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Fashioning Brazil: Globalization and the Representation of Brazilian Dress in *National Geographic* since 1988

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Abstract

As a popular “scientific” and educational journal, *National Geographic*, since its founding in 1888, has positioned itself as a voice of authority within mainstream American print media, offering what purports to be an unprejudiced “window onto the world.” Previous scholarship has been quick to call attention to the magazine’s participation in an imperialist representational regime. Tamar Rothenberg, Linda Steet, and Catherine A. Lutz and Jane L. Collins have all argued that *National Geographic*’s distinctive, quasi-anthropological outlook has established hierarchies of difference and rendered subjects into dehumanized

objects, a spectacle of the unknown and exotic other. A more nuanced understanding can be reached by drawing upon the theoretical concept of an “aesthetics of garbage,” first employed by North American scholar of Brazilian film, Robert Stam. Stam used garbage in a positive sense, to articulate the subtle nuances and complexities of re-used aesthetic codes and conventions that have arisen from global exchanges and interactions between the United States and Brazil. Photographs since *National Geographic’s* centenary edition in September 1988 encapsulate an “aesthetics of garbage,” and have traced the beginnings of a different view of global encounters between the United States and Brazil, driven by the forces of globalization. These images have resisted the processes of objectification, appropriation and stereotyping frequently associated with the magazine’s distinctive, rectangular yellow border. This is because they have provided evidence of a fluid and various population, which has selected and experimented with preferred elements of American and European dress, and used it to fashion their own, distinctly Brazilian, identities.

KEYWORDS: *National Geographic*, Brazilian dress, photography, globalization, aesthetics of garbage

As a popular “scientific” and educational journal, *National Geographic*, which was established in 1888, has self-consciously positioned itself as a voice of authority within mainstream US print media, offering what purports to be an unprejudiced “window onto the world.” In recent years, academic scholarship has critiqued the magazine’s quasi-anthropological outlook, for organizing hierarchies of race, gender, sexuality and identity and, under the guise of objective science, pursuing a form of US-driven cultural imperialism (Lutz and Collins 1993; Rothenberg 2007; Steet 2000). *National Geographic* unquestionably constitutes a fascinating resource, yet to be seriously examined by scholarship, on the global use of dress and fashion to construct and perform individual, social, cultural, national and international identities. Despite a growing number of interdisciplinary and cross-cultural examinations of “non-Western” dress and fashion since the early 1990s, that dress and fashion historians are yet to conduct an in-depth analysis of *National Geographic* might be understood as part of a larger scholarly tendency to privilege enquiries into “Western” high fashion.¹ This article seeks to bridge this perceived gap between the West and the non-West, and provides a revisionist examination of *National Geographic* in the transitional post-1988 period, since the magazine celebrated its centennial.² I consider, firstly, what the magazine can tell us about the dress and fashion choices of the individual Brazilian subjects represented and their interactions with global culture. Secondly, and of equal importance, I scrutinize the magazine’s own representational agenda, and consider how it may have used dress to fashion an *idea* of Brazil and Brazilian subjects.

This article contributes to widening academic research on *National Geographic*, conducted so far by sociologists, anthropologists, feminists and postcolonial theorists. These scholars have equated the gaze of *National Geographic* with masculine, imperialist power, but failed to acknowledge the fundamental social, cultural, economic and political role that dress has played within the magazine, whether as a form of *submission* or, crucially, of *resistance*. I use an interdisciplinary framework, developed from my perspective as a dress historian trained in art history, to interrogate previous academic scholarship on *National Geographic*. Brazil has been chosen as a case study to focus and sharpen a cross-cultural and dress-historical analysis of *National Geographic* and Brazilian subjects represented within it. Brazil is often portrayed in mainstream US fashion media through recurring stereotypes that focus on Carnival, samba and thong bikinis worn on *Copacabana* beach, but these exotic images of cultural difference fail to appreciate the internal subtleties of the country's racial, religious, social, cultural, geographical and sartorial diversity (Andrade and Root 2015). The development of Brazilian dress and fashion reflects a long history of cross-cultural contact, slavery and immigration, in a complex and fluid process by which Brazil, now the fifth largest and fifth most populous country in the world, has absorbed but also re-interpreted multiple influences that stem from its indigenous populations, as well as from Europe, Africa, Asia and the United States.

The history of Brazil embodies the slipperiness of the tensions between the Western and the non-Western, and raises interesting questions about how *National Geographic* has articulated a recognizable image of the country within its pages. In geographical terms, Brazil is certainly a Western nation (Hess and DaMatta 1995). Moreover, it is affiliated with the West in terms of its developing free-market economy, its large export supplies of raw materials and manufactured goods, its transition to a democratic constitution following the end of the authoritarian military regime in 1985, its high cultural institutions, and its adoption of Christianity and the Portuguese language. Brazil also enjoys a regional hegemonic influence in Latin America that raises doubt about simplistic assertions of US cultural imperialism.³ However, Brazil might still be considered a non-Western nation with regard to its incomplete infrastructure, socioeconomic disparities, unequal distribution of wealth and land, poor standards of public health, and its popular and material culture which constitutes, as David Hess and Roberto DaMatta have succinctly articulated, a unique site in which "Western culture has mixed and mingled with non-Western cultures for centuries" (Hess and DaMatta 1995, 6). Brazil can be understood as a microcosm of the world as a whole and as such, just as *National Geographic* has attempted to encapsulate within its pages, "The World and All That Is In It," provides a revealing case study through which to examine how global identities have been asserted, negotiated and *re-negotiated* in

the magazine through the representation of Brazilian dress and fashion (Pauly 1979).

An Aesthetics of Garbage

The theoretical concept of an “aesthetics of garbage,” first employed by North American scholar of Brazilian film, Robert Stam (Stam 1998), provides a more nuanced understanding of the representation of Brazilian dress in *National Geographic* since 1988. Stam drew a connection with postmodernism and described Brazilian film since the late 1980s as an “aesthetics of garbage,” articulated through the creative and hybrid act of pastiche (Stam 1998, n.p.). He used garbage as a positive metaphor to recount the subversive potential and dynamic individualism of contemporary Brazilian culture, which negotiated discarded aesthetic codes and conventions from the United States and Western Europe. Stam drew upon the work of Brazilian literary critic, Roberto Schwarz, and Brazilian poststructuralist theorist, Silviano Santiago, to invert cross-cultural expressions previously seen as negative (and potentially “inferior”), in order to revalorize them as an anti-colonial trope, turning a premeditated disadvantage into a tactical strength (Santiago 2001; Schwarz 1992). Stam outlined the three strands woven into his conceptualization of an aesthetics of garbage: hybridity, chronotopic multiplicity and the redemption of refuse. Primarily, he emphasized that hybridity is not a neutral term, but has recurrently been adopted by Latin American governments to articulate national identity within integrationist discourses that dismiss the existence of cultural, racial and social discrimination. Stam acknowledged an important critique of hybridity—that, as an anti-essentialist discourse, it can often camouflage essentialisms, centered upon its ostensible failure to discriminate between diverse modalities, and instead stress oversimplified notions of blending, assimilation, mimicry, co-option, imposition, exploitation and subversion. He used Brazilian film as a case study to analyze this new hybrid form of multi-temporal and intertextual aesthetics. The multifarious nature of dress equally enables the complex articulations of cross-cultural exchange to be unraveled so that hybridity, which unquestionably unfolds in power-laden contexts, is able to draw distinctions as opposed to blur them, and, crucially, is not reduced to a nebulous and “descriptive, catch-all term” (Stam 1998, n.p.).

