

Semiotics of the Other and Physical Beauty: The Cosmetics Industry and the Transformation of Ideals of Beauty in the U.S. and Japan, 1800's - 1960's

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Abstract

This paper describes theoretical aspects of the "Other" by Jacques Lacan and examines the historical development of ideals of physical beauty in the United States and Japan. The Lacan's concept of the "Other" in relation to a technology for creating the appearance of the Other in the beauty industry is investigated. Cosmetic industry tries to create the appearance of the Other by using the technology of cosmetics and discourse of ads. In the U.S., beauty culture, motion pictures, the establishment of the African-American segment of the industry, and immigration from other countries have influenced the cultural construction of beauty. In Japan, the modern cosmetics industry, motion pictures, and foreign manufacturers contributed to the transformation of ideals of physical beauty. Through examining cultural events of the cosmetic industry in both countries, it is concluded that beauty is not universal, but is culturally constructed by society. What is common between both countries is influence from the outside.

Keywords: semiotics, the "Other", unconscious, mirror stage, cosmetics industry

1. Introduction

Physical appearance is an important component of self-presentation. Of the many techniques for the aesthetic enhancement of one's physical appearance, the most obvious one is the use of cosmetics, which is well documented by anthropologists and archeologists throughout the world and history. Cosmetics are an integral element of woman's self-presentation in social and organizational context (Cox & Glick, 1986). Women use cosmetics to enhance their physical appearance, especially their physical attractiveness. Physical attractiveness is typically defined as "the person's aesthetic appeal as a visual social stimulus" (Cash & Rissi & Chapman, 1985, p.246). Physical attractiveness has been studied in personnel and social psychology. Attractive people are considered to have more positive interpersonal attributes, such as intelligence, happiness, and extroversion (Dion et. al., 1972). The studies go further, predicting that attractive individuals are more successful than unattractive individuals both in their business and personal lives. Other studies enhance their femininity, and improve their sexual attractiveness (Cash, Dawson, Davis, Bowen, & Galumbeck, 1988; Cash, Rissi & Chapman, 1985). Cash (1987, 1988) argued that cosmetic use in particular, and grooming behaviors in general, function to manage and control not only social impressions, but also self-image (e.g., body image, self-presentations and mood states)(Cash, Dawson, Davis, Bowen, & Galumbeck, 1988). In Western societies

the use of make up is almost limited to women. This reflects the differential emphasis placed on beauty in the socialization of the sexes (Cash, Rissi, & Chapman, 1985). Therefore, the female's initial use of cosmetics in early adolescence may be viewed as "a rite of passage into sexual maturation and as a sex-specific behavior in the service of feminine identity development" (Cash, Rissi, & Chapman, 1985, p.248). In other words, it communicates "a woman's value, sexual desires, availability, or social and professional status" (Miller, & Cox, 1982, p.750). Thus, the use of cosmetics affects impressions of a woman's physical attractiveness and self-image.

Historically, research on the psychology of physical appearance has focused mainly on the effects of physical attractiveness (Cash, 1981) and has assumed that beauty is a static or fixed attribute of individuals. Physical beauty, however, is culturally constructed and is not static. The relationship between the use of makeup and beauty, especially how a society constructs beauty semiotically i.e. as a symbolic language, has not been studied. In order to understand cultural interaction, we will present Lacan's concept of the "Other" in relation to a technology for creating the appearance of the Other in the beauty industry. We will pursue this goal by describing the theoretical aspects of the Other and examining the image of beauty through the cosmetic industry in the United States and Japan.

II . The Concept of The Other

The Lacanian Concept of the Other

The Lacanian concept of the Other is critical to understanding cultural interaction. Jacques Lacan (1977) defines the Other as:

"the place where the signifying chain is, which controls everything that will be able to be presented from the subject; it is the field of this living being where the subject is destined to appear It is from the place of this living being, called to subjectivity, that the drive is essentially displayed" (p.185).

The Other is not a person but a place, a "locus," required by the structure of discourse. The Other is the place of speech where the ensemble of the system of signifiers rests (Lee, 1990). When we take the analyst's position in analysis, we can say that he is situated in the place of the Other for the patient, the place to which the message is addressed and becomes its receiver (Lacan, 1977). From the place of the Other, the analyst can receive the transference. In other words, the Other can be viewed as the place of the signifier (Coward & Ellis, 1977). "It is the intervention of a third term which completes the chain of signifiers and verifies the individual speech act, by situating the subject in a position by which meaning becomes possible" (Coward & Ellis, 1977, p.109). Lacan connects the Other to language. "The subject is constructed through its acquisition of language from the place of the Other" (Coward & Ellis, 1977, p.111). Analyst can speak from the place of the Other and express God, society, family or language.

Lacan sees the Other and language in close proximity and connects the Other to

Freudian unconsciousness. "The Other is the place of the unconscious; precisely speech as it is introduced to the human animal by the Other belongs to no human subject" (Lee, 1990, p.60). It speaks in the Other, Lacan says, designating by the Other the very locus evoked by the recourse to speech in any relation which the Other intervenes. "The human subject is, in fact, constituted as such by her relation to the Other - by the fact that she speaks - and this essential relation to the Other is present in the subject as the unconscious" (Lee, 1990, p.60). The unconscious is structured in the same process by which the subject acquires language.

Lacan's psychoanalytic theory is important because it sees unconscious as created and not inherited: the subject is formed, not born (Williamson, 1978).

