

Creativity at Work:

Advertising and
the Technology of
Enchantment:
The Portrayal of
Beauty in Women's
Fashion Magazines

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Abstract

The primary contents of women's fashion magazines are fashion, beauty and health. This paper sets out to explore the ways in which international fashion magazines such as *Elle*, *Vogue* and *Marie Claire* portray feminine beauty in textual and advertising matter and how their readers react to such portrayals. Beauty is analysed as grooming practice, and make-up as the prime symbol of the self and its many facets in social interaction. The paper looks at the different kinds of 'face' that magazines invite their women readers to put on and suggests that they – and their advertisers – adopt a 'technology of enchantment' as a means of exercise control over them. Magazine and advertising language is imbued with 'magical' power, and the paper shows how the structure of advertisements closely parallels that of magical spells used in certain healing rituals. It concludes by using magazine reader interviews to learn the extent to which women do or do not believe in such 'spells' and whether they are encouraged to buy into the 'beauty myth'.

Keyword

Advertising, Beauty, Consumption, Content analysis, Ethnography, Fashion magazines, Grooming practices, Magic, Ritual

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Advertising and the Technology of Enchantment: The Portrayal of Beauty in Women's Fashion Magazines

On the Cover

This paper explores the ways in which international fashion magazines such as *Elle*, *Vogue* and *Marie Claire* portray feminine beauty in textual and advertising matter and how their readers react to such portrayals. It is based on content analysis of more than 700 issues of these titles published in France, Hong Kong, Japan, the UK and USA, and collected over a fifteen year period, as well as on extensive ethnographic research among fashion magazine editorial staff and women readers of the magazines in question. The analysis focuses on the different kinds of 'face' that magazines invite their women readers to put on and suggests that they – and their advertisers – adopt a 'technology of enchantment' (Gell 1988, 1992) as a means of exercising control over them. Magazine and advertising language is imbued with 'magical' power, and the structure of beauty advertisements closely parallels that of magical spells used in healing rituals (Tambiah 1968).

Fashion magazines are both cultural products and commodities. As cultural products, they circulate in a cultural economy of collective meanings. They provide how-to recipes, illustrated stories, narratives and experiential and behavioural models – particularly in the realms of fashion and beauty – in which the reader's ideal self is reflected and on which she can herself reflect and act. As commodities, fashion magazines are products of the publishing and print industries and important sites for the advertising and sale of commodities (especially those related to fashion, cosmetics, fragrances and personal care). They are thus deeply involved in capitalist production and consumption at national, regional and global levels (Beetham 199*; cf. Moeran 2005).

Fashion magazines are simultaneously specialist (in that they are for men or women) and generalist (in that their contents extend across a wide spectrum of masculine or feminine concerns). They tell men and women all over the world what to think and do about themselves, their lovers, partners, parents, children, colleagues, neighbours or bosses, and so provide a potent formula for steering attitudes, behaviour and buying along culturally defined paths of masculinity or femininity. In short, they fashion a particular gendered worldview of the desirable, the possible and the purchasable.

From Proper to Props

*Knock-out Beauty, Makeover fantasies, Make the most of your face, Summer make-up, Whitening cosmetics: the ultimate study, A new look for your eyes, The Body Issue, Acquire that perfect butt*ⁱ – fashion magazines' headlines cover a plethora of beauty themes. Many of these contradict each other: for example, from *Perfect skin at last* to *Perfect skin and other beauty myths*,ⁱⁱ and from the *Beautiful people* (who include Jon Bon Jovi, Pooja Bhatt and Naomi Campbell) to *How 10 top gurus make the beautiful people beautiful*.ⁱⁱⁱ In the English language, beauty is 'ultimate' and 'perfect'. Fashion magazine readers are offered *The season's ultimate Special Beauty issue*; they can try *the Ultimate Beauty Test*; and are advised what hair, skin and body 'essentials' they should take with them on an *Ultimate summer weekend* (to go with their *ultimate getaway clothes*).^{iv} They are advised how to get *Summer skin perfected* and what are the season's *12 perfect summer looks*.^v They learn that *Perfect skin starts here*, as well as *How to Fake Perfect Skin* and 'cheat your way to a perfect complexion'.^{vi}

In addition to all the 'secrets' – everything from *Beauty secrets* to *Star secrets*, by way of *Skin secrets* and *Food secrets*^{vii} – that they claim to reveal, fashion magazines also like to regale their readers with 'facts' about beauty products. For example, since its launch in 1901, eleven billion pots of Nivea Creme have been sold – one for every person who has ever lived. One of Estée Lauder's jars of Advanced Night Repair is sold somewhere in the world every five, and one of Lancôme's mascaras every four, minutes; a tube of Elizabeth Arden's Eight Hour Cream every two minutes; one of Guerlain's Terracotta product line every 30 seconds; a bottle of Clinique's Dramatically Different Moisturizing Lotion every four seconds; and 120 bottles of Oil of Ulay Active Beauty Fluid every minute – in other words, two a second!^{viii} Clearly, a lot of women around the world follow Lancôme's tagline and believe in beauty.

Beauty is an essential part of *The Look*^{ix} that every serious fashion magazine reader should aspire to – *Make the most of your looks; New looks for you; Best looks for all shapes*.^x This almost certainly has to do with the old adage, prevalent since the time of Plato, that if you look beautiful, you must be good, and vice versa (Synnott 1989: 611). So all the fashion magazines carry monthly beauty sections, usually placed immediately after the fashion well, and publish special beauty issues that reflect the latest trends in make-up and hair styles seen on the catwalks of the fashion capitals of the world.

Different titles, however, have different names for their beauty sections, which themselves may vary from one country to another in response to perceived reader interest. *Elle*, for example, has a straight Beauty section in its French and Hong Kong editions; Beauty & Health in its British, Japanese, Norwegian and Swedish editions; Health-Beauty in its Greek edition; Beauty & Fitness in its American, Health & Fitness in its Indian, and Fashion & Beauty in its Spanish editions. *Vogue*, on the other hand, has a Beauty, Health & Fitness for its Spanish edition. In the USA itself, *Vogue* has a health & beauty, *Marie Claire* a beauty & health, and *Harper's Bazaar* a beauty, health and fitness

section, to accompany *Elle's* Beauty & Fitness.^{xi} If there is one thing that can be said about how fashion magazines target their readers when it comes to beauty, it is that they are consistently inconsistent.

