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Book Review of, Caitrin Lynch. *Juki Girls, Good Girls: Gender and Cultural Politics in Sri Lanka's Global Garment Industry*

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mostly indirect influence of Gandhian views on this struggle, Williams provides a brief history of Gandhi's penetration into the African American quest for civil rights and the tension between the principled and instrumental use of nonviolence.

Part IV concludes the book with specific attention to Gandhi's place in the modern world. John Docker's essay on the Jewish historian Josephus draws parallels between Josephus and Gandhi's opposition to nationalist extremists. One point for further discussion is whether Docker's claim that Josephus's recommendation to "choose inaction" (p. 217) can extend directly to Gandhi. Although Gandhi did counsel inaction, it was usually part of a larger campaign of Satyagraha. Anjali Roy uses the creation of the Indian Institute of Technology to highlight the divergence of Jawaharlal Nehru and Gandhi on the modernization of India. Roy shows how Western models of development dominated the Indian "narrative of technology" (p. 231), to the neglect of Gandhi's emphasis on the "social and spiritual benefits of technology" (p. 230). The final essay by Debjani Ganguly compares Gandhi and B. R. Ambedkar. Employing the concept of vernacular cosmopolitanism, Ganguly wants to overcome the "Eurocentric bias" (p. 248) of history to emphasize the challenges that Gandhi and Ambedkar pose to empire through their ability to link the vernacular with the cosmopolitan. If rethinking Gandhi for the modern world implies a renewed sense of nonviolent relationality that combines the particular and the global, then this volume brings us a step closer to that possibility.

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Juki Girls, Good Girls: Gender and Cultural Politics in Sri Lanka's Global Garment Industry. By CAITRIN LYNCH. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2007. xiii, 281 pp. \$55.00 (cloth); \$19.95 (paper).

doi:10.1017/S0021911808002234

Anthropologist Caitrin Lynch writes a provocative ethnography about women workers in Sri Lanka's 200 Garment Factories Program (200 GFP), a state initiative that brought international industry to rural villages. Working at the intersection of globalization, gender studies, and labor relations, Lynch discusses the localization of production, examining how transnational capitalist dynamics settle into local contexts. This engaging book is based on eighteen months of qualitative research performed in two garment factories. The pages brim with lively characters and trenchant analysis.

Lynch suggests that "[p]eople in nations that experienced colonization often fear that globalization, in practice, means neocolonialism" (p. 237). Anxieties about cultural preservation played out in Sinhala Buddhist discourse during the colonial period and have resurfaced since economic liberalization in 1977. Could Sri Lanka modernize without Westernization? In particular, could the

government employ women to work in global industries without threatening the core of national authenticity? In 1992, President Ranasinghe Premadasa set up garment factories in rural areas. Lynch argues that this placement depended on deeply held Sri Lankan stereotypes about villages and rural women.

Urban and rural locations hold symbolic importance in Sri Lanka. Villages have ambiguous valances; they are seen as backward sites inhabited by superstitious, uneducated people, as well as loci of cultural and religious purity. Urban areas provide a dark foil for the village. They symbolize not only wealth and opportunity but also corruption and degenerate morality. With the 200 GFP, Premadasa strove to revitalize rebellious rural areas (providing electricity, roads, employment, and a higher standard of living). The political opposition responded to Premadasa's 200 GFP with "the underwear critique," summarized in the sentence, "Our innocent girls are sewing underwear for white women" (p. 92). Lynch's analysis of this political debate highlights the centrality of gender in the preservation of tradition, whereby the strength of the nation depends on how well women follow the feminine ideal.

The underwear critique relies on stereotypes of various categories of women. The obedient, self-sacrificing "good girl" is a virgin at marriage and subservient to her parents and husband. In contrast to the innocent good girls, foreign and Westernized women are seen as hedonistic, immoral, and promiscuous. Only slightly less stigmatized are the urban garment factory workers, or "Juki girls" (derogatorily nicknamed after a brand of Japanese sewing machine). Lynch suggests that Juki girls have become the subjects of "moral panic" (p. 113), because their public visibility and unsupervised sexuality (frequently portrayed in serialized evening television programs) are feared to threaten valued aspects of society.