In addition, Stam used the term “chronotopic multiplicity,” derived from Russian literary theorist Mikhail Bakhtin, to describe the multiple and intertextual strands of world-time and world-space that are interlaced and overlaid in Brazilian film. Bakhtin drew upon the temporally palimpsestic nature of literary expressions and their inseparable layering of spatio-temporalities. In his 1981 collection of four essays, *The Dialogic Imagination*, he coined the term “chronotope” to refer in a figurative, as opposed to mathematical or physical, sense to “the

intrinsic connectedness of temporal and spatial relationships that are artistically expressed in literature” (Bakhtin 1981, 84). A parallel can be drawn here with dress, which is interconnected and intertextual; it is the product of a multiplicity of historical periods, continually harking back to a fleeting past that it refabricates in the present. Lynda Nead has used the dress metaphor of a “crumpled handkerchief” to articulate a topological concept of time and space as folded, whereby distant points can become close in proximity, or be superimposed over one another (Nead 2005, 8). This experience of time as crumpled, rather than flat and linear, weaves together past, present and future in continual and unexpected conversation. While time and space constitute abstract concepts and contexts, dress enables us to pinpoint and decipher particular examples of when individuals have expressed a sense of *who* they are in relation to *when* and *where* they are.

Nead used the metaphor of the crumpled handkerchief, suggestive of old and greying qualities, as opposed to a clean, crisp and freshly ironed one. This is significant, and draws a correlation with the final strand that Stam wove into an aesthetics of garbage: the strategic redemption or recycling of marginal or second-hand aesthetics. Stam located these recycled aesthetics within the archive of *Udigrudi* (underground) Brazilian cinema of the late 1960s, heralded by Brazilian filmmaker Rogério Sganzerla, who developed techniques that appropriated international cinema and re-presented it in an irreverent, overtly affected but innovative manner. Though underground Brazilian cinema, which used second-hand aesthetics to parody borrowed ideas from Europe and the United States, was grounded in the counterculture of the 1960s, Stam located a new form of these techniques in Brazilian film from the late 1980s and 1990s. Brazilians, he asserted, were required to sift through the remnants of a global capitalist culture and incorporate and re-present leftover or salvaged elements “like the heterogeneous scraps making up a quilt” (Stam 1998, n.p.). In doing so, he gave a positive identification and revalorization to the transformative process of mending, altering and recycling diverse swatches of the West’s unwanted products, and using them to construct a new, cross-cultural textile that mediated between the local and the global. Stam’s use of a simile that draws on dress has an increased significance in relation to the timeframe under examination; since the late 1980s, increased consumerism and declining clothing prices have resulted in a vast surplus of second-hand garments no longer required in North America and Western Europe. These used items of dress have been donated to charitable organizations, sorted and baled, and subsequently exported to Latin America, Africa and Asia. It is through their re-use and transformation in diverse geographical locations that their cross-cultural meanings, as Karen Tranberg Hansen has remarked, “shift in ways that help redefine used clothing into ‘new’ garments” (Tranberg Hansen 2009, 116). This article weaves together the three strands that comprise an aesthetics of garbage (hybridity,

chronotopic multiplicity and the strategic redemption of detritus) to unpick a number of threads from the diverse and multisensory stories of contemporary globalization that have been fabricated through the representation of Brazilian dress in *National Geographic* since 1988.

I use Stam's positive concept to examine both the visual and textual strategies that *National Geographic* has used to *fashion* Brazil, but also the extent to which Brazilian subjects can be seen to have *self-fashioned*, through the strategic appropriation of clothing and sartorial ideas derived from an existing and dominant global culture. In doing so, I approach dress not simply as cloth, but as a system of communication, whose many meanings are not fixed but *continually informed* and, to an extent, even *performed*, by its visual, material and textual representation. I draw here upon anthropologists Joanne B. Eicher and Mary Ellen Roach-Higgins' understanding of dress as "an assemblage of body modifications and/or supplements," which takes into account both its material properties and expressive capabilities (Eicher and Roach-Higgins 1995, 7). Dress is the tactile layer that clothes the body; it is an exterior surface turned outward towards the gaze of the viewer, but it is simultaneously proximate to the wearer, who has an innate awareness of how clothing *feels* on her body, how it *touches* her body. This contradictory dynamic can be extended further to the viewer of a dressed body, since the viewer is also a *wearer*, who encounters the world through her own experience of dress, that double layer that both *has* a material surface but also *is* an exterior surface.

I begin with an examination of the article "Within the Yellow Border," written by the then editor of *National Geographic*, Wilbur E. Garrett (1980–1990), which was published in the magazine to celebrate its centennial in September 1988 (Garrett 1988). This article encapsulated a shift that departed from an objective, scientific approach to the documentation of peoples and places in the world, and moved towards a heightened multisensory and subjective engagement with dressed subjects. I use it to outline the changes that have taken place at *National Geographic* since 1988, which have been driven by, but increasingly have also driven, the forces of globalization. I move on to examine the layers of meaning embedded within the representation of Brazilian dress in *National Geographic* in two "snapshots" published in December 1988 and August 2002 (McIntyre 1988; Cobb 2002). My use of the term snapshot extends beyond its common usage in photography to refer to the incorporation of text and photography within *National Geographic* articles, as published at a particular moment in time. The first snapshot was written by the American author and photojournalist Loren McIntyre and accompanied with photographs captured by the Brazilian photographer and documentary filmmaker W. Jesco von Puttkamer. The second snapshot was written by African-American journalist Charles E. Cobb Jr. and accompanied with photographs by American photographer David Alan Harvey. This methodology, which considers individual

instances of reportage as snapshots, is devised as a useful tool to consider photographs and text in *National Geographic* as a series of case studies that are unequivocally conditioned by the social, cultural, political, economic and technological context in which they were produced. This article does not intend to provide an encyclopedic account of the representation of Brazilian dress in *National Geographic*, but rather, in the words of Alexander Nemerov, to present “a patchwork of glimpses” that provide a means of coming into contact with the recent past through the “photojournalistic precision of an instant in time” (Nemerov 2013, 2). Photographs will be examined and unpicked as hybrid and temporal sites of entanglement and cross-cultural encounter between the intersecting and connected histories of the United States and Brazil, in order to shed light upon the cultural and political exchanges that led to their production.

