MULTI-FLEX NEO-HYBRID IDENTITIES:

LIBERATORY POSTMODERN AND (POST)COLONIAL NARRATIVES OF SOUTH AFRICAN WOMEN'S HAIR AND THE MEDIA CONSTRUCTION OF IDENTITY

by

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THESIS

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DECLARATION

I declare that the *Multi-flex, neo-hybrid identities: liberatory postmodern and (post)colonial narratives of South African women's hair and the media construction of identity* thesis hereby submitted to the University of Limpopo, for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) in Communication Studies has not previously been submitted by me for a degree at this or any other university; that it is my work in design and in execution, and that all material contained herein has been duly acknowledged.

JM Le Roux   November 2020

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Le Roux J.M. (Mrs)   **Date**

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my mother Zita Marion Le Roux and my late father Pastor Claude Ernest Le Roux.

While writing my thesis I was reminded of the text found in 2 Corinthians 4:8-12,16-18,

"We are hard-pressed on every side, but not crushed; perplexed, but not in despair; persecuted, but not abandoned; struck down, but not destroyed. Therefore, we do not lose heart. Though outwardly we are wasting away, yet inwardly we are being renewed day by day. For our light and momentary troubles are achieving for us an eternal glory that far outweighs them all. So we fix our eyes not on what is seen, but on what is unseen, since what is seen is temporary, but what is unseen is eternal."

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ABSTRACT

Hair has been a marker of identity that communicates issues of race, acceptability, class and beauty. Evidence of this was during colonialism and apartheid where South African identities were defined by physical characteristics such as the texture of one's hair, and the colour of one's skin. Whiteness was the epitome of beauty which came with certain privileges. Non-White bodies were defined as part of a particular narrative that saw them as well as their hair as inferior to that of White bodies. Academic literature continues to engage African hair from the perspective of a colonial legacy through a postcolonial lens. This study, however, asserts a shift in engaging African hair and introduces an African identity which is re-empowered and liberated through agency and choice, and active participation in the construction of its own identity. This shift in engagement also relinquishes the African identity's association with the dominant narrative of its conformity to a single European ideology of beauty and identity by introducing a (post)colonial, postmodern theory of a Multi-flex, Neo-hybrid identity which forms part of the theoretical framework of this study. This study draws on the theoretical positions of postmodern theory about the concepts of 'self' and identity. It engages interpretations of postmodernism and 'self' through the works of Kenneth Gergen and Robert Lifton who provide critical theoretical insight into postmodernism and identity. It also engages critical scholars such as Homi Bhabha, Franz Fanon, Kwame Appiah, Charles Ngwenya and Achille Mbembe, amongst others. Through this theoretical lens, I examine the role of the media in the presentation of the panoply of hair (styles) to South African women in the process of constructing a fluid, flexible and hybrid identity that decentres the ideology of rigid racial identity. I also critically investigate whether non-White women who lived during the colonial-apartheid era and those born in a free democratic era share this multi-flex, neo-hybrid identity of the postmodern woman. Thus this study aims to critically explore social narratives of South African women's hair and how the media perpetuate the construction of a new postmodern African female identity within the backdrop of the commodification of hair and identity in a globalised market and media environment. Coupled with an interpretivist paradigm, a phenomenological

approach was adopted for this study. Data was collected from print media content material namely, *DRUM Hair* magazine (editions 2014-2019) due to the assortment of hairstyles and identities it provides for African women. Data was also collected in the form of semi-structured interviews/personal accounts/stories presented as phenomenological narratives from colonial-born Coloured and colonial-born Black female participants. Focus group interviews were conducted on post-apartheid/born-free Coloured and Black female South African participants to understand how these women construct their identities through hairstyle choices and the impact this has on the (re)presentation of their identities within the global beauty market environment. These diverse participants aged from 18 to 104 allow me to trace, if any, the changes in perception of hair and hairstyles from colonial-apartheid South Africa to the new and free post-apartheid South Africa. The results of the study show that media enable the African woman to construct a postmodern identity through the multiplicity of hairstyles/identities available to her. It also provides the African woman with the tools to create various identities for herself through the diversity of hairstyles available to her. The African woman who is exposed to an assortment of hairstyles can navigate from one identity to the next without being loyal to one identity which is typical of the postmodern self. Another finding is that coloniality seems to continue to shape the identities of women born during the colonial apartheid era. But for those born during the (post)colonial and post-apartheid era, they embrace a navigatory form of hybridity that is not loyal to one identity but explores various forms of identity, which the market place affords them and the media perpetuate in the construction of multi-flex, neo-hybrid and postmodern identities. The implication of this study is that it is liberating since it allows us to critically review our identity and what we deem as beautiful and to question the daily choices we make not only with our hairstyles but with fashion, food and other cultural elements that shape our performance of identities.

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ACT- Afrocentric Theory

AD- stands for the Latin phrase: Anno Domini, the year of our lord.

BCE- before the Christian era

FBI- Federal Bureau of Investigation

MET Gala- is an annual fundraising gala for the benefit of the Metropolitan Museum of Art's Costume Institute in New York City

MTV- Music Television

MEA- Middle East and Africa

NP- National Party

Sa- Sine anno- when a date is not known this abbreviation is used

SABC- South African Broadcasting Corporation

Sv- stands for the Latin word "sub verbo" which means "under the word"

USA- United States of America

VOC- Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie- which means Dutch East India Company

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

The white policeman pulls a blunt pencil from his uniform pocket, his smug face belying the rush of pleasure he gets from wielding such power. The woman, waiting for her "trial" to begin, wants to run her fingers through the hair on her head, hoping to create a few clear paths from top to tip. But she is too nervous. She stands rooted to the spot and squeezes her eyes closed. A few seconds later, she hears the sound of her destiny, the sound of light pencil wood hitting the pavement not far from her aching feet. You are very lucky, the policeman growls into her ear, I could be chucking you into the back of that van for being in the wrong area (Farber 2005:1-2).

The above excerpt known as the 'Hair Pencil Test' was a mechanism of 'race passing or testing' used in apartheid South Africa to classify races. Where doubt existed as to which race individuals belonged to, the hair pencil test was used to classify individuals into the racial spectrum of South Africa (Farber 2005; Powe 2009). The procedure involved placing a pencil in the hair of an individual. If the individual held a pencil in his or her hair when they shook their head, they could not be classified as White. This, therefore, determined the race of an individual based on hair texture (Farber 2005). With a certain race came certain privileges therefore individuals would try to "pass" as another race by straightening their hair (Thompson 2009).

Hair texture testing signified a 'trespassing' of non-White South Africans from one racial identity to another. Assuming a new identity meant that non-White South Africans could escape the relegation and repression of one's identity to access the privilege and status of the other (Unterhalter 1975; Johnson & Khanna 2010). For much of South African history, hair has been a marker of identity that communicates issues of race, acceptability, class and beauty (hooks 1992; Pieterse 1992; Jere-Malanda 2008; Thompson 2009; Can-Tamakloe 2011; Oyedemi 2016).

The fact that hair texture determined the privileges and status of individuals, shows the crucial role that hair played in the lives of non-white citizens of apartheid South Africa. Hair not only gave people an identity and status in society but also provoked a sense of power and strength (Banks 2000; Byrd & Tharps 2001; Thompson 2009).

The significance of hair in apartheid South Africa found its roots in the ideology of colonialism where amongst others the propagating of the heterogeneity of races instead of the homogeneity races was the focus (Magubane 2001). This implies that the texture of the hair of the colonized was seen as different from that of the colonizer. It was seen as inferior.

