

**A Multi-semiotic Discourse Analysis of Feminine Beauty in Selected True Love
Magazine Advertisements**



University of the Western Cape

Department of Linguistics

MA Thesis Linguistics Programme (Full thesis)



Student name: Marion Wilton

Student number: 9406294

Supervisor: Professor F. Banda

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Magister Artium in the Department of
Linguistics, University of the Western Cape

KEYWORDS

True Love magazine

Advertisements

Photoshop

Skin lightening

Beauty

Multi-semiotic discourse analysis

Multimodality

Critical discourse analysis

Semiotic resources

Intertextuality



A Multi-semiotic Discourse Analysis of Feminine Beauty in Selected True Love Magazine Advertisements

ABSTRACT

Advertising and media imagery shape attitudes about race and ethnicity, which means that advertising media play an influential part in constructing the frame through which individuals perceive racial differences and negotiate norms and ideas around ethnicity. Physical signifiers such as skin colour and hair are not only considered to be the most important facets in global beauty culture but are also seen as two principal phenotypes for racial classification (Mercer, 1987). These two attributes are also deeply situated within Black Feminist Discourse Studies and are therefore, culturally and socially significant (Erasmus, 1997; Hunter, 2002). As Dyer (1997:539) states: “every decision about a person’s worth is based on what they look like, what they speak, and where they came from.” Hence, body and hair politics point to power struggles which stem from historical discourses.

As part of a capitalist environment, magazines such as True Love are also perceived as cultural commodities which occupy an important role in creating, transmitting and disseminating cultural meaning and in this regard, advertised texts are rich in cultural meaning and embedded with hidden ideologies. As a vehicle of social communication, True Love professes to be a mouth piece and a representative of the liberal, modern Black South African woman and portrays itself as a guiding companion and expert on womanhood (Laden, 2001). In this capacity, the magazine also creates and transmits messages about ideal feminine beauty.

Following a multi-semiotic approach, by incorporating multimodality and social semiotics as proposed by Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006), Van Leeuwen (2006; 2008) and O’Halloran (2011, in press), beauty advertisements are scrutinized in terms of the different semiotic principles which afford for different meaning-making opportunities and interpretation. Critical discourse analysis suggested by Fairclough (1992) and Wodak (1995) renders a supportive function to this social semiotic multimodal framework, in order to critically explore how the notion of ideal feminine beauty is constructed in True Love and to establish how inter-semiotic relations are created, reinforced and function to sustain hegemonic ideas in present-day beauty advertisements.

The findings suggest that socio-cultural meanings attached to phenotypic traits such as skin and hair remain significant in contemporary society as a result of the repeated themes in media, especially advertising. Moreover, the consequential emphasis on beauty culture and the omnipresence of idealised imagery in mainstream media are responsible for composing and sustaining the belief that Whiteness is the only valid prototype of beauty. The whitewashing of Black models show how idealised preferences in media prevail. Advertisements display how the message of White superiority and supremacy is constructed visually and verbally, ultimately producing an overall ‘visual language of Whiteness’ which leads to devaluing and erasing forms of Black identity, while enhancing forms of White representation.

This paper exposes existing dominant cultural narratives in the True Love advertising discourse that simultaneously produce and inflate an idealised Eurocentric version of feminine beauty. The hegemonic standard of feminine beauty dictates that women conform to a specific ideal which involves engaging in practices such as skin lightening, hair straightening or wearing weaves. This dissertation concludes that digital alteration techniques and photographic manipulation are predominantly used in mass media to portray advertised images resembling ideals closer, which means that it effectively enhances rather than detracts from the norm. Thus, White women look Whiter, thinner, richer and blonder. Caucasian models in advertised texts all have light hair and are seldom portrayed with dark hair. Light-skinned Black women portray Western mediated standards through physical appearances which seem to emulate those of their White counterparts, which Hunter (2011) describes as the ‘illusion of inclusion’. Although this marketing strategy operates under the premise of fostering ethnic diversity and to include women from all racial backgrounds, it reinforces the belief that Anglo-Saxon beauty norms are the only valorised signifiers of idealised beauty. Essentially, having a light skin colour is associated with sophistication, social mobility, success and the resulting financial and economic well-being. Based on this, the magazine appears to promote and celebrate feminine beauty based on a Eurocentric ideal.

DECLARATION

I declare that *A Multi-semiotic Discourse Analysis of Feminine Beauty in Selected True Love Magazine Advertisements* is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all sources used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Marion Wilton

Date: November 2015

Signed.....



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I wish to thank the Heavenly Father, whose blessings have made me who I am today, for granting me the strength and courage to persevere when I could not see light at the end of the tunnel.

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my father, Patrick “Fred” Williams, who left this earth just as I started this journey. Daddy, you are my rock, my anchor. I am, because of you.

I wish to express my heartfelt gratitude to my supervisor, mentor, guardian and advisor, Prof Felix Banda. I thank you profusely for your continuous support, motivation, constructive criticism, academic guidance, unwavering patience, calming my nerves and offering words of wisdom throughout the duration of my studies. Prof, there truly is no one like you.

To my family and friends, thank you for the continuous support, encouragement and love.

To my support system, Ronelle, Nay, Theresa and my brother, Wayne. Words cannot express my gratitude for all the love and support you have shown during this time. Thank you for babysitting and caring for Mia, for helping out at home and for keeping me sane during the times when I felt overwhelmed.

To my husband Berlin, thank you for the unconditional love, endless patience, continuous support, encouragement and words of comfort when I felt disheartened. I could not have done this without you by my side. Thank you for believing in me, for sharing my vision and for blessing me with the opportunity to explore my dreams. I love you.

To my daughter, Mia. I carried you under my heart as I penned those first words. You have been there every step of the way. You are my reason for being. A simple look into your precious face, the sound of your contagious giggle, wrapping your soft, cuddly arms around my neck were all that was needed to lift my spirits during those dark times when I was ready to throw in the towel. You reminded me why I was doing this. Mommy loves you dearly.

The financial assistance of the National Research Foundation (NRF) towards this research is hereby acknowledged. Opinions expressed and conclusions arrived at, are those of the author and are not necessarily to be attributed to the NRF.

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Beyoncé Knowles – L’Oréal.....	3
Figure 2: Aishwarya Rai Bachan – L’Oréal, Elle magazine, Real-life image.....	3
Figure 3: Sarah Baartman.....	43
Figure 4: Josephine Baker.....	43
Figure 5: Grace Jones in Jungle Fever (1983).....	44
Figure 6: Naomi Campbell by Jean-Paul Goude in Wild Things.....	45
Figure 7: Kress & Van Leeuwen’s Spatial Map (2006).....	63
Figure 8: Clere Complete Day and Night Skin Lightening Beauty Kit.....	91
Figure 9: Clere Radiance Even Tone Complexion Cream.....	97
Figure 10: Real-life image Vanessa Marawa.....	99
Figure 11: Pond’s Flawless Radiance BB Cream.....	102
Figure 12: Look of Nature.....	106
Figure 13: Pond’s – Nakedi Ribane.....	108
Figure 14: Estée Lauder Even Skintone Illuminator – Joan Smalls.....	111
Figure 15: Coverderm.....	115
Figure 16: Justine Luminessence.....	117
Figure 17: Alek Wek.....	123
Figure 18: Rimmel Lasting Finish Foundation – Solange Knowles.....	124
Figure 19: Real-life image – Solange Knowles.....	127
Figure 20: L’Oréal Color Riche Les Ombres – Liya Kebede.....	128
Figure 21: Real-life image – Liya Kebede.....	129
Figure 22: Trend Report.....	132
Figure 23: Trend Report.....	132

Figure 24: Trend Report.....	133
Figure 25: Trend Report.....	133
Figure 26: Trend Report.....	134
Figure 27: Trend Report.....	134
Figure 28: Estée Lauder Double Wear Makeup.....	135
Figure 29: Clarins Flawless Foundation.....	137
Figure 30: Thierry Mugler Alien.....	139
Figure 31: Paco Rabanne Lady Million.....	140
Figure 32: TAG Heuer – Cameron Diaz.....	142



TABLE OF CONTENTS

KEYWORDS	i
ABSTRACT	ii
DECLARATION	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
LIST OF FIGURES	vi
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1. Beauty ‘whitewashing’ in advertising.....	2
1.2. The ‘visual language of Whiteness’ in photographic media.....	4
1.3. True Love magazine – an overview	7
1.4. Statement of the problem	7
1.5. Rationale.....	9
1.6. Research objectives.....	11
1.7. Research questions	12
1.8. Chapter outline	12
CHAPTER 2: FEMALE BEAUTY IN ADVERTISING MEDIA: A CRITICAL-CULTURAL APPROACH	15
2.0. Introduction	15
2.1. The discourse of advertising and feminine beauty.....	15
2.2. Advertising language and verbal messages in beauty texts	22
2.3. Women’s magazines as cultural texts and cultural commodities.....	29
2.4. Feminine beauty as a socio-cultural construct	33
2.5. Summary	39
CHAPTER 3: ‘OTHERIZATION’ AND THE GLOW OF WHITE WOMEN	40
3.0. Introduction	41



3.1. The exotic ‘Other’	41
3.2. The glow of White women.....	45
3.3. Skin and hair as political discourses	47
3.3.1. Skin.....	48
3.3.2. Hair	52
3.4. Summary	56
CHAPTER 4: THEORETICAL AND ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK	58
4.0. Introduction	58
4.1. A multi-semiotic approach.....	58
4.2. Composition of multimodal texts.....	63
4.2.1. Information value	63
4.2.2. Framing.....	64
4.2.3. Saliency.....	65
4.3. The visual representation of social actors	66
4.3.1. Social distance	68
4.3.2. Social relation	68
4.3.3. Social interaction	69
4.4. Modality	69
4.4.1. Linguistic modality.....	70
4.4.2. Visual modality.....	71
4.5. Colour as a semiotic resource.....	72
4.6. Summary	74
CHAPTER 5: ANALYTICAL TOOLS IN SEMIOTIC MEDIA AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	76
5.0. Introduction	76



5.1. Exploring practices of discourse in advertising	76
5.1.1. Resemiotization and semiotic remediation.....	76
5.1.2. Critical discourse analysis and intertextuality as reflexes of ideology.....	77
5.2. Research methodology	82
5.2.1. A multi-semiotic approach to magazine advertisements.....	82
5.2.2. Text-based approach.....	83
5.2.3. Qualitative approach.....	84
5.2.4. Sampling.....	85
5.2.5. Data collection.....	86
5.2.6. Data analysis.....	87
5.3. Summary	89
CHAPTER 6: THE TEXTUAL CONSTRUCTION OF IDEALISED BEAUTY IN TRUE LOVE	90
6.0. Introduction	90
6.1. Beauty and success – light skin as social capital.....	90
a) Clere Complete Day and Night Skin Lightening Beauty Kit.....	90
b) Clere Radiance Even Tone Complexion Cream	96
c) Pond’s Flawless Radiance BB cream.....	101
6.2. From ‘bright’ to ‘illuminating’ - messages on skin lightening in beauty texts.....	105
a) Look of Nature	105
b) Pond’s.....	108
c) Estée Lauder Even Skintone Illuminator.....	111
d) Coverderm Luminous.....	114
e) Justine Luminessence	117
6.3. Summary	119

CHAPTER 7: THE VISUAL PORTRAYAL OF WOMEN.....	122
7.0. Introduction	122
7.1. The exotic ‘Other’	122
a) Rimmel Lasting Finish Foundation.....	124
b) L’Oréal Color Riche Les Ombres Shocking	127
c) Illustrations of Black models in True Love Trend Report	131
7.2. The ‘illusion of inclusion’	134
a) Estée Lauder Double Wear make-up.....	135
b) Clarins Flawless Foundation	137
7.3. A lighter shade of pale	138
a) Thierry Mugler	138
b) Paco Rabanne	140
c) TAG Heuer	142
7.4. Summary	143
CHAPTER 8: GENERAL REMARKS AND CONCLUSION.....	145
8.1. Introduction	145
8.2. Research questions addressed	145
8.2.1. How is feminine beauty constructed in True Love?.....	145
8.2.2. How do linguistic strategies and visual resources shape and reinforce certain....	146
constructs of ideal feminine beauty in True Love advertisements?	146
8.2.3. How does the conflation of visual and verbal semiotics generate meaning and ..	147
contribute to reinforcing dominant discourses in the construction of ideal	147
feminine beauty?.....	147
8.2.4. Has there been a change in the construction of feminine beauty with regards to	148



semiotic performances across time and space?	148
8.3. Conclusion.....	149
8.4. Limitations of the present study	150
8.5. Future research	150
BIBLIOGRAPHY	152



CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

In the documentary, *Killing Us Softly: Advertising's Image of Women*, based on the pioneering work by Jean Kilbourne (1989) on gender representations in advertising, she quotes:

"The ideal is based on absolute flawlessness. She never has any lines or wrinkles, she certainly has no scars or blemishes, indeed she has no pores. And the most important aspect of this flawlessness is that it cannot be achieved, no one looks like this including her; and this is the truth, no one looks like this."

Cortese (2008) speaks to Kilbourne (1989) by putting forward that the ultimate image of beauty as portrayed in media is defined by a narrow and constrained ideal, with traits such as a slender figure, light-coloured eyes, full lips, long straight hair, flawless skin and high cheekbones seen as idealised physical qualities. But, the author argues that this idealised form of female beauty is unreal and can only be artificially realised through the use of beauty products and photographic technologies. The advertising world is a mega-industry where astronomical profits and revenue are generated by promoting this paragon and paging through women's magazines, cosmetic advertisements seem to display a recurring theme of ideal female beauty concomitant with accentuated expressions such as a 'radiant complexion', 'flawless skin' and so forth. In these commercial media texts, a myriad of potions promise readers how to obtain these qualities which will ultimately make them more attractive-looking.

Women's magazines operate in a capitalist environment and derive enormous profits from their advertised content and True Love magazine is no different with global cosmetic brands such as Revlon, Estée Lauder and L'Oréal having been some of its principal advertisers for many years (Odhiambo, 2008). In these pages, the True Love reader is exposed to a considerable amount of material showing beautiful women promoting a range of concoctions coupled with alluring and persuasive promises. Specifically, the True Love advertising repertoire reflects a paramount focus on skin and hair, in light of the deluge of content marketing cosmetic products such as foundation, skin care, hair products and treatments. The models in True Love are slender and gorgeous as they display their long, shiny tresses, beaming with radiance by showing off their perfectly unblemished complexions which generally tend to be fair or light in tone. Advertisements characteristic of this nature tend to reinforce a Eurocentric image of

African beauty, consequently contributing to the normalization of dominant Western beauty standards and often serve to sustain them (Cortese, 2008).

Evidently, this unrealistic image of feminine beauty has become normative in the media landscape with the result that the average woman seldom meets this benchmark. The reality is that most women, regardless of race, quite frankly fail to measure up to these rigid requirements associated with idealised forms of beauty. However, on the other side of the spectrum, women of colour are faced with an additional stumbling block, considering that the advertised female beauty ideal is conventionally - White.

1.1. Beauty ‘whitewashing’ in advertising

South African society has always been strongly influenced by American pop culture. As a result, media representations of international celebrities and beauty icons have been immersed in South African culture for decades, thus, exposing the average citizen to this phenomenon from an early age. Using celebrities to promote brands is especially common in the advertising industry and the same applies to True Love magazine with local and international public figures regularly gracing its pages and endorsing products.

Recent years have seen significant technological advancements in print media through photo manipulation techniques such as digital alteration, airbrushing or retouching (West, 2010). Photo manipulation is an umbrella term for a wide spectrum of techniques which are used in the alteration of a photograph (Plado Costante, 2013). Terms such as retouching and airbrushing are often used interchangeably and according to the *Cambridge Dictionaries Online* (2013) it means “to make small changes to a picture, etc. especially in order to improve it” and “to represent something as being different from how it really is.” One of the most popular software programs is Photoshop which was released in 1990 (West, 2010). The program allows for the digital alteration to any photo and therefore, creates images of women that are not real. Photoshop is the primary technology used in mass media for editing images; digital alteration or retouching is commonly perceived as standard industry practice (Plado Costante, 2013). The end-result is a false representation of what the woman initially photographed looks like. In essence, Photoshop allows digital computer images to be manipulated in a way that does not represent real-world images and can alter an image by removing elements or adding features that were not originally there.

Needless to say, there are mixed opinions concerning the digital alteration of images in print media and the use of Photoshop in magazine imagery has evoked much criticism and controversy. Under the influence of programs such as these, images can now be digitally altered to include facial and physical features which are perceived to be more desirable in terms of industry standards. This has evolved into a concept known as ‘whitewashing’ (Kite & Kite, 2011). Beauty whitewashing is the term used where images of models - particularly non-White models - are ‘whitewashed’ – a transformation which results in digitally lightened skin, lighter coloured and straighter hair, the use of coloured contacts and generally having a slimmer figure than normal (Kite & Kite, 2011). Previously, international beauty houses L’Oréal and Clairol and fashion magazine Elle experienced severe criticism for producing whitewashed advertised images of global pop-icon Beyoncé Knowles and internationally acclaimed Indian actress and former Miss World, Aishwarya Rai Bachchan, with highly noticeable, digitally lightened skin (Fig. 1 & 2).



Figure 1: Beyoncé Knowles - L’Oréal



Figure 2: Aishwarya Rai Bachchan - L’Oréal

Elle magazine / Real-life image

These deconstructed images were technologically manipulated to the extent that both women even appeared to be racially ambiguous with their facial features and phenotypic traits altered to a state of impossible human perfection (Kite & Kite, 2011). As a result, the three companies came under public attack for these acts which some perceived as discriminatory and racist with the purpose of erasing these women's ethnicity and identity.

1.2. The 'visual language of Whiteness' in photographic media

Cortese (2008) asserts that advertising and media images shape attitudes about race and ethnicity. This means that advertising media play an influential part in constructing the frame through which individuals perceive racial differences and negotiate norms and ideas around ethnicity. This is why Carroll (2014) suggests that advertising as discourse - most notably in the beauty industry - tends to perpetuate ideas and thoughts of Whiteness. Over the years, advertising and media imagery have consistently depicted White representation in desirable spaces and as the ideal image to strive for. Miller (1969) blames the colonial empire for creating a cultural affinity for Whiteness and establishing a link between White appearance and class status which is highly visible in advertising imagery. Furthermore, Leong (2004:106) postulates that the notion of Whiteness should not be limited to skin tone and complexion alone, but should be recognised for its symbolic significance with respect to "social status, education, sophistication, westernization and above all, 'race'," as the Whiteness of Caucasians continues to serve as manifestation of all these socio-cultural attributes. Agreeing to the aforementioned, McKinney (2005) also views Whiteness as a site of racial privilege, while Hunter (2011) perceives White beauty as a discourse of White supremacy and patriarchy. Drawing on views such as these, the researcher defines Whiteness as a social construct based on racial privilege where power, prestige, phenotypic traits and dominance act as symbolic performances of marginalisation, thereby annihilating those who do not fall within this privileged domain of superiority.

Writing on the representation of people in Western visual culture and specifically focusing on the history of photographic media in his essay *White*, Richard Dyer (1997:89) claims that movie lighting used in film and media functions to "assume, privilege and construct whiteness." In this context, Whiteness is constructed through a display of semiotic elements which show pale complexions free of marks, blemishes, flaws and shadows, almost to the point of blankness - of which all are characteristic of his description of the angelic White woman. She represents

the current ideal of Whiteness - a distinctly pale shade determined by Dyer (1997:93) as “a whiter shade of white.” The author argues that characters who exhibit the illumination of Whiteness are coded as “being the enlightened and rightful heirs to power and prosperity” (Dyer, 1997:113). Although he does not refer to advertising and print media per se, his analyses of three old Hollywood films prove useful in terms of his description on the representation of race and the use of light. In addition, Dyer (1997) also relies on background and setting when reviewing elements of Whiteness and therefore, his work creates a suitable avenue which certain observations in this paper can be appropriated against.

In light of Dyer’s (1997) view, there appears to be stark similarities in the composition of media texts, especially in beauty advertisements. In the domain of the photographer’s studio and under the influence of the camera lens, along with innovative software programmes like Photoshop and various camera lighting techniques, certain artistic and creative impressions are produced which concomitantly act with linguistic tools in multimodal phenomena to give birth to hegemonic constructs in visual culture. These semiotic performances lead to visual representations of Black women reflecting idealised Eurocentric values with phenotypic traits being digitally altered to produce inauthentic representations of Black beauty. This can also be seen in *True Love* where advertised images show Black models in artificial settings with digitally lightened skin, weaves, hair extensions and other enhancements which tend to reinforce certain hegemonic ideas on beauty constructs. Moreover, contemporary advertising texts reflect a paramount use of repetitive textual and linguistic descriptions which Barthes (1977) argues tend to “fixate and anchor” the myth of Whiteness (cited in Leong, 2006:172). This is especially visible when considering the over-use of words such as ‘radiance’, ‘flawless’ and ‘luminous’ to name a few, which will be addressed later in this investigation.

However, the portrayal of White beauty in media texts also strives to enhance and inflate constructs of Whiteness, simultaneously devaluing Blackness by focusing on prestigious and supreme forms of White representation. Collins (2000) argues that beauty standards assigning privilege to Whiteness can only do so by degrading Blackness. By subliminally and covertly undermining forms of Black ethnicity in commercial texts, these acts are performed deliberately to create and contextualise hegemonic ideas pertaining to idealised beauty. This is also visible in *True Love* magazine where representations of White beauty often reflect

prestigious and idealised lifestyles and include illustrations of ideal White beauty as supernatural, superior and supreme.

In this paper, the term 'visual language of Whiteness' draws on the concept 'grammar of visual design' proposed by Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) by outlining how the combination of creative choices, artistic impressions and semiotic performances in advertising texts produce idealised representations of female beauty in True Love magazine. In their seminal work, *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design*, Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) postulate that both linguistic and visual structures signify particular interpretations of experience and types of social interaction. They suggest that meanings are shaped across different semiotic modes as certain things can be expressed visually or verbally, some only visually and others only verbally. Moreover, the authors explain that similar to verbal expressions which can be appropriated in terms of different word classes and clause structures, visual structures can be communicated through the choice and different uses of colour, the interaction of participants and other compositional structures which will ultimately affect meaning in texts. Therefore, the metaphor of 'language' utilised in this description does not refer to a specific language or rules concerning grammar-use but rather a set of interrelated creative choices and socially constructed semiotic resources which are realised through computerised technologies, cosmetics, styling, camera lighting and photographic techniques which contribute to the formation and construction of ideal female beauty in advertising texts. More specifically, this concept refers to the way in which representations of Black women include aesthetic enhancing qualities through the use of hair extensions, digitally lightened skin, certain ways of posing, forms of dress, specific forms of background settings and so forth. And, along with linguistic descriptions which covertly promote dominant ideals, inauthentic forms of Black beauty modelled on a White ideal, are produced. Additionally, the concept describes how the portrayal of Caucasian models reflects notions of superiority, prestige and supremacy - also under the influence of camera techniques, aspects of function ranking, foregrounding, props, items of dress, as well as the type of advertised product. Thus, this 'visual language of Whiteness' is produced through the techniques mentioned previously and can be seen through the conflation of linguistic and visual semiotic performances which serve to sustain hegemonic standards of beauty.

1.3. True Love magazine – an overview

True Love saw its inception in 1972 when it was introduced as a sister publication to Drum magazine. Originally conceived as a soft-porn publication targeted at a male readership of migrant labourers, the magazine focused mainly on sex-scandal stories (Laden, 2001). After being sold to the Afrikaans publishing house Nasionale Pers in Cape Town in 1984, the magazine was re-casted as a women's magazine. Laden (2001) explains that the idea was to tap into the growth market of Black print media readers with the aim of linking the Western romantic notion of 'true love' with an idealised notion of the single-family household unit identifying with Western modernity, while simultaneously targeting Black South African readers. The author posits that the new True Love strived to construct and legitimise the Black urban household as a "new socio-cultural site of 'feminized' respectability and cultural change for black South African readers" (Laden, 2003:200).

Today, True Love presents itself as *the* iconic South African fashion, beauty and lifestyle magazine for Black women. Boasting a total readership of 2 265 000 for the period of January 2014 to December 2014 and a circulation figure of 60 421, it has successfully grown into one of the biggest-selling English-language women's magazines in the country and is currently under the ownership of media conglomerate, Media24 (Media24, 2015). True Love magazine is produced by a strong contingency of predominantly Black women with Editor Dudu Mvimbi Leshabane, currently at the helm (Media24, 2015). Statistics from a few years ago reveal that 96.3% of True Love readers are Black with 60.4% being female; 43.6% of its readers are between the ages of 16-24 and 34.3% between 25-34 years of age (Donnelly, 2008).

1.4. Statement of the problem

According to Cortese (2008:13) advertisements are not restricted to selling products, but also promote "moral values and cultural images, such as concepts of success, love, and sexuality." Advertising also has a paramount influence on beauty constructs and women in particular, compare themselves with models despite the gap between retouched perfection and reality (Richins, 1991). Moreover, the omnipresence of advertising in magazines leads to readers being bombarded with contemporary images of beauty, buttressed with alluring promises of capturing the elusive notion of idealised feminine beauty. As part of a capitalist environment, magazines such as True Love are also perceived as cultural commodities which occupy an important role in creating, transmitting and disseminating cultural meaning and in this regard,

advertised texts are rich in cultural meaning and embedded with hidden ideologies. True Love professes to be a mouth piece and a representative of the liberal, modern Black South African woman and portrays itself as a guiding companion and expert on womanhood (Laden, 2001). In this capacity, the magazine also creates and transmits messages about ideal feminine beauty. Consequently, beauty advertisements in True Love create a suitable terrain to investigate the shaping and contestation of this embodiment and by exploring the arrangement of multi-semiotic phenomena utilised in this domain, this study examines how the notion of ideal feminine beauty is constructed and presented.

In this paper, the notion of ideal female beauty comes under scrutiny and therefore, the definition of beauty would be applicable to physical characteristics and qualities which are generally considered to play a part in the level of attractiveness in women, such as hair and skin. Physical signifiers such as skin colour and hair are not only considered to be the most important facets in global beauty culture but are also seen as two principal phenotypes for racial classification (Mercer, 1987). These two attributes are also deeply situated within Black Feminist Discourse Studies and are therefore, culturally and socially significant (Erasmus, 1997; Hunter, 2002). This view is shared by Mercer (1987:35) who also regards hair and skin colour as cultural and societal indicators of difference, as he explains that “black people’s hair has been historically devalued as the most visible stigma of blackness, second only to skin.” Therefore, body and hair politics point to power struggles which stem from historical discourses. Furthermore, Dyer (1997:539) views racial imagery as a pivotal aspect in our understanding of the world based on the premise that a person’s physical traits directly influence our views and opinions of the individual, as he quotes that, “every decision about a person’s worth is based on what they look like, what they speak, and where they came from.”

Race, ethnicity, gender, nationality and beauty ideals are socially constructed ideologies and not biological, with societies having different ideas and beliefs on ideals of physical attractiveness (Baumann, 2008). In multiracial societies especially, dominant ideals regarding physical characteristics are held by the majority ethnic group and idealised images are those featuring models that readers would aspire to. Baumann (2008:4) claims that there are ideals for “height, weight, the shape of the nose, the shape of the mouth, the colour and positioning of the teeth, the distances between facial parts, and more” and also refers to sub-cultural or minority ideals which can differ from dominant ideals, usually imposed by “white, mainstream,

heterosexuals.” Agreeing to such claims, Bordo (1993) asserts that ideas of ideal beauty are situated within the framework of White hegemony, consequently allowing Anglo-Saxon norms to dictate how beauty is constructed in Western culture. The ideal of feminine beauty in Western culture encapsulates physical attributes in the form of “a very thin body with long legs, light eyes, clear skin and no wrinkles” (Haboush, Warren & Benuto, 2012:668). Therefore, for the purpose of this paper, the term ‘ideal’ refers to dominant ideals as reflected in mainstream media. Although it is not the researcher’s intention to reinforce social and racial constructs, for simplicity in this paper, the term ‘Black’ is inclusive of all non-White races and in this context will include Indians, Coloureds, Asians, African Americans, Latinas and Black South Africans.

This investigation adopts a multi-semiotic approach by incorporating multimodality and social semiotics as proposed by Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006), Van Leeuwen (2006; 2008) and O’Halloran (2011, in press). Through multi-semiotic discourse analysis, beauty advertisements are scrutinized in terms of the different semiotic principles which afford for different meaning-making opportunities and interpretation. Guided by this social semiotic multimodal framework, aspects of resemiotization (Iedema, 2003), semiotic remediation (Prior & Hengst, 2010) and intertextuality as practices of discourse, will also be addressed to investigate how texts are repurposed and reused in advertising. Additionally, critical discourse analysis suggested by Fairclough (1992) and Wodak (1995) renders a supportive function to this social semiotic multimodal framework, in order to critically explore how the notion of ideal feminine beauty is constructed in True Love and to establish how inter-semiotic relations are created, reinforced and function to sustain hegemonic ideas in present-day beauty advertisements. This approach assumes that all modes or semiotic resources located in beauty texts are of equal significance in idealised representations and imagery and thus, have different meaning-making potential in True Love beauty advertisements.

1.5. Rationale

Cortese (2008:13) views advertisements as “manipulated representations of recognizable or institutional scenes from “real life.” The author claims that advertisements inform us about our behaviour, our self and affirm existing social arrangements. In this regard, advertising and the beauty industry are orchestral in perpetuating political thoughts and ideas on femininity with advertisements subtly facilitating and reinforcing societal beliefs and expectations about beauty

and race through images and texts. Moreover, advertising content in magazines forms part of a repetitive discourse which results in a normative narrative, subsequently sustaining dominant ideologies as portrayed in their advertising repertoire. Advertisements in True Love have been chosen because lifestyle magazines operate in a cultural economy where dominant constructions of race and gendered bodies are created. It is in these spaces where ideologies are shaped and repeated, to the point where it becomes invisible (Sanger, 2009). Magazine advertisements also sell idealised images of life, rather than reality (Richins, 1991). To the reader, these idealised images become aspirational and under the influence of technological advances in the field, unrealistic standards of idealised beauty are set which ultimately provides for a suitable avenue where hegemonic standards of idealised beauty can be unpacked. Over the years, True Love has transgressed into a national communications vehicle by focusing on the achievements of predominantly Black South Africans, local celebrities, social issues, current events, health, lifestyle, entertainment, fashion and beauty, and thus more. In essence, True Love is a magazine that recognises and celebrates Black culture and identity. Thus, the magazine can be perceived as a contested domain which plays a pivotal role in creating and maintaining discourses and therefore, has the ability to expose and elucidate certain normative ideas and beliefs.

Research documented by South African authors and academics such as Erasmus (1997), Laden (2003), Donnelly (2008), Sanger (2009), Molebatsi (2009), Conradie (2011; 2013), Odhiambo (2008) and Narunsky-Laden (2008) have contributed significantly to feminist literature focusing on race, sexuality and gendered representations in South African magazines. Sanger (2009:138) in particular, focuses on representations of gender, race and sexuality in English-medium South African magazines and observes that advertisements in Fair Lady, Femina and True Love magazines produce racist and sexist scripts which serve to reinforce heteropatriarchy within a 'new' South Africa, based on ideas of 'freedom' and 'equality'. Furthermore, Donnelly (2008) and Conradie (2011) respectively look at the role of women's magazines in constructing representations of femininity in Cosmopolitan and True Love. Moreover, Zimitri Erasmus (1997) and Molebatsi (2009) speak on hair politics, while focusing on hair styling as Black cultural practice. Additionally, authors such as Odhiambo (2008), Laden (2003) and Narunsky-Laden (2008) take a critical look at Black female representation and consumerism. But, Sanger (2009) stresses that the bulk of international literature on women in media have been penned by White feminists who tend to focus on representations of

the White female body which evidently contribute to normalising Whiteness, consequently reinforcing idealised representations of White beauty (Kilbourne, 1998; Wolf, 1991; Peiss, 1998; Bordo, 1993). As a result, the racialised and (hetero) sexualised construction of Black femininities remain underexplored (Sanger, 2009). This also accounts for the remaining gap in the scholarship in terms of the portrayal of beauty in advertising texts, which is especially noteworthy considering the role of women's magazines as vehicles of social communication which ultimately, shape ideas and definitions on femininity and womanhood. The literature on hair and skin as discourse and more specifically, the construction of female beauty from a South African perspective seem particularly scant and limited. Accordingly, existing literature located in the Northern American and Asian contexts will be a suitable point of reference and therefore, this investigation liberally exploits work documented by Dyer (1997), Mercer (1987), Leong (2006), Hunter (2005; 2007; 2011), Baumann (2008) and Cortese (2008) to name a few, in order to bridge this gap in the existing body of knowledge.

This investigation differs from previous studies by adopting a multi-semiotic approach through the deployment of research tools and theoretical frameworks such as social semiotics, multimodality, critical discourse analysis and along with aspects such as semiotic remediation, resemiotization and intertextuality, this paper endeavours to provide a comprehensive understanding of the construction of feminine beauty to determine how certain hegemonic constructs of idealised female beauty become normative in the True Love advertising landscape.

1.6. Research objectives

This paper includes an analysis of selected advertisements published in True Love magazine in order to examine the visual and textual construction of the feminine beauty ideal and how these contribute to shaping and reinforcing certain discourses. Specific objectives include:

- 1.6.1.** To examine how feminine beauty is constructed in True Love advertisements.
- 1.6.2.** To explore the linguistic and visual resources deployed in advertisements which shape and reinforce certain constructs of ideal feminine beauty.
- 1.6.3.** To investigate how the combination of visual and verbal semiotics generate meaning and contribute to reinforcing certain dominant discourse by propagating certain ideologies, beliefs and socio-cultural notions about the elusive notion of female beauty.

1.6.4. To examine whether there has been a change in the way in which feminine beauty is constructed in selected True Love advertisements dating from 1981- 1982 and advertisements from 2013.

1.7. Research questions

1.7.1. How is feminine beauty constructed in True Love?

1.7.2. How do linguistic strategies and visual resources shape and reinforce certain constructs of ideal feminine beauty in True Love advertisements?

1.7.3. How does the conflation of visual and verbal semiotics generate meaning and contribute to reinforcing dominant discourses in the construction of ideal female beauty?

1.7.4. Has there been a change in the construction of feminine beauty with regards to semiotic performances across time and space?

1.8. Chapter outline

Chapter One sets the departure point for this research paper by providing background information locating this study. This section also contains a brief discussion on the phenomenon of beauty whitewashing in advertising and indicates how both visual and beauty culture are influenced by socially constructed ideals which lead to a form of visual language in media texts through which Whiteness can be appropriated. In addition, it provides general background information relative to True Love magazine and contains the problem statement, along with a discussion on the rationale of the study. The chapter concludes by identifying the research objectives, as well as the research questions concerning this investigation.

Chapter Two documents the extensive literature review which unfolds over two chapters. Following Cook (1992), this investigation sees advertising discourse as context and text. By embarking with a discussion on the discourse of advertising and feminine beauty, this section also looks at advertising language and how verbal messages are framed in commercial media texts. Based on the premise that women's magazines function as vehicles of social communication (Cortese, 2008; Sanger, 2009), this chapter includes a description of women's magazines as cultural texts and cultural commodities and concludes with a review of the work on feminine beauty as a socio-cultural construct.

Chapter Three contributes to the aforementioned by examining work in the existing body of knowledge on the portrayal of both Black and White women in visual culture under the following themes: i) The exotic ‘Other’ and ii) The glow of White women in photographic media. This section ends with a discussion on skin and hair as political discourses.

Chapter Four provides the theoretical and analytical framework of this research study and contains a discussion on the feasibility of a multi-semiotic approach, multimodality (MDA) and critical discourse analysis (CDA) as research tools. The combination of MDA and CDA allows for the opportunity to explore the inter-semiotic relationship between language and imagery and to elucidate how visual and verbal signs interact to construct meaningful messages appropriated in advertised texts. These semiotic performances become part of a hegemonic construct where social constructions lead to the formation and reinforcing of dominant ideologies.

Chapter Five expands on the semiotic principles mentioned in the preceding chapter by addressing notions of semiotic remediation, resemiotization and intertextuality, in order to unpack how these discourse practices function in the study of semiotic media and contribute to sustaining dominant ideas. It also contains an overview of the research methodology used in this investigation and includes a discussion on the nature of qualitative text-based methodology. Twelve selected advertisements were retrieved from eleven consecutively published issues of True Love magazine dating from February 2013 to December 2013. These monthly issues were purchased online via Magzter which is a global, digital magazine store and newsstand. In addition, three advertisements dating from 1981 and 1982 were sourced from Bailey’s Archives in Johannesburg. This section concludes by addressing aspects of sampling, data collection, and data analysis.

Chapter Six provides the departure point of the multi-semiotic discourse analysis which is divided into two chapters. This section focuses on the textual construction of idealised beauty in True Love advertisements by exploring two rhetoric themes located in True Love advertising content under the following headlines: i) Beauty and success – Light skin as social capital; and ii) From ‘bright’ to ‘illuminating’ – Messages on skin lightening in beauty texts. As a result of the repetitive nature of texts, the fundamental issue is to elucidate how these semiotic performances develop to construct meaningful textual compositions which lead to the shaping of dominant discourses pertaining to female beauty in True Love.

Chapter Seven contributes to the analysis in the preceding chapter by pointing to the visual portrayal of women in True Love beauty advertisements. Aspects of ‘Otherization’ and the exoticization of the Black female body are addressed under the theme: i) The Exotic ‘Other’. This chapter also explores Hunter’s (2011) view on the specific marketing strategy to include women of colour with respect to advertising campaigns which exclusively depict images of Caucasian women under the theme: ii) The ‘illusion of inclusion’. The final theme is discussed under the headline: iii) A lighter shade of pale.

Chapter Eight elaborates on the general conclusions from the analyses chapters and provides a detailed summary of the investigation pertaining to the research aims and concludes with an outline of the limitations of the study, as well as suggestions for future research.



CHAPTER 2: FEMALE BEAUTY IN ADVERTISING MEDIA: A CRITICAL-CULTURAL APPROACH

2.0. Introduction

The following section provides the starting point for a review of the literature which spans over two chapters. This specific portion deals with advertising as discourse and the portrayal of feminine beauty in advertising media, followed by a discussion on advertising language and verbal messages and the role of women's magazines as cultural commodities. The chapter concludes by exploring female beauty as a social construct. As a result of the broad field of study, this comprehensive discussion is structured in terms of the following themes: i) The discourse of advertising and feminine beauty; ii) Advertising language and verbal messages in beauty texts; iii) Women's magazines as cultural texts and cultural commodities and iv) Feminine beauty as a socio-cultural construct.

2.1. The discourse of advertising and feminine beauty

In his landmark book, *The Discourse of Advertising*, Guy Cook (1992) sees advertisements as discourse by claiming that it does not only concern language, but also includes the context in which communication takes place. As Cook (1992:4) explains: "Discourse is text and context together." Text in this sense refers to linguistic forms, "temporarily and artificially separated from context for the purpose of the analysis", while context includes the interaction of all the following elements that participate in advertising discourse:

- a) Participants (e.g. intentions, interpretations, knowledge, beliefs, attitudes, feelings of senders and receivers. In magazines this would include models, text producers, manufacturers, readers, etc.)
- b) Function (i.e. what the text is intended to do by the senders (e.g. text producer, manufacturer, models, etc.) or perceived to do by the receivers (e.g. readers). For example, what messages and ideologies are communicated and constructed?)
- c) Substance (i.e. the physical material which carries or relays text. As in this paper, beauty advertisements.)
- d) Music and pictures (In this regard, pictures as a dimension of visual analysis (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006).

- e) Co-text (i.e. text which precedes or follows that under analysis and which is perceived to belong to the same discourse. In this case, certain texts are grouped according to specific recurring themes.)
- f) Intertexts (i.e. texts which are perceived to belong to other discourse, but due to intertextual links with other texts affect the reader's interpretation. This will be addressed under intertextuality.)
- g) Paralanguage (i.e. meaningful behaviour accompanying language, such as voice quality, tone, gestures, facial expression, choice of typeface and letter sizes in writing. This will be addressed under the dimension of visual analysis proposed by Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006).
- h) Situation (i.e. the properties and relations of objects and people in the vicinity of the text, as perceived by readers. Aspects of perceived ideal beauty in media, women's magazines as cultural commodities, the portrayal of women in advertising, including modality in terms of setting and so forth, will be applicable here.)

