

**ROŽEVINA ZGODOVINE:** *Kozmetika v družbi in času*  
**CORNEOUS STORIES:** *Cosmetics in Society and Time*

Zbornik prispevkov raziskovalnega in mednarodnega razstavnega projekta  
Volume of contributions from a research and international exhibition project

Uredili / Edited by Petja Grafenauer in / and Katja Kobolt



# ROŽEVINA ZGODOVINE



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Mesto žensk- Društvo za promocijo žensk v kulturi / City of Women – Association for the Promotion of Women in Culture

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Prosto dostopna elektronska verzija zbornika /  
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[http://www.cityofwomen.org/zbornik\\_rozevinazgodovine.pdf](http://www.cityofwomen.org/zbornik_rozevinazgodovine.pdf)

# \*Uvodnik Editorial

What do we realize  
when we look at  
society and history  
through cosmetics  
and beauty work?

Kaj uvidimo, ko  
družbo in zgodovino  
pogledamo skozi  
kozmetiko in  
lepotno delo?

Transdisciplinarni projekt Roževina zgodovine obsega raziskovalni projekt, zbornik, mednarodno skupinsko razstavo in program kulturno-umetnostne vzgoje. Umetnice,\* študentke, raziskovalke in umetnostne pedagoginje smo v Roževini zgodovine s skupnimi močmi razpirale nov pogled na zgodovino in družbo z vidika kozmetike in lepote delo.

Kozmetika, ki je v tej publikaciji razumljena široko, kot družbena dejavnost predvsem v polju dekorativnih izdelkov, velja za pretežno žensko vsakdanjo prakso kakor tudi prakso nekaterih nebinarnih spolov, uveljavlja pa se tudi pri moškem delu populacije, ki se identificira s cispolom<sup>1</sup>. Kot takšna je predvsem v rokah množičnih medijev in kozmetično-storitvene industrije. Zato sta kozmetika in lepota delo velikokrat razumljena kot nekaj „trivialnega“ in nepomembnega ter sta tako redko predmet raziskovanja, četudi vključujeta številne gospodarske panoge in nosita širše družbene pomene. Vsakdanje kozmetične prakse pa niso le tesno prepletene z materialno prakso, ekonomijo in spolnim izrazom (predvsem videzom žensk) ter estetsko-formalno artikulacijo, ampak

The Corneous Stories transdisciplinary project encompasses a student research project, a publication, an international group exhibition, and an art education programme. In Corneous Stories, artists, students, researchers, and art pedagogues have joined forces to open a new perspective on history and society through the prism of cosmetics and beauty labour.

Perceived as a wide concept in this publication, cosmetics is seen as a mainly women's everyday practice, as well as the practice of some non-binary genders, especially in the field of decorative products, although it is also gaining popularity with cisgendered<sup>1</sup> male population. Largely defined by mass media and the cosmetic industry, cosmetics and beauty labour are usually understood as "trivial" and unimportant and rarely feature as a subject of research although they include multiple industries and carry wide social meanings. Everyday cosmetic practices are, however, not only closely intertwined with material practice, economy, gender expression (especially women's appearance), and aesthetic-formal articulation, but also with the regimes of labour, with the paradigms that predominate-

1

Cispolnost, pojem prevzet iz angleškega govornega področja, označuje identifikacijo družbenega spola s spolom, dodeljenim ob rojstvu. Cisgender is a term referring to people whose gender identity matches their sex assigned at birth.

tudi z režimi dela, s paradigmami, ki obvladujejo predvsem storitveni sektor, z različnimi industrijami ter snovmi, in nazadnje tudi s specifičnim razumevanjem paradigme modernosti, kar narekuje nujnost trans- in meddisciplinarnega pristopa. Lepotno delo, različna razumevanja in artikulacije lepote ter prostore, prakse, materialnost in diskurze, povezane s kozmetiko in v njenem ožjem pomenu ličenjem, smo v projektu raziskovale tako s presečnim pristopom, metodami diskurzivne analize in historičnega materializma kot z aplikativnimi pristopi, intervjuji in anketami, bližnjim branjem in zgodovinskimi analizami, temelječimi na dostopni literaturi in virih, ter razkrivale povezave med družbeno pogojenim oblikovanjem spolnih, razrednih, etničnih in geopolitičnih razlik na eni strani ter njihovimi estetskimi kodiranjmi na drugi. Razgrnile smo tudi zgodovinske povezave med gospodarskimi panogami kot so kozmetična, modna, filmska in avtomobilska industrija, ki se prepletajo v kozmetični dejavnosti, razmišljale o praksi kozmetike in predvsem ličenja kot delu in se osredotočile tudi na ličenje v času specifičnih družbenih razmer danes in v zgodovini.

Sodelujoči partnerji Zgodovine roževine – Mesto žensk - Društvo za promocijo žensk v kulturi, Goethe-Institut Ljubljana, Univerza v Ljubljani in District Berlin – so na pobudo kuratorke Katje Kobolt in participatorne platforme N\*A\*I\*L\*S hacks\*facts\*fictions (osnovane leta 2018 na berlinski Universität der Künste v sodelovanju s Suzo Husse, Ayşe Güleç ter sodelujočih umetnic, raziskovalk in aktivistk) zasnovali projekt ter s svojimi specifičnimi znanji in mreženjem omogočili transdisciplinarni pristop, razvoj umetniških in raziskovalnih projektov ter pedagoško rabo in posredovanje znanja, potrebnega za samostojno ali skupinsko raziskovanje, ob tem pa tudi nadaljnji razvoj projekta in javno predstavitev raziskovalnih izsledkov.

V okviru meddisciplinarnega raziskovalnega projekta („Projektno delo z negospodarskim in neprofitnim sektorjem – Študentski inovativni projekti za družbeno korist 2019/2020“), ki ga je vodila pedagoška mentorica Petja Grafenauer, so sodelovale študentke različnih fakultet in študijskih smeri Univerze v Ljubljani. S pomočjo meddisciplinarnih oblik skupnega raziskovanja zgodovinskih, umetnostnih, socioloških, etnografskih, kemijskih, kozmetičnih in ekonomskih plati obravnavane teme so se seznanile z umetnostnozgodovinsko analizo, kritično kontekstualno analizo vizualne kulture in vsakdanjih praks, različnimi oblikami javnega predstavljanja raziskovalnih izsledkov ter osnovami publicistike.

Na stičišču metod umetniškega raziskovanja, ustvarjanja in umetnostne pedagogike kot tudi humanističnih in družoslovnih raziskovalnih pristopov (ob upoštevanju izsledkov naravoslovnih znanosti) je Roževina zgodovine s skupinsko in meddisciplinarno raziskovalno prakso ustvarila različne oblike ustvarjanja, reprezentacije in posredovanja znanj, predstavljenih v pričujočem zborniku. Ti so tudi sestavni del mednarodne skupinske razstave Roževina zgodovine z obsežnim spremljevalnim programom, ki v okviru 26. Mednarodnega festivala sodobnih umetnosti Mesto žensk gostu-

ly control the service sector, its multiple industries and toxic substances, as well as with the specific understanding of the modernity paradigm, which urgently calls for a trans- and interdisciplinary approach. In the project, we explored beauty labour, various understandings and articulations of beauty, as well as spaces, practices, materialities, and discourses connected to cosmetics (and makeup, in its narrower meaning) with a intersectional approach, methods of discourse analysis and historical materialism, and applicative approaches, interviews, close reading, and historical analyses based on accessible literature and sources, revealing the connections between socially conditioned forming of differences in gender, class, ethnicity, and geopolitics, on the one hand, and their aesthetic codings, on the other. We also unveiled the historical connections between the various industries, e.g. cosmetics, fashion, film, and car industries, touching the cosmetic sector; we reflected on the practice of cosmetics and makeup as labour; and focused on makeup in times of specific social conditions today and in the past.

At the initiative of curator Katja Kobolt and the collaborative platform N\*A\*I\*L\*S hacks\*facts\*fictions (established in 2018 at the Berlin University of Arts in collaboration of Suza Husse, Ayşe Güleç and artists, researchers and activists), the Corneous Stories partners – the City of Women Association for Promotion of Women in Culture, Goethe-Institut Ljubljana, University of Ljubljana, District Berlin, and Škuc Gallery – designed the project. Their specific knowledge and networking enabled an interdisciplinary approach, the development of art- and research projects, as well as the didactic use and transfer of the knowledge necessary for an individual or group research. This ensured a further continuation of the project and a public presentation of the research findings.

Led by mentor Petja Grafenauer, the student interdisciplinary research project (“Project work in non-economic and non-profit sector – Innovative student projects for social benefit 2019/2020”) included University of Ljubljana students from different faculties and fields of study. Through interdisciplinary methods of mutually researching the analysed topic from the perspectives of history, art, sociology, ethnography, chemistry, cosmetics, and economy, they were introduced to art history analysis, critical contextual analysis of visual culture and everyday practices, various forms of presenting research findings, as well as the basics of publishing.

At the juncture of artistic research, creation, and art education, as well as research approaches stemming from humanities and social sciences (while considering the findings from natural sciences), the Corneous Histories’ group and interdisciplinary research practice led the various forms of creation, representation, and knowledge transfer, presented in the volume before you. They are also part of the international group exhibition Corneous Stories accompanied by a prolific programme and presented at the 26th City of Women International Festival

je v ljubljanski galeriji Škuc (8.–30. oktober 2020).

Pričujoči zbornik Roževina zgodovine: Kozmetika v družbi in času je tako „večvalenten“, saj združuje predstavitev raziskovalnega projekta in njegovih izsledkov, mednarodne skupinske razstave s programom kulturno-umetnostne vzgoje.

Poglavje Diskurzivni salon v zborniku združuje prispevke in raziskovanja vabljenih raziskovalk in sodelujočih v raziskovalnem projektu. Poseben poudarek namenja praksam v lokalnem in regionalnem kontekstu tudi v zaostrenih geopolitičnih obdobjih, kot so vojne in nenazadnje pandemija COVID-19. Z upoštevanjem različnih virov (predvsem množičnih medijev, umetnosti, popularne kulture, strokovne in znanstvene literature, pa tudi ustnega izročila) tako z drugimi projektnimi dejavnostmi prinaša presenetljive vidike družbenega, ki jih razpira zorni kot kozmetičnih praks. Zbornik prispevke podaja bodisi v slovenskem ali v angleškem jeziku, pri čemer so ti vedno opremljeni z dvojezičnimi povzetki.

V delu zbornika Vizualni salon se zvrstijo umetniške strani sodelujočih v raziskovalnem projektu kakor tudi izbranih umetnic razstave, ki skozi vizualno raziskovanje nadgradijo razumevanje zapletenega, a kljub temu le redko raziskovanega širšega področja kozmetike.

Sodelujoče slovenske in mednarodne umetnice skupinske razstave Roževina zgodovine v okviru 26. festivala Mesto žensk področje kozmetike naslavljajo preko umeščenosti posameznih umetniških praks kakor tudi njihove avtorske pozicioniranosti znotraj globalnega krogotoka umetnosti in njenega konteksta ter tako odpirajo pogled k globalnem. Izbrane umetnice razstave, ki hkrati delujejo tudi kot umetnostne pedagoginje, so v sodelovanju z Goethe-Institutom Ljubljana oblikovale tudi večjezični program kulturno-umetnostne vzgoje za srednje šole, pri čemer so izhajale iz svojih umetniških stvaritev.

Projekt Roževina zgodovine si prizadeva za solidaren prenos različnih znanj, izkušenj, občutenj in praks, ki se ne delijo na bolj ali manj pomembne. Tudi umeščeno izkustveno znanje, kot sta družbeno „branje“, zunanjega videza in prepoznavanje mehanizmov družbenega ločevanja na podlagi videza, je znanje. Sposobnost refleksije tako lastne kot tuje izkušnje marginalizacije in zatiranosti pomeni delovati proti njej.

*Nobena pedagogika, ki resnično osvobaja, se ne more umakniti od zatiranih. To pomeni, da jih ne sme videti kot nesrečnike, kot predmet humanitarne „obrnave“. [...] Zatirani morajo biti vzor sami sebi v boju za svojo odrešitev* (Freire, 2019: 27).

Katja Kobolt in Petja Grafenauer, urednici zbornika Roževina zgodovine: Kozmetika v družbi in času

Freire, P. (2019). *Pedagogika zatiranih*. Ljubljana: Krtina.

\*Velja za vse spole.

of Contemporary Arts in Škuc Gallery, Ljubljana (8–30 October 2020).

The Corneous Stories: Cosmetics in Society and Time book is therefore ‘polyvalent’ as it includes the presentation of the international group exhibition with the programme of art education, as well as the research project and its findings.

The Discursive Salon chapter of the publication includes articles and studies by the invited researchers and project participants. It gives special attention to practices in local and regional contexts, as well as in intensified geopolitical eras such as wars and, finally, the COVID-19 pandemic. By studying numerous sources (especially mass media, art, popular culture, scientific literature, and oral history), the publication and other project activities open surprising aspects of society from the perspective of cosmetic practices. The contributions are published in Slovenian or in English, but always feature bilingual summaries.

The Visual Salon chapter encompasses art pages of the participating students and the artists of the exhibition – whose visual exploration upgrades the understanding of the complex yet rarely researched wider field of cosmetics.

The Slovenian and international artists participating in the Corneous Stories group exhibition at the 26th City of Women Festival address the field of cosmetics from the perspective of individual art practices and their embedment, their artistic positionalities within in the global art circuit and its context – and as such open a global view. In collaboration with Goethe-Institut Ljubljana, selected artists, who also work as art educators, have also developed a multi-lingual programme of art education for high schools based on their artworks.

The Corneous Stories project strives for a mutually supportive transfer of different knowledge, experience, feelings, and practices that are not divided into more and less important ones. Situated knowledge such as social “readings” of appearances and recognising mechanisms of social divisions based on appearances is knowledge, too. To have the ability to reflect upon a personal and experience of marginalization and suppression of others means to act against it.

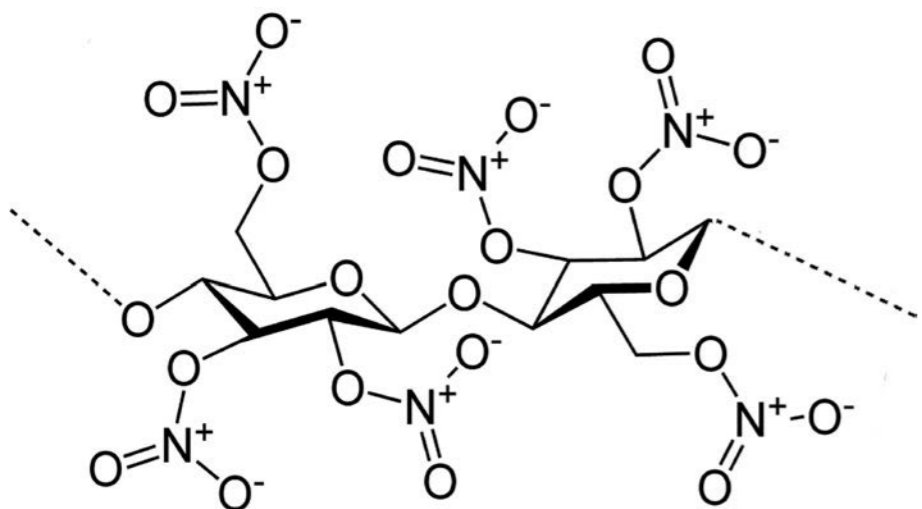
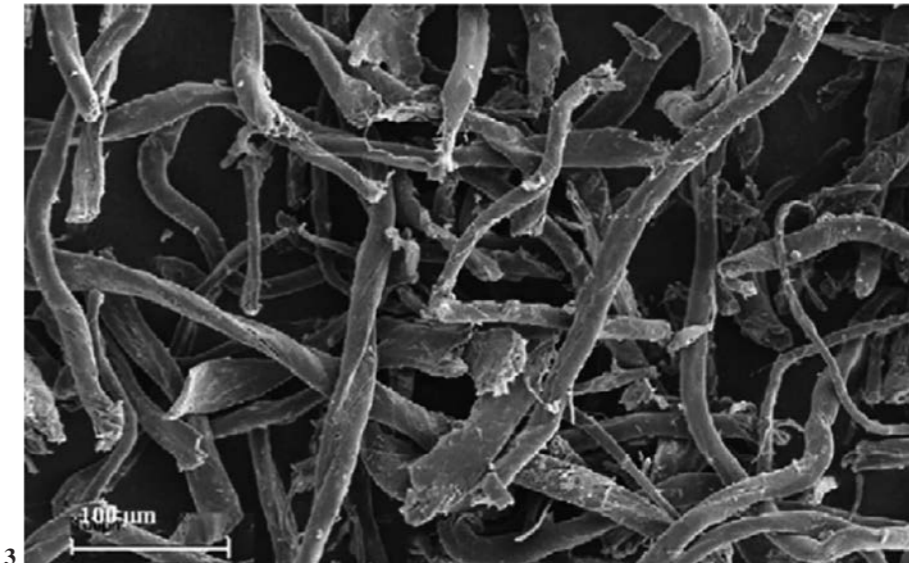
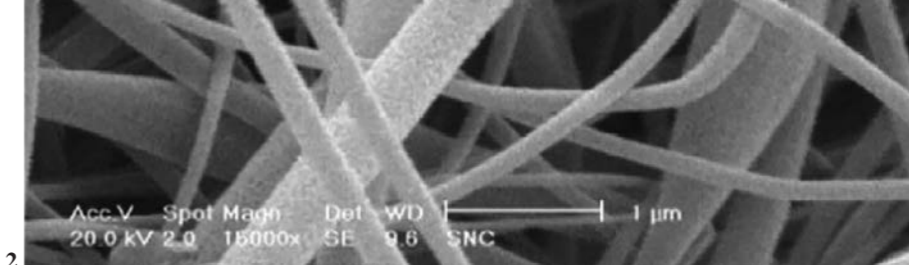
*No pedagogy which is truly liberating can remain distant from the oppressed by treating them as unfortunates and by presenting for their emulation models from among the oppressors. The oppressed must be their own example in the struggle for their redemption* (Freire, 1970: 54).

Katja Kobolt and Petja Grafenauer, Corneous Stories: Cosmetics in Society and Time publication editors

Freire, P. (2005 [1970]). *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. New York: Continuum

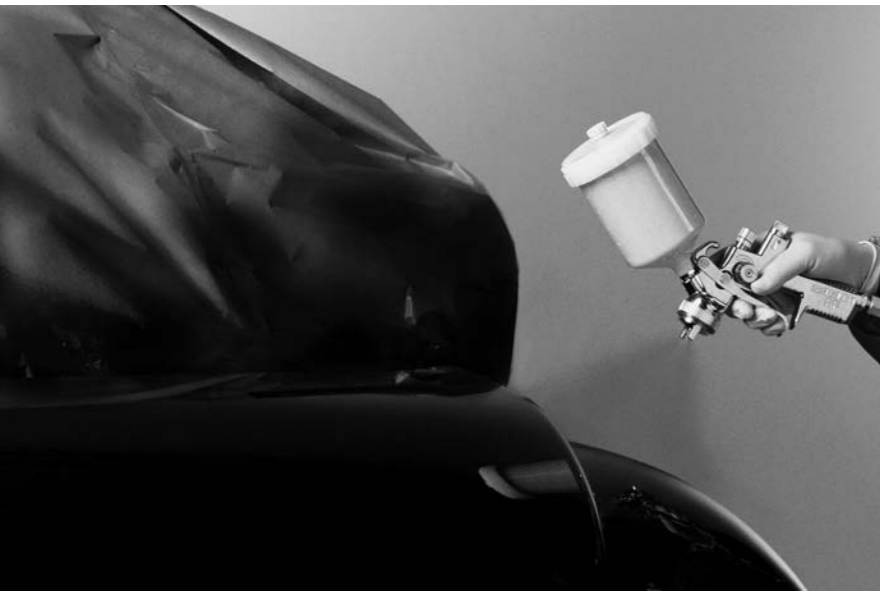
# Toxic Polish

Mareike Bernien





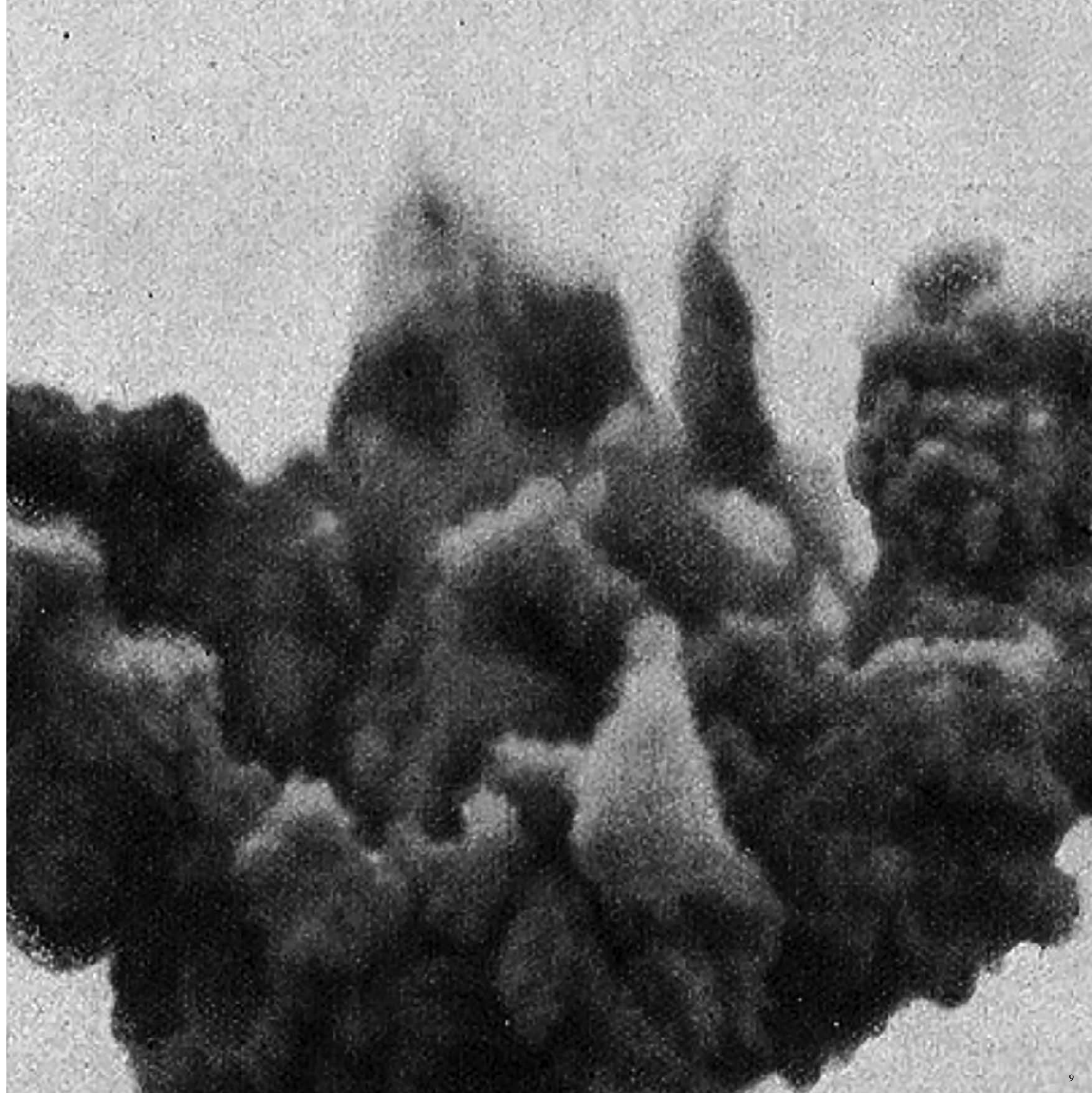
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9





## 1 Nitrocellulose-2D-skeletal

<https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Datei:Nitrocellulose-2D-skeletal.png>

Nitrocellulose also called guncotton was chemically synthesised in the mid 19th century. Because of its high flammability, it initially became the chemical basis of gunpowders and mining explosives. In addition to this utilisation the first thermoplast named celluloid was synthesised out of nitrocellulose mixed with campher to replace natural substances like ivory or horn. Celluloid could be cast in a variety of forms: billiard balls, dentures, knife handles, toothbrushes, combs or even in thin strips as a base for film and photographic processes (see Forde 2002). Through their shared base component nitrocellulose, mining explosive and nitrate film were chemically related. Explosives could turn into film base and film could become explosives.

## 2 Scanning Electron Microscope Image of Nitrocellulose Fibers

Nano-Fibers Sample [https://www.researchgate.net/figure/SEM-images-of-nitrocellulose-fibers-a-nano-fibers-sample-x-15x10-4-b\\_fig3\\_264081362](https://www.researchgate.net/figure/SEM-images-of-nitrocellulose-fibers-a-nano-fibers-sample-x-15x10-4-b_fig3_264081362)

## 3 ibid. Microfibers Sample

## 4 Still from TV Commercial *Cutex Nail Polish, 1960*

<https://archive.org/details/CutexNailPolish1960TVCommercialXvid>

Nitrocellulose also became the ground component of car paint in the 1920s. The new paints were created in response to the advent of serial production in the automobile industry in the US. Protective paints that were quick-drying were in demand. The new coatings were more durable, abrasion-resistant, water-insoluble and appeared in the most diverse synthetic colours.

The first industrial nail polish was a byproduct of this new car paint. It replaced the conventional nail oils, creams and powders, which were used until then. Initially considered devilish and vulgar, industrial nail polish was associated with acting, vaudeville, and sex work (see Messner 2016). It was considered to be seductive, artificial, but also emancipative and modern. Only through marketing strategies such as Charles Revson's *Matching Lips and Fingertips* and the aid of the movie picture industry, would nail polish gradually become a popular cosmetic product.

## 5 Still from *Nitrate Film Burning*

published by bolexmovie on 29.11.2008

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HzPoU\\_0inIk](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HzPoU_0inIk)

## 6 Still from *Twingo Nail Polish | Renault*

published on 12.06.2017 by Groupe Renault

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Rwpo74ngAOM>

Renault Twingo's commercial from 2017 acts as a nostalgic recourse to this early connection between the car and the cosmetics industry. Now your fingernails can match the color of your car and in the same stroke repair scratches in its paint.

7 **Spray Painting a Car** <https://www.fahrzeuglackiererforum.de/wp-content/uploads/2012/06/SATAjet-RP-Beetle-Lackierung-II.jpg>

## 8 Worker at a Nail Salon Wearing a Breathing Mask

<http://o.seattletimes.nwsources.com/ABPub/2012/08/05/2018857197.jpg>

Ingredients of nail lacquer can migrate through the nail into the skin or enter the body through mucous membranes and airways. Here, nail polish can act on the senses through a series of toxic substances. Ingested in larger quantities, they can alter states of consciousness and hormone levels, they can trigger allergies, and can cause kidney damage, liver damage and cell proliferation. The ingredients in nail polish can be detected in the urine specimens from nail polish wearers. More significant are the damages experienced by those who are exposed to the toxic fumes directly under their breathing zone (see Walsh, 2012). Here the toxic trio of toluol, formaldehyde and phthalate poison the primarily female migrant labourers working in nail salons.

## 9 Photo of an Exploding Shell

from *Illustrierte Geschichte des Weltkrieges* 1914/15, Vol. 2, Copyright Josef Neubauer

## 10 Still from Music Video *Corporate Cannibal*, written by Grace Jones, Ivor Guest, Adam Green, Marc van Eyck, directed by Nick Hooker, 2008

In the music video *Corporate Cannibal*, Grace Jones becomes a sheer shiny substance – a kind of digital paint that deforms electronically. Her body parts stick together, merge into each other, double, become fluid. There is no body behind it, only a transforming incorporating amorphous viscous surface. Inside it, Jones' mouth speaks directly to us. She presents herself as a lustful and destructive capitalist incorporating power that absorbs everything.

*Corporate cannibal, digital criminal*

*Corporate cannibal, eat you like an animal*

*Employer of the year, grandmaster of fear*

*My blood flows satanical*

*Mechanical, masonical and chemical*

Forde, K. (2002). Celluloid Dreams. The Making of Cutex in America, 1916-1935. *Journal of Design History*, 15, 175–189.

Messner, T. (2016). Eine Frau mit unlackierten Nägeln ist nicht vollständig angezogen. *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 4. September 2016.

Walsh, S. A. (2012). Beyond the Polish: An Examination of Hazardous Conditions in Nail Salons and Potential Solutions for the Industry in New York City. *Journal of Law and Policy*, 21, 243–282

# Mednarodni skupinski projekt in razstava Roževina Zgodovine / International Group Project and an Exhibition Coreneous Stories

## Corneous Stories – a visual, discursive and art education parlour

8–30 October 2020, Škuc Gallery, Stari trg 21, 1000 Ljubljana

The project Corneous Stories includes an exhibition, discursive programme, art education and the following publication. Corneous Stories offer a platform for presentations and encounters within the transdisciplinary research of historical and societal perspectives on the material culture of cosmetics. Developed by differently organized individuals and groups – artists, researchers, art educators and students –, Corneous Stories looks at history through the skin, nails and hair, asking "What do we see if we look at history and society through cosmetics and the labour of beauty?" Revealing surprising links between different sectors of the economy (chemical, car, film industry), work regimes (service, but also forced- and migrant labour, as well as beauty labour), mobility, modernity and identity violence and how they intersect in the material culture of cosmetics and visual culture, Corneous Stories want to trigger reconsiderations of the ways of contemporary subjectivation and governance.

**Visual parlour** with Dovilė Aleksaitė, Mareike Bernien, Kim Bode, Anna Ehrenstein, Jinran Ha and Johanna Käthe Michel

(N\*A\*I\*L\*S hacks\*facts\*fictions), Milijana Babić and Centre for Women's Studies at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Rijeka, Lea Culetto, Lenka Đorojević, Kerstin Schroedinger, Selma Selman

**Discursive parlour** with Suza Husse, Ayşe Güleç, Katja Kobolt (N\*A\*I\*L\*S hacks\*facts\*fictions), Milijana Babić, Ana Ajduković, and Petja Grafenauer, with the participants of the cross-disciplinary student research project: Jerneja Erhatic, Rebeka Hvala, Jaka Juhant, Petra Lapajne, Ana Obid, Zdenka Pandžić, Neja Rakušček, Lucija Šerak, Iza Štrumbelj Oblak and in publication also Brigita Miloš, Svetlana Slapšak as well as the artists of the exhibition

**Art education parlour** with Kim Bode, Anna Ehrenstein, Johanna Käthe Michel (N\*A\*I\*L\*S hacks\*facts\*fictions), Lea Culetto, Nevena Aleksovski, Tea Hvala, Katja Kobolt

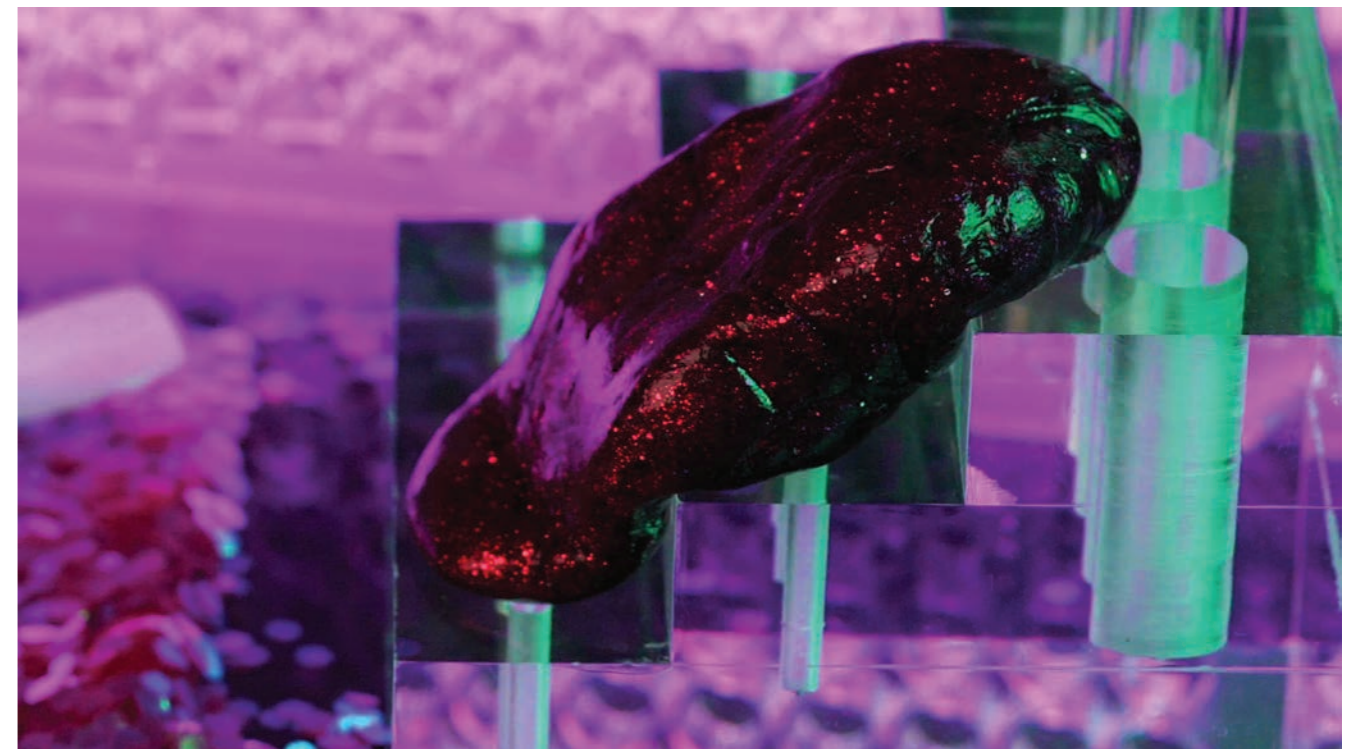
## An Exhibition as a Visual Parlour

**Dovilė Aleksaitė: Landscape of the Studio**  
2020, video, 7'27"

The materials in beauty salons live a life of their own. They travel from different containers and touch the skin, the nails and the sense of smell. The chemicals in nail polish and other products used in nail studios harden and thicken, create smoothness and vivid colors, but also create toxic clouds when evaporated and released in the air. The slow interactions and sounds of parlour and labour, the invisible toxicity and artificial shine waver between daily life in the nail salons and the world of materials that slowly occupy the (in)visible space.

*Co-produced by the City of Women, Goethe-Institut Ljubljana, District Berlin.*

**Dovilė Aleksaitė** (LT/DE) is a visual artist working with video, photography and performance. Aleksaitė's works explore the anthropocentric worldview, notions of nature and time, emotions, and human vs. non-human consciousness. Her practice oscillates between the conscious and the unconscious, the real and the abstract, the sensual and the rational. Her works were featured in group exhibitions at the Academy of Arts (Berlin), Haus der Kulturen der Welt (Berlin), and The German House (New York), among others. She was born in Vilnius, Lithuania, and currently lives and works in Berlin. She graduated in the Arts and Media at the Berlin University of the Arts (UdK) and is a member of the N\*A\*I\*L\*S hacks\*facts\*fictions collaborative platform.



Dovilė Aleksaitė: Landscape of the Studio video still

**Mareike Bernien, Kerstin Schroedinger:**  
**Rainbow's Gravity**

2014, video, 33'

Rainbow's Gravity is a cinematic exploration of the history of colour film, especially the history written by Agfa Wolfen, the producer of colour film stock Agfacolor-Neu in the era of Nazi Germany. Rainbow's Gravity not only unveils the genealogy of the Agfacolor-Neu colour film as an exploitative industrial and propagandist Nazi tool, but also problematizes the role of black-and-white (moving) images in the construction of history, especially the history of Nazism and fascism. While the black-and-white medium has been – through its political appropriation – constructed to connote historical remoteness, colour has been used to suggest proximity. Rainbow's Gravity turns to the social phenomena that were blurred and disguised from the present by the black-and-white construction of historical distance.

*Cast: Berit Ehmke, Hanna Bergfors, Mayan Printz, Michal Glazik, Tanja Kämper; screenplay, direction, production and editing: Mareike Bernien, Kerstin Schroedinger; director of photography: Smina Bluth; light design: Wassan Ali; costume design, make-up: Wibke Tiarks; sound recording: Birte Gerstenkorn; sound recording assistant: Olivia Oyama; soundtrack: Wibke Tiarks; sound mastering: Miles Whittaker; colour correction: Sebastian Bodirsky; catering: Mitch Andrade.*

In her collage Toxic Polish (2019-2020), presented in the Corneous Stories publication, Mareike Bernien points to the material common to celluloid film, car paint and nail polish: the synthetic nitrocellulose. Historically, the three products based on nitrocellulose also shared the circuit of their popularisation: while in the East, the train brought moving images of the (October) revolution to the people, film in the West promoted car mobility and cosmetics.

**Mareike Bernien** (DE) and **Kerstin Schroedinger** (DE) have been collaborating since 2006 in joint film, exhibition and text projects. They critically interrogate image production and seek to produce as well as reproduce images as material for thought. Their historiographic approach to film, radio play, music and text questions the means of production, historical continuities and ideological certainties of representation. Their cinematographic works include Rainbow's Gravity (2014), Red She Said (2011), Translating the Other (2010) and As Found (2009).

**Kim Bode: From Scratch**

2020, distributive installation / social sculpture

From Scratch is a social sculpture that explores happiness and fortune. The concept uses the notion of luck to topple the connection between wealth and precarity. The multi-layered definition of luck simultaneously describes something (in)tangible that can or cannot be affected. The distributive installation invites the exhibition visitors to reconsider the exoticisations and prejudices that are often projected onto the migrantised working class. They are encouraged to take a scratch ticket with them, to allow From Scratch to leave the confined space of the gallery for the city or enter into the private sphere of the ticket holders. By rubbing the scratch-tickets with one's own fingernails, the viewer can actively examine their own luck or that of others.

*Co-produced by the City of Women, Goethe-Institut Ljubljana, District Berlin.*

**Kim Bode** (DE) is a sculptor and installation artist working with a diverse set of media and forms of artistic research. They often use the interstices of social- and environmental struggles in their work. Bode is interested in communities, kinships, queer theories, xenofeminism, critical anthropology, postcolonial critique, the decolonization of nature and plant behaviour. They have exhibited nationally and internationally. They have been participating in the N\*A\*I\*L\*S hacks\*facts\*fictions collaborative platform since 2018. Their lyrical texts were published in ArtLeaks and the collectively published N\*A\*I\*L\*S hacks\*facts\*fictions zine. In 2019, they founded the Bureau of Transitioning Landscapes group.



Mareike Bernien and Kerstin Schroedinger: Rainbow's Gravity, video still



Kim Bode: From Scratch, distributive installation

## Anna Ehrenstein: Inverted Appropriation

2019, wall work, 120cm x 120cm

Anna Ehrenstein's installation at the Corneous Stories exhibition consists of two separate works dealing with the complexities of labour and material culture regarded as fake.

Dominant structures intersect with intellectual property law to enforce neocolonial systems of oppression based on constructions around fake; in the installation, particularly around Gucci, stiletto nails and hair extensions. The installation examines cultural appropriation of material cultures, specific to minorities, by dominant groups who perceive it as an "enrichment" of their own culture.

The same definition of appropriation shapes discourses around "box braids", an African hairstyle, which serve the artist as material for the wall work. While White Hollywood gets Coolness and generates Capital with this particular way of braiding, African American Women lose their jobs along the way. In Albania, this braiding style has been trendy for several years, as well.

*From the work cycle Tales of Lipstick and Virtue, 2016–2019.*

*Produced by Anna Ehrenstein and Bazament Art Space Tirana.*

*As part of Corneous Stories, Anna Ehrenstein will also present the Superior Fakes art education project.*

## Anna Ehrenstein: L'Original

2017, video, 7'23"

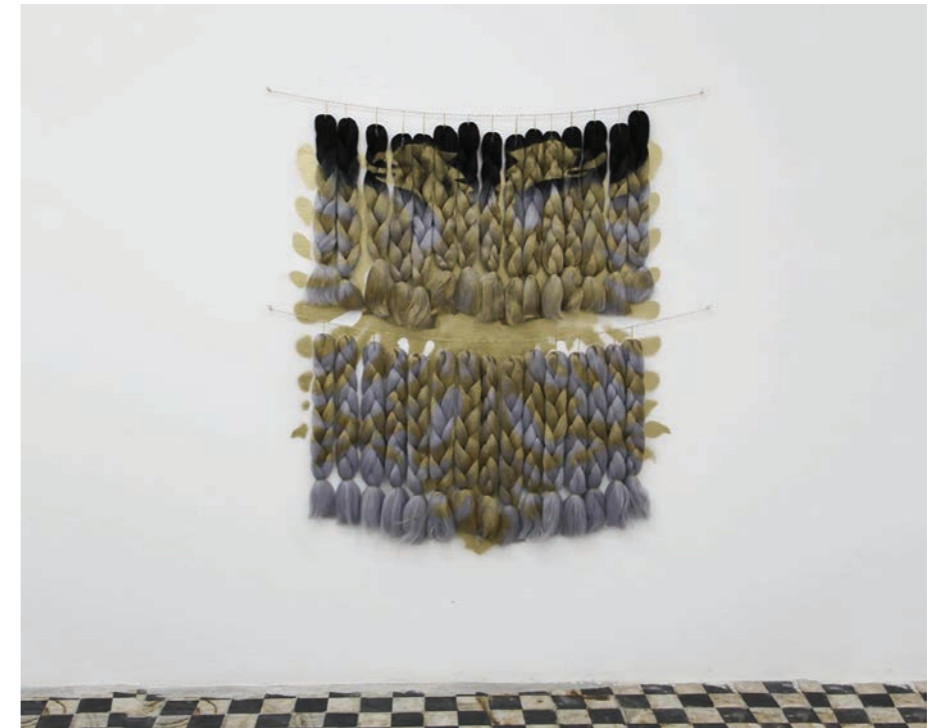
Anna Ehrenstein's installation at the Corneous Stories exhibition consists of two separate works dealing with the complexities of labour and material culture regarded as fake.

According to Antonio Gramsci, "subalternity" means being part of an excluded group. What happens when the subaltern becomes the appropriator? How do processes of cultural appropriation change through social media? Can the subaltern tweet?

*For Ehrenstein, the question isn't what is real and what is fake: rather who can afford to wear both.*— Liza Premiyak

*From the work cycle Tales of Lipstick and Virtue, 2016–2019.*

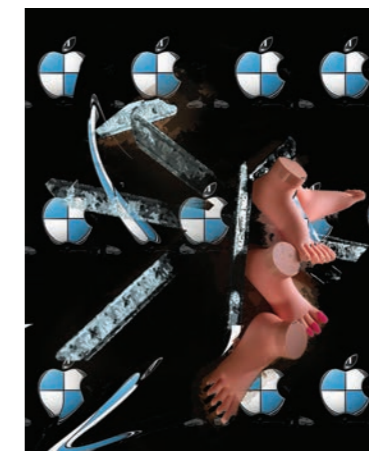
**Anna Ehrenstein** (AL/DE) studied photography and media. Her transdisciplinary artistic practice is focused on diverse forms of research, collaboration and mediation. Her work explores the relation between humans and objects in the digital age. Her mother came from Albania to Germany on a working visa, while her father was refused asylum and had to leave. After a trans-European odyssey, he started anew in Tirana. Ehrenstein stayed in Germany with her mother, but effectively grew up across two cultures and two sides of Europe. This biographical peculiarity sparked Anna Ehrenstein's interest in the necropolitics of migration. Since she had been raised between the two societies, her work reflects on diaspora-related high and low cultures, the social life of things and the historical taxonomies of knowledge. Ehrenstein has been active in the N\*A\*I\*L\*S hacks\*facts\*fictions collaborative platform since 2018.



Anna Ehrenstein: Inverted Appropriation, installation view



Anna Ehrenstein: L'Original, video still



Anna Ehrenstein: Superior Fakes, an art education workshop

**Jinran Ha, Johanna Käthe Michel: Dialogue of the Objects / Komische Fragmente**

2018–2020, installation of online work accessible via QR code

Researched for and first produced within N\*A\*I\*L\*S hacks\*-facts\*fictions, a project that explored the nail salon as a site of critical, queer and transcultural practices, as well as intersectional care politics, both works by Ha and Michel find a new material representation in the Corneous Stories exhibition. In the Dialogue of the Objects / Komische Fragmente, artists of different backgrounds disconnect from their physical body, which is always related to individual privileges and violence because of the ways in which identity categories are constructed. Instead, industrially produced objects used in nail studios chat with each other and “innocently” touch upon matters of racism, sexism, identities, capitalism, etc. The talking objects are referring to Sergei Tretiakov’s Biography of the Object (1929), in which the Soviet writer proposed to research social conditions through objects rather than the people who produce them.

*Technical consulting and programming by Matej Lazar; co-produced by the City of Women, Goethe-Institut Ljubljana, District Berlin.*

**Jinran Ha, Johanna Käthe Michel: Manicure Conference Modelage**

2018–2020, installation of animated 3D model on touch-screen

The utopian architecture of the Manicure Conference Modelage is designed for a potential global nail artists’ conference concerning women’s labour, solidarity and biopolitics. Ha and Michel developed the work by taking into account the typical architecture of a nail salon: a manicure table for two, enabling the interaction between customer/consumer and worker while disconnecting the nail artists from each other. The artwork proposes different arrangements between nail workers and the public/customers who can physically interact with the architectural modelage via touch-screen and rearrange the architectural situation. The manicure tables in the artwork oscillate between their usual arrangement in a nail salon and a round-table discussion at a conference, referencing the summits of the historical Non-Aligned Movement established in Belgrade in 1961. Drawing on the principles agreed at the Bandung Conference in 1955, the movement pushed forward the politics and economics of solidarity between developing countries, many of which fought with legacies of colonialism and imperialism.

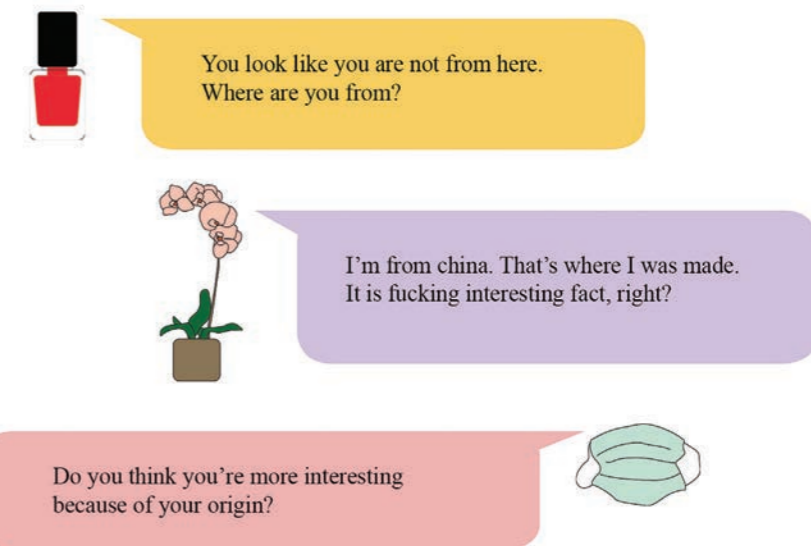
*Co-production of the display within the Corneous Stories exhibition by the City of Women, Goethe-Institut Ljubljana, District Berlin; supported by Lenovo Slovenia.*

**Jinran Ha** (KR/DE) has been living and working in Berlin since 2012. In her multidisciplinary practice, she often animates everyday objects and creates metaphorical contexts, situating and altering the relation between individuals and collectives in the sociopolitical frame. She studied Human Environment and Design at Yonsei University (Seoul) and Fine Art at the Central Saint Martins – College of Art and Design (London). She continued her studies at the Dresden Academy of Fine Arts and graduated at the Berlin University of the Arts (UdK) in 2020, in prof. Ursula Neugebauer’s class. She exhibited at the Kulturpalast Wedding International and uqbar (both in Berlin) and at the Lothringer Halle 13 in Munich. She recently won the second prize at the Neuköllner Kunstpreis 2020.