This variety may be connected with the preferences of beauty editors, rather than with the cultural predispositions of British, Norwegian, Spanish, or Indian consumers targeted by a particular title:

“When I started here at *Vogue Nippon*, I got the impression that *Vogue* readers didn't want to read about beauty at all. Rather, all they were interested in was the latest fashion fad. So I began to think about how to create a section that would attract readers and realised it *had* to contain something close to fashion in one way or another. My predecessor had focussed on make-up, but I decided the beauty pages should focus on the *body* as their main theme – on the shape of a woman's bottom, for instance, or of her breasts – that sort of thing. I mean, the trouble with most magazines is that they focus exclusively on beauty from the neck up,” She draws a line across her shoulders with one hand to make her point. “So they tell you how to put on eyeliner, paint your lips, all that sort of thing, with the result that when women look at themselves in their mirrors, all they see is their faces close up. Their mirrors don't show their backsides, though, or what they look like from a distance, or the whole of their bodies. And that's wrong in my opinion.”^{xii}

A similar set of contradictions can be seen in the way fashion magazines talk about beauty. Even though many of us may have been taught to think that ‘beauty is only skin deep’ and that we should ‘never be deceived by appearances’, both text and ads in the magazines assert that beauty is something that starts inside ourselves: ‘Natural beauty comes from deep within yourself. It's about being comfortable with who you are and taking care of yourself’; ‘True radiance starts from within’; ‘If true beauty lies within, then it is surely reflected in a smile – your greatest beauty asset and the secret to *feeling great* about yourself’.^{xiii} Indeed, one ad suggests a kind of aesthetic commune of women: ‘Women everywhere share one common concern. Beauty dilemmas are the inescapable bond that unites them. Looking good is a priority. It affects not only how others look at you, but also how you feel about yourself’.^{xiv}

The moralistic attitude that beauty in some way depends upon a woman's character is not new. Long before Helena Rubinstein, Elizabeth Arden, Estée Lauder and others began purveying their elixirs and beauty creams, people decried the use of makeup as ‘immoral’. This was partly because the only women to go around putting on grease and paint were theatre actresses and prostitutes; properly brought up woman of whatever age would never dream of using cosmetics if they wished to continue being seen as ‘proper’. Indeed, Helena Rubinstein recalled that, when she first started making cosmetics for the market, actresses were still the only women who knew how to apply make-up and who dared to be seen in public with anything more than the lightest application of rice powder on their faces (Craik 1994: 159). In other words, the prevailing morality of the 17th and 18th centuries was ascetic. True beauty had

no need of props. It was either inborn or, at least, cultivated from within (Synnott 1989: 65).

In part, fashion magazines re-enforce this classic prejudice.^{xv} But this is only part of the beauty story that they tell their readers. After all, if they were to be consistent in their avowals that beauty really *did* come from within, then they would never be funded by cosmetics and skincare companies' advertising in the way that they are. Names like Armani (L'Oréal), Bobbi Brown, Chanel, Christian Dior (LVMH), Donna Karan, Estée Lauder, Guerlain, Lancôme (L'Oréal), MAC (Estée Lauder), Shiseido, and Shu Uemura (L'Oréal) can all be found advertising prestige beauty products in *Elle* in any one year. Mass beauty advertisers in the American edition of the same title include Beiersdorf (Nivea), Chesebrough-Pond's (Pond's beauty creams, Vaseline, Cutex nail care, Q Tips), Clairol, Helena Curtis (Unilever), L'Oréal (the Body Shop, Garnier, Maybelline, Sanoflore), Proctor and Gamble (including Always, Cover Girl, Max Factor, Noxzema, Oil of Ulay, Pantene, Tampax and Vidal Sassoon), and Revlon. In exchange for its 35 per cent share of the 44,174 pages of beauty advertising carried in a single year by the various editions of *Elle*, *Harper's Bazaar*, *Marie Claire*, *Vogue* and *Cosmopolitan* (including 2,619 pages placed by L'Oréal, together with the 2,163 and 2,101 pages by Estée Lauder and Lancôme respectively),^{xvi} *Elle* devotes about 11 per cent of its editorial pages to beauty and health (by whatever name), and includes more than 50 pages on skincare. By comparison, *Marie Claire* carries 13.9 per cent, *Harpers Bazaar* 9.1 per cent, and *Vogue* 8.1 per cent of their pages on the subject of beauty, fitness and grooming.^{xvii}

There must, then, be another half of the glossy magazine conundrum. If beauty is in part eternal – *What is it like to be born beautiful?*^{xviii} – it is not defined in absolute terms. Magazines have to insist that it is not wholly fixed or permanent. The inner self can change, and with it a woman's external appearance: 'Change your mind. Change your mood. Change the color of your eyes'^{xix} is one way forward. Another is attitude: *How to be a knockout: the hair, the skin, the attitude, the secrets.*^{xx} A third is to emphasize the idea of 'makeovers': *Makeover fantasies... look like a star or 101 ideas for a New you PLUS FREE beauty makeover for every reader.*^{xxi} Yet a fourth is to reverse the equation, so that the relationship between appearance and the inner self is two-way. 'If a woman feels pretty on the outside, she becomes prettier on the inside, too.'^{xxii}

How does she achieve this? By paying close attention to the beauty shortcuts advertised by the magazines, with their tips, tricks, cover-ups, and how-tos: *Shortcuts to perfect hair & makeup; 10 tips for a flawless skin; New tips and tricks; 'Create the illusion with cosmetic cover-ups'; 250 hair & makeup easy how-tos and pro-tips.*^{xxiii} This is how she gets her 'instant good looks': *Get gorgeous in 10 minutes; Get a better body by tonight; even The Slacker's Guide to a Great Body.*^{xxiv} Making-up may be hard to do, but beauty is morally good for you, not immorally bad – 'the product of diligence, rather than an inexplicable gift from the supernatural' (Wax 1957: 592). Even the props are proper now.

Grooming the Bride... or Eye Do

Perhaps the best way to look upon the magazines' passion for fashion and belief in beauty, hair and perfume is to see them all as 'grooming practices' (Wax 1957). Grooming practices play an important and essential part in the concept of dress, which is itself a broad term that includes 'visual as well as other sensory modifications (taste, smell, sound, and feel) and supplements (garments, jewelry, and accessories) to the body' (Eicher 1995: 1). In other words, fashion magazines regard their readers as 'a *gestalt* that includes body, all direct modifications of that body, and all three dimensional supplements added to it' (Eicher and Roach-Higgins 1993: 13).

Grooming practices involve highly conscious, social aspects of physical appearance, which is manipulated in various ways to make a desired impression upon others. Such manipulations include bathing, cleansing, anointing, moistening, and colouring the skin; cutting, shaving, plucking, braiding, waving, setting and dyeing face, head, arm, underarm, leg and/or pubic hair; both deodorizing and scenting the body; colouring or marking the lips, eyes, cheeks, face, nails, or other exposed regions; cleansing, colouring, straightening, and filing the teeth; moulding, emphasizing, training, restraining, and/or concealing various parts of the body; and so on.

Cosmetics and skincare products, in particular, are part of 'the human body shop' (Sharpe 2000: 297). That women, in particular, feel obliged to manipulate their appearance (by means of a nose job, face lift, tummy tuck, liposuction or whatever) suggests that they are being exposed as victims of oppressive, idealized standards of 'beauty', such as those proposed by the fashion magazines, where definitions of the self and social worth are driven by physical appearance alone (Sharpe 2000: 307-8). All techniques of facial and body decoration like these, therefore, concern the relationship between the self and social body (Wax 1957: 588).

