

RESEARCH DISSERTATION

**BLACK ERASURE AND CELEBRITY PEDDLING OF WHITENESS: A STUDY OF
SKIN BLEACHING AMONG BLACK WOMEN IN SOUTH AFRICA**

by

MOTSEKI MPHO CYNTHIA

DISSERTATION

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

in

COMMUNICATION STUDIES

in the

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

(School of Languages and Communication Studies)

at the

UNIVERSITY OF LIMPOPO

2019

SUPERVISOR: Prof. T. Oyedemi

DECLARATION
Motseki Mpho Cynthia

I declare that **BLACK ERASURE AND CELEBRITY PEDDLING OF WHITENESS: A STUDY OF SKIN BLEACHING AMONG BLACK WOMEN IN SOUTH AFRICA** is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references and that this work has not been submitted before for any other degree at any other institution.

_____ Signed _____ DATE

DEDICATION

It is a great honour to dedicate this study to my late parents, Masetho and Halekgetheloe Motseki. I am forever grateful for your lessons.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the Department of Media, Information and Communication Studies for giving me the opportunity to do this research. I have nothing but special gratitude for my supervisor, Prof. Oyedemi, for enormous support and encouragement. His guidance and knowledge was my strength that helped me finish my study.

To my family, thank you very much for believing in me. I am truly grateful for the love and support. You are a pillar of my strength and made me achieve more and I am thankful for everything.

ABSTRACT

Skin bleaching has become a growing norm in South Africa among black women. Well-known South African celebrities such as Kelly Khumalo and Khanyi Mbau are associated with lightening their skin. In West Africa, the Cameroonian artist Dencia has developed her own skin lightening product called *Whitenicious* and she confirms that she herself uses the product. In contrast to these celebrities who are encouraging the use of skin lightening products, Lupita Nyong'o the movie star, in her acceptance speech after winning an Oscar embraced her blackness and spoke openly of her own insecurities over her dark skin and how she learned to love her skin. Celebrities carry credibility and prestige, and their use of skin lighteners are perceived as being acceptable. The use of skin lightening products is popularised by some female celebrities on their social media sites, while some music stars produce songs that celebrate fair skin as symbol of beauty, for example, *ngiphete mtwana yellow in Hamba nge vura* song by DJ Citi Lytes and Sjava (I am hanging out with a fair-skinned woman). Using the theories of ideology and society, power and rearticulating post-colonial theory, this study tackles four critical questions: what is the rationale behind black South African women bleaching their skin? Secondly, what intervention is necessary in order to address skin bleaching culture among black women? Lastly, how do celebrities contribute to the ideology of fair skin as epitome of beauty? A non-participant digital ethnography was used to collect data from four female celebrities and one international celebrity, namely Nomasondo Mshoza Mnisi a kwaito singer, Khanyi Mbau a television personality and Kelly Khumalo a pop singer on Instagram and Facebook pages, and Dencia a Cameroonian international pop singer. A standardised open-ended interview was used to interview street vendors who sell skin lightening products in Mankweng a town in Limpopo Province. Focus group discussions were used to collect data; they were divided into three sub groups. The findings revealed that celebrity performances of skin bleaching have a big influence on the perception of fair skin as epitome of beauty among ordinary South Africans.

Keywords: Skin bleaching, skin lightening, mass communication, social media, beauty, celebrity culture, identity, feminine body, South Africa

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION.....	i
DEDICATION.....	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
ABSTRACT.....	iv
LIST OF FIGURES.....	ix

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.2. DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS	2
1.3. BACKGROUND AND MOTIVATION.....	2
1.5. RESEARCH PROBLEM.....	5
1.6. CONTEXT OF RESEARCH STUDY	6
1.7. THEORETICAL CONTEXT	9
1.7.1 Post-coloniality.....	9
1.7.2 Ideology and society	10
1.7.3 Celebrity, social power, culture and society	11
1.8. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY AND THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS.....	12
1.8.1 Research objectives.....	12
1.9. BACKGROUND OF RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	12
1.10. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY.....	13
1.11. STRUCTURE OF THE RESEARCH.....	14

CHAPTER 2: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE OF BLACK SKIN AND THE CULTURAL IDEOLOGY OF WHITENESS (LITERATURE REVIEW)

2.1. INTRODUCTION.....	15
2.2. COLONIAL CONSTRUCTIONS OF BLACKNESS AND CULTURAL IDEOLOGY OF WHITENESS.....	15
2.3. CELEBRITIES AND THE IDEOLOGICAL MARKETING OF WHITENESS.....	24

2.4. CONCLUSION	29
-----------------------	----

**CHAPTER 3: FAIR SKIN AS IDEOLOGY OF BEAUTY AND IMPACT ON SOCIETY
(LITERATURE REVIEW)**

3.1. THE CULTURE OF COLOURISM	30
3.1.1 International literature on colourism	31
3.1.2 Skin bleaching literature in Africa	41
3.1.3 Colour line incidents in post-apartheid South Africa.....	46
3.2 REGULATIONS AND STATE INTERVENTIONS INTO THE CULTURE OF BLEACHING	50
3.2. CONCLUSION	51

CHAPTER 4: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

4.1 POST-COLONIALITY, RACE AND THE BODY	52
4.1.1 Post-coloniality	52
4.1.2 Blackness.....	55
4.1.3 White supremacy	57
4.1.4. Whiteness	59
4.1.4 Post-colonial feminism	61
4.2 THEORY OF POWER AND CELEBRITY CULTURE.....	66
4.3 CONCLUSION	74

CHAPTER 5: METHODOLOGY

5.1 INTRODUCTION.....	75
5.2. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	75
5.2.1 Research design	75
5.2.2. Exploratory research	76
5.2.3. Sampling.....	77
5.2.3.1. <i>Convenience sampling</i>	77
5.2.4. Purposive sampling.....	77
5.3 DATA COLLECTION.....	78

5.3.1 Digital ethnography	78
5.3.2 Interviews	79
5.3.3 Focus group	80
5.3.4 Media content and archive	81
5.4 DATA ANALYSIS	81
5.4.1 Qualitative thematic content analysis	81
5.5 QUALITY CRITERIA	83
5.6 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS	84
5.7. CONCLUSION	85

CHAPTER 6: CELEBRITY CULTURE AND THE PURSUIT OF FAIR SKIN

6.1. INTRODUCTION.....	86
6.2. RESEARCH RESULTS.....	86
6.2.1. Light skin as the epitome of beauty.....	86
6.2.2. Light skin as embodiment of pureness godliness.....	92
6.2.3 Light skin as a choice and solution to skin condition.....	97
6.2.4 Celebrities peddle fair skin	101
7. CONCLUSION	106
8. SUMMARY	107

CHAPTER 7: IMPACT OF BLEACHING AND ‘YELLOW BONE’ CULTURE ON SOCIETY

7.1 INTRODUCTION.....	108
7.1.1 Light skin as beauty aesthetics and denigration of dark skin	108
7.1.2 Light skin as a symbol of prestige	110
7.1.3 Light skin as advantage to attract marriage	113
7.1.4 Poverty as a possible reason for selling and buying illegal skin bleaching products	114
7.1.5. Government intervention to combat the selling of skin bleaching products	117
7.2. CONCLUSION	118

7.3 SUMMARY	119
-------------------	-----

CHAPTER 8: SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

8.1 INTRODUCTION.....	120
8.2. RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS	120
8.2.1. Rationale behind the culture of skin bleaching.....	120
8.2.2. Celebrities peddling fair skin as ideology of beauty	121
8.2.3. Impact of the ideology of bleaching and ‘yellow bone’ culture.....	122
8.3 SUMMARY AND INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS	123
8.4 RECOMMENDATIONS	125
8.5 CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE STUDY	126
8.6 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY	127
8.7 CONCLUDING REMARKS	127
REFERENCES	129
APPENDICES	153
APPENDIX A: CONSENT FORM.....	153
APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW GUIDE	154
APPENDIX C: FOCUS GROUP QUESTION GUIDES.....	155
APPENDIX D: TRANSCRIPTS OF FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS	159

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1: Kelly Khumalo before and after bleaching image.....	09
Figure 2.1: Advertisement for Pears' Soap.....	22
Figure 2.2: Advertisement for Pears' Soap.....	23
Figure 2.3: Different skins bleaching products.....	24
Figure 2.4: Khanyi Mbau's controversial pictures about skin bleaching.....	28
Figure 4.1: Controversial dove advertisement.....	60
Figure 6.1 A screen shot of Mshoza on Drum magazine cover page before and after bleaching her skin.....	86
Figure 6.2.: A screen grab of Mshoza advertising a show based on her surgical body transformation products.....	87
Figure 6.3 Pic mix of Khanyi Mbau before and after skin bleaching.....	90
Figure 6.4. The screen grab of Dencia's interview on Channel 4 News.....	91
Figure 6.5. Screen grab of Khanyi Mbau's interview on <i>Real Talk</i> with Annel.....	95
Figure 6.6 Screen shot of Khanyi Mbau's before and after bleaching pictures on her Instagram page.....	98
Figure 6.7: Khanyi Mbau peddling Gluta Thione skin bleaching products.....	101
Figure 6.8: Dencia peddling <i>Whitenicious</i> skin bleaching products on her Facebook page.....	103

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

“I’m a bleach until Jesus comes” (@kelly_khumalo) on Aug 13, 2015 at 8:30am

1.1. INTRODUCTION

Skin bleaching has become a growing norm in South Africa among black women (Dlova, 2012). A 2012 study indicated that Durban and Johannesburg are the two cities leading by 32.2% of Africans and Indian women who admitted to using skin lightening products (Dlova, 2012). A Well-known South African celebrity Nomasonto Mshoza Mnisi, a South African artist, bleached her skin because she was *‘tired of being ugly’* (DRUM, 17 November 2011). Other celebrities such as Kelly Khumalo, Khanyi Mbau and Surisha Naidoo have also been associated with lightening their skin. In West Africa, the Cameroonian artist Dencia has developed her own skin lightening product called *Whitenicious* and she confirms that she herself uses the product. In contrast to these celebrities who are encouraging the use of skin lightening products, Lupita Nyong'o, the movie star, in her acceptance speech after winning an Oscar embraced her blackness and spoke openly of her own insecurities over her dark skin and how she learned to love her skin (Hunter, 2011). Celebrities carry credibility and prestige, and their use of skin lighteners are perceived as being acceptable, even encouraged (Hill, 2013).

The use of skin lightning products is popularised by some female celebrities in their social media sites, while music stars produce songs that celebrate fair skin as a symbol of beauty, for example, *ngiphete mtwana yellow in Hamba nge vura song by DJ Citi Lytes and Sjava* (I am hanging out with a yellow bone). The aim of this research is to understand the perception of some Africans who believe that proximity to fair skin is an ideal notion of a beautiful body. It also aims to inspire black women to be proud of their blackness, motivate them to be proud of their identity, and contribute to combating the idea of black inferiority and.

1.2. DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS

Blackness: Blackness as used in this study refers to identity and culture of Black African people. Blackness is a state of mind more so of a physical experience; blackness isn't so easily defined by words. What is blackness for one person may not necessarily be that for another. Blay (2009) points out that blackness is a reflection of ancestry, culture, inheritance and identity. Blackness in a context of this research paper is about black people and how they define themselves culturally, and also how their identity is related to their skin colour.

Whiteness: In this study whiteness refers to the traits, culture and identity of people categorised as the white race with white skin. It further refers to the privileges that this race has accrued through colonialism which, as a result, elevates the characteristics of this race as epitome of culture and identity. Specifically, in this study it relates to white skin as epitome of skin beauty. Whiteness is identified as the ways it has systemically embedded itself as the dominant or normative culture of a nation (Hitchcock, 2002; Katz, 1999; Nagel, 1994). In turn, the effects of the normative culture of Whiteness upon persons of Colour is identified, including the manner in which those outside the norm are denied access to multiple career, community, political, legal, and social resources (Sue & Sue, 2008).

Colourism: Colourism is skin colour stratification (Okazawa Rey, Robinson, & Ward, 1987). It is “a form of oppression that is expressed through the differential treatment of individuals and groups based on skin colour. Typically, favouritism is demonstrated toward those of lighter complexions while those of darker complexions experience rejection and mistreatment” (Jackson-Lowman, 2013:127).

Peddling: Promoting something (an idea or view) persistently or widely.

1.3. BACKGROUND AND MOTIVATION

The media play a major role in feeding the society the ideology of beauty as light skin (Blay, 2011). The concept of ‘yellow bone’ as propagated by the media through music videos and hip hop songs such as *Pearl Thusi by MTEE* has captured the

attention of the country South Africa. This publicity of the ideology of fair skin as beauty is dominating the perception of what beauty is or should look like, and in the process it is disadvantaging other self-representations in society (Hunter, 2011).

The prestige associated with fair skin puts some dark-skinned women under pressure of using skin lightening products to achieve the desired complexion in order to look attractive to the opposite sex (Hunter, 2011). However, with the inflow of beauty products and skin lightening products that are not regulated, women who use such products expose themselves to a huge risk of harmful products. Structurally and historically, South Africa is the victim of colonialism, apartheid and racism, which left the country and its people with the challenge of confronting colonialism legacies such as fair skin as notion of beauty and black skin as dirt and immoral (Hunter, 2011). Consequently, the concept 'yellow bone' is the vivid internalisation of colonialism, racism and apartheid. Individually one can take a decision to apply skin lightening products, while radicals can go to the extent of naming the notion 'yellow bone is beautiful' as a fallacy rooted in continuing legacies of colonialism, ridiculing and attacking blackness.

Although skin bleaching is one of the most prevalent and dangerous methods of body alteration used worldwide (Mahè et al., 2003), very few people know what it entails and the length to which some will go to attain the 'standard' of beauty imposed by society. Skin bleaching is the application of topical creams, gels, soaps, and household products (Mahè et al., 2003) to lighten the skin. These products usually contain chemicals such as hydroquinone, mercurial, corticosteroids, and other acidic agents, namely salicylic acid, sodium hypochlorite and detergents (Dadzie & Petit, 2009). The agents in these products can put users at great risk of numerous health issues. For instance, hydroquinone is usually used in industrial chemical products; however, some dark-skinned people use this product because it is effective in inhibiting the production of melanin (Dadzie & Petit, 2009).

The pursuit of fair skin as beauty has been a priority during colonialism and the apartheid era, since blackness then was associated with dirt, immorality and being uncivilised (Blay, 2011). Colonial advertising media propagated the idea of black dirt in the marketing of products, for example the marketing of Pear soap during the

colonial period (see Figure 2.1). Pear soap was a cheap detergent with the motive that black people can afford it and be able to remove or clean their blackness, which was regarded as dirty and unattractive (Blay, 2011). Moreover, the study by Hunter (2011) argues that black women who are lighter in skin colour have the privileges of marriage, job opportunities over dark-skinned women. These privileges of light skin created a problem of colourism among black ethnic groups. Colourism is skin colour stratification (Okazawa Rey, Robinson, & Ward, 1987). It is “a form of oppression that is expressed through the differential treatment of individuals and groups based on skin colour. Typically, favouritism is demonstrated toward those of lighter complexions, while those of darker complexions experience rejection and mistreatment” (Lowman, 2013: 5).

1.4 RELEVANCE OF THE STUDY

Despite the severity of the problem of skin bleaching, it has not received much attention in the social sciences literature. Much of the current literature on skin lightening deals with the health complications from using the products. Studying the skin bleaching phenomenon in South Africa is reflective of the field of communication and media; it provides an opportunity for conceptualising the field of communication as the broad field that it is, encompassing other less promoted areas such as civic communication and gender, health, and media literacy. Although the present study examined the South African experience, issues related to skin bleaching are pertinent to other people of colour all over the world.

Studying the skin-bleaching phenomenon provides a window of opportunity for understanding the motivations behind this pervasive problem. It allows for hearing the voices of bleachers and to glean insight into the phenomenon. By learning more about the skin bleachers and their multiple realities, communication and media practitioners will be able to systematically incorporate health literacy concepts and communication and gender education learning activities to address the skin bleaching phenomenon. The need for this research is particularly great as multiple national-level initiatives to address the problem have been met with less than favourable results. There are global lessons to be learned from the South African experience. Conceptual frameworks for understanding this research are post colonialism and power theory. Post colonialism offers literary critique of the many consequences of colonialism, particularly affecting the cultures and life of ex-

colonies (Ashcroft, Griffith & Tiffin, 2004). Essentially, in conducting this research, the various influences of colonialism that have persisted throughout the South African's culture, and their role in influencing the decision to bleach one's skin, were considered to be particularly relevant and important. This framework is relevant as it also supports a purposeful and descriptive analysis of cultural values and practices that may influence the practice of skin bleaching.

The study is significant in various ways as it has implications related to theory, practice and policy. On a theoretical basis, the study takes a historical look at the context of the participants' lives and the influences of an ex-colony's culture (to include popular culture and media) as influential driving forces of learning in the skin-bleaching phenomenon. Recognising the compelling influence of popular culture and the media as a source of communication education is important. Ashcroft, Griffith & Tiffin (2004) highlight the fact that popular culture has an important role to play in adult education as a vehicle of critical media literacy. The study of the influential media and popular culture in the skin-bleaching phenomenon is practically significant in that it highlights the need for non-traditional kinds of literacies, critical media literacy and health literacy. This study's implications for policy relate to the matter of civic communication. The burdening of the health system concerns the government on two levels. There is social concern for the major favouritism on 'yellow bone' culture as well as a fiscal concern related to the problem of skin bleaching. This study has implications for governing policy related to the problem. By exploring the psychology behind the practice of skin bleaching in South Africa and examining the role of popular culture and the media in the phenomenon, health and other government officials may negotiate their role in handling this dangerous trend. This study may supply alternative approaches in dealing with the problems of skin-bleaching phenomenon in relation to governmental policy, in terms of its administration and execution. It also may prove instructive in handling other issues of social concern.

1.5. RESEARCH PROBLEM

Skin bleaching is a rapidly growing trend in South Africa today and it is propagated by some celebrities. The culture of skin bleaching is a problem because it raises concern about why fair skin is seen as epitome of beauty. Skin tone is a multifaceted phenomenon that has vast social meaning. The colour of the skin has opened doors

for some and has closed doors for others and it has created social hierarchies whereby a group of the same skin colour were afforded a better lifestyle than the rest. Therefore the values attached to various complexions are important to understanding human development. This has been linked with the Americanised term 'colourism' which is the discrimination on the basis of lightness or darkness of a person's skin colour mostly within the same race (Okazawa, Rey, Robinson, & Ward, 1987). Colourism is therefore an important component of how individuals perceive value and what is more important, in this regard lighter being seen as better and has more value than its counterpart, a darker or dark complexion which is devalued and negatively branded. Skin tone preferences can also contribute to risk factors, particularly for people of colour. For instance if lighter skin is valued in communities, marginalising the dark complexion individuals, this group might want to bleach their skin, which might pose a fatal threat to their health. It is critical to broadly engage the social-cultural rationale of this problem and engage possible ways of addressing it. Although there are studies on the culture of skin bleaching in South Africa, none of the studies conducted in the country on skin bleaching, to the best of my knowledge, took the perspective of celebrity culture and how social media platforms are used to propagate the culture of skin bleaching and the ideology of fair skin as epitome of beauty.

1.6. CONTEXT OF RESEARCH STUDY

South Africa has a history of colonialism and apartheid, which affected the country and its people and left them with cultural and physical wounds. Colonialism and apartheid have a huge influence on the idea of skin bleaching among black women in South Africa; however, the ideology of skin bleaching cannot solely be attributed to these two challenging eras. Studies confirm that apartheid and colonialism contributed immensely to black South Africans' self-hate and low self-esteem, which might be a reason why some black South African women bleach their skin (Charles, 2003; Blay 2007; 20011; Thomas,2008; de Souza, 2008; Glenn, 2008; Mire, 2001; Wallace, 2009). Colonialism and apartheid left black South Africans with the mark of inadequacies, thus leading to some black people, especially some black women, bleaching their skin and having the preference of Eurocentric beauty and light skin tone (Charles, 2003). During colonisation the oppressors used the method of

hierarchy to create dominance. They made it clear that the oppressed was subservient and the oppressor was dominant by reinforcing the ideology of white supremacy. The oppressors maintained domination and unequal allocation of resources, and the black 'body' was ridiculed and portrayed as unattractive and backward in comparison with the white body, which was portrayed as beautiful and virtuous (Mire, 2001). Beyond the colonial construction of black bodies, black celebrities are playing a huge role in modelling the exemplars of the black body.

Celebrities are popular people in the society and have a huge influence on ordinary people's lives. Women often have idols or role models whom they adore from a very young age, and often model their behaviours and lifestyle towards their celebrity idols (Baron, 2005). Celebrity culture is a modern phenomenon that emerged as urbanisation and the rapid development of consumer culture. It was greatly shaped by new technologies that make possible the mechanical reproduction of images and its quick dissemination of information through mass media (Gamson, 1999). The media are bombarding people with songs and ideal images of celebrities which promote Eurocentric ideologies of beautiful skin tone, because young women spend most of their time consuming media content either on traditional media or social media platforms. Celebrity culture nurture and shape people's desires because celebrities serve as models, charity spokespersons, and heroes in contemporary society which consequently gives them the advantage to influence public opinion (Gamson, 1999).

In South Africa today the notion of what is culturally beautiful has been influenced by celebrities (Mire, 2005). The propagation of fair skin as epitome of beauty by celebrities on Facebook, Instagram and hip-hop songs is affecting self-esteem of dark-skinned women negatively and even disadvantage their self-representation. The emergence of skin bleaching culture by South African celebrities has changed the construction of black beauty (see Figure 2). Celebrities such as Khanyi Mbau, Mshoza Maswanganyi and Kelly Khumalo have bleached their skin and erased their black skin tone and transformed to a lighter skin. Hip-hop lyrics such as the one sung by *MTEE and Citi Lites* in their album called *Hamba nge vhura* propagate the ideology that light skin is beautiful and attractive. *They sing about a fair-skinned*

celebrity by the name Pearl Thusi. The lyrics read: The beauty, the booty, the boobies, she is Zulu and yellow and passenger seat occupied, I am having a yellow bone.

This song, and others like it, celebrate and promote light skin as proximity to 'whiteness', as something that is virtuous and prestigious.

The determinants of female attractiveness seem to be based on physical characteristics such as weight, skin colour, breast size and facial symmetry (Voracek and Fisher, 2005). The notion of beauty and light skin tone has always had an effect on black women. Historically it is believed that light-skinned women are beautiful and thus have advantage in terms of social mobility and professional arena (Wolf, 1991). These ideas about physical beauty are likely to permeate some societies. However, more pressure seems to be put on women to be attractive than men. This is because women are judged more on their looks than on any other personal aspects or qualities (Baron, 2005). Women compare themselves in relation to others and as such when the society believes that fair skin is beautiful and attractive, that belief affects those women who are dark-skinned. When comparing themselves in this manner consequently their self-esteem will be affected negatively. The propagation of the light skin tone is the consequence of skin bleaching and the use of whitening creams by some black women in South Africa.

When the society aspires and propagates proximity to whiteness a certain kind of identity is being created and promoted in today's generation. Skin colour is indeed a marker of race and identity (Hunter, 2011). The ideology of fair skin as epitome of beauty is rather popular in today society, and the way dark-skinned women are affected by it and its connotations can lead to a shift, which is the idea of accommodating the difference in class and ethnicity (Jones, 2004). The shifting can be done by trying to fit in the cycle of light skin through skin bleaching in order to look like them and be accepted by the society as beautiful and attractive. This can subject to 'othering' and social control by media images and celebrity songs. Figure 1.1 shows the picture of Kelly Khumalo, a pop singer who bleached her skin to look beautiful and increase her self-esteem.

Figure 1.1: Images of Kelly Khumalo before and after bleaching



Source (Drum, July 17, 2014)

1.7. THEORETICAL CONTEXT

The theoretical context of the study is anchored on three theoretical approaches, namely post-coloniality, theory of power and ideology and society. These are fully discussed in chapter four.

1.7.1 Post-coloniality

Post-colonial theories are a series of theories that focuses on what happened after colonialism; however, in this study the focus was on the work of Frantz Fanon and his contributions to post-colonialism. The notion of the post-colony refers to societies which have emerged from the experience of colonisation and the violence which the colonial relationship between the coloniser and the colonised created. Mbembe explains that the “post-colony is a specific system of signs, a particular way of fabricating representations or re-forming stereotypes” (1992: 3). Frantz Fanon in his book; *Black Skin, White Mask*, focused on the psychology of racism and dehumanisation of black people during colonialism.

Fanon states that skin colour is a criterion in which people are assessed by regardless of their social or educational attainments, thus colonisers had

misanthropy for black skin and consequently denigrate blackness (Fanon, 1952). The colonisers because of the power they had over black people, injected self-hate to black people by reinforcing the ideology of white skin as virtuous, glorified, attractive, beautiful and intelligent while black skin was ridiculed. He further argues that black people tend to question their own identity and even ask themselves who they are. The colonisers did not recognise black people as human beings; they made them believe negative stereotypes which were associated with the black body. Further, they defined what a human being should look like, and even defined beauty as fair skin tone, because the black body was regarded as dirty and ugly. Consequently, that made some black people to aspire for white or light skin colour because it is 'better' and 'beautiful', while blackness was associated with being uncivilised and backward (Fanon, 1952).

The work of Fanon relates to this study because even today some black women are still affected by the legacies of colonialism and racism. The society and the media through celebrity culture still propagate white supremacy ideals and define a beautiful black girl as a 'yellow bone'. These stereotypes are the legacies of colonialism and apartheid. The work of Fanon will assist in critically understanding the motive behind black women lightening their skin even beyond the colonial and apartheid era.

1.7.2 Ideology and society

Ideology is a complex concept which many scholars do not agree on a uniform definition. This study employs the definitions of Louis Althusser and Antonio Gramsci to address the theory of ideology and society. Ideology is defined as the need of those who have power to dominate and control the minds of the powerless. Moreover, "Ideology refers to the system of ideas and representations which dominate the mind of a man or a social group" (Althusser, 1970: 70). Society is the aggregate of people living together in a more or less ordered community. In a society a group of people share norms and beliefs. Ideologies control how people think and react to situations, because they are instilled in people's minds by those who are powerful and make the powerless to be subjects of their dominant ideologies. Black

people were made to believe the ideology that blackness is dirty, immoral, backward and not beautiful by the colonisers and the apartheid regime. This ideology is clear misanthropy of black people. Black people had to live with this ideology which represented the imaginary relationships of themselves as individuals to their real conditions of existence (Gramsci, 1969).

The ideology that whiteness is virtuous and proximity to whiteness is beautiful has created a mind-set in some black people's society that light-skinned women should be praised as more beautiful than dark-skinned women. The work of Gramsci will assist in understanding how white supremacy ideology contributes to some black women bleaching their skin.

1.7.3 Celebrity, social power, culture and society

Celebrities are people that have fame and are well known. Some celebrities are propagating the preference to fair skin tone in their social media sites, music videos and their songs. Celebrities are quite influential because they have many followers on social media. They have the social power as well, because they are opinion leaders and often people, especially young females, model and imitate their behaviours because celebrities are their idols (Gamson, 1999). Manuel Castells' theory of power will be used in this study to interrogate the power celebrities have in the society, and how this power affects black people's culture and identity.

Castells (2011) notes that power has four different forms in the technological conditions: networking power, network power, networked power and network making power. However, for the scope of this study, the focus will be only on the networked power. Networked Power is the power of social actors over other social actors in the network and the forms and processes of networked power are specific to each network (Castells, 2011).

Contextualising the essence of the networked power to this study it means that celebrities as social actors have power over ordinary people, who follow them on their Facebook, or Instagram pages. The work of Manuel Castell will be used to understand how power dynamics work in social media, and gain a critical

understanding of how celebrities perpetuate colourism within black communities through the use of network power.

Colourism is a persistent problem for people of colour. Colourism, or skin colour stratification, is a process that privileges light-skinned people of colour over dark people in areas such as income, education, housing, and the marriage market. Colourism is directly related to the larger system of racism in South Africa and around the world. The colour complex is also exported around the globe, in part through US media images, and helps to sustain the multibillion-dollar skin bleaching and cosmetic surgery industries (Hunter, 2007:237).

1.8. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY AND THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The purpose of this study was to investigate the culture of skin bleaching and the pursuit of light skin tone among black women in South Africa, and why proximity to fair skin is regarded as a marker of beautiful skin. Further, the study aimed to investigate the impact of colourism and skin bleaching in society among black women. The ideological marketing of fair skin by celebrities such as Khanyi Mbau, Kelly Khumalo, Mshoza Maswanganyi, MTEE and Citi lytes in their social media platforms and songs perpetuates the idea that fair skin is an epitome of beauty; it thus erases the beauty of the dark skin.

1.8.1 Research objectives

- To analyse the rationale behind the culture of skin as epitome of bleaching among black women.
- To explore how celebrities propagate the marketing of fair skin as ideology of beauty.
- To study the impact of the ideology of fair skin as beauty among black women, especially the culture of 'yellow bone'.

1.9. BACKGROUND OF RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

To address the purpose and objectives of this study, the qualitative research approach was used because it offers strength in understanding in-depth the behaviours, opinion and motivations behind the peddling of fair skin by some celebrities. A qualitative methodology has a high possibility of yielding in-depth

information which helps achieve the aim and objectives of a study. In this way, to achieve the objectives of this study, interviews and focus groups were used as qualitative instruments and data was interpreted qualitatively. All data collection instruments used managed to cover the aim and all the objectives of this study. The study focused on Facebook and Instagram to explore the aim of the research and answer the research questions. The skin bleaching and 'yellow bone' culture on the Facebook and Instagram accounts of the four celebrities mentioned previously are the focus of the present study, the aim being to understand the rationale of their actions in respect of their belief that fair skin is more attractive and superior. A qualitative methodology provided a better approach to solving the problem of the study and to achieving the general aim of the study. A methodology chapter addresses the research method used in this study in detail.

1.10. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The study assists readers to understand why some black South African women use skin bleaching products or skin lightening products. It also helps to observe this ideological marketing of fair skin and their origins, and also the effect it has on dark-skinned South African women that use them or intend to use them (Du Plooy *et al*, 2014). Lastly, it assists in breaking the stereotypes attached to the notion of beauty as equal to fair skin as set by some celebrities in their songs and social media, and also raises awareness among black women to not internalise black inferiority and embrace their own black skin colour. The research discovered the factors that influence the adoption of skin bleaching culture amongst black South African women.

1.11. STRUCTURE OF THE RESEARCH

Chapter 1: This chapter provides the background to the study by defining the concepts used in it, and outlines the motivation behind the study and the relevance of this study to the communication discipline and the South African nation. The research problem is clearly stated and the research context is provided. Moreover, the theories used in this study and the methodology employed are highlighted in this chapter. Lastly, the chapter addresses the purpose of the study and its significance.

Chapter 2: This is the first chapter of the literature review. It covers the historical perspective of the black skin and the cultural ideology of whiteness

CHAPTER 3: This is the second chapter of the literature review, covering fair skin as ideology of beauty and its impact on society.

CHAPTER 4: The chapter addresses theoretical framework of the study. It contextualises critical theories to the skin bleaching phenomenon.

CHAPTER 5: The chapter covers the methodological approach used in the collection and analysis of data to address the research question.

CHAPTER 6: This is the first chapter on data presentation and findings. It presents data and the findings on celebrity culture and the pursuit of fair skin.

CHAPTER 7: This is the second chapter on data presentation and findings. It presents data and the findings on the impact of bleaching and 'yellow bone' culture on society.

CHAPTER 8: This chapter summarises the entire study and provides recommendations, and concludes the study.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE OF BLACK SKIN AND THE CULTURAL IDEOLOGY OF WHITENESS (LITERATURE REVIEW)

2.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter reviews the literature on relevant themes and topics for this study. Published works, research articles and public information will be reviewed on historical perspectives of black skin, the cultural ideology of whiteness, celebrities and the ideological marketing of whiteness.

2.2. COLONIAL CONSTRUCTIONS OF BLACKNESS AND CULTURAL IDEOLOGY OF WHITENESS

The black body was ridiculed, denigrated and disgraced during the colonial and apartheid eras. For example, black people were not allowed to hold high positions because they were seen as less intelligent and uncivilised. The Ideal that proximity to fair skin is beautiful and better than the dark skin was propagated during the time of colonialism. During the period of slavery in the US, light-skinned slaves worked next to their slave masters in the kitchen and dark-skinned slaves worked in the fields far away from the slave master (Charles, 2003). Black people who had light skin tone were treated better than those who had dark skin and this preference by the slave masters created colourism among black people (Hunter, 2007). As has been noted earlier, colourism is “the process of discrimination that privileges light skin people of colour over their dark skin counterparts. Colourism is concerned with actual skin tone, as opposed to racial and ethnic identity” (Hunter, 2007:327). Colourism is related to race, but it is different in that racism discriminates based on race, while colourism discriminates based on complexion.

The end of colonialism did not change how black and white people were perceived in the country, but the institutionalisation of white supremacy was introduced in 1948 with the establishment of the apartheid state, where segregation was reinforced. During apartheid era the regime passed new laws which established racial separation which further oppressed black people (Clark & Worger, 2011; Shefer, 2010). During this era white people had many privileges followed by coloured

people, who had fewer privileges than black people. This situation implies that the closer to whiteness, the better one's privileges and economic chances in the country. Blackness became a disadvantage to black people, and proximity to whiteness became aspirational to black people (Hunter, 2011). This created a culture of 'passing' for whiteness or proximity to it, where fairer 'coloured' people tried to pass for white and fairer black people for coloured, even to the extent of changing their black name to Afrikaans or English names (de Souza, 2008). Studies confirm that apartheid and colonialism contributed immensely to black South Africans' self-hate and low self-esteem, which might be a reason why some black South African women bleach their skin (Charles, 2003; Blay 2007; 2011; Thomas, 2008; de Souza, 2008; Glenn, 2008; Mire, 2001; Wallace, 2009).

Hunter (2011) studied skin bleaching and cosmetic surgery in African countries such as Ghana, Kenya, Tanzania, Senegal, Mali, South Africa, Nigeria and globally. The study examined the beauty discourse, public health discourse and cosmetic surgery discourse. The study was based on previous literature on similar topics. Hunter (2011) argues that skin bleaching and cosmetic surgery are brought about by the emergence of new technologies. The main focus of the study is based on celebrity endorsement of skin lightening products that have the effect on the public believing that the product is effective. It is further stated that when celebrities endorse skin lightening products they suggest that their beauty is attainable. Moreover, in conclusion Hunter (2011) holds that skin bleaching and cosmetic surgery is the act of colonising African minds and perpetuating the idea that natural black beauty is not attractive and that whiteness is superior to blackness. The work of Hunter (2011) relates to this study because they both focus on how celebrities market the skin bleaching culture. However, the present study expands on Hunter's (2001) by exploring the use of social media sites in peddling skin bleaching by the celebrities. This study is very specific to Facebook and Instagram, while Hunter's (2011) focused broadly on the emergency of new technologies.

Dlova, Hamed, Tsoka-Gwegweni, Grobler, and Hift, (2014) studied women's perceptions of the benefits and risks of skin-lightening creams in South African communities through a cross-sectional survey of 579 African and Indian women aged 18–70 years in two large public hospitals in Durban. Their findings show that out of the 292 Africans and 287 Indians included in the survey sample, 32.3% had used skin-lightening products (60% of Africans and 40% of Indians). The study

revealed that black women who use skin lightening products confirmed that they use those products because models and celebrities use them, and that the notion of beauty in advertisements is defined as being light not black. Moreover, the women perceived white skin tone as association of class and prestige. Exposure to media portrayals of ideal beauty by models and celebrities influences their understanding of beauty; consequently, black women have the desire to attain such skin in order to look beautiful regardless of the risk associated with skin lightening.