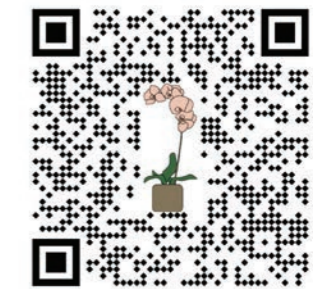
**Johanna Käthe Michel** (DE) studied in Kiel and Tel Aviv, and is currently studying Fine Arts at the Berlin University of the Arts (UdK). In 2018, she graduated with a thesis on aesthetic taste norms in institutional art education. Her artistic practice shows a penchant for industrially produced objects, found text and footage, collaborative contexts and public space. She mainly uses installation, lens-based media, text and performance. Her mediative, discursive and political activities are also framed within her artistic practice. Michel’s works have been shown at institutional and off-spaces, such as the station urbaner kulturen (nGbK, Berlin), Museum of Photography (Berlin), Lokal-int (Biel/Bienne), Stadtgalerie Kiel and Lothringer Halle 13 (Munich).



Jinran Ha, Johanna Käthe Michel: Still from Manicure Conference Modelage



Jinran Ha, Johanna Käthe Michel: Still from Dialogue of the Objects / Komische Fragmente



- <http://dialog.cityofwomen.org/dialog.php?object=nail-polish>
- <http://dialog.cityofwomen.org/dialog.php?object=mask>
- <http://dialog.cityofwomen.org/dialog.php?object=orchid>
- <http://dialog.cityofwomen.org/dialog.php?object=manicure-table>
- <http://dialog.cityofwomen.org/dialog.php?object=nail-file>

**Milijana Babić, Centre for Women's Studies at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Rijeka: 3rd Shift**

2019–2020, art project presented as a magazine and a billboard in public space

The 3rd Shift project questions the relations between the terms body – work – beauty – woman from the perspective of the so-called “third shift” of women’s labour. In this sense, the syntagma relates to what we call self-fashioning or the “reparation” of the female body with the aim of reaching the beauty ideal proposed by hegemonic visual and material culture. Connecting the idea of labour to that of free time, the “third shift” becomes the focal point for observing the two traditional shifts of women’s labour, the paid and the unpaid (housework and carework), the public and the private, influencing the entirety of labour aspects of women’s lives. The work is presented in Ljubljana in the form of a public billboard and a publication simulating a women’s magazine. It is based on interviews with about sixty women who talked to researchers while undergoing various beauty treatments in Rijeka’s beauty parlours in 2019. The women shared their experiences and revealed their relation to their own appearance, along with the amount of time, money and energy they invest in their body and outer appearance. The work was conceptualised as an intervention (insert) in the women’s glossy magazine Gloria Glam (distributed in Croatia, February 2020, print run 10,000).

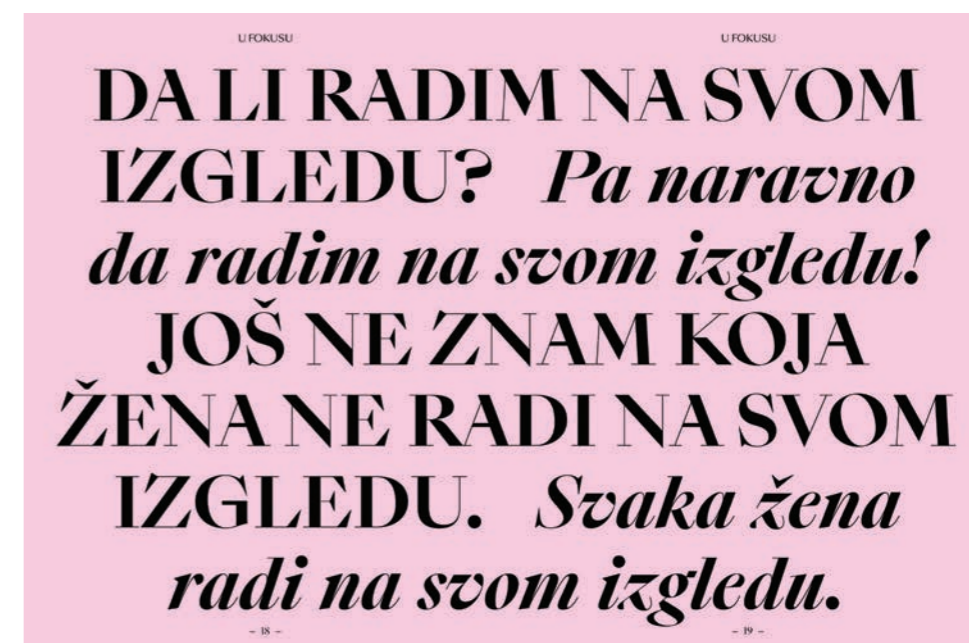
*Graphic design: Ana Tomić, Marino Krstačić-Furić; photo and styling: Doris Fatur; production: Drugo more; in the framework of Dopolavoro flagship of the Rijeka 2020 – European Capital of Culture. The billboard production was supported by Europlakat.*

The artistic work of **Milijana Babić** (HR) is rooted in performative art practice, often developed in the direction of contextually-specific long-term actions in public space. Thematically, her work stems from questioning her own position as a woman and an artist in her immediate surroundings. She gained formal arts education at the Durban Institute of Technology, Republic of South Africa, and the Academy of Fine Arts and Design, Ljubljana. She is based in Rijeka, Croatia.

**The Center for Women's Studies at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Rijeka** is a scientific and research platform, a space dedicated to uniting science, art and civil society around subjects related to feminism, gender and critical theory, and the theory of sexuality. The center fosters cooperation between students, researchers, scientists, artists, stakeholders of civil society and engaged citizens. It aspires to strengthening the positive image of the role of scientific cognizance in the creation of a society of equal opportunities for all of its citizens, and also to raising awareness of the importance of gender equality, the respect for women’s human rights and the rights of all vulnerable minorities.

**Ana Ajduković** (HR) is a feminist and LGBTIQ activist. She graduated at the Department of Cultural Studies at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Rijeka and works as an associate on the programs and communication in the Lesbian Organisation Rijeka LORI. In addition, she is a project coordinator at the Center for Women’s Studies at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Rijeka. She strives for a theoretical and practical impact in the field of gender studies, women’s human rights, and LGBTI human rights.

**Brigita Miloš** (HR) is an associate professor at the Department of Cultural Studies at the Faculty of Philosophy and Social Sciences (University of Rijeka, Croatia) and the coordinator of the Centre for Women’s Studies at the same institution. She researches in the field of gender studies, queer studies, body studies, and literature.



Milijana Babić, Centre for Women's Studies at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Rijeka: Excerpts from 3rd Shift

## Lea Culetto: Gloves

2019–2020, installation of wearable objects

The Gloves project derives from the “fashion trademark” deflowered by Lea, which tackles current as well as concealed themes (in)directly connected to the female body. In the project, the artist uses a play of associations to intertwine three types of work: paid labour unpaid (house)work and beauty work. Through an artistic “appropriation” or “estrangement” of an everyday object, such as protective latex gloves, Lea Culetto transforms these shabby, industrially produced goods into a value-added product – a fashion accessory.

The defamiliarization of protective gloves, stereotypically associated with “women’s work”, the work of a “housewife” or a “cleaning lady”, triggers a reflection on the power relations inscribed into everyday objects, socially connoted in one way or another. The artist associates these themes with toxicity, and every pair of gloves playfully represents a certain context: toxicity in intimate relationships, at a workplace, in the repressiveness of the (neo)patriarchal social system, as well as literal toxicity of the toxic substances (once) present in cosmetics and cleaning products.

*The deflowered by Lea project was produced by Aksioma – Institute for Contemporary Art, Ljubljana.*

*Co-produced by the City of Women, Goethe-Institut Ljubljana, District Berlin.*



Lea Culetto: Gloves, wearable objects

**Lea Culetto** (SI) uses embroidery, assemblage, and other techniques to create objects and installations, challenging the images of femininity and feminism through the prism of fashion and the body. She has presented her works at several group exhibitions and festivals in Slovenia and abroad. Among others, she has collaborated with Alkatraz Gallery, Bežigrad Gallery I, GalerijaGallery exhibition space, the Kranj-based Layer House, Celje Contemporary Arts Centre, Zagreb Museum of Contemporary Art, and Kappatos Gallery in Athens, Greece. She has had solo exhibitions in Aksioma, Ravnikar Gallery Space, and in the Ribnica-based Miklova hiša. She was also bestowed the Academy of Fine Arts and Design (ALUO) Award and merit for outstanding achievements. In September 2019, she earned an MA in Fine Arts at the Ljubljana ALUO.

See artist’s visual collage in the following publication page 69–74.

## Lenka Đorojević: EXIT

2019–2020, audio installation and visual collage

**EXIT** refers to segments of personal experience of Hasena Sulojdžić-Terzić from Pljevlja, Montenegro, who during her seven-month captivity in the German concentration camp Ludwigsfelde worked for an underground aircraft factory owned by Daimler-Benz, the today’s Mercedes-Benz corporation. The work deals with the phenomenon of phantasm and the recalcitrance of the imaginary structure and the world of symbols, which eludes the violence in the camps, conducted on a symbolic, mental and instrumental plane, the final and the concrete, thus allowing for the possibility of subversion, interruption and exit.<sup>1</sup> Hasena’s experience of death, represented through the narration of the story *The Alsatian*,<sup>2</sup> testifies to the existence of something unbreakable and untameable in every human being – the vitality of a life which can never be entirely suppressed and over which no system is able to exercise complete control. It is a space of struggle in which the practices of freedom can also disarm the contemporary psychopolitics of neoliberal capitalism, dependent labour, continuous re-colonization and fascization, and open up to a mode of existence which does not yet have a name, which is a future yet to be written!

<sup>1</sup> Achille M. (2017). *Critique of Black Reason*. Durham: Duke University Press Books.

<sup>2</sup> The short story *The Alsatian* (Vučjak) was written by Radovan Vujanović, based on the testimony of Hasena-Sulojđić Terzić about an event which had happened in the German concentration camp Ludwigsfelde. The story was published in the short story collection *The Trail* (Belgrade: “ČETVRTI JUL”, 1984)

**EXIT** was produced for Missing Stories. Forced Labour under Nazi Occupation. An Artistic Approach exhibition (Goethe-Institut Belgrade). For the *Corneous Stories* project publication, the artist has also developed a visual collage.

*Voice: Lidija Kordić; sound recording: Nemanja Bečanović; sound post-production: Miha Šajina; consultation: Jadranka Ještrović, Hasena Terzić-Sulojđić’s daughter; author of The Alsatian: Radovan Vujanović; translation: Milica Vuković Stamatović; proof-reading: Matthew Whiffen; special thanks: Jadranka Ještrović, Radovan Vujanović, Matej Stupica, Lina Rica, Nataša Tepavčević, Monika Schnell, Ana Pavlović, Ljiljana Karadžić, Alliance of the NLS Fighters and the Anti-Fascists of Montenegro, Nikšić; comrades Desa, Zuvdija Hodžić, Slobodan Bato Mirjačić; the Vujičić, Đorojević and Stupica family.*

**Lenka Đorojević** (ME/SI) is an artist whose solo and collaborative art projects explore and critically interpret the ambivalence of the position of the (artistic) subject within the context of mass media, digitally constructed realities and late capitalism – its productional, representational, ideological and symbolic narratives and strategies. In 2008, she graduated at the Graphic Department of the Fine Arts Academy in Trebinje (BIH). In 2013, she completed her master studies in Graphics at the Academy of Fine Arts and Design in Ljubljana. In the same year, she attended World of Art, the School for Curatorial Practices and Critical Writing in Ljubljana. In 2014, she became a member of the Institute of Contemporary Art Montenegro (ICA). In 2015, she received the OHO award in tandem with Matej Stupica.

See artist’s visual collage in the following publication page 74



Lenka Đorojević: EXIT, installation view

## Selma Selman: Virtual Materialism

2020, paintings on metal, various dimensions

Selma Selman is presenting her artistic opus in Ljubljana for the first time with Virtual Materialism, a series of newly commissioned paintings on metal, and Mercedes Matrix, the video documentation of her performance. With both works, Selman turns to labour and value production in the economics of car industry and art (and indirectly, through beauty, of cosmetics)\* and to the various levels of their “economization”: from the material and financial to the branded and habitual. *I have always had a very personal relationship with metal, as my family and I have been collecting and recycling it to sustain ourselves since my childhood. My latest paintings on scrap metal depict impressions of everyday life, references to art history, and text collages. Humour, wordplay and my incessant probing of the boundaries of art fuse painting and sculpture into small intimate objects.* – Selma Selman

\*Cosmetics and car mobility are historically connected by the chemical industry (the first industrial nail polish was a by-product of nitrocellulose car paint), as well as the medium through which they have been promoted: the coloured moving image of the celluloid film. Both cosmetics and car mobility are also to be considered as important modern cultural practices of women’s emancipation despite their connection to governance and the ongoing environmental crisis.

*Co-produced by the City of Women, Goethe-Institut Ljubljana, District Berlin.*

## Selma Selman: Mercedes Matrix

2019, video documentation of a performance

The video Mercedes Matrix documents a collective performance, originally performed at the 2019 edition of Krass Kampnagel festival in Hamburg, in which the artist and her family re-enacted their usual daily labour practice: the dismantling of a Mercedes-Benz car to be recycled as spare parts. The integration of the family’s economic activity to the art sector highlights the value-making processes within the arts. According to art historian Jasmina Tumbaš, a distinctive relation between the body and identity is central to Selma Selman’s artistic practice. And similarly to feminist practices from the 1970s onward (e.g. also found in the works of Hanna Wilke or Sanja Iveković), Selma Selman questions the violence, inherent to identity politics: the processes of objectification, othering and exoticisation of the so-called “others”.

*Performed by Selma Selman, Hari Selman, Muhamed Selman, Mirsad Pučić; edited by Peter Chong-ha Lee; video documentation by Mario Ilić; music by Philip Glass.*

**Selma Selman (BA/US)**, artist and Romani activist, earned her Bachelor of Fine Arts degree from Banja Luka University’s Department of Painting, and graduated from Syracuse University (USA) with a Master of Fine Arts degree in Transmedia, Visual and Performing Arts. Her search for contemporary political resistance stems from her personal experience of oppression as a woman of Romani origin. Her artworks aim at protecting and empowering women, as well as enacting their collective self-emancipation. Selman is the founder of Get the Heck to School, an organization for the empowerment of Romani girls. She has exhibited widely and received several awards, among them the 2019 White Aphroid Award for outstanding artistic achievement. She lives between Europe and the USA.



Selma Selman: Virtual Materialism, paintings on metal



Selma Selman: Mercedes Matrix, video still



# Discursive and Art Education\* Parlour

Wednesday, 7. 10.

**10.00–13.00**

**From Scratch: Fortune Council 2020**, workshop with

**Kim Bode**

*Closed event for secondary schools.*

At the workshop, we will walk the winding path of happiness and fortune and focus on proverbs and wisdom, from the Buddha to Socrates and Epicurus. People have been thinking about happiness for millennia, but what does happiness look like in the 21st century? We will look for symbols and objects that we encounter in everyday life and try to rethink and create our own formula for happiness, which we can then share with others.

Thursday, 8. 10.

**19.00–22.00**

**exhibition opening 19.00**

**N\*A\*I\*L\*S salon-style conversation** with **Suza Husse**,

**contributing artists, curator and guests**

Suza Husse, a member of the N\*A\*I\*L\*S hacks\*facts\*fictions collaborative platform, is going to host a (nail) salon-style conversation walk through within the framework of the *Corneous Stories* exhibition.

**N\*A\*I\*L\*S hacks\*facts\*fictions** was founded upon the initiative of Ayşe Güleç, Suza Husse and Katja Kobolt at the Berlin University of Arts in 2018. The platform imagines the nail salon as a queer site of critical, transcultural practices and intersectional care politics. Across multiple collaborations, artistic

and educational formats and a magazine, the platform has approached nails as a collective interface for getting familiar with the working conditions liquefied in nail aesthetics and embodied in care work. In other words, as an interface for hacking the “magic” of commodities and for troubling biopolitics.

For more information and the free PDF of the N\*A\*I\*L\*S hacks\*facts\*fictions collaborative magazine on nailwork, art and migration, visit: <http://www.district-berlin.com/de/publications/nails-hacksfactsfictions/>

**Suza Husse** (DE) is a queer\*feminist cultural practitioner who works across different fields including art, research, writing, publishing, education and curating. She emphasizes collaborative and transdisciplinary approaches, transformative knowledge and political imagination. She is a member of the curatorial collective of the queer\*feminist art space and community center District Berlin. She co-initiated the collaborative platforms D’EST and N\*A\*I\*L\*S hacks\*facts\*fictions, and co-founded the decolonial art and publishing collective The Many Headed Hydra. With Elske Rosenfeld and Archive Books, she runs “wild recuperations. material from below”, a series of artistic and activist post-socialist research projects.

**20.00**

Participatory performance

**Dialogue of the Objects / Komische Fragmente** by

**Jinran Ha** and **Johanna Käthe Michel**

Friday, 9. 10.

**10.00–13.00**

**Superior Fakes**, workshop with **Anna Ehrenstein**

*Closed event for secondary schools.*

A workshop at the intersection of material culture, social media, collage works and power asymmetries. What do we actually think of when we hear the word fake? An imitation? Adibas? Fingernails? Bitches and Tits? China? Tech? Rolex? As part of this workshop, we will create collage works based on your personal, favourite fake. How significant are the

laws of intellectual property for work, nations, Instagram and Kanye West? We will look at the relationality between fakes, our own or others’ identity, cultural bias, politics and how all of this can be an inspiration to create speculative and imaginary artworks.

**18.00–20.30**

**Corneous Stories discursive parlour**

18.00 introduction by **Katja Kobolt**

**Katja Kobolt** (SI/DE) works as an interdependent curator, art educator and researcher: City of Women in Ljubljana (2001–2008), post-Yugoslav curatorial collective Red Mined (2011–), collaborative platform N\*A\*I\*L\*S hacks\*facts\*fictions (2018–), Lothringer13 Florida in Munich (2016–2019), exhibition and forum *no stop non stop* at Lothringer13 Halle in Munich (2018), etc. Katja Kobolt obtained a PhD at the LMU München University researching the memory politics on post-Yugoslav wars and feminist canon methods, and has been active as a lecturer (Humboldt University; UdK Berlin; currently at LMU Munich, Institute for Art Pedagogy), editor and writer.

**18.30**

**3rd Shift: The whole circle of an artistic process**, artist talk by **Milijana Babić** and **Ana Ajduković**

The co-authors of the 3rd Shift will talk about their experiences within the project from its conception to its realisation, starting from their specific collaboration where theoretical and artistic viewpoints intersected. During a six-months field research, conducted in authentic places for the production of the "desired" female look, they gained deeper insight into what was their theoretical starting point: that working on your appearance also represents labour. Apart from the very ambient of "beauty salons" where women read glossy magazines while waiting for their treatments, the collected material also directed the work towards a specific intervention in a women's magazine, returning to

salons in the artistic form. On the other hand, the collaboration with a woman's magazine disclosed its complex relations to the topic of the artwork. Finally, there was a project within the project, since the artist took over the role of the model for the publication (Gloria Glam insert), receiving many comments related to the transformation of her looks.

**19.30**

**What Do the Nail Studios Tell about Migrations and the Labour Market Regime?**, talk by **Ayşe Güleç**

**Güleç**

A talk on the relations between beauty labour, migrations and anti-racist movements in Germany.

**Ayşe Güleç** (DE) is active at the intersections of art, art mediation, anti-racism, migrations and community-based education. In the Kulturzentrum Schlachthof, she was responsible for migration-related issues and networking (1998–2016); she developed the Advisory Board for documenta 12 (2007),; at DOCUMENTA (13) in 2012, she took part in the Maybe Education Group; at documenta 14 (2016–2017), she was responsible for placing artists into socio-political contexts and co-ordinated The Society of Friends of Halit. Between 2018 and 2019, she led the Education Department at the Museum of Modern Art in Frankfurt am Main. Ayşe Güleç is also part of the Kassel-based Initiative 6. April and active in a number of anti-racist movements.

Saturday, 10. 10.

**10.00–13.00**

**Conversations of Things**,

workshop with **Johanna Käthe Michel**

*Closed event for secondary schools.*

Who’s speaking? How can we share experiences? What does the manicure table tell us?

The workshop is based on the idea of a fictional dialogue between the objects in a manicure studio. In the Dialogue of the Objects / Komische Fragmente, an

artwork shown in the Corneous Stories exhibition, a nail arrow, a protective mask, a lipstick and an orchid begin to speak. The title of the work refers to Sergei Tretiakov’s Biography of the Object. In the 1920s, Tretiakov suggested storytelling with industrially manufactured objects instead of people as heroes, in order to get a better understanding of social conditions. The workshop will seize the opportunity to exchange ideas and develop a critical view through fictional conversations and the „disembodiment“ of one’s own experiences and those of others. We will choose protagonists in the form of objects and develop a role-play. Thus, connections between classes, genders, migration and their aesthetic coding and industry, which are the subjects of the exhibition, will serve as a starting point. The aim is on the one hand to open the exhibition individually and productively, and on the other hand, to bring in our own voices and speak together in solidarity.

**13.00**

Public presentation of the workshop

**Conversations of Things**

**17.00–19.00**

**Corneous Stories discursive parlour**

Presentation of the interdisciplinary student research project and the publication with **Petja Grafenauer**, **Katja Kobolt** and **Jerneja Erhatič**, **Rebeka Hvala**, **Jaka Juhant**, **Petra Lapajne**, **Ana Obid**, **Zdenka Pandžić**, **Neja Rakušček**, **Lucija Šerak**, **Iza Štrumbelj Oblak**

"Innovative Student Projects for Social Benefit" („Študentski inovativni projekti za družbeno korist – ŠIPK“) 2019/2020 includes University of Ljubljana students from various faculties and is led by mentor doc. dr. Petja Grafenauer. Students researched their respective topics from the perspectives of history, art, sociology, ethnography, chemistry, cosmetics, and economics.

The student research topics are: the unattainable ideals of the beauty industry, the toxicity of cosmetic products through history, homemade cosmetics, “natural” cosmetics, female beauty in

New Age movements, the use of perfumes in socialist Slovenia, no-makeup makeup trends, beauty as empowerment, etc.

\*Art education concept and execution by Kim Bode, Lea Culetto, Anna Ehrenstein, Johanna Käthe Michel, Tea Hvala, Katja Kobolt; coordinated and organised by Katja Bradač; produced by Goethe-Institut Ljubljana; co-produced by the City of Women.

**Diskurzivni salon**  
*izvirnih znanstvenih*  
**člankov / Discursive**  
*Parlour of peer*  
**reviewed articles**

# The Abscence of the Other: Makeup Routines During COVID-19 (self-) Isolation

Petja Grafenauer

## Abstract / Introduction

A survey conducted in May 2020, i.e. during the period of “lockdown” or (self-)isolation which was brought about by the COVID-19 pandemic, examined how makeup routines change when the other, another person capable of observing our appearance, is wholly absent or present digitally. Results show that during (self-)isolation, individuals tended to greatly change their routines, even making room for self-reflection. At the same time, results show that applying makeup is a complex human activity, linked to the social imperative, work, rituals, creativity, and psychology.

Key words: COVID-19, sociology and psychology of looks and make up

**Povzetek**  
Izvedena anketa v maju 2020. času (samo)izolacije zaradi COVID-19, je raziskovala razliko v ličenju, ko drugi, ki bi opazoval našo podobo skoraj v celoti izostane oz. je prisoten le digitalno. Rezultati so pokazali, da so posamezniki v času (samo)izolacije svoje navade ličenja v veliki meri spremenili, tudi samoreflektivni. Rezultati hkrati kažejo, da je ličenje kompleksna človeška dejavnost, ki je povezana z vprašanji družbenega imperativa, dela, rituala, kreativnosti in psihologije.  
Ključne besede: COVID-19, sociologija in psihologija videza ter ličenja

Slovenia officially declared it was suffering from the COVID-19 epidemic on March 12, 2020, the declaration halting all public life. The epidemic officially lasted up to May 15 (in effect until first of June). For several weeks, most of the people living in Slovenia remained confined to their residences. The limits of their physical world shrunk, but their digital one expanded. Screens became new meeting points, the only gateway to social contact during work, school hours, cultural events, business, and other activities, as well as the nexus for meeting family and friends not living in the same household.

Corneous Stories: an interdisciplinary student research project on the cultural and historic aspects of cosmetics was started together with students in the beginning of March. Like most workers in the education sector, we, too, continued our course and research work within the constraints of the digital classroom. The unusual circumstances first promised to side-line the topic, centring on the social aspects of makeup and beauty, but it soon became apparent that there was indeed a crossover between our new-found circumstances and the research topic, since I personally observed a change in my relationship to makeup and facial care. The research therefore focused on makeup during the COVID-19 lockdown. Despite all of its horrible aspects, it also proved to be an interesting social experiment in understanding makeup and its role in the circumstances where there is (almost) no one there to see it and where one's self-image is not tied to social conventions. To this end, we carried out a survey between May 7 and 15, 2020, which confirmed the hypothesis that makeup, as part of modern capitalist culture, is indeed socially conditioned, but also showed that it is a ritual act linked to creativity and pleasure. With literature research and the following survey filled by 165 persons over invitations through social media, it can be confirmed that makeup is used for several, sometimes intertwined reasons to reach various goals.

Isolation during the COVID-19 epidemic is not the only such example. People have been struggling with isolation for centuries to escape diseases, most notably during the plague (in all its various forms). One need only read Boccaccio's Decameron to see how people use pleasure to get through hard times. The author wrote the book after the Florence plague of 1348 and completed it in 1353. The frame story of the book contains 100 tales, recounted by seven individuals who flee to a villa in the Florentine countryside to escape the disease and tell each other love stories. The history of the Balkans also mentions examples of people enjoying hedonistic, wild parties in the time of the Dubrovnik plague. According to writer Nicola Ragnina, the plague came to Dubrovnik on January 15, 1348 and its consequences could be felt for years to come. Salvation finally arrived on July 27, 1377 when the Dubrovnik authorities introduced mandatory quarantine. This edict, called Liber viridis (cap. 49, fol. 78) Veniens de locis pestiferis non intret Regusinum vel districtum – дошљацима из заражених места забрањује се улаз у Дубровник или околину is kept in the Dubrovnik

archives and also contains information on death penalties and punishments for people spreading the disease (Šanjek and Mirošević, 2003: 244). Despite the awful circumstances and measures, we find frequent examples both in Dubrovnik and in Carniola of people refusing to work, deciding to enjoy their time on earth while there was still time. Farmers also started taking a rather lackadaisical attitude when it came to everyday work, thinking they could die at any moment (Herlihy, 1997: 40; similar information is also found in: Gestrin, 1965: 52). The researcher, Utvić, paints a rather colourful picture of these morbid and moribund times when the thirst for pleasure was stronger than the fear of dying (Utvić, 1986: 17).

## Makeup – A Social Imperative, Ritual, and Source of Pleasure

There is not a lot of literature dealing with using makeup; the one that exists, mainly focuses on physical attraction and how we present ourselves to others, a kind of “impression management” (Goffman, 1959; Goffman, 1967). According to these theories, people apply makeup from purely rational self-interest.

People have been using makeup since the dawn of mankind and archaeological artefacts provide a wealth of evidence, showing how people painted their bodies thousands of years ago (Walter, 1994: 59). “Red and yellow iron oxide pigments served as the basis for several different colours, while makeup centred on ritually decorating the body with tattoos and painted elements” (Walter, 2003). Today in the West, (mainly) women still use everyday makeup rituals to negotiate just what constitutes their real self, the latter being closely intertwined with countless social relationships, material wealth, and advertisements put out by the cosmetics industry.

However, the relationship between how we feel about ourselves and using makeup is a paradox, as will be shown in the context of this paper (Bennett, 2005; Latour 2005; Hodder, 2012). On the one hand, it creates the feeling that the external appearance of the person wearing makeup is the authentic expression of the self (Fillitz and Saris, 2013). On the other, it is well documented that people feel embarrassed to leave their home looking shabby and without makeup, which means that the advertising discourse, stressing the importance of physical beauty, has become well ingrained in society. One of the responses was: “I put on makeup for virtual conference calls. I put on makeup whenever I went for a walk or left the house, which is not something I normally do” (see p. 40), which seems to imply this need became even stronger for some individuals.

Research, conducted for example among US students, has shown that students use makeup to become more attractive, look healthier, and more confident (Cash et al., 1989; Huguet et al., 2004), which in turn helps their career prospects and earning power (Nash et al., 2006). Some researchers claim that wearing makeup is a form of camouflage or seduction (Korichi et al., 2008). These sociological studies

talk about the “stage” or presentational function of makeup, which was also confirmed by one of the answers given in the survey: “[...] I didn’t have all the necessary supplies, because I didn’t manage to go to the store. It was enough to publish one makeup look on Instagram.” (see p. 40)

When talking about beauty and makeup, we also must consider the context of work, as pointed out by Naomi Wolf in her book, *The Beauty Myth* (1991). In her work, beauty is considered an imperative, striving to achieve an unreachable “beauty myth”, imposed on women by a patriarchal culture through mental manipulation. Makeup routines are not included into work hours, even though it is often expected by the employer and women perceive it as their duty. For example, in the following response: “I put on makeup because I was still the same person, regardless of the roadblocks, bans, and limitations. I put on makeup when I change my ‘position’ or ‘role’ [...]” (see p. 40)

The beauty imperative is therefore necessarily repressive, so the criticism and revisionism it was often subjected to comes as no surprise:

*In addition to the obvious examples of entire sectors, like the fashion industry, numerous researches point out the increasing aestheticization of the body in the service and hospitality industry, as well as in work involved with caring for the bodies of others. There is a range of various situations and relationships, which require the worker to adapt their body style and mannerisms to the whims of the employer. [...] According to sociologist Rosalind Gill, this requirement or pressure to “curate an appealing self” is not limited solely to individual professions, but is becoming an increasingly important neoliberal cultural and social imperative, seeing the body as a kind of project one needs to work on and which then becomes a form of individual capital, (Ajduković, Babić and Miloš, 2020 [translated by the author]).*

The authors of the article also point out that makeup is likewise associated with free will and cannot simply be considered as a form of obeisance paid to the patriarchal and capitalist system. Using makeup is also a form of self-performance, communicating to a specific socially defined category what is considered beautiful in a particular time period and space. This is then a sign of socially established routines, which determine how, when, and why the makeup processes take place, even when the act seems spontaneous, natural, or even subconscious (Goffman, 1976). Our survey also points to several similar interpretations of applying makeup, e.g. “I used makeup because it helped with my creativity and relaxed me.” (see p. 41)

Other gender studies report on paradoxical beauty discourses, which create ambiguous female roles when constructing their identity, all the while creating personal expressive meaning through makeup (Kates and Shaw-Garlock, 1999). The survey conducted during (self-)isolation points to exactly this type of diversity. Naturally, we are also faced with the question of temporality; a longer lockdown would perhaps have exposed even more striking individual

attitudes to makeup.

The self and makeup adapt and respond to daily changes in our environment, feeling, anticipated social situations, and the person’s own perception of how these factors relate to makeup and beauty. It is not only limited to expressing our internal identity on the outside. For some people, applying makeup is a ritual, a time of self-reflection. As demonstrated by Shove and Pantzar (2005: 44–45), people do not always use makeup just in the manner proposed by the market; rather, it involves active and creative practices, where appropriating external models is only of dimension of reproducing practice, which includes the integration of materials, meanings, and competences.

Rituals are key intermediaries between embodied practices, feelings, and social discourse; they are precise body movements and symbolic carriers, “reproducing the effects, social relationships, and practices, which reveal the effects of power” (Svasek, 2005: 13; Abu-Lughod and Lutz, 1990: 2). The makeup ritual is always improvised, since the feelings, events, products, and participants are always variable (Bourdieu, 1977: 83). The ritual directs discourse about makeup into the relevant semantic performative practice of embodiment (Schechner, 1988; Schieffelin, 1998), which basically involves the generative feeling of the creation of a new ego. The question we pose is what happens when the Other we would normally show this new ego to is absent, when there is no longer a need to curate one’s self for the Other.

People use performative ritual practices, such as applying makeup, to achieve emotional states (Maschio, 2015: 345). The individual is not a passive user when applying makeup; rather, their identity is being moulded and, with it, he or she also participates in shaping modernity (Giddens, 1991). Giddens claims that the reflexive project of the ego is also linked to maintaining a coherent, but constantly revised, autobiographical narrative, which means that people use a way of applying makeup for a long time, before changing it.

But what happens when everyday life is turned on its head in an instant? The COVID-19 pandemic between March and the end of May in 2020 precipitated a state of emergency in Slovenia, which had less in common with wartime conditions and more with those during plague outbreaks, the Spanish Flu, and other diseases, which in the past were contained with self-isolation. In both cases, people used makeup (when available) to create a sense of normalcy in extreme circumstances (Maček, 2000). However, it should be pointed out that this time, people lived through the epidemic in different circumstances, mainly because of the widespread use of communication technology, especially the one enabling visual contact, which to a certain extent helps transcend isolation. We lived through a unique moment in history when our bodies, while separated, could still from time to time be seen through an interface.

The signs of isolation could be seen on our bodies in different ways. When hairdressers, beauty salons, barbers, waxing salons, and clothing and cosmetic stores closed

down, it became much harder for people to keep up with their daily routines and rituals. The fact that a number of people took care of their highlights, nails, and the like before lockdown shows that there was something more at play than mere vanity. Taking care of one’s body connects human beings to their basic, physical selves; during lockdown, people were forced to rely on their own skills when trying to maintain a sense of self and their identity, which can also be expressed through makeup. The lockdown was especially stressful for people who normally spend long periods away from home: “If your identity is linked to your work or if you have lost contact with friends, your social environment, status, or power because of isolation, the crisis will affect you to a greater extent” (Mull, 2020).

The internet started offering advice on applying makeup while wearing masks, which became mandatory when going out. These articles advised people to highlight their eyes, developing creative, even humorous makeup rituals (Hadden, 2020 or Kusaitytė, 2020). Articles in newspapers began noticing interesting changes: some people started focusing on “things that matter,” opting not to use makeup, while other people kept up their routine from before the pandemic as a way of combatting anxiety:

“By applying makeup and putting on nice clothes, people do something for themselves and improve their mood. Studies show that when people are able to control their mood, it helps their wellbeing, [...] it’s a way of coping with reality” (Chernikoff, 2020), something supported by the answers to the survey, e.g.: “At first, I slightly neglected my makeup routine, but then realized it was one of the things helping me feel ‘normal’.” (see p. 41)

In the US, Chernikoff describes examples of people who after several days of not paying attention to how they look, then started doing exactly the opposite in a bid to improve their wellbeing. It is also interesting to point out that makeup and dressing etiquette, characteristic of the professional, business world, was also expected during meetings in the virtual world. The article also reports how many people saw the moment as a personal test of their attitude toward wearing makeup; some women who wore makeup before and perceived it as comforting used it to prove „that they can still do the things they love” (Chernikoff, 2020).

### **Wearing makeup in Slovenia during COVID-19**

According to the survey, the reasons for wearing makeup in Slovenia correspond to what was already stated above. As a country belonging to the Western cultural context, Slovenia also followed the makeup trends in other parts of the Western world, demonstrated by the anonymous Makeup and Appearance during COVID-19 survey, conducted between May 7 and 15, 2020 and disseminated to the public at large through e-mail to the circle of the participants in *Corneous Stories* and Facebook social network. It had 165 respondents; 90 identified as women, 7.5% (i.e. 12 people) as men,

and 2.4% (4 people) as nonbinary.<sup>1</sup> (see diagram Gender)

The age of the respondents was generally below 30 (75.2%); 14.9% (24 people) of those who took the survey belonged to the 31 to 45 age group, and 19.3% were older than 45. The main reason for this kind of age divide lies in the fact that older people use the internet less than younger generations – only two people who took the survey were older than 60. (see diagram Age)

Most of the people surveyed had been using makeup before the pandemic; some used it only from time to time, while the number of people who did not use makeup was also significant. The ones using makeup mainly use various foundations, lipstick, gloss, mascara, eyeliners, and perfume. Only 9.4% (15 people) consider makeup to be very important; 56.3% think it is of moderate importance, while 34.4% consider it unimportant. The last two results can also be explained by looking at the age of the participants and the new fashion trends focusing on natural beauty (see for example Hvala, 2020 published here and the diagram *How important...*)

When it came to the question of how much importance the respondent attributes to looks, the survey offered three existing answers (a, b, and c) and the option of adding your own. Respondents could also circle more than one answer. The majority thinks look is important, since looking good is part of the social contract, i.e. a social imperative. Some people admit to not thinking about it much, while the answers also attest to creativity and self-expression, which only serves to confirm the pre-COVID-19 hypotheses (e.g. Goffman, 1976). (see diagram External appearance)

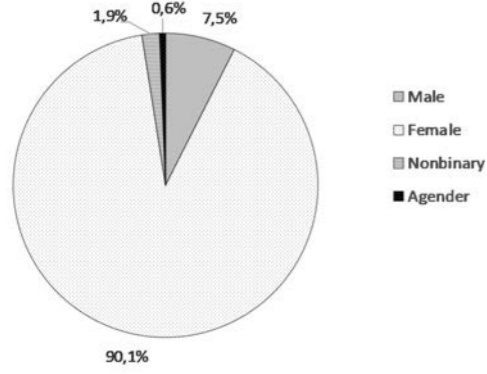
Most of the people who took the survey changed their makeup routines during the epidemic. (See diagram *Have your habits...*) A little less than 47.5% completely changed their makeup routines, while 23.8% did so partially. This means the lockdown influenced the makeup habits of 71.3% of the people who took the survey. This also confirms that self-isolation influences performative makeup rituals. 28.7% of people did not change their makeup routine, but this number also includes people who do not use makeup. Wearing makeup was one of the activities influenced by the absence of social contact outside the immediate household (together with a lack of makeup services).

42.8% of the respondents who wear makeup completely gave it up during (self-)isolation and only took care of their personal hygiene, while 16.4% reported using less makeup, confirming the hypothesis that wearing makeup in neoliberal capitalist societies, such as the one in Slovenia, is an expression of the social imperative to wear it for the Other. Seventeen of respondents wore makeup the same way as before, continuing their daily routines. This is probably an expression of the desire to maintain normalcy through daily performative rituals. (see diagram *During the...*)

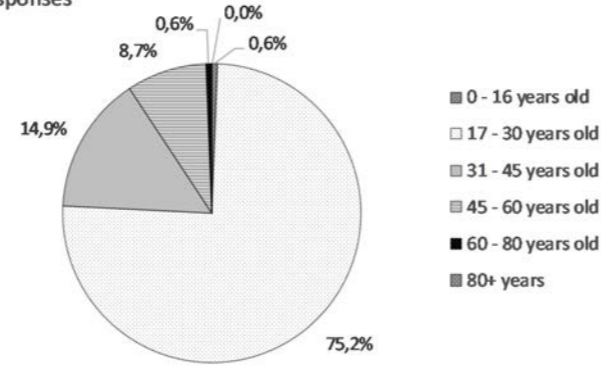
The smaller groups once again offer interesting in-

<sup>1</sup> This question allowed for the public to write its own definition of its sex, so there are several answers that cover nonbinary persons.

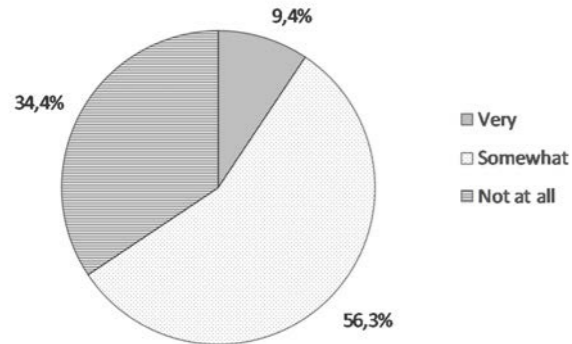
Gender  
161 responses



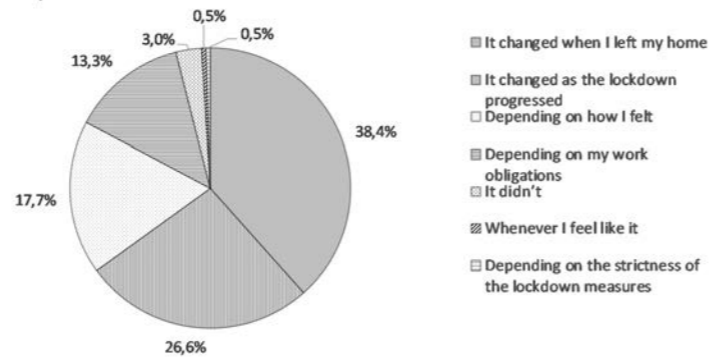
Age  
161 responses



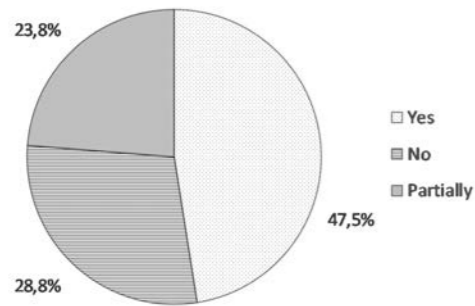
How important is makeup to you?  
160 responses



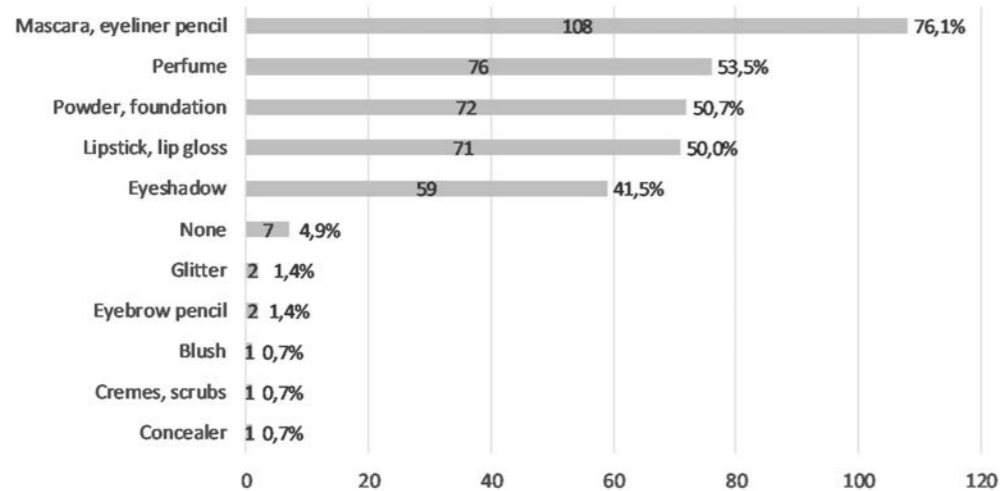
If your makeup routine and the attention you pay to choosing an outfit changed during COVID-19, please explain how.  
145 responses



Have your habits and makeup routines changed during the COVID-19 lockdown?  
160 responses



What kind of make up did you use?  
142 responses



External appearance  
160 responses



sights, for example the one saying their attitude to using makeup varied (16.4% or 26 of the 161 people), and the smaller segment of respondents saying they “experimented even more with wearing makeup,” as can be seen from one of the responses. Of those saying their attitude varied, that variation was mainly due to work obligations (53.8%) and emotional state (55.2%), i.e. in line with what research showed before the pandemic, indicating that reasons for wearing makeup generally involve a combination of social norms and psychology. (see diagram If your makeup...)

The survey also had one question that allowed for a free-form answer. The question from the survey was: “If the amount of attention you pay to makeup and choosing your wardrobe has changed during lockdown, please tell us how you feel about this change.” It was answered by 61 respondents. The replies can be divided into two semantically related segments, which we named “the social imperative” and “reaching an emotional state”; it is clear, however, that when dealing with individuals, these two roles are interconnected, whereby one dominates the other or cancel each other out, meaning the reasons behind applying makeup are varied, even contradictory (Bennett, 2005; Latour, 2005; Hodder, 2012). We can therefore assert that (self-)isolation changed our makeup routines, simultaneously exposing the social imperative of using makeup on the one side and the ritual, creative, and psychological aspects on the other. The responses to the survey questions are provided in full.

### A) The social imperative

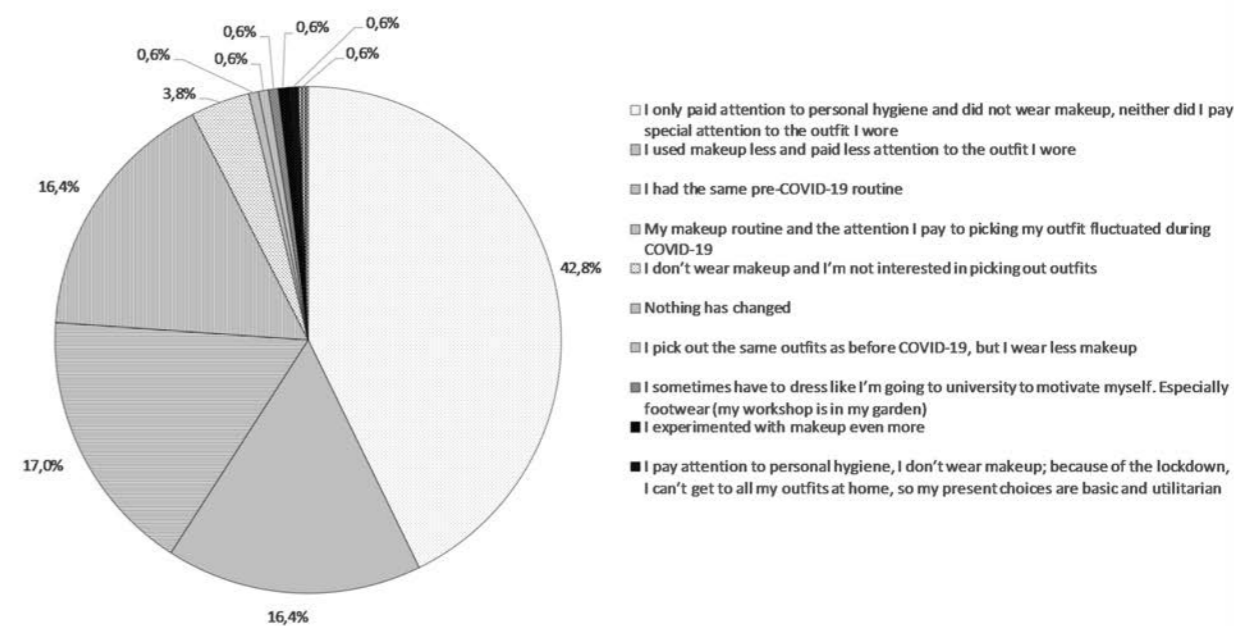
- I only used powder because using anything more than that didn't seem important. I didn't feel like it.
- I used makeup because I found it relaxing.
- I came to a realisation that I didn't need makeup, so I never used it.
- I put on makeup only when I devoted time to caring for my entire body, since I finally had time for that.
- I really enjoyed thinking about it less and paying less attention to external appearance.
- I was really looking forward to using makeup after the lockdown ends, since using it before that didn't make sense to me.
- I used makeup because it is my profession and I find it relaxing.
- I didn't use makeup, I went for walks in sweatpants, because it was comfortable.
- I didn't use makeup, I wore everyday clothes at home because I felt better this way and I didn't have any obligations that I had to look especially nice for.
- A lot of my interactions with other people occurred over the internet, by typing; if I didn't need to leave my apartment and nobody was at home, clothes weren't necessary at all.
- I didn't wear makeup so my skin could breathe, and I would be more relaxed.
- I used makeup to help separate the time I had to spend

being productive (doing work related to school, for example) from free time. When I wore makeup, I also felt better and didn't feel so strongly like I was self-isolating, it helped me keep at least a part of the daily routine that I had before quarantine.