Building upon anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss's contention that every society is regulated by a series of interrelated signs, roles, and rituals, Lacan (1977) termed this series "the Symbolic Order." For a child to function adequately within the society, he or she must internalize the Symbolic Order through language and "the more a child submits to the linguistic rules of society, the more those rules will be inscribed in his or her unconscious" (Tong, 1989, p.220). In other words, the Symbolic Order controls society through the regulation of individuals within a semiotic system.

Lacan thinks the Symbolic Order is society itself. If we are to fit into this order, we must go through several stages, slowly submitting to the "Law of the Father" (Tong, 1989, p.220). In the first stage, the Imaginary Phase, which is the antithesis of the symbolic Order, a child is completely unaware of his or her own ego boundaries. A child has no sense of where his body begins and that of his mother ends (Lacan, 1977). In the second, or Mirror stage of the Imaginary Phase, the child recognizes himself as a self. Initially the child confuses his image both with his real self and with the image of the adults holding him, but gradually the child understands that the image in the mirror is not a real person but merely an image of, or idea about, himself (Tong, 1989). There are two simultaneous moments implicit in the narcissistic identification of the mirror phase. They are the ideal ego and the ego-ideal. The former, the ideal ego, is the imaginary identification of the real, corporeal image as a unified image (Coward & Ellis, 1977). The latter, the ego-ideal, involves the fact that in order to see its fragmentary being in the place of the image that confronts it, the child sees its being in relation to otherness (Coward & Ellis, 1977). Lacan believed that "this initial process of self-constitution serves as a paradigm for all subsequent relations; the self is always finding itself through reflections in the Other" (Tong, 1989, p.221). Next, this fictional and ideal totality is destroyed by entry into language: the symbolic.

The third, or Oedipal, phase follows a period of growing estrangement between mother and child. The child no longer regards himself and his mother as a unity; rather, he views his mother as the Other and the weakened mother-child relationship is broken by the intervention of his father (Lacan, 1977). Fearing symbolic castration (the loss of the phallic signifier for all that is gratifying), the child separates from his mother in return for the medium of language (Lacan, 1977). Through identification with his father, the male child not only enters into subjecthood and individuality, but he also internalizes the

dominant order, the value-laden roles of society (Tong, 1989). The male child is born again, this time into language (Tong, 1989). However, girls cannot fully identify with their fathers and they cannot accept and internalize the Symbolic Order in the same way as boys can (Tong, 1989). Castration has the transmission of culture and "the subject finds his signifying place in the laws of culture; if he does not, he will fall ill" (Coward & Ellis, 1977, p.117).

The concept of the other is also discussed in sociology and social psychology to account for emergence of sociality out of the "givenness" of individuals (Perinbanayagam, 1978). However, there is a difference between the Lacanian concept of the Other and the concept of the other in sociology and social psychology. Lacanian concept of the Other is not being, but the place of speech, a language. It is the place of signifier; "that is the construction of an outside referent by which the individual speech act or word is verified" (Coward & Ellis, 1977, p.117). On the other hand, the concept of other in the works of sociology and social psychology is used to explain the emergence of sociality out of the given mass of individuals. The other exercises power over the emergent self and determine the person's character.

III. Cosmetic/Fashion Industry

Cosmetic/fashion is a technology for creating the appearance of the Other. Cosmetics can communicate the self to others. The cosmetic/fashion industry is concerned with the "look" of beauty. The industry works as the signifying agency and helps to construct the look in society. "Advertising seems to have a life of its own; it exists in and out of other media, and speaks to us in a language we can recognize but a voice we can never identify" (Eilliamson, 1978, p.14). Thus, Lacan's theory is valuable in understanding the process of ideology as it reproduces itself in advertisements. Next, before analyzing how American beauty is constructed, the look of beauty and the ideology of the magazine ads will be examined.

1) The Look of Beauty

The look of beauty, a combination of expression, gesture, and stance, is mediated and even created by the cosmetic/fashion industry. It signifies a desired personality trait. The look is an act of communication and it tells the other how one wants to be looked at (Papson, 1985). The look is not really created wholly, but constructed and modified after images presented in various media forms (Papson, 1985).

For example, today two kinds of looks predominate in the U.S: the natural look and the sophisticated look. The natural look tries to project the image that no make-up has been used at all. The words "fresh and clean" are associated with the natural look. The natural look is also associated with psychological naturalness - authenticity, spontaneity and uninhibitedness - it sides with nature against society (Papson, 1985). The sophisticated look appears as a celebration of urban existence, while the natural look denies an urban look. The sophisticated look signifies knowledge, class, power, and urban existence (Papson, 1985). Both the natural and the sophisticated look are arbitrary looks and they are available to anyone who has the ability to mimic the on-going image associated with a particular

personality trait (Papson, 1985). This gives a separation of the look from self. Appearance is not a function of self, that is, self understood as entity within a socio-historical context (Papson, 1985, p.228). "It is not self going public, but enviable self - the self constructed from the signifiers of desirability" (Papson, 1985, p.228).

2) Self and the Ego-Ideal

Using Lacan's theory, Williamson (1978) analyzed magazine ads. He argues that advertising presents a mirror image that gives false hope "towards the imaginary unity of the Ego-Ideal" (p.65). Magazine ads offer an image which we can desire but never achieve. The magazine ad replaces one's reflection and acts as a mirror image (Williamson, 1978). It asks us to replace our own image with that of a model and give a substitute ego ideal (Papson, 1985).