The study by Charles (2003) looked at body image disturbance among Jamaicans, where a group of 80 skin bleaching participants were sampled in comparison to 80 non-skin bleaching participants. A questionnaire was used and the findings were that there was no significant difference between the two sampled groups in terms of body image disturbance. However, the skin bleaching group used skin lightening products to attract partners, to market the skin bleaching products and to look attractive and beautiful. Jamaica was colonised like many other countries such as South Africa. Some Jamaicans believe that the black skin is not beautiful and therefore bleached their skin to gain social advantage in society because, in their mind, the African physicality was 'inferior' and denigrated, but the British physicality was 'superior' and elevated (Hunter, 2007). In his study investigating motivations for women's skin bleaching in Tanzania, de Souza (2008) supports the findings that black women bleach their skin to remove pimples, rashes and skin diseases, while others do it to attain soft skin, be white and be beautiful, and lastly be able to attract partners and impress their peers,

A qualitative interview was conducted with 42 women living in Tanzania by Lewis Robkin, Gaska and Njoki (2011). The support for skin bleaching is linked to self-objectification, colonialism, and westernisation. This study relates to the work of Charles (2003) and de Souza (2008) in the sense that both South Africa and Jamaica were under the control of the colonisers for many years, and thus one can agree that both countries are faced with colonial legacies such as black inferiority, self-hate and ideology of white supremacy. All these negative elements need to be confronted ultimately.

Wallace (2009) studied skin bleaching and skin lightening behaviour among African descendants in Jamaica. The findings showed that Jamaicans bleach their skin regardless of the health issues that are associated with skin bleaching. Moreover,

the reasons for African people wanting to bleach is the stereotype associated with the black body being inferior and ugly, while whiteness is perceived as being beautiful. Other scholars agree that black people bleach their skin because historically the black body was associated with dirt, ugliness, and was dehumanised (Mire, 2001 and Glenn, 2008). Some black people tend to have body dysmorphic because they are not happy with their black skin tone. The white body is universalised and epitomised as a true notion of a beautiful feminine body.

Blay (2011) notes that skin bleaching is the marketing and selling of white ideal. Furthermore, she states that the practice of skin bleaching is rooted in colonialism, and black people buy the white ideal because they were made to believe that their skin colour is not beautiful, and they still believe that ideal because the legacies of colonialism still live within black Africans' descendants (Blay, 2011).

Marketing and selling the idea of skin bleaching is not solely the result of colonialism, but also the opportunity for social privileges as a strategy for survival. Some women bleach their skin to get a high-paying job and a rich spouse because of their skin colour, which is considered more beautiful (Blay, 2011). The rapid growth of skin bleaching among black people, especially black women in Africa inspires interest in scholars to find out the reason behind skin bleaching culture. Buying racial capital: skin bleaching and cosmetic surgery is a study done in Africa (Hunter, 2011). The study focused on how African women buy cosmetic products to augment their body and enhance their beauty. It is argued that cosmetic surgery and skin bleaching are growing trends in contemporary society, thus cosmetic industries are making huge profits from the practice of skin bleaching and cosmetic surgery. Equally, popular culture is another aspect that plays a role in propagating skin lightening because media images of advertisements of beauty products portray beauty as light skin, which influences media consumers to aspire to the notion of fair skin is better.

The advertisements of skin bleaching products have misleading messages; some products are said to remove dark spots, while in reality they lighten the skin. Because of this miscommunication some customers fall prey. Furthermore, the dangers of skin bleaching products are not communicated on the advertisements to give users a clear message about what the advertised product does exactly (Hunter,

2011). Additionally, celebrity endorsements in marketing skin bleaching products mislead consumers because they have the assumption that the celebrity endorsing a particular product is using that product in reality.

Blay (2011) in her study, put forward that skin bleaching and global white supremacy outlines the symbolic significance of whiteness, particularly among African people and examining the history of global white supremacy ideologically and politically and investigates the historical and contemporary skin bleaching phenomenon. The findings report that skin colour communicates one's position within a dominant power structure. Furthermore, skin bleaching becomes the logic method to approximate white ideal to those who were enslaved, colonised and dominated. Blay (2011) defines white supremacy as:

A historically-based, institutionally perpetuated system of exploitation and oppression of continents, nations, and peoples of colour by white peoples and nations of the European continent for the purpose of maintaining and defending a system of wealth, power, and privilege (2011:38).

In South Africa, white supremacy is the ideology that is dominant and it was perpetuated and introduced during the colonial and apartheid eras, and left the country and its people with internalised legacies of these two eras. This study acknowledges the denigration and ridiculing of the black skin as a history that Fanon (1952) argues that has a psychological effect on black body to the extent that a black person may live aspiring to be white. The perspective that light skin is more beautiful and better than dark skin tone is epitomised in black communities in South Africa. 'Yellow bone' is a term that is clichéd in contemporary society to define a beautiful light skin person. The stereotypic essence of this word lies in the notion that light persons are beautiful than dark skinned-people; and the word also carries social status or prestige

The argument and reinforcement made by Asakitikpi (2016) is that his study agrees with all the scholars who provided the literature on skin bleaching and self-hate as consequences of colonialism. However, he reinforces that adding to the colonial history there is another aspect of development crisis in Africa. Asakitikpi (2016)

posits that skin bleaching is a metaphor of interrogating development crisis in black Africa. He maintains that African leaders are not doing enough to combat skin bleaching products imported into Africa, and argues that regardless of the regulations in place, the African continent is leading in high numbers of skin bleachers. The main idea of his study is that bleachers use skin lightening products to get benefits that white or lighter people get such as a rich spouse, privileges at schools, hospitals and job opportunities (Asakitikpi, 2016).. This study questions the intervention made by the government to prevent skin bleaching culture. The main argument is that some African leaders allow Western leaders to dispose toxic waste in Africa and which some of that waste include unregulated harmful skin bleaching products. The destructive nature of policies adopted by some African leaders, which increase the widespread of poverty on the continent, compels people to take various actions including bleaching their skin in the bid for survival (Thomas, 2008).

Charles (2011) studied the derogatory representations of skin bleaching products sold in New York. Forty-five skin bleaching content images were examined to find out if they were derogatory or not and a t-test was used to examine which images were derogatory and which were non-derogatory between general American stores and African beauty supply stores. The findings revealed that a large number of images were derogatory images and devalued the black skin. The contents of the images suggested that the product would make the skin beautiful, light and young. The content suggested further that lightening the black physicality is acceptable socially and because white skin is superior and beautiful, while black skin is inferior and unattractive (Glenn, 2008). The work of Charles (2011) relates to this study when it articulates the ideology of black inferiority; however, the difference is the geography. It was studied in another country, while this study focuses on South Africa. Also, the images were only texts studied, while this study analyses all types of texts on Facebook and Instagram of the three female celebrities (pictures, videos, comments, audios etc.).

Skin bleaching practice is a billion-dollar business that is making a lot of money for international marketers. Skin bleaching or skin lightening products are made by international cosmetics companies and these sell safe products to Europe and Asia, but the toxic harmful products are sold to countries such as South Africa, Jamaica, Tanzania, Nigeria, Ghana and other developing countries (Charles, 2014). The

concept of marketing skin bleaching or skin lightening products is not a new thing, but it has been taking place since the era of colonialism and apartheid. During colonialism it was said that the black body was associated with dirt, immorality, ugliness and denigration, and therefore the colonial masters advertised cosmetic products which were targeted to black for these to remove their black skin colour which was seen as dirt (Hunter, 2011, Blay, 2011).

The Pears' Soap was a cheap soap to price of bread which was advertised with the motive of erasing the black skin; clearly propagating white skin colour which was a universal epitome of beauty (Blay, 2011). The Europeans sold Pears' Soap as a means to profit, sale and trade from black people covertly, while overtly they were claiming to be 'civilising' and 'cleaning' the dirt of blackness (Blay, 2011). The advertisement of Pears' Soap as a means of civilisation was showing how it did the magic of keeping the European body pure and therefore it would wash the black skin white (Blay, 2011). The advertisement shows a black child before and after bathing with Pears' Soap. On the left it is before bathing with Pears Soap, a white boy wearing an apron, which is used to prevent contact with dirt, is standing next to the black boy who is bathing with the 'magical' soap. On the right is the picture of the white boy showing the black boy his reflection in a mirror after taking a bath with Pears' Soap, and by the look on the face of the black boy he is overwhelmed with joy of looking white even though his face is still black? (See Figure 2.1. below)

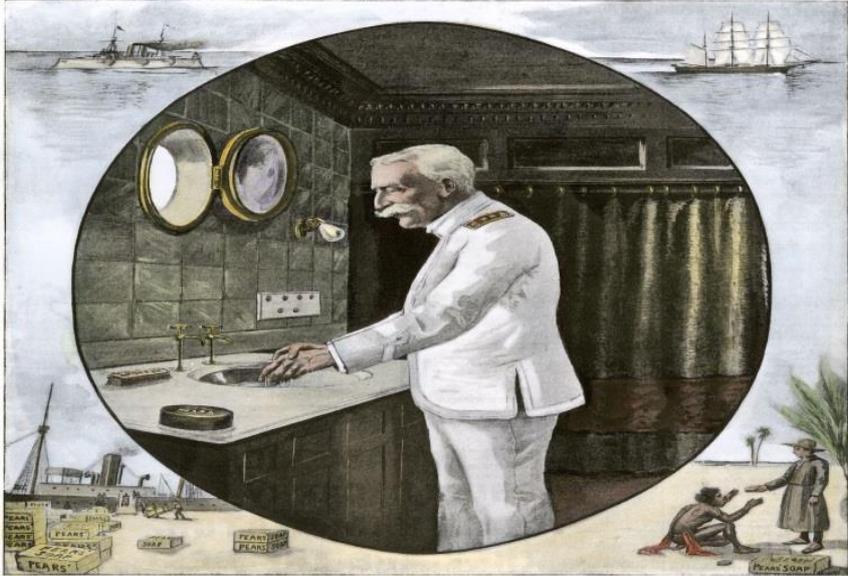
Figure 2.1: Advertisement for Pears' Soap, 1875



Source: *Beg to Differ*

This advert is a true denigration of the black skin. The advert is selling the idea that black skin is dirty and the solution is to erase this skin colour and make it white. The perception the advert is propagating is that black people aspire to be white, a colour associated with purity and cleanliness. The caption of the picture reads: *I have found Pears' Soap matchless for the hands and complexion.* Another Pears' Soap advertisement shows a white man wearing a white suit which presumably means pure, standing next to a toilet basin and washing his hands with Pears' Soap. The essence of the message is to remove the dirt that is on the white man's hands to keep him pure. However, on the bottom right of the page the picture shows a black man who is about to receive his Pears Soap to clean his dirt. The man is depicted looking appreciatively receiving the soap while kneeling down in front of the colonial figure, showing submission to the master. The man is using both hands to receive the soap, which according to the African culture means to be thankful. The caption of the picture reads: *The first step towards lightening The White Man's Burden is through teaching the virtues of cleanliness. Pears' Soap is a potent factor in brightening the dark corners of the earth as civilisation advances, while amongst the cultured of all nations it holds the highest place -- it is the ideal toilet soap* (See Figure 2.2 below)

Figure 2.2: Advertisement of Pears' Soap 1875



The first step towards lightening
The White Man's Burden
is through teaching the virtues of cleanliness.

Pears' Soap

is a potent factor in brightening the dark corners of the earth as civilization advances, while amongst the cultured of all nations it holds the highest place—it is the ideal toilet soap.

Source: Kaufmann Mercantile

The marketing of skin lightening or skin bleaching products is increasingly growing even in the post-colonial era. The argument is that regardless of the physical absence of the colonisers, South Africa is left with colonial legacies which make some black women to bleach their skin because light skin has privileges even in ethnic aesthetics where light-skinned black women have a potential to be married to a rich spouse and have well-paying jobs than dark-skinned women (Hunter, 2011). Skin bleaching and skin lightening products are banned in South Africa by the government, however the products are accessible to people and some of the products are sold by street vendors in the country. Street vendors who sell the products sell them at a very low price without any medical supervision or any cosmetics regulation. It was reported that street vendors who sell skin bleaching products in Pretoria central were complaining that their business is too slow because there is an increase in the number of stalls and more people are selling the same products in one street. One female street vendor emphasised that she has been

using the skin bleaching products over 20 years and she does not see any problem with the products (New Age, 21 April 2017). The picture below shows skin bleaching or skin lightening products that are sold on a street in Pretoria central. In the picture below, there are different skin bleaching products which are said to be harmful to the skin (see figure 2.3).



Figure 2.3: Different skin bleaching products (Source: *Daily Mail*)

2.3. CELEBRITIES AND THE IDEOLOGICAL MARKETING OF WHITENESS

It is crucial to define the following concepts to understand celebrity culture: celebrity, culture, popular culture and ideology are the crucial concepts in the study of celebrity culture.

“**Culture** is a particular way of life, whether of people, a period or a group. **Ideology** is the indication of how some texts and practices present distorted images of reality. They produce what is sometimes called ‘false consciousness’. Such distortions, it is argued, work in the interests of the powerful against the interests of the powerless. **Popular culture** is simply culture that is widely favoured or well-liked by many people. Lastly **celebrity** is someone famous for being famous” (Storey, 2009: 285).

Celebrities play a major role in peddling skin bleaching in South Africa. Often the cosmetic industry market their products through celebrity endorsement, which is where a certain celebrity will be portrayed as the face of a cosmetic product and explain to people how to use the product and show the positive results of using that cosmetic product, but in reality that celebrity may not be using the product at all. The reason why cosmetic industries use celebrity endorsement is to give the product a good exposure and to target not only the people who will be watching the advert but to get access to those who like and follow the celebrity in other media (Storey, 2009). The disadvantage of celebrity endorsement to media consumers is that not all the people are well informed that celebrity endorsement is not the actual use of product by the celebrity, hence some people model the behaviours of their idols. The increase of celebrity culture does not affect young black women's self-esteem and mental health only but also their behaviours (Storey, 2009). It is normal for young women to have idols as they are growing up and moulding their identity; it is true that many celebrities have Twitter, Facebook, Instagram accounts that are accessible to the public as the platform where they present themselves. As a result, young black women model the behaviours they consume from their idols and present such behaviour as their own in real life (Sutton, 2009). Misunderstandings lie in the fact that celebrities are showcasing their augmented bodies and skin colour because they want approval and to gain more followers. In social media followers click "likes", "shares", "retweets" and "hearts" to show the approval of the celebrities. Young black women are also adopting celebrity culture because they also want approval (Sutton, 2009).

For example, Terry Pheto who is an actress was a face of LOREAL cosmetic product which the product claims to lighten the skin and makes it flowless and smooth. Moreover, the target market for LOREAL is the youth so they chose someone whom young people like, and even follow on different media platforms. In 2016 Bonang Matheba was the face of Revlon cosmetics and she was chosen because Revlon was targeting young people and Bonang is liked by many young people with 1,028,987 followers on Facebook, especially after she became the host of classy events such as the Metro FM awards, Durban July, and Top Billing which are shows liked and preferred by the youth. The implication that celebrity endorsement has on the youth is modelling and adopting things they do and like, which is problematic because not everything said on media is the reality of the celebrity life. Often adverts

that use celebrity endorsement do not state the negative aspects of the products and they do not mention the side-effects either (Storey, 2009). Several celebrities are using skin bleaching products, take for example Dencia who is a pop artist from Cameroon. She is using a skin bleaching product called '*whitenicious*' which she is marketing and selling all over the continent. Dencia claims that her product is not harmful to the skin, emphasising that bleaching skin is not self-hate but having a choice to look lighter (Hunter, 2011).

Well-known South African celebrities: Nomasondo Mnisi, Khanyi Mbau and Khelly Khumalo bleached their skin, and in their responses to different questions about their skin bleaching culture is that they are still black in a light skin and they do not have self-hate, it is a choice of enhancing beauty. When Khanyi Mbau was asked on Instagram what she thinks young girls and fans who model her behaviours might fall prey of skin cancer because of what they learn from her, the response was she is living her life to gratify her own needs and cannot take responsibility for what people decide to do because she did not ask anyone to emulate her actions (@mbaureloaded on July 4, 2016). Moreover, Khelly Khumalo when her followers on Instagram criticised her for skin bleaching she said she would bleach "until Jesus comes" (@kelly_khumalo on Aug 13, 2015).

In modern culture female attraction and beauty is measured by light skin tone, and the notion of what is attractive and beautiful is derived from the media. The argument is based on the assumption that the media is a reflection of society (Sarwer et al., 2003). The reinforcement of the mass media's idealised beauty is reflected on social media platforms where celebrities showcase their unrealistic beauty and light flawless skin. Odhiambo (2008) argues that the role of the media is to circulate information and consistent exposure to these kinds of bodily aesthetic by the social media has an influence on body image and perceptions of women (Sutton, 2009).

South African celebrities such as Nomasondo '*Mshoza*' Mnisi, Kelly Khumalo, and Khanyi Mbau constantly appear on Facebook and Instagram augmenting their black skin colour they were born with by skin bleaching, given the increasing exposure to pop culture and media representations of female beauty and local transitions. The age of Instagram, Facebook and other such social media has seen the emergence of the new face of the black girl. The media are the main sources that promote celebrity

culture (Odhiambo, 2008). Moreover, Odhiambo (2008) adds that the media's influence can take away our natural confidence and catalyses the obsession of perfect and flawless celebrity beauty. Furthermore, Odhiambo (2008:33) emphasises that "the media increases the demand for celebrity endorsement, contributing to the recent trends and increasingly high rates of eating disorders, self-harm, depression, suicide, plastic surgery, cosmetic procedures". South African women are bombarded with images of unrealistic light-skinned celebrities on Instagram and Facebook specifically those who peddle the ideology of fair skin equating it to beauty.

On Facebook and Instagram the three mentioned female celebrities do not peddle the actual skin bleaching products, but they sell the ideology of whiteness and how to attain it, which is by bleaching the black skin. The skin bleaching culture is growing rapidly in South Africa and the alarming fact is that skin bleaching products are accessible in the streets of our cities regardless of the banning and regulations laws of skin bleaching in the country. When well-known and favoured female celebrities market the ideology of skin bleaching and take pride in erasing the black skin, they are creating a certain kind of identity because skin colour is a conspicuous marker of race (Byrd, 2001).

The peddling of the skin bleaching ideology on Facebook and Instagram by the mentioned female celebrities must be confronted; the mentioned celebrities argue that their skin bleaching products are expensive and done by professionals so they will not take responsibility for other people who decide to emulate them with harmful products. Khanyi Mbau caused a big debate on Instagram after she posted her picture. In the picture she looked way too white than the last picture she posted. Mbau is very fond of her light skin and she mentioned that people should understand that she is unapologetic for bleaching her skin in response to those who were telling her that she is not white but pink. The picture below shows the picture of Khanyi Mbau that initiated a debate. The caption of the photo was: *Accept me the way I am South Africa* (see Figure 2.4 below).

Figure 2.4: Khanyi Mbau's controversial picture after having bleached her skin.



Source: (@mbaureloaded: Instagram account) Khanyi Mbau's controversial picture after having bleached her skin.

The ideological peddling of skin bleaching by celebrities does not end with the female celebrities who bleach their skin but goes further to be perpetuated and marketed by some South African male artists in their hip hop songs. Some male artists sell the ideology that fair skin is the epitome of feminine beauty and define beauty and attractiveness of a female as light skin. Moreover, the artists give a light skin tone prestige and make dating and hanging around light skinned women to be aspirational and be a man's pride. In some songs and music videos some artists use light-skinned women to show their masculine self-worth. Again, most popular South African hip hop artists praise light skin women to be the most beautiful.

In contemporary society a fair complexion black beautiful girl is called a 'yellow bone' which is trending in social media and in daily conversations among people in South Africa. The perpetuation and marketing of fair skin in songs and music videos is done by male artists such as EMTEE in his song *Pearl Thusi*, Kwetsa featuring Caspper Nyovest in their song *Ngud'* and Citi Lytes featuring Sjava in their song *Hamba Nge Vhura*. All the songs mentioned praise light skin as the notion of beauty and show preference for light skin colour and the 'yellow bone' culture. It is significant for this study to investigate the influence celebrity marketing of 'yellow bone' culture has on the society.

2.4. CONCLUSION

The chapter reviewed the literature under the following themes: historical perspectives of black skin, the cultural ideology of whiteness and the ideological marketing of whiteness. These themes are important in guiding the understanding of the dynamics of skin colour. The next chapter reviews literature on fair skin as ideology of beauty and impact on society.

CHAPTER 3

FAIR SKIN AS IDEOLOGY OF BEAUTY AND IMPACT ON SOCIETY (LITERATURE REVIEW)

This chapter reviews literature on published works, research articles and public information on fair skin as ideology of beauty and its impact on society, the culture of 'yellow bone' and its impact on culture, and the regulations and state interventions into the culture of skin bleaching.

3.1. THE CULTURE OF COLOURISM

“Who taught you to hate the texture of your hair? Who taught you to hate the colour of your skin to such extent that you bleach to get like the white man? Who taught you to hate the shape of your nose and the shape of your lips? Who taught you to hate yourself from the top of your head to the soles of your feet? Who taught you to hate your own kind? Who taught you to hate the race that you belong to so much so that you don't want to be around each other... you should ask yourself who taught you to hate being what God gave you” (Malcolm X, 2003).

Colourism is the hierarchical system that explains the privileges of light-skinned people over dark-skinned people within the community. Colourism was birthed during colonialism; it was a way of giving socio-economic privileges to light-skinned people and disadvantaging dark-skinned people. In South Africa, the hierarchical system benefitted white people with full privileges, followed by coloured people with fewer and black people were the last on the hierarchy (Hunter, 2011). Different scholars explain colourism and provide critical explanations to understanding the concept.

Colourism is skin colour hierarchy (Okazawa, Robinson, & Ward, 1985). Individuals or groups are oppressed based on the colour of their skin. Those with darker complexion experience rejection and mistreatment, while favouritism is demonstrated towards those of lighter complexions (Jackson-Lowman, 2013). Colourism is one expression of internalised racism. Internalisation of the racist stereotypes and attitudes leads to a time when the black community adopts that as the truth. Colourism is a process that privileges light-skinned people of colour over

dark people in areas such as income, education, housing, and the marriage market, hence it is directly related to the larger system of racism in the world. The colour stratification sustains the multibillion skin bleaching and cosmetic surgery industries (Hunter, 2007).

3.1.1 International literature on colourism

Historical roots of colourism are based on slavery and colonialism period, where the white colonisers came to Jamaica to take over the land and dominate black people in their own native land. The colonial system operated by benefiting those who were of the white supremacist ideology. The hierarchy has white people at the top followed by coloured people and black people are at the bottom. White domination rewarded those who emulated whiteness aesthetically, culturally and economically (Mgadmi, 2009).

During the colonial period, the colonial masters would prefer black slaves with light skin tone to work in their households and even give them the privilege to read and learn unlike the black slaves who were dark skinned, who were working in the fields and never got to enjoy the privileges because they were disadvantaged by their skin colour (Hunter, 2007). Colourism went as far as the paper bag test which was used to determine if you are too black to be denied access to certain organisations such as churches and sports (Jackson-Lowman, 2013). Brown bag was used to compare the skin colour and if the skin colour is lighter than the brown bag one can be given access to any institution such as schools, churches or night clubs (Jackson-Lowman, 2013).

Kronus (1971) and Johnson (2001) studied the significance of skin tone in the United States of America. The studies were conducted quantitatively and the aim was to find positive correlation between lighter skin colour, greater educational attainment, and higher socioeconomic status. The studies traced historical writings of the phenomenon to the slavery period where the slaves were sometimes divided and often valued according to skin tone (Kronus 1971 & Johnson 2001). Kronus (1971) explains that there were three categories of slave labour, the highest of which was most often carried out by bi-racial individuals. As a result, “very early in the development of black social structure, the quality of ‘lightness’ became associated with the highest social and occupational class” (Kronus, 1971:3). Skin colour

stratification within the black community is a by-product of racism, capitalism and colonialism. The findings of the study revealed that dark-skinned Americans are disadvantaged as compared to the lighter skin Americans in way that on the media the lighter skin are most visible and they have higher education achievements and also advantage of getting married to spouses who are in higher positions in the society. It concurs with the findings of Hunter's (2009) study of skin bleaching among black women in America that focused on selling racial capital and had similar findings which emphasised that dark skinned women are unlikely to be married to spouses who have good paying jobs, and light skinned women are most likely to attain greater education and higher socio-economic status.

Thompson and Keith (2001) studied women and the colour complex in the US. The study was conducted quantitatively with 100 samples. Both men and women were sampled and the aim of the study was to examine the correlation between skin colour and self-efficacy. The findings of the study discovered that for women skin colour is more important and it increases their self-esteem, especially for women in the lower economic class. The study also revealed that men are mostly attracted to women who are light in skin colour. In comparison to the significance of physical attractiveness and light skin tone women are assessed more based on the two aspects unlike men. Hunter (2004) in her study of skin colour stratification also notes that "in a sexist society such as the United States, women's bodies serve as an indication of their worth, as opposed to their minds or actions. Because beauty is a social construction, it is informed by other societal status characteristics including race. This helps explain why, in the U.S, where White racism still operates, light skin is defined as more beautiful and more desirable than dark skin, particularly in women" Hunter (2004:23). This study supports the findings of the two studies that the society places value on female beauty other than their minds and capabilities. The difference between this study and the one mentioned above is their demographics, and also the data collection method which is quantitative and this study used the qualitative method.

Collins (2000) studied the division of African American women into the "Brights" and the "Lesser Blacks" construction. She used female students as the samples of her study and data were collected qualitatively, the findings of her study add to those of Hunter (2002) which assert that light skin works as social capital for women of

colour, more specifically lighter-skinned African-American women who are more privileged in these areas than darker skinned women. The results indicate a movement to a middle range in skin colour desirability as measured by one's opinion of oneself. Further, although the very dark are still disadvantaged, the very light appear to no longer have an advantage in terms of self-appraisal. The colour issue is very much alive and well among a new generation of young Blacks, and it most affects those at either end of the spectrum. Previous literature focused more on skin bleaching as a by-product of colonialism and self-hate and this study identifies that skin bleaching is not necessarily about self-hate, but a means to access a socio-economic status.

Simms (2015) studied the practice of skin bleaching and skin lightening behaviour in Jamaica and explains why African descendants who reside in post-colonial societies such as Jamaica engage in skin bleaching or skin lightening use. The findings of the study reveal the open secret in that European standards of beauty are dominant, prevalent and constantly pushed as the standard carrier. Moreover, the findings indicated that the participants who engage in skin bleaching are not necessarily displaying traits associated with psychological mis-orientation, but the influence of post-colonial value systems has been found to perpetuate colonial values of popular culture. The study also elucidates that government initiatives to explain the health risks associated with the chemical agents used in these products have failed to stop the ever increase practice of skin bleaching by many African descendants with aspirations of acquiring social mobility and status by any chemical means necessary. Bleaching in Jamaica has historically been most prevalent among younger, rural, and poor women, however there has been a shift even educated, rich women use skin bleaching (Pitché, 2005). For many Jamaican women light skin is equated to youth and beauty. Lewis et al. (2011) argue that the main motivators for engaging in skin bleaching practices is related to aspiration of being more beautiful, and more European looking, satisfy one's partner and attract mates of the opposite sex, and to satisfy or impress peers. Lewis et al. (2011) further state that these beliefs are motivated and rooted in slavery, colonisation and globalisation.

Adae-Amoakoh (2012) argues that the phenomenon of skin bleaching has its roots in colonisation and slavery. Europeans, who enslaved and colonised people primarily from Africa and India, exploited the region on the basis of racism. Europeans

believed that they were superior to the indigenous peoples and to people brought to work on Caribbean sugar plantations. Adaye-Amoakoh (2012) also supports the view that the whites were superior was partially attributed to their skin tone and indoctrinated into the minds of Africans, Asians, and other racial or ethnic groups in the Caribbean. Charles (2010) points out that historically, people of mixed races with black and white heritage were likely to be provided with more opportunities to progress than full blacks. In essence, there are some very clear and tangible benefits of having a light skin complexion, and hence a relationship between self-worth for the beneficiaries of light skin ownership psychologically and socially in comparison to those who 'lost out' genetically. Consequently, people of darker skin colour aspire to have fair skin because of the privileges associated with the light skin tone.

Henriques (2014) notes that as early as 1949 skin colour was identified and documented as the determinant of class in Jamaica. In discussing colonialism and the importance of skin colour as a determinant of social class, Sherlock and Bennett (1998) claim that the foundation of colonial law was White superiority and civilisation of Black inferior savages. Robinson (2007) cites the work of Frazier (1957) who noted the way in which the lighter-skinned Blacks became aware of their privilege over darker skinned Blacks. Robinson (2007) proclaims that even today, the issue of skin complexion furthers the distance or stratification throughout the Jamaican society as a whole. With the privilege, elitism, and beauty ideal assigned to those with lighter skin or to those more closely mimicking the appearance of the European masters, the desire for lighter skin was and continues to be widespread, and is certainly not confined to the Jamaican community. Additionally, Hunter (2007) explains that the bedrock of colourism is predicated on White supremacy in all aspects of life to include aesthetics and ideology and Black inferiority representing the opposite of civility and beauty. These oppositional associations according to Robinson (2007) conjure up very vivid images of good versus bad and continue on even today, that is, being White signifies wealth; being brown initiates perceptions of privilege while being Black, initiates the opposite perception one of poverty and negativity.

Cashin (2004) examines colourism among African American and Afro-Caribbean women. Qualitative assessment of the impact of skin-tone stratification and the ways in which colourism causes discrimination and bias within the Black community was

conducted. Data were generated through focus groups of African-American and Afro-Caribbean women (ages 18-40) and grounded theory was the theory used. The findings of the study discovered that regardless of skin colour or age, colourism is still very present among African-American and Afro-Caribbean women, Colourism affects personal lives, self-perceptions and inter-personal relationships, fostering things like competition, discrimination and problems with self-esteem.

Nettleford (1965) reminds readers that plantation slavery was abolished in Jamaica in 1838, and colonialism ended when Jamaica received its independence from Britain in 1962 and most importantly, more than 90% of the population is of African descent. However, Nettleford (1965) argues that racial hierarchy continued after Jamaica received independence in 1962 and the Westminster system of government was retained. Furthermore, Charles (2011) alleges that the Shearer regime of the 1960s banned books dealing with Blackness and prevented Black power activist Walter Rodney from returning to Jamaica. Charles also noted that Manley (1996) was upset that the Rastafarians wanted to leave independent Jamaica and return to Africa. Interestingly, Robinson (2011) argues that despite the assumption that Jamaica is very African orientated, the fact that to this day and possibly in the future, Jamaicans turn out in larger numbers when the British Queen visits compared to African leaders.

Robinson (2011) examined the psychological and socio-cultural factors that influence the practice of skin bleaching in the post-colonial society of Jamaica. The naturalistic paradigm of inquiry was used to frame the study and to collect and analyse data. The sample consisted of fifteen participants twelve participants (six males and six females) with a history of skin bleaching; a retailer of skin lightening products; a local dermatologist who has written and published in local newspapers on the practice; and a representative from the Ministry of Health who was integrally involved in the national educational efforts to ban the practice. The findings show that there is a bias in Jamaica for light skin over dark skin and these values are taught in non-formal and informal ways from very early in life. The practice of skin bleaching is of social and public health concern.

Tate (2009) conducted research on black beauty aesthetics by focussing on the browning identity in the US. The participants in Tate's study provided interesting

insight into the role life politics plays within the construction of an identity. He found that respondents placed the browning identity colour tone in between that of black and mixed raced skin complexions. Furthermore, some of the mixed race respondents claimed that they used sunbed sessions in order to achieve the darker browning identity which according to Smith (1990) goes against the self-hate thesis of a colour hierarchy where the lighter you are the more social status you achieve. Tate's (2009) concept of life politics also highlighted that some of the mixed race women who were interviewed used certain products and services in order to achieve and maintain their browning identity. Julien (2014) established that participants in Tate's (2009) study stressed how important it was to find the correct brand of sun cream in order not to burn too much or the correct brand of baby oil that would allow the skin to brown towards a desired colour.

Wilder (2008) studied the everyday colourism in the lives of young black women: revisiting an old phenomenon in a new generation. The study used focus group interviews with 58 Black women between the ages of 18 and 25, exploring the influence of colourism in their everyday lives and investigated how young Black women talk about colourism, and whether this reflects a shift in colour consciousness or if there has been no change compared to previous research and documented accounts of skin-tone bias within African-American culture. Grounded theory and discourse analysis reveal that the predominant names, stereotypes and perceptions about light and dark skin signify an inheritance of similar attitudes documented in earlier generations of Black Americans. The findings revealed that the media, families and the society play a major role in promoting colourism.

Some studies find the link between skin tone and social class. Hughes and Hertel (1990) assert that black with lighter skin attain higher education, higher income and occupational prestige than those with darker skin. Similarly, the analyses of Keith and Herring (1991) and Seitzer and Smith (1991) find that lighter skin is more advantageous for black Americans; a fairer complexion indicates higher levels of income, occupational, and educational achievement. Regardless of these findings Gullickson (2005) disputes the analyses of Hughes and Hertel, Keith and Herring and Seltzer and Smith pointing out that they are limited as they all fail to consider cohort differences. In his re-analysis of data compiled from the National Survey of Black Americans, Gullickson challenges that in the post-Civil Rights era, there has in

fact been a decline in light skin privilege as it relates to education and occupation. Gullickson further uncovers that skin tone is not a relevant factor for younger cohorts born after 1963. What has not changed in the African-American community, however, is spousal attainment. As Gullickson (2005) explains, light skin remains a factor in “providing access to high quality spouses” (Gullickson 2005:173). With the arguments made by different scholars in America it is interesting that time has impact on how skin colour was perceived before as compared to the recent studies.

The current research done in the US on colourism focuses on the link between skin tone and social class; they focus on black women (Harvey, 1995; Hill, 2002; Thompson & Keith, 2001; Wade, 1996). The reason for addressing colourism based on gender is because skin tone has more bearing on black American women as compared to black American men. It is clear that there is a gender difference in the struggle of colourism because women are victims of self-esteem, self-efficacy and physical attraction, and it is not astonishing given the societal value placed on female beauty. An increase of black feminist writings from the likes of Hooks (1981;1989), Lorde (1984), Collins (1986;1990; 2000), and King (1988) underscore that black women are subject to the risks of multiple jeopardy and domination as it relates to their social setting. This is the reason why a lot of female scholars interrogated colourism from a black feminist theory as a conceptual lens. For example, Neal and Wilson (1989) and Okazawa (1987) provide a historical overview of colourism and offer suggestions for black women on how to deal with the effects of colourism, which he proposes therapy as the cure for low self-esteem. The personal narratives of Golden (2004) Harris (1994) and Zook (1990) offer compelling accounts about light and dark-skin bias, in addition to outlining steps toward self-healing and black female solidarity. Additionally, family scholars including Boyd-Franklin (2003), Greene (1994) and McAdoo (1997) point to the centrality of black women and skin tone within African-American families. However, the work of noted sociologist and colourism scholar Hunter (1998; 2002; 2005) has contributed a considerable amount of knowledge on the contemporary nature of colourism through her work with African American and Mexican American women.

Herring, Keith and Horton (2004) presented the idea that when it comes to skin colour stratification during slavery in Los Angeles in the US, colonisers instituted a social system by systematically dispensing workload according to colour. Those

outside labour were dark-skinned and those who were light-skinned assumed jobs inside the plantation masters' homes. A social order among slaves evolved and the house slaves were believed to have experienced favourable treatment (although they suffered nonetheless) over the field slaves. This social order served to create division and animosity among the slaves, much of which was based on skin complexion. Additionally, Graham (1999) commented that the caste system that the masters implemented was not random and that it fuelled the belief that one group was superior because they had lighter skin tones, essentially creating a wider rift between both groups. Frazier (1957) noted the way in which the lighter-skinned Blacks became aware of their privilege over darker-skinned Blacks. Today, the issue of skin complexion furthers the distance or stratification throughout the African society as a whole.