Beyond the Yellow Border: A Heightened Phenomenology of Contact

To commemorate the 100th anniversary of *National Geographic*, a foldout article written by Wilbur E. Garrett, entitled “Within the Yellow Border ...,” was published in the September 1988 edition of the magazine (Garrett 1988).⁴ This was the first of three centennial editions published consecutively and distributed to the magazine’s 10.5 million members worldwide, 80% of whom lived in the United States, and 12% in the English-speaking countries of Canada, Great Britain, Australia and New Zealand (Bryan 1988, 477).⁵ Spread over eight interconnected pages that folded out of the magazine, to the left *and* right, back *and* front, the article reproduced 360 *National Geographic* covers: every single cover published since September 1959, and each different cover design since October 1888. This foldout section was accompanied with a page of text, framed in the bold yellow rectangle that has characterized *National Geographic*’s gaze on the world since February 1910. Viewed with contemporary hindsight of the unprecedented and accelerated geographical and political change that the end of the Cold War would engender, the title “Within the Yellow Border ...,” which attempted to limit and confine the *National Geographic* viewer’s gaze onto the world, appeared eerily portentous. Constraint and fixity were encouraged by the formulaic and systematic placement of the covers, which were reproduced in an identical size and format, and ordered with precision in a linear chronology.

Yet the foldout section of “Within the Yellow Border ...” required a tactile, three-dimensional engagement with the magazine as a material object, which surpassed a solely empirical, two-dimensional detached and objective gaze. The tangible qualities of the article operated in opposition to the title’s rhetoric of containment and constraint, and urged viewers to venture on a multisensory excursion *beyond* the

rectangular yellow border—something that may have been hinted at with the insertion of an ellipsis into the title, suggestive of an unfinished thought. The article unfolded as far as the arms could stretch and played with the affective capacities of the viewer. To scrutinize the covers in their entirety, the viewer was required to hold the magazine in her hands and realign her body in relation to it: to press her chest forwards, to move her face closer to inspect the small printed details, to achieve a sensory relation with the textured surface and smell of the recently printed, thin, glossy pages. “Within the Yellow Border ...” was designed not just to be read, but to be held and to be *felt*. Art critic Andy Grundberg, writing in the *New York Times* on September 18, 1988, recalled his memory of *National Geographic* on its centennial: “From the perspective of small-town U.S.A., the wild animals, tribal cultures and mountain vistas pictured on its pages seemed utterly foreign and completely foreign. They were far off but, with the magazine nestled in my lap, they were also tantalizingly near” (Grundberg 1988, 11). Indeed, the centennial edition of *National Geographic* ventured one step further than Grundberg’s observation, and attempted to fold the viewer *into* the magazine, akin to Merleau-Ponty’s observation that perception is a fold into the flesh of the world, and establish a visual excitation that was inextricably linked to touch but also to the body of the subject flattened in reproduction (Merleau-Ponty 1962). Film historian Laura U. Marks has eloquently written of how “vision itself can be tactile, as though one were touching a film with one’s eyes” (Marks 2007, vi). She has acknowledged the importance of surface texture in evoking a range of experiential bodily responses, which stretch beyond cool, rational observation, and towards a more dynamic subjectivity and bodily interconnection between viewer and image. With its smooth, glossy pages, “Within the Yellow Border ...” consciously prompted a multisensory response from its viewers, who had the potential to re-construct critically and singlehandedly the magazine’s linear history. The performative and self-reflexive nature of “Within the Yellow Border ...” encapsulated a paradigm shift, whereby the magazine no longer viewed itself as an exemplar of objective science, but as a creative site where the direct documentation *and* dramatization of different individual and collective subjects intertwined. *National Geographic*’s increased focus on the importance of tactile imagery over detached text encouraged viewers to engage with images of peoples and places throughout the world in an increasingly multisensory way, and, in doing so, to venture *beyond* the rectangular yellow border.

Snapshot 1: Adidas Shorts and a Red T-shirt, December 1988

This paradigm shift towards a more multisensory and subjective engagement with Brazilian subjects will be examined in closer detail in the first case study that this article discusses, which was published in the third centennial edition of the magazine in December 1988, and entitled

“Last Days of Eden’: Rondonia’s Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau Indians” (McIntyre 1988). The article documented “the predicament of one tribe” as they fought to protect their 7000 square miles of land from encroachment by Brazilian pioneers in the form of loggers, rubber tappers, miners, cattlemen and their families, of whom 166,000 had settled in 1986 alone. Only 350 members of the Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau remained in 1988 (Povos Indígenas no Brasil 2015b). As hunter-gatherers who speak Tupi-Kawahib, prior to official contact in 1981 by the Fundação Nacional do Índio (the National Indian Foundation, or FUNAI), the federal agency responsible for the preparation of indigenous groups in Brazil for increased contact with the rest of world, the Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau were known as the “Black Mouths”; this was due to the group’s technique of using black genipap dye to tattoo their faces and the skin around their mouths (Hemming 2003: 296–297). As a *National Geographic* memorandum written by the senior associate editor, Joseph R. Judge, on August 12, 1987 articulated, the magazine was particularly keen to document “the Indian tribes, who are sequestered now on a large island of forest paid for by World Bank Funds as conscience money for having paved an infamous road that opened the region to loggers and truckers” (Judge 1987). Judge referred to the newly built BR-364, which had been completed in 1984 with a loan from the World Bank to cover one-third of the costs, and paved a main road through the entire state of Rondonia, from Porto Velho in the North to Cuiaba 400 km to the southeast. The road had resulted in vast deforestation of a once remote part of the Amazon rainforest, and mass settlement on previously Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau territory (Wade 2011).

Judge was concerned with the “salvage” of the Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau and in the same memorandum cautioned against “the headlong development of tropical forested regions and the consequences for indigenous peoples and irreplaceable flora and fauna” (Judge 1987). This prepared the stage for *National Geographic*, which appeared to operate on behalf of a broader anthropological concern to rescue fragile and disappearing cultures throughout the world, and rendered the Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau in a preserved, even memorialized, state for public scrutiny by the magazine’s concerned readership. The particular snapshot that this article will discuss appeared on a double-page spread in *National Geographic* and documented the chief of the Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau, Djauí, photographed next to another member of the Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau, Caninde, underneath a large orange heading that proclaimed: “The End of Innocence” (McIntyre 1988, 812–813).⁶ The implication of the heading was that Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau culture represented an authentic primitiveness in need of being salvaged from extinction. The “salvage paradigm,” to reference a term coined by Christopher Pinney, finds a parallel in Mary Louise Pratt’s observation that colonial travel narratives frequently severed “contemporary non-European peoples off from their pre-colonial, and even colonial, pasts” (Pinney 1997, 45; Pratt 2008,