The ad's relationship with self is similar to Freud's (1960) description of the relationship of the patient to the hypnotist or therapist. "The hypnotist replaces the subject's ego ideal and the reality-testing function that agency performs" (Papson, 1985, p. 230). A relation between someone with superior power and one without power is created in the therapeutic treatment. In a like way, the model of the advertised product expresses confidence and superiority by staring directly at the onlooker and a leader/follower relationship is initiated. "Like the hypnotist, the model says, look into my eyes; suspend critical judgement" (Papson, 1985, p.230). But there is also a third party, in the ads - a transcendent authority, a voice from beyond which speaks to us as it has spoken to the model in this ad (Papson, 1985). It is a man. The male voice compliments the model for using the product and simultaneously orders us to use it also.

This sort of structure typically directed at women, dominates ads in women's magazines. The voice, however, is masculine. In this instance, "a triadic relationship is created between the transcendent masculine authority, the model, and the onlooker" (Papson, 1985, p.230). Within the three-part relationship authority and ideal unite, ordering the consumer to participate in the group to bring coherency to one's ego through the product (Papson, 1985).

In this way, the structure of advertising is created through the tension between ideal and ego. Advertisements intend to make us feel we are lacking (Williamson, 1978). Melancholia, self-reproach, inferiority and anxiety associated with these feelings can be created by that tension (Papson, 1985).

3) The Fragmented Self

The self reconstructed around marketed ideas is not necessarily a unified self. Indeed, because advertising emphasizes specific parts of the body (hair, skin, eyes, face, etc.) and it causes anxiety by disassociating the part from the body experienced as a whole. Products for the body promise to restore equilibrium for and reintegration of, a particular part (Papson, 1985).

The product permits the user to extend body barriers that provide protection in a social world experienced as threatening (Fisher & Cleveland, 1968). Therefore, copying a particular look is an attempt to control as many elements as possible to ensure a successful encounter with unknown others in the culture (Papson, 1985).

IV. Cultural Construction of Beauty in the U.S.

We'll briefly discuss the origin of Western beauty, the characteristics of American cosmetic industry, and how the ideals of physical beauty are constructed in the U.S.

1) The Origin of Western Beauty

Beauty can be defined as a combination of qualities, as shape, proportion, color, in human face or form, or in other objects, that delights the sight (Synnott, 1989). Beauty is often described as physical or spiritual, inner or outer, natural or artificial, subjective or objective, and positive or negative. Beauty is, therefore, a rich and powerful phenomenon, with many meanings. Montaigne and Voltaire have shown that while beauty may well be in the eye of the beholder, that "eye" is culturally determined. Hume (1965) argues that beauty is socially constructed and is not universal or changeless. Though Western culture pretends that all ideals of female beauty stem from one Platonic Ideal of Women, whereas, the Maori admire a fat vulva, and the Padung, droopy breasts (Wolf, 1991) proves otherwise. Recent studies show that complete redefinition of beauty within a single culture can be seen in 30-year cycles: from beauty as primarily psychological to primarily physical, from inner to outer, from mind to body, from attitudes to techniques (Synnott, 1989).

2) Cosmetic Industry

Make-up promises each woman the means to express her "true" self. Cosmetics can communicate the self to others and infuse the self with a sense of esteem and legitimacy (Peiss, 1990). Historically, there have been the class, mass and ethnic segments of the cosmetic industry in America. "The class market represents high-priced cosmetic lines, both domestic and imported, whose aura is exclusivity and high social status" (Peiss, 1990, p.144). These products are aimed at wealthy and upwardly mobile middle-class women. The "mass" cosmetic products, the lower-priced lines, are sold in drugstores. They are marketed typically to a wide range of consumers, particularly the working class and lower-middle-class women, as well as teenagers (Peiss, 1990). The ethnic market consists of African-Americans, Hispanic-Americans, Asian-Americans and other women of color.

In the nineteenth century in America, the use of powder and paint was very popular among fashionable middle-class and upper class women. However, white working-class and black women refrained from the use of make-up because of religious belief, ethnic cultural traditions, concepts of respectability and the cost of the products (Peiss, 1990). At that time, "paint" was associated with aristocratic excess, undemocratic luxury and female self-indulgence, yet the "painted women" most strongly signified prostitutes and immoral women (Peiss, 1990). Cosmetics contributed to the external marking of the boundary between respectability and promiscuity, bourgeois gentility and lower-class vulgarity (Peiss, 1990).

3) Cultural Construction of Beauty

Beauty Culture

Beauty as we have pointed out is not static, but culturally constructed and the cultural construction of beauty is influenced by historical events. For example, the "beauty cul-

ture" fundamentally altered the market for cosmetics in America (Peiss, 1990). "Beauty culture" means the commercial institution made up of beauty parlors, cosmetic manufactures, women's magazines, advertisers and retailers. Beauty culture is the critical intermediary between prior nineteenth-century culture suspicious of powder and paint and twentieth-century consumers who delight in cosmetics (Peiss, 1990). "In early 1880 beauty culturalists popularized the notion of ritualizing beautification for women" (Peiss, 1990, p.147). Beauty culturalists consciously created a paradoxical world of discipline and indulgence, therapy and luxury, for women who had sacrificed their own desires because of husbands and families (Allen, 1981). There was a hopeful message of "Don't be ashamed of your desire for beauty," as well as the old message of "beauty a duty" (Allen, 1981).