Some scholars studied colourism focusing on age and assessed how age shapes the perception of skin colour stratification. Holtzman (1973) and Jones (1973) and Bond and Cash (1992) focused on whether the generational ideas of younger African Americans represent a change from previous generations. The results reported variety in conclusion, some college students mentioned that they were proud of their black skin colour and embraced it, while on the other hand they defined attractiveness and beauty as fair skin other than dark skin. In addition, Hall (1998) also explores skin colour bias among African-American college students, but yields different results. Two hundred black freshmen students were interviewed and they indicated that both dark and light-skinned respondents associated skin colour with physical beauty, suggesting that the ideals of today's young black Americans have not been dramatically impacted by the dominant 1960s "Black is Beautiful" ideology (Hall, 1999:239). Breland and Raskin (2001) reveal that a different view in their qualitative questionnaire of 113 college students. The perspective was that African Americans preferred the medium skin tone and did not show any preference of the light skin tone regardless of their own individual skin tone.

Moreover Robinson and Ward's (1995) study is aimed at African-American adolescents ages 11-19, uncovered that those participants who noted their skin tone as neither light nor dark expressed higher levels of satisfaction compared to individuals who fell on extreme opposites of the colour spectrum. They also revealed that male students report light skin colour as important factor unlike female students

who did not mention skin colour as important requirement in dating rates. With these findings it shows that colourism is more sided on women and it is salient in the lives of black women. Furthermore Bonilla Silva (2006) and Feagin (2003) explored the existence of institutionalised forms of colourism in contemporary society, and their results indicated that colourism is a continuous problem that black American women experience and the black skin colour is seen as inferior and not beautiful.

According to a 1990 study conducted by Hughes and Hertel lighter-skinned Blacks were more likely to have greater years of education, higher salaries and more prominent jobs than their darker-skinned counterparts. They even found that the gap in educational attainment and socio-economic status between light- and dark-skinned Blacks is equivalent to the gap between Whites and all Blacks in general. The findings show the importance of colourism and the pervasiveness of colour preference in the society. With these findings it shows the study adds to most of the studies which show that light-skinned people have more advantage on education, socio-economic status and spouse selection. This means that light-skinned people are more likely to not experience discrimination as compared to dark-skinned people.

Researchers highlight prejudices against darker-skinned persons and the relationship between skin tone and socio-economic status in the U S as well as Brazil (Hunter, 2005; Sherriff 2001; Telles 2004). In a research study by Ransford (1970), 312 Black males were interviewed shortly after the Watts riot in 1965 to determine if dark-skinned Blacks find themselves in lower socio-economic positions because of greater levels of discrimination or because they do not try as hard. The study found that colour structures opportunity and that light skin acts as a source of privilege and, in effect, darker-skinned Blacks face greater economic disadvantage and perceptions than lighter skinned-Blacks. Further evidence of economic disadvantage and discrimination is provided by Johnson, Bienenstock and Stoloff (1995) who conducted a similar study of Black males (both light and dark skinned) in Los Angeles from the same neighbourhoods. The results showed that along with being Black and having dark skin, one's chances of being employed was reduced by 52 percent, after controlling for characteristics such as age, education, and criminal record. Hunter (2008) reiterates that while Blacks, overall, are disadvantaged, the disadvantages of having dark skin still prevails over the disadvantages faced by

blacks with light skin in the labour market and educational institutions, thereby, creating economic and class disadvantages.

Based on the research on skin colour, and in particular as it relates to the matter of marriage, there is some evidence of skin colour preferences and gender. This is relevant and important because it was believed that marrying someone with a lighter complexion was equivalent to increasing social status (Hall, 1995; Hunter, 2002; 2004). Hill (2002) conducted a study using National Survey of Black Americans (NSBA) data collected between 1979 and 1980 to assess whether skin colour played a role in the attractiveness of Blacks from the perspective of the interviewer. The results of that study indicated that Black women with lighter skin were rated as significantly more attractive than women with darker skin.

Colourism is not a new phenomenon, many scholars studied it many years back. However it still continues and this study is revisiting the old phenomenon with the lenses of new media technologies in the post-colonialism era. Background and the findings from early studies of the colourism concept will provide a foundation and a better understanding of colourism and skin bleaching. Through a questionnaire of 400 black youth, Parrish (1946) investigates the various names and labels blacks use to describe varying skin tones, and the stereotypes associated with them. The results of his analysis compiled in the piece, *Colour Names and Colour Notions* find damaging notions of extremely light and extremely dark skin, while attitudes associated with people of medium shades was among the most favourable. The findings indicated that skin colour became a criterion for the attainment of prestige in the African-American community and that having light skin colour provided access to having better opportunities and became a means for survival. Drake and Cayton (1945), Frazier (1957), Myrdal (1944) and Parrish (1946) are the first authors to have interest in skin colour hierarchies and complexities and all these scholars in their studies found out that colourism is the by-product of racism and discrimination and identified the privileges associated with the light skin colour. Drake and Cayton (1945) uncover that colour distinctions present in the black community translate into differences in employment, occupation, and mate selection. All these studies were conducted in the USa long time ago before the dawn of Civil Rights, and this study is after colonialism, apartheid and democracy in South Africa.

The difference between all these studies and my study is the location of the studies. They were all done internationally, while this study was done in South Africa. Most of the studies are focused on how women of colour are affected by colourism but did not address how colourism is propagated. This study focuses on celebrities peddling whiteness ideology and how that is affecting black women. Some studies argue that it is colonialism directly that made colour stratifications in the society because they were conducted before the Civil Rights Movement, and this study is different because it is revisiting the old phenomenon with the lenses of new media technologies, post-colonialism and post-apartheid era.

3.1.2 Skin bleaching literature in Africa

“If you’re white, you’re right; if you’re brown stick around; if you’re black, step back!” (Robinson, 2007).

Azibo (2011) elucidates that skin bleaching is a psychological mis-orientation, and argues that psychological mis-orientation refers to the “overt and cognitive behavioural orientation to reality that derives from ideation itself when the said ideation is based in European concepts, beliefs, and definitional systems in his study conducted in Algeria. Literally, the body, pre-bleached of course, may be black, but the mind is not” (Azibo, 2011:62). Skin bleaching and skin lightening behaviour is shown to be psychological mis-orientation and mental disorder. It is one outcome of psychological mis-orientation out of many, and psychological mis-orientation is mental disorder. Azibo (2011) maintains that skin bleaching is accurately interpreted as a profound attack on genetic blackness and by extension African descendants. Removal, erasure, and making less African descendants’ biogenetic blackness are behaviours that literally and essentially wipe it out completely. Frankly, this means that psychologically the bleacher or lightener has deliberately eliminated, discarded, shed, and killed her or his genetic blackness. Furthermore, Abrahams (2000) tied Fanon's (1967) sentiment which suggest that the colonial psyche has created a feeling of low self-worth resulting in low self-esteem among black populations as they occupied the lowest rung of the colonial hierarchy.

Harris (2014) explains that a series of associations, rooted in negative differences, only began when skin colour extend to judgments of beauty, academic capabilities

and criminal tendencies in his study conducted in Zimbabwe. In other words, because of the negative associations of blackness, generally and intra racially, people of African descent are assumed to have internalized the idea that they are less attractive, less intellectually capable, and more prone to criminality, which leads to a condition of self-hatred. This discussion supports the notion that in post-colonial societies where there is colourism, but also an unmistakable sense of black pride, there is increasing anxiety over the epidemic of the bleaching syndrome. However, the evidence appears to support Harris's (2014) conclusion that responses to the bleaching syndrome have been varied, yet the perceived explosion in skin lightening has encouraged contemporary scholars and social critics to question, and in some cases outright reject the self-hate thesis as the sole explanation for skin bleaching. Moreover Glenn (2008) remarked that the failure of political and social interventions to alleviate material causes of socio-economic marginalisation has led to a phenomenon where skin colour is leveraged as symbolic capital by the poorer black working class who may bleach. Therefore, contrary to being vanity and misguided artefact of the colonial past, it has been argued that the practice of skin bleaching persists, and is indeed increasing, as a result of the widening gaps between social classes. Having lighter skin then, has become conflated with sophistication, social-mobility, success and the resulting financial and economic well-being.

De Souza (2008) studies the concept of skin bleaching in Africa and its devastating health implications in Nairobi, Kenya. He states that acquiring a lighter skin forms the basis of skin care and cosmetology in dark-skinned people, and regrettably has far reaching devastating effects on health and individual finances. This in return has enriched unscrupulous stakeholders. Help from the international medical fraternity and the pharmaceutical/cosmetology industry is required to end this habit. The findings indicate that skin bleaching has the following medical implications on the users: skin atrophy, thinning, and breaking, giving rise to keloidal scarring, payroll dermatitis, contact allergic and irritant dermatitis, acneiform eruptions, striae, hypertrichosis, telangiectasia's, and infections. Moreover, he argued that skin bleaching products were banned in Kenya even though people are still accessing them illegally.

Maddox and Chase (2004) elucidate the purpose of classifications and describe the world in racial terms. In South Africa for instance, appearance (including skin colour,

hair texture and facial features), descent, and acceptance were used as criteria for classifying race during the apartheid period (Erasmus & Ellison 2008). Although this method was meant to be indicative of empirical differences among people, the construction of an objective racial classification proved far more complex (Erasmus & Ellison, 2008). In spite of their arbitrary nature, however, racial categories have been used to produce seemingly objective descriptors of individual identity, whilst also laying the foundation for discrimination based on qualitative differences between people in different racial groups (Maddox & Gray, 2002). The role of classification (categorising difference) is essential in the present day understanding of interracial and intra-racial relations (Nassar-McMillan, Roberts, Flowers & Garret, 2006). This is due to the fact that the exaggeration of difference between differently classified individuals allows racism and colourism to thrive. It is precisely the meanings derived from these differences that determine each individual's hierarchical standings in society by race and by complexion.

Literature has shown that accounting for the various impacts of trauma may further enrich the psychological understanding and analysis of colourism as a phenomenon (Gobodo- Madikizela & Van der Merwe, 2009). The failure to clearly recognise the emotional, psychological, and to some degree, physical effects of racism on victims may remain a major contributing factor to the issue of racism and its effects on mental health (Carter, 2007). Colourism as an internalised form of racism therefore, may become particularly complex to explicate. Research suggests that targets of racism suffer psychological harm from the stress produced by such encounters (Carter, 2007) which can engender responses similar to those of classical trauma symptoms (Lowe, Okubo & Reilly, 2012). Consequently, it can be inferred that the effects of these responses endures even when the racism is internalised and articulated in the form of colourism.

Asakitikpi (2006) examines the phenomenon of skin bleaching as a metaphor for the state of affairs on the African continent in relation to its socio-economic policies that are formulated toward attaining long term development goals. The paper advocates that interrogating the body in whatever form, and in particular from a skin bleaching perspective, provides social scientists with a research view towards an understanding of the socio cultural construction of the human body and how the analysis of such construction can have significant influence on developmental

policies and policy makers (Asakitikpi (2006). It argues that skin bleachers are victims of historical forces and of contemporary social arrangements that are beyond them but, which, nevertheless, exert enormous pressure on them in their bid to negotiate alternative forms for survival. It is concluded that skin bleaching, is studied from a micro perspective, and provides a rich text as both a symbolic and a metaphorical phenomenon that sheds light on Africa's development crisis in relation to the globalising process. skin bleaching is supremely displayed not by individuals who use various harmful chemicals to remove the melanin that protect them from the ultra violet rays of the tropical sun, but the collective actions of African leaders who have promised the future of successive generations because of their self-hate for their kind. What is clear in this analysis is that for the practice of skin bleaching to decrease, African governments must not only shun corruption at all levels, but they must develop endogenous policies that will empower their citizens and promote their dignity to counter the white superiority mentality.

Mbatha's (2016) studies the understanding of skin colour, exploring colourism and its articulation among black and coloured students at the University of Cape Town in South Africa. The main objective of the study was to enquire about the existence of colourism, and to determine how it may possibly articulate itself as an everyday phenomenon among students. Samples of black and coloured students were drawn from the University of Cape Town student population. Qualitative focus group interviews were conducted to collect data. The findings disclose the existence of colourism in the lives of students including their relationships with family members, friends, potential intimate partners, and in their wider societal context (Mbatha 2016). Moreover skin tone valuations meant that greater value was often placed on light skin as an attribute of beauty, wealth and intelligence.

Much of what is known about colourism as an intragroup phenomenon is based on research from the US and, to a lesser extent, Europe, South America, and the Caribbean (Gabriel, 2007). Indeed, little is known about its nature and articulation as lived experience in the context of South Africa. One vital consideration in the reading of this literature is the manner in which historical and current racial classification of individuals in the aforementioned countries differs somewhat from that of South Africa. For the purposes of this research, it is of particular importance to articulate these classifications, and to recognise and deconstruct racial classification itself as

one socially constructed tool which underscores colourism. Moreover, this needs to take into account the overarching context of white supremacy from which race is derived.

After the National Party gained power in South Africa in 1948, its all-white government immediately began enforcing existing policies of racial segregation under a system of legislation that it called apartheid. Under apartheid, non-white South Africans (a majority of the population) would be forced to live in separate areas from whites and use separate public facilities, and contact between the two groups would be limited. Despite strong and consistent opposition to apartheid within and outside of South Africa, its laws remained in effect for the better part of 50 years. In 1991, the government of President F.W. de Klerk began to repeal most of the legislation that provided the basis for apartheid. Racial segregation and white supremacy had become central aspects of South African policy long before apartheid began. The controversial 1913 Land Act, passed three years after South Africa gained its independence, marked the beginning of territorial segregation by forcing black Africans to live in reserves and making it illegal for them to work as sharecroppers. Opponents of the Land Act formed the South African National Native Congress, which would become the African National Congress (ANC).

The enforced social segregation that is a distinctive feature of the South African system was secured by the measures of the 1927 Immorality Act, which forbade extramarital sex between Africans and whites and the 1923 Urban Areas Act, which confined the Africans to segregated townships or locations. The key feature of apartheid was the extensive control over blacks by control of movement and control over the allocation of jobs. The 1922 Stallard Commission laid down the principle that an African should only be in town to minister to the needs of a white man and should depart therefore when he cease to minister. African men over sixteen years had to carry a 'pass' or reference book which recorded their permission to work and live in a particular white area. These pass laws controlled the flow of African labour into the white areas, particularly the towns and allocated labour between sectors and regions. The job colour bar reserved certain jobs for whites only. By 1950, the government had banned marriages between whites and people of other races, and prohibited sexual relations between black and white South Africans. The Population Registration Act of 1950 provided the basic framework for apartheid by classifying all

South Africans by race, including Bantu (Black Africans), Coloured (mixed race) and White. A fourth category, Asian (meaning Indian and Pakistani) was later added. In some cases, the legislation split families; parents could be classified as white, while their children were classified as coloured. The children that were born in mixed races relationships marriages or relationships which was illegal were called coloureds. In the racial hierarchy that Coloureds had better benefits as compared to blacks, their proximity to whiteness was glorified and this began the discrimination of dark-skinned people and advantages to light-skinned blacks which is known as colourism. In the eyes of the laws coloureds born out of interracial marriages were born crime and that behaviour was not tolerated. However, in black communities such children were glorified and seen as better than other black children because of their light skin colour.

3.1.3 Colour line incidents in post-apartheid South Africa

The colour line is a concept that was discussed by Du Bois (1903) when addressing the racial domination and racial exploitation. The white supremacy ideology that whiteness is superior and dominant to blackness grew immensely that even within one ethnic group those who have a lighter complexion have privileges over those who are darker in complexion. Hunter (2002) describes colourism as the privilege given to light-skinned individuals as compared to dark-skinned individuals within a community of colour. Hunter (2002) argues that as much as she has differentiated racism and colourism, the two are intertwined. She further states that without racism, colourism would not exist, since colourism bases its criteria on the privileging of whiteness (2002). Harris (2008) approves what is said by Hunter (2002) explaining that colourism and racism are linked, yet distinct: "racism involves discrimination against persons based on their racial identity, which in turn is traditionally designated through a complex mix of self-identification and other-identification through appearance (including colour) and ancestry" (Harris, 2008:54).

The simplistic definition of racism is discrimination based on race; however, Harpalani and Spencer (2005) argue that this definition does not fully explain the many ways that this phenomenon is manifested. Racism can be found in a lot of societal structures, intimate relationships, the workplace and the social environment. As Harpalani and Spencer (2005) argue, "these structural and ideological components are highly institutionalised, thus affecting individual experiences and life

trajectories, not only by disadvantaging people of colour but also by privileging White people" (Harpalani & Spencer, 2005:34). People therefore must be aware of the many ways in which race is privileged structurally, institutionally and politically (McIntosh, 1989).

Racist beliefs and the institutional arrangements they sustain are most based on the noticeably physical appearance, in this case the skin colour. Colourism, which is the bias based on skin colour, therefore has strong links with racism. According to Elmore (2009), colourism reflects some of racism ideologies, which are the devaluing of darker skinned individuals, while the light and the pale hold strong social value in society (Elmore, 2009). As Hunter (1999) points out, "colourism is part and parcel of racism and exists because of it. Without a larger system of racial oppression that whites have imposed on various peoples of colour, colourism based on skin tone would not exist" (Hunter, 1999:8). An important difference that is worth mentioning is the fact that racism exist between groups, while colourism happens both within and between racial groups (Elmore, 2009). It is prevalent to discuss the racial incidents in South Africa because they are intertwined with colourism.

In South Africa in 2015 Judge Mabel Jonson made remarks that with black people 'a woman is there to pleasure the men. Period... gang rapes of baby, daughter and mother (are) a pleasurable pastime...I still have to meet a black girl who was not raped at about 12. I am dead serious (Mail & Guardian. 07 Apr 2017 21:37). This statement shows that blackness is associated with lack of morals and class, black people are regarded as beings with lack of self-control and who can't even take responsibility in the society. Moreover the statement shows rape as a crime is associated with skin colour which is blackness, meaning by virtue of being black one has the ability to rape which is a statement that is denigrating blackness and takes away their dignity and reputation.

Adding to how blackness is ridiculed and makes it look like it does not have prestige, the statement made by Penny Sparrow who is a white woman who was found guilty of racist remarks on Facebook stresses how blackness is continually seen as lack of humanity even in post-apartheid South Africa.

These monkeys that are allowed to be released on New Year's Eve and New Year's Day on the public beaches town etc. Obviously have no education

what so ever so to allow them loose is inviting huge dirt and troubles and discomfort to others. I am sorry to say I was amongst the revellers and all I saw were black on black skins what a shame. I do know some wonderful thoughtful black people. This lot of monkeys just don't want to even try. But think they can voice opinions about statute and get their way dear oh dear. From now I shall address the blacks of South Africa as monkeys as I see the cute little wild monkeys do the same pick drop and litter (The Citizen, 4-01-2016).

The statement shows that blackness is associated with lack of education and civilisation and as such blacks cannot make important decisions because their skin colour does not have class. Skin colour hierarchy is a problem that is facing South Africa and it continues to grow. The ideology that blackness is filthy and lacks prestige and humanity is said and argued by many South Africans giving different reasons for their beliefs and thus it is important to state the argument made by the Sodwana Bay Lodge owner in KwaZulu-Natal when he was responding to why black people are not allowed in his lodge. The man was interviewed after a black journalist was booking accommodation but the booking was declined because of his black skin colour.

The following remarks were made by the white man who owns a guest house in Sodwana Bay in KwaZulu-Natal when a black radio presenter was making bookings arrangements at his guest house.

'You are not human'

Sodwana Bay guest house owner Andre Slade then asked the radio presenter Jacinta Ngobese if she was black and she asked him why the colour of her skin mattered. He responded by saying he was asking because the guesthouse did not accommodate black people. When she asked him what was wrong with black people he said, "Well, we have to restore what is happening in the world right now and the hierarchy of the world is wrong at this point in time." He said black people were servants and the Bible made it very clear. When asked which Bible he was referring to, he said the King James Bible. Slade told Ngobese that his Bible said he could not mix with another race. "We do not have the same blood, skin, hair and there are about 300 differences between you and me," he said. Slade said he had melanin

because he was royal and Ngobese was short of it because she was an animal. "You are classified in the Bible as an animal, you are not human." Slade said if Ngobese was intelligent, she should go and read the book [Bible]. Most of the times that we get blacks walking through these doors, they bring prostitutes here and they fuck all night in their rooms and make me feel uncomfortable. "They bring booze here and sit and get drunk and break things...And when my maid has left, they come to me and demand things. They ask me to clean their bedrooms..." He said white people did not behave that way. "I have never had this problem with white people," said Slade. He said black people were "not people" (News 24, 2017-07-06, 13:04).

Blackness is animalised and seen as lack of intelligence, the above statement shows that blackness lacks class because it is not royal, however in comparison whiteness is royal and is human, which means it is human but blackness lacks the human kind and said to be animal other than human. The argument made in the statement above shows that there is a colour line that separates whiteness and blackness. The argument made by the white hotel owner is evidence that blackness is ridiculed and denigrated by some white people who perpetuate white supremacist ideology. It is evident that colourism as the by-product of racism is a huge problem faced by South Africa and as such needs to be addressed and interrogated to combat its continuation.

The South African court for the first time took the decision to sentence racist remarks and actions, Vicki Momberg who is a white woman who called black police officials with a K*****rs when they were helping her after she was robbed in Johannesburg is the first person to get imprisonment because of racism.

On 28th of March 2018 Vicki Momberg was sentenced to an effective two years in prison by the Randburg Magistrate's Court for her racist tirade in 2016. She was found guilty on four counts of *crimen injuria* on November 3 in connection with her rant, which started when she lashed out at a black police officer who had helped her after an alleged smash-and-grab incident in Northriding, Johannesburg. In a video clip that went viral, Momberg could be heard complaining about the "calibre of blacks" in Johannesburg. At a previous sitting, prosecutor Yusuf Baba told the court that Momberg's was the worst *crimen injuria* case the courts had dealt with. Baba quoted from a 2014 case, Prinsloo v State, in which the Supreme Court of Appeal

stated that the word k****rs was racially abusive and was used in its injurious sense. "It is my submission that a suitable sentence is direct imprisonment without the option of a fine," Baba said at the time (News 24, 28-03-2018:09h28 am).

This is the first incident in South Africa to sentence direct imprisonment on racism crimes and thus the action might reduce high level of racism in the country which will have positive impact on reducing colourism growth.

3.2 REGULATIONS AND STATE INTERVENTIONS INTO THE CULTURE OF BLEACHING

Skin bleaching as a growing norm in South Africa has troubled many people including the government. The South African government through the Department of Trade and Industry has established the regulation of skin lightening products in the country. The Department of Health in 2014 insisted to regulate the cosmetic industry, however the bill of regulating cosmetic industries was in parliament for discussion in 2014. In South Africa today the skin lightening products are banned, cosmetics industries are not allowed to market cosmetics that lighten people's skin, however that did not stop the selling of skin lightening products (Dlova, 2012).

Associations that sell cosmetics are forced to regulate themselves and ensure that they are not marketing skin lightening products in South Africa. For example, the Cosmetic Toiletry Industry and Fragrance Association of South Africa and the Cosmetic Export Council of South Africa (CECOSA) which regulates and controls the exporting of cosmetics products, all the associations in cosmetic are expected to market products that are made from natural resource such as plants and oil to avoid harmfulness. All the associations marketing cosmetics are expected to register with the Department of Trade and Industry so that the Department can check if they are following the regulation of cosmetic products in South Africa. However, despite the banning of skin lightening products in the country they are still available and people have access to them at places such as street vendors and unregistered cosmetic stores (Dlova, 2012). Moreover, some products are sold at respectable stores but communicate the idea of removal of dark spots and anti-ageing, while at the same time lightening the skin colour, now false, irrelevant information and exaggeration on

cosmetic products is a problem. Consumer Protection Act 68 of 2008. The purpose of the CPA (Consumer Protection Act) is to prevent exploitation or harm to consumers by regulating the way in which businesses interact with consumers, and market their products and services. Packaging and labelling must not mislead or deceive consumers, or make any representation about a supplier or any goods or services unless there are reasonable grounds for believing that the representation is true (SME, 2016).

Some South Africans are not happy with the rapid growth in use of skin lightening products in the country. The government of KwaZulu-Natal, University of KwaZulu-Natal and some members of the society marched against the use of skin bleaching products; they emphasised that it will be an annual march. The purpose of the march was to make people aware of the danger of skin bleaching and how badly it affects black people's sense of self and identity (Press Reader, 2016). Some important burning issues that were raised in this march include the ideology that some black women believe lighter skin tone increases their self-esteem, implies a higher socio-economic class; enables them to get better jobs and increases their chances of getting married because they believe that proximity to whiteness is beautiful. The annual KwaZulu-Natal march against skin bleaching was joined by members of the community, university students and the provincial government who were out to shame and combat the ideology of black inferiority. Their message was skin bleaching means self-hate.

3.2. CONCLUSION

The chapter discussed literature on colourism and skin bleaching from American and African perspectives. It further gave situations in South Africa where some white people expressed their views about black people and their black skin colour. The literature outlined how colourism impact on socio economic status, partner selection and educational attainment. The next chapter discusses the theories relevant to this study.

CHAPTER 4

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The chapter discusses the theoretical framework relevant to this research and it forms the basis of understanding how blackness is shaped, and how certain ideologies dominate in the society. This chapter is divided into two sections: section one is on postcolonialities, race and identity. Section two covers celebrity culture and power. Discussions of theories around postcoloniality, post-colonial theories of 'body' and ideology of whiteness, race and identity, post-colonial feminism, white supremacy and colourism are relevant in understanding the issues of race, identity and culture in post-colonial South Africa.

4.1 POST-COLONIALITY, RACE AND THE BODY

4.1.1 Post-coloniality

The term *post-colonialism* has been criticised a lot because there is no agreed meaning amongst scholars in this field due to different perspectives they have (Jacoby, 1995) the discussions around the term is not uniform and often create a huge debate (McGillis & Khorana, 1997). Post-colonialism should be addressed as the conception of undermining and problematisation of colonised nations, not as the period after colonialism because the legacies of colonialism still continue to affect pre-colonised nations (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin,). Post-colonialism should be seen and attended to as the project of the Western ways which objectify and domesticates others. The term post-colonial refers to the umbrella term that deconstructs European thought about colonialism and its practices. Furthermore, it is the methodological revision that allows critiquing Western structures of knowledge and power.

Post-colonialism provides a myth analysis of the life of the previously colonised nations and also of the consequences of colonialism on those people (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 2004). Loomba (1998) asserts that post-colonialism is the objection of domination of Western cultures as well as imperialism. Approaching the skin bleaching concept from this angle in the context of South Africa as a former British colony, the prefix 'post' means that colonialism has passed, but the debate is fierce in terms of two senses that are made by the prefix post. It is not factual to believe

that colonialism has passed and previously colonised countries such as South Africa and Jamaica and their people are independent. Scholars such as Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, (2004) argue that colonialism cannot be dismissed totally if the legacies of colonialism still exist in countries that were previously colonised, referring to the inequities of colonial rules that are not erased. Therefore, it is premature to claim the dismissal of colonialism. The debate makes it difficult for scholars of post-colonial theories to agree on what exactly post-colonialism is because scholars approach it from different perspectives (McClintock, 1992). Colonialism is not happening from outside the country or its people, but it should be viewed as something that happens within the people and their country, causing collusion of the outside factors and thus affecting the internal aspects as well. Post-colonialism should not be thought of as something that comes after colonialism and be dismissed as such; it should, however, be viewed as contestation of colonial legacies and domination. Fanon (1952) argues that post-coloniality uncertainties and dominations should not be restricted to social analysis only, but the psychological analysis is equally as important. The argument made by Fanon (1952) indicates that colonised people are not only affected by colonialism on a social level, but mental and emotional issues should be taken into consideration when addressing post-colonial issues.

This study takes a perspective of post-coloniality not as the era that has passed and consequently the once colonised country and its people are independent and dismiss its existence or erase the legacies of colonialism. However, it takes the view that colonialism still exists in Africa even though the countries are politically independent. The determinants of colonialism still continue to create further domination. The post-coloniality definition has been criticised over time since many different scholars seem not to agree on a similar definition, however Spivak defines it better in the context of this study when she argues that “post colonialism refers to specific groups of oppressed people or individuals within them, rather than to a location or a social order, which may include such people but not limited to them” (Spivak, 1988: 133). Criticism about this definition is that it is limited to individuals and their subjectivities and shifting the focus from locations and institutions.

Post-colonialism is the theoretical framework that questions and critiques the results of colonialism on the culture and lives of previously colonised countries (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 2004). Post-colonialism is a rejection of Western culture and

colonialism (Loomba 1998). The skin bleaching concept is examined from the angle that historically South Africa was colonised. The dominant ideologies and role that colonialism played in consistently influencing the culture of skin bleaching within black people is vital in conducting this study.

Ideology is a biased or fabricated perception of the world, which masks the real relations between the world and the people who live in it. Often, in society, the ideologies that are popular and dominant are from the dominant social class (Gramsci, 1952). Ideology portrays the minds of the dominant social class in the society and the skin bleaching phenomena is rooted in the ideology that light skin is the epitome of beauty, and the yellow bone culture leads to the pursuit of light skin through the use of skin lightening products and skin bleaching. The dominating class during colonialism was of the opinion that whiteness was more beautiful, better, brighter, civilised and pure, and blackness was associated and stereotyped with dirt, inhuman, backward and uncivilised.

The black body was denigrated and it was a norm in that era which dominated for a long period of time in South Africa, actively being aided by the apartheid regime, which also promoted the same ideology that white people had privilege because of their white skin. The apartheid regime had the same ideologies as colonialism when addressing the issue of white supremacy. Black people experienced oppression and lack of human rights because of the perceived assumption of their inferiority based on skin colour.

To understand the post-colonial experiences relating to the body in South Africa, one needs to engage the colonial and apartheid culture of highlighting whiteness as the epitome of civility, economic opportunity and cultural superiority. The apartheid regime stressed white supremacy by reinforcing segregation in 1948 (Clark & Worger, 2011; Shefer, 2010). New laws were established with the aim to segregate blacks and whites and oppress black people's political rights of involvement and engagement during the apartheid era. The laws prevented black people from exercising their civil rights and voting rights respectively (Clark & Worger, 2011). Additionally, black children were forced to learn in Afrikaans under the Bantu education system (Naidu, 2011). The language oppression on black Africans was done in order to keep the white minority dominating and controlling black people.

(Kallaway, 2002; Naidu, 2011). The plan was for black people to get poor education, which qualified them to less paying and low class jobs in the society, so that they could not have access to or control anything valuable in the country (Mariotti, 2012; Naidu, 2011). These unjust experiences conditioned black people to believe that success, intelligence and better living standards were for fair-skinned people only. Black people carried a strong belief that their skin colour was the main reason why they were suffering and struggling. In *A Long Walk to Freedom*, Mandela (1995), former President of South Africa, makes reference to this conditioning, explaining that when he was a little boy, he thought that if he behaved very well in his current life, he would become a white man in his next life. These indoctrinated beliefs often push many South Africans, mostly women, to bleach their skin.

The birth of democracy gave people rights to make choices. Black people who were previously disadvantaged now have the privilege to make their own life choices without anything being imposed on them. However, some black people still follow and do some of the things that were meant to belittle and dehumanise them. And those things include the use of skin lightening products and skin bleaching.

Studies on skin colour within black communities reveal that black people prefer light skin over dark skin colour because fair skin is associated with positive connotations and beauty constructions; fair skin is associated with high levels of intelligence and educational success (Russell, Wilson & Hall, 1993, Edwards, 1973; Hughes & Hertel, 1990; Keith & Herring 1991; Hill 2000). The literature further point out that fair-skinned people show high self-control, satisfaction and other positive characteristics as compared to dark-skinned or black people (Bond & Cash, 1992; Cash & Duncan, 1984; Neal & Wilson, 1989). The media are also promoting skin colour biases by giving preferences to light-skinned people and often in media stories light-skinned people are favoured, which shows that colour preference is dominant and persistent in all spheres such as political, economic and the media (Ducille,1996, Neal & Wilson,1989).

4.1.2 Blackness

Blackness was subjected to negative stereotypes, connotations and negative representations; to be black was to be dirty, ugly, evil, deadly and devilish. Critics like John Swift (1997) acknowledges shortcomings of such representations of

blackness. More (2017) posits that blackness is identified with evil, disaster, famine, plagues, doom and ugliness and the term *black* is synonymous with crime, slavery or delinquency.

“Blackness” and its complex of inferiority is an identity signifier determined through difference with an “other”. Believing that Africans were like monkeys came to the idea of “human zoo” (Johnson, 2003:5). In the nineteenth century African bodies became visually representative of something biologically and culturally inferior to Europeans. The tales of African exploration circulating in this period were compounded by living displays of Africans themselves. Kidnapped from around the world, particularly Africa, hundreds of indigenous people were put on display for white Westerners to view. They were also made to perform on stage for the amusement of a paying public. One of the most prominent humans placed in a museum was Sarah Bartmaan, South African woman, who was placed in Paris’s Museum of Man exhibiting her naked body to anyone who was willing to pay one shilling admittance fee.

The colonial period marks the time when the black body was associated with negative stereotypes. Black men were named rapists who raped white women and did not have control over their libido, and black women were hyper sexualised (Johnson, 2003). Moreover, during slavery, African women slaves were seen as sexual miscreants; their sexuality was to be explored, exploited, and subjected to degradation and dehumanization. Images of black women in the eighteenth century Western art depict prostitutes, beggars and other members of low society. When women slaves gave birth to their slave masters’ children, there grew a distinction on light-skin slaves and dark-skin slaves (Johnson, 2003). As with all racial conceptions confined within a European image, having fairer skin, has been a problem for Africans of the Diaspora to deal with; something that is parallel to the European projection of beauty and self-identity. The European woman’s beauty was shown to hold no equal; none could compare with her beautiful skin, her angelic beauty and divine perception. She is seen as often contemplating with her emotions, being gentle, and portrayed as innocent, and placed on pedestals by European men, in the midst of the African female’s image. Whereas the African slave women are seen exclusively sexually submissive and accessible (Johnson, 2003). While Europeans believed that their colour is presumably normal and acceptable, unlike blackness

which was regarded as 'other' or inferior, it created an aspirational for whiteness. Fanon (1986) criticised this sociological aspiration. He notes that "for the black man there is only one destiny. And it is white" (1986:10). Black people were made to be subordinates and slaves, and to get out of that life, the only way was to be white, and hence Fanon reinforces this notion in his experience with a white child: "Mama," says the child to his mother, "Mama! See the Negro! I'm frightened!" Seeing himself thus, Fanon writes, "I made up my mind to laugh myself to tears, but laughter had become impossible . . . My body was given back to me sprawled out, distorted, recoloured, clad in mourning in that white winter day" (Fanon, 1986:10). In such a scene of "Blackness", which was a daily experience for blacks, the boy too provoked in his cry, his trauma of identity, his sudden subjectification as not-black (Fanon, 1986). The strong aspiration of being white may be one of the reasons why some black women bleach their skin. The skin bleaching phenomenon needs critical scrutiny in terms of how blackness and whiteness were socially constructed because this has impact on how people understand their identity, self and mind.

4.1.3 White supremacy

Privilege is to earn access to power and resources over others. White people came to Africa and colonised it, they took everything that black people owned and even created a white culture of privilege, which made them to have access to power and resources over the black people in their own land. Privilege is "a right, immunity, or benefit enjoyed only by a person beyond the advantages of most." McIntosh (1995:10). Colonisers created lies and indoctrination within black people that the most beautiful skin is light and set is as a measure of beauty and success. (Bento & Carone, 2002; Nogueira, 2008; Souza, 1983). The ideology that white people think and believe that they are human and others outside their race are inhuman is rooted in colonialism which gave birth to white supremacy.

White supremacy is a system that privileges white people over other races, making them to always be dominating other races. White supremacy "is a historically based, institutionally perpetuated system of exploitation and oppression of continents, nations, and peoples of colour by white peoples and nations of the European continent, for the purpose of maintaining and defending a system of wealth, power, and privilege" (Blay, 2011:4).