In her work in the field of "body studies" Susan Bordo (2003) speaks of the body as a "text of culture". She describes how the physical body of a woman is shaped by cultural forces, where culture is engraved and strengthened by the language of the body. Bordo may provide insight into the culture which is inscribed onto the hair of the female and how that culture impacts the identity of the female. Within feminist and race research frameworks, it has been argued that black women are intersectionally marginalised or oppressed due to race and gender (hooks 1992). The world's industry, the female magazine industry and the media industry favour Western notions of beauty and seem to be instrumental in creating feminine identities (Douglas 2010). These identities establish new practices that are perpetuated in everyday social, cultural and behavioural norms for their target audience. This is created through the range of goods and lifestyles that are perpetuated within these magazines (Laden 2003). It has hence been argued that the physical appearance of Black women is seen as a marker of relative social status and positioning. The socio-cultural significance of hair should therefore not be underestimated.

Hair and hairstyles worn by women today continue to communicate identity and self. In the current postmodern epoch, hair has become a tool to assert pride and navigate various identities. Of critical interest is the role of the media in the presentation of the panoply of hair (styles) to South African women in the process of constructing a fluid, flexible and hybrid identity that decentres the ideology of rigid racial identity. This then allows African women to navigate through various racial identities in the postmodern presentation of self. Women's magazines are instrumental in the feminine identities they create, which according to feminist media critics are oppressive and establishes new practices that are perpetuated in everyday social, cultural and behavioural norms for their target audience. If we move from the colonial- apartheid construction of race, the testing of hair for racial certainty and the straightening of hair to pass for a privileged race to a post-apartheid era of

multiracial, 'rainbow' multiracialism and the media construction of feminine identity, important critical questions will emerge about hair and postcolonial feminine identity in post-1994 South Africa.

The purpose of this study is to examine how hair communicates identity in post-apartheid South Africa. But broadly, this study critically explores social narratives about hair by two generations of women. First, the colonial-born Black and Coloured South African women, to gain a first-hand encounter of the historical experiences of these women during the apartheid era and examine to what extent have their experiences changed in post-1994 South Africa. Second, to examine the born-free Black and Coloured women's experiences with their hair, considering they bear no personal racial denigration of the colonial-apartheid racist era. This study only focuses on Coloured and Black females since these two groups were criticised for their hair texture during the apartheid era. White and Indian females were not criticised for their hair texture during the apartheid era and are therefore excluded from this study. This study also seeks to critically examine the phenomenon of new special 'Hair Editions' of South African magazines and what these magazines portray African women and their hair in these editions. South African hair magazines such as *True Love Hair, DRUM Hair* and *Glamour Hair* appeared on the South African market in 2012. These magazines targeted at African and Caucasian female hair are owned by Media 24 and are linked to *True Love, DRUM* and *Glamour* magazine respectively. These magazines claim to provide their readership with a variety of glamourous and current celebrity hairstyles whether through natural or artificial hair as well as various hair care and hairstyling tips.

DRUM Hair magazine which is published annually has specifically been chosen for this study because it portrays an assortment of hairstyles for Black female consumers. The hairstyles showcased in these magazines include natural hair such as afros and dreadlocks, artificial hair such as weaves, hair attachments, wigs and extensions, which today are seen as a commodity which can be bought and sold. African women can 'buy' an identity through the hair(styles) they choose to consume, which helps them to illustrate and redefine their identity.

Existing literature on the representation of African woman's hair and identity has focused on the hegemonic Eurocentric standards of beauty at the apex of beauty

while anything African such as African hair or the African identity is seen as inferior to Eurocentric beauty (Banks 2000; Byrd & Tharps 2014; Oyedemi 2016). Hair played and still plays an important role in the lives of African women as it communicates and shapes society's view of cultural, political and racial identity (Can-Tamakloe 2011; Rooks 1996). This is evident in the Pretoria Girls High School protests where learners were discriminated against for wearing their natural hair and many others of the like (Jordaan 2016; Jansen 2016). The history of colonialism and apartheid played a significant role in the shaping of the African identity with specific reference to the politics of African hair (Banks 2005; hooks 1992; Pieterse 1992). The historical and political past of African hair gave birth to an African identity laden with symbols of oppression and inferiority (hooks 1992).

DRUM Hair magazine seems to perpetuate a paradigm shift from the dominant narrative of the representation of the African woman's hair and her identity. This magazine seems to provide a postmodern approach to African hair and identity by showcasing an assortment of hairstyles and identities or a multiplicity of 'selves' within this magazine. This freedom of choice reveals a fundamental characteristic of the postmodern consumer who "constructs its own identity and lives fully within all these identities which it built" (Gharbi & Hamouda 2013:41).

DRUM Hair magazine 2016 edition epitomizes and encapsulates the gap in the current literature on African hair and identity by representing the African woman as one who is a postmodern consumer who can construct her own identity through the various hairstyles she chooses to consume. She is no longer subject to the Eurocentric ideology of beauty and identity. This is the fundamental characteristic of the postmodern consumer which existing literature fails to address. The African woman is freed from seeking to conform to one sense or experience of being and is willing to live in fragmented moments and the thrill of the spectacle by embracing the multiple identities created through the variety of hairstyles consumed. These hairstyles may include wearing a blonde weave to an afro –both natural or artificial.

Today the Black female identity which consists of vestiges of colonialism, apartheid and is exposed to the postmodern era of the buying of identities through the market (capitalism), has resulted in a multi-flex, neo-hybrid Black female identity, which like the postmodern consumer is not obliged to conform to a single identity but who

accepts all options and lives fully in those identities. This new identity is a reflection of the journey of the Black female through her hair. This new identity does not only apply to African women but it can be applied across cultures. This theory therefore speaks from an African perspective, yet at the same time this new theory or identity can be applied across cultures (this will be illustrated in chapter 11).

It is therefore important to hear and engage with the narrative of generations of African women about this journey to expose and highlight various elements and issues involved in this journey.

1.2 Definition of key concepts:

The following definitions below are not direct definitions of the concepts. They are definitional explanations of how these concepts are engaged and utilized in this research.

Postmodernism: authenticates marginalised discourses which were negated and suppressed in modern societies. Postmodernism provides a platform for the marginalised and enables them to articulate their experiences and perspectives (McRobbie 1993).

Colonialism: was not only about conquest but it was multifaceted from its beginning. It was a cultural as well as a political enterprise. It emptied the brains of the colonised and destroyed the history of the colonised (Fanon 1963).

(Post)colonialism: there is nothing post about colonialism since the prefix 'post' complicates matters as a country can be postcolonial but at the same time, it can be economically and culturally dependent on its colonial power. (Post)colonialism is riddled with contradictions… "if the inequities of colonial rule have not been erased, it is perhaps premature to proclaim the demise of colonialism" (Loomba 2015:7).

Coloniality: refers to the "long-standing patterns of power that emerged as a result of colonialism and continue to define culture, labour, intersubjective

relations and knowledge production, well beyond the strict limits of colonial administrations (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013:128).

Hybrid: The term hybrid is rooted in biology and fundamentally means mixture (Young 1995).

Identity: Identity in the postmodern culture is no longer fixed, unified and stable as was characteristic of modern identities, instead they are dynamic and flexible, they are multifaceted and remain in a state of perpetual change (Mercer 1990).

Colonial-born: Those individuals who were born during the colonial and apartheid period in South Africa.

Born-free: Those individuals who were born between 1994 to date (in 'post-apartheid era').