Initially beauty culturalists stressed good breathing, exercise, diet and bathing as the way to natural beauty and generally did not approve of make-up (Peiss, 1990). However, the re-making of complexion rather than bone structure or physical features served the democratic idea of beauty being available to all women if only they used the correct products (Peiss, 1990). This idea asserted that every woman should be beautiful as a duty to her husband and children, to achieve business success or to find romance (Peiss, 1990).

In the late nineteenth century manufactures and advertisers of mass market cosmetics met consumer resistance and they countered by making therapeutic claims for face powders and liquid tints. Manufacturers such as Pozzoni stressed "the naturalness and purity of their preparations by using angelic children in their advertising" (Peiss, 1990, p.151). After World War 1, lipsticks, eye shadows in colorful shades and mascara for eyelashes appeared on the market. This development marked the increasing public acceptance of cosmetics.

Motion Pictures.

In the 1920s, women emerged from their homes into the business world. Young women were viewed as glamorous, economically independent, sexually free and single. The ideal of the "New Women" represented "a departure from concepts of female identity constituted solely in domestic pursuits, sexual purity and moral motherhood" (Peiss, 1990, p.152). However, this new ideal was transformed to another ideal. For some, the New Woman was a mannish, political and professional figure who had entered the business world for themselves. For others, the New woman was referred to as a sensual, free-spirited girl in the 1880's, a "Daisy," by 1910 and a flapper in the 20's (Peiss, 1990). The latter figure created another contradicting image. "She was at once an independent wage earner, making her own way in the world, and a beautiful, romantic girl, seeking marital fulfillment" (Peiss, 1990, p.153). This image was very important for the cosmetic industry. It linked cosmetics to emergent forms of entertainment and leisure, especially, the motion pictures.

Mary Pickford's screen image of youthfulness sold mass-market creams and lotions (Peiss, 1990). The Maybelline Company, for instance, sold its one product, mascara, by using close-up pictures of movie stars with heavily painted eyes and eyelashes in its

magazines advertising and on display cards. Max Factor, a Russian immigrant and a make-up artist to the stars, contributed to cosmetics manufacturing for the mass market. With his efforts, the "look" and style of female screen stars promoted the use of color and artifice (Peiss, 1990). Close-up cinematography heavily glorified painted lips, eyes and cheeks. In the 1960's the value of outdoorsy, less demure more dynamic or "spunky" beauty in the fashion of Brigitte Bardot and Hepburn, emerged. By watching the movies, women, especially working women, modelled their cosmetic use and manners generally on the movie images they saw.

African-American Segment of the Industry

In the late nineteenth century, the African-American segment of the industry emerged as a part of the more general development of an African-American consumer market. Because of poverty, most blacks had little spending money for the make-up products. A nascent middle class, black migration, and the growing racial segregation of cities caused some entrepreneurs to develop business for black consumers (Broussard, 1987). What is significant is that women entrepreneurs developed African-American beauty culture. They sold hair tonic as a straightener, face creams, skin care, cosmetics as an external marker of personal success and racial progress, signifying a response to the white denigration of black womanhood (Peiss, 1990). Beauty culture provided black women good employment opportunities in the sex-and race-segregated labor market and the economic progress of the African-American (Peiss, 1990).

Exoticism

In the twentieth century, cosmetics manufacturers began to reorient their industry from beauty culture toward "fashion," which gave an endless number of "looks" and endless proliferation of products (Peiss, 1990). The industry applied image of the gentility and refinement to the use of make-up and artifice (Peiss, 1990). The French cachets of imported goods were very significant for transmitting status and "chic." National advertisers of cosmetics of imported brands adopted the image of describing the lifestyles of the rich and famous. Dorin face powders and compacts, for example, were linked to Saratoga Springs, the Paris Opera and the races at Ascot (Peiss, 1990).

Mass-market manufacturers adopted exotic images of foreign people to advertise products which were otherwise common in the white bourgeois culture (Peiss, 1990). The soap industry in the U.S. associated cleanliness with colonization and white-Anglo-American supremacy. However, the cosmetic industry used images of American Indian, Egyptian, Turkish and Japanese women as well as European women, to associate reluctant Americans with a global cosmetic culture (Peiss, 1990). Advertisers also associated "foreign types" within the realization of women's identity through cosmetics (Peiss, 1990). At the same time, the cosmetic industry projected contradictory cultural messages linking whiteness with social success and being refined (Peiss, 1990). Products with names like Black-No-More and Tan Off were controversial and appealed to European aesthetic standards and beliefs that light-skinned African Americans were more successful and, if women, more desirable as wives (Peiss, 1990).

For example, the advertisement for Hagan's Magnolia, a skin bleach, used physiog-

nostic signifiers to transmit that light skin meant Anglo-Saxon gentility (Peiss, 1990). This message meant that not only the woman's skin color lightens as soon as they used the product, but also her features experienced a transformation from a stereotypes rural black women to a genteel lady (Peiss, 1990).

V. Cultural Construction of Beauty in Japan

This section focuses on the characteristics of the traditional Japanese beauty, Japanese *Iki* (Chic), and the cultural conception of beauty after the Meiji Restoration.

