwan is now influenced by the fashion of popular Korean celebrities.
4. **Nightclub La-Mei "Hot Chick"** : many urban nightclubs opened in Taipei's eastern districts in the late 1990s. In order to attract more male customers, these clubs set about drawing in attractive young women. Wednesdays and Thursdays became ladies nights and certain holidays were given special dress-code themes, such as "bikini night" or "miniskirt night." Admission is free on these occasions for female customers following the dress code. These nightclub dress-codes have developed into a particular style of clothing in Taiwan (Lee, 2007: 41-5).
5. **Cosplay** : originating in Japan, cosplay is a type of performance art in which the wearer engages in costume role-play. Participants in cosplay dress to represent a specific character drawn from popular fiction, comic books, video games or anime, a majority of which are Japanese.

Table 6.3

	Style	Average Age of Consumers	Cultural Implications	Body Representations
Japanese Kawaii	Cuteness.	16-22	Youth.	Girl-like slim body.
Japanese OL	Classic ladylike.	22-28	Feminine, obedience, loyalty.	Slim, feminine body.
Korean Wave	Simple, feminine.	20-28	Feminine, compliance.	Slim feminine body.
Nightclub La-Mei	Sexy.	16-24	Youth.	Sexy feminine body.
Cosplay	Costume role-play.	16-22	Youth culture.	Young body.

Table 6.3 shows how these various styles help women to express their individuality. How the body has been represented seems to have become more important in contemporary society, particularly when compared to its value when only generic un-styled clothing was available for practical, everyday wear. This phenomenon will be examined next.

The human body and the way it is clothed has become a crucial part of expressing our individual style and personality. Bourdieu claims that the body exists in a social world, and the social world exists in the body. In his work *Sport and Social Class* (1978), he explains that we can tell the different habitus¹¹⁸ inscribed on a person's body based on the body's different social class. The embodied actor is an active reproducer of societal distinctions, and the body reveals indicators

¹¹⁷ Gala Television Corporation is a corporation that was established on June 13, 1997.

¹¹⁸ Habitus is a set of socially learned dispositions, skills and ways of acting. They are acquired through the activities of everyday life.

of social class, habitus and taste. The body is further viewed as a stage upon which to present different forms of capital¹¹⁹. (Bourdieu, 1978).

Moreover, fashion has the ability to foster individuality. It not only shapes a person's sense of style, but also affects how the individual clothes him or herself on a day-to-day basis. Joanne Entwistle (2000) states that people do not perceive their self-image as separate from their choice of clothing, but instead see these things as a totality. To understand how fashion affects modernity and individualism, one cannot overlook the transformation of the self-image involved in the wearing of clothes and body shaping. In traditional societies, the body is bound to inherited models of what is socially acceptable that are central to the ritual life and communal ceremonies of the community. The body in contemporary societies is instead tied to modern notions of the individual and personal identity. I agree with how most sociologists explain the relationship between the body and the self. Shilling (1993), Giddens (1991) and Featherstone (1991) all use similar characterizations to show how our bodies are experienced as what Entwistle calls the “envelope of the self” (Entwistle, 2000: 18-9). Giddens argues:

...that the body, like the self, becomes a site of interaction, appropriation and reappropriation which links reflexively organized processes and systematically ordered expert knowledge. It has it were a thoroughly permeable outer layer through which the reflexive projection of the self and externally formed abstract systems routinely enter. (Giddens, 1991: 218)

The practices of body-shaping and the wearing of clothes are both important for the transformation of the self-image and the representation of selfhood, which is itself fostered by the concept of fashion. As a consequence, there are increasing numbers of guide books and practical manuals for sale that are concerned with health, diet, appearance, exercise and other ways to affect the body and the presentation of the self.

Apart from caring about what clothes to wear to demonstrate individual style and personality, body shapes and figures have now also become a major concern. It is clear to see in the interviews I have conducted, such as those quoted below, that many women in Taiwan care about presenting themselves as having an ideal body shape. One of my informants, Yong, works as a retailer and has an online shop selling clothes for young girls and women.

Yong was born in Taichung, in the middle part of Taiwan, in 1986. She graduated from senior high school in 2004. After graduating, and as she liked shopping for clothes in *Wufenpu* and thought she was knowledgeable about fashion, Yong started her own business selling clothing on the night market in Taipei. She did this for two years. During that time, she came to know Mr. Zhang (previous key actor), because she usually went to his shop in *Wufenpu* to buy the items she went on to sell. Indeed, she went to his shop once or twice a week, usually on Mondays, which is the day many

¹¹⁹ In *The Forms of Capital* (1986), Bourdieu distinguishes three types of capital: economic, social and cultural. He added symbolic capital to the list later. Economic capital is command over economic resources, such as assets and cash. Social capital is resources based on group membership, relationships, networks of support and influence. Cultural capital is forms of knowledge, education and skills. Symbolic capital is the resources available to an individual on the basis of honour, prestige or recognition.

retailers, wholesalers and distributors from all over Taiwan buy clothes in the area. In fact, some shops in *Wufenpu* refuse to engage in retail sales on Mondays, because they do not have time to serve individual customers during the day.

After selling clothes on the night market for two years, Yong decided to change her approach, which she felt was too tiring as the working hours were long and the weather unpredictable. She also had to deal with the heat during the summers and the cold in the winters. Accordingly, six years ago, Yong started to sell clothes online. Now, her main office and stock are in Taichung, and most of her clothes are still obtained wholesale from Mr. Zhang's shop in *Wufenpu*. Like Mr. Zhang, her main target audiences are teenage girls and women aged between 20 and 30¹²⁰.

Yang, Chon and Yong are from different age groups and have different professions. But they all have the same opinions about how important the ideal body is in their lives.

I don't have miniskirts and sleeveless tops in my closet anymore. I have chunky arms and old-looking, floppy knees. That's why I don't wear miniskirts or revealing sleeveless tops; they make me look older. My skin isn't tight anymore. I don't want people to see me as an old lady. People didn't used to care in the old days, but nowadays the media is always reporting on how to look young and beautiful. I started being careful about not showing any cellulite¹²¹ and my chunky arms by covering up.

If you look young and beautiful it means you have a good family life and a caring husband because you don't have to worry about the family's finances and don't have to work hard all your life. It also means you will have more time to look after your appearance, and of course you will look young and beautiful. (Yang, 58 year-old housewife)

I believe being tall and thin is more beautiful for a woman. For example, some jobs require women to be at least 165cm tall, such as a flight attendant. I'm only 155.5cm. I'm too short. 165cm is the perfect height for a woman. Clothes will look good on you if you're at least 165 cm. It's too late for me. (Chon, 20 year-old female student)

I've been 40 kilos for many years. I started to weigh about 42 kg a few weeks ago. If I look fat, I don't think my customers would want to buy the clothes I sell in the shops. They would probably think these clothes will make them look fat too. Also, if I don't stay fit, I don't think I'll get much attention when I go to nightclubs.

I've started being conscious of my eating habits. I have to stay fit, so midnight snacking is totally off-limits. I've also started exercising when I watch TV. I also go to belly dancing¹²² classes to get in shape. (Yong, 26 year-old female)

¹²⁰ See Appendix two, Yong.

¹²¹ Cellulite is a topographic skin change that is thought to occur in most post-pubertal females. It presents as a modification of skin topography, and is evident in the form of skin dimpling and nodularities that mainly occur in women in the pelvic region, lower limbs and abdomen. It is caused by the herniation of subcutaneous fat within fibrous connective tissue, leading to a padded or orange peel-like appearance.

¹²² Belly dancing, a traditional Middle Eastern dance, is something of a misnomer as every part of the body is involved in the dance. The most featured body part is usually the hips.

It is easy to see from these examples how, in order to create their individual styles, more and more women are not only caring about their choice of clothes, but also about the shape of their body. Yang is a housewife, and most of her friends are married. In Yang's case, she explains that if you are a 50-something woman and look young and beautiful, this means you have a happy marriage. The norm of looking younger and beautiful is to look fit instead of showing chunky arms and cellulite. Young student Chon believes that 165cm is the perfect height for a woman. She explains that she had always dreamed of being a flight attendant, but is too short. In her view, flight attendants are always beautiful and adored by men, and it was the dream job of most of the girls in her school. Yong is a young clothes shop owner, and she enjoys going to nightclubs. She claims that she wants to stay fit because she likes to get attention in these clubs. Moreover, she has to model the clothes she sells in her stores, and believes that most of her customers tend to buy items that make them look slim. If Yong gets fat, she is afraid that the customers might think the clothes she wears and sells would make them look overweight too. Accordingly, on the basis of the three examples above, it is clear that in Taiwan the body has become a crucial stage upon which to present forms of capital.

6.2.2 Youth aesthetic – youthfulness and smaller size

In Lipovetsky's work (1994), which analyzed the fashion phenomenon in France, she concludes that the reconstruction of the dominant classes there and the new values of non-conformity led to the decline of French haute couture and brought about new aesthetics in the 1950s and '60s. A new bourgeoisie defined less by economic capital than by cultural capital sought to differentiate itself from the traditional bourgeoisie by avoiding overtly elitist signs. Luxurious consumption was also repudiated following the rise of egalitarian values. Under this logic, the new values were made apparent by free societies in the stages of mass production and consumption. Youth culture and its new values emerged in the 1950s and '60s, promoting novel concepts like individual expression, relaxation, humour and spontaneity. It is interesting to observe a major reversal in models of behaviour: young girls used to want to look like their mothers, but today it is the other way around (Lipovetsky, 1994: 98 – 100). Youth culture has made its mark in *Wufenpu* as well (see Table 6.3), and it is clear that presenting a slim, feminine and young body has become important for women in Taiwan's consumer society. As these attitudes have taken root, most clothing styles have become visibly younger:

The clothes in *Wufenpu* were mostly made for older women from 35 to 60 in the '70s to early '80s. Those clothes were really old-fashioned. Clothing styles have changed since then, though. People tend to dress younger. The clothes I sold in the old days, for instance, were made for women from 40 to 60. I'm 52 now and I wouldn't want to wear them; they'd make me look really old. I think they're more suitable for women of 60 or older. Nowadays, people like to look younger and my business is facing a challenge: fewer and fewer older women are interested in older clothes. (Pan Aiyong, a 52 year-old female store owner in *Wufenpu*)

I may be over 50, but I still like to buy clothes made for teenage girls, mostly jeans and t-shirts. The clothes we sell are made for older women from about 40 to 60, but most

customers like to dress younger nowadays. I always suggest that my customers buy younger and bigger. Many of them like to complain that they want to dress younger, but these clothes are often too small, so I tell them to go with bigger sizes when shopping for younger clothes.

There used to be a lot of shops in *Wufenpu* with clothes for older women, but there are a lot fewer since the '90s. (San Cheng, 53 year-old sales clerk in *Wufenpu*)

Referring to Pan Aiying and San Cheng's explanations, since the late 1980s, fewer shops in *Wufenpu* have sold or manufactured clothes which make women look culturally older. Increasing numbers of customers would like to look and dress younger. Even the older women in Taiwan prefer to dress in younger styles, because they all want to look younger than their real age. Some of them claim that making yourself look old suggests that you might come from a poor economic background, and people would look down on you because of this. Moreover, some of the women also told me that if you do not dress younger, your husband might want to cheat on you with an attractive younger girl. There is therefore pressure to dress in young styles regardless of actual age. As my informant, San describes:

When some of my clients get together, we all like to gossip. Sometimes we try to identify whether someone is in a good financial position or not by seeing whether she dresses herself fancy and young. If she can make herself look younger than her real age, that means she might be rich, and can afford to spend money on taking care of her body and buying lots of beautiful, trendy and fancy clothes to make herself look younger. If someone always looks younger than her real age, she'll get lots of compliments and friends. No one will look down on her. Also, we all like to warn each other that we have to dress younger to stop our husbands from cheating on us with a hot young girl.

It's not always easy to dress young, because all the clothes in young styles are made in tiny, small sizes, which means we have to shape our body to get in them. (San Cheng, 53 year-old female sales clerk in *Wufenpu*)

Youthfulness has thus become one of the rules women feel they must obey when they face the prospect of choosing clothes. But to do so, they increasingly have to be concerned about their body shape and maintain a certain size, because most of the garments designed or produced for young people are smaller. Moreover, people assume that looking fat makes you look older than your real age. As my informant Cheng stated:

The metabolism works slower when you grow older, which means you're more likely to gain weight. Which means if you look fat, people might assume that you're old. That's why I have to keep fit to look young, beautiful and healthy. (Cheng, 54 year-old female, pharmacist)

Cheng works as a pharmacist, and is aware of the natural changes that take place in the human body as we age, which will make us put on weight more easily. Although she is aware of this inevitability, to look younger she has decided to keep fit. Looking young and slim has thus become the rule for

being beautiful. This seems to be a contradiction to the development of the fashion system, in which people like, want and accept a variety of styles that allow consumers to express their individuality.

This review of how fashion phenomena have changed since the introduction of ready-to-wear clothing to *Wufenpu* shows how, through the mass media, fashion has brought about a certain democratization of clothing in that it seems to be accessible to everyone and encourages non-conformity, variety and diversity in aesthetics. Upon reviewing the information from my fieldwork, however, I have seen that despite the apparent variety of available expressions of fashion, society has a rather uniform set of aesthetics. Values such as being young and slim seem to have been adopted by women almost universally in a way that can hardly be called democratic. The age of consumption may have promoted individualism and variety, but consumers find themselves controlled by certain homogenizing forces at the same time. Although these rules of aesthetics and fashion have been adopted, after interviewing shop owners in *Wufenpu* and many female consumers, I have found that they do sometimes have their own ways of fighting back against these controlling forces.

6.3 Tactics of negotiation: female consumers' voices were heard

While ready-to-wear fashion has brought democracy to clothing, as noted above, there is a fundamental contradiction in how it has also created a wholly hegemonic trend where looking slim and young through what one wears has become virtually the golden rule of women's fashion. It seemed at first that the bodies of most Taiwanese women were tied up by this social restriction. However, after interviewing shop owners in *Wufenpu* and many female consumers, it has become clear that neither the wholesalers there nor the female clients are cultural victims enslaved to this ideal.

In this section, the theory of strategic bodily practice as discussed in the Introduction and earlier chapters is applied to demonstrate how consumers act in this fashion system. Moreover, as my fieldwork shows, these Taiwanese consumers negotiate with the hegemony of hybrid Western runway fashion by making their strategic bodily practice via dress articulate their preferences regarding fashion and the ideal body. For example, in Taiwan's society, consumers express what they think about fashion trends (which essentially originated from Western fashion capitals), and articulate their preferences to the manufacturers from *Wufenpu* who produce clothes. Although they have not changed the ready-to-wear fashion system altogether, these consumers still make their selective adoption of it a form of negotiation. Their articulation of their preferences makes their consumption of clothes a dialectic process with the garment industry and ready-to-wear fashion system production. In this section, there is an explanation of how, in certain specific contexts, wholesalers in *Wufenpu* and Taiwanese women have in fact managed to make their articulation of consumption negotiate with, if not resist, the hegemony of hybrid Western runway fashion.

6.3.1 The selective adoption of Western-led fashion trends: 'creating' hybridity

This section describes both how wholesalers in *Wufenpu* work as intermediaries of fashion and the roles consumers play within the process of the articulation of fashion. The Western fashion industry

may still exert a dominating influence on fashion in Taiwan, but wholesalers and consumers in *Wufenpu* work together to only selectively accept this hegemony and to interpret Western runway fashion trends in their own way. As noted above, these Western trends are not simply accepted by Taiwanese wholesalers and consumers; many styles are treated solely as concepts and are not necessarily considered to be wearable. Instead, these trends are turned into wearable clothing when they appear in Japanese fashion magazines or are sold in Japan. This is why wholesalers and consumers use Japanese magazines as a guide.

Nevertheless, wholesalers in *Wufenpu* do not simply copy the images in Japanese fashion magazines with the intention of producing identical clothes; many of them prefer to use their own ideas, utilizing Japanese magazines and the Japanese fashion market as inspiration while also taking into account the opinions of local customers. I thus argue that wholesalers in *wufenpu* still have the agency to lend their own interpretation to fashion trends:

···fashion trends from Western runway fashion shows are the information I need to know every season before I manufacture clothes. But most of these trends are too edgy and unwearable···

My inspiration usually comes from Japanese magazines such as *Kera*, *Lipper*, *Cutie* or *Mini*. I've got my own factory in China. I don't produce clothes that look exactly identical to the ones in the magazines. I just take these images as inspiration and produce the clothes I'd like to sell. By the way, my clients' preferences would also be important for me to think about when I produce clothes. (Nico, *Wufenpu* shop owner)

I now have two stores in *Wufenpu* and one factory in China. Every single piece of clothing in my stores is designed by me. I've been in this business for many years. I know what kind of fit or pattern my clients would like··· I read Western fashion magazines such as *Vogue* and *Elle* to know what fashion trends there are every season. Then I usually go to Japan and Korea to buy some samples. My shopping there gives a sense of the latest trends and a great deal of inspiration. After shopping in these two countries, I fly to China to meet with my pattern-maker about the design of our products. I don't steal ideas from fashion magazines, because those clothes might not suit my clients. I like to combine clients' opinions and inspiration from fashion magazines to produce clothes.

I also hire designers to help me to design clothes. I once hired a student who was majoring in fashion design to give me some help with the design stage. She left about a month ago and I'm thinking about hiring another one. (Rong, *Wufenpu* shop owner)

Nico and Rong are both shop owners in *Wufenpu*. Like Mr. Zhang (see Footnote 104), they both have factories in China and produce their own clothes to sell in their shops. They both claim they get inspiration from the Japanese fashion industry before manufacturing their clothing. They also emphasize that they always put their clients' preferences (mostly Taiwanese customers) at the heart of what they produce. Although so-called Western runway fashion trends and Japanese interpreted Western runway fashion might influence Taiwan's fashion styles on some levels, the wholesalers in

Wufenpu are not passive agents; instead they work as intermediaries of fashion in the Taiwan fashion system, which is dominated by Western fashion.

In the case of *Wufenpu*, wholesalers and shop owners possess the agency to interpret fashion and consumers have room to make their opinions heard. Garment merchants come from all over Taiwan to shop in *Wufenpu*. These merchants are in direct contact with consumers, and commonly relate their opinions to the wholesalers and shop owners. This relationship ensures that consumers are heard and that wholesalers and shop owners have a reliable channel for understanding how their products are received:

In my 12th year in *Wufenpu*, I got to know a lot of important merchants who frequently gave me feedback straight from the consumers. This helped me in terms of what to produce and made my business prosper. Some clients for instance suggested that I produce a new line of brassieres¹²³ as they were complaining about the lack of attractive new bras on the market. These new bras usually come in new patterns and are in new colours, which are different from the traditional ones. Now we've come out with over 2000 different lines of bra since we started out. They're among the best-selling products my company makes. Lots of young girls like to buy them and wear them to nightclubs. (Mr. Zhang, *Wufenpu* shop owner)

Sometimes it's not enough to just know what the trends are, because many of them are often simply unacceptable to consumers. If I follow a trend that turns out to be poorly received by consumers, my clothes are completely unmarketable. That's why I always like to get advice from merchants who come face to face with the consumer. Some merchants shop at my stores on a regular basis, and we've become friends. They naturally have a strong financial incentive to know what styles are actually marketable, so they're more than willing to tell me everything they know about consumer preferences. It's a win-win situation. (Mrs. Lee, *Wufenpu* shop owner)

Although fashion trends seen in Japanese magazines are in some way adopted from Western runway fashion, and most consumers are likewise influenced by it, according to the information above, Taiwanese consumers are not totally passive agents. Instead, they are able to fulfill their agency through conveying their opinions to the shop owners or manufacturers. In order to sell products, it is important for manufacturers in *Wufenpu* to listen to the opinions that are conveyed from consumers via garment merchants. In this context, Taiwanese garment merchants, wholesalers, manufacturers and consumers all have the agency to determine what is acceptable to the local consumer. Trends at this point are re-expressed by them. As in the case of Mr. Zhang's new brassiere lines, it is clear that consumer opinion bears a close relationship to production, and customers articulate their preferences with respect to relevant fashion trends. These consumers are not completely passive agents. Indeed, Taiwanese women use strategic bodily practices to negotiate with the dominance of Western-led fashion trends.

¹²³ The brassiere is an article of clothing that covers, supports and elevates the breasts.

6.3.2 The selective adoption of the hegemony of the ideal female body: the voices of older women and young girls

Originally, it was assumed that Taiwanese women as consumers had no ability whatsoever to determine the size expectations or shape of their bodies, or how well their bodies fit the available sizes and styles of clothing produced. After interviewing these female consumers, it is clear that they are not passive victims of the shape or size expectations of the fashion industry. These women actually express their opinions to retailers, shop owners and sales clerks by asking them purchase or manufacture clothes that fit their bodies or make them feel more comfortable. By applying the theory of strategic bodily practice, we can see how these female consumers have tried to actively become involved in the process of producing clothes and have made dress their way to negotiate with the dominance of the notion of the ideal body imposed by the fashion industry. Although they are not powerful enough to alter the entire ready-to-wear fashion system, or to change the expectation set up to regulate their body size or shape, they do actually have some power to articulate what kind of body they want to have.

Clothing presented by models on the runway or in fashion magazines is always smaller in size and designed for a slimmer figure than that of the average consumer. Most women are not born to be supermodels, and usually take issue with aspects of their own figure. Some complain of big bellies and others of chunky arms, while many are dissatisfied with their height. Size adjustment then becomes an essential part of wholesaling and manufacturing in *Wufenpu*. Feedback and communication in this regard works rather like a food chain: consumers convey their comments to sellers, and sellers continue to provide suggestions to *Wufenpu* wholesalers and manufacturers. The process allows the industry to base its decisions solidly on consumer opinion, and consumers are allowed to act as agents in the system.

Our sizes are basically dependent on requests from merchants. Merchants face customers directly. They always provide information about the sizes that most women are. Most of our clothes are tailored to the average size of Taiwanese women. (Rong, *Wufenpu* shop owner)

As women articulate their aspirations about their own physiques, their role as agents in the system is apparent in two ways. The first is seen in women above the age of 40, and the other in women below that age.