White supremacy was constructed during colonialism. It was a method the colonisers used to rule and dominate everything that black people owned as a means to overpower them in their own land. Historically it was outlined clearly how white supremacy worked in South Africa and some of its aspects still apply even today. In the context of South Africa, the following examples give a clear picture of how white supremacy was constructed and executed, and the privileges of white supremacy, which were constructed during colonialism and apartheid.

- The forceful removing and owning of the black people's native land and the whites believe that they deserve to own the land that was not theirs. Moreover even today the black people's native land is not returned to them as their rightful owners.
- The Group Areas Act 41 of 1950 which forced black people to use identification documents as access to freedom of movement, and also Act 77 of 1957 and Act 36 of 1966, which legally separated black people from whites in terms of geography. Black people were pushed and made to stay in informal settlements and whites had the privilege of staying in towns and cities.
- The sending away of fathers from their families during colonialism and slavery, which was breaking apart black people's families, which was not the case with the white families; they had a good supportive family structure.
- Withholding education for blacks as a means to prevent black people from reproducing their own culture and making it known. When education was introduced the curricula was serving the ideology of white supremacy and feeding black people knowledge that was questionable such as Bantu education and its oppressive laws. These ideologies still continue even today and that is why South African students presented their call to the Department of Higher Education for the decolonisation of the education system in the country.
- The forceful law of making Afrikaans language to be studied in black children's schools. The issue of language still continues even today because the English language serves a medium of instruction, while African languages are marginalised (Kirkwood and Kenneth, 1950).

With the above mentioned examples of white supremacy, it is important to recognise that white supremacy affects many aspects of life and the phenomenon of skin

bleaching is a concept that is rooted in colonialism, because as early as 1875 there was a soap that was sold to wash away dirt, and blackness was associated with dirt. Therefore, the use of washing away blackness was symbolic to washing off dirt. The soap was called Pears' Soap (see Figure1). The soap was advertised by the colonisers to black people with the ideology that they were bringing civilisation and cleanliness to the savage. Racism and the ideal of whiteness being superior and more beautiful were the selling ideas of the Pears' soap. The use of skin bleaching or skin lightening products by black people is not a new concept, but a result of colonialism and its practices. In contemporary society the legacy still continues and it is clear where it originated; however, the main thrust of the matter is to realise that it is not only the self-hate reasons as many scholars have argued (Blay 2007; 2009a; 2009b; Charles, 2003; 2009; de Souza, 2008; Glenn, 2008; Lewis et al., 2010; Mire, 2001; Thomas, 2008; Wallace, 2009). There is an aspect of socio-economic advantage that is into play and it needs to be considered. White supremacy gave birth to colourism in the society, which is a privilege given to white or light-skinned people within one ethnic group of black people. Colourism has socio-economic privileges to those lighter in skin colour and disadvantages to those who are not.

4.1.4. Whiteness

Whiteness is defined as the orientation of white bodies and their habit, and most importantly it is how these white bodies occupy spaces and the domination it has over others, which is historically originated and becomes a background for social actions (Wise, 2002). Whiteness in this context refers to the central power that the white body has and how this power is executed as a norm to control universally what is socially accepted. For the purposes of this study whiteness is scrutinised based on the material privileges associated with the white body, discursive theories and the personal/relational theories to whiteness.

The material theory of whiteness is about privileges that are tangible which white people enjoy every day, privileges such as well-paying jobs, access to good education and ownership of land. Scholars such as Blay (2011) and Hunter (2007) have argued that one of the reasons black people envy whiteness so much is because of the privileges and access to higher economic status. One reason why most black women erase their black skin is because of their need to improve their socio-economic status either by getting married to a partner that is financially

peaking or stable (Lopez, 2005). The discursive theories postulate the analysis of the symbols, discourses, language and the media portray whiteness as ideal normal state of being (Matsebula, et al., 2007). The main argument of the discursive theory is the binaries and symbols made between whiteness and other, for example equating whiteness to beauty and blackness to ugliness, whiteness to superior and blackness to inferior. The most recent symbol of whiteness as the ideal norm is the dove advertisement with a tag line that says, *'from normal to dark skin'* and to further emphasise the media portrayal of whiteness as better than other skin shades see the figure below .

The figure below is a Dove advertisement in which a black woman takes off her t-shirt and she becomes a white woman. The interpretation here is that if a black woman applies Dove lotion she will turn into a white woman. In other words, a dark skin can be changed to a 'normal' skin which is white by applying this product.

Figure 4.1. Controversial Dove advertisement



Source:(<https://www.timeslive.co.za/news/south-africa/2017-10-09>)

Personal/relational whiteness theory addresses how white privilege plays a role in how people relate to others, how the sense of self is moulded as well as the expectations about morality and growth (Matsebula, et al., 2007). It is common to compare ourselves in relation to others, and often these comparisons lead to a form of privilege, stereotypes or racialised identity. For example, the ideas of being a good

person is in comparison to others whom we believe we are better than, with that point of view we refuse to address others as equals, which leads to racialised identity, prejudice and stereotypes. Whites believing that they are good and better is denigration to other people who are non-white. The study believes in embracing diversity and not comparing each other to avoid stereotypes (Matsebula, et al., 2007). Prominent scholars of skin bleaching such as Blay (2011) and Hunter (2007) note that black women who undergo skin bleaching hate their black skin. The main idea of their claim is based on the association of the black skin with dirt and inhuman by white colonisers. These racist remarks denotes prejudice and stereotyping of blackness is what the theory is arguing, that embracing diversity will lead to the dismantling of racist systems and the elevation of self-pride in one's identity.

Whiteness on social life and culture is masqueraded as a norm, and socially it has its own habits that normalise whiteness as superior. Whiteness defines the standard norm and what is acceptable socially and anything that deviates from the norm is not accepted and is considered less attractive or desirable (Yancy, 2004). Consequently, blacks that talk, walk and embrace their blackness and identity are seen as uncontrollable or pathological because they do not follow the whiteness standards. The predominantly white institutions are seen as institutions beyond race, grounded on rational enlightenment principles of equality, rationality and objectivity which make whiteness to function as a norm. Given the social life and culture of whiteness, black people who bleach their skin may be driven by the desire to acquire the privileges that are associated with whiteness; skin bleaching maybe their easiest way to occupy space and have a sense of superiority that whiteness encapsulates.

4.1.4 Post-colonial feminism

Post-colonial feminism theory is predominantly about the representation of women in countries which were previously colonised, while post-colonial theory is concerned about the struggles of formerly colonised people and their misrepresentation as inferior. Post-colonial feminist theory is more complicated because it addresses more a complicated issue of double colonialisation, which is experienced by women (McClintock, 1995). Double colonialisation is the simultaneous experience that women have to deal with, being colonised because of their black skin colour, which

is the same experience as men and also being suppressed by their own black men or brothers through patriarchy (McClintock, 1995).

In the black society where patriarchy dominates, black women are suppressed by their own black fellow brothers, hence post-colonial feminism is more critical. The colonised brother acts as the oppressor not the accomplice and misrepresents the female counterpart, while on the other hand the coloniser is busy imposing silence culturally, socio-economically, racially and politically (McClintock, 1995). Post-colonial theory is the resistance of post-colonial power and its discourse. It undermines the colonisers' experiences of the reality as articulated by the coloniser in attempt to have total domination and control on the colonised. It further contributes to the production of literature and knowledge and reclaiming of identity of the colonised people.

Post-colonial feminists argue that post-colonial theory does not consider the necessity of gender issue in the discourse. Post-colonial feminists believe that post-colonial theory is male-centred and that it disregards and exploits women's concerns (Davies, 1994). Moreover, one of the post-colonial feminists accentuate that "Postcolonial feminist theorists have accused postcolonial theorists not only of obliterating the role of women from the struggle for independence, but also of misrepresenting them in the nationalist discourses" (Davies, 1994:201). Post-colonial theory is questioned as a male-centred field because there are few women theorised in post-coloniality, which brought a huge debate of whether women are excluded in the post-coloniality discourse and marginalised, or women did not contribute immensely towards the field. McClintock (1995) contends that African culture was mainly about traditions that are male oriented, while women were considered to be mothers whose roles were to look after the men and the children. Similarly, Peterson (1986) adds that women's concerns were ignored and sacrificed.

The woman's place and role was predominantly domestic in society. Peterson (1986) critiques Chinua Achebe for approving the unjust oppression in the society, as Peterson postulates: "Achebe's much praised objectivity with regard to the merits and flaws of traditional Ibo society becomes less than praise worthy seen in this light: his traditional women are happy, harmonious members of the community even when they are repeatedly beaten and barred from any say in the communal decision-

making process and constantly reviled in sayings and proverbs” (Peterson, 1986:253). Western feminists and African feminists are not experiencing and addressing the same gender issues because black women experience the oppression of patriarchy and race simultaneously. The politics of class and race, which is difficult to separate from sexual oppression, is what black feminists in post-colonial theory argue and question. Intersectionality addresses the simultaneous oppression of gender, race, and class; the aim is to address oppression in all systems that create inequality and discrimination. Intersectionality recognises the importance of context in terms of history, individual experiences and social or political context (Crenshaw, 1989). It is visible that in post-colonial theory, gender issues are not addressed and in Western feminism race disadvantages black women. Therefore, it is critical to acknowledge the African feminist thought of criticising the racial-sexual oppression, which is not solely racial or sexual oppression, but a combination of both and experiencing them simultaneously.

It is important to address the critical theories of gender briefly on what post-feminists question and address. Standpoint theory is about how individuals understand their social life as whole based on the groups of gender, race, and class and how those groups shape their experience, knowledge and identity in the society (Bacon, 2002 & Wood, 2005). The aspect of the theory is social location and the argument is that there are different views on situations based on where the individual is located socially. For example, slavery was recognised by all members of the society, however there were different perspectives on understanding the nature of slavery from the social location of either a master or a slave; similarly in the society where power exists, there are different perspectives on how the issues of power are interrogated (Hegel, 1991).

The main idea of the theory is not the social location but the standpoint, which is the most critical part that proclaims standpoint as the earning of critical reflection on power, by taking a stand as the opposition of the dominant discourse (Bacon, 2002). It is vital to understand that my virtue of belonging to a social location does not necessarily equate to a standpoint. For example, women are not feminists because of their social location which is gender in this context. Being a woman does not confer a standpoint in feminism; however, women, lesbians/gays, lower class and

other groups which are marginalised because of societal dictates and power dynamics can take a stand on the unjust ideologies and systems in the society by questioning the status quo. The main groups which are favoured by power dynamics and other societal dictates may have a different view to those of the marginalised groups because they do not need to be understood and learned by others because of their privilege position (Bacon, 2002). Standpoint theory was used by Collins (1986) to critic the representation of black American women in postcolonial feminism. She argues that her position as a woman of colour was always of the other in the academic arena, which is predominantly white. However, she took a stand against marginalisation of women of colour in America. Furthermore, she postulates that social locations provide the possibility of the growth on standpoint that reflect on awareness of social hierarchies, domination and oppression.

Standpoint theory links with queer theory on marginalisation of certain groups in the society. Queer theory states that the society should move away from binaries, arguing that all groups should be treated equally no matter what their gender or sexuality. Post-colonial feminists critic the convention of the categories of what is 'normal' and 'not normal' in cultural and identity views (Halperin, 2004). They furthermore argue that this type of categories lead to stereotyping some groups in relation to others and often lead to prejudice, disregarding and disadvantaging those groups in society.

Womanist feminism is postcolonial feminism which focuses on the precision and context of the third world countries' challenges. Post-colonial feminists in developing countries are those who believe in the difference in the struggles of women who live in developed countries as opposed to those in developing countries (Spivak, 2006). The developing countries notion is symbolised by the cultural and historic suppression of colonialism in those countries. Womanist feminism refers to the feminists with the geographic location of Africa, Asia and Latin America. Women in these countries believe that their struggles differ from the struggles carried out by Western feminists and they want to respond to their problems in their native land. They also believe that women in developing countries have been subjects of oppression to the patriarchal system, race and class (Mohanty, 2005).

Post-colonial feminism in developing countries situate women and their challenges in socio-economic condition, culture and ideology as a means to address relevant issues that women face because of cultural norms and not think all women in all areas face similar issues like Western feminists do. The exclusion of women based on race, culture, class is a problem even after the attainment of independence. Womanist feminism argues that Western women presented and advocated their own problems with the impression that they were fighting for all women regardless of class and race. Black feminists accuse Western feminists by pointing out that they failed to address the cultural differences which gave birth to the work of Carby (2001) '*white women listen!*' The criticism was what is progressive for the Western feminism is not necessarily progressive for black feminism. The womanists feminism opposed that women outside the west should be saved by the generous western women who don't understand their own cultural struggles. Western feminists construct women as homogeneous groups across all races which is problematic for indigenous women because their experiences and history of their locations shape their struggles therefore it is impractical to generalise and speak for all women problems as similar.

Post-colonial feminism has been argued by the African American feminist, hooks (1998), as the scholarship that needs to be centralised, her argument is that African American women are marginalised and their views has been belittled because of patriarchal discourses. Furthermore she asserts that the main issue in post-colonial theory is political oppression and patriarchy. Western feminists are discredited by Hooks (1998) for assuming that women's desires and interests are uniform globally. She argues that universality is not factual because of cultural differences, historical experiences and socio-economic status and the kind of situations that women face in their everyday lives. The discourse of Western feminists is accused of viewing developing countries' feminists along negative aspects of their lives such as domestic violence, women abuse, rape and forced prostitution without critically analysing the context and culture. Moreover, Western feminists emphasise concepts such as marriage, household and patriarchy, but fail to recognise the history of the represented subordinate women. A call was made by Spivak (2001) to white women, pointing out that Western feminists need to learn that not all black women are

uneducated and abused by their spouses, suggesting that Western feminists should refrain from stereotyping black women.

Society and the media, epitomises beauty using the Eurocentric model that of fair and white skin, thin and lean. For black women, that standard of beauty is problematic on several levels. On a personal level, issues of self-esteem and body image are impacted. Issues of eligibility and suitability for marriage are tied up with this European vision of what is thought to be desirable. Professionally, this standard of beauty is often used to determine job worthiness, to assess job performance and to advance career opportunities. To maximise their life chances, some black women may seek out ways to model this European standard of beauty by erasing their black skin.

The skin bleaching phenomenon is popular among black women in South Africa, and men are also the contributing factor because it is argued by Blay (2009) that women lighten their skin colour because many men prefer to marry women with lighter skin. Moreover, patriarchy and its beliefs taught women to submit and always work to please men and impress them, hence women are often treated as subjects of men and even go to the extreme of changing how they look in order to be competitive in the marriage market (Walker, 2009). It is very important not to forget that black women culturally were taught that marriage is an achievement. For a woman to be respected she must be married and take the husband's surname, which shows that now the woman can address other women in society and be heard. Such cultural norms contribute greatly to how women behave in their daily lives.

4.2 THEORY OF POWER AND CELEBRITY CULTURE

The theory of power and celebrity culture are important to discuss in understanding how celebrity culture shapes and influences others in the society, such influence is based on the power celebrities have on ordinary people.

In Foucault's writings, the concepts of power and subjects are intertwined. In his work '*the subject and power*' he argues that it is not possible to study how human beings are made subjects without studying power and power relations in the societies and organisations (Foucault, 2000). He further states that human

subjectivity is formed through power as a result of history in the quest to produce certain desires and discourses. The definition of a discourse in this context is “the structured and regulated systems or rules which define who can say what when and how” (Caldwell, 2007:772). Foucault, in his essay ‘*Order of Things*’ (2002), observes how certain knowledge is considered to be the truth while some lies and who make such rules and how the truth or a lie is used to make other groups to be subjects of dominance. When Foucault explains the relationship between power and the subject he reinforces that human beings define themselves through their history, background and experiences.

The discourse became the most important aspect in Foucault’s work because it is a tool that he used to identify how subjects limit themselves when and how they perceive and relate themselves to the world they live in, and also how they are perceived and represented (Foucault, 2002). Skin bleaching has been taking place over many years because of the historical background of colonialism and apartheid. Black people were subjects of colonialism and apartheid, and black skin erasure was the strategy for some individuals to get the privileges accorded to light-skinned people, which they envied so much since whiteness was dominant and superior. In the context of this study, it is important to recognise that human beings are not always subjects, especially in post-colonial and post-apartheid eras. Therefore it is important to bring the issues of self to the fore. The self is no longer a subject, but an active individual who makes their own decisions. The self has the power to claim their own identity and define themselves in way that a self becomes a work of art and not a subject of white supremacy and whiteness ideologies. The self has the power to resist the dominant power of whiteness and take an active role in embracing blackness and avoiding internalising all ideologies that present whiteness as the norm. Foucault asserts that new technologies allow the manipulation, transformation and production of meanings and symbols, which can be used to shape people’s ideas of the world by those who control the technologies. Technologies of power control and guide individuals to a certain extent by imposing ideologies on certain people and objectifying the subjects (Foucault, 1997). The technology of power in the context of this study is the power of social media and the influence it has on human beings who consume them. Social media has the technological power which is manipulated, transformed to produce perfect ideal bodies that are shaped to be

the representation of a beautiful feminine body; these platforms promote Eurocentric body as the epitome of beauty (Foucault, 1997). Features such as light skin, long hair and blue eyes are manipulated by people such as celebrities to peddle an accepted black female body. Skin bleaching products are advertised and endorsed by some female celebrities on social media to show to people how to erase the black skin and attain the ideal whiteness. In the modern culture, female's physical attractions of beauty are measured by Western standards of beauty. The mass media promotes the beauty ideal through selecting idealised images of contemporary notions of beauty. The argument is based on the assumption that the media is a reflection of society (Sarwer et al., 2003). The reinforcement of the mass media idealising the notion of beauty is reflected on social media platforms where celebrities showcase their unrealistic thinness, light and flawless skin. Young black South African women look up to these celebrities and model their behaviours. Consequently, the impact of the idealisation of these unrealistically perfect-looking celebrities cannot be ignored.

Odhiambo (2008) argues that the role of the media is to circulate information, and consistent exposure to these kinds of body aesthetics by the social media has an influence on body image and perceptions of women. South African celebrities such as Nomasonto 'Mshoza' Maswanganyi, Kelly Khumalo, and Khanyi Mbau constantly appear on Facebook and Instagram augmenting the features they were born with, given the increasing exposure to pop culture and media representations of female beauty. The age of Instagram, Facebook and other such social media have seen the emergence of the new face of a black girl, because young South African women adopt the celebrity culture of living, which is perpetuated by the mass media and celebrities reflected in social media platforms.

The media are the main source that promotes celebrity culture, and the media's influence can take away our natural confidence and catalyses the obsession of perfect and flawless celebrity beauty (Odhiambo, 2008). Furthermore, Odhiambo (2008:33) emphasises that "the media increases the demand for celebrity endorsement, contributing to the recent trends and increasingly high rates of eating disorders, self-harm, depression, suicide, plastic surgery, cosmetic procedures". South African women are bombarded with images of unrealistic beauty of celebrities on Instagram and Facebook specifically. The increase of celebrity culture does not

affect young black women's self-esteem and mental health only, but also their behaviours. It is normal for young women to have idols as they are growing up and moulding their identity; it is true that many celebrities have Twitter, Facebook, Instagram accounts that are accessible to the public as the platform where they present themselves. As a result, young black women model the behaviours they consume from their idols and present such behaviour as their own in real life (Sutton, 2009).

Technological power of self is outlined and scrutinised by Foucault (1997), as he argues that much as technological power has a huge influence on human beings who are exposed to it, human beings similarly have the same power to resist any forms of power embedded on them (Foucault, 1997). He points out that power is relational and individuals can resist all forms of power and dominance by self-governance by shaping themselves in a state of happiness, purity, self-identity and perfection. Power is shown when it transforms subjects and has effects on the subjects. Ideological marketing of whiteness and its dominant ideology of whiteness as superior is shown on some black women who transformed their black skin by bleaching to white skin, and the effects the practice has on black identity and self-pride. Celebrities who bleach their skin and endorse skin bleaching products on social media have the power to influence and change people's perception of how they view themselves and the world, and thus power such is regarded as network power by Castell (2011) who concurs with Foucault (1997), who claims that power is a network which affects everyone.

Celebrities hold power in the society and their power is based on the influence they have on ordinary people who idolise them. Given the South African history of colonialism and apartheid, some South African celebrities still believe in the importance of white skin colour as being better than black skin colour, and further perpetuating and embracing proximity to fair skin as notion of feminine beauty and prestige. As Foucault (1980) argues historical facts cannot be denied, that colonialism attacked the black skin and how it is construed; however, it is important to question these historical ideologies and re-interpret and re-contextualise them (Foucault, 1980). The peddling of whiteness as the epitome of beauty by celebrities need to be questioned and assessed to understand whether these celebrities are still under the influence and internalisation of apartheid and colonial beliefs that black

skin is inhuman, and are hating their own skin colour, or if the celebrities prefer white skin because of the many privileges associated with it, as has been previously indicated.

The most important form of power is dominance in all forms of power that Lukes (2005) explains. He states that dominance happens in two forms: the first one is dominance with acceptance from the dominated; they accept dominance without protest or any action of resistance. The main reason for the dominated to accept domination is because they strongly believe in the culture, norms or values that oppress them and see it as their own reality in their social world (Lukes, 2005). The second form of dominance is the one that is forced on the dominated; they don't have any other choice but to accept this kind of dominance in their social world. However, other scholars such as Benton (1981), Clegg (1989) and Hay (1997) argue that Lukes (2005) is showing the attitude of patronising superiority in his claims when he says there is a form of domination that the dominated accepts without resistance of domination. These scholars are of the opinion that Lukes (2005) is judging and undermining other people's values by questioning them and drawing conclusions in cultural practices that he does not belong and deeply understand. However, (Dowding, 1991) concurs with Lukes (2005) when he says that people have the privilege to judge which social norms are good or bad to them; it is best when an outsider evaluates and analyses the situation of others because their judgement is objective and not influenced by normative beliefs and values (Dowding, 1991). He further argues that power account may not be disputed fundamentally, that is why it is important to analyse preferences, interests, values, desires, beliefs and how they might be interpreted.

Spinoza (2001) asserts that authenticity and freedom are important and need to be analysed. He further claims that freedom does not speak about how preference is established and how it affects freedom (Spinoza, 2001). Autonomy is when a person is solely acting according to their own self-will without any influence of external factors. Autonomy can exist with restrictions, but at the same time a person can be autonomous in acting towards the incentives set by others. Moreover autonomy can exist while a person's freedom is limited or contained by the social injustices, beliefs, cultural norms and values. Additionally, this autonomy is only limited to the extent

that our social norms, beliefs, cultural norms are established with the intention of dominance and control over those who are subjects and privilege those who are superior (Spinoza, 2001). For example, the colour stratification and white supremacy ideologies are forms of dominance and power that are embedded on black people to believe and see whiteness as the norm, and that was done with the intention by the dominating group (whites colonisers) to control and manipulate black people's minds (Fanon,1998).

The power issues and dominance in the society are complex. Bourdieu (2001) claims that power and dominance sometimes go to the extent that the dominated subject can, to a certain degree, contribute to the dominance that is imposed on them, by feeding and nourishing the domination and not confronting or resisting it (Bourdieu,2001). He Further gives an example by saying, "The vision that many women have of their bodies not conforming to the aesthetic canon imposed by fashion, and, more generally, in their adherence to a demeaning image of women" (Bourdieu, 2001:35). Moreover, he postulates that woman fashion and how the attractive feminine body should look like to entice men is not derived from the men but women who work in media particularly and other institutions, which are influential in nature. Importantly, in the African culture older women teach younger women how to take care of their men and the family, and the patriarchal advice comes from women not men, and the message that is sent to young brides is that men are dominant and they have power over women so Bourdieu (2001) makes a good point.

In the context of this research domination of skin colour and the hierarchies of whiteness over other skin shades was introduced by the colonial system and reinforced by the apartheid regime. However, some black people in the media industry feed and nourish the colour hierarchies in the form of advertisements, music videos, songs and the popularisation of the 'yellow bone' culture in South Africa. In his arguments Bourdieu (2001) concludes by stating that domination with intention requires an open human mind devoid of anger but with the vision of liberating the subjects of power and domination. Domination which happens unconsciously is forgivable and often the dominator takes the responsibility of accepting their unconscious actions. However, the domination of and erasure of the

black skin colour by peddling whiteness is intentional and it is propagated by black people who are subjects of colonialism and apartheid. They continue promoting the denigration of the black skin by engaging in skin bleaching and peddling the ideology of whiteness as the norm and the epitome of beauty.

Power as a dynamic phenomenon is studied in different disciplines and because of its forceful nature, power is studied empirically and theoretically as a means to understand the gap between the true extent of power and how it is theoretically outlined. Power is more feasible because certain aspects of it can be fabricated; therefore by studying power empirically it allows the understanding of the true extent and effects of power on the subject and the dominant (Dawding, 2005). In his extended study of power, Lukes (2005) observes that power is not limited to power being the capacity used rather the capacity itself. He argues that power can be held even when it is not needed or used. In his observations he discovered the three dimensions of power, which are: one dimensional view of power; two dimensional view of power and three dimensional view of power. The one dimensional view of power is focused on the capacity of the dominant group to make decisions without involving the subject, which is a non-decision making group. All important issues that concern policy making and political changes are not addressed in the presence of the subordinate or the non-decision making group, because their important action is to comply than questioning the status quo (Lukes, 2005).

The second dimension of power is the two dimensional view of power; this power dimension focuses on behaviourism; it is how the group which holds power impose their ideas on the powerless and shape their reality and influence the preferences, needs and wants of the powerless group (Lukes, 2005). This dimension focuses mainly on dominant ideologies that the group which possesses power imposes as the reality and norm to the subjects. This dimension of power is relevant to this study and the context in which the study is conducted. The theory in the context of skin bleaching peddled in South Africa is questioning the dominant ideologies that condition some black people to believe that whiteness is the norm and the standard to assess beauty, and that whiteness deserves privileges economically, socially and politically.

The theory argues that those with power define and shape the reality of the powerless. In a country that is struggling with racism and white supremacy like South Africa, black skin erasure is a trend among some black women. These women are trying to understand and identify themselves; they are in a journey of identity formation but find it somehow hard to know and understand who they are and what their blackness means when those with power in the media and the society promote whiteness as the embodiment of perfection. With the growing incidents of racism and denigration of blackness all over the country in post-colonial and post-apartheid South Africa, it is evident that black skin erasure is a crisis. White supremacy still controls some black people's consciousness and sense of pride in their identity and self. People might dispute that everyone has the choice to do what they want with their body in a democratic country, but such an answer goes back to the argument about the capacity of those who hold power. The power the media as an institution have on people is massive and if the media represent certain ideologies as the norm, those norms are likely to become the people's reality. For example the movie Black Panther is making a positive impact on blackness and black people's positive representation. A movie of black people presenting their ideology of blackness and identity without any stereotypes that shape their reality negatively is a good way to resist domination of ideas, representation and form.

The three dimensional view states that it is vital to avoid the grievances that are formed by shaping the preferences of the powerless by those in power as pretence to understand the powerless and their needs (Lukes, 2005). The ability of the powerless to realise that their needs are not the priority of those in power will teach them new ways of handling domination such as resistance. The three dimensional view is a reactive way to power dominance; the gist of the theory is on the latent conflict which Lukes (2005) defines as the conflicting interests between the dominant and the subject. The dominant pretends to have similar interests with the subject and portray a sense of togetherness, but in reality it does not exist. This power excludes the needs of the subjects, and the subjects are unable to raise their opinions. He concludes by claiming that power can be located when the powerless function as a group and identify their own interests, needs and preferences.

To resist the ideologies of whiteness, black people should work together in all institutions, families, churches, schools and the government to embrace blackness and present the interests of black people in such institutions. The way to locate power is to change the previous actions by taking responsibility to fight the black skin erasure trend by avoiding the internalisation of white supremacy.

4.3 CONCLUSION

The chapter focused on the theoretical framework with focus on post-colonial theories of 'body' and ideology of whiteness, which are race and identity. It also dealt with post-colonial feminism, white supremacy and whiteness, celebrity culture, power and society and re-articulating the theory of power. White-looking all speak directly to some women's desire for beauty, with reference to a beauty standard that stems from outside the individual. These motivations are yet another illustration of how women's motivations to skin bleaching are informed by their image of self-based notions of their perceptions of others. Essentially, self-objectification is a meaningful framework in which to understand motivations to skin bleaching. Western media has played an active role in reinforcing the perception that lighter skin is more beautiful and powerful in Africa, as well as in many other parts of the world where the Western media is dominant.

CHAPTER 5

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter addresses the methodological approach used in the collection and analysis of data. It discusses the instruments used in collecting data to address the research problem. The general aim of this study is to investigate the culture of skin bleaching and the ideological marketing of fair skin by celebrities.

5.2. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

5.2.1 Research design

In this research a qualitative research method was used to explore the research questions in order to provide thick, rich and nuanced descriptions. Qualitative research methods are an attempt at understanding underlying meanings drawn from the participants' narratives. This method involves producing a deeper understanding of the world through the lens of the participants' eyes (Attride-Stirling, 2001). The primary objectives were to describe, understand and explain human behaviour (Greenstein et al., 2003). Since qualitative research is exploratory in nature, it is useful for producing in-depth and descriptive data.

Qualitative research aims for an in-depth understanding of phenomena and therefore smaller samples are used (Du Plooy et al., 2014). Unlike quantitative research designs in which larger samples must be used, there is no intention to generalise the findings from qualitative research to the entire population (Greenstein et al., 2003). The role of a qualitative researcher is to encourage the participants to open up and share their experiences and feelings, which can only be achieved once the researcher has established rapport.

Qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practises that makes the world visible. These practices turn the world into a series of representations including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings and memos to the self. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to

make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them (Maruster & Gijsenberg, 2013).

The present researcher adopted a qualitative research method in order to gain understanding of the underlying reasons and perceptions behind skin bleaching phenomenon, opinions and motivations for peddling the ideology of fair skin as the epitome of beauty by some celebrities.

5.2.2. Exploratory research

This research adopted an exploratory research design. It set out to explore the prevalence of a social phenomenon, in this case, skin bleaching. Exploratory research can be useful in identifying the consequences of research problems, and in becoming familiar with an unknown situation and behaviour (du Plooy-Cilliers, Davis and Bezuidenhout, 2014).

A qualitative methodology was used because it offers strength in understanding in-depth the behaviours, opinions and motivations behind the peddling of fair skin by some celebrities. A qualitative methodology has a high possibility of yielding in-depth information which help achieve the aim and objectives of a study. In this way, to achieve the objectives of this study, interviews and focus groups were used as qualitative instruments and data was interpreted qualitatively. All data collection instruments used managed to cover the aim and all the objectives of the study. The study focused on Facebook and Instagram to explore the aim of the research and answer the research questions. The skin bleaching and 'yellow bone' culture on Facebook and Instagram are the focus of the study, with the aim to identify the consequences. Social media as new technologies brought changes some of which affect people negatively, and thus they need to be explored in order to discover the extent of their influence. To the best of the researcher's knowledge this study is likely to be one of the first studies to explore the skin bleaching phenomenon on social media in South Africa. A qualitative methodology provided a better approach to explore the problem and to achieve the general aim of the study.

5.2.3. Sampling

5.2.3.1. Convenience sampling

This research adopted convenience sampling because the subjects were readily accessible to the researcher. Convenience sampling is a non-probability sampling technique where subjects are selected because of their convenient accessibility and proximity to the researcher. The subjects are selected because they are easiest to recruit for the study and the researcher does not consider selecting the subjects that represent the entire population. Convenience sampling is fast, inexpensive and the subjects are readily available (Raj, 1994). In this study the researcher had a focus group consisting of university students.

Sampling elements: six fair skin females, six dark skin females, and six dark males and six fair skin complexion males were conveniently selected for this study. The reason for clustering the elements in skin complexion was to identify how different people of different complexions answer questions relating to their complexion. Mixing the samples was going to confuse the data. The main aim was to find patterns that were emerging in each group based on skin complexion.

These participants were selected conveniently for focus group discussions. All these participants volunteered to take part in the study in response to the poster announcement, which called for participation in this study. Six fair skin and six dark skin females sampled were students and the reason they were chosen is that they share same characteristics such as being feminine and same skin tone. The six dark and six fair skin complexion male students were selected because they are same gender and the difference is their complexion, which would be beneficial to identify if men of certain skin colour prefer women of a particular skin colour over another. These elements formed part of the population that was sampled for focus group. Facebook, YouTube and Instagram are the social media platforms that most celebrities use to show off fair skin as personification of beauty, and all their postings relating to skin bleaching, covering a period of about a year on these platforms form part of the data. Two street vendors were accessible for

interviews and willing to participate in the study. Street vendors selling skin-bleaching products in Mankweng were approached and they accepted to participate in the study.

5.2.4. Purposive sampling

- *Sampling elements: black female celebrities*

Four black female celebrities namely Nomasondo Mshoza Maswanganyi, Khanyi Mbau and Kelly Khumalo formed part of the sample to be used purposively for this study because three of them are black female South African celebrities who bleached their skin. Another celebrity is Dencia, a pop singer from Cameroon. She is known for bleaching her skin and sells her own product called Whitenicious. Purposive sampling will be used to study their Facebook, YouTube and Instagram pages by observing posts, comments and news feeds that relate to skin bleaching culture. The celebrities were selected because they use skin bleaching products, underwent surgery and were open about their skin bleaching on social media. They openly share their views about the use of skin bleaching products. With all these sampling elements, the researcher managed to gain a deeper understanding of the motivation behind skin bleaching and peddling of fair skin by celebrities.

5.3 DATA COLLECTION

5.3.1 Digital ethnography

One of the methods used to collect data was digital ethnography. It is through this data collection instrument that the researcher can access the data from social media postings, digital videos and images.

The researcher used digital ethnography to collect texts from Instagram, YouTube, Real Talk with Anele on SABC3, Real Goboza on SABC1, Zaziwa on SABC1 and Facebook pages of Khanyi Mbau, Mshoza Maswanganyi and Dencia. Data were collected from 26 February 2017 to 20 June 2018. The researcher followed their pages and again went back to check any new data that might have emerged. In this digital ethnography the researcher's involvement was non-participant observation.

The researcher had no actual contact with the participants, therefore, the status of the researcher remains that of an observer; the observation was covert and concealed. As a result, a non-participant digital ethnography was used to collect data. In digital ethnography all the four celebrities were studied on both their Facebook, YouTube and Instagram accounts.

5.3.2 Interviews

In this research, interview data which helped to achieve the objectives of this study were collected. The Interview was chosen to gather in-depth information from street vendors about their experience of selling illegal skin bleaching products. Good preparation of the interview was done in order to ensure the collection of relevant information. All interviews were recorded for the quality capturing of information. The study conducted face-to-face interviews with two street vendors from the Mankweng streets in Limpopo Province so that they could share their experiences of the products and the customers.

This study used semi-structured interviews which enabled the researcher to do follow-up questions to obtain more information and clarification based on the response of the participants. The researcher made the interview informal so that street vendors could feel like they were engaging in a conversation with someone they knew. Thus, the street vendors felt comfortable during the interviews. Here are some of the questions from the interview guide: (see appendix for the interview guide)

- What type of people are regular customers of skin bleaching products in terms of socio-economic status?
- Do your customers buy the products regularly or it is a once-off purchase?
- How much do the skin bleaching products cost?

Some of the questions in the interview guide were answered before the researcher could ask. This means that the street vendors would link an answer for one question to another. Follow-up questions were developed based on the answers that the street vendors provided. Hence, in-depth information was gathered which assisted with understanding the socio-economic impact of skin bleaching. The questions asked during the interview were about illegal skin bleaching products and people

who buy them (see Appendix B). The advantage of a face-to-face interview is that it helps to establish a good relationship with interviewees, thus resulting in good cooperation (Leedy and Ormrod, 2013: 190). The good rapport established with the interviewees helped to obtain in-depth information for this study.