Although Cook (1992) provides a conceptual understanding and explanation of advertising as discourse, due to the limited space it would be extremely challenging to elaborate on all of these concepts in this investigation. Using Cook's (1992) framework as a guideline, this paper views beauty advertisements as discourse, although only certain sections will be addressed and also under no specific headline. In this sense, context includes issues of consumerism, women's magazines as cultural commodities, socio-cultural ideas concerning female beauty, the portrayal of women in advertising, issues of ideology and intertextuality and so forth, which collectively create the context in which production occurs. In terms of text, advertising language and specific linguistic devices to shape verbal messages are addressed.

Berger (1972) perceives advertising and publicity images as part of a capitalist, consumer-driven lifestyle where the most fundamental aim of advertising is to generate revenue and to derive profits from products and services being promoted. In women's magazines the bulk of its content is devoted to advertising and between these pages the reader is exposed to a milieu of products promising to enhance her lifestyle. McCracken (1993) shares this view and claims that 95percent of women's magazine content involves advertising. From a capitalist-driven point of view, the onus is on the promoted material to stimulate interest and act as a catalyst in facilitating consumption on the part of the consumer (Beetham, 1996). From a consumer-driven

point of view, the advertised content is reliant on consumer behaviour, i.e. the success of a product is dependent on consumer response. Winship (1987) concurs that consumer magazines generate most of their revenue from advertising and commercial sponsorships, subsequently making them vulnerable to market pressures. The end-result is that magazines essentially function as commodities and simultaneously, as a vehicle for advertising other commodities. Therefore, the author sees advertising as a phenomenon circulating in a capitalist-consumer-economy.

Decades later, it appears as if the situation has demonstrated a continuous and dramatic increase with Odhiambo (2008) claiming that the connection between female empowerment, gender equality, women's emancipation and consumerism is especially visible in the domain of the consumer magazine. Focusing on Drum and True Love magazine, the author argues that the inspirational role of these magazines is overshadowed by the phenomenon of consumerism which is particularly noticeable when considering the exorbitant amount of advertising content dedicated to cosmetics, hair and skin treatments. Odhiambo (2008) is of the opinion that consumerism is responsible for redefining both individual and societal values. Moreover, Odhiambo (2008:72) puts forward that Black female consumers are being manipulated by multinational corporations who advertise in lifestyle magazines, as he quotes: "the black female body is the subject of both manipulation and an intense gaze by producers of commodities seeking advertisement space." Therefore, it seems that the role of the women's magazine as a companion and guide on womanhood is eclipsed by the ubiquity of advertising.

As a social practice, exposure to magazine advertisements lead to these texts functioning as modes of representation and signifying practices that contribute to our knowledge and ways of viewing the world (Fairclough, 1992). In this regard, advertisements pose as channels through which human behaviour and practices can be observed and analysed, consequently, contributing to what we know and how we make sense of the world and the ways in which we view it. Sharing this sentiment, Cortese (2008:2) refers to advertising as a cultural tool and powerful vehicle of social communication, whereby members of a given society absorb their "cultural heritage and cultural ideologies of domination." In this context, ideology includes images, concepts and assumptions, through which members of a society represent, understand, interpret and make sense of social life (Hall, 1981, cited in Cortese, 2008:2). Jhally (1995) agrees by viewing advertising as the most influential institution of socialization in modern

society. The aforementioned opinions are especially appropriate when considering the evolution of True Love magazine and how it has transgressed as a social communication vehicle for Black women. Effectively, advertising sets the tone for the way in which individuals, communities and societies interact with each other.

By adopting a socio-cultural approach, Cortese (2008) also claims that cultural and gender portrayals in advertising are circuitously connected to social processes and the power structure. In this regard, different ethnicities, social classes, cultures, institutions and groups are connected through mass media. Due to this interaction, common ground is found through the transmitting, transferring and sharing of common culture, ultimately composing a heterogeneous national and global community. However, Cortese (2008:15) also argues that ethnic minorities and the lowest social classes have little influence on the composition of mainstream culture and he suggests that the representation of a sub-cultural group as portrayed in the media signifies power, prestige, social security and “a noted identity”. Echoing similar views, Gross (1991) perceives the non-representation or limited visibility of a group in media as an indication of a state of material or political powerlessness.

In *Advertising as Communication*, Gillian Dyer (1982:103-117) asserts that advertisements as “a means of representation and meaning, construct ideology within themselves through the intervention of external codes which are located in society” and she quotes that, “the ideology of advertisements is so powerful; it is naturalised by the image, the neutral realm of signifier.” Due to its normative and repetitive nature, advertising texts become so naturalised and immersed in society that it assumes an inconspicuous and grossly underestimated powerful channel for constructing and communicating ideological views and beliefs. By referring to issues such as non- or limited representation of groups in media, Cortese (2008) claims that media gatekeepers, who are usually White, middle-aged, heterosexual males from the middle and upper-middle classes are in the elite position to determine public agendas and in this capacity have the power to assign prominence to groups or viewpoints. This is supported by Van Zoonen (1991) who suggests that stereotypical portrayals of female representation in media are advocated by male producers and advertising executives who are influenced by existing stereotypes. However, True Love is produced by Black women and although this paper does not focus on editorial content, it seems plausible to ask why there appears to be notable contradictions between advertising imagery which generally portray representations based on

a White ideal, as opposed to editorial features that tend to focus on celebrating Black culture and identity? It is safe to deduce that the advertising repertoire of a women's magazine such as True Love provides ample insight into their credo, beliefs and principles in general. For instance, the chances of finding an advertisement for knitting wool or arts and crafts such as sewing or painting in a sports or special interest magazine focusing on cars or angling, would be zero to none. The same principle applies to True Love, which means that although the advertised content are direct products of large multinational corporations and may not be directly produced by the magazine itself, the fact that they *are* advertising it, means that they are obviously not objecting to certain narratives and may even be in full approval of such dominant discourses. Thus, although the economic and pivotal function of advertising as a mechanism to display and promote goods with the primary intent to generate revenue cannot be ignored, essentially, the advertising content of a magazine is a reflection of their ethos.

Advertising is not only a suitable environment for elucidating shared or dominant societal ideals, but also serves as a perfect platform for displaying people. Pollay (1986) posits that this display of actors allows us insight into people's behaviour and appearance and what is considered to be acceptable or attractive. The work of Erving Goffman is commonly perceived as a cornerstone in the academic field of advertising and in his influential book, *Gender Advertisements*, the author theorises that current advertisements are a reflection of society's perception of feminine beauty. In particular, Goffman (1976) explains how frame analysis allows for the decoding of stereotypical gendered postures and positions in advertisements. Although he focuses on stereotypical gendered behaviour and not specifically on notions of ideal feminine beauty, his work is considered to be a point of reference by numerous researchers in the field. According to Goffman's (1976) frame analysis, stereotypical gendered portrayals are determined by the manner in which models or participants in advertised images are featured with regards to facial expressions, positions and placing, finger sucking and biting, knee bends and hands and eyes. The author suggests that these indicators are key determinants in the stereotypical portrayal of gender roles in advertisements which become normative in society through the ubiquitous and repetitive nature of advertising. In addition, Goffman (1976) deploys the notion of function ranking which reflects a particular structure of gender inequality in advertising texts. This type of portrayal generally shows a male model performing an important and dominant role, while the female model typically plays a less meaningful or supportive role. This is also denoted in advertisements which show boy children as being

usually active, as opposed to the girl child who is mostly depicted in passive representations (Cortese, 2008).

Cortese (2008:44) observes Goffman's (1976) function ranking illustrations in "the conscious or unconscious omission or underrepresentation of women and ethnic minorities", which he perceives as acts of "symbolic annihilation". These representations generally show Caucasian models occupying central and dominant roles in media texts while non-White models usually play supportive and contributory roles which evidently tend to enhance and inflate Eurocentric values perpetuated in media texts. Examples of illustrations which contain different ethnic and race representation generally show different levels of equality and textual importance when considering the different roles assigned to models in beauty texts. This can often be seen in advertisements where Caucasian models are styled in superior positions, usually as the most centred or focal point in the text while non-White models occupy a less textually important role by being positioned in the background, or being styled in a more muted or less attention-grabbing manner. For this reason, Goffman's frame analysis, along with his notion of function ranking provide for especially useful avenues to elucidate the portrayal of participants in advertised texts pertaining to racial representations.

Sharing the above sentiments, Baumann (2008) postulates that advertising creates opportunities whereby physical appearance ideals can be observed – especially for studying tastes in complexion as a variant in race and gender. Presenting findings from an investigation based on the appearance of 2133 people in advertisements from 2003 to 2004, Baumann (2008) contends that models with light complexions are often used in advertisements promoting luxury items such as perfume, jewellery, designer or elite brands, etc. which suggest a desirable and prestigious lifestyle. He indicates that advertised images of women with fairer complexions more frequently illustrated notions of wealth, luxury and privilege which were highly noticeable in their attire and the types of products advertised. In addition, Baumann (2008) points out that the ideal complexion for women tended to be lighter than the ideal complexion for men, and that women with a darker complexion were more frequently and more obviously sexualised than those with a lighter complexion. Baumann's (2008) findings provide valuable clues when looking at certain female representations in True Love and are especially useful in determining the selection of advertised texts to be analysed which indicate how different

typologies of models are deployed and how semiotic performances construct idealised imagery in media.

On the other hand, authors such as Hunter (2011) believe that recent years have seen a transformation in the global beauty industry under the influence of multiculturalism. She explains that there has been a significant increase in the deployment of women of colour in the beauty industry where cosmetic companies are increasingly using light-skinned women of colour in advertisements as brand ambassadors and spokespersons. The author refers to this phenomenon as the 'illusion of inclusion' which she perceives as a seductive marketing strategy designed to include women of colour who may feel a sense of exclusion and alienation in light of advertising campaigns exclusively featuring images of Caucasian women. Hunter (2011: 146) explains that, "by including a few light-skinned, Anglo-looking women of colour, cosmetic companies appear to be inclusive of people of colour, without disrupting their message that white bodies are beautiful." Osuri (2008) concurs and sees the inclusion of fair-skinned women of colour such as Hollywood actress Halle Berry (Revlon), former Miss India and Miss World Aishwarya Rai (L'Oréal) and South African actress Terry Pheto (L'Oréal) as a deliberate strategy to encourage women of colour to purchase these products with the belief that their own bodies and beauty are being valued. Basically, the prevailing message is that lighter-skinned Black women or Western mediated standards of beauty are the preferred presentation of ideal feminine beauty. This issue will be addressed when viewing some of the texts which show participants of different race and ethnicities. Here, the focus will be on aspects of foregrounding and function ranking to identify how dominant ideals are constructed in True Love.

Speaking on Black identity in mainstream media, Fujioka (2005) claims that Black communities turn to Black-oriented or ethnic media which produce images promoting and embracing Black ethnic socialization. This phenomenon is also evident in the general True Love discourse where both editorial and advertising content regularly feature Black international and local celebrities. Here, the accolades and achievements of local celebrities in particular, become part of a local narrative which the reader can identify with and aspire to. Therefore, it can be argued that by sharing and celebrating the success of the featured local celebrity, the reader assumes a more active role and can be perceived as a family member sharing in the good news. This type of magazine content allows for a shared space,

consequently creating a sense of group membership. Also referring to the deployment of celebrities in beauty advertising, Englis, Solomon and Ashmore (1994) claim that beauty ideals are created in the advertising discourse through the casting of actors and actresses that possess perceived beauty qualities, subsequently creating icons of beauty. In this regard, rigid beauty standards are created, ultimately producing a narrower, unattainable idealised standard of beauty.

2.2. Advertising language and verbal messages in beauty texts

According to Najafian and Ketabi (2011) in order to unmask and reveal implicit and hidden meanings behind advertisements, it is important to focus on language because it not only contributes to the trust and reliability of a brand, but the deliberate interplay of lexical items also reveals ideological interests. This is especially of interest when considering how certain brands profess to achieve certain results by using descriptive and persuasive language to promote a product. That is why Harris (1989:22) is of the opinion that linguistic material used in advertisements is often “manipulated over and above the more commonly expected rhetorical uses of language”. As a result, the actual structure and form of language is manipulated and rules are intentionally and systematically broken, “presumably to achieve an even greater, more salient, more pervasive, more penetrating, and ultimately more persuasive effect on the viewer/reader” (Harris, 1989:22). The aforementioned speaks to Leech (1972:57) who states that advertising language can either follow “a prescribed path of advertising clichés” or have the freedom to “deviate from it and from the rules of the language itself”. Also, the multifaceted nature of advertising requires adopting different approaches to language by making different linguistic choices, especially in terms of vocabulary.

Authors such as Cook (1992) and Najafian and Ketabi (2011) observe the importance of textual cohesion in advertisements to create a sense of unity, continuity and fluency in the text. Cook (1992:151) defines cohesion in discourse analysis as “linguistic devices which create links between sentences and clauses.” Hoey (1991) asserts that cohesion contributes to creating textual coherence, which Hasan (1994) defines as the property of “unity” in text, or the way in which concepts and relations are configured to “hang together.” Additionally, Cook (1992:153) describes coherence as the overall quality of unity and meaning perceived in discourse. Furthermore, Vestergaard and Schroder (1985:18) claim that “English sentences can be linked in various ways, among which repetition of an element and back reference by means

of pronouns are among the more important.” This is referred to as the “chain” which “denotes a relation where an element refers to another element, and in turn refers to another element and so on” (Najafian & Ketabi, 2011:8). Other techniques to link ideas and thoughts include the use of synonyms, reference to place and time, determiners, pronouns, verbs, conjunctions, repetition and so forth. All these strive to perform a cohesive function, which Widdowson (2000:125-138) defines as the “the ties that connect up units of language to form text. (...) The repeated pattern provides a kind of texture to the text, sets up a kind of connection or cohesion across the sentences.”

Furthermore, Najafian and Ketabi (2011) suggest that the most obvious form of lexical cohesion in print advertisements occur in the repetition of positive adjectives which describe the product. For example, synonymous adjectives alluding to success: *leading, most easily recognized, lasting, life-saving*, etc. This is concurred by Machin and Van Leeuwen (2005) who believe that adjectives occupy a key role in advertising style because it applies to both the advertised product and to the values it signifies. For example, words such *bold* and *bright* may provide a description of a colour, yet they also indicate a certain mood or personality trait expressed in the text. Thus, they carry descriptive and emotive values. Also, adjectives contribute to the hyperbolic character of advertising texts. This is most note-worthy in beauty advertisements whose products all claim to be the ‘*newest, innovative, freshest*’ item on the market. Hence, these descriptive words or phrases strive to emphasise particular characteristics of a product and also express evaluative and emotional attitudes assigned to something.

According to Vestergaard and Schroder (1985: 23) copywriters of advertising texts attempt to eliminate verbs at all, or to remove finite verbs and replace them by their non-finite forms, eliminate pronouns and create as short sentences as possible in order to “cut up the sentences into more information units”. Delin (2000:129) refers to this as “disjunctive syntax”. This leads to the same sequence of words containing more focal elements instead of one. The purpose is to make the text more dynamic and to organize utterances into smaller and concise units to underline the content of each. In this regard, emphasis is placed on different elements. Effectively, short sentences are packed full of important information about the product, although in a more compact format. For this reason, the use of incomplete sentences is fairly common in advertising texts and there is a widespread tendency to punctuate phrases in this way. This is also highly visible in texts where a visual image of a model or product is the focal

point with minimal accompanying linguistic descriptions. Most often the visual layout provides the reader with sufficient information and clues and therefore, elaborate and explicit sentence structure may not be as significant. For example: *Stress Proof, Fade Proof, Sweat Proof for up to 25 Hours*.

Authors such as Machin and Van Leeuwen (2005:591) see advertising as “deliberately unconventional, deliberately bent on breaking rules and defying taboos.” They observe that advertising language usually consists of catchy phrases and deploys attention-grabbing linguistic features to attract readers by using an abundance of poetic devices. The use of these poetic or mnemonic devices (rhyme, rhythm, alliteration and assonance) have various advantages pertaining to brand recall and brand identity, although Machin and Van Leeuwen (2005) also point out that they do serve both practical and ideological functions. The authors argue that poetic devices provide for a measure of entertainment by deviating from conventional technical descriptions relative to product use. Machin and Van Leeuwen (2005:591) describe this as “edutainment” and see it as a way of undermining “the traditional split between the serious and the popular, between high art and low art – and between the higher and lower classes and their different tastes”. Hence, advertising as a form of pleasure or hedonistic display, is not solely realised through the activities or representations it portrays, but is also expressed through its linguistic style.

Although this paper does not exclusively focus on the linguistic structure of verbal messages, it is useful to point out some definitions and examples of poetic devices suggested by Machin and Van Leeuwen (2005). Rhyme refers to the correspondence of sound between words or the endings of words, especially when used in poetry (*South African Concise Oxford Dictionary*, 2007). It is commonly found in jingles and advertising slogans. For example, *illuminate skin from within*. Advertising language has to be easy to remember and copywriters rely on the rhythmical arrangement of language (Machin & Van Leeuwen, 2005). The use of rhythm may not be obvious to the reader although this type of language-use is often perceived subconsciously. For example, *the perfect match for a more radiant you*. Assonance describes the resemblance of sound between syllables in nearby words arising from the rhyming of stressed vowels (e.g. *meets your needs*) and also the use of identical consonants with different vowels, e.g. *first fast-acting* and *match...more* (*South African Concise Oxford Dictionary*, 2007). The aim is to create harmony in texts. The use of alliteration is especially common in

beauty texts which have successive words beginning with the same consonant sound or letter (e.g. *boost brightness, reveal radiance*). Basically, the reader may remember the text or brand for a specific phrase and recall it at a specific moment. This type of language allows for a rhythmical arrangement within the text and also makes a text more memorable, entertaining and linguistically neat (Machin & Van Leeuwen, 2005). Also, recent years have seen an increase in the use of numerals in contemporary beauty advertisements. Numerals are often used to define specific characteristics of an advertised product by describing various aspects, for example the percentage of a chemical component in a product, the number of consumers in a survey, etc. It is also commonly used in modern texts promoting multipurpose products, e.g. *4in1*, etc.

Sharing the above views, McQuarrie and Mick (1996) point out that advertising commonly breaks rules pertaining to normal language and language-use which result in irregular phrases, words and linguistic varieties that deviate from standard language. They agree that the formation of new words and phrases afford text producers and writers the opportunity to make up and adapt words and expressions in order to support the creative aspect of texts. Readers are often unaware or completely oblivious to this because it sounds familiar and ordinary. However, Machin and Van Leeuwen (2005:592) see this breaking of rules as “tongue-in-cheek” which also provides for a measure of entertainment. An example of this can be seen in a product called *Luminessence* which is a combination of the words, ‘luminous’ and ‘essence’.

The use of visual and verbal metaphors to convey a thought is quite common in multimodal texts. Lakoff and Johnson (1980:125) state that “the essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another”. In media texts they can be portrayed as statements, pictures or visual images. They are used in advertisements to pique the reader’s curiosity and to create an association or comparison between a product and certain qualities or values the text producer wants to establish. Visual metaphors are commonly deployed in multimodal texts because an image might sometimes be sufficient to communicate an idea in the absence of accompanying verbiage. For example, perfume advertisements generally have limited verbiage but often tend to rely on the image of an attractive woman wearing minimal clothing. Because perfume can only be smelled, the metaphorical implication is that the user will be basking in the fragrance itself that will envelope her body. Thus, the image of the semi-naked model captures the association of the aroma of the perfume in a more effective way.

Furthermore, Harris (1989) introduces the concept of foregrounding which is generally used by text producers or copywriters to highlight or emphasise certain textual qualities. As Pike (1975:27) explains: “A crucial characteristic of human nature is our ability to select and guide into attention almost anything that we please” (cited in Harris, 1989). Thus, foregrounding allows writers to establish a level of significance or specific prominence to certain ideas depicted in the text. Harris (1989) refers to it as the “linguistic process in which some elements, such as words, phrases, stressing, intonations, or the like are given prominence or made more meaningfully significant”. This usually occurs in the form of eye-catching graphics, underlined descriptions, specific font styles or colour-usage and various other forms used to render some level of distinction in texts.

Moreover, Wolf (1991) claims that advertising producers use mysterious language in the description of products. Examples of these, include words such as *hypoallergenic*, *hyperpigmentation treatment* and *skin illuminating technology* whose meanings may be completely lost on the average reader. Wolf (1991) is of the opinion that this specific type of language-use is especially prevalent in Western societies where females are being marginalised in the power structure. Wolf (1991: 109) states: “a long history of intellectual exclusion precedes the current intimidation by this mock authoritative language.” This suggests that advertisers operate under the premise to deliberately exclude female readers on an intellectual level because history asserts that this type of language-use might prove difficult to interpret. Wolf (1991) perceives this as a deliberate strategy to highlight the under-representation of women – especially Black women, in certain disciplines such as science and technology. Yet, in present-day advertising discourse, this type of language-use aims to remind the reader that she is now intellectually on par and thus, ‘sophisticated and intelligent enough’ to grasp the gist of the advertised product. Also, Wolf (1991) argues that although this type of language-use is a ploy to hide the ineffectiveness of skin care products, it also succeeds in stimulating interest from consumers who may otherwise not fully grasp the advertised product, yet instil their trust in the advertised product against the scientific backdrop of which it is promoted. Singer (2008) speaks to the aforementioned by calling this phenomenon ‘skinflation’ which she sees as the spiralling increase in beauty marketing where science buzzwords are used to confuse consumers. Basically, this suggests that there is an existing perception that the beauty industry has a penchant for exploiting science for financial gain.

According to Moeran (2009) women's magazines present beauty as a system of magic and he uses Gell's (1992) concept of the 'technology of enchantment' to describe the sophisticated and symbolic hold exerted by advertisers on their readers. This refers to the manner in which readers are seduced by flattering and idealised imagery of models and commodities in media texts which are often far removed from reality. Moeran (2009) claims that fashion and beauty texts in magazines are laced with magical qualities and he introduces the work of anthropologist Stanley Jeyaraja Tambiah (1968) in *The magical power of words*, in support of his views. Tambiah (1968) perceives the uttering of words as a ritual in itself, which he views as "spells" whose power develops within a specialised context (cited in Moeran, 2009:13). The author describes this in the form of a Sinhalese healing ritual, which consists of three verbal forms: a) the *mantra* (an archaic language of command, which involves asking or persuasion); b) *kannalavva* (stating the reason for the healing ceremony, the nature of the patient's illness and a plea to the gods for well-being, releasing of demons, healing, etc.) and c) *kaviya* (define the object of evil or disease and to take action, i.e. presenting a cure). According to Moeran (2009:13) this ritual would end with a repeat of the mantra which "enacted the expulsion of the demon itself."

Moeran (2009:13) observes that there is a distinct and highly visible parallel between Tambiah's (1968) healing ritual and contemporary beauty advertisements and he points out that headlines in beauty texts draw attention to a particular body part "which is demonised by omission for not being what it should be." These observations can also be traced in True Love where advertising language assumes these characteristics described by Tambiah (1968). For instance, the term 'beauty mantra' is often used in beauty discourses. Also, beauty routines involving products to cleanse, tone and moisturise are often referred to as 'beauty rituals'. Potions manufactured by beauty corporations are often portrayed as remedies, rescues, cures or 'fixes' to whatever the beauty problem or issue may be. Examples of these are located in two True Love advertisements, e.g. *Instant Colour Coverage* and *The all-in-one-solution*. However, a headline can also draw attention to a specific effect which can be achieved through purchasing the product without naming a specific body part (Moeran, 2009). For example, the phrase *Imagine having nothing to hide*, which accompanies the magnified image of a woman's face allowing the reader full access to inspect her skin for flaws. Alternatively, it can also summon a product or product range. For example: *L'Oréal Color Riche Les Ombres Colour Shocking*. Moeran (2009) argues that this type of language used in headlines is expressed in

phrases specifically designed with the intention to entice and persuade and to highlight the advertised brand. Secondly, the sub-heading used in beauty texts functions as an explanation of the ‘problem’ – very similar to the second aspect of the healing ritual which signifies the reason or purpose for the healing ceremony. For example: *Skincare that visibly corrects all dark spots on all skin types* and *Lasting Finishing Foundation*. Thirdly, Moeran (2009:13) mentions the advertisement’s “copy” which he explains to be the “body of the written part of the ad” which “defines, names or hints at the affliction – dryness, lack of endurance, artificiality, imperfection...” that the advertisement strives to remedy. For example, *The all-in-one-solution for beautifully radiant and even skin tone* and *Improves skin’s brightness and evenness for a more radiant, youthful-looking complexion*.

Additionally, Moeran (2009) speaks on contradictions in beauty advertisements and mentions the regular use of generalised and moralised perceptions such as ‘beauty is only skin deep’ in beauty texts. However, advertising language communicates the exact opposite by asserting that beauty is something that starts inside the individual. The author claims that common beauty quotes such as, ‘*Natural beauty comes from deep within yourself; True radiance starts from within*’ and so forth, in actual fact signify that true beauty depends on a person’s character and how she feels about herself. Therefore, phrases such as these are particularly challenging and can be considered an affirmation that skin tone issues reside within the individual and therefore, beauty is in fact, *not* only skin deep, but essentially an internal emotive and individual concern.

Furthermore, Moeran (2009) asserts that the tagline in beauty texts serves as a closing mantra which announces the necessary condition of the remedy or cure provided. This can be seen in popular cosmetic brand names like Revlon (*The most unforgettable women in the world wear Revlon*), L’Oréal (*Because I’m worth it*), Clere (*You’re beautiful*), Rimmel (*Get the London Look*) to name but a few. Also, Moeran (2009:14) explains that the parallel between the mantra and advertising headlines derives from the fact that they are both often incomprehensible to ordinary people and although the similarity is not entirely exact and obvious, it does “make some sort of sense.”

Moeran (2009) further argues that this type of advertising language described above, is also expressed and realised through various other linguistic strategies. For instance, the intimate tone used in beauty texts which implies that advertisers and product manufacturers have secret knowledge about beauty culture which they share with the reader. According to Moeran

(2009:14) these secrets are so sacred that they are perceived to have “magical qualities”. In True Love, these are expressed in phrases such as: *Specifically formulated for dark/ heavily pigmented skin; Perfectly-matched colours Dazzling Effect* and *Now, Clere will work its magic for you*. In addition, this specialised knowledge invites the reader into a dream world of fantasy and belief which is realised through phrases such as, *Flawless all day, Glow is recaptured, Day after day more even-toned, Boost brightness*, and so forth. Finally, Moeran (2009) highlights the importance of naming goods by suggesting that advertising language deploys magical words to encapsulate the purpose of the product on display, which can be seen through names such as *Lasting Finish, Skin tone Illuminator* and *Look of Nature*, for instance. Moeran (2009) concludes that the type of advertising language mentioned above is accompanied by images of beautiful women which serve as testimony of the intended effect which can be achieved. In essence, language has the mystical power to influence the reality of beauty and too often, readers are spellbound by the magical power of advertising language, essentially being seduced by this technology of enchantment. To quote Moeran (2009:14): advertising language assumes a ritualised form by exerting “power (over beauty) to exorcise the demons of unattractiveness”.

2.3. Women’s magazines as cultural texts and cultural commodities

Magazines may only be one type of media, yet it is an influential vehicle for communicating specific information to a specific readership (Cortese, 2008). The world of magazines allows us access to a Utopian lifestyle by affording us opportunities where we can fantasise about an ideal self. Between these pages lay promises of pleasure, desire and dreams, providing escapism to a world of fantasy and make-believe. Moeran (2009:3) refers to women’s magazines as both cultural products and commodities and explains that they operate in “a cultural economy of collective meanings. They provide how-to recipes, illustrated stories, narratives and experiential and behavioural models – particularly in the realms of fashion and beauty”. Through this form of edutainment, magazines create a platform where the reader can reflect on her ideal self.

In the domain of the magazine, readers are advised on everyday concerns ranging from health issues, mental well-being, careers, fashion, beauty, romance, appearances and so forth. In its advisory capacity, the magazine assumes the role of a confidante or big sister where knowledge is shared and as a result, attitudes and behaviours are shaped and culturally defined constructs such as femininity are produced. Women’s magazines give the intangible concept of femininity

a material form. Beetham (1996:2) considers these “feminised” spaces as central agents in the definition and maintenance of Western female identity. In this sense, women’s periodicals allow for social spaces where meanings about femininity and feminine beauty ideals are created, contested and negotiated. Beetham (1996:2) states that they are culturally significant because “they [work] at the intersection of these different economies – of money, public discourse and individual desire”. Therefore, as social agents and mostly through its advertised content, magazines actively contribute to creating cultural norms and defining images of ideal feminine beauty.

By comparing women’s magazines to romance fiction novels and products of popular culture, Mattelart (1986) views it as a site for an exclusively feminine discourse. By addressing the experiences, aspirations and contradictions facing their female readers, editors strive to increase and sustain their readership by creating this unique feminine space. This is why Currie (1997) claims that women’s magazines exert some form of cultural leadership by shaping images and definitions of femininity, which subsequently influence readers’ perceptions of womanhood. Ferguson (1983:1) describes femininity as “a state, a condition, a craft, and an art form which comprise a set of practices and beliefs”; as a socialising tool, women’s magazines create a “cult of femininity” where “young initiates” are taught how to become feminine. For this reason, Ferguson (1983:8) perceives femininity as a phenomenon which has to be taught and continuously improved. Therefore, women’s magazines are avenues which allow for ritualistic expressions of shared identities based on gender.

Speaking from a South African perspective, former-chief copy editor of *O, The Oprah Magazine*, Deidre Donnelly (2008:36) refers to women’s periodicals as “popular cultural forms where meanings about femininity, specifically, are contested and made”. In this regard, women’s magazines are positioned as cultural arrangements creating a terrain where meanings, beliefs and ideologies about femininity can be made, negotiated and contested. In addition, women’s magazines actively transform the intangible concept of femininity into something more material and accordingly, can be regarded as discursive “sites-of-struggle” (Donnelly, 2008:36). Sengupta (2006) agrees to the above by also claiming that magazines exercise a cultural leadership by shaping images and definitions of femininity designed to inform the reader’s perception of womanhood, thus, comprising a social institution which fosters and maintains a culture of femininity.

Laden (2001) agrees by also viewing magazines as cultural tools with the content being ‘local knowledge’ shared by a specific culture. By portraying magazines as part of a South African “social unconscious”, Laden (2001:188) attests that magazines afford us the opportunity to understand the arrangement of socio-cultural entities and quotes that, “magazines render meaningfully, without necessarily always putting into action, a shared repertoire of everyday experiences, lifestyle options, and social practices best described, from a Western or European standpoint, as typically ‘middle-class’ or ‘bourgeois’”. Furthermore, Laden (2003:211) refers to consumer magazines with a predominantly Black audience, as an “experimental medium” where “traditional meanings and cultural institutions are reformulated alongside current institutions, events, images, and, topicalities”. Consequently, this medium creates meaningful opportunities for social exchange, reflection and cultural integration between its readership and society at large. Essentially, the magazine functions as a facilitator of cultural and social change. Or, as Laden (2003:193) more specifically states, “magazines as socio-semiotic tools, perform the important cultural ‘work’ of repertoire formation....confirming and managing existing cultural options while inscribing new ones, providing readers with implied instructions for regulating new modes of social action, and reorganizing them into modern, urban social networks.” However, Laden (2003) puts forward that in South African society, the politically dominant racial group (Black South Africans) is in fact not the economically strongest racial group. Hence, there is a marked difference between discourses in the political arena as opposed to those situated within the economic sphere - specifically marketing and mass media, which can account for the fact that mass communication is still largely determined by White South Africans with Western, capitalistic worldviews (Laden, 2003).

Also, Laden (2003) asserts that Black South African lifestyle magazines have become increasingly aspirational as she refers to the frequent appearance of local celebrities in their advertising content. In her 2003 study, the author particularly mentions former Miss South Africa Basetsana Makgalemele, who advertised ‘*Revlon Realistic Hair Relaxer*’ during this period. Laden (2003:199) quotes that “Aspects of ‘middle-classness’ are brought to the foreground by Basetsana’s celebrity status as a former beauty queen, her acclaimed good looks and the way the advertised product is denoted euphemistically as ‘a hair relaxer’ rather than hair straightener.” This is particularly note-worthy since this pattern is also visible in current publications of True Love magazine with local celebrities being ambassadors for certain brands and products. For example, well-known media personality Bonang Mathemba is the current

brand ambassador for Revlon cosmetics, while model Vanessa Marawa promotes Clere skin care products. Laden (2003) believes that although many Black media personalities appear in these magazines to enhance their social status, they also serve to inspire the average reader. The aforementioned views also correspond with Millard (2009:154) who perceives beauty standards as a “beauty script” with audiences expecting actors to wear masks (make-up) and costumes (fashion) to fit their characters. The author refers to Western culture and explains that celebrities and models are the “stars of the show”, since they are all too familiar with the beauty script and have access to resources. Thus, they are the ones to “turn to” and as Millard (2009:154) states: “regular people watch and learn as understudies”. Moreover, magazines provide us with a glimpse into the lives of celebrities and media personalities and according to Laden (2003:212) this may also evoke conflicting feelings of inferiority and inadequateness, coupled with feelings of optimism as she quotes that, “Consumer magazines for black South Africans inspire new social contracts between themselves and their readers, and new sets of conditions that enable them continually to reconfigure and refine aspects of the new urban consumer culture they seek to evoke.”

Writing on raced and gendered representations in South African magazines, Sanger (2009) perceives magazines as ubiquitous vehicles of social opinion. The author puts forward that the portrayal of Black femininity in magazines is important due to the omnipresence of magazines in mass media where repetition is liberally deployed to create a sense of normativity amongst its audience. According to her research conducted on magazine texts, advertised content influences peoples’ judgments and how they relate to one another. Sanger (2009:138) also refers to magazines as “influential agents of socialization” and asserts that magazines perform certain tasks by privileging and normalising certain types of discourses on gender, sexuality and race. In her research, Sanger (2009) reveals differences in the racial profiling of models in Femina, Fair Lady and True Love. Her findings suggest that Femina and Fair Lady with a predominantly White audience mostly use White models or celebrities from the West, while Black models and celebrities were mostly featured gracing the pages of True Love, which is targeted at a Black audience. However, despite this noticeable difference in racial representation, Sanger (2009:139) claims that Fair Lady, Femina and True Love collectively present “ideal (hetero) femininities” in particular and limiting ways, as she explains that all three magazines portray female models as slim, with long, straight or straightened hair, in addition to the fact that the models in True Love seem to be a “fairer shade of black”.

Despite adverse criticisms against women's periodicals, authors such as Friedan (1997) argue that women's magazines also deserve praise for popularising feminist ideologies by forging feminism and femininity. Friedan (1997) postulates that alternating discourses of feminism and femininity located in women's periodicals allow for the fluidity of the concepts of womanhood and femininity, thus, leaving it open for negotiation. Beetham (1996:66) concurs and suggests that women's magazines should be acknowledged for their role as informal educational devices, since they have "displaced a tradition of direct instruction by mothers and older women" and as such, play a significant role in the construction of popular culture relating to feminism and femininity. Furthermore, she stresses that women's magazines are culturally significant because of their position in the economic sphere, as well as individual and public discourses, while McRobbie (1999:48) asserts that magazines tend to "naturalise and universalize meanings and values which are in fact socially constructed". This view is emphasised by Laden (2001) who explains that magazines have the capacity to provide an accurate and deep intuitive understanding of the workings of socio-cultural entities. In this regard, periodicals form insightful avenues by allowing us entry into the workings of diverse societal and cultural mechanisms and women's magazines specifically, occupy a pivotal position in the communication of normative societal views.

2.4. Feminine beauty as a socio-cultural construct

Saltzberg and Chrisler (1995:135) perceive beauty as an "elusive commodity" which is determined by the hegemonic standards of the ruling class with definitions varying among cultures and historical periods. Or, as Gramsci's (1971) hegemonic framework clarifies, people adopt the social standard set by the dominant group (cited in Crotea, Hoynes & Milan, 2003). Hegemony connects questions of culture, power and ideology. In this regard, power is reflected through existing social arrangements where members of a culture show mutual consent which is exercised through a form of cultural leadership (Crotea et al., 2003). Essentially, dominant ideas by the ruling group are imposed on members in a society as the norm. Societal institutions such as schools, religion and the media are orchestral in exerting this cultural leadership because ultimately, they provide for spaces where norms, beliefs, ideas and ways of thinking are produced and reproduced. Crotea, et al. (2003:160) see hegemony as an inconspicuous process which subtly operates at "the level of common sense in the assumptions we make about social life and on the terrain of things that we accept as "natural" or "the way things are." Based on this, social constructions are fostered by cultural institutions and society and under the

influence of the dominant group's perspective, it becomes naturalised and immersed in society at large, consequently resulting in a normalised way of thinking or viewing the world.

Thus, the exact manner in which gender is a social construct with the general perception that the respective roles of men and women in society are innate or biologically determined, feminine beauty can also be perceived as a social construct, with different cultures and ethnic groups having diverse sets of beliefs about what constitutes ideal feminine beauty (Brooks & Hébert, 2006). In this regard, ideals on female beauty vary between different cultures, shifting through time and space. Aspects of feminine beauty also occur in cultural variations, in factors such as grooming, body shape, desired body weight, cosmetics, hair, ornamentation, scarification and so forth (Cortese, 2008). Authors such as Baumann (2008) and Wolf (1991) suggest that different ethnic groups have different criteria for judging attractiveness and therefore, propose that certain constructs of ideal feminine beauty are largely culturally determined.

Speaking from a Western perspective, Baumann (2008:12) suggests that “threat, aggression, virility, mystery, villainy and danger” are associated with darkness or Blackness, while “youth, innocence, purity, virginity, vulnerability, and delicacy” are linked to Whiteness or lightness. From early childhood we are exposed to myths and beliefs about feminine beauty with fairy tales traditionally featuring the heroine as youthful, beautiful and White, as opposed to the old, ugly, wicked and dark villain (Blair & Shalmon, 2005).

Baker-Sperry and Grauerholz (2003) claim that children's media are powerful mechanisms by which children learn cultural values and they especially view children's literature as practical cultural products for investigating cultural motifs and value constructs such as the female beauty ideal. For example, classic tales such as Cinderella, Snow White, Sleeping Beauty, Rapunzel and Beauty and the Beast, to name a few, have been popularised in children's media - all reflecting a solid emphasis on female beauty. Moreover, Baker-Sperry and Grauerholz (2003:719) link beauty to race and class as portrayed in fairy tales. Using examples from Grimm's' fairy tales, the authors highlight the fact that the lazy daughter in *Mother Holle* is covered in (black) pitch, while the mother and daughter in *The White Bride and the Black Bride* are “cursed” with Blackness and ugliness. They also suggest a correlation between goodness, industriousness and beauty as characters are rewarded for their hard work with good looks. As quoted by Baker-Sperry and Grauerholz (2003:719): “beauty becomes associated not only with

goodness but also with whiteness and economic privilege.” Just as Cinderella was rewarded by marrying her prince, the good daughter in *Mother Holle* was rewarded with showers of gold which clung to her and covered her from head to toe.

Maplesden (2009) examines the ways in which Whiteness and femininity are represented in Disney animated films and find idealised Whiteness and femininity to be discursively embodied in Disney heroines. Hereby, ideological constructions of gender, race and sexuality are contained in Disney productions. As reproductions of fairy tales, children’s movies like these reinforce stories where Blackness symbolizes ugliness, evil, and darkness, while Whiteness is symbolic of goodness, heroism, beauty, virtue and godliness. Traditionally, animated Disney movies have consistently (re)created and reinforced the narrative of the thin, beautiful and White heroine, joined by her White knight in shining armour against the evil, wicked and dark forces. This is an old Disney recipe which seems to have remained stable over time. However, recent contemporary productions have set out to deconstruct and challenge certain normative thoughts and ideas in terms of values and meanings attached to female beauty when considering modern-day Disney heroines like Princess Tiana of Maldonia who also happens to be the first Disney Princess of African-American heritage, Pocahontas and Princess Fiona in the movie *Shrek*, who is an ogre. But, Tiana is described as “tall and slender with a sculpted figure, has dark skin, medium-length, wavy black hair usually tied in a low ponytail, light brown eyes, a bright smile and dimples” (Disney Wikia, 2015). Physical descriptions such as these strongly lean towards the pervasive Anglo-Saxon ideal and evidently, the same narrative consistently finds its way on international screens time and time again. Although barefooted and dressed in traditional clothing, even Pocahontas with her slender frame, seems to fit the same description with a tiny waist, high cheekbones and her long, black hair blowing in the wind. Ono and Buescher (2001:25) explore the commodification of products and cultural discourses surrounding this specific Disney movie by asserting that new meanings redefine the animated figure by recasting the Native American woman in a Western, capitalist frame. The authors suggest that through mainstream commodity culture, Disney is responsible for reshaping and reassigning certain meanings attached to the historical character by disregarding and dishonouring the original historical context. Also, the authors see the Pocahontas myth as a damaging construct projected on Native women because of the way the historical figure has been exoticized by media discourses who tend to focus on her relationship with a White male (Brooks & Hébert, 2006). And, as a result of branding and aggressive marketing strategies in

the form of toys, promotional material and a myriad of movie memorabilia, Pocahontas becomes no more than a “sexualized Native American Barbie” (Ono & Buescher, 2001:30).