1.3 The motivation for the study

The motivation for this study can be divided into different sections namely, the social motivation, academic motivation and personal motivation for pursuing this study. When we look at the social motivation it is difficult to overlook the historical context of hair texture in South Africa and how it formed an integral part of the identity of non-White South Africans during the colonial period and also plays an integral part in understanding hair and identity in a postmodern, post-apartheid and (post)colonial South Africa. When it comes to academic motivation, existing literature fails to address the agency of the individual African woman who lives in a postmodern and postcolonial society. Instead, there seems to be a binary of approaches at looking at African women's hair; either a legacy of colonial creation and a Eurocentric critique (Jere-Malanda 2008; Oyedemi 2016) or a postcolonial narrative of the embrace of the natural (Patton 2006; Nyamnjoh & Fuh 2014). African women's hair is far more than this binary. Therefore, this study seeks to provide insight into the way that the Black female identity through the various hairstyles showcased in *DRUM Hair* edition magazine is represented and to engage critically with this representation from a

liberatory postmodern perspective. The liberatory postmodern perspective on African hair and identity suggests an African identity which is emancipated from the dominant narrative of conformity to a single Eurocentric ideology of beauty and identity. This results in the re-empowerment of the African woman to create her own identities through the hair(styles) she chooses to consume. This creation and navigation of identities are liberating as the African woman plays an active role in the process of her identity creation. This study then engages African women and her hair(styles) not as a victim of Eurocentric, colonial and apartheid constructed identity but as a liberated woman with the agency to present various identities through her hair.

Then finally my motivation for doing this study is because as a Coloured woman I was curious to understand the reason why Coloured women place so much emphasis on hair texture. Specifically, the pursuit of straight hair, the insurmountable amount of time, hair rituals and effort put in place on achieving this state of straightness when it comes to their hair. I am curious to know what this communicates about women and identity in South Africa.

1.4 Research Problem

African women are presented with a variety of hair choices such as natural hairstyles, dreadlocks, weaves and wigs. The problem is that scholars and social critics tend to engage some hair that African women wear, such as wigs and weaves from the perspective of a colonial legacy through a postcolonial lens and a critique of Eurocentrism (Bellinger 2007; Jere-Malanda 2008). Bearing this in mind the dominant narrative of African women adopting Eurocentric hairstyles from mainly a colonial perspective is challenged with the choices that are available to Black women. I, therefore, assert that there is a shift towards a liberatory postmodern multi-flex, neo-hybrid African woman who has the freedom to choose how she presents her(self) through her choice of hair(style). But do the media contribute to the creation of this multi-flex neo-hybrid African woman's identity? Do non-White women who lived during the colonial-apartheid era and those born in a free democratic era share this liberatory ideology of a postmodern woman? These are the central problems of this study. This study, therefore, seeks to understand how the media specifically *DRUM Hair* edition magazine, as well as social narratives from

Black and Coloured females, perpetuate this freedom of choice to Black African females within the backdrop of the commodification of hair and identity in a globalised market environment.

1.5 Problem statement

There is liberation, freedom, choice and agency in African women's decisions of hair in communicating identity. Current literature does not engage this freedom of African hair and identity from a postmodern, (post)colonial perspective, as such, there are needs to develop this emerging approach further to cater for this new perspective on communicating African hair and identity.

1.6 Purpose of the study

1.6.1 Research aim

This study aims to critically explore social narratives of South African women's hair and how the media perpetuate the construction of a new postmodern African female identity within the backdrop of the commodification of hair and identity in a globalised market and media environment.

1.6.2 Research objectives

Objective 1: To critically examine how the media construct a new identity for African women through the presentation and commodification of hair and hairstyles available to them.

Objective 2: To determine the types of claims, appeals and themes in media representation of African hair through the case study of *DRUM Hair* magazine's portrayal of Black female identity.

Objective 3: To examine through a first-hand encounter how the historical context and current hair trends influence the colonial-born South African Black and Coloured women's choices of hairstyle and what these choices communicate in the (re) presentation of their post-apartheid identities.

Objective 4: To ascertain how the post-apartheid Black and Coloured generation (the Born-frees) construct their identities through hairstyle choices and the impact this has on the (re) presentation of their identities within the global beauty market environment.

Objective 5: To propose a theoretical frame in understanding the (re) construction of the African female identity within the backdrop of the plethora of globalised commodified options available to them and the exposure to globalised media images in the current post-colonial and postmodern era.

1.6.3 Research questions

Question 1: How do media construct a new identity for African women through the presentation and commodification of hair and hairstyles available to African women?

Question 2: What are the types of claims, appeals and themes that *DRUM Hair* magazine portrays about Black female identity?

Question 3: How has the historical context and current hair trends influenced the colonial-born Coloured and Black female's choice of hairstyle and what do these choices communicate in the (re)presentation of their post-apartheid identities?

Question 4: How do the post-apartheid Black and Coloured generation (the Born-frees) construct their identities through hairstyle choices and what impact does this have on the (re) presentation of their identities within the global beauty market environment?

Question 5: Which theoretical frame will assist in understanding the (re) construction of the African female identity within the backdrop of the plethora of globalised commodified options available to them and

the exposure to globalised media images in the current post-colonial and postmodern era?

1.7 Scholarly context of the study

The scholarly context of this study is largely based on the current literature relevant to this research and theoretical frames used in the study. I examine scholarly works on the historical background of African hair and identity; media, capitalism, identity and African hair; postmodernism and identity and finally I introduce and assert a theory of Multi-flex, Neo-hybrid identity which will form part of the theoretical framework of this study. The following sections provide an introductory background to the scholarly context of this study, which is engaged and discussed in subsequent chapters of this research dissertation.

1.7.1 The historical background of hair, beauty and identity in South Africa

In this study, I discuss coloniality and the historical background of race and identity in South Africa by investigating precolonial hair, beauty and identity in Africa as well as apartheid's creation of race and identity. The implications of this on culture and identity as well as (post)colonial narratives and critiques on African hair forms part of this study.

Colonialism, the all-encompassing political and economic rule of one nation over another, occupying it with settlers to exploit it economically (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013:128), played a significant role in the construction of race, identity and citizenship in South Africa. The construction of Africa as being the Dark Continent served as a justification for European settlers to 'enlighten', rule and exploit the African people (Magubane 2001). Foreign domination (Dutch settlers) in the Cape Colony brought about the advent of race and identity. Smedley (1998) states that according to historical records the idea and ideologies of race did not exist before the seventeenth century and that race is a mechanism of social stratification and a form of human identity.

To exploit the African people and its resources the Dutch developed a degrading ideology about the African people. They considered the Khoi-San to be dangerous

savages who were dull, stupid, heathen and black stinking dogs. They labelled them as Hottentots which means "a person of inferior intellect and culture" (Magubane 2001:6) Settlers created a cultural belief system which "attacked the intelligence, ability, beauty and character of the colonised in subtle and not so subtle ways" (Magubane 2001:3). The African people were racially categorized as inferior and sub-human when compared to the European settlers. "Whiteness and racism were expressions of measures used to colonise, exploit and rule the colonised people" (Magubane 2001:3). The relevance of these historical events have implications of the perception of the African body, their beauty and identity. This analysis forms the content of the literature review and discussion in chapter two of this research.

1.7.2 Media, capitalism, identity and African hair

This study also reviews scholarly works on the media, fashion industry and advertising industry's representation of hair and beauty. I engage global capitalism in the beauty and hair market, the commodification of beauty and identity as well as hair culture and trends. Globally the hair-care industry is booming as a huge income generator with a market value of $77 billion and an expected average growth of 6.6% annually (Williams 2014). It seems as though the ethnic hair market contributes a considerable amount to this rate of growth. Black consumers who make up 52% of the population of South Africa spend a great deal of money on their hair and frequently change their hairstyle from weaves to braids, to straight, relaxed hair to hair extensions and wigs (Williams 2014:18-21).

The global beauty industry is one of the largest creative industries and has global sales above $330 billion while the global fashion industry is worth $100 billion and the advertising industry is worth $430 billion (Caves 2000; Friedman & Jones 2011). The impact of the globalisation of worldwide beauty standards is significant since Western and White beauty ideals and practices have emerged as the global standards of beauty (Jones & Zeitlin 2010). Firms have taken advantage of the White beauty standards and reinforced it into aspirational brands around the world (Jones & Zeitlin 2010). The mass media form part of our everyday lives; media surveys indicate that fashion magazines which are read by a majority of women and girls are likely to have an impact on them in some way (Tiggemann 2004). Women's magazines which have spread as a global medium act as agents of socialisation,

propagating and institutionalising certain stereotypes of which some are stereotypes on beauty (McRobbie 1999).