- I put on makeup a total of three times and this was purely in the spirit of preserving my skills/techniques.
- Just like before COVID-19, I only used makeup according to my feelings and mood in the moment. I find using makeup relaxing, although I didn't have everything I needed, because I didn't manage to visit a drugstore before lockdown. I had enough to post one makeup look to Instagram. But this time only drawing and doing schoolwork helped me conserve my inner confusion, and using makeup didn't help.
- I used makeup because I forgot what I looked like.
- I especially put on makeup for virtual meetings.
- I put on makeup for every walk and every time I left the house, something I usually don't do.
- Because I had more time to myself, I started doing my makeup better, while using less of it. I was well rested and less nervous, and it showed on my face, so makeup suited me better as well. Before corona I “had” to use makeup (job, etc.), now I wanted to use makeup and look nice. I also had more time to do this.
- I used makeup so that I could feel more confident in company.
- I used makeup so I could feel better when I saw myself in the mirror in my apartment. For me, looking better means having more self-confidence.
- I didn't use makeup, but I tried to maintain a beauty regime using cremes and scrubs. At the start of the lockdown, I tried to put on nice clothes every day – so I could maintain positive feelings. Later on, I kind of fell apart and didn't feel like doing this anymore, but it comes and goes.
- I used makeup because I remained the same person, regardless of the lockdown, the prohibitions, and restrictions. This person puts on makeup when she changes her “pose” or “role” (from pyjamas to a dress, from my home to outside, etc.). My relationship to my reflection in the mirror also remained the same, so I used makeup according to my desires and needs, if I felt like it – just like I usually do.
- In the first weeks of COVID-19 I picked casual outfits and I didn't use makeup at home, in the last week I started dressing up as if I were going out every day, and I started using makeup again. I felt freer this way, as if I were casting out the COVID-19 prison with the help of makeup.
- I used makeup because it can't hurt to care about your appearance a little bit.
- I paid attention to my outfit when I left my home, so would feel a little better.
- I put on makeup because I was still the same person, regardless of the roadblocks, bans, and limitations. I

### During the lockdown, my makeup routine changed

159 responses



put on makeup when I change my ‘position‘ or ‘role‘ [...].

### B) Achieving an emotional state

- I didn't have all the necessary supplies, because I didn't manage to go to the store. It was enough to publish one makeup look on Instagram.
- I used makeup because it is fun; I wore nice clothes because it helped me separate “working hours” from free time and because it makes me happy.
- At first, I slightly neglected makeup, then I realised that it was one of the things that kept me feeling “normal”.
- I used makeup because I like it.
- I used makeup and relatively attentively dressed myself because this helped me feel better and be more productive.
- I used makeup because I was trying out new looks and colours that might suit me.
- I used makeup because I enjoy it.
- I used makeup because it relaxes me.
- I used makeup because it helped my creativity and relaxed me.
- I didn't use makeup because I was at home the entire time, and didn't want to apply unnecessary (potentially harmful) compounds to my skin.
- I used makeup very rarely, mostly so I would feel more normal.
- Before the quarantine, I used makeup only occasionally, and even then, I made it look as natural as possible. I used makeup when I felt like it. Now, during the quarantine I don't wear any makeup and it doesn't bother me at all.

- I put on makeup without taking any pleasure in it, minimally (if it's not for some sort of formal occasion). At home, I prefer being makeup- and bra-free, wearing sweatpants :) So in this regard, the “stay at home” situation has almost certainly positively affected my mood.
- I already wasn't using makeup often, let's say a few times a year. When it comes to clothes, I can say that the outfits I wear at home have remained completely unchanged, very carefree. But the few times I left home to run errands, I put more effort in my appearance than I usually would. Normally I would have maybe stayed in my sweatpants and wouldn't have put on my “nice” jeans for some banal errand.
- I use makeup only for special occasions... So I was makeup-free for shenanigans with my children at home.
- I didn't use perfume at home, as there was no need.

The responses show that during (self-)isolation, marked by brief contact with the Other during stressful conference calls, which require the interlocutor to constantly look at the speaker's face, the respondents mainly use or don't use makeup for two reasons. The first is because of external social norms, imposed on the individual, while the second one is of a psychological nature and linked to wellbeing and creativity. They are of course intertwined as individuals react differently to the norms and some internalize, and others contradict them which has an effect on their psychological attitude towards wearing makeup. Even after the lockdown ended, body care and makeup remained a support mechanism, helping people feel like themselves. Some people even marked an end to

# The Colours of War: Makeup

Svetlana Slapšak

## Povzetek

Na podlagi lastnih izkušenj, zgodb moje mame in moje babice ter pričevanj bosanskih žensk med vojno v Jugoslaviji in po njej, orišem načine ličenja žensk v kriznih časih in kaj ti načini razkrivajo. Primerjava sprememb, ki so jih ženske doživele v prvi in drugi svetovni vojni, potrjujejo, da so spremembe na telesih in vedenju žensk odražale družbene, politične in kulturne spremembe pri strukturiranju spolov in odnosi med spoli. Dolgosežni procesi emancipacije in osvoboditve, ki si jih je prisvojil tudi kapitalizem in tako dovršen del emancipacije pretvoril v potrošništvo, so s pomočjo popularne kulture omogočili vladajočemu patriarhatu izumiti imaginarij, namenjen preprečevanju tega, da bi se emancipacijski trendi prve svetovne vojne med drugo svetovno vojno ponovili in poglobili.

V vojni v Jugoslaviji je bilo mogoče opaziti nekatere posebnosti, saj je bila Jugoslavija povsem drugačen model socialistične države. Zmanjševanje pravic žensk je privedlo do izrazitih razlik med spoloma v vojni in po njej, prineslo pa je tudi žensko zavest o kulturnem kolonializmu. Presenetljiva razdalja med patriarhalnim nacionalizmom in ženskim skepticizmom kaže na nove, nepričakovane težave, ki izhajajo iz tako imenovanih tranzicijskih družb.

Ključne besede: ličenje, vojna, ženske, emancipacija, Jugoslavija

## Abstract / Introduction

Based on my own experiences, my mother's and my grandmother's stories, and the testimonies of Bosnian women during and after the war in Yugoslavia, I tried to map the uses of makeup and what they reveal about women's positioning in crisis. The changes that women went through WWI and WWII confirm that the changes in women's bodies and behaviour reflected social, political, and cultural modifications in structuring gender and gender relations. Extensive emancipation and liberation processes were immediately appropriated by capitalism and as such turned a good portion of emancipation to consumerism.

In the Yugoslav war, some specificities can be observed because Yugoslavia used to be a completely different socialist state model before the war, in comparison with the

a painful period by visiting a hairdresser or beauty salon. In Slovenia, these establishments officially opened again on May 4, 2020; however, reservations were being taken as early as April 12 (Teran Košir, 2020). Despite the public health and safety measures, these services were swamped and mainly already fully booked up by the middle of May (Frizerji in kozmetičarke po vnovičnem zagonu storitev polno zasedeni, 2020). It was much the same everywhere else, for example in the US (Chernikoff, 2020). Following the end of (self-)isolation, makeup and other beauty treatments went back to (also) being unpaid work, no longer being something done purely for creativity and wellbeing, into the realm between a social imperative and creative self-expression. However, it remains clear that wearing makeup is an inherently multidimensional process and at the crossroads of the personal and the social, a form of expression using the human body as the medium, linked to creativity, the self, social norms, and rituals.

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Colouring the face and the body is a behaviour almost universally found in world cultures, with diverse meanings and functions, including those related to war: hiding, masking, frightening the enemy. More recently, we could see new uses of body paint in protests, rallies, and performances organized by women (Feminem, Pussy Riot, Guerilla Girls in the recent past, and now protesters all over the world). Nowadays and in the case of Slovenia, we can also observe new uses of colours and new styles of makeup in current, mainly urban protests, happening every Friday and Tuesday. In all of these cases, they convey a belonging to a larger group, while preserving one's own individuality in the collective. It is not about displaying a membership to a tribe by wearing recognizable signs, but rather being oneself, and investing this independent self in a cause, for the time and within the space of the protest, nothing more. The volatility and the short time span of the makeup, as opposed to tattoos, enables the individual, predominantly female, to keep full control of her loyalties and political orientations, completely on her own terms. There is a further dimension to this makeup intended for the public display of one's temporary accord to participate in a certain political action: private pleasure while indulging in the preparation of the makeup and its removal after the event. How can we understand these everyday practices in a wider social and cultural context?

It is precisely the context that does the job: it must be critical, risky, dangerous – war, crisis, epidemics. Inevitably, it will change a private space into public space; social media today makes this easier. However, I intend to argue and offer some examples that the practice can also be effective without Instagram and other available means of going public.

The first example is the narrative on surviving German occupation in Belgrade during World War II as told by my mother and my grandmother who lived alone – my father was a prisoner of war detained in concentration camps from France to Ukraine, while my grandfather was executed in Osijek by the Ustasha at the outbreak of war. The narrative consisted of three main parts: working during the day; running to shelters, sometimes outside the city (Bežanija on the outskirts of Belgrade, meaning “the place where people can escape to”); and the curfew hours. My mother worked as a vendor and assistant in a perfumery near the city centre and also near the art school where she was studying the rest of the day. The school was run by a famous academic painter Jovan Bijelić as a part of his survival strategy: he often received the payment for lectures in food. The two locations were close to the shelters in the historical Kalemegdan Fortress. This part of Belgrade was the main motif of her paintings. She would normally walk to her workplace from the apartment some two kilometres away, but sometimes she would take a tram, if there were any. Once, confused by high snow, she entered the tram at

the wrong door, reserved for the Germans, and a German officer pushed her out at full speed: luckily, the snow saved her from serious injuries. Curfew was no less tense because of the possible bombing, listening to forbidden radio stations and hiding those who needed it. But it was also a time for socializing among relatives, friends, and neighbours; card games were a favourite past-time. My mom and grandma adorned themselves each day, whether they were to be alone or in company, by putting on lipstick, the minimum makeup. They would wear something appropriate to run to the shelter if necessary, their backpacks were ready and waiting at the entrance: but hairstyle and lipstick, sometimes face powder and always eau de cologne, depending on the perfumery stocks, were obligatory. In fact, mom learned how to make some cosmetics at home, so something was always at the ready. They both told me they felt so much better wearing makeup. Photos taken by a niece who was a trained photographer testify to this habit. When going out, however, they never wore makeup. This was a cautionary measure and a sign of protest: they did not want to look good for the Germans.

Needless to say, I had no problems with my mom and my grandma when it came to makeup and fashion. I remember vividly, though, two situations in my life as a student protester and then as a participant in dissident actions and circles, related to makeup and fashion. During the Belgrade student protests, the provisory great Convent would convene in the inner yard of the School of Philosophy, while the small Convent, focused on questions related to the close reading of Karl Marx, along with other social, philosophical, and political problems, would meet in one of the teaching halls. The “great” Convent was organized as a people's/students' assembly that also took time to delve into “lighter” topics, the “small” Convent as an elite debating club for the most educated and capable speakers. On the second day of protests, two of my girl colleagues tried to introduce the topic of feminism into the debate in the great Convent. They were met with booing; they were not even allowed to finish their speech. Male students were not more numerous, they were just more vocal and convinced that such “lesser” topics should not pair with “serious”, “revolutionary” topics. On that same day, one of the beloved professors of sociology and a very popular speaker made a remark in his daily commentary of events that there were many female colleagues wearing makeup and fashionable dresses: and this was meant as a criticism... During those days of strike, friendship, and political enthusiasm, many male students felt encouraged to engage with female students, mixing sex and solidarity, and the above-mentioned professor was known for his amorous exploits. Today, he could be put to trial as a sexual predator. The idea was obviously to have a free pick of female students dressed in rags, silent and obedient, because we were all “free”, not bound by bourgeois conventions; only

some were freer than the others. The ban on discussing women's rights and feminism just completes the picture. In individual debates, some male colleagues gave the ultimate hypocritical explanation for that: the socialist state had already given all rights to women and so feminism was obsolete. Some 30–40 years later, women will become cruelly aware of the legal, social, and political regression targeting women. Already at that early time, however, the blissful lack of responsibility and sensitivity to women's position in the society, the creeping patriarchy, and the hidden conservatism in sexual relations made many of us feminists, looking for other texts, theories, new ways of expressing our needs, and new reflection. I became a feminist, too. I solidarized with my male friends – dissidents, but never missed an opportunity to remind them of the women's point of view and orientation.

In 1983, a group of students mixed in with the state-organized rally in favour of the Palestinian people, bearing the banners with the sign/logo of the Polish Solidarity movements. Social criticism of the Polish movement was unacceptable for the regime, so the police arrested the students. The next day, a few professors and a few dissidents decided to go to the same spot to protest. The meeting place was at the bookshop “Komunist” at the Union Square, just a step away from the Federal Parliament. Since we expected that we would all be arrested – that was, in fact, the hidden goal of the gathering – I was preparing with special attention, makeup, and everything. Finally, I took a taxi, but was late – to my great disappointment, they had all been taken by the police before I reached the meeting point. After several days, both the students and the second group were released, and the event had quite an international resonance. In fact, all of the people involved were also engaged in the secret university, initiated by the 70–80s students' movement: soon after these events, on Easter evening, there were massive arrests at a session of the secret university and all around Belgrade – more than 200 people were taken in by the police, and four students leaders from 1968 were put on trial. The speaker at the session was Milovan Đilas, internationally renowned Yugoslav dissident. This was one of the last political trials of this sort in Yugoslavia.

Back to makeup. The cases described relate to different ways women choose to symbolically express their feelings and their positioning in the face of war, danger, and possible violence and display their individual survival techniques. They range from despising any kind of censorship and limitations to pride and courage before the enemy, and, eventually to private comfort in time of crisis. During the 1991–1995 war in Yugoslavia, new meanings emerged and, quite unexpectedly, they included anti-colonial reflection. Especially during the operations in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the siege of Sarajevo, international media were systematically representing local women as predominantly older women or women with children from rural settings,

wrapped in their scarves, easy to recognize by the style of their clothing as Muslim or other. The suffering rural woman was the iconic figure for the whole setting – the region, the war, the lack of understanding, or, more precisely, a quite colonial ignorance. The mediation of complex realities was not an easy task for the Western media, this much we must acknowledge. The situation of the people under siege in Sarajevo gained a lot of emotional attention when Christiane Amanpour presented shots of the famished lions of the Sarajevo Zoo. A narrative before the truth, a story before the reality. This may well be a reaction typical for the Christian cultures, very much rooted in allegories: you must first believe in order to understand the burning bush and other narratives. The topic is extensive, and this is not the place to engage in discussion on the changes which affected the human body and mind with Christianity.

For more than two years, the symbolic rural woman represented the sufferings of the war in Bosnia in most of the global media. It was easy to understand the horror of war looking at their worn-out faces and bodies, and their tears. Young faces were not expected, nor were fashionably arranged people. Then, a factor that you would least expect changed this iconic representation in the media: the otherwise brainwashing, nonsensical, and trivial MTV, looking for new rock and pop images and sounds around the world, found these even on the streets of Sarajevo. They promoted young women and girls going out fashionably dressed, with elaborate hairstyles and makeup. It was a universal youth freelance style, more bling than grunge, urban to the core. The youngsters interacted with the global musical and fashion world with nonchalance – they were totally cool and not impressed at all. The people who were filming them did not have the slightest idea about Yugoslav rock and especially the pre-war rock scene in Sarajevo, something to be proud of on its own. The scene suffered and were killed by snipers and shells in their city: being what they used to be and wanted to be was their way of resistance. The young were producing a war-adapted design in Sarajevo, e.g. a Coca-Cola style logo with the name of the city, or the famous poster with the girl in a T-shirt and the text “Bad teeth, smells like shit – Bosnian girl”.<sup>1</sup> Black humour helped the cause on both domestic and international level. In many publications on the Sarajevo siege, witnesses tell the stories about preparing to fetch water – a deadly task because of snipers – with makeup on and in elegant dresses. For women of all ages, being attractive became a clear political and social sign.

In a multimedia project organized by Transeuropeans, led by Ghislaine Glasson Deschaumes and funded by the EU in 2001–2003, a group of some fifty women from all

<sup>1</sup> Originally designed for public space, the “Bosnian Girl” poster (2003) by artist Šejla Kamerić juxtaposes a portrait of the artist herself in a pose of a fashion model with a found graffiti by an unknown Dutch soldier at Potočari, Srebrenica, where, due to the retreat of the Dutch soldiers in July 1995, paramilitary formations could execute a genocide undisturbed.



parts of former Yugoslavia were visiting memorial sites of the past war – cemeteries, monuments, survivors, institutions. They travelled by bus and had to pass over twelve new frontiers. I participated in writing, interviewing, and providing for some 150 visas for the travellers, but did not travel. The trip was filmed. Only when I saw the documentary, did I notice a phrase by one of the Bosnian women participating: “Give a Bosnian woman a little surma and a lipstick, and she will be happy!” Surma (or khol) is a traditional eyeliner among Muslim women, usually imported from Turkey, and sold in Sarajevo and in the region of Kosovo before the war. The statement was humorous, but also cynical: it referred to donations and new political influence the Muslim countries had in Bosnia, to basic needs, and to the habit of expressing women’s feelings, also those on war and insecurity.

This last example sums up the guidelines for a possible extension of the research and for its anthropological framework regarding women’s makeup in situations of crisis, including the worst of them all – war. It also offers a revealing dimension of the private–public relation/equation. Historical parallels could help understand the polysemic expansion. During World War I, there was a revolution of women’s bodies, which has still not been investigated as fully as it deserves. Women took over the industries, including the production of weapons, taking over tasks from men engaged on the front. Some of the jobs, like the telephone, typing, secretarial and similar jobs remained in women’s domain after the war as well. There were women on the front, messengers, drivers, nurses. To perform well, all these women had to change their body’s image in new spaces: no more sturdy corsetry, long skirts, long hair, huge hats, or uncomfortable shoes. Women became more mobile, quicker, and physically prepared for new tasks, they drove cars and airplanes, smoked, danced, and practiced sports. Film was a crucial factor in these changes, especially the display of heavy makeup for the needs of the black-and-white silent cinematography. The outside emancipation, targeted by the post-war capitalist society for new consumerism aiming at women (cosmetics, fashion, women-only products) was followed by massive engagement for the right of vote. After World War I, a former suffragette movement for women’s vote won a new gravity, the merits of women during the war. The granting of political subjectivity to women was mostly presented as an award and acknowledgment. Russian revolution and the formation of the USSR, the only remaining state after more or less successful revolutionary projects around the world, produced a new, truly revolutionary legislation for women, although the final form was much more restraining than the original communist concept of sexual freedom. The patriarchy took its toll, and the sexual freedom, along with fashion and make-up, were declared bourgeois, non-proletarian habits, and practically banned in the new

society. In the capitalist society, consumerism chopped off a huge portion of emancipation, constantly warning women that they would lose their femininity if they did not buy things that were supposed to make them more seductive. This argument is still in use today, supported by mass media. In both socialist and capitalist cases, emancipation was slowed down and muted to accommodate the essentially same patriarchal rule, with makeup and fashion as the central symbolic area in which social, political, and cultural phantasms were produced using sexuality as a basic tool.

The emancipation of women was strictly controlled and was further reduced during WWII, especially in the American social and cultural context: it was the boys’ war with women as decoration or doom. After the inter-war period and the popularity of emancipated woman, especially in Hollywood films – a heroine is seductive, rich, witty, slightly crazy, and helps a man weakened by the economic crisis – there was a wave of film noir featuring wicked, cold women, useful agents in war preparations. The war in Europe, with the horrible experience of genocide and many women participating in liberation movements and fighting alongside men, left deep traces in the collective psychology and women’s disorientation in the new world. In the new socialist block, women had to adapt to the Soviet rules of behaviour (with Yugoslavia as a marked exception), and in the capitalist Western Europe, the envy of the American living standards and the much richer European political diversity and leftist sympathies made women’s orientations even more difficult. For the immediate post-war period, the contrast between the two film icons is very telling: the hygienic, athletic, and impeccably elegant Esther Williams or Doris Day – or even Rita Hayworth with her perfect hairstyle, on the one hand, and Anna Magnani in a black negligee, with dark circles around the eyes, no makeup and chaotic hair, with her outspoken and desperate sexuality, on the other. This leftist image of sexuality was soon replaced with a bourgeois seductive cocktail of perversity, false innocence, and spoiled-child style of Brigitte Bardot, a presumed European answer to Hollywood sex-bombs and teen stars. Her aggressive makeup, excessive hairstyle, doll-like dresses, and nudity had a French seal of personal liberty – from American credits and economic supremacy to libertinage in love, understood as part of the national quality.

These examples from the 20th century and its cinematographic culture forming the main cluster of popular culture illustrate a few historical aspects of the use of makeup and its semiotic structures, diachronic and synchronic. They show that makeup expresses both private and public positioning of women and that the politics of makeup as a predominantly women’s way of expression has therefore used many strategies in formulating answers to actual situations. Most of these answers show resistance and hatred of war, be it in private or in public situations, varying from

the absence of makeup to insisting on it. Wearing makeup can also be autoreflective and autocritical, as in the statement by the Bosnian woman during the memory travel.

We have seen many possibilities of the public use of makeup in rallies and protests in this century. Sometimes, they have the effect of the historical melting of the warriors’ decorations in older cultures and modern socio-cultural tribes of the subculture: tattoos and makeup, hairstyles,

caps, masks, etc. The newest development of the global pandemic puts forth the question of epidemic cultures, and an obligation to observe and describe new behaviour, the use of the mask certainly being the most remarkable. It may lead to new readings and interpretations of the old and/or different cultures.

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# Hairy Stories

Brigita Miloš

## Povzetek

Besedilo obravnava delovanje lepotnega mita skozi tri mikrosituacije, ki se nanašajo na lasje in dlake na telesu, predvsem skozi vsakdanje življenje avtorice članka. Vsaka mikrosituacija zajema zapleten sistem odnosov družbene moči, ki je vpisan na površine ženskih teles, zlasti tistih, ki se starajo. „Telesne površine“, ki nastanejo v takih odnosih, so tudi podrejene regulativnim praksam glede las in dlak telesa „žensk“, pretežno tistih, ki se identificirajo s cispolom. Trije scenariji tega eseja, ki se nanašajo na raziskovalno delo v vsakdanjem življenju avtorice, želijo opozoriti: na 1) „marginalnost“, „tankost“ in „občutljivost“ določenega dela človeškega telesa, zlasti razširjenega standarda družbene sprejemljivosti telesa; in 3) kako se ta povezuje z afektivno in retorično sposobnostjo posameznega telesa.

Ključne besede: delo lepote, ženske, lasje in dlake na telesu, družbene norme in sprejemljivost telesa, starizem

## Abstract / Introduction

The text discusses the action of the beauty myth through three micro-situations relating to body hair, especially in relation to the everyday life of the author of the text. Each micro-situation encapsulates a complex system of social power relations that is inscribed on the surfaces of female bodies, especially the ones ageing. The “body surfaces” produced by such relationships are also places of the subversion of the regulatory practices regarding body hair and “female” bodies, predominantly those identifying with “cisgender”. The three acts of this essay, all relating to the research work in the everyday life of the author, aim to

point out: 1) the “marginality”, “thinness” and “delicacy” of a particular part of the human, especially (female) body; body hair as 2) an indicator of a prevailing and amassed standard of social acceptability of a body; and 3) how this detail connects with an affective and rhetorical capacity of an individual body.

Key words: beauty labour, women, body hair, body social norms and acceptability, ageism

Between tracking the numbers of the sick and dead due to the COVID-19 virus pandemic and trying to understand the situation in the world, or the complex epidemiological studies together with accustoming to the “new normal”, our bodies have continued to function at their own pace. One of the interesting things that could be read in the media during the lockdown caused by the COVID-19 virus pandemic in Croatia was the question of who cuts the hair or shapes the hairstyles of the members of the National Headquarters for the Fight Against COVID-19. After a few months, the ban on going to hairdressing salons (including beauty salons etc.), should have been visible on the bodies of the people who we saw on the television screens every day. Of course, the consequences of these prohibitions were definitely evident on our bodies. By all means, it is not just a haircut or hair dyeing that has become a complicated issue during the quarantine. Reorganised processes of professional or business affairs, home offices and flexible or undefined working hours (a state of constant availability) invaded the places where our bodies reside. Our homes have moved online – meeting backgrounds, scenes opened to the gaze of others and inviting us to view the choices of the privacy others decided to expose. The “new normal” pushed the limits of the idea of privacy much further than before in a number of (dubious) ways (for example, person-tracking systems as the preventive measure during pandemic), and the home-based workplaces conflated the two previously distinct areas, the private and the public. This situation has called for a (symbolical or real) rearranging of private places to fit the new role. Although the elaboration of all of the possible (or already present) consequences of the quarantine for the people by far exceeds the scope of this paper, it is important to notice specific movements in the dynamics of the private and public spheres.

The need to stay at home resulted in different ways of shaping those segments of our bodies that we adapt, in one way or another, to the public (gaze). The attribute of that shaping that will be discussed in this text is body hair: a detail that is especially intriguing if we are considering bodies that we could in the broadest sense call “female”. The rigorous regimes of grooming hair on women’s bodies in modern times, especially those identifying with “cisgender”,<sup>1</sup> most often pass as versions of general self-care, as hygiene, or as the whims of fashion, whims of the time. Also, the care and

body hairiness most often enter the register of something frivolous, secondary, and ephemeral even in those same female lives. Nevertheless, these labellings do not demean our the fact that, throughout their life, the majority of women engage in numerous practices connected to body hair maintenance (as well as in other forms of beautification) and in doing so they spend their resources (time, energy, money) in order to gain a “specific product”, effect or impact. Besides providing the “aesthetic capital” (Anderson et al., 2010), by engaging in the beauty routine(s) women avoid various forms of social punishment or labelling.

When they analysed middle-aged women’s time spent engaged in the beauty routines, Clarke and Griffin (2008) emphasised the factor of ageing (or ageism) as the primary cause for women’s attempts to keep their look as socially acceptable as possible. It is worthwhile noticing that even young or younger women undergo various beauty procedures as a modus in the capitalisation of their look, but also as a way of decreasing the possibilities of being socially unfitting; from not getting a job because of hairy shins, to being placed on the unflattering margins of the socially accepted “codex” of the feminine look (or even outside those margins).

The mechanism of controlled body images thus consists of the supposed “ideal” and the social “punishment”. The “ideal”, however, is sometimes not even describable, but it is always (tacitly) prescribed and highly functional in the course of many women’s daily lives. The internalisation of the importance of embodying the adequate look according to the norms is what ensures less disturbing social functioning, both in the private and in the public sphere.

Therefore, the three acts of this essay are aimed at emphasising:

1) the “marginality”, “thinness” and “delicacy” of this particular part of the human, especially female body; body hair as 2) an indicator of a prevailing and amassed standard of social acceptability of a body; and 3) how this detail connects with an affective and rhetorical capacity of an individual body.

## Act 1

The time spent in the lockdown from mid-March to mid-May 2020 combined with my personal reluctance to go to the hairdresser regularly resulted in quite a few inch-

work of maintaining an acceptable image, quantity, or form of

<sup>1</sup> A term referring to people whose gender identity matches their sex assigned at birth.

es of my already almost entirely grizzled hair being visible. Empowered by a certain easing of the restrictive measures

caused by the COVID-19 crisis mid-May 2020, I headed to a hair salon to get my hair dyed. The sharp line between the “before” and “after” state of my hair did not only manifest from the outside. While sitting at the hairdresser’s, with my head all wrapped up in plastic sheets and paper towels, I found myself confused and irritated by my own decision. A “rebellious” thought crossed my mind: I will stop dyeing my hair. However, I kept sitting obediently and waiting for the process to end, which resulted in a dark brown colour shining from my head. There were not many to whom I could have communicated my dissatisfaction with my “rejuvenated” look, however, there were many who complimented it.

Rejuvenation or some action that leads towards the conceptualising, understanding of a body/look as being rejuvenated is postulated as a positive social practice. Moreover, it is so because of the fear or disgust of being old; the stance predominant in Western<sup>2</sup> culture. Even more so if the person in question is a cisgendered female.<sup>3</sup>

Empirical studies confirm that grey hair contributes to the impression of ageing. Studies of the facial appearance and hair of volunteers aged 45–81 found that those who used dye were perceived significantly younger than those who did not, independently from any observable skin changes. (Gunn et al., 2009, as cited in: Cecil et al., 2018).

Being perceived as old in contemporary Western societies entails or could provoke different ageist features. According to the World Health Organisation, ageism is

*the stereotyping and discrimination against individuals or groups based on their age; ageism can take many forms, including prejudicial attitudes, discriminatory*

*practices, or institutional policies and practices that perpetuate stereotypical beliefs. [...] Ageism is widely prevalent and stems from the assumption that all members of a group (for example, older adults) are the same. Like racism and sexism, ageism serves a social and economic purpose: to legitimise and sustain inequalities between groups. It’s not about how we look. It’s about how people that have influence assign meaning to how we look. In 2014, governments around the world recognised ageism as the common source of, the justification for, and the driving force behind age discrimination.* (Frequently Asked Questions: Ageism, 2020).

Although ageism is a problem that the WHO describes in terms of generalised humanity, it should be said that this phenomenon has its peculiarities depending on whether it applies to different genders denoted as “female” or “male”. Since Susan Sontag’s critical articulation of the “double standards of ageing” or Simone de Beauvoir’s analysis of ageing, the specifics of the gender discrepancy of ageing must be taken into account. “For most women,” Sontag wrote, “ageing means a gradual process of sexual disqualification” (Sontag, 2018: 20).

The symbolic and cultural framework of femininity is thus primarily determined by being ornamental. If the primary social sphere of a woman is that of reproduction and also sexuality, then the described binary criteria should not come as a surprise. Being held or praised primarily as mothers, (intimate or sexual) partners, care- or life-givers, women actively build the narratives of their lives on the features that enhance their ability to be perceived as “fit-

ting” the so-called “appropriate” femininity. That (ideal) might include different traits, and one of the oldest and most persistent ones is that of the importance of looking young. The semantic circles and associations deriving from being or looking “young” in connection to sexual attraction (primarily to cisgendered men) are connected to the supposed “fertility”, “health”, “strength”, “efficiency”, etc. Compulsory heterosexuality, as well as an overall consumeristic capitalist culture, enforce and base this quest for the forever-young female appearance.

The generally accepted setting of a youthful appearance as a norm probably serves as a fundamental reason for the interventions in their hair. However, hair dyeing also helps women to look “neat”. As stated by many participants in a study conducted as part of the project named the 3rd shift,<sup>4</sup> a youthful look as a requirement and norm is not always in first place when it comes to hair dyeing. Hair dyeing becomes an activity of maintaining body tidiness. Grey hair, visibly different from the rest of the dyed hair, functions as an indicator of personal carelessness and self-neglect. It serves as a signal that a woman is not willing to perform all those actions that would make her look feminine in accordance with a cisgender youth norm. Those actions vary depending on a woman’s chronological age. For the middle-aged and the older women (already partially or entirely symbolically unsubscribed from the list of sexual desirability), they at least include an invariant of basic age-appropriate grooming in order to maintain a look of decency. A successful (socially acceptable) coming of age (Ruddick, 1999; Wendell, 1999) usually consists of

elements expressing a woman’s independence an invariant of “grey hair wisdom” (healthy, groomed look) with the sparkles of decent not-yet lost sexuality<sup>5</sup>. The urge to feel/ to look “neat” might thus be analysed as a symptom of the femininity negotiation process, a work in progress of femaleness (re)scaling and (re)shaping.

Grey or dyed hair is a distinct marker of the negotiation process between personal and socially desirable norms of femininity. In the process of the transition from hair that suggest youthfulness to hair associated with age, the issue of hair growth dynamics is the least important.

As shown in the study conducted by Cecil, Pendry, Salvatore and Kurz (2018), the uneasiness (even fear) caused by the possible social invisibility is what follows the transition to grey, to appearing old. Besides the personal affective uncertainty about one’s attractiveness or desirability, for some participants of the study, the transition to grey hair changed their day-to-day life or behaviour towards them in the workplace. Nonetheless, all of the interviewees reported about going through a change towards what they would understand as their actual appearance. “Rebellious” decisions might take time to show. However, once they appear, it seems they are here to stay and be grey.

## Act 2

She is 11 years old, celebrating her menarche. During the lockdown, she is surprisingly more focused on her immediate surroundings, for example, on her premenopausal mother’s facial hair growth. The observation by the preteen girl of the “inappropriate” facial hair of her mother leads to a rather

<sup>2</sup> The notion of “the West” in this text highly relies on Stuart Hall’s efforts to elaborate on the topics of where and what “the West” is (Hall, 1992).

<sup>3</sup> In their study “Ageism and Feminism: From ‘Et Cetera’ to Center”, Calasanti, Slevin and King (2006) formulate a strong criticism pointed towards feminist writing and its neglect to study the old people on their own terms as well as to theorise the age relations (as relations of unbalanced power systems). For example, and closely connected to the theme of this paper Cruikshank notes the “almost inescapable” judgment that old women’s bodies are unattractive; but we know little about how old women endure this rejection (Cruikshank, 2003: 147). Thus, although reporting about women who have aged “successfully” (Friedan, 1993) might help negate ageist stereotypes of old women as useless or unhappy, it remains ageist in that it reinforces these middle-aged standards. In light of the physical changes that occur as they age, then, many old people must develop strategies to preserve their “youthfulness” so that they will not be seen as old. As a result, old people and their bodies have become subject to a kind of discipline to activity. Those who are chronically impaired, or who prefer to be contemplative are considered to be “problem” old people (Holstein, 1999; Katz, 2000; Holstein and Minkler, 2003). Those who remain active are “not old”; those who are less active are “old” and thus, less valuable” (Calasanti, Slevin and King, 2006).

<sup>4</sup> The project 3rd shift is also a part of the Corneous Stories exhibition, see page 24 in the following publication for the project description. The 3rd shift was held in the city of Rijeka as one of the events of the Capital of Culture Rijeka 2020 programme. The main idea of the project was to explore the relationships between the notion of “labour” and the notion of “beauty”. The research questionnaire was formulated as such and aimed at collecting data about how women conceptualise, valorise, and understand their common or routinised “beauty-as-work”. Using the methodology of a semi-structured interview, the project participants conducted around 60 interviews with women during their appointments in various beauty salons in Rijeka. The data collected through the interviews served as a base for an artistic intervention. Additionally, the collected data in a preliminary analysis shows a prevalent notion of a beauty routine understood as the practice of personal pleasure or as an activity aimed at increasing one’s own value and producing a higher self-esteem. Nonetheless, the beauty routines are frequently described as tiring, necessary, energy-draining and time-consuming. In the majority of cases, the interviewees concluded that their beauty routines are a form of labour. The interviewees placed particular emphasis on the notion of health-hazardous beauty routines. A vast majority of the interviewed women expressed their reluctance to engage in such drastic beauty actions. The smaller group of women testified to their satisfaction with the results of various invasive cosmetological practices. (Cf. <http://drugo-more.hr/3-smjena/>)

<sup>5</sup> The collection of essays gathered in the publication *Mother Time: Women, Ageing and Ethics* (1999) treats the problem of women’s aging processes in several different ways. Some of the texts refer to or reflect on the allegedly desirable, i.e. modern days consumeristic-prescribed invariants of female ageing. The common line of argumentation could be described as a reluctance to accept or a critique directed to late capitalist consumeristic trends present in the age – management “tips and tricks” as in numerous other areas of (women’s) lives.

painful DIY facial hair waxing followed by a mild to moderate upper-lip inflammation and infection. Again, not many there to hear my whining. However, enough to tell me about methods other than DIY, ones that are more efficient and less complicated, to remove the unwanted signs of my “hormonal hurricanes”.

Women’s facial hair seems to be a bodily manifestation even less desirable than grey hair, hairy armpits, shins, legs or the pubic hair area. The face occupies a privileged position in self-exposing situations regardless of different cultural context and protocols. The features of female and male sex manifest on human faces in several ways, one of them being hairiness.

As medical and biological research has shown, the amount of hair on human bodies is conditioned by the hormonal setting of each particular body. Endocrinology, as well as gynaecology, emphasises the importance of one particular hormone present in a more significant amount in female bodies, that of oestrogen. Oestrogen is said to be the most “women-friendly” hormone, responsible for the development of all sorts of traditionally feminine bodily features. Ann Fausto Sterling (1999) has shown how the decline of this particular hormone during the perimenopausal period is being treated both in scientific research and in medical practice, and Rebecca Herzig (2015) writes about what amount of female hairiness is the indicator for engaging in the hormonal, hair-removal treatment when hirsutism<sup>6</sup> and hypertrichosis<sup>7</sup> are diagnosed.<sup>8</sup> Mona Chaladi (2017) writes that about one in fourteen women has hirsutism. This short excursion in aetiology of female facial hairiness does nothing to the fact that this hair is in the majority of cases unwanted. Much like de Beauvoir’s statement regarding the bare biological facts about the differences between the male and female sex features carry no meaning per se, but rather form their meanings in the realm of the social life.

6 “Hirsutism in women is defined as excessive coarse hair appearing in a male-type pattern. It represents exposure of hair follicles to high levels of the male hormone androgen in the blood and/or the hair follicle itself. Consequently, one-half of women with mild hirsutism have elevated levels of circulating androgens, as do most women with more severe hirsutism, although the severity of hirsutism is not necessarily proportion to the circulating androgen level. It is important to recognize that hirsutism can be an emotional burden that can harm one’s self-esteem and body image. Many women with hirsutism report feeling unfeminine and embarrassed due to unwanted hair. Many of these women also hide their hair growth and avoid physical closeness with others to conceal it. Because hair removal can be time-consuming, expensive, and frustrating, many hirsute women feel unable to manage their hair removal effectively, and some experience depression. Nevertheless, significant variability exists in how women view their hirsutism, ranging from not bothersome to humiliating.” (Hirsutism, 2020)

7 “Hypertrichosis is excessive hair growth over and above the normal for the age, sex and race of an individual, in contrast to hirsutism, which is excess hair growth in women following a male distribution pattern. Hypertrichosis can develop all over the body or can be isolated to small patches. Hypertrichosis may be congenital (present at birth) or acquired (arises later in life).” (Ngan, 2003)

8 The Ferriman–Gallwey score is a method of evaluating and quantifying hirsutism in women. The method was initially published in 1961 by D. Ferriman and J.D. Gallwey in the *Journal of Clinical Endocrinology*. The original method used 11 body areas to assess hair growth. Still, it was decreased to nine areas of the body in the modified method: upper lip, chin, chest, upper back, lower back, upper abdomen, lower abdomen, upper arms, forearms (deleted in the modified method), thighs, legs (removed in the modified method). The technique was further revised in 2001 to include a total of 19 locations, with the ten additional locations being: sideburns, neck, buttocks, inguinal area, perianal area, forearm, leg, foot, toes, and fingers. Each area has its own specified definition of the four-point scale. The scale modifies depending on racial factors expectations regarding the hair amount on the female body. Feminist writings on the subject of Ferriman–Gallwey scale have highlighted racial as well as gender-biased elements in the “measuring” instrument in question. (Ferriman–Gallwey scoring system, 2020)

From the cases of extreme female facial hairiness known in the popular culture under the name of “the bearded lad”, to Shakespeare’s three bearded sisters in *Macbeth* or Disney’s depictions of evil witches with their faces strategically decorated with a few sprouts of terminal hair, or Duchamp’s intervention of the Mona Lisa on a postcard, the semantic value of female (extreme?) facial hairiness is always an odd and unnatural situation that crosses the borders of the two binary naturalised invariants of human physical appearance. Hairiness on a woman’s face as a sign of masculinisation (virilisation!) is thus a contradiction to femininity and a condition that must be personally avoided and/or socially prevented (either via medicalisation or via employing the social mechanism of shaming).

How the “social meaning” might influence the rhetoric of supposedly purely descriptive scientific paragraphs might be evident in David Reuben’s description of women in the menopause:

*The vagina begins to shrivel, the breasts atrophy, sexual desire disappears. [...] Increased facial hair, deepening voice, obesity [...] coarsened features, enlargement of the clitoris, and gradual baldness complete the tragic picture. Not really a man but no longer a functional woman, these individuals live in the world of intersex* (Fausto Sterling, 1999).

The “informative” content of the cited description is at least two-fold: firstly, there is supposedly only the binary model of human sex/gender possibilities; secondly, there is the confusion, disgust or even horror caused by those who inhabit the space in-between or outside the presupposed binarism. It is not necessary to invoke Paul Preciado’s gender-hacking attempts to think about being in the process of transgressing. In Testo Junkie (2013), among other topics, Preciado describes his out-of-protocol testosterone intake resulting in the queering up of the body. Standard menopausal hormonal protocols are rarely seen as a queer issue. More often as a feminist one. Oestrogen replacement therapy is seen as a form of patriarchal surveillance of the female reproductive body; it is condemned as a means of increasing the pharmaceutical industry’s profit; its effects on the health and wellbeing of women are exposed as dubious. The consequences of hormonal rebalancing, like unwanted facial hair, are also a feminist issue. Moreover, how familiar do the following thoughts sound?

*Many women who recognise beauty norms as oppressive feel humiliated by the inability to escape them. They are ashamed of feeling ashamed. Writing about her resort to electrolysis to eliminate unsightly facial hair, Wendy Chapkis confesses: I am a feminist. How humiliated I then feel. I am a woman. How ugly I have been made to feel. I have failed on both counts* (Rhode, 2016).

### Act 3

Because of my twisted spine and a lifestyle that includes many hours of sitting, massages have often provided a life-saving solution to the stiffness and pain I feel in my back. During one treatment, I was told that, if I wanted, I could use disposable panties so I would not have to worry about the massage

oil on my underwear. I opened the package and saw them: the back part resembled thongs, and the front one consisted of a narrow piece of fabric in the shape of a square.

If the face, in most cases and especially in the West, is the part of the body that is primarily or most exposed to the views of others, than the genitalia are the parts of the human body whose public or private exposure is the subject of numerous written or unwritten social rules, prohibitions, and protocols.

The double coding of the possibilities or permissions to expose the genitals to the views of others is already evident at the level of the naming. Private body parts unequivocally make known the kind of semantic, rhetorical possibilities they imply. To see someone’s private parts exposed is to see that person naked or nude. Unlike in the present, nudity was not always regarded as a “private”, shameful, sometimes obscene or indiscrete, problematic or even suspicious state of the human body. On the other hand, thinking about the human body<sup>9</sup> also implies its nakedness as some presumed “first” or “elementary” state. All people share one universal feature: the fact that all of us, every human is born naked. Nevertheless, the “fantasies of universality” (Barcan, 2004) remain nothing more than what the term suggests, because “the meanings and experiences of nudity differ markedly between contexts” (Barcan, 2004). One of them is highly relevant in the Western cultural tradition: the context of gender. While the naked white male body represents or may represent the norm of generalised humanity (Vitruvian man), the naked white female body is the first to be “secondary”, different, even a deviation in such generalised treatment. In addition to not fitting perfectly into the assumed measures of “humanity”, the female body, and especially if it is naked, is often the subject of multiple surveillance techniques. Female nudity functions as a metonymic shift from nudity to sexuality. With this shift, the analytical optics of the relationship between power and knowledge also open.

In the paragraphs dedicated to pubic hair as a means of the “cover” of genitalia, Ruth Barcan (2004) offers a short history of the dynamics of the hairless and hairy female genital area. Although at first glance it may seem that pubic hair removal practices are a trend primarily related to the present, there are several examples from the ancient past that point to the fact that female genital hairlessness is a fairly old phenomenon. Additionally, it was spread throughout different geographical and cultural contexts (ancient Egypt, Japan, etc.) and it is associated with the notion of sexuality, as well as with social class and economic fluxes. In this sense, as a curiosity, it should be noted that in ancient Rome, shaved female genitalia was a kind of imperative for members of higher social strata. Today, however, such practices are present and available to a large number of women, regardless

9 Feminist theorist Gayatri Spivak says: “If one thinks of the body as such, there is no possible outline of the body as such. There are body systematization considerations, there are valorizing body codings. The body as such cannot be thought of, and I certainly cannot access it” (Spivak, 1989). And feminist phenomenologist Moira Gatens adds: “I have never encountered a picture of the human body. Images of human bodies are either images of man or images of women.” (Gatens, 1996)

of their economic or social status. However, with the “democratisation” of female pubic hair removal today, the focus is less on the product and more on the removal process. In terms of “waxing work”,

*(t)he service workers who perform the sticky work of genital waxing are tied to their client’s bodily location. In this sense, genital waxing bears important similarities to the forms of service provision—housekeeping, child care, elder care—more typically studied by theorists of postindustrial labour* (Herzig, 2015).

All of the services numbered above partake in the rich puzzle of female or feminised jobs. Rebecca Herzig emphasises,

*Brazilian waxing, like other kinds of feminised service labour, relies on the mobile women workers moving through the ‘lower circuits’ of global restructuring. It is revealing indeed that when discussing the production of shunned, ‘wasted’, disposable workers in the contemporary global economy, the sociologist Zygmunt Bauman likened these ‘collateral casualties of progress’ to the ritual removal of hair* (Herzig, 2015).

Furthermore, the job of removing pubic hair restructures the idea of private and public in the context of the genitalia. The privacy of these parts of the body preserved precisely by the idea of inaccessibility (visual, tactile) is no longer possible in the process of depilation. What is at work is the paradox of disciplinal regulated intimacy. The exposure of private body parts to persons who are not the part of the socially appropriate intimate circle<sup>10</sup> is acceptable in the case of genital waxing precisely because this kind of exposure is necessary to achieve the norm of the publicly proclaimed ideal of the private body parts. Reshaped “privacy” functions in full accordance with social (and market) demands, especially so if we take into consideration the fact of female disposable panties (and many others) being produced in the shape of a square. The front of the panties is still mostly shaped in the form of a triangle. What the “squaring” of the panties might entail is the fact that waxed female pubic hair is something understood as a “normal”, “ordinary” or “natural” state of this part of the (cis-)female body. Therefore, in this particular case, the square form is a symptom of already disrupted, regulated or invaded privacy (of the private parts).

### Epilogue

In a study on female body hair removing practices in the UK, the authors concluded that

*over 90% of participants reported having removed hair from their underarms and legs, and over 80% from their pubic area and eyebrows. Hair removal from these regions in*

10 “Most people carefully guard their modesty, choosing carefully to whom they will reveal their entire bodies. For most people that circle is limited to lovers, close friends, or immediate family.” (Lunceford, 2019)

particular; therefore, may be understood as normative (Toerien, Wilkinson and Choi, 2005).

Normative behaviours in the context of female aestheticization, even when they are expressed in exact and high percentages do not seem surprising (anymore). The time of increasingly intense “feminism of choice” is conducive to a wide variety of expressions and versions of female self-awareness. “In the bloom of a thousand flowers” different actions can be delivered as emancipatory. Of course, it remains to be seen in the most abstract art of interpretation how much some of the expressions are what they claim to be. Moreover, it is not just a feminist speciality to be open to conflict, even contradictory interpretations. Every identity politics faces similar theoretical obstacles.

However, what can be said about one aspect of feminist insights – those concerning disciplinary practices that condition the visibility of the female body – is that these insights point excellently to one of the oldest and most fully “naturalised” ways of controlling women’s lives. Women’s preoccupation with their appearance, no matter whether a positive or a negative sign is given to these actions, deprives women of valuable resources. The expenditure of time, energy and money in actions that shape them in a socially acceptable way is a questionable investment, if we

are to employ the logic of “adapted utility”.<sup>11</sup> The unstoppable processes of bodily changes caused by ageing, for example, are in advance the winners in the game of managing one’s appearance.

Far from saying that, this epilogue seeks to advocate a position of the “carefree ignoring” of cultural and therefore aesthetic norms present in every society. Such an attitude is too utopian to have the force of an argument, no matter how theoretically elaborate it has been so far. Instead, this epilogue advocates the rejection of body shame. Be it the shame caused by actions socially declared as excessive, or those detected as insufficient in an ongoing production of cisgender femininity. And this is not about the “laissez-faire” of bodily entrepreneurship. This entrepreneurship is already present and determined by a double constraint. Whether a woman occupies herself with beauty actions or not, she is equally doomed. What could function as a remedy for social pressures is the exponential expansion of gender/female-design possibilities. Innumerable and diverse, cracking the beauty shell from the inside.

11 When a woman conforms to contemporary beauty ideals, although she fully understands the social circumstances underpinning this ideal. The anticipated benefit of subjecting to different normative practices is estimated to outweigh the gains of the abstinence from those practices. (See: Rhode, 2016: 706–707)

# Cosmetics, Cars and the “Diesel Exhaust Curtain”

\*Katja Kobolt

## Abstract / Introduction

In the article, I walk along the explorations on the history of film as outlined by Mereike Bernien art works – her collage Toxic Polish<sup>1</sup> and her film Rainbow’s Gravity co-authored together with Kerstin Schroedinger – as well as the film Newsreel 63 – The Train of Shadows by Nika Autor. I resume their exposures of material connections between film history, (car) mobility, and cosmetics: (Celluloid) film, car and polish were not only based on the same chemical structure – synthetic nitrocellulose – they share the circuit of their popularization and they advanced into the quintessential attributes of a specific paradigm of modernity.