132). Pratt characterized this as a form of archaeology, in which actual living people were recognized not as part of the present, but of a separate pre-European era. However, *National Geographic* had also made its own archaeological find and rescued, from this “near-extinct-specimen-due-to-disappear,” an important sample of *tike-uba*, an anticoagulant that is extracted from tree bark in Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau territory and contains an important compound that can inhibit the growth of enzymes that cause blood-clotting (Vasconcelos Cavalcanti 2000, 193). This was clearly detailed in a memorandum containing a sample collected by the photographer, which was exchanged between Jon Schneeberger, the Illustrations editor at *National Geographic*, and Jeffrey Lawson, a biochemist at the University of Vermont, on June 22, 1989 (Schneeberger 1989). This great pharmaceutical find was later commercialized by the US pharmaceutical company Merck, which appropriated the knowledge of the Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau without any obligation to compensate them, during a period of insecurity and uncertainty for the tribe, when compensation would have proved significantly beneficial (Vasconcelos Cavalcanti 2000, 193). It is clear from this contextual analysis that *National Geographic* had its own set of concerns in documenting the Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau; it was aware of the problems that they faced as a result of large-scale developments in Brazil, yet it also wanted to extract and capitalize upon their sophisticated scientific knowledge, as well as to document them before their anticipated demise.

The title built upon the canonical trope of the vanishing “primitive,” and fashioned its Brazilian subjects within an evolutionary narrative that categorized and typologized the Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau as a childlike society living in a state of barbarism, unwillingly being elevated into one of industrial civilization. A comparable glorification and memorialization of the Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau emerged in McIntyre’s recollection, printed at the very end of the article, which stated: “Jesco [Von Puttkamer] mourned the passing of the Indians’ natural nudity, saying ‘Oh Loren, they’re not perfect any more’” (McIntyre 1988, 813). Puttkamer’s disappointment at the Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau’s increased adoption of Western-style clothing, as a replacement to their customary sparse dress, which supposedly rendered them “not perfect any more,” suggested a romanticized expectation that such a peaceful, quiet and supposedly authentic lifestyle, with a strong sense of community, would be devoid of the superficial attractions of Western sportswear brands and mass consumption. It appeared to reinforce an expectation that the Western world is characterized by fluidity—in the words of Zygmunt Bauman, “forever ‘becoming’, avoiding completion, staying under defined”—as opposed to the non-Western world, typified here by Brazil’s Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau, which is stable, pure and *fixed* within a timeless ethnographic present (Bauman 2000], viii).

Yet the actual image offered a point of departure for a deeper understanding of the layers of cross-cultural meaning that were woven into the snapshot, which were communicated to the viewer through the

tactile qualities of dress. The image was given precedence over the text of the article, and reproduced very close-up on the double-page spread, framed on three sides in orange. This editorial decision isolated and elevated the subjects, using much the same conventions as a framed studio portrait. The photographer's close viewpoint, from directly beside his subjects, so much so that he cannot capture the full length of their bodies within the frame, engenders a closeness and intensity, one that is capable of collapsing the geographical and temporal distance between the Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau and the *National Geographic* viewer. There is nothing casual or unengaged about this photograph, which seems to stem from the photographer's deep knowledge of the subjects, who allow him to observe them unrestricted as they carry out commonplace activities in their daily lives. The two subjects are contemplative, which consequently slows down the viewer too, and encourages a more measured response. It also prompts the viewer to take in the tactile qualities of the image and the range of textures that can be discerned on its surface, from the softness of Djai's red cotton T-shirt, the roughness of his faded blue-and-white striped Adidas shorts, the coarseness of the blue tarpaulin against which the subjects are framed, to the smoothness of his companion Caninde's reed girdle. These textures add a depth to the image, which the dressed viewer is encouraged to mimetically experience through this visceral intimacy with the subjects, which is enhanced by the smooth gloss of the magazine page, whose shine enhances the colors of the different fabrics and responds to the viewer's tactile sensibilities. The layout of this image on the double-page spread draws the viewer's attention towards Djai, who is placed in bright sunlight on the left-hand side of the double-page spread and can be observed in full view, as opposed to Caninde, who is placed on the right-hand side, shaded by the blue tarpaulin and partially obscured by the central crease of the open magazine. Caninde is dressed in a broad girdle constructed from rattan and brown nuts, a necklace made of peccary teeth, and black *genipap* body paint (Mendonça, personal communication). Both of the men's faces are tattooed with black *genipap*, but Caninde adopts no items of Western-style dress and has also decorated the skin around his mouth in black. Djai, on the other hand, is illuminated, to highlight his lighter skin color, incipient baldness and greying hair, all characteristics that inform the viewer that he is of mixed Indian and Caucasian ancestry. Djai's hybrid identity is clearly reflected in his dress, which may suggest an ambivalence towards globalization on the part of the Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau.

Djai's outfit is exemplary of an aesthetics of garbage, since these unwanted and ubiquitous Western-style clothes—red T-shirt and Adidas shorts—have been appropriated and transformed to serve a new function, where they are accompanied with a necklace adorned with jaguar teeth and the facial tattoos customary to the Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau. His clothing challenges the prescriptive textual constructions of Uru-

Eu-Wau-Wau identity within the title that accompanied this double-page spread, which placed the so-called remnants of a disappearing Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau within a written salvage narrative. This is because Djai's clothing confirmed not "the *End* of Innocence" for a previously uncontacted society, but rather the *continuation* of a sustained relationship between the Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau and the outside world, which had already enabled Djai to pick and choose preferred elements of cast-aside Western-style clothing, and use them to articulate his own contemporary identity, which was not fixed, but constructed in accordance with the fluid demands of everyday life. He demonstrates discretion from within the specific options that are available to the Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau. Djai's clothing blurred the spatial and temporal disjuncture often presumed to exist between the developed West and the purportedly underdeveloped non-West, because it used something *old* from one geographical place to create something *new* in a very different geographical space, and thereby encapsulated the chronotopic multiplicities described by Stam. As opposed to a homogenization of the world through the exportation of global consumer goods, *National Geographic* presented instead a local appropriation of second-hand Western-style clothing, which resonated with Appadurai's assertion that localized taste challenges the popular notion of the United States as the all-powerful controller of objects, commodities and values. Here dress provided a counter-tendency to a simplistic equivalence of globalization with Americanization or even McDonaldization, a term coined by sociologist George Ritzer to describe the process by which "the principles of the fast-food restaurant are coming to dominate more and more sectors of American society as well as of the rest of the world" (Ritzer 1992, 1).

