



Luxury, Capital and the Modern Girl : A Historical Study of Shiseido Corporation

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I. Objectives and Methods

How do we understand the Modern Girl — a phenomenon observed simultaneously all over the world in the 1920's and 30's — within the context of colonial modernities? Generally we approach this problem by tracing the women who were referred to and designated as the Modern Girls in reality, through re-presenting these women's behaviors and activities. However, what I intend to present here in this paper is a kind of preparatory work for this ultimate objective. In this study I understand how women formed their subjectivities through resisting against the context in which they were constructed as desires of capital. I also try to offer an understanding of the Modern Girl as representations that “filled the disjuncture” between the desires of capital and the actual realities of women.

As an example of such examinations, this study will take up Shiseido Co. Ltd. as a subject of the inquiry. It is needless to say that Shiseido, a Japanese corporation, comprises an essential component of the international cosmetic industry today. I chose Shiseido as the subject of my inquiry, because it has maintained the following three characteristics since its foundation: 1) advertisement, publicity and design strategies as the corporate business strategy, 2) two aspects as a business corporate (cultural enlightenment strategies, which are propagated through the images of its merchandise, and the American-style chain-store system), and 3) two characteristics of scented cosmetic soaps as an international commodity in cosmetics, soap, oil and fat industries (luxury goods as well as military supplies) — all of which were formed in Shiseido as a

civil corporation, but also shaped its history. Therefore, I will show the characteristics of these three elements and how the relationships between them formed and (re)constructed the representations of the Modern Girl.

Through such examinations, I hope to extract the ways in which late-comer colonialism was embedded in Japan's capitalism (the late-comer characteristics marked by the colonialism itself in the expansion of capitalism), which was programmed in the world system of capitalism in the 1920's and 30's, was inscribed in "the Modern Girl as Representation" and to bring to light the multiple layers of colonial modernities, in particular colonial modernities in Asia.

II. Shiseido as a Corporation

1. The Era of Fukuhara Arinobu, Shiseido's Founder

(1) From Pharmacy to Producing Cosmetic Products

Shiseido was founded in 1872 in Ginza by Fukuhara Arinobu, as Japan's first private pharmacy. In 1888 the Fukuhara sanitary toothpaste, Shiseido's first original product, was introduced. Unlike the conventional toothpowder used those days, the Fukuhara sanitary toothpaste did not spatter powders. The toothpaste was also supplied to the Navy. Shiseido's connection to the Navy can be traced back to the years when Fukuhara Arinobu served as head pharmacist in the Navy. He then became an independent pharmacist and opened the pharmacy. In the meanwhile, Arinobu also established the Pharmacists Association and founded the Teikoku Life Insurance Company and served as president of the latter. He was a proponent of the separation of clinic and pharmacy — a modern concept of that time — and ran a business in western-style pharmacy, producing and selling pharmaceuticals.

Twenty-five years after its foundation, Shiseido first entered the

cosmetic business with the production and sales of Eudermine (skin lotion). In addition to high-grade Eudermine, Shiseido's inventory included the Improved Hair Oil Norapirin Yushiko, the Dandruff Removing Perfume Laurin Hana-tachibana, the High-Grade face powder paste, and the number of items gradually increased. After the 25 years of experience in pharmacy business and the production and sales of pharmaceuticals, Shiseido shifted its focus to the production and sales of cosmetic products that required pharmaceutical skills.

The shift from toothpaste to Eudermine had a very important meaning for the formation of Shiseido into a cosmetic company as it is today. Here I would like to point out the commonalities of these two products.

In the process of "Civilization and Enlightenment (*bunmei kaika*)" and Westernization promoted by the Meiji government, the Westernized life styles of the upper classes gradually infiltrated into the life styles of ordinary people living in urban areas. Along with this change, companies began to produce substitutes for foreign luxury goods in Japan to meet an increased demand for foreign goods, and the luxury goods sector shifted from the importation of foreign goods to the production of substitutes for imported goods. The production of the Fukuhara Sanitary Toothpaste and Eudermine by Shiseido took place in this context, in which a shift to produce substitutes for imported goods was in progress. The demand for domestic consumer products which replaced the quality and high price of imported consumer products, created a potential market for the urban middle class, in addition to the upper class that was the conventional target group of this type of consumer goods. The problem here was concerned with how and through what sort of channels such potential markets could be developed.