It is the face, however, that acts as the prime symbol of the self and its many facets in social interaction (Synnott 1989). We all tend to copy the appearances of those at the top end of the socio-economic scale, whether they be tribal chiefs or members of European aristocracy, and we assign status to those who – like fashion models, film stars and other celebrities – are attractive, so it is not surprising that attractiveness is believed to depend on sexual or romantic appeal. Research shows that attractive people have a considerable number of advantages over ugly or less attractive people. As a result they tend to be socially more successful in what they do and are perceived to be capable of doing things better than they actually can (Webster and Driskell 1983: 140-144). In other words, to be attractive is to attract. No wonder a magazine reader is made to feel so concerned about her face: it is a critical element in social interaction. She, like us all, relies on her face to manage social impressions in her everyday life, whether it be Monro-esque or Twiggy, simpering girlie or lipstick lesbian, horsey chic or luxe nomad, preppy or porcelain China doll. Grooming practices – from make-up to makeover, from hairdo to hair removal,

from lipstick to liposuction – become an essential part in the making up of the magazine reader's face.

The implication is clear. Each of us is always, more or less consciously, acting out a social role – actually, a number of roles, depending on the social context in which we find ourselves in our everyday lives. This means that our individual face is in fact a social face which we 'put on' and 'take off' like our clothes. We are always involved in 'face-work' (Goffman 1967: 12) and maintaining a carefully monitored face or mask is a condition of interaction.^{xxv} Make-up can be useful in the maintenance of our public face because it allows us to select and define a *particular* face from among possible options. Make-up is itself a mask and serves two principal – and contradictory – functions: self-expression (implying a single self – the 'real me') and self-creation (allowing the expression of many selves) (Synnott 1989: 61-2). *See me, not my makeup.*^{xxvi}

So make-up is a special kind of face-work, of which all members of a particular social circle – from fash pack to glitterati, workplace to gym – have a particular knowledge and are expected to make use. *Face the World.*^{xxvii} Not to wear make-up in a workplace where make-up is expected, for instance, can easily define a woman as not caring for or about men, and thus as not heterosexual but gay, and certainly not credible in what she does (Dellinger and Williams 1997). Making up consists of a set of habitual and standardized practices for the magazine reader, whose 'look' is designed to control her potential embarrassment and thus the embarrassment that she and others in her social world might feel over her embarrassment (Goffman 1967: 13).

In other words, putting on make-up is a ritual process that is actually more important than the cosmetics products used, and proves more satisfying the more it is repeated (Radner 1989: 303-4). Although the ostensible goal of these upkeep and make-up processes is to make a woman look more attractive, she is in fact signalling her position within a particular consumer category, as well as in a particular social world (Radner 1989: 303-6). In other words, upkeep and make-up are to a woman's physical appearance what diplomacy, poise, *savoir faire*, tact and social skills are to her social face-work (cf. Goffman 1967: 13).

Wearing a Face that She Keeps in a Jar by the Door

Fashion magazines hint that women everywhere in the world share a single common concern and are united by an inescapable bond of beauty.^{xxviii} By her own choice, a woman can have the violet eyes of Elizabeth Taylor, the eyebrows of Marlene Dietrich, the breasts of Dolly Parton, the lips of Angelina Jolie, the upper arm tone of Michelle Obama, the abs of Madonna, and so on. Nevertheless, the fact that the magazine reader's face and body are carefully dissected and fragmented into dozens of different parts enables magazines and their advertisers to conjure up numerous beauty dilemmas that appear designed to keep women in a permanent and continuous state of concern and

lack of self-confidence. It is only through the hard work of making up that women can maintain their temporary beauty and avoid being seen as ugly (Tseëlon 1995: 78-9). When they bond, therefore, they do so over the shared pain of 'bad' skin, 'bad' hair, and 'bad' legs (Bordo 2000: 146).

In this no-win situation, a woman's face must be radiant, luminous, healthy, polished, porcelain-like, fresh, sweet, and young – or, at least, rejuvenated (by means of a facelift, chin tuck, neck lift, nose refinement, ear re-shaping and lip augmentation). It should have clarity and texture, with no lines or wrinkles. *Stopping wrinkles before they start.*^{xxxix} Her cheeks may be rosy or sunkissed... and flushed with emotion – *Glow getters* – while her cheekbones should, ideally, be high, wide and exotic – *A bit of cheek.*^{xxx} Her complexion should be even-toned, firm, flawless, fresh, glistening, glowing, healthy, radiant, soft, and young-looking.

The eyes of a woman aspiring to perfect beauty should be big, bright, dramatic, enticing, expressive, intense, sensual, sexy, smiling and smoky – not just eyes, but *Wow eyes.*^{xxxii} They also have to be laughter-proof, tear-proof and smudge-proof.^{xxxiii} They absolutely must not look puffy, 'crepey', or have dark circles under them. Eye bags are 'banished'! Lashes should not be stiff or brittle, but beautifully and clearly defined, full, healthy, luscious, dramatically magnified, perfect, silky and soft. No clumps, globs, smears, or smudges.^{xxxiii} Lashes should have curl-power, definition, density, length and (high-voltage) volume to give them a 'personality'.^{xxxiv} Eyebrows, too, should be defined, dramatic, impeccably shaped and well-groomed. Ultimate face-framers, they should be accentuated, bristling and tweezed to perfection. Any failing in the search for perfection may be rectified by means of eyelid refinement, lash perming and general eye improvements.^{xxxv} *A new look for your eyes.*^{xxxvi}

The nose, it seems, is central to the way a woman feels about her appearance and the way other people perceive her. *A beautiful nose can be yours*^{xxxvii} – thanks to rhinoplasty. As for her mouth, it should be plumped up and sexy; her lips bold, creamy, dazzling, dramatic, fresh, fruity, full, glossy, intense, irresistible, kissable, luscious, luxurious, moist, ravishing, rich, shimmering, shiny, smooth, soft, sultry, sun-kissed, young, vibrant, wicked, and wet. They should never be crusty, sticky or dry. *Lips that Never say dry!*^{xxxviii} If they're not living up to their full potential, then a woman should give them a boost with Full Potential™ Lips Plump and Shine.^{xxxix} After all, 'if eyes mirror the soul, the lips betray its secrets'.^{xl}

But what about her mouth? Are her teeth as fit as her body? Does she need tooth whitening, tooth straightening, cosmetic dentistry, dental implants, or even 'smile design' to help her smile with confidence?^{xli} *Smile, it's your best beauty asset.* 'Not only does it make those around you feel good, but it also helps to alleviate stress and illness. Above all, it unlocks the door to your inner beauty, so go ahead – smile.' It might even save a sad magazine reader's life.^{xlii}