1) Traditional Japanese Beauty

The manufacture and use of face powder, rouge, eyebrow paint, and other cosmetics were imported in the 6th century from Korea and Japan. In early times cosmetics were used only by special participants in religious ceremonies and festivals. Cosmetics were not worn for mundane adornment. This practice, however, gradually spread among the aristocracy as a means of enhancing one's beauty.

Among the various cosmetic compounds used, *oshiroi* (white powder), and *beni* (rouge) contributed in constructing a woman's beauty. The oldest form of face powder was made from white soil and rice flour. In the 7th century, the manufacture of *keifun* (mercury chloride) and *empaku* (white lead) was imported from China. Their use was confined to the upper classes until the 17th century when it became popular among the general public. In accordance with the old saying, "a fair complexion hides many defects," fair skin was the foremost quality attributing to a woman's beauty. As a result, white powder was used extensively during the Edo period(1600-1868).

Beni, rouge, was first seen on *haniwa*, clay tomb figures of the 3rd to the 6th centuries, whose faces were painted with ocher and vermilion. However, this soft-hued natural red is thought to have been a form of ritual makeup. In the early 7th century 7th century safflower (*benibana*), which had come from Egypt via India, Central Asia, China, and Korea, was introduced to Japan, and an extract was used as rouge. This rouge, bright and full-hued, was regarded as a symbol of joy and happiness.

Other cosmetics such as *ohaguro*, tooth blackening was used to enhance sex appeal and helped in maintaining healthy teeth. By about the 12th century, the custom spread to the men of nobility and the samurai class as well. By the 18th century, it became limited again to only women. Later, only married women used it, and the custom continued until the end of the 19th century. *Okimayu*, shaving the eyebrows and drawing new ones, was practiced particularly among the upper classes. The reshaping of one's eyebrows gradually became a custom for the average woman to show her married status and continued through the end of the 19th century.

Furthermore, demure *iki-style* expressivity contributed to the traditional Japanese female beauty.

2) Japanese IKI (Chic)

Iki is a Japanese aesthetic concept, which helps to explain the Japanese ideal of beauty. A famous Japanese philosopher who had studied under the guidance of Heideg-

ger wrote the structure of *Iki* in 1930. *Iki* refers to chic, smartness, posh, dapper, elegance and so on. Kuki paraphrased *Iki* to signify "sensuous radiance through whose lively delight there breaks the radiance of something suprasensuous" (Miller, 1978, p.114).

Iki is used to mean a coquettish chat with the opposite sex, with those in whom one perceives the possibility, not so much of love, but rather of flirtatious dalliance (Miller, 1978). It shows the quick-witted sophistication of the chivalrous but unmoneyed *samurai* who cavorted in the gay quarters of Edo (Tokyo) (Dale, 1986). The author also relates *Iki* to Buddhist virtue of resignation (*akirame*). Japanese "chic" harmoniously conjoins coquetry, resignation and pride. *Iki* is then to be understood as commingling the ethical idealism of Bushido with the religious idealism of Buddhism (Dale, 1986). It refers to common desire for an ideal and moral lifestyle. Initially this involved the purity of Buddhism as it related to innocent beauty.

According to Kuki (1930), the term *Iki*, as an essential aspect of Bushido, articulates not a dualism but a complementary polarity in the world (i.e, chic - subdued elegance; sweetness - rough, uncouthness; refinement - plainness; dandyism - vulgarity). Kuki asserts that "nothings stands in the way of our considering *Iki* as one of the conspicuous forms of self-expression of the unique existential modes of Eastern culture, nay, rather of the Yamato race (Japanese people) itself" (Watanabe, 1974, p.88).

Iki is viewed in four structures: the intensive structure of *Iki*, the extensive structure of *Iki*, the natural expression of *Iki*, and the artistic expression of *Iki*. In the natural expression *Iki*, Japanese beauty is manifested. As for the agent supporting the emotional expression, slender woman with a willowy waist is chic because slenderness shows the weakening of the flesh and at the same time the strengthening of the spirit (Kuki, 1930). As for the face, a slender faces rather than a round face is *Iki*. As for the eyes, *Nagashime*, flowing eye, which means by the movement of the pupil to float "coquetry" toward the other sex, is chic. As for the facial make-up, *Usugeshou*, light make-up, is the expression of *Iki*. *Iki* is demure yet smart, imminently aware. It is a sort of retiring intelligence, which shows itself through grace and skill rather than words.

In the Edo period (1603-1867), the women of Kyoto and Osaka used heavy make-up and were ridiculed in Edo (Tokyo) as *Yabo* (rough, uncouthness). Kuki (1930) says that the material cause and the formal cause of *Iki* are embodied in the expression of coquetry through make-up and then of idealism by halting make-up at the state of suggestion. A slender woman with a slender face and light make-up was considered beautiful at that time. Based on the above studies, it is evident that traditional Japanese beauty was demure and not simply a case of physical body structure (Isa & Kramer, 2003). It could not reduced to material physicality. One might say in the vernacular that it was "classy."

3) Cultural Conception of Beauty after the Meiji Restoration

The Influence of the Modern Cosmetics Industry on Japanese Beauty

After the Meiji Restoration of 1868, cultural exchange with Europe and the United States led to gradual Westernization of clothing, hairstyles, and makeup techniques.

Tooth blackening, considered barbaric by Western standards, gradually became obsolete.