The first characteristic of the market for such import substitute goods can be found in their prices. While a bag of regular toothpowder would be priced at 2-3 sen, the Fukuhara Sanitary Toothpaste was contained in a

ceramic container and was priced at 25 sen per bottle — an exceptionally high price at that time. The prices for Eudermine (a box containing three Eudermine was sold for 75 sen) and “Hair Oil Merazerin Yushiko” (a box containing three of these was priced at 1 yen 50 sen), which were introduced in later years, were also set at the level of luxury goods.

The second characteristic is the ways in which demand was aroused, as seen in the following excerpt from the advertisement of “Hair Oil Merazerin Yushiko”:

Because the hair oil used for making chignons is made of wax, it emits a kind of bad odor and is always a pain in the neck to other people. Once a European woman said as follows: Japanese women are of mild disposition and elegance . . . however it is regrettable that their hair is so smelly that it stings our nostrils, making it unbearable to stay with them for a long time. (p. 87)

This advertisement, while negating the traditional chignon style worn by Japanese women, stresses its effect that would inspire a shift to the Western hairstyle, and compares the “high quality” of the scented hair oil with the conventional hair oil. What is more important, however, is that the scented hair oil was not competing with the conventional hair oil. In other words, what was aroused and imagined in this advertisement text is a foreign-made hair oil that was *imagined* to be used by Western women to set their hairstyles, and that this “imagined Western hair oil” and the domestic, conventional hair oil were compared and were put in competition.

Modernization under Westernization driven by the Meiji government was to adopt consumer products needed for a Westernized lifestyle through the consumption of luxury goods, and to circulate luxury goods by stimulating the demand for them and institutionalizing it as a

customary habit of Japanese people. This process, however, is different from the circulatory process of an enlarged reproduction in a domestic market, in which daily used product's prices are raised so that the products are transformed into high-class products. Rather, in this process, the price of substitute goods was set lower than imported foreign consumer goods, and there was a market for them even if their prices were much higher than those of domestic products. This means that the Japanese domestic market for luxury goods was disassociated /detached (disarticulated) from the domestic demands for high-class goods. The duality (foreign luxury goods and domestic consumer goods) and disjuncture of the domestic market was the precursor of the expansionist characteristic (though not developed through enlarging domestic reproduction) of Japan's capitalism that took place in colonial modernities of Asia.

(2) Eudermine and Ice Cream : The Space Called the Shiseido Parlor

We can see the construction of the Shiseido Parlor in Ginza as a preparatory attempt to dig up a potential market for domestic products substituting imported luxury goods. After having made visits to the world exposition in Paris and to the United States, Fukuhara Arinobu opened the Shiseido Soda Fountain (the Shiseido Parlor), modeled after American drug stores, in 1900. Cosmetics as well as soda and ice cream were sold in the parlor. The parlor was often mentioned and referred to in literary works of the time. Some of the details in these writings are quite intriguing.

At that time, the Ginza 8-chome area, where the Shiseido Parlor was located, was adjacent to a pleasure quarter with many geisha houses. Therefore, a large number of geisha became noticeable customers of the parlor. When geishas brought their patrons with them to the parlor, the parlor offered them a bottle of Eudermine. Eudermine thus reached to up-town housewives by way of their husbands who were the patrons of the geisha frequenting the Shiseido Parlor. Also, "housewives" went

shopping to Ginza and had tea at the parlor, thus acquiring opportunities to socialize with other women outside home. Therefore, the infiltration of luxury goods for women into up-town, new upper class families in Tokyo and the formation of consumption by women were led by women “outside of families” while the men’s bodies were shared. As described, the opening of new markets involved domesticating the demands for foreign goods, which was done through infiltrating into the performative place known as the parlor in the public sphere of Ginza.

