Simone de Beauvoir’s Analysis of Dressing up and Adornment in The Second Sex

DENİZ SOYSAL*
denizsoysal79@gmail.com
ORCID ID: 0000-0003-0923-7410

Abstract: In this paper I have presented and analyzed five components of Beauvoir’s thought on women’s dressing. Beauvoir centered her analysis on married woman’s social life, and argued that the way of women’s dressing up contains a complicated social strategy that transforms them into erotic objects. As presented in The Second Sex, Beauvoir’s thoughts on the subject of dressing up and adornment is discussed in detail for the purpose of showing her thoughts’ uniqueness, depth and liberating potential.

Keywords: Beauvoir, dressing up, fashion, objectification, dependence, feminism.

Introduction

Simone de Beauvoir wrote The Second Sex, her masterpiece, when there was no active feminist movement around the world and when women was not an academic subject matter of any discipline. But The Second Sex, after its publication, has not only become Beauvoir’s most effective work but also inspired the second wave of feminist movement. Moreover, being an existentialist philosopher, Beauvoir produced an excellent work in feminist philosophy. Fiftieth anniversary of its publication, 1999, was celebrated in Paris by a worldwide conference.¹ In today’s academic structure, The Second Sex could be categorized under the interdisciplinary social sciences. It has a very unique composition in which we find an intersection of many disciplines: philosophy, anthropology, political science, sociology, literary criticism, psychology and cultural studies. The Second Sex still draws interest among scholars, because it belongs to the genre of philosophical classics. In this article, I will focus on the subject of dressing up, as elaborated in The Second Sex, because my research on the subject in the English-speaking academic literature has shown that the subject has stayed untouched by scholars and hasn’t been studied and analyzed in detail.

* Dr. Öğr. Üyesi, Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi, Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi, Psikoloji Bölümü.
In *The Second Sex*, the issue of dressing up and adornment of women is analyzed at length in the chapter on “Social Life.” The chapter is exclusively concerned with the social life of married women. The analysis of dressing and appearance of woman in her social relations covers nearly eleven pages of the chapter with many details and examples in a very complicated composition. So I will try to clarify the basic composition of this subpart, wholly devoted to the dressing and adornment of woman. These pages on dressing are not studied comprehensively neither in the feminist nor in the philosophical literature, so that Beauvoir is seen merely as being anti-fashion or critical of fashion and objectification of women. Nevertheless, the analysis presented by Beauvoir, is much richer than the labels above indicate. Below I will firstly present Beauvoir’s thoughts on the subject of dressing and adornment in detail, then I will try to show how her analysis is helpful for women, and even for all genders, about their search for independence and liberation.

**Social Background of Women’s Dressing**

Beauvoir states that married woman’s duties are not limited to housework, giving birth and caring of children. Besides, she is the representer of the family in society: “Her social duty … is to ‘represent’.” This duty of representation is mainly composed of two activities: “showing of her home and even herself.” But how will she show off herself? By dressing and adornment. She is totally ready for this part of the duty, because she is quite instructed by the family and society that she will be evaluated or judged by her appearance, her clothes, her beauty or elegance. Her readiness, according to Beauvoir, does not come from her instincts but from her childhood. Sally J. Scholz, in her article comparing the views of Jean Jacques Rousseau and Beauvoir about childhood, argues that these two philosophers evaluate the little girls’ playing with and adorning their dolls, from very different angles. While Rousseau presents adornment of the doll by the little girl as a natural tendency of girls, Beauvoir sees it as a part of training of girls imposed by society. So the girl starting from her childhood learns the fact that she will be evaluated according to how she shows herself, how she dresses and adorns herself. So her readiness is “the result of her training in becoming woman.”