In my interviewees' experience, the opinions of consumers were always listened to. Originally, many older women complained about the small size of the fashionable clothes sold in *Wufenpu*, and these complaints were delivered to the shop owners and garment merchants. These merchants and wholesalers then passed these opinions on to the manufacturers, who responded by making larger sizes of some of the younger clothing styles.

This is my brother's shop and I've been working for him for over 10 years. Our clothing is targeted at women from 40 to 50 years of age. These women still want to look young. However, many of the clothes in younger styles are usually too small for them to wear.

This isn't going to happen in our shops. If our sizes are too small, vendors will definitely complain and refuse to buy, so we take care to avoid this. (Da, *wufenpu* sales clerk)

Nowadays, women don't like to wear clothes that will make them look old. All women want to dress younger, but quite often can't fit in clothing made for younger people. After hearing a lot of complaints from sellers, we started to produce younger looking clothing in bigger sizes. We've listened to older women's opinions and do our best to satisfy them. So the two major trends in our business are that clothes are becoming both younger and larger. (Chia, sales clerk in *Wufenpu*)

Da and Chia both work as sales clerks in *Wufenpu*. This is the front line of the industry, as they talk to customers in the shops almost every day. They both claim that listening to customers' opinions is crucial, as it allows them to provide valuable feedback to the buyers and/or owner of the shop in which they work. Both of their shops sell clothes for women between the ages of 40 and 50. In Da's case, she conveyed the opinions of the consumers to the buyer, who in turn started to purchase bigger sizes of the younger styles. In Chia's case, the clothes sold in the store where she works are produced by its own factory. She therefore relayed her clients' opinions to the owner of the shop, who then asked the factories to manufacture younger-looking clothing in larger sizes.

Like the older female shoppers, many young girls also complained about the smaller sizes of the clothes (especially the sexy clothes) they saw in *Wufenpu*. They also conveyed their opinions to the sellers and manufacturers, who listened. As a consequence, more sexy clothes are produced in larger sizes to fit the bodies of these young girls.

Women's clothing designed for the nightclub scene is usually produced in very small sizes. The clothes are usually very tight to allow the wearer show off her figure. These clothes are supposed to make the wearer look sexy, but young ladies quite often complain about the tightness and tiny sizes. I report this to the manufacturers, and they really respect any advice from me and my clients. These clothes are becoming more stretchy and are now available in medium sizes. (Bai, *Wufenpu* shop owner)

I like to dress sexy for the clubs, but often these clothes are extremely tiny and not adjustable. Then I asked the seller if she could pass on my comments to the manufacturer. It worked. Clothes now seem to have more elasticity. I can now dress sexy and feel comfortable at the same time. (Yong, customer in *Wufenpu*)

Bai and Yong (see Footnote 120) are respectively 23 and 26-years old. It was originally their view that if you want to look sexy, you had to fit in clothes in tiny sizes. However, after complaining to the manufacturers and sellers, these sexy dresses became more stretchy and elastic. Despite the fact that a slim figure remains a mainstream standard of female beauty, Taiwanese women are freely able to perform their agency in the system with regard to the size of the clothes for sale. As discussed above, it is evident that regardless of age or generation, these women have a role in determining the size of the clothes available to them, allowing them to choose the styles they want no matter what the size of their bodies. In other words, these Taiwanese women are actively participating in

the process of making clothes, and this is the proof of how they use strategic bodily practices to challenge the hegemony of the ideal female body.

6.3.3 Youth and the articulation of age: more than a constraint

Youthfulness is an enduring principle of fashion, and a majority of clothing styles reflect this, meaning that women from much older generations seem to be excluded. Youthfulness as an ideal, however, is now being accepted by ever older generations of women. Previously, women were expected to look elegant or classy, invariably accentuating rather than hiding their perceived age. At the same time, these 'older' styles are quite often both physically encumbering and downright uncomfortable to wear. I initially had the impression that the young look was a social constraint on the freedoms of older generations of women. However, after countless interviews with these women, I began to see the liberating aspects of dressing young.

In interviews with my older sources, I repeatedly encountered a growing distaste among women for 'mom outfits.'¹²⁴ As Wu, a mom outfit store owner in *Wufenpu*, notes:

There were a lot of stores that sold mom outfits in the '80s. Clothes from *Wufenpu* looked older as well. Circumstances have changed in the last 10 years though. I used to have five people working for me. I didn't have to explore the market, and clients came to me by themselves. Now I have to look for new clients. All my regular customers are older. Most of them are based in clothing markets down south directed to older ladies. No one wants to run a business like mine anymore. There are fewer than five mom outfit stores in *Wufenpu*. (Wu, *Wufenpu* owner of a store specializing in mom outfits)

Surprisingly, many of the older women I spoke to saw dressing young as an act of liberation and not a constraint. The need for elegance and sophistication in older styles often produces clothing that is cumbersome and awkward to wear. Younger clothing, on the other hand, is more comfortable and allows for more freedom of movement. Many of my informants felt that it was liberating to dress in a younger style for this reason.

I don't like to wear clothes that are too elegant or classic. I'm not just a doll to for people to look at. My clothes should make me feel comfortable and confident. I may be over 50 and have two sons in college, but I still prefer a t-shirt and jeans. They make me look young, but more importantly I can move easily in them. I can't imagine wearing a classy dress to work. How could I move in a dress like that? (Lu, 54 year-old housewife)

I enjoy wearing clothes that make me look younger. Doll dresses¹²⁵ and jeans are my favourite. If you wear clothes that make you look sophisticated, then people will expect you to behave like an old lady. You don't get to be energetic and lively. I'm not fond of

¹²⁴ Mom outfits were traditionally made for women over the age of 40 in Taiwan. The silhouette of a mom outfit is usually loose and does not emphasize a fashionable, feminine style.

¹²⁵ Doll dresses are dresses that do not emphasize the feminine waist line or breast shape. Women usually wear doll dresses to make themselves look as innocent as dolls.

being that kind of lady, especially at work. I sometimes have to take inventory, and an elegant dress would definitely not work. Doll dresses and jeans on the other hand suit me very well. Not only do they allow me to move and work unhindered, but they also sometimes cover the flaws in my figure. Doll dresses for example hide my big belly really well. (Mei, 55 year-old representative of insurance company)

Younger looking clothes are always designed in a more casual style, and that's why I like wearing them. I don't like wearing a two-piece suit. I know older ladies are expected to wear them, but I really don't like them. I don't feel comfortable in them. I even asked my daughter to buy me a pair of jeans for Mother's Day instead of the suit she was planning to buy.

I work as a home tailor. Sometimes I have to measure my clients, sometimes I have to sit all day sewing clothes, and sometimes I have to trim the fabric. Jeans are the best choice for me. I can move however I want in a pair of jeans. (Ko, 62 year-old home tailor)

Lu, Mei and Ko¹²⁶ are all women over the age of 50, and all of them mention that they prefer to wear clothes in younger styles, which make them feel more comfortable, especially when they need to work, as these outfits usually enable them to move about easily. Jeans and doll dresses are the clothes that are considered to be younger looking. These older women have a positive attitude towards dressing in younger styles, and most of them feel more comfortable in doing so, preferring these styles to classical 'old lady' clothing. It is therefore clear that a youthful style is more than just a constraint to many older consumers.

6.4 Summary

Taiwan in the 1980s experienced the onset of an era of consumption wherein the emergence of ready-to-wear clothing brought the idea of ready-to-wear fashion into women's garment consumption practices on many levels. This gradual formation of the ready-to-wear fashion system in Taiwan has been an essential part of the transformation of the Taiwanese female body into an agent of consumption. This chapter has applied fashion theorist Kawamura's (2004) notion of fashion as a system, which is a series of institutions that produce the concept as well as the phenomenon and practice of fashion. Through this concept, designing, manufacturing, distribution and sales can all be seen as contributing institutions that affect how the fashion system is formed. In the 1980s, *Wufenpu* was the largest centre for ready-to-wear collecting and distributing in Taiwan, and so in this research is considered to be a critical site for a study seeking to understand how Taiwan's ready-to-wear fashion system has developed.

The mass production of ready-to-wear clothing was originally considered to be a liberating force, making fashion a far more democratic system in that it became approachable for everyone and fostered non-conformity, variety and a diverse assortment of aesthetics in the mass media (Lipovetsky,

¹²⁶ Home tailor Ko is the informant who represents key actors in this thesis. See Ko's personal background in Appendix Two.

1994). Paradoxically, however, there is still a shared aesthetic of youth and slimness hidden under these overtly plural manifestations of fashion, giving consumers new issues to deal with.

However, despite these new issues, my research did not reveal a female body that acts as a passive agent. The concept of Entwistle's theory of situated bodily practice (2000) highlights the relationship between the production, distribution and consumption of clothing. My fieldwork shows that Taiwanese women find their own way to ensure that their strategic bodily practice via dress includes the selective adoption of their preferences regarding fashion and the ideal body. These consumers are not mere cultural dupes or victims. Instead, they have found their own ways to selectively adopt the creations of the hybrid Western fashion hegemony of youth and slimness represented in runway shows in the four major fashion capitals. Such an approach enables these women to find clothes that suit them. In the theory of situated bodily practice, Entwistle illustrates how some English women use ready-made dress as their means to negotiate oppression. But Taiwanese women's active participation makes their bodily practice more dynamic than merely situated, which is why strategic bodily practice is the more apt term. For example, these women convey their views that runway fashion is unwearable to garment shop owners. They also persuade shop owners to produce garments in bigger sizes. Taking advantage of opportunities to dress in younger styles, they choose what feels more comfortable for them. Accordingly, Taiwanese women are not passive cultural victims of Western-led fashion trends and the ready-to-wear fashion industry. As my field notes demonstrate, *Wufenpu's* consumers are actively involved and influential in how fashion and body image are articulated into the design of their clothes. Facing the predicament of universal aesthetic rules to look young and slim, these women ingeniously transform these constraints into a form of liberation.

Chapter 7 The Customized Body

In the 1980s, the manufacturing industry (including the textile industry) in Taiwan faced a number of difficulties. This included the problem of the manufacturing departments of the textile and garment industries moving to countries such as China and Vietnam where salaries were much lower and productivity was higher. Most of the manufacturing industry (textiles) was thus forced to upgrade its production (Jiang, 2002). Establishing an original fashion brand in the garment industry became important at this time. Accordingly, the notion of fashion design became the focus of the garment industry's development, and also influenced how consumers purchased their clothes. As well as Western-led fashion trends, the major aesthetic of youth and slimness came to dominate in Taiwan, which is illustrated in Chapter 6. Moreover, since the late 1980s to the early 1990s, fashion designer labels also became an obsession when some Taiwanese consumers were buying their clothes.

In Chapter 6, there was an examination of how most consumers in Taiwan in the period when mass production and mass consumption were the sole affordable choice could only buy ready-to-wear garments. This meant that their consumption was less selective, individualized or refined than that of those who could afford to buy from designer collections. It also meant that they had less of an opportunity to assert their own style and manage their own body image. After the late 1980s, when consumers began to have ever more choices of different styles, they were able to make their consumption more selective and refined. As a consequence, the consuming body in this fashion-designing period came to be regarded as a kind of customized body. In this chapter, how the existence of the customized body means that consumers have more space to articulate their ideas of their bodies in the clothes that they wear is demonstrated. In Taiwan, fashion designers and their design collections have respectively been a category of clothes producers and clothes since the 1980s. The idea of a fashion design collection usually implies designing with respect to particular themes and for groups. For instance, the British designer Vivienne Westwood¹²⁷ emphasizes that the style of her collections is punk, meaning that her clothes are mostly sought out by those who identify themselves in this way. The range of consumers for each product thus becomes narrower and narrower, and consumption may be more individualized or refined.

Not only was a consuming body in this fashion-designing period seen as a kind of customized body, but the body that consumes clothes made by home tailors can also be seen in the same way. This traditional production system method might provide more agency to clothing consumers than the global production system of fashion designers' collections. This will be demonstrated in this chapter. According to my informants, who have had the experience of having their clothes made by home tailors, it has been recognized that there are a number of common points between home tailoring and costume designing, and this will be elaborated on in Section 7.2. Moreover, as clients of home tailors, most of my informants found that they have the space to voice their opinions about what clothes fit their body shape and what they feel comfortable in and want to wear. This is in contrast to their experiences when shopping for clothes from ready-to-wear brands or fashion

¹²⁷ Vivienne Westwood is a British fashion designer. She is largely responsible for bringing modern punk fashions into the mainstream. Her first catwalk show took place in 1981. Since then, Westwood has influenced the careers of other designers in the British fashion industry.

designers' collections. Home tailoring for female clothes has a long history in Taiwan, and is still preferred by some Taiwanese women today. Through the fieldwork, it has become clear that the body wearing home tailored clothes is also a customized body. Accordingly, at the end of this chapter, there is an examination of how the customized body, wearing two categories of clothes, performs customization.

In this chapter, how women's customized bodies are presented and whether women have performed customization or not since the 1980s in Taiwan is considered. First of all, Section 7.1 assesses how the idea of garment design was transformed from the 1960s to the 1990s. Then, in 7.2, there is an examination of whether there has been a legitimation of Taiwanese designer creativity and/or a canon of design. In other words, has the set of ideas shared among designers of a particular era or generation in the fashion industry in Taiwan ever been constructed? To answer this question, Kawamura's concept of the legitimation of designer creativity (2005) and Julier's of the canon of design (2000) are applied in this section. Furthermore, in the Taiwanese social context, it has been discovered that home tailors play a remarkably similar role to that of fashion designers in the design work they do. Indeed, in some ways, it seems that home tailors are just fashion designers whose creativity has not been legitimated and whose designs have not been constructed as elements of the canon of design. The questions needing answers in this chapter are: what is the difference between the two categories of professional? What is the difference between the relationship of consumers to fashion designers' clothes and those of home tailors? And, do the designs of fashion designers or home tailors provide more opportunities for consumers to assert their own style and body image? These comparisons provide potentially significant insight into the changing nature of the garment industry and Taiwanese society. In 7.3, there is a discussion of the regulation of women's bodies by their consumption of fashion designers' collections versus home tailors' clothes after the 1980s in Taiwan. Finally, Section 7.4 examines the customized body wearing these two categories of clothes. The wearer's agency and how they perform their strategic bodily practice is also discussed.

7.1 The transformation of the idea of garment design in Taiwan

In this section, how the ideas of garment design in Taiwan were transformed is examined. This will provide a clear context and background for a further investigation of how the notion of garment design came to have the potential to regulate women's bodies in the country. In Sections 7.1.1 to 7.1.3, how garment design is introduced by the design education system and training courses, and how the notion of garment design evolved, are discussed. When and how Western luxury brands of clothes were introduced to Taiwan, how consumers became aware of the notion of fashion design, and how this idea evolved will be examined in Sections 7.1.4 to 7.1.6.

In addition, in Sections 7.1.1 to 7.1.3, how the idea of garment design after the 1980s was different from what went before is discussed by investigating the objectives and achievements of pedagogy in the garment design departments of Taiwanese universities. Three universities in Taiwan established garment design departments in the 1960s and '70s: Shih Chien University (originally named Shih Chien College of Home Economics), the Tainan University of Technology (originally

named Private Tainan Junior College of Home Economics), and Fu Jen Catholic University. Table 7.1 contains a comparison of how the idea of garment design changed at these three establishments in the period from the 1960s to the present day.

Table 7.1

School	Shih Chien University	Tainan University of Technology	Fu Jen Catholic University
Establishment of Garment Design Department	1961	1965	1970
1960s			
The Idea of Garment Design in the 1960s	The skill of clothes making.		
Educational Purpose	Cultivating housewives.	Cultivating housewives.	
Curricula	Home economics, management of the family, international etiquette etc.	Home economics, management of the family, international etiquette etc.	
Achievements	Well-known for cultivating housewives.	Well-known for cultivating housewives.	
1970s			
The Idea of Garment Design in the 1970s	The skill of clothes production.		
Educational Purpose	Industry training.	Industry training.	Industry training (especially in fabric dyeing and production).
Curricula	The skills for producing ready-to-wear garments, internship in garment manufacturing factories and companies etc.	The skills for producing ready-to-wear garments, internship in garment manufacturing factories and companies etc.	The skills for producing fabrics, internship in garment manufacturing factories and companies etc.
Achievements	Well-known for cultivating professionals working in the garment industry.	Well-known for cultivating professionals working in the garment industry.	Well-known for cultivating professionals working in the garment industry.

1980s – present			
The Idea of Garment Design after the 1980s	The term "fashion design" was commonly used to replace garment design, style, creativity and value producing.		
Educational Purpose	Cultivating fashion designers.	Cultivating fashion designers.	Cultivating fashion designers.
Curricula	The foundation of creation, the basic concepts of design etc.	The foundation of creation, the basic concepts of design etc.	The foundation of creation, the basic concepts of design etc.
Achievements	Recognized as a school for cultivating fashion designers and artists.	Well known for cultivating professionals and fashion designers working in the garment industry.	Well known for cultivating professionals and fashion designers working in the garment industry.

7.1.1 The schools for brides – garment design as the skill of garment making in the 1960s

The idea of garment design in 1960s Taiwan was more like just making clothes. At that time, the garment design departments of schools were primarily considered to be places for fostering brides or 'garment makers' (specifically women making clothes for their families) instead of 'fashion designers.' The Shih Chien College of Home Economics and the Private Tainan Junior College of Home Economics were recognized as the country's key establishments for brides in the 1960s. The reasons why these two schools were so named principally relate to the fact that they only accepted female students at that time and their names included terms for home economics. Indeed, most people thought that all of the subjects taught in such places were intended to educate women to become good housewives. Graduates of these establishments were thus expected to become qualified brides after their graduation (Xie, 2005: 134, 192, 193). Moreover, the purpose of establishing these two schools was similar: their mottos claimed to educate women to become good housewives and manage their families well to contribute to an overall better society (ibid, 66, 139).

In addition to fostering brides, the skill of garment making was also taught in the garment design departments of these two schools. Comparing interviews with members of the older generation, who generally graduated from these colleges in the late 1960s when they were primarily still schools for brides, with the comment of members of the younger generation, who graduated in the late '90s and 2000s, the distinction between the purposes of the schools then and now becomes apparent:

I was matriculated to Shih Chien College of Home Economics in 1965. We had to attend the class "The management of family," which taught us how to be good housewives, and the class "International etiquette" which taught us how to behave appropriately as

ladies and good hostesses. Therefore, people always think Shih Chien College of Home Economics is a college that fostered brides. I don't think we were taught how to form our own styles as designers at that time. Mostly we were taught how to make clothes more practical instead of creative or edgy. The skill of making clothes was more emphasized. (Cheng-yi, 1970 graduate of Shih Chien College of Home Economics)

I enrolled in the garment design department of Shih Chien University in 2000. We didn't have to attend the “International etiquette” class. The most important thing for us to learn was design. We had a different design class every year; for instance, we learnt how to form the concept of design in the first year, and how to make designs for the ready-to-wear industry in the third year.

I was taught that to be a designer, you don't really have to be very good at sewing clothes, but you have to know the skill of it. If you want to become a famous fashion designer, more importantly you have to be good at design, which is more like being creative in forming an inventive idea for designing clothes. (Kao, fashion designer)

According to Cheng-yi, a 1970 graduate of the Shih Chien College of Home Economics, the idea of garment design that she was taught was primarily concerned with the notion of just making clothes. However, for Kao, who graduated in the 2000s, she was encouraged to be innovative and create original concepts. We can thus see that the notion of garment design in the 1960s, which could more accurately be called garment making, is very different to today.

7.1.2 Industry training in the 1970s – garment design as the skill of producing clothes

By the 1970s, the needs of Taiwan's textile and garment industry had increased. The skills of making and sewing clothes, and even the production of fabrics, were considered to be more important at that time. The idea of garment design thus ran in parallel with the notion of producing clothes in garment industries/factories. The Department of Textiles and Clothing at Fu Jen Catholic University was founded in 1970 in response to the needs of Taiwan's textile and garment industries. The main purpose of this department, in common with those at the other two establishments considered above, was to cultivate the ability of women to work in the garment industry. Garment Design was thus more or less defined as the technique of how to make or sew clothes.

As the 1970s gave way to the 1980s, Shih Chien University, the Tainan University of Technology and Fu Jen Catholic University were gradually being regarded as schools for cultivating professionals in the garment industries, and students even arranged to do internships in garment manufacturing factories and companies:

It was compulsory to do an internship in the 4th year. We had to work in a factory or office in a garment company for a semester. We were taught that the school wanted us to get used to the industry before we graduated. By doing this, we would find it easier to fit in with the environment of the industry. We were encouraged to gain more practical experience of making clothes in the industry.

The most important thing for us to learn was how to make clothes in a factory, for example, to make patterns and so on. (Ling Shang, 1978 graduate of the Private Tainan Junior College of Home Economics)

Ling Shang graduated in the 1970s, and has been employed in the industry since then. She only worked as a fashion designer for two years, with most of her time spent working as a pattern maker, which is work she still does today. She explains that undertaking an internship in a factory was compulsory at her college. Moreover, in her comments, we can see that internship programs were designed to prepare students for working in the garment industry after graduation. It is clear that when compared to the growth of the fashion business at the time, this preparation program was designed to fulfill the needs of professionals in the Taiwan textiles and garment industry. As designing clothes was not an important part of this industry in the 1970s, the women at these universities were trained to make clothes instead of designing them.

Moreover, from the job description of garment designers in a typical Taiwan garment manufacturing company in the '70s, we can see what the notion of garment design meant at that time, as the informant Ling Shang describes:

I worked as a garment designer in the garment manufacturing industry in the '70s. It was a big company but only had two designers. We didn't really design clothes for the company. Mostly we just needed to collect pictures for the boss to see what clothes he would like to manufacture. I think the most important job for us designers at that time was to make sure the clothes would be manufactured on time and successfully. (Ling Shang, 1978 graduate of the Private Tainan Junior College of Home Economics)

The job of garment designer in most Taiwanese garment factories in the 1970s was more of an executive than a design role and a way of helping manufacturers to produce garments successfully. The design jobs thus mostly involved collecting pictures for companies to use to select the clothes they wanted to manufacture and making sure these items were produced on time. The idea of garment design that was recognized by most people at that time was thus very similar to the notion of making/producing clothes in the garment industry.