I use these findings to look at the material cultures of cosmetics and automobility and their articulations primarily in terms of the social coding of female gender and everyday life during socialism and today. I upgrade the findings of artistic research with a critical discourse analysis of the mentioned artworks, as well as predominantly culturological understandings of the practice of cosmetics and car mobility in socialism. I lean on historical sources (especially the Slovenian magazines Jana and Avto magazin) and statistical data on the consumption of cosmetics and car mobility in Slovenia. What has been the role of the cultural practices of cosmetics and car mobility within the articulation of modern socialist and present femininity? What do the (post-)socialist shifts in population’s mobility, the import of cars, the road traffic regulations and cosmet-

ics expose about the post-socialist “normalisation” process and the new geopolitical order in Europe and how does this affect air quality? In the conclusion, I focus primarily on Slovenia, serving as one of the markets where Western, especially German used cars find their second homeland. While Germany, with measures such as “environmental or scrapping bonus” (Umwelt- or Abwrackprämie) in the face of the COVID-19 economic stagnation, again considered subsidies for its car industry (and to boost the renewal of its car park), Eastern Europe and Africa have recently become lucrative markets for used, “dirty” second-hand diesel cars and are faced with growing environmental and health crisis of air pollution. However, the historical race between collective mobility (mainly train) and private mobility (mainly cars), has been won by cars and in the “multi-speed” Europe,<sup>2</sup> the iron curtain has been replaced by the one of diesel exhaust.

Key words: Rainbow’s Gravity by Mereike Bernien and Kerstin Schroedinger, Newsreel 63 – The Train of Shadows by Nika Autor, cosmetics, automobility, environmental crisis, gender, post-socialism

2 A similar concept is also “variable-geometry” Europe which is “the term used to describe the idea of a method of differentiated integration in the European Union. It acknowledges that, particularly since the EU’s membership almost doubled in under a decade, there may be irreconcilable differences among countries and that there should be a means to resolve such stalemates. It would enable groups of countries wishing to pursue a given goal to do so, while allowing those opposed to hold back.” Cf. [https://eur-lex.europa.eu/summary/glossary/variable\\_geometry\\_europe.html](https://eur-lex.europa.eu/summary/glossary/variable_geometry_europe.html)

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1 See the collage Toxic Polish by Mereike Bernien in this publication, pages 8–15.

## Povzetek

V članku Kozmetika, avtomobili in „zavesa izpušnih plinov“ se sprehodim vstric umetniških raziskovanj zgodovine filma, kot so jih začrtala umetniška dela Mereike Bernien – kolaž Toxic Polish in film Rainbow’s Gravity v soavtorstvu s Kerstin Schroedinger –, pa tudi film Obzornik 63 - Vlak senc avtorice Nike Autor. Naslanjam se predvsem na njihova razkritja materialnih povezav med zgodovino filma, (avto)mobilnostjo in kozmetiko. (Celuloidni) film, avtolak in lak za nohte niso le temeljili na enaki kemični strukturi – sintetični nitrocelulozi – sklenili so tudi krogotok vzajemne popularizacije in hkrati predstavljali bistvene attribute specifične paradigme modernosti v vsakdanjem življenju od dvajsetega stoletja dalje.

Ta dognanja uporabim za pogled na materialni kulturi kozmetike in avtomobilnosti ter njenih artikulacij predvsem v smislu družbenega kodiranja ženskega spola in vsakdanjega življenja v času socializma in danes. Na ta način uvozim v članek dognanja umetniškega raziskovanja, ki jih nadgradim s kritično diskurzivno analizo omenjenih umetniških del, pa tudi z dosedanjimi predvsem kulturološkimi tolmačenji praks kozmetike in avtomobilnosti v času socializma, z upoštevanjem zgodovinskih virov (predvsem slovenskih revij Jana in Avto magazin) pa tudi statistike, tako na področju potrošnje kozmetike kakor tudi avtomobilnosti v Sloveniji. Kakšna je bila vloga materialnih praks kozmetike in avtomobilnosti v artikulaciji moderne socialistične in sedanje ženskosti? Kaj (po)socialistični premiki mobilnosti prebivalstva, uvoz avtomobilov, cestnoprometni predpisi in kozmetika razkrivajo o posocialističnem procesu „normalizacije“ in novem geopolitičnem redu v Evropi in kako se ta odraža na kvaliteti zraka? Pri tem se v zaključku osredotočim predvsem na Slovenijo, ki služi kot eden od trgov, na katerih Zahodni, predvsem nemški, rabljeni avtomobili najdejo svojo drugo domovino. Medtem ko je Nemčija z ukrepi, kot so „okoljski ali preša-bonus“ („Umwelt- ali Abwrackprämie“) ob gospodarski krizi, ki jo je povzročil COVID-19, ponovno razmišljala o subvencijah za svojo avtomobilsko industrijo (in s tem o obnovi svojega voznega parka), sta Vzhodna Evropa in Afrika v zadnjih letih postali donosna trga za rabljene, „umazane“ dizelske avtomobile in se soočata z naraščajočo okoljsko in zdravstveno krizo onesnaženosti zraka. V zgodovinski dirki med kolektivno (predvsem vlak) in privatno mobilnostjo (predvsem avto) so zmagali avtomobili in v „Evropi več hitrosti“ je železno zaveso zamenjala tista iz izpušnih plinov.

Ključne besede: Nika Autor Obzornik 63 – Vlak senc, Mereike Bernien in Kerstin Schroedinger Rainbow’s Gravity, kozmetika, avtomobilnost, spol, okoljska kriza, posocializem

## Transitioning historical experience

With the multi-layered film Newsreel 63 – The Train of Shadows (2017, 38 min) Nika Autor<sup>1</sup> depicts the history of the 20th century modernization process as driven by two technological inventions of the 19th century: train and film. The narration of the film departs from a particular image: a snippet of video shot with a mobile phone on the Belgrade–Ljubljana rail line, which once brought migrant workers from Yugoslavia, Turkey and elsewhere to the West (mainly Germany) and where refugees now travel not in couchettes, but between the train’s wheels. The Train of Shadows drifts into a visual investigation of railways and film, exploring their

<sup>1</sup> Based in Ljubljana, Nika Autor is an artist working with experimental videos, documentary films, film essays, newsreels, and spatial video- and film installations based on research into invisibilities/inaudibilities related to concealed topics of the forgotten past and the silenced present. She is part of Obzorniška Fronta (Newsreel Front), an informal collective of workers from the fields of film theory and art practice.

historical, social, and (geo- and affective) political narratives, thereby parallelising the ascent of the Yugoslav socialist modernisation process and its disintegration with the Yugoslav construction, expansion, and post-socialist stagnation of railways.

Formally, the film inscribes itself into the newsreel series by Nika Autor and Obzorniška Fronta.<sup>2</sup> Based on the medium of a newsreel, a short documentary genre on the topics of public interest screened before movies, which experienced its golden age with the peak of railways and disappeared from cinema in the 1970s, The Train of Shadows is composed of overlaid, mainly found footage. From L’arrivée d’un train en gare de La Ciotat (The Arrival of a Train at La Ciotat Station, 1895) by Auguste and Louis Lumière, over footage of Soviet Bolshevik agit-trains to Krsto Papić’s Specialni vlakovi (Special Trains, 1972), which is a documentation of organized labour mobility of Yugoslav workers to Munich central station, Federal Republic of Germany (BRD), where the worker’s names got replaced by numbers and they soon began working also in German film- and car factories. The original shots capture the train passage somewhere on the Belgrade–Ljubljana route and an improvised shelter that refugees made on their “Balkan route” at the former estate of the Jugoslovanske željeznice (Yugoslav railways) in the centre of Belgrade. At the very same spot, a new prestigious real-estate project Beograd na vodi (Belgrade Waterfront) by an Abu-Dhabi-based investor, responsible also for building the Burj Khalifa, currently heats up the real estate market. People on their way away from war and poverty towards a hopefully better future in the improvised emergency shelter warm themselves up and cook their food on improvised fireboxes fed with wooden sleepers. The used components of rail tracks are impregnated with toxic chemicals that evaporate into the food and lungs of the refugees. The end of the film brings back the lead image – a snippet of video shot with a mobile phone by two refugees while they were travelling lodged between the train’s wheels from Belgrade to Ljubljana. What film captures in 2016 is the precarious situation of refugees that has been lasting for years and happening even before Europe enclosed itself with a razor wire.

See a video still from Nika Autor, Newsreel 63 – The Train of Shadow (2017, 38 min), image 2 at the page 65.

<sup>2</sup> Nika Autor started the newsreel series in 2009 with her film Report on the situation of asylum seekers in Republic of Slovenia, which was followed by Postcards (2011) on criminalization and victimization of migrants through images broadcasted by the Slovenian public television. A year later, Autor collaborated with Aigul Hakimova, Esad Kapić and Arimin Salihović to explore the exploitation of migrant workers in Slovenia, mainly from former Yugoslav republics, in In the land of Bears (2012). The 2014 The News Is Ours! Newsreel 55 explored the history and economy of the former Yugoslavia. The 2016 Newsreel 64 – The Wire researched the history of barbed razor wire in the 20th and 21st century – the barbed wire with which Schengen Europe currently fences itself with. The above-mentioned The News Belongs to us! Newsreel 63 – The Train of Shadow was commissioned in 2017 for the Slovenian Pavilion at the Venice Biennale. The 2019 Happiness for You and Your Family Newsreel 62 – Family and Worker is devoted to the international exhibitions organized under the patronage of the United Nations at the Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art Koroška, Slovenj Gradec. The same year, the installation Newsreel Tribute – Prime Time in Camps and Slon Tango consisted of the purchase of two Chris Marker films, both shot in Ljubljana, and their donation to the national Museum of Modern Art in Ljubljana for its art collection. <https://www.autor.si/>

The method of overlaying images or film transition, however not (only) within the postproduction process but already with effects within a mise-en-scène,<sup>3</sup> are techniques not used exclusively by Nika Autor in her film The Train of Shadows. The technique is frequently used in contemporary (art) film, probably because it enables a synthesis of “synchronic” and “diachronic” viewpoints. The postmodern suspicion of materialist vision of art and cultural production seems to finally have become obsolete. The postmodern doubt was suspicious of a diachronic approach to analyse a sign, an image or a language in its historical development and its relation to a particular social and historical context. The postmodern scepticism, genealogy of which goes back to the post-structuralist sign theory, was based on the observation that a diachronically analysed sign exceeds “the context not only diachronically, always temporally going beyond a given reading, but also synchronically, always available to another reading at the same time, even in the supposedly ‘original’ moment when they were first produced”. And yet, despite the postmodern discontent with reading of an image as a sign of “multiple histories” (Frow, in *ibid.*), a dialectics of both views, the diachronic and the synchronic ones, seems to be a useful technique capturing the accelerated contradictions of the present time. A technique of narrating the present antagonistic positionalities of subjects, intersectionally trajected by accelerated identity violence. Saturated inequalities based on contingent, however naturalized attributes (classicized, gendered, raced, geopolitical etc.) co-exist simultaneously, not only beyond the razor wire, sometimes even in the same time-space of the planetary capitalism.

With a similar image over-laying method to Nika Autor’s questioning of the capacity of moving images today for an affective-political mobilization of emancipatory movements, Mareike Bernien<sup>4</sup> and Kerstin Schroedinger in their film Rainbow’s Gravity (2014) also explore the usage of moving images for disengaging and depolitical effects: “looking away in colour” or “not looking there in colour”.<sup>5</sup>

See a video still from Mareike Bernien’s and Kerstin Schroedinger’s Rainbow’s Gravity, 2014, image 3 at the page 65.

With the film Rainbow’s Gravity, as also with other projects like the collage Toxic Polish (2018–2020) and

<sup>3</sup> Images creating cuculoris, a lightning technique where an object or an image is placed between the light source to create shadows or silhouettes, or framing other images with physical overlaying of filmed images, projection of images over mise-en-scène, montage etc.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. artistic biography of the artists on page 18 of this publication.

<sup>5</sup> Quoted from Mareike Bernien and Kerstin Schroedinger: Rainbow’s Gravity (2014).

the film Chromapolitics<sup>6</sup> (2016), Mareike Bernien turned to the exploration of the colour film history, especially as written by two colour film production companies Technicolor (founded in the USA in 1915) and Agfa (first founded as Aktiengesellschaft für Anilinfabrikation in 1867 in Germany). In her collage Toxic Polish, Bernien reveals the common material of the celluloid film, car paint and nail polish:<sup>7</sup> the synthetic nitrocellulose (also called guncotton).

The three products based on nitrocellulose also shared the circuit of their popularisation. If (in the East) the train brought moving images of (October) revolution to the people (Levi, 2012; Kim, 2017), (in the West) film promoted car mobility and cosmetics (Segrave, 2004). Rainbow’s Gravity not only unveils the genealogy of the Agfacolor colour film as an industrial and propagandistic tool of the Nazis, but also considers the affective political dimension of colour film in relation to the black-and-white image. The film problematizes the role of black-and-white (moving) images in the construction of history, especially the history of Nazism and fascism. While political appropriation constructed the black-and-white medium to connote historical remoteness, colour has been used to connote proximity. Rainbow’s Gravity turns to what has to be covered by the black-and-white construction of historical distance, to be overlaid and blurred away from the understanding of history and its legacies in the present: fascism and Nazism.<sup>8</sup>

The film stages the history of the colour film Agfacolor-Neu. From 1938 to 1945, Agfa’s factory in Wolfen exploited many thousands of forced labourers, mainly war- and concentration-camp prisoners especially from the Eastern Europe to work with toxic chemicals (in almost complete darkness) to produce the colour film (Schmelzer, 1997). Agfa was awarded for the invention of the colour film technique at the Venice Biennale

<sup>6</sup> Mareike Bernien on the project Chromapolitics: “Until recently, the issue of color has rarely been addressed in the fields of film theory or cultural studies, leaving its ideological and material implications often unseen. On the basis of extensive research on the histories of two color film production companies, Technicolor and Agfa, my work moves the focus of color in film decisively away from its symbolic or narrative function and towards its inherent ideologies and invisibilized means of production and normative effects. Following this turn, the project pursues the following questions: What unreflected color codes structure our vision? Which social codes and categories are produced by color? How does the color material of a particular period shape our perception of history? How might color then allow for interventions into constructions of temporality and historicity? The project asks how film colors produce and stabilize temporalities, social codes, and categories, and at the same time, it tries to find out how these can be rewritten via color. As a visual element emancipated from narration and naturalism, color has the potential to cross existing temporal, spatial, and social orders, and create unfamiliar, new connections. Within this media-archeological investigation, I combine theoretical reflection with cinematic visual practice in order to establish a vocabulary of vision capable of putting hegemonic patterns of perception and structures of interpretation into question. By re-staging and re-reading found footage in performative set-ups, I intervene in the politics of archiving to open access to hidden readings of the color image itself. This mode of re-reading transforms the colors of film history from within, by using the material of film color to work with and against film history” (Bernien, 2016).

<sup>7</sup> Celluloid, material carrier of photos and moving images before the invention of acetate film in the 1950s.

<sup>8</sup> In his Discourse on Colonialism, Aimé Césaire (2000 [1950]) proposed that with fascism and Nazism, colonial violence has found its way home to Europe, a thesis Margareta Kern (2020) further develops in her analysis of today’s surveillance capitalism within the COVID-19 pandemic.

(ibid.). The factory based in Wolfen, Germany, continued the practice also after the war, in the German Democratic Republic (DDR), engaging many prisoners workers, mainly women.<sup>9</sup> Another Agfa company – Agfa Camerawerk in Munich – used forced labour from the women’s concentration camp Ravensbruck, mainly exploiting women from Poland and the Netherlands but also from Yugoslavia, Belgium and France (Fengler, 2011). After World War II, many German factories in technological and car industries (BWM, Daimler Benz, Volkswagen, etc.), including Agfa, continued to depend on foreign labour force, be it the “guest workers” (Gastarbeiters<sup>10</sup>) or by moving their factories to countries with cheaper labour.<sup>11</sup>

### Cars and cosmetics

Let us move from film to the other two products developed by chemical industry, which were originally based on synthetic nitrocellulose: car paint and nail polish. As Merike Bernien reveals in her Toxic Polish collage

*Nitrocellulose also became the ground component of car paint in the 1920s. The new paints were created in response to the advent of serial production in automobile industry in the US. Protective paints that were quick-drying were in demand. The new coatings were more durable, abrasion-resistant, water-insoluble and appeared in the most diverse synthetic colors. The first industrial nail polish was a byproduct of this new car paint* (Bernien, 2020:11).

In her research, Bernien also points out some past and recent advertising projects which directly address the connection between car paint and nail polish or cosmetics: the 2017 Renault Twingo nail polish commercial (this car is produced in the Revoz factory in Novo Mesto, Slovenia), a marketing strategy already used to promote Ford Mustang in 1967.

See the advertisements (images 4-6) at the page 65.

Both colourful cars and coloured nails were gradually introduced as mass consumer goods in post-war Europe, not only in the West, from late 1950s onwards also in socialist Yugoslavia. In a destroyed and burned-down country, which was Yugoslavia after WWII, young volunteers organized in youth brigades were rapidly building railways and a 382-km highway connecting the capital, Belgrade, with Zagreb. At first, especially the train and gradually also the car enabled

<sup>9</sup> Cf. the 2014 film by Anna Schmidt and Susann Krüger Happy Brigades and forced labor – Working women of Wolfen: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9Sg79dtPq5E> (July 30, 2020)

<sup>10</sup> The German colloquial term “Gastarbeiters” (guest workers) was used for migrant workers who came to West Germany in the wake of the Recruitment Agreements (Anwerbeabkommen) to boost the postwar German economy. From the mid-1950s to 1968, nine bilateral Recruitment Agreements were signed between BRD and Italy (1955), Spain and Greece (1960), Turkey (1961), Morocco and South Korea (1963), Portugal (1964), Tunisia (1965), and Yugoslavia (1968). (Kobolt, 2018)

<sup>11</sup> In 2005, AgfaPhoto GmbH reported insolvency in Munich. Up to that day, the factory employed many migrant workers. The historiography on post-war German migrant workers remains insufficiently explored in the context of Germany and also in the historical discourses of the states these “guest workers” were coming from. However, this aspect of German history has been a subject of many artistic projects, among other the works by Cana Bilir-Meier, Nuray Demir, Bülent Kullkeu, and others.

mobility of the new labour force who left the countryside to work in the growing cities and towns where industries had been rebuilt and newly introduced. Train and car mobility were therefore important tools of post-war modernisation also in socialist Yugoslavia. However, along the way, the car took over the train. In his study on “fičo”, Zastava 750 (or 600 and 800), an iconic car driven in socialist Yugoslavia, Martin Pogačar (2016) writes:

*Before a means of transport for the wealthy, [the car] became an indispensable part of the everyday of masses and with that also an important identifier of a particular understanding of the world around us and of a particular generation, gender emancipation and autonomy, and sociability in general* (Pogačar, 2016: 12) [translated by KK].

With that, I move towards the implications of this historic victory of automobility (enabling the mobility of individuals and nuclear families) and connect it to the modern material practice of cosmetics and women’s emancipation. Finally, I will also look at the current car markets in East Europe, especially in Slovenia and what implications could be drawn from them regarding the new geopolitical order in Europe.

Conceptually, I derive this threefold question from the three aspects of automobility as proposed by Steffen Böhm (2006) “one of the principal socio-technical institutions and practices that seek to organize, accelerate and shape the spatial movements and impacts of automobiles, whilst simultaneously regulating their many consequences”; 2) “an ideological or discursive formation, embodying ideals of freedom, privacy, movement, progress and autonomy”; 3) “a phenomenology, a set of ways of experiencing the world which serve both to legitimize its dominance and radically unsettle taken-for-granted boundaries separating human from machine.” (ibid, 1). Looking at automobility and cosmetics as signifiers of modernity I wonder about the shifts (or continuities?) in women’s emancipation, as well as governance, especially in relation to the new geopolitical order in Europe as proposed from the present European automobility-“geographies”. My leading questions here are: What has been the role of the cultural practices of cosmetics and car mobility within the articulation of modern socialist and present femininity, as proposed by the selected Slovenian socialist print? What could the (post-)socialist shifts in population’s mobility, the import of cars, the road traffic regulations, and cosmetics indicate about the post-socialist “normalisation” process and the new geopolitical order in Europe?

### Groomed women on the way to the “multi-speed” Europe

See images 7 and 8, the title page of the magazine Jana and commercial for Angora fashion label, both from 1972, at the pages 65 and 66.

Since its emergence in the mid-19th century, global beauty industry has recorded continuous growth.<sup>12</sup> After WWII, the market of cosmetics in Western Europe was expanding at an unbelievable speed (Jones, 2006: 12).<sup>13</sup> The usage – or at first the non-usage – of cosmetics and, with it, the construction of specific “cold war” femininities served as a visual marker of ideological shifts within different geopolitical blocks (West and East) and within the socialist modernization process itself (Kobolt, 2019). While after the October revolution and in the post-war years, “socialist” women were styled with no or few cosmetic products, the image of a woman wearing make-up and nail polish, which used to be an attribute of “Western” femininity, advanced gradually also in the socialist countries and has developed into a dominant global image of a woman embodying modernity since the 1950s.

In her ethnographic exploration of women emancipation as materialized through practices of consumerism, Polona Sitar (2017) portrays consumerism and the usage of cosmetics as quintessential practices and symbols of women’s emancipation within the historical development of socialist Yugoslavia.<sup>14</sup> The socialist Yugoslav society revolutionized the position of women, who were juridically (women had no reproductive rights, the regulations of marriage were closely bound to religion, etc.), politically (women had no voting rights), and economically (in some parts of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia women had no right to inherit, etc.) excluded from equal rights until the first constitution of the socialist Yugoslavia in 1945. The socialist Yugoslavia also continually succeeded to raise the em-

ployment of women.<sup>15</sup> Gradually, especially since the late 1950s, within the Yugoslav market socialism the employed socialist white-collar women workers and officials also became a significant consumer group.<sup>16</sup> The cultural practice of consumerism advanced more and more to a sign of women’s “modernity and emancipation”. Attributes such as cosmetics, perfumes and fashion, as Sitar (2017: 278) claims after Massino (2012), became “essential for the success of socialism in its endeavour of construction of a modern socialist citizen” (Sitar ibid.).

*Fashion and beauty, previously marked as bourgeoisie stupidity, started to serve as symbol of socialist modernity, turning consumers into a tangible medium through which socialist leaders legitimated their power. Slovenian women were also accepting Western concepts of women beauty standards when decorating their bodies and shopping for themselves, and with the cultivation of their image they have built their physical attractiveness. With the help of cosmetic products, they tried to improve their physical appearance and, in this way, continued [to work on and] to accentuate their femininity. Hereby they used different techniques, usually accompanied by simultaneous spontaneous and accidental negotiations, when caught between their needs and desires, respectively and according to their means. Yet others used cosmetic products deliberately as a means of rebellion against sometimes restricting ideals regarding women’s look* (Sitar, 2017: 278–279) [translated by KK].

The stories Polona Sitar (2017) collected from women who lived in socialist Yugoslavia, depict the popularization of cosmetics as a material cultural practice introduced by the growing industrial sector within the Yugoslav market socialism and adopted by women gradually as an act of emancipation against patriarchy and the protest of their fathers, bosses and mothers (cf. Sitar, 2017: 125, 127, 274). Within the Yugoslav self-management system, women succeeded to articulate their agenda and push forward the structures which supported the realization of nominal equality, that was introduced on all levels of legislation, political representation, education, employment, child- and health care, which supported (predominately) women in

<sup>15</sup> In 1985, in some parts of the country (in Slovenia and Croatia), women represented 40–46.2% of all employees whereas the figures in other republics were somewhere halved (in Kosovo and Montenegro, women reached only a 22–33% employment) (Yugoslav National Report, 1985: 33 and Statistical report of the Republic of Slovenia, in Sitar, 2017: 21). Along with the differences between the individual republics from the end of 1950s, the pay gap was especially prominent between the wages of skilled and unskilled workers and “blue and white collars” and depended also on individual sectors.

<sup>16</sup> Despite the socialist endeavour to bridge gender pay gap by attracting women to work in the so-called “male” sectors, a labour unit in the “feminized” sectors (e.g. public and social affairs, education, etc.) was still worth less than in sectors dominated by men. The public sector has been extremely feminized: by 1989, women represented 73% of all employees in the public sector (Statistical report of the Republic of Slovenia, in Sitar, 2017: 20). In 1989, the percentage of women working in non-commercial activities was 73%, while economy employed women only in 41%. (Statistical report of the Republic of Slovenia, in Sitar, 2017: 20). Currently, unequal pay differs much within the EU countries. While in Germany and the UK, women earn 21 % less, elsewhere the gender pay gap is less pronounced: in Slovenia, it is 8%, in Italy only 5%. See “The gender pay gap situation in the EU”: <https://ec.europa.eu/info/policies/justice-and-fundamental-rights/gender-equality/equal-pay/gender-pay-gap-situation-en#differences-between-the-eu-countries> (July 30, 2020)

<sup>12</sup> “Since the early twentieth century, the production of cosmetics has been controlled by a handful of multi-national corporations” (Shahbandeh, 2020). Leading European producers of cosmetics have been France and Poland, according to Global Insight (2007) which also analysed the Slovenian cosmetic market: “Slovenia’s cosmetic and toiletry market has grown in line with increasing income and consumption levels and is generally believed to have reached maturity in 2003 [...] In Slovenia, prices for products consumed on a daily basis, along with effective marketing strategies for higher-end goods, are driving the industry’s success. Customers have low brand loyalty and are easily swayed by lower-priced products. Multi-national manufacturers have consistently extended their dominance over the local market, and will continue to be a powerful force in the market.” (Global Insight, 2005). Cf. also articles by Lucija Šerak at the pages 91–95 and Petra Lapajne at pages 102–107 of this publication.

<sup>13</sup> The growth in the West: from 287 million US dollars in the 1950 to 4740 US dollars in 1976 (ibid.). According to my research, before the 1990s the data on cosmetic industry in the East of Europe was not collected in a comparative manner the way it was for the Western, capitalist world, probably due to a lesser focus on global market studies and consumer demographics.

<sup>14</sup> Gender equality was centrally rooted already in the declaration of AVNOJ from 1943, where the foundations of the first post-war Yugoslav constitution were set.

**1. NAGRADA**  
LITOSTROJ  
RENAULT 12

**2. NAGRADA**  
Potovanje v Ameriko za 2 osebi  
12 dni  
NEW YORK — NIAGARA —  
BINGHAMPTON — WASHINGTON  
— NEW YORK

**3. NAGRADA**  
Color televizijski spre-  
jemnik «Gorenje»

**15 NAGRAD**  
Deset dni bivanja za dve  
osebi v hotelu RADIN  
v Radencih

**200 NAGRAD**  
Kompleti RADENSKIH KOZARCEV

**Radenska**  
**NAGRAJUJE**

POŠLITE 10 ZAMAŠKOV RADENSKO  
MINERALNE VODE na naslov:  
**RADENSKA nagrajuje**  
69252 RADENCI

do 31. X. 1972 in sodelovalci imate v nagradnem  
izložitvi. Člonev nagradila svoje ime in priimek ter  
naslov. Sodelujete lahko z imenovanjem številnih po-  
sluj, a človek povečala možnost, da postane srečen  
dobitnik.

Zrebanje dobitnikov bo 4. XI. 1972. Nagradence  
bomo o nagradi posebej pis-  
mveno obvestili. Pravosodna  
pot in dopisovanje o nagrad-  
nem natečaju izključeni. Čla-  
ni kolektiva «Radenska» in  
njihovi ožji sorodniki ne more-  
jo sodelovati.

Image 11: Prize game, Jana 1972.

Nekaterih dogodkov se spominjamo vse življe-  
nje. Denimo rojstnega dne, konca šolanja,  
prvega poljuba, ne pozabimo na obletnico  
poroke, rojstvo otroka — pred nekaj leti pa je  
seznamu teh pomembnih dogodkov dodan še  
eden: dan, ko je opravljen vozniški izpit.

Image 10: "Some events we remember our whole lives. A birth-  
day, graduation, first kiss, the day when we got married, a birth of  
a child — since a couple of years, another event has been added  
to this important list: the day, we obtain the driving license." Avto  
magazin, 1971/14, p. 22.



## ena lučka mi gori avtomobilist svetuje

Zakon in njega belo-modri zaščitniki ne poznajo več  
prizanesljivosti, ki je bila še pred nekaj leti vprašanje v  
železnem repertoarju vsakega spraševalca novih voznikov: Kaj  
storite, če vam na poti ugasne levi žaromet? Pravilen odgovor  
je bil: Iz desnega žarometa odvijem žarnico in jo vstavim v  
levega, potem pa samo z levo lučjo nadaljujem pot do prvega  
mehanika.

Zdaj je ukazano, da morajo vedno goreti vse luči. V  
vsakem avtu mora biti komplet rezervnih žarnic, v katerem so  
ponavadi tudi varovalke. Se reče, zadnje leto avtomobila tudi  
registrirati ne morete, če nimate nadomestnih žarnic.

Morate pa jih znati zamenjati! Povem vam, da je za šoferko  
brez tehničnih ambicij povsem dovolj, če ve o avtomobilski  
elektriki toliko, kot jo zna popraviti doma v stanovanju:  
zamenjati žarnico in vstaviti novovarovalko.

Svetujem vam domačo vajo, ki vas reši, da v prihodnje ne  
boste morali na vsako nočno pot vzeti s seboj moža, ki se  
razume na žarnice.

Avto postavite na samo, da se vam ne bodo režali, vzemite  
v roke knjižico z navodili, kako ravnati z avtomobilom, kjer je  
natančno narisano in opisano — za vsako luč posebej — kako  
se zamenjajo žarnice. Delo je preprosto in ponavadi niti  
izvijajača ne potrebujete. Pri večini sodobnih avtov so namreč  
zadnje luči dostopne kar iz prtljavnika: odvijete zadnji pokrov  
luči in že ste pri žarnicah. Avtomobilske žarnice nimajo  
navoja, ampak se zaskočijo ali vtaknejo v luč. Zamenjati  
žarnico v žarometu je nekoliko bolj zapleteno: treba je odvti  
pokrov in 1časih celo sneti vbočeno ogledalo, ki usmerja  
svetlobni snop. Kdor koli že, bolje kot je opisano v vaši  
knjižici, vam tudi jaz ne znam razložiti. Po teh navodilih  
razderite luči, odvijete vsako žarnico posebej in jo spet  
vstavite. (Pazite, da boste veliko žarnico vtaknili v žaromet  
nazaj natančno tako, kot je bila vstavljena prej. Ima namreč  
tri kontakte in vsak mora natančno na svoje mesto). Najbolje  
je, če si nataknete tanke rokavice, ko menjavate žarnico. Če  
ste delali z rokami, jih morate skrbno obrisati. Tale vaja traja  
največ pol ure in je vredna najmanj 5 jurjev kazni in, kar je  
pomembnejše, nikoli več ne boste ostali brez luči, ker vas zdaj  
še navadam zamenjati varovalke.

Saj res: če vam razbijejo zadnjo luč, za silo tudi velja, če  
novo žarnico namažete s črtalom za ustnice, da bo rdeče  
svetila.

Zamenjati varovalke je preprostejše opravilo, odgovornost  
pa je večja kot pri žarnicah. Kako sploh ugotovite, da je  
pregorela varovalka in ne žarnica? Če pregorela žarnica, ugasne  
samo ena luč (pri žarometih se na primer velikokrat zgodi, da  
sveti le kratka luč, dolga pa ne, ker je pač pregorela ena sama  
nitka), če pregoreli varovalka, pa crkne več stvari hkrati. Spet  
morate pogledati v knjižico z navodili, kjer piše, kam teče tok  
skozi posamične varovalke. Le-te so v vsakem avtu zelo pri-  
roki, nameščene so skupaj v vrsti, pokrite s prozornim  
pokrovčkom ter označene s številkami. V mnogih avtih je  
zraven celo nalepljen listek, na katerem piše, za kaj je  
„odgovorna“ katera varovalka. Skozi pokrovček natančno  
vidite, katera varovalka je črna in se ji je v porcelanu stopila  
žica. Preden jo zamenjate, pomislite, zakaj je pregorela! Če je  
na primer pregorela varovalka, na katero so priključene zadnje  
luči in električno ogrevane zadnje šipe, potem najprej  
izključite ogrevanje in šele potem vstavite varovalko.

Več vas o varovalkah ne bom učil. Od tod naprej je preveč  
zapleteno. Najboljše zdravilo je, da poskušate, dokler luči spet  
ne svetijo!

Jaz pa sem se zaklel, da se bom zdaj izučil za menjavanje  
zavesic na zadnjih blatnikih: letos so mi odletele že tri, žarnic  
in varovalk pa mi ni bilo treba zamenjati najmanj tri leta.

Alfonz Štefe

27

Image 14: The regular column Driver advises, this time how to  
change bulbs of headlamps, Jana, I-38, 14.9.1972, p. 27.

magazin

ŽENSKES ZA VOLANOM

(ce) — Žal je marsikje še vedno  
tako: ženska je dobra za volan  
samo tedaj, kadar se ga možak  
nadela. Tedaj prav rad privoli, da  
vozi Eva, Adam pa mirno in brez  
strahu pred miličniki smrči na so-  
vozniskem sedežu ...

Kakšne so ženske kot voznice motornih vozil?



To očitno vpliva na slog vožnje.

Raziskave na Danskem so poka-  
zale, da so imeli fantje do 25 let  
dva do trikrat več nesreč kot de-  
kleta iste starostne skupine.

Tudi v nevarnosti se ženske  
očito bolje prilagodijo. Tako  
odvzamejo plin, če jim srce začne  
močneje razbijati v kritičnem po-  
ložaju, medtem ko moški vozijo  
enako hitro naprej.

Pri tem pa Eva, če ima svoj avto  
in je prav toliko na cesti kot pov-  
prečen moški voznik, sploh ni  
kakšna počasna želva. Te ženske  
vozijo — če je dovoljeno — prav  
tako hitro kot moški in tehnično  
prav nič slabše. Pač pa previdne-  
je: imajo večjo varnostno razdaljo  
in manj tvegajo.

# Eva ni slabša, le drugačna je

Samo še najbolj zakrknjeni zagovorniki moške nadmoči menijo, da  
sodijo ženske le na sovozniški sedež

Še tako zagrižen moški ne more  
zanikati, da ženske bolj spoštujejo  
prometna pravila, kar so dokazale  
tudi meritve hitrosti 14.000 vozil in  
anketa med vozniki. Prav tako je  
injenost za volanom pri ženskah  
le izjema.

Strokovnjaki poudarjajo, da so

ženske bolj prilagodljive, kar pa  
najbrž ni prirojeno. Verjetno gre  
za privzgojenost, ki povzroča, da  
so ženske manj nagnjene h krimi-  
nalu in ogrožanju cestnega pro-  
meta. Deklice se namreč že v otro-  
ških letih z vzgojo odvajajo grobih  
izkazovanj napadalnosti.

VEČJA REAKCIJSKA  
SPOSOBNOST

Tudi z medicinskega vidika šib-  
ki spol za volanom ni prav nič šib-  
kak. Medtem ko se moški nasprotno  
od žensk na začetku vožnje  
takoj polno vključijo, pa jih bolj  
vztrajne ženske kmalu prekosijo.  
To se je pokazalo tudi na testnih  
voznjih, predvsem ponoči. V za-  
četku so moški vozili boljše, toda  
že po dveh urah so popustili, med-  
tem ko so ženske celo v kritičnem  
času med 2. in 3. uro zjutraj obdr-  
žale zmogljivostne in reakcijske  
spesobnosti.

Seveda pa imajo voznice tudi  
svoje šibke točke. Predvsem gre  
za premajhno vozniško prakso  
mnogih žensk, ki le sem in tja ob  
koncu tedna prevozijo nekaj kilo-  
metrov — ko jim pač mož blago-  
hotno dovoli. Če potem vozijo ne-  
gotovo, delajo napake in so pre-  
pocasne, to sploh ni čudno.

Dovolj rezerv, ki so potrebne za  
premagovanje nenadnih kritičnih  
položajev, si lahko pridobimo sa-  
mo z vozniško prakso. Strokov-  
njaki menijo, da dosežemo dolo-  
čen minimalni standard šele po  
10.000 prevoženih kilometrih. Že  
po vozniskem premoru več kot



12

Images 15,16: "Eva is not worse, only different, Avto magazine,  
1980, with a feature on women as drivers, claiming that women  
are in many aspects superior because they are safer drivers than  
men." Avto magazin, 1980/16, p. cover and p. 12-13.



reproductive work to a degree seldomly found anywhere in present times. The changes were rapid, considering that socialist Yugoslavia only existed for 48 years. However, especially regarding the position of women within a family or marriage, and on other inter-relational levels, patriarchal privileges resisted – a situation described also by the prominent Yugoslav politician Vida Tomšič (1981: 129). Even if, as different researches in the volume *The Socialist Car* (Siegelbaum, 2013) showed, automobilities in the socialist “East” (as was the case also in the West) need to be perceived as highly gendered cultures, favouring male drivers over women, car did play a role in the construction of socialist gender relations. As Corinna Kuhr-Korolev (2013) in the mentioned volume argued, even if Soviet women were rarely drivers or owners of cars, they derived prestige from their association with a car as co-owners or passengers. A research into the Slovenian edition of the Yugoslav motoring magazine *Avto magazin* (issues 1971, 1980, 1986 – the years of launching the popular cars *Zastava 101*, *Yugo*, and *Yugo Florida* by *Zastava Kragujevac*) and the Slovenian women magazine *Jana* (1970–1973, 1980, 1986) revealed many articles promoting gender equality regarding car mobility but also visuals bringing forward the connection between groomed women (who obviously use cosmetics) and car driving as attributes of an emancipated modern woman. Articles on women’s good driving abilities and behaviour, their technical care for cars, practical tips regarding the car care and driving (regular columns *Avtomobilist svetuje* in the years 1971 and 1972 and later *Za volanom*, *Jana*, 1980), prize games with cars as jackpots, and many visuals and advertising of cars and cosmetics all support the thesis that the car was promoted in the socialist Yugoslavia as a tool of free individual mobility of emancipated modern women.

See the images 9-21, advertisements and reports on women and automobility from the Slovene magazines *Jana* and *Avto magazin* in the years 1971, 1972 and 1980 but also from other sources at the pages 66–68.

Even if, according to Siegelbaum (2013), “the culturally embedded associations [...] in connection with cars—desire and sexuality, mobility, status, family-related activity, independence, adventure, freedom, and rebellion—did not exist or did not exist to the same extent in the Eastern Bloc countries as in the West”, the researched Yugoslav car advertising served exactly those associations.

The visual and performative practice of advertising cars by staging a certain type of cis-gendered female sexuality has been a usual practice by especially Western car exhibitions and magazines, partly republished also in the researched *Avto* magazine.<sup>17</sup>

Even if (sexual) self-determination, especially through the 1970s and 1980s was an important visual marker of women’s emancipation in the socialist Yugoslavia, it was, however, also within the Yugoslav car advertising appropriated by (visual) hegemonic politics – set into binary normative matrix, objectifying women –, using female sexuality for cars to appear more attractive to male car shoppers: In 1985, *Zastava Yugo* went as far as promoting its cabriolet version in the UK with a topless model.

See images 19-22 at the page 68.

As Mimi Sheller (2004) points out, the so-called “car cultures” not only have material but “above all affective dimensions”. Car and cosmetic industries seem to be very well-aware of the importance of feelings and the affective dimension that also studies in car cultures paid attention to. David Gartman’s (2004) identification of three different “cultural logics” of car could easily be translated in cosmetics: initially, cars [and cosmetics] culturally denoted class distinction (in Bourdieu terms); “[i]n the age of mass individuality, the car” [and cosmetics] served to “obscure qualitative class differences underneath the illusion of mass individuality, in which consumers varied by the quantity of desired automotive [and cosmetic] traits they could afford” and “[i]n the age of subcultural difference, the car [and cosmetics] expressed the different identities of lifestyle groups in a levelled and pluralized consumer culture” (Gartman, 2014). What is at stake here is the cultural appropriation of car and, in my opinion, also cosmetics as signifiers of class, gender, race, etc., as well as habitus and geopolitical difference. As a symbol of independency and individuality, the car drove the Yugoslavs, including Yugoslav women, to their post-socialist contemporaneity and has since remained a distinctive marker of the “new old” geopolitical order in the “multi-speed” Europe, where the “iron curtain” seems to be replaced by the one made out of diesel exhaust. Polona Sitar (2017) observed that consumerism turns “consumers into a tangible medium, through which socialist leaders legitimated their power” (ibid.); I further question the continuities in governance, their post-socialist saturations and environmental implications.

17 One of the numerous magazines devoted to car mobility and industry summed up the main features of the construction of the gender “women” within car advertising with repeating trends as: (1) “women are objects that male car buyers want to accumulate”; (2) “women are accessories that make cars appear more attractive to male car shoppers”; (3) “women are seen as helpless and entirely unaware of how the entire car-buying experience works”; (4) women serve the primary role of minivan-driving mothers” (Johnson, 2014).

## The “diesel exhaust curtain” in the “multi-speed” Europe

With that I, finally, look at the post-socialist car market, where Western used cars find their second homeland: the case of Slovenia.

According to the 2017 report by the Statistical Office of Slovenia (STAT), the car (as is the case also elsewhere in the EU and beyond) advanced to a leading means of transportation – 86% of all travels people make in Slovenia are made by car. The road transport (including cars but also other vehicles like heavy goods vehicles) is a leader in air pollution: contributing 99% of all transport CO<sub>2</sub> emissions (Šulin Košar, 2017: 7). According to the 2016 Slovenian Environment Agency report, in the last 20 years, the number of cars in Slovenia doubled, putting Slovenia among the top EU countries with growing motorization (Transport in Europe: key facts and trends, 2016).<sup>18</sup> As is the case with other parts of the so-called “Eastern Europe” (like Poland, Romania, and Bulgaria; Transport and Environment, 2018) the import of used cars is growing also in Slovenia.<sup>19</sup> The situation in Serbia is similar: according to Serbian media (referring to the Serbian Chamber of Commerce), in import, the percentage of used cars is growing strikingly and is primarily due to the import of “dirty” diesel Euro 3 cars from Germany – something Serbia is planning to ban.<sup>20</sup>

While as a measure against the COVID-19 economic stagnation and to boost the renewal of its car park, Germany considered reintroducing the so-called “environmental or scrapping bonus” (Umwelt- or Abwrackprämie’, Finke, 2020), with which it already subsidized its car industry in the wake of the 2008 crisis, Eastern Europe countries, as well as Africa (Transport and Environment, 2018) has been facing a growing environmental and health crisis of air pollution, which is also due to the growing import of used, also “dirty” second-hand diesel cars. Until the largest EU car exporters, especially Germany, actively support other political, economic, and mobility concepts, which favour national car industries and health not only at home, in the “old Europe” but also elsewhere, in the less wealthy countries, the East and South-East Europe (including Turkey) will continue to be coloured red.

See the image 23, a screenshot of the European Air Quality Index 2020-06-02 at 15.56.55 at the page 68.

18 <http://kazalci.arso.gov.si/sl/content/lastnistvo-osebnih-avtomobilov-3> (July 30, 2020)

19 In 2019, journalist Andrej Leban compared the data provided by the STAT between the number of new registrations of cars registered for the first time in Slovenia and those previously registered in another country. In 2018, 32.2% of first-time registered cars were used cars previously registered in another country (Leban, 2019). In 2018, the majority of the imported cars came from Germany, the leading brands were Volkswagen (which falsified the data on the diesel exhaust of their cars!), BMW, Audi, and Mercedes; they were followed by French brands such as Renault and Citroen (ibid.). Cf. <https://podatki.gov.si/dataset/evidenca-registriranih-vozil-presek-stanja> (July 30, 2020)

20 Cf. <https://www.danas.rs/ekonomija/u-srbiju-se-uveze-oko-120-000-polovnih-automobila-novih-vozila-znatno-manje/>; <https://www.danas.rs/auto/nemci-do-2-000-evra-najtrazeniji-polovnjaci-u-2019-godini/>; <https://www.danas.rs/auto/sta-ce-se-desiti-ako-srbija-zabrani-uvoz-evro-3-vozila/> (July 30, 2020)

This time, red is not marking the iron curtain of communism, but polluted air. What is more, when looking at air pollution, another European legacy, the European Environment Agency seems not to even bother to look at Africa, where the majority of used European dirty cars has been exported to.

## Conclusion

Taking up the selected narrative threads from the works by Nika Autor and Merike Bernien, the article follows the connections between the history of film-, train-, car- and cosmetic industries with a specific question on the relation between two material practices marking the post-war modernization process and the post-socialist shifts: car mobility and the role of cosmetics within the performance of modern femininity. Particularly interested in the question of the post-socialist shifts regarding both, I must conclude that (in the case of Slovenia) these were actually a continuation of a process introduced already with socialism. The more-or-less-annexed post-socialist markets have offered especially the global players in both car- and cosmetic industries new market possibilities also at the costs of environmental pollution and public health. In terms of having access to “cleaner” means of transportation, Eastern Europe obviously “drives” at a different speed.

What about women driving cars? In the last 14 years since Slovenia has started recording gender in relation to motorized vehicles ownership, women have been the most growing group of motorized vehicle buyers. In 2006, when Slovenia started recording gender in the ownership of motorized vehicles (not only cars), women owned 32% of all motorized vehicles. In 2020, on the other hand, 50.6% of all motorized vehicles belong to women.<sup>21</sup> Also in cosmetics: even if grooming products for men are continuously in rise, according to the European trade association for the cosmetics and personal care industry (Cosmetics Europe Environmental Sustainability Report, 2018), women are still the major buyers of beauty products.

Along the road to post-socialism and for the sake of more cars and more lipstick, the emancipated socialist women who performed their nominal, political and structural emancipation also with the use of cosmetics and by driving cars, have had to renounce many structural rights that were of crucial importance in the realization of nominal gender equality. The groomed women drove into the post-socialist future where they ought to be predominantly one: consumers. In the surveillance capitalism consumption (also of cars) advanced into a major tool of governance, which is proved also by the continuous changes and tightening of road traffic regulations in Slovenia (but also elsewhere in former Yugoslav countries). As consumers/drivers of cars and users of cosmetics, we are made “into

21 In 2006, there were 894,042 registered motorized vehicles in Slovenia, out of which 286,454 belonged to women. In 2020, the number of registered vehicles increased to 1,430,119 out of which more than a half, 723,813 vehicles belongs to women. Cf. official records of registered vehicles in Slovenia: <https://podatki.gov.si/dataset/evidenca-registriranih-vozil-presek-stanja> (July 30, 2020)

a tangible medium, through which [...] surveillance capitalist] leaders legitimate [...] their power” (cf. Sitar, 2017: 278–279).<sup>22</sup> In the “multi-speed” Europe, Western, especially German drivers dash along the highways without any speed limits, whilst their Eastern European driver/consumer counterparts are subjects to speed limitations and poison their environment and health.

22 Cf. years of changes and continuous tightening of road traffic regulations: 1998, 2005, 2010, 2011: <http://www.pisrs.si/Pis.web/pregledPredpisa?id=ZAKO5793> (July 30, 2020)

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Image 1: Advertisement for the deodorant GEM, produced by Ilirija Vedrog Ljubljana, Jana magazine, 1980.



Image 2: Nika Autor, Newsreel 63 – The Train of Shadow (2017, 38 min), courtesy of the artist.



Image 3: Video still from Mareike Bernien's and Kerstin Schroedinger's Rainbow's Gravity, 2014, 33 min, courtesy of the artists.



Image 7: Jana, 1-36, 31.8.1972, title page.

Images 4,5,6: Renault Twingo (2017) and Mustang commercial (1967). 2017 Renault Twingo commercial: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ipHnxF2a7B4>  
 Images sources: <https://www.motor-talk.de/news/farbenfrohe-gegen-parkschaeden-t6060455.html> ; <https://thenewswheel.com/on-sexism-in-car-commercials/>



Image 8: The only found image of a groomed women put in relation to train: a report on the award-winning fashion label Angora, Jana, 1972. In contrast, car was often featured in this women magazine. Jana, I-47, 16.11.1972, p. 7.

Ženske s svojimi avtomobili

Vse okvare z veseljem odpravijo moški

NAPREJ V MLADI SVET SVEŽINE!

SOLED NEGUJE, OSVEŽUJE IN DEZODORIRA HKRATI

ZLATOROG, MARIBOR

Image 9: Advertisement for soap Soled, produced by Zlatorog Maribor, Jana, I-28, 6.7.1972, p. 32.