1.7.3 The Role of theory in the Study

Postmodernism and identity

This research draws on the theoretical positions of postmodern theory about the concepts of 'self' and identity. I engage interpretations of postmodernism and 'self' through the works of scholars such as Kenneth Gergen's (1991) *The Saturated Self: dilemmas of identity in contemporary life* and Robert Lifton's (1993) *The Protean Self: Human Resilience in an age of fragmentation.* These scholars provide critical theoretical insight into postmodernism and identity.

Liberatory Postmodernism

Liberatory postmodernism is a theory which is relevant to this study as it illustrates the choice the individual has in the construction of his or her identity. Firat and Venkatesh (1995:254) state that "there is a fusion between the subject and the object" or between the consumer and the hairstyle she chooses to consume. This results in the re-empowerment of the postmodern consumer to create identities and be liberated from the colonial/modernistic view that the consumer needs to commit to one sense of being. The choice of hairstyle enables the postmodern consumer to play an active role in the process of identity creation. Decrop (2008:90) states that the "postmodern individual is encouraged to change the image frequently and therefore tries to adapt him(her)self to new roles and new identities".

The postmodern consumer can choose her class and social status in society by identifying and engaging in all these identities which she creates through the various hairstyles she chooses to wear. The liberatory postmodern perspective describes this phenomenon and explains the nature of the consumer and the impact of postmodernism on the changing behaviour of the consumer. The impact of postmodernism on the consumer or the self is what is known as the postmodern condition. Amongst other postmodern conditions, fragmentation and decenteredness have an impact on the self. Firat and Venkatesh (1995:255) explain…

> Fragmentation is considered an emancipatory response to the totalizing logic of the market. The postmodern consumer attempts to restructure his/her identities in the face of overpowering market forces. …fragmentation is an onslaught on the bondage of thought to regulative ideals such as 'unity' and 'truth'. Liberatory postmodernism believes in the liberating potentials of the postmodern conditions and postmodernist ideas regarding discourse and epistemology. (The) fragmentation and decentering (of the self) constitute moves toward greater emancipation.

The decentredness of the self refers to the authentic self which is replaced by a made-up self (Firat & Venkatesh, 1995). This is a typical characteristic of the postmodern consumer.

Baudrillard (1994) agrees with the fragmentation of identity but further argues from a pessimistic point of view when he states that the self has no real identity and that the real, static identity has given way to a constructed and simulated one. The sense of self is lost in the postmodern era since we possess a variety of identities, partly because of the many products we consume. This study, however, argues that the Black female postmodern consumer is now empowered to re-construct her own identity through the hairstyle she chooses to wear. Consumerism allows the individual to become whatever they want to become and empowers them to decide through which lens the world should view them.

Firat and Venkatesh (1995:245) state that liberatory postmodernism cannot reach its full potential due to the "growing influence of the market which is a modern institution still operating according to the commercial principles and criteria of the economic-during the contemporary dissolution of other modern institutions". Hence the fact that the postmodern consumer can create his/her own identity suggests liberation on a small scale since it still chooses to buy identities from the market. Liberatory postmodernism is more focused on micro forms of liberation instead of grand emancipatory projects (Firat & Venkatesh 1995:245).

A Multi-flex Neo-Hybrid Identity

To understand today's postmodern South African woman and the choices she makes in the construction and reconstruction of her identity, I introduce a new

perspective and new theory of the postmodern identity of the African woman and her hair. The new identity of the African woman which consists of vestiges of colonialism and apartheid and who is exposed to the postmodern era of buying identities through the market plays an active role in the creation of her 'identities' through the various hairstyle she chooses to wear. This new identity is emancipated from the dominant narrative of conformity to a single Eurocentric ideology of beauty and identity, which results in the agency and re-empowerment of the African woman in the construction of her own identity. This new identity, I introduce here as the 'multi-flex, neo-hybrid identity'. The difference between a hybrid and a multi-flex, neo-hybrid identity is illustrated below.

First of all, the multi-flex, neo-Hybrid identity provides the African woman with agency and the ability to choose which identity she would like to portray for a specific period, while the hybrid identity simply states that there is a coming together of identities with no choice given to the individual.

Secondly, the multi-flex, neo-hybrid identity which is free from the subjugation of conforming to a single identity instead it accepts all the identities which it creates through a variety of hairstyle choices. It has agency and the freedom to choose which identity it would like to accept for that specific period. The hybrid identity on the other hand imposes a mixture of a traditional and colonial assertion of identity on the African woman.

Thirdly the multi-flex, neo-hybrid identity is flexible as the individual can easily navigate and adapt to various identities and fit in with those identities it created. Whereas the hybrid identity purports a rigid, although mixed identity, which is not able to navigate from one identity to the next. This theoretical frame is fully developed and discussed in chapter five of this dissertation.

1.8 Background to the Research Methodology

The study used a qualitative research approach. According to Denzin and Lincoln (2002) to understand human experiences in an interpretive, humanistic approach, qualitative research is used.

1.8.1 Research Design

This study adopts an interpretivist paradigm. According to Reeves & Hedberg (2003:32), the interpretivist paradigm focuses on understanding the world from the subjective experiences of individuals.

Coupled with the interpretivist paradigm a phenomenological approach is adopted for this study. Phenomenology is concerned with peoples' lived experiences of a particular issue which is being researched. It is the study of phenomena as they appear in our experience or how we experience things (Maypole & Davies 2001).

1.8.2 Sampling

Non-probability sampling forms part of this study, which includes convenience, purposive and snowball sampling methods. With non-probability sampling researchers "recruit only specific populations to investigate a specific topic or when the total population is unknown or unavailable" (Lopez & Whitehead 2013:124).

1.8.3 Data Collection

Data was collected from print media content material namely, *DRUM Hair* magazine (editions 2014-2019) due to the assortment of hairstyles and identities it provides for African women. The cover stories of each magazine which consisted of an average of ten pages per cover story were collected.

Data was also collected in the form of semi-structured interviews/personal accounts/stories or phenomenological narratives from colonial-born Coloured and colonial-born Black female participants. Focus group interviews were conducted on post-apartheid/born-free Coloured and Black female South African participants to understand how these women construct their identities through hairstyle choices and the impact this has on the (re)presentation of their identities within the global beauty market environment.

1.8.4 Data Analysis

The data is analysed in the following way:

Textual analysis

This analysis is used to interpret visual or recorded images to describe the content, structure and the functions of messages within a text. (Frey, Botan & Kreps 1999).

Thematic analysis

Thematic analysis is also used to analyse transcribed data from semi-structured interviews as well as focus groups from Coloured and Black female participants. A thematic analysis will also form part of the cover stories of *DRUM Hair* magazine. A detailed research methodology is provided in Chapter 6.

1.9 The potential contribution of the study

This study contributes to knowledge in the area of communication, culture and identity:

- The new perspective and new theoretical concepts introduced in this study provide a novel lens at engaging African hair and identity. Consequently, this study challenges the current and existing literature on the topic of African hair and identity.
- This new perspective will contribute to and expand the current literature.
- The methodology of intergenerational narratives contributes a novel way of bridging the past and present in understanding feminine bodies concerning identity as shaped by history and contemporary realities.
- This study could potentially form part of a book on African hair and identity.
- The findings of the study will be published as several journal articles.
- This study will provide African women with a postmodern, (post)colonial perspective of African hair, beauty and identity. Where African women will no longer be subject to a Eurocentric, colonial legacy of identity and beauty but are free to choose any hairstyle/identity she wants.