Incidentally, in literary works, we can find references to geishas in Shimbashi and waitresses at Cafe Printemps and Cafe Lion, the first cafes to be opened in Japan in 1911. For instance, Iwaya Daishi wrote that Shimbashi geishas “had good patrons and had high self-respect,” waitresses at Cafe Lion “were frightening as they were all beautiful,” and that Oryu, a popular waitress at Cafe Printemps “was not so pretty but quick on the uptake and hospitable.” (Iwaya Daishi, *Tokyo Bundan Kotohajime*)

2. The Era of Fukuhara Shinzo, the Second Generation

(1) “Hanatsubaki” Logo, Logotype, Perfume Design

In 1915 (Taisho 4), Fukuhara Shinzo became the owner. Shinzo aimed to be a photographer after he graduated from Columbia University and lived in France for some time. He designed the “Hanatsubaki” logo, the brand image of Shiseido in 1916 (Taisho 5), and launched the cosmetic department in 1917 (Taisho 6). He then opened the design department (currently the publicity department), and shifted its main business from medicine to cosmetics.

At the same time, designing and advertising departments were specifically added to the corporate organization. The basis of this corporate strategy on the image of Shiseido, which has been carried out up until today, was founded in Shinzo’s time. After this, they released

perfume, finishing powder, cold cream, and vanishing cream etc. and in 1921 (Taisho 10), Shiseido formed a limited partnership, established the beauty, hair, and dressmaking departments, located on the floor above the cosmetics department and held beauty lectures throughout Japan. Moreover, they developed and sold the “Shiseido Soap” (premier fragrant soap : 0.5 yen/each, standard soap : 0.05-0.1 yen/each) in cooperation with Wakayama Taiyo-sha. It was the production and sales of this premier fragrant soap that would determine the future of Shiseido, and this will be focused on in the third section.

By the early 1910's when Shinzo took over the position as the owner of Shiseido, the Sino-Japanese War, the Russo-Japanese War, and World War One broke out, and characters of colonialism became evident as Japanese capitalism made advances towards neighboring Asian areas and countries. Particularly, since the end of World War One, there had been a growth in commerce, distribution, and transportation capital, and the new bourgeoisie emerged, mainly from the fields of commerce and shipping. These new bourgeoisie were not like any bureaucrats, zaibatsu, or peerage back in Meiji period who engaged in the formation of the modern democratic nation as political leaders, or the economically dominant class who worked with them, but were the second generation of the civil capitalist class. This young class spent much of their financial power mainly on building their own private space, such as residences, shops, and offices. They often adopted the “Art Nouveau” style, which was originally created in Europe at the end of the century. The special features on molding this form of “Art Nouveau” were the motifs of plants, the waving curves, the smooth and uneven surfaces and plane divisions of compositions. This style is generally regarded as a source of the modern design, which linked the previous profound and magnificent historicism to the modern design or modernism that followed.

However, at the cross section of this historicism and the modernism in

Europe at the end of the 19th century, this significance of style called “Art Nouveau” was not complete in the aspect of denying historicism, as seen in the history of Japanese modern architecture for instance. In other words, the general critique, which now has become an established theory, is that “Art Nouveau” was no more than a mere addition of a new decoration style.

Shinzo was the creator of the Shiseido’s “Hanatsubaki” trademark, the logotype, and decorative characteristics of cosmetic containers as represented by the perfume bottles. On the one hand, his creativity signifies a transplantation of “Art Nouveau” to Japan, and on the other hand it also alludes to the Asianization of “Art Nouveau” which designated arabesque pattern as a motif. This shows that Shinzo, as the second generation owner of a private enterprise attempted to move up by crossing the Meiji national boundaries, while at the same time fulfilling his own desires of capital. As a result of this, the style of his decorativeness has been embodied as part of the corporate culture.

In such “desires of capital,” “the perfume bottle decorated in the Asianized Art Nouveau style” was produced as a “luxurious domestic product that could substitute for foreign-made consumer goods.” The objective of such desires which was exhibited as an imaginary thing was not “the pompadour hairstyle of a Western lady (「西洋婦人の束髪」),” “the unconstrained characters of a Shimbashi Geisha (「新橋芸妓の酒脱さ」),” nor “the Yamanote housewife”. It was the representation of the non-existing “modern girl” which materialized in the body of the perfume bottle. The desires of capital were the needs for the realization of this “absent” object. And these desires were nothing but the force of capital accumulations which involved the internalization of the market disarticulation, i.e. the disjuncture between the market of imported luxury goods and the market of general domestic consumer goods, which existed in the “later-comer” characteristics in Japan’s capitalism.