If her face can be treated by age-defying beauty treatments, aromatherapy, Botox, Chinese herbal formulae, collagen injections, Cosmolight™, (BioSkin

Micro) dermabrasion, Dibitron, facial electrics, Hylaform, Indian head massage, liposculpture, Restylane, and so on, the magazine reader's body is equally fragmented, but inter-connected. *What you wear on your legs shows in your face.*^{xliii} The body should be sculpted to look firm and for that both care and money are required. *The pampered body – soaks, massages, wraps, scrubs.*^{xliv} At the very least, *Slim up the lower half of your body by summer.*^{xlv} A woman can reshape her body by means of Alpha-Hydroxy Acid peeling, dermal fillers, Endermologie® cellulite reduction, electrolysis, Epilight® hair reduction, fat removal and fat transfer, glycolic peels, Isolagen, laser hair removal and laser resurfacing, liposuction (*Now! Lunch hour liposuction*),^{xlvi} Mechanical Peeling, New Fill, Plasmalite® permanent painless hair removal, sclereotherapy, skin lightening and skin tightening, sugaring, and waxing. And if none of these *Figure flaw fixers* gives a woman quite the results she had expected, she can always learn *How to fake a perfect body.*^{xlvii}

It is a woman's skin that gets the most attention in the fashion magazines. Is it ageing, blemished, freckled, lined, peeling, scarred, or spotty? Has it got superficial lines or deep folds, active acne, birthmarks, cellular naevi, cellulite, cysts, moles, (chicken pox or keloid) scars, skin tags, stretch marks, tattoos, thread veins, tribal marks, warts or whiteheads? Skin just cannot be blotchy, dull, fatigued, grey-looking, lifeless, puffy, rough, tough, tired, uneven or wrinkled.^{xlviii} 'Fill your wrinkle furrows daily'.^{xlix} Condition it, deep cleanse it, illuminate it, moisturize it, nourish it, protect it, rejuvenate it, 'restore what's naturally yours'.^l Make sure it is scrupulously buffed, prime and polished, model-perfect. Give it a shimmering glow, radiance, softness, texture and tone that is alive, dewy, doll-like, even-toned, flawless, fresh, healthy, luminous, polished, sheeny, silky, smooth, soft, translucent, transparent, – 'that porcelain, no-discernible-blips-at-all smoothness'.^{li} Brighten skin, capture the glow, soften flaws, boost radiance, defy age, seize the future, stop the clock by means of face capsules, creams, illuminators, moisturisers, powders, and serums.^{lii} As Estée Lauder is said to have said: "Be good to your skin. It's the only one you have."^{liii}

But skin is by no means the only challenging dilemma faced by women magazine readers. Breasts, arms, hands, fingernails, stomachs, buttocks, thighs, legs, feet, toes, even genitalia, are all brought into the beauty equation in one way or another. Hands, for instance, betray a woman's age more than her face does.^{liv} She has to have cute cuticles that make her nails look decadent, dramatic, passionate, and super-sleek. Finger-slicking good, not brittle, chipped, flaky, split or weak. *Drop dead nails.*^{lv} Hands contrast with 'the romantic softness of bare shoulders', which themselves cover 'shy reclusive armpits'.^{lvi}

Two areas that get a lot of attention are breasts and that region of a woman's body where the torso comes to an end and the legs begin. Breasts should be soft and natural looking, with a natural feel. They should 'defy gravity... point due north', with 'no slippage toward [the] armpits'.^{lvii} As Pamela Anderson eventually discovered, large breasts can make a woman's life miserable.^{lviii} *Breast implants nearly ruined my life.*^{lix} So out with the DD cups and

in with C: 'redefine your figure' and 'ensure pertness à la Gisele'.^{lx} But beware! Don't end up like one of the 85 per cent of British women who commit lingerie kamikaze by buying the wrong fit for your bra.^{lxi}

A woman also has to banish her 'belly bulge' and, possibly, have a 'tummy tuck' into the bargain. Then there are her buttocks, hips and thighs. *The bottom line on women's bodies now*. If her bottom is larger than that of an average woman (a size 14), she 'might not fit comfortably in an economy airline seat'.^{lxii} Both her bottom and her thighs should look firm, sleek, smooth and toned – crease-free, dimple-free and pimple-free. No 'spongy, puffy, orange-peel effect', or 'unsightly stretch marks'. What a woman wants is 'A perfect rear view'^{lxiii} accompanied by 'beautiful, elegant legs'. No wonder a colleague once commented: "A woman's beauty is like that of a horse. You judge it by her mane, rump and legs."

Technologies of Enchantment

Fashion magazines encourage condemnation of the way in which women's primary social value is seen in terms of their attractiveness and ability to appeal to men (Friedan 1963; Wolf 1991). However, it is also clear that beauty editors try to tread a fine line that respects the expectations of their readers without giving in to the demands of their advertisers, while at the same time striving to differentiate their magazines from competing titles.

"We try to keep advertising separate, but it's very hard. The ad people are relentless and will always try to sneak a company's ad in opposite its product featured on a text page. I mean, they are under strict orders never, *never* to place an Olay ad across from an Olay product, but they'll do it all the same.

"It's important for readers to know what is going on, to be clued in on the latest fashions and trends from the runways. But what makes us different from a magazine like *Vogue* is that we're not saying this is how you *must* look at this time of the year. We don't dictate how she *should* look. Rather, we try to tell her this is how she *can* look if she wants to and can afford it. We try to give her options."^{lxiv}

Rather than continue with what has proven to be a long, drawn-out debate, therefore, I will embark on a different tack and look at how fashion magazines present beauty as a system of magic. The best place to start this discussion is with the idea of enchantment. Alfred Gell (1988: 6-9) has argued that one way human beings distinguish themselves from other species is by their technological capabilities. We use – sometimes simple, sometimes very complicated – technical means to form a bridge between a set of 'given' elements (the body, for instance, or a base material or environmental feature) and a goal that we want to achieve by making use of these givens (the achievement of beauty, for instance, or the perfection of alchemy, or saving the rainforest).

One of the technologies that we often like to use is that of *enchantment*. Indeed, the technology of enchantment is probably *the* most sophisticated psychological weapon we use to exert control over the thoughts and actions of other human beings, because it 'exploits innate or derived psychological biases so as to enchant the other person and cause him/her to perceive social reality in a way favourable to the social interests of the enchanter' (Gell 1988: 7). Among its manipulations are those of desire, fantasy and vanity.

Having laid out his basic premise, Gell then turns to the relationship between technology and magic. Because of the parallel enchantment of technology, technical processes become enchanted vessels of magical power (Gell 1992: 46). Symbolic, rather than causal, magic resorts to magical formulae (spells or prayers) which in themselves are fairly meaningless, but which in the context of a magical system fulfill a technical role. In this way, magic consists of a symbolic 'commentary' on the technology of enchantment.