197752

**AVTO magazin**

jugoslovanska revija za avtomobiliste in pešce

16

1. 8. 1982

Ženske za volanom

**Eva ni slabša samo drugačna je!**

Vozili smo

**Fiat ritmo diesel**

**Avto v službi umetnosti**

V Sloveniji je imelo do konca lanskega leta 66 938 žensk (moških 302 445) vozniško dovoljenje. Koliko žensk ima svoje avtomobile, ni mogoče ugotoviti, ker je veliko avtomobilov registriranih na ženske, v resnici pa so last moških, ki imajo v največ primerih tudi izključno oblast nad njihovim volanom.

Tako smo brez posebnega truda ugotovili, da imajo zares svoje avtomobile – se pravi, da so jih tudi same plačale – v glavnem ženske, ki so neporočene ali ločene (v teh primerih je avto lahko tudi prisvojen, se pravi moževa odkupnina, katere vrednost določa zakon). Vdov naši raziskavi, razen na začetku, ni uspelo zajeti.

Nekaj je poročenih žensk, ki so v svojih poklicih (največkrat umetniških) tako uspele, da so si kupile avto s svojim tako imenovanim gospodinjstvom, seveda pa to le v primerih, ko je soprog že imel svoj, dražji avto. Le-te so se tako osamosvojile, da bi včasih ob nedeljah najraje videle, če bi jih mož pustil, da bi z otroki vred vozile za njim, ker se jim tako zdi bolj varno.

Potem so še dekleta, ki vozijo očetov ali fantov avto, in žene, ki vozijo možev avto. Pa možje, ki vozijo ženin avto in fantje, ki vozijo dekletov avto. In žene, ki vozijo svoj avto in svojega moža v njem.

Toda raje bi se naučila zamenjati kolo na avtu, kot da bi se lotila razvozlavanja te avtomobilske zmede.

**Fičko je prva stopnica**

Razdelili smo si jih, ženske, po fičkih, spačkih in minijih. Pogoj je seveda bil, da so one in edino one lastnice svojih vozil, da so jih same plačale in jih znajo tudi same voziti.

Naš osebni avtomobilski svetovalc, dični Alfonz Štefe, ki smo ga kot izvedenca in strokovnjaka prvega naprosili, naj nam pove, kakšna je razlika med ženskami, ki imajo ta tri vozila, je brez premisleka dejal:

„Spačka ima urednica Jane, fička ima tajnica, minija pa novinarka.“

„Prav, in kakšna je razlika med njimi?“

„Minija imajo ‚hohštaplerke‘.“

Torej. Od osmih voznic fičkov, ki smo jih prestregli, tri sploh niso ustavile. Ena je povedala, da je to, kar vidimo, zelo stara skatla, ki jo je mož kupil na avtomobilskem sejmu, potem ko

je več kot leto dni vsak dan, ob sobotah pa še dodatno, sitnarila, da peš nič ne opravi. „Mož se je naveličal čakati po oglih in pred frizerjem, cekarji in mreže so mu šli pa sploh na živce.“ Tako imajo zdaj dva avta, „eden je njegov, drugi je pa tovorno živinče“ in ga bo dobil sin, ko bo maturiral. „Ne, ne bom spet pešačila, s sinom ga bova delila.“ Zlata mama, ki bo spet kratko potegnila.

Ostale štiri so rekle, da ne bodo več dolgo „kolovratile naokoli“ v fičko, ker imajo v mislih že boljši

Lastnica fička, ki bo presedlala na mini, je stara mama, in „oče mi kar naprej napoveduje karambol, češ da prehitro vozim. Če se mi pa zmerom mudi . . .“

**Spaček s svojim nazorom**

Spaček je svetovni nazor. V spačku ne boste našli raznih psov, ki bedasto kinkajo z glavo ali pa krivolono držijo prepelico v gobcu.

Dolgo je trajalo, da smo pričakali dva, ki sta ga upravljali



Ena zelo redkih, ki zna zamenjati kolo: elegantno in z okusom

avto. Dve sanjata o austinu 1300, ena bo prešla na mini, druga pa bi rada katrcu. Vsaka zase je imela dolgo zgodbo o tem, kako je zbrala toliko denarja, da je prišla do svojega prvega avta. Najmlajši od četverice je pomagal zaročenec, toda ko „sem imela avto, on pa kolo, sva se razšla in sem mu vrnila denar, ki mi ga je posodil.“

Na vprašanje, ali imajo občutek, da se jim je z avtom povečal ugled, je tista, ki bo imela katrcu, rekla, da „narobe, ker jo zdaj vsi kolegi, ki še vozijo fička, gledajo z nekakšno zlovoljno zaničljivostjo.“ Toda kadar je kaj narobe, „se takoj raznežijo in so pripravljeni zlesti v avto, pod avto . . .“

ženski, zakaj „kdor ima le malo kakršnegakoli nazora, je zdaj s spačkom ali brez njega na morju,“ je rekla mlada dama z dvema čopkoma ob ušesih, pravnica. „Skupaj sem ga spravila s tetino pomočjo, zaradi česar moram zdaj strica voziti naokrog, hi, hi.“

„Z avtomehaniki in nekaterimi miličniki imam odlične zveze. Ste kdaj že videli kakšnega starega, zoprnega avtomehanika? Ne? Jaz tudi ne, poznam same simpatične, in kar zadeva motorizanstvo, se je treba delati pred njimi še bolj nevedno, kot si, če je to sploh mogoče, kajpada. Miličnike si moraš navadno šele pridobiti, jaz sem do vsakega pokorna in polna kesanja. Ampak

saj se mi ne zgodi velikokrat, da naredim prekršek.“

„Posodim ga, zakaj ne, potem se pa ves čas tresem, kaj bo. Komu? No, prijateljicam in prijateljem, kadar imajo svoj avto na servisu ali razbit.“

„Pač, nekatere moje prijateljice vozijo zdaj že svoj drugi avto, mislim na neporočene, saj je konec koncev že čas, ali ne, pri tridesetih pa že moraš ljudem pokazati, kaj zmoreš.“

„Moj naslednji avto? Spaček, o tem ni dvoma.“

„Zato imam avto, madona, da ne čepim cele sobote in nedelje doma!“

„Drugi te peljejo, kamor oni hočejo, poleg tega napovejo tudi točen čas odhoda, da imaš občutek, kot da greš na vlak.“

„Ima, seveda ima boljši avto, saj dela v Nemčiji.“

Druga s spačkom je imela na zadnjem sedežu dve deklici, hčeri. Peljala ju je k svojim staršem, kjer bosta do večera, da pride iz službe. Avto si je kupila po ločitvi, ko je naredila tudi vozniški izpit.

**Mini je mlad in ljubljén**

Če gledaš takole po ljubljanskih mestnih ulicah, se po njih sicer kar naprej preganjajo miniji najrazličnejših barv, toda v njih sedi veliko več moških, mladeničev, kot žensk, čeprav po svetu trdijo, da je to tipično ženski avto.

Prva, ki smo naleteli nanjo, je bila obrtnica in vozi svojega minija že nekaj let. „Svak me je nagovarjal in nagovarjal, potem je celo vse on uredil, samo denar sem dala jaz. Kaj vem, mlajšo se počutim v tem avtu, kar navezala sem se nanj.“

„Moj mož? On je bolj umetniška duša, se pusti voziti. Meni ne, svaku.“

„Imam svojega mehanika, ki mu čisto zaupam. Ne, ne, ne smeji se mi, kdo pa pričakuje od ženske, da bo vedela, kaj je narobe z njenim avtom!“

Druga z minijem je bila uslužbenka. Poprej je imela fička. „Ko sem kupovala stanovanje, so mi v službi posodili več denarja, kot sem mislila, pa sem si rekla, zakaj ne bi prodala fička, saj imam tako ali tako kar naprej smolo z njim, in si kupila nov avto.“

„Smola je, če se kar naprej kdo vate zaletava ali če se kar naprej ti v koga zaletavaš, čisto malo sicer, ampak dovolj, da si slabe volje, če ti pozimi ne vžge . . .“

„Tega bolj pazim ali pa nimam več smole, kaj vem. Morda tudi čuti, da ga imam rada, ha ha.“

Vesna Marinčič

Images 12,13: The article Men solve all car problems with pleasure. Jana, 1-36, 31 August 1972, p. 8-9.



Image 17: A report from the 1980 Belgrade women rally, the sport driver Irena Lavrič was announced for the athlete of the year 1980. *Avto magazin*, 1980/10, p. 31.



Image 22: In 1985, Zastava Yugo went as far as promoting its cabriolet version in the UK with a topless model. Image source: <https://objektivno.hr/ovo-ce-vas-sokirati-kako-se-reklamirao-jugo-u-britaniji-davnih-80-ih-godina-43859>

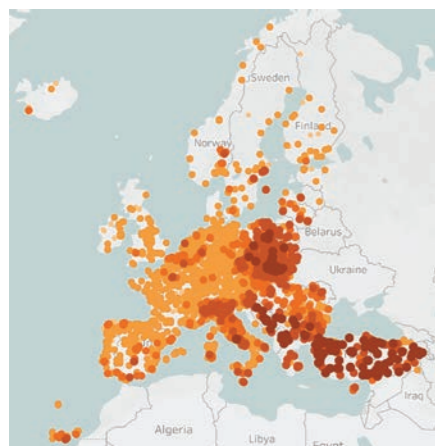


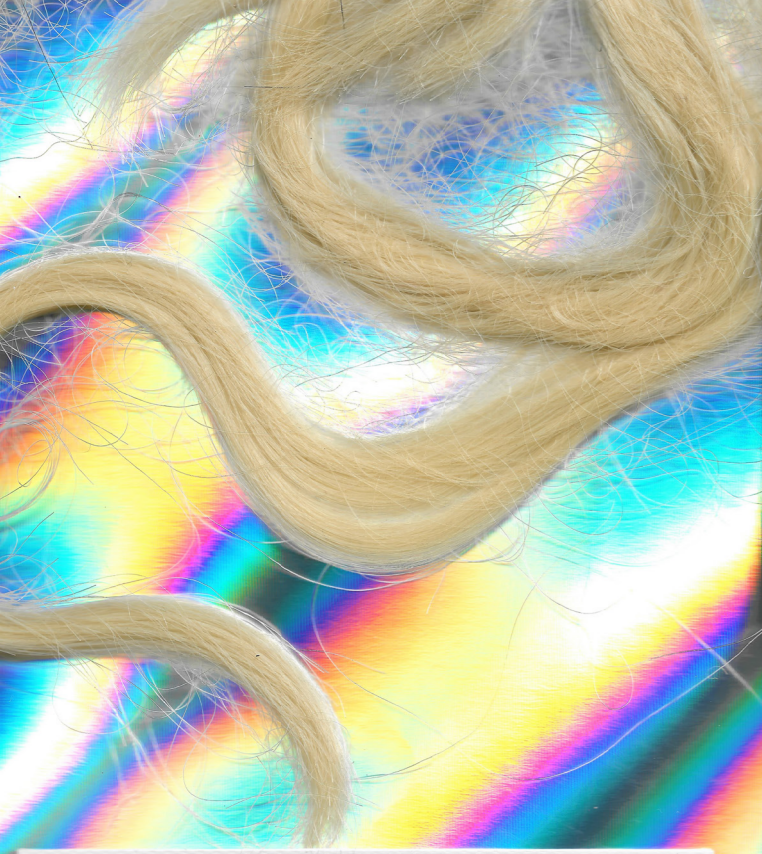
Image 23: Screenshot of the European Air Quality Index 2020-06-02 at 15.56.55. Source: <https://airindex.eea.europa.eu/Map/AQI/Viewer/>

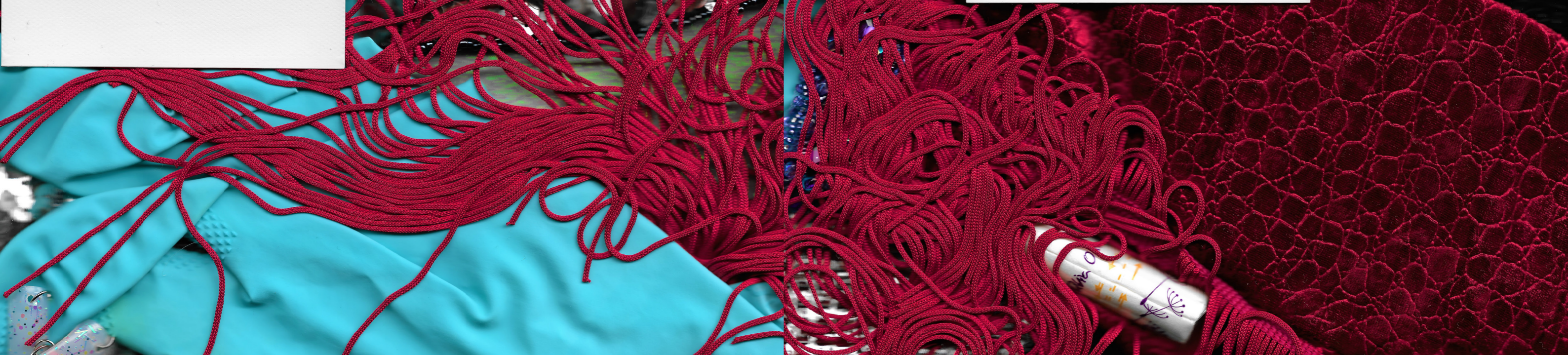
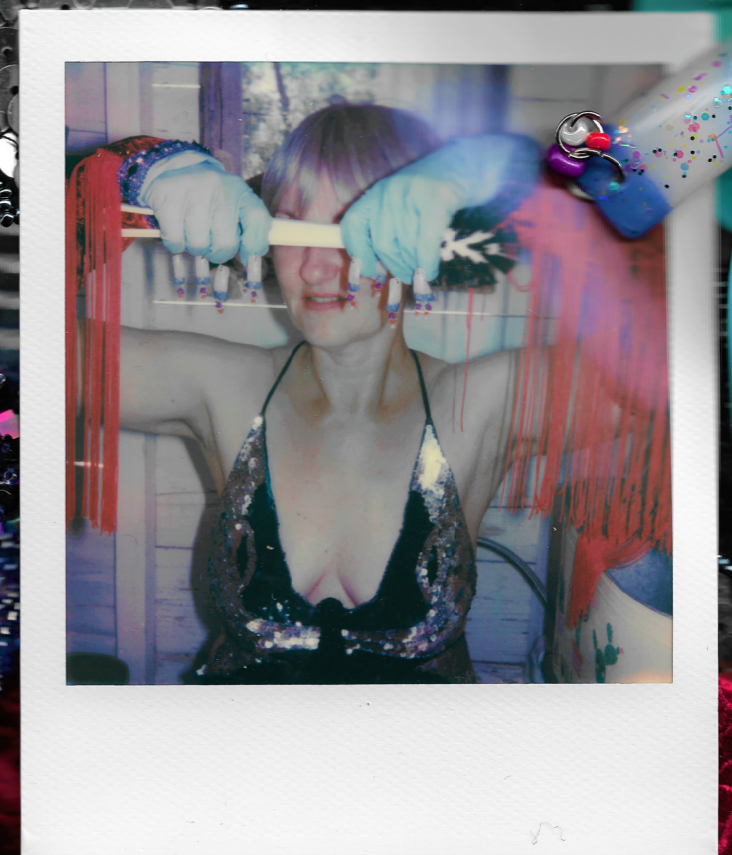
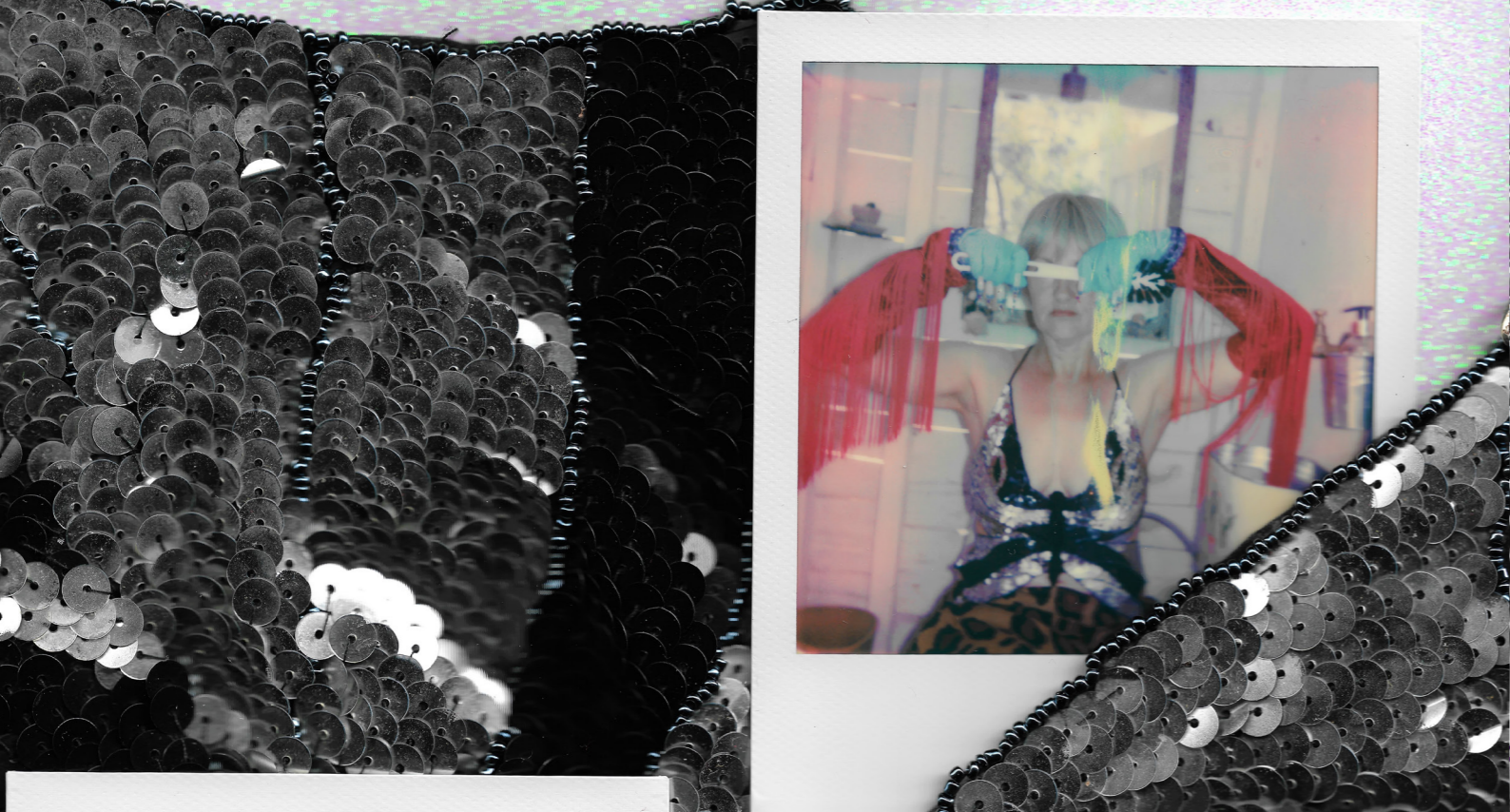
Image 18: The allegedly first Yugo 45 advertisement from 1980. Source: <https://www.telegram.hr/fotogalerije/zivot/14-automobila-koji-su-bili-cesta-pojava-na-ulicama-u-jugoslaviji-evo-male-nostalgicne-galerije/> (July 30, 2020)

Images 19,20,21: Advertisements for the Zastava 101, produced by Zastava Kragujevac 1971–2008. And advertisement for Zastava Fiat different models from the magazine *Avto magazin*, 1971/14, p. 17. Images sources: <https://novi.ba/clanak/187443/urnebesna-reklama-za-stojadina-iz-70-ih-godina-pogledajte-kako-je-to-izgledalo> <https://www.pinterest.de/pin/391742867573652587/> (July 30, 2020)



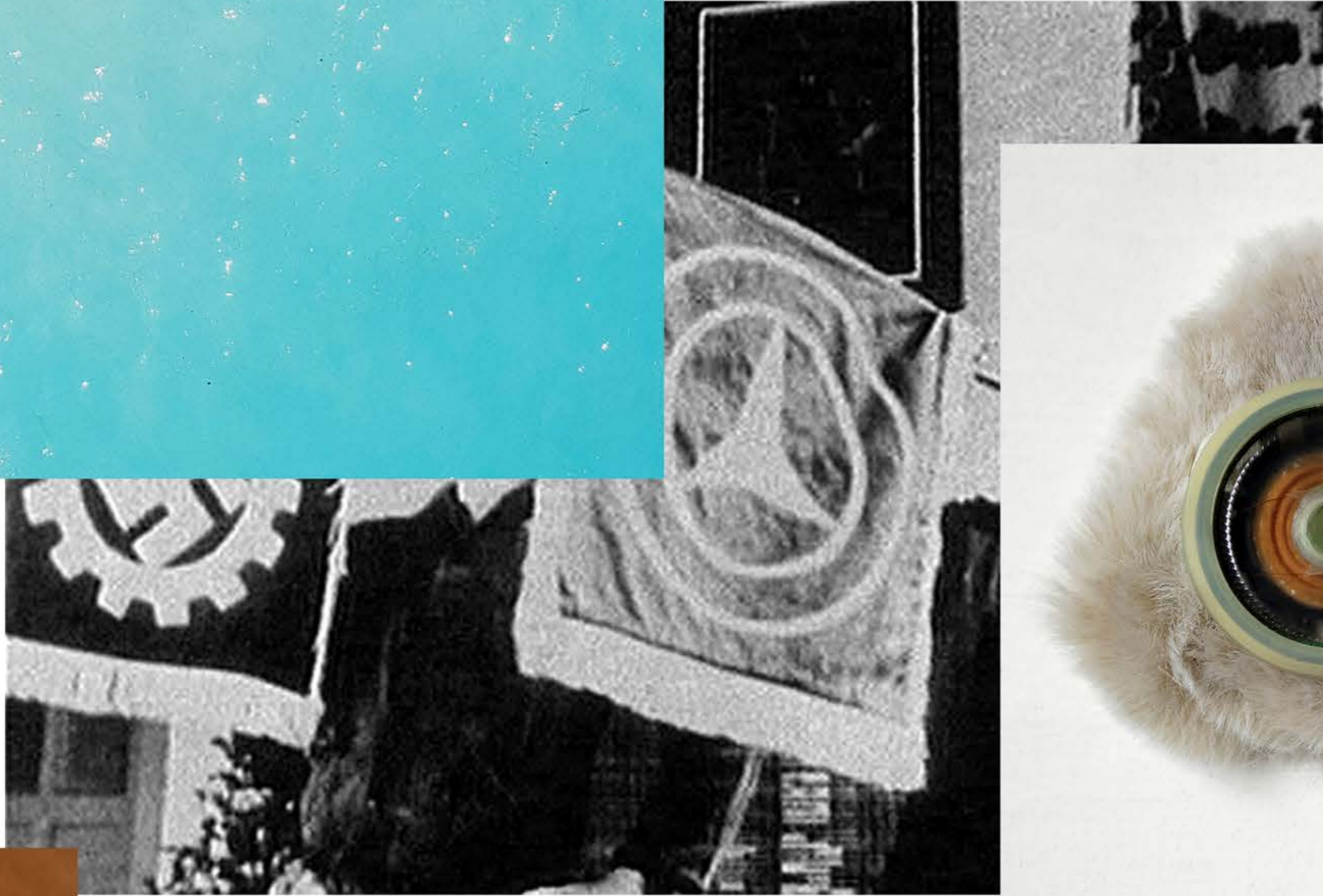
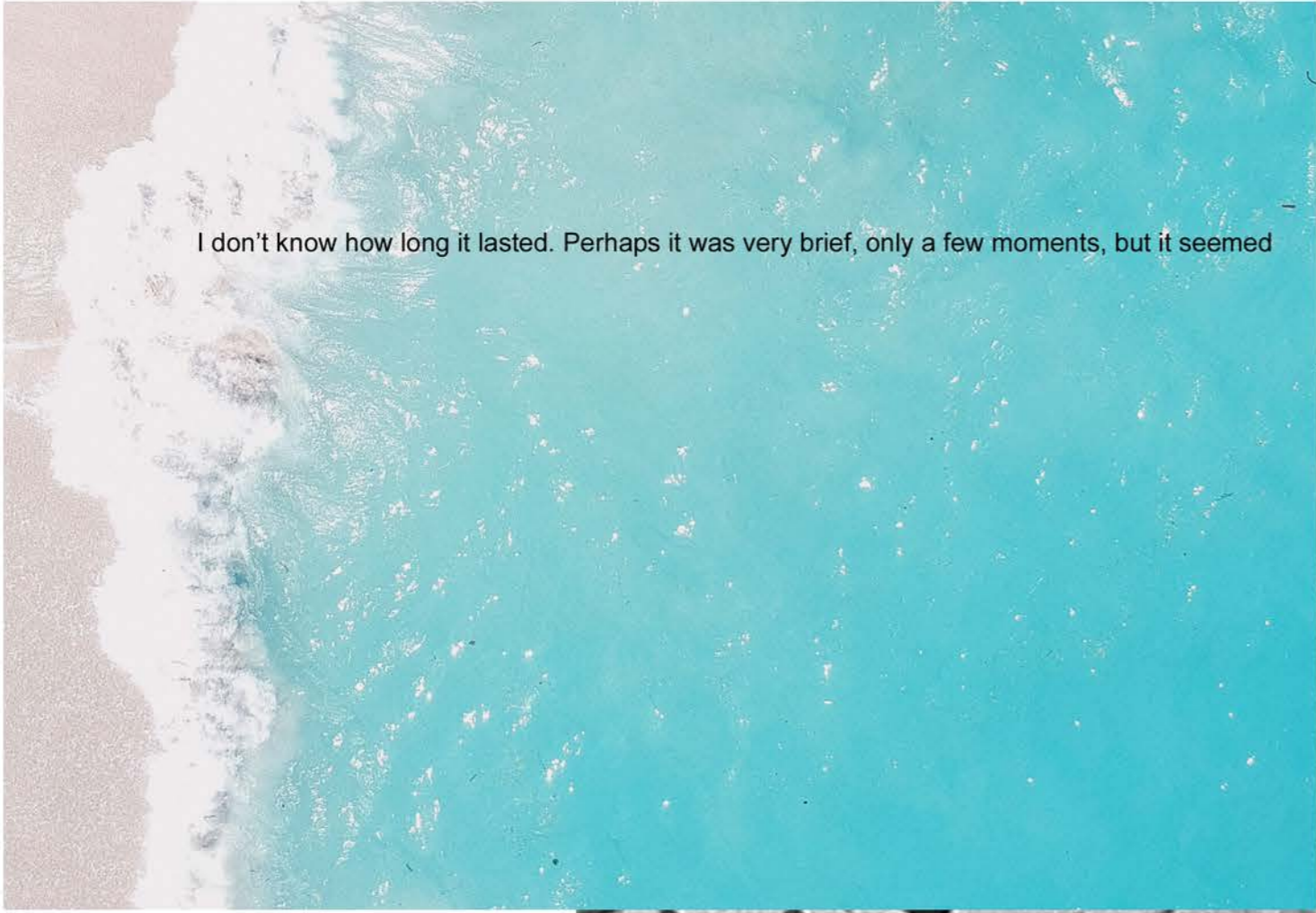
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Etsy shop: [defloweredbyLea](https://www.etsy.com/shop/defloweredbyLea)

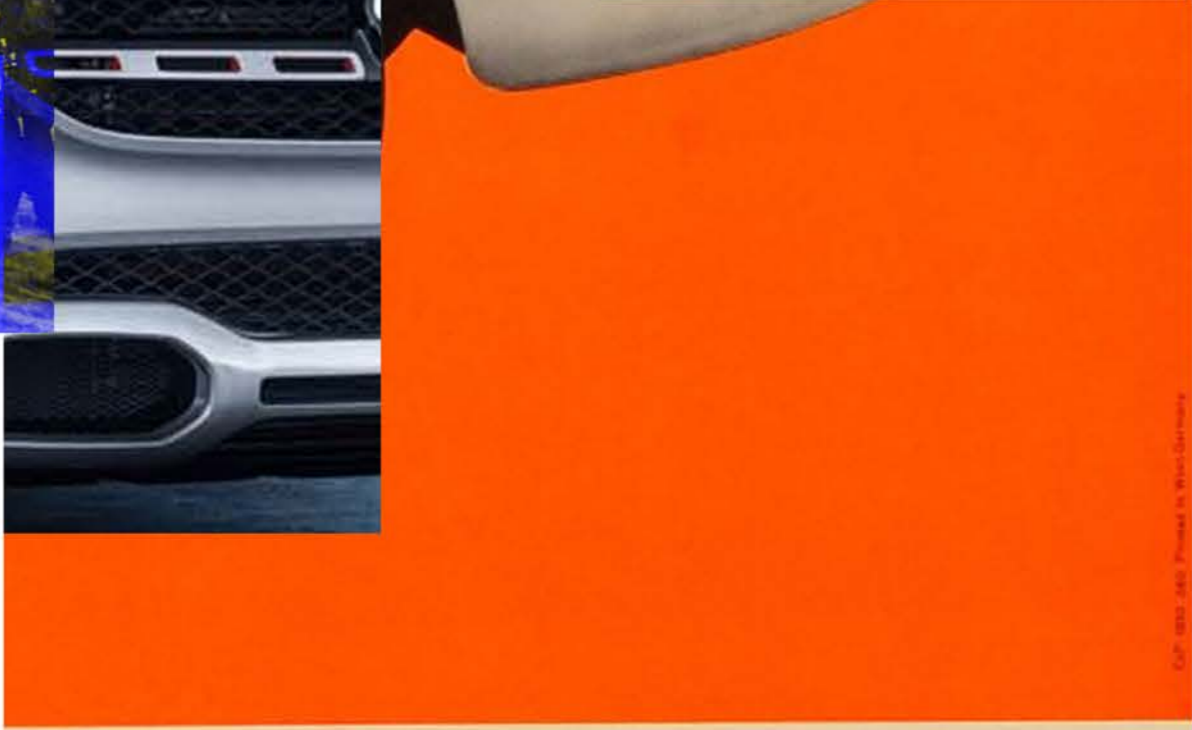




I don't know how long it lasted. Perhaps it was very brief, only a few moments, but it seemed

to me that it had lasted for a long, long time. As if it had never ended.





© 2012-2013, Ford Motor Company



*Bombshell*

Preserving  
gently cleanse  
while maintaining Perfect Balance

Honey Penetrates into cortex

build strength from within  
Protect surface to prevent breakage  
split ends prevent fading  
soft, smooth and shiny

*Lee*

A regime to lightly restore  
Miracle Tree encourage natural shine  
to truly glow

help  
stop annoying fade

*Sexy Bright Violet*

stay bright  
keep it bright Honey  
restore  
Enhance vibrancy  
by penetrating deep

*Goddess™*

Feed your addiction

Infused sweet almond oil, coconut  
key defence for electrifying Bed

Care for serial abusers

*DUMB TONING*

It's a miracle!  
This cocktail of repair  
protect your heat  
while violet toners fight brightness

*Angel Wash*

Lavender infused  
rescue dulled shine

*THE PERFECT CONDITION*

while adding strength  
Banish brass forever  
beautiful tone  
softens and brightens like never before  
Perfect you

wheat and silk acids lather  
Repeat is desired

*Protection Crystal*

protects against loss  
undesirable yellowish golden reflexes

The fascination with platinum  
needs special care  
a silvery shimmer  
balance The cuticle  
begin!  
protected against loss of reflexes

radicals result in beautiful brilliance  
Silky in the most elegant shade of silver  
seductively radiant vibrance – lastingly

Brilliant Offers the perfect balance  
natural beauty  
precious Wheat

delicate Sunflower extract  
your expressive radiance

Sheer natural lightening  
For all shades  
Gently work into a rich lather  
Follow from root to tip

Go back to your roots  
help reconstruct  
back to their brilliant best

WHAT IT DOES

Strengthens and reduces breakage  
Balanced cleansing  
Improves vibrancy and adds shine

*Expert Shine*

soft and silky  
neutralise unwanted yellow tones  
while boosting shine your violet

to neutralise unwanted yellow tones  
Anti hard  
give lasting protection  
while ensuring a brilliant shine

Directions: through your wet hair

*Shimmer Lights & Silver*

Out with brassy and in with shimmer and shine.

Leave-In Toning Drops

Turn your favorite to banish  
keep silver  
or violet shades true  
The concentrated purple tones and cools  
while prickly pear extract softens  
and boosts Mixed Feelings

your routine provides protection

one to four drops of your choice  
ideal creamy texture  
in the palm of your hand

drops  
deeper

*Obsessed Silver*

Discover  
Silver eliminates, Illuminates  
for optimal results.

*Moment Treatment*

dry and damaged  
Dark violet to prevent changing

Who says bad things!?

Treat your golden with tender  
loving care  
protecting its true will  
and increase shine no matter your shade

*Sunset*

you will be ready

where all the sparkly lights  
shine just that much brighter

FOUND TEXT OF BLONDE SHAMPOO ADVERTISEMENTS  
EXPOSED BY JOHANNA KÄTHE MICHEL

**Izsledki  
raziskovalnega  
projekta, strokovni  
članki / Research  
project results,  
professional articles**

# Zgodovina ličenja in toksičnost ličil

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„Ženska brez ličil je kot hrana brez soli.“

Plautus (254-184 pr. n. št)

## Abstract

Makeup has been a part of everyday human life for centuries, and it can often be an important component of an individual's external image. Its trends have changed throughout history, but never at the same rate as today. For ages, people have been using ingredients found in nature for their makeup. These ingredients were often dangerous and toxic, causing long-term effects or even death. Today, we have laws in place that are intended to ensure the safety of cosmetic products. However, their possible long-term negative effects can be observed only after years of usage. This research is limited to the history of makeup and its toxicity in Ancient Egypt and the region of Europe since 3000 BC. I have utilised available historic sources and current European legislature. The main question in this research was what toxic compounds people used in the past and how are they regulated today, as well as what potentially toxic compounds are still used in consumer cosmetics. My hypothesis was that people used highly toxic compounds in the past (compounds that are now prohibited), and that makeup is more controlled and safer under today's laws.

Keywords: makeup, toxicity, Egypt, Ancient Rome, modern era, 20th century, today

## Povzetek / Uvod

Ličila so že tisočletja del našega vsakdana in so lahko pomemben del zunanje podobe. Trendi ličenja so se skozi zgodovino spreminjali, vendar nikoli tako hitro kot danes. Od nekdaj so ljudje za ličila izbirali sestavine, ki so jih našli v naravi. Te so bile velikokrat nevarne in toksične, za sabo pa so pustile dolgoročne posledice ali celo povzročile smrt. Danes imamo zakone, ki skrbijo za varnost uporabe kozmetike, vendar so lahko možne dolgoročne posledice, ki so vidne šele po večih letih uporabe.

Pri raziskovanju sem se omejila na zgodovino ličenja in toksičnost ličil Starega Egipta in evropskega prostora, ter obdobja od 3000 pr. n. št. do danes. Opirala sem se na

dostopne zgodovinske vire in na trenutno zakonodajo Evropske Unije. Zanimalo me je, katere toksične sestavine so uporabljali v preteklosti in kako so te sestavine regulirane danes, ter katere potencialno toksične spojine so še zmeraj v uporabi. Moja hipoteza je, da so nekoč uporabljali zelo strupene sestavine, ki so danes prepovedane, ter da so ličila pod današnjimi zakoni boljše kontrolirana in varnejša.

Ključne besede: ličila, toksičnost, Egipt, antični Rim, novi vek, 20. stol., danes

Ljudje smo se verjetno začeli ličiti še preden smo ustvarili prve civilizacije. Običajno je bilo to iz verskih ali ritualnih razlogov ali pa z namenom kazanja socialnega statusa. Beseda kozmetika izhaja iz grških besed κοσμητική τέχνη (kosmetikē tekhnē), ki pomeni tehnika oblačenja in okraševanja, iz κοσμητικός (kosmētikos), ki v prevodu pomeni več v oblikovanju ali urejanju, in iz κόσμος (kosmos), ki lahko pomeni tako red kot okras (Liddel in Scott, 1940). Beseda ličilo izhaja iz praslovanskega jezika ličiti, kar je pomenilo delati ali izboljševati zunanjo podobo (Snoj, 2015). Jasno je, da so ličila prisotna v našem življenju že stoletja in celo tisočletja.

Naši predniki pa niso vedno izbirali najboljših materialov za dosego zelenega videza. Običajno so uporabljali naravne materiale, ki pa so velikokrat vsebovali toksične komponente. Pri raziskovanju sem se osredotočila na toksične spojine, ki so se uporabljale v ličilih skozi zgodovino, ter poskušala opisati načine in trende ličenja, ki pripomorejo k razumevanju uporabe teh sestavin.

## Kohl – zibelka ličil

Lilila so v Starem Egiptu uporabljali tako moški kot ženske. Ideal so predstavljale oči v obliki mandlja, kar so dosegli z vsakodnevnim obrobljanjem oči s črnim kohl. Kohl je prah mletega galenita (svinčev sulfid - PbS), ki so mu lahko primešali mlete pražene mandlje, bakrov oksid, oglje ali olje (Sims, 2015; A History of Cosmetics in Ancient Times, 2020). Poleg kohl so uporabljali tudi malahit (bakrov hidroksi karbonat), ki je služil kot zeleno senčilo. Tako so za obrobo oči in zgornji del veke uporabili kohl, za spodnji del veke pa malahit (Forbes, 1955). Stari Egipčani so verjeli, da jih kohl ščiti pred bakterijami, žuželkami in sončnimi žarki (Little, 2016). Čeprav se sliši neverjetno, pa so morda imeli prav. Znanstveniki so ugotovili, da PbS absorbira del UV žarkov in s tem zaščiti kožo, prav tako pa so predvidevali, da svinec vpliva na celice in posledično na izboljšanje imunskega sistema (Vigears, 2010). Seveda to ne pomeni, da je kohl varen za uporabo. Njegova dolgoročna raba lahko vodi do kopičenja svinca v telesu in do zastrupitve. Povprečna življenjska doba Starega Egipčana je bila okrog trideset let – premalo, da bi lahko opazili hujše posledice svinca (Little, 2016).

## SVINEC - Pb

Svinec je težka kovina, ki se nahaja v zemeljski skorji. Je zelo toksičen. Že minimalna količina svinca ima v telesu negativne posledice. Kopiči se v kosteh in zobeh ter je najbolj nevaren za otroke, saj vpliva na njihov razvoj. Manjše izpostavitve lahko med drugim povzročijo anemijo, glavobol, povišan krvni tlak, razdraženost in nespečnost. Nekatere posledice izpostavitve svinca so neozdravljive. Velike doze svinca v telesu lahko privedejo do epileptičnega napada, kome in smrti (Hernberg, 2000; Lead poisoning and health, 2019).

## Rdeča lica in dolge trepalnice

Tudi v antičnem Rimu so bila ličila dosegljiva predvsem bogatim ženskam in spolnim delavkam (Sims, 2015). Zelo kvalitetne izdelke so uvažali iz ozemlja Galije, današnje Nemčije ter Kitajske. Bili so tako cenjeni, da so nastali njihovi ponaredki, ki so si jih lahko privoščile tudi manj bogate ženske (Ancient Cosmetics Brought to Life, 2016). Zaželena so bila rahlo rdeča lica in bled obraz. Na lica so si nanašale rdeč železov oksid (Fe<sub>2</sub>O<sub>3</sub>), cinabarit (HgS) ali rdeč svinčev oksid (Pb<sub>3</sub>O<sub>4</sub>) (Olson, 2008; Cosmetics in Ancient Rome, 2020). Kljub temu, da so Rimljani že poznali negativne učinke svinca in cinabarita, so ju ženske vseeno uporabljale (Sims, 2015). Ideal so predstavljale dolge trepalnice, obarvane s kohl. Ker so verjeli, da trepalnice izpadejo zaradi pretiranih spolnih odnosov, so ženske želele imeti čim daljše, saj naj bi to dokazovalo, da so spolno neizkušene (Pliny in Rackham, 1940). Popularne so bile goste temne, skoraj stikajoče se obrvi, ki so si jih ženske namazale s kohl ali ogljem. Za zeleno senčilo so uporabljale malahit, za modro pa azurit (bakrov hidroksi karbonat) (Olson, 2008).

## ŽIVO SREBRO - Hg

Živo srebro je toksična kovina, ki lahko povzroči smrt. Izpostavljenost ima negativne učinke na živčni, imunski in prebavni sistem. Poleg tega pa povzroča odpoved ledvic. Posledice so lahko trajne vedenjske in nevrološke motnje (Mercury and health, 2017).

## Porcelanasta polt

Med petim in petnajstim stoletjem je Cerkev označila ličila kot nemoralna in grešna, zato se je uporaba ličil drastično zmanjšala (A Brief History of Cosmetics 2, 2020). Z vsakodnevnim ličenjem so ponovno začeli šele v renesansi. Zopet je bila popularna bela porcelanasta polt in s tem razkazovanje položaja na družbeni lestvici (Little, 2016).

V pozni renesansi v Italiji je Giulia Toffana začela proizvajati prah imenovan Aqua Toffana, narejen iz arzena, ki naj bi zagotovil popoln porcelanast videz obraza. Nevarnosti svojega prahu se je Giulia povsem zavedala. Ženskam je svetovala, naj si ga še posebej nanašajo v bližini svojih mož, če se jih želijo znebiti. Vključno s svojim možem naj bi povzročila smrt več kot 600 moških (Amorasak, 2020).

## ARZEN - As

Arzen je polkovina. Kratkoročna izpostavitve povzročajo bruhanje, trebušne bolečine, osebne motnje in nevrološke simptome. Dolgoročna izpostavitve povzročajo potemnitev in debeljenje kože, srčne bolezni, otrplost ter raka (Ratnaika, 2003; Amorasak, 2013).

V osemnajstem stoletju so ženske v Franciji, kljub opozorilom o nevarnosti svinca, nosile ceruzit (bela svinčeva ruda) za doseg porcelanaste polti (Sims, 2015). Prav tako so si nanašale surove beljake, da so dosegle zastekljen videz (A History of Cosmetics from Ancient Times, 2020). Nekatere so si za doseganje bledega videza na ušesa nanašale pijavke, ki so jim spile kri in posledično je bil obraz videti blede. V tem času so postale moderne narisane lepotne pike, saj so s tem skrile luknje v koži, ki so bile posledica uporabe svinca. Večje vdolbine so dame pokrile z lepotnimi krpicami, ki so jih izrezale iz črne svile ali žameta v različnih oblikah kot so srčki, zvezdice in lunice, ter jih prilepile na obraz (Draelos, 2000; Leza the Makeup Artist, 2013).

V Italiji so ženske uporabljale kapljice za oči Belladonna, kar v prevodu pomeni lepa ženska. Narejene so bile iz plodov strupene volčje češnje (*Atropa belladonna*), ki so podobni borovnicam. Kapljice so povzročile razširitev zenice, s čimer so bile oči videti večje in dodatno poudarjene, ženske pa privlačnejše, nedolžnejše in otroške (Wischhover, 2013; Sims, 2015).

#### **VOLČJA ČEŠNJA - ATROPA BELLADONNA**

Volčja češnja oz. *Atropa belladonna* je ena izmed najbolj strupenih rastlin. Vsebuje strupene tropanske alkaloide kot so atropin, hiosciamin in skopolamin v vseh delih rastline, kar pomeni da je strupena celotna rastlina, ne samo sadeži. Simptomi zastrupitve so povečane zenice, halucinacije, zamegljen vid, glavobol in drugi. Zaužitje 2-5 sadežev povzroči smrt pri otrocih, pri odraslih pa 10-20 (The European Agency for the Evaluation of Medicinal Products, 1998; Ulbricht idr., 2004; Belladonna, 2020).

#### **Komercialni bum ličil**

Ob koncu devetnajstega stoletja je kraljica Viktorija ličila označila kot vulgarna, nesprejemljiva in primerna samo za gledališke igralce in spolne delavke, zato so se ženske ličile manj (A History of Cosmetics from Ancient Times, 2020). Ta trend se je prenesel tudi v začetek dvajsetega stoletja, ko so si ženske nanašale ličila v minimalnih količinah, da so se čim manj oddaljile od naravnega videza. Uporabljale so le pudre v prahu za bolj bel obraz, saj so s tem še vedno želele pokazati svoj status. Puder je velikokrat vseboval arzen. Dovoljeno je bilo nežno nanašanje rdečila in ustnice namazane le toliko, da so bile videti kot ugriznjene. (McGlinchey, 2013; Holliday, 2016)

Okrog leta 1910 so bile takratne vplivnice balerine in gledališke igralke. Te so pripomogle k razširjanju uporabe ličil. Max Factor je leta 1909 v Hollywoodu odprl prvi studio z ličili namenjenim igralkam, ki jih je kasneje oglaševal tudi splošni populaciji kot „vsako dekle je lahko videti kot filmska zvezda“ (Eipstein in Fitzgerald, 2009). Nekaj let kasneje (1915) je Thomas. L. Williams dobil inspiracijo od sestre Mabel, ki je za trepalnice uporabljala mešanico vaze-

lina in oglja ter ustvaril prvo moderno maskaro ter znamko poimenoval Maybelline. Od takrat je maskara postala obvezni del vsakdanjega ličenja (McGlinchey, 2013).

Po prvi svetovni vojni, v dvajsetih letih dvajsetega stoletja, so se ženske začele umikati konzervativnemu videzu in si drznile biti bolj izstopajoče. V obdobju blišča, Charlestona in zabav so ličila postala sprejemljiva tudi za deprivilirane ženske in postala nepogrešljiv del vsakdanjega življenja. Prvič v zgodovini se je pričela masovna komercialna proizvodnja ličil. Še vedno je bila zaželena zelo bela koža, ki pa so ji nasprotovale z rdečimi ustnicami, rdečilom in poudarjenimi očmi (McGlinchey, 2013; Holliday, 2016).

Zaželene so bile tanke in poudarjene ustnice v obliki Kupidovega loka. Ta videz je bil tako popularen, da so začeli prodajati kovinske predmete, ki naj bi pomagali doseči takšno obliko. Po odkritju grobnice egipčanskega faraona Tutankamona in doprsnega kipa Nefretete je uporaba črtala za oči znova narasla. Tiste najbolj pogumne so si nanesele tudi črno senčilo, za kar so znova uporabile kohl (McGlinchey, 2013; Holliday, 2016).

Po njegovem odkritju leta 1898 se je predvsem v Franciji in Angliji začela uporaba radioaktivnega radija v kozmetiki. Uporabljali so ga skoraj v vsakem izdelku – pudrih, nočnih kremah, rdečilih, kremah za telo, rdečilih za ustnice in kremah proti gubam. Zelo razširjena je bila tudi uporaba blatnih obraznih mask. Trdili so, da radij ustavi staranje in zgladi gube, prepreči rdečico ter mozolje in ohranja svežino ter sijaj kože. Izdelke so prodajali vse do začetka šestdesetih let (Radioactive Cosmetics, 2016).

#### **RADIJ - Ra**

Radij je najtežja zemljoalkalijska kovina, kar jih poznamo in zelo reaktivna. Razpade na radioaktivni radon in ob tem seva alfa in gama žarke, ki povzročijo mutacijo ali smrt celic. Posledici sta rak in smrt (Wischhover, 2016; Radium, 2020).

Kot omenjeno so negativne stranske učinke nekaterih sestavin ličil poznali že Rimljani. Z vsakdanjo uporabo se je število primerov zastrupitve s svincom in živim srebrom večalo, zato so jih vse večje znamke ličil opustile. Prav tako so znanstveniki v tem času pričeli opazovati vedno večje število primerov dermatitisa, kot posledice uporabe ličil in začeli opozarjati splošno javnost na možne nevarnosti kozmetike (Miller in Taussig, 1925; Wolcott, 1940).

V tridesetih letih dvajsetega stoletja se je uporaba ličil še bolj razširila. Začele so se pojavljati različne barve senčil in številni novi odtenki rdečil za ustnice. Kozmetologi so v tem času v ličila začeli dodajati sorazmerno velike količine nevarnih parabenov, ki so hormonski motilci. Parabeni se uporabljajo kot konzervansi, saj se lahko v vsakem izdelku, ki vsebuje vodo, razvijejo mikroorganizmi, kot na primer plesen. Parabeni preprečujejo njihov nastanek in s tem omogočajo, da ostane izdelek primeren za uporabo dlje časa.