1.10 Overview and structure of the thesis

Chapter 1: Introduction and background to the study

This chapter provides the blueprint for the study. It includes the introduction and background to the study, it also highlights the aim, research objectives, the motivation for the research, as well as gives a preliminary introduction to the literature and methodology of the study.

Chapter 2: The historical background of hair, beauty and identity in South Africa (Literature review)

This is the first chapter of the literature review. In this chapter of the thesis, the historical background of hair, beauty and identity in South Africa is discussed. The historical background includes a pre-colonial, colonial and (post)colonial look at hair, identity and beauty in Africa. Therefore, the significance of hair in ancient culture, the colonial era as well as a look at (post)colonial narratives and critiques of African hair form part of this chapter.

Chapter 3: Media, capitalism, identity and African hair (Literature review)

This is the second chapter of literature review and the following areas are included in this chapter: media representation of African hair with a focus on global capitalism within the hair market, its impact on African identity as well as the commodification of identity. This chapter highlights the importance of hair in the media and society.

Chapter 4: Postmodernism and identity (Theoretical framework 1)

Chapter 4 and 5 focus on the theoretical framework of the study. Chapter 4 specifically looks at postmodernism and identity. It provides an understanding of postmodern theory by engaging key scholars' interpretation of postmodernism, postmodernity, postmodern identity and its relevance in society today.

Chapter 5: Multi-flex, Neo-hybrid identity: rethinking the (post)colonial and postmodern identity (Theoretical framework 2)

Chapter 5 which also forms part of the theoretical framework of this thesis focuses on a new theoretical thinking about postmodern identity I introduce the multi-flex, neo-hybrid postmodern identity. In this chapter, I propose a new perspective in studying the identity of the African woman and the role she plays in constructing and reconstructing her identity through the assortment of choices provided by the market.

Chapter 6: Research Methodology

This chapter discusses the research methodology of the study which includes the research design, the sampling method, the data collection and data analysis. It explains how data were collected from young women in their 20s to older women in the 80s, and the selection of media content for analysis of media construction of African women's hair.

Chapter 7: Celebrity and media representation of African women's hair and the multi-flex, neo-hybrid Black woman (First chapter of data presentation)

This is the first chapter of the data presented in this study. Each finding of the study will be presented in five separate chapters to provide a logical narrative of the study. In this chapter, I will present a textual analysis of print media's representation of African women's hair and the multi-flex, neo-hybrid Black woman, through the analysis of six editions of *DRUM Hair* magazine of 2014 to 2019. This chapter addresses objectives one and two namely: To firstly, critically examine how the media construct a new identity for African women through the presentation and commodification of hair and hairstyles available to them. Secondly, to determine the types of claims, appeals and themes in media representation of African hair through the case study of *DRUM* Hair magazine's portrayal of Black female identity.

Chapter 8: Intergenerational (post)colonial narratives about hair by colonial-born Coloured females in South Africa (Second chapter of data presentation)

Chapter 8 is the second chapter of data presentation and will present the intergenerational narratives of the colonial-born Coloured female participants. This chapter answers objective 3 of this thesis. This objective is: to examine through a first-hand encounter how the historical context and current hair trends influence the colonial-born South African Black and Coloured women's choices of hairstyle and what these choices communicate in the (re) presentation of their post-apartheid identities. Therefore, it will discuss the historical context and current hair trends which influence the African women's choice of hairstyle and the impact this has on their identity.

Chapter 9: (Post)colonial narratives of colonial-born Black females in South Africa (Third chapter of data presentation)

Chapter 9 is the third chapter of data presentation for this thesis. This chapter presents the colonial-born Black female participants' views of hair and identity in a (post)colonial, post-apartheid, and postmodern environment. This chapter answers objective 3 of this thesis, which is: to examine through a first-hand encounter how the historical context and current hair trends influence the colonial-born South African Black and Coloured women's choices of hairstyle and what these choices communicate in the (re) presentation of their post-apartheid identities. It will discuss the historical context and current hair trends which influence the African women's choice of hairstyle and the impact this has on their identity.

Chapter 10: Born-free (post)colonial narratives of Coloured females and their hair (Fourth chapter of data presentation)

Chapter 10 is the fourth chapter of data presentation for this study. It will present the findings of the born-free Coloured female participants and their hair experiences. This chapter is in response to objective 4 of this study which focuses on how the post-apartheid Coloured generation (the Born-frees) construct their identities through hairstyle choices and the impact this has on

the (re) presentation of their identities within the global beauty market environment

Chapter 11: Born-free (post)colonial narratives about Black females and their hair (Fifth chapter of data presentation)

This chapter is the final and fifth chapter of data presentation for this study. It presents the findings from the interviews with born-free Black female participants about their hair. This chapter is in response to objective 4 of this study which focuses on how the post-apartheid Black generation (the Born-frees) construct their identities through hairstyle choices and the impact this has on the (re) presentation of their identities within the global beauty market environment.

Chapter 12: Discussion, recommendations, limitations and conclusion

This chapter reflects on the results of this study based on the research objectives and theoretical framework which guide the study. It also provides an overview, as well as a discussion of the results of the study which are supported by the literature from the study. Limitations of the study are identified and recommendations are offered.

CHAPTER 2

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF HAIR, BEAUTY AND IDENTITY IN SOUTH AFRICA

2.1. Introduction

A historical reflection of hair, beauty and identity in Africa is necessary before the South African identity can be contextualised and understood. A critical study of hair and identity in Africa therefore needs to be contextualised within the historical and social dimensions of identity in Africa. As such, issues of precolonial beauty and identity, colonial beauty and identity, as well as (post)colonial beauty and identity are paramount. Consequently, this chapter will discuss all these under various sections namely: hair, beauty and identity in precolonial Africa, the historical background of race and identity in South Africa which discusses colonial and apartheid creation of racial identity and the implications of this on culture and identity. It will also focus on (post)colonial narratives and critiques of African hair and identity, and finally, this chapter provides a critical analysis of studies on African hair from a Western versus Afrocentric perspective of beauty.

2.2. Precolonial hair, beauty and identity in Africa

Current literature places an enormous emphasis on colonialism's role in the construction of the African identity and therefore strengthens colonialism's colossal influence in the construction of the African identity. This section does not nullify colonialism's influence on the construction of the African identity but it seeks to weaken its influence on the African identity by focusing on and exploring the origin and the construction of African beauty and identity through hair/hairstyling practices of African cultures before the colonial period. Africans possessed an identity before colonialism and this identity needs to be explored therefore the structure of this chapter is divided into a pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial sections. Ahmad (1995) claims that the triadic structure namely the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial situates colonialism as the principle of the structuration of world history and further states that everything that came before colonialism forms part of its prehistory and that which comes after is its endless consequences (Ahmad 1995). In other

words, colonialism is given the primary role or central role in the structuring of world history which is seen as problematic. Loomba (2015:17) states that "colonialism did not inscribe itself on a clean slate" but indigenous ideologies, hierarchies and indigenous practices existed before and alongside colonialism. There is, however, a need to return to the pre-colonial past of Africa to restore the dignity, identity and the broken connection which the colonised had with her devalued past. However, Spivak (1988) argues that it is not possible to explore pre-colonial cultures without the history of colonialism. In other words, pre-colonial cultures cannot be neatly separated in its purest form from the history of colonialism. Hair/hairstyling of earlier African civilisations can be read as historical documents which describe and reveal the 'true' African identity and beauty of African cultures (Arnoldi & Kreamer 1995). It is therefore imperative to sketch the background of the significance of the hair/hairstyling practices of ancient and traditional African cultures and to explore the central role hair played in the construction of the identity and beauty of the individual in African cultures before colonialism.