A cursory observation of the difference between men’s and women’s clothes will show the basic idea behind women’s clothing: “society even requires woman to make herself an erotic object.” Men’s clothes are for his comfort; women’s clothes are for showing that she is an object for sex. This requirement of objectification is not expressed directly and openly but it is implied by the negative attitudes against women who refuse to wear in a feminine style. Aware of the fact that she can be called ‘manly’ or even be accused of being ‘lesbian’, most of the women conform to her specific so-

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5 Beauvoir, *The Second Sex*, p.572.
ociety's expectation from them and express this conformity in her clothes and style. At different societies with different customs she will, one way or the other, have to face “her vocation as sex object”; in some societies she will have to cover all of his body except eyes or even sometimes including her eyes, in some other societies she will have to wear uncomfortably tight clothes in order to be valued as beautiful. So there are many variations of having a “vocation as sex object.”

Totally covered up woman is not more comfortable than the woman in the tightly squeezed mini skirts or pants. In many societies of the world these extremes are uncommon, but “dress[ing] up” continues to be in any case a reflection of the specific vocation assigned to her; i.e., being a sex object.

The scope of this article, however, is Beauvoir’s central concern in the chapter: In Pamela Church Gibson’s words, Beauvoir “does indeed judge the high-status housewife who is her ‘women of fashion’.” This does not mean that Beauvoir’s arguments are only about limited number of women. Gibson says that “[a]ll the restrictive clothes she criticizes, which do not ‘further’ women’s ‘projects but thwart them’ are the creations of high fashion, of bourgeois elegance.” But, at the same time, women from lower classes envy and try to copy women from the upper class and sometimes they actually succeed in climbing social ladder either by being famous or by marrying an upper class man. In such cases, fashion, elegance, adornment becomes fundamental signs of this social status. Women’s being an object is not limited to bourgeois society, it is found in any patriarchal society, which puts women in a lower position and dependence. While explaining Beauvoir’s analysis of feminine narcissism, Sandra Lee Bartky writes that “a woman’s situation, i.e. those meanings derived from the total context in which she comes to maturity, dispos[es] her to apprehend her body not as the instrument of her transcendence, but as ‘an object destined for another’. That is, human existence always means having a body; but a body, being an extended thing, always has the potential of being transformed into an object. However, for Beauvoir, human existence always tries to transcend itself; which means that human beings set projects, fail or achieve them, in either case they start new projects again. This means being active; that is, being always in search for some end. However, to achieve something, to attain a goal, to reach out an end, the body must also be prepared for this enterprise. Imagine a woman who wants to be an athlete. Being an athlete means to have a muscled body. She will very probably feel the stress put upon her by society, because having a muscled body is generally associated with being masculine. As a result, she has to choose between having a feminine body or being an athlete. This prejudice has to be overcome by her, so that she can achieve her goal and become an athlete. So Beauvoir’s analysis applies to wider range of women that it is generally thought of, and because of this, the analysis she presents is still relevant and import-

6 Beauvoir, The Second Sex, p.572.
7 Beauvoir, The Second Sex, p.571.
Beauvoir’s analysis can be divided into five basic components. Each component shows a peculiar characteristic of women’s relationship with clothing.

**Appropriation of nature**

Making or transforming oneself into a special kind of object requires creativity of some sort. This creation, transforming oneself into an erotic object, would easily find its inspiration from nature, the area of objects, organic or inorganic, beautiful, charming and marvelous. Let us think about Beauvoir’s examples: flowers, jewel, feathers, pearls, brocade, silks, diamonds... These are certainly not found in man’s clothes. Men generally refuse to wear such items and if a man wears them he would probably be accused of being feminine. This can be seen by just observing the differences between man and woman departments of clothes shops, between the variety of woman perfumes and that of man perfumes, between the numbers of accessories designed, advertised, exhibited and sold to women and to men. These items, which took inspiration from nature, which Beauvoir calls the “riches of the world,” are reserved for women but on the condition that “she has accepted her vocation as sex object,” or, in other words, on the condition that she continues to “conserve her femininity.”