Echoing these sentiments from an Asian perspective, Parameswaran and Cardoza (2009:229) believe that although children’s popular media claim to educate middle-class Indian children about their history and heritage, there remains a consistent theme which pits heroic or good, light-skinned characters against villainous dark-skinned ones and “stories of gods, goddesses, kings, demons and historical events associate light skin with divinity, strength, beauty, virtue, compassion and upper-caste status in contrast to dark skin, which signifies violence, brutality, stupidity, bestiality, deviance, low-caste status, promiscuity and anger”. Additionally, Shevde (2008) blames advertising media that promote Caucasian ideals, as well as the Indian movie industry Bollywood - where there is a prevailing tendency to favour light-skinned actors - for the drastic spike in skin lightening usage among Indian women in recent years. Authors Li, Min, Belk, Kimura and Bahl (2008) agree to such a claim in their study on skin lightening and beauty in four Asian societies (India, Hong Kong, Japan and Korea) which found white skin to be a key determinant of personal beauty in these societies, which ultimately stem from a colonial past. They also blame mass media and the fashion industry, along with the prevalence of Caucasian models and other Western media personalities in Asian advertisements for reinforcing Western notions of beauty. Essentially, present-day meanings of white skin are defined by Western mass-mediated ideologies and traditional Asian cultural values. This explains the dramatic growth in skin whitening practices and lightening products in Asian societies (Ashikari, 2005).

However, societal images and perceptions of ideal feminine beauty are not only conveyed and maintained through cultural products such as film and media forms like fairy tales and literature, but are also imposed on children through toys (Blair & Shalmon, 2005). Historically, the Barbie doll is perceived as one of the most successful selling fashion dolls of all time and has dominated global toy markets for decades (Dittmar, Halliwell & Ive, 2006). A picture of perfection, thin, blonde, blue-eyed and White, the Barbie doll is the epitome of the ideal Anglo-Saxon beauty. Or, as Steinberg (2011:262) more specifically explains, the “Barbie doll celebrates whiteness - blonde whiteness in particular, as a standard for feminine beauty”. According to Dittmar, et al. (2006) the Barbie doll has proven to be a highly influential force

on impressionable children and they claim that girls exposed to these dolls are believed to have lower body esteem as opposed to those who play with other types of dolls.

The landmark Clark and Clark doll experiment: *Racial identification and preference in Negro children* conducted in the United States in 1947, set out to prove children's attitudes towards race when Black and White children were given two identical dolls with the exception that one was black and one white (Bryant, 2007). When asked to select the one they preferred and identified with, all the children's responses indicated an overwhelming preference for the white doll. Now referred to as the "Doll Test", this study not only proved that Black children harboured feelings of rejection and self-hate towards their own race but also illustrated the negative effects of idealised European beauty standards (Bryant, 2007). Although this example may not necessarily reflect our own situation back home, this study in itself succeeded in illustrating how young children associate dark skin with negative attributes. Therefore, the perception and cultural transmission on constructs of feminine beauty are communicated to people in society from an early age.

Baumann's (2008) study on the portrayal of beauty in American magazines reviewed 1 508 advertisements and discovered that having a fair or light skin colour was an important factor in female beauty across racial categories. In addition, the author reveals the gendered nature of the colour complex where advertised images of women are considerably fairer than the images of men from the same race. Baumann (2008:12) argues that Western Caucasian society reflects an embedded phenomenon with "beautiful women having a fair complexion, light eye colour, and light hair colour, in contrast to an ideal image of men as having darker features.... We have the 'fair maiden,' and the 'tall, dark, and handsome' gentleman." This means that notions of purity, innocence and softness associated with lightness in the West have a great impact on the physical worth assigned to a woman and outweighs that of her male counterpart (Baumann, 2008). To reiterate his view, women with fairer complexions were also more frequently depicted in ways that suggested wealth and privilege which was prevalent in their attire and the products they advertised. Thus, in American society, a light or White complexion is associated with purity and also indicates financial stability and luxury (Baumann, 2008). This introduces Burke's (1996) argument that images of White beauties are not limited to the beauty industry, as it also promotes lifestyles filled with racial meaning. In this context, the desired lifestyles portrayed in the advertising discourse become associated with Whiteness, modernity,

sophistication, beauty, power and wealth (Leong, 2006). This desired lifestyle is rooted within an existing European colonial discourse where ideologies of the celebration of Whiteness, valuing of White skin, European culture and White aesthetics prevail (Mire, 2001).

Ahmad (1995) argues that Western constructs of beauty are held up as ideals which Black women should aspire to (cited in Sanger, 2007:74). The author attests that advertisements for facial and body creams emphasise this aspiration for Whiteness, effectively persuading Black women “to embody an ideal feminine identity which rests on racist Western ideology” (cited in Sanger 2007:74). West (1995) shares this view and argues that feminine beauty has historically been based on White standards with physical traits such as blonde hair, blue eyes and fair skin regarded as valued attributes. In her study on Black girls growing up in British society, Mama (1995:149-150) suggests that the content of “attractiveness is racialized.” Although this research was conducted in the 1970s, the author claims that the desire for “long, flowing hair, lighter skin and aquiline features” among Black girls has consistently managed to permeate societies across the globe and she explains that many Black women’s sense of femininity is structured by “racist aesthetics which derive from colonial-integrationist discourses”. This is why Pitts (2003) blames colonialism for creating a world where social and economic privileges are determined by skin colour. Hence, our choices about physical appearance are socially and historically motivated as colonialism equated Whiteness with power and desirability. Authors such as Tate (2007:303) confirm that aesthetic signifiers remain influential in the lives of Black women, as she notes that “racist representations of skin colour, facial features and hair texture continue to shape the experiences of black women and part of the ‘negative black aesthetic’ is the presumption that long straight hair is a necessary component of black women’s beauty”.

Speaking from a South African viewpoint, Erasmus (2000:381) states that, “Western racisms in their various mutations make claims about the body, about beauty and ugliness, and about sexuality. The politics and violence of this racism operate in and through the body. This legacy has meant that, in general, white bodies have been graced with beauty, while black bodies have been relegated to ugliness”. Based on this point, human bodies are categorized and labelled according to race and gender where similarities and differences in physical characteristics are placed in a hierarchical fashion. For example, physical traits such as long, straight hair are considered desirable as opposed to short, coarse hair. A thin and slender body frame is preferred

to a short, stocky build. These messages are contextualised in advertising texts and essentially, mass media. Thus, the aforementioned assertions allude to the fact that contemporary advertising trends continue to advocate long-standing ideas as often illustrated in their demonstrated preferences, hereby marginalising those who do not belong to the standardised framework. Consequently, advertising discourses continue to portray women of colour as the ‘Other’ who does not fit into the conventional frame of ideal beauty standards (Erasmus, 2000).

2.5. Summary

As vehicles of social communication, women’s magazines like True Love actively contribute to creating cultural norms and defining images of ideal feminine beauty. As a site for an exclusively feminine discourse, women’s magazines exert cultural leadership by shaping images and definitions of femininity and as a consequence, influence readers’ perceptions of womanhood, femininity and beauty. Also, research has shown that the influential role of lifestyle magazines in the lives of impressionable women in society is overshadowed by the exemplification of consumerism.

Advertising reflects and creates social norms and it is perceived as the most influential institution of socialization in modern society. Hereby, advertising sets the tone for the way in which individuals, communities and societies interact with each other because different ethnicities, social classes, cultures, institutions and groups are connected through mass media. Advertising draws strength from repetition and the omnipresence of advertising imagery results in the normalisation of ideas and beliefs set by the power structure. Due to the discursive nature of advertising texts and the dynamic manner in which different genres are presented in media, advertising becomes inconspicuous and natural. Advertising language is transgressive and rules are systematically and intentionally broken to produce dynamic and eye-catching material. Through ritualised expressions, beauty practices are compared to healing rituals which will ultimately abolish the demons of unattractiveness.

Moreover, ideals and beliefs on beauty norms stem from early childhood which means that our choices are socially and historically motivated. An overwhelming chunk of the literature suggests that racist representations of physical appearance reside in the foundation of colonialism which ultimately, is responsible for fabricating the link between Whiteness, power and desirability. The widely varying body of literature indicates that various cultures have

different representations of idealised feminine beauty and researchers have varying opinions and theories on what exactly comprises beauty, including why unrealistic and unattainable beauty ideals continue to dominate the world of advertising. However, considering the significant influence of perceptions of idealised forms of beauty in the global village, it is safe to deduce that beauty affects individuals all over and that advertising imagery focusing on physical beauty have and continue to permeate societies everywhere.



CHAPTER 3: 'OTHERIZATION' AND THE GLOW OF WHITE WOMEN

3.0. Introduction

The stereotypical and often detrimental portrayal of women of colour in mainstream media has consistently been a topic of discussion in many academic disciplines, including non-academia like online media and informal discussions such as blogs and various other media platforms. Therefore, this section addresses 'Otherization' of non-White models in visual culture. Additionally, this chapter looks at the visual portrayal of White women in photographic media as observed by Dyer (1997). The author puts forward that photographic media not only advantage White people but also suggests that there is a special affinity between light and White representation. As two central tenets of beauty culture, this chapter concludes by unpacking the role of skin and hair as political discourses.

3.1. The exotic 'Other'

Foster (2009) claims that Black women are often portrayed in restrictive ways. They are often compared to wild, exotic animals and as being invisible in their natural state. West (1995) suggests that historical tropes on Black women include stereotypical images of the maternal, family-orientated Mammy, the threatening and aggressive Sapphire and the sexually promiscuous Jezebel or Siren. Historical images such as these have reinforced Blackness and the roles projected onto Black women in society. Furthermore, the underrepresentation of women of colour in advertising appears to be commonly prevalent in societies across the globe and not necessarily limited to a specific culture or society. Also, the international modelling industry in particular, has always been criticised for its lack of diversity and the underrepresentation of Black models. When they are represented though, they generally seem to adhere to the Anglo-Saxon ideal pertaining to body type, skin colour and hair (Freeman, 2014).

But, the exoticism of Black female sexuality has consistently been a central tenet in the fashion industry. Kempadoo (2009) defines exoticism as "the romanticization of the racial, ethnic or cultural 'Other', yet the simultaneous oppression and exploitation that occurs with it." This is particularly visible when observing specific stereotypical roles fulfilled by Black models in the industry. Banet-Weiser (1999:87-122) argues that women of colour or ethnicities that do not fall into the sphere of idealised Western standards of feminine beauty are commonly displayed

as the 'Other' who is positioned outside the boundaries of Western ideals. The author also suggests that the exotic beauty of the 'Other' is only recognised by advertising's "normative framework" when it is "deconstructed and reconstructed according to hegemonic Western white beauty standards" (cited in Albani, 2005:11). Effectively, racial differences become part of White mainstream advertising, subsequently disappearing and losing its own against a backdrop of hegemonic ideals.

Tate (2007:301) believes that "the influence of Whiteness as a yardstick for beauty has a history which extends back to slavery." Historically, European concepts of beauty were linked to purity, delicacy, modesty, asexuality and physical frailty. Here, Whiteness was about the embodiment of beauty as opposed to Black women who were seen as physically strong, promiscuous, immodest and possessing an animal sensuality (Tate, 2007). Hunter (1998:519) claims that racial ideologies such as these, define Black bodies as "barbaric, savage, heathen, and ugly", while White people and Whiteness are seen as "civilized, modern, Christian, and beautiful". Yet, contemporary societies still have a penchant for showing Black women as predatory and animal-like, particularly in pornographic and sexual contexts (Plous & Neptune, 1997; Collins, 2000).

Moreover, Tate (2007) sees evidence of this continuing fascination with the supposed animal sexuality and exoticism of Black women in the exhibition of Sarah Baartman - also dubbed the Hottentot Venus - who was displayed in 19th century European museums for her seemingly unusual physical features (Fig.3). According to Gilman (1985:16) her buttocks and genitalia were perceived as indicators of her excessive sexuality and also confirmed her status as "the essential black, the lowest exemplum of mankind on the great chain of being, is the Hottentot." This obsession with the Black female form could also be traced to performances by African American artist Josephine Baker (Fig. 4) whose famous banana costume ensured her rise to fame in early 20th century France. Examples such as these, illustrate ideas of fetishism and 'Otherization' of Black women under Western culture.



Figure 3: Sarah Baartman



Figure 4: Josephine Baker

Plous and Neptune (1997) further suggest that advertising media tend to reflect a recurring stereotypical notion by depicting women of colour wearing animal-printed clothing, especially predatory animals (e.g. leopard, cheetah, tiger) combined with sexualised animal-like poses. Furthermore, the noticeable sexualised meaning of animal-print clothing is not only affirmed by the display of provocative poses, body exposure and thus more, but also the accompanying verbiage of the photographic images. This specifically refers to advertising texts which include textual reference to nature or elements reflecting a natural discourse. For example, linguistic phrases such as “*call of the wild; your animal instincts will be right on the mark*”, to name a few (Plous & Neptune, 1997). On the same note, Gladden’s (1993) experiment on women’s fashion preferences reveals that animal-prints evoke sexual stereotypes. This is affirmed by Plous and Neptune (1997: 639-640) who attest that animal-prints make women feel “more sexy, wild, seductive and beautiful than matched control prints” and that women with a preference for animal-printed clothing are perceived to be “more sexually active than other women, less educated, lower in income, more concerned about their physical appearance, less concerned about society’s problems, less supportive of the feminist movement, and more likely to be African American.”

Sharing the above sentiments, Sanger (2008) claims that women’s magazines with predominantly White readerships sexualize Black femininities in a manner that is reminiscent

of White male colonial obsession with Black bodies. Sanger (2008:277) uses the term “hypersexualisation” which has its roots in Black Feminist Literature that describes “the ways in which black physical bodies have been sexualized and exoticised through colonial obsession with racial difference.” According to Sanger (2008) the ‘hyper’ refers to a manic portrayal of sexuality whereby Black female sexuality is portrayed as being excessive and abundant, as opposed to representations of White female sexuality which are viewed as passive and vulnerable.

Examples of the theories proposed by Sanger (2008) and authors such as Mama (1995), Banet-Weiser (1999) and Plous and Neptune (1997) can be traced to the work of French artist and photographer Jean-Paul Goude who is most recognised for his artistic collaborations with Jamaican artist Grace Jones who enjoyed international celebrity status in the 1970s and 1980s as a singer, model and song-writer (Sauers, 2009). As the muse of Goude, Jones appeared in his 1983 pictorial autobiography *Jungle Fever*, which not only illustrated his obsession with the female form – more specifically, the Black female form, but also contained a sizeable amount of material devoted to Jones in animalistic positions of which the most memorable is an image of her appearing in a cage (Fig. 5). This text shows a naked and snarling Jones on all fours, complete with a tail protruding from the back, emulating a wild animal in a cage. The sign *Do not feed the animal* is attached to the cage and along with the pieces of raw meat strewn on the floor, the impression of Jones as a wild animal in captivity is emphasised (Sauers, 2009).



Figure 5: Grace Jones in *Jungle Fever* (1983)

Another one of Goude's more contemporary images depicts British supermodel Naomi Campbell racing a cheetah, complete with a matching animal-printed outfit in a 2009 Harper's Bazaar fashion feature, aptly named "*Wild Things*" (Fig. 6). This image depicts a scantily clad Campbell running alongside a cheetah in a natural setting. Although she is wearing a matching animal-printed outfit, the focus appears to be on Campbell's strong and muscular frame with her dark, toned physique being emphasised as she is racing the wild animal.



Figure 6: Naomi Campbell by Jean-Paul Goude in *Wild Things* (2009)

The above illustrations serve as testimony that the exotization of Black models is a universal strategy employed by advertising media and other industry experts which seems to have been immersed in global fashion and beauty culture where there is a clear-cut penchant for portraying Black models against a natural backdrop, often being styled and clothed in a manner exuding a natural and animalistic flair which incidentally point to the primitive and associated wildness.

3.2. The glow of White women

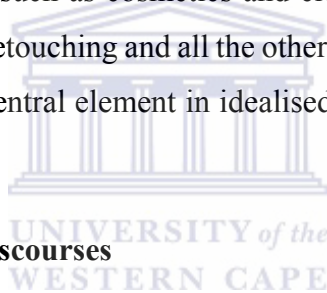
Dyer (1997) contends that photography and film are essentially technologies of light and that photographs are the end-result of light on a chemically prepared surface. This is why he sees photography as an "art of light" (Dyer, 1997:110). By focusing on light and lighting in photographic and cinematic media, the author claims that it has racial implications because it has a tendency to "assume, privilege and construct whiteness" (Dyer, 1997:89). Furthermore, he argues that photographic media not only advantage White people but also exhibit a special affinity between light and White representation. According to Dyer (1997) film lighting favours

Whiteness because White skin absorbs and reflects light better than Black skin. In addition, Dyer (1997:108) mentions biblical and liturgical references connected to metaphors of light, e.g. Genesis, “Let there be light”; “He was a burning and a shining light”, in St. John’s Gospel, etc., as well as the works of Shakespeare and Dante.

Dyer (1997) also observes a link between movie lighting and nineteenth-century North European paintings which illustrated a specific use and representation of light and subsequently, provided a suitable model on which early forms of photography were based. As a further development of photography, this type of lighting style became characteristic of films produced in Scandinavian countries which illustrated qualities of Nordic light. This type of development eventually made its way to Hollywood and the ideal for lighting in media would later be referred to as “North” or “Northern” light (Dyer, 1997:118). North light is seen as a specific type of light which enters a room during the day through a large north-facing window, although it can also be achieved through artificial arrangements. Dyer (1997:118) explains that this light is “soft, white and steeply slanted” and can also be created through the effect of “bounced light using quartz or an umbrella light.” This also explains the use of a white umbrella in photographic settings or studios.

However, Dyer (1997:118) claims that this light is problematic because it is literally and symbolically conceived as “superior light”. Geographically, North is above South which is also indicative of developments and expansions which have seen the South being dominated by the North with first world countries located above the less developed Third world countries in the South. This region is also the residence of Northern Europeans who are “the whitest whites in the white racial hierarchy” and it is the “epitome of the high, cold places that promoted the vigour, cleanliness, piety and enterprise of whiteness” (Dyer, 1997: 118). In this regard, White representation in media perform better under influence of this Northern light because they have a special affinity with it; they are the enlightened recipients of the light of the world. Dyer (1997:118) continues that this embodied lightness occurs in the form of the ideal Aryan who has blond hair and blue eyes, or as he explains: “hair the colour of the sun, eyes the colour of the sky”. Finally, the Northern light is perceived as celestial with heaven being perceived as a place of light. Dyer (1997) uses movie scenes to illustrate how pools of light were deployed for scenes of spiritual devotion and how celestial connotations of light from above are used in religious or ethereal contexts.

Dyer (1997:122) continues by looking at the construction of the ideal White female within heterosexuality and explains that “Idealised white women are bathed in and permeated by light. It streams through them and falls on to them from above. In short, they glow.” This means that White women are naturally blessed with the light within or from above, which covers the body. Dyer (1997) further postulates that blond hair is also responsible for giving White women this specific glow. Warner (1994:366) believes that the connection between lightness and blondness stems from Christianity where “blondness is identified with heavenly effulgence.....It appears to reflect solar radiance, the totality of the spectrum, the flooding wholeness of light which Dante finds grows more and more dazzling as he rises in Paradise” (cited in Dyer, 1997:124). Also, this glow emitted by White women can be realised through clothing which explains the tradition of white bridal wear. Although the tradition of the white wedding dress only dates from the mid-nineteenth century, the dress, especially the veil and the use of lace, all contribute to producing a radiant look. Dyer (1997:125) further suggests that the ideal of the glow is also achieved by enhancing elements such as cosmetics and clothing through “the use of haloes, backlighting, soft focus, gauzes, retouching and all the other conventions of feminine lighting.” Essentially, the glow remains a central element in idealised representations of White women, more so in photographic media.



3.3. Skin and hair as political discourses

Frantz Fanon in *Black Skin, White Masks*, takes a critical look at the psychology of racism amidst colonial domination (cited in Hunter, 2002). Fanon articulates the experiences of the African Diaspora or the colonized subject in a world where dark skin is associated with negative connotations which result in a breeding ground for self-hate or identity crises. He theorises that the colonial enterprise is solely responsible for the dissemination of Eurocentric aesthetic ideals which privilege Caucasian physical features, devaluing and negating Blackness, dark skin and “typical Black features” (cited in Hunter, 2002). Hair and skin are considered to be the most distinctive signifiers of race and taking into account the magnitude of academic literature devoted to these two subjects, they are perceived as much more than mere physical traits (Banks, 2000). In discussing the history of Black hairstyling practices, Morrow (1973) claims that the relationship between skin colour and hair – specifically Black people’s hair, is so interlaced and intricately connected that it cannot be separated when reflecting on Black people’s lives (cited in Banks, 2000). As Banks (2000:7) states, the scholarship on Black people and hair defines “the importance of hair in relationship to Africa,

constructions of race, enslavement, skin colour, self-esteem, ritual, aesthetics, appropriate grooming practices, image of beauty, politics, identity, and the intersection of race and gender.”

3.3.1. Skin

Historically, skin tone has always been perceived as a physical marker of difference, of distinction (Patton, 2006). The cosmetic use of chemical components to lighten complexion colour is a widespread global phenomenon, although research studies have indicated that they are more prevalent in multiracial and postcolonial societies like South Africa, India, China and Jamaica, for instance (Blay, 2011). Skin bleaching, skin whitening and skin lightening refer to the use of dermatological creams, cosmetic creams and home-made products to decrease the melanin in the skin (Charles, 2003). It works by removing the melanin from the skin to erase or bleach out pigmentation (Dadzie & Petit, 2009). Apart from the negative connotations attached to such beauty performances, these practices are considered dangerous and harmful to the skin and may adversely affect the individual's health in general, since many of these products contain harsh chemicals such as hydroquinone, mercurial, corticosteroids and other acidic agents such as salicylic acid, sodium hypochlorite and detergents (Dadzie & Petit, 2009). In this paper, the terms skin bleaching, skin lightening and skin whitening will be used interchangeably.

Locally, definitions of light skin have influenced the social realities of women across the board and according to the World Health Organization, 35% of South African women bleach their skin (Fihlani, 2013). This is supported by Blay (2011) who claims that one out of every three South African females performs this practice. Multiracial societies with visible racial differences and unequal power structures such as South Africa, often see people engaging in skin bleaching practices being condemned for not being proud of their heritage. Because skin bleaching is traditionally associated with White colonial oppression, as a result most people will not openly admit to engaging in this practice (Mire, 2010). It is often perceived negatively and viewed as a sign of low self-esteem and self-loathing. Specifically, people in the public eye are often at the receiving end of such views. Locally, media personalities like Khanyi Mbau, Kelly Khumalo, former kwaito star Nomasonto Mnisi and actress and media personality Sorisha Naidoo, for instance, have been harshly criticised for using skin lighteners (Fihlani, 2013). Naidoo, who is of Indian descent, has even launched her own range of skin lightening treatments in South Africa which also resulted in a medical probe after complaints by users

who claimed that they had acne breakouts and suffered skin darkening after using the product (Louw & Naidoo, 2010).

Julien (2014) explores the potential link between skin bleaching, colonialism and apartheid in South Africa and asserts that although the practice of skin bleaching cannot be exclusively attributed to colonialism and apartheid, they do play a pivotal role in defining reasons for self-hatred and low self-esteem among South African skin bleachers. On the other hand, Charles (2003) explains that the residual racism in South African society post-colonization also needs to be considered for making sense of the preference for Eurocentric standards of beauty which favour light skin among many South Africans. According to Julien (2014) post-colonial South Africa witnessed a further emphasis of White supremacy by reinforcing racial segregation in the form of apartheid. In essence, White supremacy was at the heart of the colonial empire which required distinct and marked boundaries in terms of racial hierarchy with Black people at the bottom of the chain. According to Mire (2001) this hierarchical establishment saw “exploitation, domination and the unequal allocation of resources” (cited in Julien, 2014:4).

Apartheid laws excluded non-White citizens from voting, it also marginalised the political involvement of Black people and fundamentally suppressed the civil rights of non-Whites (Jeeves, 2004). The implementation of Bantu education meant that Afrikaans as medium of instruction were forced upon non-White learners which became another tool to exert domination over marginalised groups. The purpose of Bantu education was to provide low-quality education to Black citizens to ensure their marginalization within the economy since they would only be qualified for low-income jobs. Julien (2014) argues that it is exactly as a result of practices such as these that Black South Africans started harbouring feelings of self-hatred and low self-esteem based on the premise that their quality of life was dictated by their skin colour. Thus, past experiences of Black people in South African society fostered the belief that success and happiness came in the form of a light skin. This explains why many South Africans - mostly women - would resort to skin lightening or bleaching practices. Moreover, Shefer (2010) claims that Black South African women suffered most at the hands of colonialism and apartheid because they were dark-skinned and also considered to be the weaker sex. Julien (2014) explains that along with this emotional baggage developed an inferiority complex, fostered by the belief that their dark skin was to blame for their unhappiness. This resulted in notions of self-hatred and low self-esteem as these women would eventually resort to skin lightening to compensate for their perceived lack of beauty.

This also explains why Hunter (2002:177) postulates that light skin provides women with a form of social capital because beauty comes in the form of a light skin. The author suggests that light skin offers women a form of social capital which they can “convert into economic capital, educational capital, or another form of social capital.” Hunter (2002) claims that African American women with lighter complexions are afforded economic and social privileges and in her research, points out that lighter skin African American women generally had more years of schooling, had higher earning spouses and incomes. In this instance, possessing White phenotypic traits afford the individual a form of social capital. Furthermore, Hunter (2002) puts forward that women of colour, especially those of African and Asian descent continue to be oppressed by European beauty ideals where dark skin is commonly associated with primitiveness, lack of sophistication, hard labour and lower social status, as opposed to light skin which is perceived as a symbol of beauty and associated with better socio-economic standards and marital prospects. Draelos (2002) agrees that skin colour has always been a socially recognised element in varying cultures across the globe where it usually functions as a marker of social status and wealth. Thus, not only does skin tone play a pivotal part in racially related issues, it also plays a crucial role in perceptions of self-worth, attractiveness, self-control, satisfaction and overall quality of life.

Sharing Hunter’s (2002) sentiment, Glenn (2008:282) concurs that skin tone function as a “form of fixed or unchangeable capital” and posits that light skin works as symbolic capital amongst women because of the connection between skin tone and levels of attractiveness and desirability. Also focusing on Southern Africa, the author agrees with the aforementioned views that the preference for and privileging of light skin and the discrimination of dark skin also stem from the seeds of European colonialism. Furthermore, Glenn (2008:284) points out that the ideology of White supremacy sees “Blackness as primitiveness, lack of civilization, unrestrained sexuality, pollution and dirt.” The author is also concerned that despite the serious health effects of skin bleaching products and treatments, there has been an increase in usage among South African women. Historically, it was poor, rural women who engaged in harmful skin bleaching practices. Yet, present-day research has shown that contemporary skin lightener users are “upwardly, mobile Black women, those with technical diplomas or university degrees and well-paid jobs” (Glenn, 2008:286). Thus, women who can afford to indulge in periodicals like True Love magazine. Moreover, Glenn (2008) disagrees with authors such as Julien (2014) and Charles (2003) by suggesting that the recent rise in skin lightening usage among these

modern, upwardly and mobile women cannot be exclusively attributed to the legacy of colonialism but rather as the result of the influence of multinational capital and Western consumer culture, since they have the resources to obtain expensive, imported (thus, presumably safer) products rather than the cheaper, locally produced items.

Extensive research has been documented globally about the phenomenon of skin bleaching, where certain groups have been marginalised and oppressed as a result of skin colour (Leong, 2006; Charles, 2003; Ashikari, 2005; Mire, 2005; Parameswaran & Cardoza, 2009). In her research on skin lightening advertisements, Mire (2005) makes a connection between youthfulness and Whiteness and Whiteness and racial superiority and claims that cosmetics advertising in the United States refrain from using words such as 'white' in skin lightening advertisements, instead relying on phrases such as 'bright', 'radiance' and 'smoother, more even skin tone'. This is supported by Rondilla (2007) who observes that advertising language in beauty texts commonly include phrases such as 'bright skin, radiance and smoother more even tone skin'. Moreover, Kathy Peiss (1998) discusses the double-meaning of words in beauty advertising and explains that using words such as 'bright' implies altering or transforming the skin's condition to obtain a smoother texture and to lighten dark skin tones. Also, Hunter (2011) explains that recent years have witnessed a shift in discourse where terms such as 'skin evening creams', 'skin brighteners' and so forth, have replaced words with negative connotations, such as 'skin bleaching' or 'skin lightening'. These beauty products are marketed to women to increase their beauty, by increasing their Whiteness (Hunter, 2007).

According to Charles (2011:123) international cosmetic houses rely on the "aggressive global marketing of skin bleaching products, including the use of the internet by tapping into the racial and colourised norms and values, and the class and gender differences within white and non-white markets". In addition, Charles (2011:123) claims that international cosmetic companies like L'Oréal, for instance, are responsible for the discursive link between "whiteness and racial superiority and youthfulness", which is especially evident when considering linguistic resources used in labelling products, for instance names such as, White Perfect, Bi-White, Blanc Expert, to name a few.

Furthermore, Jones and Shorter-Gooden (2003) argue that Black women may engage in certain practices such as skin bleaching and chemically straightening their hair to conform to White

ideals of beauty in order to gain access to economic and social privileges (cited in Patton, 2006). This argument suggests that Black women realise that social opportunities are affected by appearances and are therefore, pressurised to comply with idealised White standards of beauty in order to reap social benefits and opportunities.

Speaking to the previous assertions, Collins (2004) claims that the erasing of ethnic phenotypic traits in beauty advertising positions Black women and all women of colour as being less of a threat. The message conveyed is that they need to engage in certain chemically induced or surgically constructed practices in order to conform to idealised White standards of beauty. Furthermore, Collins (2004:193) quotes: “these benchmarks construct a discourse of hegemonic (White) femininity that becomes a normative yardstick for all femininities in which Black women typically are relegated to the bottom of the gender hierarchy.” The work of feminist writer Chandra Mohanty (1988) speaks to the aforementioned claims as she refers to the powerlessness, oppression, underrepresentation and the negative stereotypical portrayals of women of colour in social discourses, hegemonic spaces and the power structure. Using the collective term of the ‘Third World Woman’, Mohanty (1988:51) claims that history portrays Black women as “singular monolithic subjects” with no alternative representations of themselves. Following this argument, beauty practices such as hair straightening, skin bleaching and even wearing coloured contact lenses, metaphorically erase natural and physical realities, hereby leaving women of colour without true representations of the self.

Nonetheless, authors such as Patton (2006:29) argue that engaging in skin bleaching and straightening of hair for instance, is *not* synonymous with racial shame or “acting white”. Jones and Shorter-Gooden (2003: 178) agree to this by asserting that, “Not every woman who decides to straighten her hair or change the colour of her eyes by wearing contacts believes that beauty is synonymous with whiteness. Trying on a new look, even one associated with Europeans, does not automatically imply self-hatred. It is possible to dye your brown tresses platinum and still love your Blackness” (cited in Patton, 2006:29).

3.3.2. Hair

Zimitri Erasmus (1997) explores the nature of Black hair treatment and sees hair as political, gendered and sexualised. Drawing on her own experiences growing up as a young, Coloured woman in South Africa in ‘*Oe! My hare gaan huistoe!*’: *hair-styling as black cultural practice*, the author highlights that Black hair is politicised by class and gender and also racialised.

Erasmus (1997) agrees with most of the literature located in Black Feminist Discourse that racial hierarchies and values borne from colonialism have impacted on conceptions of beauty, where distinctions between ‘good’ (sleek and straight) and ‘bad’ (*kroes* or kinky) hair are responsible for defining the social realities of women of colour in present-day society. She further emphasises that definitions around hair influence women - more specifically Black women, on a global level.

Sanger (2009) claims that there is great emphasis on hair care in the True Love advertising repertoire where the dominant message centres on managing uncontrollable and unruly hair through straightening and various other treatments. Moreover, Sanger (2009:142) argues that there is an existent underlying assumption for Black women to have straight hair which links to past tropes where Black women are perceived as “wild and hyper (hetero) sexual – more so than white women – and therefore, need to be controlled through the regulation of their (hetero) sexuality”. Secondly, the author suggests that White hetero-femininity is seen as aspirational and thus, practices such as hair straightening treatments to control unruly (Black) hair, contribute to producing White hetero-femininity as both the ideal and normative embodiment of womanhood.

Like Sanger (2009), South African author Nakedi Ribane (2006) describes the dominance of Western notions of beauty and how Whiteness is viewed as aspirational in terms of hair texture and skin colour. Starting her modelling career in the early eighties, Ribane became one of South Africa’s top models of her era. As an insider in the modelling industry at the height of the apartheid-era, her book *Beauty: A Black Perspective* shines a candid look on her life during this time. Ribane (2006:12) claims that there remains an ever-persistent cultural tendency in Black communities of females emulating their White counterparts as she states that: “despite all the political and cultural water under the bridge, the mentality of wanting to imitate those Western beauties still prevails in Black communities”.

Molebatsi (2009) puts forward that the infamous pencil-test during the apartheid-era was used to ascertain racial difference between White and non-White persons. The test required law enforcers placing a pencil in an individual’s hair and if it did not pass through the hair, the person would be classified as non-White. As a result of such practices, many people also resorted to chemical treatments as the desire for straightened and longer hair was fostered. Amidst cruel and degrading practices such as these, it becomes evident why the issue of

'natural' Black hair is such a long-existing thorn in the flesh of many Black women. Essentially, hair is imbued with political and cultural meanings. Apart from hair relaxing and straightening, many modern South African women have also resorted to wearing weaves. In an article for Cosmopolitan magazine, Gail Smith (2011:104) writes that "weaves have become a status symbol for the aspirational Black elite and are a prerequisite for making it in the entertainment industry." In the same article, academic and feminist theorist Pumla Gqola, explains that hair gives women the freedom to take "short cuts to attaining their ideals...social and political reasons compel women to don weaves". Hereby, hair allows women access to their aspirations and goals.

American feminist and scholar, bell hooks (1989) posits that hair has historically always been associated with women's youth, heterosexuality, femininity and domesticity. Furthermore, she argues that there is an interconnectedness of White supremacy and societal obsession with hair. According to hooks (1989:5) hair is socially constructed in an unequal racist manner which is dictated from a White framework favouring White aesthetics, as she claims that, "straightened hair is linked historically and currently to a system of racial domination that impresses upon black people, and especially black women, that we are not acceptable as we are, that we are not beautiful."

Patton (2006) also regards hair as one of the most important aspects of beauty culture and suggests that similar to the United States, hair culture in Africa is also related to biological, political and historical processes. Patton (2006) explains that hairstyles in 15th century Africa were used as a determiner of marital status, age, religion, ethnic identity, occupation, clan, wealth and rank within the community. It was more than a cosmetic issue as it contained social, aesthetic and spiritual significance. For this reason, one of the first enslaved experiences would involve shaving the hair as a cruel and abrupt way of erasing the identity of the captured. No longer being able to indulge in time consuming hair grooming rituals and also suffering the effects of hardship such as disease, lice and so forth, slaves would eventually resort to wearing scarves. In this regard, hair became a symbol of racial inferiority. During enslavement, further importance was placed on hair, similar to skin tone, as it would ultimately determine the type of labour tasks performed by slaves. This type of distinction involved house slaves wearing wigs like their owners, while those who found themselves out in the fields would hide their unruly hair under head wraps and scarves, more commonly known as a '*doek*' in South Africa. Ribane (2006) explains that the doek demolishes Black pride and prevents women from

showing their natural hair, subsequently reinforcing the idea that Black hair must be kept hidden. According to Patton (2006) these are exactly the types of practices that resulted in emotional scars which have made their way into many contemporary societies across the globe.

Additionally, Weitz (2001) suggests that women's hair communicate messages about conformity, power, docility, or resistance and although ideals associated with hair may differ across race, class, ethnicity and so forth, hegemonic norms perpetuated by mainstream media dictate that women's hair be long, straight, blond and styled. Moreover, Rooks (1996) explains that not only does hair shape society's view of our personal identity; it is also perceived as a signifier of public, political and racial identity, while Berry (2008) sees hair as a reflection of cultural difference. This is especially noticeable amongst cultures or religions where a specific hairstyle may be a distinct signifier of difference, e.g. the Dreadlocks of Rastafari, the elaborate and complex braided hairstyles of the Masai, or the shaved heads of the Buddhist monks, for instance.

Finally, Kobena Mercer (1987:35) notes that "black people's hair has been historically devalued as the most visible stigmata of blackness, second only to skin". Mercer (1987:36) asserts that hair is a sensitive area of expression and highlights the importance of hair as a key "ethnic signifier" because as opposed to "fixed" physical attributes such as bodily shape or facial features, the fluid nature of hair allows for freedom of negotiation. This means that hair can be changed more easily, for example through processes such as chemical straightening, dyeing, styling, trimming, cutting, etc. In his influential work *Black Hair/ Style Politics*, Mercer (1987) suggests that the personal and political economy of Black hair-styles should be evaluated against an appropriate historical and sociological background. This alludes to similar views by Kuumba and Ajanaku (1998:228) who perceive hair as "cultural, aesthetic and political", as they argue that hair culture is a pivotal aspect among those of African descent since it is a reflection of social resistance, antiracist and anti-colonial struggle and they quote: "Oppositional culture or cultures of resistance to hegemony have been crucial for the survival of social groupings under the conditions of colonialism, enslavement and racial/ethnic oppression."

3.4. Summary

Despite arguments and shared sentiments such as the aforementioned, many women still find themselves dancing to the tune of the advertising industry and to an extent allow their fate to rest with so-called industry experts by emulating models and current popular trends. Inauthentic representations of Black women stem from historical perceptions that Black bodies are not valued, thus negating the experiences of Black women in societies across the world. Notions of prestige, supremacy and superiority are constructed and reinforced in mass media with the result that dominant discourses remain and become inflated. As a result of the cultural significance assigned to phenotypic traits such as hair and skin, hegemonic beliefs and ideas influence the experiences of people and groups in society at large.

Historical stereotypical roles projected onto Black women have found its way into contemporary society as demonstrated in advertising imagery and the fashion industry where there remains a consistent emphasis on showing regressed and constrained forms of the Black female body. Based on Dyer (1997), technologies in photographic media favour light skin, thereby elevating the status of White representation as White women are portrayed as whiter, thinner, blonder and richer. Portrayals such as these, tend to undermine forms of Blackness in media imagery, thus devaluing the roles and experiences of women of colour in mainstream media. Incidentally, a staggering amount of the existing scholarship blames the colonial enterprise for the dissemination of Eurocentric aesthetic ideals which privilege Caucasian physical features, consequently devaluing and negating Blackness and dark skin. Through factors such as racial segregation in post-colonial South Africa, experiences of Black people fostered the belief that success, happiness and improved socio-economic circumstances are linked to skin colour. Harmful and degrading practices such as the pencil-test resulted in feelings of dissatisfaction, harbouring self-hate, low self-esteem and other negative social experiences among women of colour which explains why they resorted to skin bleaching and hair straightening as light skin and straight hair became forms of social capital.

The following chapter focuses on the theoretical and analytical framework and reviews the feasibility of a multi-semiotic approach, multimodality and critical discourse analysis as research tools. The combination of MDA and CDA allows for the opportunity to explore the inter-semiotic relationship between language and imagery in order to scrutinize how inter-semiosis afford for visual and verbal signs to interact and construe meaningful messages in

multi-semiotic phenomena. Consequently, these semiotic performances become part of a hegemonic construct where social constructions lead to the formation and reinforcing of dominant ideologies.