The reason Japanese physical beauty became Westernized after the Meiji period can be traced directly to the strong influence of the cosmetics industry. Cosmetics and fashion industries are concerned with "the look" of beauty. These industries work as signifying agents that construct "the look" for whole societies. It is a business. In this section, we consider some examples of cosmetics advertisements and examine how the commercialization of beauty and cosmetics transformed Japanese aesthetic ideals.

During the Meiji Period (1868-1912), the new science of chemistry was introduced to Japan from the West and promoted the development of cosmetics. The new government encouraged those who engaged the development of all modern technologies including Western style medicine and chemistry.

In 1872, in Tokyo's high-end Ginza shopping district, Yushin Fukuhara, started Japan's first Western-style pharmacy. The process of cultural transmission and fusion, which marks the Shiseido vision is personified by the Fukuhara family. Yushin's son, Arinobu Fukuhara founded Shiseido, as we know today, and in turn, his son Shinzo Fukuhara also traveled to Columbia University in 1908 to study pharmacology and became the first president of Shiseido.

In 1903, Nakamura Taiyodo started the "Club" Cosmetic Company to sell cosmetics such as powder, lotion and washing powder. Club's advertisements used the picture of two beautiful women in Western clothing wearing a flower crown, called "*sou bijin*." These women represented world of graceful and elegant upper class (modern) ladies. In order to attract upper class women to buy cosmetics, Nakamura Taiyodo company joined hands with the Mitsukoshi kimono shop (later, Mitsukoshi department store) where many women of the upper classes shopped.

In 1902, another cosmetic company, "Momotani Juntendou" sold a lotion for eliminating acne that was a big hit and led the company to market a successful "line" of facial care products. The success of their original lotion was partly due to its advertising message: "A fair complexion hides many defects, so apply our facial lotion to make your skin whiter" (Mizuno, 1998). What is obvious here, is that the traditional notion of beauty was still vital.

Going to a theater was an opportunity to dress "up," displaying status and one's progressive personae. Theater attendance was a status symbol for the women of the upper class. Their activity enhanced the use of perfumes and cosmetics such as face powder and *beni* (rouge). A famous advertising message of the time sums up the influence of theaters on women's fashion: "Today is for *Teigeki* (an imperial theater), tomorrow for Mitsukoshi (department store) (Hamada, 1948)." In other words, "Today a woman will see a new Western play at a theater and tomorrow she will buy the latest Western fashion at Mitsukoshi."

During the Taisho period (1912-1926), Japan's early flirt with democracy further promoted the Westernization of Japan. The Ginza, for example, Tokyo's world shopping district led in the swift assimilation of Western culture spurring the growth of western

fashion. With the influence of Taisho democracy, a new cosmetic product that came from a scientist's liberal idea was born at Shiseido. In 1916, Shinzo Fukuhara, the son of founder Yushin Fukuhara established Shiseido's Design Department art nouveau - inspired posters and advertisements. For the products themselves they began designing elegant packages with distinctive arabesque graphics. For a country still new to the ways of the West, the message was one of novel, exotic luxury - the perfect expression of Shinzo's motto, "Richness in All." Shiseido used the culture of Ginza as corporate image and changed company name to Tokyo Ginza Shiseido in 1923. At that time, there was only one makeup powder -white, but Shiseido invented the technology for producing powders of seven colors. This range of hues was advertised with this motto: "Let's choose your makeup powder based on your real skin color to make you beautiful." The beauty ideal, then, began to incorporate a woman's natural skin color. The irony here is the proposition that, to be more natural looking a woman had to use cosmetics. It exploited the notion that modern women are individuals. With the variety of makeup colors available, these developments were liberating to the women of that time, for they were no longer limited to just one makeup color, a color few women could match exactly.

In 1927, a new fashion of modern boy, *mobo* and modern girl, *moga* was popular (Hirosawa, 1993). To be a *Mobo* one had to wear bell-bottom trousers, round glasses with thick plastic rims with a hat. *Moga* wore Western clothes, short hair, a hanging-bell hat and high heel shoes. About the same time the number of working women has increased. Women started to work as telephone operators and hostesses at milk halls, which made them change from Japanese kimono to wearing more practical (for industrial type work) Western clothes. The Takasimaya department store hired beautiful women working as mannequins. They wore Western style uniforms and carried placards. They also demonstrated how to apply make-up. This marked the beginning of public relations for cosmetics. Shiseido also used beauticians who were later called "Miss Shiseido." By the mid-1930, Shiseido advertising moved beyond simply assimilating Western influences, to developing a distinct style of its own. Emerging from this striking synthesis of Western and Japanese elements was a new kind of woman: idealized woman not only at the forefront of fashion, but also aware of herself and her potential. Ads in 1936 suggested a beauty from within, reflecting a woman's own sense of identity. But still this was a Westernized identity with Western-style make used to announce itself.

Motion Pictures

At the beginning of the Showa period (1926-1989), Japanese movies and drama were in their glory. A Japanese version of the Hollywood star system emerged. Cashing in on the opportunity, cosmetic companies used famous movie actresses to advertise their products. But before turning to the indigenous stars, cosmetic companies enlisted the more powerful faces of Hollywood idols. In 1936, a Japanese cosmetic company, *Momotani Juntendo*, first used a foreign movie actress, Foxster. The ad campaign appeared in the Osaka Asahi newspaper to sell a "crinsin cream." The ad read, "every 10

women from the West wash their faces with our crinsin cream." Not to be outdone, Shiseido hired the foreign actress, Marlene Dietrich to sell white powder. These two advertisements stressed Western makeup including eyelashes, lipstick, and eye shadow. At that time, only some women wore eye shadow, but by the mid-1960 eye shadow became popular with most Japanese women. We can say that Western women with big eyes, double-edged eyelid, straight nose and curly hair were seen as ideals and as the standard of beauty by Japanese women living in the city.