The two street vendors were asked same set of open ended questions. The information obtained was analysed and allowed the researcher to compare notes on the views and opinions of the participants in an organised manner (Du Plooy et al., 2014).

5.3.3 Focus group

Focus group is a vital data collection method and was used in this research. Focus groups were done because the researcher wanted to determine the attitudes, behaviour, preferences and dislikes of the participants who were interviewed simultaneously by a facilitator (Du Plooy et al., 2014). For example, it is often used to determine the participants' experience regarding products and services, advertisements and television programmes. Focus groups consist of about six to twelve people. The participants are gathered for the explicit purpose of expressing their views and opinions regarding the predetermined, open-ended questions related to a specific phenomenon (Du Plooy et al., 2014). In this study focus group discussions were divided into 3 focus group discussions with six participants. In each group the reason for having groups of different complexions is to have views on all the participants so that the researcher is able to draw proper conclusions. The focus group followed a conversational approach, while certain themes were covered by predetermined questions. A greater degree of freedom was given to the participants. The researcher ensured that the questions asked were truly open-ended questions and did not lead the participants into answering in a certain manner and also ensured that the questions asked were categorised into themes so that one aspect was addressed one at a time.

The three focus groups were structured as follows:

- Focus group 1: Fair-skinned females (six in number)
- Focus group 2: Dark-skinned females (six in number)

- Focus group 3: Males in dark and fair skin complexion (six in number- three each)

The researcher organised themes about skin bleaching, fair skin preferences and colourism. Moreover, the discussion was conducted in a way that allowed free flow and expression of ideas without any interruption or leading the participants to certain ideas.

5.3.4 Media content and archive

One of the methods used to collect data was media content and archives because it is through this data collection instrument that the researcher can access the data from digital videos and images. *Real Talk* with Anele on SABC 3, *Real Goboza* on SABC 1 and *BBC news on Channel 4* through YouTube were used to collect data on interviews that were done with celebrities who bleached their skin. These interviews were specifically based on why the celebrities bleached their skin. The media content and archives were used to get the perspectives of celebrities who bleached their skin and that gave a deeper understanding why they did so. Khanyi Mbau was interviewed on *Real Talk* about skin bleaching and other surgical transformations she chose to go through, while Mshoza Maswanyanyi was interviewed on *Real Goboza* about her skin bleaching transformation and how it impacts on her career. Dencia was interviewed on BBC news Channel 4 about her skin lightening product by the name of *Whitenicious*. The interview was based on what the product does and why it is necessary for people. She was also asked if she used it herself because she looked lighter than before. All these media content and archives were accessed on YouTube and were transcribed and analysed in order to understand the rationale behind the skin bleaching phenomenon, which is one of the research objectives of this study.

5.4 DATA ANALYSIS

Qualitative data were analysed based on what had been found. The researcher looked at the answers of the respondents from the interviews, the focus group discussions and digital ethnography.

5.4.1 Qualitative thematic content analysis

Qualitative content analysis was used to analyse the data obtained from the digital ethnography, interviews, TV shows interviews and focus group discussions. The

process involved identifying, analysing and reporting patterns that emerged once the research data had been collected and transcribed, thereafter it was organised into themes (Braun and Clarke, 2006). The researcher used the six steps outlined by Braun and Clarke (2006) to analyse the research data:

Step 1: Become familiar with the data.

I read and re-read the transcripts and listened to the recordings several times in order to ensure that I was familiar with the entire body of data. I made notes and jotted down early impressions.

Step 2: Generate initial codes.

In this phase I started to organise my data in a meaningful and systematic way. Coding reduces lots of data into small chunks of meaning. There are different ways to code and the method was determined by the research questions. I was concerned with addressing specific research questions and analysed the data with this in mind so this was a theoretical thematic analysis rather than an inductive one. Given this, I coded each segment of data that was relevant to or captured something interesting about my research questions. I did not code every piece of text. However, if I had been doing a more inductive analysis I might have used line-by-line coding to code every single line. I used open coding; that means I did not have pre-set codes, but developed and modified the codes as I worked through the coding process.

Step 3: Search for themes.

A theme is a pattern that captures something significant or interesting about the data and research question. As Braun and Clarke (2006) explain, there are no hard and fast rules about what makes a theme. A theme is characterised by its significance. I examined the codes and some of them clearly fitted together into a theme. For example, I had several codes that related to 'fair skin equated to cleanness' and 'fair skin being flawless' and I collated these into an initial theme called Light skin as embodiment of pureness. My themes were predominately descriptive, i.e. they described patterns in the data relevant to the research question.

Step 4: Review themes.

During this phase I reviewed, modified and developed the preliminary themes that I identified in Step 3. At this point it is useful to gather together all the data that is relevant to each theme. I read the data associated with each theme and considered whether the data really did support it. The next step is to think about whether the themes work in the context of the entire data set. To ensure this I made sure that my themes were coherent and distinct from each other by asking myself questions such as “do the themes make sense”? Does the data support the themes? Am I trying to fit too much into a theme? Are there other themes within the data?

Step 5: Define themes.

This is the final refinement of the themes and the aim is to identify the essence of what each theme is about (Braun & Clarke, 2006). I checked and understood what the theme was saying. If there are subthemes, how do they interact and relate to the main theme? How do the themes relate to each other? For example, there were subthemes about skin colour and love, skin colour and relationships which were relating to the main theme, which is Light skin as means to attract marriage.

Step 6: Writing-up.

Finally, I transformed analysis into an interpretable piece of writing by using vivid and compelling extract examples that relate to the themes, research question, and literature. My interpretation portrays an analysis supported with empirical evidence that addresses the research question. This is evident in the next chapter of data analysis and presentation.

5.5 QUALITY CRITERIA

Quality criteria cover aspects such as credibility, confirmability, transferability, anonymity and confidentiality.

Credibility was ensured in this study by ensuring that the patterns that occurred in all texts were verified and identified. The texts collected from the selected celebrities' Facebook, You Tube and Instagram were revisited to ensure that nothing had changed and checked if new data had emerged. Moreover, credibility was ensured by collecting data for an extended period of time before analysing it.

Confirmability is about the researcher's reflexivity, meaning it is the ability of the researcher to remain and reflect objectivity (Du Plooy et al., 2014). The study ensured confirmability by avoiding asking leading questions during interviews and focus group discussion. The steps in analysing data were followed correctly to avoid biasness of the researcher.

Transferability refers to the nominated sample and the comparison of sample in a demographic data and time sample (Du Plooy et al., 2014). The findings were transferred in a different setting. In this study the aim was not to generalise the results to the entire population. A thick and rich explanation was given to address the findings of the study and the findings were discussed with significance to the available literature on skin bleaching in South Africa.

Dependability is the extent to which the findings are consistent in relation to the contexts in which they were generated (Du Plooy et al., 2014). The data on digital ethnography was collected until no new themes emerged and the researcher went back to the data collected to ensure that no new data has emerged. The data was continuously being re-examined using new themes and insights that will emerge during analysis.

5.6 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

To ensure quality and integrity of research, thorough investigations and planning was done. The images that were used in this study were protected in terms of the Privacy Act. The research did not undermine any religious or personal beliefs of the participants and upheld their dignity at all times.

In **anonymity** the researcher made sure not to record the participants' names at any stage of the research process to ensure there is no match of their identity to their research responses in any way.

Confidentiality the researcher undertook that information about the participants can be known only to the researcher and not made available to anyone else. During the focus groups the researcher ensured that identity of the participants is kept anonymous at all times and the names of the people who commented and posted on the celebrities Facebook and Instagram pages were unknown.

5.7. CONCLUSION

The research methodology in a form of a research design, data collection methods, sampling and data analysis has been discussed, therefore the stage has been set for data analysis process. The next chapter will be presentation and interpretation of the findings from celebrity culture and the pursuit of fair skin based on interviews of street vendors, focus groups and social media postings of celebrities.

CHAPTER 6

CELEBRITY CULTURE AND THE PURSUIT OF FAIR SKIN (DATA PRESENTATION AND FINDINGS)

6.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents and interprets data collected through digital ethnography and media content on celebrities and skin bleaching. The names of the subjects were replaced with pseudonyms in order to protect their identity. The researcher used digital ethnography to collect data from Instagram, YouTube, *Real Talk* with Anele on SABC3, *Real Goboza* on SABC1, *Zaziwa* on SABC1 and Facebook pages of Khanyi Mbau, Mshoza Maswanganyi and Dencia. The data from media content are interviews in talk shows and magazines with celebrities who bleached their skin with the focus on the 'yellow bone' culture and colourism.

6.2. RESEARCH RESULTS

Three thematic categories emerged from the thematic analysis of the data: light skin as the epitome of beauty, light skin as embodiment of pureness, light skin as a choice and celebrities peddling fair of skin.

6.2.1. Light skin as the epitome of beauty

The colour of the skin tends to influence the perception of beauty among black women. The notion that proximity to whiteness is considered the measure of beauty among some black women is supported by the findings in this study. In South Africa among some black South Africans a light skinned black girl is called a 'yellow bone', which according to new trends is a beautiful light skinned black girl. Celebrities are also playing a major role in promoting the trends that proximity to white skin or light skin colour is more beautiful than dark black skin by augmenting their black skin through the use of skin bleaching and plastic surgery. For example, Mshoza Mnisi was interviewed by *Drum magazine* in November 2011 where she told the Drum magazine that the reason why she bleached her skin was that she was

'tired of being ugly' it is just something that I wanted to do, it has nothing to do with my self-esteem and issues with being black. It's just sad that people with weaves and all other cosmetic enhancements to make themselves look

western are on high horses judging me I just wanted a lighter skin. Our parents have been burning themselves with skin lightening creams for decades. It was never made an issue about self-esteem and race. People must calm down (Drum, 2011:11).

Figure 6.1 shows the cover page of Drum magazine where Mshoza's images of before and after skin bleaching is featured.

Figure 6.1 A screen shot of Mshoza on Drum magazine cover page before and after bleaching her skin



Source : Drum, November 14 2011.

Mshoza the South African Kwaito queen did not end with the Drum magazine to share her skin bleaching love, but went further to share a video of herself going through surgery on MTVBASE Facebook in a medical room, where she was about to go through plastic surgery in order to look like Nicky Minaj, an American music star who is reported to have bleached her skin and did other plastic surgery. Figure 6.2 below shows the screen grab of her video interview on *Real Goboza Show* where she explains the use of the products she uses and that she takes 18 pills a day.

Many of her followers have different views of her new bleached skin. Some considered the new look to be beautiful, others condemned her actions. This picture highlights the products she is using on a daily basis (see Figure 6.2).

Figure 6.2.: A screen grab of Mshoza advertising a show based on her surgical body transformation products



Skin bleaching scandal in South Africa | Unreported World

Source: You Tube: Real Goboza Show (<https://www.youtube.com/unreportedworld>)

The following comments posted on the YouTube channel in response to the video are examples of comments that considered her 'whitened' skin beautiful:

Lerato: *girl bleach on and don't care what nobody say*

Luyand: *I doubt anyone really cares. Magazines gossip to sell, controversy sells. You could bleach yourself until you look like Casper the ghost and I am pretty sure that people forget the next day. If you are happy with the consequences of what the bleaching /skin surgery will do to you as you age then so be it. Freedom of will.*

Other people who comment on the video were very critical of her. They said she has self-hate and that she does not like the way she was created, while others think that black people have a perception that whiteness is better than blackness. The people who said these comments were not supporting Mshoza's plastic surgery transformation. Their comments showed a strong non-acceptance of black people changing their skin to light skin tone. For instance, the following comments from the video provide evidence that some people do not support her plastic surgery looks.

Khutso: I am just annoyed with the black people lightening themselves and washing out their blackness like black isn't beautiful...it doesn't matter what they do because they are still black in everyone's eyes. Check how men celebrities don't bleach their skin like women celebrities

Kholo: At times the blame falls with us because we are the ones who make dark skinned girls feel ugly. I am pretty dark skinned too but I loose and gain complexion depending on climate. I have been made to feel ugly for as long as I remember though now I am matured enough to not care what people think of my looks. Whereas when a guy is dark he is yummy chocolate man but women are called nasty names. I don't think celebrities who bleach want to be other races but because of colourism and the idea of light skin being more beautiful.so because I understand how it feels to be made to feel uncomfortable in one's own skin tone I kind of can't judge people when they choose to bleach.

Nelly: If you were not famous I would dare not to judge you but then you are, so its another story to us and in the public and to the media it's a shame to you, hey, I know its got nothing to change it now but only to maintain it now, but we are judging because we don't want other people to think that this is a style to steal and apply... its fake and we don't want to be fake people, we are already judging and we don't want more of bleaching...sorry

Other people's perception is that she was beautiful before she underwent plastic surgery. Their view is that black is beautiful and she should not have done medical surgery transformation for her skin colour to look very light and regard it as brainwash due to the misconceptions associated with 'beauty'. Below are the comments from the video on *Real Goboza* made by people who believe that she was beautiful before bleaching.

Tshepo: The world is really messed up. Light skin people are as beautiful as anyone else. Stop being so brainwashed.

Leta: Such a shame seeing my African sister hating herself like this.

Dineo: When will my people stop with the nonsense? Black skin is the most envied throughout the world why do you think they push this on us to make us hate our

complexion so we can destroy what God has blessed us with. Wake up black people.

The image of Mshoza, who bleached her skin, shows that she is very light in skin colour and one can notice this light skin, especially when looking at the pictures of her before bleaching her skin. There is a big debate on the video on *Real Goboza* about the video as some people regard skin bleaching and plastic surgery as self-hatred and self-loathing, while others say that it is her body she must do whatever she likes to correct her flaws. Certain people who commented on her picture like her new looks and say she is beautiful, while some people do not like her new looks. The most perplexing aspect about the interview on *Real Goboza* on SABC 1 is that Mshoza is not sure of what exactly the products contain. For example, Mshoza was asked about the hydroquinone in her products but she was not sure (see Figure 6.2). She did not even know the side effects of such an element in her products. When the interviewer asked her what hydroquinone is made of she said, “I don’t know, but it’s deeper ah! I don’t know”.

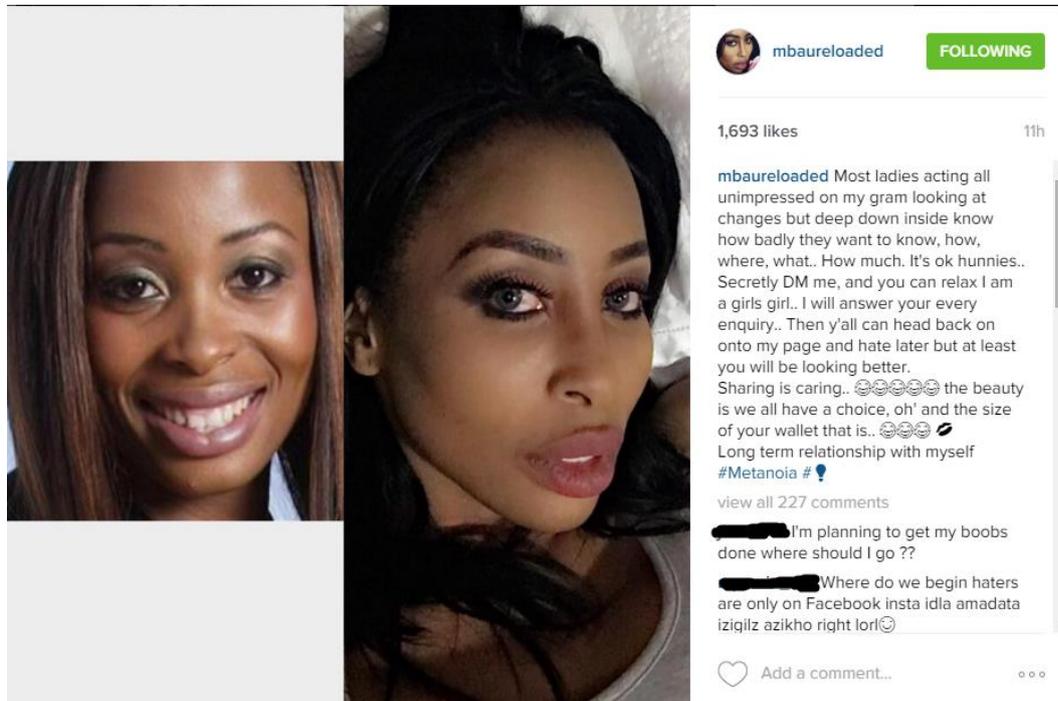
Reinforcing the idea that light skin is the epitome of beauty, Khanyi Mbau, in support of the same idea, posted pictures of ‘before and after’ skin bleaching in a pic mix on Instagram, where she mentioned that so many women would like to be like her, but they lack information on what and where to go. She further stated that beauty is all the choice we have and other women can look better after she gave them answers on where to find the products (see Figure 6.3 below). In the post she said:

Most ladies acting all unimpressed on my gram looking at changes but deep down inside know how badly they want to know, how, where, what, how much . its ohk hunnies...secretly DM me, and you can relax I am a girls girl...I will answer your every enquiry...then y’all can head back on to my page and hate later but at least you will be looking better. Sharing is caring... the beauty is we all have a choice, oh’ and the size of your wallet that is...Long term relationship with myself. #metanoia (Khanyi Mbau Instagram account @mbaureloaded).

Khanyi wrote the above caption inviting other women who are her followers to ask her questions about the changes in her skin colour and what she is using, at what price, and where to access it. She stated that other women envied her looks and she would like to share with them so that they can look better after using her lightening products. She further stated that beauty is a choice everyone has and it depends on how much people can afford. The status got a lot of comments from women asking how much and where

they can get the product. Khanyi Mbau responded to some of the comments by giving information and contact information about the product (see Figure 6.3 below).

Figure 6.3 Picmix of Khanyi Mbau before and after skin bleaching.



Many of her followers, especially women responded positively with comments that indicate that they envy her looks and they need more information on how and where to go and perform surgical transformations such as nose, boob jobs and skin bleaching. These are some of the comments:

Lerato :And so what if they are lighting products? It's clearly written on it so we know. Jealous woman.

Bontle: Just love u and I want to be a yellow bone like you, high5 🥰🥰

Ntebo:How much a they, I want to be beautiful like you.

Lina: Would like to give the products a try and wanna know how effective are they from the people that are currently using the products xx

Nana: want them please how can i oder

mbaureloaded @Nana (078) 9747177 tell him I sent you

Nana:Ok thank u so much😊

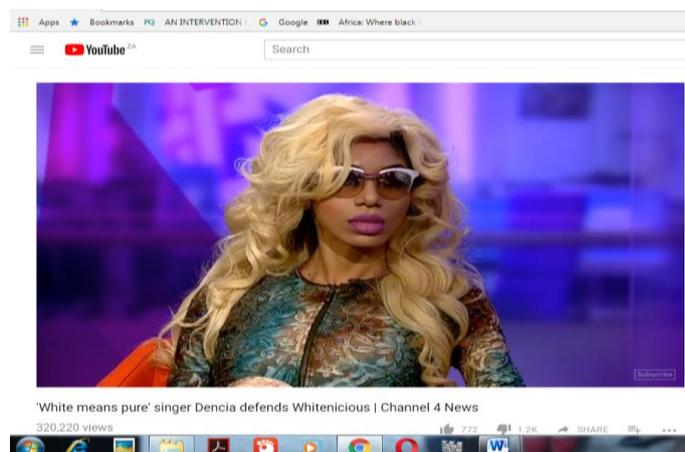
Given the above comments of people followers who want to buy the products that Khanyi is using because they also want to be beautiful it is obvious that so many people are demanding the products that lighten skin because they believe they will look beautiful. Almost everyone who commented on this post wants to have it. Khanyi Mbau defines a light skin as a choice to be beautiful and people who acted on this post are of the same believe that light skin colour is the epitome of beauty since they envy to be like Khanyi and are making efforts to look like her. Only one person in this post posed a question one's pride in changing their skin colour, but no one took up the issue for discussion. Below is the question:

Neo:Really!!!proud of lightning yo skin nd where is the pride in being yo original skin colour. ..there is nothing to be jealous about honestly.

6.2.2. Light skin as embodiment of pureness godliness

Another theme that emerges from analysis of the data is light skin as embodiment of pureness and godliness. Under this theme analysis shows that some celebrities believe that fair skin colour makes one pure and flawless. Being light-skinned was symbolised as being a god by Khanyi Mbau when she associated her power to create a flawless and perfect image of herself as the act of being a creator. It is believed in Christianity that God is the most powerful and flawless Father who is adored by many Christians, and when Khanyi associates her light skin with godliness and makes it clear that she wants to be perfect without flaws, this analysis is taken into the context of Christianity where Jesus is portrayed as a white person, and the idea is Khanyi Mbau sees fair skin as better than dark skin.

Figure 6.4. The screen grab of Dencia's interview on BBC news Channel 4



Sources: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ITuZXJBg420>

The image above shows a light skinned Dencia who bleached her skin with her own product called *Whitenicious*. She is endorsing this product on social media for people across the world. Dencia looks very light in complexion, as the image shows. She is wearing a long sleeve top which makes it difficult from the image to see if she bleached the whole body. However, from the visible parts one can see that she is light in complexion. From the interview she confirmed that she is using *Whitenicious* and that she likes to be light because it is pure and clear.

In her interview on BBC Channel 4 news, Dencia who is an international pop singer and the owner of the skin bleaching product *Whitenicious*, mentioned that white means pure, and people who have dark spots do not feel confident, pure and clean.

White means pure so it doesn't necessarily mean white skin only but everything that is white is pure and that is how I look at it. Lot of people don't feel clean, pure with dark spots (Dencia Channel 4 news March 21, 2014).

The following comments are from the interview on Channel 4 on YouTube. The people who commented on this video did not condone her remarks about light skin meaning pureness, clean and clear. Only two persons from the comments indicated that the society should not blame her if their children decide to model her behaviour, but parents should be blamed. The other person argued that it is better for people to feel beautiful than feeling ugly, therefore skin bleaching is not a problem. Below are the comments from the video on YouTube on channel 4 news that support Dencia's choice of bleaching and how celebrities should not be blamed when young children emulate their actions.

Bongani: The celebrity should not be blamed for the poor decisions the fans make.

She should be allowed to live her life, and if a young girl choses to replicate what someone on TV does, it's on her and on her parents. If your child is following what a rapper is doing, you as a parent are doing something wrong.

Tebogo: Honestly, I'm all for it. If it makes people feel better about themselves, then so be it. I would rather people feel beautiful than feel ugly. I don't see this as any different as women putting weave in their hair or makeup.

On the other hand most people did not like and support Dencia's remarks about 'white being pure' and selling *Whitenicious*. Some people associated her actions with self-hate and being brainwashed, while others stated that 'white is pure' ideology is not the reality but a fairy tale. Examples below are comments drawn from You Tube video uploaded by channel 4 news in reaction to Dencia's interview about *Whitenicious* product.

Frank: white means pure? The devil has been described as white, poisons and much more. She tries to act as if nothing is happening with those wigs on and hiding her entire body in long sleeves. She doesn't understand the mental illness she is displaying. White means pure to very few now. I equate that statement with Santa will leave you gifts. This white being pure started from European fairy tales and customs of wearing white for religious purposes. A fairy tale

Noma: Fake accent, fake hair, fake skin colour. It's so sad, she must really hate her African heritage.

Dintle: White supremacy has done a good job on some coloured people.

Nontle: It's a global stigma everybody's brainwashed. This reminds me of the Borg in Star Trek. How they force other species into their collective for assimilation with ultimate goal of achieving "perfection".

Pule: This is further evidence of the spiritual and psychic damage that the legacy of white supremacy and bigotry has heaped upon the souls of black folks. Its takes courage to love what we have been taught to hate for so many generations. White people tan but were never taught to hate their white skin, so tanning and skin bleaching aren't comparable. Historical and covert cultural manipulation of black self-hatred needs to be explored.

NINIKI: I agree with the newscaster and the role-model lady. The name given to the product, the argument and appearance of the singer all point to the assumption that she wants to appear white. I too, am afraid that young girls (non-white primary school girls) would think that it's better for them to sport a more-fair

complexion, than the skin they were given. The singer, in my opinion is not forming a sensible argument.

In the entire interview Dencia the pop star singer argued that whiteness to her is pure and clean and that her products will assist people to attain pureness and cleanliness and remove dark spots. The interviewer did not take any side but asked questions and most of the questions were not answered at great length because Dencia was defensive. The comments indicate that many people do not agree with her and see her product as one which is promoting white supremacy and self-hate.

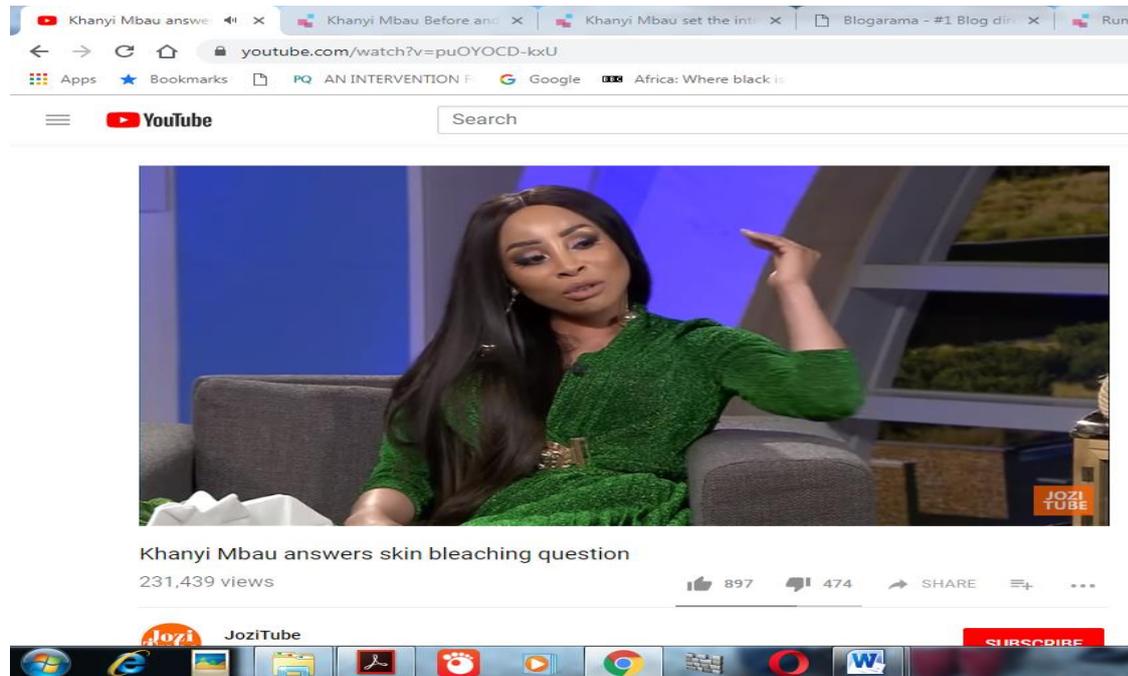
To support the idea of light skin being the symbol of pureness, Khanyi Mbau in her interview with Anele on *Real Talk on SABC 3* (see figure 6.5) confidently mentioned that she is a god herself because she was made in the image of God and she can create her own perfection in her image. Khanyi Mbau said further that she was pure and perfect like her creator God by creating a new image of herself through skin bleaching. She quoted a Bible verse that says if God created her she can create as well because she is a GOD. Khanyi Mbau said:

Because I am coming from a Christian family most of my references come from that. The Bible says I am who I am through Christ who strengthens me. If God is your father it means you're a God because a dog gives birth to another dog and a duck same thing, a bird the same thing so if you're my father so why can't I be a God? And the Lord says we are all gods amongst each other and what does a God do? He creates, my father created this earth through his image, I can create my own versions through my own image as long as it doesn't affect the next person but it is my journey. In my mind the image of how I see myself is what I am creating in the physical because everything happens in the spiritual before it comes to the physical. So how I see myself is the most beautiful woman flawless, pure and filtered every single day of my life when I wake up (Khanyi Mbau, *Real Talk with Anele on SABC3*).

Khanyi Mbau said she would take people to church by quoting a verse from Philippians 4:13 which says I can do all things through Christ who strengthens me. However, Khanyi's quote is a bit different because she said she is who she is through Christ who strengthens her. The following comments are from people who commented on the video

on *Real Talk with Anele* on YouTube and none of them concurred with the remarks made by Khanyi that whiteness symbolises perfection, godliness and purity other than those who were saying that she is beautiful. The following comments are from those who are against Khanyi's statement.

Figure 6.5. Screen grab of Khanyi Mbau's interview on Real Talk with Annel



source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ofase0b26uY>

Pinki: Yes, but your vision was manipulated and INFLUENCED by Eurocentric views. The hair, skin, facial features are literally copies of Caucasians. Am I the only one willing to live this life experience with my original parts?! Smh

Linda: This makes no sense, she tried to justify why she hates herself.

Andile: we are not gods we didn't create ourselves. we can change the physical all we want but in time we will become old and our bodies will change, you cant stop that. you sound vain saying you wake up flawless. no human being is without flaw or is perfect. so what is perfect and why focus so much on trying to be. to each his own. just love who the one only true God created you to be. you can buy all the plastic surgery you want but you will not always look the way you do and when you die you go back to dirt. and that scripture you misquoted and took out of context.

Nonki: I just don't get this skin bleaching issue maybe being a lighter completes a person, I'm looking in from the outside but I just wouldn't change the way God made me to look. This is the epitome of self-hate and is truly sad.

Lorna: You are not a GOD. This is a lie and Satans oldest trick in the book to tell you that you are powerful like a god, you will rule. This is so foolish, she should be ashamed of herself spewing lies.

The comments below are from people who support her and comment her for her bravery, Intelligence and beauty.

Precious: khanyi you're so beautiful and intelligent. Keep up the good work

Dineo: Honesty is the best policy, I don't think many women would have broken it down like that... she is brave.

Tshehla: I am so inspired by this interview. Honestly speaking I never thought this way about her. She's quite an inspiration, intelligent and open-minded. May many girls learn from her.

Given all the comments from two different interviews of two different celebrities, it is clear that some followers do not like the idea of skin bleaching, especially when light skin is embodied as godliness, perfection and purity. From the celebrities' perspective it is evident that they regard fair skin as pure, godly and perfect according to their remarks in both interviews. The conclusion to be drawn from these two celebrities is that light skin is pure and godly.

6.2.3 Light skin as a choice and solution to skin condition

Skin bleaching is regarded as a choice that some celebrities make because they feel that they want to be beautiful and pure. To a certain extent others claim that they bleach their skin because they have skin disorders and the only solution since there's no cure is to go through skin bleaching and surgery transformation. Initially Nomasondo Mshoza Maswanganyi expressed on *MTV Base* Facebook that she was bleaching her skin because she wanted to look like Nicky Minaj. However, later on she expressed the idea

that she was bleaching her skin because she had a skin disease that gave her the only option of bleaching her skin. Khanyi Mbau in her interview with Pearl Modiadia on *Zaziwa* show SABC1 stated that she has a rare skin disease that makes her to lose hair and affects her skin pigmentation. “I am crying because when I look at myself back then in that video I recognised that I still had acne” she pointed out. However, in her latest interview with Anel on *Real Talk* show she proudly mentioned that she was a god and she was creating her own image. Moreover, on her Instagram page in 2016 she mentioned that it was a choice to alter one’s looks in order to be beautiful. Figure 6.6 below is the screen shot of Khanyi Mbau’s Instagram page. Khanyi Mbau posted pictures of herself before and after bleaching and stated on the caption that it was a personal choice to bleach and promised her followers that she could see all their direct messages and she would respond to them with great products. The text below was written on Khanyi Mbau’s Instagram account.

Don’t let anyone tell you that you cannot be anything you choose to be. Life is about choices and being content with the choice you make. Lifestyle is a sport... I see all your DM’s will respond to each one personally... please be patient as they are quite a few I need to go through. Remember I review many products I get in the market. I will only share those with great results. Love yourself ... I only respond to DM’s with some great products on insta too (Khanyi Mbau Instagram account @mabureloaded)’

Figure 6.6 Screenshot of Khanyi Mbau before and after bleaching pictures on her Instagram page.



Source: Instagram page @mbaureloaded

With this post Khanyi Mbau took a stand on what she believes is good for her and decided not to conform to what the society thinks is right. With the caption that says “Don’t let anyone tell you, you cannot be anything you choose to be, life is about choices and being content with the choice we make.” This caption is written on a picmix of *before* and *after* skin bleaching. She is unapologetic about bleaching her skin and doing surgery transformation. This status gained a lot of likes and comments. Below are extracts of some comments from this post. The extracts below are from the Instagram followers who support her looks. Some want the products she is using.

Lonki: love the transformation. You look good.

Noko: I wanna know your secret of having such a perfect body, literally same size and flawless with zero stretch marks over the years. Please share [@mbaureloaded](#)

Lihle: Power of transformation. The truth is we all want to look flawless nd young. Yes we 're beautiful. They say one should be proud of their looks. But this is a true true reflection of beauty. I love you my queen. I don't care what people are gonna say about you, positive or not you still stunning girl. Ladies our beauty is our

reflection. The mbau-queen [@mbaureloaded](#) keep it up sweethearts.



Leeto: I like how you keep it real, so unapologetic about everything, you live your life and pay dust to your haters 😊👏

Mondli: Khanyi do me a favour and have your own skin products and promote Khanyi not someone else and let's go buy You!

Sipho: U look beautiful before & after all the cosmetic surgery. Do u explain this to your daughter?

Madisa: [@mbaureloaded](#) That's why I adore you sooooo much. That fact that you don't care about what people say about you, YOU don't even need their opinions. You're a star and I look up to you mina. Continue being the lady that you are, never quit. Remember, there is always someone watching, ME 😊😊😊❤❤

Dineo: Don't let anybody tell you... you cannot be a yellow bone

Chibu: The reality is most of the women that indulge in this bleaching thing have a complex issue. I know a couple of them. They are not just 'comfortable in their own skin'. However it is a choice. If you are created original and you want to die a fake

The extracts below are from the Instagram followers who do not support her choice of skin bleaching because they mentioned that they did not see anything wrong with her skin before bleaching and the comments did not tolerate bleaching as a choice or a solution to skin conditions.

Lesiba: Its her choice, Personally i don't support bleaching.

Peter: You were never ugly you were broke hahaahahaha

Palesa: What's with the bleaching? I don't see anything wrong with the left picture, a black girl in her essence. Y'all got to chill with the colour complex issues. We are Gods chosen people.

Tshepang: The way society is constructed, aspiring to whiteness and the British definition of attractiveness, they have made black people become ashamed and despise their own skin. We shouldn't conform to this norm. Black is beautiful!

Most of the comments on this post support the choices that Khanyi made, some followers applaud her for her bravery and being content in her choices, while others praise her beauty and flawless skin and some envy her light skin colour and call her a beautiful yellow bone. Only a few are addressing this post as self-hate and being brainwashed. On the other hand on her interview where she mentioned that she bleached her skin because she has a rare skin disease, not much attention was given on the reasoning. However, it is important to recognise that some celebrities claim that they bleach because it is the only possible option to them. Moreover, in a separate interview in the *UK channel 4 news* Dencia claimed she bleached because she has vitiligo.

6.2.4 Celebrities peddle fair skin

Celebrities such as Kelly Khumalo, Khanyi Mbau and Mshoza Maswanganyi have been associated with lightening their skin. Moving up the African continent the Cameroonian artist Dencia has developed her own skin lightening product called *Whitenicious* where she confirmed that she herself is using the product. Khanyi Mbau is endorsing a certain skin lightening product called *Gluta Thione*, which she advertises on her social media sites. Moreover, the use of skin lightening products is popularised by some music stars who produce songs that celebrate fair skin as a symbol of beauty, for example, *ngiphete mtwana yellow in Hamba nge vura* song by DJ Citi Lytes and Sjava (I am hanging out with a yellow bone). Celebrities carry credibility and prestige, and their use of skin lighteners are perceived as being acceptable, even encouraged (Figures 6.7 and 6.8. Indicate how some celebrities peddle fair skin).