CHAPTER 4: THEORETICAL AND ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

4.0. Introduction

The preceding chapters provided an extensive review of the academic scholarship on the discourse of advertising and feminine beauty, women's magazines as cultural texts and commodities, feminine beauty as a social construct, the visual portrayal of Black and White women in visual culture and skin and hair as political discourses. The following section presents the theoretical framework of the study and involves a comprehensive discussion on relevant concepts under the following headlines:

4.1. A multi-semiotic approach

The work of Roland Barthes serves as a cornerstone in the field of semiotics. In his seminal essay *The Photographic Message*, Barthes (1977) puts forward that images in magazines are not natural but in fact, culturally constructed. In this instance, inartificial images of reality are presented to the world. The author focuses on the relationship between text and image and how they complement each other by reinforcing one another. Barthes (1977) sees verbiage as an extension of the meaning of an image, or vice versa. Thus, the verbal text elaborates the image, or vice versa. Furthermore, Barthes (1977:39) views images as “polysemous”, which means that they can be interpreted in multiple ways (cited in Machin & Van Leeuwen, 2007: 158). For Barthes (1977), this becomes a problem because images are open to various meanings which allow for multiple interpretations by readers depending on their practical, cultural and aesthetic background. Therefore, Barthes (1977) asserts that words and language are necessary to fix “the floating chain of signifieds” and “hold the connoted meanings from proliferating” (cited in Machin & Van Leeuwen, 2007:158). This means that the meaning-potential of imagery relies on the accompanying verbiage as expressed in captions. Moreover, Barthes describes the concepts of denotation and connotation to indicate how the meaning of signs vary between time and space (cited in Gripsrud, 2002). In this aspect, different groups can attach different meanings to signs at different points in time because signs are dynamic. Gripsrud (2002) explains that denotation refers to the literal value, which essentially sees something as more or less constant or fixed. Alternatively, connotation refers to culturally associated values and therefore, takes into consideration how signs are interpreted against a cultural backdrop because different cultures assign different meanings to various signs. Gripsrud (2002:104) defines connotation as “culturally established, codified, shared associations within a certain

community” and also points out that both connotative and denotative meanings are regulated by codes that follow certain rules that commit expression and content to one another. Therefore, Barthes argues that signs only become signifiers when interpreted by the reader, along with conventional modes and channels which allow for the context of interpretation (Wykes & Gunter, 2005). This means that the text’s meaning-potential depends on all possible meanings which can be construed, including the context in which it is appropriated, or as Machin and Van Leeuwen (2007:158) suggest, “on who reads, where, when and for what reason.” Drawing from Barthes, Jhally (1990) also explains that the denotative level of advertising imagery refers to the literal meaning, while connotative describes the more embedded mythic meaning under the influence of social norms, power relations and cultural politics of gender, class and sexuality.

Halliday (1978:123, cited in Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006:3) views semiotic resources as “system[s] of meanings that constitute the reality of the culture”. On the other hand, Van Leeuwen (2006:3) defines it as “the actions and artefacts we use to communicate”. In addition, O’Halloran (2011:2) uses this term to describe the resources or modes, “such as language, image, music, gesture and architecture which integrate across *sensory modalities* (e.g. visual, auditory, tactile, olfactory, gustatory, kinesthetic) in multimodal texts, discourses and events”, which she calls multimodal phenomena. Basically, this refers to the totality of resources, signs, modes, actions, gestures, sounds, speech acts, verbal and visual expressions, technologies, and in essence, includes any means necessary used to communicate or convey our thoughts. As a vehicle of social communication, semiotic resources deployed in magazine texts become social semiotic resources which appropriate their semiotic potential within a socio-cultural discourse. Meinhof (1994: 263) explains that social semiotics differ from semiotics because it specifically “explores the correspondence and interconnection between social practices and discourse” (cited in Najafian & Ketabi, 2011:6). Jewitt and Oyama (2001:134) concur that “social semiotics of visual communication involves the description of semiotic resources, what can be said and done with images (and other visual means of communication) and how the things people say and do with images can be interpreted.” But, the authors are quick to point out that in understanding how semiotic resources are deployed in specific domains, it is important to understand that social semiotics are not absolute and not “an end in itself”; it is meant as a tool for critical research and only becomes meaningful once we start to use semiotic resources to ask questions (Jewitt & Oyama, 2001:137-138).

That said, advertisements are a combination of images and language and as cultural texts they are embedded with semiotic richness. Bezuidenhout (1998) explains that verbal and non-verbal signs deployed in advertising texts produce meaning which lead to the formation of social relationships, knowledge systems and cultural identity. Therefore, semiotics is a useful tool to analyse advertisements because every single thing has meaning and contains a message depending on its location and how it is seen or interpreted. In this regard, semiotic analysis provides a window for making sense of the formal patterns that contribute to our making sense of the world and our culture. Or, as Chandler (2002:10-11) more simply explains “semiotics can assist us to become aware of the mediating role of signs and of the roles played by ourselves and others in constructing realities.”

Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) propose the concept of multimodality in their seminal work *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design* based on Halliday’s social semiotic approach to language by outlining the meaning-potential of words, sounds and images as sets of inter-related systems and structures, which he calls metafunctions. Jewitt and Oyama (2001) provide a simplified description of Halliday’s metafunctions. Ideational metafunction describes the function of creating representations. Inter-personal metafunction refers to the manner in which language creates interactions between writers, readers or speakers and listeners. Lastly, the textual metafunction indicates how individual pieces of representation and interaction come together to form specific kinds of texts or communicative events (e.g. advertisements, interviews, dialogues, etc.) Drawing from this, Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) extend Halliday’s metafunctions to images and by adopting different terminology, they refer to ‘representational’ instead of ‘ideational’, ‘interactive’ instead of ‘inter-personal’ and ‘compositional’ instead of ‘textual’ (Jewitt & Oyama, 2001:141). Also, they see images as more than just real-world representations but as something that belongs to some form of interaction which forms recognizable text with or without accompanying text, be it in the form of a painting, educational poster or print advertisement, for instance. Moreover, their study provides a framework for understanding how different modes are used for particular communicative events and also creates a tool for interpretation and analysis. It also strives to provide information regarding each element within a multimodal text, including the nature of the inter-semiotic relationship and how these elements combine to construct collective meaning. Furthermore, Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) contend that both visual and verbal structures can be effectively utilised to express meanings drawn from common cultural sources

and that both linguistic and visual elements are responsible for creating interpretations of experience and forms of social interactions.

In addition, Van Leeuwen (2006) suggests that multimodality is concerned with the design, production and distribution of multimodal resources in social settings of multimodal phenomena which occur as social practices unfold. Social semiotics deal with “the way people use semiotic resources both to produce communicative artefacts and events and to interpret them ... in the context of specific social situations and practices” (Van Leeuwen, 2006:3). This conflation of verbiage and images represents a complementary, symbiotic relationship which is necessary in the composition of meaningful texts. In essence, multimodality refers to the deployment of several semiotic modes in the design of a semiotic product or event, along with the particular manner in which these modes are combined (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006). Their views differ from Barthes’ theory which focuses much on the interdependence of word and image. Unlike Barthes, they perceive the visual component of a text as “an independently organized and structured message – connected with the verbal text, but in no way dependent on it” and vice versa (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006:17). Effectively, the “grammar of visual design” dissolves or annihilates the complexities of Barthes’ paradox by considering the codes embedded in all forms of communication as proposed by Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006).

Speaking to the above, O’Halloran (2011) views MDA as a discursive framework which extends the study of language in combination with other resources, such as images, scientific symbolism, gesture, action, music and sound. Moreover, O’Halloran (2011) collectively considers language and other resources used to create meaning in multimodal or multi-semiotic phenomena as semiotic resources, modes and modalities. Therefore, this paper follows O’Halloran’s (2011) approach by perceiving MDA as multimodality, multimodal analysis, multimodal semiotics and multimodal studies and thus, terms such as semiotic resource, mode, semiotic element or feature (e.g. language, text, slogan, text box, headline, colour, image, font, etc.) are used interchangeably. According to O’Halloran (2011:2) MDA deals with “theory and analysis of semiotic resources and the semantic expansions which occur as semiotic choices combine in multimodal phenomena.” More simply, it explores how semiotic resources integrate and the meanings which derive from this interaction in texts. Jewitt (2009) uses the term ‘inter-semiosis’ to describe the inter-semiotic (or inter-modal) relations which stem from the interaction of semiotic choices.

Iedema (2003:33) suggests that multimodality highlights the “de-centring of language as favoured meaning making”. Secondly, it takes into account the “re-visiting and blurring of the traditional boundaries between and roles allocated to language, image, page layout, document design”, and so forth (Iedema, 2003:33). The concept of multimodality is based on the principle that language does not operate in isolation. In multimodal texts, language and a milieu of semiotic resources are integrated to create meaningful relations. This means that language does not enjoy sole privilege in the meaning-making process but is supported by other semiotic resources. Iedema (2003) also emphasises the fact that neither of the semiotics in the multimodal text should be perceived as one dominating the other, instead it should be seen as a symbiotic relationship between semiotic resources where joint efforts contribute to the meaning-making process. Therefore, multimodality allows for the analysis of language, including images and all other semiotic material.

Bhatia, Flowerdew and Jones (2008:129) speak to the above assertions and see MDA as a “perspective on discourse which holds meanings that are created in text and interactions in a complex interplay of semiosis across multiple modes which include but are not limited to written and spoken language.” This means that meanings can be (re) created and (re) expressed in different semiotic modes and/or through a combination of different modes and even across discursive boundaries. This is confirmed by Fei (2007:196) who claims that the strength of multimodal research resides in its interdisciplinary nature and the way in which it “draws theories from language, semiotics, and media studies, sifts through them and test their productivity and effectiveness when applied to a range of semiotic resources.” Essentially, multimodality is ubiquitous, diverse, flexible and everywhere. As Kress (1998:186) emphasises: “all texts are multimodal”.

But, Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) also point out that they operate from a Western perspective and therefore, their grammar is not a universal one but only accounts for images in Western society, hereby acknowledging the possibility of regional and social variation. They further argue that the absence or presence of details in images and the manner of execution can indeed have ideological implications. Despite some of the limitations, their work still serves as a useful tool for investigating the textual organisation of both visual and verbal relationships in multimodal texts. Also, it should be pointed out that due to the complexities of their framework, the focus of this investigation is limited to certain semiotic systems as depicted within specific

advertisements because of the different ways in which certain ideas and mediated messages regarding female beauty are constructed. For instance, certain advertisements rely heavily on visual imagery and the portrayal of participants, while other texts tend to focus on linguistic texture by using more descriptive language without the presence of an active participant. Therefore, different forms of semiotic performances will be addressed as it is reflected in each advertisement which allows for simplicity in the analysis; under no circumstances does this privilege any semiotic resource above the other.

4.2. Composition of multimodal texts

Composition refers to the spatial arrangement of elements within a semiotic space (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006). The authors view composition as the fundamental cohesive principle of space-based texts and semiotic artefacts and arrangements. Composition involves representational and interactive meanings and incorporates three aspects: information value, framing and salience (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006).

4.2.1. Information value

Magazine texts are diverse and recognised for their creative flair and composition and as such, do not necessarily adhere to standard conventions or trajectories with regards to linear reading paths and so forth. However, Machin and Thornborrow (2003) claim that there may be a spatial element to their organisation through the use of layout. Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) propose that information value refers to the placement of elements and provide different values for a number of different zones in the semiotic space as illustrated in the diagram below (Fig. 7).



Figure 7: Kress & Van Leeuwen (2006)

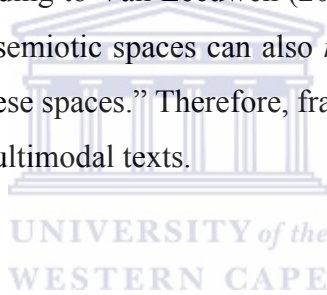
[Available at: <http://visual-memory-co.uk/daniel/Documents/S4B/sem04.html> [online], Accessed 10 August 2015]

The 'given' refers to the information values on the left (for example, a picture or image of a person) and generally points to something familiar or that which is already known to the reader. This is usually observed in advertisements which depict images of models on the left. On the other hand, the 'new' refers to the values located on the right side of the text and mostly represents something unfamiliar and not yet known, or something that deserves attention and thus, the important part of the message. This is commonly seen in advertisements where textual descriptions provide fresh information pertaining to the image of the product or model located in the given on the left. The terms 'ideal' and 'real' refer to the information values of the upper part (ideal) and the lower part (real) of a semiotic space when these zones are polarised. The ideal is presented as a means to evoke emotions from the reader. It visualises the promise of the product and aspires to make an emotive appeal by portraying the product as something to be idealised by the reader. In beauty texts, this is often portrayed in the form of an eye-catching headline or catchphrase. The real contains factual, generic, specific and practical information, such as contact details, fine print, directions for actions, etc. This can normally be seen at the bottom of texts where contact details or social media platforms provide additional information about the advertised product or brand. Furthermore, Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) propose another multimodal semiotic principle which refers to the information values of the centre (centre) and the periphery (margin). The centre is presented as the nucleus or core of what is being communicated and therefore, the central aspect of the layout. This can often be seen in advertisements which show a visual image of a model or product as the principle or most centred focal point. However, Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) also point out that central composition is relatively uncommon in Western visual traditions where information is more likely to be hierarchically structured in relation to the given-new and/or ideal-real distinction. The margin refers to those elements on the periphery, which are either perceived as supportive or dependent. These features are presented as either subservient or complementary to the centre and can either be presented in terms of visuals or imagery and graphics in the form of slogans, colour choices or various forms of brand signage.

4.2.2. Framing

Framing refers to the manner in which visual components interact with each other and the reader and signifies the degree to which different elements are meant to be read as separate items or together. Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) explain that visual constituents may be connected or disconnected, and therefore argue that the presence or absence of framing devices

which include elements such as dividing or frame-lines, similarities of colour, visual shape, etc., play a primary role in connecting and disconnecting elements. This is an indication of elements belonging together or arranged separately. Elements may be strongly connected through the repetition of forms and colours for instance, or strongly disconnected through the use of frame-lines and the discontinuities of colour. Framing indicates that “elements of a composition can either be given separate identities, or represented as belonging together” (Jewitt & Oyama, 2001:149). The result is that disconnected elements will be read as having a sense of independent, separate or contrasting meaning, whereas connected elements will be read as belonging together, or as continuous or complementary units of meaning. In magazines, framing has multiple functions and can be used to separate pictures from text, or text boxes from the main text. Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) also suggest that framing is responsible for creating the difference between fantasy and reality in advertising texts, with the fantasy or illusion shown in the picture and the reality depicted in the text which provides a verbal description of the product. According to Van Leeuwen (2006:12) the assumption is that “the actual *visual* segregation of two semiotic spaces can also *mean* the segregation, the keeping apart, of what is represented in these spaces.” Therefore, framing affords us the opportunity to interpret and make meaning of multimodal texts.



4.2.3. Salience

Salience refers to the manner in which elements are presented to attract the reader’s attention to different degrees and can be realised by factors such as the size of the elements, colour, contrast in tonal value, differences in sharpness, placement in the visual field, amount of detail, specific cultural factors such as the appearance of a human figure and so forth (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006). The purpose is to create a difference between the elements of a composition in terms of the degree to which they attract the reader’s attention. Hence, salience is responsible for arranging elements as per hierarchical order with some being selected as more important or more note-worthy than others. In this regard, the new may be more salient than the given and vice versa. The same applies to the ideal and real, with one being portrayed as more salient than the other. Alternatively, these features may also be equally salient without any hierarchical order and with all being depicted as textually important.

4.3. The visual representation of social actors

Print advertisements rely heavily on visual imagery to construct meaningful messages. Hence, the portrayal of participants, their facial expressions, pose and creative use of colour, font, etc. are instrumental in conveying non-verbal features in the form of paralanguage (Goddard, 1998). Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006:114) refer to the representation of social actors, which describes the portrayal of real people or fictional characters, photographically or otherwise. The portrayal of participants in a picture not only provides us with information about themselves or the nature of the relationship amongst more than one person in an image, but also establishes relationships with viewers or readers. In print media, photographic images are presented in ways which strive to communicate a particular interpretation of the attitude, character and identity of the person and thus, occupy a pivotal semiotic role which contribute to the meaning-making process as a whole. Speaking on the portrayal of people in visuals, Barthes (1977) views poses as an important realm of connotation in that it signals broader values, ideas and identities. In this regard, a particular pose can shape certain ideas, values and behaviours attached to the participant which will in turn influence the reader's perception. For example, a person sitting in a slouched position with her hand supporting her chin may come across as being deep in thought or even bored (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006).

Additionally, Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) extend Halliday's theory to images by suggesting that similar to linguistic representations, images can also perform speech acts, either through 'offering' or 'demanding'. Furthermore, they suggest that the manner in which actors in a text are presented visually, is connected to social power relations relative to the positioning of the reader. The authors propose that these social power relations are achieved through semiotic means such as size of frame, camera angle (vertical & horizontal) and social distance. Thus, the concept of gaze is of particular interest as it refers to the imaginary eye-contact between the represented participant in the text and the reader. In this regard, it is important to note whether eye-contact is established or deliberately avoided, or whether the person is looking downwards or upwards. Gaze is especially important for construing particular interpretations of and about the relationship between reader and participant and as such, the two terms 'offer' and 'demand' illustrate this representation of power relations. Demand refers to the manner in which direct eye-contact positions the reader as an active participant, while offer illustrates how the reader becomes an invisible onlooker (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006).

The concept of demand involves the participant's gaze demanding something from the reader (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006). In this case, the participant demands that the reader enters into some form of imaginary relation with him or her. This is usually achieved by means of the facial expressions of the participant. A smile for instance, can be perceived as an invite to the reader to enter into a relation or to establish some form of closeness or bond with them, while an impersonal or scornful look may place the reader in an inferior position in relation to the participant. An inviting look or enticing pout from the participant may indicate a demand to be desired, for instance. In simpler terms, the image wants something from the reader. Demand-images want the reader to do something (e.g. come closer or remain at a distance) or form a pseudo-social bond with the represented participant. The authors suggest that demand-images are important for defining to some extent the status of the reader, (e.g. male, female or inferior to the participants, etc.) and subsequently excluding other readers. In contrast to demand, no eye-contact is made with regards to offer-images which address the reader indirectly. Thus, no demand is made on the reader. By avoiding eye-contact, the reader is positioned as an invisible onlooker with the image being offered as information available to be scrutinized and considered. Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006:119) also suggest that all imagery which lack a human participant fall under this principle which include inanimate objects or represented participants being offered to the reader as "items of information, objects of contemplation, impersonally, as though they were specimens in a display case".

Van Leeuwen (2008) speaks of visual racism and postulates that images contain messages which should not be taken at face-value but the focus should be on their subliminal messages. As quoted by Van Leeuwen (2008:137): "If images seem to just show "what is," we need to show that they may not always be quite so. If images seem to just allude to things and never "say them explicitly," we need to make these allusions explicit." Focusing on the depiction of people in images, Van Leeuwen (2008) proposes three dimensions for analysis: i) the social distance between depicted people and the viewer; ii) the social relation between depicted people and the viewer, and iii) the social interaction between depicted people and the viewer. Essentially, the existing relationship between the viewer and those depicted, is symbolic and imaginary.

4.3.1. Social distance

Social distance describes the distance of the depicted person from the viewer. According to Van Leeuwen (2008:138) distance in pictures is symbolic of interpersonal relationships. For example, “keeping our distance” from strangers, as opposed to being “close to” those near and dear to us, etc. Distance is an indication of the closeness of a relationship and can elucidate the status of the relationship, for instance whether it is temporary or permanent. Van Leeuwen (2008:138) claims that distance in pictures becomes symbolic, as people in a picture that are depicted as being far away or a “long shot” can be perceived as strangers, as opposed to a “close-up” image where people are being portrayed as “one of us”.

4.3.2. Social relation

Social relation is determined by the angle of the photographic shot and Van Leeuwen (2008) considers two different angles from which the participant in a picture can be viewed. He suggests that the vertical angle positions how we view the person from above, at eye-level or from below, while the horizontal angle shows whether we see a person frontally or from the side, or somewhere in between. In addition, the author believes that the vertical and horizontal angles respectively illustrate the social relation between the reader and the people or participants in the picture in terms of two dimensions, namely power and involvement. The vertical angle is related to power differences and is especially noticeable when looking down on someone, hereby exerting some form of imaginary symbolic power over a person when assuming a physical position higher than the other. Van Leeuwen (2008:139) explains that assuming a form of “high” position in real life would be realised through the use of elevating devices such as stages, pulpits, balconies and so forth, which would literally raise people to demonstrate their social elevation. Effectively, looking up at someone would indicate that the person has symbolic power over the viewer, either as an authority or a role model for instance, as opposed to looking at someone from eye-level which is an indication of equality. Also, he believes that the horizontal angle illustrates symbolic involvement or detachment. This is described as “face to face” interaction, “literally and figuratively “confronting” them, and occupying a “side-line” position” (Van Leeuwen, 2008:139).

4.3.3. Social interaction

Social interaction is determined by the gaze and whether the person in the picture is making eye-contact with the reader (Van Leeuwen, 2008). In this regard, the principles of demand and offer relate to eye-contact and as such, avoiding eye contact would position the participants in the picture as offerings with the viewer assuming a voyeuristic position, i.e. looking at those in the picture. According to Van Leeuwen (2008:141) when eye-contact is established, “the picture articulates a kind of visual “you,” a symbolic demand.” Effectively, the persons in the picture want something from the viewer and these demands are communicated via “facial expressions, gestures, angles, e.g., by whether they look down at us or not, and whether their bodies are angled toward us or not” (Van Leeuwen, 2008:141).

4.4. Modality

One of the crucial issues in advertising is the question of reliability of the product or service being advertised. This is also communicated in the advertising message. For instance, is there any truth or credibility in the manner in which the reader is persuaded or seduced by advertised texts? Is the image or promise real or fake; is it based on fact or fiction? In present-day photographic media, it is safe to deduce that the old saying: “the camera does not lie”, hardly carries any weight in light of technological advances in the field. Producers of media texts have a plethora of tools at their disposal to construe and manipulate media texts. Due to the ubiquity of Photoshop and other digital alteration techniques in media imagery and social media platforms, for instance, readers are well aware that certain media messages may be construed and unrealistic. Based on this knowledge, they are able to make decisions about mediated messages. Thus, readers have the option and the ability to select or disregard whatever they perceive as fact or fiction.

However, considering the capitalist viewpoint and the role of magazines as commodities with the purpose of generating revenue and profits, it is in the best interest of relevant parties such as brand owners, copy writers and text producers to develop effective strategies for fostering a measure of trust in the brands and products being advertised. Hence, we look at certain markers or indicators of truth. As Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006:154) suggest, “modality markers in the message itself, on the basis of textual cues for what can be regarded as credible and what should be treated with circumspection.” Van Leeuwen (2006:160) defines modality as “the social semiotic approach to the question of truth”. It refers to “the semiotic means by which

mood and notions of ‘truth value’ (as in language) are afforded by compositional choices” (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006: 154). In essence, it refers to the truth value or credibility in the meaning-making process. In advertising discourse, modality markers are utilised by producers of texts to communicate truth or factuality in advertising texts and as such, their communicative values, interests and needs enjoy privilege. In this regard, they are in the prime position to select whatever they consider to be appropriate and necessary for expressing their communicative meanings and needs.

On the other hand, Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006:154) argue that “a social semiotic theory of truth cannot claim to establish the absolute truth or untruth of representations”. The authors suggest that it can only indicate whether a ‘proposition’ (visual, verbal or otherwise) is portrayed as true or not. From this point of view, “truth is a construct of semiosis” and hereby, the truth of a particular group (in this case, advertisers) arises from their own values and beliefs. As Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006:154) state: “As long as the message forms an apt expression of these beliefs, communication proceeds in an unremarkable, ‘felicitous’ fashion.” Finally, the authors assert that the complexities of modality suggest that truth values are not only communicated and affirmed explicitly to express values and beliefs pertaining to a group; “they also communicate and accord degrees of truth or untruth to the values and beliefs of other groups.” In essence, modality does not express absolute truths or falsehoods; “it produces shared truths aligning readers or listeners with some statements and distancing them from others” (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006: 155).

4.4.1. Linguistic modality

Van Leeuwen (2006) suggests that linguistic resources of modality occupy a crucial role in society because it allows people to create shared truths which allow them to belong to groups with shared beliefs and views, ultimately allowing them to act and function cohesively and effectively in the world. However, these linguistic resources also afford people the opportunity to reduce and denounce the truths of others, potentially excluding people or groups on different levels and in different domains. In textual analysis, modality is an indicator of reliability, usuality and/or obligation of the intended meaning (Van Leeuwen, 2006). In beauty advertisements this comes to fore with products promising to perform certain qualities, thus alluding to the reliability or credibility of the advertised product. Traditionally, linguistic modality is also achieved through modal auxiliaries – *may will and must*, which also express

three degrees of modality: low, median and high. This implies that linguistically, truth is not realised by true and false, but rather a matter of degree. For example:

Clere *may* use its magic. (low modality)

Clere *will* use its magic. (median modality)

Clere *must* use its magic. (high modality)

This implies that there are various degrees through which truth value can be encapsulated, which afford the producer of the text the ability to construe certain facts and ideas about a product. Therefore, the credibility of a product may or may not overtly express whether it will indeed have the desired effect.

However, as the field of social semiotics has developed and evolved, the notion of modality extends beyond grammatical systems of modal auxiliaries. Kress and Hodge (1979:127) explain that modality can be realised through a variety of ways, “non-verbal and verbal, through non-deliberate features (hesitations, ums, ers, etc.) and deliberate systematic features which include fillers (sort of), adverbs (probably, quite better), modal auxiliaries (might, should, would, could, can, must, etc.) and mental process verbs (think, understand, feel) and intonation”. Accordingly, modality is also not restricted to language but is a multimodal concept as all means of expressions have modality resources. As Van Leeuwen (2006:165) argues: “the question of truth emerges in all of them, even if the kinds of truth they allow and the ways in which they express degrees of truth will be different.” This brings us to the following section which discusses how truth value is realised visually.

4.4.2. Visual modality

The importance of modality is also realised in terms of visual communication. Visual imagery can depict “people, places and things as if they are real”, or objects of fantasy, “imaginings, caricatures etc.” (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006:161). In this instance, modality judgments also depend on what is considered “real (or true, or sacred) in the social group for which the representation is primarily intended” (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006:161). Modality is an indicator of the degree of “veracity, authenticity, or naturalness of the representation of an image to the phenomenon in real life” (Scollon & Wong Scollon, 2003:100). In multimodal texts, a distinction can be made between ‘high’ and ‘low’ modality images. High modality

involves seemingly naturalistic images, so things or people look realistic as opposed to images characterised by low modality which may appear ‘less’ realistic or life-like, or leaning towards a fantasy element.

Also, Najafian and Ketabi (2011) propose that setting also influences modality. Machin and Thornborrow (2003) observe low modality in pictures where the backgrounds are blank or not clearly articulated, which points to a studio setting. Contextualisation refers to the degree in which a background setting is presented in a visual (Najafian & Ketabi, 2011). The absence of a setting generally shows an existing void and indicates that the visual is presented in a generic format, thus lacking individuality. Or, according to Najafian and Ketabi (2011) it alludes to a symbolic world which essentially deviates from any form of reality. Thus, the absence of context lowers modality.

4.5. Colour as a semiotic resource

Colour is a central element in the composition of an advertisement and may play a contributory role in its failure or success, since it is most commonly the first element to attract the reader’s attention. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006: 355) propose that “signifiers such as colour carry a set of affordances from which sign-makers and interpreters” – or in this case, designers of magazine layouts, “can select according to their communicative needs and interests”. The authors view colour as a semiotic resource and mode in its own right because it fulfills a multi-purpose function in the meaning-making process by fulfilling all three meta-functions (ideational, textual and interpersonal) according to Hallidayan principles. Ideationally, colour can be used to “denote people, places and things as well as classes of people, places and things, and more general ideas” (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006). For example, flag colours identify states, countries and so forth. Colour is also utilised in military institutions or even prison to communicate rank or status, while companies and corporations express their brand identity through specific colours. Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) use the example of the colour blue in global vehicle manufacturing with companies like BMW, Volkswagen and Ford, all having distinct and unique types of blue to ensure their individualism and for protecting their corporate and brand identity. Also, the colour pink is generally used to communicate a feminine identity and this is especially visible in women’s magazines or beauty advertisements. Additionally, in magazine advertisements colour is used to express the attitude of the product. For instance, using bold and bright colours to communicate a provocative and daring identity, as opposed to

soft and subdued pastels to portray a delicate, soft and feminine image. Women's paraphernalia, cosmetics or such gender-specific items are generally pink, lilac, purple or a similar shade or contain traces of such colours. As a result, many beauty corporations make a point of communicating this feminine image through their brand identity which will reflect specific colours. Moreover, colour performs an interpersonal role by conveying meaning through 'colour acts' which are linguistically realised through speech acts. In this instance, colour can be utilised to communicate things which can be expressed linguistically, or as Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006:229) suggest: "It can be and is used to do things to or for each other." For example, it can be used in a corporate environment to impress or intimidate, a term referred to as 'power-dressing' (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006). It can also be used to communicate danger or warn people against obstructions or hazardous material (e.g. red flag, the colour orange used to warn against hazardous material, dangerous situations or the orange cones used in traffic safety regulations, etc.).

According to Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) colour also performs a textual function because colour schemes are responsible for creating distinction, as well as creating unity and coherence. They use the example of how colour schemes are deployed in buildings with different colours indicating different floors and departments, while also creating unity and coherence through grouping departments for instance, according to specific colour schemes (Van Leeuwen, 2006). The same is also visible in magazine layouts with different colours and colour schemes indicating different columns and sections for instance. Or alternatively, the same colour is used – although in different shades, to indicate different features in a text, simultaneously creating textual distinction, as well as coherence and unity. In addition, they introduce the concept of colour-coordination which can be used to promote textual cohesion. Instead of repeating one single colour, it is suggested that various colours of a page or a larger section of a text may have to a certain extent "the same degree of brightness and/or saturation" (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006:230).

Based on the aforementioned, colour is a valuable semiotic resource in communicating meaningful messages in multimodal texts and has the potential to evoke more than a range of emotional, aesthetic and/or sensory responses. It plays a pivotal role in advertising in particular, where along with aspects such as brand recognition for instance, it is also responsible for communicating and creating certain ideas and moods dictated by the product itself. Therefore,

the effective use of colour is especially important in print advertising as it can instantly achieve certain communicative needs and ideas in the absence of linguistic features.

4.6. Summary

Imagery in advertisements provide us with dreams of glamour, forbidden pleasures and give us access to a world of make-belief. Words provide us with information, the specifics about the product, where and how to obtain it. In semiotic terms, media messages allow for multiple meanings derived from the interplay between signs and their users. Producers of media texts and readers respectively assume diverse roles in the communicative process which are influenced by their own personal life histories, as well as the collective histories of the social and cultural groups they belong to. Hence, this allows for multiple interpretations. The importance of multimodality allows for the analysis of representations and considers semiotics other than language. It focuses on inter-semiotic relationships and how they are used in particular representations. It attempts to understand and describe the displacement of some semiotics by others, for example, the displacement of the linguistic by the visual. Moreover, it elucidates how the semiotic potential from different semiotic resources influence interaction and shape interpretation. Or, as Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006:3) more specifically state: it provides “an account of the explicit and implicit knowledge and practices around a resource, consisting of the elements and rules underlying a culture-specific form of visual communication”. Effectively, this creates a window to observe the nature of the inter-semiotic relationship in beauty texts and how these elements combine to construct meaning in True Love beauty advertisements.

A social semiotic multimodal framework strives to reveal how instances of multimodal semiotic choices in the True Love advertising repertoire function inter-semiotically in ways which ultimately create and answer to larger patterns of social context and culture. Following Kress and Hodge (1979), discourse cannot exist without social meanings and there must be a strong connection between linguistic and social structure. Hence, linguistic analysis only covers one part of discourse analysis which also includes analysing social resources (Najafian & Ketabi, 2011). This chapter informed the theoretical and analytical framework relative to the study. It explains how the conflation of verbiage and images represents a complementary, symbiotic relationship which is necessary in the composition of meaningful texts and why a multi-semiotic approach provides for a suitable avenue for understanding how different modes

are deployed. The following chapter expands on the analytical framework by addressing notions of resemiotization and semiotic remediation, intertextuality and critical discourse analysis as practices of discourse in advertising media to elucidate how they operate in multi-semiotic phenomena.



CHAPTER 5: ANALYTICAL TOOLS IN SEMIOTIC MEDIA AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

5.0. Introduction

This section provides a description of analytical tools for discourse used in multimodal phenomena by addressing resemiotization (Iedema, 2003), semiotic remediation (Prior & Hengst, 2010) and intertextuality as proposed by Julia Kristeva. It concludes with an account of the methodology used and informs the background to the steps and procedures deployed in this paper. Following a qualitative methodological approach, this section discusses the feasibility of a multi-semiotic approach to print advertisements. It also addresses aspects of qualitative research and textual analysis, as well as sampling, data collection, data analysis and obstacles encountered in this study.

5.1. Exploring practices of discourse in advertising

5.1.1. Resemiotization and semiotic remediation

According to Iedema (2003) resemiotization is concerned with the mobility of semiotic resources and the manner in which different semiotic resources transgress and unfold in different contexts to construe meaningful messages. In this regard, meanings become recontextualized and Iedema (2003:40) posits that “resemiotization is about how meaning-making shifts from context to context, from practice to practice, or from one stage of a practice to the next”. Iedema’s notion of resemiotization bears similarities to the concept of “semiotic remediation” proposed by authors Prior and Hengst (2010:1) who view semiotic remediation as “a practice which analyses the differences in which semiotic performances are re-represented and reused across modes, media and chains of activity” and consider it as a combination of intertextuality and multimodality. Prior and Hengst (2010) also argue that most texts materialise as a result of re-purposing and re-performing. Bolter and Grusin (1999) coined the term ‘remediation’ and consider it a defining characteristic of new digital media. Remediation refers to the representation of one medium in another (Bolter & Grusin, 1999). The authors also argue that remediation ensures that the older medium cannot be entirely suppressed or discarded which means that the new medium remains dependent upon the older one. In achieving semiotic remediation in advertising discourse, industry experts strategically orchestrate the re-performance of gestures and actions, rearrange objects and re-represent ideas in different media and modes which result in the recreation of previous texts and discourses

(Bolter & Grusin, 1999). These methods involve intertextuality and the recontextualisation of different discourses and semiotic resources, as well as the blending of various discourses and multimodality.

Although definitions of resemiotization and semiotic remediation may appear to have overlapping characteristics, Iedema (2010) draws a clear distinction by suggesting that resemiotization differs from the latter because it affords for meaning-making practices across different semiotic modes which means that the meaning-potential of texts can be shaped across a variety of semiotic phenomena. Moreover, Iedema (2010:139) argues that “semiotic remediation privileges the multiple and complex flows through which meanings are mediated and project one another”. This means that semiotic remediation refers to the different ways in which meaning can be expressed in semiotic media. Hence, resemiotization is more concerned with the shift of meaning derived from remediation practices.

5.1.2. Critical discourse analysis and intertextuality as reflexes of ideology

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) emerged in the late 1980s with scholars such as Fairclough, Wodak, van Dijk and many others at the forefront. It is considered to be a practical research tool for textual analysis and will be applied in this paper as a supportive, theoretical and analytical framework to investigate the manner in which selected texts are composed to contribute to the construction of ideal feminine beauty as reflected in True Love advertisements - both past and present. Moreover, this approach allows for a social semiotic analysis of the selected advertisements in terms of texts and images as reflexes of power interests, as ideal beauty is an ideology produced and reproduced through advertisements. This is in line with Goldman (1992:2) who views advertising as a means for “producing and reproducing the material and ideological supremacy of commodity relations”, which he calls “commodity hegemony” because “they reproduce a sense of commodity relations as a natural and inevitable part of the lives of different individuals”.

CDA is a method of analysing texts in context by investigating the history, power and ideology. Or as Machin and Mayr (2012) suggest, it assists in displaying how texts communicate their ideologies in subliminal ways. Thompson (1984:4) sees ideology as processes that legitimate the power of a dominant group, or more specifically, the “ways in which meaning (or signification) serves to sustain relations of domination.” Fairclough (1989) asserts that CDA is

helpful for studying the relationship of society and discourse, text and context, power and language. In addition, he suggests that discourse involves social conditions of production and social conditions of interpretation. According to Fairclough (1989:25) these social conditions relate to three different levels of social organization, namely: “the level of the social situation, or the immediate social environment in which the discourse occurs; the level of the social institution which constitutes a wider matrix for the discourse; and lastly, the level of the society as a whole”. The author argues that power is exercised and enacted in discourse and that there are relations of power behind discourse, as he states: “in terms of ‘power in discourse’, discourse is the site of power struggles and, in terms of ‘power behind discourse’, it is the stake in power struggles - for control over orders of discourse is a powerful mechanism for sustaining power” (Fairclough, 1989:74).

In formulating a social theory of discourse, Fairclough (1992) provides a “methodological blueprint for CDA in practice” and perceives language as a social practice, thus embedded in society (cited in Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000:448). Based on this view, language is not only a social process, but also a socially conditioned process - conditioned by other (non-linguistic) aspects of society. Fairclough’s (1989) approach assumes that there is a dialectical relationship between language and other elements of social life. He argues that ideology in a text is constructed by what is overtly said and by what is implied. These implications are conveyed on the basis of certain meanings which are shared by those who understand the message. Hereby, Fairclough (2003:55) states that “no form of social communication or interaction is conceivable without some such ‘common ground’”. In order for this form of common ground to be established, Fairclough, (2003:55) emphasises the importance of implicit assumptions pertaining to ideology by quoting that it is “the capacity to shape to some significant degree the nature and content of this ‘common ground’, which makes implicitness and assumptions an important issue with respect to ideology”. For example, the use of the term ‘relaxer’ in hair advertisements in True Love implies that the reader may at some stage have straightened her hair and therefore, would be familiar with this term in this specific context which has absolutely nothing to do with being relaxed or stress-free. The same applies to terms such as ‘illuminate’ and ‘radiate’ which are common labels used in beauty culture. Hence, this type of ‘common ground’ is created in the beauty discourse through certain grammatical features based on the assumption that readers are informed and familiar with these concepts in this specific frame. In addition, Fairclough (2003) claims that linguistic features of a text may also include or

exclude social actors, through ‘back-grounding’ or ‘suppression’. Back-grounding differs from suppression in the sense that the participant actually does feature, although to a lesser extent. On the other hand, suppression implies the complete omission of an actor from a text with no reference being made whatsoever, hereby, denying that participant’s existence.

Speaking to the aforementioned, Wodak (1995: 204) contends that the purpose of CDA is to analyse “opaque as well as transparent structural relationship of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language”. Wodak (1995:205) perceives CDA as a vehicle for investigating social inequality as it is “expressed, signalled, constituted or legitimized by language use (or in discourse)”. Hereby, CDA functions as a means to reveal social inequalities within language-use or in a particular discourse. Like Fairclough (1989), Wodak (1995) perceives discourse as a social practice - as something that people do and as a way of representing social practices and a form of knowledge. Discourse as a social practice implies that there is a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation, institution and social structure that frame it. Consequently, the discursive event is shaped by the situation, institution and social structure but in return, also shapes these aspects. In essence, discourses produce and are produced by social practices and social structures and as Wodak (1995:17) quotes: “discourse is socially constitutive, as well as socially conditioned”. Socially constitutive refers to situations, objects of knowledge, the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people. It helps to sustain and reproduce the social status quo, in the sense that it contributes to transforming it. Discourse is linked to power and ideology and can produce and reproduce unequal power relations. This may for instance occur between social classes, women and men, and ethnic/cultural majorities and minorities through the ways in which they represent things and position people. In the media landscape, notions of power and ideology function under the premise that female readers are potentially vulnerable to influences of idealised advertised images. In this regard, the omnipresence of media and their dissemination of repetitive media messages may be interpreted as the ideology of societal power structures – in this case, media gate-keepers, as exerted over vulnerable readers.