Rather than being a reflection of the overwhelming force of American norms and lifestyles suggesting "sameness," the re-negotiation of items of Western-style clothing that were documented in this snapshot demonstrated a local response to the homogenizing forces of globalization. These items of dress did not originate in the sartorial culture of the Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau, and were possibly an exchange item from FUNAI; yet what was initially an alien article has since been adapted and re-interpreted as a versatile vehicle for contemporary Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau identity construction. As Professor Paulo César Aguiar de Mendonça, senior researcher at the Jesco von Puttkamer collection in Goiânia, has explained:

Just as when white people travel, they adopt elements of other dress selectively. They [i.e. the Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau] do it for diplomatic reasons, to negotiate, because white people won't accept them without. When they return, they go back to wearing no clothes. (Mendonça, personal communication)

Although Mendonça acknowledged that there is an asymmetry of power prevalent in the relationship between the Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau and white people, he highlighted how the group integrates a sophisticated understanding of Western sartorial expectations, and appropriates and transforms these unwanted Western clothes to construct their varied and fluid identities in different cultural contexts. This process is not disingenuous since it enables second-hand Western dress to be adapted to serve a new function, which also works on behalf of Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau needs.

An interesting point of comparison can be drawn with an image taken by Belgian film director Jean-Pierre Dutilleux, which appeared in *American Vogue* in June 1988 and documented the British musician Sting on his “South American tour across Brazil, up the Amazon, visiting Indian tribes who want nothing from the 20th century” (Sting 1988). The article featured the Kayapo, a Gê-speaking people who live in a number of communities alongside the Xingu River and its tributaries, the Iriri, Bacajá and Fresco Rivers. Occupying a very large territory in central Brazil, they are renowned for having had extensive but ambivalent interactions with non-Indians and environmentalists (Povos Indígenas no Brasil 2015). Though this is not mentioned in the article, the Kayapo were filmed for a Granada television documentary in 1987 and, in return for their cooperation, demanded filming equipment for their own use, a notion that disrupted the quaint Western perception that the Kayapo enjoyed a romantic and authentic lifestyle divorced from “civilization” (Stam 1997). This ignorant view was explicitly stated by the subheading: “For three days, Sting was one of them, then they sent him back to ‘civilization’ with a new look and an urgent message” (Sting 1988, 244). It accompanied a photograph of Sting with the leader of the Kayapo, Raoni Metuktire, already something of a celebrity in Europe, having appeared in Dutilleux’s film, *Raoni: The Fight for the Amazon* (1978). Both of the subjects face the camera wearing the customary body paint of the Kayapo, although Raoni also wears beaded red and blue jewelry and a lip plate. The notion that Sting can adopt a “new look” by appropriating non-permanent elements of Kayapo dress, as and when he feels like it, reinforces his powerful position as a white man with the money and leisure time to travel. Whereas *American Vogue* fashioned the Kayapo as inferior and existing in a primitive, backward and underdeveloped past, a source of exotic inspiration to the civilized Western traveler, the visual representation of a different indigenous group’s dress in *National Geographic* embodied an aesthetics of garbage that demonstrated the vitality of the Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau, and their ability to re-use items of dress that have originated in the West to challenge and resist such reductive colonial and postcolonial narratives. This distinction may have been due in part to the different contexts in which *National Geographic* and *Vogue* circulate, the former having a more educational remit whereas the latter is concerned with

commerce and, in this example, with celebrities, but it was also due to the tactile sensations offered by the snapshot in *National Geographic*, which ventured beyond sight and encompassed the affective responses that it prompted in the viewer. In *Vogue*, the photograph was a very flat image that employed ethnographic conventions and had no depth in terms of light and shadow. This is particularly odd given that *Vogue* is a magazine accustomed to selling clothes and products through a focus on their tactile qualities, which are enhanced through photographic light; that the magazine chose not to emphasize the tactile sensations in this example reinforces the suggestion that it considered Kayapo dress to be distinctly outside the realms of “Western” fashion. In *National Geographic*, the snapshot confirmed a *literal* aesthetics of garbage through the Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau’s distinctive utilization of second-hand clothing. The second snapshot that this article discusses, as the following analysis reveals, embodied a more *conceptual* aesthetics of garbage, demonstrated by the appropriation of cast-aside sartorial ideas as opposed to actual items of dress that had originated in the West.

Snapshot 2: Denim Jeans and a Lycra Top, August 2002

The second snapshot was published in *National Geographic* in August 2002 and entitled “Where Brazil was Born: Bahia” (Cobb 2002). The title rendered the fourth most populous state in Brazil as a cradle of Brazilian tradition and reinforced, as Anadelia A. Romo has acknowledged, the popular trope of “Bahia as a museum, as a site of living tradition” (Romo 2010, 10). It is important to understand Bahia’s history in order to appreciate Romo’s comment fully. Salvador da Bahia was established as the Portuguese colonial capital in 1549, when the area was one of the largest sugar producers in the world. From the sixteenth century to the abolition of the slave trade in 1888, an estimated 2 million enslaved Africans, of the overall 4 million transported to Brazil, settled in Bahia. By the late nineteenth century Bahia was considered a provincial backwater and today it is one of the poorest Brazilian states, with one of the highest national rates of unemployment and income disparity (Port 2007). Despite this, in 2002 a report revealed that the development of Bahia’s tourism industry had surpassed that of any other region (Queiroz 2002). This was mainly due to the efforts of *Bahiatursa*, the Bahian tourism organization, which emphasized Bahia’s strong Afro-Brazilian presence and advertised the state as the “birthplace of Brazil” (Santana Pinho 2008). Paulo Guadenzi, the President of *Bahiatursa*, has concurred that the uniqueness of Afro-Brazilian culture is a powerful tool to market Salvador as having a strong and “authentic” allegiance to African tradition, distinguished from other tourist destinations throughout Brazil (Queiroz 2002). In seeking to examine the continued force of African heritage in Salvador through its substantial population of “descendants of the first slaves brought to the New World,” *National Geographic*

correspondent Charles Cobb clearly set out on a well-trodden path (Cobb and Charles 2002, 63).

It was a considered choice of *National Geographic* editor, William L. Allard (1995–2005), to appoint Cobb as correspondent; the latter later acknowledged that his appearance and African-American identity had enabled him to blend in and bond with his predominantly black subjects in a fashion that would have been inconceivable had he been white. As he described on the *National Geographic* website, in a section entitled “On Assignment: Bahia. Field Notes from author Charles E. Cobb, Jr”:

“I could meet whomever I wanted to meet and go wherever I wanted to go” (National Geographic 2015a). In ethnographic parlance, field notes are generally aligned with a particular type of participant-observation fieldwork, which evades a detached and distanced mode of viewing in favor of, as Robert M. Emerson has articulated, “accounts describing experiences and observations the researcher has made whilst participating in an intense and involved manner” (Emerson 1995], 4–5). That *National Geographic* chose to include this type of information on its website can be understood as an attempt to highlight the paradigm shift at the magazine since its centennial, away from an understanding of itself as an exemplar of objective scientific record, and towards a more subjective simultaneous dramatization *and* documentation of non-Western subjects as an involved participant. This connected to the fact that Cobb described his ancestry as the primary motivation for his trip to Salvador, which evaded any notion of objectivity. Cobb selected Bahia for its supposed preservation and careful maintenance of traditional African culture, wherein he might hope to reignite a “lost” affiliation with his homeland, Africa:

As an African-American, I had come to see what had sprouted in this place where Africa’s seeds were first planted centuries ago. I found a culture steeped in traditional religions brought by coloured peoples from West Africa, a place that remains key to the identity of this sprawling state. (Cobb 2002, 63)

This comment suggests that Cobb is able to provide an “authentic” connection with, and therefore documentation of, Bahia, yet it is problematic since the author’s desire to exchange what he conceives of as his own, US-centric, conception of black “African-American” modernity for the static preserve of the “traditional religions brought by coloured peoples from West Africa,” manifest in the lived experience of the local black Bahian communities with which he interacted, exemplified the asymmetrical dimensions of power in operation through the processes of globalization. A disparity is highlighted between Cobb, a black man located in the north of the American continent, with a job that provides him with the opportunity and expenses to travel, and the Bahian communities situated in the south, who have far less

access to global currents of power than Cobb. Cobb's travels to Bahia were not an isolated example, and within the article he observed that Bahian tourism had recently "been boosted by increasing numbers of African-American visitors," who were attracted by the promise of "a New World African culture that many find truer to its origins than their own" (Cobb 2002, 77). His observation corresponded with Patricia de Santana Pinho's examination of what she has termed "African-American Roots Tourism," which has witnessed the movement of large numbers of African-American tourists to Bahia in pursuit of "what they believe to be their roots but ... in contrast to other tourists, who are usually interested in the exoticism of the 'other,' they crisscross the Atlantic hoping to find the 'same' represented by their 'black brothers and sisters'" (Santana Pinho 2008, 72). Pinho has pointed out that this is part of a complex identity process whereby African-Americans cultivate a heightened sense of Africanness deemed essential for the perpetuation of their own contemporary diasporic black identities in the United States. Whilst "roots tourism" has the potential to challenge the "traditional North-South flows of cultural exchange," ultimately it often "confirms the existing hierarchy within the black Atlantic," since it reinforces the semi-peripheral position of African and Latin American black communities in relation to blacks who are part of a dominant centre of blackness "in terms of cultural and academic production," such as the United States (Santana Pinho 2008, 84).

Although photography dominated this article, as it did in the previous case study, it is important in this case to comment on the Africanized image of Bahia that Cobb fashioned within the text. He made frequent reference to the black bodies of the *baianas*, the archetypal mature women who dress in voluminous white lace dresses and adorn themselves with colorful sacred beaded necklaces and bracelets. An example of a *baiana* dress can be seen in Figure 1, for sale on *white* mannequins at the Mercado do Madureira in Rio de Janeiro. This choice of mannequin is significant since *baianas* are associated with the Afro-Brazilian religion of Candomblé, the generic name that is given to a number of syncretic religions that were created in Brazil in the nineteenth century, centered upon Catholicism and facets of African religious traditions. The *National Geographic* reader was invited to imagine a seaside scene that Cobb recalled from his trip:

Wearing the traditional white of Candomblé, some carry offerings to Yemanjá, the much beloved deity of the sea. Bearing their hopes for the future, they move freely toward the ocean that carried their forebears to these shores in chains. (Cobb 2002, 80–81)

Cobb described the rhythmic movements of the *baiana* priestesses, and the ease and grace with which they walked, moved and danced towards the shoreline, bedecked in their magnificent white attire, during an ex-

Figure 1

An example of a *baiana* dress for sale at the Mercado do Madureira in Rio de Janeiro. Photograph: author's own.



pressive form of worship used to summon the sea goddess *Yemanjá*, one of the Candomble deities named *orixas* to whom each worshipper is dedicated, and to incorporate divine energy into the human body. White clothing is adopted by the *baianas* because it is the color of the Candomble spirit *Oxalá* and represents goodness and purity, but from an outsider's perspective, it also serves to ideologically emphasize the blackness of the wearer's skin (Port 2007, 6). Cobb built a historical disjuncture within the text between the autonomy of the *baianas* in contemporary Salvador, who are merged as one and used to form an indivisible, homogenizing notion of black "Bahianess," and their enslaved ancestors who were brought to Bahia "in chains." He refrained from acknowledging that the mode of dress worn by the *baiana* is a hybrid fusion of sartorial elements that originate from both Europe and Africa; whereas the *saia*, the flowing full-length gathered skirt worn with petticoat and

Figure 2

"Where Brazil was Born: Bahia," written by Charles E. Cobb Junior and accompanied with photographs by David Alan Harvey, was published in *National Geographic* in August 2002. The subject presented an interesting localized use of Lycra that emerged in Brazil in 1996 and re-interpreted the tightly draped, figure-hugging aesthetic of the Tunisian-born, Paris-based designer Azzedine Alaïa. Photograph: Magnum.



crinoline, and the lace-trimmed blouse called the *camizu*, stemmed from nineteenth-century European dress, the intricately wound head-wrap called the *oja* and the *contas* or *ilekes*, beaded necklaces, have West African antecedents (Sterling 2012, 69).

Although Cobb placed Bahia as a static cultural preserve, useful only in constructing his own contemporary black US identity, the accompanying photographs captured by David Alan Harvey showed that Afro-Brazilians were distinctly contemporary in their style and employed global sartorial references. A pertinent example can be seen in a half-page photograph (Figure 2) that captured a slender young anonymous Afro-Brazilian woman, who smiles broadly and dances to music in a crowded setting. She is positioned centrally in the frame and photographed from a low camera level that lends her greater stature. We are informed by the text that the location is the *Noite da Beleza Negra* (the Night of the Black Beauty), an event sponsored by the Afro-Brazilian musical group *Ilê Aiyê* (House of Life). *Ilê Aiyê* originated in Bahia in the early 1970s as an aesthetic movement to promote pride and consciousness in the local black community (Valoma 2010, 413–420). The woman's expression informs the viewer that she is confident in her appearance. The blank white space above the photograph as it is positioned on the page is filled with the words: "Everywhere I went, I heard the sound of samba, the high-spirited indigenous music of Brazil whose rhythms are African through and through" (Cobb and Charles 2002, 79). Although the heading reiterates the deep African cultural roots of the event, the woman's clothing aligns her with cosmopolitan modernity and contemporary global fashion trends. She wears large silver hoop earrings, a silver watch and a collection of white string bracelets on her left hand, and a silver ring on the fourth finger of

her right hand; this is possibly an engagement ring, which in Brazil is traditionally worn on the right hand until the day of the wedding, when it is exchanged to the fourth finger of the left hand. Her long dark hair is pushed back with a wide elasticized purple hair-band and neatly braided, swinging as she moves to the music. She wears a pair of close-fitting, low-slung denim jeans with a sparkly blue halter-neck top made from a clingy Lycra-blended material, whose tactile qualities are emphasized by the photographer's use of a bright flash. This highlights the sparkling sequins that adorn her top, emphasized further still by the glossy veneer of the magazine page, but also renders her slightly cut-out from the background, a technique that is often used in fashion photography. It is significant that Harvey made these photographs using a Fuji Velvia 50, a very fine-grained, high-color saturation photographic film that is often used by fashion photographers, because it enhances the aestheticization of the subject through high picture quality and vibrant color reproduction (National Geographic 2015). These technical choices draw our attention towards the subject's self-fashioning and encourage us to interpret the image within the protocols of a fashion shoot, rather than an ethnographic study.