7.1.3 Fashion design – garment design as style, creativity and value-producing after the 1980s

In Taiwan prior to the late 1980s, the term fashion design was usually used to refer to garment design. Then, towards the end of the decade, the idea of fashion design, namely making clothes with creativity, came to prominence. The value and creativity of designing were starting to be emphasized, and consumers began to look for ways to highlight their individuality by buying designed products. The role of the designer had thus become more important. Accordingly, in this section, there will be an examination of how the positions of designers and the notion of fashion design have been emphasized by the media, educational programs and the garment industry in Taiwan.

As mentioned in previous chapters, a number of textile firms withdrew from China as the KMT government fled to Taiwan in 1949. Many of these companies took some time to establish their operations locally, and all clothing and materials were initially imported. The KMT greatly supported the development of the industry due to its ability to provide jobs and the need for clothing (Wu, 1989: 6). The relocation of the synthetic-fibre industry from Japan was an excellent opportunity for Taiwan to establish and develop its version. Meanwhile, in Japan, the manufacturers suffered due to a slump in the Japanese economy in 1958, and then from overproduction in 1964, forcing them to reduce productivity and relocate their factories to other countries to lower costs. Japan thus invested in the midstream and downstream synthetic-fibre industries in Taiwan, which were at the same time consuming Japan's synthetic-fibre materials. The Taiwanese ready-to-wear garment industry began to take off as a result (Huang, 1997: 69). Exports of Taiwanese textile products reached a favourable balance in 1966, with a historical climax of 32.31 per cent in 1971. Taiwan, Hong Kong, Korea and Japan were the four primary countries in the world exporting ready-made clothes in 1972 (Wu, 1989: 7). However, in the 1980s, the textile industry in Taiwan faced a number of predicaments. A majority of the manufacturing arms of the textile and garment industries had moved to countries with lower costs, such as China, Vietnam and Bangladesh. This meant that, in view of the marginal profits to be made in the textile and garment sectors, the heads of the textile industry in Taiwan were forced to either establish other businesses or improve their production. The idea of 'Original Design Manufacturers' (ODM)¹²⁸ was promoted by the government as a substitute for the primary state of the textile industry, namely the 'Original Equipment Manufacturers' (OEM)¹²⁹ (Jiang, 2002).

Building up an original brand in the fashion industry became a significant goal during this period. Accordingly, fashion design proved to be the focal point of the garment industry's development, and controlled how the clothing sector progressed. As the notion of fashion design took off, growing numbers of Taiwanese people began to notice fashion design and fashion brands when they purchased clothes. Several Taiwanese fashion designers' collections were launched by Sunrise-Plaza¹³⁰ (*Zhong Xing Bai Huo*) in the 1980s. These launches created a new chapter in the fashion culture in Taiwan, and cultivating local fashion designers became important.

Taiwanese designer Eliza Wang established a private course in fashion design in 1968, and has continued to address the importance of having designers for the garment industry in Taiwan ever since. Several of her reports, which focused on encouraging Taiwan's garment industries to pay more attention to local design talents and to cultivate management professionals, have been published by the press. She argues in one early report that many industries in Taiwan have been developed conspicuously. However, the clothing design industry had not yet progressed, and Wang's account revealed that although the country's ability to make clothes was strong, Taiwanese clothes were not popular or recognized in international or American markets because of the lack of professionals who were talented in design and management. Wang highlighted that Taiwanese garment companies tended to compete in the market with lower production costs due to low wages. These businesses

¹²⁸ Original Design Manufacturers (ODM) refers to a company which designs and manufactures a product that is branded by another company for sale.

¹²⁹ Original Equipment Manufacturers (OEM) refers to a company that manufactures products or components that are purchased and sold by another company.

¹³⁰ Sunrise Plaza is a famous Taiwanese local department store that opened in 1985.

did not care about being creative when making clothes. Indeed, many items were produced by imitating the designs of foreign companies. Wang argued in several of her publications that it was important to persuade the Taiwanese garment firms to foster the work of professionals in design and management. She claimed that if there were more talented designers in Taiwan, there would be more modern clothes and garment brands to be fed into the markets. She stated:

We'll produce modern and representative garments when we have local design talents. If we want to sell our clothes to other countries in the world, we have to have management professionals in the garment industry. (Economic Daily News, 11, 07, 1980)

Wang also mentioned that she had lived in the United States for several years, and yet rarely saw the designs of one brand being copied in their entirety by rivals in the way that happened in Taiwan. Unique design and creativity were emphasized by American garment companies. Indeed, some celebrities only wore clothes designed by particular designers because these items were exceptional. In contrast, Wang claimed, many of the clothes sold in Taiwan looked similar. Accordingly, if Taiwanese garments were going to be sold to other countries, local design talents needed to be encouraged.

Since the late 1970s and the 1980s, and as fashion design gradually became the focal point in the international garment industry, it likewise became a core subject in the college departments discussed earlier in this chapter. There were three main sections in the Department of Textiles and Clothing at Fu Jen University in 1976: Textile Design, Fashion Design and Fashion Marketing. Meanwhile, the Shih Chien College of Home Economics (now Shih Chien University) was renamed the Shih Chien College of Design and Management in 1991. It can thus be seen how the notion of design had become more prominent in Taiwan from the late 1970s onwards. Moreover, fashion design and clothes-making skills also became more important elements of the courses on offer at these establishments.

Most universities did not have 'fashion design' departments in the early 1980s, while the majority of those that have them now did not name them as such until the early 1990s. For instance, the Department of Fashion Design at Shih Chien University was called the Garment Design Department until the 1990s. This change of emphasis can be seen in the different subjects taught in these schools over time:

There was a course called garment design, where the tutor would hand us fabrics and make us do a story board to set out our ideas and concepts about how to make clothes with this fabric. I guess that's how I learned how to do design at the very first stage. (Sin, 1995 graduate of Fu Jen Catholic University)

We had to attend the class 'The foundation of creation', which was a new course in our department. We were taught how to make clothes in our first year. But, the principle of the department has slightly changed now. They want to encourage our creativity before we start making or designing clothes. This course teaches us to understand more about art, and is meant to show us how to get inspiration from lots of sources.

(Kao, Fashion Designer, 2004 graduate from Shih Chien University)

Most fashion design departments have been so named since the late '80s or early '90s, when students began to be taught how to be creative. It is my view that this trend is indicative of how growing numbers of people came to recognize what fashion design actually is. Indeed, the notion of garment/fashion design in this period had already become what we now recognize, namely using creativity to make clothes. Designers today are cultivated as artists and expected to use their inspiration and creativity to design clothes. We can also see how the concept of garment/fashion design evolved into what it is today by investigating how training courses in fashion design appeared in Taiwan.

If one were to look at Taiwanese newspapers from the 1970s, and '80s, one would see many advertisements for training courses on garment-making or pattern-making. The Chung Yu School¹³¹ was founded in 1968, and claimed to be the first training establishment (or 'cram school') in Taiwan to provide courses using the name design. There were three main purposes of this school, the first of which was to educate women to become better housewives by teaching them 'international etiquette' (which was the name of a course designed to teach students the 'international rule' of being polite while dining or in public spaces and how to be a good hostess when one's husband invites his bosses or friends to dinner). The second goal was to improve students' ability to design garments, while the third aimed to help these students qualify for jobs in the garment industry after graduation.

There are four learning stages of these courses: elementary, intermediate, advanced and professional. In the first of these, women were trained in how to dress and behave appropriately when attending social occasions. In the intermediate and advanced classes, the main objective was to train students to design and make clothes from their own designs. Finally, helping students to become international, professional garment designers was the ultimate goal for the professional stage of this education.

The school's founder, Eliza Wang, emphasized that she hoped its students would learn how to design and then make their own clothes, thereby gaining confidence in their design skills. She expected students to know how to turn their concepts into garment designs, and then make these clothes instead of simply having ideas. Compared to the formal education offered by universities, that provided by unofficial training courses also helped the notion of garment design to develop in Taiwan. One former student explains:

I was a student of the Arts and Crafts Department in Fu-Xing Trade & Arts School¹³² in 1986. I was always so interested in clothes, but there were no courses about clothing design in my school. So I looked in newspapers to find other ways to learn. I found out there was a training school set up by Eliza Wang that had classes which taught amateurs to make or design clothes, and so I registered there.

They taught us how to design clothes step by step. First of all, you have to get the idea or inspiration. Then you can start to sketch, and make patterns and so on... Also they taught us to recognize that, being a designer, you have to know how to tell the story of your

¹³¹ The Chung Yu School was founded by Eliza Wang in Sin Yi Road Taipei City on the 8th of April, 1968.

¹³² The original name of the Fu-Xing Trade & Arts School was the Fu-Xing Professional School of Arts and Crafts. It was founded in 1957.

clothes. That's how I realized what the concept of designing clothes actually was. (Kon, fashion designer)

Kon is now working as a fashion designer in his own studio, and has designed some famous pieces for Taiwanese celebrities to wear at red carpet events. He has never studied on fashion design courses in the formal education system; instead, he attended the training set up by Eliza Wang, where he learned what the idea of fashion design was and, most importantly, how to “tell the story of your clothes.” It is important to note that the establishment of a training course in garment making/fashion design also had an influence in Taiwan when it comes to recognizing the notion of fashion design, because the training schools have trained some of the students who have become active in the industry. Kon is one of these designers.

Sections 7.1.4 to 7.1.6 illustrate how the importation of Western fashion designers' brands had an impact on the general populace's awareness of fashion design. In particular, how and when these brands were introduced to Taiwan, and how they changed consumers' perceptions of design, are examined in these sections. Generally speaking, women's clothing styles have been almost completely Westernized since the 1960s, which was discussed in Chapters 4, 5 and 6 (Ye, 2005: 156). However, the notion of garment design before and after the 1980s was very different, with the term fashion design starting to be used in the later period. Scholars argue that the introduction of international designer brands to Taiwan can be divided into three stages (Huang, 2002; Yang, 2000), and this is demonstrated below.

7.1.4 The early 1970s – exclusively expensive clothes

As discussed in Chapter 5, in the 1970s, most Taiwanese consumers could only afford to buy clothes in a generic style and with no particular design features. Indeed, designer clothes were barely affordable, and were not even officially available in the country in the early part of the decade. Most of the clothes that did make their way into the country at that time were known as *bo lai pin*, which literally means products imported from abroad. These items were usually found in Taiwan after being purchased in Hong Kong or Japan by those who made a living by travelling around trading clothes. In addition, employees of the US Military Advisory Group¹³³, which was still stationed in Taiwan at that time, would buy clothes when they travelled back to the States and then sell them when they returned to Taiwan. Both of these trading habits had an impact on the development of the market for imported clothes.

I seldom did garment shopping when I was young, let alone knew what designer collections were. I sometimes went with friends to the shops selling clothes that the shop owner had bought in Hong Kong and brought back without declaring tax. I didn't really know what brands they were, and I just remembered that they sometimes cost a lot. Of course I had no money to afford them, so I just went there with friends to have a look. I

¹³³ The US Military Advisory Group is the name given to American military advisers sent to assist in the training of the conventional armed forces of third world countries. The Group was stationed in Taiwan from April 1951 to December 1978.

bet these clothes were only worn by women who had a wealthy husband or a husband who was working as a government official. (Yang, 58 year-old housewife; Chapter 5)

My husband and I both worked as labourers in a factory. We didn't make too much money in the '70s. Also we had three young kids to raise at that time, so we didn't have spare money to spend on buying clothes. We normally bought clothes from the vendors on the day or night markets. We seldom bought brands or labels imported from other countries. They were usually very expensive. (Chi, 60 year-old ex factory worker; Chapter 4)

Yang and Chi's descriptions, which were typical of those given to me by the interviewees, demonstrate how most people with a modest income in Taiwan had neither the time nor the money to care about what they wore during the 1970s. In this era, because there had been no official introduction of international fashion design brands to the market, and due to poor living standards at the time, very few people were able to buy luxury clothes. Indeed, most Taiwanese had not yet even recognized the notion of a designer collection. Designer clothes were thus essentially thought to be items that shop owners had bought in other countries, and were regarded as expensive and unaffordable by anyone who was not rich or did not come from the upper social classes.

7.1.5 The late 1980s – tasteful style

Designer clothes were still very expensive in the late 1980s, but some had started to think of them as desirable; they were made from good material in tasteful styles. By the late 1980s, travelling abroad was permitted, the national income had increased, and standards of living had improved. Plenty of famous international fashion brands were, therefore, introduced to Taiwan at this time. Requests for consumer products made in France, Italy and other so-called Western countries or Japan became a reality for some rich consumers. In addition, fashion magazines were now widely available (Ye, 2002), and fashion shows were taking place almost every season. As well as starting to take note of where brands of clothes came from, consumers also began to pay attention to the representation of style and the quality of the material used. Domestic agencies thus strove to introduce foreign brands, and the markets of commercial agents in Taiwan began to mature and become competitive.

The steep tariffs on imports fell in 1985 in Taiwan¹³⁴. Accordingly, many garment wholesalers were then more than willing to import clothes from other countries. In 1986, Sunrise Plaza redecorated its first floor to make space to sell designer collections imported from Italy, France and Japan, such as those by the famous Italian fashion designers G. Armani and Bybols, and the Japanese designers Issey Miyake and Junko Koshino. Accordingly, some high-end customers had, by this point, started to familiarize themselves with designer collections. Cheng and Hsu are examples of such consumers.

My husband worked as a professor at the university in the late '80s. I've been a full-time housewife my entire life. I must say I'm lucky to have married my husband, because he

¹³⁴ From the 1950s, in order to protect domestic industry, the KMT government raised tariffs, controlled foreign exchanges and restricted imports in Taiwan (Chen, 2001).

sometimes likes to take me to the department store to go shopping, which many Taiwanese husbands don't do.

I remember we sometimes went to Sunrise Plaza at that time. I began to realize there were some garments called designer clothes, and they were always so expensive. But my husband bought me a nice dress there when we had our 15th anniversary. Unfortunately, I don't remember who designed the clothes though. (Cheng, 60 year-old female, housewife)

I really love shopping for clothes. Fortunately, I always have enough money to spend. My habit is to go to Sunrise Plaza every two seasons. It's the place where you can find many beautiful garments from international designer collections. I liked to buy at least two to three outfits from designer collections every two seasons; I felt that was enough at that time. (Hsu, 62 year-old female, manager)

In establishing a timeline for the development of fashion awareness in Taiwan, it has been argued that some of the high-end consumers like Cheng and Hsu, who were comfortable financially, started to become aware of clothes produced by fashion designers in the late 1980s. However, most people still did not have enough money to purchase these items. Clothes with designer labels still retained the status of being too expensive for most people, but designer collections were recognized by the majority of Taiwanese as high quality, stylish clothes that were only bought and worn by rich people and celebrities. Hsu explains:

Some of the clothes in Sunrise Plaza are quite expensive; most of my married employees complain that they don't dare to go shopping there, or their husbands will want to divorce them. But I'm not someone who likes to buy a lot of cheap, poor quality clothes. I would rather buy fewer clothes made from good quality material and designed in an elegant style.

By the way, one of the famous actresses in the '80s, Wang, also likes to buy clothes in Sunrise Plaza. I know because I've bumped into her several times there. She has good taste in clothes. (Hsu, 62 year-old female, manager)

Another informant, Lu, who found the price of designer clothes too expensive, says:

I worked as a secretary in a company when I was 28. I didn't earn much money, so I didn't have much of a budget for buying expensive clothes. By expensive clothes I mean the clothes you see in Sunrise Plaza and those with a label of someone's name [a designer]. These clothes were made for rich people, like the wife of my boss. She once mentioned that she liked to go shopping in Sunrise Plaza, because she can buy clothes you rarely see others wearing. They were usually made of very good material and have a tasteful style. (Lu, 51 year-old housewife)

Through Hsu and Lu, we discover that most Taiwanese consumers during the 1980s found the price of designer clothes prohibitive. Nevertheless, these clothes were usually recognized as being good quality and in a tasteful style. It can therefore be seen that the styles of these expensive designer collections had begun to be recognized.

7.1.6 The early 1990s to 2000 – creative and forward style

By the 1990s, most people had started to think of designer clothes as comprising a creative design and edgy style that would not always be wearable, but would express a unique sense of taste. These clothes were considered to be the preserve of the rich and those with distinctive tastes. Foreign brands entered the Taiwanese clothing market in the early '90s, when international fashion companies worked with national agents to sell their products in the country. However, the growing market, the surprising consumptive capacity of the Taiwanese people, and the reputations of foreign brands that were well-established due to the work of domestic agents meant that a number of international brands entered the market directly. CHANEL¹³⁵, Gucci¹³⁶, Louis Vuitton¹³⁷ and Prada¹³⁸ were among these companies. The sales channels were diverse in this period, and areas grew up where all of the luxury boutiques were located, for instance, the commercial districts of: *Jing Hua*, *Dun Nan*, *Yuan Qi* and *Zhong Xing*. In the 2000s, foreign companies flooded the Taiwanese market, but most of these firms had established their flagship stores during the early 1990s.

Nowadays, growing numbers of people know what designer brands are. Indeed, even though they do not really have the money to afford these items, they always know that the clothes designed by these Western fashion houses cost a lot of money. Wu is a housewife, and sometimes goes window shopping in the department stores, but rarely buys the expensive clothes made by Western fashion designers.

My daughter always likes to drive me to department stores at the weekend. I'm not fond of buying clothes, but I do enjoy window shopping. Personally, I like to window shop on the first floor, because that's where most department stores in Taiwan like to have Western fashion designer brand shops [LV, Prada, Burberry]. They're always too expensive for us to buy, but I like to just look at and touch the fine clothes. Some of them are very creative as well. (Wu, 65 year-old female, housewife)

Fashion design has become a well-known term in Taiwan, as designer collections are now commonplace in almost every department store. Even though most people cannot afford to buy these clothes, their value is still recognized. Accordingly, illustrated below is how the term fashion design has gradually become common parlance for Taiwanese consumers following the introduction of luxury international fashion brands to the garment market. Aside from being recognized as expensive outfits, designer goods are considered to encompass a creative design and forward style. Indeed, some consumers from wealthy families wear these clothes to show off their unique style and taste, as the interviewee Betty, who is married to a wealthy husband, explains:

¹³⁵ CHANEL is a Parisian fashion house founded by Gabrielle Coco Chanel. It is recognized as one of the most established brands in haute couture, and specializes in luxury goods.

¹³⁶ Gucci was founded by Guccio Gucci in Florence in 1921. It is an Italian fashion and leather goods label.

¹³⁷ Louis Vuitton, shortened to LV, is a French fashion house founded in 1854. It is one of the world's leading international fashion houses.

¹³⁸ Prada is an Italian fashion label founded by Mario Prada in 1913. It specializes in luxury goods for men and women.

Designer collections are expensive, but sometimes you can see the creativity in them. I guess that's why wealthy people with arty tastes like to buy and wear them. Some designer collections have forward and experimental styles, and they aren't actually wearable. But still, some artistic people would like to wear them to express their individual style and unique taste. (Betty, 50 year-old housewife)

In Betty's view, designer collections are Western luxury brands such as Chanel, LV and Gucci. She has not only recognized that these clothes are expensive, but that they are usually creative and in edgy styles. She assumes that the uniqueness of these collections is the main reason why wealthy people like to buy them.

7.2 Legitimation of designers' creativity and the canon of design

As discussed in the section above, designer collections usually cost more than other ready-to-wear garments. Now, Kawamura's concept of the legitimation of designer creativity (2005) and Julier's of the canon of design (2000) are applied and, in 7.2.1, explained in more detail. Moreover, how both researchers use these concepts is considered in my investigation of how value is added to design, thereby ensuring that designer clothes can always sell at higher prices than other kinds of garment.

In the Taiwanese social context, it has become clear that home tailors have a remarkably similar design role to that of the fashion designer. The comparison between the two provides potentially significant insight into the changing nature of the garment industry and society in Taiwan. Are home tailors just fashion designers whose creativity has not been legitimated and whose designs have not been constructed as elements of the canon of design? The key difference between fashion designers and home tailors seems to be that the latter do not make clothing that is particularly valued and appreciated in contemporary society. Compared to fashion designers, home tailors seem to have a lower social status. Most of them are regarded as craftspeople, while fashion designers are seen as talented creators. The products of both are, therefore, seen in different ways, with the clothes made by a home tailor not being regarded as 'designer pieces' or particularly creative. It is thus important to investigate what and how social contexts give rise to concepts such as design and creativity in the fashion system, and how home tailors — and their clients — fit into this.

Sections 7.2.1 and 7.2.2 focus on the production of design and how the legitimation of Taiwanese fashion designers and the canon of fashion design have been brought about by various organizations in Taiwan. Sections 7.2.3 and 7.2.4 compare home tailors and fashion designers to better understand both the role of the latter within the design culture and how they affect it. After my fieldwork and analysis, I have begun to understand how values like creativity and design are derived from a series of societal structures, and how, over time, those who represent these values obtain a near God-like status in society. The exorbitant prices of designer clothing are made possible by this perceived superiority in creativity and design, and this will be demonstrated in what follows.

7.2.1 The legitimization of designer creativity and the canon of design

The idea of design has been put on a pedestal by many consumers and members of the fashion media, who tend to think that garments designed by fashion designers are not only more fashionable, but are made of better quality material than other mass produced clothing brands (ready-to-wear). To understand how this has happened, the theories developed by Kawamura (2005) and Julier (2000) are applied. These scholars both claim that it is important for designers to obtain a celebrity status in the cultural and fashion industries to ensure that their work is coveted by consumers and adored by the media, leading to the designers being held in high regard throughout society. This is how the concept of design has been valued by consumers, societies and the media, and both Kawamura and Julier see the star quality of designers and the value of their products as a social construction rather than something innate.