Cortese (2008:14) asserts that advertisements inform us about “who we are and who we should be” and through a display of people, show depictions of ethnic and gender relations as they function socially, hereby affirming existing social arrangements linked to the power structure. Print advertisements contain underlying messages which serve the interests of powerful forces

over the less powerful members in society. These are the elite media gate-keepers discussed prior in the paper. CDA addresses social issues and problems and aims to show non-obvious way in which language is involved in social relations of power and domination (Fairclough, 1989). Therefore, it not only strives to reveal the surreptitious connections between language, power and ideology, but ultimately endeavours to expose and resist social inequality. In this regard, advertising texts become a vehicle for construing ideology by reflecting ideas, beliefs, views and opinions which are generated through the signs and semiotic resources located within the medium. Essentially, the ideology-semiotic relationship is established as ideology is shaped through the totality of semiotic resources deployed to convey its message (Bezuidenhout, 1998).

The term 'intertextuality' was coined by Julia Kristeva in a work of literary theory *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art* published in English translation in 1980, in which she suggests that any text is a mosaic of quotations, as it absorbs and transforms other texts (Bazerman, 1993). This view perceives all texts as intertextual, i.e. they derive meaning through relations to other texts, and meaning is solely derived from other texts. In terms of intent, the author's position is not taken into consideration; only the reader's point of view is of relevance (Caple, 2010). This means that only the reader's interpretation of the text should be considered. In essence, intertextuality refers to the way in which one text echoes or refers to another.

Wodak and Busch (2004) assert that the reader is responsible for making associations relevant to the text because media texts rely on the interpretation of readers, since they are the ones interacting with media by interpreting and understanding it in their own subjective ways. Consequently, interpreting advertisements through a broader cultural lens allows for the exposure of existing intertextual relations with other genres. As Wodak and Busch (2004:106) contend: "texts relate to other texts, represented by the media, through quotes or indirect references, thus already adding particular meanings or de-contextualizing and re-contextualizing meanings. Media thus produce and reproduce social meanings." Hidalgo Downing (2003:70) shares similar views and defines intertextuality as "a set of technical textual devices which point to other existing texts that have been incorporated into the text currently being processed". Therefore, intertextuality allows for the incorporation of varying elements from pre-existing texts, hereby influencing the production of the current text. This

means that there is an existing link between varying texts and as such, no text can exist in isolation (Conradie, 2013).

Goddard (1998) explains that intertextuality can be an important aspect of an advertisement's meaning since the original text has already established a message which the second text can use and build on. However, the author claims that intertextuality can only work if readers remember the original text and "place the reference being established". But, she also explains that recollection on the part of the reader is not imperative and therefore, the contemporary text "will simply be enigmatic" (Goddard 1998:69). Intertextuality knows no boundaries and according to Goddard (1998) its dynamic nature allows for the movement across many other forms of discourse. For example, the lyrics of a popular song may be incorporated in the slogan of an advertisement. Effectively, the idea is to establish a sense of familiarity if readers recognise such subtle cues.

Although intertextuality originally emerged within the context of literary theory, as a result of modern-day influences in the form of new media, digital technology and so forth, it has also been adapted to encompass other areas such as cinema studies and visual arts, for example. Hence, intertextuality identifies a fundamental dialogue that exists between given discourses and other texts and according to Agger (1999) it is a useful tool for revealing the intertwining of relationships that exists between various interconnected texts in media studies.

Moreover, intertextuality illustrates existing links between texts which occur as a result of 'borrowing' of previous texts. Feng and Wignell (2011:566) state that "advertisements are filled with intertextual voices and that they interact with the advertised message in complex ways to enhance the advertisement's persuasive power". Therefore, magazine advertisements are regarded as excellent examples for intertextuality. Cook (1992:217) notes that advertisements are "a fluctuating and unstable mixture of the voices around them, constantly transmuting and re-combining." Therefore, the shaping of meaning is continuously influenced by other texts, as discourses and genres operate across boundaries - whether social, cultural or political. Withalm (2003) also adds that advertising discourses rely on intertextuality by borrowing elements of everyday culture and argues that modern technology and digital techniques have introduced new varieties of intertextuality. In essence, intertextuality is a valuable tool for analysing the on-going dialogue and negotiation that exist between different

types of media and as McRobbie (1999) explains, texts have always alluded to or connected with others.

5.2. Research methodology

5.2.1. A multi-semiotic approach to magazine advertisements

Multi-semiotic discourse analysis as a tool for deconstructing the ways in which texts are created, will be used to analyse the data. This framework proposed by Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006), Van Leeuwen (2006; 2008) and O'Halloran (2011) has its roots in the field of CDA and both approaches are considered useful for investigating links between discourses and underlying ideologies. The combination of MDA and CDA provides for a highly effective method in unpacking the true nature of advertising texts, since they jointly have the ability to identify how different semiotic performances are specifically deployed to evoke desired effects from audiences and contribute to dominant narratives and ideologies imposed by the power structure. In light of the aforementioned, a multi-semiotic approach is necessary to evaluate the interconnectivity between various semiotic modes without assigning privilege to either the verbal or visual of the advertised message. To quote Cook (1992:44), "advertising, unlike analysis, operates in all modes and media at once, and must be treated accordingly". Hence, printed advertisements are viewed as discourse, i.e. text and context coming together.

Speaking to the aforementioned, Bignell (2002) acknowledges the entertaining role of advertisements and believes that decoding the hidden meaning between the interplay of semiotic signs is all part of the enjoyment process. He also suggests that it is crucial to acknowledge the semiotic importance of each individual sign in analysing any advertisement, based on the assumption that anything which contributes to the meaning-potential would be endorsed as a sign. Moreover, he argues that it is the artistic qualities such as the range of colour, the sense of sign, intertextuality and the 'beauty' of the forms which make advertised texts distinct from other forms of media (Bignell, 2000). Fundamentally, the magazine itself is seen by Bignell (2000) as merely a "collection of signs" and through the totality of textual elements such as the title, layout, colours, design, language, editorial and advertising content, and so forth, the essential aim is to collectively create an overall meaningful experience.

5.2.2. Text-based approach

Following a qualitative methodological approach, this study is based on a textual analysis which Dyer (1982) regards as the meaning/s ascribed to a text by an analyst or interpreter, or in this case, the researcher. Bennett and Woollacott (1988) believe that the meaning interpretation of any text must be appropriated against the social conditions in which it is constructed (cited in Kates & Shaw-Garlock, 1999). Therefore, both socio-cultural and historical influences need to be considered as it plays a pivotal part in enhancing or erasing certain aspects of the text which Kates and Shaw-Garlock (1999:39) refer to as “pieces of play”. This is especially relevant when considering the historical advertisements of this study, where the meaning-potential and interpretation are greatly influenced by societal and political discourses of the time. In this regard, the advertisements comprising the corpus should be examined and reviewed in terms of the time, place and space in which production occurred. Thus, this research approach assumes that advertised imagery cannot be interpreted without acknowledging the social, cultural, historical and political environment in which it was produced.

Moreover, textual analysis is an interpretive method that views meaning as a social production and is widely utilised in the fields of sociolinguistics and cultural studies to uncover attitudinal, ideological and power relations embedded within texts (Cook, 1992; McRobbie, 1999; Beetham, 1996; Collins, 2000; Laden, 2001; Cortese, 2008; Donnelly, 2008; Sanger, 2009). Lemke (2012:79) explains it as “a set of techniques for making connections between texts and their meanings”. Specifically, this textual analysis intends to reveal how hegemonic standards of ideal beauty are conceived, constructed and sustained in the advertising discourse. According to Tolson (1996) we make sense of the world through our exposure and consumption of media texts. The author claims that textual analysis is not limited to vocabulary, semantics, phonology, nor the writing system but also includes analysis of textual organisation, the ways in which sentences are joined and work together, including the structure of the entire text as a whole.

According to Milkie (1999) following the qualitative approach in media research can be problematic since cultural meanings are fluid and vary according to cultural, historical and social group context. In this sense, readers create meanings based on the interpretive community to which they belong. This view is shared by McQuail (2000:492) who states that

“all media messages are polysemic – open to dominant, oppositional and negotiated meanings – subject to varying interpretations.” Therefore, there is no set script for interpreting advertised messages and advertisements are decoded differently by individuals. Moreover, not all readers may receive or be able to negotiate the dominant message intended by the advertiser.

Portraying a text as “a structured whole”, Dines, Jensen and Russo (1998:70) believe that framing a text within the socio-political climate in which it is produced, as well as the genre it represents, allow for a collective understanding and an opportunity to gain insight into the context in which production takes place. Thus, in exploring the construction of ideal feminine beauty in True Love advertisements, it is crucial to outline these messages within the specific socio-economic and political contexts in which it is produced.

Text-based research refers to the utilisation of already published content such as books, newspapers, journals, including Internet sources to obtain data without going into the field (Burns, 2000). Located within the scope of secondary research, it differs from primary research in the sense that it excludes field research. The data gathered in this investigation is used in an attempt to discover and exploit information relative to the construction of ideal feminine beauty as reflected in True Love advertised texts.

5.2.3. Qualitative approach

Unlike quantitative research which is often criticised for its simplistic description of visual elements, i.e. easily recognizable and clearly measurable factors, the qualitative approach provides an in-depth and more implicit level of reasoning about the hidden ideologies and social aspects in the production process of media content (Janus,1977). In addition, the quantitative approach does not investigate advertising as an intermediary system between economy, culture and society (Pazarzi & Tsangaris, 2008). Consequently, following a qualitative approach provides for a more suitable technique in this paper.

Denzin and Lincoln (1994:2) view qualitative research as a philosophical exploration of hybrid discourses - as both social phenomena and practice - and quote that it is “multi-method in focus, involving an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural setting, attempting to make sense or interpret phenomena in terms of meanings people bring to them. Qualitative research involves the studied use and collection of a variety of empirical materials-case study, personal experience,

introspective, life story, interview, observational, historical, interactional, and visual texts that describe routine and problematic moments and meaning in individuals' lives".

Ritchie (2003) agrees and sees the qualitative method as a way of gaining insight into people's attitudes, behaviours, value systems, concerns, motivations, cultures and lifestyles. In this sense, it provides an opportunity to identify and understand the motivations and feelings of the research audience. Furthermore, the author believes that due to its open-ended, flexible and dynamic nature, this approach has the potential to elucidate a wide spectrum of aspects.

According to Burman, Kottler, Levett and Parker (1997) the utilisation of discourse highlights the structuring effects of language and creates a platform where the researcher can connect language with power relations. As a research tool, discourse analysis affords opportunities for an investigation into the politicised nature of what is often accepted to be normative because as Burman et al. (1997:5) state: "language reproduces culture and power". For reasons such as the aforementioned, drawing on a social semiotic multimodal framework along with the supportive system of CDA, the qualitative approach will attempt to deconstruct and uncover power relations embedded within the sample of selected advertisements to investigate the construction of ideal feminine beauty and the maintenance of dominant discourses relating to ideal female beauty in beauty texts.

5.2.4. Sampling

Purposive sampling was used as the preferred sampling technique in this study. Also known as judgmental, selective or subjective sampling, this approach usually involves a relatively small sample and relies on the judgement of the researcher, while sample selection is based on particular features, salient criteria and characteristics which will enable detailed exploration and understanding of aspects relative to the study (Ritchie, 2003). The selection of advertisements has corresponding salient features with regards to the overall textual composition, distinct marketing characteristics and commonality in the types of products advertised.

As a result of the recurring nature of media in lifestyle magazines, repetitive occurrences of certain discourses are part and parcel of advertising discourse. Due to the repetition of advertising content certain narratives become normative and sustain dominant ideologies. This repetition also occurs in True Love with the same or similar advertisements or brands being

advertised over a period of time and in this case, an eleven month period. This phenomenon assisted the researcher in selecting a sample of advertisements which occurred periodically in the collected issues and also justifies the typology and the number of selected advertisements deployed in this study.

According to Davies and Mosdell (2006) the sampling process is crucial in ensuring the validity of the project with the findings being useful to future research studies. For this reason, selecting an appropriate sample proved to be a principal aspect in preparation of the research project. In this study, the researcher wishes to unpack the nature and type of physical characteristics and attributes which are perceived as significant features in women's level of attractiveness, and also to identify how the conflation of visual and verbal semiotics generate meaning and contribute to reinforcing dominant discourses in the construction of ideal feminine beauty. Furthermore, it is important to describe the types of products and brands being advertised and its relevance to the study. Finally, since its inception in 1972, True Love has progressed to one of the biggest publications in South Africa with a readership of almost 3,000,000 South Africans (South African Advertising Research Foundation, 2008). In this regard, it provides a useful platform for exploring notions of ideal feminine beauty as constructed in this form of media.

5.2.5. Data collection

Due to constraints of time and costs, an analysis of all the advertisements in all the magazine publications was impractical. The data collected were retrieved from eleven consecutively published issues of True Love magazine dating from February 2013 to December 2013. These monthly issues were purchased online via Magzter which is a global, digital magazine store and newsstand. Purchasing digital copies of True Love allowed for an easy and practical method to collect monthly subscriptions of the magazine. It also proved to be an effective method for purchasing past issues of the magazine. From these eleven magazines, twelve advertisements were sourced and selected based on their reference to a specific element or elements of constructed ideal feminine beauty, either in the visual or written content of the text. Advertisements reflecting similar image content and themes were grouped together and analysed accordingly. In addition, the corpus includes a small selection of media texts which were published in the monthly fashion feature, the Trend Report. Although these texts do not form part of the regular advertising content, it contains all the relevant ingredients of the

advertising genre which justifies its appearance in this paper and therefore, it seems acceptable to include this imagery as it does indeed reflect views and opinions produced and expressed by True Love magazine.

Also, three advertisements dating from the period 1981-1982 were sourced and purchased from Bailey's African History Archives (BAHA) in Johannesburg, which were scanned and emailed to the researcher. These advertisements were selected according to certain descriptions and features supplied to the museum under the instruction of the researcher. Sourcing advertisements from previous eras posed a challenge, since there are few archives directing their efforts towards magazine collection. In selecting the advertisements from the 1980s, the researcher had to rely on the discretion of the consultant from BAHA and as a result, had to choose from the sample of advertisements provided. Although BAHA focuses on preserving historical copies of South African magazines, the museum does not preserve every single issue and thus, only had a certain number of copies of True Love magazine available. The researcher was unable to obtain more material dating from the 1980s and collecting material from the 1990s also rendered a fruitless search. Secondary sources in the form of books, journal articles, electronic journals, e-books, including magazine articles and reliable Internet resources, collectively form the nucleus of the literature deployed in this research paper.

5.2.6. Data analysis

The data is analysed by deploying the range of theoretical and analytical tools mentioned previously. The combination of MDA and CDA allows for a social semiotic multimodal approach which provides an in-depth look at the inter-semiotic relationships in True Love advertising texts and how visual and verbal signs are used to compose meaningful media messages while sustaining dominant ideologies.

The texts chosen for this study have been carefully selected to include both locally and internationally produced advertisements. The selection of advertisements falls into two categories: foundation and skin care, with the exception of three advertisements respectively featuring perfume, eye-shadow and a designer Swiss watch.

Leiss, Kline and Jhally (1990) view the relationship between images and text as complementary and symbiotic, i.e. they are reliant on each other and perform complementary tasks. In addition, Cook (1992: 54) claims that "pictures, however, do far more than carry a story", as some

advertisements compose powerful and complex messages while containing minimal linguistic features by mostly relying on pictures. The sample of advertisements consists of a combination of visual and textual elements which indicate how media texts are typically construed in a feminised space such as this. Images of women are the most salient visual element in the majority of the selected texts. The selection of media texts were analysed in terms of subliminal messages, their lexical and creative arrangement, as well as the meanings attached to them.

Fairclough (1995) postulates that media texts are more than just reflections of realities, but they also portray versions of reality which depend on the experiences, interests and positions of producers of texts. As a result, creative choices in production take place at various levels and ultimately, the end-result depends on the type of lexical and creative choices made by producers. For example, what elements are included or omitted, what is being communicated overtly or subliminally, what is implied, what is foregrounded or back-grounded? What are the dominant themes and what is being highlighted or silenced and what are the process types and categories deployed to represent events, for instance?

In this paper, different themes have been identified based on what Fairclough (1989:115) calls “overwording” where an exceptionally high occurrence of certain words – often with synonymous qualities - surface in the linguistic repertoire. It is described as an illustrative “preoccupation” with an idea, through the repetitive use of the same concept (Fairclough, 1989:115). The repetition of certain concepts and ideas is common practice in advertising media where the focus is on convincing consumers about the value and benefits of obtaining a service and it is often achieved by pummeling on one consistent thought. Examples of these include the repetitive use of words such as ‘new’ ‘radiance,’ and ‘innovation’ in beauty advertisements. This is a common characteristic in the composition of beauty texts and is an indication of the status assigned to a brand or product. Fairclough’s (1995) claims clearly indicate how certain aspects of reality come to the fore and signal traces of an existing ideological struggle. Although attempts have been made to keep identified themes in the paper as mutually exclusive as possible, there are noticeable instances of overlapping and as such, advertisements may belong to more than one theme.

5.3. Summary

This chapter documents the outline of the methodological approaches concerning this investigation and describes the plausibility of a qualitative-interpretive approach to text-based research. Semiotic analysis yields a richer and more elaborate examination of texts by focusing on inter-semiotic relationships which account for differences in meaning-making efforts and how imagery and verbiage form meaning and contribute to sustain dominant discourses and forms of hegemonic representations. The following chapter details the multi-semiotic discourse analysis which is discussed over two chapters.



CHAPTER 6: THE TEXTUAL CONSTRUCTION OF IDEALISED BEAUTY IN TRUE LOVE

6.0. Introduction

The following chapter sets the departure point for illustrating how feminine beauty is constructed in True Love advertisements to expose how linguistic strategies and visual resources shape and reinforce certain ideas about idealised forms of beauty. Certain normative themes are identified to unveil the underlying messages and hidden ideologies contained. Beauty advertisements are analysed by applying the theory proposed by Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) for analysing visual communication relative to images, textual descriptions, words, as well as choice of colour used in True Love magazine. The sample of texts will be analysed according to the multimodal semiotic principles (information value, salience, framing, representation of actors, modality and colour) discussed earlier in the paper.

6.1. Beauty and success – light skin as social capital

This theme identifies how aspects of skin lightening are communicated in an advertisement from 1981 as opposed to two recent texts. The modern texts promote multipurpose facial creams and although they are not advertising skin lightening treatments, there are noticeable links between the three texts which seem plausible to explore how dominant ideas on light skin have been refurbished and repurposed in recent True Love advertisements.

a) Clere Complete Day and Night Skin Lightening Beauty Kit

The advertisement for *Clere Complete Day and Night Skin Lightening Beauty Kit* (Fig. 8) appeared in the March 1981 publication and follows the conventional trajectory proposed by Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) in terms of the different zones comprising the information value, with the given/new distinction on the vertical axis. Verbiage located in the text box on the right represents the new as it provides fresh information regarding the advertised product. Adjacent to that, the image of the woman on the left represents the given. Against the neutral, cream coloured background, the most salient and centred feature is the image of the woman with the range of products placed in front of her. Although she is partly hidden behind the display of products, she is visibly styled and dressed in a professional manner. Her immaculate and well-groomed presentation informs the reader of her position as a career woman, along with her perceived success in the professional environment she finds herself.



Figure 8: Clere Complete Day and Night Skin Lightening Beauty Kit
 (Bailey's African History Archives, True Love Magazine, March 1981)

The participant's hair is neatly styled, leaving her face open and devoid of any visual distractions such as shiny jewellery which may distract the reader's attention. In this regard, her professional image is crafted through the use of facial cosmetics, her clothing, as well as the overall styling and presentation which can be interpreted as a combined effort to convince the reader of her place as a modern, working woman in society.

Located in the upper-part of the text, the ideal represents the vision or goal that the reader might want to achieve: *CLERE for your own special beauty*. The name *CLERE* is capitalised in bold, black print and is positioned outside the margins of the text and almost appears to be placed on top of it. Visually, this statement strives to captivate the reader and to momentarily deflect attention away from the participant, thereby creating an opportunity for the reader to focus on

herself. The pronoun *you*, is an indication of direct address and as such, this statement is directed at the reader to construe a goal for herself to envision. The message conveyed is that this product will make you more beautiful. However, this idealised statement may be contradictory as it does appear to contain some implications. For instance, although reference is made to the reader's *own beauty*, it is ironic that the product itself is a skin lightening treatment which will in fact alter her natural skin tone. Consequently, this reveals the ambiguous nature of the text as a whole. For example, whose standards of beauty are being referred to? Is it the reader's beauty? If so, this would appear to be a specialised product specifically developed for Black women's skin. As a result, it would imply that this product is specifically manufactured to consider the needs of Black women, thereby enhancing Black women's beauty and physical appearance. On the other hand, it also relates to individuality by suggesting that this skin altering product will ultimately benefit the reader as an individual (e.g. *your own*) and thus, create a specific typology of beauty, i.e. a light-skinned Black woman. This implies that *Clere* will produce a lighter version of Black beauty, whose success can solely be attributed to the use of this product.

The real at the bottom contains an image of the product, as well as an order form where these products can be ordered via post. By representing actual, generic and specific information such as the address and contact details, it also represents the reality of success which is now within reach of the reader because it can be ordered via post and in this regard, she has full access to these tools in her quest for beauty and success. Hence, the reality of success is achievable through a range of skin lightening products which are easily available and accessible to the reader. Framing is realised through the neutral, cream coloured background which produces a contrasting effect as it draws attention to all the other semiotic elements placed in different semiotic areas. In this instance, it creates separation in terms of semiotic texture as visual imagery of the woman and accompanying verbiage are distinctly grouped in different semiotic spaces within the text. Framing is also responsible for creating boundaries between fantasy and reality (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006). In this case, by locating the boldly printed name *CLERE* outside the textual boundary can be interpreted as a move to convey the reality of the product, along with the fantasy of success construed in the textual detail and imagery below.

Although the image of the participant is a close-up shot which can be seen from the head and shoulders format, the size of the overall text is reduced as it occupies only part of the page.

This allows for a certain amount of social distance between reader and participant (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006). Additionally, the positioning of the range of products in front of her can also be seen as a barrier, subsequently acting as an object of distance. By establishing eye-contact with the reader, the participant is demanding her attention (Van Leeuwen, 2008). The text shows her smiling, although there is no visible display of teeth. In this regard, she is portrayed as being friendly, yet professional – warm and approachable, but with boundaries. Although these attempts strive to captivate the reader, social distance is maintained by not displaying an overflow of emotions. In this regard, she contains herself by refraining from smiling too broadly or appearing overfriendly and informal, thus retaining her professional image.

The woman's facial make-up is applied tastefully and the colours are subtle, yet visible. Instead of bright and bold colours, it consists of deep undertones which accentuate her natural features. Her lips are coloured in a deep-red lipstick, while the area around her eyes is coloured slightly darker than the rest of her facial features. A limited amount of clothing is visible due to the obstruction of the features blocking her upper body. Displaying limited parts of her body from behind the range of products can also be interpreted as a deliberate attempt to sustain the reader's attention and not to divert from the main message, which is essentially the skin lightening product. Furthermore, the image of the skin lightening kit displays a range of colours, e.g. red, yellow, blue, black, white, etc. which complement her clothing, while the yellow packaging also matches the background colour, thus contributing to the cohesive nature of the text. The entire text contains mostly primary colours with highly saturated colours like red, blue and yellow repeated in the image of the product range. The shades of red in the packaging are also similar to the jacket she is wearing. Therefore, in terms of its textual function, colour-usage in this regard creates distinction, unity and coherence (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006). Also, in terms of the ideational and communicative value of colour, red symbolises success, ambition and determination, as it boldly stands out to attract the most attention (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2002). In this instance, it is implied that the participant's red jacket will make her stand out amongst her competitors in the workplace, since she will have an obvious advantage through the use of the skin lightener which will essentially contribute to her success.

The text box on the right starts with a quotation in brackets: “*We are successful people and have to look successful. We use Clere for a lighter smoother skin*”. ***Now, Clere will work its magic for you, and make you more beautiful, and successful.*** This introductory phrase is captured in inverted commas and appears to be the participant’s own words. In this regard, providing a personal narrative can be interpreted as an attempt to establish and secure relations with the reader. There is a visible distinction between these sentences with the latter being printed in a bold font to capture the reader’s attention and to emphasise the promise of the product by highlighting these persuasive features. In this sense, aspects of linguistic foregrounding (Harris, 1989) allow the writer to assign prominence to features he considers to be more significant. Additionally, this distinction in print may also be perceived as a direct message from the manufacturer or text producer and therefore, takes precedence over the participant’s opinion. Moreover, the principal message revolves around success which can be seen through the repeated use of the word *successful* as it appears three times in the accompanying verbiage. According to Hunter (2002) light skin is not only perceived as a symbol of beauty, but also affords for improved socio-economic standards, thereby offering women of colour a form of social capital. Here, this type of over-wording reinforces the message of beauty and success and implies that the reader can improve her socio-economic status if she uses this product to lighten her skin. Additionally, the word *we* points to a pseudo-relationship between reader and participant and can be seen as a strategic attempt to create a sense of group membership between the two. It also alludes to the advisory role of the magazine itself and the fact that the reader is positioned as the younger, inexperienced and unsophisticated individual in need of guidance and advice from an older sister or expert (Beetham, 1996). Although, *we* may also be an indication that more than one person is using the product and thus, the reader is positioned as the outsider who is currently being informed about other women’s strategies to succeed in the workplace. In this instance, they are sharing their secret to success: having a light skin, as a result of using *Clere*. Also, the reader is informed that *Clere* will give her a *lighter, smoother skin*. Positive adjectives like these do not only provide for a pleasurable reading experience and as a form of brand recall, but also have ideological implications (Machin & Van Leeuwen, 2005). In this case, it is explicitly communicated that the product will in fact lighten her skin colour and ultimately, benefit the overall condition of her skin by improving its texture and making it smooth. Thus, not only will having a lighter skin effectively open doors for her on a social and professional level, it will also be beneficial to the overall condition of her skin, health and self-esteem.

A direct form of address is used to emphasise the supposed magical qualities of the product, as constructed in the text: *Now, Clere will work its magic for you*. The strategic aim is to seduce the reader by suggesting that once she starts using this product her life will also change for the better since she will be successful in her career. *Now*, is an indication of its status on the market and that success is now within reach. Additionally, it assists in creating a sense of immediacy with the purpose of facilitating action from the reader to go out and buy this product. The rest of the phrase, *Clere will work its magic for you* can be perceived as a promise to the reader which is especially noticeable through the use of the modal auxiliary verb *will*, as it is used to confirm the effectiveness of the advertised product and to convince the reader that positive results will indeed be achieved. Therefore, linguistic modality in the text follows a traditional approach by using the modal auxiliary verb *will* which indicates different degrees of truth value as constructed in the text (Van Leeuwen, 2006). In this instance, it is explicitly communicated to enhance the effectiveness of the product. Furthermore, it also strives to instil faith and to gain the reader's trust. The word *magic* affirms the type of magical language used in advertising texts as a form of persuasion and enticement, which Moeran (2009) views as the typical language used in beauty discourses that corresponds with magical spells deployed in healing rituals as proposed by Tambiah (1968). The rest of the sentence: *and make you more beautiful, and successful* aspires to complete the promise of persuasion by naming the perceived benefits which can be achieved. It also affirms the beauty mantra proposed by Moeran (2009:14) where ritualised language is used as an expression of power to exorcise the "demons of unattractiveness". The association between beauty, success and skin tone is remarkably evident as this phrase clearly expresses all the rewards associated with having a light skin tone. Basically, the reader is openly encouraged to alter her skin tone in light of such improved benefits and positive attributes.

Another contributing effect to the ambiguous nature of the text is the fact that the participant's skin colour is not particularly light considering the product being advertised. Taking into account the production date, it is evident that the advertising industry of the 1980s lacked certain technological advancements and did not have the innovative computer software programs of today. Therefore, in the absence of these modern-day innovations, it is fair to assume that this text is digitally unaltered with regards to the physical appearance of the participant. This is an indication that the camera light is showing the participant in a more natural form compared to digitally enhanced images. Based on Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006)

who suggest that visual imagery can show people, places and things as if they are real or elements of fantasy, it is evident that lack of technology, including the use of highly saturated colours like the primary brand colours used in this text, lead to high visual modality by producing a natural-looking and realistic image of the model.

However, modality is adversely affected to some degree, which in turn does raise some questions regarding the reliability and credibility of this text as a whole. Firstly, the advertised product seems to be in contrast with the visual image of the participant who has dark skin, consequently destabilising the communicated message that success is attributed to having a light skin colour. In this example, the conflation of semiotics might not be as successful, as visual and verbal semiotic performances seem to be in contestation with each other to an extent. The advertised product is a skin lightening treatment, yet the participant does not appear to have a particularly light skin colour. Linguistically however, the message relies on repetition and the deployment of positive adjectives to communicate the notion of success. Also, the professional manner in which she is styled does contribute to the message of success. Still, the fundamental message is that having a light skin tone will ensure professional success, hereby affording the reader a form of social capital as her life will improve in all aspects. In essence, social capital is guaranteed as beauty and success come in the form of a light skin which will effectively secure professional success, improved health benefits and elevate her position in society and place in the world.

b) Clere Radiance Even Tone Complexion Cream

Englis, et al. (1994) postulate that beauty ideals are created through the casting of actresses who possess beauty qualities which lead to the formation of icons of beauty. This advertisement (Fig. 9) shows South African model and media personality, Vanessa Marawa promoting a skin care product: *Clere Radiance Even Tone Complexion Cream*. Although Marawa has been a successful model in the South African industry for a number of years, she is also known as the winner of the first season of reality television show, *Survivor South Africa: Panama* and therefore, her celebrity status renders credibility and a level of prestige to this advertisement (Who's Who Southern Africa, 2015). This is a close-up shot of Marawa making eye-contact and demanding the reader's attention, thus limiting social distance between the two parties (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006).



Figure 9: Clere Radiance Even Tone Complexion Cream – Vanessa Marawa

Similar to the previous advertisement, this text has a visual image of the participant on the left (given) and textual features on the right (new). The new contains semiotic detail in the form of a testimonial with Marawa's name appearing directly below the text box. It also contains the logo, as well as a visual image of the packaging and product. The pronoun *my*, affirms that these are her own words as she is directly addressing the reader. The logo *Clere Radiance* appears in the top right corner, followed by a smaller image of the fruit serum which is a key ingredient of the product. This image is accompanied by a sign *3-IN-1 BEAUTY* and the words *Clinically Tested*, which strive to support the scientific background, including the effectiveness and credibility of the product (Wolf, 1991).

The rest of Marawa's narrative follows with certain elements appearing to be more salient than others with some phrases printed in bold, thus attempting to highlight the value of these features (Harris, 1989). *Clere Radiance Even Tone Complexion Cream contains a unique 3-in-1 formula, clinically tested to help even my skin, reduce marks and control oil. It's enriched with Super Fruit Serum, Vitamin B3 and E to give me visibly even, blemish-free, beautiful skin.*

Plus with SPF15, it protects my natural complexion from the sun. The product name is printed in bold to capture the reader's attention and to elevate its importance in the text. The rest of the highlighted linguistic features provide a description of this multipurpose product, e.g. unique *3-in-1 formula*, while phrases such as *even my skin tone*, *reduce dark marks* and *control oil* highlight the main benefits of the product, as well as common skin problems in the general beauty discourse. Numerals (*3-in-1*) are used to indicate the summarised properties of the product and also serve as a repetition of the line *even my skin, reduce marks and control oil*. Although the primary function here is to list the skin problems which can supposedly be remedied once the reader starts using *Clere*, these features also allude to aesthetic traits generally associated with light skin, e.g. even skin, free of blemishes, etc., while simultaneously highlighting common problems associated with dark skin tones. In this regard, striving for an even skin tone, reducing dark marks and controlling oil are perceived as goals the reader should strive for. However, although these are perceived and communicated as common skin problems, they also allude to aspects of fairness and therefore, subliminally communicate ideas around light skin.

Furthermore, the sentence *It's enriched with Super Fruit Serum, Vitamin B3 and E to give me visibly even, blemish-free, beautiful skin* names the three key ingredients which assist in supporting the scientific backdrop of the text. Listing the ingredients and using scientific jargon is a popular marketing technique used to create transparency between the reader and the brand (Wolf, 1991). Hereby, the reader is positioned as an educated individual who has the intellect and necessary schema to make sense of this register and in this instance, the True Love reader is assured of her current progressive status as an educated woman in today's society. The use of contractions (e.g. *it's*) is also an example of how informal language attempts to establish a relationship and strives to create a sense of camaraderie between Marawa and the reader. Following this, the phrase *visibly even, blemish-free, beautiful skin* is an indication of how positive words are deployed to enhance qualities associated with light skin (Machin & Van Leeuwen, 2005). In this regard, poetic devices such as rhythm and alliteration (*blemish-free, beautiful*) are deployed to illustrate a positive approach to light skin. Additionally, this phrase also displays a shift in discourse by illustrating how the negative traits of the dark skin which were discussed previously, are effectively being improved upon with this positive expression. This describes the lexical chain discussed earlier by Najafian and Ketabi (2011) which shows how elements relate to and point to one another in a text.

Moeran (2009) also discusses the contradictory nature of beauty advertisements which becomes visible in the following lines. The sentence *Clere Radiance Even Tone Complexion Cream contains a unique 3-in-1 formula, clinically tested to help even my skin, reduce marks and control oil*, describes the benefits of the product as advocated by Marawa. It also contains the verb *to help*, although it is not highlighted and can easily be overlooked in that expression. However, the use of that specific verb is an indication of the truth value constructed in her testimonial. This also provides the manufacturer with an escape clause in the event of the product not producing the advertised results. Firstly, it is implied that the product performs a supportive function and will *assist* in achieving certain aspirational features (e.g. *to help even my skin, reduce marks and control oil*). It does not explicitly communicate that it *will* indeed produce these results. Yet, the following sentence *It's enriched with Super Fruit Serum, Vitamin B3 and E to give me visibly even, blemish-free, beautiful skin*, confirms the effectiveness of the product by stating that certain results can and will be achieved (e.g. *It's enriched with.... to give me visibly even, blemish-free, beautiful skin*). This interplay of words is an example of how advertising language has a penchant for construing facts in texts such as these. There is a noticeable contradiction as the product is portrayed as something that can help to eliminate certain problems (*to help*), yet in the same breath advocating that it can indeed provide a remedy (*to give*). Moreover, the final statement *Plus with SPF15, it protects my natural complexion from the sun* also seems problematic as reference is made to Marawa's natural complexion in the text which does not correspond with a real-life image of the model below (Fig. 10). Evidently, this image has been digitally retouched as Marawa's skin appears to be digitally lightened in the advertisement.

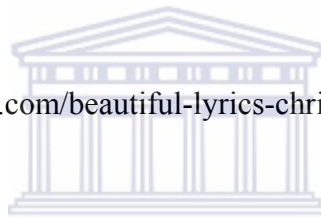


Figure 10: Real-life image Vanessa Marawa

Furthermore, the real of the text contains an image of the product, the names of the social media platforms where consumers can find information online, along with the slogan *you're beautiful* that is complemented by three minute stars which create the illusion of something glowing or sparkling. The slogan *you're beautiful* assumes the role of the beauty mantra which Moeran (2009:14) sees as a ritualised expression to exert power and “exorcise the demons of unattractiveness.” This can also be interpreted as a direct message from the manufacturer/producer to reassure the reader of her beauty. Additionally, the slogan bears similarities to the lyrics of a popular song by American singer Christina Aguilera:

*You're beautiful,
No matter what they say
Words can't bring you down
Oh no
You're beautiful*

[Available at: <http://metrolyrics.com/beautiful-lyrics-christina-aguilera.html> [Accessed 31 October 2015].



Not only does this create intertextuality in the advertisement but it also indicates how resemiotization (Iedema, 2003) affords text producers the tools to re-use media across discursive boundaries. In this example, the beauty mantra (*you're beautiful*) is shaped through the lyrics of a popular song. Apart from the fact that this provides for some level of entertainment, it also reduces social distance between the parties as most readers would be familiar with this song. Also, the strategic positioning of the three glittering stars next to this slogan can be viewed as a way of communicating the idea of star quality associated with Marawa's status as a successful model and public figure and therefore, these are aspirations the reader should aspire to obtain (Laden, 2003). Hereby, it affirms the link between beauty and success.

The different nuances of pink in the background and the printed textual features in dark blue complement the colour scheme of the *Clere* brand as illustrated in the packaging and slogan. It also contributes to the feminine image of the magazine as a whole. In this regard, textual cohesion is achieved through the various shades of pink which also function as an element of

framing as different semiotic elements are grouped together in different shaded locations in the text (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006). Through Photoshop, her skin tone is digitally lightened and even appears to reflect a tinge of pink which matches the background. The type of lighting impacts on her skin colour and in combination with the specialised creative effects, produce an illusionary image of Marawa. This lowers modality in colour which influences the meaning-potential of the text as a whole, as it does not depict a realistic and naturalistic appearance (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006). In addition, the lower part of her body seems to fade which creates a dreamy and cloud-like effect, hereby rendering an ethereal element to the text. Also, her bare shoulders, along with her naturally styled look and the lack of physical adornments create the illusion that she is naked. Moreover, the absence of background reduces modality and alludes to a symbolic world which deviates from reality (Najafian & Ketabi, 2011). Visually, the text seems to emulate the product name (*Clere Radiance*) which is derived from the word 'radiate', i.e. emit light in the form of rays or waves (*South African Oxford Dictionary*, 2007). The totality of the different semiotic elements, along with Photoshop and other specialised creative effects in the form of stars and sparkles produce a radiating theme as the entire page appears to glow, hereby, reducing any attempts to appear natural and realistic. Thus, the concept of radiance is not only located in the product name, it is also encapsulated and repeated in the artistic composition of the text as a whole.

c) Pond's Flawless Radiance BB cream

Deviating from Kress and Van Leeuwen's (2006) conventional trajectory with regards to information value and the placement of different zones, the advertisement for *POND'S flawless radiance BB* (Fig. 11) depicts an image of a young, Black woman occupying the central space of the text. Her image seems to be captured in a photograph which is centred and positioned against a white background. The smiling participant makes eye-contact in an attempt to establish a relationship, thus demanding the reader's attention and narrowing social distance (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006). Similar to the second *Clere* advertisement above, emphasis is placed on the notion of radiance which is repeated in different locations, including the product name. Additionally, this concept is also repeated in the image of the container which appears to reflect a radiating light.



Figure 11: Pond's Flawless Radiance BB Cream

The layout follows a hierarchical structure by showing the model's image on top with the verbiage rendering a supportive element below. Textual features directly below the frame of the participant include the headline printed in two different font sizes and two different hues of purple: *Instant COLOUR COVERAGE Day after day more EVEN-TONED*. The colour and font size aim to capture the reader's attention and to highlight the main features (Harris, 1989). Verbiage below the headline provides information about the product features: *Experience instant natural coverage that is specifically designed to match your African skin tone, whilst the dual acting GenActiv COVER formula and SPF30 advanced sun protection penetrates deeply to improve skin texture, even skin tone and reduce dark marks from within. New BB Cream from POND'S flawless radiance. Available in Chocolate and Beige*. This text box emulates certain semiotic features mentioned in the analysis above by replicating the same type of language-use commonly found in the beauty advertising discourse, e.g. *even skin tone, reduce dark marks, etc*. Additionally, poetic devices in the form of rhythm, rhyme, alliteration, positive words and phrases (e.g. *instant natural colour coverage, advanced sun protection*

penetrates, skin texture, skin tone, etc.) allow for easy readability and to facilitate brand recall (Machin & Van Leeuwen, 2005).

The clause *Experience instant natural coverage that is specifically designed to match your African skin tone* is an obvious attempt to create individuality amongst the readership and to convince the reader about the uniqueness of this product, as well as her sense of self. This can be seen through the clause, *specifically designed to match your African skin tone*. This affirms that the text is especially composed for and directed towards Black women, thereby implying that their needs are of fundamental importance to the manufacturer. Furthermore, the adjectival phrase *instant natural coverage* points to the modern lifestyle of the reader and also alludes to the ease and accessibility of consumer culture where natural attributes and phenotypic qualities can supposedly be bottled and commoditized. The rest of the text box contains scientific jargon relative to the beauty advertising discourse, e.g. *dual acting GenActiv COVER formula, SPF30 advanced sun protection*, etc. (Wolf, 1991).