The clothing worn by the subject embodies a conceptual aesthetics of garbage through the leitmotif of the strategic redemption or recycling of second-hand aesthetics. It presented an interesting localized use of Lycra that emerged in Brazil in 1996 in Madureira, a poor suburb in the North Zone of Rio de Janeiro, which by 2000 could be seen throughout Brazil, in the less affluent suburbs of Sao Paulo, Belo Horizonte, Belem do Para and Salvador. Although Lycra manufacture in Brazil had been centered since 1975 at a DuPont production facility in Paulinia, a municipality in the state of Sao Paulo, in 1999 a \$100 million state-of-the-art renovation introduced developed processing techniques and automation, which doubled the output of Lycra in order to meet intensified popular demand throughout Latin America (DuPont 2015). Lycra-blended fabrics were used by low-end anonymous Brazilian fashion designers to create tight spandex trousers, tops, shorts and body suits, in a variety of colors, shapes, structures and sizes, with different patterns, holes, transparencies and mesh details (Stockler 2001). The designers were heavily influenced by the tightly draped, figure-hugging aesthetic of the Tunisian-born, Paris-based designer Azzedine Alaia and other international designers, such as Giorgio Armani, Donna Karen and Karl Lagerfeld, whose designs they had observed in second-hand European fashion magazines, such as *Vogue* and *Elle*, from the 1980s (Stockler, personal communication). Although they had limited materials and economic means, the anonymous designers re-interpreted and customized Alaia's designs, which had little in the way of decorative detail or fuss, with sophistication to cater to the tastes of contemporary Brazilian consumers. Rather than an unsuccessful imitation of Alaia's

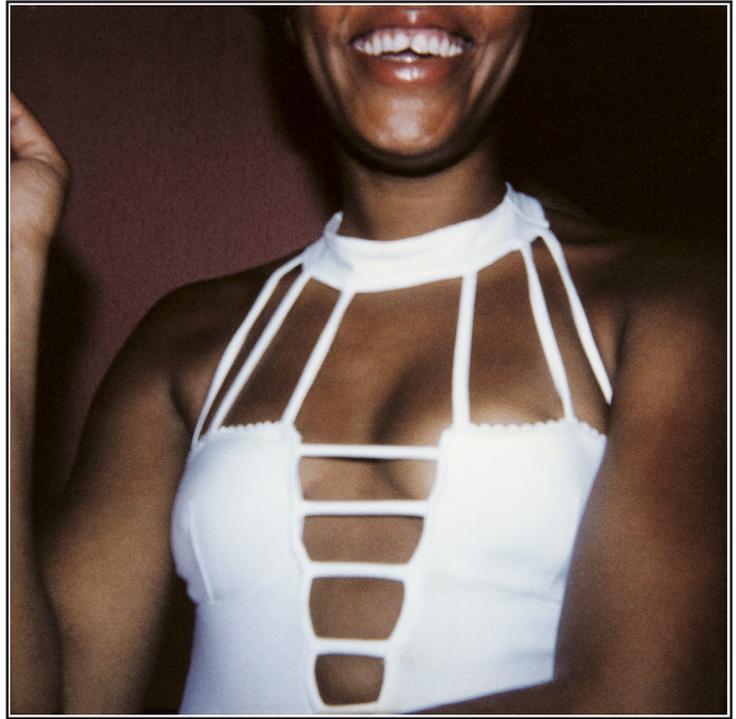
design, the clothes stood as testimony to the designers' adaption and transformation of ideas that were initially alien to them, using the materials and accessories that they had. Alaia always chose a clean and simple line, and preferred dark or muted colors, such as black, brown, beige, navy and soft pastels, but the Brazilian designers exploited the endless possibilities of color, whether an acid hue of green, a flash of silver woven into turquoise, as seen in *National Geographic*, or lurid zebra print. The designers added elements such as chains, flesh-exposing zippers, cut-out sections and plastic elements to show off certain areas of the body, which then became a part of the decoration of the clothing. Whereas Alaia used Lycra to skim the body like a second skin, making it look as smooth and streamlined as possible through the use of discreet corsetry, the Brazilian designers emphasized the sexual appeal of the wearer's body, irrespective of size or shape, and instead highlighted the voluptuousness of the body.

As the Brazilian artist Mari Stockler, the first to document the trend, explained: "Brazilians are very sexy and this is independent of the size of their bodies. Fashion standards of beauty interfere little in the real life of the majority of Brazilians" (Stockler, personal communication). The distinctive "Brazilian sexuality" that Stockler referred to is conveyed most clearly in the situations in which the Lycra-blended fashions were worn, since the freedom of movement permitted by the outfits enabled Brazilian women to move in an unrestricted way. A clear example can be seen in an image from Stockler's photobook (Figure 3), entitled *Meninas do Brasil* (Girls of Brazil) (2001), which extensively documented the aesthetics of this hybrid fashion trend from its inception in 1996. The photograph captures an Afro-Brazilian girl in a Lycra-blended white strap top with a built-in bra and decorated with cut-out panels. The flash of Stockler's camera reflects from the bright white of her elasticated top, giving a tactile sense of the sensual appeal of her clothing. This image is comparable to the *National Geographic* photograph in the representation of how dress is animated through expression and gesture. Whilst *National Geographic* attempted through the text to fashion Afro-Brazilians as cemented within a generalized conception of Africa, the visual representation of dress showed how the techniques and methods of international fashion design had been recycled and modified by anonymous Brazilian designers to enable the Afro-Brazilian subject to self-fashion her own identity.

A revealing point of comparison can be drawn with a photograph taken in Salvador da Bahia, which was published in *American Vogue* in March 2006 within an article entitled "White Heat" (Anon. 2006). Photographed on location in Salvador by the American fashion photographer Arthur Elgort, it featured the Ethiopian model Liya Kebede, dressed in a cream Rochas column dress embroidered with tiny flower dots, photographed next to an anonymous *baiana* who is seated at a piano and wears an unnamed white laced crinoline dress. *Vogue* omits any information about the symbolic value of the *baiana*'s white dress, the

Figure 3

A photograph of a girl in a Lycra-blended white strap top with a built-in bra and adorned with metal chains, taken by Brazilian artist Mari Stockler in Salvador in 2000 and included in her photobook *Meninas do Brasil* (Girls of Brazil) (2001). Stockler documented the aesthetics of this hybrid garbage fashion trend since its inception in Madureira, a poor suburb in the north zone of Rio de Janeiro in 1996. Photograph: Mari Stockler.



color that is worn by adherents of Candomblé to dispel adversity and evil, and reflect the purity and virtue of the spirit Oxalá (Sterling 2012, 81). Instead the *baiana* is used as symbol of indigeneity to didactically lead the eye towards Kebede, who is almost two feet taller and stands poised with one hand on her hip, the other elegantly draped across the top of the piano. The cream of her dress, which the caption informs the viewer is available at Barneys for \$29,380, is a subtle yet distinguishable contrast to the *baiana*'s starched white, the latter so spotless it is associated with an unremitting struggle against dirt and sweat in the warm climate through constant washing and bleaching. Whereas *National Geographic* had visually presented Bahian women four years earlier as young and fashionably dressed in a creative re-interpretation of European styles, *Vogue* provided the photographic counterpart to the romanticized and mythical narrative that Cobb described in the text, and instead delineated a recognizable dichotomy between purportedly static "ethnic" dress, and continuously shifting European fashion.