V Evropski Uniji je nekaj parabenov od leta 2009 prepovedanih, ostali pa se lahko uporabljajo le v omejenih količinah in samo kot konzervansi. Raziskave kažejo, da v dovoljenih koncentracijah ne predstavljajo tveganja za zdravje. V zadnjem času se njihova uporaba vedno bolj opušča (Parabens used in cosmetics, 2011).

#### **PARABENI**

Parabeni so družina organskih spojin. So brezbarvni in brez vonja ter zato zelo zaželeni kot konzervansi. Nekateri izmed njih so hormonski motilci. Številne raziskave kažejo na možno povezavo z visokimi koncentracijami parabenov in z razvojem raka (European Commission, 2011; Cabaleiro idr., 2014).

V času druge svetovne vojne so bila ličila težje dosegljiva, saj so sestavine, potrebne za njihovo izdelavo (predvsem alkohole in nafto), raje uporabili v vojaške namene (Angelogou, 1970). Zaradi pomanjkanja najlona so se razvila tudi ličila za noge kot nadomestek hlačnih nogavic. Številne ženske so začele delati v tovarnah, kjer so nosile preprostejši videz. Kljub številnim novim odtenkom rdečil za ustnice je bila nepogrešljiva klasična rdeča, ki so jo v Združenih državah Amerike celo označili kot esencialno, saj naj bi dvigovala moralno med vojaki (McGlinchey, 2013).

Po vojni so se meje natančno definirane izgleda ženskega obraza zabrisale, saj je bilo hkrati popularnih več trendov ličenja. Tako so v petdesetih letih nekatere ženske še vedno prisegale na rdečilo za ustnice rdeče barve (npr. Marilyn Monroe), nekatere pa so začele uporabljati rožnate odtenke (npr. Audrey Hepburn). Vse pa so se strinjale glede črtala za oči v obliki kril, ki je dajal vtis mačjih oči. Nasvete za nanašanje ličil so poznali že v dvajsetih letih v tiskani obliki, po vojni pa so se pojavili tudi v obliki videoposnetkov na televiziji (McGlinchey, 2013; Holliday, 2016).

V šestdesetih letih je bil poudarek na očeh, zato so se pojavile prve umetne trepalnice. Uporabljala so se rdečila za ustnice nevtralnih barv, da ne bi preusmerile pozornosti stran od oči. Nekatere ženske so se v tem času, pod vplivom feminizma, uprle kozmetiki in jo označile kot žensko mučenje. Številne so popolnoma opustile ličenje in raje sprejele naravni videz (McGlinchey, 2013; Holliday, 2016).

V sedemdesetih so ženske uporabljale žive barve senčil. Čez dan so nosile naraven videz, ob večerih pa drznejšega in bolj seksapilnega (H&MUA Team, 2020). Ta trend se je nadaljeval tudi v osemdeseta, kjer so senčila postala še bolj drzna. V Zahodnem svetu so si začele nanašati različne barve senčil naenkrat, pri čemer so si običajno barvni odtenki nasprotovali. „V Sloveniji v osemdesetih in devetdesetih letih je bil tipičen videz urejene ženske turkizno-zeleno svetleče senčilo za oči, črna maskara, rdeče-oranžno rdečilo za ustnice in dobro prekriven matirajoč puder, ki je zakril nepravilnosti.“ (Hvala, 2020: 109). V tem času so se ženske začele bolj zavedati nevarnosti ličil in na trgu so se začele

la pojavljati prijaznejša ličila (80s Makeup: Top Trends to Channel the Decade, 2019). Prav tako so se v tem času začeli uveljavljati zakoni za regulativo kozmetike - Evropska Unija je leta 1976 dobila Direktivo Sveta o približevanju zakonodaje držav članic v zvezi s kozmetičnimi izdelki.<sup>1</sup>

#### **Današnja zakonodaja**

V Republiki Sloveniji je za nadzor nad kozmetičnimi izdelki odgovorno Ministrstvo za zdravje in njegova organa Zdravstveni inšpektorat in Urad RS za kemikalije. Do leta 2000, ko je bil sprejet Zakon o kozmetičnih proizvodih, je veljal Pravilnik o pogojih glede zdravstvene neoporečnosti predmetov splošne rabe, ki smejo v promet „v delu, ki se nanaša na sredstva za osebno higieno, negovalna in lepotilna sredstva za obraz in telo“ (ZKozP, 2000) iz leta 1982, ki je bil v uporabi že v Socialistični federativni republiki Jugoslaviji. Zakon o kozmetičnih proizvodih je leta 2001 dopolnil Pravilnik o sestavi kozmetičnih proizvodov, ki je vseboval 422 komponent prepovedanih v kozmetičnih izdelkih (ZKozP, 2000).

Kako pa je danes? Seveda se je z razvojem znanosti razvilo tudi naše razumevanje o stranskih učinkih kemikalij in posledično tudi primerna prepoved nevarnih sestavin v ličilih. Tako je v Evropski Uniji v Prilogi II iz Uredbe Evropskega parlamenta in sveta o kozmetičnih izdelkih (2009), ter njegovi posodobitvi leta 2019, zapisanih 1623 prepovedanih kemikalij. Ta uredba je v Republiki Sloveniji vstopila veljavo julija 2013 in nadomestila Zakon o kozmetičnih proizvodih in njegove podzakonske predpise. Vse prej našete spojine in elementi so s to uredbo popolnoma ali vsaj delno prepovedani.

Toda ali to pomeni, da so vsa naša ličila varna za uporabo? Moralo je preteči veliko let, preden so opazili, da kemikalija škodi uporabniku ličil. Kako lahko trdimo, da se danes v naših ličilih ne skriva spojina, katere stranski učinki bodo opazni šele z dolgoročno uporabo?

Evropska Unija ima enega izmed strožjih nadzorov nad uporabo kemikalij v kozmetične namene. Kljub številnim omejitvam v Evropski Uniji je še vedno dovoljenih nekaj vprašljivih kemikalij kot sestavin za ličila.

Aluminij je še vedno dovoljena substanca v kozmetičnih izdelkih. Običajno ga je največ prisotnega v dezodorantih, prisoten pa je tudi v barvnih izdelkih in kremah. Nekatere raziskave kažejo, da lahko pri prekomerni izpostavljenosti vpliva na razvoj raka dojk, vendar pa direktna povezava ni bilo dokazana. Prav tako naj bi bil dejavnik tveganja za Alzheimerjevo bolezen. Tako kot za parabene, je tudi pri aluminiju marketinška strategija vedno večjih proizvajalcev ta, da na embalaže napišejo, da ne vsebuje aluminija ali parabenov, predvsem zato, da povečajo prodajo izdelkov (Darbre, 2006; Ferreira idr., 2008).

Formaldehid se je uporabljal kot konzervans, vendar je od leta 2009 v kozmetiki z zakonom prepovedan. Povzroča

<sup>1</sup> „Direktiva je zakonodajni akt o določenem cilju, ki ga morajo doseči države EU, toda vsaka država sama sprejme svoje predpise o tem, kako bo ta cilj dosegla.“ (Uredbe, direktive in drugi akti, 2020)

alergije, draženje kože in dermatitis. Vendar pa so proizvajalci ličil našli način, kako ohraniti formaldehid kot sestavino na legalen način. Uporabljati so začeli spojine, ki v stiku z vodo razpadejo na formaldehid. Na ta način formaldehid posredno prenesemo v telo. Takšni spojini sta npr. imidazolidinil urea in diazolidinil urea, ki sta popolnoma dovoljeni (uporabljata se tudi imeni Germall II in Germall 115) (Miralles idr., 2018).

Po Uredbi Evropskega parlamenta in sveta o kozmetičnih izdelkih morajo biti na embalaži kozmetičnega izdelka jasno razvidne sestavine. Urejene morajo biti v padajočem vrstnem redu glede na odstotek v izdelku. Vendar pa se težava pojavi pri spojinah, ki služijo kot parfumi in aromatične sestavine, saj se morajo označiti le kot parfum ali aroma. Tako proizvajalci niso dolžni povedati katere potencialno nevarne kemikalije se skrivajo za temi besedami. Prav tako se kot sestavine ne štejejo „nečistoče v uporabljenih surovinah“ in „pomožne tehnične snovi, ki se uporabljajo v zmesi, pa jih

končni izdelek ne vsebuje” (Uredba Evropskega parlamenta in sveta o kozmetičnih izdelkih, 2009). Kljub temu, da so te snovi v izdelku v zelo majhnih koncentracijah, pa se lahko kopičijo v našem telesu. Nečistoč se je običajno težko znebiti, predvsem takrat, kadar so v majhnih koncentracijah in potrebujejo zahtevne postopke odstranitve. Njihova odstranitev bi bila zato velik strošek za proizvajalca ličil.

Dandanes je na trgu na voljo ogromno število različnih ličil. Trendi ličenja in s tem sestava ličil se vedno hitreje spreminjajo in jih je vedno več. Raziskave sestavin potekajo neprestano in skupaj z zakonodajo Evropske Unije zagotavljajo, da so vse sestavine primerno regulirane ali po potrebi prepovedane. Z nekaterimi trendi se zopet vračamo nazaj k naravnemu videzu z „No Makeup Makeup” (glej Hvala, 2020 v pričujoči publikaciji), vendar je raznolikost ličenja in raznolikost trendov razvidna med posamezniki. Katera ličila in kateri trendi so najbolj primerni je na koncu odvisno samo od presoje vsakega uporabnika posebej.

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# Ženska lepota v novodobništvu

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## Abstract

In a society that sets different standards of behaviour and appearance for people of different genders, certain New Age practices offer an alternative through greater inclusion and acceptance of individual bodies and appearances. In my research on the relationship between New Age beliefs and one's physical appearance, I limited myself to Slovenia. In addition to conducting interviews with participants of 'New Age women's circles', I relied on some rare sources that focus on the topic of New Age mainly from a cultural studies point of view. I wondered if there was a link between a greater degree of acceptance of one's appearance and participation in New Age workshops, especially in the so-called 'women's circles'. I hypothesize that in this sense, New Age offers women more inclusiveness in terms of their relationship to the body and appearance.

Keywords: New Age, ideals of beauty, femininity, female spirituality, changes in the present

## Povzetek / Uvod

V družbi, ki za ljudi različnih spolov postavlja različne standarde glede obnašanja in izgleda, nekatere novodobniške prakse („new age“) ponujajo alternativo preko večjega vključevanja in sprejemanja lastnega telesa in njegovega izgleda. Pri raziskavi odnosa novodobništva do izgleda sem se omejila na Slovenijo. Poleg interpretacije izvedenih intervjujev z udeleženkami t.i. „novodobniških ženskih krogov“ sem se opirala na redke vire, ki se temi novodobništva posvečajo predvsem s kulturološkega vidika. Zanimalo me je, ali prihaja do povezave večje stopnje

sprejemanja lastnega izgleda in sodelovanja pri novodobniških delavnicah, specifično pri novodobniških ženskih krogih. Moja hipoteza je, da v tem smislu novodobništvo ponuja ženskam več inkluzivnosti glede njihovega odnosa do telesa in izgleda.

Ključne besede: novodobnost, lepotni ideali, ženskost, ženska duhovnost, spremembe v sedanjosti

Pričujoči članek predstavlja krajši uvid v novodobništvo na Slovenskem in v zgodbo o ženskah, ki sodelujejo v novodobniških praksah ter s tem, tako kot pravi moja hipoteza, iščejo tudi sprejemanje svojega telesa.<sup>1</sup> V članku nameravam s pomočjo raziskovanja vloge žensk v novodobništvu ter vprašanja sodobnega pogleda na žensko telo nekoliko bolj osvetlitvi to precej neraziskano tematiko iz ženske perspektive, med drugim tudi preko izkušenj intervjuvank. Moje glavno raziskovalno vprašanje je povezano s pogledom žensk v novodobništvu na predstave o lepoti.

Že na začetku raziskovanja sem opazila, da mi bodo na voljo le redki viri, ki se ukvarjajo z novodobništvom v Sloveniji. Uvid v izbrano temo na Slovenskem pa sem dobila iz študije sociologa Igorja Bahovca z naslovom Postmoderna kultura in duhovnost (2009). V znanstveni publicistiki so redki viri, ki se ukvarjajo z dimenzijo spola v novodobništvu. Tema žensk v novodobništvu je v Sloveniji precej neraziskano področje, največ znanja pa vsebuje zbornik Duhovnost žensk na Slovenskem (Furlan Štante, 2014), s katerim si bom v nadaljevanju pomagala. V tem zborniku so zbrani prispevki avtoric, ki se ukvarjajo z različnimi področji, kot so teologija, religiologija, sociologija, antropologija in tudi literarna znanost. Tekom članka se bom nanašala specifično na slovensko novodobništvo, s ciljem refleksije le-tega v povezavi z lepotnimi ideali. Moje glavno raziskovalno vprašanje je: Ali novodobniške prakse spodbujajo večje sprejemanje lastnega videza in inkluzivnosti kot dominantni družbeni normativi lepote?

Članek metodološko temelji na pogovorih s tremi posameznicami, ki so povezane z novodobništvom, bodisi kot udeleženke ali voditeljice novodobniških delavnic.<sup>2</sup> V začetnih fazah moje raziskave sem iskala udeleženke novodobniških praks najprej na internetu, nato pa sem iskanje razširila tudi na družbene medije, kot sta Instagram in Facebook, kontakt ene od udeleženk pa mi je posredovala soraziskovalka. Odločila sem se za etnografsko metodo, kjer sem si pomagala z intervjuji, ki so vsebovali odprta vprašanja. Dve članici novodobniških krogov sem vsled COVID-19 restrikcij intervjuvala s pomočjo pisnega intervjuja preko spletne pošte, eno pa s pomočjo videokonference. Moja vprašanja so se nanašala na osebne izkušnje udeleženk in kako se je skozi leta sodelovanja v novodobniškem gibanju spreminjal njihov odnos do lastnega telesa in videza ter kako jim sodelovanje v ženskih krogih pomaga pri vzpostavljanju družbeno nenormativnega odnosa do telesa in predstav o njegovi lepoti.

### Vloga žensk v novodobništvu

Sodobne oblike novodobniške duhovnosti so se uveljavile v Severni Ameriki in Zahodni Evropi v šestdesetih letih dvajsetega stoletja, pri nas v Sloveniji pa v poznih

osemdesetih in v devetdesetih letih. Širile so jih predvsem kontrakulturna gibanja,<sup>3</sup> ki so med drugim kritizirala tudi tradicionalne religije in problematičen odnos do žensk, postavljenih v podrejeni položaj (Ban, 2014: 73–74). Yinger (1976) trdi, da se kontrakultura oblikuje takrat, ko začne skupina ljudi zavračati glavne vrednote družbe in jo skuša nadomestiti z raznimi alternativami. Ključen je element konflikta, saj je večina kontrakulturnih vrednot direktno nasprotnih glavnim vrednotam družbe, v kateri živijo (Yinger (1976) citiran v Kosič, 2011: 11).

„New age“ ali novodobništvo ponuja tip duhovnosti, ki je drugačen od duhovnosti velikih religij in poudarja predvsem osebno duhovno izkušnjo posameznika. V krščanstvu in drugih velikih religijah je cilj duhovnega iskanja najti in sprejeti resnico, katere bistvo je že zapisano v raznih svetih knjigah in ko posameznik to najde, ga mine potreba po iskanju česa drugega. V novodobništvu se posamezniki in skupine gibljejo znotraj kultskega miljeja raznih ponudb. Najbolj pomembno je to, da najdejo tisto, kar ustreza njihovim subjektivnim kriterijem (Bahovec, 2009: 109–110). Raziskovanje tega, kako spol zaznamuje duhovnost in njeno prakso, je v literaturi pogosto spregledano. Kategorija spola pa je pomembna iztočnica medsebojnih odnosov in oblikovanja antagonizmov med spoloma ter razumevanje drugega. Spolni stereotipi še danes močno zaznamujejo dojemanje odnosa do duhovnosti, najbolj vztrajni pa so stereotipi o ženskosti in moškosti. Moškost se je skozi zgodovino Zahodne misli in kulture vzpostavila za sinonim razuma, transcendence in božanskosti, medtem ko je ženskost asociirana s telesnostjo, imanentnostjo in človečnostjo. Tovrstna spolna tipiziranja so še vedno zelo prisotna v kolektivnem spominu Zahodne kulture in so pogosto služila kot argument za izključitev žensk iz polja duhovnega (Furlan Štante, 2014: 51).<sup>4</sup> V začetku dvajsetega stoletja so bili premiki v tradicionalnem družbenem spolnem redu že zelo očitni. Rahljanje androcentričnega reda in pridobivanje socialnih in po drugi svetovni vojni pri nas tudi političnih pravic žensk sta s seboj prinesla tudi pomisleke o teh spremembah, izgubo t.i. „prave“ ženskosti ter razkroja tradicionalne družine. Če to pogledamo na primeru časa socializma v Sloveniji, ko so ženske dobile večino političnih in socialnih pravic, vidimo, da po razmislekih varuhov t.i. „naravnega reda“ naj bi prav socializem povzročil izgubo „prave“ ženskosti in spodkopal njeno domnevno naravno družbeno vlogo. Z zasukom političnega sistema leta 1990 se je okrepila težnja po ponovni domesticaciji žensk in vrnitvi k „pravi“ ženskosti. Tu je značilno pretirano povelečevanje preteklosti, ki je bila skoraj ideal-

<sup>1</sup> Avtorica Furlan Štante (2014) novodobništvo definira kot gibanje, kjer je središče postal posameznik, ki samostojno izbira svoja verovanja in se pri tem zanaša na lastno izkustvo in ne na zunanje verske avtoritete.

<sup>2</sup> Specifično ženskih krogov, kjer se skozi pogovore na razne tematike, ples ali petje udeleženke medsebojno povezujejo in se ukvarjajo s spoznavanjem lastne ženskosti.

<sup>3</sup> Avtorica Ban (2014) jih definira kot gibanja, ki so zaradi razočaranja nad družbenim in kulturnim razvojem po drugi svetovni vojni zahtevala spremembe različnih področij družbenega življenja. V tem primeru se avtorica nanaša specifično na hipijevska gibanja.

<sup>4</sup> Tu se avtorica nanaša na avtorico Carol P. Christ, ki je v knjigi Rebirth of the Goddess: Finding meaning in feminist spirituality (1997) to opisala zaradi njihove domnevne „naravne nezmožnosti“.

na, in sedanjosti, ki se je znašla sredi moralnega razsula.<sup>5</sup> Zaradi opisanih sprememb ženske postajajo vedno bolj vidne ustvarjalke nove duhovnosti in postopno tudi nosilke sprememb družbenih razmer (Jogan, 2014: 9–17).

Raziskave in izsledki krščanske feministične teologije, „gibanje Boginje“ (eng. Goddess Movement), obujanje ljudske religioznosti žensk in ženskih poganskih kultov ter drugih gibanj, povezanih z žensko duhovnostjo, imajo veliko vlogo pri preobrazbi kolektivnega spomina in sedanjega mnenja. Pomembne so tudi pri rekonstrukciji preteklosti z mitičnega ženskega vidika (Furlan Štante, 2014: 54).

### Sodobni pogled na žensko telo

Na tej točki želim tudi osmisliti pogled žensk na lastno telesa, da bom to lahko primerjala z novodobniškim pogledom na telo in iskala morebitne razlike ali podobnosti.

Delež žensk, ki ne sprejemajo izgleda lastnega telesa ali delov telesa, je visok.<sup>6</sup> Kritičen in celo sovražen odnos do lastnega izgleda lahko vidimo kot skrajno nezaupanje samemu sebi. Zdi se, da razmišljanje včasih pelje v to, da bi drugačno telo lahko predrugачilo tudi druge lastnosti, posledice takšnega napačnega mišljenja pa so lahko številne psihične bolezni.<sup>7</sup> V primerjavi moškega pogleda na lastno telo z ženskim opazimo, da so ženske v večini manj zadovoljne s svojim videzom. S tem nezadovoljstvom pa so lahko povezane tudi korekcije videza, ki predrugачijo izgled (Bizjan, 2005: 85).

V povezavi s telesom lahko govorimo tudi o idealu izgleda ženske kože. Avtorica Lee Bartky v svojem članku piše o splošnem pričakovanju, da naj bi ženska koža morala biti mehka, gladka in brez dlak, pa tudi brez gub.<sup>8</sup> Dobra skrb za kožo ne zahteva samo pozornosti na zdravje, izogibanje napetih izrazov obraza in pogostih vaj za obraz, ampak tudi pogosto uporabo raznih pripravkov za nego kože (Lee Bartky, 1997: 136–139).

### Razmisleki intervjuvank

Da bi bolje razumela razmišljanje o izbrani temi izven redkih akademskih obravnav, ki ponujajo delne odgovore na moja vprašanja, sem se v okviru moje raziskave obrnila tudi na ženske, ki delujejo v raznih področjih in praksah povezanih z novodobništvom, specifično v ženskih krogih. Moj kriterij pri izbiranju udeleženk novodobništva je bil, da so intervjuvanke same voditeljice ženskih krogov in imajo posledično več znanja o delovanju in sestavi le-teh, ali pa udeleženke ženskih krogov, ki jih obiskujejo že dlje časa, tako da lahko iz svoje izkušnje sklepajo o spremembah samopodobe in samodojemanja.

Najprej sem se pogovarjala s triintridesetletno Anjo

<sup>5</sup> Avtorica Maca Jogan v članku prejšnje stanje opiše kot predsocijalistično obdobje, zdajšnje stanje pa kot delno že postsocijalistično.

<sup>6</sup> Primerjaj članek Brigitte Miloš v pričujoči publikaciji, na straneh 48–54.

<sup>7</sup> Kuhar (2003), kot primer raziskav navaja Spitzack (1990) in Frost (2001), ki sta izvajala poglobljene intervjuje na temo telesnega videza. Pomembni sta tudi avtorici Charles in Kerr (1986), ki sta v svoji raziskavi razkrili obsežnost ženskega nezadovoljstva z lastnim videzom, specifično s trenutno težo.

<sup>8</sup> Primerjaj članek Brigitte Miloš v pričujoči publikaciji, na straneh 48–54.

Komes, ki prihaja iz Novega Mesta in se z vodenjem ženskih krogov ukvarja pristočasno. T.i. „ženske kroge“ izvaja enkrat do dvakrat mesečno v Svetišču, ki je prostor, ustvarjen za ženske, da se lahko umaknejo in poglobijo vase. Potek ženskega kroga je odvisen od teme srečanja, največkrat pa vključuje petje in ples, pogovor o obravnavani temi, meditacijo, praktični del v obliki ritualov in obredov ter zaključek ob hrani. Intervju sem izvedla preko spletne pošte, kamor sem ji posredovala izbrana vprašanja odprtega tipa. Na vprašanje o tem, kako razmišlja o odnosu do telesa in lepote, mi je odgovorila naslednje:

*Vprašajte se, koliko svobode mu zares date [telesu]? Vprašajte se s srcem, ne z razumom. Kakšna oblačila nosite? Večina ženskih kolekcij ne laska ženskemu telesu, ampak povzema ravne linije, geometrične oblike, ki pripadajo moškemu. V kolikor želite postati prijateljica s svojim telesom, potem morate najprej opustiti vse kritike, nazore, superiorna mnenja in nasvete ter se vrniti nazaj k sebi, mehki in nežnosti to, kar v samem bistvu ženska je.*

— Anja Komes, voditeljica ženskih krogov

Izjavo o opuščanju kritik, nazorov in superiornih mnenj ter vrnitvi nazaj k sebi lahko povežem s pisanjem prej omenjene Bizjan (2005) o velikem deležu žensk, ki ne sprejemajo lastnega izgleda, kar lahko vodi v nezaupanje samemu sebi in posledično nezadovoljstvo. Zdi se, da intervjuvanka vsaj delno rešitev ali alternativo takemu prevladujočemu mišljenju vidi v vrnitvi k lastni ženskosti, ki jo vidi kot bolj mehko in nežno od moškosti. Z mano je v intervjuju podelila tudi svoja razmišljanja o spreminjajočih se idealih ženskega telesa.

*Zadnje čase se tudi brišejo meje med ženskim in moškim, to je vsekakor zelo zaskrbljujoče za zdravo prihodnost družbe. Na srečo se po drugi strani prebujajo vse več žensk, ki si dovolijo reči ne kozmetični industriji, modnim nasvetom in polaganjem svoje primarne lepote in telesa v roke drugih. Te ženske se zavedajo sebe in svoje vrednosti, da lepota izhaja od znotraj, zato lahko izžarevajo veliko močnejšo energijo kot tiste, ki polagajo ves denar, čas in trud v zunanje izboljšave.*

— Anja Komes, voditeljica ženskih krogov

Zaskrbljenost sogovornice glede brisanja meje med domnevno „ženskim“ in „moškim“ sem povezala z deljenjem na „moškost“ in „ženskost“ ter posledično izključevanje žensk iz polja duhovnosti. Domnevam, da zaradi sodobnega vključevanja žensk v novodobništvo za same udeleženke novodobništva ta delitev izgublja negativno konotacijo, ki jo je prej imela, in spodbuja ženske h kreiranju specifične duhovnosti, za katero je središčen tradicionalni koncept „ženskosti“: telesnost, imanentnost in človečnost.

Druga intervjuvanka je stara enaindvajset let in prihaja iz Ljubljane. Povedala mi je, da novodobniške delavnice

# Naravna kozmetika

**Lucija Šerak**

(Kozmetika, 1. stopnja,  
Visoka šola za storitve)

„Predstava, da je naravno varnejše in boljše, je lahko zmotna!“

## Abstract

The reason for growing inquiries for natural cosmetics is the growing concern of consumers for their health and for the cosmetic product contains only a trace of a natural ingredient for it to be treated as a natural one. This is a fact that most consumers do not in any way guarantee that the product consists of 100% natural ingredients. In addition, there is also a misconception about the absence of additives (e.g. parabens) in natural cosmetics, as the use of natural synthetic additives is allowed. The most appropriate guides for determining whether or not a cosmetic product is natural, are certificates issued by independent organizations, which prescribe their own rules and standards to be met by the products and by their manufacturers. This makes the oversight and standardisation of rules more difficult. Another problem is the fact that consumers are not very familiar with these certificates. The goal of this paper is to present the field of natural cosmetics to consumers, with the goal of easier understanding.

Keywords: natural cosmetics, cosmetic market, certification of natural cosmetics, certificates, legislation

## Povzetek / Uvod

Razlog za vse večje povpraševanje po naravni kozmetiki predstavlja vedno večja skrb potrošnikov za zdravje in tudi za okolje, v katerem živimo. Da je določen kozmetični izdelek označen kot naraven, je dovolj, da vsebuje le majhen delež naravne sestavine, kar večina potrošnikov ne ve. Oznaka „naravno“ torej nikakor ne predstavlja zagotovila, da kozmetični izdelek sestoji iz 100-odstotno naravnih sestavin. Prav tako velja tudi zmotno prepričanje o odsotnosti aditivov, saj je dovoljena uporaba tako naravnih kot tudi določenih naravnih identičnih ter v določeni meri sintetičnih aditivov. Najustreznejše vodilo pri opredelitvi, ali je oz. v kolikšni meri je kozmetični izdelek sploh „nar-

obiskuje občasno. Preko spletne pošte sem ji posredovala izbrana odprta vprašanja, kjer sem se bolj osredotočila na njeno izkušnjo z obiskovanjem ženskih krogov. O povezavi dela na sebi, obiskovanja ženskih krogov in idealov lepote mi je povedala naslednje:

*Ni nujno, da ti delo na sebi spremeni pogled na to, kaj se ti zdi idealno, ti pa pomaga sprejeti to, kar imaš oziroma ti pomaga, da nisi tako zelo osredotočen na druge v smislu primerjanja. Primerjanje se mi zdi eden največjih faktorjev, da ljudje ne moremo priti v stik s svojo lepoto, ker našo osredotočenost drži nekje drugje in nas opozarja na to, česar nimamo.*

— Eva, obiskovalka novodobniških delavnic

Zanimiv se mi je zdel pogled intervjuvanke na to, da ji njena osebna izkušnja obiskovanja ženskih krogov ni pomagala pri spreminjanju videnja idealov lepote, ampak bolj v smislu sprejemanja lastnega videza in osredotočanja na lastno podobo. Tukaj lahko svojo tezo o produktivnem vplivu novodobniških praks na sprejemanju lastnega videza potrdim.

Z mano je misli delila tudi univ. dipl. igralka Suzana Grau iz Ljubljane, ki vodi obredne delavnice za ženske. Kontaktirala sem jo s pomočjo spletne pošte, kjer sva se dogovorili za pogovor preko videokonference, ki je trajala pol ure. V najinem pogovoru je izpostavila pomembnost ženskih prehodov in iniciacij, ki igrajo ključno vlogo v tem, kako bo ženska razumela, sprejemala in doživljala svoje telo. Izpostavila je prehod iz deklice v žensko, ki se zgodi s prvo menstruacijo, in prehod v menopavzo, ko se mesečne krvavitve sklenejo. V obeh primerih se žensko telo spremeni; dekličino telo se kakšno leto pred prvo menstruacijo zaobli, začne pridobivati ženske obline. V kolikor deklica v obdobju prehoda dobi pozitiven pogled na svoje telo in cikličnost, od matere ali pomembnih žensk v njeni okolici, se bo tudi njen pogled prilagodil temu. Skozi menstrualno cikličnost bo spoznala raznolikost in spreminjanje svojega telesa, in s tem se bo tudi njen odnos do sebe podporno definirala. Njen odnos do telesa, in cikličnosti, bo njen izvor moči. To jo bo podpiralo pri ostalih prehodih, še posebej pri morebitnem porodu in prehodu v menopavzo. Proti

koncu najinega pogovora je omenila tudi svoje razmišljanje v povezavi s staranjem ženskega telesa, kar bi bilo lahko zanimivo izhodišče za nadaljnjo raziskovanje. O sprejemanju starajočega ženskega telesa se namreč v strokovni literaturi zelo malo piše.<sup>9</sup>

*Se mi zdi, da sama mladost, ne glede na to ali je suha ali obilna, če tako posplošimo, lepa. Ker mladost je lepa in sprejemljiva za družbo, ki je obsedena z iskanjem zunanjega ideala lepote, ki ga narekuje trenutni trend. V kolikor je ženska tekom desetletij potovala s svojim menstrualnim ciklom, je spoznala svoje notranje vire lepote, moči in modrosti. Dala bo vrednost izkušnjam in znanju, ki jih je nabirala tekom let, njen odnos do spreminjajočega se telesa bo pozitiven. Vendar je to zahtevna naloga, saj družba ne daje pravega mesta ženski, ki je sklenila svoje ‚cvetoče–mladostno–rodno–obdobje‘. To se mi zdi je potrebno še posebej osvetliti. Da ni tega iskanja Dorianove slike, kjer bomo večno stare 25 let, ampak da so naše izkušnje, doprinos družbi, tisto kar smo pridobile tekom let, da je to lepota, ki ostane.*

— Suzana Grau, voditeljica ženskih krogov

## Zaključek

Opozorila bi rada, na previdnost pri posploševanju izkušenj treh udeleženk na številčno pripadništvo novodobniških praks. Članek se namreč ne pogloblja v izkušnje več različnih posameznikov in je namenjen kot potencialna začetna točka nadaljnjih raziskav večjega obsega, ki bi zajele več izkušenj.

Ob združitvi teorije in intervjujev udeleženk sem prišla do sklepov in idej za razširitev raziskave. Zaznala sem, da prakse novodobništva ponujajo drugačen pogled na lepoto, ki v nasprotju z dominantnimi normativi glede videza in lepote ni samo v zunanjem izgledu, ampak se pravzaprav rodi v „notranjosti“ sebstva. Duhovno delo na sebstvu naj bi olajšalo sprejemanje tega, kar si in imaš, poleg tega pa naj bi pomagalo pri neosredotočanju na primerjanje z drugimi.

<sup>9</sup> Primerjaj članek Brigitte Miloš v pričujoči publikaciji, na straneh 48–54.

<sup>1</sup> Slovenskem. Koper: Univerzitetna založba Annales, 9–46.

<sup>2</sup> Kosič, K. (2011). *Hipijevstvo v Jugoslaviji in ZDA*. (Diplomsko delo, Univerza v Ljubljani, Fakulteta za družbene vede), 11.

<sup>3</sup> Kuhar, M. (2003). Odraščanje v kulturi vitkosti: kako mlade ženske doživljajo nezadovoljstvo s telesom. V: *Teorija in praksa*, 5(40), 860–873. Pridobljeno s <http://dk.fdv.uni-lj.si/db/pdfs/tip20035kuhar.PDF> (23. 6. 2020)

<sup>4</sup> Lee Bartky, S. (1997). Foucault, Femininity and The Modernization of Patriarchal Power. V: Diamond, I. in Quinby, L. *Feminism and Foucault: Reflections on Resistance*, 25–45. Pridobljeno s [https://faculty.uml.edu/kluis/42.101/Bartky\\_Foucault-FemininityandtheModernization.pdf](https://faculty.uml.edu/kluis/42.101/Bartky_Foucault-FemininityandtheModernization.pdf) (22. 6. 2020)

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Naravna kozmetika, katere izvor sega na sam začetek človeške zgodovine, že dobro desetletje predstavlja močno izražen trend in tržno nišo. Pojem naravne kozmetike in zahteve zanjo v evropski zakonodaji niso opredeljeni. Edino vodilo pri opredelitvi naravnih kozmetičnih izdelkov, predstavljajo standardizacije neodvisnih organizacij in pridobitev enega od certifikatov, ki ga te organizacije ponujajo na trgu. Standardizacijske zahteve teh certifikatov so zelo raznolike – nekatere so zelo stroge, druge dopuščajo preveč. Kljub razširjenosti in uveljavitvi naravne kozmetike na trgu in med potrošniki pa še vedno ostaja odprto vprašanje, katera kozmetika je sploh naravna, katere sestavine uvrščamo med naravne, katere med sintetične, ali je naravno res boljše/bolj kakovostno/bolj varno za naše zdravje in okolje od konvencionalne industrijske kozmetike. Raziskovalnemu članku je dodana tudi anketa, ki so jo izpolnjevali naključni anketiranci v maju 2020 in je obenem tudi vir podatkov. Glavni namen je ugotoviti, kaj potrošniki razumejo pod pojmom naravno in koliko vedo o naravni kozmetiki, ki se vedno pogosteje pojavlja na trgu.

### Kozmetični trg

Kozmetična industrija danes predstavlja eno večjih in pomembnejših gospodarskih panog. Svetovne kozmetične multinacionalke vlagajo veliko sredstev v razvoj novih izdelkov in blagovnih znamk. Tako narekujejo smer razvoja drugim proizvajalcem kozmetike in posledično vodijo globalni trg (Abbas, 2017).

Po statističnih podatkih priznane organizacije Euro-monitor International je bil globalni trg kozmetike leta 2016 vreden skoraj 445 milijard dolarjev. Največji del trga kozmetične industrije zajema Azija z Oceanijo (skoraj 40 % celotnega trga; 141 milijard dolarjev), sledita ji Zahodna Evropa (114 milijard dolarjev) in Severna Amerika (93 milijard dolarjev). V preteklem letu je globalni trg beležil približno 4,5-odstotno rast na letni ravni, do leta 2023 naj bi se ta povišala na kar 7,1 %. Številka naj bi do leta 2023 poskočila na dobrih 699 milijard dolarjev (Abbas, 2017).

Med največje kozmetične gigante sodijo: L'Oréal Group, Procter & Gamble Company, Unilever, Beiersdorf AG, Estée Lauder Companies, Mary Kay, Shiseido, Revlon, Avon in Johnson & Johnson. Najhitreje rastoča podjetja pa predstavljajo NYX Cosmetics, Too Faced in Urban Decay (Global Cosmetics Market, 2020).

Vodilne kategorije izdelkov predstavljajo izdelki za nego kože (36 %), izdelki za nego las (23 %) in ličila (18,2 %). Sledijo kozmetika za moške, parfumi, izdelki za zobno in ustno higieno ter dezodoranti. Procentualno najnižja je uporaba otroške kozmetike (Shahbandeh, 2020).

### Trg naravne kozmetike

Področje naravne, organske in ekološko prijazne kozmetične industrije, ki jo radi imenujemo tudi „zelena“, je med potrošniki dandanes zelo uveljavljena. Razlog za to predstavlja vedno večja skrb potrošnikov za zdravje in

tudi za okolje, v katerem živijo (Global Cosmetic Industry, 2018).

Področje certificirane naravne in organske kozmetike je leta 2016 zajemalo približno 3 % celotnega globalnega trga (11 milijard dolarjev). Na podlagi statističnih raziskav organizacije Persistence Market Research v naslednjih letih pričakujejo od 8 do 9 odstotno povešanje na letni ravni, do leta 2024 pa naj bi se številke povzpele na 22 milijard dolarjev (Natural and organic personal care on track to \$22 billion by 2024, 2018).

### Kaj je naravna kozmetika?

Naravna kozmetika je skupen izraz za kozmetične izdelke, zasnovane na naravnih sestavinah/sestavinah naravnega izvora. Nastala je kot alternativa oz. dopolnitev konvencionalne kozmetike (Glavač idr., 2015).

Izraz naravno ima v kozmetiki specifično definicijo, ki se verjetno nekoliko razlikuje od predstave večine uporabnikov. Da je določen kozmetični izdelek naraven, je dovolj, da vsebuje le sled naravne sestavine. Oznaka naravno torej nikakor ne predstavlja zagotovila, da kozmetični izdelek sestoji iz 100-odstotno naravnih sestavin. Prav tako velja tudi zmotno prepričanje o odsotnosti aditivov (npr. parabenov), saj je dovoljena uporaba tako naravnih kot tudi določenih naravnim identičnih ter v določeni meri sintetičnih aditivov. Formulacija naravnih izdelkov naj bi bila prijaznejša do kože, zdravja in okolja, kljub temu pa so mnenja strokovnjakov glede tega še vedno močno neenotna (Dayan in Kromidas, 2011).

V povezavi z naravno kozmetiko obstajajo številni izrazi, kot so organsko, biološko, ekološko, vegansko ipd. Besede organsko, biološko, ekološko so sopomenke in označujejo izdelke, pridelane na način, prijazen do okolja, kar se nanaša na proces vzgoje rastlin za pridobivanje sestavin, ki jih vključujejo v kozmetične izdelke, in tudi na samo proizvodnjo izdelka. Beseda vegansko pa označuje izdelke z odsotnostjo sestavin živalskega izvora in hkrati izdelke, ki niso testirani na živalih – to je tako ali tako prepovedano za vse sestavine in končne izdelke na trgu EU (Wasserman in Mangels, 2013).

### Običajna (necertificirana) kozmetika / certificirana naravna kozmetika / certificirana organska kozmetika

Običajna (necertificirana) kozmetika najverjetneje zajema največji del naravnih kozmetičnih izdelkov. Edini obvezujoči predpis zanjo predstavlja uredba, ki opredeljuje tudi konvencionalne kozmetične izdelke. Gre torej za skupino izdelkov, ki vsebujejo sestavine naravnega izvora, katerih minimalna koncentracija ni določena. Prav tako ni zahtevana niti odsotnost konzervansov niti ekološka varnost izdelka za okolje (Dayan in Kromidas, 2011; Glavač idr., 2015).

Certificirana naravna kozmetika je skupina naravnih kozmetičnih izdelkov, ki morajo izpolnjevati zahteve certifikatov za naravno kozmetiko. Večina certifikatov tako opredeljuje minimalni delež naravnih sestavin, ki jih

morajo vsebovati certificirani naravni kozmetični izdelki. Certifikati hkrati postavljajo omejitve glede vsebnosti določenih sprejemljivih sintetičnih oz. naravnim identičnih sestavin ter določajo seznam nedovoljenih sestavin (Dayan in Kromidas, 2011; Glavač idr., 2015).

Certificirana organska kozmetika je skupina naravnih kozmetičnih izdelkov, ki morajo izpolnjevati zahteve certifikatov za organsko kozmetiko. Omenjene zahteve certifikatov, poleg vsebnosti naravnih sestavin, zahtevajo minimalni delež organskih sestavin, tj. sestavin, pridobljenih z ekološko kmetijsko pridelavo s certifikatom. Enako kot pri certificirani naravni kozmetiki, certifikati postavljajo tudi omejitve glede vsebnosti določenih sprejemljivih sintetičnih oz. naravnim identičnih sestavin ter določajo seznam nedovoljenih sestavin. Takšna kozmetika postavlja kozmetiko na višjo ekološko raven z vidika ekološke kakovosti vsebovanih naravnih sestavin in celotnega ekološkega procesa izdelave/proizvodnje izdelka vse od vzgoje sestavin do končnega izdelka (Dayan in Kromidas, 2011; Glavač idr., 2015).

### Certificiranje kozmetike

Najustreznejše vodilo pri opredelitvi, ali je oz. v kolikšni meri je kozmetični izdelek sploh naraven, predstavljajo certifikati. Zahteve za certificiranje kozmetičnih izdelkov niso regulirane na zakonodajni ravni, temveč jih določajo zgolj neodvisne organizacije, ki predpišejo svojim certifikatom določena pravila, t. i. standarde, ki naj bi jih izdelki in proizvajalci, ki pridobijo določen plačljiv certifikat upoštevali, da lahko njihovi izdelki pridobijo certifikat naravne in/ali organske kozmetike (Dayan in Kromidas, 2011; Glavač idr., 2015).

Standardi v grobem opredeljujejo:

- minimalno vsebnost naravne/organske vsebine, ki mora biti v izdelku (predvsem sestavine rastlinskega, izjemoma tudi živalskega izvora – produkti živali);
- dejstvo, ali je voda lahko vključena v izračun za odstotek organskega v izdelku ali ne;
- proces pridelave in proizvodnje naravnih sestavin oz. sestavin naravnega izvora;
- vsebnost sprejemljivih sintetičnih sestavin in seznam nedovoljenih sestavin;
- zahteve za izdelavo embalaže in označevanje izdelka;
- prepoved obsevanja in testiranja izdelkov na živalih.

Certifikati imajo nekaj skupnih zahtev. Uporaba naslednjih sestavin je v naravni kozmetiki prepovedana:

- sintetični konzervansi,
- mineralna olja in silikoni,
- polietilen glikoli (PEG),
- sintetična barvila in dišave,
- gensko spremenjeni organizmi (GSO) - razen Vegan, ki dovoljuje rastlinske GSO.

### Pregled najpogostejših certifikatov v EU

Certifikati so potrošnikovo edino zagotovilo, da je kozmetični izdelek „naraven“ ali „ekološki“. V Evropi poznamo preko 30 različnih standardov/certifikatov, v nadaljevanju pa je opisanih nekaj najbolj pogostih, ki se pojavljajo na slovenskem tržišču dosegljivih kozmetičnih proizvodov.

Pomemben podatek je tudi to, da večina certifikatov določa številčni delež snovi, ki morajo biti naravnega izvora, in ne masnega; zahteve za masni delež pa se večinoma nanašajo le na del snovi, ki so naravnega ali ekološkega izvora. Tako lahko večino mase izdelka, predstavljajo sestavine, ki niso naravnega izvora oz. ekološke pridelave, odvisno od certifikata.



### Cosmebio

Cosmebio je neprofitno združenje različnih podjetij in ustanov. Združenje samo po sebi ne podeljuje certifikatov, ampak so v postopek pridobitve in podeljevanja certifikatov ključena tri akreditirana certifikacijska telesa: Bureau Veritas, Cosmecert in Ecocert. Certifikat lahko pridobijo le člani združenja. Podeljujejo ga od leta 2003.

Zahteve: najmanj 95 % sestavin mora biti naravnih, od tega najmanj 95 % sestavin s certifikatom ekološke pridelave, ki morajo predstavljati najmanj 10 % teže izdelka. Voda se upošteva kot neekološka sestavina.

Niso dovoljeni: sintetične sestavine in petrokemični derivati. Sestavine ne smejo biti strupene za ljudi in vodne živali ter ne smejo biti obsevane. Po presoji Cosmebio v izdelkih ni silikona, formaldehida, klorovih derivatov, različnih polietilen glikolov (PEG), parabenov, fenoksietanol, sintetičnih dišav, umetnih barvil, gensko spremenjenih organizmov, dietilftalata in nitro možusa. Posebnost standarda je, da morajo biti sestavine na izdelkih, ki jih po evropski zakonodaji označujejo po enotni nomenklaturi INCI v angleškem jeziku, prevedene v potrošniku razumljiv jezik (Cosmebio, 2020).



### Standard IKC

Podeljuje ga inštitut za kontrolo in certifikacijo Univerze v Mariboru (UM). Vse certificirane proizvajalce redno (letno) kontrolirajo, kar je podlaga za podaljšanje veljavnosti certifikata. Prav tako izvajajo ponovne kontrole, ki so izbrane naključno ali ciljno. Izdelke testirajo tudi za morebitno vsebnost nedovoljenih sestavin.

Zahteve: Kozmetika ima lahko oznako „naravna kozmetika“, če je 95 % sestavin naravnih, proizvajalec lahko dodatno uporabi do največ 5 % dovoljenih sintetičnih sestavin. Delež naravnih sestavin iz certificirane ekološke pridelave ni določen, je pa zaželeno, da jih proizvajalci v proizvodnjo vključijo čim več. „Ekološka kozmetika“ vse-



buje najmanj 95 % naravnih sestavin, od katerih mora najmanj 95 % sestavin kmetijskega porekla izhajati iz certificirane ekološke pridelave, sestavin sintetičnega izvora pa je lahko največ 5 %. Prav tako je s standardom določen tudi minimalni delež ekoloških sestavin v končnem kozmetičnem proizvodu.

Niso dovoljeni: Med drugim sintetične arome, dišave, eterična olja, sintetična topila, parabeni, etoksilirane sestavine, GSO in sestavine, pridobljene z ekstrakcijo živali (Standard IKC, 2020).



#### BDIH

Zelo razširjen certifikat, a ne spada med najbolj „stroge“. Podeljuje ga Nemška zveza proizvajalcev in trgovcev zdravil, prehranskih dodatkov in izdelkov za nego telesa.

Zahteve: Smernice zveze med drugim določajo, da morajo biti uporabljene surovine iz ekološke pridelave (kontrolirane biološke pridelave) ali iz biološko kontroliranih divjih rastišč. Proizvajalci morajo zagotavljati sledljivost, vendar ni določeno, kakšen delež teh surovin mora biti iz kontrolirane pridelave.

Nekatere snovi so dovoljene, a nadzorovane (med drugim olja, voski, lecitin, lanolin), dovoljena je tudi uporaba naravnih konzervansov in konzervansov, (med drugim benzil alkohol, benzojska kislina ter njene soli in estri, salicilna kislina in njene soli, sorbinska kislina in njene soli). Proizvodni proces posameznega izdelka poteka po nadzorovanih postopkih, ki so pogoj za pridobitev certifikata.

Niso dovoljeni: Med drugim etoksilirane snovi, organsko-sintetična barvila, parafini, drugi proizvodi iz petroleja in silikona ter umetne arome (BDIH, 2020).



#### NaTrue

Za izdelke z dvema in tremi zvezdicami je „strožji“ od certifikata BDIH. Podeljuje ga mednarodna neprofitna organizacija, v katero so združeni nekateri proizvajalci naravne kozmetike (The International Natural and Organic Cosmetics Association).

Zahteve: Pravila določajo, katere surovine lahko proizvajalci uporabljajo in kakšni morajo biti proizvodni postopki. Za vse tri ravni standardov je dovoljeno uporabiti od 5 do 15 % sestavin, ki niso naravnega izvora. V kozmetičnih izdelkih lahko uporabijo le popolnoma razgradljiva čistila in samo naravne konzervanse. Pri proizvodnji surovin in sestavin so dovoljeni fizikalni procesi (stiskanje, kondenzacija, sušenje ipd.). Podeljevanje poteka v treh stopnjah: na prvi stopnji so izdelki, izdelani v skladu s standardom BDIH (ena zvezdica, naravna kozmetika), na drugi stopnji so izdelki, ki vsebujejo vsaj 70 % sestavin naravnega izvora, ki morajo biti iz kontrolirane ekološke pridelave s

certifikatom (dve zvezdici, naravna in ekološka kozmetika), na tretji stopnji pa so izdelki, izdelani iz 95 % surovin iz ekološke pridelave (tri zvezdice, ekološka kozmetika).

Niso dovoljeni: Med drugim GSO, klor, obsevanje sestavin ali izdelkov, sintetično pridobljene dišave (NaTrue, 2020).