Like the advertisement above, contemporary linguistic markers are strategically deployed in lieu of the term skin lightening. Examples of these include phrases such as *even skin tone* and *reduce dark marks from within* which according to Peiss (1998) are common to the beauty advertising discourse and more specifically, the Black beauty discourse as they are commonly associated with Black skin issues. Contradictions observed by Moeran (2009) occur in the line *reduce dark marks from within* as women are led to believe that beauty is only skin deep. This phrase serves as a judgement that skin tone and beauty are not merely surface issues but effectively belong to a symbolic construct rooted in the psyche of the individual (*dark marks from within*). Thus, having dark skin is seen as a struggle with the scars and emotions as an inheritance of the Black skin being internalised. In this regard, the product itself is portrayed as a solution to reduce both external and internal scars stemming from dark skin. While it is tangibly possible to reduce the skin problems mentioned here, this text implies that as a consequence, products such as these can reduce the negative emotional effects and burden of having a Black skin in the first place, hereby, implying that using this product (to lighten the skin) will resolve this struggle.

Similar to the examples mentioned earlier, the type of marketing strategy in this text alludes to the lifestyle of the modern reader. Furthermore, it also points to the scientific evolution of the

beauty industry where lengthy beauty routines from yester-year have been re-packaged and replaced with multipurpose products which can supposedly perform a range of functions at once. This is illustrated through textual features on the container such as *All-in-One Even Tone Expert*. Apart from the repetition of the phrase *even tone*, the product name also indicates the position of the reader as the uninformed, unsophisticated person who needs guidance and information from the experts (e.g. *Even Tone Expert*). Another fact worth mentioning is the phrase which indicates the different shades of the product: *Available in Chocolate and Beige*. Here, different shades allude to colonial times which reflected a penchant for exoticising and sexualising Black women in society (Sanger, 2009). In this regard, by comparing skin tone to chocolate, historical discourses are recalled, thus sustaining the Black woman's role as a commodity or item to be consumed.

Hall (1995) perceives beauty pageants as the most obvious illustration of racialised notions of beauty because it indicates obvious messages of how beauty is defined. Based on Hall's (1995) argument that ideals of beauty reflected in pageants consistently focus on phenotypic traits such as light skin and long, naturally straight hair, the frame of the participant is reminiscent of a beauty queen. This effect is created through the blurred display of flowers in the background, as well as her appearance and styling. The silver logo appearing on top and positioned directly in the centre of her head also creates the impression of a tiara or crown. The participant is wearing a weave and in support of assertions made earlier in the paper, long, straight hair is commonly perceived as an idealised physical attribute in favour of Anglo-Saxon ideals (Cortese, 2008). This also affirms Smith's (2011) view that weaves are seen as status symbols and considered to be a necessity for achieving success in the entertainment industry. In this context, hair allows women access to their aspirations and ideals as demonstrated in this example. The manner in which she is styled and dressed shows her soft, pastel pink outfit and also alludes to a very feminine background. Along with her friendly smile and direct eye-contact, these attributes play contributory roles in communicating and reinforcing the beauty pageant ambiance. In addition, the beauty pageant theme also alludes to the element of success which is also contextualised in previous texts. In this context, the participant is portrayed as a winner which can be deduced from the 'tiara' on her head and the manner in which she is styled. Similar to the text above, the concept of star quality is being construed which is also visible through the radiating effect created on the image of the container next to the participant.

Visual modality is low as the colours and image of the participant are subtle and slightly blurred which deviate from a naturalistic and realistic looking appearance. The different hues of purple and pink also contribute to the feminine image of the magazine as a whole and also communicate the brand colours of the advertised label. The white background creates salience as the frame of the participant is fore-grounded and highlighted. It not only supports the clinical and scientific background but also creates textual cohesion through framing and effectively, groups semiotic elements which belong together (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006). Furthermore, it also highlights the textual features by making it appear more salient as the headline, text box and rest of the verbiage are positioned against the white background, thus creating a contrasting effect to make it stand out. The strategic use of the colour white can also be perceived as a creative technique to contribute and to enhance the notion of radiance encapsulated in the product name. As mentioned previously, the term radiance is perceived as something glowing or emitting light and in this case, the inter-semiotic relationship between the verbal and the visual is responsible for achieving this effect which is repeated in the textual description, the product name, colour-usage and camera lighting techniques. And, by drawing on the reader's schematic background, the advertised text uses the domain of the beauty pageant as a feminised space to communicate how certain thoughts and ideas on beauty are sustained and contained. So, instead of overtly communicating ideas on skin lightening, this message is subliminally conveyed through the creative attempts mentioned above.

6.2. From 'bright' to 'illuminating' - messages on skin lightening in beauty texts

Recent years have seen a significant increase in the presence of the word 'illuminate' in the general beauty discourse with product names, brands and labels liberally using this term in marketing discourse. Synonyms for 'illuminate' include phrases such as, 'to light up, lighting up, to lighten, to brighten' and so forth (*South African Oxford Dictionary*, 2007). The selected texts have been chosen because of shared characteristics in the display of the participants, while the last text without a human form illustrates how this concept is communicated both visually and linguistically through the use of a visual metaphor.

a) Look of Nature

This advertisement for *Look of Nature* (Fig. 12) shows a close-up image with a magnified view of the participant's face. Although this is not outwardly advertised as a skin lightening product, the textual description contains linguistic phrases commonly associated with light skin: *Look*

of Nature Day and Night Cream gently clears your skin to leave it bright and natural. This gentle cream works day and night to give you a beautiful and natural skin. Look of Nature Day and Night Cream also helps to fade away dark spots to leave your skin bright and natural. Firstly, the adjectival phrase *bright and natural* alludes to aspirational qualities surrounding light skin when considering the word *bright*, whose definition includes terms such as, ‘shining, blazing, emitting or reflecting much light, luminous, radiating’, etc. (*South African Concise Oxford Dictionary*, 2007). Thus, it implies the complete opposite of darkness or black. On the other hand, the word *natural* refers to things such as, “one’s inborn character; uncultivated; containing no chemical components” and so forth. Basically, it refers to an element or feature untouched by human-hand. This catchphrase not only appears in the headline, but is also repeated in the rest of the verbiage which emphasise this message.

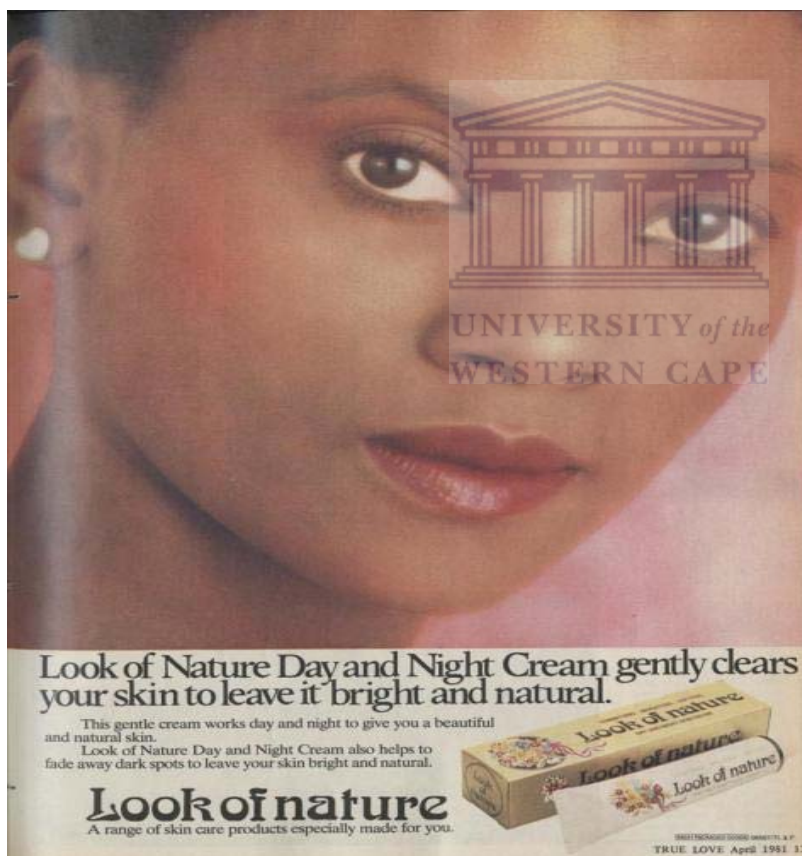


Figure 12: Look of Nature (Bailey’s African History Archives, True Love Magazine, April 1981)

Essentially, it is communicated that the possibility of having a bright (luminous, radiating, i.e. light) skin tone can be achieved with this product. The word *natural* implies that having a light skin is basically how it *should* be. Having a light skin should be a natural thing, i.e. as nature

intended. Thus, looking White should be a natural aspiration. The underlying message is that the reader can achieve an appearance that would make her more beautiful because it will give her a lighter skin tone and also create the impression that this is how she is meant to look naturally. The product name also contains a strong dose of irony. For instance, the name *Look of Nature* refers to a natural, uncultivated and untouched appearance. It implies that the reader can be 'naturally' beautiful, i.e. look the way nature intended for her to look, an appearance untouched by human hand, etc. If this is the case, why would there be a need for a chemical product to achieve this? The clause, *helps to fade away dark spots to leave your skin bright and natural* contains negative words commonly associated with darker skin problems, e.g. *dark spots*, followed by positive words which promise to *leave your skin bright and natural*. Thus, the product will help to improve the reader's dark skin and essentially offer a solution, by making her skin appear lighter - as nature intended it to be.

Ironically, this media text does not portray the woman with a particularly light skin tone. Like the model in the historic *Clere* advertisement above, she is considerably darker than most models used in contemporary beauty advertising discourses. Although she is wearing facial make-up – another contradiction of the product name and the advertised message - the visual image does not appear to be digitally enhanced. As mentioned prior, this is obviously as a result of the lack of technological advancements at the time of production. Furthermore, the image shows the woman with her hair omitted from the text. According to Fairclough (1995) what is excluded and omitted from a text is just as important. Considering the fact that this is a skin care product and the focus would not necessarily be on hair, this may be the most suitable explanation. But, in light of the product name: *Look of Nature*, by showing her natural hairstyle may even offer to be a supportive feature since the implied message is to create a natural look. In this sense, her natural hairstyle has the potential to contribute to convey the message and preference for a natural, unpretentious and authentic look. Alternatively, including her hair may have an adverse impact on the meaning-potential of the text and deviate from the implied preference for light skin displayed in the linguistic features, if they were to show her natural hair which evidently does not conform to hegemonic ideals suggested in media. This may offer a possible explanation for this exclusion. Thus, although the communicated message strives to illustrate a preference for an untouched, unaltered look, this is refuted by showing a woman with facial make-up who uses a skin altering treatment, in addition to excluding the only natural-looking physical trait – her hairstyle. Although the visual image of the Black woman

does not necessarily support the notion of preference and privilege assigned to white skin in beauty discourses, textual descriptions in the form of *bright and natural*, along with certain creative moves (omitting her natural hair) certainly attempt to communicate dominant messages of idealised preferences in beauty.

b) Pond's

This advertisement for *Pond's* (Fig. 13) features South African model Nakedi Ribane, author of *Beauty: A Black Perspective* (2006) which details her experiences in the modelling industry in the eighties, as discussed in Chapter Three. This media text shows an image of her accompanied by a brief personal narrative, as well as a lengthy description of the product properties and features. Unlike the previous text, there is a visible lack of linguistic texture alluding to light skin but the image and visual portrayal of Ribane – who has notably light skin - strive to contribute to certain dominant messages which justify the location of this text under this theme.



"I owe my clear, soft, smooth skin to Pond's."
Top model, Nakedi Ribane

"In my job it's especially important to have smooth, healthy skin. But today's sooty air doesn't make it easy. So I use Pond's Cleansing Cold Cream, and Pond's Vanishing Cream. Beauty tips I picked up from other top international models.

Pond's Cleansing Cold Cream — Creamless Formula — penetrates deep down, softening and floating away absorbed make-up and deep-hidden impurities. Apply last thing every night, then wipe off with tissue or cotton wool.

Pond's Vanishing Cream — the perfect make-up base — stimulates the skin, unclogs pores, absorbs and removes excess oiliness, and protects against black-heads and spots. Apply every morning and night after cleansing.

Great news! A new Pond's Moisturizing Lotion which works two ways: it feeds moisture into your skin and prevents your skin getting dry from evaporation. It's a lovely way to keep your skin soft and smooth.

Pond's, the international name in skin care.

38 TRUE LOVE February 1982

*Clearthrough-Pond's Inc. is the proprietor of the registered trademark "Pond's".

© 1982 POND'S INC.

Figure 13: Pond's - Nakedi Ribane (Bailey's African History Archives, True Love Magazine, February 1982)

Ribane's celebrity status is used to assign prestige and credibility to this product and by giving a personal account of her motivations for using *Pond's*, a pseudo-relationship and sense of camaraderie is established between her and the reader. The tagline directly below her image, "*I owe my clear, soft, smooth skin to Pond's.*" – *Top model, Nakedi Ribane* is printed in big, bold font and immediately captures the reader's attention. This line is an indication that these are her own words and forms part of marketing strategy aimed at piquing the reader's interest in her personal opinion and views as a public figure. The introductory phrase, *In my job it's especially important to have smooth, healthy skin* aims to point out her profession and status and therefore, functions to establish a link of familiarity. Further in the text, social relations are increased and supported through the use of informal language, such as contractions, e.g. "*it's, today's and doesn't*". In addition, the introductory phrase also indicates the importance of skin as a physical attribute, as advocated by South Africa's Black top model.

The rest of the narrative makes reference to Ribane's lifestyle and the fact that she mingles in international circles (*So, I use Pond's Cleansing Cold Cream and Pond's Vanishing Cream. Beauty tips I picked up from other top international models*). By informing the reader of her beauty routine and mentioning that she has access to international fashion circles, Ribane assumes the role of confidante by providing the average reader with privileged information. Hereby, prestige in the text is composed by referring to her cosmopolitan background and the global persona of the brand. Another example of prestige is located in the slogan printed at the bottom, *Pond's, the international name in skin care*. Basically, the message conveyed is that if something is used and accepted in the international arena, it *must* be valid, credible and thus, something to strive for. However, against the international backdrop of which this text is composed, the phrase *But today's sooty air doesn't make it easy*, seems rather out of place. One cannot overlook the element of irony where a person who is supposedly moving in the international modelling circuit and living a glamorous lifestyle, simultaneously be living in an undesirable geographic environment where she is exposed to unhealthy, natural elements such as dirty, unclean, black air. Although, this does in fact allude to Laden's (2003:199) earlier claims about different aspirational tendencies being manifested in magazines with a Black readership, where aspects of "middle-classness" are highlighted by showing a local celebrity who can relate with ordinary problems facing the reader. In this regard, aspirational qualities are produced while convincing the reader about the ease of how these can be achieved. In this

example, Ribane's role is to establish common ground with the readership because she is faced with similar problems and shares certain day-to-day challenges.

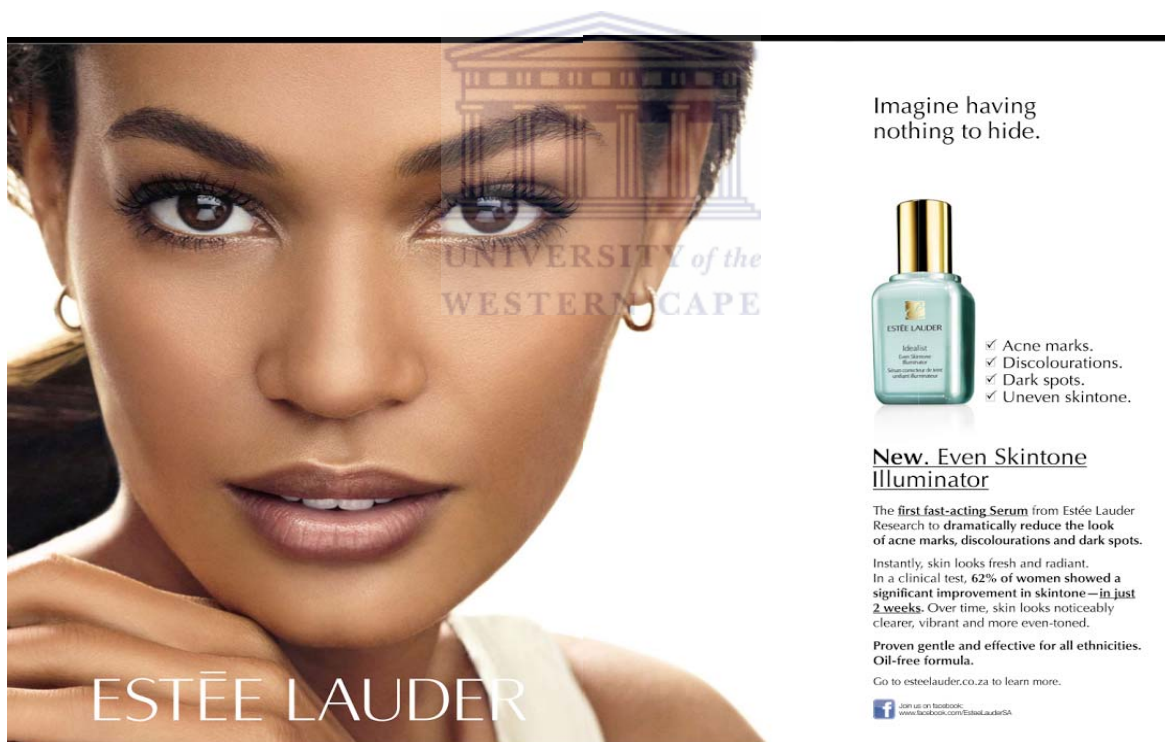
Although there are attempts to sustain relations between reader and participant and to create a sense of intimacy between the two, there are also traces of social distance and signs of an existing unequal relationship. For instance, part of the verbiage assumes the form of an instruction manual, e.g. *Pond's Cleansing Cold Cream – Greaseless Formula – penetrates deep down, softening and floating away absorbed make-up and deep-hidden impurities. Apply last thing every night, then wipe off with tissue or cotton wool. Pond's Vanishing Cream – the perfect make-up base – stimulates the skin, unclogs pores and protects against black-heads and spots. Apply every morning and night after cleansing.* Basically, the reader is provided with the supposed benefits of the product, yet the manner in which it is described linguistically creates the impression that she may not be sophisticated enough to grasp how to utilise this product (*Apply every morning and night after cleansing*). In this way, the role of the uninformed reader in need of guidance and instruction from the experts is emphasised. Unlike some of the contemporary texts discussed above, there is a visible difference in language-style with this example containing brief, elementary and impersonal instructions with a noticeable lack of scientific jargon (*Apply last thing every night, then wipe off with tissue or cotton wool*). Furthermore, the verbiage also makes reference to skin issues which are internalised. For example, phrases such as *penetrates deep down, deep-hidden impurities* imply that skin issues are not only surface issues, but reside within the core of the individual (Moeran, 2009).

The visual image depicts a close-up of Ribane offering the reader a sideways glance of her face, although she maintains eye-contact to sustain the reader's attention. However, she is not smiling and does not portray any amicable qualities commonly associated with friendship. In this regard, social distance is maintained. There appears to be a highly visible resemblance in the ways in which Ribane and the participant from the previous *Look of Nature* advertisement are styled. Both images are close-ups with the participants positioned within close proximity to the camera lens with both offering the reader a sideways glance. As mentioned earlier, due to the lack of computer technology and innovative software programs in the industry at that time, these advertisements lack any form of photographic manipulation and retouching and as such, both texts are perceived to be pure and untouched, thus depicting the participants in a natural and realistic form. In comparison to the participant from the *Look of Nature* advertisement

though, Ribane is visibly lighter in complexion. The text also shows Ribane with her (natural) hair omitted from the text which reintroduces the previous claim that this may be a deliberate strategy to exclude certain features which may influence the communicated message pertaining to idealised beauty traits. In this regard, showing a light-skinned, idolised Black woman who uses this product should be sufficient to sustain idealised preferences for light skin.

c) Estée Lauder Even Skintone Illuminator

This double-page spread contains an A4 size visual image of Puerto Rican born model Joan Smalls who became the first Latina brand ambassador for Estée Lauder in 2011 (Fig.14). The advertised product is a facial serum, *Estée Lauder Even Skintone Illuminator* which claims to contain a range of skin improvement properties. As mentioned above, synonyms for illuminate include words such as, ‘to light up, lighten, brighten, shine’ and so forth (*South African Oxford Dictionary*, 2007).



The advertisement features a close-up portrait of model Joan Smalls on the left side. On the right side, there is a small image of the product bottle. The text on the right includes the headline 'Imagine having nothing to hide.', a list of benefits, the product name 'New. Even Skintone Illuminator', and several lines of descriptive text and a social media link.

Imagine having nothing to hide.

- ✓ Acne marks.
- ✓ Discolourations.
- ✓ Dark spots.
- ✓ Uneven skintone.

New. Even Skintone Illuminator

The first fast-acting Serum from Estée Lauder Research to dramatically reduce the look of acne marks, discolourations and dark spots.

Instantly, skin looks fresh and radiant. In a clinical test, 62% of women showed a significant improvement in skintone—in just 2 weeks. Over time, skin looks noticeably clearer, vibrant and more even-toned.

Proven gentle and effective for all ethnicities. Oil-free formula.

Go to esteelauder.co.za to learn more.


 Join us on Facebook: www.facebook.com/EsteeLauderSA

Figure 14: Estée Lauder - Even Skintone Illuminator – Joan Smalls

The entire left-side of the text represents the given, which is a full magnified image of her face. Smalls is a well-known, international model and therefore, needs no introduction to informed readers. The only verbiage is the Estée Lauder logo printed in a classic, white font. The new on the right, contains a visual image of the bottle of serum, as well as verbiage which describes

the benefits of the product. The use of the caption *Imagine nothing to hide* is a strategic move to grab the reader's immediate attention. This phrase plays a supportive and complementary role with regards to the visual image which shows a close-up image of Smalls staring directly at the camera, subsequently making direct eye-contact with the reader. The direct stare is an indication that she has nothing to hide and therefore, the reader is provided with a close-up look which exposes every angle of her face for every possible flaw or wrinkle. Hence, the close-up image is supposed to render her vulnerable to the gaze of the reader. However, her direct stare can also be interpreted as an almost defiant look, hereby telling the reader that she really does *have nothing to hide* and that they can investigate for themselves by examining her face for imperfections.

Positioning Smalls so close to the camera makes it difficult to focus on her individual physical features because it proves rather challenging to view an image of this nature, which is placed unusually close within proximity of the reader's gaze. This strategy can be interpreted as a creative technique attempting to interfere with racial profiling as it makes it difficult to appropriate her physical features in this context. Hereby, this creative manoeuvre can be perceived as a strategic attempt to create some form of "racial or ethnic blurring", which effectively leaves the media message open for negotiation as it would be interpreted and contextualised against the reader's schema.

The light-blue and gold bottle of serum contains the Estée Lauder logo printed in gold with the name printed in capital letters. The rest of the verbiage on the bottle is printed in both English and French to indicate its international image and global presence. Next to the bottle is a list of skin problems that the product can fix. Also noticeable is the tick-marks next to the words which indicate the listed flaws that can be corrected. *Acne marks, Discolourations, Dark Spots and Uneven skintone* will presumably disappear by using this product. In this instance, the tick-marks can be interpreted as a sign of the effectiveness of the product that has undergone tests to support its credibility and therefore, can be perceived as a "corrector" of flaws, essentially, correcting everything associated with dark skin. Directly below this image is a sub-headline featuring the name of the product which is introduced by placement of the word *New* printed in bold, black letters. This section is underlined and although it is a deliberate strategy to highlight the product name, it can also be interpreted as a means of rendering credibility to the

product and to assign some form of status to the name. In addition, underlining the name can also be perceived as an elevating technique, thus highlighting its importance (Harris, 1989).

The text box below the product name provides a description of the product features (*The **first fast-acting Serum** from Estée Lauder Research to **dramatically reduce the look of acne marks, discolourations and dark spots**. Instantly, skin looks fresh and radiant. In a clinical test, **62% of women showed a significant improvement in skin tone – in just 2 weeks**. Over time, skin looks noticeably clearer, vibrant and more even-toned. **Proven gentle and effective for all ethnicities. Oil-free formula**). Certain phrases are highlighted through the use of a bold printed font and by being underlined with certain parts only printed in bold. In addition, poetic devices such as alliteration and rhythm create textual cohesion in the verbiage, e.g. *first fast-acting* and *discolourations and dark spots* (Najafian & Ketabi, 2011). As in some of the analysed texts above, certain linguistic features strive to expose negative connotations associated with dark skin tone, as well as to enhance positive attributes assigned to light skin. For instance, the phrase *dramatically reduce the look of acne marks, discolourations and dark spots* contributes to the negative frame associated with dark skin and is immediately followed by the positive phrase *Instantly, skin looks fresh and radiant*. This also describes the lexical chain discussed by Najafian and Ketabi (2011) with elements in a text pointing to one another. Another positive phrase which seems to highlight the associated aspirational view linked to light skin is, *skin looks noticeably clearer, vibrant and more even-toned*. Here, positive words such as *fresh, radiant, clearer, vibrant* and *even-toned* strive to encapsulate the idea of illumination which is linked to light, lightness and brightness (e.g. *fresh* = new; *radiant* = to light up; *clearer* = not dark, lighter; *vibrant* = vital, vigorous; *even-toned* = light, blemish-free).*

In contrast with the caption *Imagine having nothing to hide*, this image does indeed contain a vast number of hidden features which have been cleverly disguised through the effective use of cosmetics and hi-tech software and computer programs such as Photoshop (West, 1990). Although Smalls is professing that she has *nothing to hide*, her facial make-up covers every possible flaw and imperfection, consequently ‘hiding’ the real person. This is also achieved through her close-up frame, as she is positioned within very close proximity of the camera lens which makes it difficult to determine and to establish a clear view of her face. In addition, the image shows a minimal amount of her hair and thus, this phenotypic trait is also hidden. Smalls is staring directly, almost ‘locking eyes’ with the reader and in this instance, demanding

attention. Judging from the close proximity which she is positioned from the camera lens, there is also no social distance between them either.

d) Coverderm Luminous

The following text supports Hunter's (2008) claim that creams and treatments used in skin bleaching practices have different labels such as skin lighteners, skin whiteners, skin toning creams, skin evening creams, skin fading creams, etc. This advertisement for *COVERDERM Luminous Revolutionary hyperpigmentation treatment system* (Fig. 15) introduces a skin whitening treatment system and follows the conventional trajectory suggested by Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) with a visual image of the participant on the left-side and the right-side devoted to a range of verbiage and visual images which communicate information to the reader. In this regard, a clear distinction is made between the new and given of the advertised text in terms of the information value. In consideration of the repetitive nature of magazine content, it is plausible to mention that this advertisement does not necessarily form part of the regular True Love advertising content since it did in fact only appear once in an entire year's publication.

Against the neutral, cream coloured background, the rest of the semiotic collection is grouped in different locations which is created through different hues of this colour. These different shaded areas contain different verbal and visual elements and as such, framing is achieved through the creative use of colour (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006). The most salient feature is the visual image of the participant on the left while the colour of her clothing also appears to complement the rest of the colour scheme of the text, hereby creating textual cohesion (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006). The woman in the text is Johanna Bezuidenhout who was the brand ambassador for Coverderm in 2013. Although she is not an A-list celebrity and while many readers might not even be familiar with her, Bezuidenhout became a minor public figure when she became a finalist in the 2012 *Sarie* magazine cover girl competition and currently does freelance modelling and acting (Sarie, 2012).

COVERDERM®

Luminous
Revolutionary hyperpigmentation treatment system

The all-in-one solution
for beautifully radiant and even skin tone.

Luminous Treatments Visibly lightens dark marks, freckles and uneven skin tone.	Luminous Make-up Visibly lightens spots and blemishes
---	---

[SPECIALLY FORMULATED FOR DARK / HEAVILY PIGMENTED SKIN]

Johanna Bezuidenhout
COVERDERM® FACE OF LUMINOUS 2013

AVAILABLE AT
Dis-Chem
Pharmacies where you can

Buy online at
www.coverderm.co.za
Visit our website at www.nailmetics.co.za or contact us telephonically on 012 460 1220 to locate your nearest stockist.

COVERDERM South Africa

Figure 15: Coverderm

There may be various reasons for selecting a relatively unknown person as a brand ambassador which may in turn shine some light on the creative choices of the text producers. Firstly, selecting an A-list celebrity or popular media personality to advertise a skin whitening treatment might pose some challenges on the brand when considering the controversial nature of skin bleaching in the general public discourse. Celebrities and people in the public eye are often idolised and have aspirational duties as role-models. As a result of the negative connotation associated with skin lightening practices, this may have adverse results for both the brand and the person marketing the product. For this reason, it appears to be a better option to choose someone who has been in the public-eye, although she may have enjoyed limited exposure. The fact that Bezuidenhout comes across as being a familiar face and that she seems to convey some form of public persona to a certain extent, may contribute to brand recall and recognition. In this instance, the reader may end up speculating why this person looks familiar and thus, devote more attention to this advertisement as a whole.

Furthermore, this text seems to emulate many of the other advertisements discussed above with regards to certain conventions deployed. For example, the sub-heading, *The all-in-one solution for beautifully radiant and even skin tone* seems a mirror-image of certain slogans and catchphrases mentioned earlier. Certain linguistic expressions such as *all-in-solution* evidently belong to a standardised marketing discourse as it also occurred in some of the contemporary texts above, e.g. *3-in-1* and *all-in-one* mentioned in the *Clere* and *Pond's* advertisements. This also suggests how modern-day marketing strategies rely on a multipurpose approach to promote goods. Similar to previous texts, this media text also relies on scientific discourse and uses mock authoritative language, e.g. *hypoallergenic, oil free, SPF15, Vitamin C, Illuminating, Anti-Ageing* (Wolf, 1991).

The rest of the verbiage include textual descriptions: *Visibly lightens dark marks, freckles and uneven skin tone. Visibly lightens spots and blemishes*. Reference is made to negative qualities associated with dark skin, e.g. dark marks, freckles and unevenness and similar to previous texts, positive words such as *visibly lighten* are used to improve this. Also, certain aspects of the language used in the *Clere* skin lightening treatment advertisement of the 1980s seem to be replicated as there is a deliberately expression of the verb *lightens*, which does not appear in any of the 2013 advertisements analysed thus far. The catchphrase *SPECIALLY FORMULATED FOR DARK/ HEAVILY PIGMENTED SKIN* is capitalised and framed to capture the reader's attention and to emphasise that it is specifically directed at Black women. Moreover, emphasis is placed on the word 'luminous', as it is repeated liberally throughout the text by appearing in different semiotic locations. Although the advertised product is a skin whitening treatment, this label is omitted in the headline and other salient textual features. It also does not appear in any of the verbiage, except for the very small print on the images of the product. The fact that skin lightening practices are often publicly condemned and perceived as deliberate attempts to erase ethnicity, may account for this visible lack of semiotic texture in this regard. Based on this assumption, it is deduced that this might be the reason for omitting this term in the overall textual description by instead relying on relabelling referring to a *hyperpigmentation* treatment. This also explains the use of the word 'luminous' (to light up), which functions here as a synonym for 'whiten'.

e) Justine Luminessence

Metaphors, suggested by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) are widely used in advertisements to pique the reader's curiosity and to create an association or comparison between a product and certain qualities or values the text producer wants to establish. By displaying an inanimate object, this offer-image demonstrates Dyer's (1997) view of the symbolic significance of light in photographic media.



Figure 16: Justine Luminessence Even Tone Day Cream

The advertisement for *Justine Luminessence Even Tone Day Cream* (Fig. 16) strongly points to a feminine identity which is illustrated in the paramount use of pink in the text, as well as the presence of flowers and pearls captured in the imagery. These creative efforts appear to communicate an almost hyper-feminine theme.

Machin and Thornborrow (2003) claim that high levels of soft bright light can create celestial impressions in texts. This can be seen in the intensity of the bright, white light which produces a celestial effect that is emphasised through the lines reflecting in the background which strongly resemble rays of sunlight. In this regard, this creative effect seems reminiscent of the sun rising in the background. The visual image of the bottle is the most centred image and aims to captivate the reader's attention with this blazing display. With the illusion of the sun shining

in the background, the artistic impression composed through lighting techniques creates an almost blinding effect in the overall image of the text. The Greek philosopher Plato considers the sun to be the highest element of thought and views it as a metaphor for the source of ‘illumination’, which he also perceives as the most appropriate symbol for goodness in the world (Plato’s Metaphors, n.d.). Also, in the words of the Italian poet Dante: “There is no sensible thing in all the world more worthy to be an image of God than the sun, which with its sensible light illumines first itself, and then all celestial and elementary bodies: so God first illumines Himself with intellectual light, and then celestial and other intelligence” (Plato’s Metaphors, 2015). The aforementioned confirms that the symbolic significance of sunlight is recognised in many cultures worldwide with the sun universally perceived as a symbol of hope or rescue. In this example, the metaphorical use of the sun serves to provide the reader with a ray of hope as it peeks from behind the bottle which offers a solution or remedy to her skin problems. Visual modality is low which can be seen through the unrealistic appearance of the image which is enveloped in a blindingly, radiating light. The image of the bottle serves as a visual metaphor which presents the product as a symbol of hope that can rescue the reader and free her from all her skin problems.

Based on Machin and Van Leeuwen (2005), this example also demonstrates how advertising language gives writers and producers the freedom to invent and adapt words and expressions in terms of the creative aspect of texts. This can be seen in the name *luminessence* which is a combination of the words *luminous* and *essence*. In this example, it also functions as a derivative of the word ‘luminescence’ which is defined as “the emission of light by a substance that has not been heated, as in fluorescence or phosphorescence” (*South African Concise Oxford Dictionary*, 2007). Thus, the concept of light appears to be contextualised in terms of the linguistic label in conflation with artistic imagery.

The statement, ***CLINICALLY PROVEN TO EVEN OUT SKIN TONE of women of all ethnicities*** appears in bold and eye-catching print to grab the reader’s attention and to assign credibility to the product. However, unlike one of the previously analysed texts, no reference is made to a formal scientific study to support such claims. It is also communicated that this product is not limited to a specific group because it is manufactured for: *women of all ethnicities. Improves skin brightness and evenness for a more radiant, youthful-looking complexion*. Here, lightness is associated with youth because along with the other persuasive claims (e.g. *Improves skin*

brightness and evenness) the promise of youth is also introduced (Mire, 2005). Thus, the textual description mirrors the exact language style of previous advertisements by subtly communicating hegemonic ideas on light skin through the concept of ‘illuminating’.

6.3. Summary

The texts illustrate how ideas on skin lightening have undergone a transformation in present-day beauty advertisements and therefore, indicate how dominant discourses from past publications have found their way into contemporary beauty culture. Present-day beauty advertisements in True Love magazine share much commonality with those from a bygone era where light skin is valued and attached to social capital. Although there are visible differences in terms of overall textual composition and the type of products on display, and while certain repetitive messages in advertisements might not be obvious and deliberate to the reader, it is evident that underlying messages surrounding light skin seem to remain the same as certain aspirational discourses are contained and strategically being replaced with more industry acceptable techniques of the time.

Contemporary advertising language displays a shift in narrative whereby certain linguistic terms are being replaced with synonyms, which serves as a strategic marketing technique to communicate certain dominant ideas regarding beauty in a more subtle and possibly less controversial manner. With the exception of the *Coverderm* advertisement, none of the modern texts explicitly contains the word ‘light’ or ‘lighten’. Instead, contemporary beauty texts rely on synonyms in the forms of ‘radiance’, ‘illuminate’ and ‘even tone’.

The first theme introduces the association between light skin, beauty and success. Firstly, the idea of success is communicated in the form of a career woman who is using a skin lightening treatment to enhance her professional profile. In this aspect, light skin offers her a form of social capital. Secondly, the success of a public figure is used to communicate this thought. In this case, Vanessa Marawa’s celebrity status, as well as her success as the winner of a reality television show, encapsulate this element of success. Lastly, through creating the impression of a beauty pageant, the third advertisement conveys this idea by alluding to the model as a beauty queen with the ‘tiara’ on her head, along with a specific background setting which carries this theme.

Although no direct reference is made to skin bleaching or skin lightening, nor are there any deliberate linguistic expressions linking skin tone with beauty and success, the underlying message in the contemporary texts consistently suggests that skin tone remains an important physical trait in today's society, as it is linked to success. The two *Clere* texts may differ in terms of motive and objective when considering the different ways in which the two participants are framed and styled respectively, but the visible and corresponding traces between the two supports the inter-textual nature of texts and alludes to the claim of texts 'echoing' each other (Caple, 2010). Although the older advertisement may have failed in terms of visually conveying the notion of skin lightening considering the portrayal of the natural skin tone of the participant, the modern version succeeds in creating the illusion of a light-skinned Black woman. Thus, these two texts illustrate how resemiotization accounts for the repurposing and reusing of semiotic phenomena within multimodal texts.

Present-day advertisements not only display a transformation in terms of product name, label and purpose but clearly omit any tangible element or feature alluding to skin lightening. Or, as in the case of the *Coverderm* advertisement, refrains from using it in obvious textual descriptions by only showing it on the product container that is hardly visible in this example. Contradictions and ambiguity appear in both eras. The most significant and generalised perception in beauty culture is that beauty is only skin deep (Moeran, 2009). However, phrases such as *reduce dark marks from within* are especially challenging and serve as affirmation that skin tone issues reside within the individual and hereby, beauty is in fact, *not* only skin-deep, but essentially an internal emotive and individual concern. This contributes to the symbolic construct where female beauty is associated with light skin because dark marks and all the trappings of the Black skin are internalised. Indeed, texts such as these imply that there are negative emotional effects and burdens associated with having a Black skin and thus, their products are portrayed as solutions or symbols of hope. Also, the consistent hammering on synonyms such as *light, bright, radiate* and *illuminate*, alludes to the cultural and symbolic significance of light and lightness, where light is perceived as good, divine and the pursuit of all. This also comes to fore in one offer-image which relies on a celestial and heavenly effect to portray the advertised product as a symbol of hope.

Evidently, the older advertisements clearly illustrate a lack of technological advancements with regards to camera lighting and photographic techniques. Yet, they seem to rely on a natural and

seemingly realistic angle in the portrayal of the participants and also by providing more elaborate and lengthy textual descriptions, especially by placing emphasis on linguistic features such as adjectival phrases like *lighten*, *bright*, *natural* and *clear* for instance. Thus, lengthy textual descriptions are deployed to communicate the message of idealised light skin in beauty culture. On the other hand, modern advertisements seem to introduce new concepts by encapsulating out-dated and lengthy linguistic descriptions used in older texts under one umbrella term, e.g. *illuminate* and *radiance*, *evenness* which function as synonyms for 'light'. These texts also show the models with noticeable digitally lightened skin and one participant with long and straight hair extensions which reinforce the Anglo-Saxon beauty ideal. Apart from the fantasy element captured in their visual portrayals, generic background settings also remove all forms of authenticity and reality, thus alluding to an imaginary or symbolic world. Along with the unnatural and unrealistic depictions of models, deceptive marketing strategies in the form of exaggerated claims, insincere challenges and inflated scientific reports all contribute to low modality in contemporary texts.

Evidently, linguistic and visual resources have evolved to create more ethically responsible and socially sensitive forms of media texts while still containing certain hegemonic ideas concerning skin colour. The analysis reveals how long-existing marketing strategies are deployed in True Love magazine as reflected in the two *Clere* advertisements with similar layouts, and also the fact that public figures (Vanessa Marawa, Nakedi Ribane and Joan Smalls) are used to illustrate idealised notions of light skin. Thus, using celebrities and idols strive to contribute to dominant discourses, although these can also be perceived as attempts to create a sense of camaraderie between the reader and these public figures.

CHAPTER 7: THE VISUAL PORTRAYAL OF WOMEN

7.0. Introduction

The following section commences by investigating the stereotypical portrayal of Black models in order to unravel how linguistic and visual performances sustain forms of ‘Othering’. As an extension of the portrayal of Black models in True Love magazine, this section also takes a look at additional media texts which appeared in the monthly fashion column the Trend Report, to unpack how certain constrained and regressive constructions are created and reinforced in the domain of fashion. Furthermore, this section will investigate Hunter’s (2011) view on the ‘illusion of inclusion’ which she perceives as a strategic marketing technique used in the beauty industry to facilitate ethnic and racial diversity by including non-White representations of female beauty in media texts, while still reinforcing idealised forms of White beauty. The chapter concludes by unpacking the nature of idealised White representation to elucidate how certain forms of hegemony remain constant and alive and how idealised Eurocentric forms of female beauty become reinforced, inflated and normative through semiotic performances in the domain of commercial beauty culture.