Conclusion

This article began with an examination of "Within the Yellow Border ...," published within the centennial edition of *National Geographic*, which encapsulated a shift from a detached, scientific mode of viewing

the magazine, towards a more intimate, tactile and subjective engagement with it. Drawing upon this paradigm shift that took place at the magazine, I used Stam's positive metaphor of an aesthetics of garbage, manifest literally and conceptually, to examine two snapshots of Brazilian dress, published in December 1988 and August 2002 respectively. Stam's theory enabled linear descriptions of time and space to give way to an understanding of globalization in which shreds and patches of the local and global interact and are interwoven into the patchwork quilt that constitutes the contemporary interconnected and fluid world. The effects of globalization have been documented by *National Geographic*, which has demonstrated the multidirectional flows and ideas of dress that have traveled far and wide across the world and enabled a multifarious Brazilian population to negotiate and re-negotiate their local and global identities in response to cross-cultural contact. This has been communicated in a phenomenological sense to *National Geographic* viewers through an increasingly tactile focus on imagery over text, incorporating a self-reflexive awareness of the ways that dress both touches the body and faces outwards in the direction of outside gazes onto the body. Rather than a one-directional flow of global goods, Brazilian dress has traveled in numerous directions and emerged as a complex, heterogeneous process that incorporates mixing, borrowing, creating and differentiating local and global contexts through an aesthetics of garbage.

Stam's garbage metaphor has provided a means to understand contact as a series of cultural exchanges and sartorial resistances demonstrated by the self-fashioning and self-presentation of Brazilian subjects in *National Geographic*. In the first example, the garbage metaphor worked on a more literal basis and enabled Djauí to adopt chosen aspects of global culture, and use it to self-fashion in the face of a more dominant context that attempted to represent the Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau within a fixed ethnographic present. In the second example, the garbage principle worked in more abstract terms and was evidenced by the adoption of Lycra-blended clothing by the Afro-Brazilian subject, whose sartorial choices were informed by, yet re-interpreted, international fashion designers, such as Azzedine Alaïa and Giorgio Armani. Rather than emphasizing binary dualisms, garbage has provided a more nuanced understanding of exchanges and subtle differentiations within the United States–Brazilian contact zone as documented in *National Geographic*, even as they have unfolded within asymmetrical relations of power. Applied to dress, Stam's metaphor has enabled the representation of Brazilian dress in *National Geographic* to be reconsidered in a way that is not oppositional, linear or essentialist. It has highlighted how dress has provided a three-dimensional, multisensory medium through which to revise previous views that have stressed *National Geographic's* one-dimensional participation in an imperialist representation regime. The ambiguities and fluidities of Brazilian dress and fashion have enabled it to operate in unexpected and frequently strategic ways, often against the

overriding textual narratives that have framed it. I have demonstrated how *National Geographic* has enabled *National Geographic* viewers, but also Brazilian subjects, to engage selectively with aspects of global dress, as image, object, text and idea intertwined, and, in doing so, to fashion their interconnected identities in a process that is continually becoming, and never static.

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Disclosure Statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

Notes

1. Three notable examples of interdisciplinary and cross-cultural examinations on “non-Western” dress and fashion that have been influential to this article, in addition to essays published in *Fashion Theory*, are: Craik (1993); Maynard (2004); and Kaiser (2013).
2. I am aware of the pitfalls of employing the generalized and ambiguous terms, Western and non-Western, which are centered upon a dichotomy that implies the West is the standard by which everything else is measured. These concepts are particularly unhelpful and reductive within the context of Latin America which, geographically, is certainly a Western landmass, but also given the multiple and interconnected dress and fashion systems that co-exist, interact and compete throughout the world. Nevertheless, in the absence of more appropriate terminology, for the purposes of this article I use the term “Western” to refer broadly to cultural and sartorial systems that have emerged from the United States and Western Europe. I hope that readers will understand what is meant by this usage, rather than enter into an ideological and semantic debate that is beyond the confines of this article.
3. In 1991 Joseph D. Straubhaar examined the effects of US media expansion and used the term “asymmetrical interdependence” to describe the multiple relationships that exist between Brazil and the United States, which have moved beyond media imperialism, and towards differentiated degrees of shared cultural, economic and political power. His argument was centered upon an understanding

of media audiences as critical and active participants, rather than passive and dominated. Their interpretations were nonetheless conditioned by their gender, class, age, political views and interests (Straubhaar 1991).

4. *National Geographic* would not allow me to reproduce this magazine spread. My contact at the magazine explained that the magazine did not hold the permissions for the individual front cover images, and therefore it would be necessary to secure copyright with each of the photographers (over 200 individuals) who had produced cover images for the magazine since it was established in 1888. I deduced that this would be a lengthy, expensive and near impossible task.
5. Although *National Geographic's* mainstream cultural production is addressed to a predominantly heterosexual male, middle-class and middle-aged audience, demonstrated by the advertisements published within it, the exact breakdown of readership statistics is difficult to ascertain, since a mixed, male *and* female readership, constituting a broad range of ages and social classes, has unquestionably come into contact with the magazine. Renee Braden, Senior Archivist at the National Geographic Society, has explained:

It is hard to give exact figures because one person may subscribe, but the rest of the family reads. It's even harder to track viewers today. There's no need to subscribe even—you can now look online or buy it at a newsstand. Both men and women read it. Or a man subscribes, but his girlfriend, wife or kids borrow the magazine and read it. You can tell from the adverts though (for things like BMWs), the type of audience that we believe to read the magazine—mainly middle-class men, but also women. We believe that this audience is in the over 50s category. Our house style is 'readable and interesting' and so you can see that we are still trying to appeal to a mass audience.

6. The copyright for this image rests with the Jesco von Puttkamer Collection, Goiana, Brazil. The collection is in the process of creating an inventory of the archive and digitalizing Puttkamer's vast collection of images. As a result, it was not possible permission to be provided for this image. This is part of a national movement in Brazil to provide better resources for researchers in the future.

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