2.2.1. The genesis of the African concepts of beauty

The origin of the African concepts of beauty began with the use of spirituality, medicine and religion which African priests and the common people believed would repel evil forces, attract positive forces and achieve beauty. It was important to maintain an equilibrium between the seen and unseen forces to obtain favourable intercession from the gods (Yarbrough 1984). When it came to beauty, body adornment was seen as important in traditional African cultures. The bodies of individuals were adorned not only to beautify or enhance a particular personal quality but also to protect, and to affect the outcome of an event. The adornment of the head via elaborate hairstyles and the wearing of headgear such as pins, hats, combs and other ornaments was significant to traditional African cultures (Schildkrout & Kiem 1990). There were two main practices which played a significant role in the beauty and identity of traditional African cultures namely, hair grooming and body markings (Sieber & Herreman 2000). Body markings took place when the skin of individuals would be cut and plucked with knives, crystals, sharp stones, twigs and thorns for aesthetic purposes, for protecting their bodies against diseases and for an indication of social status (Yarbrough 1984). See figure 1.1 which illustrates these

body markings. These markings also symbolised a rite of passage from one station of life to the next. Various body markings symbolised various things such as the coming of age for young girls and their first menstrual cycle, the birth of a first child, being a married woman etc. Therefore, these markings showed the achievement and strength of the character of the individual (Yarbrough 1984). The body markings on the skin were done in the form of patterns or designs on the body by specialists and became a practice of art form, a form of style, beauty and gave individuals an identity (Yarbrough 1984).

Hair/hairstyling or coiffures were a serious concern for Africans before the colonial period as it was a source of identity, beauty, power and a reason for pride. Hair was not merely a superficial thing but had great significance as the shape of the head and hairstyle was of vital importance to the identity of the individual (Schildkrout & Keim 1990). A rich variety of hairstyles which existed in African cultures before colonialism played a central role in the lives of individuals as it was a symbol of identity and beauty (Sieber & Herreman 2000). The practice of hair adornment and hair grooming became an art form amongst the traditional African people. Hairstyles reflected the tribe, status, wealth, age and family background of the wearer and received the most care and attention. Hair was so significant that it was seen as one's spiritual connection with the gods (Yarbrough 1984). It was also believed that hairstyling was a social activity and was entrusted to close relatives as to prevent their hair from falling into the hands of the enemy which could bring about harm to the owner of the hair (Sieber & Herreman 2000). The variety of hairstyling traditions from earlier African civilisations boasted notable hairstyles from across the continent of Africa. Below is a brief history of the various traditional hairstyles of Africa before colonialism.
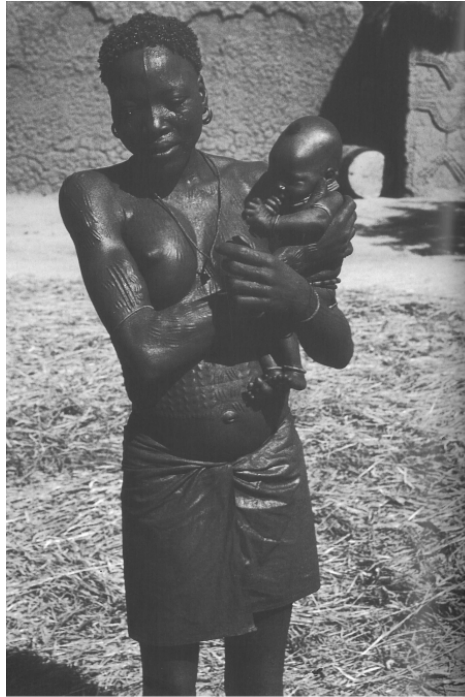
Figure 2.1: Mother with body markings who wears her natural hair is holding her one-week-old daughter in her arms. Mandara Mountains, Nigeria 1960. (Sieber & Herreman 2000).

2.2.2. Significance of hair in Ancient Cultures

In ancient Africa, Egyptian and Nubian women wore braids and twists in their hair of all styles for ceremonial and social events (Yarbrough 1984). Refer to figure 2.1 which illustrates a Nubian woman wearing braids and figure 2.3 which illustrates the elaborate hairstyle worn by a mother nursing her child. In the earlier period of Egyptian civilisation, hairstyles worn by the Egyptians were natural and simple but later head shaving and the wearing of wigs amongst both men and women became a common practice see figure 2.5 (Sagay 1983). Klimczak (2016) states that hairstyles in ancient Egypt differed amongst various classes. For example, a slave did not wear the same hairstyle as a free person, neither did a lower-class person wear the same hairstyle as an upper-class person. Bald heads amongst ancient Egyptian women were also a common practice for religious, social and hygienic purposes. Officials of high rank and priests habitually shaved their entire bodies while young boys partially shaved their heads by leaving a long lock of hair over their right temple. This lock of hair was symbolic of their youth (Sagay 1983). Head lice was a common problem therefore heads were shaved and replaced with artificial hair namely wigs. (Sagay 1983). It is believed that wigs originated in Egypt since 3000

BC and were created to protect the head from the rays of the sun and were worn by people of all classes (Yarbrough 1984; Sagay 1983). The wigs were made of horsehair or human hair, plant fibres or sheep's wool and were mostly dyed black. Female wigs were more elaborate and stylish than men wigs since it was adorned with braids and gold, hair-rings and ivory ornaments. To maintain and stiffen the hairstyle of the wig, beeswax was used. Not only were wigs fashionable but the wearing of long beards was a status symbol, since the longer the beard, the higher the status of the individual. Fake beards also became a fashion statement. The wearing of gold beards by god-kings and queens became common practice (Sagay 1983). Hair grooming was of great significance to the people that hairdressers in ancient Egypt had a seat on either side of Pharaoh's throne (Yarbrough 1984).

To darken their grey hair Egyptian women cooked bull's blood in oil and applied it to their hair. Another interesting discovery amongst ancient African doctors was the discovery of eye make-up. It was believed that eye salve, and powder of copper, lead and antimony could be applied to the eyelids and brows to protect them from the scorching ray of the sun which reflected on the Nile waters see figure 2.4. The eye salve which was perceived as magic not only relieved the strain and pain of the eyes but was also used as a beautifying mechanism to attract the attention of males (Yarbrough 1984). Other ancient cultures such as the Greeks, Romans, Assyrians, and the Jews also made use of wigs as a fashionable accessory. For the first time after the Egyptians used wigs, the wearing of wigs became a generally acceptable form of adornment in the 16th century where Queen Elizabeth I of England was well known for wearing a red curly wig. Queen Elizabeth I was known for having 100 wigs of her own (Conway 1999).

Figure 2.2: From a mural painting found in the tomb of Huy in Western Thebes showing Nubian women leading children. The woman in the foreground is wearing a wrap skirt with vertical stripes, bracelets on her wrists and upper arms, and large circular earrings. Her hair appears to be styled in short twists or braids. About 1340 BC. (Yarbrough 1984).

Both men and women participated in the wearing of wigs and dyed their wigs red to imitate the wigs of Queen Elizabeth I. In the 17th century, in 1624 due to hair loss and since he started going bald, King Louis XIII of France pioneered wig-wearing see figure 2.6. Wigs in the 17th century became elaborate, heavy and at times uncomfortable to wear and spread in Europe and Europe influenced countries. Wig wearing became compulsory to wear for men with social rank and in 1665 a wig industry was established in France (Conway 1999) The wearing of wigs amongst women also become more popular during the 17th century. The powdering of wigs became fashionable amongst men and women throughout the West until French and American revolutions discarded wig-wearing in the 18th century (Conway 1999). Synott (1987) states that in European cultures hair symbolised individual and group identity. Opposite sexes in European cultures have different hairstyles for example long hair is considered feminine while short hair is considered masculine.

Figure 2.3: From the Twentieth Dynasty. A painted limestone ostracon in Deir el Medine, showing a new mother nursing a child while sequestered in a maternity bower. Her hair is worn in a style given to soon-to-be mothers during a period of purification. About 1200-1100 BC, Egypt. (Yarbrough 1984).