7.1. The exotic ‘Other’

Images in the fashion industry commonly show Black models wearing animal-printed clothing, posing with an animal or in sexually suggestive or provocative positions. Generally, these illustrations also reflect a natural setting or background which shows natural landscapes or neutral settings displaying natural colours and earthy undertones. Examples of these were also reviewed in Chapter Three upon discussing the work of Jean-Paul Goude. Although the modelling industry - locally and internationally - has consistently succeeded in placing limitations on unconventional typologies of models who deviate from normative and hegemonic frameworks, recent years have indeed witnessed instances where notions of ‘Othering’ have proved to be advantageous, yet limiting and marginalising to the individual. An example which comes to mind is Sudanese-born model Alek Wek, who burst onto the international fashion arena in 1995 where she became popular for not conforming to the conventional image of ideal beauty which favoured Caucasian aesthetics (Foster, 2009). Arriving in London as a refugee at age fourteen, Wek made her breakthrough in the fashion industry where her ebony skin tone, long, thin frame and natural hairstyle contributed to her success as an international model and she was hailed for redefining hegemonic images of ideal

feminine beauty. However, although her unconventional physical features have set her aside from industry norms, it has also gained her the stereotypical label of the ‘exotic Other’ as she was and still is frequently portrayed in natural settings wearing animal-printed clothing or bold make-up, often assuming animal-like postures which strive to accentuate her ethnic origins (Foster, 2009).

Wek appeared in the editorial content of the February 2013 issue of True Love which contained a news clip of her being the new brand ambassador for international online shoe store, Melissa. This piece of information shows a visual image of the model posing on her back, immodestly displaying her long limbs while wearing a two-piece zebra-print costume (Fig. 17). In the text, her skin is completely bronzed and enhances her exotic appeal. This seemingly derogatory portrayal appears to be of a standardised nature in texts such as these. One cannot help but speculate about the creative efforts that involved this type of imagery, especially since the pair of shoes which should supposedly be the main focus, does not quite seem to be marked as textually important. In fact, the pair of shoes looks quite dull and not as striking in comparison to the rest of her outfit and effectively, seems to lose its importance in the text.

Incorporating notes of anise, apples, liquorice cream and mandarin, the fragrance is fresh and sexy. Available at Edgars stores.

COMPILED BY NICKI MUMFORD, NICKI MUMFORD AND THOMAS BULL
STYLING: DIANE CLAYTON (in 10/10/10) (Lipson 10/10/10)

The former Essence magazine editor-in-chief, Angela Burt-Murray, has teamed up with digital media strategist Shelly Jones to launch a celebrity news and style website, Cocoafab, for women of colour. The site covers urban pop culture and features up-to-the-minute news and exclusive interviews. For more information, visit www.cocoafab.com.

ALEK WEK FOR MELISSA
Sudanese-born supermodel Alek Wek is the brand ambassador for the Melissa Rainbow shoe collection. Melissa shoes lead the way in contemporary style and are a must-have for on trend footwear lovers. Using thermoplastic technology, these shoes are said to be a dream on your feet. With 20 million pairs of the shoes sold in 80 countries around the world, that statement must be true. Shop online for Melissa shoes at www.melissaza.co.za.

*Disclaimer: All product prices are suggested retail prices and are subject to change at the retailers' or suppliers' discretion.

Figure 17: Alek Wek

a) Rimmel Lasting Finish Foundation



Figure 18: Rimmel Lasting Foundation – Solange Knowles

This advertisement (Fig. 18) shows American pop star Solange Knowles promoting *Rimmel London Lasting Finish Foundation*. The text deviates from the conventional format proposed by Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) by showing a visual image of Knowles as the most centred feature. Rimmel is a popular British cosmetics brand and in this example, the real strives to illustrate this with the trademark, logo and slogan (*GET THE LONDON LOOK*) encapsulated at the bottom of the text. The Rimmel logo is printed in black against a white background to highlight this signage. This technique enhances salience in the real with the logo in the form of the burgundy crown and the slogan creating an eye-catching feature in the text. Additionally, the word *LONDON* printed in the brand colour and the phrase itself, can also be viewed as a strategic attempt to inform the unsophisticated reader of its cosmopolitan and global appeal which is now within her reach.

A full frontal image of Knowles' upper-body and head occupies the bulk of the single A4 page, with her hair appearing unnaturally full and big. Apart from the striking eye make-up, her hair appears to be the most eye-catching feature, although the advertised product is for skin and not hair. Knowles is making direct eye-contact with the reader in an attempt to narrow social distance, hereby demanding her attention and aspiring to create a pseudo-relationship (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006). However, depicting her with parted lips seems to produce a sexual connotation and does not really allude to an amicable relationship between reader and participant. Along with her dramatically enhanced physical traits, other aesthetics such as the bejewelled collar of her top, the excessive, chunky jewellery like the safety pins in the ears, silver rings and bangle on her wrist, contribute to an overly dramatic look which bears reference to the term 'hypersexualisation', that Sanger (2008:277) describes as "the ways in which black physical bodies have been sexualized and exoticised through colonial obsession with racial difference". The 'hyper' refers to a manic portrayal of sexuality whereby Black female sexuality is portrayed as being excessive and abundant. This hypersexuality is captured in the seductive way she is gazing at the camera with her lips parted and her hand next to her chin to draw further attention to her mouth. Also, her facial make-up is extremely bold and her eyes noticeably enhanced to create an exotic look. Moreover, it appears as if this hypersexual quality is enhanced by her bold and excessive physical adornments, as well as the abundant weave she is wearing which supports this dramatic look. Furthermore, the black colour of her hair and her dress seem to flow into one, hereby visually connecting these two features. In this regard, these two elements are in unison which provide for an enhancement of the colour black in the overall text. In terms of the communicative value of the colour black, it ensures for a dramatic effect in this text.

Verbiage in this text is limited to short phrases (e.g. *25 HOUR WOW!; 12 NEW SHADES EXCLUSIVELY DEVELOPED FOR SOUTH AFRICA; LASTING FINISH FOUNDATION; STRESS PROOF, FADE PROOF, SWEAT PROOF FOR UP TO 25 HOURS*). Delin (2000) refers to this as disjunctive syntax with sentences being cut up into more informative units. This provides for a more dynamic text with short utterances laying emphasis on different elements. Furthermore, a burgundy semiotic feature in the form of two strips serves as an eye-grabbing feature and contains the phrase, *25 HOUR WOW!* The exclamatory nature of this phrase attempts to create an element of shock, simultaneously supporting Knowles' dramatic and over-the-top appearance. Here, salience is achieved through the use of colour in

combination with grammatical features. The product name is printed directly below this textual element and is introduced by the adjective *NEW*, consequently introducing the reader to this new product on the market. The phrase *12 NEW SHADES EXCLUSIVELY DEVELOPED FOR SOUTH AFRICA* is visually repeated through the illustration of twelve teardrops indicating the different skin-tones, which also represents ethnic diversity. Accordingly, this semiotic feature encapsulates the hyper-diversity pertaining to race and ethnicity which is characteristic of South African society.

The line *STRESS PROOF, FADE PROOF, SWEAT PROOF FOR UP TO 25 HOURS* describes a very physically active lifestyle which exceeds normal hours in a day (*25 hours*). It also alludes to a very labour-intensive characteristic as it involves stress and lots of activity and perspiration. Based on Baumann (2008) who posits that dark skin is historically associated with the primitive, lack of sophistication, hard labour, lower social ranking, lack of prestige and so forth, this label subliminally describes the role and lifestyle of the traditional Black woman in history where hard physical labour was at the order of the day.

One of the key features in the marketing of any product is its name and label. A common occurrence in the beauty industry is the naming of cosmetic products, especially lipsticks and foundation shades to represent edible items. Names such as *Hot Chocolate*, *Warm Honey*, *Berry Blush*, etc. are typical examples which allude to the consumption of women often discussed in feminist literature. This also occurred in the *Pond's* advertisement analysed earlier which referred to chocolate. In this example, the name of the foundation shade is mentioned in the phrase, *SOLANGE KNOWLES wears shade Warm Caramel*. In this case, Knowles' skin tone is compared to a sugary substance, effectively appropriating her position as a woman of colour whose role in history was to be offered as an item to be consumed.

The magnified image of Knowles provides readers with a full view of her face. There appears to be little digital interference in terms of camera work, lighting and specialised creative effects in the form of shading, background colour, the use of sparkles and so forth. There are no lightly shaded areas or semiotic locations which reflect artistic attempts to capture elements of lightness - whether visual or verbal. However, pertaining to the overall appearance of her skin which is noticeably clear, poreless, blemishfree and seemingly flawless, it is evident that this image was indeed Photoshopped to achieve this alarmingly perfect look (Kilbourne, 1989).

But, Knowles does have a naturally light skin (Fig. 19) and thus, there appears to be no digital alteration or interference with regards to the portrayal of her skin colour.



Figure 19: Real-life image Solange Knowles

In light of the advertised product, it is important to note that the purpose of foundation is essentially to cover up flaws and therefore, it is fair to assume that the producers of this text would necessarily attempt to portray someone looking natural in terms of their complexion, as the desired effect would be to achieve a matt and finished look in terms of appearance. In this regard, modal value in terms of colour is high as the overall text produces a reasonably naturalistic and realistic effect by attempting to depict a potentially real-life image of her pertaining to skin colour, although it has obviously been retouched to erase noticeable flaws and imperfections.

b) L'Oréal Color Riche Les Ombres Shocking

This double-page advertisement (Fig. 20) includes a close-up image of Ethiopian-born top-model Liya Kebede. Although she is also typically perceived as a 'token' model in the international modelling arena, Kebede achieved great success in 2003 when she became the first woman of colour to represent cosmetic giant Estée Lauder, hereby becoming the first Black brand ambassador in the company's sixty-eighth year history (Iconic Management, 2015). The text reflects an exotic theme which is achieved through the creative use of colour in accordance with the rest of the semiotic texture. Moreover, Kebede's nationality, in combination with the French image and brand identity of the product itself, also convey this

exotic theme. Apart from assigning prestige to the product by mentioning its European origin, the colour composition, the product name, as well as the portrayal of an African model, can all be interpreted as supportive elements to cast the product as an exotic type of item in order to strengthen its appeal to the reader.



Figure 20: L'Oréal Color Riche Les Ombres – Liya Kebede

The close-up image depicts a heavily made-up Kebede with strikingly bright and bold cosmetic colours which seem reminiscent of an exotic and colourful bird. The mélange of colours used on her eyes is repeated in the background. Although the hues are much softer and subtle with mostly green and yellow nuances reflecting in the back, it seems supportive of Machin and Thornborrow's (2003) claim that rich and saturated colours like these create a sensual and enticing feel in texts of this nature. Kebede is casting her eyes downwards and avoiding eye-contact with the reader. The two most salient features are her eyes and her bright red mouth with her lips slightly parted. Similar to Knowles in the previous text, emphasis is placed on her intensely red lips which produce a sexualised quality in the text. By facing the reader with her eyes casted downwards – an angle which almost makes her appear coy and reserved - the reader assumes an elevated position by looking down on her from a superior position. This points to the text being viewed from a vertical angle and placing her in a position which renders her vulnerable to the reader's gaze. This indicates an imbalance in power with the reader

domineering her, and by avoiding eye-contact, social distance is also increased (Van Leeuwen, 2008).

The bottom of the text shows a brief testimonial by Kebede: *“IT’S NOT AN EYE SHADOW, IT’S MY COLOR RICHE SHOCKING S3”*. Saliency in this line is achieved through the white font which foregrounds this textual description. Although this phrase informs the reader about the unique quality of the product and its top of the range status, the shock element encapsulated in the name is further emphasised through the illustration of her eye-makeup and brightly coloured clothing. Similar to the previous text which contained a shock element that was verbalised and visualised in terms of the word *WOW!* in conflation with Knowles’ dramatic physical appearance, this text produces an identical semiotic quality through the creative use of colour as reflected in her appearance, facial make-up and verbally, through the product name itself (*COLOR RICHE SHOCKING S3*). Although the range of bright colours attempt to produce high modality with regards to colour, the visual image of Kebede does not appear very naturalistic and there are visible traces of digital alteration. A real-life image of Kebede can be seen in Fig. 21.



Figure 21: Real-life image - Liya Kebede

However, unlike other analysed texts which often appear to deliberately set out to deceive readers, this text actually has a digital manipulation disclaimer which comes across as an overt strategy to create transparency between the reader and the brand: *Liya is styled with lash inserts. Digital enhancement for visual effect. For more information please contact L’Oréal Paris*

Consumer Advisory on 0860 102 491. Although this text is printed in exceptionally fine print, the fact that it is there, allows for a measure of trust and faith in the brand as a whole.

The black strip located in the centre contains verbiage and an image of the product and acts as a framing device as it assists in textual organisation with the images of Kebede on both sides. It also contributes to brand personality by creating an element of mystery and sensuousness which is reflected in the overall styling of Kebede's role. Unlike the colour white, which is commonly used to create a clinical and stark appearance in beauty texts, the colour black creates an aura of mystique and eroticism. Apart from its own salient role to highlight textual features and the product image itself, it also appears to foreground the adjacent images of Kebede by providing a contrast and making it appear more visible and artistically captivating to the reader. Additionally, this framing device creates the boundary between fantasy and reality suggested by Van Leeuwen (2008). In this regard, the reality of the product is conveyed along with the fantasy element created in the portrayal of Kebede.

Similar to the previously analysed text, linguistic descriptions are minimal and also appear in point form: ***COLOUR BOOST TECHNOLOGY PROVOCATIVE COLOURS FOR INSTANT IMPACT. SOFT AND SILKY TEXTURE, EASY TO APPLY. INCREDIBLY SMOOTH FEEL.*** Here, disjunctive syntax proposed by Delin (2000) leads to the elimination of verbs to create compact sentences with more than one focal point. Poetic devices such as alliteration, rhythm and rhyme (*instant impact, soft and silky texture, easy to apply*) allow for easy readability and to create brand recall (Machin & Van Leeuwen, 2005). Also, seductive language in the form of phrases such as *soft and silky texture, easy to apply, incredibly smooth* alludes to a sensuous element which not only communicates qualities of the brand personality but also describes characteristics of the product and the emotive values of the colours as portrayed in the text.

One of the key features that surfaces in this text is the element of provocation which is verbalised in the textual description (*provocative colours*) and also contextualised in the physical portrayal of Kebede. For instance, one image portrays her gazing downwards but with her lips seductively parted while offering one side of her profile to the reader. Looking downwards makes her appear vulnerable, hereby placing the reader in a dominant position. However, the manner in which she is styled with the excessive make-up and her lips slightly parted, conveys a coquettish quality in her depiction. This alludes to a sexually provocative

theme, albeit in a very subtle manner and seems reminiscent of the image of the Jezebel proposed by West (1995). The second image depicts her with a bare shoulder while glaring at the reader. With her hands placed on her hips, this image strives to evoke some sense of provocation as she is portrayed in a more overtly suggestive and daring fashion. This shows a complete opposite side of the previous image with Kebede now assuming an almost confrontational position. In this instance, she fits the description of the threatening and argumentative Sapphire (West, 1995). By making eye-contact with the reader she is demanding her attention. Yet, the manner in which this is conveyed appears to contain a touch of aggression which ultimately, increases social distance. Apart from suggestions by Baumann (2008) that dark skin is historically associated with threat, aggression, virility, mystery, villainy and danger, including West's (1995) view on the historical portrayal of Black women (Sapphire, Jezebel, Mammy), the manner in which Kebede is styled appears to connect with the concept of 'tropicalism' suggested by Molina Guzman and Valdivia (2004). The authors use the term to describe imagery and portrayals of mediated Latina hyper-sexualized bodies within popular culture where bright colours, rhythmic music and brown or olive skin serve as valorised signifiers of this embodiment. Physical characteristics describe the 'spitfire female Latina' with bright red-coloured lips, bright seductive clothing, curvaceous hips and breasts and extravagant jewellery (Molina Guzman & Valdivia (2004). Thus, there appears to be some form of overlapping with regards to stereotypical portrayals of minority women.

Evidently, the meaning-potential of these images is enhanced through combined semiotic effects such as the shocking (provocative) colours against the subdued and mysterious black presence in the background which render a provocative nature to the text as a whole. Along with linguistic descriptions which rely on poetic devices to reinforce this sensuous and provocative quality, as well as the visual portrayal of the participant who shows different personalities (e.g. coquettish, coy, threatening and argumentative), historical discourses in the form of stereotypical figures like Jezebel and Sapphire, strive to affirm earlier claims regarding the stereotypical portrayal of Black women in advertisements like these.

c) Illustrations of Black models in True Love Trend Report

Plous and Neptune (1997) suggest that advertising discourses tend to reflect a recurring stereotypical notion by depicting women of colour wearing animal-print clothing, especially predatory animals (e.g. leopard, cheetah, tiger) combined with sexualised animal-like poses.

The following illustrations (Fig. 22 & 23) appeared in the February and October 2013 publications and depict images of women that support the aforementioned. Figure 22 shows the participant wearing two different types of animal-print clothing - a leopard-print jacket and tiger-printed pants. Although this type of dress may appear to be rather excessive, it may possibly have an artistic function in this context as well. The accompanying verbiage is printed in big and bold, red print: *RED HOT SIREN* From revealing lingerie to tempting lace, *PALESA MAHLABA* shows you how to heat things up. In this case, the term 'siren' also alludes to historical discourses in North American society where stereotypical portrayals of Black women include generalised roles such as the Jezebel, the Siren, the tragic Mulatto, Sapphire and the Mammy figure (West, 1995). The participant is portrayed as the sexualised Siren whose role is limited to the seduction and entertainment of the (White) opposite sex. The rest of the verbiage indicates how the sexualised meaning of animal-print clothing is not only affirmed through the display of provocative poses or body exposure but also through supporting linguistic descriptions of photographic images (e.g. *red hot siren, revealing lingerie to tempting lace*). This example also seems supportive of Gladden's (1993) claims discussed in Chapter Two that animal-prints evoke sexual stereotypes and apparently make women feel more sexy, wild, seductive and beautiful.



Figure 22: Trend Report



Figure 23: Trend Report

Figure 23 shows a model wearing animal-print clothing that is repeated in her accessories, e.g. shoes, bag and headgear. In both these texts, this excessive use of animal-print almost appears to be redundant and over-emphasised. Still, apart from the stereotypes and underlying messages produced and reinforced in these texts, the most fundamental element which poses a challenge on these portrayals appears to be the fact that the text producer is a Black South African female, e.g. *PALESA MAHLABA shows you how*. It is fair to assume that texts of this nature are created by individuals with a certain vision of the magazine in mind and as a True Love journalist, she plays a pivotal role in sustaining certain stereotypes reflected in this material. In essence, the fact that this text was produced by a Black South African woman proves to be a proclamation that Black women in media are influential and play instrumental roles when it comes to the production of texts of this nature which contribute to negating dominant media discourses.



Figure 24: Trend Report



Figure 25: Trend Report

Figure 24 shows the same model with head gear reflecting an Ndebele influence which indicate how traditional and culturally significant symbols have been absorbed in fashion discourses. Furthermore, the type of accessories (e.g. multi-coloured furs, feathers and tassels) in Figures 25 and 26 also seem to encapsulate this tribal theme. Additionally, the model has a particularly dark complexion which is enhanced through facial cosmetics. This can also be interpreted as a deliberate attempt to further strengthen the African cultural discourse as reflected in these texts and alludes to Balogun’s (2012:341) claim that “dark skin is important for Africans in the

international modelling industry because it makes them exotic looking so they stand out”. Hereby, dark skin is often displayed as a bold and artistic impression, instead of an authentic representation inclusive of a broad spectrum of phenotypic traits.



Figure 26: Trend Report



Figure 27: Trend Report

Figure 27 appeared in the May 2013 issue and shows a model wearing a bright orange head-wrap, also known as a turban or locally referred to as a ‘doek’. Although the head-wrap is perceived as a traditional African garment that gained symbolic significance as a symbol of struggle in the transatlantic trade, in this context, it appears to encapsulate a tropical theme that is also contextualised through the bold and colourful jewellery and artefacts worn by the participant. The combination of colours in particular, seems to contribute to this exotic flair and tropical appeal. Additionally, her bold, chunky jewellery appear excessive and dramatic. These rings are also very similar to the type of jewellery discussed in the previous texts. Moreover, the fact that the styling was done by a Black woman (*Thami Kwazi shows you how....*) supports claims mentioned above that Black women occupy pivotal roles in producing media which show constrained stereotypes.

7.2. The ‘illusion of inclusion’

Hunter (2011) speaks of the ‘illusion of inclusion’ which is a marketing strategy to include women of colour and to eliminate the risk of alienating these consumers from advertised images that exclusively display images of White beauty. In this regard, cosmetic companies use fair-skinned women of colour in advertised images to indicate that they are inclusive of all

skin colours, while simultaneously sustaining the message that beauty is limited to the White body.

a) Estée Lauder Double Wear make-up

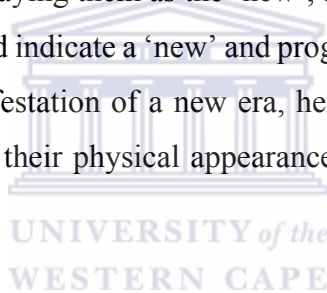


Figure 28: Estée Lauder Double Wear Makeup

This double-page A4 size advertisement for Estée Lauder (Fig. 28) shows three women of noticeable different ethnicities. The entire left page (given) is devoted to a visual image of French model Constance Jablonski, who is the epitome of the idealised Anglo-Saxon beauty: young, thin, White, with long straight blond hair and blue eyes (Dai, 2014). In comparison to the other two models who are both cropped on the adjacent page (new), she is positioned much closer to the camera lens and therefore, noticeably closer to the reader. In this instance, she is enjoying a significant amount of textual importance. Unlike the other two participants who are both displaying a minimal amount of flesh, her bare shoulders and upper body reveal a significant amount of flesh. As a result of this, the colour of her skin seems to be enhanced as she appears to be paler and much lighter than the other two. This also has a contrasting effect, hereby making the other two participants who are also completely dressed in black appear darker and noticeably smaller in the text. The fact that she is located as the ‘given’ contributes to her dominant role in the text. Because Jablonski adheres to all the conventional beauty ideals as perpetuated in mainstream media, her physical appearance is presented as the norm and something readers would be familiar with. This implies that conventional Western beauty

ideals appear in a standard format which is known, accepted and not considered 'new'. For example: White skin, blond hair, blue eyes = ideal beauty.

One of the women on the opposite page is Puerto-Rican model Joan Smalls, who became the first Latina brand ambassador for Estée Lauder in 2011. The Chinese model on the left, Lui Wen became the first spokes model of Asian descent for Estée Lauder in 2010. Dai (2014) puts forward that Asian models are rarely used to advertise cosmetics such as eye-shadow, eyeliners or lip colours and they usually appear in groups with other models to indicate the advertised product's suitability for women along an entire range of ethnicities or skin tones. In this example, by incorporating two participants of different ancestry, the communicated message aspires to include women of diverse cultural and ethnic backgrounds. But, the fact that they represent the 'new' in the text, indicates that their physical appearances deviate from the norm because they do not fit the characteristic description of the ideal beauty that prevails in mainstream media. Also, by portraying them as the 'new', attempts are made to communicate that their ethnicity and background indicate a 'new' and progressive trend in the industry where cultural diversity serves as manifestation of a new era, hereby welcoming individuals of all races and ethnicities. In essence, their physical appearances are presented as being new and different.



Moreover, when considering the physical appearance of the two non-White models, it is clear that their presence does not disrupt or deconstruct the message of idealised Eurocentric forms of female beauty. Both Smalls and Wen have light skin, long straight hair and are exceptionally slender. In this regard, their physical appearances seem to mirror those of Jablonski's - almost complementing and enhancing her dominant role in this text. But, the manner in which they are portrayed reveals that they occupy a less significant role in the text. They are dressed in dark clothing, display less skin and are positioned much further from the camera lens. Additionally, Jablonski is depicted in an upright and straight position and in full view of the camera, while the other two appear to be framed in side-way poses with their bodies facing each other. Cortese (2008:44) appropriates the concept of function ranking proposed by Goffman (1976) which illustrates gender equality in advertisements, and associates this with "the conscious or unconscious omission or underrepresentation of women and ethnic minorities" which he perceives as acts of "symbolic annihilation". Illustrations of this nature tend to show Caucasian models in central and dominant roles, while non-White models play

supportive and contributory roles. As shown in this text, this type of function ranking tends to enhance and inflate Eurocentric values with the White model occupying a superior role, as opposed to the Asian and Latina models who appear to occupy less significant roles. As the traditional Anglo-Saxon beauty, Jablonski is portrayed as superior, dominant and familiar, as opposed to the other two who are presented as different, unconventional and ‘new’, although in a mediated format.

b) Clarins Flawless Foundation



Figure 29: Clarins Flawless Foundation

This text for *Clarins Flawless Foundation* (Fig. 29) contains three participants of different ethnicities. The three women are naturally styled with minimal make-up. The White model is positioned in front and in full view of the reader which enhances her dominant role in the text. She is blonde with blue eyes and noticeably lighter in skin colour. The model on the left has dark hair and brown eyes which deviate from idealised Anglo-Saxon beauty norms and therefore, does not appear to interfere with the depiction of the White model. In contrast to the portrayal of the other two, the Black participant is located in the corner of the text. The frame shows her partly hidden body and her side-profile as she is glancing sideways.

Unlike her counterparts, the White model in front appears with all her physical features intact. On the other hand, the rest of the participants have parts of their heads absent from the frame. She is also wearing clothing lighter in colour, which lightens her complexion and makes her

appear more salient (lighter) than the others. The two models in the back are wearing darker colours and in this instance, they are contributing to her dominant role in the text by making her appear visually lighter. In this example, the Caucasian model in front occupies a dominant and superior role which can be seen in her physical appearance and the manner in which she is styled. The other two participants render a supportive function by making her appear lighter and thus, textually more significant. Therefore, aspects of function ranking are displayed through appearance, differences in clothing and framing.

7.3. A lighter shade of pale

Dyer (1997:122) speaks of the glow of White women and explains that “Idealised white women are bathed in and permeated by light. It streams through them and falls on to them from above. In short, they glow.” He further argues that the “angelically glowing white woman” is an extreme representation, mostly because it is an idealisation which he interprets as a symbolic statement about the role of women as morally pure and virtuous.

According to Baumann (2008) advertised images of White women commonly point to wealth, luxury and privilege, mostly visible through high-end and elite designer labels on display. They are often used in advertisements promoting luxury items, such as perfume, jewellery, designer or elite brands, etc. which suggest a desirable and prestigious lifestyle. Examples of these are illustrated below which show three advertisements for three international elite designer labels. Except for minor textual differences with regards to the overall presentation of the participants, the resemblances between the three are remarkably similar.

a) Thierry Mugler

This advertisement (Fig.30) for *Thierry Mugler ALIEN ESSENCE ABSOLUE* contains a visual image of a woman styled to look like an alien which encapsulates the supernatural element in the text. As the central and most salient feature in the text, this mythical fantasy image shows her with extra-terrestrial qualities in the form of an abnormally thin bodily shape, her physical pose, the awkward positioning of her upper-body, her striking facial make-up and hairstyle. Her ethereal appearance is further enhanced through her gold outfit with a sheer, chiffon robe flowing in the background.



Figure 30: Thierry Mugler Alien

The effect of the gold metallic dress is extended into her facial makeup and alien-looking hairstyle which also contains metallic artefacts. This overwhelming use of metallic gold, along with the brand and advertised product point to an element of luxury and wealth in the text. It also seems reminiscent of the Grimm's's fairy tale mentioned in Chapter Two with the “good” daughter being showered with gold as a reward for her beauty, virtue and goodness (Baker-Sperry & Grauerholdtz, 2003).

There is a visible lack of textual features in this text which is limited to the brand name, the product name and a small contributory subheading below the image of the perfume bottle. Photographic credits and the website name are printed in a minute font size on the left side of the text. Advertisements of this nature are commonly associated with well-known commercial and high-end, luxurious products where the brand name alone is sufficient to create brand recognition. In this case, the name *Thierry Mugler* strives to provide adequate support for brand recognition.

As the most centred element in the text, the woman's appearance is not only enhanced through her dramatic make-up and clothing, but also through her complexion. Through digital enhancing techniques, her skin colour does not merely appear light in colour, it almost looks translucent. The unnatural background setting supports the supernatural and unrealistic theme with showers of golden rain reflecting in the background. Overall modality is noticeably low in this text with a visible lack of linguistic detail in support of the advertised product, while the image of the participant also deviates from a natural and realistic portrayal of the female form.

b) Paco Rabanne



Figure 31: Paco Rabanne Lady Million

Dyer (1982) also suggests that the purpose of props in advertisements can either be very prominent or reasonably insignificant. Props are used to illustrate symbolic values attached to certain facets in media texts. For example, a luxurious and expensive car may signify notions of wealth, power, security and luxury. This element is captured in the black and white text for *Paco Rabanne Lady Million* (Fig. 31) which shows a visual image of a young, Caucasian model. Supporting features contextualising this element of wealth, luxury and power, occur in the form of an image of a Porsche in the background, including the type of clothing worn by the participant. This is in line with Dyer (1982) who explains that props can be both signifying

and functional at the same time. In this example, readers can identify the Porsche as a metaphorical prop that signals connotations of prestige, wealth and superior quality. It is unclear to judge from the text whether her provocative, bejewelled see-through dress is an actual dress or merely an illusion created to display her body covered with diamonds in the shape of a dress.

The literature suggests that body weight and body-image related concerns are predominantly limited to White bodies and affect economically privileged White girls and women (Caradas, Lambert & Charlton, 2001). With her thin, slender frame and blond hair, the participant is also the epitome of the ideal Anglo-Saxon female beauty described in previous chapters. Her blond hair is slightly dishevelled - not heavily styled and looks almost as if it is blown by a fan. The camera light makes her skin appear extremely pale and similar to the previous text, her skin also looks translucent. Her physical appearance alludes to Dyer's (1997) claims of the 'angelically glowing White woman' in media culture whose flaxen hair and White skin are enhanced through camera works and lighting which effectively make them glow. She is wearing minimal make-up, although her lips are particularly accentuated and parted slightly. In combination with her playful, coquettish pose, her confident body language and facial expression contribute to her carefree persona which is also displayed in the seemingly nonchalant manner in which she is flicking her fingers and balancing the image of the bottle of perfume in the form of a gold diamond.

By making direct eye-contact, the participant is demanding the reader's attention. By enticing the reader into a pseudo-relationship, the idea is to welcome the reader into her lifestyle and expose her to a desired lifestyle where expensive clothing, glitz, glamour and luxury sports cars are the norm. The text contains minimal textual features which show the name of the website at the bottom of the page, as well as the attention-grabbing brand name printed in big and bold gold letters across the page. The actual name of the perfume is not printed anywhere in the text, except on the image of the perfume bottle – *Lady Million*. Similar to the Thierry Mugler advertisement, the Paco Rabanne brand name is an iconic and well-established international luxury brand and therefore, there is no need to deploy additional semiotic resources to facilitate brand recognition. In essence, the black and white tint of the text, along with the eye-catching, shiny gold text across the page, in conflation with the luxury sports car and the image of the blonde, White woman allude to a desired lifestyle of luxury and opulence.

c) TAG Heuer

According to Berger (2010) wristwatches are not merely fashion accessories or useful for indicating time, they are also indicators of stylishness, discrimination and socio-economic class. TAG Heuer is a Swiss manufacturing company specialising in the design and production of watches, fashion accessories and eyewear amongst others. This advertisement (Fig. 32) shows renowned Hollywood actress, Cameron Diaz staring into space as if deep in thought with a TAG Heuer watch wrapped around her fingers. In the text, she is styled in a well-groomed and highly sophisticated fashion. Her bronze one-shoulder dress matches the monotone background of the text. By assuming a sideways pose, Diaz is avoiding eye-contact with the reader and thus, this offer-image positions the reader as an invisible onlooker.



Figure 32: TAG Heuer - Cameron Diaz

Feeley (2002) claims that physical appearance influences the evaluation of other traits and speaks to existing literature on the “what is beautiful is good” theory which suggests correlations between ratings of attractiveness and social competence, intelligence, integrity and general mental health. Also referred to as the ‘halo effect’ advertised images indicate that

highly attractive models are generally more effective for generating positive responses toward the product on display. The halo effect is also located in this text as it provides information about the brand's commitment to corporate social responsibility which is expressed in the following statement: *COMMITMENT TO BENEFIT UN WOMEN. Cameron Diaz and TAG Heuer support UN women and its mission to empower women worldwide.* In this regard, she is also portrayed in a positive light as notions of virtue, goodness and nobility are encapsulated in her role as brand ambassador.

Diaz is also the epitome of the Anglo-Saxon beauty ideal: White, tall, thin, blond and blue-eyed. And, as an internationally acclaimed actor, her social status is used to render prestige to this product. Social distance is maintained by avoiding eye-contact with the reader, which also emphasises Diaz's superior status. The theme of sophistication and superiority associated with this Swiss brand is enhanced through the overwhelming presence of metallic bronze that is repeated throughout the text. The use of this specific monotone, metallic semiotic feature contributes to the elevated status of the brand and also deviates from a natural and realistic quality in the text as a whole.

7.4. Summary

The first theme reveals that certain stereotypes of Black beauty are enhanced in True Love advertisements as shown in the texts of Solange Knowles and Liya Kebede. Black women are visibly sexualised by showing them with parted lips and in provocative poses. Semiotic performances in the form of colour compositions, verbal and visual representations allude to an aura of mystery, drama and sexual connotation. Excessive physical portrayals in the form of posing, facial make-up, hair, clothing and artefacts such as bold and chunky jewellery, describe Sanger's (2008) view on 'hypersexualisation' where Black women are sexualized and exoticised - reminiscent of historical colonial discourses pertaining to the Black female form. Additionally, historical discourses are recalled as stereotypes of Black women are reinforced through depictions of roles such as Jezebel, Sapphire and Siren as suggested by West (1995).

The notion of 'illusion of inclusion' proposed by Hunter (2011) reveals that aspects of function ranking are responsible for assigning textual significance to White representation by minimising the roles of non-White women in texts. This theme also demonstrates how

cosmetic companies use light-skinned Black women to include non-White women in their marketing discourse while retaining the preference assigned to light skin. By presenting Anglo-Saxon beauty ideals as the given, Eurocentric characteristics are portrayed as ‘natural’ and normative, as opposed to non-conventional typologies of beauty which are portrayed as different and ‘new’. Thus, under the guise of including other ethnicities, the prevailing message is that lighter-skinned Black women or Western mediated standards of beauty are the preferred presentation of ideal feminine beauty.

The third theme suggests that constructs of Whiteness are not only contextualised through phenotypic traits, nor social constructs such as race, but also through manifestations of wealth, luxury and privilege as illustrated through high-end and elite designer labels which point to desirable lifestyles and spaces. In fact, it seems to be enhanced and over-emphasised in media texts of this nature which depict White women as whiter and richer. They are portrayed as virtuous, noble and superior. Also, there is an association with rhetoric themes in fairy tales which appears to be repeated, refurbished and re-represented as one model is showered with gold. White beauty is rewarded and associated with goodness, virtue, prosperity and wealth, which can be seen in the advertisement of Cameron Diaz because it speaks of her association with a corporate social benefit, as well as the Paco Rabanne text with the Porsche in the background. In these texts, Caucasian models advertise elite brands, not meant for the masses. They are rewarded for their beauty and goodness by being showered with gold, more beauty and Whiter skin. Essentially, these illustrations depict an almost ‘hypered’ element regarding the visual construction of Whiteness and White beauty in commercial media texts such as these.

CHAPTER 8: GENERAL REMARKS AND CONCLUSION

8.1. Introduction

This study examined the construction of ideal feminine beauty as portrayed in the True Love advertising repertoire and set out to determine exactly how visual and textual elements conflate to sustain longstanding and existing dominant discourses. This chapter provides a conceptual description of the research questions this investigation anticipated to answer. It also contains general remarks relative to the study, the limitations encountered and concludes with recommendations for future research.

8.2. Research questions addressed

By critically examining the construction of beauty as portrayed in True Love advertisements, this study set out to determine the following answers:

8.2.1. How is feminine beauty constructed in True Love?

Present-day advertising content in True Love reflects a mirror image of previous eras by focusing on beauty culture. The substantial amount of advertisements focusing on beauty indicates that there appears to be minimal progress, as hair and skin are still the two central attributes that enjoy prime status in beauty culture.

Contemporary texts for skin care deviate from reality by creating unrealistic portrayals of women. Modern-day media texts seem to rely more on a fictional and fantasy element where different creative effects are achieved through advanced technology. This especially applies to contemporary skin care advertisements where abstract images are created through digital alteration methods which show women with digitally lightened skin. Furthermore, this is achieved through the use of low modality settings, colour and lighting, including specific creative choices in background, styling and overall appearance of the participants.

Most of the texts contribute to the femininity of the magazine by using gender-specific colours such as pink, lilac, etc. One of the most noticeable characteristics in the majority of texts is the close coordination of colours in the titles, logos, clothes, background, setting and other textual features which indicate specific stylization techniques. Although these are all contributory to textual cohesion, it also suggests a further remove from reality since background settings are

unnatural. Furthermore, the fact that backgrounds are not clearly articulated, blank, or in some cases portrayals of artistic impressions, also affirms low modality value.

Based on Kress and Van Leeuwen's (2006) observations that naturalistic modality indicates authenticity and that texts with higher naturalistic modality value are therefore considered to be more authentic since they present a more realistic and accurate portrayal of a real-life image, this paper determines that modern-day True Love skin care advertisements have low modality because they portray unrealistic images of women. Through photo-manipulation techniques some of the participants appear with digitally lightened skin and look nothing like their real-life images. Thus, these advertised images in True Love magazine are highly stylized, digitally manipulated and hardly present real-life images of how these models may appear in face-to-face interactions.

Irrespective of the type of advertisement, it seems as if idealised characteristics of beauty are tailor-made to suit hegemonic preferences of mainstream media. These texts show women with slim bodies, blessed with smooth even-toned, radiating skin and a few of them with long, straight hair. These physical qualities also indicate what culture defines as ideal female beauty.

8.2.2. How do linguistic strategies and visual resources shape and reinforce certain constructs of ideal feminine beauty in True Love advertisements?

Although certain hegemonic constructs and ideologies remain alive and constant, the discursive fluidity of social change in a democracy such as ourselves, require that the power structure consider the masses and to a certain extent be sensitive in the domain of media. In this regard, certain ideas cannot be explicitly communicated which accounts for the replacement of certain terms with synonyms in contemporary advertisements. However, it does not mean that messages and beliefs advocating and promoting a certain typology of ideal beauty are not being subliminally conveyed.

Creative resources in the form of intertextuality, resemiotization and semiotic remediation account for the fact that many of the texts seem to echo one another, thus retaining certain hegemonic ideas. For instance, advertisements from the two different eras bear striking similarities with participants visibly styled and framed in identical positions, although minor differences occur in physical appearance and communicated messages have been refurbished.

This may also be indicative of longstanding marketing strategies. Semiotic remediation and intertextuality also show how songs are fabricated as slogans that promote ideological convictions.

Digital alteration techniques and photographic manipulation are predominantly used in mass media to portray advertised images resembling ideals closer, which means that it effectively enhances rather than detracts from the norm. Thus, White women look whiter, thinner, richer and blonder. Caucasian models all have light hair and are never portrayed with dark hair. With their long, blond hair and blue eyes, they are photographed in positions of superiority – closer to the camera-lens and in full view of the reader with their darker-skinned counterparts providing supportive roles. The White woman dominates as she glows from these pages. In texts where non-White models appear with Caucasian models, light-skinned Black women portray Western mediated standards through physical appearances which seem to emulate those of their White counterparts. Based on Hunter's (2011) view of the 'illusion of inclusion' it seems that this marketing strategy is liberally used under the premise of fostering ethnic diversity and to include women from all racial backgrounds, yet it reinforces the belief that Anglo-Saxon beauty norms are the only valorised signifiers of idealised beauty.

Moreover, fashion imagery portray Black women as predatory and animal-like by showing them in predatory animal-printed clothing, which illustrate creative compositions based on a cultural discourse emblematic of ethnicity and culture. Also, Black women contribute to stereotypical portrayals by producing media texts which show constrained and regressive forms of Black representation. Historical discourses are recalled as stereotypical roles of Black women (Sapphire, Jezebel and Siren) are reinforced in texts which show them as seductive, provocative, threatening, excessive and abundant.