The creative image of design affords it a certain privilege, and greater perceived creativity in a design usually increases its value. People value creativity and innovation highly, and artists have consequently been regarded as unique and gifted individuals. Designers are similarly perceived as possessing innate talents that cannot be taught. Kawamura challenges this point of view, contending that creativity is neither given nor universal, but is produced within a social system (Kawamura, 2005). He demonstrates that the creative and talented image of designers is socially constructed. Likewise, creativity itself is defined within a social system. It is therefore essential to understand how designers are legitimized as creative, and how creativity itself is legitimated. Kawamura does this by investigating the celebrity system that designers are associated with (Kawamura, 2005: 64). For example, he exemplifies how the fashion designer Gabriel Coco Chanel (1883-1971) has been legitimized as creative through the construction of the celebrity image of designers. Chanel's biography is just as, or more, interesting than the styles she innovated, and her image as a modern woman has also strongly influenced our perception of her contribution to fashion; she is notable for being a fashion personality (Kawamura, 68; Steele, 1992: 119, 120). Through these portraits of Chanel's lifestyle, she became one of the most famous female designers in the history of 20th century fashion (Kawamura, 2005: 68). This theory helps to explain why some international and some Taiwanese fashion designers in Taiwan have been revered as celebrities, and why their collections and creativity have been praised by consumers, the media and even Taiwanese society.

In addition to Kawamura's theory, this research makes use of Julier's concept of the canon of design. In this premise, a system of design publishing is constructed for designers to enable them to legitimize their own activities and contribute to the canon of design, which is the set of ideas shared among designers of a particular era or generation. This form of self-representation can be called a kind of historicity, meaning that the designer is building on the way history is written in order to provide a discursive framework for his or her activities, thereby establishing his or her contributions to the canon of design. Certain events and locations conspire to support the system. For example, the furniture fairs in Milan provide an opportunity to reinforce a celebrity system of designers which is quite like the Oscars in Hollywood. Design awards and new designer products are heavily marketed to design journalists (Julier, 2000: 48). Below, I focus on how particular designers' creations have been legitimated by the canon of design in Taiwan.

7.2.2 Taiwanese fashion designers' creativity and the canon of design

This section examines how Taiwanese fashion designers are cultivated in social conditions involving a variety of organizations. In particular, how the canon of design was both produced and written in Taiwan through media publicity, fashion shows and up-and-coming designer awards is illustrated. The demand for local Taiwanese fashion designers and their products has steadily risen since the 1980s. Like Eliza Wang, the famous marketing guru Xu li-ling¹³⁹ also argued in 1987 that¹⁴⁰ if Taiwan wanted Taiwanese ready-to-wear clothing to sell in international markets, it would be necessary to begin to cultivate designers. Fostering local designers has since become an important priority in the Taiwanese garment industry.

Three main organizations were established in the 1970s and '80s to cultivate and promote local Taiwanese fashion designers: the Taiwan Textile Federation (TTF), the Sunrise department store, and the Taiwan Fashion Designers' Association (TFDA). The TTF was founded on the 25th November, 1975, and promoting local fashion designers and undertaking research into the fashion industry were among its objectives. The Sunrise department store was established in 1978, and was the first of its kind in Taiwan to both import international designer collections and sell those of domestic Taiwanese designers. The Taiwan Fashion Designers' Association, meanwhile, was founded in 1987. Zhang, the board chairman of the TTF, stated that its purpose was to foster the skills of local Taiwanese designers.¹⁴¹ How these three organizations have cultivated and promoted the work of this latter group is discussed below.

The Sunrise department store manager Xu li-ling wanted to create a fashion designer label representing Taiwan, and so developed the Carson Huang brand of clothing. In the 1980s, newspaper reports began to provide a discursive framework within which to legitimate designers' activities, with the hope also being to ensure that their designs formed part of the canon of design in Taiwan. A series of five feature articles appeared in the United Daily newspaper in installments from April 1987 onwards. These five articles focused on articulating Carson Huang as a creative, talented designer who would be selling her collections on the international fashion market. For instance, the article *Two women who want to build up Taiwanese fashion brands* (1987), reports how Huang¹⁴² began working with Hsu Li Lin after graduating from the American Parsons School of Design¹⁴³ in 1983. Huang confidently believed that her designs were able to stand on an equal footing with those from the West. She therefore decided to return to Taiwan to create a fashion label to represent the country's national identity. The publishing of this article served to start the legitimization process of the formal status and importance of fashion designers in Taiwan. Huang's creative talents were also constantly emphasized in reports, thereby establishing her status.

¹³⁹ Xu li-ling was a manager of the famous Sunrise department store in Taiwan in the 1980s, who devoted herself to promoting Taiwanese fashion designers.

¹⁴⁰ Economic Daily News, 1987-08-25

¹⁴¹ Economic Daily News, 1987-04-04

¹⁴² Economic Daily News, 1987-05-01.

¹⁴³ Parsons is located in New York city's Greenwich Village, and has produced many successful artists and designers. Parsons was first established as the Chase School in 1896 by the American impressionist painter William Merritt Chase. In honour of Frank Alvah Parsons, who shaped visual-arts education through his theories about linking art and industry throughout the world, the institution became the Parsons School of Design in 1936.

In an article *SHIATZY: a home tailor who keeps working hard for 23 years, and eventually becomes famous in Paris* (2006), the fashion designer Wang Chen cai-xia was depicted as a very successful and persistent individual with an international vision about fashion. Her work was promoted as being as wonderful as that of international fashion designers, which was why she was able to put on fashion shows in Paris. Through the article, Wang Chen cai xia was promoted as an important Taiwanese fashion designer with an international vision and enough talent to enjoy the prestige to which international fashion designers are entitled. A section of the article reads:

Nowadays, you can see the store of SHIAZY CHEN at [sic] the street near Museum de Lourvre which has many luxury designer brand stores.....The chairman of [the] TFDA, Peng, said 'Many designers who devoted themselves to the design industry have this dream that is to own their boutique at [sic] the street near [the] Museum de Lourvre which has many luxury designer brand stores. There is only one Taiwanese fashion designer who has accomplished this goal, [and] that is Wang Chen cai-xia.

It has been argued that press releases in Taiwan provide a discursive framework to legitimate fashion designers' activities, and to also form their creative, talented status. This discursive framework was used to produce fashion designers' norms and domains of knowledge (Touraine, 1995: 368-9), and to also ensure that their designs form part of the canon of design. Along with publicity in the media, and in keeping with Julier and Kawamura's theories, it has been argued that both the fashion show and the rising star awards for fashion designers are also designed to support the canon of design and establish the creative, talented status of designers.

Fashion shows can be seen as events which seek to reinforce a celebrity system of designers and to also support the system of contributing to the canon of design (Julier, 2000: 48). Since its establishment, the TFDA has held fashion shows, fashion weeks and other events with the goal of building the legitimacy of Taiwanese designers. Each season, the TFDA assists local designers with their fashion shows. One of the reports on the shows claims that:

The autumn/winter fashion show of Taipei in 1993 is not only trying to mold the collection of Taiwanese style ... but is also trying to instill Taiwanese spirit into local fashion design. This fashion show is definitely compatible with other international fashion shows.

In the fashion show, there are 12 fashion designers: Lee guan-yi, Pan dai-li...These fashion shows signify that the garment industry of Taiwan has already upgraded. ...Their collection shows Taiwanese fashion style clearly. (*United Daily*, 1993/April)

These 12 Taiwanese fashion designers' collections were promoted and legitimated as works that represent Taiwanese fashion style. In another fashion show held in 1990, where all of the attending designers were members of the TFDA, vivid impressions of Taiwanese designs were presented.

...the fashion show not only enables fashion designers to present their creativity, but also lets consumers get to know what the fashion trends of next spring and summer are.

There are 12 designers presenting their work this time...Pan dai-li expresses how she

cares about people, things, materials in her 91spring/summer fashion show; for example, she used a traditional straw braiding skill to make her designs... (*United Daily*, 1990/October)

These designs were legitimated as creative works and also as the fashion trends of the season. To some degree, the notion of designers being creative was formed, and their leading position of creating fashion trends was established, through the presentation of fashion shows.

The rising designer award is one of many events held by the TTF to legitimate the canonical status of Taiwanese designers. The first such competition was held by the organization in 1987 with the purpose of fostering talent in fashion design and still takes place today. The top three contestants become candidates for the fashion designer fostering project, and all finalists are given membership to the TFDA. The greatest reward for participation is that the winner will have many opportunities to present her/his ideas and work to the public through the support of the TTF. For instance, the designer Stephane Dou received his award in 1990 when he was still only a second year university student. Since then, he has received numerous sponsorships from different companies, has had many opportunities to attend different kinds of event as a notable up-and-coming new designer, and has also had many chances to present his work to the public and in the press.

Designer Stephane Dou will represent Taiwan by joining the International Interscholastic Competition for Young Fashion Designers in Amsterdam. The theme of the competition is 'New Age'...Stephane Dou wants to redefine the gender definitions for his designs inspired by the concept of new age... (*United Daily*, 1991/February)

With the support of the TTF, talented young Taiwanese fashion designers will attend the Competition for International Young Fashion Designers in Paris on the 18th of this month...The theme of this competition is to design creative and practical clothes for a stylish lady who also has a great sense of taste. The design of the garments will also fit the needs of long distance travel...These ten young fashion designers all bring their talent into full play. For example, Stephane Dou embroiders a world map on the back of the garment which he has designed... (*United Daily*, 1991/December)

It is clear that this new up-and-coming fashion designer has been promoted as a talented and tasteful creator since he won the rising designer award. After receiving it, his talent, creativity and taste became recognized, which is how the award was intended to function for new designers. Accordingly, their status as representative designers will also be established.

From an organizational standpoint, the TTF, the Sunrise department store and the TFDA attempted to construct Taiwanese fashion designers' creativity, talents and the canon of Taiwanese fashion design. The way in which design publishing forms a discursive framework to legitimate Taiwanese fashion designers' creativity and activities has motivated me to investigate the difference between home tailors and fashion designers, as has how fashion shows and rising star awards for fashion designers form and support the canon of Taiwanese fashion design. Are home tailors just fashion designers whose creativity has not been legitimated and whose designs have not been

constructed as elements of the canon of design? If so, what is the difference between them? What is the difference between the consumers of fashion designers' clothes and those of home tailors? And do fashion designers or home tailors' designs provide more opportunities for consumers to assert their own style and body image?

7.2.3 Similarities between home tailors and fashion designers

After demonstrating above how three organizations construct designers' talent status and canon of design, the next step is to ascertain precisely how the Taiwanese home tailor differs from the traditional fashion designer. Walker (1990) states that craft and design are closely linked concepts, even though they are different, arguing that craftspeople generally engage in design and that the mass production of designed goods frequently relies upon craft processes. Hence, craft precedes both art and design historically.¹⁴⁴ In the middle ages in Europe, for example, art and design were subsumed within a broader range of workshop skills. Since the early 20th century, however, craft, art and design have emerged as separate specialties (Julier, 2000: 43).

The Westernization of clothes in Taiwan was caused by the introduction to the country of the Western lifestyle by the colonial government during Japanese occupation (1895-1945). Training courses teaching Western garment design, pattern making and sewing were largely introduced during this period, which resulted in the large-scale manufacture of Western-style garments. Affordably priced for the public, these clothes led to the rapid Westernization of Taiwanese female clothing. The techniques of Western garment design were introduced along with the new initiative of educating women to be 'good wives and loving mothers.' By that time, this new education system provided opportunities for Taiwanese women to learn Western costume design. Moreover, the traditional idea that men are superior to women still existed in the country, while activities like tailoring and cooking were considered to be household duties to be taken care of by women. As a consequence, tailoring courses were mostly only available to them (Chen, 2009). During Japanese rule, most Taiwanese women did not leave home to go to work, with the majority just helping to run the family farm. Since the 1930s, however, one employment option and reason to go out to work for women was the opportunity to become tailors making Western-style clothing. The situation has slightly changed since the 1950s, as most of the women who want to learn this type of tailoring are housewives and girls bound for marriage; their motives for learning are not to become a professional tailor, but to be able to produce clothes for themselves and their family, and to

144 The historical professionalization process can be divided into three stages. (Julier, 2000 : 43) In the first stage, according to Walker's research, there was a use of design in the Renaissance period wherein '*disegno*' meant drawing. During this period, drawing was the tool employed in the conceptualizing phase of paintings or sculpture making. There was a division of labour in the studios of the artists: apprentices would execute the more menial tasks, and the masters would carry out the more manual tasks. Julier agrees with Balcioglu's opinion that design had a more open, widely used definition connected to purposes, aims and intentions during these periods. In the second stage, during the mid-19th century, 'designers' were allowed to hijack the word 'art' to gain further status. In that period, reformer Henry Cole replaced the word 'design' with 'industrial art', 'decorative art' or 'applied art' to express greater practical and professional complexity. In the third stage, the word design was separated from the word art in the early 20th century. Therefore, W.R. Lethaby established the Design and Industries Association in 1915 to distinguish art from design. Moreover, the Americans Walter Dorwin Teague, Raymond Loewy, Norman Bel Geddes and Henry Dreyfuss were calling themselves industrial designers in the late 1920s. (Julier, 2000 : 42)

supplement their husband' income. Accordingly, in Taiwan, these women are commonly referred to as home tailors (Cheng, 2010: 65, 179).

This section is concerned with how fashion designers in particular have been able to gradually acquire a superior status as creative and inventive professionals. Home tailors, on the other hand, are still craftspeople whose work is associated with domestic crafts and seen in an amateur light. This is rather baffling, since the work of the two groups is remarkably similar in many ways. By the end of my fieldwork, it had become clear that the biggest difference between the home tailor and the fashion designer is promotion – the former have not been taught how to promote themselves and their work. Fashion designers, on the other hand, have been well educated in how to present themselves, attract attention, and turn this into a sales technique and a source of celebrity. Ko and AA were the key informants representing the roles of home tailor and fashion designer in my research. Accordingly, what follows are brief introductions highlighting their life stories in their respective roles.

Ko, a home tailor, was born in Taitung, on the east coast of Taiwan, in 1950. She started an apprenticeship there to become a home tailor when she was 15 years old. After an apprenticeship of three years and four months, which is the usual amount of time spent learning the trade, she opened her own home tailor shop in Taitung in 1968. Ko made friends with many of her clients during that period.

She married Jing when she was 20, after which she moved to Taipei with her husband. When they first settled down there, Jing worked as a plumber and Ko was a full-time housewife. They had two daughters. However, as Ko explained to me, Jing made some bad friends through his business and stopped giving her money to look after the family. She therefore had to try to make money on her own to raise their two daughters. Ko accordingly opened her second home tailor shop, this time in Taipei, in 1974. Her shop is located on *Renai* Road, where there are many dormitories for higher-status government ministers, professors from national universities, and some managers who work for government-owned banks. Ko explains that the location of her shop helps her to attract clients who live in the neighbourhood, and who usually make good money and have a wealthy economic background. Ko was grateful for these clients as they enabled her to make enough money to raise her children on her own.

Ko eventually got divorced, after which she still worked as a home tailor in her own shop. Many of her regular clients became good friends, and sometimes only come to the shop to have afternoon tea with Ko, instead of buying clothes. Ko has had two apprentices since she opened her shop in Taipei. Now she is the only home tailor in her establishment.¹⁴⁵

AA was born in Chiayi, in the southern part of Taiwan, in 1969. After graduating from senior high school there, he moved to Taipei to study at the Department of Fashion Design at Shih Chien University in 1988. AA was a talented student. There are three ways for the university's fashion design students to graduate. These are: 1) design a fashion collection for the ready-to-wear industry, 2) design a fashion collection for haute couture, which means a collection that is more experimental,

¹⁴⁵ See Appendix two, Ko.

edgy and exclusive, or 3) complete an essay related to the issue of fashion design. AA chose to design an haute couture collection, and won the best fashion designer award for his degree fashion show.

He became a freelance fashion designer after graduating. In 1996, he and some of his friends established a designer brand called '7/10', and sold their collections exclusively in special boutiques. In 1997, AA won the rising star award in Taiwan. He then moved to live in Paris and Antwerp for a year to search for new inspiration for his collections. In 2001, he started his own designer brand, 'Pitopaak.' 'Pito' means cute in French, and 'Pak' is AA's French name. He added another 'a' to the word to make the syllable 'paak.' This is because he likes Antwerp and one of the city's official languages is Dutch, which uses the double 'a' in many of its words. He was invited to present his collection during Tokyo Fashion Week in 2010. Now, he creates a new collection twice a year. His studio is based in Chiayi, and his collections are sold exclusively in one particular boutique, Misty Mint, in Taipei. The main concept of his brand is to live in the world with a free and easy lifestyle.¹⁴⁶

The specifics of the comparison between home tailors and fashion designers are discussed below, and are listed in Table 7.2.

Table 7.2

	Fashion Designer	Home Tailor
Similarities		
Trend Spotting	Reading magazines, research online and travelling abroad.	Reading magazines and window shopping.
Market Research Analysis	Reading market reports.	Facing consumers directly.
Cost Control	Supervised by marketing professionals.	Discussions with clients directly.
Design	Based on fashion trends and client preferences.	Based on client preferences.
Differences		
Education	Cultivating a skill to 'design' clothes; cultivating a unique vision of the self and of design (meta-physical skill).	Cultivating a skill to make clothes (physical skill).
Promotion	Cultivating a reputation.	Client praise.

Ko, who works as a home tailor, contended that after attending design courses, she realized that what home tailors do is virtually the same as the work of fashion designers.

After working as a home tailor for several years, I decided I wanted to learn more and become better at my work. I went to a training school founded by Eliza Wang and took

¹⁴⁶ See Appendix two, AA.

courses that taught me how to design clothes. We had courses like "the introduction of colour," "drawing," and "design." These courses showed me that what I do every day for my work is exactly what designers do. (Ko, home tailor)

The working processes of fashion designers are remarkably similar to those of home tailors, but the latter do not tend to see themselves as designers. Nevertheless, both groups engage in trend spotting, market research analysis, cost control and the process of design in the ways discussed below.

Both fashion designers and home tailors are attentive to the fashion trends of the season, but have different methods of accessing this information. Reading magazines and going window shopping are approaches shared by both, although most designers are able to go one step further by making use of trend spotting websites and going abroad to investigate at the request of their employers. Home tailor Liu explains:

Even though many of my clients don't like their clothes made or designed according to the latest trends, I still read magazines monthly and go window shopping in department stores to absorb the new information and new inspiration of the fashion trends. (Liu, home tailor)

Liu has worked as a home tailor for over 20 years. Most of her clients are women between the ages of 40 and 50 and, Liu claims, do not really like to follow trends when it comes to deciding what clothes they would like to have made. However, Liu also told me that some of her customers do sometimes like to get her views of what the latest fashions are for inspiration. It is for this reason that Liu still has to have some idea of what the latest trends are. Fashion designer Yu, on the other hand, has a different experience:

Basically, I prefer to know what the trends are every season. I may not adopt their ideas, but I still have to know what they are. The director of my company places orders with several trend spotting websites, such as Peclers, Promostyl or Nelly Rodi... I also have to go abroad for some trend spotting once or twice a year in Europe, Japan or Hong Kong. (Yu, fashion designer)

Like Yu, fashion designer AA (see Footnote 146) even goes to Paris and Antwerp once a year to get ideas for his own brand and to identify future trends. So, as these two interviewees indicate, both home tailors and fashion designers undertake trend spotting. Both may not apply the ideas they encounter directly to their design or work, but they both claim that they want to have regular access to information about fashion trends.

According to home tailor Cai and fashion designer Fen (below), both designers and home tailors also regularly conduct market research, albeit using different approaches. Cai has worked as a home tailor for over 20 years, while Fen has worked in the fashion industry as a designer for more than eight years:

Most of my clients are 40 to 60 year-old women. Some of them have similar tastes in clothing if they have similar jobs. Sometimes I can just get my inspiration from one client and use that as a basis for other clients' clothes. (Cai, home tailor)

The sales reps brief us on our target audience first. Their reports describe the age, career, and lifestyle of the target audience. I then combine the trends of the season with the report to make the design. (Fen, fashion designer)

Fashion design companies engage in marketing and need to conduct a good deal of market research. A target audience is first identified, and then the tastes and styles of these consumers are usually determined before the designer begins his or her work. Home tailors, however, do not engage in marketing, instead dealing with their consumers directly and learning from this. Most new clients are introduced to the home tailor by word of mouth, meaning that he or she can easily apply a particular understanding of taste and style to appropriately cater for a certain group of consumers. In these ways, although their methods differ, both fashion designers and home tailors engage in a form of market research.

Cost control is also important for both fashion designers and home tailors. The difference between the two is that the latter, when interviewed, did not describe the process of accounting for their receipts in precisely the terms used by the designers.

Before I make the clothes for my clients, I always have to ask them how much they want to spend on the outfit. Knowing more about their budget, I get a better idea of how to choose the fabric and other materials. (Ko, home tailor)

I read the cost statement to see the rate of return every week. I bring a calculator to my meetings with the directors. I have to be systematic when I deal with the market, being aware of design and cost control at the same time. My director has taught me a lot about how to balance the budget and do creative design work at the same time. (Hsin, fashion designer)

Both home tailors and fashion designers therefore have to exercise control over their costs before designing or making clothes. The main difference between them, however, is that the home tailor usually only has to discuss this with his or her clients individually. Fashion designers, on the other hand, typically have to deal with the market.

It is clear from my interviews that home tailors engage in design every bit as much as designers; they merely refrain from using the term. The work of the home tailor is instead described as helping clients figure out what kind of style suits them. Liao is an experienced home tailor, and describes her working process with her clients below:

I sometimes like my clients to have a look at the magazines first to find a style they like, but most of them prefer me to determine what suits them. They don't want clothing that is copied from a magazine, but often prefer to have their clothes in an exclusive style. That's why they usually ask me to come up with it for them. I first need a sense of their age, career, interests and lifestyles, but then I can generally have a sense of how to make their clothes. (Liao, home tailor)

Fashion designer Hsu Yi describes her design process:

During my design process, I have to know about the next fashion trends first; then I have to identify my target audiences. Their general career, age and lifestyle are the resources I need to be aware of to design and create clothes in a suitable style for these customers. (Hsu Yi, fashion designer)

When comparing the two explanations above, it is clear that the working processes of these professionals are similar. They both need to be aware of information such as the age and lifestyles of their target audiences in order to acquire a good sense of what will be needed and ideas to help them design or make more suitable clothes for their clients. Fashion designer Hsu Yi describes the process as 'design', while home tailor Liao describes what she does as 'making clothes', although the similarities in the way they go about their work are clear. Aside from the process, however, there are indeed some other key differences between the two professions, and these are discussed below.