Figure 6.7: Khanyi Mbau peddling Gluta Thione skin bleaching products.



Source: (Khanyi Mbau instagram account, @mbaureloaded)

The text accompanying the image of Khanyi Mbau selling a skin bleaching product by the name of Gluta Thione skin lightening reads:

My skin secret revealed keeping my complexion perfect with #pure glutathione and #L-glutathione capsules. Thank me later...call them now... my skin is no secret..27(11) 6161436 masters of skin technology#ivpush #lightsculpt.

These texts are written on the caption of the post where Khanyi is advertising the skin lightening capsules by the name of *Glutathione*. Khanyi stated that her skin secret is revealed and these tablets keep her complexion perfect (Khanyi Mbau instagram account @mbaureloaded).

The Glutathione products is an antioxidant in plants, animals, fungi, and some bacteria and archaea. Glutathione is capable of preventing damage to important cellular components caused by reactive oxygen species such as free radicals, peroxides, lipid peroxides, and heavy metals. Medical doctors use it to prevent liver,

heart and lung diseases (Franco, 2007). However, because the product also reduces melanin some people use it to lighten their skin. Glutathione is not just available in the form of pills, but also as injections and beauty soaps. In fact, they have become quite popular in the market. Glutathione is usually taken in the form of a pill that has become highly successful in African and Asian countries, especially in countries where people would like to have fairer skin (Franco,2007). Even though it is pretty expensive, glutathione injections are quite effective and will hit the bloodstream directly. Therefore, it is best to choose injections instead of pills to lighten the entire body.

The following comments are excerpts from Instagram accounts in response to the above image. Some of the comments support her and the products, for example:

Lerato: I want it Khanyi, where can I get it? I am light in complexion naturally but I want some more

Dineo: It is time to bleach myself until I turn into a mlungu (white person). Thank you so much Khanyi.

Bonolo: @mbaureloaded how do we order? And please can we get a price list. I'm in Rustenburg

Karabo:I would like to purchase for my wife,how do u order?? @mbaureloaded

Lebo: excited to try these products for the 1st time. I've placed my order and should be receiving them today @mbaureloaded

Mbaureloaded @Karabo (078) 9747177 tell him I sent you

On the contrary some comments indicate that some of her followers do not support the products that she is peddling and they are against the idea of skin bleaching, while some seek clarity about why she is advertising this product particularly and if she is gaining something from advertising the products. Others tried to warn her about the dangers of the skin bleaching products, for example

Tshepo: These products damage your body from the inside. Side effects include cancer, liver and kidney diseases.... It is not worth risking your health for the sake of being lighter. #blackisbeautiful

Lebo: I am just pondering if they are endorsing you to promote their product?? You just cannot be advertising nje... (Without getting anything in return)

Khanyi Mbau is not the only celebrity peddling light skin. The Cameroonian pop singer Dencia is also peddling fair skin on her Facebook account to people across the globe. She also has a specific Facebook account for the *Whitenicious* product where people can find out information on where to get the products in their countries and who is the contact person in that particular country. The account is also used to ask questions about the products and write the reviews on the effectiveness of the products.

The figure below is from the *Whitenicious* account. It shows Dencia applying *Whitenicious* cream on her face and her skin looks very light. On the right side of the image there is a message that is written in bold: *Whitenicious* by Dencia, followed by smaller letters that reads: 7 days fast acting dark spot remover, say goodbye to hyperpigmentation and spots forever! The caption of the image says: follow and like us on Instagram watch out for discount codes towards your next order (see Figure 6.8 below).

Figure 6.8: Dencia peddling *Whitenicious* skin bleaching products on her Facebook page.



Source (<http://www.facebook.com/528777560552076/posts/188809612486602>)

Whitenicious is defined by Dencia as a product for dark spot remover; it is a moisturising cream enriched from 'exquisite' and 'powerful' ingredients that also removes dark spots from acne, hyper pigmentation, etc. It contains vitamins C and E and provides a SPF of 15. *Whitenicious* is advertised as a cream that removes spots, however the owner of the product Dencia used it to bleach her entire body and some customers on Facebook *Whitenicious* page used it to lighten their skin.

The following are comments are from *Whitenicious* Facebook account. The followers commented on the post on Figure 6.8 which was an advertisement of *Whitenicious* by Dencia and some of her followers commented with interest on the product and were eager to find out where they can access it. Most of the comments of the followers who were asking about their need to get the product are from African countries. For example;

Londi: Good, I want this, but I am in West Africa Burkina Faso.

Londi: Can I have the contact or addresses or mail of the personnel which is Nigeria?

Whitenicious by Dencia: We have someone who sells in Nigeria You can also buy online www.whitenicious.com

Whitenicious by Dencia: Contact this number Nigeria our rep resells all our brands contact her here PHONE-:0815 930 0000 NAME-:AISHA Instagram : @whiteniciousnigeria

Florah: I want their product I am Angolan, how do i get it?

Whitenicious by dencia: You can order online, we ship with dhl www.whitenicious.com

Kabelo: how do you do it 3 times a day? Must people work during the day

Whitenicious by Dencia: You can do two days

Dolly: Why is it a problem when dark girls go lighter, but not a problem for light girls to go darker? I'm full of freckles, i should get some Whitenicious.

Pretty: Would like to give the products a try and want to know how effective are they from the people that are currently using the products?

With the comments made by the followers it is clear that some people like and want to try the skin bleaching products that celebrities peddle on their social media sites. While others do not support the idea and associate it with self-hate, but most of the comments are those that want the products and want to use them. A lot of followers who have been using these products are sending their pictures of before and after and they seem to be happy with the results. From the comments it is clear that the products are in high demand and the celebrities are giving information on how followers can access the products. Those few comments that discourage the buying of skin bleaching products are ignored and the celebrities are not replying them.

7. CONCLUSION

The four outlined themes from the data collected from digital ethnography are *Light skin as the epitome of beauty, light skin as embodiment of pureness and godliness, light skin as a choice and solution to skin condition and celebrity peddling fair skin*. The findings show that through the use of social media platforms celebrities set agenda on what is regarded as beautiful. Celebrity culture is dominating on social media platforms and young South African women are exposed to the idea of beauty projected by celebrities and they internalise it, consequently this may lead to low self-esteem to those women who are dark skinned and loss of identity for blackness.

The data for this study show that Young black women consider skin bleaching as a way to make themselves beautiful, because in contemporary society a 'yellow bone' (light skin black girl) is considered a beautiful girl. And to a greater extent celebrities who bleach their skin believe that fair skin is clean, pure, perfect and flawless. On the contrary, black skin is not, thus they erase their black skin through skin bleaching. Moreover this study finds out that some celebrities who bleached their skin claim to have a skin condition when the media question their change of skin complexion but fail to maintain the same reasoning throughout and end up convincing the media that it is their life choices and they own what they feel and think is beautiful. Lastly, the findings reveal that some celebrities who bleach their skin do not embrace the decision as an individual achievement but sell the idea of fair skin is

better to ordinary people by selling and promoting their skin bleaching products and making them accessible to ordinary South Africans.

Not all people believe and internalise these ideal beauty types projected by celebrities because some people believe that being black and not using skin bleaching or lightening products is very beautiful. Social media has a great influence on how people define and perceive beauty, because people who comment on Facebook and Instagram define beauty as Westernised and such explanation is derived from the media.

8. SUMMARY

This chapter provided a detailed discussion of the research findings. These findings were able to answer the research questions. The names of the subjects were replaced with pseudonyms in order to protect their identity. In the next chapter research findings on focus groups and interviews with street vendors will be presented.

CHAPTER 7

IMPACT OF BLEACHING AND 'YELLOW BONE' CULTURE ON SOCIETY (DATA PRESENTATION AND FINDINGS)

7.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents and interprets interviews of street vendors who sell bleaching products and focus groups discussion. The focus groups were clustered into three groups namely group A: a group of dark skin women, group B: a group of light-skinned women and group C: a group of light and dark-skinned men. The names of the subjects were replaced with pseudonyms in order to protect their identity. The focus groups interview was conducted at the University of Limpopo. The intention was to explore the yellow bone culture and colourism and the key issue was black skin erasure and celebrities peddling whiteness through skin bleaching. In the analysis of the data five broad themes emerged namely: Light skin perceived as beauty aesthetics; light skin as a symbol of prestige; light skin as advantage to attract marriage; poverty as a possible catalyst for selling illegal skin bleaching, and government intervention to combat the selling of skin bleaching products. The findings regarding colourism and preference of light skin complexion (yellow bone) are presented under these themes.

7.1.1 Light skin as beauty aesthetics and denigration of dark skin

The colour of the skin tends to influence the perception of beauty among black women. The notion that proximity to whiteness is considered the measure of beauty among some black women is supported by the findings in this study. In South Africa among some black South Africans, a black girl is called a 'yellow bone', which according to new trends is a beautiful light-skinned black girl. Many black women experience violence and are demeaned because of skin colour preferences in the society. The history of colonialism and apartheid in South Africa shows that black skin colour was denigrated by the colonisers and as such black skin was not seen as beautiful or attractive. Consequently, in post-colonial and post-apartheid era, the black skin is still associated with negative connotations. This is supported by the following comments from the focus group discussions with young black women and street vendors who sell illegal skin bleaching products.

The following comments are from the focus groups and form part of the findings that fair skin is perceived as aesthetics of beauty. The participants were narrating their experiences as dark-skinned girls in contemporary society. The dark-skinned females in group A spoke about a history of abuse and the effect it has on them. Some recalled how their dark skin was used to denigrate them. For example Participant 4A said: *“I feel that yellow bones are the ones that are recognised and praised by the community by saying they are beautiful and dark bones are not, so I feel intimidated because of the image created.”*

Participant 5A: *“When I was young, I would make mistakes and they would start calling me names like Sekobo se sentsho (ugly and black) but I have learned to accept myself the way I am”*

Participant 6A: *“I was bullied, and the experience made me to start asking God questions such as why he gave me the colour that was not accepted by the community” and this affected my self-esteem. I don’t feel comfortable to talk in front of people because I don’t have confidence.*

The above comments were made by young women who were in group A, which was a group of dark-skinned women. Below are comments made by street vendors who sell bleaching products that support the idea that light skin is a symbol of beauty. The street vendors were asked who their customers were and what they thought was the reason for the customers to buy their products.

Street vendor A: *A majority of my customers are women; the fact is that all women want to be beautiful, so this product makes them to be beautiful. What is the point of not buying my product while you are dark and no one is asking you out? My sister yellow bones are taking all men out there and you darkies will remain single if you don’t want to make yourselves beautiful.*

Street vendor B: *“Every man wants a beautiful woman, so if she is a yellow bone it’s a sure case that she is beautiful.”*

The comments above emphasise the same view that light skin is beautiful and is the measure of beauty; most importantly these are experiences that young dark-skinned women go through in their daily lives. It is evident that emotionally they are affected negatively by the society for normalising fair skin as a measure of beauty standard.

7.1.2 Light skin as a symbol of prestige

Previous studies indicate that very early in the development of black social structures, the quality of 'lightness' became associated with the highest social and occupational class (Kronus,1971; Johnson, 2001). The pattern still continues today, as the findings from this study revealed. Often in black society light skinned people are considered better and more civilised or open-minded as compared to dark-skinned people. Moreover, it is often believed that light skin people are even more fluent in English than dark skinned people. It is believed in some quarters that the more fluent people are in English, the more they are educated and intelligent.

The following comments are from the focus groups and they indicate that fair skin is a marker of intelligence and prestige. Group A is a group of dark-skinned women, group B is of light-skinned women and group C is made up of men in different skin shades. The participants' comments indicated how light skin is portrayed as better and more civilised than dark skin. Dark-skinned women expressed how the connotations of their skin colour affected their self-concept.

Participant 1A: *I used to feel intimidated in high school because the light-skinned ones were the favourites and popular because it was believed that they were smart and spoke English better.*

Men from group C also gave their experiences on the different opinions they received when dating dark-skinned girls as compared to dating light-skinned girls. Their experiences are shared based on what people who have close relationships with them would say with regard to the complexion of the girls.

Participant 4C: *I dated both dark and light-skinned ladies and with the yellow bones I got all the kinds of praises from my friends but with the darker ones people would say that I should only be with them during the night because they don't suit me.*

Participant 1C: *I dated a light-skinned girl first and my boys respected me. Later, I dated a dark-skinned girl and when I came with her my boys had nothing to point at but kept on telling me how my previous light-skinned girl was hot.*

One of the light-skinned women remarked that often light-skinned women have confidence because of their visible skin colour, which is a positive attribute. However she further stated that it was not always nice to be light-skinned because sometimes the complexion was used against them by not being given credit to their hard work and merits because their skin colour often led to favouritism. For example:

Participant 3B: *Yellow bones are shining and visible and that makes us to perform better because we have confidence, but sometimes when you are light in colour people won't believe it when you get the high marks they will think that maybe you slept with the teacher or something just went wrong. Being a yellow mellow (yellow bone) is not nice sometimes.*

The participants further observed that being light-skinned provided an economic advantage, as some companies prefer to hire light-skinned women than those who are dark. The comments below indicate this phenomenon. The participant from the dark skin group indicated that most light-skin women have access to better life opportunities because they are seen as 'perfect' by the communities.

Participant 5A: *I feel intimidated because the perfect ladies are yellow bones according to the communities that we live in and they have access to better opportunities than dark-skinned women.*

A light-skinned participant from the light-skinned group of females added on the previous comment made by participant 5A, elaborating further on the ideas that better life opportunities are accessible to light skinned women. She stated: below.

Participant 2B: *I don't like the fact that some companies hire light-skinned people more than dark-skinned people simply because they believe that they are brilliant, which is not the reality such as in the media industry.*

A participant from group A stated that the issues of light skin preferences in institutions started as early as at the primary and secondary school levels where she experienced

light skin colour preferences in a school choir, where light-skinned women would form part of the front row of the choir, not because they are short in height or because they sing better, and their dark-skinned counterparts would occupy the back row even though they sang better.

Participant 6A: *In school when we were singing in the school choir, they would tell us that darker-skinned ones should stand at the back and the light-skinned ones in front.*

Furthermore, the street vendors who sell skin bleaching products support the idea that light skin is better than dark skin. The street vendors stated:

Street vendor A: *Yellow bones give a man pride. When you date a yellow bone other men respect you.*

Street vendor B: *“A light-skinned woman is appealing. Even if she is not very beautiful, she has a level of attracting the attention of men because her skin colour is noticeable.*

From the participants' comments in focus group A, which is a cohort of dark-skinned women and group B, which is a group of light-skinned women, the view that kept recurring is that light skin has a sense of class and women who are light-skinned often enjoy privileges in different institutions. It was pointed out by the participants for example that the media industry often hired light-skinned women as compared to dark-skinned individuals. Another example was that it is not necessarily that light-skinned women are intelligent; they have a positive self-concept, which makes them to perform better unlike dark-skinned women who have low self-esteem. The idea of light-skinned women having a sense of sophistication is implied in the comments by one of the participants when she said 'yellow bones' shine and are more visible. The implication of this comment is that dark-skinned women are not visible. The street vendors selling bleaching products supported the idea of class and visibility in their comments. The perception that dating a 'yellow bone' makes other men respect you and that it boosts their pride indicates that light skin is associated with prestige. For some men, dating light-skinned women is a form of social trophy.

7.1.3 Light skin as advantage to attract marriage

Hunter (2011) and Blay (2009) argue that black women have faced issues of beauty and skin colour historically and that this problem is still continuing today. It is believed that light-skinned women have better chances of getting married to more successful men as compared to dark-skinned women. The following comments reveal the assumption that light skin is an advantage to attract marriage. The participants from group A shared their experiences about how their skin colour was a disadvantage to getting married.

Participant 1 A: *I was dating this guy who used to tell me that if I was a bit lighter I was going to be more beautiful and his mom would accept me as her daughter-in-law without hesitation.*

Participant 2A: *I was at the family gathering and my cousin came to me and said my sister is the most beautiful in my family because of her light skin colour and she is going to be married soon not us (bo mantsho) 'dark-skinned.*

Males' participants on the other hand also believe that light-skinned women are marriage 'material' and they prefer to marry them. The comment below is from a man from group C.

Participant 1C: *I prefer to marry a light-skinned woman because I am thinking of the looks of my kids; I don't want ugly kids so I won't marry someone who is dark.*

More evidence was provided by the street vendors who sell skin bleaching products when they emphasised on light skin being advantageous to attracting marriage. For example:

Street vendor 1: *You should understand that a lot of men are interested in yellow bones, so if you want marriage you must make yourself beautiful with the creams.*

Street vendor 2: *The marriage market is competitive, and for you as a woman to be chosen you have to stand out, so these products I am selling help women to be attractive to men.*

The findings show that some black men prefer to marry light-skinned women because they believe that these are more beautiful. The findings revealed further that given the preference of a lot of men to light-skinned women, some women subject themselves to skin lightening products in order to attract men and be married. Most of the male interviewees made it clear that they preferred getting married to light-skinned women. For example a participant stated: “I prefer to marry a light skinned woman because I am dark-skinned just to balance the completion”. The street vendors supported the idea that marriage is one of the main reasons why some women use skin lightening products they sell. As indicated in one of the excerpts from focus groups, some male participants feel that dark skin is ugly and that they want beautiful children, meaning that in their thinking only light-skinned women can bear beautiful children. One of the males in group C said: “I prefer to marry a light-skinned woman because I am thinking of the looks of my kids; I don’t want ugly kids so I won’t marry someone who is dark.”

7.1.4 Poverty as a possible reason for selling and buying illegal skin bleaching products

The findings from the focus groups’ discussions together with interviews with the street vendors that sell skin bleaching products revealed that there is an element of poverty underlying the skin bleaching concept. The socio-economic status of the people who buy the illegal skin bleaching products in the streets is confirmed by the street vendors that these people are black women who are below the middle class; some of them are unemployed and dependent on social grant for survival. Some hold low-paying jobs or are employed as security guards, waitresses and cashiers. Moreover, the street vendors themselves are also part of the people who are affected by poverty and live below the middle class category. The comments below indicate that poverty is a possible contributing factor to the escalation of skin bleaching in South Africa.

Men from group C commented:

Participant 4C: *The reason why celebrities bleach their skin can be answered by them. We can only assume that it is because of fame. However, ordinary women*

who buy illegal skin bleaching products are from a poor background. They cannot afford to buy expensive products and their main goal is to be beautiful and attract a rich man that can marry her or provide her with money to survive.

Participant 6C: *I agree with him (Participant 4C), most women who use skin bleaching products and aspire to be light-skinned are those who are after blessers (older men who give younger women money in return for a sexual relationship). With the high rate of unemployment in South Africa this type of relationship is common and young yellow bones get involved in this transactional relationship to cater for their daily basic needs.*

The street vendors who sell skin bleaching products also indicated that they are selling the skin bleaching products because they want to make a living. They further indicated that lack of unemployment in the country is the problem. Demonstrating the context of their family was an emphasis of why they are selling the illegal skin bleaching products. They explained:

Street vendor A: *I know my child that selling this skin bleaching product is illegal, but I have a family to support. My first born is doing his first year at a university in Gauteng. He has two siblings one in high school and the last one is still young. I have to buy pampers and milk for the last born and buy food. It is difficult to be the head of the family; everything is done by me. So I am trying to make a living when you see me here every day.*

Street vendor B: *There's no employment so I am selling these products so that I can survive with my family. I know for a fact that weekly I will have more than two customers. When I see the police van I hide my skin bleaching products under the small table and leave the combs and earrings and other stock on top of the big table until it is safe to take them out. If I can get a job now, I will stop selling these skin bleaching products.*

When the street vendors were asked who their customers were and where were they located and what type of people they were in terms of gender, living standards and literacy level, they gave the following responses.

Street vendor A: *my customers are women from the villages around Mankweng in Limpopo, I do have regular customers and at times new customers that come*

and buy once-off. Most of my regular customers are working here in Mankweng at retail stores, wholesalers, security department and some are not working at all, and they come to buy when they get their social grant money.

Street vendor B: I cannot be sure of all of my customers but I know some of them are waitresses, cashiers, students and the unemployed are dependent on social grant. Some I only see them once and never come back to buy so I don't know where they work.

The prices of the skin bleaching products were revealed by the street vendors and the prices are relatively cheap. One can deduce from the prices that customers maybe people who are below the middle class living standard. For example;

Street vendor A: My products are not so expensive. This small bottle is R30.00 and they differ according to their brands. I know which one works fast and which one takes time. The most expensive cream is R75.00 but when I put it on sale it is R50.00. Most of my regular customers buy the R30.00 cream because they are maintaining the complexion.

Street vendor B: Different customers prefer different products. The cheapest product is R25.00 and most expensive is R100.00. I know the products are working fast because my customers never complain.

The above comments are the representation of how to a certain extent, poverty plays a role in promoting the use skin bleaching products in the country. Previous studies, however, such as Hunter (2011) and Blay (2009) indicated that skin bleaching is mostly done by people who are above the middle class. It is claimed that the street vendors are depending on the illegal business to survive and support their families. Lack of employment was stated as the main reason they are selling these products. Their families depend on the money they make from this illegal business to cover their basic needs. Additionally, looking at the socio-economic status of customers who buy these products, it is clear that they are from disadvantaged backgrounds and are poor. The focus groups participants introduced the concept of blessers, where young women bleach their skin to attract old rich men who will give them money in exchange for sexual relationship. The prices of the illegal skin bleaching products indicate that people who buy them are not well-off. These people buy

products that are not regulated, sold under the direct sunlight without proper room temperature and there's no dermatologist to explain dosage and direction. This shows that the customers are not educated and have no idea of what medical products should be like, and also they cannot afford high end skin bleaching products.

7.1.5. Government intervention to combat the selling of skin bleaching products

The South African government tried to fight and stop the selling and buying of illegal skin bleaching products that are not regulated by the South African Cosmetic Industry and are not safe for use. Nevertheless, these harmful products are still available and sold on the streets of South Africa. The following comments are from the focus group. The participants gave inputs on how to assist the government to come up with a strategy that would stop the selling and buying of illegal skin bleaching products in the country. The comments were made by the participants from all the groups, which are groups A,B and C. Some participants believe that the government can stop the selling of skin bleaching products by working with the citizens while others believe that the only way to stop the selling of skin bleaching products is if people can be content with their skin colour, then there will not be a need to buy skin bleaching products.

Participant 6C: *The government from the health sector must test everything that is imported because we have lots of products that are coming in and are killing us.*

Participant 1A: *I think it will be difficult because we are the government so I think it will be difficult for the products not to be sold.*

Participant 3A: *Of course we are the government but once you are content with yourself you will stop buying the skin bleaching products.*

Participant 5A: *I feel like the government doesn't have power to stop those people from selling these products; we just have to come together and stop it.*

Participant 1B: *The government should find out where the products are made and act on it.*

Participant 6B: *I think the government must find a way of regulating these skin bleaching products.*

The findings indicate that there is nothing much that the government can do to stop the selling of illegal skin bleaching products if the citizens are not working together with the government to stop this problem. The government is trying by implementing the law which says all cosmetics must be regulated, but lack of cohesion from the citizens is hindering progress. It is important to educate the society about self-acceptance and the dangers of skin bleaching. The government should trace where these products are coming from and how they are imported into the country. Street vendors refused to reveal their suppliers. If the government are able to stop the supply of these products then the illegal skin bleaching problem can be solved.

7.2. CONCLUSION

The five themes emerged from the data collected from focus group and interviews are light skin perceived as beauty aesthetics, light skin as a symbol of prestige, light skin as advantage to attract marriage, poverty as a possible catalyst of selling and buying illegal skin bleaching products and government intervention to combat the selling of skin bleaching products. The findings revealed that fair skin is perceived as the measure of beauty standards and principles. For a black woman to be seen as beautiful she has to be light in skin colour. Moreover, light skin is viewed as a symbol of class; light-skinned people are categorised as civilised, and hold a high rank in the hierarchy of prestige. There is a certain respect and praise that one gets for being light skinned, which is not the case with dark-skinned women. Consequently, fair-skin women have advantage in the marriage market. They are highly likely to be married by people who have money unlike dark-skinned women. Additionally, poverty plays a major role in propagating the buying and selling of illegal skin bleaching products in South Africa. The findings discovered that to stop illegal skin bleaching products, the government and the citizens should work collaboratively, and most importantly the lack of employment opportunities is a cause of skin bleaching and other social ills such as colourism, lack of identity and pride, sexual relationships

in exchange for money, which may cause HIV/AIDS and related health and social complications.

7.3 SUMMARY

This chapter provided a discussion of the research findings from three focus groups and interviews with street vendors that sell skin bleaching products. The comments provide an understanding of the impact of bleaching and 'yellow bone' culture in society. These findings are able to answer the research questions. The identity of the participants from focus group and interviews is protected. In the next chapter I will discuss the implications and relevance of this study, and summarise the whole study.

CHAPTER 8

SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

8.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter summarises the entire research study and discusses the findings, recommendations, the research designs and methods used. The discussion about the contributions of the study and the limitations are provided in this chapter. The chapter is concluded with the main remarks of the research study.

8.2. RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS

Qualitative methodology was used in this study to achieve the desired aim and objectives. Qualitative methodology was used because it provides understanding and explanation of human behaviours. Focus groups, interviews and digital ethnography and media content were used as research tools to address the objectives of this study, which are the following:

- To analyse the rationale behind the culture of skin bleaching among black women,
- To explore how celebrities propagate the marketing of fair skin as ideology of beauty.
- To study the impact of the ideology of fair skin as beauty among black women, especially the culture of 'yellow bone'.

8.2.1. Rationale behind the culture of skin bleaching

In discussing the issue of skin bleaching among black women, the focus group's exchange of views revealed that some women bleach their skin because they think light skin is more beautiful, and to a certain extent it has advantages in terms of giving access to certain opportunities such as jobs and marriage. Additionally, for some men dating a light-skinned woman is a form of winning a social trophy. To address this objective the following themes emerged: light skin perceived as beauty aesthetics; light skin as a symbol of prestige, and poverty as a possible catalyst of buying and selling skin bleaching products. Theories of whiteness and white

supremacy further provided theoretical background to elaborating more on the above mentioned themes. The material theory of whiteness is about privileges that are tangible, which white people enjoy every day. The privileges such as well-paying jobs, access to good education form part of what they enjoy. Scholars such as Blay (2011) and Hunter (2007) have argued that one of the reasons black people envy whiteness so much is because of the privileges and access to higher economic status. One reason why some black women erase their black skin is because of their need to improve their socio-economic status by, for example, getting married to a partner who is financially peaking or stable (Lopez, 2005). Some women need to have the same privilege that women who are light-skinned enjoy through the employment market. The discursive theories postulate the analysis of the symbols, discourses, language and the media, portraying whiteness as ideal normal state of being (Matsebula, et al., 2007).

8.2.2. Celebrities peddling fair skin as ideology of beauty

Exploring how celebrities propagate the marketing of fair skin as ideology of beauty, the media content from digital ethnography were useful research method in achieving these objective. Khanyi Mbau's and Dencia's Facebook and Instagram accounts are the two platforms which they use to spread the marketing of skin bleaching products. These two female celebrities showed the pictures of the products and the contacts on how to access them. Some pictures show how the products work. In engaging this objective, the following themes emerged from the data collected: light skin as the epitome of beauty; light skin as embodiment of pureness and godliness, and celebrities peddling fair skin. Theory of power adds to understanding how celebrities propagate the marketing of fair skin as beauty on social media. Power of self is outlined and scrutinised by Foucault (1997), as he argues that much as power has a huge influence on human beings who are exposed to it, human beings similarly have the same power to resist any forms of power embedded in them (Foucault, 1997). He points out that power is relational and individuals can resist all forms of power and dominance by self-governance, shaping themselves in a state of happiness, purity, self-identity and perfection. Power is shown when it transforms subjects and has effects on the subjects, ideological marketing of whiteness and its dominant ideology of whiteness as being superior. This is shown in some black women who transformed their black skin by bleaching

their skin, and the effects the practice has on black identity and self-pride. This situation creates a cultural stereotype that proximity to whiteness is a standard of beauty. Celebrities who bleach their skin and endorse skin bleaching products on social media have the power to influence and change people's perception of how they view themselves and the world. Thus, such power in a network by social actors, who have power over those who follow them and consequently being influenced by them because they are included in that network is regarded as network power by Castell (2011), who concurs with Foucault (1997) when he notes that power is a network which affects everyone.

8.2.3. Impact of the ideology of bleaching and 'yellow bone' culture

To study the impact of the ideology of fair skin as beauty and 'yellow bone' culture, the interviews and focus groups revealed that some women bleach their skin to attract rich men who can give them money in exchange for intimate relationship. Moreover, some women indicated that they experience name calling and denigration because they are not light skinned, which leads to low self-esteem. Additionally, colourism becomes a norm. Post coloniality theory unravels the ideologies about black skin stereotyped as undesirable by stating that, 'blackness' and its complex of inferiority is an identity signifier determined through difference with an "other". In the nineteenth century, African bodies became visually representative of something biologically and culturally inferior to Europeans. The tales of African exploration circulating in this period were compounded by living displays of Africans themselves. Kidnapped from around the world, particularly Africa, hundreds of indigenous people were put on display for white Westerners to view because their bodies were considered an oddity. They were also made to perform on stage for the amusement of a paying public. One of the most prominent of the human placed in the museum was Sarah Bartmaan, who was placed in a museum with her genitals exposed for whites to view. Europeans believed that their colour was presumably normal and acceptable unlike the black colour which was regarded as 'other' or inferior. It created an aspiration for whiteness. Fanon (1986) criticised this sociological aspiration, noting that "for the black man there is only one destiny. And it is white" (1986:10). Fanon's critique is based on the understanding that as a result of years of denigration and oppression of black people and the social economic power that whiteness possesses some black people aspire for this white privilege.

In this way, the qualitative research methodology which was used in this study managed to meet all the objectives of this research.

8.3 SUMMARY AND INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS

This study has shown through focus groups and interviews how societal construction of beauty as the pursuit of fair skin tends to be internalised by women. Internalisation of messages about the notion of beauty from social media and people in the society may have impact on young South African females because self is built and affected by others. The culture of 'yellow bone' that perceives fair skin as the only symbol of beauty leads to lack of identity and African cultural way of defining body image. It is evident that social media has a powerful influence on people who consume it unlike those who are not fully exposed or not exposed at all.

Young black women grow up seeing the celebrities whom they look up to enacting fair skin as what is regarded as more beautiful than dark skin. Consistent exposure to such celebrity culture and norm destroys young dark-skinned girls' self-esteem. Internalising all these 'yellow bone' trends influence young girls to think they are not beautiful if they are not light skinned. Skin colour has always denoted one's identity and pride, but in contemporary society there is a challenge of self-pride for many black women, especially when these trends of 'yellow bone' are growing rapidly and becoming popular that most black women aspire to follow them.

It is challenging to be a young black girl because the black girl is in a process of finding herself, and celebrity culture is giving exposure of trends of beauty, which are adopted in the society. Therefore young black women experience confusion in terms of what is culturally beautiful. Body image of a black woman has its own aesthetics that are African and should be appreciated as such and not to be ridiculed. All skin colour and tones are beautiful, the beauty of the African skin is that it comes in different shades and colours. The findings from the focus groups revealed that black women aspire to have a light skin colour because it is appreciated and embodied as pure and perfect, while dark skin is ridiculed. This shows the continuation of the injustices of colonialism and apartheid; the legacies of the two eras are shaping contemporary South Africa. Social media as the platform used to peddle whiteness together with celebrity culture has negative implications on the idea of beauty because they promote whiteness as pure and the epitome of

beauty and portray the image that says dark and natural is not equated to feminine beauty, and the pursuit of proximity to whiteness is the goal for achieving beauty. For example, in South Africa a young man confessed on checkpoint that he is using lightening creams every night because his childhood experience was not good since he was teased at school and now that he is lighter he feels that he is more appealing and believes that light is better (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vjO4hf7Byhw>).

The findings in this study expand on previous literature. They reinforce studies such as Blay (2009) and Walker (2009) who found out that women may be falling prey to media-portrayed images of “light skin equals beauty”. Moreover, Groesz, Levine and Murnen’s (2002) studies reveal that women are significantly more body dissatisfied after viewing beauty media images. The literature concurs with the findings from digital ethnography. Furthermore, the focus groups support the findings from Baron (2009), which discovered that body image dissatisfaction in young black South African women is perpetuated by internalising the messages that promote Westernised ideal beauty (Baron, 2005). Furthermore, Baron (2005) argues that the internalisation of ideal beauty leads to emotional trauma. The findings in this study also expand on the findings which exposed that the media are the main source that promotes celebrity culture (Odhiambo, 2008). Moreover, he adds that the media’s influence can take away our natural confidence and catalyses the obsession of perfect and flawless celebrity beauty. Furthermore, Odhiambo (2008:33) emphasises that “the media increases the demand for celebrity endorsement, contributing to the recent trends and increasingly high rates of self-harm, depression, suicide, plastic surgery, cosmetic procedures”. The findings from focus groups indicated that young dark-skinned women feel intimidated and lack self-confidence because of the colour of their skin.

The findings in this study discovered that celebrities use social media to peddle fair skin as ideal beauty; celebrities are very influential because of the network power they have and also because they are role models and they may represent the public opinion. Using the media to sell the ideal beauty and how to attain it is very powerful because the media has a very powerful influence on people, the ability to tell them what issues are important (Shaw and Mc Combs, 1972). The media decides for people what issues are important. Moreover, the findings concur with studies on social media such as Messner’s and Distaso’s (2008) who found that traditional

media and social media rely on one another and even influence and benefit one another. The celebrities who peddle whiteness on social media are supported by those who sell the same ideology on traditional media through their music videos and songs and magazines. It is not totally factual to believe that social media has balance power in terms of allowing everyone to report issues because ideal beauty perpetuated by the mainstream media is constantly reflected. The findings of the focus group's discussion indicated that many women think that they are not beautiful and attractive enough from the standpoint of the media because of their dark skin.

The society adopts media ideologies that 'yellow bone' is the ideal notion of beauty and propagates such ideologies. The findings from the focus groups indicated that women learn about skin bleaching cosmetics in the media, and therefore the media together with celebrity culture are the main agents of promoting light skin as the epitome of beauty, as an embodiment of pureness and godliness, as the symbol of prestige, and as the advantage to attracting marriage. The findings from the interviews and focus groups discovered that poverty is a possible agent of skin bleaching problem in South Africa because of the high rate of unemployment. Additionally, the findings indicate that to fight illegal skin bleaching products in South Africa, the government must work with the citizens, fighting unemployment, and banning illegal sales of skin bleaching products.

8.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

The findings discovered that some South African women are affected by the yellow bone culture as ideal of beauty, perfection and flawlessness which is promoted by some celebrities. Thus, it is important to have our own African notions of beauty that will be adopted in our society. South Africans must avoid internalisation of celebrity culture by ensuring that they embrace their own culture and traditions in order to avoid loss of identity. There should be women forums that promote African beauty, inspiring young girls to grow up having high self-esteem and loving and embracing their identity as black women. The government should do more in combating the selling of skin bleaching products because street vendors who sell the products say it is their only way of making a living. The government should ensure that such products do not enter the country.

Parents play a major role in teaching their children how to be a good woman and upholding other culturally related issues of being a woman. They should also emphasise on teaching their children the importance of self-pride and identity as black women. Young black girls should be taught at home at an early age that they are beautiful the way they are and should be given confidence about their skin colour.

The education system should include in the curriculum at an early age the importance of being proud of being black and taking pride in their own skin colour. Moreover, the government's strategy of promoting 90% local content in broadcasting, which is still debated in all SABC owned media, should broadcast soap operas that embrace black African skin as beautiful in order to educate young black South African women about the importance of identity and body image. The decolonisation and Africanisation of the education system should be implemented, in this manner teaching black children the history and injustices of oppression and denigration of blackness.