One form taken by magic in contemporary societies is advertising.

"The flattering images of commodities purveyed in advertising coincide exactly with the equally flattering images with which magic invests its objects. But just as magical thinking provides the spur to technological development, so also advertising, by inserting commodities in a mythologized universe, in which all kinds of possibilities are open, provides the inspiration for the invention of new consumer items. Advertising does not only serve to entice consumers to buy particular items; in effect, it guides the whole process of design and manufacture from start to finish, since it provides the idealized image to which the finished product must conform. Besides advertising itself, there is a wide range of imagery which provides a symbolic commentary on the processes and activities which are carried on in the technological domain... The propagandists, image-makers and ideologues of technological culture are its magicians, and if they do not lay claim to supernatural powers, it is only because technology itself has become so powerful that they have no need to do so."

(Gell 1988: 9)

From this we may argue that fashion magazines are the propagandists and (in conjunction with advertising agencies) image-makers – and their cosmetics and skincare advertising clients the ideologues – who provide a symbolic commentary on, and idealized images of, fashion and beauty. It is they who provide the impossibly flattering images of fashion models and celebrities, they who invest fashion and beauty with magical qualities. For just how they do this, however, we need to turn to the work of another anthropologist, Stanley Jeyaraja Tambiah.

The Magical Mystery Tour

In 'The magical power of words', Tambiah (1968) examined the use of words in ritual and the fact that the uttering of words is itself a ritual. Most ritual systems, he argued, progress from word to thought to power, and finally to deed – a *dénouement* which, I will soon show, characterises the structure of

cosmetics and skincare advertisements, designed to enchant and entice their readers by words and images to go out and buy actual products.

So far as Tambiah was concerned, verbal forms in ritual were in many ways 'spells', whose power derived from their being uttered in a very special context. The example that he gave to illustrate this was a Sinhalese healing ritual, which made use of three kinds of verbal form. The first, a *mantra*, adopted an archaic language of command – accompanied by a language of entreaty and persuasion – to summon the demons responsible for the disease. Then followed the *kannalavva* which 'states why the ceremony is being held, describes the nature of the patient's affliction and makes a plea for the gods to come and bless the ceremony and to the demons to act benevolently and remove the disease' (Tambiah 1968: 177). The major part of the ceremony was then taken up by highly lyrical and literary quatrains called *kaviya*, designed to define, objectify, and personify evil and disease, and to present them realistically so that appropriate action could be taken to change the undesirable to the desirable – a necessary precondition of the cure. Finally, the ritual ended with a repeat of the *mantra* which enacted the expulsion of the demon itself.

The parallel between a healing ritual in distant Sri Lanka and contemporary beauty-related advertisements placed in the fashion magazines by corporate giants in Paris and New York is rather remarkable. Firstly, every advertisement carries a *headline* summoning a particular part of the body, which is demonised by omission for not being what it should be. Thus: *Dazzling Eyes*, *Smashing Lashes*, and *Drop Dead Nails*.^{lxv} Alternatively, a headline will summon a particular effect sought by purchase of the advertised product without specific mention of a part of the body. Thus: *Clean Sensation*, and *No Time to Shine*.^{lxvi} Or it will summon a product or product range: *Stylocils Mascara Précis*, *Les Majeurs*, *Rouge Absolu*.^{lxvii} The language used in headlines like these tends to be couched in phrases designed to entice and persuade.

Secondly, each headline is usually accompanied by a *sub-heading*, which provides an explanation of the 'problem' addressed by the ad: 'The make-up that keeps a fresh, matte finish all day',^{lxviii} or 'At last, true colour and supreme comfort combined... Long-lasting, hydrating lipstick'.^{lxix}

This is followed, thirdly, by an advertisement's *copy*, forming the 'body' of the written part of the ad. It defines, names, or at least by omission hints at, the affliction – dryness, lack of endurance, artificiality, imperfection, difficulty in handling, and so on – that the ad seeks to remedy. For example: 'Continuous release of moisturizers keeps lips soft and smooth hour after hour!'^{lxx} 'Shades that don't fade for eyes that wow – even 8 hours from now!'^{lxxi} 'So amazingly natural-looking',^{lxxii} 'For a look that's perfectly flawless, ultimately natural',^{lxxiii} and 'The gentle, easy to remove formula'.^{lxxiv}

Finally the closing *mantra* of every ad is the *tagline*, which is used to announce the necessary condition of the cure provided. Thus we find make-up mantras like: *The most unforgettable women in the world wear Revlon; Believe in*

beauty (Lancôme); *Because I'm/you're worth it* (L'Oréal); *Redefining beautiful* (Cover Girl); *For beautiful human life* (Kanebo); and *It's a fact. With Clarins, life's more beautiful.*

Tambiah (1968: 177-8) notes that, in Sinhalese healing rituals, the *mantra* is in many ways incomprehensible to ordinary people because it makes use of an archaic language no longer spoken by ordinary people. Again, there is a slight, though not exact, parallel here with advertising headlines, which are not always immediately or fully comprehensible, even though they clearly make *some* sort of sense. For example, headlines like *Eat your lipstick; Lips can whisper, Lips can shout;* and *Black Raspberry, Cherries Jubilee, Chocolate Mousse*^{lxxv} probably make most readers pause for thought because they usually prefer not to eat lipstick, and do not think of their lips as having voices, or of tasting of sweet desserts. But *Who's the squarest of them all?, Where there's smoke, there's fire; Rogue Vogue;* and *It's a long story* are more opaque.^{lxxvi}

What is clear, though, is that headlines differ from body copy in ads in much the same way as sacred language differs from vernacular or profane language used in ritual. There is a sequence of forms which starts out by chanting aloud sacred words, moves to readily comprehensible vernacular language (short phrases, plenty of punctuation), and finishes with a combination of the two. As in ritual, advertisers use language in a way that connotes their power (over beauty) to exorcise the demons of unattractiveness.

This they do in a number of ways. First of all, they are possessors of secret knowledge that they reveal to the magazine reader: 'A lipstick only Lancôme could create,' or 'The Pro-Glide Brush and Formula System is the secret to isolating virtually every lash with new length.'^{lxxvii} As in rituals, this kind of knowledge is expressed through *formulae* which, once voiced, act and influence the course of events (Tambiah 1968: 184). They are so special that they have aetherial or *magical qualities*. For example, 'At the heart of the success of Les Majeurs are Lancôme's exclusive microbubbles. These minute, supple spheres rest invisibly on the surface of the skin... The magic of make up.'^{lxxviii}

Next, cosmetics and skincare companies' specialized knowledge invites the magazine reader to participate in a dream world of fantasy and *belief* with phrases like 'a dream world of colour' and 'shades that flirt with fantasy.'^{lxxix} 'Believe it. Revitalizing Make-up. Only by Maybelline. Light-reflecting coverage diffuses fine lines. SPF 10 helps protect skin's future. Vitamin A and moisturizers. Revitalizes for a younger look.'^{lxxx}

Rituals and advertisements, then, make use of the magical power inherent in sacred words to persuade adherents to believe in what is displayed. This is where *naming* becomes so important. Just as in the Bible God assigned names to light (Day) and darkness (Night), so do cosmetics and skincare companies assign names to their products as a means of provoking action (the purchase of the product advertised): *Blooming Colors™, Lash Out, LineWorks™, Moisture Whip®, Progrès Plus, Velvet Touch,* or the more scientific-sounding *Maquifluides Hydratant, Niosôme* and *Trans-Hydrix*. Another character that is part of the

naming process is that each product name is an entity that can act and produce effects in its own right (Tambiah 1968: 183). *Lash Out* extends lashes, *Progrès Plus* fights ageing skin, and so on.