What should be noticed here is that this realization of the “absent” body was achieved through holding lectures on beauty, hair, and dressmaking throughout Japan, as well as through training programs and enlightenment programs for beauticians, so that they can act as media reaching out to realistic individual women’s bodies. This can be stated as sources of corporate strategies used towards women today. At the same time, the characteristics of “the modern girl representation” seen in Shiseido’s posters and advertisements were her unknown national identities, her obscure social status (whether she was married or not, her background, etc.), all of which make her impossible to be specified and located. However, what is implied in these representations is the bourgeois sexuality of private capital, and it is considered that in individual women as consumers, technological alterations of body capital through the purchase of goods might present both possibilities and impossibilities of class mobility. Therefore, in that sense, it can be stated that Shiseido’s “modern girl representation” did not deny historicism of Meiji Era in the name of the establishment of a nation state, nor did she materialize as modern woman subjects newly emerged at the dawn of modernity, but in the primary sense this phenomenon suggests a new class stratification based on private capital. In other words, the dissociation from historicism based on private capital after World War One was not identical to the creation of a modern subject or the construction of sources of modernity, but was manifested in the “modern girl representation” symbolized as fill-ins for the disassociation or the disjuncture and as a desired “absent / non-existing” object.

(2) The Rationalism of the Chain-store Systems

After the period when code culture of corporations developed in the 1910’s, Shiseido began to look for outstanding methods for corporate management in 1920’s and 1930’s. The chain-store system was adopted when Matsumoto Noboru, a friend of Shinzo’s from college in America,

joined the management. It is believed that this method was adopted because, after Kanto Earthquake in 1923, the company was in urgent need to find out some restoration measures to compensate for the total loss suffered by the cosmetics and beverage departments, the factories, etc.

The chain-store system was a management method Matsumoto learned when he studied in America. In the system, the manufacturer (Shiseido) controls the price. In other words, the core regulates product distribution, and wholesaling products were produced at the Shiseido main store and distributed to its chain stores, with the main store responsible for merchandise reservations (about 300 yen) and 80 percent of the retail price as the amount the retail stores gain. Price control is performed at the chain-store level. By doing so, the main store would benefit in that they can prevent inconsistent discounts by restricting the prices and amount, while the chain stores can monopolize selling rights. This method produces specified agencies (特定代理店) (selling companies within the corporation), wholesale dealers or distributors, between the head office and its chain stores, who stock their products and sell them to the retailers at a fixed prices. Through this, the systems and variations of chain stores, as well as the retail prices (e.g. the stocked price at 100 yen \times 85% = the wholesale price) were regulated by this stratification of sales in this chain-store system run by the main store and its specified agencies (the Sales Department).

After this, Shiseido main store focused on production, publicity, and promotion on beauty issues, released magazines "Shiseido Monthly Report," "The Chain Store," the agent stores / selling companies dealt with management of the retailers and stock adjustment, and the retailers focused on retails, spreading its sales from urban to rural areas. In other words, due to the development of the chain-store system, the consumer targets extended to rural areas and common class people. That is to say,

the Shiseido cosmetics as “substitute luxury products for foreign-made goods,” formed at the time of Shinzo, in reality began to change into the “domestic high class consumer goods” triggered by the establishment of the corporate image. Their most important product was the high-class cosmetic soap. In 1926 (Showa 1), Shiseido established Shiseido Soap Corporation with the capital of 1 million yen in cooperation with Wakayama Taiyo-sha. Shiseido was most active from the time until the end of 1920’s, and the image of Shiseido, represented in the “Hanatsubaki” trademark, also took root in the domestic market and became popularized in stores.