8.5 CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE STUDY

Existing literature mostly focus on broadcasting and print media only (e.g. Allwood and Szabo, 2006, Groesz, Levine and Murnen, 2002, Baron, 2005; Odhiambo, 2008). This study adds knowledge to existing literature because it focuses on magazines and social media which are Facebook, YouTube and Instagram which were not studied previously. Facebook, YouTube and Instagram have a huge influence on the youth, and celebrity culture is dominating and growing rapidly on these social media platforms.

The study focused on South African female celebrities and one Cameroonian celebrity who have influence on young South African females. These celebrities bleached their skin and popularised their action on Facebook, YouTube and Instagram. The present study creates awareness that if South African celebrities can perpetuate African beauty standards, young South African women will be able to look up to people who inspire them and give them importance of identity and self-pride as black women, given the huge influence that celebrities have on society, especially through social media platforms.

Focus groups and interviews with street vendors gave greater input that even though the South African government banned the selling of skin lightening products, the products are still sold and people have access to them. The lack of jobs in South Africa is a huge challenge that needs to be addressed because street vendors are claiming that they are selling the products to make a living.

8.6 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The study only focused on social media platforms which are Facebook, YouTube, Instagram and online magazines, which gives an opportunity for future research to expand to other social media platforms, such as Twitter, Snapchat, LinkedIn, Tumblr and many more.

Focus group, interviews and digital ethnography were used to collect data, which limits the study to the methods used in this investigation. Questionnaires may be used to expand knowledge and one-on-one interview with celebrities who bleach their skin. Thematic content analysis was used to analyse data collected by digital ethnography, which gave rise to the themes that emerged. The limitation is that different social media platforms may come up more themes. Data were collected from 2017 February to June 2018, which makes it a period of a year and three months, which leads to time frame being a limitation. However, this study expands knowledge and literature on black erasure and celebrity peddling of whiteness and how the black feminine body is affected in South Africa.

8.7 CONCLUDING REMARKS

The perception that fair skin is the one shade of colour that is beautiful, pure, prestigious and marriageable is very popular in black communities in South Africa in contemporary society. This kind of thinking creates loss of identity and self-pride. Young women grow up with lack of self-esteem because they are not light skinned. Light skin is encouraged by celebrity culture on social media and consequently adopted in societies.

Skin bleaching is endorsed by some celebrities on social media platforms, that a black beautiful girl is the one with fair skin. Black skin historically was associated with slavery and lack of civilisation during the apartheid era. Today the legacies of those eras are still fashionable, hence celebrity culture and social media selling the

ideology that fair skin is ideal notion of beauty. Black skin should be appreciated as beautiful, and African identity and pride should be promoted on all fronts.

REFERENCES

- Adae-amoakoh, T. 2012. *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*, 2nd ed. New York: Routledge.
- Allen, I. 1984. Male sex roles and epithets for ethnic women in American slang. *Sex Roles*, 11, (1-2): 43-50. *Analysis*. London: Sage Publications.
- Althusser, L. 1970. *Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses*. New Delhi: University of Delhi.
- Andersen, M.L. 2005. Thinking about women: A quarter century's view: *Gender and stratification in the USA*. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 27 (6):931-950.
- Anderson, B., Silver, B. & Abramson, P. 1988. The effects of the race of the interviewer on race-related attitudes of Black respondents in SRC/CPS national election studies. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 52: 289-324.
- Anderson, C. & Cromwell, R. 1977. "Black is Beautiful" and the Colour Preferences of Afro- American Youth. *Journal of Negro Education*, 46: 76-88.
- Andrew, M. 2002. *The skin bleaching phenomenon-commentary*. Jamaica Primetime Retrieved from http://www.jamaicans.com/articles/primecomments/0902_bleaching.shtml
- Arrow, K. J. 1963 . *Social Choice and Individual Values*. New Haven, CT:Yale University Press.
- Asakitikpi, A. 2006. *Adequate political psychology*,Chicago: Chicago Press
- Asakitikpi, A. 2016. Skin bleaching as a metaphor for interrogating development crisis in Black Africa. *Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 21:12-3.
- Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G. & Tiffin, H. 2004. *Post-colonial Studies: The Key Concepts*. New York: Routledge.
- Attired-Stirling, J. 2001. Thematic networks: An analytic tool for qualitative research, *Qualitative Research*, 1 (3):385-405.
- Azibo, DA 2011. Commentary: On skin bleaching and lightening as psychological misorientation mental order. *The Journal of Pan African Studies*, 4(4): 219-232.

- Baca-Zinn, M. & Thornton-Hill, B. 1996. Theorising difference from multiracial feminism. *Feminist Studies*, 2(2): 416-425.
- Bachrach P. & Baratz M. S. 1970. *Power and Poverty: Theory and Practice*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bachrach, D. Producer, & Burnett, C. 1998. *The Wedding*. [Motion Picture]. United States of America: Harpo Productions. Los Angeles
- Bailey, B. 2001. Dominican-American ethnic/racial identities and United States social categories. *International Migration Review*, 35 (3): 677-708.
- Balcretis, E., Cole, S., Marie, B. & Alicke, M. 2013. Searching out the ideal: Awareness of ideal body standards predicts lower global self-esteem in Women. *Self and Identity*, 1(12): 99–113.
- Baron, D. P. & Ferejohn, J. A. 1989. Bargaining and agenda formation in legislatures. *American Economic Review*, 77 (2): 303-309.
- Baron, S.S. 2005. (Un) Lawfully beautiful: The legal (de) construction of female beauty. *Boston College Law Review*, 46 (2):359-389.
- Baskerville, N. 2014. Twerk it: Deconstructing racial and gendered implications of black women's bodies through representations of twerking. *Celebrity Studies*, 2(3): 60-101.
- Bates, K.G. 1994. The colour thing: Why, in the midst of our Afrocentric renaissance, should there still be a better shade of black? *Essence*, 25:79-80.
- Baturka, N., Hornsby, P. & Schorling, J.B. 2000. Clinical implications of body image among rural African-American women. *Journal of Gender International*, 15: 235-24.
- Beale, F. 1995. Double jeopardy: To be black and female. In B. Guy-Sheftall (Ed.) *Words of Fire: An Anthology of African-American Feminist Thought*, 22-30 New York: New Press.
- Bendor, J., Diermeier, D. & Ming, M. M. 2003 A behavioural model of turnout, *American Political Science Review*, 97(2): 261–280.
- Benjamin ,J. 2001.Dominican-American ethnic and black racial identity and self-esteem among African Americans. *Journal of Applied Literature*,9(1):91-100.

- Benton, T. 1981 "Objective" interests and the sociology of power. *Sociology*, 15 (2): 161–84.
- Berger, P.L. & Luckmann, T. 1966. *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*. New York: Anchor Books.
- Berry, A. 2002. *The Economics of SMMEs in South Africa*. Pretoria: Trade and Industry Policy Strategies
- Betzig, L. L. 1992. Medieval monogamy. In S. Methin & H. Mascher (Eds.). *Darwinian Approaches to the Past* (pp.). New York: Plenum.
- Biko, S. 1978. *I Write What I Like: A Selection of His Writings*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Blay, A. 2011. Skin bleaching and white supremacy. *Journal of Pan African Studies*, 4(4): 32-43.
- Bloor, M., Frankland, J. Thomas, M. & Stewart, K. 2001. *Focus Groups in Social research*. London: Sage Publications.
- Bond, S. & Cash, T. F. 1992. Black beauty: Skin colour and body images among African-American college women. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 22:874-888.
- Bonilla-Silva, E. 1996. Rethinking racism: Toward a structural interpretation. *American Sociological Review*, 62: 465-480.
- Bonilla-Silva, E. 2004. *From bi-racial to tri-racial: Towards a new system of racial stratification in USA*. Los Angeles: California State University Press
- Bonilla-Silva, E. 2006. *Racism Without Racists: Colour-Blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in the United States*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.
- Boudon, R. 1998. Social Mechanisms without Black Boxes. In P. Hedstrom & R. Swedberg (Eds.). (15-20) Cambridge: Harvard University Press
- Bourdieu, P. 1984. *Distinction*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. 1988. Vive la crise! *Theory and Society*, 17: 773-787.
- Bourdieu, P. 2001. *Masculine Domination*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

- Bowman, P., Muhammad, R. & Ifatunji, M. 2004. *Skin tone, class, and racial attitudes among African Americans*. In Herring, C., Keith, V.M. & Horton, H.D. (Eds.) *Skin Deep: (437-455)*. New York: Anchor Books.
- Boyd-Franklin, N. 2003. *Black Families in Therapy: Understanding the African-American Experience*. New York: Guilford Press.
- Braun, V. & Clarke, V. 2006. Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, (3):77-101.
- Breines, W. 2006. *The Trouble between Us: An Uneasy History of White and Black Women in the Feminist Movement*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Breland, P. R. 2001. Perceptions of and preferences for skin colour: Black racial identity, and self-esteem among African Americans. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 3(1): 225-274.
- Brown, W. 1985. *Clotel*. New York: Carol Publishing Group.
- Brunsma, D. (Ed.). 2006. *Mixed Messages: Multiracial Identities in the 'Colour-Blind' Era*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Bulik C.M., Kelly, N.R. & Mazzeo, S.E. 2011. An exploration of body dissatisfaction and perception of black and white girls enrolled in an intervention for overweight children. *Psychology*, 8(4):379-384.
- Burke, P. 2015. *Colourism as the Interracial Phenomenon*. New York: Public Affairs
- Burma, J. H. 1946. The measurement of Negro 'passing'. *The American Journal of Sociology*, 52:18-22.
- Byrd, A. & Akiba, S. 2005. *Black Women Bear all about Their Skin, Hair, Hips, Lips and Other Parts*. New York: The Berkley Publishing Group.
- Carby H, 2001. Crosby, C. 1991. *The Ends of History: Victorians and "The Woman Question."* New York: Routledge
- Carothers, S.C. 1990. *Catching sense: Learning from our mothers to be black and female. Uncertain terms, Negotiating gender in American culture*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.
- Carpenter, C. & Defranciso, V. 1998. Women self-esteem in their own terms: A feminist qualitative study. *Feminism and Psychology*, 8(4):467-489.

- Carter, R. T. 2007. Racism and psychological and emotional injury: Recognising and assessing race-based traumatic stress. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 35(1): 13-105.
- Cash, T.S., & Duncan, N.C. 1984 Physical attractiveness stereotyping among Black American college students. *Journal of Psychology*, 1: 71-77.
- Cashin, S. 2004. *The failures of integration: How race and class are undermining the American dream*. New York: Public Affairs.
- Castel, 2001. *Inequality and network*. London: Penguin.
- Castells, M. 2011. *A network theory of power*: Cambridge: Blackwell.
- Charles, C.D. 2003. Skin bleaching, self-hate, and black identity in Jamaica. *Journal of Black Studies*, 33 (6): 711-728.
- Charles, C.A.D. 2009. Liberating skin bleachers: From mental pathology to complex personhood. *Jenda: A Journal of Culture and African Women Studies*, 10: 99–114.
- Charles, C.A.D. 2011. Skin bleaching and the prestige of sexual attraction. *Sexuality and Culture*, 15: 375-390.
- Charmaz, K. 2006. *Constructing Grounded Theory*. New York: Longman.
- Charmaz, K. 2002. Qualitative interviewing and grounded theory analysis. In J. F. Maddox (Ed.). *Handbook of Interview Research: Context and Method* (pp. 675-694). London: Penguin.
- Clark, N. L., & Worger, W. H. 2011. South Africa: *The rise and fall of apartheid*. Pretoria: Juta.
- Clegg, S. R. 1989. *Frameworks of Power*. London: Sage Publications.
- Coard, S.I., Breland, A.M. & Raskin, P. 2001. *Perceptions of and Preferences for Skin Colour*. London: Penguin.
- Collins, P.H. 1986. Learning from the outsider within: The Sociological significance of black feminist thought. *Social Problems*, 33: 514-532.
- Collins, P.H. 1998. *Fighting Words: Black Women Fighting for Justice*. Minneapolis, MN: Sage.

- Collins, P.H. 2000. *Black Feminist Thought*. New York: Routledge.
- Collins, P.H. 2004. *Black Sexual Politics: African-Americans, Gender and the New Racism*. New York: Routledge.
- Collins, P.H. 2006. *From Black Power to Hip-Hop: Racism, Nationalism, and Feminism*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Collins, P. H. 1986. Learning from the outsider within: The sociological, cultural domination vis-a-vis skin colour." *Journal of Black Studies*, 26: 72-184.
- Combahee River Collective 1983. A Black Feminist Statement. In Smith, B. (Ed.). *Home Girls: A Black Feminist Anthology*, (pp.115-120). New York: Women of Colour Press.
- Crenshaw. K. W.1989. Intersectionality: Exploration of women's international human rights violations. *Emory Law Journal*, 52: 71-186
- Cunningham, M. R., Roberts, A. R., Barbee, A. P., Druen, P. B. & Wu, C. 1995. Their ideas of beauty are on the whole the same as ours: Consistency and variability in the cross-cultural perception of female physical attractiveness. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 68: 261-278.
- Curtin, P.D. 1955. *The role of ideas in a tropical colony 1830-1865*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Dadzie, O. Petit, A. 2009. Skin bleaching: Highlighting the misuse of cutaneous depigmenting agents. *Journal of European Academic Dermatology*. (23):741–750.
- Dahl, R. A. 1961. *Who Governs? Democracy and Power in an American City*. New Haven,CT, Yale University Press,.
- Davies ,S. 1994. Dirlik, A. 1994. The postcolonial aura: Third world criticism in the age of global capitalism. *Critical Inquiry*. 20: 328-356.
- De Souza M. M. 2008. the concept of skin bleaching in Africa and its devastating health implications. *Clinical Dermatology*; 26:27-29.
- De Souza. 2008. *Cane River*. New York: Warner Books.
- Dennett, D. C. 1987. *The Intentional Stance*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

- Dlova N., Hamed S., Tsoka-Gwegweni J., Grobler A. & Hift, R. 2014. Women's perceptions of the benefits and risks of skin-lightening creams in two South African communities. *Journal of Cosmetic Dermatology*,5 (13):236—241.
- Dlova N., Hamed S., Tsoka-Gwegweni J., Grobler A., & Hift, R. 2014. Women's perceptions of the benefits and risks of skin-lightening creams in two South African communities. *Journal of Cosmetic Dermatology*, 5 (13):236-241.
- Dlova, N.C., Hendricks, N.E. 2012. Skin lightening creams used in Durban, South Africa. *International Journal of Dermatology*. 51: 51–53.
- Dlova, N.C. & Hendricks, N.E. 2012. Skin lightening creams used in Durban, South Africa. *International Journal of Dermatology*, 51:51–53.
- Dowding, K. 1991. *Rational Choice and Political Power*. Aldershot: Edward Elgar.
- Dowding, K. 1996. *Power*. Buckingham: Open University Press/Minnesota University Press.
- Dowding, K. 2005. Is it rational to vote? *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 7 (3):442–59.
- Dowding, K. & van Hees, M. 2003. The Construction of Rights. *American Political Science Review*, 97 (2): 281–93.
- Drake, S. & Cayton, 1987. *Black folk Here and There: An Essay in History and Anthropology* (Vol. 1). Los Angeles, CA: Centre for Afro-American Studies, University of California.
- Drum digital. 2014. I was tired of being ugly, 17th July: 4-5
- Du bois,W.E.B. 1992. *Why Skin Colour Suddenly Is a Big Issue Again*. *Ebony*, 47, 120-122.
- Du Plooy-Cilliers, F., Davis C. & Bezuidenhout, R. 2014. *Research Matters*, 12th ed. Cape Town: Juta.
- Duany, J. 1998. *Reconstructing racial identity: Ethnicity, colour, and class among Dominicans in the United States and Puerto Rico.* *Latin American Perspectives*, 25:147-172.

- Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. 2003. EEOC settles colour harrasment lawsuit with Applebee's Neighborhood Bar and Grill. Available at: www.eeoc.gov. [Accessed November 1, 2017].
- Elmore, S. 2009. *Experiences*. 25th anniversary ed. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Elster, J. 1983. *Sour Grapes: Studies in the Subversion of Rationality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Erasmus, Y., & Ellison, G. T. H. 2008. What can we learn about the meaning of race from the classification of population groups during apartheid? *South African Journal of Science*, 104 (11-12), 450-452.
- Fanon, F. 1967. *Black Skin White Masks*. New York: Grove Press..
- Feagin, J. R., Hernán V. & Pinar, B. 2001. *White Racism*, 2nd ed. New York: Routledge.
- Foucault, M. 1972. *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*. New York: Pantheon.
- Foucault, M. 1977. *Discipline and Punish*. New York: Pantheon.
- Foucault, M. 1978. *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction*. Ham-monsworth: Penguin.
- Foucault, M. 1998. *The History of Sexuality: The Will to knowledge*. London: Penguin.
- Franco,R. 2007. Archives of philosophy and biochemistry. *Journal of Health Care*, 113(4/5):234-258.
- Frazier, E. 1957. *The Negro in the United States*. New York: Macmillan.
- Gamson, J.1999. *Claims to Fame: Celebrities in Contemporary America*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Gamson, J.1999. *Claims to fame: celebrities in contemporary America*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

- Gamson, W. A., Croteau, D., Hoynes, W. & Sasson, T. (1992). Media images and the social construction of reality. *Annual Sociological Review*, 18, 373-393.
- Gates Jr, H. L. ed. 1986. *'Race', Writing and Difference*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago.
- Gatewood, W.B. 1988. Aristocrat of colour: South and north and the Black elite, 1880-1920. *Journal of Southern History*, 54: 3-19.
- Geers, K. 1997 *Contemporary South African Art*. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball.
- Gergen, K. 1967. The significance of skin colour in human relations. *Daedalus Colour and Race*, 96(2): 390-406.
- Gibbard, A. 1973 Manipulation of voting schemes: A General Result', *Econometrica*, 41 (4): 587-601.
- Giddeon, S. 2005. The Euro-Americanisation of Race *Genealogies, Colonial Legacies and Democratic Futures*. London: Routledge.
- Giddens, A. 1991 *Modernity and Self-Identity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Gilman, S. L. 1998. *Creating Beauty to Cure the Soul: Race and Psychology in the Shaping of Aesthetic Surgery*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Giroux, H. 1992 *Post-Colonial Ruptures and Democratic Possibilities*. Cambridge: Sage publications
- Giroux, H.A. 1997. *Racial politics and the pedagogy of Whiteness*. In M. Hill (Ed.) *Whiteness: A Critical Reader*, (pp. 294-215). New York: NYU Press.
- Glen, H. 1999. *Children of the Great Depression*. NC: Duke University Press.
- Glenn, E. N. 2008. Consuming lightness: Segmented markets and global capital in the skin-whitening trade. In E.N. Glenn (Ed.). *Shades of Difference: Why Skin Colour Matters* (pp. 30-35). Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Glenn, E. N. 2009. Yearning for lightness: Transnational circuits in the marketing and consumption of skin lighteners. *Gender and Society*, 22(3): 281- 302.

- Gobodo-Madikizela, P., & Van Der Merwe, C. 2009. *Memory, Narrative and Forgiveness: Perspectives on the Unfinished Journeys of the Past*. Newcastle, England: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Golden, Marita. 2004. *Don't Play in the Sun: One Woman's Journey through the Colour Complex*. New York: Doubleday.
- Gordon. 1954. *The Nature of Prejudice*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.
- Grabe, S. L. 2008. The role of the media in body image concerns among women: A *Meta-analysis of Experimental and Correlation Studies*, 134(3):460-476.
- Graham , 1999. Migration from the Hispanic Caribbean to the United States, 1900-2000. Available at: www.inmotionaame.org. [Accessed November 1, 2005].
- Graham, G. 2005 *Philosophy of the Arts*. London: Routledge.
- Graham, L.O. 1999. *Inside America's Black Upper class*. New York: Harper Collins.
- Gramsci, A. 1975. Theory of hegemony. *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 36(2): 351-366.
- Green, M. J., Sonn, C. C. & Matsebula, J. 2007 *Reviewing whiteness in United States of America*. London: Routledge.
- Greenstein, R., Roberts, B. & Sitas, A. 2003. *Qualitative research methodology*. In R. Greenstein (Ed.). *Research Methods Manual*, (pp.16-20). London: Routledge.
- Gubrium, P.D. & Holstein, J. .A. *Identity politics and colourism*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Gullickson, A. (2005). *The significance of colour declines: A re-analysis of skin tone and emotional abuse*, *Journal of Black Studies*, 6(2-3): 9-30.
- Gunaratnam, Y. 2003 *Researching 'Race' and Ethnicity*. London: Sage Publications.
- Haizlip, Shirlee, T. 1998. *Colourism and racial identity*. New York : Routledge
- Haizlip, S. T. 1994. The sweeter the juice: A family memoir in Black Identity. *Journal of Black Studies*, 4(1): 520-530.

- Hall, A. & Callery, M.C. 2001. *Enhancing the Rigor of Grounded Theory*. London: Sage publications
- Hall, R. E. 2004. *Entitlement Disorder: The Colonial Traditions of Power as White supremacy. Meta-analysis of Experimental and Correlation Studies*, 134(3):460-476.
- Hall, R.E. 2005. The Euro-Americanization of race: Alien perspective of African Americans vis-à-vis trivialisation of skin colour. *Journal of Black Studies*, 36(1): 116-128.
- Hall, R. 1995. "The Bleaching Syndrome: African Americans' Response to Harris, Treviène A., "Bleaching to Reach: Skin Bleaching as a Performance of Embodied Resistance in Jamaican Dancehall Culture" (2014). FIU Electronic Theses and Dissertations. Paper 1129. <http://digitalcommons.fiu.edu/etd/1129>
- Harpalani, P. & Spencer, K. 2005. *Colourism in The Reader's Companion to U.S. Women*. Chicago: Chicago press.
- Harper, P. 2006. *As Nature Made Him*. New York. Chapel Hill.
- Harring, L., Selza & Smith 1991. *The Arabs and Swahili culture*. *Africa*, 34(3): 224–229.
- Harrison, M., Reynolds-Dobbs & Thomas, K. 2008. *Skin color bias in the workplace*. In R.E. Hall (Ed.), *Racism in the 21st Century* (pp. 47-62). Spring Street, NY: Springer Science and Business Media.
- Hay, C. 1997. Divided by a common language: Political theory and the concept of Power. *Politics*, 17 (1): 45–52.
- Hazel, C. 1982. *White Women Listen!* New York: Routledge.
- Hegel, W. 1991. *The Words Don't Fit in My Mouth*. New York: Moore Black Press.
- Henriques, S. 2014. Colour caste changes among Black college students. *Journal of Black Studies*, 4: 92-101.
- Hill, C. P. 2000. *Black Feminist Thought*. New York: Routledge.

- Hill, M. 2002. Skin Color and the Perception of Attractiveness among African Americans: Does Gender Make a Difference? *Social Psychology Quarterly* 65, 1, 77-91. History, edited by B. Smith, G. Steinem, G. Mink, M. Navarro, and W. Mankiller.
- Hill, M. & Mark, P. 2002. *Skin colour and the perceptions of attractiveness among African history*. In B. Smith, G. Steinem, G. Mink, M. Navarro & W. Mankiller (Eds.) *Black matters* (pp. 16-18). Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin.
- Hill, M.E. 2000 Colour difference in the socioeconomic statuses of African American men: Results of a longitudinal study. *Sociology Forces*, 78: 1437–1460.
- Hill, M.E. 2000 Colour difference in the socioeconomic statuses of African- American men: Results of a longitudinal study. *Sociology Forces*, 78: 1437–1460.
- Hitchcock, J. (2002). *Lifting the White Veil: An Exploration of White American Culture in a Multiracial Context*. Roselle, NJ: Crandall, Dostie & Douglass Books.
- Holstein, J. A. & Jaber F. G. 1995. *The Active Interview*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Holsti, O. R. & James N. R. 1980. Does where you stand depend on when you were born?: The impact of generation on post-Vietnam foreign policy beliefs. *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, 44: 1-22.
- Holzman, J. 1973. Colour caste changes among black college students. *Journal of Black Studies*, 4: 92-101.
- Hooks, B. 1996. *Black Looks: Race and Representation*, Boston, MA: South End Press.
- Howath, P. 2000. *Studies in the Theory of Ideology*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- <http://www.pressreader.com/south-africa/sundatribune/20160828/281908772570023>
A move towards skin lightening [Accessed February 20, 2017].
- <http://www.smesouthafrica.co.za/16487/Legal-requirements-for-product-packaging-and-labeling/> Published: 29 March 2016 [Accessed March 4, 2017].

<http://www.smesouthafrica.co.za/16487/Legal-requirements-for-product-packaging-and-labeling/> Published: 29 March 2016 [Accessed March 4, 2017].

<http://www.wepluggoodmusic.com/2014/01/23/wpqm-commentary-dencias-whitenicious-sold-out-for-reasons-much-bigger-than-her/>.2017Dencia's 'Whitenicious' Sold Out For Reasons Much Bigger Than Her [Accessed February 20, 2017].

<https://www.pinterest.com/pin/131519251591890482> Pear soap advertisements [Accessed February 20, 2017].

Hughes,P. Bradley, R. & Hertel,S. 1990. *The Significance of Skin Colour preferences*. London: Sage publications

Hughes, M. & Hertel, B. 1990. The Significance of colour remains: A Study of life chances, mate selection, and ethnic consciousness among Black Americans. *Social Forces* , 68:1105-1120.

Hunter, M. 2011. Buying racial capital: Skin-bleaching and cosmetic surgery in a globalised world. *The Journal of Pan African Studies*, 4(20):251-260.

Hunter, M. 1998. Colourstruck: Skin colour stratification in the lives of African American women. *Sociological Inquiry*, 68 (4): 517-535.

Hunter, M. 2002. If you're light you're alright': Light skin colour as social capital for women of colour. *Gender and Society*, 16(2): 175-193.

Hunter, M. 2004. Light bright and almost white: The advantages and disadvantages of light skin. In C. Herring, V. M. Keith & H.D. Horton (Eds.). *Skin Deep: How Race and Complexion Matter in the "Colour-Blind" Era*, (pp10-15.). Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Hunter, M. 2005. *Race, Gender and the Politics of Skin Tone*. New York: Routledge:

Hunter, M. 2007. The persistent problem of Colourism: Skin tone, status, and inequality. *Sociology Compass*, 1(1): 237-254.

Hunter, M. 2011. Buying racial capital: Skin-bleaching and cosmetic surgery in a globalised world. *The Journal of Pan African Studies*, 1(20):251-260.

- Hunter, M. L. 1998. Colourstruck: Skin colour stratification in the lives of African American women. *Sociological Inquiry*, 68(4): 517-535.
- Hutcheon, L. Bhabha, H. K. Boyarin, D. Gözl, S. I. 1998. Four views on ethnicity. incorporating reflexivity and relationality. *Qualitative Health Research*, 11: 257-72.
- Jackson-Lowman, H. 2013. An analysis of the impact of Eurocentric concepts of beauty on the lives of African American women. In H. Jackson-Lowman (Ed.). *African American Women: Living at the Crossroads of Race, Gender, Class, and Culture* (pp.155-172). San Diego, CA: Cognella Academic Publishing
- Jacoby S.R.1995. *The Intentional Stance*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Jamal, A & Williamson, S. 1996 *Art in South Africa*. Cape Town: David Philip.
- Jeffries, D. & Jeffries, R. 2015. Mentoring and mothering black femininity in the academy: An exploration of body, voice and image through black female characters. *The Western Journal of Black Studies*, 4 (39):2-125.
- Johnson, 2001. *Soul by Soul: Life Inside the Antebellum Slave Market*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Jones, T. 2000. Shades of brown: The law of skin colour. *Duke Law Journal*, 49: 1497-1557.
- Jones, V. 2004. *Pride or Prejudice? A Formally Taboo Topic Among Asian-Americans and Latinos Comes Out into the Open as Skin Tone*. Boston, MA: Sage publications
- Jones, W.L. 1973. The importance of black identity to the black adolescent. *Journal of Black Studies*, 4(1): 81-91.
- Karen, G. 1994. *The Colour Thing*. New York:Roudlege
- Katz, J. (1999). *White culture and racism: Working for organizational change in the United States (The Whiteness Papers, No. 3)*. Roselle, NJ: Center for the Study of White American Cultur The Meaning of Whiteness (PDF Download

Available). Available https://www.researchgate.net/publication/27249_Meaning_of_Whiteness [accessed Nov 15, 2017].

- Keith, V.M. & Herring, C. 1991. Skin tone and stratification in the black community. *American Journal of Sociology*, 97(3):760-778.
- Kinnon, & Bennett, K. 2000. *Is Skin Colour Still an Issue in Black America?* Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.
- Kirkwood, K. 1950. *The Group Areas Act*. Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations.
- Knights, D. & Willmott, H. 1999. *Management lives: Power and Identity in Work Organisations*. London: Sage Publications.
- Krige, R. & Zegeye, A. 2001 *Culture in the New South Africa*. Cape Town: Kwela.
- Kronus, S. 1971. *The Black Middle Class*. Columbus, OH: Charles E. Merrill
- Lake, Obiagele. 2003. *Blue veins and kinky hair: Naming and colour consciousness in African-America*. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.
- Lin, A. 2009. Local interpretation of global management discourses in higher education in Hong Kong: Potential impact on academic culture. *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*, 10(2): 260–274.
- Logan, John R., and Glenn Deane. (2003). *Black diversity in Metropolitan America*. Lewis Mumford Centre for Comparative Urban and Regional Research. Available at: <http://mumford1.dyndns.org/cen2000/report.html>. [Accessed November 1, 2005].
- Loomba, A. 1998. *Colonialism-postcolonialism*. New York: Routledge.
- Lopez, A, J. 2005. Postcolonial whiteness : A critical reader on race and empire. *Psychology and politics*, 8(4):521-533
- Loury, G. C. 2002 *The Anatomy of Racial inequality*. Boston, MA: Harvard University.
- Loury, L. D. 2008. Am I still too black for you?: Schooling and secular change in skin tone effects. *Economics of Education Review*, 28(2): 428-433.

- Louw, C. 2001 *Boetman en die Swanesang van die Verligtes*. Cape Town, South Africa: Humem.
- Lowe, S. M., Okubo, Y., & Reilly, M. F. 2012. A qualitative inquiry into racism, trauma, and coping: Implications for supporting victims of racism. *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice*, 43(3):190-198.
- Lowman, H. 2013. An analysis of the impact of Eurocentric concepts of beauty on the lives of African American women. In H. Jackson-Lowman (Ed.). *African American Women: Living at the Crossroads of Race, Gender, Class, and Culture*, (pp 5-10). San Diego, CA: Cognella Academic Publishing.
- Lukes, S. 2005. *Power: A Radical View*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Luks, K. & Laurel, M.N. 2005. *African-American Partisanship and the perception of beauty*. New York. Routledge.
- MacDonald, M. 2006 *Why 'race' Matters in South Africa?* Boston, MA. Harvard University.
- Mack, D. 1999. *From Babylon to Rastafari: Origin and History of the Rastafarian Movement*. Chicago, IL: Research Associates School Times.
- Mackie, G. 1996. Ending footbinding and infibulation: A convention account, *American Sociological Review*, 61 (6): 999–1017.
- Maddox, K. B., & Chase, S. G. 2004. Manipulating subcategory salience: Exploring the link between skin tone and social perception of blacks. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 34(5): 533-546.
- Maddox, K. B., & Gray, S. A. 2002. Cognitive representations of Black Americans: Re-exploring the role of skin tone. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 28(2): 250–259.
- Maddox, K.B. 2004. Perspectives on racial phenotypicality bias. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 8(4): 383–401.
- Madriz, P. 2003. *Focus Groups in Feminist Research*. London: Penguin
- Maharaj, B. 1994. The Group Areas Act and Community Destruction in South Africa. *Urban Forum*, 5(2),1-25.

- Mahe, A., Ly, F., Aymard, G. & Dangou, J.M. 2003. Clinical and laboratory investigations: Skin diseases associated with the cosmetic use of bleaching products in women from Dakar Senegal. *Journal of Dermatology*, 148, 493-500.
- Malcolm X (Naperville, Ill.: Sourcebooks, 2003); and Sheila Radford-Hill, "Womanizing Malcolm X," in *The Cambridge Companion to Malcolm X*, 63-77.
- Martin, H. 2001. Male Resistance to Affirmative action. *Journal of Black Studies*, 34 (4):562-579.
- Martin, M. 1996 *The Rainbow Nation: Identity and Transformation*. Boston: *Oxford Art*.
- Martyn, & Atkinson A. 1995. *Ethnography: Principles in Practice*, 2nd ed. London: Routledge.
- Masten L. 2001. *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*. Ed. C. Nelson and L. Grossberg. 271-313. London: Macmillan
- Masten, D. L. 2003. The next wave in understanding the consumer experience. *Journal of Anthropology*, (14):75-81.
- Matsebula, J, Sonn, C,C, & Green, M. J. 2007 *Refining the review of whiteness*. New York: Routledge
- McAdams, D. 1988. *Power, Intimacy and the Life Story*. New York: Guilford.
- McClintock, A. 1996. *Power and politics*. New York: Routledge .
- McClintock, A. 1992. *The Angel of Progress*. London: Sage publications
- McKelvey, R. D. & Schofield, N. 1986 Structural Instability of the Core, *Journal of Mathematical Economics*, 15 (3): 179–98.
- McKinlay, A. & Starkey, K. 1998. *Foucault, Management and Organisation Theory*. London: Sage Publications.
- McLaren, M. A. 2002. *Feminism, Foucault and Embodied Subjectivity*. Albany New York: Suny Press.
- Meera, J. 2005. The cultural implications of beauty. *Beauty Spring*, 8 (13):43-50.

- Messner, M. 2000. Barbie girls versus sea monsters: Children constructing gender. *Gender and Society*, 14(6): 765-784.
- Messner, M., Clegg, S. & Kornberger, M. 2008. Critical practices in organisations. *Journal of Management Inquiry*, 17(2): 68–82.
- Mgadmi, M. 2009. Impact des stéréotypes dans l'identité des femmes noires des années 1890 à 1930: respectabilité et absence de passion [Black Women's Identity: Stereotypes, Respectability and Passionlessness (1890-1930)] *Revue LISA/LISA e-journal*, 7(1): 40-55.
- Miller, P. & Rose, N. 2008. *Administering Economic, Social and Personal Life*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Miller, P. & Rose, N. 1986. *The power of psychiatry*, Cambridge: Polity,
- Mire, A. 2001. Skin-bleaching: Poison, beauty, power, and the politics of the colour line. *Resources for Feminist Research*, 28(3-4): 13-38.
- Mire, A. 2005. Pigmentation and empire: The emerging skin whitening industry. *Counter Punch*, 28 March. <http://www.counterpunch.org/mire07282005.html> [accessed December 16, 2017].
- Mohanty, C.& Russo,A. 1991. *Third multiculturalism as anti-racist pedagogy*. Cambridge: Oxford University press
- Mohanty, C. T. 2005. Under Western eyes: Feminist scholarship and colonial discourses. In C. T. Mohanty, A. Russo & L. Torres (Eds.). *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism*, (pp. 51-81). Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Moore, M. 1997. *The Words Don't Fit in My Mouth*. New York: Moore Black Press.
- Morrison, T. 1970. *The Bluest Eye*. New York: Henry Holt & Co.
- Morrison, T. 1993. *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination*. New York, NY: Vintage Books.