In both ritual and advertising, therefore, three notions form an interrelated set. First, there are deities in the form of cosmetics manufacturers, who institute speech and classify activity. Then there are the people – in our case, the fashion magazine women readers – who use this propensity. Last, there is language, which has an independent existence and the mystical power to influence the reality of beauty. Advertising is a heightened use of language that aims to combine word and deed (the persuasion to purchase and make use of a product) by using spells especially constructed to effect a magical transfer. As in many magical practices found among tribal peoples around the world, beauty advertisements isolate and enumerate ‘the various or constituent parts of the recipient of the magic’ (a woman’s eyes, hair, lashes, lips, nails, skin, and so on), and then make a magical transfer that enables them to become ‘dazzling’, ‘healthy’, ‘luscious’, ‘kissable’, ‘soft’, ‘natural’, and so on. By building up these parts, we are able to form a realistic picture of the whole – a metonymic technique that lends realism to the rite of make-up, transmits a message about beauty through redundancy, and allows the storing of vital technological knowledge in an oral culture of women’s gossip (Tambiah 1968: 190).

Moreover, in these rituals, verbal formulae are often accompanied by the manipulation of certain kinds of objects, which then become charged with special potency. This is similar to the construction of beauty advertisements, which make use of highly-charged images of beautiful women who show that the intended effect of the magical formulae can be achieved (Tambiah 1968: 190-1). In conclusion, beauty advertising, like ritual, attempts to:

“Re-structure and integrate the minds and emotions of the actors. The technique combines verbal and non-verbal behaviour and exploits their special properties. Language is an artificial construct and its strength is that its form owes nothing to external reality: it thus enjoys the power to invoke images and comparisons, refer to time past and future and relate events which cannot be represented in action. Non-verbal action on the other hand, excels in what words cannot easily do – it can codify analogically by imitating real events, reproduce technical acts and express multiple implications simultaneously. Words excel in expressive enlargement, physical actions in realistic representation.”

(Tambiah 1968: 202)

The Double Whammy of Consumer Capitalism

But do these magical formulae work? Do the readers of glossy magazines believe in the magical tour of beauty arranged by editors and advertisers? Do they think they can be unforgettable by wearing the right make-up? Do the products they use really redefine their beauty? Is life any less beautiful without them? Is anything worth it – whatever ‘it’ may be? Perhaps the best way to

tackle questions like these is to find out what women magazine readers themselves have to say about beauty, make-up, cosmetics and skincare companies, and the glossies themselves.

A Japanese housewife in her early 50s, who herself worked in a small advertising agency in Tokyo, was quick to spot the magical power of fashion and advertising language:

“Perhaps the use of totally meaningless language (*imi sappari wakaranai kotoba*) is a kind of *concept* employed by magazines and advertisers to make readers stop a bit to wonder what’s going on. In my opinion, it’s better not to be caught up in magazines like this. That’s why I fly through them.”^{lxxxix}

So, there was recognition of the magical power of language. But did it persuade her to buy products?

“When I see something on display in a shop with a copy of the magazine in which the product has been featured, I purposely ignore it. My daughter’s the same. If she sees something recommended in a magazine, she’ll absolutely refuse to buy it. She doesn’t want to be the same as everyone else.”

Others were less vehement in their criticisms. Amy, an English artist-designer in her mid-30s with a seven month old son, admitted to some influence from magazines and their advertising.

“I do get ideas from magazines. My basic make-up kit is eyeliner, mascara, a little bit of eye shadow. That’s all. No lipstick. And I haven’t got to the anti-wrinkle stage yet. The other day I was feeling a bit sallow and seemed to have big bags under my eyes. Probably had a hangover again. But I saw an Yves Saint Laurent dark circle stick advertised for 15 quid. I nearly thought of getting it to paint out the dark circles under my eyes, which I really need to do as a mother. It turned out that my friend Pippa had one, so I tried it out. On my wrist. Didn’t buy it, though.”^{lxxxii}

A Greek single mother in her early 40s was also interested in skincare and prepared to pay attention to what the magazines had to say:

“I read about beauty products much more now. I suppose it’s a sign of age, but the morning cream I use now was something I saw recommended in a magazine and I bought it in the local department store. I tend to like those pages where the magazine staff say how they’ve tested a product and rated it according to how good or bad it is. And yes, I’ll be persuaded and try it out, even though, of course, I know that ultimately everything is being marketed *strategically*, and the editorial pages are not *really* disinterested. I’m *loyal* to products, though, and will stay with something for *years* if I like it.”^{lxxxiii}

Initially concerned that my research might somehow be funded by the fashion magazines themselves, an Australian political scientist in her mid-30s was slightly reticent when we first met. She then warmed to the subject:

“I used to read *Marie Claire* because it was a good resource. Its research and product info was good for a whole range of products. It tried to project a ‘We’re doing it for *you*’ approach in its beauty section. It had product trials in which its office staff participated and ranked different products on a scale of 1 to 10. It

probably consisted of ‘infomercial’ pages, but generally I believed what *Marie Claire* said. So when I went shopping, I’d try something I liked the look of at the counter and, if it was OK, I’d quite often buy it. You know, there’d be features like *Spring clean your make-up kit*. I’d buy maybe four out of the ten articles they suggested. I guess you can say that I was directed to shop by *Marie Claire*. Its layout and colours were all optimally designed to help us buy.”^{lxxxiv}

A Japanese literature student in her early 20s, working part-time in a pub in Tokyo, was also quite positive about the fashion magazines that she had been reading over the years.