In 1927 (Showa 2) Shiseido official launched as a joint-stock corporation limited (with a total capital of 1.5 million yen). It also opened the gorgeous Osaka Branch, followed by the inauguration of the Shinagawa Factory, a new Cosmetics Department office (including the Shiseido Gallery), and the renewal of the Shiseido Parlor in 1928 (Showa 3).

Although it would be interesting from a managerial point of view to discuss the details of Shiseido’s business development, including how it was tied to the formation of the Women’s Suffrage League (婦人参政権同盟結成) (1923), followed by the publication of “Women’s Art”, this will not be further discussed in this paper. However, what needs to be pointed out here is that Shiseido itself did not have the technology of soap production but merely participated in the soap production and sales through corporate mergers. This indicates that Shiseido built a channel to spread and expand itself by realizing a cosmetics industry consisted of two main categories, one for cosmetics such as perfume, powder, and lipsticks, and the other for toiletry such as soap and grease washing products. In other words, Shiseido’s high-class cosmetic soap lies between the two main categories.

In 1929, the head office building began construction, but due to the Great Depression in September 1929, Shiseido Soap Corporation merged

(capital : 1750000 yen), the Shinagawa Factory closed down and moved, and the most flourished Osaka Shinsaibashi Branch closed, and in 1931, the Shiseido daily soap and the standard version of Shiseido Ginza cosmetics were released.

The development after the 1930's can be summarized as follows:

In 1932 (Showa 7), after the merger, the company was restructured and downsized. It also started manufacturing, "Blue Bird (青鳥牌)" a particular brand targeted the market in northeast China. In the same year, the Foundation of the Women's Party of National Defense was also formed. The invested capital was reduced to 1 million yen in 1933 (Showa 8). It was also the same year that "Shiseido Graph" published its first issue. In 1935 (Showa 10), the Shiseido Mukden selling company was founded and issued "Chain Store Research." The Mukden selling company made its venture into neighboring Asian countries in 1938 (Showa 13), and established selling companies in Chinese cities such as Mukden, Xijing (Beijing?), Harubin, Dalian, Tumen, Tianjin, Shanghai, Chingtao, in Korean cities such as Seoul and Pusan, as well as in Taipei. In the meantime, although the "Hanatsubaki" Club (an alliance of chain stores and regular customers) was formed in 1937 (Showa 12), the pressure of economic depression went on domestically, and it quickly condemned "modern girl" as a representation of "erotic and grotesque nonsense" of those days, and the geisha in Shimbashi and the dancers joined the Great Japanese Women's Society for National Defense branch in Shimbashi, and the Patriotic Women's Society in Kyobashi branch respectively as members. Even though a "ZOTOS perm" lecture series was held in Shiseido chain stores selling lecture and the Shiseido cosmetics room in 1939 (Showa 14) —the common motto of those days was "Shorten the sleeves" "Don't get a perm on your hair." And by the 1940 (Showa 15) "7.7 war-time ban" (the ban on the manufacturing and selling of unnecessary luxurious products) was promulgated.

However, Shiseido still put out such goods, including a cosmetics product called Blue Bird (50 sen each). At this time, the most important phenomenon was that while domestic production control became severe, the selling companies in many Asia areas set their main goal as continuing the sale of conventional goods, transferred resources supplies and rearranged production processes. Thus, the Fushun factory, the cosmetic factories in Tianjin and in Shanghai, and toothbrush factories in Seoul and in Taiwan Hsinchu, the farm set up in Taiwan continued its operations. In other words, reacting to the closing down of domestic markets, the intensification of the controlled economy, and the reduction and total ban of production, the company started reaching into the colonies for resources supplies, production plants and markets. Namely, two marked characteristics of the late-comer Japanese capitalism which were embedded till the 1920's, were exposed at the same time in the later half of the 1930's when "the modern girl as representation" was used as compromised fill-ins,

(Incidentally, Fukuhara Shinzo stepped down from his high position in the management in 1937, and, in replace of him, Matsumoto Noboru inaugurated as the representative director president.)