**Integration of eroticism into social life**

Women, if they are not prostitutes, are not allowed to display themselves overtly and evidently as erotic objects. Nevertheless, they are still required to maintain their status as objects. So, society by way of its customs maintains an “integration of eroticism” in a “toned-down form.” The most important example Beauvoir gives of women as object and her societal integration is “evening gown” or “toilette.” This dress is generally uncomfortable, shiny, colorful and more exhibitionist than normal dresses; make-up and hair styles happens to be heavier than daily life. That is to say, society, in certain ceremonies or festivals, gives women a chance to show herself off as a highly erotic object. At the same time, for Beauvoir, evening gown has a “social significance” by which we can understand woman’s “attitude to society by the way she dresses.” In these occasions especially, dressing has an additional communicative function. By her dress we can understand whether she is “subject to established order” or she has an attitude of “rejection of conventions by her originality.”

**Play and joy**

As an ongoing activity, Beauvoir claims, dressing up contains a kind of play. Woman is generally unconscious of their being an erotic object, but she is very conscious of the fact that she is creating an image time after time. She perfectly knows the difference between her natural appearance and her adorned image. So at first she

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has to imagine what kind of image she will present to the others. After dressing up and adorned, she feels that “she is like a painting, a statue, like an actor on stage.”\(^{16}\) However, Beauvoir emphasizes that she is not really any one of them, because she is a human being and the reality comes soon after she gets undressed and gets away with all adornments. But next day offers a new opportunity to create a new image, next week of a new evening gown and so on.

In addition, materials are needed for dressing up and adornment. Women must search, find, choose, buy, combine, order and preserve these materials. So shopping becomes an important part of dressing up game. In shopping, there is always an adventure: finding something of good quality with a cheap price or finding out a new useful material would be a victory for her. Additionally, she will always remember the joy accompanying these victories when dressing up and adorning herself.

We can say that all these plays and joys are parts of her vocation. All these dressing up and adorning activity has an aim of achieving and preserving the social position of sex object. However society in many cases does not openly declare this aim to women, but continue to instruct and demand it in an obscure and ideological way. The counterpart of this deeply working patriarchal ideology in the individual consciousness of the woman is “bad faith”. Bad faith is an important concept of Jean-Paul Sartre’s philosophy and explains the psychological mechanism in which people generally escape from their basic ontological condition of being free and stick to the roles they play as if they have not chosen these roles. Sartre’s famous example of waiter has many common points with the Beauvoir’s analysis of dressing up:

> Let us consider this waiter in the café. His movement is quick and forward, a little too precise, a little too rapid. He comes toward the patrons with a step a little too quick. He bends forward a little too eagerly; his voice, his eyes express an interest a little too solicitous for the order of the customer. Finally there he returns, trying to imitate in his walk the inflexible stiffness of some kind of automaton while carrying his tray with the recklessness of a tight-rope-walker by putting it in a perpetually unstable, perpetually broken equilibrium which he perpetually reestablishes by a light movement of the arm and hand. All his behavior seems to us a game.\(^{17}\)

Consider a woman who dresses up and adorn herself and goes outside to show herself in a social gathering. In all this process she performs a sequence of movements and mimics and she regulates her walking, her smile, her posture according to the dress, the make-up, the shoes, the jewelry and the hair she is wearing. So the issue is not only the materials on her body, on the contrary the materials (dress, shoes, make-up, jewelry etc.) gain their full meaning and power by the attitude she exhibits. No one would deny that some women play this role successfully and some others cannot or do not. It can be rightly argued that masculinity is also equated with a

\(^{16}\) Beauvoir, *The Second Sex*, p.575.
certain clothes, style and attitude. However, compared to men, what is demanded from women is much more complex, more expensive, requires much more energy, more investigation, practice and observation. Why women spend so much time on looking fashion magazines and watching other “elegant women” on television? Men generally find this detective-like pursuit of women useless; they find no meaning in such an effort. But being elegant is a comprehensive pursuit; you need to monitor other women, what they are wearing, how they are behaving etc. Let’s return to Sartre’s waiter example:

He applies himself to chaining his movements as if they were mechanisms, the one regulating the other; his gestures and even his voice seem to be mechanisms; he gives himself the quickness and pitiless rapidity of things. He is playing, he is amusing himself. But what is he playing? We need not watch long before we can explain it: he is playing at being a waiter in a café. There is nothing there to surprise us. The game is a kind of marking out and investigation. The child plays with his body in order to explore it, to take inventory of it; the waiter in the café plays with his condition in order to realize it. This obligation is not different from that which is imposed on all tradesmen. Their condition is wholly one of ceremony. The public demands of them that they realize it as a ceremony; there is the dance of the grocer, of the tailor, of the auctioneer, by which they endeavour to persuade their clientele that they are nothing but a grocer, an auctioneer, a tailor. A grocer who dreams is offensive to the buyer, because such a grocer is not wholly a grocer. Society demands that he limit himself to his function as a grocer, just as the soldier at attention makes himself into a soldier-thing with a direct regard which does not see at all, which is no longer meant to see, since it is the rule and not the interest of the moment which determines the point he must fix his eyes on (the sight “fixed at ten paces”). There are indeed many precautions to imprison a man in what he is, as if we lived in perpetual fear that he might escape from it, that he might break away and suddenly elude his condition.\textsuperscript{18}

Just as society demands from a waiter, a tradesman, a grocer, a soldier realization of their role “as a ceremony”, it also demands – if we use Sartre’s phrase above – that ceremony from women in order to limit herself to her function as a woman. Because, it would easily be accepted that elegance and beauty is a ceremony that requires a performance. This is certainly what Beauvoir wants to argue. Beauvoir emphasizes that for all women who agree to realize their vocation as sex object, there is an element of play and joy in this ceremony. If women believe that this is not a role but a natural disposition, then they would be in bad faith; that is, they would be deceiving themselves and refusing their freedom. Many women liking the play and joy in the ceremony of elegance, use that joy to cover up their freedom.

\textbf{Servitude}

When a women dresses well and is called and accepted as elegant, she could get what

\textsuperscript{18} Sartre, \textit{Being and Nothingness: A Phenomenological Essay on Ontology}, p.59.
she is searching for: acceptance, respect, social status, “approbation” and feeling of “success.”

19 Men are not necessarily required to be elegant for acceptance and respect. Many respected men, on the contrary, are known to be disinterested with what they are wearing, how their hair looks like etc. Men, in general, just dress as needed for daily public life; as shortly cut, they seldom comb their hair and only occasionally look at the mirror. On the contrary, women spend money and time on dressing, on beauty products and hair saloons excessively more than men do. Llewellyn Negrin states that most of the creative energies of women are canalized into the field of dressing and adornment:

De Beauvoir also pointed out that elegance was bondage for women in that being well dressed required a great deal of money, time, and care, deflecting their energies away from other more worthy pursuits. While male identity was defined through projects of self-transcendence, for women, their main avenue of self-realization was through the cultivation of their appearance. Unable to exercise their creativity in other ways, women resorted to converting themselves into works of art, becoming self-absorbed in a narcissistic obsession with their appearance. Admired for their looks rather than for their achievements, women became passive objects for the male gaze.

This is the direct result of the social situation of women: society appreciates elegant women in finding a husband, in guarding her marriage, in finding a job, in becoming famous… So elegance is servitude not directly to men, but to society. In the hands of women; money, limited in most cases, is primarily reserved for elegance. But, as it is clear and as Beauvoir strongly emphasizes, women are not obsessed with new clothes and beauty product, on the contrary she is obsessed with respect, approbation, feeling of success etc. which are the results of elegance. Doing make up, styling hair, picking a good dress, forming the body, having skin care etc. every single day is really a heavy “chore.” It becomes a tiresome “routine” in years and, also a fight against passing time or against old age.