#### Vegan

Vegan je priznan mednarodni veganski standard. Podeljuje ga mednarodno združenje veganov The Vegan Society, ki deluje od leta 1994.

Zahteve: Izdelki ne smejo vsebovati nikakršnih živalskih proizvodov. Prepovedana je uporaba živalskih GSO. GSO rastlinskega izvora so dovoljeni, vendar morajo biti takšni primerno označeni. Izvajanje testiranj na živalih, tako posameznih sestavin kot tudi končnega izdelka, je strogo prepovedano (Vegan Society, 2020).



#### Leaping bunny

Zahteve: Prepovedano je izvajanje testiranj na živalih na vseh stopnjah razvoja izdelka. To velja tako za podjetje, ki izdelek proizvaja, kot za laboratorije, s katerimi sodeluje, in njegove dobavitelje (Leaping bunny, 2020).

#### Problem nesistematičnega certificiranja in pomanjkljivost pravnih predpisov

Zahteve, ki jih mora izdelek izpolnjevati, da je naraven oz. organski, se od certifikata do certifikata razlikujejo. Določeni certifikati stremijo k čim večji vsebnosti naravnih sestavin v izdelku, nekateri želijo čim bolj zožiti nabor sintetičnih sestavin, drugi se usmerjajo bolj k zagotavljanju sestavin, ki ne dražijo kože in niso alergene, spet drugi k zaščiti živali, varovanju okolja ipd. Zahteve certifikatov same po sebi niso zastavljene najbolj „natančno“. Ena izmed pomembnejših skupnih zahtev certifikatov za naravno/organsko kozmetiko je, da morajo izdelki vsebovati delež naravnih/organskih sestavin. Težava je v tem, da nekateri certifikati minimalnega deleža naravnih/organskih snovi v izdelkih ne opredeljujejo, drugi ga opredelijo, vendar še vedno pustijo nekaj odstotkov nedefiniranega prostora, ki dovoljuje uporabo sintetičnih snovi omejenega ali celo prostega izbora. Zahteve, ki jih opredeljujejo certifikati, so poleg tega določene tudi kot „skrajne“ – minimalne. Izdelki, ki bistveno presegajo zahteve za določen certifikat, kot je npr. dejanska vsebnost naravnih/organskih sestavin, odsotnost sintetičnih sestavin ipd., so tako obravnavani enako kot tisti, ki zahteve komajda izpolnjujejo. Pri tem predstavlja težavo tudi označevanje certificiranih izdelkov. Oznaka certifikata na izdelku potrošniku ne podaja zahtev certifikata (Uredba Sveta o ekološki pridelavi in označevanju ekoloških proizvodov in razveljavitvi Uredbe (EGS) št.

2092/91, 2007; Uredba Evropskega parlamenta in sveta o kozmetičnih izdelkih, 2009).

#### Rezultati ankete

Z anketo želim izvedeti, kakšna so mnenja potrošnikov o naravni kozmetiki, njeni priljubljenosti, koliko jo poznajo in kako se informirajo o kozmetiki, ki jo uporabljajo. Prav tako želim preveriti kakšno je poznavanje certificirane naravne kozmetike med potrošniki.

Anketa je bila izvedena maja 2020 preko spletnih omrežij (Google obrazci). V njej je sodelovalo 60 naključno izbranih prostovoljcev, od tega 90 % žensk in 10 % moških. Večji del anketirancev je bilo starih med 20 in 30 let (83,3 %). 63,3 % vprašanih je imelo status študenta/dijaka. 53,3 % jih je imelo zaključeno višješolsko/visokošolsko/univerzitetno izobrazbo, 46,7 % pa s srednješolsko izobrazbo.

59,6 % vprašanih je odgovorilo, da uporablja naravno kozmetiko. Pri vprašanju „Kako bi s svojimi besedami opisali naravno kozmetiko?“, jih je večina odgovorila, da naravni kozmetični izdelki ne vsebujejo kemikalij, nenaravnih snovi, konzervansov in da so izključno iz naravnih sestavin, kar ni v skladu z normami večine certifikatov. 66,7 % vprašanih je pozornih na oznake kot so: naravno, biološko, organsko, ekološko. 68,3 % pri nakupu naravne kozmetike ni pozornih na to, če ima izdelek certifikat. 81,7 % vprašanih trdi, da jih oznaka za naravno ne prepriča, če ta nima certifikata. 94,9 % anketirancev meni, da proizvajalci z oglaševanjem izdelkov kot naravne, organske ipd., ki nimajo certifikata, zavajajo potrošnike. 43,3 % vprašanih ni pozornih na sestavine na embalaži kozmetičnih izdelkov. 78,2 % vprašanih se zdijo navedene sestavine na embalah napisane nerazumljivo za povprečnega uporabnika. Med

najbolj poznanimi oznakami za naravno kozmetiko pa so bili: Vegan, Leaping bunny, Standard IKC in Cosmebio.

Več kot polovica anketirancev je pri nakupu kozmetičnih izdelkov pozorna na oznake kot so „naravno“, „biološko“ ipd., obenem pa niso pozorni na to, če ima izdelek certifikat. Večina vprašanih ne ve, da trenutna zakonodaja proizvajalcem kozmetike dovoljuje, da jo oglašujejo kot naravno, čeprav vsebuje le nekaj odstotkov sestavin rastlinskega izvora. Menim, da je velik problem tudi s strani potrošnikov, saj se ti ne pozanimajo dovolj o osnovnih zahtevah, ki naj bi jih kozmetični izdelek s certifikatom izpolnjeval.

#### Zaključek

Izbira naravnega kozmetičnega izdelka ni tako preprosta in samoumevna, kot se zdi na prvi pogled. Zato je zelo pomembno poznavanje in razumevanje certifikatov, saj to ponavadi predstavlja edino možnost, da izberemo izdelek, kakršnega zares pričakujemo. Hkrati pa je na trgu naravne in organske kozmetike poleg vedno večjega števila certifikatov prisotnih tudi vse več marketinških oznak, ki niso certifikati in so zelo zavajajoče za potrošnika. Problem pri splošni populaciji je tudi ta, da slepo podlega spletnim trendom, ki nas prepričujejo, da je vse kar je kemično ali sintetično hkrati tudi slabo za nas.

Dokler se ne uredi področje zakonodaje naravne kozmetike bodo številni proizvajalci, skupaj s ponudniki certifikatov, lahko izkoriščali priložnost in svoje izdelke oglaševali kot naravne, kljub temu da ti velikokrat niso to, za kar jih predstavljajo; zares naravni, ekološki ali celo varni.

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# Parfum v socialistični Sloveniji

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## Abstract

The present research of the role of perfumes and everyday culture of fragrance use in socialist Slovenia is limited between 1945 and 1991: the period when the territory of Slovenia was a part of socialist Yugoslavia. It was a very interesting period, initially marked by a post-war shortage, followed by a period of cultural consumption as a result of socialist modernization, lasting from the mid-1950s to the late 1980s. From the 1960s on, imported products became more available in Yugoslav stores, but at the end of the 1970s the inflow of foreign capital was stopped due to the global energy crisis, which also resulted in fewer consumer products. I was interested in which fragrances and perfumes were used in this period, what they smelled like, who produced them and to which social group a certain fragrance was accessible. The ethnographic method was used in my research: I conducted a semi structured interview with ten interlocutors who spent their youth in socialist Slovenia. Then I supplemented the findings with a review of articles about perfumes published in newspapers during this period. I realized that perfumes, due to the specifics of the geopolitical region, were a prestigious product in limited offer. Until the early 1980s, they were not in abundance, especially in the homes of lower-income individuals, but more affordable fragrances like colognes and products were still used there. Despite the fact that certain products were inaccessible within the borders of Yugoslavia for a long time and many (more prestigious) cosmetic products were brought from abroad, the offer was slowly but steadily expanding.

Keywords: perfume, socialist Slovenia, Yugoslavia, memory, consumption, cosmetics

## Povzetek / Uvod

Raziskovanje vloge parfumov in vsakdanje kulture uporabe dišav v socialistični Sloveniji je umeščeno med letoma 1945 ter 1991: dobo, ko je bilo območje Slovenije del socialistične Jugoslavije. Gre za zelo razgibano obdobje, ki je bilo sprva zaznamovano s povojnim pomanjkanjem, kateremu je sledilo obdobje kulturne potrošnje kot posledica socialistične modernizacije, trajajoče od sredine petdesetih do konca osemdesetih let. V jugoslovanskih trgovinah so od šestdesetih let naprej postali bolj dosegljivi tudi izdelki, uvoženi iz tujine, vendar se je konec sedemdesetih let pritok tujega kapitala zaradi svetovne energetske krize ustavil, kar je povzročilo tudi manj proizvodov za potrošnjo uporabnikov. Zanimalo me je, katere dišave in parfumi so se uporabljali v tem obdobju, po čem so dišali, kdo jih je proizvajal ter katerim družbenim skupinam je bila določena dišava dostopna. Pri raziskovanju sem se poslužila etnografske metode: z desetimi sogovornicami, ki so svojo

mladost preživljale v obdobju socialistične Slovenije, sem opravila polstrukturiran intervju. Nato sem spoznanja dopolnila s pregledom člankov o parfumi, objavljenih v časopisju, ki je izhajalo v obravnavanem obdobju. Spoznala sem, da so parfumi zaradi specifik geopolitičnega prostora predstavljali prestižen produkt v omejeni ponudbi. Vse tja do začetka osemdesetih let jih ni bilo v izobilju, sploh v domovih posameznikov z nižjimi prihodki, vendar se je tam kljub temu uporabljajo cenovno dostopnejše dišave, kolonjske vode in olja. Kljub temu, da so bili določeni proizvodi znotraj meja Jugoslavije dolgo nedostopni in so bili številni (prestižnejši) kozmetični produkti prineseni iz tujine, se je ponudba počasi, a vztrajno širila.

Ključne besede: parfum, socialistična Slovenija, Jugoslavija, spomin, potrošnja, kozmetika

Parfum je danes sestavni del pestrega nabora kozmetike marsikaterega posameznika, vendar je v našem geopolitičnem prostoru še nedolgo nazaj predstavljal prestižen produkt v omejeni ponudbi. Kako lahko na prvi pogled banalen kozmetičen proizvod odseva razvoj potrošniške in politične miselnosti, ki se je oblikovala v odnosu med socializmom oz. samoupravljanjem in (kapitalističnim) tržnim gospodarstvom? In konec koncev, kako nas lahko določen vonj ponese v preteklost, zbudi v nas nepričakovane spomine ter nostalgijo po minulih časih?

Glavna vprašanja, na katera sem se osredotočila pri raziskovanju vloge parfumov v socialistični Sloveniji, so: katere dišave so se uporabljale, kako so dišale, katerim družbenim skupinam je bila določena dišava oz. parfum dostopen, ter katera slovenska podjetja so jih proizvajala.<sup>1</sup> Pred pričetkom raziskovanja sem predvidevala, da je bil parfum v socialistični Sloveniji zaradi specifik geopolitičnega prostora dobrina, dostopna ožjemu krogu uporabnikov, vendar pa je popularizacija potrošništva v sedemdesetih in osemdesetih letih prinesla spremembe tudi na tovrstnem področju.

Pri raziskovanju sem se v veliki meri opirala na spomine sogovornic: aprila 2020 sem se pogovarjala z desetimi gospem iz svojega prijateljskega kroga, ki so svojo mladost preživele v obdobju socializma: pet izmed njih je opravljalo strokovno delo, pet pa je bilo fizičnih delavk. Po telefonu ali preko elektronske pošte sem jim zastavila pet strukturiranih vprašanj, nakar so bile sogovornice povabljene, da z menoj delijo še kakšen spomin v povezavi z dišavami ali vonji, ki še ni bil zajet v odgovore na vprašanja. Intervjuje, ki sem jih zaradi socialnega distanciranja kot posledice pandemije COVID-19 izvedla prek telefona, sem nato transkribirala. Že v uvodu velja opozoriti, da je pri posploševanju izkušenj sogovornic s parfumi na širšo populacijo potrebno biti pazljiv. Raziskovanje sem dopolnila tudi s pregledom člankov o parfumi, objavljenih v časopisju, ki je izhajalo med letoma 1945 in 1991, dostopnih prek baze Dlib.

## Vonj po socializmu

*Rojena sem daljnega leta 1945 in moje otroštvo je dišalo po Savi, kjer je tetka prala perilo. Bila sem rejenka in s tetko sva živeli na Brodu pod Šmarno goro. Dišalo je tudi po kokoškah, ki sva jih s tetko imeli pet, pa po Zlatorogovem trdem milu, plavem Radionu, senu, premogu, drveh, uf, pa še in še je bilo polno prelepih vonjav...*

— Meta, upokojena bančna uslužbenka iz Ljubljane

Kljub temu, da velja voh za najbolj zapostavljenega izmed petih čutov, je njegova vloga pri obujanju avtobiografskih spominov, še posebej čustveno obarvanih, nadvse pomembna: določene vonjave lahko namreč v posamezniku vz-

budijo nostalgije občutke in druge čustveno obarvane spomine.<sup>2</sup> Razlog za t.i. „Proustov sindrom“ oz. nastanek spominov, ki jih sproži določen vonj, posamezniku znan iz njegove preteklosti, ima anatomsko in nevrološko podlago: center za vonj in spomin sta zaradi svoje sosednje lege, sredinski spodnji del možgan, dobro povezana. Vonji, ki so povezani s čim za nas pomenljivim, lahko delujejo kot asociativni spominski sprožilci, medtem ko se na nekatere vonje čustveno ne odzivamo. Med prve lahko vsekar šteje tudi številne parfume, ki s svojimi značilnostmi odigrajo prav to vlogo ter nas spomnijo na pretekle čase (Andrews 2007: 57).

*Rojena sem leta 1960 in moje otroštvo je dišalo po kremah Solea, Nivea in Atrix. Šamponi so bili od kamilice, breze. Trda mila so dišala po vrtnicah in španskem bezgu, perilo po Radionu in Persilu. Ata je po britju uporabljal Pitralon, midve z mamo sva se dišavili s kolonjsko iz vrtnic, šmarnic in vijolic.*

— Janja, literarna komparativistka, ki je svoje otroštvo preživljala v Zasavju

## „Ker je parfum drag, ga je potrebno čuvati (tudi kadar ga uporabljamo)“

(Parfum je osebna stvar, 1966: 8)

Ko govorimo o parfumi ter posledično o vonju, ne moremo mimo njegovih lastnosti, ki lahko sovpadajo ali privedajo k osebnostnim ali stilskim lastnostim posameznika. Na podoben način kot moda so lahko del izražanja osebnosti, v nekaterih primerih do te mere, da se lahko posameznik poistoveti z določenim vonjem, tako da ta postane del njegove osebnosti. V slovenskem časopisju med letoma 1945 in 1991 so to dejstvo večkrat poudarjali in bralke redno svarili pred pretirano uporabo parfumov ter jih zaspavali s praktičnimi nasveti o njihovem nakupovanju glede na barvo las, značaj ali priložnost:

*Čez dan, predvsem v pisarnah, ne uporabljamo močnih vonjav. Zvečer pa si lahko privoščimo nekoliko več vonjav, toda tudi tu moramo poznati mejo. Mlada dekleta in nežne svetlolase ženske naj uporabljajo cvetlične vonjave. Temnim in črnim ženskam pristajajo trpki, težki orientalski parfumi [...] Mlada in romantična dekleta naj dišijo po cvetju, travah ali svežih sadežih. Tudi sivkin duh je primeren zanje. Športni tip ženske se ogreva za dišave, ki vonjajo po naravi. Njeni vonji so duh po senu, travi in lesu.* (Kako izbiramo parfum, 1959: 40).

## Od Pokošenege sena do Chanel no. 5

V prvih povojnih letih je bil glavni cilj socialistične Slovenije in Jugoslavije zadovoljevanje osnovnih človekovih potreb, medtem ko vlaganje v trgovanje z različnimi kozmetičnimi sredstvi ne bi sovpadalo z doživljanjem in oblikovanjem podobe socialističnega delavskega člove-

<sup>1</sup> Parfum vsebuje od 15 % do 40 % esenc oz. dišavnega ekstrakta, zaradi česar je navadno najdražji od dišav. Parfumsko vodo sestavlja do 25 %, toaletno vodo do 15 %, kolonjsko vodo pa do 8 % esenc.

<sup>2</sup> Spomniti se velja le znamenitega odlomka Marcela Prousta iz romana *Iskanje izgubljenega časa*, ki pripoveduje o najzgodnejših spominih, ki so jih pripovedovalcu vzbudile v lipov čaj namočene magdalenice.



Slika 1: „ABC nege. Babice so dajale parfum samo za ušesa in njihovo navado so pododvale tudi vnukinje. Toda to ni edino mesto, kamor parfum sodi.“ Slikovna oprema navodil za nanos parfuma, *Celjski tednik*, 1966. 20(35), 9. 9. 1966, p. 9.

ka.<sup>3</sup> Kljub zgodnjim povojnim poskusom preoblikovanja družbe po sovjetskem zgledu, se je Jugoslavija že kmalu po sporu med Titom in Stalinom leta 1948 začela postopoma ozirati na Zahod. Vendar je vse do sredine šestdesetih letih Jugoslavija ostala zvesta socialistični miselnosti o „resničnih“ in „lažnih“ človekovih potrebah, zato znotraj ekonomije države ni bilo prostora za pestro ponudbo prestižnejših kozmetičnih izdelkov (Luthar, 2010 citiran v Sitar, 2017: 42).<sup>4</sup> Jugoslavija se je od planske ekonomije odmaknila od sredine petdesetih let, dokončno pa po letu 1965, ko je pričela s politiko samoupravnega tržnega vodenja gospodarstva in družbe (Horvat, 1969: 92). Postopno odpiranje Zahodu in modernizacija sta tako neizbežno prinesla tudi spremembe na trgovskih policah in mentaliteti potrošnikov. Kljub temu, da so bili določeni proizvodi znotraj meja Jugoslavije dolgo nedostopni in so bili številni (prestižnejši) kozmetični produkti prineseni iz tujine, se je ponudba počasi, a vztrajno širila.

Po pripovedovanju sogovornic, parfumov vse tja do začetka osemdesetih let ni bilo v izobilju, sploh v domovih posameznikov z nižjimi prihodki, vendar so se kljub temu

uporabljale cenovno dostopnejše dišave, kot sta na primer 4711 ali Tosca ter druge kolonjske vode in olja, ki so dišale po vrtnicah, šmarnicah, vijolicah, sivki, citrusih in španskemu bezgu.<sup>5</sup> Kupci so se morali zadovoljiti z dišavami kot so na primer kolonjska voda Pokošeno seno, ki jo je proizvajalo beograjsko podjetje Dahlia, toaletna voda Charlie, produkt newyorške parfumske hiše Revlon iz leta 1973, ali pa z Manonom, Elido in Sagharjem, proizvodi osiješke Saponie. Med moško populacijo sta velik uspeh dosegla Pino Silvestre, vodica po britju z vonjem po borovcih in smoli, popularna predvsem v sedemdesetih letih, ki jo je leta 1955 na trg lansiral Italijan Massimo Vidal ter kolonjska voda Brut, proizvod francoskega podjetja Faberge Paris iz leta 1964. Uporabljalo se je tudi vodico po britju Brion, pa Pitralon, proizvod še danes obstoječe nemške blagovne znamke, katere zgodovina sega v leto 1927, in ki je v spremenjeni sestavi dostopen še danes,<sup>6</sup> ter dišavo Črna mačka, ki se je, domnevam, izdelovala po licenci francoskega parfuma Chat Noir, na katerega embalažo je bila natisnjena stilizirana podoba mačke. Še posebej priljubljene so bile kolonjske vode z vonjem po lesu, tobaku, viskiju ali usnju, pa tudi proizvoda zagrebške Neve, Habit Rouge in Tabaiako

<sup>3</sup> O „oblikovanju“ podobe socialističnega človeka je Igor Duda leta 2017 uredil obsežno publikacijo Stvaranje socijalističkoga čovjeka (Duda, 2017).

<sup>4</sup> Na podlagi ideje o družbeni lastnini je bil znotraj Jugoslavije organiziran samoupravljalni socialistični sistem (Karamanič, 2019: 138).

<sup>5</sup> Nemško kolonjsko vodo 4711 je že od leta 1788 proizvajala nemška družba Mäurer & Wirtz. Isto podjetje je proizvajalo tudi Tosco.

<sup>6</sup> Na Hrvaškem so ga po licenci prodajali pod imenom Ralon.



Slika 2: „[...] Manon ni samo opera temveč tudi parfum. Manon je parfum svežine.“ Oglas za parfum Manon, *Slovenski poročevalec*, 15(177), 31. 7. 1954, p. 5.



Slika 3: „Pitralon – spet v prodaji.“ Oglas za parfum Pitralon, *Tedenska tribuna*, 14(39), 3. 10. 1966, p. 1.

(Moški parfumi, 1965: 4). Sklepam, da se je slednjo izdelovalo po licenci nemške družbe Mäurer & Wirz, ki je leta 1959 na trg lansiralo kolonjsko vodo Tabac.

*Ko sem bila majhna sem šla s svojim očetom v drogerijo na Nazorjevi ulici. S seboj je imel lično stekleničko v katero mu je prodajalka nalila dišavo iz ogromne steklenice. Imeli so dve vrsti dišave. Zelena je imela vonj po smreki, rumena pa po cvetju in se je imenovala Črna mačka. To dišavo je uporabljal moj oče. Da so jo lahko pretočili, so uporabljali majhen lijaček.*<sup>7</sup>

— Mila, petinšestdesetletna nekdanja tajnica, doma iz Kamnika

Uvožene in iz tujine prinesene parfume, mila in kreme, kot so na primer prestižnejši parfumi znamke Dior, Lancome, Yves Saint Laurent ali Chanel, se je povezovalo z družbeno skupino premožnejših, bolj izobraženih, skratka uspešnejših.<sup>8</sup> Najbolj zaželeni so bili francoski parfumi, precej se je kupovalo tudi v Trstu, vendar je šlo, po spominu sogo-

<sup>7</sup> Nalivanje parfumov iz ogromne steklenice v manjše je bila ustanovljena praksa številnih drogerij in trgovin.

<sup>8</sup> Prestižnejše dišave se je dalo dobiti tudi v Sloveniji, vendar le v redkih drogerijah, pa tudi supermarketih. O novih pridobitvah v supermarketu Prehara so leta 1968 poročali v Delu: „Parfum Diorissimo ima vonj po šmarnicah, Miss Dior pa fantazijskega. Steklenička velja 68 dinarje.“ (Trgovina, 1968: 8)

vornice, za slabe ponaredke. Kupovanje parfumov so si lahko pogosteje privoščile zaposlene ženske, zaradi česar je veliko število sogovornic svoj prvi nekoliko dražji parfum začelo uporabljati po tem, ko so se zaposlile. Višji delež zaposlenih žensk je pripomogel k njihovi finančni neodvisnosti, kar je povečalo možnost samoodločanja v potrošnji. Kljub povečani skrbi za bolj urejen videz, sogovornice z uporabo parfuma in kozmetičnih izdelkov, nasploh niso pretiravale.

*Pri mladih je bilo preveč parfuma znak bahaštva in neprimernega okusa. Itak smo vse, ki so bili stari 30+ imeli za starce in se jim je bilo potrebno upirat ter živeti drugače kot oni! Na primer jaz sem se dišavila kar z atomim Pitralonom?!*

— Janja, literarna komparativistka, ki je svoje otroštvo preživljala v Zasavju

Po pripovedovanju sogovornice so po letu 1980 začeli v Sloveniji izhajati katalogi, ki so preko prodajnih zastopnic omogočili naročilo dišav od doma, kar je močno pripomoglo k širjenju ponudbe.<sup>9</sup> Povpraševanje se je skozi leta stopnjevalo kljub zveznemu davku, ki se je leta 1987 za

<sup>9</sup> Najbolj priljubljeni so bili katalogi Avon.



Slika 4: Set ikonične dišave Tramp, Krka, d. d., Novo Mesto, arhiv



Slika 5: Parfum iz linije Lady Ronhill, Krka, d. d., Novo Mesto, arhiv

kozmetiko povečal za kar 100 % (V parfumeriji lahko pustiš pol plače, 1987: 12). Konec osemdesetih let se je razširil tudi trend poimenovanja parfumov po zvezdnikih, ki niso iz sveta mode. Med ene najuspešnejših parfumov, ki je bil popularen tudi med Slovenkami, se je uvrstil parfum, poimenovan po teniški igralki Gabriele Sabatini: „[...] ‚Sabatini‘ je namreč parfum, ki gre v Nemčiji najbolj v promet. To je za kölnsko podjetje Muehlen KG zelo dobrodošlo, potem ko komaj še kaka ženska kupi parfum 4711, ki je dolga desetletja obvladal trg.” (Sabatini se dobro prodaja, 1991: 9) Med moško populacijo je bil konec osemdesetih let še posebej priljubljen *JOOP!*, parfum, ki se je z vrhnjimi notami citrusov močno razlikoval od teh, ki so jih moški uporabljali v prejšnjih desetletjih (Moški parfumi, 1991: 13).

### Slovenski proizvajalci parfumov

V socialistični Sloveniji se je kupovalo predvsem izdelke domačih podjetij: s proizvodnjo kozmetičnih izdelkov nasploh se je ukvarjala tovarna kemičnih izdelkov Ilirija, ustanovljena leta 1908, pa podjetje Zlatorog iz Maribora, ki je leta 1920 na tržišče lansiralo svoj osrednji proizvod milo Zlatorog, kjer se je obdržalo še dolga desetletja (Zlatorog, 1953: 7). Začetki tovarne arom in eteričnih olj Etol iz Celja segajo v leto 1923 (Etol Celje, 1964: 14), zgodba tovarne Lek pa se je pričela pisati leta 1946. Esence za parfume je izdeloval tudi Jugotanin iz Sevnice (Jugotanin Sevnica, 1979: 17). V sedemdesetih letih je bilo v Rogaški Slatini ustanovljeno podjetje Afrodita, ki je kot svoj prvi proizvod na trg lansiralo kamilično kremo za nego obraza, danes pa s svojo široko ponudbo kozmetike predstavlja ključno slovensko znamko na tem področju. Na področju proizvodnje parfumov sta v obdobju socialistične Slovenije prednjačili podjetji TKI Hrastnik in Krka. Prvo se je na področje dekorativne kozmetike in parfumerije preusmerilo v sedemdesetih letih. TKI Hrastnik je sodeloval s francoskimi in italijanskimi podjetji ter proizvajal parfume kot sta na primer Chermay Paris ali Dedicace (Chermay Paris, 1971: 15).

Novomeško farmacevtsko podjetje Krka je s proizvodnjo kozmetičnih izdelkov pričelo že kmalu po ustanovitvi farmacevtskega laboratorija leta 1954. V socialistični Sloveniji je bil po pripovedovanju sogovornic še posebej

popularen parfum Tramp, ki so ga leta 1978 oglaševali tudi v Delu:<sup>10</sup>

*Njegov vonj je sodoben, prijateljsko topel, morda nekoliko drzen. Prodajajo ga v ljubljanski Nami, čez nekaj dni ga boste lahko kupili tudi drugje. Tudi cena je sprejemljiva. TRAMP je mini sprej v usnjenem etuiju, ki ga lahko nosite okoli vratu kot obesek: v tem primeru ne potrebujete torbice, pa tudi žepa ne. TRAMP ima še eno posebnost. Uporabljate ga lahko tudi zvečer, predvsem pa podnevi.* (Novo v Nami, 1978: 12)

Krka je v osemdesetih letih proizvajala tudi parfume Aimee, Balestra, Caprice, Chicq, Flair, Khadine, Naive, Orphee, Reverie, Shanida, Utopia, ter Fatal, Sensual in Shock iz linije Lady Ronhill. Večina dišav je bila licenčnih, narejenih v sodelovanju s tujimi partnerji Yardley, Lanvin in Lenthalich (Krka, d. d., arhiv).

### Sklep

V parfumu lahko vidimo sredstvo, ki povezuje preteklost in sedanost skozi svoj lasten razvoj in dostopnost v našem prostoru. Dišave so v povojnih letih predstavljale redko dobrotno, nakar se je njihova ponudba počasi, a vztrajno širila. Mnogim ženskam so postale dostopnejše predvsem po tem, ko so se zaposlile: Slovenija je sodila med razvitejše dele Jugoslavije, kjer je bil tudi delež zaposlenih žensk višji — leta 1985 je ta predstavljal že 40 – 45 % vseh zaposlenih (Sitar, 2017: 21). Množično zaposlovanje žensk je predstavljal velik korak na poti k njihovi emancipaciji. V socialistični Sloveniji se je kupovalo predvsem izdelke domačih podjetij, na področju proizvodnje parfumov sta tako prednjačili podjetji Krka in TKI Hrastnik. Uporaba parfumov in zakrivanje telesnega vonja z dezodoranti je kmalu postala norma,<sup>11</sup> kozmetično urejen in negovan videz pa simbol modernosti. Spomini mnogih odkrivajo fragmentarne vpogleda v svet socialistične Slovenije, ki je še pred nedavnim sestavljala našo realnost, danes pa se zdi skozi prizmo sodobnega potrošništva že svojevrsten anahronizem. Vonji preteklosti bodo tako ostali naša vez z njo, medtem ko bodo vonji sedanosti postali naši spominski sprožilci prihodnosti.

<sup>10</sup> Parfum *Tramp* je Krka izdelovala po licenci francoskega podjetja Lenthalich, ki ga je na trg lansiralo leta 1975.

<sup>11</sup> Glej prispevek Katje Kobolt v pričujoči publikaciji (Kobolt, 2020).

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# O domači kozmetiki

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**Abstract**  
The use of cosmetics is closely related to its production, which is not limited to professional manufacturers and multinational corporations. Before the industrial revolution, cosmetic products were made at home. Lately, there has once again been a noticeable increase in the number of individuals who make cosmetics at home, for themselves and their families. I have attempted to uncover the reasons for this increase in the popularity of homemade cosmetics with the aid of an opinion poll. This increase in interest for homemade cosmetics is also in line with the current "natural cosmetics" trends in the global beauty industry. In my contribution I also consider the basics of DIY cosmetics production.  
**Keywords:** making cosmetics, cosmetics, DIY, homemade, beauty industry

## Povzetek / Uvod

Z uporabo kozmetike je tesno povezana izdelava kozmetičnih izdelkov, ki ni omejena le na profesionalne izdelovalce in multinacionalke. Pred pojavom industrializacije je bila izdelava kozmetike v domači domeni, v zadnjem času pa je moč opaziti ponoven porast v številu ljubiteljskih izdelovalcev kozmetike, ki kozmetiko izdelujejo zase in za svojo družino. S pomočjo ankete sem poskušala najti razloge za vse večjo razširjenost in popularnost lju-

biteljskega izdelovanja kozmetike. Povečanje zanimanja za izdelavo kozmetike pa sledi tudi globalnim trendom t.i. „naravne kozmetike“ na področju lepote industrije. Prav tako v prispevku povzamem tudi osnove izdelave kozmetike.

**Ključne besede:** izdelava kozmetike, kozmetika, ljubiteljsko, domače, lepota industrija

Uporaba kozmetike je razširjena že skozi celotno zgodovino človeštva, z njeno uporabo pa je tesno povezana tudi izdelava kozmetičnih izdelkov. Kozmetične izdelke so ljudje izdelovali doma; pogosto so jih izdelovali menihi, zdravilke ali modre ženske imenovane tudi „čarovnice“, kasneje tudi lekarnarji in kemiki. S pričetkom industrializacije v devetnajstem stoletju se je pričel razvoj t.i. kozmetične industrije, največji vzpon pa je kozmetična industrija dosegla v dvajsetem stoletju. V ta čas segajo začetki kozmetičnih multinacionalk, ki so na trgu prisotne še danes, kot na primer evropska Beiersdorf (1882) in L'Oréal (1908) ter ameriški Procter & Gamble (1837) (Jones, 2010). Kozmetična industrija je doživela hiter vzpon, danes pa je sam zahodnoevropski kozmetični trg vreden 114 milijard dolarjev (Abbas, 2017).<sup>1</sup>

V zadnjem času je, kljub veliki dostopnosti kozmetičnih izdelkov na trgu, moč opaziti porast ljubiteljskega izdelovanja kozmetike. Globalni trendi na področju kozmetike narekujejo uporabo naravnih sestavin, personalizirano kozmetiko, trajnostni razvoj ter poznavanje sestavin v kozmetiki (Mintel Group Ltd, 2017). Vse to naj bi lahko dosegli z izdelavo lastne kozmetike (Plauštajner Gerkšič, 2018). Iskalni niz „DIY Beauty“ („Naredi sam lepota“) je v letu 2017 narasel za 38 % (Think with Google: beauty trends of 2017, 2017), kar skupaj z globalnimi trendi kaže na to, da je ljubiteljsko izdelovanje kozmetike v porastu.

V okviru projekta so me zanimali vzgibi in razlogi za porast priljubljenosti izdelovanja domače kozmetike v lokalnem okolju. V ta namen sem med ljubiteljskimi izdelovalci kozmetike izvedla anketo. V anketi je sodelovalo

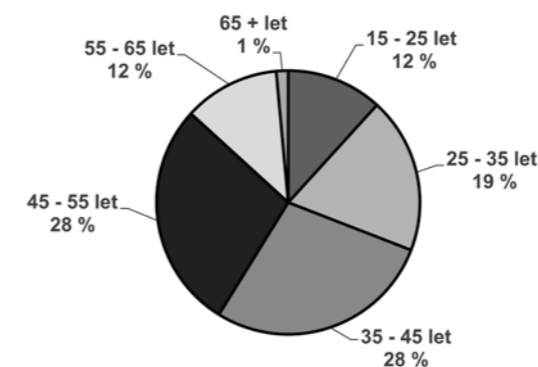
68 oseb, od tega 98,53 % oseb ženskega spola in 1,47 % oseb moškega spola. Starostne skupine anketiranih so prikazane na Sliki 1. Največji delež anketiranih, skupno 56 %, pa spada v starostno skupino 35 – 55 let.

Z izdelovanjem kozmetike se je 82 % anketiranih pričelo ukvarjati v zadnjih desetih letih, 13 % v zadnjih dvajsetih letih; le 5 % anketiranih pa se je z izdelovanjem kozmetike pričelo ukvarjati pred več kot dvajsetimi leti (Slika 2). Rezultati kažejo na to, da je ljubiteljsko izdelovanje domače kozmetike v zadnjih letih naraslo.

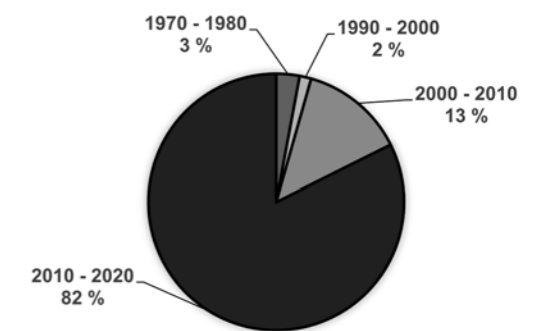
Večina anketiranih je svoje prve informacije o izdelavi kozmetike pridobila na delavnicah o izdelavi kozmetike in na spletnih straneh, ki so namenjene izdelovanju domače kozmetike. Manjši delež anketiranih je prve informacije pridobil v priročnikih, nekaj pa tekom šolanja. Glavni vir pridobivanja informacij ljubiteljskim izdelovalcem kozmetike še vedno predstavljajo delavnice o izdelavi kozmetike in spletne strani, ki so namenjene izdelovanju domače kozmetike, povečal pa se je delež tistih, ki pridobivajo informacije v skupinah na družabnih omrežjih in v priročnikih. Na Sliki 3 so prikazani glavni viri pridobivanja informacij o izdelavi naravne kozmetike.

S povečanjem informiranosti in dostopnosti znanja se povečuje tudi ozaveščenost ljudi o sestavinah v kozmetiki. 40,43 % anketiranih navaja, da je bil glavni razlog za pričetek ukvarjanja z izdelavo kozmetike prav zaskrbljenost glede sestavin v kupljenih kozmetičnih izdelkih. Za izdelavo kozmetike je, med drugim, potrebno dobro poznavanje sestavin in končni namen kozmetičnega izdelka (Baki, 2015). 20,21 % anketiranih se je z izdelavo

<sup>1</sup> Primerjaj prispevke v pričujoči publikaciji: Lucija Šerak strani 100-104 in Katja Kobolt strani 57-70.



Slika 1: Starostne skupine anketirancev.



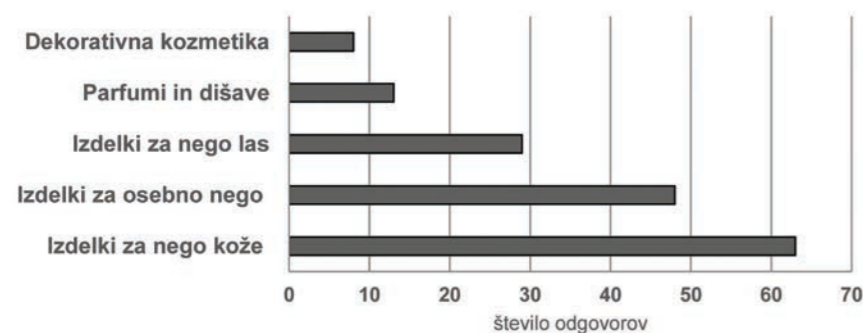
Slika 2: Odgovori na vprašanje: Kdaj ste se začeli ukvarjati z izdelovanjem domače kozmetike.



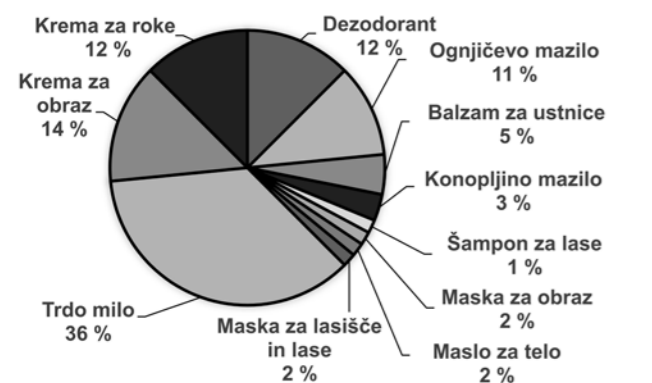
Slika 3: Glavni viri pridobivanja informacij o izdelavi kozmetike.



Slika 4: Razlogi za pričetek ukvarjanja z izdelovanjem domače kozmetike.



Slika 5: Prikaz odgovorov na vprašanje: V katero skupino spadajo kozmetični izdelki, ki jih izdelujete?



Slika 6: Prikaz odgovorov na vprašanje: Kateri je bil vaš prvi izdelani kozmetični izdelek?



Slika 7: Prikaz odgovorov na vprašanje: Ali sami napišete recepturo za kozmetični izdelek?

kozmetike začelo ukvarjati, ker so oni ali njihov družinski član imeli težave z uporabo kupljene kozmetike, 13 % pa zato, ker takih izdelkov na domačem trgu ne dobijo. Malo manjši delež anketirancev navaja, da se je z izdelovanjem kozmetike začelo ukvarjati zaradi manjšega stroška – za izdelavo kozmetike porabijo manj denarja, kot pa če bi jo kupili. Ostali razlogi za pričetek ukvarjanja z izdelavo kozmetike so navedeni na Sliki 4.

Kozmetične izdelke lahko razdelimo v pet skupin:

- izdelki za nego kože (kreme, masla, olja, obrazne maske, kreme za sončenje ipd.),
- izdelki za osebno nego (izdelki za osnovno osebno higieno, nego zob, dezodoranti, mila ipd.),
- izdelki za nego las,

- parfumi in dišave,
- dekorativna kozmetika (puder, rdečilo za ustnice, senčilo za oči ipd.) (Baki, 2015).

Večina anketiranih izdeluje kozmetične izdelke iz več različnih skupin kozmetičnih izdelkov (Slika 5), najpogosteje pa izdelujejo izdelke za nego kože. Sledijo izdelki za osebno nego, izdelki za nego las, parfumi in dišave, ter nazadnje dekorativna kozmetika. Možen razlog je zahtevnost recepture ter izdelave in dostopnost sestavin na trgu. Slika 6 prikazuje odgovore anketiranih na vprašanje, kateri je bil njihov prvi doma izdelani kozmetični izdelek. Prvi izdelek 38 % anketiranih je bilo trdo milo, sledijo pa krema za roke, krema za obraz in dezodorant.

- ✓ **tehtnica** - natančna na vsaj 0,01 g (pomembno je natančno odmerjanje sestavin)
- ✓ **termometer** - npr. digitalni kuhinjski termometer
- ✓ **posode različnih velikosti in materialov** - izdelane morajo biti iz ustreznega materiala, saj mora biti primeren za segrevanje in ne sme reagirati s kemijskimi spojinami; prav tako je pomembna velikost posode, saj moramo upoštevati mešanje sestavin
- ✓ **droben pribor** - žlice, kuharice, kapalke, kalupi
- ✓ **palični mešalnik**
- ✓ **embalaža** - primerna glede na končen kozmetičen izdelek

Slika 8: Seznam najpogostejših pripomočkov za izdelavo kozmetike

Svoje recepture za kozmetične izdelke izdelava 52 % anketiranih, 35 % anketiranih priredi dano recepturo, le 13 % pa izdeluje kozmetične izdelke po vnaprej znani recepturi (Slika 7). Več anketirancev je izpostavilo tudi, da vse recepture, ki jih dobijo preko spletnih virov, prej preverijo, saj so le-te lahko zavajajoče in včasih celo napačne. V anketi 91 % anketiranih navaja, da za izdelavo kozmetike uporablja poseben pribor, kar kaže na dobro ozaveščenost domačih izdelovalcev kozmetike. Iz tega lahko sklepamo, da so ljubiteljski izdelovalci dobro ozaveščeni o sestavinah in postopkih izdelave domače kozmetike.

### Povzetek rezultatov ankete

Z ljubiteljskim izdelovanjem kozmetike se je največji delež anketiranih (82 %) pričel ukvarjati v zadnjih desetih letih. Glavni razlog za pričetek ukvarjanja z izdelovanjem kozmetike, ki ga navaja 40,43 % anketiranih, je zaskrbljenost o sestavinah kozmetičnih izdelkov na trgu.

Prve informacije o izdelovanju kozmetike je največji delež anketiranih pridobil na delavnicah o izdelovanju kozmetike, ki predstavljajo tudi glavni vir pridobivanja informacij pri nadaljnjem ukvarjanju z izdelovanjem kozmetike. Anketirani pridobivajo informacije še na spletnih straneh, v priročnikih ter v skupinah na družabnih omrežjih, ki so namenjene izdelovanju kozmetike.

Največ anketiranih izdeluje izdelke za nego kože. Večina anketirancev izdeluje kozmetične izdelke, ki spadajo v različne skupine. Prvi izdelek večine anketirancev je

bilo trdo milo. Malo več kot polovica izdelovalcev domače kozmetike pa sama izdeluje recepture za kozmetiko, ki jo izdelujejo.

### Izdelava domače kozmetike

V okviru projekta me je zanimalo tudi, na kakšen način je predstavljena izdelava domače kozmetike v virih, ki jih kot najpogostejše navajajo anketiranci v izvedeni anketi, to so priročniki ter spletne strani o izdelavi kozmetike. S pregledom teh virov sem opisala potek izdelave domače kozmetike ter dodala recepturi za izdelavo mila (Slika 9) ter ognjičevega mazila (Slika 10).

### Pripomočki

Preden pričnemo z izdelavo kozmetike, si moramo zagotoviti primeren prostor in pripomočke za izdelavo, ki morajo biti kar se da čisti in razkuženi (Ceglar, b.d.b; Gostinčar, 2015). Za razkuževanje uporabimo vsaj 70 % etanol, osnovni pripomočki pa so naštetih na Sliki 8. Kljub temu, da je večina pripomočkov enakih, kot jih uporabljamo za pripravo hrane, pa moramo za izdelavo kozmetike uporabljati druge pripomočke (Ceglar, b.d.b; Mavrič, 2013c; Gostinčar, 2015). Delo v umazanem prostoru in z nečisto posodo lahko privede do tega, da je končni kozmetični izdelek za uporabo neustrezen, lahko celo nevaren (Ceglar, b.d.b).

Pri izdelovanju kozmetike moramo paziti tudi na lastno varnost. Uporabljene sestavine so skoraj vedno v koncentrirani obliki in zato morebiti nevarne zdravju (Mavrič,

2013a). V izogib stiku s potencialno nevarnimi snovmi uporabljamo zaščitno varovalno opremo – zaščitno obleko, zaščitna očala, zaščitno masko in rokavice (Mavrič, 2013a).

## Sestavine

Osnovne kozmetične surovine so: osnovna rastlinska olja in maščobe, eterična olja, hidrolati, deionizirana voda, rastlinski in živalski voski, emulgatorji, konzervansi, zgoščevalci, vlažilci ter botanične sestavine. Prav vsaka surovina ima svoj namen. Osnovna olja in maščobe predstavljajo bazo večine kozmetičnih izdelkov; eterična olja in hidrolate najpogosteje uporabljamo za odišavljenje izdelka; tu moramo biti pri uporabi pazljivi, saj lahko koncentrirana eterična olja povzročijo neželene reakcije v stiku s kožo. Vodovodna voda za izdelavo kozmetike ni primerna, saj vsebuje razne raztopljene minerale, organske snovi in mikroorganizme, ki ne sodijo v končen izdelek. Zato uporabljamo deionizirano vodo, ki ima prej naštetih snovi odstranjene. Za izdelavo kozmetičnega izdelka pogosto zmešamo vodo in olje; ker pa se le ta med seboj ne mešata, uporabimo emulgator – snov, ki omogoča mešanje snovi, ki se sicer med seboj ne mešajo; pri tem pa nastane emulzija. Konzervansi služijo ohranjanju končnega izdelka – preprečujejo na primer razvoj mikroorganizmov in s tem podaljšajo rok uporabe. Namena zgoščevalcev in vlažilcev ni težko ugotoviti – zgoščevalce se uporablja za zgoščevanje izdelkov, vlažilci pa so namenjeni učinku vlaženja. Botanične sestavine uporabimo kot dekoracijo, barvo, piling učinek ipd. (Ceglar, b.d.a; Gostinčar, 2015; Plauštajner Gerškšič, 2016).

Od namena izdelka je odvisna osnovna receptura, kjer je zapisana vrsta in količina uporabljenih sestavin. Zapisanemu receptu moramo natančno slediti, saj lahko že majhno odstopanje od zapisanih količin sestavin pomeni neuporaben izdelek (Ceglar, b.d.b; Mavrič, 2013b). Tudi sestavin ne smemo enostavno zamenjati, saj nimajo vsi izdelki določene skupine kozmetičnih surovin, istih lastnosti. Ob porastu dostopnih receptur pa se poveča verjetnost neustreznih formulacij. V izogib pripravi kozmetike po neustrezni recepturi pa nam pomaga prav dobro poznavanje lastnosti sestavin, njihove vloge v izdelku in medsebojni vpliv sestavin (Mavrič, 2019).

Recepturo za kozmetični izdelek lahko napišemo tudi sami, kar pa je precej zahtevno. Za uspešno recepturo je zelo pomembno dobro poznavanje sestavin – kako se obnašajo ob stiku druga z drugo in koliko neke sestavine potrebujemo. Poleg sestavin pa moramo dobro poznati tudi lastnosti kože (Mavrič, 2013b; Mavrič, 2019).

## Kozmetični izdelki

Kako torej izdelamo nek kozmetični izdelek? Najprej si dobro ogledamo in preučimo recepturo. Nato poskrbimo za svojo varnost z uporabo zaščitne opreme ter čistost prostora in potrebnega pribora. Pripravimo si sestavine in natančno sledimo postopku. Izdelek shranimo v ustrezno čisto embalažo. Rok trajanja izdelka je običajno krajši od kozmetičnih izdelkov, ki so na voljo na trgu, zato datum izdelave označimo na embalaži (Ceglar, b.d.b; Ceglar, b.d.a; Mavrič, 2013a; Buck, 2015; Gostinčar, 2015; Plauštajner Gerškšič, 2016).