“I’m particularly interested in the way they present make-up products, and I read the text pretty closely to find out if a product’s good or bad. It’s true, I only have the magazine’s word for it, but I can then go and try things out here and there in the shops. Usually about half of the stuff I read about turns out to be OK.”^{lxxxv}

This kind of experience was shared by a Japanese journalist in her mid-30s working in Hong Kong:

“I remember, when I went to college in the mid-80s, a new fashion and make-up boom came and we all talked about it with our girlfriends. Twenty different kinds of nail polish! Revlon was very expensive then in Japan. But one of us would come to college and say: ‘Look! I’ve just bought Number 29, Cocoa Pearl, in Hawai’i’. That was at a time when the shade of cocoa pearl didn’t even exist in Japan, so we’d all borrow it and try it on,” she laughed at the recollection. “Later on, of course, I got wise to the tricks the magazines get up to and became really cynical about them. But it didn’t stop me from reading one or two of them.”^{lxxxvi}

A Hong Kong university student admitted to being a bit of a ‘lipstick junky’:

“How do I know about all the lipsticks I’ve got at home? Of course, from magazines. When I’m walking around Sogo or some other department store, I see a lot of cosmetics and start looking for the *real* things the magazines show. For example, Chanel had a Millennium product that I went to look at, but it wasn’t really what I wanted. So, yes, magazines like *Elle* stimulate me to go to the shops, although all the cosmetics I see there, I think, are more or less the same. It’s basically a question of how they’re packaged, isn’t it? But I may buy *other* things I see in a store. So my magazines help me become a good consumer! I can’t believe them all the time, though, because they’re always telling us readers that *all* the products they talk about are good, and that can’t be true. Maybe it’s because the advertisers are the magazines’ bosses – you know, by paying them so much money. So, you end up sharing information with your friends about what kind of make-up and cosmetics you’re actually using. And of *course*, I believe my friends more than I do my magazines.”^{lxxxvii}

This kind of reflection on consumption being induced by fashion magazines came up quite frequently. A 39 year old Dutch woman, for example, expressed her skepticism as follows:

“The trouble with magazines is they lure you into the kind of world where looks are who you are. So, if you feel insecure for some reason, you begin to think maybe I *should* have my breasts fixed when I’m 45, or have the fat removed from

my thighs, like the magazines tell you. Thank God, I have friends. They soon snap you out of whatever wild idea you've had from reading a magazine."^{lxxxviii}

Amy, too, was well aware of magazines' tricks of the trade:

"Of course, a lot of it's fake. Now that I do Photoshop, I can see where the magazines have chopped pieces of skin and flesh off models' arms, airbrushed out all their blemishes, and so on. It's a total fantasy world they're showing. But you can't look like that forever, can you, if you're a working woman or a mum. It's even worse – a double whammy – seeing all these perfect bodies since I became pregnant. Why should I spend £3.50 on a glossy, when I don't have the figure now, and especially when I don't have the money because I've had to stop work. My girlfriends and I read glossy mags from time to time and get depressed 'cos we *don't* wear the right clothes, we *don't* look the way we should. It's morbid."^{lxxxix}

For her part, Melissa laughed uneasily:

"I see huge contradictions in myself, but then we all have them, don't we? I agree with the bricolage idea of picking and choosing from among different products to make ourselves what we want to be, but at a *higher* level you have to look at why women are asked to look in certain ways in the first place. Like in the business world, for example, where how you look comes before everything. This may be my own intellectual approach. I don't know. I myself *like* to wear make-up and so on, and magazines fill in a need in this respect. It's a bit of an escape, yes. It represents an outlet for me. How does one cope with modern life? Make-up and beauty are *one* part of what you get in women's magazines. They're a short way to escape from the daily routine of – hah!" She sighed self-ironically, "Stress.

"It's amazing as consumers how much we're being manipulated really. I guess I'm suspicious! But that's consumer capitalism, isn't it? It's a problem of our generation not questioning our consumer culture at all. Consumer culture's out of control. It's just rampant materialism – what you wear, what kind of bag you have, what make-up you put on, is what you *are*, isn't it? Magazines seem interested only in furthering that process."^{xc}

Last Word

In this paper, it has been argued that beauty is one of the main features of fashion magazines, which present to their readers multiple, and occasionally contradictory, discourses of what constitutes beauty. One of these discourses is moral: true beauty comes from within. Another embeds beauty firmly within the idea that to be attractive is to attract. A third suggests that a woman's individual face is a social face, so that make-up is a special kind of face-work which magazine readers are expected to learn and practice. A fourth claims that all women, regardless of age, socio-economic or cultural background, are united by the beauty dilemmas depicted in the magazines, which – with the aid of advertisers – consciously break up a woman's face and body parts into dozens of fragments that then have to be reassembled and coordinated to create beauty.

Rather than pursue the customary path of feminist critique, this paper has argued that fashion magazines – and their advertisers – adopt a ‘technology of enchantment’ as a means of exercising control over their readers. Magazine and advertising language was seen to be imbued with ‘magical’ power, and the paper has shown how the structure of advertisements closely parallels that of magical spells used in certain kinds of healing rituals. It concluded by including excerpts from interviews with magazine readers around the world to show the extent to which women are persuaded to consume by the magic power of magazine and advertising language. The overall impression given by these interviews was that women *are* in some way spellbound by this magic system and that they *do buy* into the ‘beauty myth’, even though many of them are simultaneously conscious of the fact that they are somehow being ‘manipulated’. In this respect, the words used by magazines and advertisers to talk about beauty do, indeed, have a magical power.

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Notes

ⁱ *Elle* USA, March 2002; *Elle* India November 1998; *Marie Claire* USA, April 2001; *Elle* India, April 1998; *Elle Japon*, July 1998; *Elle* India, September 1998; *Elle* USA, April 1997, April 1998; *Elle* India, April 1998.

ⁱⁱ *Elle* USA, November 1996; *Elle* USA, December 2000.

ⁱⁱⁱ *Elle* India, December 1997; *Elle* USA, November 1999.

^{iv} *Elle* USA, February 1997; *Marie Claire* USA, April 2001; *Elle* USA, July 1997, November 1997.

^v *Elle* USA, April 1997, May 1998.

^{vi} *Marie Claire* USA, April 2001; *Marie Claire* UK, April 1997.

^{vii} *Elle* USA, October 2000; *Marie Claire* USA, monthly column; *Marie Claire* UK, April 1997.

^{viii} *Vogue* UK, December 2006; *Vogue* UK, June 2001; *Elle* UK, January 1997; *Elle* UK, November 1997.

^{ix} *Elle* USA, August 2001.

^x *Marie Claire* USA, April, May and February 2001.

^{xi} *Vanity Fair* keeps it simple by calling its beauty section *Vanities*.

^{xii} Interview with Aya Aso, Beauty Director of *Vogue Nippon*, Tokyo, September 23rd, 2004.

^{xiii} *Marie Claire* USA, July 2001; Advertisement for Perfectil capsules, Vitabiotics, 2001; *Marie Claire* UK, March 1997.

^{xiv} Advertisement for VaniqaTM, 1997.

^{xv} To be fair, fashion magazines are not the only medium to insist that beauty comes from within. The cover of the May/June 2009 issue of *New Moon Girls* that recently arrived through the letter box for my 12 year old daughter, reads: *Celebrate Your Inner Beauty*.