7.2.4 Home tailors and fashion designers: promotion as a key difference

The most apparent difference between fashion designers and home tailors is how they promote themselves and their work. As Julier notes, a word like design is intimately linked with the historical process of the professionalization of its practice. It is recognized that if one wants to meet certain expected standards of knowledge, intellect and skill, one must be educated or trained in specific disciplines (Julier, 2000: 43). Promotion is one skill that is particular to the training and education of fashion designers, as home tailors do not appear to learn about how to promote their work during their learning process.

Most home tailors choose to learn the skills of tailoring as an apprentice when they decide to become a professional tailor. Indeed, an apprenticeship normally lasts for three or four years. Apprentices do not have to pay tuition fees during their training, and sometimes even get low wages. During the initial period of training, they also have to do chores and run errands. Most apprentices grow up in poor families, which is why they choose to learn their skills by being apprentices and are able to put up with the harsh training conditions. After learning from their masters, most apprentices are successful in becoming a tailor.

It has been argued that in the home tailor learning system, unlike its professional counterpart, the home tailor is not regarded as a designer of clothes. Instead, they are simply seen as garment makers. Home tailors make clothes, but they do not 'design' them. Indeed, even though they undertake the creative work of designing clothes for their clients during the process of garment making, they do not tend to use the term design, let alone promote either themselves as creative designers or their work.

In contrast, many designers in mainstream design schools are taught to include in their designs a unique identity so that their work is easily recognizable. They thus learn how to strive for uniqueness and also how to strategically plan and implement their own self-promotion by being educated in this system. Some even promote their unique characteristics as a sales technique or source of celebrity.

Second, it is important for fashion designers to gain their reputation via exposure in fashion shows. These promotions mark a big difference between home tailors and fashion designers.

According to Julier, there is a certain individual uniqueness inherent in both the educational and commercial aspects of design. Academic qualifications for admission into art departments differ from others in that student portfolios and interviews are greatly emphasized. Seeking out creative potential is crucial to the selection process. Moreover, the art school ethos sees itself as separate from other educational cultures and refuses to incorporate into the mainstream, promoting a romantic, marginalized vision of itself. The art school celebrates its marginality, often turning these qualities into a selling point and source of celebrity (Frith and Horne, 1987: 30). There are certain aspects of education that are peculiar to an art major; for instance, the timetable is less strict and personal studio space replaces the classroom. This studio-based atmosphere conspires to produce a working practice which assumes the status of a lifestyle (ibid, 1987: 28). As my interviews with students who graduated from fashion design departments in Taiwan indicate, all of these conditions occur in Taiwan's colleges. Yo studied in a fashion design department in Taiwan from 1998 to 2002, and is currently working as a fashion designer for the Taiwanese brand *YeJiaLing*, where she is the right-hand of the designer Ye jia-ling. Half of the designs in each seasonal collection are created by Yo. She explains:

There was a course called "foundations for design" that attempted to teach us essentially what design was. I thought this course was a bit absurd. I remember our first assignment was to draw 20 sketches of cars and 20 sketches of animals, combine these 40 sketches together to create another 20 sketches, and then finally attempt to design clothing from them.

For this class, we don't just sit in the classroom. We sometimes go out seeking inspiration, and sometimes sit in the studio to make drawings.

I think I learned how to pay attention to every detail in my life to seek inspiration for attending this class. So, sometimes my husband likes to describe me as an overly romantic but very creative person. He's a lawyer; he always likes to do everything based on his schedule, while I always like to be spontaneous. (Yo, graduate of a fashion design department)

According to Yo's depiction of her experience in a fashion design department, the characteristics of the design field's education system are different from the mainstream. Students of fashion design do not usually have to comply with strict timetables, instead working in a studio rather than a regular classroom. As a consequence, a particular lifestyle, and with it a certain unique vision of the artist's self, is often adopted by these students. Some even sell this uniqueness as their signature. AA (see Footnote 146) is an example:

Many clients like my uniqueness. I do my designs spontaneously. There's no regular number of my designs each season. Sometimes I only design 10 outfits for a season; sometimes I design more than 50 pieces. I do it by following my instincts. This uniqueness is also reflected in my designs. It makes my designs more interesting than the normal garment collections you see in department stores. (AA, Taiwanese fashion designer)

A designer's reputation can help a company to create a name for its products and services. This reputation itself derives from a designer's breadth and depth of knowledge. Designers have to be recognized as taste-makers with a creative profile, and so cultivate their reputations through frequent exposure in catalogues, books and exhibitions (Julier, 2000: 46). Fashion designers usually seek publicity via fashion shows to gain a reputation. This is why AA participated in the Rising Star award competition for fashion designers in Taiwan in 1997. Here, he had the opportunity to put on a fashion show during the competition, and let a wide audience see and get to know him. Moreover, if a designer wins the award, the press publishes a written portrait of the winner that illustrates the taste and styles of the designer. This then attracts more opportunities to hold fashion shows with the aims of acquiring a reputation and selling collections to more buyers or other countries. Lin, like AA, is a Taiwanese fashion designer. Both of these interviewees are seeking to expand their fashion businesses to other countries, and believe that cultivating a reputation is a path to selling their designs successfully:

I was constantly being invited to different countries to present my collections. I just presented a collection in Canada a few months ago, and I had one in Shanghai last month. I'll also have one in Hong Kong next month. You can't expect to get invitations by doing nothing. I don't just sit here and wait for a chance to come along. I have a lot of initiative, and I'm willing to strike out into unknown territory. Having a fashion debut will get you recognized in the industry. It gives you the opportunity to sell your tastes to the audience. That's why I enjoy having my fashion shows going on all over the world. (Lin, fashion designer)

I'm having my fashion debut in Japan's fashion week¹⁴⁷ next March. Many friends of mine suggested I go for it years ago. They saw my style as having an Asian flair and thought it would appeal to Asian buyers. It'll be a good opportunity for me to promote my ideas. (AA, fashion designer)

Both Lin and AA state clearly that they would like to promote their ideas to buyers and audiences by presenting their collections during fashion shows or fashion weeks. Fashion designers usually promote themselves to the fashion industry by acquiring a reputation during these events, which is a key difference between home tailors and fashion designers.

7.3 Fashion design and body regulation

The body that has been dressed in fashion designers or home tailors' clothes since the 1980s can be defined as a customized body. Originally, it was thought that these bodies may be able to escape the fashion hegemony illustrated in Chapter 5, because by wearing the clothes of fashion designers and

¹⁴⁷ A fashion week is a fashion industry event which lasts for approximately one week. In this event, fashion designers and brand owners have a chance to display their latest collections in runway shows, while buyers take a look at the latest trends. The Japanese fashion week was first launched in 1985 and aims to strengthen Tokyo's role as a hub for the fashion business.

home tailors, customers could choose garments that suit them better. In this way, these consumers would have more space to highlight their individual ideas through the garments they consume and wear. However, certain forms of dominance still exist in the clothing produced by both Taiwanese fashion designers and home tailors.

As explained above, although the TTF, the Sunrise department store and the TFDA attempted to build-up the talents and creativity of Taiwanese fashion designers, generally speaking their collections still mostly followed the trends of the Western fashion industry as seen in runway shows in Paris, Milan, London and New York. As has been highlighted earlier, the structure of the dominance of Western fashion in the garment industry still exists in Taiwan (see Chapter 6). Most Taiwanese designers and home tailors get their inspiration and information about trends directly from the Western fashion world, such as runway shows in the four fashion capitals. They do not usually get secondary interpretations of these trends from Japan or Korea.

The notion of wanting to be slim and dressed in a fashionable style has been adopted since the 1980s by most Taiwanese female consumers when purchasing clothes. Moreover, designer clothes have something else that influences consumers when they purchase garments: a label. A designer label represents the promise of higher quality and exquisite taste. Indeed, Section 6.3 revealed how Taiwanese fashion designers, home tailors and their consumers have been influenced by the Western fashion design hegemony, label obsession and the standard of looking slim.

7.3.1 The fashionable body – the dominance of 'Western' fashion in the Taiwanese fashion world

This section examines how Taiwanese fashion designers and their clients, and home tailors and their clients, are influenced by Western fashion.

Taiwanese fashion designers typically acquaint themselves with the latest trends by browsing trend spotting websites, watching fashion shows from the four major fashion capitals, including travelling there to investigate first hand, and perusing international fashion magazines. It is clear that Western countries currently dominate the international fashion industry, especially in Taiwan. Fashion designers Yu and Liu work for Taiwanese fashion design companies, and although their designs are only sold in Taiwan, their inspiration still comes from the Western fashion capitals.

Myself and other designers in my company have to read reports from trend spotting websites before we begin our sketches for the next season. These websites are run by fashion trend research agencies based mostly in France, like Peclers, Promostyl, Nelly Rodi, Carlin or Trend Union. We're often sent to fabric exhibitions like Prime Vision in Paris or Moa in Milan to get ideas for our designs. From what I know, many other fashion designers also read these trend reports before they start to design their future collections.
(Yu, fashion designer)

I have one or two chances each year to go abroad to conduct investigations about fashion trends. If I'm able to go abroad once a year, European countries would be the choice.

Paris, Milan and London are the options. If I can go twice, then Japan would be the other selection. (Liu, fashion designer)

According to fashion designer Yu, most Taiwanese designers get their inspiration from Western fashion trend spotting consultancies. Trend Union is the only one such agency that is based in the United States; the other four mentioned are all in Paris. There are no trend spotting agencies in Taiwan. The prime objective of these companies is to produce trend books to give their clients, who come from all over the world, a strategic edge in the marketplace. Indeed, according to Yu, many Taiwanese fashion companies subscribe to the trend books¹⁴⁸ from the five main agencies, with a lot of designers relying on their forecasting to design their seasonal collections.

As well as reading trend spotting reports, most of my Taiwanese fashion designer informants usually go abroad once or twice a year to investigate future fashion trends, typically to Paris, Milan or London. These three cities still retain a powerful influence on Taiwanese fashion designers, and it is my view that the work of these designers is generally also influenced by the Western fashion trends represented in runway shows in the four major fashion capitals.

Li is a manager, and likes to purchase clothes from designer collections. She was born in Tainan, in the southern part of Taiwan, in 1962. She graduated from college in 1983, after which she first started to work in a bank. At that time, this was regarded as a very good job. Li states that there are three kinds of job for the women who men like to marry: teacher, nurse and bank clerk. Luckily, Li works in the latter profession.

Li was introduced to many men by her parents, one of whom was Chen, who she married in 1988. Chen is a business man with his own trade company in Tainan. After marrying Chen, Li was asked to leave her job at the bank, and started to work as a secretary in his company instead. Li has always played the role of the good wife very well. She educates their two sons and also helps with her husband's business. Li is now working as a manager in her husband's company. To help employees save money and time spent on thinking about what to wear to come to the office, Li even buys clothes for them to wear as uniforms.¹⁴⁹

After interviewing a number of female Taiwanese consumers who are fond of buying and wearing designer clothes, I found that most of them still prefer to buy from the collections of Western fashion designers. Indeed, even those who choose clothes from other non-Western designers still tend to buy items which would be regarded as fashionable by Western fashion standards.

I started to buy from fashion designers' collections when I married a wealthy husband. Most of them are Western designer clothes, for example the Italian designer brand Gucci.¹⁵⁰ I think the clothes designed by these Italians or some other Western designers are fashionable and beautiful. I read fashion magazines to get to know the trends each season.

¹⁴⁸ A trend book is a compact reference book for the key trends of the future, and is usually published twice a year. Most readers are from the design, fashion, industrial design, or graphic design industries. The majority of readers, who have to subscribe, consume the information online. Most of the subscriptions are owned by design companies.

¹⁴⁹ See Appendix two, Li.

¹⁵⁰ Gucci was founded by Guccio Gucci in Florence in 1921. Gucci is an Italian fashion and leather goods label.

Sometimes, I buy some Taiwanese designer clothes. But I always think the style is just copied from the Western designers, and the quality isn't as good. That's why I still tend to buy the clothes designed by Western fashion designers. Plus, if I want to look trendy (which I always do), of course I have to buy the clothes designed by Western designers. They're in the leading position in the global fashion industry. (Li, 50, manager)

In Li's opinion, Italian brands are those that appeal the most. Indeed, these brands are the leading lights in the global fashion industry and their collections are fashionable. Fashion designer Liu also explains:

I work as a fashion designer, and many of my friends would assume that if I don't wear clothes I've designed, I should wear those designed by other local Taiwanese designers to be supportive of the local fashion industry. To be honest, I am more into clothes designed by Western designers, such as Vivienne Westwood. Because I'm a designer, I have to show that I'm sensitive to fashion trends [represented in runway shows in the four major fashion capitals]. The collections from Western designers always lead the way in cutting edge fashion trends, and we Taiwanese designers usually follow these trends. Personally, I like Stephane Dou's collection [Taiwanese fashion designer]. Although you may think his designs are still influenced by Western fashion trends, he's creative and talented. By the way, buying clothes from his collections costs me less than buying from Vivienne's collections. (Liu, fashion designer)

British fashion designer Vivienne Westwood is who Liu regards as cutting edge and in a leading position in the Taiwan fashion industry, and she is certainly Liu's favourite Western designer. To conclude from Lin and Liu's explanations, Western fashion trends represented in runway shows in the four major fashion capitals still influence how some Taiwanese women purchase their clothes seasonally. The collections from Western designers are usually considered to be more fashionable than those from their Taiwanese counterparts. It is also interesting to discover that some Taiwanese women, and even some Taiwanese fashion designers, see Taiwanese collections as influenced by the style of Western designers. The cultural position of Western designers overall can thus be seen here as being superior to that of local Taiwanese designers.

Even though most of the home tailors I interviewed claimed that they were not really concerned about fashion trends in general, they did explain that they still need to know what the fashion trends are each season. Sometimes, they are inspired by these fashion trends:

I normally go to the department stores to see what's in fashion for the season. Mostly I like to go to see Western fashion designers' collections. I sometimes think they are talented, and sometimes I'm inspired by them. Maybe I won't always apply these fashion trends when tailoring clothes for clients. But it's still a good chance for me to learn something new. Sometimes I'm inspired by some of the concepts from these fashion trends to come up with better ideas when it comes to making clothes for my clients. (Ko, 64 year old home tailor)

In Ko's view (see Footnote 145), Western fashion designers usually produce luxury brands, such as the French designer labels Chanel and Christian Dior or the Italian brands Valentino and Gucci. Western fashion trends thus still dominate what home tailors like Ko produce. Indeed, they are the leading source of inspiration for these home tailors when they design and make clothes for their clients. However, it is intriguing that most of the clients of home tailors tend to care more about how the clothes suit them than about whether they are trendy. This may therefore have the consequence that home tailors care less about trends when designing clothes for their customers.

Show is a regular client of a home tailor. She was born in Taipei in 1957. After graduating from university in 1986, she became a nurse at the national hospital, where she worked for 16 years. Show met her husband, Kao, at work (he is a doctor at the same hospital) and the couple was married when Show was 30. She then became *Yi Sheng Niang*, which means 'the wife of the doctor.' Most women in Taiwan envy *Yi Sheng Niang*, because such women do not have to worry about money, as most doctors are wealthy. Accordingly, many *Yi Sheng Niang* do not have to work.

Show retired early in her 40s. She and Kao have three children. After her retirement, Show became a full-time housewife. She now takes care of everything in the family, including driving their children to their different schools and picking them up every day. Show's hobby is singing in a choir, which is how she met the home tailor Ko. Show is the leader of the choir and once, when they were preparing for a stage performance, most of its members decided to have their costumes tailored by Ko. Since that time, Show has become one of Ko's regular clients.¹⁵¹

Based on my fieldwork, it seems that most of the clients of home tailors in Taiwan today are usually over the age of 50. Some of these women used to work as public servants or teachers when they were young. Others, like Show, are housewives who have wealthy husbands. These consumers of clothes made by home tailors admit that they do sometimes care about what is trendy. However, it is more important to dress in clothes that suit them. The consumers of home tailored clothes are, therefore, less influenced by the Western fashion hegemony than the consumers of clothing produced by (Taiwanese) fashion designers.

I can't say that I don't care about the fashion trends each season. I like to have afternoon tea with friends, and we sometimes read fashion magazines together and exchange opinions about fashion trends. But I'm not a fan of being trendy. That's why the fashion trends are simply just information for me. I don't usually have my clothes tailored based on the concept of up to date fashion trends. I'm more like the client who is looking for a suitable look by buying clothes made by a home tailor. (Show, 55 year-old housewife/retired nurse)

The average age of those who get their clothes made by home tailors is over 40. Most of these women claim that they are too old to follow fashion trends, which may be the reason why they escape from the control of the Western fashion hegemony represented in runway shows in the fashion capitals (this is discussed in more detail in Section 6.4).

¹⁵¹ See Appendix two, Show.

7.3.2 The body and label obsession

Designer collections bring additional value to the market in that clothes with a recognizable label are understood to be made from better materials and designed with superior creativity compared to ready-to-wear clothes or other garments. The clothes in designer collections are always expensive. Some consumers even think that if someone wants to express better taste than others, or show off a higher socio-economic status, they should wear clothes with a well-known label from an expensive collection. Lee is married to a wealthy husband who has his own company. She has always been called *dong niang* by her friends because of how wealthy she is. *Dong niang* literally means 'the wife of a chairman' of a (big) company. She claims that although she is a housewife, she usually likes to have afternoon tea with friends. On these occasions, she prefers to wear beautiful designer clothes to express her good taste, to demonstrate how wealthy she and her husband are, and to highlight her higher status as a *dong niang*.

Personally, I think if you want to look more stylish you should be willing to spend more money on buying from designer collections. These clothes usually cost much more than ready-to-wear brands, but they are usually made of better material and always have more creative design details. It's worth it to spend more money on buying the labels. Also, my husband likes me to always dress up to see our friends and his business partners. He likes me to have the attributes of being a *dong niang*. (Lee, 56 year-old housewife)

Accordingly, designer labels have become a guarantee of good taste and style. Moreover, these clothes are also expensive, thereby symbolizing the status of being the wife of the chairman of a (big) company. Growing numbers of consumers who have a higher socio-economic status are becoming more concerned about the label of the garments they buy in order to show off their good taste, wealth and status. Some of these consumers show loyalty to specific brands, believing that wearing these clothes means that they will in turn become more stylish and able show off their superior taste. Chen is a manager. She claims that she has to show that she is different when she manages her employees. Her preferred way of doing this is to wear designer clothes to reflect her good taste, because most of her employees cannot afford to buy these items.

I'm not a big fan of garment shopping. I always feel tired if I have to go through a whole department store. There are simply too many brands in a store and they always confuse me. Many of them don't actually guarantee good quality either. That's why I just want to be loyal to some designer brands. I believe these clothes are definitely made in good material and always make me look more stylish. Some of my friends always like to buy cheap clothes from some of the ready-to-wear brands, but I always think they make them look a little bit cheap and lacking a sense of taste. (Chen, 48 year-old manager)

Designer labels have become a powerful symbol of being wealthy, stylish, having a good sense of taste and working in certain managerial positions. This is because consumers believe that all garments with designer labels must automatically be expensive, made of better material and designed with greater creativity, meaning that fewer people can afford them. Consumers like this have what I call a 'mythic obsession' with labels. Indeed, the designer labels might even become

restrictive for some consumers. The body marked with these labels is considered to belong to someone with good taste and a better socio-economic status. In contrast, the body without designer labels can be automatically dismissed as belonging to someone with poor taste and from a lower socio-economic class.

7.3.3 Small size

Slimness has been recognized as being the most homogenized value of the fashion and garment industry throughout the world, and was discussed in some detail in Chapter 6. Both production (by fashion designers and home tailors) and consumption (by consumers of the work of fashion designers and home tailors) in Taiwan are regulated by this value.

In terms of the interpretation of women's bodies, the clothes produced by Taiwanese designers basically follow the rule 'make women look skinny.' Achieving this thus becomes a regulation for Taiwanese fashion designers to obey, because to look thin is a widespread fashion trend throughout the fashion industry. There is therefore very little space for Taiwanese designers to develop their own ideas about how to interpret women's bodies. The Taiwanese fashion designer AA explains:

The press likes to mock the fact that fat women can't really wear dresses designed by me. They believe that my clothes are designed to fit slim women. Well, I can't deny this. All of the fashion shows and famous fashion designers ask for skinny models to present their garments. It's a worldwide fashion trend. Also the cruel thing is that if you look more full-figured, then you look older. (AA, fashion designer)

Even though some home tailors do not strictly follow this rule for making clothes (which I will explain more in Section 7.4), most of those I interviewed did mention that the majority of their clients would still like to look slim. Home tailor Shang, who has over 20-years of experience, said:

Most of my clients like to tell me what flaws they have. Most of them think they are too fat. They all ask me to make clothes to cover their flaws and make them look slimmer. (Shang, home tailor)

As these designers and home tailors explain, the desire to look slim is a dominating feature for consumers, and these hegemonic values govern the production of garments in Taiwan. Customers' bodies are therefore essentially regulated by this value.

Most of the customers of both home tailors and fashion designers are influenced by the dominant value of wanting to look slim when buying clothes. Indeed, almost no one among my female informants was happy with her body shape or figure. The standard answer when asked about their ideal body was "slim." Liu Yiyi is a pharmacist who does not have a preference between designer collections, ready-to-wear brands, or clothes made for her by home tailors. Her only particular interest is to buy clothes that make her look slender.

I believe that almost every Taiwanese woman would like to look slim. All of my friends always like to complain about their figures. We're all on diets and share our experiences all the time.

It's an important rule for choosing clothes. No one wants to dress in clothes that make them look fat, and no one wants to dress in clothes that make them look old. It's also an important rule when choosing clothes. (Liu yiyi, 56 year-old pharmacist)

Obviously, the standard of looking slim dominates the garment industry in Taiwan. Most consumers have been programmed to want to be slim, and this has become the major principle they refer to when clothes shopping.