This disjuncture of the two marked characteristics was most clearly expressed in the provoking glance cast by Ri Koran (Yoshiko Yamaguchi) appeared in a poster for China in 1941, and in an image of a woman dressed in kimono with stiff, serious expressions on her face which appeared in an advertisement of a catalog for customers in the south. It is in the poster and in the advertisement that the derivation from reality and the use of "the representation of the modern girl" as fill-ins for the disjuncture between "desires in capitalism" and the realistic statuses of women is clearly exposed.

And these posters and advertisements tell us that the seductive and dangerous look of Ri Koran, and the woman dressed in kimono with her

gird tightly fixed and a facial expression which showed that she was determined to do something, is a story that exceeds the superficial standardized woman appeared on the poster and the advertisement. Underneath the violence of war was a body of woman subject negotiating through provocation, temptation, attack, resistance, refusal and disobedience in this process of decomposition, although she might seem decomposed and stuck.

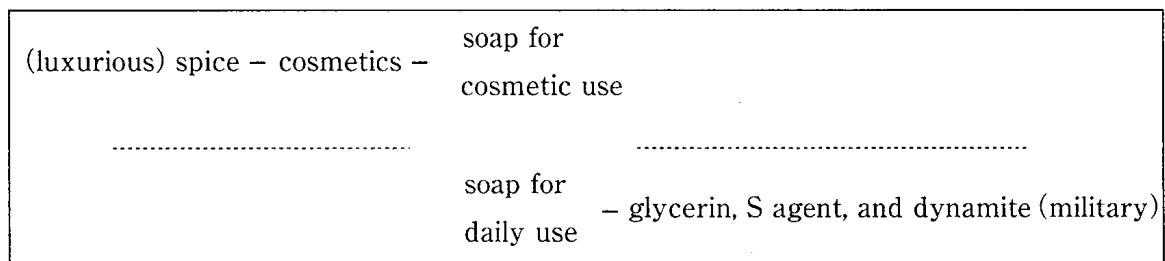
By the Tokyo air raid, Ginza, the headquarters of Shiseido, was turned into ruins in 1944 (Showa 19).

III. The Modern Girl and the Substance Called Soap

1. The Substance Called Soap

What meaning did the substance called soap have within the desires in capital as described above?

Fig. 1 Double characteristics of the substance called soap



Spice --- Soap --- Glycerin

As shown in (Fig. 1), with the substance called soap is existing between luxury and militarism, as far as the production of soap is concerned, the strict division between luxury-militarism loses its meaning. Rather, it is from what is signified in the spice --- soap --- glycerin juxtaposition / “luxurious unnecessary products — military products” — that the soap in itself is nothing else but “luxuriousness.”

When “luxuriousness” is constantly repeated in personal consumption,

in other words when “it becomes part of people’s common lifestyle as an important psychological and cultural element,” “luxuriousness” is converted into a necessity, and thus is united with the body as a cultural capital. As a result, when we talk about “the needs of women” in the juxtaposition of spice --- cosmetics --- cosmetic soap, the “consumption level of individual women” rises. In other words, this is the enormity of the body capital accumulated in “female” cultural capital. Then “women” as a category would become an accumulation of “individual women’s body capital.”

Therefore, as stated before, the realization of the desires in capital would happen precisely if “desires in capital” can be exceeded, and only if the repetition and reproduction of that accumulation of body capital of individual women is possible. And in this case, unless this was carried out through the propagation from women to women, (rather than the corporate strategy used by Shiseido), the accumulation of body capital would not happen. The way soap as a substance can reconfigure gender in a way that the juxtaposition of spice --- cosmetics --- cosmetic soap must be distinguished from soap --- glycerin --- S agent --- dynamite in that the former is redefined as nothing but “a waste of national power.” The power that operated behind rationalization of the soap --- glycerin --- S agent --- dynamite relationship was nothing but economic militarization. This was also what terminated historicism from the Meiji era, and deprived the enormity alpha in response to the accumulation of the body capital of individual women (especially what was represented as femininity) in international activity of private capital.

2 . Between Desires of Capital and Women - Whereabouts of Reconstructed Woman Nature (From Disassociation, Absence, and Division to Deprivation)

If we just briefly look at the corporate history of Shiseido, the

“modern girl as a desirable representation of capital,” was not a “development from the inside” since its production process. It represents, till the end, something that has not been seen before, an external thing that was imaged, something outside the home. I want to show my personal hypothesis about this course of development here.