^{xvi} Publisher's Information Bureau statistics, PIB/LNA, 2000; Interdeco Global Advertising Data, *Elle* Worldwide 2002.

^{xvii} Media Analysts Topline Editorial Campaigns, January-December 2000, Media Analysts Inc.

^{xviii} *Elle* USA, October 1997.

^{xix} Advertisement for Freshlook disposable color contact lens, 2006.

^{xx} *Elle* USA, October 2001.

^{xxi} *Elle* India, November 1998; *Marie Claire* UK, January 1996.

^{xxii} Mary Kay Ash quoted in *Marie Claire* UK, May 1997.

^{xxiii} *Marie Claire* USA, November 1997; August 2001; June 2001; *Marie Claire* UK, April 1997; *Marie Claire* USA, March 2001.

^{xxiv} All *Elle* USA, April 1998.

^{xxv} It is no coincidence, therefore, that the word for 'person' in English and many European languages comes from the Latin *persona*, meaning a theatrical 'mask'.

^{xxvi} Advertisement for New ComplexionTM Even Out Makeup by Revlon, July 2000.

^{xxvii} Advertisement for N° 7 Super Lasting Lipcolour by Boots, December 1991.

^{xxviii} A point also made by Didi Gluck, Beauty Editor of *Marie Claire* USA, during an interview in New York, November 27th, 2001.

^{xxix} *Elle* USA, October 2000.

^{xxx} *Elle* UK, October 2001.

^{xxxi} Advertisement for Overtime Shadow by Revlon, November 1991.

^{xxxii} Advertisement for Max Factor Lashfinity semi-permanent mascara.

^{xxxiii} Advertisement for Maybelline No Problem[®] Mascara, November 1991.

^{xxxiv} Subscription advertisement for *Vogue* UK, December 2006.

^{xxxv} Classified ads, *Vogue* UK, 2000.

^{xxxvi} *Elle* USA, September 1998.

^{xxxvii} Classified ad, Harley Medical Group, *Marie Claire* UK.

^{xxxviii} Advertisement for N° 7 Moisture Active Lipcolour by Boots, October 1992.

^{xxxix} Advertisement for Clinique, *Vogue* UK, December 2006.

^{xl} Advertisement for Botanico Lip Compresses by Princess Marcella Borghese, Autumn 1997.

^{xli} Classified ads, *Marie Claire* UK and *Vogue* UK, 2001.

^{xlii} *Marie Claire* UK, April 1997.

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- xlⁱⁱⁱ Advertisement for Velvet Sheers by Pretty Polly, December 1991.
 - xl^{iv} *Elle USA*, October 1996.
 - xl^v *Elle Japon*, June 1998.
 - xl^{vi} *Marie Claire USA*, March 1996.
 - xl^{vii} *Marie Claire USA*, January 1996; December 1996.
 - xl^{viii} *Wrinkle alert!*, *Elle USA*, April 1998.
 - xl^{ix} Advertisement for L'Oréal Collagen Filler Intensive Anti-Wrinkle Care.
 - ^l Advertisement for Palmer's new vitamin-enriched Cocoa butter Formula.
 - li Jan Masters, 'Buying time', *Elle UK*, September 2001.
 - lii Advertising copy for Revlon **skin**lights Face Illuminators, Estée Lauder LightSource SPF 15, and Helena Rubinstein Urban Active Age Defence system.
 - liiⁱⁱⁱ Promotion for Estée Lauder Re-Nutriv Creation, *Vogue UK*, December 2007.
 - li^v Advertisement for RoC.
 - li^v Advertisement for Nail Enamel by Revlon, November 1991.
 - li^{vi} Advertisement for Dove anti-perspirant.
 - li^{vii} 'Is this the ideal body shape', *Marie Claire UK*, June 2000.
 - li^{viii} *Marie Claire UK*, June 2000.
 - li^{ix} *Marie Claire USA*, July 2001.
 - li^x Advertisement for Le Soin, YSL Absolus contours.
 - li^{xi} Playtex promotion, *Marie Claire UK*, May 1997.
 - li^{xii} *Marie Claire USA*, April 2001.
 - li^{xiii} Rosie Green, *Elle UK*, July 2000.
 - li^{xiv} Interview, Didi Gluck, Beauty Editor, *Marie Claire USA*, New York, November 27th, 2001.
 - li^{xv} All from Revlon, Autumn 1991.
 - li^{xvi} Both from Cover Girl, December 1990 and November 1991.
 - li^{xvii} All from Lancôme, 1990.
 - li^{xviii} Advertisement for Cover Girl Oil Control Make-up, December 1990.
 - li^{xix} Advertisement for Lancôme Rough Absolu Lipstick, December 1990.
 - li^{xx} Advertisement for Revlon Moon Drops Lipstick, June 1996.
 - li^{xxi} Advertisement for Revlon Overtime Shadow, November 1991.
 - li^{xxii} Advertisement for Revlon New Complexion Makeup, 1992.
 - li^{xxiii} Advertisement for Cover Girl Ultimate Finish Liquid Powder Make-Up, September 1994.
 - li^{xxiv} Advertisement for Cover Girl Professional Mascara, December 1991.
 - li^{xxv} Headlines for Aveda, Lenthéric Paris and Mary Kay advertisements, August 1991 and September 1996.
 - li^{xxvi} Headlines for L'Oréal Fall Collection 1996; Chanel Le Regard, December 1994; Maybelline, Autumn 1996; L'Oréal Lash Out Mascara, Autumn 1994.
 - li^{xxvii} Advertisements for Lancôme Rouge Absolu and Cover Girl Advanced Mascara, December 1990 and June 1995.
 - li^{xxviii} Advertisement for Lancôme Les Majeurs, Autumn 1990.
 - li^{xxix} Advertisements for Dimension Rêve and First Blush, both by Lancôme, 1985 and Spring 1988.
 - li^{xxx} Advertisement for Maybelline Revitalizing Liquid Make-up, June 1993.
 - li^{xxxi} Interview with Masako Omori and Noriko Tabata, Tokyo, November 12th, 2002.
 - li^{xxxii} Interview with Amy Douglas, Aigina, May 23rd, 2001.
 - li^{xxxiii} Interview with Lilie Chouliaraki, Copenhagen, May 12th, 2003.
 - li^{xxxiv} Interview with Melissa Curley, Hong Kong, May 4th, 2001.
 - li^{xxxv} Interview with Yumie Yoshida, Tokyo, November 1st, 2002.
 - li^{xxxvi} Interview with Yoshiko Nakano, Hong Kong, May 5th, 2001.
 - li^{xxxvii} Interview with Barbara Chan, Hong Kong, May 3rd, 2001.
 - li^{xxxviii} Interview with Sophie Hoeberechts, Aigina, July 15th, 2002.
 - li^{xxxix} Interview with Amy Douglas, Aigina, May 23rd, 2001.
 - li^{xc} Interview with Melissa Curley, Hong Kong, May 4th, 2001.