7.4 Tactics of negotiation: customized bodies tailored by home tailors

The Taiwanese consumers who were interviewed in my fieldwork all seem to be controlled by some hegemony, whether it is the Western fashion hegemony represented in runway shows in the fashion capitals or a mythic obsession with labels. This is the case whether they buy their clothes from home tailors or from Taiwanese fashion designers. Likewise, the designers and tailors also seem to be affected in the same way. Yet women still have some degree of agency when they consume clothes. Fashion designers, home tailors and their customers make their selective adoption of clothing a form of negotiation with the Western fashion hegemony. Most analyses of consumption only focus on research conducted on consumption behaviour as a way to search for the agency of consumers. Accordingly, it is important to examine the interaction between the agents of production, distribution and consumption to both discover how consumers have been influenced and to reveal how they may have the opportunity to negotiate the dominance of this structure. What is most shocking to me about the home tailors in this study is that their wares do not sell for an even higher price than designer clothing, as the ability of these professionals to reflect the individual wearer's tastes with style and originality is far superior to anything high fashion can produce.

Through my fieldwork, it is clear that female consumers in Taiwan have more opportunity to articulate their ideas about fashion and their body shape by buying clothes made and designed by home tailors than by purchasing ready-to-wear clothes or those from designer collections. By applying the theory of situated bodily practice, it is notable that dresses made by home tailors provide consumers with the means to negotiate all sorts of control, such as the styles set by the fashion hegemony, label obsession and the need to conform to ideals about body size. In this research, women's bodies were first seen as lived bodies. Their dressed bodies were also considered to be the outcome of a strategic bodily practice, which was illustrated in Chapter 2. Dress in everyday life is a practical negotiation between individuals and a social, structured system, namely the social conditions of everyday life such as class, gender and the rules or norms governing particular social situations.

Moreover, the interaction between designers, home tailors and female consumers has been analyzed. These interactions show how the female clients of home tailors use their strategic bodily

practice to communicate with respect to the dominant Western-led fashion values. As explained in Chapter 2, the strategic bodily practice is more dynamic than Entwistle's situated bodily practice, and the interaction between home tailors and their clients reveals how some Taiwanese female consumers actively and strategically use dress as means to negotiate with the control. It has been possible to conclude that female consumers in Taiwan have more opportunity to only selectively adopt the hegemony of Western-led fashion values and to articulate their ideas about fashion and body shape by consuming the clothes made and designed by home tailors. During the process of consuming home tailors' clothes, Taiwanese female consumers get to articulate their own ideas about what they want to wear. During the consuming process, these clients play active roles in shaping their goods. The garments are often made to adapt to their specific requirements. As such, consuming the clothes made or designed by home tailors makes these women's bodies the perfect example of the customized body.

How Taiwanese fashion designers and their clients, and how home tailors and their clients, selectively adopt Western fashion trends as represented in runway shows in the fashion capitals is discussed in this section, as is the label myth.

7.4.1 The selective adoption of Western-led fashion trends and labels: a way out for home tailors and their clients

After comparing the work of home tailors and fashion designers, the following conclusions about the way in which the designs of both relate to consumers have been reached. As with the earlier sections of this work, the concept of strategic bodily practice is applied to help explore how consumers perceive fashion and labels, and whether their acts of consumption serve to articulate personal creativity and independence, despite their participation in hegemonic structures. It has been concluded that although most consumers of the work of Taiwanese fashion designers, and these designers themselves, may not totally escape from the dominance of Western fashion, they can still use their selective adoption of these trends as a way to negotiate this control. For instance, Taiwanese fashion designers and their clients attempt to articulate their own Taiwanese fashion, and consumers try to use labels as a weapon to fight against the popular fashion trend of looking young (illustrated in Chapter 6). On the other hand, home tailors and their clients seem to find a better way to negotiate the Western fashion hegemony.

Although the Western fashion hegemony represented in runway shows in the fashion capitals seems to dominate the fashion industry almost all over the world, including in Taiwan, after conducting my fieldwork in the garment industry in Taiwan, it was interesting to discover that some actors do not act as passive receivers of Western trends; instead, some of them are trying to make their voices heard within the structure of domination.

Most Taiwanese fashion designers emphasize that their work does not blindly imitate the latest trends; having a style that stands out is more important for their reputations. Often their designs cater specifically to the preferences of Taiwanese and other Asian consumers, as these buyers make up the majority of their target audience. Coco and Fen both work as fashion designers in Taiwan. Their collections are only sold in the local Taiwanese market. They explain:

My designs are described as a blend of East and West. I don't put too much Western fashion into my designs as I design for Taiwanese consumers. I prefer something that's better suited to my Taiwanese clients. (Coco, fashion designer)

I'll pay a bit of attention to fashion trends. But I don't over-use them in my designs. My designs aim to create fashion instead of following it. But my collection is basically designed for Asian clients. So, I don't choose fabrics in yellow, because yellow isn't the right colour for Asians. (Fen, fashion designer)

In the fashion world as it is currently structured, it is impossible for Taiwanese designers to completely escape the influence of the West. Nevertheless, they do achieve subtle breakthroughs in their work via the minor ways in which they manage to define 'Asian' fashion for themselves. Before these designers create their seasonal collections, some ask researchers to conduct market research about their target customers. They sometimes also get feedback from clients who want them to design particular styles instead of just following the Western fashion trends represented in runway shows in the fashion capitals. One example of such feedback is set out below:

I like Stephane Dou's collections. His designs aren't that dramatic, although I'm not sure if that's so-called Taiwanese fashion. But I think some styles are suitable for Taiwanese women, for example they don't design the styles which make women reveal too much skin to look too sexy, which some Western fashion trends do. Some of their styles are more classical. (Linmei, secretary)

Some Taiwanese customers claim that they prefer to buy clothes from Taiwanese fashion designers because the styles they produce do not just blindly follow Western fashion trends. Linmei explains that some of the clothes made by American, French or Italian designers (so-called Western fashion trends) look too sexy. These dresses are designed to reveal a woman's body shape, which is something Linmei does not like. She prefers clothes designed by Taiwanese designers like Stephane Dou, which she believes are not designed to make women look too sexy; the style of his collections do not emphasize a woman's body shape, thereby making women look more elegant and classy. This might be regarded as a Taiwanese fashion trend. Although the structure of Western fashion trends is still present, and may be unshakable, Taiwanese consumers and designers still try to articulate their fashion preferences under this hegemony.

Some Taiwanese consumers may be constrained by the myth of labels, but it is interesting to note that some of them use labels to negotiate the requirement of 'being young.' As mentioned in previous chapters (including Chapter 6), looking younger has been one of the dominant notions of being fashionable since the 1980s. After interviewing consumers who enjoy buying the collections of Taiwanese designers, I have found that some of them have a mythic obsession with designer labels, but others are actually empowered by purchasing these clothes. Li is a typical case:

I like to buy designer collections, because the quality of the material is usually better than that of most other clothes from normal ready-to-wear brands. What's more, most clothes made by ready-to-wear brands like to concentrate on creating young styles. I'm already 50 years old. I don't need to look young, although the fashion trend nowadays is to look

younger than your real age. But that's not my intention when I buy clothes. I like to buy high quality clothes that make me look classy. I'm not saying every designer brand has produced high quality clothes. Some of them do. That's why I always like to buy the clothes with labels. The label is like the guarantee of the clothes. It's not like I have an obsession about the labels, it's just because I know how to choose the right clothes for me. (Li, 50 year-old female manager)

Based on this interview, we can conclude that not all consumers are blindly obsessed with labels. Some of them might be, but some of them are aware of what they are buying, even making it a weapon with which to negotiate the requirement to look young. For instance, Li likes to buy designer collections because she believes that these clothes are high quality garments that make her look classy. By buying designer clothes, she does not need to follow the universal fashion trends adopted by many ready-to-wear brands; instead, she feels confident dressing in a classic style despite the trend for looking young.

Home tailors are much less concerned about the latest trends when they make their clothing, as their clients are more resistant to fashion trends. By applying the concept of strategic bodily practice, clients work with home tailors to produce the clothes which offer them the means to negotiate the Western fashion hegemony, and against the expectations of label obsession. Show (see Footnote 151) is one example:

When I was young, I usually liked to buy fashionable clothes from ready-to-wear shops. But now I'm 55. I'm tired of shopping at department stores. Staying in fashion isn't really a concern for me. I like to buy clothes that I'll always feel comfortable in. That's why a home tailor is a good choice for my clothes. (Show, 55 year-old housewife/retired nurse)

Home tailor Shang explains the same idea from the opposite position:

I've owned this tailor's shop for over 20 years. It was founded when I was about 36. The average ages of my clients at that time were about 40 to 50, and they still are today. These clients like to wear more classic dresses. Classic never goes out of style, and so the latest trends aren't a major consideration when I'm tailoring clothing for them. (Shang, home tailor)

According to Show, Shang's explanation, and my field research, there are two reasons why some women choose to have their garments made by home tailors. First of all, they are unhappy with their figures. Some of them, for example, are plus-sized, and it is difficult for these women to find clothes in suitable sizes in ready-to-wear stores. A second reason is that most of these clients do not want to dress in similar styles to other women. Overall, therefore, clients of home tailors do not tend to buy clothes that follow fashion trends.

As noted above and exemplified below, some women prefer home tailors to ready-to-wear shops, often because of concerns about their weight.

I believe I know what to wear to look attractive. The clothes I'm wearing right now are sort of designed by me and my home tailor. Trendy clothes aren't my cup of tea. I don't have the figure of a model. I have a big belly. That's why I've found it a bit difficult to find a suitable dress in normal ready-to-wear shops. One of my friends introduced me to having my clothes made by Mrs. Yo (home tailor) several years ago. I'm glad I've finally found the perfect fit for me. (Joy, saleswoman)

Some are instead concerned about being unique:

I don't like to buy clothes that are "must buys" for the season. If something is a must buy that means everyone has it. I don't like to dress like everyone else. That's why I prefer to have my clothes made by home tailors. Both the designs and the fabrics are exclusively fit to my tastes.

Also I think to become blindly loyal to one particular brand or designer isn't clever. Some of my friends just like to buy the clothes by the same designers each season. I don't think they really consider whether the clothes fit them or not. I sometimes think they just buy the clothes because of the labels. They don't have a unique sense of taste.

(Show, 55 year-old retired nurse)

Most of the clients of home tailors that I talked to did not care about labels. Some of them think that putting labels on clothes means that you are also being labelled, meaning that you have no individual or independent sense of taste and style.

From the interviews with home tailors and their clients, it seems to me that the clothing is simultaneously produced by both of them working together. Both home tailors and their clients articulate their take on fashion and clothing during the process of garment-making. As such, for them, culture is not something already made which they then consume, but rather something that they make in a variety of practices of cultural consumption. Storey describes consumption as the very act of making culture (Storey, 2002: 168). Consumers in the home tailor model are thoroughly involved in the process of garment-making and designing. This process often gives rise to long-lasting fashions among the home tailors. Moreover, it is a process which enables women to redefine their sense of self through their participation in it. For the articulation of fashion, consumers have more of a chance to perform their agency of articulation through their interaction with home tailors. Furthermore, through this kind of consumption, consumers have better opportunities to express their individual opinions about fashion. Accordingly, this active participation proves that some Taiwanese women use their strategic bodily practice to negotiate the hegemony of Western-led fashion trends.

7.4.2 The selective adoption of the hegemony of the ideal body in the customized body

The aesthetics of the ideal body present in the Western-led fashion system are dominant when most Taiwanese fashion designers, some home tailors, and the customers of both choose their clothes. However, they still try to use selective adoption as a tactic to negotiate this dominance.

How the Asian body is interpreted by Taiwanese fashion designers has been discussed in this section. Although Taiwanese designers try to break the rule that 'only a slim body is fashionable and beautiful,' the clients of home tailors have more sovereignty to express their opinions when they consume clothes made in this way. Indeed, in some cases, they actually have the ability to define what a 'beautiful body' is for themselves.

In terms of the size issue, even though Taiwanese fashion designers seemingly have to obey the rule about slimness established by the Western fashion industry, they are not totally passive agents in interpreting how women's bodies should look. According to my fashion designer interviewees, they do not always design their clothes to follow the Western industry's standard body size and figure. This is because their target audience is Taiwanese and consumers from other Asian countries. The sizes and body shapes of Asian women are different to those in the West, and clothes are therefore specifically designed for this market by Taiwanese designers. AA (see Footnote 17) is one of the Taiwanese fashion designers who mentioned this:

A pattern-maker was hired to help me make patterns¹⁵² of my designs in the initial stages of my career. After a while, I learned how to make patterns on my own, and I started to make them for all of my designs. I don't think it's very appropriate to do draping¹⁵³ for my designs, because my clothes are designed for Taiwanese or Asian women, and their figures look different from Western women. The figures of Western women are more three-dimensional, and Asian women's bodies are flatter. Draping is more suitable for making clothes for Western women. A two-dimensional cutting method is more appropriate for my designs. (AA, fashion designer)

It is clear that some Taiwanese fashion designers take into account the requirements of Taiwanese consumers when producing designs for this market. Although some Taiwanese designers have tried to specifically adjust the sizes and shapes of their clothing, some consumers still complain about how uncomfortable these items are to wear. This is especially true for women from older generations, with many of them complaining about how difficult it is for them to buy clothes produced by Taiwanese fashion designers, primarily because they cannot find the right size; these garments are still largely designed for slim women.

I used to buy clothes designed by Taiwanese fashion designers when I was young. I think that getting older makes the metabolism slower. That's why I put on weight easily. But then I can't fit in garments designed by these designers. Sometimes I go shopping with my daughter, and I slightly envy her that she can fit in those beautiful Taiwanese designer clothes. I just couldn't find the right size for me to wear from their collections. (Liaoma, 50 year old teacher)

¹⁵² In fashion design, a pattern is an original garment from which other garments of a similar style are copied or the paper or cardboard templates from which the parts of a garment are traced onto fabric before cutting out and assembling.

¹⁵³ Rather than use a traditional pattern to make garments, the option of draping allows freedom for designing.

So, at some level, Taiwanese designers have made a breakthrough in body autonomy, defining themselves and their designs for the Asian locale. These designers have not yet overthrown the standard of invariable slimness, but they do grasp the differences between Asian bodies and those of women from the West.

Through my interviews with home tailors and their clients, it is clear that tailor-made clothes are the best choice for women to use to negotiate the hegemonic definition of a beautiful figure and size. Although most clients still tend to choose clothes that will make them look slimmer, it is unfair to conclude that these women are passive agents. By adopting the concept of strategic bodily practice, clients of home tailors use their tailored clothes as a way to manage the ideal body obsession. Indeed, in the interviews conducted with home tailors and their clients, they have revealed that they aggressively negotiate the fashion hegemony in some way. Home tailor Ko (see Footnote 145) explains:

When I have new clients, I always try to make friends with them first. Let them do the talking first, then try to understand what kind of person they are, what's their favourite taste and style. Sometimes I like them to bring me pictures of dresses they like. These references all give me inspiration for how to tailor clothes for them.

After getting an idea of what kind of people they are, for the next step, body measurement is extremely important. No client wants to look fat, that's why this is important. If I can as accurately as possible get a sense of the size of their bodies, then I can make perfectly fitting clothes for them. This means these clothes will cover their flaws and reveal their best parts.

BWH,¹⁵⁴ shoulder line and bust line are all very important for me to measure for my clients. Some women have a higher bust line, and some have a lower one. If you don't get it right, then I don't think you'll make perfect clothes for them. After all, this is the business of tailoring; it's important to make clothes based on the specific body measurements of clients. (Ko, home tailor)

Many clients come to us to make clothes simply because they don't have a standard size or figure. It's difficult for them to buy clothes at normal ready-to-wear shops. My role is to make clothes that satisfy them. Almost every client complains about being too fat. So it's my role to make clothes for them to wear and to make them look fit or even slim. Altering clothes for clients until they are satisfied with them is necessary and even the basic requirement of being a home tailor.

After-care customer service is also important. Sometimes clients put on some weight, so I'll alter the clothes for them. (Hong, home tailor)

It is obvious that there is one very important, well-recognized duty of the home tailor: to make clothes that fit perfectly and are suitable for the client's figure. Indeed, these professionals will adjust

¹⁵⁴ BWH is an abbreviation of bust, waist and hip measurement. These measurements are a common method for specifying body proportions for the purpose of fitting clothes.

the silhouette of a garment to fit the client's body instead of expecting customers to change their body shape to fit in the clothes. This kind of adjustment gives consumers more authority to decide to embrace the figure they have, particularly in terms of body shape, rather than feeling under pressure to conform to and passively accept the general aesthetics of the beautiful 'slim' body. Simultaneously, clients of home tailors benefit from buying clothes that are tailored just for them.

I like to wear fashionable clothes, but I'm not a standard size. I don't get to buy the fashionable clothes in normal ready-to-wear shops. That's why I have my clothes tailor made. I'm short and fat, but I don't want to look like that. Clothes can be the best antidote; I can use clothes to cover some of my body's flaws. I always think my home tailor is a magician. She can always alter clothes for me to make me look slimmer or even taller. If I was uncomfortable wearing a dress, I could always tell her, and she would fix it for me right away. So I've really got used to having my dresses tailor made. I would never think of going back to buying clothes from ready-to-wear stores. (Huang, 52 year old housewife)

I like to look young and fit. I don't think I look like that when I dress in clothes from ready-to-wear brands, simply because I'm too fat. Those clothes never look good on me. That's why I have mine tailor made. The skirts made by my home tailor always cover my big hips. Also I feel more comfortable wearing these clothes. The clothes I bought from ready-to-wear shops were either too tight or too loose. They just don't make me look fit. But now I can always find the perfect fit and comfortable clothes when I have my clothes tailor made.

Sometimes I bring in pictures to show my home tailor what I'd like. Then she'll do a sketch, we look at it and discuss where it would need a change. For instance, some skirts or trousers that I like just won't look good on me because of my big hips. Then my home tailor will suggest some alterations. Because I've had my clothes made by her for several years, I trust her as a professional. I always let her lead the way. The results are always perfect.

Overall, I don't have to lose weight or shape my body to fit in the clothes. I can always go to the home tailor to get a garment which fits well and also makes me look good. (Show, 55 year old retired nurse)

Most consumers of home-tailored clothing claim that they are satisfied with how these professionals help them to alter clothes to fit their flawed bodies. They do not therefore have to try very hard to change their body shape to fit in fashionable clothes; they can always have comfortable outfits made by home tailors instead. During the process of consumption, the clients of home tailors have more authority to convey their individual opinions; they are not passive cultural victims when consuming garments. Consumers get involved in the process of design, and they help the home tailors to make clothes that reflect their individual style and figure. It is easy to see how the consumption of garments made by home tailors presents an active relationship between production and cultural consumption. It also provides the perfect example when it comes to showing how some Taiwanese women (particularly the clients of home tailors) can actually use their strategic bodily practice against the hegemony led by Western fashion industries.

7.5 Summary

The choices for consumers in Taiwan in terms of garment consumption have gradually become more varied since the 1980s. Designer clothes have grown in popularity among consumers. Fashion designing implies designing for certain themes or groups. Originally, it was assumed that women would have more opportunities to articulate how their individual feminine bodies should look through consuming clothes made or designed by fashion designers. However, after interviewing fashion designers, home tailors and consumers, it is clear that women are more able to express their individual bodies through consuming clothes designed and made by home tailors. The interviews also highlighted how some Taiwanese women actively use their strategic bodily practice to face down the hegemony of Western-led fashion values.

At the macro-level of this chapter, the academic approaches of Kawamura (2005) and Julier (2000) were applied, first to trace the idea of 'design' as it appeared in Taiwan and then to argue that home tailors should be regarded as designers in their own right. The content and the process of their garment production are similar; their one major difference is that designers have usually been taught how to promote their creativity and unique selves in order to build up a reputation. Kawamura's theory is used to both investigate the creativity status of designers and consider how the privileged status of fashion designers has been deliberately constructed in Taiwan. Julier's theory of the canon of design is also applied to show how the strategies adopted by some organizations in Taiwan were intended to construct such a canon. These two theories provide good theoretical support for the more experiential evidence that has been gathered to demonstrate how Taiwanese fashion designers have been legitimated and promoted. Bringing these elements together, it is therefore broadly possible to compare home tailors and fashion designers and to conclude that they are similar. In this way, it is also possible to highlight in more detail the differences between how women customize their bodies when consuming clothes made by fashion designers and home tailors.

At the micro-level of this chapter, the main concept of strategic bodily practice is applied to demonstrate dress as a means to negotiate dominance. Indeed, my fieldwork shows that dresses made and sold by home tailors allow consumers to quietly resist all sorts of control, such as the styles of the Western fashion industry, label obsession and the need to conform to an ideal body shape and size. These bodily practices are strategic rather than situated; their use shows how these Taiwanese female consumers actively and strategically participate in the consuming process. Many female consumers in Taiwan have more opportunity to articulate their ideas about fashion and body shape by consuming the clothes made and designed by home tailors. It is important to recognize that the process of making culture can take place in the empowerment and negotiation of consumers' fights against dominant understandings of the world. This process is always a dialectical play between agency and structure. During the process of consuming home tailors' clothes, Taiwanese female consumers get to cooperate with home tailors to articulate their own ideas about the clothing they want to wear. During the consuming process, these clients play active roles in shaping their goods. Their garments are often made to adapt to their specific requirements. As such, consuming garments made or designed by home tailors makes these women's bodies the perfect example of the customized body.