In the era of the founder, Arinobu, the “women” using domestic product Eudermine to substitute imported make-up water were the Shimbashi geisha and the uptown housewives woman, and they ran across each other in a public space outside their home and work place, i.e. the Shiseido parlor in Ginza. Such space was a device which was constructed by the capital of city formation, brought down by the early modern state formation, and women were actually indirectly resonating in what were shared by male bodies.

If this Arinobu era is the early history, the period when the era of the second generation owner, Shinzo, can be divided into three periods. From 1915 (Taisho 4) to 1922 (Taisho 11), the period would be one that represents “absence,” during which the corporate identity of Shiseido took shape, and Shiseido also established a position as a cultural leader. This, as if we look at the style of painting of Vincent VIAZURE, we notice that it was filled with modernistic melancholy, yet at the same time urban and decorative, but was isolated from the reality of Japan at his time, and if we reread that in the context reality of Japan, it looked like a sketch of the Western European modernity = a collage, and the object of the desires of capital was nowhere to be seen, and therefore “absent”. The meaning behind this “absence” is a mental disassociation with the Meiji term nation-state formation as mentioned above, and in addition, it was not the source of modernity, and the meaning of “disassociation” strongly concealed itself here, and, thus, it was “absent” as it had not yet appear.

The second term is “division/ divergence,” jumped in on the eve of

the Great Depression from 1922 (Taisho 11) to 29 (Showa 4), during which deliberate reconstruction of urban luxuriousness was underway, “Japanese arrangement” of “Art Nouveau” also began, but from the perspective of capital activities, the reality was opposite to the image constructed. A great number of working women appeared at this time, and, in addition, high-class waitresses (女給) in cafe appeared in a literary works. It was a time when the “modern girl representation” took shape. Matsumoto Noboru also started to import Shiseido goods into cities and rural districts through the adoption of the rationalism of the United States chain-store system. Moreover, in addition, the generally known cosmetics, the cosmetics soap which contained spices, came to the forefront. That is, if we see it from the perspective of capital analysis, at this time when the period was usually considered to be the golden age of “MOGA,” the beginning of the era of “division/divergence” also began.

The third term “deprivation” was from 1930 (Showa 5) to 1939 (Showa 14), when wartime control economy plunged in, and as described previously, there was a clear separation between the representation for Japan and the representation for colonies. As a result, luxuriousness was re-defined as “the extravagance of women,” and the legitimization of expenditure in militarization and munitions and the concealment of its actual non-productivity were reconstructed in removal process known as “deprivation of feminine matters.”

This means the accumulation of capital route led by domestic demand known as expansion of internal accumulation was abandoned. It was also a deprivation of germination of internal accumulation, which was featured in colonialism as an expansion of aggression.

This inner germination opened the way to legitimize military squandering through the oppression, exclusion, national control and social sanction of alpha as “a feminine thing.” Even though, at this time domestically, the “modern girl’s body” was looked down upon, deprived, and being included

in the basis of national control, but its aggressiveness was affirmed by configuring the female body as a seductive target that should be governed more in the re-territorialization in the colonies.

And, this double characteristic is contained in the “late-comer” characteristic of the Japanese capitalism, and is clearly depicted in the closing down of domestic markets, securing raw material for commodities and extension of the market invasion. And in the war regime, Shiseido turned daily soap manufacturing and oil-and-fats raw-material supply into its main production. If we add luxuriousness into the meanings of capitalism, although it would then appear as “desires of capital” alongside of the feminine image, we must not forget in the power which operates underneath was the concealment and legitimization of unproductive / violent destructive character of military affairs.

Reference :

Shiseido Co. Ltd., Shiseido Shashi, 1957. CD edition.