Hair was also viewed as a sex symbol, a sign of gender and wealth. Women with long hair were seen as more desirable and attractive which can be traced back to Western mythology where stories such as Rapunzel and Mary Magdalene idealise long hair.

2.2.3. Coiffures in precolonial African cultures

Hairstyles in early African civilisations were significant as it reflected various meanings in each culture, it received the most care and attention and closely resembled the hairstyles of ancient Egypt (Sieber & Herreman 2000). The sculpture of African hair was seen as an art form and hair was styled for various reasons in traditional African cultures. In some parts of Africa, certain hairstyles symbolised ceremonial occasions, age, maturity etc. Some hairstyles were constructed with clay, the bark of trees, braids, twists, and cloth etc. (Sagay 1983). According to Sagay (1983), when discussing the hairstyles of Africa, the continent needs to be divided into two parts namely North Africa above Senegal and Sudan where there are light-skinned, straight-haired people called the Hamites and Semites of North Africa, while in the Sahelian region of Africa the population there have brown skin and curly hair because of racial intermixtures and further south we find the dark-

skinned, kinky-haired population of the Black race. Each area of Africa is diverse in background and therefore each area has its traditional styles and code of aesthetics (Sagay 1983).

For example, in North Africa Tunisians, Moroccans and Algerians groomed their hair according to their traditional beliefs or according to various age sets. Male and female hairstyles differed. Men only had two hairstyles which indicated their change in age group one from before puberty where they wore their hair in tufts and another hairstyle namely a shaven head was worn after puberty. Females had three hairstyles which indicated their age from childhood, adolescence to adulthood. As a child, females wore their hair partially shaved and partially plaited. It was only as the female child reached adolescence when her hair could grow evenly. A female's hair was adorned with ornaments such as coins and shells (Sagay 1983).

In West Africa the Fulani were a scattered people and occupied areas such as Mauritania, Senegal, Niger, Chad, Ghana, Togo, Nigeria, Cameroon, parts of Sierra Leone, Gambia, Mali and Guinea, because they were a scattered people, differences existed between their dress, hairstyle and way of life. At a young age, children's hair was groomed according to their age, clan and locality. Females wore braids or cornrows at a young age and when they were married they wore more feminine hairstyles. Boys on the other hand wore their hair in tufts until they became circumcised. After initiation, they could wear braids and elaborate hairstyles whereas after marriage their hair had to be shaven off (Sagay 1983). In tropical West Africa hair threading and braids or cornrow hairstyles were popular. Braided hair was worn in various ways but the elaborate style of braids was reserved for ceremonial events see figure 2.8. Men wore short hair while priests and chiefs wore braids for special occasions.

In central Africa Zaire (now the Democratic Republic of Congo DRC), a variety of hairstyles was worn. Men wore hairstyles which were cone-shaped while women had two types of hairstyles one of which the front part of the head was shaved and blackened with soot while the back of their heads was braided and painted. Another type of hairstyle was where the hair of the female was groomed into longitudinal ridges and dyed with red clay (Sagay 1983). The Masai people from east Africa wore various hairstyles. Women had bald heads which were smeared with animal fat and

red ochre, while the male warriors had long hair which they groomed into various hairstyles. The hair of these warriors was parted and also smeared with fat, clay, red ochre and twisted into strands and grouped into three sections, one in the front of the head and one on either side of the head see figure 2.11 (Sagay 1983).

2.2.4. Significance of hair in traditional African pre-colonial cultures

Traditional African cultures associated hair with the soul, spirituality, and special powers. For example, if hair clippings fell in the hands of the enemy, evil would befall the owner of the hair. Similarly, in West Africa hair was likened to a soul and when a child's hair was cut the mother of the child kept its hair in a basket for fear that the child's hair would fall into the wrong hands. In Cameroon hair was seen as protective from evil spirits. A small patch of hair was left on the fontanel part of an infant's head to protect the child from evil spirits entering the infant through the soft area of the unfused bones on the skull see figure 2.7 (Sieber & Herreman 2000). Therefore, the careful selection of who would do your hair was important and was only entrusted to family or close friends (Sieber & Herreman 2000). In the Akan culture of West Africa, childless couples would consult a deity and make vows to them in exchange for a healthy child. The healthy child would be placed under the guidance of that deity and the child's hair would never be cut which indicated the divine birth of that child (Ephirim-Donkor 1997). In some African countries hair was symbolic of strength, fertility and the individual's state of mind (Lawal 2000).

The hair of Mende women in Liberia was likened to vegetation. Thick, lush hair of Mende women was seen as beautiful and represented, the green thumb for bountiful farms, abundant life, prosperity, healthy children, fertility, and strength (Siegmann 2000).

Figure 2.4: The second Meroitic queen depicted on the wall painting in the chapel at Meroe is dressed in a bordered wrap-around skirt. Her blouse is also made of pleated linen. She is wearing protective eye make-up. An elaborate diadem is supported by a helmet-like hat or hairpiece. A double-strand necklace extends to her waist. Earring dangle from her ears which appear to be encircled by a large ear ornament. (Yarbrough 1984).

Figure 2.5: Nubian women in Egypt during the time of Thothmes III, 1490-1436 BC, wearing wrap skirts, one plain with a border, the other with horizontal stripes. Their heads are shaven clean. (Yarbrough 1984).

Hairstyles were also symbolic of age. For example, in Nigeria, the Igbo believe that when a young girl reaches puberty and develops breasts, her hair was to be groomed in a certain way to attract suitors (Sagay 1983). In other cultural groups, an elderly woman would accompany a young female initiate and would groom their hair into elaborate styles to make them attractive to suitors and through this would indicate her transformation through initiation (Siegmann 2000). In the case of males, a male child would usually wear a tuft of hair on his cranium, but at puberty, all his hair would be shaved off to symbolise his rites of initiation and circumcision (Sieber & Herreman 2000). Female initiates in the Yoruba culture of Nigeria would shave their hair off to allow special medicinal ingredients to be rubbed into their scalps or they would simply wear elaborate hairstyles decorated with colourful beads (Lawal 2000).

Figure 2.6: King Louis XVI wearing a wig. Oil on canvas by Antoine-François Callet, 1786; in Musée Carnavalet, Paris (Encyclopaedia Britannica 2018).

In the Ivory Coast if an individual's hair was unkempt and uncut it would be associated with dangerous behaviour of that of a mad man, royal executioner or priest as these people never cut their hair which grew into matted locks (Sieber & Herreman 2000).

Hair in many African societies was also symbolic of status. High-status women would wear elaborate hairstyles at special occasions especially wives of kings to reflect her social status in society. Elaborate coiffures such as the crest worn by women from the Mende tribe in Liberia, the Dyala in Ivory Coast, the Yoruba in Nigeria, the Tikar of Cameroon, and the Bassani of Guinea indicates the woman's status. This crest either reflects the marital status of a man or woman or the indication of the birth of a first child (Sieber& Herreman 2000).
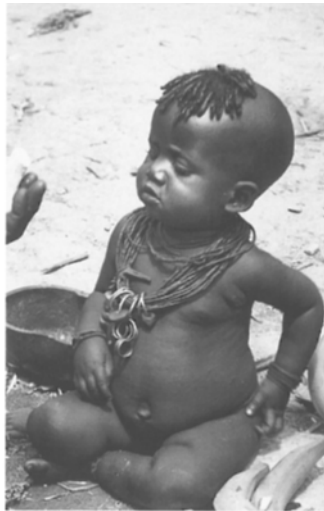
Figure 2.7: A child with fontanel protection Mambila, Cameroon. 1950. (Sieber & Herreman 2000).

Various hairstyles in Zaire now DRC indicated wealth and status. The more elaborate the hairstyle the higher the status and wealth of the individual (Schildkrout & Keim 1990). Elaborate hairstyles were usually worn at ceremonial occasions. Those who had the privilege of dressing their hair elaborately were usually high-status women and wives of chiefs (Siegmann 2000). Hair grooming also played an important role in the mourning process. When a loved one passed away the widow would either undo her elaborate hairstyle or shave off all her hair to show that she was mourning her loved one (see figure 2.9).