Chapter 8 Conclusion

This thesis provides evidence that there is much variation in the interaction between embodied subjects and societal structures. It also demonstrates how the continuous dialogue between social theories of the body and dress and empirical research provides an opportunity to explore subjects' perceptions more thoroughly and recognize how they engage in a variety of forms of negotiation. In addition, the research uncovers more of the hidden transcript of the struggles of class during times of transformation for the state's dynamics of power. Reviewing these explorations reveals how these strategic bodily practices are actually the weapons of the weak. In Scott's (1985) definition of such subtle weapons, what he calls the act of daily resistance of the subordinate class is uncoordinated: these acts are usually performed by individual actors through unofficial channels, and they rarely involve opposing authority directly. The strategic bodily practices of the Taiwanese women in this study exhibit these characteristics and fit this definition. Women do not painstakingly put their heads together in an attempt to come up with better ideas about how to form their negotiations. Indeed, they instead tacitly use dress as means to perform their everyday negotiations with different forms of hegemony. Generally speaking, these negotiation practices may not directly create a new order, but they have had an impact on social change and history over time, and have in these ways been effective in mitigating the process of marginalization. These practices should not be overlooked when we examine agency and resistance. Just as Scott describes millions of anthozoan polyps creating a coral reef that the ship of state might run aground on, so do thousands of individual practices create a political and economic barrier reef of their own.

Aside from discovering that strategic bodily practices are the weapons of the weak, this research might also serve as an important chapter in a discussion of the 'feminist politics of location'¹⁵⁵ in order to open a dialogue between Western and non-Western feminism. This study matches what the global feminist politics of location might entail (Davis, 2006). As Taiwan's women were its subjects, and as it takes on the history of these women's dressed bodies, the research contributes to the fulfillment of situating differences among women (and men) within the global hierarchies of power. It also explores how these hierarchies shape all encounters, both locally and globally. Furthermore, the research decentralizes the priority given to Western scholarship and provides ways to understand how feminism travels in theory and in practice. Given how women's bodies have been controlled by several different political, social and cultural regimes during the short time span following the Second World War, the influence has shifted from being politically driven to a market-driven cause, and the authority of control has moved from a specific, deliberate national regime to a centralized international regime. This makes Taiwan a good case for investigating how theories move from the West to Taiwan, and how Taiwanese women's experiences interact with and shape the theory.

In terms of shaping this theory, Taiwan's experience helps this study prove that to link the culture of materials (dress) with the body provides a valuable way to explore: individuals' statuses; how they receive the impact of structural forces; and how the organism of their collectivity is

¹⁵⁵ Originally, the term 'politics of location' was proposed by Adrienne Rich (1986) as a way of naming the ground we are standing on and critically examining conditions that we have always taken for granted. It represented a desire for plurality within feminism and an increased willingness to reflexively and critically situate one's own perspective.

enabled to exercise agency, thereby creating their generative capacity in the development of society. The theoretical framework of strategic bodily practice proposed in this study bridges a current gap in academia, in which the body and dress are usually regarded as two separate topics, and women's bodies tend to be analyzed as passive entities, with their clothing typically being categorized as an inanimate symbol of a particular social and historical context. The strategic bodily practice approach draws on structuralist, phenomenological and post-structuralist insights. In this context, dress is seen as an element that helps to construct the society-influenced ordered body as a way of representing the individual self, which can in turn affect the very structure of society. Dress and body are seen to link individuals and society, and to reveal how societal structures are forcefully imprinted on individuals, and what counteractions on the part of these individuals can in turn shape the structure. This concept of strategic bodily practice, which emphasizes the connection and interrelation between body, dress, individual agents and social structures, helps us to avoid seeing the body as a merely passive recipient of social and discursive forces. It is also helpful in uncovering the strategies, practices and actions of wearers which have long been hidden in the traditionally rigid analysis of dress. In summary, the theoretical framework of this study accounts for theoretically complex and empirical grounding, which can lead to the further accumulation of knowledge on the body-dress-agent-society relationship.

The multiple layers of complexity and contradiction in Taiwan's history also help the strategic bodily practice approach compensate for the shortcomings of the theory of situated bodily practice proposed by Entwistle (2000), taking the theory of dress as an embodied practice to the next level. The theoretical framework of strategic bodily practice emphasizes the importance of reviewing specific differences between different social classes, ethnic groups, occupations, and political, economic and cultural contexts at different periods of time. This framework makes it possible to account for the complexities and varieties of social forces and individual negotiations. In doing so, the theoretical framework of strategic bodily practice can represent the dialectic process of dress, the body, individuals and society. In both strategic and situated bodily practices, dress practice is simultaneously seen as a set of socially ordered actions and as the outcome of individual acts. Improving on the theory of situated bodily practice, in the theory of strategic bodily practice, the individual act of dress practice not only includes how an individual chooses a particular form of dress for a certain social setting, but also how this same individual alters the meaning of a particular outfit by negotiating with the clothes production system to produce a certain garment for a particular social setting at a particular period in history.

Future research

Every research project has its limitations, and the current work is no exception. There are two main parts of this research that could be expanded upon in the future. First of all, Chapter 6 highlights how so-called Western fashion trends/Japanese-interpreted Western fashion trends influence Taiwan's fashion styles. Due to limitations in the scope of this research, the issues of how the Western fashion system has been constructed, and how Western fashion trends have been interpreted by the Japanese fashion industry, have not been examined in great detail. Indeed, answering such a question requires fieldwork to be undertaken in the Japanese fashion industry. An assessment of how

Japanese-interpreted Western fashion trends influence the Taiwanese fashion industry might reveal the complexity of Taiwan's fashion system and further potential negotiations between women and different institutions. This is an issue that should be returned to in subsequent studies.

Second, Chapter 7 examines both how Taiwanese women consume home-tailored clothes, and how active they are in the process of design by assisting home tailors to design and make garments that exclusively fit their individual styles and figures. During the process, these women negotiate all manner of attempts to control their body. However, due to the limitations of this research, whether the work between home tailors and their clients has ever been able to produce any non-Western fashion trends, and whether these trends have ever been able to influence the fashion industry in Taiwan or other countries, has not been proven. Finally, it is hoped that future studies will uncover how powerful the agency of women is and how they reveal the extent of this power.

Appendix One

Informant	Number of People
<i>Qipao</i> tailors	5
<i>Qipao</i> wearers	13
Female workers	21
Clothes shop owners in <i>Wufenpu</i>	14
Buyers from shops in <i>Wufenpu</i>	10
Fashion designers	14
Home tailors	8
Consumers of designer clothes	10
Consumer of clothes made by home tailors	10

Table I *Qipao* Tailors

Name	Gender	Age
Lee	Male	73
Song	Female	75
Hsu Rong	Male	80
Yao	Male	68
Wang	Female	62

Table II *Qipao* Wearers

Name	Gender	Age	Note
Ling	Female	75	
Tong	Female	78	
Chi	Female	68	
Song	Female	75	Had only worn the <i>qipao</i> a few times.
Wan	Female	70	
Chen	Female	80	Had only worn the <i>qipao</i> a few times.
Hsu siao	Female	70	
Young	Female	72	
Koy	Female	72	Had only worn the <i>qipao</i> a few times.
Pan	Female	75	
Ma	Female	73	
Hu	Female	63	Only wears an altered <i>qipao</i> .
Pan daili	Female	70	Only wears an altered <i>qipao</i> .

Table III Female Workers

Name	Gender	Age	Note
Co	Female	64	
Kima	Female	68	
Lee chuchu	Female	67	
Roy	Female	69	
Lay	Female	70	Leader
Huang	Female	62	
Kao meiling	Female	65	
Hsu han	Female	66	
Jonnie	Female	68	
Lin chia	Female	60	
Liang	Female	64	
Wan	Female	68	
Tong Li	Female	64	
May	Female	62	
Nan	Female	64	
Lin Song	Male	64	Manager
Komei	Female	64	
Joey	Female	66	
Meiyu	Female	68	
San	Female	62	
Chi	Female	60	

Table IV Clothes Shop Owners in the *Wufenpu* District

Name	Gender	Age	Note
Hu fengli	Female	66	Hu had worked as a seamstress in <i>Wufenpu</i> in 1960. She had also owned a shop in <i>Wufenpu</i> from the 1980s to the 1990s specializing in shirts for women.
Lian	Female	65	Lian had owned a shop in <i>Wufenpu</i> in the 1970s specializing in shirts for women.
Mr. Zhang	Male	37	Mr. Zhang's shop specializes in clothes for teenage girls and women aged from 20 to 35.
Mrs. Lee	Female	42	Mrs. Lee's shop specializes in clothes for women aged from 20 to 35.
Mrs. San	Female	46	Mrs. San's shop specializes in clothes for teenage girls.
Yan	Female	40	Yan's shop specializes in clothes for women aged from 20 to 35.

Name	Gender	Age	Note
Pan aiying	Female	52	Pan's shop specializes in clothes for women aged from 40 to 60.
San Cheng	Female	53	San is a sales clerk in a shop specializing in clothes for women aged from 40 to 60.
Nico	Female	32	Nico's shop specializes in cosplay outfits.
Rong	Female	38	Rong's shop specializes in clothes for women aged from 20 to 35.
Da	Female	42	Da is a sales clerk in a shop specializing in clothes for women aged from 40 to 50.
Chia	Female	24	Chia is a sales clerk in a shop specializing in clothes for women aged from 40 to 50.
Bai	Female	32	Bai's shop specializes in nightclub outfits.
Wu Kelly	Female	50	Wu's shop specializes in clothes for women aged over 60.

Table V Consumers of Wufenpu District Products

Name	Gender	Age	Note
Blue	Female	50	Accountant
Yang	Female	58	Housewife
Yong	Female	26	Merchant who sells clothes online
Chon	Female	20	Student
Cheng	Female	54	Pharmacist
Lu	Female	54	Housewife
Mei	Female	55	Representative of Insurance Company
Lilly	Female	18	Student
Rose	Female	32	PR
Alice	Female	31	Teacher

Table VI Home Tailors

Name	Gender	Age
Ko	Female	62
Chiu	Female	62
Liu	Female	64
Cai	Female	56
Liao	Female	68
Kay	Female	64
Shang	Female	67
Hong	Female	58

Table VII Fashion Designers

Name	Gender	Age	Note
Cheng-yi	Female	63	Cheng-yi graduated from the Shih Chien School of Home Economics in 1970, and is now a housewife.
Lin	Male	56	Lin studied fashion design in England in the 1990s.
Kao	Female	32	Kao graduated from the fashion design department of Shih Chien University in 2004.
Ling Shang	Female	55	Ling Shang graduated from the Private Tainan Junior College of Home Economics in 1978, and is now a pattern maker.
Sin	Female	39	Sin graduated from the fashion design department of Fu Jen University in 1997.
Kon	Male	42	Kon attended a training course established by Eliza Wang in the 1980s.
Yu	Female	36	Yu graduated from the fashion design department of Fu Jen University in 2000.
Fen	Female	37	Fen graduated from the Private Tainan Junior College of Home Economics in 1996.
Hsin	Female	40	HSin graduated from the fashion design department of Fu Jen University in 1996.
Hsu Yi	Female	30	Hsu Yi graduated from the fashion design department of Shih Chien University in 2006.
Yo	Female	38	Yo graduated from the fashion design department of Shih Chien University in 1997.
AA	Male	43	AA graduated from the Shih Chien School of Home Economics in 1993.
Liu	Female	42	Liu graduated from the Shih Chien School of Home Economics in 1994.
Coco	Female	34	Coco graduated from the fashion design department of Shih Chien University in 2002.

Table VIII Consumers of Home Tailored Products

Name	Gender	Age	Note
Lu	Female	51	Housewife
Wu	Female	65	Housewife
Ying	Female	60	Shop Owner
Lee	Female	56	Housewife
Chen	Female	48	Manager
Joy	Female	55	Saleswoman
Huang	Female	52	Housewife

Name	Gender	Age	Note
Show	Female	55	Retired Nurse/Housewife
Jojo	Female	58	Retired Teacher
Robin	Female	57	Retired Teacher

Table IX Consumers of Designer Products

Name	Gender	Age	Note
Cheng	Female	60	Housewife
Hsu	Female	62	Manager
Betty	Female	50	Housewife
Lin-tai	Female	60	Housewife
Linmei	Female	46	Secretary
Li	Female	50	Manager
Liaoma	Female	50	Teacher
Sophie	Female	35	Representative of Insurance Company
Amy	Female	37	PR
Debbie	Female	38	PR

Appendix Two: Backgrounds of Informants Representing Key Actors

Actor	Informant	Personal Background	Fieldwork Contact
Chapter 2 <i>Qipao</i> tailor	Mr. Lee ※Male ※Born in 1939 ※ <i>Qipao</i> tailor	<p><i>Qipao</i> tailor Mr. Lee was born in Beijing, China, in 1939. He came to Taiwan following the KMT government's retreat from China in 1945. He has been recognized as a waishenren. Mr. Lee explained that because he was not always a good student, and didn't like going to school, his parents told him to learn a skill so that he would be able to make a living in the future. Luckily, the famous <i>qipao</i> tailor Mr. Xiu, who also came to Taiwan from China in 1945 with the KMT government, was a family friend, and so Mr. Lee was able to work as his apprentice from the age of 14. After three years and four months as an apprentice, which is the normal length of an apprenticeship to become a <i>qipao</i> tailor, Mr. Lee officially qualified as such in 1956. He claims that he was the most talented student among the apprentices. Certainly, Mr. Xiu liked him a great deal. Indeed, by the time of his retirement, Mr. Lee had become his preferred choice to take over his business. Mr. Lee gradually began to do so in 1961.</p> <p>His tailor's shop was located in the old downtown area in Taipei, which used to be busy and bustling (close to the Taipei train station). There were eight to 12 <i>qipao</i> tailors in Mr. Lee's shop during the 1960s. Now, there is only him and one other.</p>	I n - d e p t h Interviews: (all in Mr. Lee's <i>qipao</i> tailor shop in Taipei) 13/08/2008, 20/08/2008, 07/03/2009, 10/01/2010.

Actor	Informant	Personal Background	Fieldwork Contact
<p>Chapter 2 <i>Qipao</i> wearer</p>	<p>Ling</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✘Female ✘Born in 1937 ✘Retired secretary 	<p>Ling was born in Tsinan, China in 1937. She came to Taipei, Taiwan with her family in 1945 following the KMT's retreat. Ling identifies herself as a waishenren. When she was in elementary school, her mother made clothes and even shoes for her. Ling graduated from college in 1957, becoming a secretary in the government-owned company, China Petrochemical Development Corporation (CPDC). After making money on her own, she started to buy clothes or wear a <i>qipao</i> that was made by a <i>qipao</i> tailor. She used to wear a <i>qipao</i> to the office in the 1960s.</p> <p>When Ling worked as a secretary, she and her colleagues used to go to balls to dance and meet boys. She mentioned that she rarely wore a <i>qipao</i> to such an event, because it is too stiff when dancing. She didn't meet her husband, Kon, at a ball; he is a son of a family friend. Kon was born in Tsinan, China, in 1936. He came to Taiwan with his family in 1945 and now also works at CPDC. Ling's parents liked Kon very much, and thought he was a decent man with a good job. They believed that Kon would be a good husband, meaning that he would make enough money to raise children and take care of the entire family. They therefore persuaded Ling to go out with and marry Kon after they had known each other for only three months.</p> <p>Once married, Ling and Kon had three children, the oldest a daughter, and two sons. When the daughter attended elementary school, Ling (then 31) left her job and became a full time housewife. She is still a full-time housewife, and has been since leaving her job at CPDC. The only <i>qipao</i> she has kept is her wedding gown.</p>	<p>In-depth Interviews: (all in Ling's home in Taipei) 01/09/2008, 16/04/2009, 12/01/2010</p>

Actor	Informant	Personal Background	Fieldwork Contact
Chapter 3 Female worker	Kima ※Female ※Born in 1944 ※Retired secretary/ female worker	Kima was born in Kaohsiung, in the southern part of Taiwan, in 1944. She is a benshengren. There are seven children in her family, and Kima is the oldest daughter. She started work as a female worker in a factory in Kaohsiung when she was 14, which is below the permitted working age in Taiwan. Her parents thus had to borrow an identification card from a neighbour to enable Kima to work in the factory. She has worked in five different factories, most of which were located in the Kaohsiung Export Processing Zone. When Kima was 20, her parents started to help her to find a husband, and asked a mei po, a female matchmaker, to assist in the search for a suitable candidate. The first man Kima was fixed up with, Liao, became her husband. Liao owns a grocery store. Kima's parents had told her that Liao owned this store and that he also had his own house. This latter fact was important, because it meant that Kima wouldn't have to work too hard to help her husband buy a place to live. At that time, buying a house was necessary for a family, but affording one was difficult. Accordingly, Kima's parents were happy to find her a man who already had his own home. Although Liao had his own grocery store and house, Kima insisted on working in the factory, even after she got married. This is because she felt more secure making her own money, as she had worked from the age of 14. Moreover, as Kima's mother-in-law lives with her (because Liao is the oldest son), she preferred to keep working (despite being married with children) as she didn't like dealing with her mother-in-law for 24 hours a day at home. Kima has three children, and her mother-in-law has always helped her to take care of them. At the last factory where Kima worked, she first started as a female worker. She then became a leader on the assembly line, before finally becoming a secretary in the office. This was at a factory/company where she had worked for over 10 years. She retired to be a full-time housewife in 2006. Now, she is also responsible for taking care of her mother-in-law.	In-depth Interviews: In a restaurant in Kaohsiung on 01/09/2009, and on 20/11/2009 (with her female co-workers); and in Kima's home in Kaohsiung on 20/12/2009 and 11/02/2010

Actor	Informant	Personal Background	Fieldwork Contact
Chapter 4 Shop owner in <i>Wufenpu</i>	Mr. Zhang ※Male ※Born in 1975 ※Shop owner in <i>Wufenpu</i>	<p>Mr. Zhang was born in Taipei in 1975. He went to study in the United States when he was 12. He then completed his bachelor's degree there, with a major in finance. After graduating from university, he worked for a couple of companies in the States as a marketing planner. In 1998, he met his girlfriend Jill in LA. Jill's father ran two stores selling teenage girls' clothes in Wufenpu. Jill wanted to return to Taiwan to help her father manage his stores, and Mr. Zhang decided to accompany her in 1999 to help out. After working together for a year, they had a huge row about the most appropriate business plan for the stores. The couple broke up in 2000. Mr. Zhang subsequently acquired the know-how required to manage a store selling clothes in <i>Wufenpu</i>. He thus decided to open his own garment shop there in 2001.</p> <p>First, he hired two clerks to take turns in the shop while he worked as the buyer. This meant that he had to go to China two to three times a month. After two years working in this business, he decided that if he wanted to make more money, he needed to open his own manufacturing plant in China to save costs. Moreover, he knew he could also sell clothes to other wholesalers from <i>Wufenpu</i> and other retailers all over Taiwan.</p> <p>Mr. Zhang opened his manufacturing business in China in 2003. The main target audiences of his shop are teenage girls and women between the ages of 20 and 35. He now has over 30 employees at his manufacturing plant in China. There are also still two clerks working in Mr. Zhang's shop in <i>Wufenpu</i>. He still goes to China once or twice a month, but the manager there reports to him every day.</p>	In-depth Interviews: (all in Mr. Zhang's shop in Wufenpu Taipei) 10/01/2009 (with Yong, a buyer from Wufenpu), and on 18/01/2009, 14/04/2009, 20/03/2010

Actor	Informant	Personal Background	Fieldwork Contact
Chapter 4 Consumers of clothes for sale in <i>Wufenpu</i>	Yong ※Female ※Born in 1986 ※ Owner of online shop	<p>Yong was born in Taichung, in the middle of Taiwan, in 1986. She graduated from senior high school in 2004. After graduating, and as she liked shopping for clothes in <i>Wufenpu</i> and thought she knew clothes and fashion well, Yong started her own business selling clothes on the night market in Taipei. This lasted for two years. During that time, she came to know Mr. Zhang (previous key actor), because she usually went to his shop in <i>Wufenpu</i> to buy the items she sold. Indeed, she went to Mr. Zhang's shop once or twice a week, usually on Mondays, which is the day most retailers, wholesalers and distributors buy clothes in <i>Wufenpu</i>. In fact, some shops in <i>Wufenpu</i> refuse to engage in retail sales on Mondays, because they don't have time to serve individual customers during the day. This is because they have to deal with retailers, wholesalers and distributors from all over Taiwan.</p> <p>After selling clothes on the night market for two years, Yong decided to change her approach. She felt it was too tiring to sell clothes in this way, as the working hours were long and the weather was unpredictable. She also had to deal with the heat during the summers and the cold in the winters. Accordingly, six years ago, Yong started to sell clothes online. Now, her main office and stock are in Taichung. Most of her clothes are still obtained wholesale from Mr.Zhang's shop in <i>Wufenpu</i>. Like Mr. Zhang, her main target audiences are teenage girls and women between the ages of 20 and 30.</p>	In-depth Interviews: (in Mr.Zhang's shop in Wufenpu Taipei) 10/01/2009, (with shop owner in Wufenpu, Mr. Zhang, and in Yong's boyfriend's office in Taipei) 12/01/2009, 16/03/2009

Actor	Informant	Personal Background	Fieldwork Contact
Chapter 5 Home tailor	Ko ※Female ※Born in 1950 ※Home tailor	<p>Ko, a home tailor, was born in Taitung, on the east coast of Taiwan, in 1950. She started an apprenticeship there to become a home tailor when she was 15 years old. After an apprenticeship of three years and four months, which is the usual amount of time spent learning the trade, she opened her own home tailor shop in Taitung in 1968. Ko made friends with many of her clients during that period.</p> <p>She married Jing when she was 20, after which she moved to Taipei with her husband. When they first settled down there, Jing worked as a plumber and Ko was a full-time housewife. They had two daughters. However, as Ko explained, Jing made some bad friends through his business, who he started to hang out with all the time, and stopped giving money to Ko to look after the family. Ko therefore had to try to make money on her own to Ko eventually got divorced, after which she still worked as a home tailor in her own shop. Many of her regular clients became good friends, and sometimes only come to the shop to have afternoon tea with Ko, instead of buying clothes. Ko has had two apprentices since she opened her shop in Taipei. Now, she is the only home tailor in her store.</p> <p>raise their two daughters. She accordingly opened her second home tailor shop, this time in Taipei, in 1974. Her shop is located on <i>Renai</i> Road, where there is a lot of subsidized or grace and favour accommodation for senior government ministers, professors from national universities, and some managers who work for government-owned banks. Ko explains that the location of her shop helps her to attract clients who live in the neighbourhood, and they usually make good money and come from wealthy economic backgrounds. Ko was grateful for these clients as they enabled her to make enough money to raise her children on her own.</p>	<p>※Learnt sewing and pattern making skills in Ko's tailor shop in Taipei for one month. (15/11/2008 – 15/12/2008)</p> <p>In-depth Interviews: (all in Ko's tailor shop/her home in Taipei) 02/10/2008, 21/12/2008, 17/12/2009, 24/03/2010</p>