In July of 1946, the Shiseido Cosmetics Store was decorated with a red Shiseido neon light, the first on the Ginza. By November, Shiseido used a famous movie actress, Setsuko Hara to create a color poster for distribution to chain stores throughout the country. The poster became a symbol of Japanese postwar aspirations, re-construction, and hope. Setsuko Hara is a Japanese actress who used to appear in the films of Akira Kurosawa, Yasujiro Ozu, Mikio Naruse and so on. She is called the "Eternal Virgin" in Japan and a symbol of Japan's golden age of film (in the 1950s).

Her western clothes, smiling face with big eyes, big nose and big mouth, and her posture (looking skyward), projected the message that it was a time to give up old tradition of wearing monpe, Japanese slacks. The picture gave the impression that a woman can stand on her own two feet in the new age of Showa (Shimamori, 1998). Her physical appearance was different from that of the traditional Japanese woman. It revealed a different type of woman: an independent woman like a woman from the West. And yet, she was unmistakably Japanese. In this image we have a fusion of East and West, the emergence of the postwar modern nation of Japan including the new Japanese women.

During the 1960s social change was in the air, and at Shiseido as well. In 1966 Shiseido established its summer promotion with its second campaign featuring Bibari Maeda (of Godzilla movie fame later). This was the first time they had done overseas filming and the art director for the shoot Makoto Nakamura selected Hawaii. This second summer campaign for Shiseido featured something not seen in Japan - a 17 year-old woman/child in a swimsuit with suntanned skin and a Western look. This was a dramatic departure from the traditional fashion of pale skin. As noted the model was Ms. Bibari Meda (17), a half Caucasian/half Japanese woman with an exotic face, big eyes, bold eyebrows, big nose. She was portrayed lying on a beach in Hawaii, U.S.A, with a suntanned body.

The picture projected the message of a liberated, fun loving American type girl with a healthy, outdoorsy body and carefree life. With this ad, Shiseido sold a face foundation, "beauty cake" by using the phrase "*Taiyou ni aisareyou*" ("I want to be loved by the sun.") Maeda's suntanned skin, and public exposure of lots of it, was a clear and bold shift toward the very American surfer and beach culture then raging. It also was a pronounced mimicking of American advertising trends, which were tapping into the emerging American youth oriented market.

Foreign Manufacturers in Japan

According to the survey of *Kokusai Shogyo*, International Commerce (1997), in order of market size and share, the top cosmetic manufactures in Japan are Shiseido,

Kanebo, Kao, Pola and Kobayashi Kose respectively. Though not in the top five, French and U.S. cosmetic companies are also successful in exporting their products to Japan. U.S. cosmetic companies that enjoy popularity include Max Factor, Helene Curtis, Estee Lauder, and Clinique. Historically speaking, of the American marketers, Max Factor has had the greatest impact on Japanese beauty. Max factor established its cosmetic company in 1953. In 1987, the company was replaced by the new "Max factor KK" in Tokyo. In 1991 Procter and Gamble, who had started business in Japan in 1972 as a joint venture with Nippon Sunhome, acquired Max Factor.

Throughout the development of the motion picture industry in the early 1900's, Max Factor was instrumental in providing make-up consultation and expertise to American movie stars including Elizabeth Taylor, Greta Garbo, Bette Davis, and Judy Garland. The innovations of various foundation lines, lipstick shades and eye shadow later formed what was known as the system of "color harmony." The most well known creations include; the Max factor Lip Gross, which appeared in 1930, the Beauty Calibrator in 1932, Pan-Cake Make-up in 1937, Pan-Stick Make-up in 1948, Erace (cover-up stick) in 1954, and "waterproof" make-up in 1971. In 1959, Max Factor introduced the idea of marketing to Japan and launched a sales campaign for "Roman Pink" lipstick.

Not accidentally, during the 1950's and early 1960's a spat of Hollywood and Italian films that were enormously popular worldwide, including in Japan, featured Rome as their romantic setting. The rage began in 1953 with Audrey Hepburn who had started modeling at age 22. She made her American film debut in *Roman Holiday* (1953) playing opposite Gregory Peck. Hepburn, who was hugely popular in Japan, won the Academy Award for Best Actress for her work in this film. The 1959 lipstick campaign launched by Max factor made extensive use of the mass media. The hook phrase was: "even statues in Rome can be revitalized by our Roman Pink." It was a very sensational campaign, which influenced the way Japanese cosmetic industry sold their products domestically. In 1965, Max Factor introduced a new eye shadow, "fascinated eyes" and makeup foundation. These products changed Japanese traditional make-up usage from white powder to makeup foundation, which can be applied under any condition, for example, during the summer or on rainy days. In the Japanese movie of *Karumen kokyoni kaeru* (Carmen Comes Home, 1951) directed by Keisuke Kinoshita, Max Factor Pan-Cake foundation was used so that the actor's makeup would not come off easily. It was new to the Japanese cinema industry. To add to the already formidable inertia of this cinematic influence, in 1959, Akiko Kojima became the first Japanese woman to win the Miss Universe beauty contest and Max Factor, which was a sponsor for the contest, quickly capitalized on her victory producing "Akiko lipstick" for the Japanese market. It was very popular. Thus, Max Factor contributed to creating the beauty culture of eye makeup in Japan and introduced marketing techniques for cosmetics sales there.