The gaze of the other

Dressing is always –except in asylums– for “the gaze of the other.” Beauvoir argues that husbands are not “the other” in the proper sense except that he is a judge in the name of “the eyes of the others.”

20 Social significance of dressing up that we examined so far, makes it impossible for women to dress just for herself. “[E]ven in narcissism,” says Beauvoir, “the gaze of the other is involved.”

As listed below there are three basic components of dressing up for the gaze of the other:

Going-out, receptions, calls

If dressing up is for others and if husband, children and intimate relatives cannot be others in the proper sense; so neighbors, acquaintances from the same economic or social status, as proper others, must be brought together in the same place. In order not to wait the next social ceremony for showing off herself, woman organize some gatherings: receptions, calls, home meetings etc. These are certainly not for men; if husbands are invited in such cases, they protest it; if they had to come, they don't like it and try to be relatively away from the meeting if it is possible. Husbands come together away from women and chat. Men have a lot of things to talk about: politics, sports, business, latest news etc. What are women doing at these receptions? “[T]hese women,” says Beauvoir, “have nothing to say to each other.” So why do they come together? Basically, according to Beauvoir, the main motive is, as we said at the beginning, to show off herself: “The woman parades her new outfit from place to place and invites other women to see her reign over her ‘interior’.”

Painful dependence

There is a problem at the background of woman’s search for respect and success by the way of elegance. Such an “effort” totally puts women into the position of “painful dependence.” Elegance requires, as Beauvoir argues, to be seen and evaluated by others. This means that the value of such women is dependent on the judgment of others. Negrin explains this situation as the following:

The dependence of women on their looks as one of the primary sources of their self esteem left them totally at the mercy of the judgment of others, as de Beauvoir pointed out. Women only “came into being” through the admiring glances of others. Even where women asserted that they dressed for themselves, a consideration of how others saw them was always implied. The woman of fashion thus made herself into a thing in which she observed herself as others saw her. Given the inevitable deterioration of the body over time, the investment by women in their appearance was an extremely tenuous foundation on which to ground their sense of self worth since it was ultimately unsustainable. This accounted for why even extremely attractive women often remained unconvinced of their desirability, for they aimed at a permanent state of perfection that was not capable of realization.

If others praise woman’s elegance, she could feel valuable, affirm herself, justify herself and her existence. But what if they don’t? However, a man would easily disregard or simply does not care about the judgments of others related to his outfit and bodily appearance, because he is quite alien to the situation of being an object in the eyes of others. In patriarchy, men are required to be subjects; they are evaluated according to their activities, profession, creations, real successes, economic or social powers.

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Man’s dependence on others is totally different from the “fashion-conscious” woman’s dependence.  

**Attempt at the absolute, aiming for an in-itself**

Another side of this situation is the impossibility of the goal that woman is undertaking. If someone, for example, starts a business, the conditions of achievement or failure is clearly known from the beginning. However, woman’s endeavor of being elegant has no reasonable target. For example, after a ceremony or a reception there would certainly be negative and positive judgements about a woman’s dress. Or some will like the dress but don’t like the make-up or hair style or vice-versa. If elegance is the only way to be accepted, the women would be hostile to any negative evaluation of “her beauty, her elegance, her taste.” Because that means, for her, negative evaluation of herself, of her being. “Adornment for public entertainment” writes Scholz “is an outward sign of one’s social status or standing; it is also a sign of woman’s own value.” So what is the condition of the situation in which she does not risk her self-esteem, her value? The answer is “an absolute affirmation of her beauty, her elegance, her taste.” She wants to be a goddess. She wants what is not real. Never getting old, never getting dirty, never getting sick, a goddess is not a human being, but an imaginary erotic object. Women, says Beauvoir, “are aiming for an in-itself that is unrealizable.”