- Morrison, Toni. 1970. *The Bluest Eye*. New York: Henry Holt & Co.
- Murray, M. 2009. Waste management in Ireland: Discourses of domination in an (un)reflexive society. *The Sociological Review*, 57(1): 81–101.
- Myrdal, G., Sterner, R. & Rose, A. 1944. *An American Dilemma*. New York: Harper and Brothers.
- Nagel, J. (1994). *Constructing ethnicity: Creating and recreating ethnic identity and culture*. *Social Problems*, 41: 152-176.
- Nahomie, J. 2014. Skin bleaching in South Africa: Result of colonialism and apartheid? *Geogia State Honours College Undergraduate. Research Journal* 2 (4-6): 8-16.
- Nakayama, K., and Krizek, L. 1995. Whiteness: A strategic rhetoric. *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 81: 291-309.
- Nassar-Mcmillan, S., McFall-Roberts, E., Flowers, C. & Garrett, M. T. 2006. *Ebony*. Chicago, IL: Chicago Press.
- Nettleford, R. 1965. National identity and attitudes to race in Jamaica. *Journal of African Studies*, 7:59-72.
- Nettleford, R. 1978. *Caribbean Cultural Identity: The case of Jamaica*. Kingston, Jamaica: Institute of Jamaica.
- Nettleford, R. 1988. Garvey's legacy: Some perspectives. In R. Lewis & P. Bryan (Eds.). *Garvey His Work and Impact*, (pp. 309-322). Kingston, Jamaica: Institute of Social and Economic Research.
- O'Leary, T. 2002. *The Art of Ethics*. New York: Roudlege
- O'Malley, P. 1992. Risk, crime and crime prevention, *Economy and Society*. London: Roudlege.
- Odhiambo T. 2008. The black female as a 'consumer' in current Drum and True Love magazines in South Africa. *Journal of African Studies*, 67(1):71-80.

- Okazawa-Rey, M., Robinson, T., & Ward, J. V. 1987. Black women and the politics of skin colour and hair. *Women and Therapy*, 6(1-2): 89-102.
- Osborne, T. 1993. Liberalism, neo-liberalism and the liberal profession of medicine. *Economy and Society*, 22(3): 345–356.
- Pandian, A. 2008. Pastoral power in the post-colony: On the biopolitics of the criminal animal in South India. *Cultural Anthropology* 23(1): 85–117.
- Parrish, D.C. & Charles, H. 1946. Colour names and colour notions. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 15(1):13-20.
- Patton, M. Q. 2002. *Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods*, 3rd ed. London: Sage Publications.
- Patton, T.O. 2006. Hey girl, am I more than my hair: *Journal for Black studies*, 8 (2):102-109.
- Peiss, K. 1998. *Hope in a Jar: The Making of America's Beauty Culture*. New York: Metropolitan Books.
- Pettit, P. 1997. *Republicanism: A Theory of Freedom and Government*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Pink, S. 2015 Digital living, domestic technologies, energy, and everyday life. Sarah Pink johnpostill.com/2015/02/26/e-seminar-on-the-energy-and-digital-living-website-by-Sarah-Pink-et-al/ [Accessed on February 10, 2017].
- Pirk, A. 2016. *Politics of Skin Color among African Americans*. New York: Anchor Books.
- Pitche, A. 2005. *Caste, Class, and Race: A Study in Social Dynamics*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co.
- Pitche, P., Kombate, K. & Tchangai-Walla, K. 2005. Cosmetic use of skin bleaching products and associated complications. *International Journal of Dermatology*, 44: 39-40.
- Polsby, N.W. 1980. *Community Power and Political Theory*, 2nd ed. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Power, M. 1994. *The Audit of Explosion, Demos*. London: Press Publishers.

- Priahabanga, D. 2015. Preferences for skin colour: Black racial identity, and self-Esteem among African Americans. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 31: 2256-74.
- Rabotham, D. 2000. *Blackening the Jamaican Nation*. London: Press Publishers.
- Raj, D. 1994. *Sampling Theory*. New York: Mc-Graw-Hill Book Company.
- Ridley, M. 1993. *The Red Queen: Sex and the Evolution of Human Nature*. Harmondsworth:London: Penguin.
- Riker, W. H. 1982. *Liberalism Against Populism: A Confrontation between the Theory of Democracy and the Theory of Social Choice*. San Francisco, CA:W. H. Freeman and Co.
- Roberts, T.A. 1997. Objectification theory. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 21: 173–206.
- Robinson, H. 2007, January 19. Bleachers and dyers. Retrieved from www.jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20070119/cleisure/cleisure3.html [Accessed February 17,2018]
- Robinson, P. A. 2011 *Skin Bleaching in Jamaica: A Colonial Legacy*: Texas, TX: A&M University press.
- Robinson, T.L. & Ward, J.V. 1995. African American adolescents and skin colour. *Journal of Black Psychology*, 21: 256-274.
- Ronald,P.O. 1995. *The Bleaching Syndrome*.New York: Sage publishers.
- Rondilla, J.L. & Spickard, P. 2007. *Is Lighter Better? Skin-Tone Discrimination among Asian-Americans*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.
- Rose, N. 1989. Governing the soul: *The Shaping of the Private Self*. London: Routledge.
- Rose, N. 1999. Governing the soul: The shaping of the private self, 2nd ed. London: Rousseau.University Press.
- Rosenberg, M. 1978. *Conceiving the self*. New York: Basic Books.
- Ross, L. 1997. Mate selection preferences among African American college students. *Journal of Black Studies*, 27(4): 554-569.

- Russell, K., Wilson, M. & Hall, R. 1993. *The Colour Complex: The Politics of Skin Colour among African Americans*. New York: Anchor Books.
- Ryder, M. 1965. The Cohort as a Concept in the Study of Social Change.
- Sarwer, A. 2003. *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture: A Reader*, 4th ed. Harlow: Pearson Education.
- Sastre, A. 2014. Hottentot in the age of reality TV: Sexuality, race, and Kim Kardashian's visible body, *Celebrity Studies*, 5 (1-2):123-137.
- Satterthwaite, M. 1975. Strategy proofness and Arrow's Conditions. *Journal of Economic Theory*, 10 (2):187–217.
- Scott, J. C. 1990. *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Shefer, T. & Clerk, E. 2010. Narrating gender and sex in and through apartheid divides. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 40(4): 382-395.
- Shepsle, K. 1979. Institutional arrangements and equilibrium in Multidimensional Voting Models. *American Journal of Political Science*, 23 (1): 27–59.
- Sherlock, D & Bennett, K, 1998. *The Story of the Jamaican People*. Jamaica: Ian Randle Publishers.
- Sherriff, W.B. 2001. Significance of *Black Feminist Thought* Boston : Houghton Mifflin publishers
- Silver, T & Feagin H. 2006. *Significance of Black Feminist Thought* Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Simms A. 2015. Language and negotiation of ethnic/racial identity among Dominican Americans. *Language in Society*, 29:555-582.
- SME South Africa. 2015. Budget 2015 and SMEs., from SME South Africa: <http://www.smesouthafrica.co.za/Budget-2015-and-SMEs/> [Accessed February 12, 2017].
- Spinoza, M. 2001. *Women and the Politics of Feminism*. Indiana University Press.
- Spivak, G. C. 1988. Can the subaltern speak? Speculations on widow sacrifice in states social categories. *International Migration Review*, 35: 677-708.

- Storey, J. 2009. *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture: A Reader*, 4th ed. Harlow: Pearson Education.
- Strauss, P & Corbin. R. 1998. *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory*, 2ND ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Sue, D. W. 2006. *The invisible Whiteness of being*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Sue, D. W., & Sue, D. 2008. *Counseling the Culturally Diverse: Theory and Practice*, 5th ed. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons.
- Sue, D. W., Torino, G. C., Capodilupo, C. M., Rivera, D. P. & Lin, A. I. 2009. *Beauty in the eyes of the beholder*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Sutton, H. 2009. *Globalising Ideal Beauty*. New York: Macmillan.
- Sutton, H. 2009. *Globalising ideal beauty: How Female Copywriters of the Walker Thompson Advertising Agency Refined Beauty for the Twentieth Century*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- .
- Tademy,. 2001. *Cane River*. New York: Warner Books.
- Tate, W. 2009. *Critical race theory and education: Review of research in education*, 22 (1): 195-247.
- Thomas, L. 2001. Group autonomy and narrative identity. In B. Boxil (Ed.). *Race and Racism*, (pp. 8-12) Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Thomas, M. 2008. Am I different? *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 65:77-81
- Thomas, M.S. 2013. The blacker the berry: Gender, skin tone, self-esteem, and self-efficacy. *Gender and Society*, 15 (3):336-357.
- Thomposon, ,M.S. & Keith, V.M 2001. The blacker the berry: Gender, skin tone, self-esteem, and self-efficacy. *Gender and society*, 15 (3):336-357.
- Thurman, Wallace. 1929. *The Blacker the Berry*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

- Voracek M. & Fisher F. 2005. Biases in compliance estimates to sexual offers. *Journal of Psychology*, 12 (1):11-20.
- Wade, T.J. 1996. The relationships between skin colour and self-perceived global, physical and sexual attractiveness and self-esteem for African-Americans. *Journal of Black Psychology*, 22 (3): 358-373.
- Walker, A. 1983. *In Search of Our Mothers' Gardens*. San Diego, CA: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Publishers.
- Walker, A. 1983. *The Colour Purple*. Los Angeles : Women's Press Limited.
- Wallace, D. 2009. Lighten up yu self! The politics of lightness, success and colour consciousness in urban Jamaica. *Jenda: A Journal of Culture and African Women Studies*, 14: 27-50.
- Wallace. 1929. *The Blacker the Berry*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Ward, J.V. & Robinson, T.L. 1995. African-American adolescents and skin colour. *Journal of Black Psychology*, 21: 256-274.
- White faculty perceive and react to difficult dialogues on race: Implications for education and training. *The Counselling Psychologist*, 37:1090-1115.
- Wilder, J. 2008. Revisiting colour names and colour notions: A contemporary examination of the language and attitudes of skin colour among young black women. *Journal of Black Studies*, 41(1): 184-206.
- Wolf, D. 1996. *Feminist Dilemmas in Fieldwork*. Oxford: Westview Press.
- Wolf, N. 1991. *The Beauty Myth: How Images of Beauty Are Used against Women*. New York: Doubleday.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: CONSENT FORM

I agree to participate in the interview/focus group of this study upon the following conditions, and shall freely withdraw from the participation should I feel that the conditions are not being met:

1. The researcher has explained to me in comprehensive terms the nature and
2. Purpose of the study.
3. The participation is voluntary and I have the right to withdraw without risking any penalty or loss.
4. That I shall remain anonymous in the study and that the raw data from this participation or any other interactions during the study will remain confidential. The data will not be used to disadvantage me, and that no other person other than me, the researcher and the supervisor will have access to the raw data.

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW GUIDE

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR CELEBRITIES

- Why did you choose to bleach your skin?
- What are the advantages of having a fairer skin if there are any?
- Is skin colour a marker of identity? And why?
- Before bleaching your skin, what were the people's reactions to your pictures that you posted?
- After bleaching your skin, what is the people's reaction to you and your pictures on social media?
- What is your view about yellow bone culture in the society?
- Are there any side effects of skin bleaching you would like to make people aware of, and any advantages of skin bleaching that you would like to share?
- Does skin bleaching affect one's identity and how?
- As an idol to people who look up to you and at times mimic your behaviours, do you worry about those people before making any life choices such as skin bleaching?
- What is your response to people who call you a 'yellow bone'?
- What do you think of a black skin colour?
- What is your message to people who want to look like you?
- What do you think the government should do to combat the marketing of banned skin bleaching products?

APPENDIX C: FOCUS GROUP QUESTION GUIDES

FOCUS GROUP QUESTIONS FOR DARK-SKINNED WOMEN

- Which skin shade do you prefer and why?
- Do you feel intimidated by light-skinned women? And why or why not?
- Have you ever been belittled because of your skin colour where and how?
- How do you feel about your skin colour?
- Are you using skin lightening products or have you ever thought of using them? And why?
- When you buy cosmetics do you check if it contains elements that lighten skin colour?
- Which elements are not supposed to be in cosmetics?
- Do you know which products are not allowed to be sold in stores according to the Cosmetics Regulation Act?
- What is your view about South African celebrities who bleach their skin?
- What do you think about yellow bone culture that is trending in society?
- Have you ever experienced a situation where a light-skinned woman was given preference because of her skin colour, while you on the other hand was disadvantaged? Please explain the situation
- Is yellow bone culture a good or bad thing? - Why?
- What do you think the government should do to combat the selling of banned skin bleaching products?

FOCUS GROUP QUESTIONS FOR LIGHT-SKINNED WOMEN

- Which skin shade do you prefer and why?
- Do you feel intimidated by dark skinned women? And why or why not?
- Have you ever been belittled because of your skin colour where and how?
- How do you feel about your skin colour?
- Are you using skin lightening products or have you ever thought of using them? And why?
- When you buy cosmetics do you check if it contains elements that lighten skin colour?
- Which elements are not supposed to be in cosmetics
- Do you know which products are not allowed to be sold in stores according to the cosmetics regulation act?
- What is your view about South African celebrities who bleach their skin?
- What do you think about yellow bone culture that is trending in society?
- Have you ever experienced a situation where a dark skinned women was given preference because of her skin colour while you on the other hand was disadvantaged? Please explain the situation
- Yellow bone culture is a good or bad thing and why?
- What do you think the government should do to combat the marketing of illegal skin bleaching products?
- What do you think is the benefit of being light skinned?
- How has your skin personally benefited you, if any?
- Do you think the colour the skin matter?

FOCUS GROUP QUESTIONS FOR MEN DARK AND LIGHT SKIN COLOUR

- What type of women are you attracted to and why?
- Define a beauty of a woman according to you?
- What do you think is the reasons that women bleach their skin?
- Have you ever dated women who have light and dark skin colour? is there a difference in how people in your cycle relates to them? explain briefly
- Which women would you prefer to marry or date and why in terms of skin shade?
- Do you think women have preference for men with a particular skin colour and which skin colour is that and what do you think is the reason?
- What do you think the government should do to combat the marketing of illegal skin bleaching products?

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR STREET VENDORS

- Who is your stock supplier of skin bleaching products?
- What does the South African law says about non regulated skin bleaching products?
- What type of people are regular customers of skin bleaching products in terms of socio economic status?
- Do your customers buy the products regularly or it is a once off purchase?
- How much is the skin bleaching products?
- Who gives medical supervision on dosage and directions on how to apply the products?
- How do you keep the cool room temperature that is required for lubricants to avoid damage of the products?
- How do your customers know about the products your selling? How do you market them?
- Do you know that it is illegal to sell skin bleaching products? And if you know why you do sell them?

APPENDIX D: TRANSCRIPTS OF FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

FOCUS GROUP A TRANSCRIPTS FOR DARK SKINNED WOMEN

Interviewer: Which skin shade do you prefer and why?

Interviewee 1: it would be fair if we did not say this person is dark or bright because we are in the same category.

Interviewee 2: I prefer the darker shade because it's not prone to skin problems it's safe and safer to be in a darker skin.

Interviewee 3: I will also prefer the darker shade simply because I will comfortable in my skin that if I was lighter

Interviewee 4: I prefer to be lighter because it's common

Interviewee 5: I don't prefer any colour reason being there is what we call inheritance so I don't have preference.

Interviewee 6: I would prefer the darker shade because it's safe.

Interviewee 7: I prefer the colour that i am in now because am confident in it.

Interviewee 8: I prefer to be how I am now because trends come and go.

Interviewee 9: I like being dark and am confident in it.

Interviewee 10: I also prefer being dark but mostly even toned because I believe that your skin colour doesn't define yourself.

Interviewee 11: i prefer the one that I was born with, my original skin colour .

Interviewee 12: Am from a family where everyone is light skinned, but because I gained weight I lost my complexion so am darker but still I love being dark.

Interviewer: Do you feel intimidated by light skinned women? And why or why not?

Interviewee 1: no I don't because I know that in life no one is perfect we are all imperfect.

Interviewee 2: I feel that yellow bones are the ones that are recognised and praised by the community so I do feel intimidated because of the image created.

Interviewee 3: I also used to feel intimated in high school the light skinned ones were the favourites.

Interviewee 4: I am sometimes intimidated because lighter people are loved

Interviewee 5: Yah I also feel intimidated because even when you put on dark colours they won't suit you like that of a light person and the media is prefers yellow bones.

Interviewee 6: I don't feel intimidated; even though there is stigma I have being called a yellow bone.

Interviewee 7: I used to be intimated when I was young because beauty isn't defined by being light so am contend myself.

Interviewee 8: I don't feel intimidated at all because I appreciate my colour

Interviewee 9: I feel intimidated because perfect ladies are yellow bones according to the communities that we live in.

Interviewer: Have you ever been belittled because of your skin colour where and how?

Interviewee 1: For me once, I was at the family gathering and my cousin came to me and said my sister is the most beautiful in my family because of her light skin colour.

Interviewee 2: I was dating this guy who used to tell me that if I was a bit lighter I was going to be more beautiful.

Interviewee 3: I wouldn't say I was belittled because I know being light for me you have to be three times other people like.

Interviewee 4: When I was young, you make a mistakes and they will start calling you names like 'blackie' but I have learned to accept the way I am

Interviewee 5: I was also called by names because of my colour.

Interviewee 6: Yes I was belittled a numerous times; they would say I look like those guys who sell coals because they are forever dark.

Interviewee 7: I am from a family of light skinned people so because of my colour people still don't understand why am dark.

Interviewee 8: I never felt belittled before.

Interviewer: Are you using skin lightening products or have you ever thought of using them? And why?

Interviewee 1: Am not using any, but I want to buy it to use it on my hands and knees because they are dark.

Interviewee 2: I am not using any skin bleaching products, only Vaseline blue seal

Interviewee 3: I get reach I would bleach some of my parts, I don't want fake products oOnly the real ones

Interviewee 4: I'm comfortable so am not planning on doing that

Interviewee 5: I'm not planning to do that.

Interviewee 6: I'm not using any and not planning to use any.

Interviewee 7: I'm not using any and I'm not planning to.

Interviewee 8: Am not using any but the products that I use helped me in reducing the pimples that I had.

Interviewer: When you buy cosmetics do you check if it contains elements that lighten skin colour?

Interviewee 1: The ones that I use make me a bit lighter.

Interviewee 2: I don't check, the problem with us the black community if your skin is clear I also want to use the same products without checking the skin type.

Interviewee 3: I use Vaseline because I feel like it's safe.

Interviewee 4: I don't check but I know that product with too much sulphur can make the melanin too light but I don't usually check the components of the products.

Interviewee 5: I don't check and I don't even know the elements.

Interviewee 6: I use Ponds natural colour for my pimples but it gives me a lighter colour

Interviewer: What is your view about South African celebrities who bleach their skin?

Interviewee 1: I don't have any negative attitude towards them because its their preference to lighten their skins.

Interviewee 2: We live in a community where light skinned people are seen as the most beautiful people so people bleach because they want to be beautiful

Interviewee 3: I think that they are misled our community because it seems like they are not grateful about their natural skin.

Interviewee 4: I think they bleach because they want to be more beautiful and attract more fans.

Interviewee 5: I think they lack confidence because It takes ones full confidence to be taking pictures with the fans but other are just doing it for attention.

Interviewer: What do you think about yellow bone culture that is trending in society?

Interviewee 1: I hate it and it pisses me of because whatever they see I don't see it

Interviewee 2: I also don't like it because it feels like they are more recognised than us.

Interviewee 3: I also don't like it because even in some companies they hire light-skinned people.

Interviewee 4: To me it's just a trending thing and it will pass.

Interviewee 5: I think it's unfair because more preference is given to light-skinned people and usually I cannot be successful if am dark.

Interviewee 6: It bores me because I don't like being called a yellow bone and then it also creates the attitude that people can use their skin colour as a privilege to get things that they didn't work for

Interviewee 7: Honestly it tears me apart because they are vulnerable because we expect them to have everything.

Interviewer: Have you ever experienced a situation where a light-skinned woman was given preference because of her skin colour while you, on the other hand, was disadvantaged? Please explain the situation.

Interviewee 1: Obviously in school when we were singing they would be like darker ones behind and the light-skinned in front.

Interviewee 2: It once happened to me when a light-skinned lady was given preference when we were all standing in the queue.

Interviewee 3: I think it goes back to racism.

Interviewer: What do you think the government should do to combat the marketing of illegal skin bleaching products?

Interviewee 1: I think it will be difficult because we are the government so I think it will be difficult for the products not to be sold.

Interviewee 2: I think there is nothing that the government can do.

Interviewee 3: Of course we are the government, but once you are content with yourself you will stop buying it.

Interviewee 4: There is nothing that the government can do.

Interviewee 5: I feel like the government doesn't have power to stop those people to sell them; we just have to come together and stop.

Interviewee 6: I still think there is nothing that the government can do, it's just a personal decision.

Interviewer: THANK YOU

FOCUS GROUP B TRANSCRIPTS FOR LIGHT SKINNED WOMEN

Interviewer: Which skin shade do you prefer and why?

Interviewee 1: I grew up in a family with mixed shades, but am fine with dark and light. I don't have a problem with that.

Interviewee 2: I love dark-coloured skin.

Interviewee 3: I prefer black skin because I used to have pimples and dark spots due to the colour of my skin.

Interviewee 4: I actually don't mind being light. I love it and my son is light in complexion and that makes me to love my skin more.

Interviewee 5: I prefer being yellow and I know when you are yellow you stand a chance to stand out.

Interviewee 6: I don't like being yellow or dark just coffee-coloured because I hate being called a yellow bone.

Interviewer: Do you feel intimidated by light-skinned women? And why or why not?

Interviewee 1: Yes, I do feel intimated when the person gets all the praise because people perceive yellow bones as the prettiest people ever.

Interviewee 2: I feel good because am light and my sister is dark so every time when take pictures she would tell me how gorgeous I am, and I feel good with my skin colour I will never trade my skin with anyone.

Interviewee 3: I wouldn't say I was never intimidated.

Interviewee 4: I was never intimidated by anyone because I feel good about my skin colour, and even when it comes to colour choice am always on a safe side because all the colours suite me.

Interviewee 5: I never felt intimidated by my skin colour because I love my skin colour.

Interviewer: Have you ever been belittled because of your skin colour where and how?

Interviewee 1: I was bullied because I started asking God questions why he gave me the colour that was never accepted by the community.

Interviewee 3: I never felt belittled because I was called the gorgeous one.

Interviewee 2: People believe that the lighter you become the blonder you become .

Interviewee 4: Even when you are light in colour people won't believe it when you get the high marks they will think that maybe you slept with the teacher or something just went wrong.

Interviewer: Are you using skin lightening products or have you ever thought of using them? And why?

Interviewee 1: No am not using any

Interviewee 2: My skin is very much sensitive so I would use any skin bleaching products.

Interviewee 3: I won't bleach because I am yellow naturally.

Interviewee 4: I feel so wrong to use the skin bleaching products.

Interviewee 5: I still don't understand why people bleach their skins; I will never bleach my skin.

Interviewer: When you buy cosmetics do you check if it contains elements that lighten skin colour?

Interviewee 1: I shop like guys I just get what I want and go I don't check the details of the products I use so for me no.

Interviewee 2: I don't really check I shop like a random person, I just want to smell good not to enhance my colour, I don't even check.

Interviewer: Which elements are not supposed to be in cosmetics?

Interviewee 1: I don't check what the product contains if it's Ponds I buy and use and if it's Gentle magic I buy and use.

Interviewee 2: I usually buy something that somebody recommended that I should use, I really don't go through the products.

Interviewee 3: My skin is constant I never experienced a situation where I gained a lot of complexion due to the products that I use.

Interviewee 4: I use a lot of products for my skin and I wouldn't know any change because I have skin problems.

Interviewer: Do you know which products are not allowed to be sold in stores according to the cosmetics regulation act?

Interviewee 1: I don't know about the acts, the only thing I know is there are people who test the products that we use.

Interviewee 2: I'm just not sure but I have seen shows about lightening skin I am just not familiar with the act.

Interviewee 3: I don't know the act.

Interviewee 4: I don't know about the regulation.

Interviewer: What is your view about South African celebrities who bleach their skin?

Interviewee 1: People expect so much from the celebrities and that kind of pressure becomes problematic to celebrities because at the end of the day they are human beings, so many things are involved, it angers me why they have to change their skins and that put dark skinned people under pressure because they think that they cannot be recognised.

Interviewee 2: She has said a mouthful.

Interviewee 3: Celebrities that the people that we grow up looking up to the so when they start bleaching we the fans we are going to imitate then to gain that self-confidence and I don't agree to that.

Interviewee 4: I am asking myself that if we were all dark in colour then we wouldn't have celebrities because it seem like every celebrity is light in colour skin.

Interviewee 5: Celebrities just don't care about us in fact they are misleading us. I just hate celebrities who bleach and I don't even support them.

Interviewer: What do you think about yellow bone culture that is trending in society?

Interviewee 1: First things first, why do we have to classify people because of their skin colours, minds over powers everything the minute you say someone is a yellow bone to some it's an offence and that brings inequality.

Interviewee 2: I think it's from being characterised as black and the root thing about it is that you are seen as the most beautiful and brilliant person and if you are black you are something else so that is not cool at all.

Interviewee 3: I don't like the colour of yellow bone, just because someone calls you a yellow bone I don't like it.

Interviewer: Have you ever experienced a situation where a dark skin woman was given preference because of her skin colour while you on the other hand were disadvantaged? Please explain the situation.

Interviewee 1: I have never experienced that.

Interviewee 2: I never had any experience of feeling intimidated.

Interviewer: What do you think the government should do to combat the marketing of illegal skin bleaching products?

Interviewee 1: The government should find out where the products are made and act on it.

Interviewee 2: I think the government must find a way of regulating this skin bleaching products.

Interviewer: THANK YOU

FOCUS GROUP C TRANSCRIPTS FOR MEN DARK AND LIGHT SKIN COLOUR

Interviewer: What type of women are you attracted to and why?

Interviewee 1: Uhm....i think lighter women are the issue I prefer light ladies.

Interviewee 2: Both but it depends on the body I just don't have favourites.

Interviewee 3: Ok in my case complexion is not a matter what matters is do I love the person I don't consider the skin colour.

Interviewee 4: What I know about men is that we are attracted to beautiful ladies, almost every guy looks at the looks of the lady.

Interviewee 5: Women with curves because where I come from there are less of women with curves; scarcity is what I'm looking for.

Interviewee 6: Well from my own sentimental point, it is believed that when you have a yellow bone you have, but to me that doesn't matter. For me it

takes a beautiful girl to attract me and I prefer not dark, not yellow but the middle ones.

Interviewee 7: I think I agree with you on that one, I think there is a special attraction that takes place it's not the colour that attracts us and I prefer dark women.

Interviewee 8: Am attracted to dark bones and deep yellow bones, uhmmm... I mean coffee coloured women and deep yellow bones.

Interviewee 9: Black is beautiful I am attracted to black women; light skin is very demanding and sensitive more especially to the sunlight.

Interviewer: Define a beauty of a woman according to you?

Interviewee 1: Beauty is in the eyes of the beholder, and saying this lady is beautiful goes with the package of being inner beautiful and outer beautiful.

Interviewee 2: For me beauty can't be explained, if I see you beautiful someone else cannot see as beautiful, and I don't think beauty is inside , beauty is outside how people see you.

Interviewee 3: In my own perspective beauty can be in a lot of forms, I think beauty is in your our relationship fantasies, so for me beauty is something that you want to see from a woman.

Interviewee 4: It's a very difficult question, so when it comes to beauty lot of things are required but beauty is just a small package .

Interviewee 5: The previous speaker mentioned three fundamental things that...erh... a beautiful lady must have a good appearance and then a good mannered person that person must have respect and then it must be a very good looking so that is the type of ladies I go for and I consider them beautiful.

Interviewee 6: Beauty is something that you cannot see with your eyes, according to someone beauty may be according to look, colour, body and some additional attributes.

Interviewee 7: When someone goes to the shop to buy something firstly you make sure that the package is good and when the outer cover is attractive you then buy the product. With women the outer part charms you , then you will be interested to go and find out about the inner part so myself I can define beauty by looking at the inner and the outer part.

Interviewee 8: I like yellow bones, big bums and boobs with flat stomach

Interviewee 9: Everything in order, meaninguhmmm... I don't know how to put it but all the organs in good positions no big nose.

Interviewer: When I look at myself based on women based discovery yellow or black doesn't define ones beauty, it depends on the attributes we look for in a woman.

Interviewer: What do you think is the reasons that women bleach their skin?

Interviewee 1: They want to be attracted.

Interviewee 2: They think being yellow is an ideal.

Interviewee 3: They just want to attract them boys.

Interviewee 4: They want to be accepted.

Interviewee 5: They are failing to accept who they are.

Interviewee 6: just for attention.

Interviewee 7: For men to get attracted to them.

Interviewee 8: Peer pressure.

Interviewer: Have you ever dated women who have light and dark skin colour? is there a difference in how people in your cycle relates to them? Explain briefly.

Interviewee 1: I dated both and the difference comes when you are given a status, people get to criticise black people, but in general dark skinned girls are criticised because they want to fit in and feel appreciated.

Interviewee 2: In my case I also dated both and with light skinned girls my boys respected me, and when I came with a dark skinned ones they had nothing to point at.

Interviewee 3: I have dated both and I couldn't have much of the perception because my relationships were secret.

Interviewee 4: The thing is personally I dated both a yellow and black bone, but yellow bones are just like empty tins the only thing they do is to take her to the mall, to the spar ect I can talk about her to my friends because they might take her away from me.

Interviewee 5: I only dated light skinned girls and they are very expensive to maintain because I remember I sued to take my last money to get them all the things they need.

Interviewee 6: I dated both and with the yellow bones I got all the kinds of praises from my friends but with the darker ones they would say that I should only take them during the night and they don't suit me.

Interviewee 7: I also dated both and with the light ladies it's like being in a competition because if you don't spend on her she will be taken away.

Interviewee 8: I dated both and currently am with a yellow bone and my friends praise me saying she's beautiful and according to what I have observed guys criticise the dark bones.

Interviewer: Which women would you prefer to marry or date and why in terms of skin shade?

Interviewee 1: For me if I had choose I would go for a yellow bone.

Interviewee 2: Coffee colour.

Interviewee 3: A dark bone.

Interviewee 4: Yellow bone.

Interviewee 5: Yellow bone.

Interviewee 6: Yellow bone.

Interviewee 7: Yellow, I want challenges in my life I want to always sort problems.

Interviewee 8: Yellow bone

Interviewer: What do you think the government should do to combat the marketing of illegal skin bleaching products?

Interviewee 1: Nowadays it's not only the colour, money also counts, and the government should come up with a way on how to address it.

Interviewee 2: I think they do have preferences because I used to hear them and seriously the government must do something because the hospitals are going to be over crowded.

Interviewee 3: I think ladies also have their preferences and ladies prefer darker guys than light guys so ok with the thing of the government I think the government should send the pigmentation thing around because honestly our people are getting lost, and with the issue of media the people get the influence from the media so they should at least use both shades when coming to adverts.

Interviewee 4: Ladies do have a preference and the govern should do something about because it's going to have a very negative impact and hospitals will be full of patients suffering from skin bleaching.

Interviewee 5: Ladies do have some preferences and the government should minimise the selling of skin bleaching products.

Interviewee 6: The government from the health sector must test whatever that is being imported we have a lot of products that are coming in and are killing us.

Interviewer: I APPRECIATE YOUR TIME.

TRANSCRIPTS FOR DENCIA'S INTERVIEW ABOUT WHITENICIOUS ON CHANNEL 4 BBC

Interviewer: Dencia, do you associate looking lighter as being more beautiful?

Dencia: No, I don't, everybody has a choice; it's about choosing what they want.

Interviewer: But you yourself looking lighter as compared to your pictures years ago. You look extremely light aah.. White and your selling a product, you must think that looks better.

Dencia: No, first of all Whitenicious is a dark spot remover, a 30ml product so it is for everybody, everybody needs Whitenicious.

Interviewer: Why do you call it Whitenicious?

Dencia: White means pure so it doesn't necessarily mean white skin only but everything that is white is pure and that is how I look at it. Lot of people don't feel clean, pure with dark spots.

Interviewer: With respect, the pictures of you before and after looks more white than just removing white spots. You're white all over. With this image used to sell your product you must think white is better.

Dencia: My product says say goodbye to dark spots and hyper pigmentation

Interviewer: I am sorry but my point is you say goodbye to dark spot when you're much much lighter.

Dencia: It doesn't say buy Whitenicious and look like Dencia. It says goodbye to dark spot and hyper pigmentation.

Interviewer: But in the interview you did with Beverly you said by putting those pictures people know that it works.

Dencia: Yes it works for dark spots, say goodbye to dark spots, it says behind you.

Interviewer: But you know that now your lighter which is your choice, absolutely your choice but it is the message you're sending out which is controversial isn't

Dencia: But you just because the media is selling that message it doesn't mean I am selling it, I said 7 days fast dark spot remover, it did not say 7 days fast bleaching your whole body. You people need to read, it is called reading comprehension. It's not my fault that people can't read and comprehend.

Interviewer: If I may listen, I know you heard that actress Lupita Nyong'o said when she clearly struck a quote with many women of colour when she said they must reject creams like yours, when she talked about the agony of growing up feeling completely inferior because she was dark. Do you understand?

Dencia: No, I don't know her and I don't know her story, it's her personal life and I don't care about it.

Interviewer: Do you accept her point?

Dencia: No, I don't because I don't care about her story, see you I am an adult and if I lighten my skin it's my choice same as ...

Interviewer: I understand that it's your choice but the message you're sending, do you understand that many women of colour believe that your saying to be darker is to be inferior?

Dencia: If they feel that their whole body is a dark spot then it's fine: 50% of my clients are African-Americans, all these girls write to me because they have dark spots and I have their pictures on Instagram.

Interviewer: When you chose to lighten your skin were you uncomfortable?

Dencia: No, I wasn't. I wasn't uncomfortable it just happened the same way as people who choose to bleach their hair or wear lip stick like you. You could have gone natural. I have vitiligo and I lightened because I have a skin problem and I never talked about it.

TRANSCRIPTS FOR KHANYI MBAU ON SKIN BLEACHING ON REAL TALK WITH ANELE SABC 3

Interviewer: Tell us why the plastic surgery and bleaching all the time

Khanyi: Now I am going to breach, I am going to take people to church

Interviewer: Come through girl come through

Khanyi: Because I am coming from a Christian family most of my references come from that. The bible says I am who I am through Christ who strengthens me. If God is your father it means you're a God because a dog gives birth to another dog and a duck same thing, a bird the same thing so if your my father so why cant I be a God? And the Lord says we are all gods amongst each other and what does a God do? He creates, My father created this earth through his image, I can create my own versions through my own image as long as it doesn't affect the next person but it is my journey. In my mind the image of how I see myself is what I am creating in the physical because everything happens in the spiritual before it comes to the physical. So how I see myself is the most beautiful woman flawless, pure and filtered every single day of my life, when I wake up..

Interviewer: Naturally filtered girl?

Khanyi: And that is the problem, once we can become creators of our time everyone will reach their goal because we won't look to others for inspiration we will be remembering who you are through the God who created you.

Interviewer: But you don't fear that one day you might feel that you have done too much plastic surgery and bleaching?

Khanyi: No, that's the problem I am never worried about another persons worries. I am worried about mine and one thing I know is I know what I want to look like, and I know where I am going. It may not work for you and trust me...

Interviewer: But you're beautiful now why continue?

Khanyi: For you, I may be beautiful for myself now but who knows in ten years' time, If I feel I need to change direction I am now looking this way and that is the same example with Caitlyn Jenner in her mind she was always a man and she created that, forget the world you live in. we are just flesh here but we are not of this world remember that

Interviewer: Okay now that we are here, who did this (pointing at the breasts) because I want to do mine.

Khanyi: Dr Stimen.

Interviewer: Mark?

Khanyi: Yes, he is the best .

Interviewer: Okay, but sometimes I just feel like you're fine though, like this is beautiful, no more work.

Khanyi: But why is the next person concerned about the next person? The problem is we don't spend time with ourselves. We are constantly looking over the window, do you know what that means? South Africans, the human race, has lost the value of the moment now. We always say I want to get, I want to look, if I could, but you can now, and if we can master that 90% of us will be wealthy and we won't have the time to hate because we will be living for now.