Actor	Informant	Personal Background	Fieldwork Contact
Chapter 5 Fashion designer	AA ※Male ※Born in 1969 ※Fashion designer	AA was born in Chiayi, in the southern part of Taiwan, in 1969. After he graduated from senior high school there, he moved to Taipei to study at the department of fashion design at Shih Chien University in 1988. AA explains that he was a talented student. There are three ways for the university's fashion design students to graduate. These are: 1) design a fashion collection for the ready-to-wear industry, 2) design a fashion collection for haute couture, which means a collection that is more experimental, edgy and exclusive, or 3) complete an essay related to the issue of fashion design. AA chose to design an haute couture collection, and won the best fashion designer award for his degree fashion show. He became a freelance fashion designer after graduating. In 1996, he and some of his friends established a designer brand called '7/10', and sold their collections exclusively in special boutiques. In 1997, AA won the rising star award in Taiwan. He then moved to live in Paris and Antwerp for a year to search for new inspiration for his collections. In 2001, AA started his own designer brand, "Pitopaak." 'Pito' means cute in French, and 'Pak' is AA's French name. He added another 'a' to the word to make the syllable 'paak.' This is because he likes Antwerp so much and one of the city's official languages is Dutch, which uses the double 'a' in many of its words. He was invited to present his collection during Tokyo Fashion Week in 2010. Now, he creates a new collection twice a year. His studio is based in Chiayi, and his collections are sold exclusively in one particular boutique, Misty Mint, in Taipei. The main concept of his design brand is to live in the world with a free and easy lifestyle.	In-depth Interviews: (all in a restaurant in Taipei) 14/02/2009, 01/04/2009, 06/01/2010 01/03/2010

Actor	Informant	Personal Background	Fieldwork Contact
<p>Chapter 5 Consumer of clothes made by home tailors</p>	<p>Show ✘Female ✘Born in 1957 ✘Retired nurse</p>	<p>Show was born in Taipei in 1957. After graduating from university, she became a nurse in 1986 at the national hospital, where she worked for 16 years. Show met her husband, Kao, at work; he is a doctor at the same hospital. Show was married when she was 30. She then became Yi Sheng Niang, which means 'the wife of the doctor.' Most women in Taiwan envy Yi Sheng Niang, because once a girl becomes Yi Sheng Niang, she doesn't have to worry about the economic condition of her family, as most doctors are wealthy. Accordingly, many Yi Sheng Niang don't have to work.</p> <p>Show retired early in her 40s. She and Kao have three children. After her retirement, Show became a full-time housewife. She now takes care of everything in the family, including driving their children to their different schools and picking them up every day. Show's hobby is singing in a choir, which is how she met the home tailor Ko. Show is the leader of the choir. Once, when the choir was preparing for a stage performance, most of its members decided to have their costumes tailored by Ko. Since then, Show has become a frequent client of his.</p>	<p>In-depth Interviews: (in Ko's tailor shop in Taipei) 14/10/2008, (In Show's home in Taipei) 12/12/2008, 26/04/2009</p>

Actor	Informant	Personal Background	Fieldwork Contact
Chapter 5 Consumer of designer collections	Li ※Female ※Born in 1962 ※Manager	<p>Li is a company manager who likes to purchase clothes from designer collections. She was born in Tainan, in the southern part of Taiwan, in 1962. She graduated from college in 1983. She first started to work in a bank, which was considered to be a very good job at the time. Li describes how men who were looking for a wife preferred women who worked in three kinds of job: teacher, nurse and bank clerk. Luckily, Li worked in a bank, and was fixed up with many potential husbands by her parents. She then met her actual husband, Chen, through one of these arrangements and got married in 1988. Chen is a business man, and owns a trade company in Tainan. After marrying Chen, Li was asked to leave her job at the bank, and started to work as a secretary in Chen's company instead. Li has always played the role of the good wife very well. She educates their two sons, and also helps to manage her husband's business.</p> <p>Li is now working as a manager in her husband's company. To help most of the employees save money and time in terms of having to think about what to wear to the office, she even buys clothes for the employees to wear as uniforms.</p>	In-depth Interviews: (in a restaurant in Tainan) 20/09/2009, (in Li's home in Tainan) 27/10/2009, 02/02/2010

Bibliography

- Abbott, Pamela & Wallace, Claire. (Eds.) (1997). *Introduction to Sociology: Feminist Perspectives*. London: Routledge.
- Attfield, Judy. (2000). *Wild Things: The Material Culture of Everyday Life*. Oxford: Berg.
- Barnard, Malcolm. (1996). *Fashion as Communication*. London: Routledge.
- Barnes, Ruth & Eicher, Joanne B. (Eds.) (1992). *Dress and Gender: Making and Meaning*. Oxford: Berg.
- Barthes, Roland. (1985). *The Fashion System*. London: Cape.
- Blumer, Herbert. (1969). "Fashion: from class differentiation to collective selection." *Sociological Quarterly*, 10, 275-291.
- Blust, Robert. (1999). "Subgrouping, circularity and extinction: some issues in Austronesian comparative linguistics." In E. Zeitoun & P.J.K Li. (Eds.), *Selected papers from the Eighth International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics* (pp. 31–94). Taipei: Academia Sinica.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. (1984). *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Trans. R. Nice. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- _____ (1989). *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Trans. R. Nice. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bourdieu, Pierre & Loïc J. D. Wacquant. (1992). *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*. London: University of Chicago Press.
- Brennkmeier, Ingrid. (1963). *The Sociology of Fashion*. Paris: Recueil Sirey.
- Brydon, Anne & Niessen, Sandra. (Eds.) (1998). *Consuming Fashion: Adorning the Transnational Body*. Oxford and New York: Berg.
- Butler, Judith. (1990). *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. London: Routledge.
- _____ (1993). *Bodies that Matter*. London: Routledge.
- Chatterjee, Partha. (1993). *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Chang, Hsiu-Hui. (2006). *Ri ben nu xing liu xing za zhi guo ji zhong wen ban dui Taiwan nu xing liu xing za zhi zhi ying xiang* (Influence of Japan's Feminine Pop Magazines Chinese Editions on Taiwan's Feminine Pop Magazines). Unpublised MA Thesis for Chinese Culture University.
- Chen, Cheng-Qing. (1968). *Gong ren liu dong de qi yin ji fang zhi de fang fa* (The cause of labor flotation, and the prevention of it). *Jia gong chu kou qu jian xun* (Export Processing Zone Concentrates), 3(10), 20-21.
- Chen, Ming-Zhu. (2005). *Shen ti chuan bo — yi ge nu xing shen ti lun shu de yan jiu shi jian* (Body Communication – The Research of Women's Body). Taipei: Wu-Nan Culture Enterprise.

- _____ (2010). *Shen ti zai si kao – nu ren yu lao hua (Rething Body – Women and Aging)*. Taipei: Chuliu Publisher.
- Chen, Pei-Ting. (2009). *Taiwan shan dao yan fu – Taiwan fu nü yang cai de fa zhan li shi 1895 -1970 (Transforming Traditional Taiwanese Costumes into Modern Western Costumes 1895-1970)*. Unpublished MA Thesis for Feng Chia University.
- Chen, Xin-Xing. (2006). *Da zao quan qiu di yi ge zhuang pei xian: taiwan tong yong qi cai gong si yu cheng xiang yi min 1964-1990 (Building the first global assembly line)*. *Jheng da lao dong syue bao (Bulletin of Labour Research)*. 20, 1-48.
- Chen, Yi-Chi. (2010). *Dang guo zhi xia de Taiwan xiao min shi (History of Taiwan Grassroots' People under the Rule of KMT Party-state)*. Taipei: Avantguard Press.
- Connell, R.W. (2002). *Gender*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Corrigan, Peter. (2008). *The Dressed Society: Clothing, the Body and Some Meaning of the World*. London: Sage.
- Craik, Jennifer. (1993). *The Face of Fashion: Cultural Studies in Fashion*. London: Routledge.
- _____ (2005). *Uniforms Exposed: From Conformity to Transgression*. Oxford: Berg.
- Crane, Diana. (2000). *Fashion and its Social Agendas: Class, Gender and Identity in Clothing*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Daly, Mary. (1979). *Gyn/Ecology*. London: The Women's Press.
- Davis, Fred. (1992). *Fashion, Culture, and Identity*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Davis, Kathy & Evan, Mary & Lorber, Judith. (Eds.) (2006). *Handbook of Gender and Women's Studies*. London: Sage.
- De Certeau, Michel. (1984). *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Trans. Steven F. Rendall. Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press.
- Douglas, Mary & Isherwood, Baron. (1979). *The World of Goods*. London: Routledge.
- Edwards, Louis. (2000). "Policing the modern woman in Republic of China." *Modern China*, 26(2), 115-147.
- Eicher, Joanne B. & Erekosima, Tonye V. (1995). "Why do they call it Kalabari? cultural authentication and the demarcation of ethnic identity." In Joanne B. Eicher. (Eds.), *Dress and Ethnicity: Change across Space and Time*. Oxford; Washington, D.C.: Berg.
- Entwistle, Joanne. (1997). *Fashioning the Self: Women, Dress, Power and Situated Bodily Practice in the Workplace*. Unpublished Doctoral Thesis for Goldsmiths' College, University of London.
- _____ (2000). *The Fashioned Body: Fashion, Dress and Modern Social Theory*. UK: Polity Press.
- _____ (2000). "Fashion and the fleshy body: dress as embodied practice." *Fashion Theory*, 4(3), 323-348.
- Fine, Ben & Leopold, Ellen. (1993). *The World of Consumption*. London: Routledge.
- Frith, Simon & Horne, Howard. (1987). *Art into Pop*. London: Routledge.

- Foucault, Michel. (1977). *Discipline and Punish*. Trans. A. M. Sheridan. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- _____ (1979). *The History of Sexuality, vol. 1: Introduction*. Trans. R. Hurley. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Gates, Hill, & E. Martin Ahem. (Eds.) (1981). *The Anthropology of Taiwanese Society*. California: Stanford University Press.
- Gellner, Ernest. (1987). *Culture, Identity, and Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Giddens, Anthony. (1984). *The Constitution of Society*. Cambridge: Polity.
- _____ (1991). *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Harding, Sandra. (1991). *Whose Science? Whose Knowledge? Thinking from Women's Lives*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Hong, Nong. (1953). Geng zheng yi jian ying (A brief of how women devote themselves to sewing soldiers' uniforms). *Chinese Woman*, 4(2), 6.
- _____ (1954). Feng zheng yi suo wen (A brief of how women devote themselves to sewing soldiers' uniforms). *Chinese Woman*, 4(11), 12.
- Hou Chia-Ju. (1991). Jia gong chu kou qu (Export processing zone). In gao si jyun and li cheng bian. (Eds.), *Taiwan jing ji si shi nian (40 Years Economical Development in Taiwan)*. Taipei: Book Zone.
- Hu, Ching-Fen. (2005). "Taiwan's geopolitics and Chiang Ching-kuo's decision to democratize Taiwan." *Stanford Journal of East Asian Affairs*, 5(1), 26-44.
- Huang, Jin-Lin. (2001). *Li shi shen ti guo jia: jin dai zhong guo de shen ti xing cheng 1895-1937 (History, Body, and Nation: The Formation of the Modern Chinese Body 1895-1937)*. Taipei: Linking Publisher.
- Hsiao, A-Qin. (2003). Ren tong xu shi yu xing dong: Taiwan 1970 nian dai dang wai de li shi jian gou (Identity, Discourse and Movement: The Construction of Taiwan History Outside of a Major Political Party in 1970). *Taiwanese Sociology*, 5, 195-250.
- _____ (2004). *Contemporary Taiwanese Cultural Nationalism*. London: Routledge Press.
- Hsieh, Yi-Ling. (2005). Er ci zhan hou Taiwan nu zi gao deng jiao yu fa zhan zhi yan jiu –yi shi jian jia zheng zhuan ke xue xiao yu tai nan jia zheng zhuan ke xue xiao wei li 1958-1985 (The Study of Women's Higher Educational Development in Taiwan after World War Two – Take Shih-Chieh College and Tainan Junior College of Home Economics as Examples 1958-1985). Unpublished MA Thesis for National Hsinchu University of Education.
- Jacoby, N. H. (1966). *US Aid to Taiwan*. New York: Praeger.
- Jiang, Jin-Hua. (2002). Taipei shi wufe pu cheng yi shi chang zhi yan jiu (The Research of Wufenpu Market in Taipei). Unpublished MA Thesis for National Taiwan Normal University.
- Jiang, Xue-Zhu. (1951). Xian zai wo guo nü zi jiao yu ying nu li de fang xiang (The direction of how we develop our women's education). *Chinese Woman*, 1(10), 8.
- Joseph, Nathan. (1986). *Uniforms and Nonuniforms: Communication through Clothing*. New York: Greenwood.

- Julier, Guy. (2000). *The Culture of Design*. London: Sage.
- Ka, C.M. (1995). *Japanese Colonialism in Taiwan: Land Tenure, Development and Dependency, 1895-1945*. Colorado: Westview Press.
- Kawamura, Yuniya. (2004). *The Japanese Revolution in Paris Fashion*. Oxford: Berg Publishers.
- _____ (2005). *Fashion-ology*. New York: Berg Publishers.
- Ke, Zhi-Ming. (1993). Taiwan dou shi xiao xing zhi zao ye de chuang ye jing ying yu sheng chan zu zhi: yi wufenpu cheng yi zhi zao ye wei an li de fen xi (The Production and Operations of Micro Enterprise in a Taiwan Urban Area). Taipei: Academia Sinica.
- King, E.M. (1882). *Rational Dress, or The Dress of Women and Savages*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench and Co.
- Ko, Dorothy. (2005). *Cinderella's Sister: A Revisionist History of Foot-Binding*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Lan, Pei-Jia. (2003). "Working in a neon cage: 'bodily labor' of cosmetics saleswomen in Taiwan." *Feminist Studies*, 29(1), 1-25.
- Lee, Ming-Tsung. (2004). *Absorbing Japan: Transnational Media, Cross-cultural Consumption, and Identity Practice in Contemporary Taiwan*. Unpublished Doctoral Thesis for University of Cambridge.
- Leopold, E. (1992). "The manufacture of the fashion system." In J. Ash and E. Wilson. (Eds.), *Chic Thrills*. London: Pandora.
- Lin, Chia-Lung. (2002). Jieshi wanjin Taiwan minzu zhuyi de chuxian yu xingzhi (Interpreting the recent happenings and the characteristics of nationalism in Taiwan). In Hung Chuan-Hu & Hsieh, Cheng-Yu. (Eds.), *Bainianlai lian an minzu zhuyi de fazhan yu fanxing (The Development of and Reflections on Nationalism in Taiwan and China in the Last Century)*. Taipei: Dongda Publishing.
- Lipovetsky, Gilles. (1994). *The Empire of Fashion: Dressing Modern Democracy*. Trans. Catherine Porter. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Liu, Shan-Ju. (2008). Jiang song mei ling yu wu Onian dai zhong hua fu nu de fu nu lun shu (Soong May-Ling and the Descriptions of China's Women Magazine of the 50s). Unpublished MA Thesis for National Taiwan University.
- Makeham, John. (2005). "Introduction." In Makeham, John; Bentuhua, A-Qin Hsiao. (Eds.), *Cultural, Ethnic, and Political Nationalism in Contemporary Taiwan*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- McVeigh, Brian. (2000). *Wearing Ideology: State, Schooling, and Self-Presentation in Japan*. Oxford: Berg Publishers.
- Merleau-Ponty, Maurice. (1962). *The Phenomenology of Perception*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Millet, Kate. (2000). *Sexual Politics*. New York: University of Illinois Press.

- Ngo, Tak-Wing. (2006). "Possible and impossible games: institutional order and social conflict in Argentina and Taiwan." In R. Boyed & B. Galjart & T.W. Ngo. (Eds.), *Political Conflict and Development in East Asia and Latin America* (pp. 1179-147). London: Routledge.
- Pi, Yi-Shu. (1950). Lun dang qian Taiwan de fu nü yun dong (The introduction of the women's movement in Taiwan). *Chinese Woman*, 1(1), 8-9.
- _____ (1952). Fu nü yung dong yu zhan shi sheng huo jie yue (Women's movement and thrifty management in war Time). *Chinese Woman*, 3(1), 2-11.
- Pun, Ngai. (2005). *Made in China: Women Factory Workers in a Global Workplace*. Durham, N. C: Duke University Press.
- Roach-Higgins, M. E. & Eicher, Joanne. (Eds.) (1965). *Dress, Adornment and Social Order*. New York: John Wiley and Sons.
- Roces, Mina & Edwards, Louise. (Eds.) (2007). *Politics of dress in Asia and the Americas*. Brighton: Sussex Academic.
- Roces, Mina. (2008). "Gender, nation and the politics of dress in 20th century Philippines." *IIAS Newsletter*, 46, 4-5.
- Shen, Hui-Lian. (1954). Si nian lai de zheng yi feng zhi gong zuo (How women have devoted themselves to sewing soldiers' uniforms in the last four years). *Chinese Woman*, 4(9), 8.
- Shilling, Chris. (2005). *The Body in Culture, Technology & Society*. London: Sage.
- Simmel, George. (1904/1971). "Fashion." In D. Levine. (Ed.), *On Individuality and Social Forms*. London: University of Chicago Press.
- Storey, John. (1999). *Cultural Consumption and Everyday Life*. USA: Bloomsbury.
- Su, Xu-Jun. (1993). Taiwan min zu fu nu chuan tong fu zhuang de she ji yu bian hua (Taiwan Hok-lo Women's Traditional Dress 1860-1945: Change, Design and Modernization). Unpublised MA Thesis for Fu-Jen Catholic University.
- Tang, Zhi-Jie. (2006). Zhong tan Taiwan de zheng ti zhuan xing: ru he kan dai 1970 nian dai guo min dang zheng quan de zheng dang hua (Rethinking the transformation of Taiwan's political regime), *Taiwanese Sociology*, 12, 141-190.
- Taylor, Emma. (1996). *Clothing Matters: Dress and Identity in India*. University of Chicago Press.
- Thompson, Edward Palmer. (1980). *The Making of the English Working Class*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Tickner, J. Ann. (1997). "You just don't understand: troubled: engagements between feminists and IR Theorists." *International Studies Quarterly*, 41(4), 622.
- Touraine, Alan. (1995). *Critique of Modernity*. Trans. David Macey. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Turner, Bryan. (1985). *The Body and Society: Explorations in Social Theory*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Veblen, Thorstein. (1899/1953). *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions*. New York: Mentor.

- Walker, John A. (1989). *Design History and the History of Design*. London: Pluto Press.
- Wang, Y.C. (1975). *Li dai fu nu pao fu kao shi* (The Research Examination of Chinese Women's Gowns in Successive Dynasties). Taipei: Research Institution of Chinese Qipao.
- _____ (2005). *Wan gu zhong hua fu zhuang shi* (Chinese Garment History). Taipei: Fu Jen University Press.
- Wang, Zhen-Huan. (1989). Taiwan de zheng zhi zhuan xing yu fan dui yun dong (The transformation of Taiwan's politics and social movements), *Taiwan: A Radical Quarterly in Social Studies*, 2(1), 71-116.
- Wolff, Janet. (1983). *Aesthetics and the Sociology of Art*. London: Allen & Unwin.
- Wolff, Janet. (1993). *The Social Production of Art*. New York: New York University Press.
- Woodward, Kate. (1997). *Identity and Difference*. London: Sage.
- Wöhr, Ulrike & Sato, Barbara. (Eds.) (1998). *Gender and Modernity: Reading Japanese Women's Magazines*. Kyoto: International Research Center for Japanese Studies.
- Wu, Nai-The. (1993). Taiwan zhuqun zhengzhi lilun de chutan (An explorative study of the theory of ethnic politics in Taiwan). In Chang Mao-Kuei. (Ed.) *Zhuqun quanxi yu guojia rentong* (Ethnic Relations and National Identity). Taipei: Yeh-Qiang Publishing.
- Wun, Xiu-Zhu. (1996). *Jia ting zhong fu nyu zhao gu zhe jue se xing cheng yin su yu zhao gu guo cheng zhi tan tao* (How Women become the Caretakers in the Family). Unpublished MA Thesis for National Taiwan University.
- Yang, Ching-Ching. (2007). *Fan gong kang e sheng zhong de nu xing shen ying ---yi zhong hua fu nu wei kao cha dui xian* (Women's Images During the Anti-Communism Period – A Study of China's Women). Unpublished MA Thesis for National Taipei University of Education.
- Ye, Li-Cheng. (2001). *Taiwan fu zhuang shi* (Taiwanese Garment History). Taipei: SC Publisher.
- Yin, Bao-Ning. (2006). *Qing yu guo zu hou zhi min* (Lust, Nation, and Post-colonialism). Taipei: Zuo An Press.
- Young, Iris Marion. (2005). *On Female Body Experience: 'Throwing Like a Girl' and Other Essays*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Yuval-Davis, Nira. (1989). *Women-Nation-State*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Zheng, Hong-Sheng. (2010). *Mu qin de 60 nian yang cai sui yue* (My Mom had been a Tailor for 60 years). Taipei: INK Publishing.

Curriculum Vitae

Lin Shih Ying was born in Tainan, Taiwan in 1979. She received her BA in Chinese Literature from the Soochow University in Taiwan in 2003. In 2005, she obtained her MA in Photographic Studies from University of Westminster in UK. Lin has continued her PhD study in Erasmus University Rotterdam, the Netherlands. Her research interests lie in the field of gender, fashion, dress and body. She has taught gender and everyday life and gender, image and globalization at Kaohsiung Medical University, Taiwan in 2011. Currently, she has been a lecture teaching consumer culture and fashion design at Fu Jen Catholic University in Taiwan.