8.2.3. How does the conflation of visual and verbal semiotics generate meaning and contribute to reinforcing dominant discourses in the construction of ideal feminine beauty?

Advertisements use language to equate Whiteness to perfection and beauty. This is also reflected in product names which show parallels between Whiteness and ideal beauty. By using personal narratives, first-person speech, celebrities and Black models, the advertising

repertoire of True Love attempts to solidify links with its readership. Although these attempts aim to emphasise Black identity and Black culture, subliminally the message of idealised Eurocentric values remains consistent and seems to have survived chronologically as the current ideal still supports this unrealistic portrayal of females. Using celebrities to endorse brands leads to ideals of feminine beauty being misrepresented and further perpetuates the unrealistic model of female attractiveness. Although standards of beauty appear to have shifted, the basic premise remains the same. Having a light skin colour is associated with sophistication, social mobility, success and the resulting financial and economic well-being. Personal narratives by media personalities are used to address the readership directly, thus communicating certain sets of ideals. By using public figures to endorse products, certain aspirational values are fostered. Light skin is seen as a form of social capital by linking beauty to success.

Contemporary texts rely abundantly on terms such as *flawless*, *radiance*, *illuminating* and *even tone* which function as synonyms to communicate ideas on light skin. The use of poetic devices is rife in True Love advertisements and not only performs a practical function, but also has an ideological purpose as certain dominant ideas are enhanced and reinforced.

8.2.4. Has there been a change in the construction of feminine beauty with regards to semiotic performances across time and space?

There is no significant change between beauty advertisements from 2013 and those from 1981 and 1982. Apart from differences in language style, the basic content remains the same as certain aspirational values pertaining to light skin prevail. Historical and racist discourses strive to link Blackness and Black identity with nature and the natural as shown in the *Look of Nature* text. Both eras indicate that having a light skin colour is associated with sophistication, social mobility, success and the resulting financial and economic well-being. Contemporary texts showing Black women reflect idealised Eurocentric values with phenotypic traits being digitally altered to produce inauthentic representations of Black beauty. Images such as these tend to reinforce certain hegemonic ideas on beauty. Current beauty and advertising discourses also reflect a modern twist which is conveyed in the type of advertising language used. Thus, by composing contemporary forms of the visual language of Whiteness, certain messages are repeated extensively in advertised texts.

The deluge of beauty advertisements indicates that the role of a magazine such as True Love who portrays itself as a companion and guide on womanhood, is eclipsed by the ubiquity of advertising. The advertising repertoire of True Love seems to display a chronological conundrum with a persistent hammering on skin tone which stems from a bygone era bearing testimony of a divided society that favoured certain race groups and elements of hegemony. Evidently, very little has changed in their advertising discourse with a sustained focus on skin colour, with the result that certain ideological narratives have been contained and to a certain measure, even enhanced.

8.3. Conclusion

This investigation has affirmed the importance of semiotic analysis within the sphere of critical discourse analysis of advertising. The hegemonic standard of beauty dictates that women should conform to a specific ideal. Despite progressive efforts in post-apartheid South Africa such as affirmative action for instance, there has been a counter-culture in mass media where hegemonic and discriminative discourses continue to pose challenges on contemporary South African society. Socio-cultural meanings attached to phenotypic traits such as skin and hair, remain significant in contemporary society as a result of the repeated themes in media, especially advertising. The consequential emphasis on beauty culture and the omnipresence of idealised imagery in mainstream media are responsible for composing and sustaining the belief that Whiteness is the only valid prototype of beauty.

The whitewashing of Black models show how idealised preferences in media prevail. Advertisements display how the message of White superiority and supremacy is constructed visually and verbally, ultimately producing an overall ‘visual language of Whiteness’ which leads to devaluing and erasing forms of Black identity, while enhancing forms of White representation. The portrayal of White beauty in media texts also strives to enhance and inflate constructs of Whiteness, simultaneously negating and devaluing Blackness by generally showing prestigious and supreme forms of White representation. By subliminally and covertly undermining forms of Black ethnicity in commercial texts, these acts are performed deliberately to create and contextualise a ‘visual language of Whiteness’ in True Love advertisements.

Evidently, attaining the beauty ideal requires a lot of money and beauty rituals are time-consuming activities. Therefore, it is fair to assume that beauty ideals are indeed created and maintained by society's elite and by those who have access to resources. Advertising is commonly perceived as a social tool whereby people are educated and introduced to new concepts and new experiences, while ultimately seeking personal fulfilment. Therefore, it seems problematic that the same messages are being conveyed subliminally which provides for little change in the beauty discourse as the same ideal is being sustained. There continues to be a social premium on light skin.

This paper exposes existing dominant cultural narratives in the True Love advertising discourse that simultaneously produce and inflate an idealised Eurocentric version of feminine beauty. The hegemonic standard of feminine beauty dictates that women conform to a specific ideal which involves engaging in practices such as skin lightening, hair straightening or wearing weaves which are often considered to be negating experiences. Judging by the overall composition and styling reflected in the True Love advertising repertoire, it is fair to conclude that the magazine appears to promote and celebrate feminine beauty based on a Eurocentric ideal.

8.4. Limitations of the present study

There are various limitations of this study that need to be considered. The selected advertisements are only representative of a very small sample because not all advertisements in the monthly issues were analysed in this study. A larger sample would possibly yield more significant results. The fact that the researcher was unable to view actual copies of the magazine dating from the 1980s may also have had a significant impact in terms of sampling and text selection. Also, it would have been beneficial to the study if the researcher could have obtained publications dated shortly after the magazine's re-launch in 1995 to determine how beauty ideals were presented in a new democracy. Unfortunately, this was not possible.

8.5. Future research

The findings for this study emphasise the need for an in-depth and implicit look into the portrayal of Black South African women in advertising discourse. Recognizing the fact that True Love is essentially a women's magazine and thus, this feminine identity would be communicated in all aspects, it does seem problematic that the deluge of beauty content implies

that women are concerned with little else than skin and hair. Based on this, it would be useful to explore other avenues to investigate exactly how much of the content is devoted to other material which may incidentally reflect alternative representations of women. Also, the opinions of women as receivers of these messages could possibly provide for a more conceptual approach. Hence, interviewing a sample of readers might be another avenue to explore in order to shine some light on the opinions of women as consumers and receivers of this type of media material.



BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Agger, G. 1999. Intertextuality Revisited: Dialogues and Negotiations in Media Studies. *Canadian Aesthetics Journal*, 4 [online], Available at: http://www.uqtr.quebec.ca/AE/vol_4/gunhild.htm [Accessed 20 September 2014].
- Ahmad, J. 1995. *Constructed Identities: Black Women in Contemporary South African Magazine Advertisements*. Honour's Thesis, University of Cape Town. Cape Town.
- Albani, F. 2005. *Thinness Matters: The Impact of Magazine Advertising on the Contemporary Beauty Ideal*. M.A. Thesis. Miami University, Miami.
- Ashikari, M. 2005. 'Cultivating Japanese Whiteness – The 'Whitening' Cosmetics Boom and the Japanese Identity.' *Journal of Material Culture*, 10(1), pp.73-91.
- Baker-Sperry, L. & Grauerholz, L. 2003. 'The Pervasiveness and Persistence of the Feminine Beauty Ideal in Children's Fairy Tales'. *Gender & Society*, 17(5), pp.711-726.
- Banet-Weiser, S. 1999. *The Most Beautiful Girl in the World: Beauty Pageants and National Identity*. Berkley: University of California Press.
- Banks, I. 2000. *Hair Matters: Beauty, Power, and Black Women's Consciousness*. New York: New York University Press.
- Barthes, R. 1977. 'The Photographic Message'. In: Sontag, S. (Ed.), *A Barthes Reader* (Trans. Heath, S.). New York: Hill & Wang, pp. 194-210.
- Baumann, S. 2008. 'The Moral Underpinnings of Beauty: A Meaning-based Explanation for Light and Dark Complexions in Advertising'. *Poetics*, 36, pp. 2-23.
- Bazerman, C. 1993. 'Intertextualities: Volosinov, Bakhtin, Literary Theory, and Literacy Studies'. [online], Available at: <http://mina.education.ucsb.edu/bazerman/chapters/35.intertextualities.doc> [Accessed 20 May 2015].
- Beetham, M. 1996. *A Magazine of her own?: Domesticity and Desire in the Woman's Magazine, 1800-1914*. London: Taylor & Francis e-library.

Bennett, T. & Woollacott, J. 1988. *Bond and Beyond: The Political Career of a Popular Hero*. London: Macmillan.

Berger, J. 1972. *Ways of Seeing*. London: BBC and Penguin Books.

Bezuidenhout, I. 1998. *A Discursive-Semiotic Approach to Translating Cultural Aspects in Persuasive Advertisements*. M.A. Thesis. Available at: <http://www.ilze.org/semio> [Accessed 30 September 2015].

Bhatia, V., Flowerdew, J. & Jones, R.H. 2008. *Advances in Discourse Studies*. New York: Routledge.

Bignell, J. 2002. *Media Semiotics: An Introduction*, 2nd ed. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press.

Blair, L. & Shalmon, M. 2005. 'Cosmetic Surgery and the Cultural Construction of Beauty'. *Art Education*, 58(3), pp.14-18.

Blay, A. Y. 2011. 'Skin Bleaching and Global White Supremacy: By Way of Introduction'. *The Journal of Pan African Studies*, 4(4), pp.4-46.

Bolter, J.D. & Grusin, R. 1999. *Remediation: Understanding New Media*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press.

Bordo, S. 1993. *Unbearable Weight: Feminism, Western Culture and the Body*. Berkeley, California: University of California Press.

Brooks, D. E. & Hébert, L. P. 2006. 'Gender, Race, and Media Representation'. In: Dow, B. and Wood, J. (Eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Gender and Communication*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, pp.279-319.

Bryant, S. 2007. 'The Beauty Ideal: The Effects of European Standards of Beauty on Black Women'. *Columbia Social Work Review*, 4, pp. 80-91.

Burke, T. 1996. *Lifebuoy Men, Lux Women: Commodification, Consumption and Cleanliness in Modern Zimbabwe*. Durham, North Carolina: University Press.

Burman, E., Kottler, A., Levett, A. & Parker, I. 1997. 'Power and Discourse: Culture and Change in South Africa'. In: Levett, A., Kottler, A., Burman, E. & Parker, I. (Eds.), *Culture, Power and Difference: Discourse Analysis in South Africa*. Cape Town, London: UCT Press: Zed Books, pp. 17-30.

Burns, R. 2000. *Introduction to Research Methods*. London: Sage.

Cambridge Dictionaries Online. 2013. [online], Available at:

<http://www.dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/retouch?q=Retouching+> [Accessed 31 July 2015].

Caple, H. 2010. 'Doubling-Up: Allusion and Bonding in Multisemiotic News Stories'. In: Bednarek, M. & Martin, J.R. (Eds.), *New Discourse on Language Functional Perspectives on Multimodality, Identity, and Affiliation*. London New York: Continuum, pp.111-133.

Caradas, A.A., Lambert, E.V. & Charlton, K. 2001. 'An Ethnic Comparison of Eating Attitudes and Associated Body Image Concerns in Adolescent South African Schoolgirls.' *Journal of Human Nutrition and Dietetics*, 14 (2), pp.111-120.

Carroll, S. 2014. 'The Construction and Perpetuation of Whiteness'. *Journal of Unschooling and Alternative Learning*, 8(15), pp.92-116.

Chandler, D. 2002. *Semiotics: The Basics*, 2nd ed. London New York: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group:

Charles, C. A. 2003. 'Skin Bleaching, Self-hate and Black Identity in Jamaica'. *Journal of Black Studies*, 33, pp.711-728.

Collins, P. H. 2000. *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*, 2nd ed. New York: Routledge.

Collins, P.H. 2004. 'Very Necessary: Redefining Black Gender Ideology'. In: Collins, P.H. (Ed.), *Black Sexual Politics: African Americans, Gender, and the New Racism*. New York & London: Routledge, pp.181-212.

Conradie, M. 2011. 'Constructing Femininity: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Cosmo'. *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies*, 29(4), pp.401-417.

Conradie, M. 2013. 'Reason-tickle Patterns in Intertextual Print Advertising'. *Language Matters: Studies in the Languages of Africa*, 44(2), pp.5-28.

Cook, G. 1992. *The Discourse of Advertising*. London: Routledge.

Cortese, A. J. 2008. *Provocateur: Images of Women and Minorities in Advertising*, 3rd ed. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Croteau, D., Hoynes, W. & Milan, S. 2003. *Media/ Society: Industries, Images, and Audiences*, 4th ed. Los Angeles London: Sage Publications.

Currie, D. 1997. 'Decoding Femininity: Advertisements and Their Teenage Readers'. *Gender & Society*, 11(4), pp.453-477.

Dadzie, O. E., & Petit, A. A. 2009. 'Skin Bleaching: Highlighting the Misuse of Cutaneous Depigmenting Agents'. *Journal of the European Academy of Dermatology & Venereology*, 23(7), pp.741-750.

Dai, V. 2014. On the Edge: The New Orientalism in American Advertising. *Wellesley College Digital Scholarship and Archive* [online], paper 173. Honor's Thesis. Available at: <http://repository.wellesley.edu/thesiscollection/173/> [Accessed 10 October 2015].

Davies, M.M. & Mosdell, N. 2006. *Practical Research Methods for Media and Cultural Studies: Making People Count*, 6th ed. Athens: University of Georgia Press.

Delin, A. 2000. *The Language of Everyday Life*. London: Sage Publications.

Denzin, N.K. & Lincoln, Y.S. 1994. *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Dines, G., Jensen, R. & Russo, A. 1998. *Pornography: The Production and Consumption of Inequality*. London: Routledge.

Disney Wikia. 2015. The Disney Wiki [online], Available at:
<http://www.disney.wikia.com/wiki/Tiana> [Accessed 10 April 2015].

Dittmar, H., Halliwell, E. & Ive, S. 2006. 'Does Barbie Make Girls Want to be Thin? The Effect of Experimental Exposure to Images of Dolls on the Body Image of 5-to 8-Year Old Girls'. *Developmental Psychology*, 42(2), pp.283-292.

Donnelly, D. 2008. 'Globalised Girlhood: The Teaching of Femininity in Cosmopolitan and True Love'. *Global Media Journal*, 2(1), pp.32-52.

Draelos, Z. D. 2002. 'Self-tanning Lotions: Are they a healthy way to achieve a tan?' *American Journal of Clinical Dermatology*, 3(5), pp.318-318.

Dyer, G. 1982. *Advertising as Communication*. London and New York: Routledge.

Dyer, R. 1997. *White*. London and New York: Routledge.

Englis, B.G., Solomon, M. & Ashmore, R. D. 1994. 'Beauty before the Eyes of the Beholders: The Cultural Encoding of Beauty Types in Magazine Advertising and Music Television'. *Journal of Advertising*, 23(2), pp.49-64.

Erasmus, Z. 1997. 'Oe! My hare gaan huistoe!': Hair-styling as Black Cultural Practice.' *Agenda: Empowering women for gender equity*, 13(32), pp.11-16.

Erasmus, Z. 2000. 'Hair Politics'. In: Nuttall, S. & Michael, C. (Eds.), *Senses of Culture*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press, pp. 380-392.

Fairclough, N. 1989. *Language and Power*. New York: Longman.

Fairclough, N. 1992. *Discourse and Social Change*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Fairclough, N. 1995. *Media Discourse*. London: Edward Arnold.

Fairclough, N. 2003. *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research*. New York: Taylor & Francis Routledge.

- Feeley, T.H. 2002. 'Evidence of Halo Effects in Student Evaluations of Instruction'. *Communication Education*, 51 (3), pp.225-236.
- Fei, V.L. 2007. 'The Visual Semantics Stratum: Making Meaning in Sequential Images'. In: Royce, T.D. & Bowcher, B. (Eds.), *New Directions in the Analysis of Multimodal Discourse*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, pp.195-213.
- Feng, D. & Wignell, P. 2011. 'Intertextual Voices and Engagement in TV Advertisements.' *Visual communication*, 10 (4), pp.565-588.
- Ferguson, M. 1983. *Forever Feminine: Women's Magazines and the Cult of Femininity*. London: Heinemann Educational Books.
- Fihlani, P. 2013. Where Black is not really Beautiful. *BBC NEWS* [online], 1 January 2013. Available at: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-20444798> [Accessed 24 June 2015].
- Foster, E. 2009. Controlling Images of African women: The Hottentot Venus, Alek Wek & the Thought of Stuart Hall, *Concept Villanova University* [ejournal], 33. Available at: <http://concept.journals.villanova.edu/article/view/321> [Accessed 31 August 2015].
- Freeman, H. 2014. Why Black Models are rarely in Fashion. *The Guardian* [online], 18 February 2014. Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/feb/18/black-models-fashion-magazines-catwalks> [Accessed 29 September 2015].
- Friedan, B.1997. *The Feminine Mystique*. New York London: W.W. Norton & Company.
- Fujioka, Y. 2005. 'Black Media Images as a Perceived Threat to African American Ethnic Identity: Coping Responses, Perceived Public Perception, and Attitudes towards Affirmative Action'. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 49(4), pp.450-467.
- Gell, A. 1992. 'The Technology of Enchantment and the Enchantment of Technology'. In: Coote, J. & Sheldon, A. (Eds.), *Anthropology, Art and Aesthetics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp. 40-63.

Gilman, S. 1985. 'The Hottentot and the Prostitute: Toward an Iconography of Female Sexuality'. In Willis, D. (Ed.), *Black Venus 2010 They Called Her "Hottentot"*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, pp.15-31.

Gladden, R. M. 1993. *Call of the Wild: Animal Fashions and the Dehumanization of Women*. Honor's Thesis, Wesleyan University, Middletown, C.T.

Glenn, E.N. 2008. 'Yearning for Lightness: Transnational Circuits in the Marketing and Consumption of Skin Lighteners'. *Gender & Society*. 22 (3), pp.281-302.

Goddard, A. 1998. *The Language of Advertising: Written Texts*. London and New York: Routledge.

Goffman, E.1976. *Gender Advertisements*. New York: Harper & Row Publishers.

Goldman, R. 1992.*Reading Ads Socially*. London: Longman.

Gramsci, A. 1971. *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. New York: International Publishers.

Gripsrud, J. 2002. *Understanding Media Culture*. London: Oxford University Press.

Gross, L. 1991. 'Out of the Mainstream: Sexual Minorities and the Mass Media'. In: Wolf, M. & Kielwassen, P. (Eds.), *Gay People, Sex, and the Media*. Binghamton, N.Y: Haworth Press. pp. 19-46.

Haboush, A., Warren, C. S., & Benuto, L. 2012. 'Beauty, Ethnicity and Age: Does Internalization of Mainstream Media Ideals Influence Attitudes Towards Older Adults?' *Sex Roles*, 66 (9-10), pp.668-676.

Hall, C.C. 1995. 'Beauty in the Soul of the Beholder: Psychological Implications of Beauty and African American Women'. *Cultural Diversity and Mental Health*, 1 (2), pp.125-137.

Hall, S. 1981. 'The Whites of Their Eyes: Racist Ideologies and the Media'. In: Bridges, G. & Brunt, R. (Eds.), *Silver Linings: Some Strategies for the Eighties*. London: Lawrence & Wishart, pp.18-22.

Halliday, M.A.K. 1978. *Language as Social Semiotic*. London: Edward Arnold.

Harris, A. C. 1989. Sell! Buy! Semiolinguistic Manipulation in Print Advertising. Semiotics [online], Available at: <http://www.csun.edu/~vcspc005/advertis.html> [Accessed 3 August 2015].

Hasan, R. 1994. 'The Texture of a Text'. In: Graddol, D & Boyd-Barrett, O. (Eds.), *Media Texts: Authors and Readers*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd. pp. 74-89.

Hidalgo Downing, J. 2003. Text World Creation in Advertising Discourse. [online], Available at: <http://pendientedemigracion.ucm.es/info/circulo/no13/hidalgo.htm> [Accessed 10 September 2015].

Hoey, M. 1991. *Patterns of Lexis in Text*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hook, B. 1989. 'Straightening Our Hair'. In Hooks, B. (Ed.). *Talking Back: Thinking Feminist, Thinking Black*. New York: South End Press, pp. 1-5.

Hunter, M. 1998. 'Colorstruck: Skin Color Stratification in the Lives of African American Women'. *Sociological Inquiry*, 68(4), pp.517-35.

Hunter, M. 2002. 'If you're light you're alright': Light Skin Colour as Social Capital for Women of Colour'. *Gender & Society*, 16(2), pp.175-193.

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

Hunter, M. 2007. 'The Persistent Problem of Colorism: Skin Tone, Status, and Inequality'. *Sociology Compass*, 1(1), pp.237-254.

Hunter, M. 2011. 'Buying Racial Capital: Skin-Bleaching and Cosmetic Surgery in a Globalized World'. *The Journal of Pan African Studies*, 4(4), pp.142-164.

Iconic Management, 2015. Liya Kebede's Blog, 8 October 2015, [online] Available at: www.inconicmanagement.com/category/liya-kebede [Accessed 10 October 2015].

Iedema, R. 2003. 'Multimodality, Resemiotization: Extending the Analysis of Discourse as Multi-semiotic Practice'. *Visual Communication*, 2(1), pp.29-57.

Iedema, R. 2010. 'Resemiotization of a Policy Initiative: Promoting Open Disclosure as 'Open Communication about Clinical Adverse Events''. In: Prior, P.A. & Hengst, J.A. (Eds.), *Exploring Semiotic Remediation as Discourse Practice*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, pp. 139-155.

Janus, N. 1977. 'Research on Sex Roles in the Mass Media: Towards a Critical Approach'. *Insurgent Sociologist*, 7, pp.19-30.

Jeeves, A. 2004. 'South Africa in the 1940s: Post-War reconstruction and the onset of apartheid'. *South African Historical Journal*, 50(1), pp.1-11.

Jewitt, C. 2009. *Routledge Handbook of Multimodal Analysis*. London and New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group.

Jewitt, C. & Oyama, R. 2001. 'Visual Meaning: A Social Semiotic Approach'. In: Van Leeuwen, T. & Jewitt, C. (Eds.). *Handbook of Visual Analysis*. London: Sage, pp. 132-156.

Jhally, S. 1990. *The Codes of Advertising: Fetishism and the Political Economy of Meaning*. London: Routledge.

Jhally, S. 1995. 'Image-based Culture: Advertising and Popular Culture'. In: Dines, G. & Humez, J.M. (Eds.), *Gender, Race and Class in Media: A text-reader*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, pp. 77-88.

Jones, C. & Shorter-Gooden, K. 2003. *Shifting: The Double Lives of Black Women in America*. New York: Harper Collins Publishers.

Julien, N. 2014. Skin Bleaching in South Africa: A Result of Colonialism and Apartheid? *Discovery: Georgia State Honors College Undergraduate Research Journal* [online], 2(4). Available at <http://scholarworks.gsu.edu/discovery/vol2/iss1/4> [Accessed 20 October 2015].

Kates, S.M. & Shaw-Garlock, G. 1999. 'The Ever Entangling web: A Study of Ideologies and Discourses in Advertising to Women'. *Journal of Advertising*, 28 (2), pp.33-49.

Kempadoo, K. 2009. Gender, Race and Sex: Exoticism in the Caribbean. *Grupo de Trabalho 5* [online], Available at: <http://www.desafio.ufba.br/gt5-003.html> [Accessed 31 August 2015].

Kilbourne, J. 1989. Transcript: *Killing Us Softly 4: Advertising's Image of Women*. [online]. Available at: <http://www.definatalie.com/killing-us-softly-4/> [Accessed 20 March 2015].

Kite, L., & Kite, R. 2011. Beauty Whitewashed: How White Ideals Exclude Women of Colour. *Beauty Redefined* [online], 1 February 2011. Available at: <http://www.beautyredefined.net/beauty-whitewashed-how-white-ideals-exclude-women-of-color/> [Accessed 12 August 2014].

Kress, G. 1998. 'Front Pages: The (Critical) Analysis of Newspaper Layout'. In: Bell, A. & Garrett, P. (Eds.), *Approaches to Media Discourse*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.186-219.

Kress, G. & Hodge, R. 1979. *Language as Ideology*. London: Routledge.

Kress, G. & Van Leeuwen, K. 2002. Colour as a Semiotic Mode: Notes for a Grammar of Colour. *Visual Communication*, 1(3) pp. 343–368.

Kress, G. & Van Leeuwen, T. 2006. *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design*, 2nd ed. London: Routledge.

Kuumba, B. & Ajanaku, F. 1998. 'Dreadlocks: The Hair Aesthetics of Cultural Resistance and Collective Identity Formation.' *Mobilization: An International Quarterly*, 3(2), pp.227-243.

Laden, S. 2001. 'Magazine Matters: Toward a Cultural Economy of the South African (Print) Media'. In: Tomaselli, K.G. & Dunn, H. (Eds.), *Critical Studies on African Media and Culture: Media, Democracy and Renewal in Southern Africa* Denver: International Academic Publishers, pp. 181-208.

Laden, S. 2003. 'Who's Afraid of a Black Bourgeoisie? Consumer Magazines for Black South Africans as an Apparatus of Change'. *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 3(2), pp.191-216.

Lakoff, G. & Johnson, M. 1980. *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Leech, G.N. 1972. *English in Advertising: A Linguistic Study of Advertising in Great Britain*. London: Longman.

Leiss, W., Kline, S. & Jhally, S. 1990. *Social Communication in Advertising: Persons, Products & Images of Well-being*, 2nd ed. London New York: Routledge.

Lemke, J. 2012. 'Multimedia and Discourse Analysis'. In: Gee, J.P. & Handford, M. (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. New York: Routledge, pp. 79-89.

Leong, S. 2004. 'Code-mixing 'Race' and 'Whiteness': A Triangulated Analysis of the Neutrogena Advertisement'. *Perspectives: Working Papers in English & Communication*, 16(1), pp.100-134.

Leong, S. 2006. 'Who's the fairest of them all? Television Ads for Skin-whitening Cosmetics in Hong Kong'. *Asian Ethnicity*, 7(2), pp.167-181.

Li, E.P., Min, H.J., Belk, R.W., Kimura, J. & Bahl, S. 2008. Skin Lightening and Beauty in Four Asian Cultures. In: Lee, A.Y. & Soman, D. (Eds.), *NA - Advances in Consumer Research*. Duluth, MN: Association for Consumer Research, pp.444-449.

Louw, C. & Naidoo, T. 2010. Health News: Sorisha's Skin Cream Probed. *Sunday Times* [online], 30 January 2010. Available at <http://timeslive.co.za/sundaytimes/2010/01/30/sorisha-s-skin-cream-probed> [Accessed 11 July 2015].

Machin, D. & Mayr, A. 2012. *How to Do Critical Discourse Analysis: A Multimodal Introduction*. Los Angeles London New York: Sage Publications.

Machin, D. & Thornborrow, J. 2003. 'Branding and Discourse: The Case of Cosmopolitan'. *Discourse & Society*. 14(4), pp.453-471.

Machin, D. & Van Leeuwen, T. 2005. 'Language Style and Lifestyle: the case of a global magazine.' *Media, Culture & Society*, 27(4), pp.577-600.

Machin, D. & Van Leeuwen, T. 2007. *Global Media Discourse: A Critical Introduction*. London & New York: Routledge.

Mama, A. 1995. *Beyond the Masks*. London & New York: Routledge.

Maplesden, A. 2009. *Embodying Disney Dreams: The Representation of Femininity and Whiteness in Recent Disney Animated Films*. M.A. Thesis. Victoria University of Wellington, Wellington.

Mattelart, M. 1986. *Women, Media, Crisis, Femininity and Disorder*. London: Comedia.

McCracken, E. 1993. *Decoding Women's Magazines: From Mademoiselle to Ms. Front Cover*. New York: Macmillan.

McKinney, K. D. 2005. *Being White: Stories of Race and Racism*. New York: Routledge.

McQuail, D. 2000. *Mass Communication Theory: An introduction*, 4th ed. London: Sage.

McQuarrie, E.F. & Mick, D.G. 1996. 'Figures of Rhetoric in Advertising Language.' *The Journal of Consumer Research*, 22(4), pp.424-438.

McRobbie, A. 1999. *In the Culture Society: Art, Fashion and Popular Music*. London: Routledge.

Media24. 2015. m24m.co.za [online], Available at: <http://m24m.co.za/m24markets/true-love/> [Accessed 26 June 2015].



Media24. 2015. m24m.co.za [online], Available at: <http://www.media24.com/magazines/truelove/> [Accessed 26 June 2015].

Meinhof, U. 1994. 'From the Street to the Screen: Breadline Britain and the Semiotics of Poverty'. In: Meinhof, U.H. & Richardson, K. (Eds.), *Text, Discourse and Context: Representations of Poverty in Britain*. London: Longman Harlow, pp.67-92.

Mercer, K. 1987. Black Hair/ Style Politics. *New Formations*, 2, 33-54

Metrolyrics, n.d. [online] Available at: <http://metrolyrics.com/beautiful-lyrics-christina-aguilera.html> [Accessed 31 October 2015].

Millard, J. 2009. 'Performing Beauty: Dove's "Real Beauty" Campaign'. *Symbolic Interaction*, 32(2), pp.146-168.

Miller, E. L. 1969. 'Body Image, Physical Beauty and Colour among Jamaican Adolescents'. *Social and Economic Studies*, 18(1), pp.72-89.

Milkie, M. 1999. 'Social Comparisons, Reflected Appraisals, and Mass Media: The Impact of Pervasive Beauty Images on Black and White Girls' Self-Concepts'. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 62 (2), pp.190-210.

Mire, A. 2001. 'Skin-Bleaching: Poison, Beauty, Power, and the Politics of the Colour Line'. *Resources for Feminist Research*, 28(3-4), pp.13-38.

Mire, A. 2005. The Emerging Skin-Whitening Industry. *Counterpunch* [online], 28 July 2005. Available at: <http://www.counterpunch.org/2005/07/28/the-emerging-skin-whitening-industry/> [Accessed 30 September 2015].

Mire, A. 2010. Pigmentation and Empire. *The New Black* [online], 14 August 2010. Available at: <http://www.thenewblackmagazine.com/view.aspx?index=2382> [Accessed 26 August 2015].

Moeran, B. (2009). *Advertising and the Technology of Enchantment: The Portrayal of Beauty in Women's Fashion Magazines*. Copenhagen Business School, Department of Intercultural Communication and Management, Frederiksberg.

Mohanty, C.T. 1988. 'Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses.' In: Mohanty, C.T., Russo, A. & Torres, L. (Eds.), *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, pp.51-79.

Molebatsi, N. 2009. 'Locating African Natural "hair-y-tage" in Shampoo TV Advertisements.' *Scrutiny 2: Issues in English Studies in Southern Africa*. 14 (1), pp. 21-30.

Molina Guzmán, I. & Valdivia, A.N. 2004. 'Brain, Brow, and Booty: Latin Iconicity in U.S. Popular Culture.' *The Communication Review*, 7, pp. 205-221.

Morrow, W. 1973. *400 Years without a Comb*. San Diego: Black Publishers.

Najafian, M. & Ketabi, S. 2011. 'Advertising Social Semiotic Representation: A Critical Approach'. *International Journal of Industrial Marketing*, 1(1), pp.63-78.

Narunsky-Laden, S. 2008. 'Identity in post-Apartheid South Africa: 'Learning to belong' through the (commercial) media'. In: Hadland, A., Louw, E., Sesanti, S. & Wasserman, H. (Eds.), *Power, Politics and Identity in South African Media*. Cape Town: HSRC Press, pp. 124-148.

Odhiambo, T. 2008. 'The Black Female Body as a 'Consumer and a Consumable' in Current Drum and True Love Magazines in South Africa'. *African Studies*, 67(1), pp.71-80.

O'Halloran, K. L. 2011, in press. 'Multimodal Analysis and Digital Technology'. In: Baldry, A. & Montagna, E. (Eds.), *Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Multimodality: Theory and Practice*. Campobasso: Palladino.

Ono, K.A. & Buescher, D.T. 2001. 'Deciphering Pocahontas: Unpackaging the Commodification of a Native American Woman'. *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, 18(1), pp.23-43.

Osuri, G. 2008. 'Ash-coloured Whiteness: The Transfiguration of Aishwarya Rai.' *South Asian Popular Culture*, 6(2), pp.109-123.

Parameswaran, R., & Cardoza, K. 2009. 'Melanin on the Margins: Advertising and the Cultural Politics of Fair/Light/White Beauty in India.' *Journalism and Communication Monographs*, 11(3), pp.213-274.

Patton, T. O. 2006. "Hey Girl, Am I More than My Hair?: African American Women and Their Struggles with Beauty, Body Image, and Hair.' *NWSA Journal*, 18(2), pp.24-51.

Pazarzi, E. & Tsangaris, M. 2008. 'Constructing Women's Image in TV Commercials: The Greek Case'. *Indian Journal of Gender Studies*, 15 (1), pp.29-50.

Peiss, K. 1998. *Hope in a Jar: The Making of America's Beauty Culture*. New York: Metropolitan Books.

Pike, K. 1975. 'On Describing Languages.' In: Austerlitz, R. (Ed.), *The Scope of American Linguistics: Papers of the First Golden Anniversary Symposium of the Linguistic Society of America*. Lisse: Peter de Ridder Press, pp. 26-27.

Pitts, V. 2003. *In the Flesh: The Cultural Politics of Body Modification*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Plado Costante, M. M. 2013. *The Effects of Facebook Images on Women's Self-Esteem and Body Image*. M.A. Thesis. State University of New York, New York.

Plato's Metaphors, n.d. *Crystal Links* [online], Available at:
<http://www.crystalinks.com/platometaphors.html> [Accessed 20 June 2015].

Plous, S. & Neptune, D. 1997. 'Racial and Gender Biases in Magazine Advertising.' *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 21(4), pp.627-644.

Pollay, R. W. 1986. 'The Distorted Mirror: Reflections on the Unintended Consequences of Advertising'. *Journal of Marketing*, 50(2), pp.18-36.

Prior, P. A. & Hengst, J. H. 2010. *Exploring Semiotic Remediation as Discourse Practice*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Ribane, N. 2006. *Beauty: A Black Perspective*. Scottsville, South Africa: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.

Richins, M. 1991. 'Social Comparison and the Idealized Images of Advertising'. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 18(1), pp.71-83.

Ritchie, J. 2003. 'The Applications of Qualitative Methods to Social Research'. In: Richie, J. & Lewis, J. (Eds.), *Qualitative Research Practice: A guide for social science students and researchers*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, pp.24-46.

Rondilla, J.L. 2007. *Is Lighter Better?: Skin-Tone Discrimination among Asian Americans*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Rooks, N. 1996. *Hair Raising: Beauty, Culture, and African American Women*. Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

Saltzberg, E. A. & Chrisler, J. C. 1995. 'Beauty is the Beast: Psychological Effects of the Pursuit of the Perfect Female Body.' In: Freeman, J. (Ed.), *Women: A Feminist Perspective*, 5th ed. Mountain View, CA: Mayfield Publishing Company, pp. 306-315.

Sanger, N. 2007. *Representations of Gender, Race and Sexuality in Selected English-medium South African Magazines, 2003-2005*. PhD. University of the Western Cape, Department of Women's and Gender Studies, Cape Town.

Sanger, N. 2008. 'There's got to be a man in there': Reading Intersections between Gender, Race and Sexuality in South African Magazines'. *African Identities*, 6 (3), pp.275-291.

Sanger, N. 2009. 'New women, old messages? Constructions of Femininities, Race and Hypersexualised Bodies in Selected South African Magazines, 2003-2006'. *Social Dynamics*, 35(1), pp.137-148.

Sarie, 2012. Voorbladgesig-finalis: Agter die Skerms met Johanna Bezuidenhout. *Sarie*. [online], Available at: <http://www.sarie.com/lewe-liefdes/hieroor-praat-mense/voorbladgesig-finalis-agter-die-skerms-met-johanna-bezuidenhout/> [Accessed 11 September 2015].

Sauers, J. 2009. Why Photograph A Black Woman In A Cage? *Jezebel* [online], 14 August 2009. Available at: <http://jezebel.com/5337618/why-photograph-a-black-woman-in-a-cage> [Accessed 20 May 2015].

Scollon, R. & Wong Scollon, S. 2003. *Discourse in Place: Language in the Material World*. London New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group.

Sengupta, R. 2006. 'Reading Representations of Black, East Asian, and White Women in Magazines for Adolescent Girls'. *Sex Roles*, 54(11), pp.799-808.

Shefer, T. 2010. 'Narrating Gender and Sex in and through Apartheid Divides.' *South African Journal of Psychology*, 40(4), pp.382-395.

Shevde, N. 2008. 'All's Fair in Love and Cream: A Cultural Case Study of Fair & Lovely in India'. *Advertising & Society Review*, 9(2), pp.1-9.

Singer, N. 2008. Buying Face Cream? Grab a Glossary. *The New York Times* [online], 2 October 2008. Available at: <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/10/02/fashion/02skin.html?pagewanted=print> [Accessed 30 September 2015].

Smith, G. 2011. The Politics of Black Beauty. *Cosmopolitan* [online] October, Available at: http://issuu.com/gail.I.smit/docs/politics_of_black_beauty_cosmo_magazine/1 [Accessed 31 September 2015].

South African Concise Oxford Dictionary. 2007. Southern Africa: Oxford University Press.

Steinberg, S. R. 2011. 'The Book of Barbie: After Half a Century, the Bitch Continues to have Everything.' In: Steinberg, S.R. (Ed.), *Kinderculture: The Corporate Construction of Childhood*, 3rd ed. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, pp. 249-263.

Tambiah, S. 1968. 'The Magical Power of Words'. *Man New Series*, 3(2), pp.175-208.

Tate, S. 2007. 'Black Beauty: Shade, Hair and anti-Racist Aesthetics.' *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 30(20), pp.300-319.

Thompson, J.B. 1984. *Studies in the Theory of Ideology*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Tolson, A. 1996. *Mediations: Text and Discourse in Media Studies*. London: Edward Arnold.

Van Leeuwen, T. 2006. *Introducing Social Semiotics*. London. Routledge.

Van Leeuwen, T. 2008. *Discourse and Social Practice: New Tools for Critical Discourse Analysis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Van Zoonen, L. 1991. 'Feminist Perspectives on the Media'. In: Curran, J. & Gurevitch, M. (Eds.), *Mass Media and Society*. London: Edward Arnold, pp. 33-54.

Vestergaard, T. & Schroder, K. 1985. *The Language of Advertising*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Warner, M. 1994. *From the Beast to the Blonde*. London. Chatto & Windus.

Weitz, R. 2001. 'Women and their Hair: Seeking Power through Resistance and Accommodation.' *Gender & Society*. 15 (5), pp.667-686.

West, A. 2010. 20 Years of Adobe Photoshop. *Web Designer Depot* [online], 1 February 2010. Available at: <http://webdesignerdepot.com/2010/02/20-years-of-adobe-photoshop/> [Accessed 12 June 2014].

West, C. 1995. 'Mammy, Sapphire, and Jezebel: Historical Images of Black Women and Their Implications for Psychotherapy.' *Psychotherapy Theory Research & Practice*, 32(3), pp.458-466.

Who's Who Southern Africa, 2015. [online], Available at: <http://whoswho.co.za/vanessa-marawa-26179> [Accessed 20 September 2015].

Widdowson, J. 2000. *Comprehension and Cohesive Devices*. London: Longman.

Winship, J. 1987. *Inside Women's Magazines*. New York: Unwin Hyman.

Withalm, G. 2003. 'Commercial Intertextuality'. In: Petrilli, S. & Calefato, P. (Eds.), *Logica, dialogica, ideologica. I segni tra funzionalità ed eccedenza*. Milano: Mimesis, pp.425-435.

Wodak, R. 1995. 'Critical Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis'. In: Verschueren, J., Östman, J. & Blommaert, J. (Eds.), *Handbook of Pragmatics Manual*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, pp. 204-210.

Wodak, R. & Busch, B. 2004. 'Approaches to Media Texts'. In: Downing, J.H. (Ed.), *The Sage Handbook of Media Studies*. London: Sage, pp.105-123.

Wolf, N. 1991. *The Beauty Myth: How Images of Beauty are used Against Women*. New York: William Morrow and Company.

Wykes, M. & Gunter, B. 2005. *The Media and Body Image If Looks Could Kill*. London: Sage Publications.