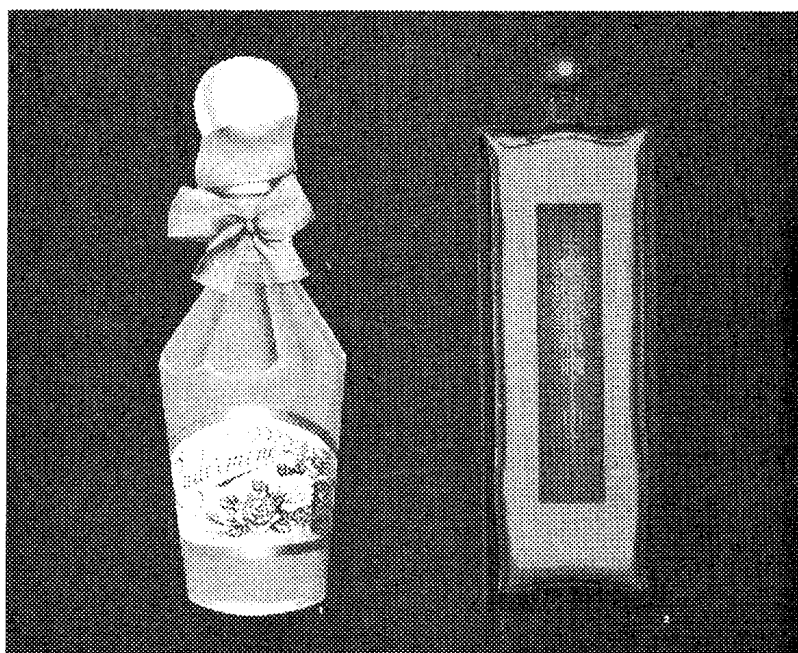
Manshu Nichinichi.

Chugai Shogyo Shimpo.

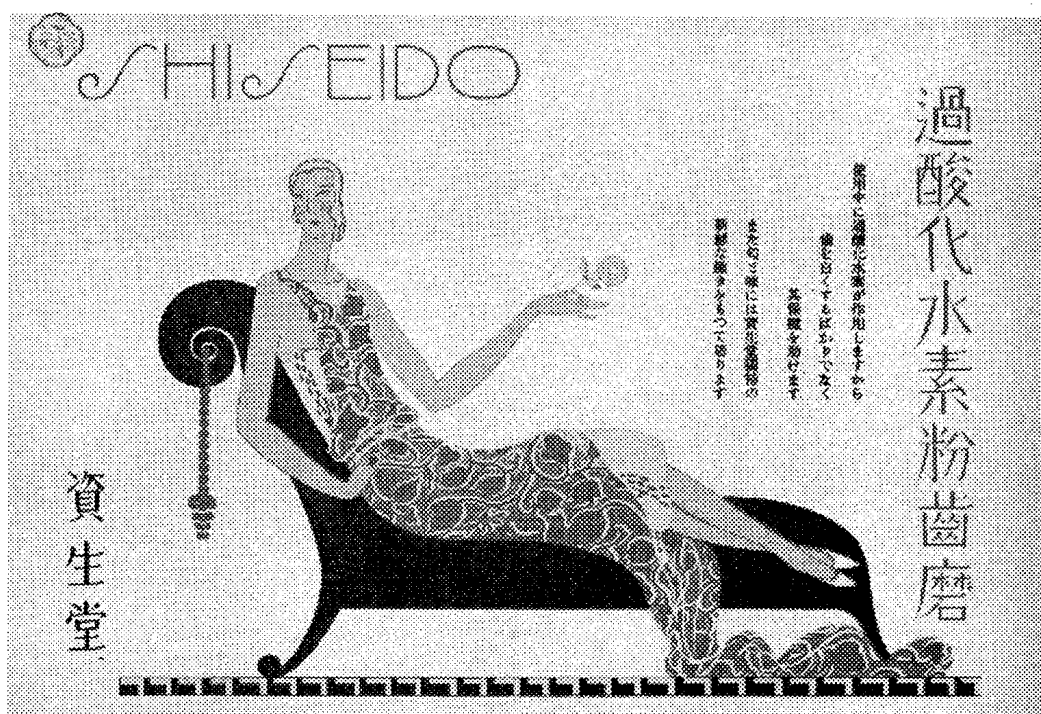
Kobe Shimbun.

Osaka Jiji Shimpo.

Nippon Kogyo Shimbun.



Eudermine



Poster (1927)