VI. Conclusion

Because people judge and are judged on the basis of their physical appearance, beauty plays an important cultural role in society. Although, in practice, societies treat

beauty as an absolute and static standard, the fact is that beauty is culturally determined and societies differ radically in their definitions of what constitutes beauty. What is more important, however, is that in its cultural context, beauty embraces more than just physical appearance and its possessor is also deemed to possess characteristics valued by the society. A pretty face may be aesthetically pleasing to the beholder, but its real significance is that it speaks volumes about the intelligence, social status, and chances of success of its possessor.

Such cultural ramifications of beauty have often been examined within philosophical and sociological theoretical framework, but this article contends that a more useful theoretical framework is to view beauty as a language i.e. a method or system of expression which is both a container and determinant of meaning, and to treat it semiotically. This method of inquiry furthers our understanding of the profound societal implications of beauty, because ultimately, as shown through the work of Levi-Strauss, Lacom and Tong, the symbolic constructs serve to control society through the regulation of individuals within a semiotic system. One of the contention of this article is that for women within Eastern and Western societies, beauty has become a complex living and changing language that both expresses and determines their place in society and it is important to look at this phenomenon objectively.

This article explores the power of language, we have relied heavily upon Lacan's work in defining the "Other" in terms of locus or place, to show how power comes to reside within a language and how the language both expresses and exercises that power.

The inherent "Chicken or the Egg" question within Lacan's work, underscores the dynamic, changing nature of language. If beauty is a language, then the discipline of semiotics demands that we discuss the signs and symbols that compose it, and we do this by looking at cosmetic usage, the history of the beauty industry and the differing constructs and underlying societal messages built into the beauty languages of the East and the West.

This paper examined the image of beauty through the cosmetics industry in the United States and Japan. Historically, there have been the class, mass and ethnic segments of the cosmetic industry in the U.S. Especially, beauty culture, motion pictures, African-American segments of the industry, and exoticism contributed to the transformation of the ideals of physical beauty. American beauty is based on the Western style of frank emotional expression and ostentations display of sexuality, as opposed to the Japanese style of the older standard of fair skin and demure *iki*-style expressivity. The characteristic of physical beauty in the West is that it can be reduced to material physicality.

On the other hand, in Japan, the modern cosmetics industry, motion pictures, and foreign manufacturers had influenced the transformation of the ideals of physical beauty. The spirit of *iki*, which Kuki (1930) had described which includes the Buddhist virtue of resignation (*akirame*), was coming to an end and being replaced with the Western style materialism and straight forward pragmatic "positivism."

During the modernization/ Westernization (the Meiji and Taisho periods), this ideal

of physical beauty gradually Westernized, and a standardization of ideal physical beauty based on new hair and clothing styles emerged. The pre-Meiji value on white skin dovetailed easily with the new Western stress on Caucasoid characteristics. Caucasian models were used in Japan to promote elite products (Kramer, 1999). Therefore, during the 1950's and early 1960's cosmetics that promised whiter skin and "improved" Westernized features were in greater demand and usage than the traditional products.

What is common is that how the contact of the Eastern and Western cultures has affected the way in which each sees beauty and how this new construct of beauty has changed its underlying language in both the East and West.

In summary, we believe that if we recognize beauty as a language and study it systematically we will have a strong framework within which to explore cultural assumptions, expectations, and their implications, as well as a tool to help us understand and deal with cross-cultural encounters and the resulting cultural changes. As Davis (1992) points out, beauty is the presence of contact with cultural realm beyond our own, but what this paper proves is that beauty is a complex, living and changing language that both expresses and determines a woman's place and power in society.

Future studies should be focused on beauty ideals after 1970s in the U.S. and Japan because in recent decades, a tremendous reduction and narrowing of what constitutes beauty has been occurring. This is largely due to the power of mass marketing on a global scale. It is significant to see the transformation of beauty ideals of both countries.

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大文字「他者」の記号学と肉体美

－化粧品産業と日米の美人観の変遷（1800年代 - 1960年代）－

伊 佐 雅 子

要 約

この論文では、最初にフランス人精神分析学者、ジャック・ラカン（Jacques Lacan）の大文字「他者」の理論を述べる。次に、化粧品産業からみた日本とアメリカの美人観の変遷について調査する。ラカンの大文字「他者」の理論は、他者の外観を作ろうとする化粧品広告との関連で紹介する。化粧品産業とは、最先端の化粧品技術と広告のディスコースを用いて、私たちの前に「他者」の像を作り、私たちに同一者になるように誘う。

この調査では、米国ではビューティカルチャー、映画産業、アフリカ系アメリカ人をターゲットとした化粧品部門の設立、海外からの移民の増加が、アメリカ人の美人観を形成していた。一方、日本では、明治以降の化粧品産業の発達、映画産業、外国化粧品メーカーの登場が、日本人の美人観の変遷に影響を与えていた。美しさの基準とは普遍的なものではなく、社会によって文化的に形成されていることが明らかとなった。日米の共通点としては、両者とも海外からの影響がみられたことである。

キーワード：記号学、大文字「他者」、無意識、鏡像段階、化粧品産業