**Conclusion**

All these components of Beauvoir’s analysis show us that women need very high level of consciousness in order not to be captured by the cultural strategy inherent in the patriarchal society. It is obvious that women have come a long way: they got rid of corsets, some burned their bras in protests, some refused to be injured by wearing high heels, some are still trying to break the beauty standards which condemn them unhealthy results, unhappiness, low self-esteem etc. But patriarchy is still powerful all over the world and women are still raised under the patriarchal values. Thinking about the five components above can be very helpful in the development of independent women.

It is clear that nature is not a property of certain gender. Man today started to wear some flowered and colorful clothes. All range of genders is changing the stereotypical clothing into a variety of expressions. Eroticism is not something that can be eliminated from society because we know from psychology that human erotic life starts from the moment of birth. But this does not mean that women cannot resist objectification. How? Certainly it is not by totally refusing dressing up, make-up, hair styles and adornment. These are just instruments; their meaning can be changed when the situation of women changes. No women would want to give up the play and joys

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involved in dressing; but only independent women could live these play and joys not in bad faith or not in self-deception, but in freedom and consciousness. Being independent means being out of servitude. Dressing for the gaze of other is inevitable, it is the normal way of being in a society but it can be set free from the narcissistic lies and painful dependence and transformed into self-respect and self-expression. Take, for example, Beauvoir’s own words in an interview about her own dressing attitude: “It's against my principles to spend too much money or attention on clothes... I refuse to spend thousands of francs on an evening dress. If I have to go anywhere that means wearing one—I don’t go.”32 She has an attitude chosen by her, not determined by society.

More realistic women are waking up from the dreams of, what Beauvoir calls, absolute elegance or elegance in-itself. By this way, dressing would be a way of finding oneself, her own style, a unique expression of her unity, character and power. Gibson gives Beauvoir as an example. Besides all the criticisms she presents against bourgeois fashion culture, she herself never gave up to develop her own style. She was an intellectual and a celebrity at the same time.

There is of course a very different kind of becoming and acceptable “antifashion” aesthetic, such as the one Beauvoir herself created and enjoyed, however. All extant photographs show us a woman who throughout her life dressed with care and thought, who created for herself a chic and simple style, braided and arranged her hair most carefully, wore strong, noticeable pieces of jewelry, and was never without bright red lipstick. An Italian blogger, Patrizia Finucci, devoted a post to “Beauvoir style,” requiring a subtle mix of Anne Demeulemeester’s avant-garde designs and Chie Mihara’s innovative accessories.33

Women's way to independence requires solving the codes of society that chain women to the position of inferiority and immaturity. The power of these chains comes from the fact that they are spiritually rooted in women's psyche or soul. Objectification of women's bodies constitutes only one of these chains. As an obstacle on the way of liberation, it must be analyzed, worked on, recreated and also freed from the all patriarchal values. I tried in this paper to present and analyze Beauvoir's contribution on this subject, which is unique in the field of feminist philosophy.

References


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İkinci Cins’te Simone De Beauvoir’ın Giyinme ve Süslenme Üzerine Çözümlemesi

DENİZ SOYSAL

Öz: Bu makalede Beauvoir’ın kadınların giyimi üzerine düşüncesinin beş ögesini sundum ve çözümledim. Beauvoir, çözümlemesinin merkezine evli kadının sosyal yaşamını koymuş ve kadınların giyinip kuşama biçiminin onları cinsel nesneye dönüştüren karmaşık bir sosyal strateji içerdığını iddia etmiştir. İkinci Cins’te sunulduğu şekliyle, Beauvoir’ın giyim ve süslenme konusundaki fikirleri, bu fikirlerin emsalsizliği, derinliği ve özgürleştirici potansiyelini göstermek amacıyla ayrıntılarıyla ele alınmıştır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Beauvoir, giyim, moda, nesneleşme, bağımlılık, feminizm.