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## OGNJIČEVO MAZILO

### Pripomočki:

- steklena čaša
- posoda za vodno kopel
- tehtnica
- posodice za shranjevanje

### Sestavine:

- 79 g ognjičevega macerata
- 19 g čebeljega voska
- 1 g vitamina E
- 1 g eteričnega olja sivke

### Postopek:

- 1.) Nadenemo zaščitno obleko in očala. Pripravimo prostor in vse pripomočke.
- 2.) V stekleno čašo zatehtamo ognjičev macerat in čebelji vosk.
- 3.) Čašo z zatehtanimi sestavinami segrevamo na vodni kopeli toliko časa, da se vosk popolnoma raztali.  
Med segrevanjem občasno premešamo.
- 4.) Čašo odstavimo z vodne kopeli, ko je vosk raztaljen, nato pa zmes mešamo.
- 5.) Ko se prične zmes gostiti, dodamo vitamin E in eterično olje sivke. Dobro premešamo.
- 6.) Mazilo prenesemo v posodice za shranjevanje, ki jih ustrezno označimo (ime izdelka in datum izdelave).
- 7.) Shranimo v suhem in temnem prostoru.

### ognjičev macerat

V steklen kozarec naložimo cvetove ognjiča in čez prelujemo olivno olje. Kozarec dobro zapremo in postavimo na toplo mesto (ne direktno na sonce) za 3 do 4 tedne.  
Po tem času macerat precedimo skozi gazo; ognjičeve cvetove dobro ožamemo.  
Macerat shranimo v temno steklenico.



Slika 9: Primer izdelave ognjičevega mazila.

## MILO

### PO HLADNEM POSTOPKU

### Pripomočki:

- posoda iz nerjavečega jekla
- 400 ml steklena čaša
- palični mešalnik
- tehtnica
- silikonska spatula
- steklena palčka
- digitalni termometer
- silikonski kalup
- papirnate brisače
- osebna varovalna oprema - halja (dolgi rokavi), zaščitna očala, rokavice

### Sestavine:

- 1000 g olivnega olja
- 300 g destilirane vode
- 128 g natrijevega hidroksida (NaOH)
- 30 g eteričnega olja sivke

### Postopek:

- 1.) Nadenemo zaščitno obleko, očala in rokavice. Pripravimo prostor in vse pripomočke.
- 2.) V stekleni čaši zatehtamo vodo, v plastični posodici pa natrijev hidroksid.
- 3.) NaOH počasi dodajamo vodi in mešamo s stekleno palčko, dokler se ves ne raztopi.  
Pozor: raztopina se močno segreje. Raztopino ohladimo na 40 °C.
- 4.) Medtem ko čakamo, da se raztopina NaOH ohladi, zatehtamo v posodo iz nerjavečega jekla olivno olje in ga segrejemo do 40 °C.
- 5.) Raztopino NaOH počasi dodamo maščobi.
- 6.) S paličnim mešalnikom prične mešati. Pri tem pazimo, da nas zmes ne oškropi.
- 7.) Zmes se prične gostiti. Mešamo toliko časa, da prične puščati sled. Takrat dodamo eterično olje in premešamo.
- 8.) Vlijemo v prej pripravljen kalup in pustimo stati 48 ur.
- 9.) Po 48 urah milo vzamemo iz kalupa in ga narežemo na kose.
- 10.) Milo pustimo zoreti od 6 do 8 tednov.

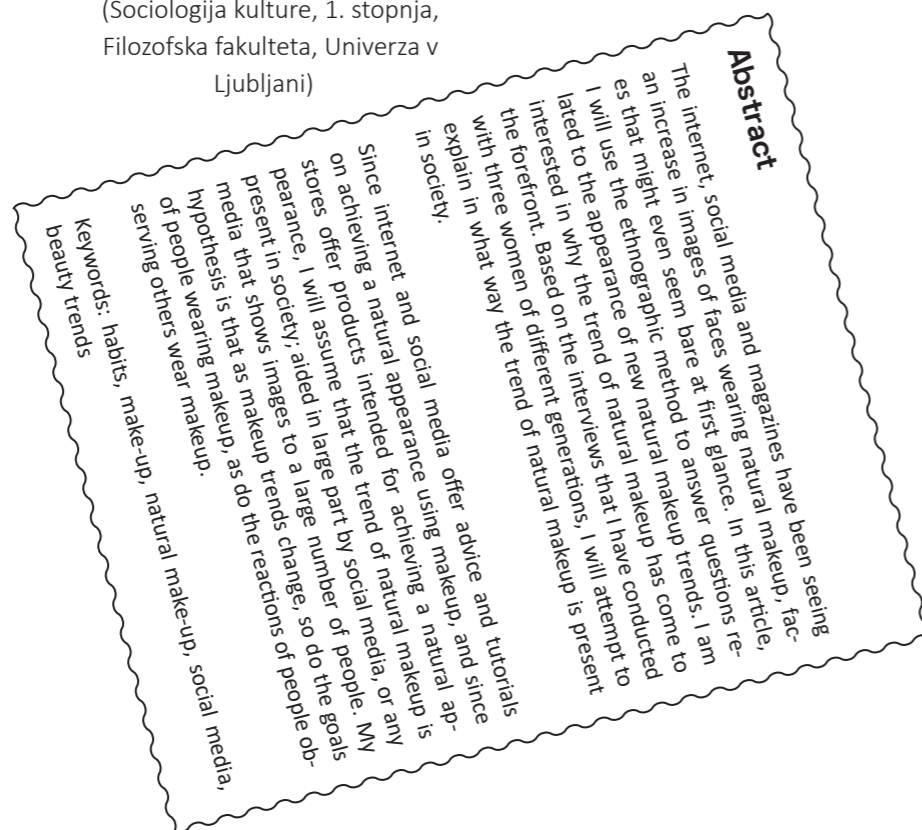


Slika 10: Primer izdelave trdega mila.

# Tri pripovedi o trendih naravnega ličenja

Rebeka Hvala

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## Povzetek / Uvod

Na internetu, socialnih medijih in v revijah lahko opazimo vse večjo prisotnost „naravno“ naličenih obrazov, za nekatere bi na prvi pogled morda rekli, da sploh niso naličeni. V tem članku bom s pomočjo etnografske metode skušala odgovoriti na vprašanja, povezana s pojavom novih trendov naravnega ličenja. Zanimalo me bo, zakaj je prišlo do tega, da je prišel v ospredje trend naravnega ličenja. Na podlagi intervjujev, ki sem jih izvedla s tremi osebami ženskega spola različnih generacij, ki same sebe razumejo kot povprečne uporabnice ličil, bom poskušala razložiti, kako je trend naravnega ličenja prisoten v družbi.

Ker medijske platforme dajejo nasvete in navodila kako doseči naraven videz z uporabo ličil, v trgovinah pa

so na voljo izdelki za doseganje naravnega videza, bo cilj mojega članka, ta da dokažem da je trend naravnega ličenja prisoten v družbi, pri tem pa igrajo veliko vlogo socialna omrežja oziroma vsak medij, ki posreduje slike in podobe večjemu številu ljudi. Moja hipoteza je tudi ta, da se s spremembo vodilnega trenda ličenja spremeni tudi sam cilj uporabnice ličil in pa sam odziv ljudi, ki ga uporabnica trenda skuša doseči.

Ključne besede: navade, ličenje, naravno ličenje, socialni mediji, lepotni trendi

## Naravno ličenje

Svet ličenja v zadnjem času zaradi vpliva družbenih medijev doživlja pravo revolucijo. Zasedimo lahko najbolj avantgardne in glamurozne trende, prav tako pa tudi nov trend naravnega ličenja, ki je v določenih pogledih tudi protisloven, glede na samo prakso in namen ličenja ter ličil. Trend naravnega ličenja pa ni prisoten le na družbenih medijih, temveč tudi širše.

Na internetu, družbenih medijih in v revijah lahko opazimo vse večjo prisotnost naravno naličenih obrazov, za nekatere bi na prvi pogled morda rekli, da sploh niso naličeni. Kot primer navajamo modno platformo Allure,<sup>1</sup> ki je temu fenomenu posvetila veliko pozornosti.

S pomočjo etnografske metode bom skušala odgovoriti na vprašanja, povezana s pojavom novih trendov naravnega ličenja. Vse intervjuvanke sem vprašala nekaj ključnih, enakih vprašanj, in jim glede na povedano zastavljala še dodatna podvprašanja. Zanimalo me bo, zakaj je prišlo do tega, da je prišel v ospredje trend naravnega ličenja in ostale variacije tega trenda. Na podlagi intervjujev, ki sem jih izvedla s tremi osebami ženskega spola in različnih generacij, ki same sebe razumejo kot povprečne uporabnice ličil, bom poskušala razložiti, kako je trend naravnega ličenja prisoten v družbi in kako vpliva nanjo.

Ker medijske platforme, kot so YouTube ali Zadovoljna.si<sup>2</sup>, dajejo nasvete in navodila kako doseči naraven videz z uporabo ličil, v trgovinah in spletnih trgovinah pa so na voljo razni izdelki<sup>3</sup> za doseganje naravnega videza, ti izdelki pa veljajo za najboljše prodajne oz. „best sellerje“. Primer za to je najbolje prodajna paleta senčil za oči v spletni trgovini Ličila.si<sup>4</sup>: „Revolution Pro paleta senčil - New Neutral Shadow Palettebom“, ki vsebuje nevtralne odtenke senčil za oči, ki omogoča naravni videz, pod sliko palete senčil pa vidimo sliko slovenske vplivnice Neve Boskin, z naličnim obrazom. Za to bo moj cilj skozi članek pokazati, da je trend naravnega ličenja prisoten v družbi in slovenskem prostoru, pri tem pa bom opozarjala na pomembno vlogo socialnih omrežij (Facebook, YouTube, Instagram ipd.) oziroma vsakega medija (npr. računalnik ali TV), ki posreduje slike oziroma podobe večjemu številu ljudi. Moj cilj je tudi pokazati ali vsaj orisati, da se s spremembo vodilnega (ali vsaj večinskega) trenda ličenja spremeni tudi sam cilj uporabnice ličil in pa sam odziv ljudi, ki ga uporabnica trenda skuša doseči.

Za etnografsko metodo sem se odločila, ker intervjuvanke tudi osebno poznam, pojav kot je ličenje pa je najlažje raziskovati skozi pogovor, saj je ličenje za vsako posa-

1 Allure je globalno medijsko podjetje, ki producira nekatere svetovno znane, vodilne digitalne, video, socialne in revijske znamke, vključno z Vogue, GQ, Vanity Fair itd. na svoji spletni strani nudi vpogled v najnovejše trende iz sveta mode in lepote.

2 Članki z nasveti in navodili, kako doseči naravni videz: Jasmina Voler. Takšen mejkap bo „in“ to jesen (+ kako ga ustvariti). (2019). <https://www.zadovoljna.si/lepota/jesen-2019-smernice-licenja.html>  
Mary Stuyvesant. (2020) [YouTube]. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NdzJfQSh-7c&list=FLDirT9yabYEzQ-IyIFPqKq> (11. 6. 2020)

3 Npr. BB kreme

4 [https://www.licila.si/produkt/revolution-pro-paleta-sencil-new-neutral-shadow-palette-231\\_1129](https://www.licila.si/produkt/revolution-pro-paleta-sencil-new-neutral-shadow-palette-231_1129)

meznico nekaj individualnega, osebnega. Prav skozi intervju pa je najlažje vzpostaviti določeno stopnjo zaupanja, saj tudi sama uporabljam ličila in sledim trendom ličenja, kar pripomore k razumevanju in raziskovanju osebnih navad ličenja posameznic.

Vse intervjuje sem zaradi omejitev v času COVID-19, opravila preko platforme Zoom. Za vse intervjuje, ki sem jih uporabila v tem članku, sem pridobila tudi soglasja<sup>5</sup> intervjuvank, da jih lahko uporabim v namen tega članka.

## Spremembe v ličenju

Obdobje po drugi svetovni vojni je zelo zanimivo, saj lahko opazimo razna navodila in priročnike za ženske, ki opisujejo, kako izgledati dobro in družbeno sprejemljivo, le-ti pa dobro sovpadajo z obdobjem tranzicije v Sloveniji, za katerega je bilo tipično vračanje k „pravi ženskosti“ ali nalaganje slabe vesti ženski, ki se je npr. odločila, da bo imela uspešno službeno kariero in obenem imela tudi otroka (Jogan, 2013). Priročniki so bili še posebej priljubljeni v Ameriki, lotili so se več nivojev, kako bi morala biti videti „urejena“ ženska, in sicer: koliko ur bi morala spati, da ne bi imela podočnjakov, kako naj skrbi za lase, da bodo zdravi in sijoči, kako pogosto naj si čisti obraz in podobno. Priročniki pa so vsebovali tudi navodila, kakšno ličenje je sprejemljivo in primerno. Moto tedanjih umetnikov ličenja je bil, da je dobro uporabljeno ličilo le tisto, ki na obrazu ni videti kot ličilo (WAC, 1940). Takrat je bila kozmetika še zelo draga, saj tudi povpraševanje po tej dobrini še ni bilo tako veliko, poleg tega pa si jo je lahko privoščil le malokdo. Prve drogerije v Sloveniji pa niso prodajale le kozmetike temveč tudi fotografski material, „prva je bila mariborska drogerija Maksa Kanca na Gosposki ulici, leta 1940“ (Počivavšek, 2012: 256).

Ena izmed intervjuvank je povedala, da so v osemdesetih in devetdesetih kozmetiko prodajale trgovke, ki so hodile po hišah in podjetjih s kovčki in da so ti vsebovali „osnovne“ kose dekorativne kozmetike (puder v kamnu, lak za nohte, parfum, črtalo za ustnice in oči). Ko pa se je kozmetika začela prodajati v trgovinah, sploh pa z odprtjem v večjih drogerijah, kot je npr. Müller, ki je odprl vrata v Sloveniji leta 1994 v Kranju, s široko ponudbo ugodnih kozmetičnih izdelkov<sup>6</sup>, je postala ugodnejša in dostopnejša večjemu številu ljudi, spremenil pa se je pa tudi sam stil ličenja (Oseba generacije X, 2020). V Sloveniji v osemdesetih in devetdesetih letih, tako kot na Zahodu, je bil tipičen videz urejene ženske turkizno-zeleno svetleče senčilo za oči, črna maskara, rdeče-oranžno rdečilo za ustnice in dobro prekriven matirajoč puder, ki je zakril nepravilnosti (Oxberry, 2016). Poleg tega pa se je tudi obrvi oblikovalo na drugačen način kot danes. Obrvi so bile rahlo gostejše na začetku oči in so se proti lasišču tanjšale.

Danes smo priča preobratu, saj se obrvi ne oblikuje več kot se jih je oblikovalo v devetdesetih letih in prvem

5 Soglasja zaradi restrikcij, uvedenih v času COVID-19 temeljijo na ustni privolitvi.

6 <https://www.mueller.si/o-podjetju/zgodovina-in-dejstva/mejnike/> (21. 6. 2020)



desetletju novega tisočletja, temveč je bolj zaželjen poln, košat, gost videz obrvi, saj naj bi obraz z gostimi obrvmi deloval mladostnejše. Obrvi pa ne pustimo le na miru in jih ne oblikujemo, temveč jih skušamo narediti „še bolj naravne“ z uporabo raznih voskov za oblikovanje in kuštranje obrvi, prazna mesteca na obrveh pa zapolnujemo z risanjem posamičnih dlak z izredno tanko barvico. Težnja po naravnem videzu<sup>7</sup> pa se ne ustavi le pri tem (Fardouly in M. Rapee, 2019).

Lepotni trend naravnega ličenja se je oblikoval tudi zaradi družbenih omrežij in spremembe oglaševanja. Zaradi tega, kot bomo videli v intervjujih, pa je začel ta trend dobivati na pomembnosti in razširjenosti (Shen in Bissel, 2013). Lepotni mojstri in mojstrice nam dajejo navodila kako doseči „No Makeup Makeup”,<sup>8</sup> pri katerem je glavni cilj uporabe ličil ta, da naš obraz izgleda bolje z uporabo ličil, tako kot da ne bi bil videti naličen. Prav poseben trend je tudi „The Boy Beat Makeup”,<sup>9</sup> pri katerem se ne prekriva t.i. nepravilnosti; podočnjakov se ne skriva, temveč se jih z nežno rjavo barvico ali senčilom celo poudari, obrvi ostanejo skuštrane in neurejene, pogosto se dorisuje pege,<sup>10</sup> če se že uporabi tekočo podlago, je ta zelo nežno prekrivna ali pa je zmešana s kremo ali oljem (Jowett, 2019).

### Od prekrivnih pudrov do BB krem

Če smo še do pred kratkim na policah drogerij iskali čim bolj prekrivno podlago, ki bi prekrila vsako nepravilnost obraza, danes vse več ljudi posega po manj prekrivnih podlagah. Zaradi težnje po manj prekrivni podlagi in bolj naravnemu videzu so se v zadnjem času razvile razne alternative klasičnemu pudru; BB kreme, CC kreme, DD kreme<sup>11</sup> in razne ostale obarvane kreme, ki ne zagotavljajo le sijočega videza kože, ki „diha” brez pretiranega truda; te kreme imajo tudi cilj oziroma nam obljublja, da bo koža po uporabi, v primerjavi z uporabo klasične podlage, bolj zdrava in se ne bo starala tako hitro.

*Ko sem se začela mazati, nekje v šestem razredu osnovne šole, sem najprej začela uporabljati korektor, tistega v stiku, za nekaj evrov, da sem skrila nekaj mozoljev. V srednji šoli, ko sem videla reklamo od Garnierja, sem začela uporabljati njihovo BB kremo...pudra še vedno nisem hotela uporabljati, ker sem ga imela za kozmetiko od mami.*

– Intervju s 23 letno osebo ženskega spola, ki prihaja iz ljubljanskega predmestja, ki se razume kot „povprečna” uporabnica ličil (Oseba generacije Z).

<sup>7</sup> Vsaj takšnem naravnem videzu, ki nam ga prikazujejo YouTuberke, blogerke, in „influencerke” na raznih ostalih socialnih omrežjih.

<sup>8</sup> Stil naravnega ličenja ali skoraj neopaznega ličenja.

<sup>9</sup> Stil ličenja, ki ga je populariziral umetnik ličenja Sir Johns.

<sup>10</sup> Za te potrebe so se že oblikovale posebne barvice, ki naj bi zagotavljale naraven videz peg, nekateri pa si jih vtetovirajo s poltrajnimi pigmenti, ki se po določenem času razgradijo in izginejo

<sup>11</sup> BB krema, CC krema in DD krema so lahkotni, delno prekrivni tip pudra, ki se jih nanese na obraz, zagotavljajo pa poenoten ten kože in prekrivanje manjših nepravilnosti. BB je kratica za „Beauty Balm” oziroma „lepotilni balzam”. CC je kratica za „Color Correcting” oziroma „poprava barve-tena”. DD je kratica za „Daily Defense” oziroma „dnevno zaščito”.

Oseba, ki sem jo intervjuvala, čuti odmik od klasične podlage, ker le-to uporablja njena mati in jo povezuje s starostjo. Zdi se ji, da je neprimerna za njeno starost. Oseba prikazana v televizijskem oglasu Garnierjeve BB kreme, o kateri je intervjuvanka govorila je mlado dekle; oglas pa obljublja, da BB krema „izenači, odpravi nepravilnosti, vlaži, povrne sijaj in ščiti pred UV žarki in to v trenutku” (Garnier, 2014). V tem primeru lahko razumemo, da BB krema zagotavlja naravnejši videz in ima (oz. vsaj obljublja) več prednosti in ugodnosti kot navaden puder. Po Lauri Mulvey je v kontekstu množičnega občinstva v sodobni kulturi ženska razumljena kot podoba, saj „v svoji tradicionalni ekshibicionistični vlogi so ženske neprestano gledane in razkazovane, s svojim videzom kodirane tako, da imajo močan vizualni in erotični učinek”, ženska se tako ob gledaju določene audio-video vsebine prepozna skozi podobo, kako mora ali naj bi morala izgledati (Mulvey, 2001). Iz tega lahko izpeljemo, da se je intervjuvana oseba prepoznala v oglasu na mestu ženske v oglasu, ki ima po uporabi BB kreme v hipu „popolno” polt in ne z materjo, ki je uporabljala puder.

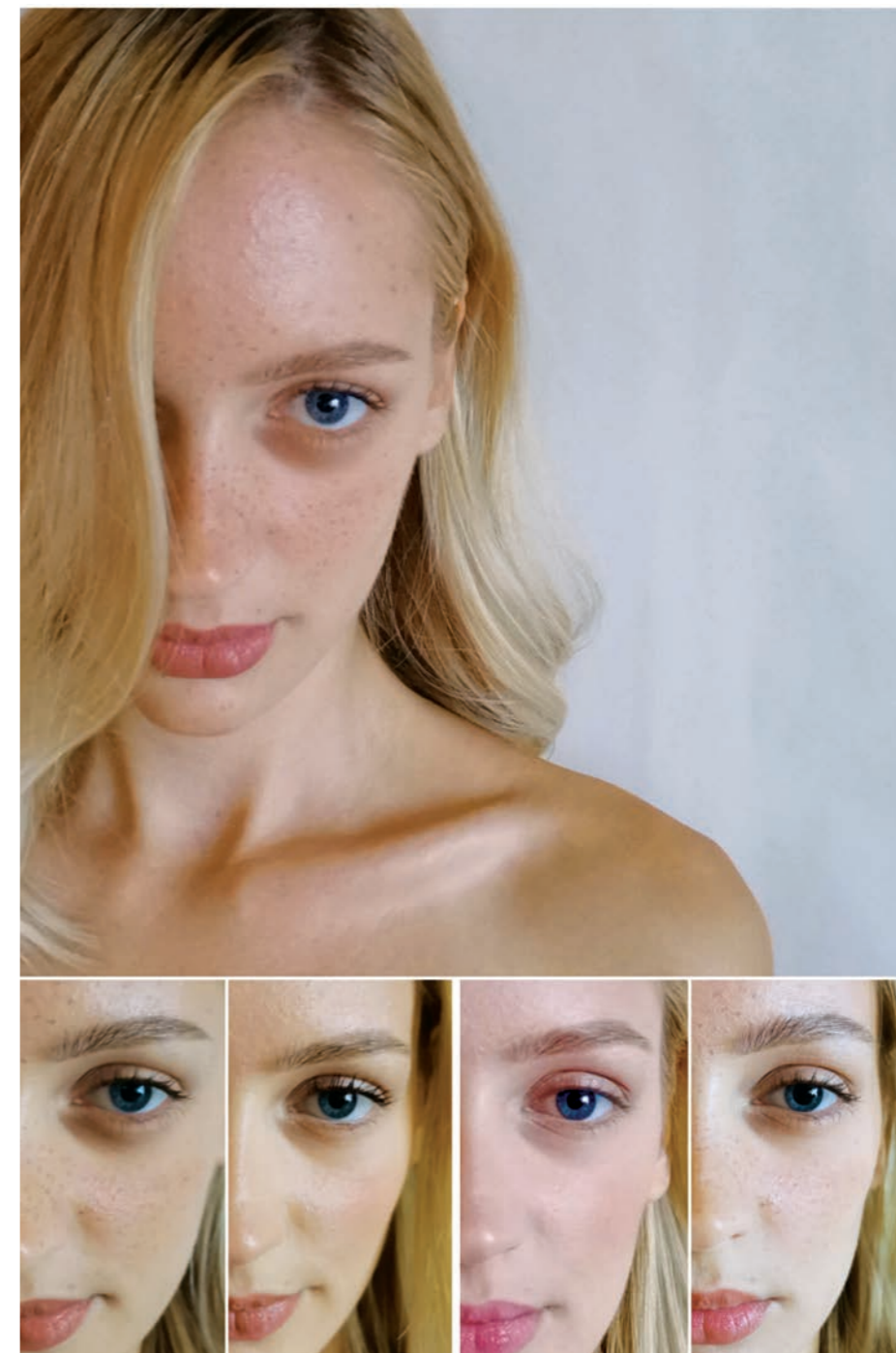
Danes zaradi novih načinov oglaševanja preko družbenih omrežij ne kupujemo kozmetike le zaradi obljub, ki jih daje sam oglas. V oglaševanju kozmetike prek družbenih platform je vodilen YouTube (Shen in Bissel, 2013), kjer oseba, ki je lahko profesionalna umetnica ličenja ali pa zgolj ljubiteljica ličenja, objavi posnetek, na katerem se posname, kako uporablja določen izdelek in nas z navodili vodi, kako doseči določen videz.

Pri takem oglaševanju promoviranje in hvaljenje produkta včasih sploh ni potrebno. Dovolj je, da je produkt uporabljen in prikazan, ni pa nujno potrebno poudarjanje, zakaj je določen izdelek dober za nas. Na tem mestu se oseba, ki gleda tovrstno vsebino, prepozna ali identificira (lahko tudi na nezavedni ravni) z youtuberko oz. lepотно vplivnico, s samim aktom uporabe ličil in težnjo po dosegu nekega videza (lahko pa je prisotnih še več dejavnikov pri prepoznavanju kot je npr. podoben videz – ista barva las, simpatičnost, zaupanje v osebo, ki prikazuje uporabo ličil, ipd. (Fardouly in Rapee, 2016)

*Po navadi, ko hočem probati neko novo kozmetiko ali pa ko kupujem preko spleta, grem pogledati na YouTube kaj pravijo in kako kaj izgleda, na spletne strani od Slovenk grem pa po navadi, da najdem kakšno promo kodo za spletno trgovino, da mi ni treba toliko plačati. Večinoma gledam Ameriške youtuberje Tati pa Nikkietutorials, samo tista kozmetika, ki jo one uporabljajo, je ponavadi ne prodajajo v Sloveniji ali je pa zelo draga...*

*...včasih grem pa gor tudi pogledati za nov videz, če mi je dolgčas. Samo tiste youtuberke imajo take obraze, da doma težko prideš do takega videza, ker imajo skoraj vse povečana usta ali pa uporabljajo botoks...tko da grem ponavadi gor iskati bolj naravne variante make-upa, k jih lahko vsaj približno tudi sama probam.*

*..ponavadi se raje mažem naravno...uporabljam bolj nev-*



Slika 1: Kolaž variacij naravnega ličenja

tralne barve pa malo manj pudra, ker če včasih probam kakšno temno ali pa živahno barvo izgledam slabo pa ljudje bulijo vame...pa še nikoli ne izgleda tako dobro kakor si najprej zamislim...

–Intervju z 20 letno osebo ženskega spola iz predmestja Ljubljane (Oseba generacije C).

Iz intervjuja lahko vidimo, da oseba sledi pomembnejšim in večim internetnim zvezdnicam glede ličenja, YouTube pa ji služi kot nekakšen predogled kozmetike, ki si jo želi kupiti. Zanimivo je, da se oseba zanaša na mnenje svetovno znanih youtuberov in sledi kozmetiki in lepotnim praksam, ki niso vedno na voljo v Sloveniji ali pa so zanjo predrage. Na podlagi tega lahko sklepamo, da je doseganje naravnega videza z ličili pogojeno s finančnim položajem in nekatera kozmetika ni dostopna vsem ljudem. Naravno ličenje, ali vsaj manjša uporaba ličil, je tu predstavljena kot cilj, ki je lažje dosegljiv od videza, ki zahteva dražjo, bolj pigmentno kozmetiko in ne predstavlja tako velikega poznavanja tehnik ter veččin ličenja. Naravno ličenje je za intervjuvanko tudi varna, vsakodnevna rešitev, v katero ni potrebno vložiti veliko truda in se ji ni treba bati, da bi dobila neprijeten pogled ali prejela preveč pozornosti.

*Včasih, ko sem še delala v Nami, ko sem bila še vajenka so se vse starejše zelo mazale. Vse so imele iste frizure, tiste trajne, ki sem jih potem tudi jaz probala in so mi vsi rekli, kako dobro da izgledam. Potem so pa vse uporabljale še isto šminko, ki je bil taka oranžna pa zelo gostota, ki jo je prodajala ena „privatnica“...vse te ženske, ki so bile že poročene so pa uporabljale ta ista senčila za oči, da so izgledale zelo stare...in to so bile toliko stare, kot sem jaz zdaj ali pa še mlajše! Jaz sem se namazala samo, ko je prišel šef iz Italije, ki je hotel, da smo use porihthane pa doterane. Vse ženske so imele čisto populjene obrvi...toliko da je bila samo ravna črta...potem pa še suh puder, ki se je zažrl v kožo, da te je vse srbelo! Takoj, ko sem zanosila in sem nehala tam delati, sem se pa nehala mazati, pa si puliti obrvi...zdaj se namažem samo, če se moram res zrihtati. Drugače pa vsak dan uporabljam samo malo pudra, pa obrvi si pobarvam, ker imam že par sivih umes in vsi me sprašujejo, kaj uporabljam za obrvi, jaz pa samo rečem, da jih ne pulim in enkrat na mesec pobarvam...*

*...ta puder, ki ga pa uporabljam, pa kupim v lekarni, da je bolj naraven, ker nočem izgledati preveč umetno, pa zvečer ga hočem dati hitro dol.*

–Intervju s 56 letno osebo ženskega spola iz Ljubljane (Oseba generacije X, rojena v sedemdesetih)

Oseba, ki sem jo intervjuvala, je včasih uporabljala več kozmetike in sledila trendu zaradi potreb službe. Ličila se je intenzivneje (uprabljala šminko, puder v kamnu itd.), ko pa je zapustila delovno mesto, ki je zahtevalo urejenost glede ličenja pa je opustila te navade. Danes uporablja ličila, ki jih kupi v lekarni, za katere tudi misli, da so bolj naravna in nudijo boljše rezultate. Intervjuvanka se poslužuje

tudi enostavnega, naravnega ličenja, ker je manj zamudno in ji zvečer vzame manj časa, da si očisti obraz. Intervjuvanka je tudi opazila, da se dekleta po mestu poslužujejo bolj naravnega, neopaznega ličenja pa čeprav še ni slišala za ta trend in ni vedela, kaj točno je.

*Ja...zdaj opazim, da se punce po mestu ne lišpajo več toliko kot smo se mi včasih, kar mi je tudi všeč, da niso toliko umetne...ene pa sploh niso nič namazane. Nisem točno vedela da je to prav kak trend ki bi se ga moral naučiti ali pa od kod pobrati...zdelo se mi je da se zdaj pač sam tako mažejo ker je lepo*

–(Oseba generacije X).

## Ličenje v 21. stoletju kot nova izkušnja?

Vse intervjuvanke so v stiku z naravno kozmetiko in trendom naravnega ličenja. Temu trendu sledijo tudi, če ne vedo točno, kaj je in nimajo predhodnega znanja o trendih na družbenih omrežjih, ki jih krojijo lepote vplivnice.

Videti je, da se je cilj uporabe kozmetike spremenil. Če je bil cilj ličenja pred prihodom trenda naravnega ličenja ta, da je oseba prekrila nepravilnosti in naredila svoj obraz kar se da popoln glede na določeno modo, z ličili pa vzbujala pozornost pri ostalih ljudeh in s tem izražala svojo urejenost, se je to s trendom naravnega ličenja spremenilo, saj oseba s sledenjem trendov naravnega ličenja ne želi vzbujati pozornosti, s tem da je naličena (npr. z opazno rdečim rdečilom za ustnice ali z modrim senčilo za oči), temveč hoče doseči videz nenaličenosti.

Naravni način ličenja in uporaba nevtralnějšíh, manj opaznih barv sta prišla v ospredje, ker osebi zagotavljajo „varnost“ pred tem, da bi bila z drznimi barvami družbeno nesprejemljivo naličena. Za doseganje naravnega ličenja pa uporabnice in uporabniki porabijo več časa (Tagai idr., 2016).

Danes doseganje določenega videza, v tem primeru naravnega videza in no makeup makeup videza, ne moremo razumeti zgolj kot nakupa in uporabe ličil ter ličenja, temveč ga moramo razumeti kot kompleksen proces izbiranja videza glede na to, kaj je trenutno v družbi sprejemljivo in kako bo oseba videti v očeh drugih ljudi (Grafenauer, 2020). Poleg tega pa osebo pred samim nakupom in uporabo ličil spremljajo družbena omrežja in razne podobe, ki smo jim priča na vsakem koraku. Oseba pa se zaradi novih načinov podajanja znanja o ličenju (predvsem na platformi YouTube) vidi in identificira z osebo, ki prakticira določen trend ali prakso ličenja (Fardouly in Rapee, 2019).

Prav zaradi novih reprezentacij ličenja in naličene osebe pa se določen trend tako hitro razširi.

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# Vizualni salon / Visual Parlour



# Industrija obupa

Iza Štrumbelj Oblak

(Fotografija, 1. stopnja,  
Visoka šola za storitve)

„Zrcalce, zrcalce na steni povej, katera najlepša v deželi je tej?“

„Ti, kraljica naša, zelo lepa si, a Sneguljčica je še lepša kakor ti.“

*Kraljica je pozelenela od zavisti in se odločila, da se mora Sneguljčice znebiti.*

(Grimm in Grimm, 1812).

V svetu, kjer odraščamo ob pravljičah, v katerih lepota postane vrlina glavne junakinje – ki sicer čaka na prinčevu rešitev – ni hrepenenje po njej prav nič osupljivega. Ta obsesija ne izhaja le iz literature, deklice že od malih nog poslušajo laskanje, ki temelji predvsem na njihovem videzu. S takšnimi pohvalami seveda ni nič narobe – nič ni narobe, dokler zunanost, prav zaradi stalnega izpostavljanja, ne nadvlada nad vsemi ostalimi gradniki osebnosti, ki počasi bledijo in postajajo vedno manj pomembni. Je res ravno lepota tista lastnost, ki bi jo radi postavili na piedestal in oznanili: „To sem jaz. Jaz sem lep/a!“?

A ravno to se dogaja. Živimo v družbi, ki nas neprestano „bombardira“ s podobami, čudovitimi podobami. Takšnimi, ki ne odražajo sveta, temveč ga na novo formirajo. To početje je tako zmedlo naš naivni kompas, da nadvoprečno dojemamo kot običajno. A ideal se pomika še naprej, dviga se v višave, predaleč je že, da bi ga ujeli, naj še tako hlastavo segamo za njim. Prepad med njim in svetom pa je vedno večji. Na tem vendar temelji – na ideji, ki je v svoji izmuzljivosti in utopičnosti dostopna le peščici ali pa celo nikomur. Brez tega izgubi vse. Ideal ni več ideal, je le še – nekaj.

Kljub temu, da vse to razumemo, si ne moremo pomagati. Vemo kako neresnične, umetne in močno manipulirane te podobe so, a po videnem hrepenimo. Ne le, da oglaševalci in mediji prikazujejo „fotošopirana“ telesa, ki so nedosegljiva glavnini populacije, kažejo nam le en standard, ki ga navdihujejo kolonializem, rasizem, seksizem, patriarhalnost ter kapitalizem – njegov sponzor: prevladujoča je bela, brezhibna polt, simetričen obraz krasijo velike svetle oči, majhen nos, polne ustnice in izstopajoče ličnice, vse to pa obdajajo voluminozni, če se le da svetli, ne preveč kodrast lasje. Ne pozabimo na najpomembnejše: mlado telo je dolgonogo in čim bolj vitko, v zadnjem času pa dobiva ne nujno proporcionalne obline. Naj omenim še odsotnost kakršnekoli poraščenosti, ki nekako spominja na otroka pred puberteto. Seveda mora biti oseba telesno sposobna in v dobri kondiciji.

Tako se mnogi v procesu odraščanja znajdejo na lovu za ultimativnim zakladom – lepoto. Popotovanje zasenči

vse druge cilje in zanimanja ter vso energijo preusmeri vase, naše kognitivne sposobnosti so namreč omejene. Med iskalko in svet postavi ogledalo. Ta pojav, ki ga Renee Engeln (2013) imenuje lepota bolezen, se širi in širi. Hitro in neusmiljeno. Lepotna bolezen pri izbiri žrtev ni preveč izbirčna, čeprav po tistem prizna, da so ji najstnice še posebej pri srcu. Krepi se s pomočjo medijev, ki na naslovnice pridno postavljajo „fotošopirane“ modele v bikinkah, obdane z manjšimi senzacionalnimi podnaslovi, ki obljublajo sočne trače in ekskluzivne fotografije iz sveta slavnih, najnovejše modne trende prihajajoče sezone in učinkovite diete za poletje. Seveda jih spremljajo oglasi, ki ponujajo načine, kako vse to doseči, medtem pa nam prišepetavajo, da sedaj pač nismo dovolj dobri. Naj ne pozabim na nevarno širjenje tega virusa preko ustnega izročila – ob vsakem komentarju ali že sami omembi videza, tudi če je pripomba dobronamerna.

Kako nekaj, kar naj bi bila predvsem skrb medijsko izpostavljenih poklicev, kot so modeli, igralci ali pevci, sedaj bremeni pleča vseh nas od otroštva pa vse do groba? Raziskave so namreč pokazale, da se otroci obeh spolov že od 5. leta dalje obremenjujejo z videzom. Večja telesna teža je obsojana in preganjana že v vrtcu. Naj razlogi za porast slabe samopodobe in s tem povezanega vrstniškega nasilja tičijo v medijih, družbenih omrežjih ali izvirajo iz družin, podatek, da se otroci z dietami začnejo srečevati že v rani mladosti, je nadvse zaskrbljujoč (All Party Parliamentary Group on Body Image, 2012).

„Toda ne skrbite! Lepotna industrija je tu za Vas! Tu smo, da Vam pomagamo, ker nam je mar. Da Vam vrnemo pozabljen občutek ljubljenosti in pomembnosti, da izpolnimo nevzdržna hrepenenja, Vas napolnimo z novo močjo in samozavestjo. Da Vas naredimo boljše, najboljše verzije sebe. Da vam dopustimo, da se ljubite. Da Vam omogočimo postati res Vi!“

Takšne in podobne utvare nam, morda malo manj direktno, prodajajo ponudniki številnih storitev in proizvodov, ki nas naj bi ne le polepšale temveč izpopolnile. Ne

kažejo nam zgolj lepotnih standardov, temveč tudi kako živeti. Gradijo na sramu, depresiji, tesnobi, hrepenenju – na občutkih, ki jih mnogi, predvsem pa ženske doživljajo ob pogledu na retuširane manekenke in celo vrstnice na družbenih omrežjih.

Kdaj je naš izgled postal prežet z moralo? Heather Widdows (2018) postavlja tezo, da je lepota v sodobni družbi stopila na mesto globalno dominantnega etičnega ideala. O njej govorimo na način: „Danes sem bila pridna, izpustila sem sladico in še telovadila!“. Uporabljamo jo za okvir vrednotenja, saj sebe in druge ocenjujemo skozi njeno prizmo, povezujemo jo celo s higieno. Modificiranost telesa se je tako postopoma normalizira v nov standard (Widdows, 2018).

Rastoča lepota industrija, ki jo je Forbes lansko leto ocenil na 532 milijard, je pravzaprav naravnost genialna (Danziger, 2019). Svoj imperij je zgradila na hlepenju po nečem, kar zares ne obstaja, vzela je nesrečnost, jo poglobila v obup in jo pretopila v kapital. Tako so v letu 2018 plastični kirurgi (le uradno) opravili čez 10 milijonov operativnih in 12 milijonov neoperativnih lepotnih posegov, 87,4 % obojih na ženskah (ISAPS, 2018). Še zanimivejše orodje pa so ličila, ki imajo sicer bistveno daljšo zgodovino. Čeprav so na fizični ravni manj invazivna, pa je njihova vsakdanost, „zasvojljivost“ še bolj zaskrbljujoča. Navkljub ne preveč problematični zmerni uporabi in morebitnem pozitivnemu vplivu na samozavest, gre tu predvsem za prikrivanje svojih „napak“ in normalizacijo iluzije. Lepotni režimi so tako tehnika maskiranja, med samooglaševanjem pa se slepimo, da je to naš osebni izraz, ki nas prej kot to, objektivizira.

Barbara Fredrickson in Tomi-Ann Roberts (1997) sta razvili teorijo „objektifikacije“ (objectification theory), ki govori o tem, da je ženska primarna „valuta“ videz, kar nas reducira na status predmeta, saj živimo v kulturi, ki stalno seksualizira in objektivira žensko telo. Videz je kronično opazovan, ocenjevan, telo je vedno na ogled. To ponotranjimo in tudi sebe opazujemo iz perspektive drugega, ponavadi heteronormativne moške norme.

Lepota ima tudi globoke evolucijske korenine, ki so vezane na preživetje. Naj bo to lepa pokrajina, ki ponuja udobno življenje ali primeren kandidat za nadaljevanje rodbine. Izvor naših socialno konstruiranih idealov res prihaja iz naravne selekcije, a ta se je v sodobnem času začela z njo na mnogih področjih izključevati.

Zanimiv fenomen, ki pa ostaja na strani lepih je t.i. „halo“ učinek. To je napaka v ocenjevanju oz. hitra in pri-

stranska presoja, ko na podlagi neke pozitivne lastnosti prenesemo sodbo še na druga področja. Kar v praksi pomeni, da za vizualno všečnega človeka nezavedno predvidevamo, da je tudi dobrega srca. To predstavlja prednosti v osebnem in poslovnem življenju. Kljub dokazanosti halo efekta pa smo bili vsi že priča stereotipiziranju privlačnih ženske za neumne. Je to le nekaj kar nam je vsadila družba, je to izraz njene negotovosti?

Morda obstajata dve ravni: „nesmrtna“ – evolucijska, ki išče lastnosti povezane z zdravjem (simetričen obraz, zlati rez itd.) in plodnostjo ter „spremenljiva“ ki sledi trendom in se z naravno selekcijo pogosto celo izključuje. V globalizirani družbi so si ideali ne glede na celino precej podobni, v odmaknjenih skupnostih pa lahko opazimo popolnoma drugačne prakse (npr.: pleme Mursi v Etiopiji uporablja posebne diske, ki dekletom raztegujejo ustnice; v Tadžikistanu je monobrv znak lepote; v Mjanmaru živi pleme Kayan, kjer si ženske v imenu lepote z obroči raztegujejo vrat;...), kar priča o vlogi družbe pri snovanju smernic – to nas, kot njene pripadnike postavlja v sam izvor „težave“, a hkrati nakazuje, da je sprememba mogoča (Ten Weir Beauty Standards From Around The World, 2017).

Kaj lahko naredimo, da se obsedenosti z lepoto zoperstavimo, se upremo „industriji obupa“, ki jo lepota industrija pospešuje? Ta kolektivni boj mora biti vsak posameznik. Začnemo lahko s pogovorom in iskrenostjo, tako pri osebnih stikih, kot tudi na družbenih omrežjih. Trendom se, vsaj do neke mere, lahko zavestno upremo. Prenehajmo jih spremljati, upoštevati, če nam ne ugajajo, in ne kupujemo nepotrebnih proizvodov. Ne „buljimo“ v fotografije, ki nam vzbujajo negotovost, nehajmo slediti Instagram profilom, ki to ponujajo. Razmišljajmo o telesu, kot orodju narejenem za delo in užitek, in ne zbirki delov v galeriji.

Predvsem pa moramo svojo pozornost preusmeriti v stvari, ki dejansko štejejo in trajajo, namesto, da „ždimo“ pred ogledalom. Slabe samopodobe ne bodo zacelili komplimenti, temveč odmik od razmišljanja v tej smeri. Začnemo lahko pri otrocih, a se tam ne ustavimo. Nehajmo jim govoriti o lepoti, temveč jih popeljimo skozi druge zgodbe, ki jih je ustvarilo človeštvo. Spodkopljimo sistem, ki nas uči, da je najboljše orodje za socialni status videz.

Nikoli ne bomo živeli v svetu, ki bo na lepoto imun, lahko pa vsi delamo na tem, da postane prijaznejši. Lepotni ideali so konec koncev le forma družbene manipulacije. In kdo si ne želi svobode?

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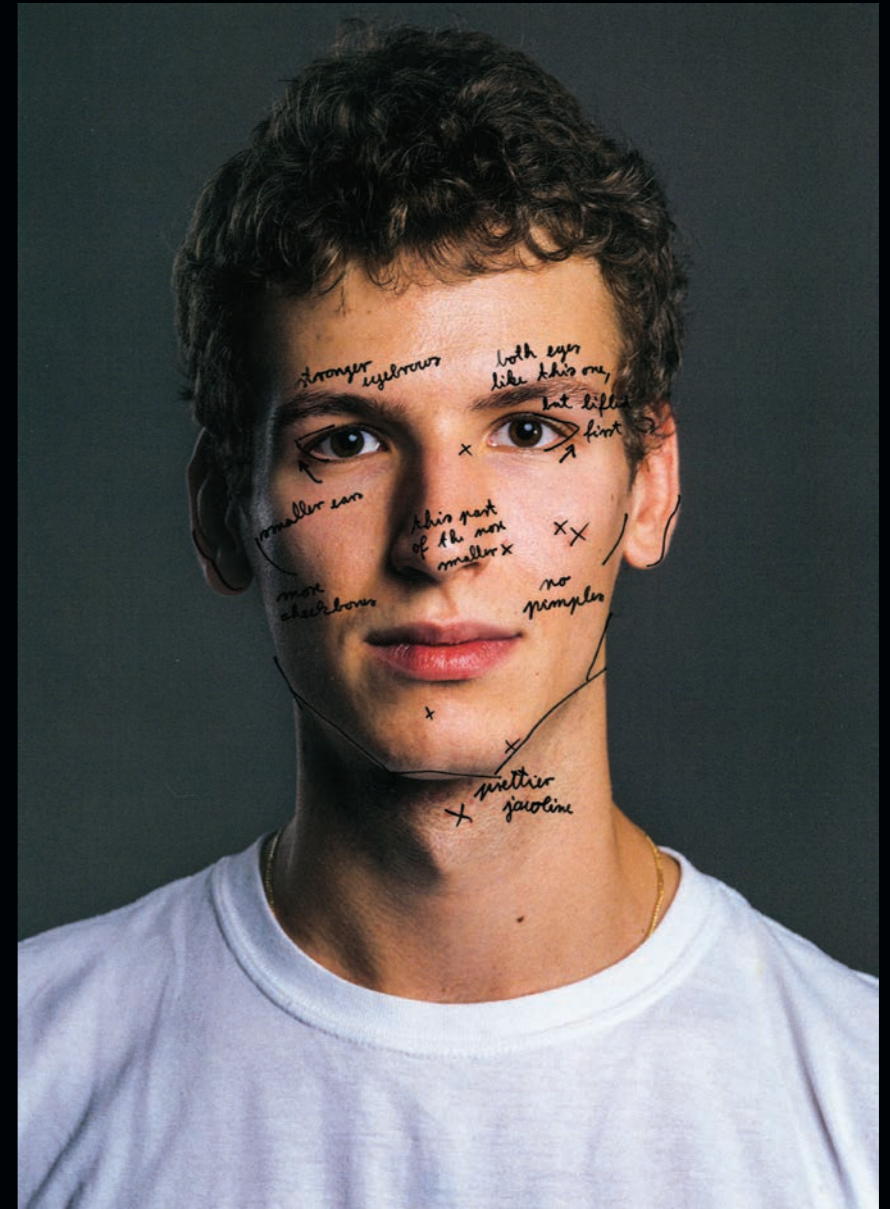
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I WILL MAKE  
MYSELF SO  
STRONG AND  
BEATUFIUL NO  
ARROW WILL BE  
ABLE TO  
PENETRATE MY  
PLASTIC FLESH



*Kaj uvidimo, ko družbo in zgodovino  
pogledamo skozi kozmetiko in  
lepotno delo?  
/ What do we realize when we look at  
society and history through cosmetics  
and beauty work?*

Umetnice, študentke, raziskovalke in umetnostne pedagoginje\* smo v Roževini zgodovine s skupnimi močmi razpirale nov pogled na zgodovino in družbo z vidika kozmetike in lepotnega dela. Na stičišču metod umetniškega raziskovanja, ustvarjanja in umetnostne pedagogike kot tudi humanističnih in družboslovnih raziskovalnih pristopov (ob upoštevanju izsledkov naravoslovnih znanosti) je Roževina zgodovine s skupinsko in meddisciplinarno raziskovalno prakso ustvarila različne oblike ustvarjanja, reprezentacije in posredovanja znanj, predstavljenih v pričujočem zborniku.

*\*velja za vse spole*

In Corneous Stories, artists, students, researchers, and art pedagogues have joined forces to open a new perspective on history and society through the prism of cosmetics and beauty labour. At the juncture of artistic research, creation, and art education, as well as research approaches stemming from humanities and social sciences (while considering the findings from natural sciences), the Corneous Histories' group and interdisciplinary research practice led the various forms of creation, representation, and knowledge transfer, presented in the volume before you.