The Juki stigma followed garment factories from the urban Free Trade Zone to the rural areas. Lynch insightfully describes how women workers in the 200 GFP factories use their residence in rural villages to craft a respectable identity as good (disciplined, obedient) workers, neither too modern (unlike Juki girls or Westernized women) nor too rural (unlike agricultural country bumpkins)—becoming what Lynch terms "good girls of Sri Lankan modernity."

As rural garment factory workers deftly craft new identities around the good girl ideal, should we view them as being duped by tradition or empowered by industrialization? Lynch decisively pushes feminist interpretation beyond a discourse of victimization toward a sophisticated understanding of agency and resistance. Describing women workers' stigma-minimizing approach, Lynch argues, "We cannot cast them as victims simply because they appear to adhere to many norms dictated for women" (p. 149). As good girls of Sri Lankan modernity, garment workers have jobs that pay relatively well; they have fun with coworkers, accumulate dowries, flirt with boyfriends, and dress in fashionable styles. But maintaining a good girl reputation also subjects working women to numerous forms of industrial discipline and social constraint.

Lynch references Michel Foucault's discussion of panopticism, whereby subjects internalize the surveillance of activities (p. 140). She creatively stretches this metaphor to include not only the industrial discipline imposed in the factory, but also the "suffocating nosiness" of families and fellow villagers (p. 150). Making a

significant contribution to understandings of global economics, Lynch insists that both forms of discipline affect labor relations. Mapping family hierarchies onto paternalistic relationships with managers and supervisors, good girls do not challenge exploitation. Women's concern over reputations—their own, their family's, and their nation's—shape their behavior on and off the job. Lynch demonstrates these dynamics in a fine-grained analysis of a worker walkout, in which alarm over women's sexuality trumped critiques of management (pp. 218–27).

During the spring quarter of 2008, I assigned this book in a twenty-student upper-division gender studies class. Its accessible prose and engaging subject matter make the book eminently adoptable for classroom use. It will appeal to scholars interested in globalization, Asian studies, gender studies, political anthropology, and the cultural construction of identity.

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The Enigma of the Kerala Woman. Edited by SWAPNA MUKHOPADHYAY.
New Delhi: Social Science Press, 2007. xii, 189 pp. \$70.00 (cloth).
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A substantial amount of academic and popular writing has used the term “model state” when discussing Kerala, referring to its high literacy rate, higher female-to-male population ratio, success in female education, and other statistical markers of so-called developed countries. This book, however, aims at deconstructing that very notion of Kerala as a role model for other states and countries in South and Southeast Asia, significantly complicating earlier, well-meant suggestions by distinguished scholars such as Amartya Sen. Editor Swapna Mukhopadhyay seeks to investigate the correlation between, on the one hand, a high Gender-Related Development Index and other sociological indicators of women's welfare in any society, and, on the other hand, their actual well-being when considering psychometric variables such as mental health, anxiety and stress-related symptoms, and self-assessed happiness. After all, not only is Kerala famous for its Marxist government, matrilineal Nair traditions, and allegedly liberated, working women, but also it can claim one of India's highest suicide rates and it suffers from a large unemployment problem. While those two factors have been set into correlation by sociological studies in the past, the question of gender differences has received little attention. Kerala scholarship is still scarce within the larger field of South Asian studies, and so this book is an important contribution to understudied questions of gender in Kerala.

In her insightful introduction, Mukhopadhyay rightly emphasizes that the analysis of mere statistical data about female literacy, employment, and marital age, as is often undertaken by sociologists and economists, is not sufficient to fully assess a woman's value and well-being in a society. For instance, the data