Figure 2.8: Fulani woman, French Guinea wearing a head crest with ornaments. (Sieber & Herreman 2000).

The new growth of hair would not be combed and would be left unkempt until the mourning process was complete (Sieber & Herreman 2000). In Sub-Saharan Africa, in the Republic of the Congo, the Bwende and Beembe people believed that hair plays an important role in respecting the dead. When someone dies his or her hair and nails were cut off and were made into a statue. This statue represented and immortalised the dead and was kept by the deceased's loved ones (Sieber & Herreman 2000). If a person dies far from home and his or her body could not be shipped back home, the hair and nail clippings of the deceased would be sent in a box to the family which was viewed as a substitute for the coffin (Sieber & Herreman 2000).

Figure 2.9: "Coiffures des femmes." Mangbetu, Uele region Democratic Republic of Congo. The "broken" coiffures are possibly a sign of mourning. (Sieber & Herreman 2000).

Hair was groomed, shaped and teased into elaborate styles with various hair tools such as combs, razors and picks and adorned with various hair decorations such as hairpins, hats, combs, mud, perfumes, such as lavender and sandalwood (Schildkrout & Keim 1990; Sieber & Herreman 2000). In other African societies, hairstyles were decorated with cowries, metal rings, wood, bone or ivory and groomed into elaborate hairstyles such as crests, curls, cornrows, braids etc. (Sieber & Herreman 2000). In West African Sahel the Fulbe and Fulani people wear tight longitudinal braids while in western tropical Africa, females decorate their hair with elements from vegetable fibres. Brides from the Yoruba tribe wore giant crests on their heads for their wedding ceremony while men wore a variety of hairstyles such as braids, twists, cornrows and various elements in their hair like cowrie shells etc. (Sieber & Herreman 2000).

A basketlike hairstyle in the late nineteenth century was seen as fashionable and a status symbol (see figure 2.10). The hair was braided at the crown of the head into a kind of backward tilted chignon, supported by a reed frame. Delicate braids created a broad band around the forehead. Because the hair at the temples was too short to be connected with the chignon, 'foreign hair' had to be added which was obtained from the deceased or victims of war (De Palmenaer 2000). Hair was not seen as superficial in both European and African cultures. Instead, hair communicated various messages and the state of mind of the wearer. Hair in Ancient Africa was multi- purposive as it not only beautified the head but reflected the identity as well as

communicated personal and cultural knowledge and attitudes of the human experience (Arnoldi & Kreamer 1995).

Figure 2.10: Preferred wife of Kongolis with characteristic basketlike coiffure crowned with a halo. Makerea (Mangbetu), Uele region, Democratic Republic of Congo. (Sieber & Herreman 2000).

Figure 2.11: Men at the annual celebration in Tiker quarter, Warwar, Mambila, Cameroon. 1948. (Sieber & Herreman 2000).

Southern African hairstyles differed amongst various tribes and villages. A significant hairstyle was that of married Swazi women who wore a hairstyle which was styled into a top knot on the head and made from split cow horns and worn like a cap. This hairstyle was secured with red-ochred clay. The Zulus on the other hand wore tall ochred hairstyles which were styled with red clay and fat. The front of the head was shaven while the hair on the top of the head was knotted and decorated with ornaments such as flat bones and beads (Sagay 1983). According to the Southern African Ngunis, it is believed that the pulling out of grey hair is taboo since the more you pull out the grey hairs, more grey hairs will proliferate on the head (Madlela 2018). Hair among married Nguni women was concealed as a sign of respect and a

symbol of their marital status while another reason for concealing their hair was because their hair was seen as an erotic symbol in attracting men (Nettleton 2014). In South Africa, married Zulu women from the Transkei wore unique hairstyles which differentiated them from non-married women. Their hairstyles were lofty and styled with red clay and fat. The forehead of the women was also shaved to complete the immaculate look (Madlela 2018). Hair was also linked to life and death among the Zulus and Ndebeles. When a loved one passed on the close relatives of the deceased would shave off their hair as part of a cleansing ceremony to cleanse themselves from the contamination of death (Richter 2005). Among the Tswane and Sotho people, pregnant women were not allowed to braid their hair as this would affect the foetus. The Tswane's believed that the braiding of a pregnant woman's hair would cause the umbilical cord of the woman to wind around the neck of the foetus while amongst the Sotho people braiding the hair of a pregnant woman would bring about prolonged labour (Ntoane 1988). The Ndebeles also considered it unlucky to thank a hairstylist for grooming their hair (Madlela 2018).

The head itself in African societies was seen as a "potent image that plays a central role in how the person is conceptualised" (Arnoldi & Kreamer 1995). It is through the bodies and our culturally objectified bodies that we come to know ourselves and others and it is through the representation of our bodies that profoundly shapes our relationships to others (Arnoldi & Kreamer 1995). The significance of hair such as wigs, hair extensions, elaborate natural hairstyles and the head itself gave individuals their beauty and identity in traditional as well as ancient African cultures before the colonial period. It was with the advent of colonialism and slavery that African hair which symbolised beauty, identity and represented the various African cultures was shaved off or covered up. It is through this act of the removal of hair that the African people were removed from their cultures and a new standard of beauty and identity was introduced and needed to be adhered to. (Arnoldi & Kreamer 1995). Byrd and Tharps (2001) state that the practice of the shaving of heads and the banning of African cultural practices which was implemented by the Europeans with the arrival of Africans to America represented the removal of the identity of the African people. It was then when the cultural significance and the importance of hair took on a completely different meaning.

2.3. Historical background of race and identity in South Africa

To understand hair, race and identity in South Africa today, it is important to contextualise these within the historical background of race. Modern-day South Africa can only be understood with an overview of its historical background of colonialism (Magubane 1990). Before colonialism in the seventeenth century, various societies existed in South Africa namely, the San is also known as Bushmen, the Khoikhoi also known as Hottentots, the Nguni tribe (which included Xhosa and Zulu speakers) and the Sotho tribe (which included Tswana and Pedi speakers). The San were anthropologically known as hunters and gatherers who inhabited the area around the Cape of Good Hope. They hunted game and gathered berries, roots and vegetables as well as fished along the seashores (Wilson & Thompson 1969).

The San were organised into bands in search of food. The Khoi who inhabited the area around the Cape of Good Hope had domesticated animals which included great herds of cattle and sheep. Their community consisted of units which ranged from five hundred to two thousand persons. The units were grouped into clans who grazed their herds and were under the authority of the head of the horde. The Nguni's mode of production was mixed which included herding, agriculture and hunting (Ogot 1992). Milk and meat were their staple foods while crops included pumpkins, melons, calabashes, sorghum, beans, cocoa, yams, and groundnuts. They were divided into kingdoms with a recognised king or chief. A social division of labour existed between males and females. The political system of the tribe consisted of a pyramid of authority which included at the lowest level heads of families, then clan heads, regional chiefs and finally the kings (Ogot 1992).

The Sotho had a mixed economy of cattle herding and agriculture. The fashioning of tools and ornaments which were made out of iron, ore, clay, straw and ivory, they traded with their neighbours was a common practice. The Nguni and Sotho speakers inhabited the eastern seaboard from the Mozambique coast to the Eastern Cape (Wilson & Thompson 1969). The African societies which existed before colonialism were complex and diverse and were not in a "timeless state of arrested development that Western anthropologists and imperialist apologists have too often depicted….

they (too) were growing economically and demographically amongst themselves" (Magubane 1990:25).

Fundi wa Africa is a new reading of African history by African scholars namely Muiu and Martin (2009). In this reading of Africa, they explore the values which formed part of 'indigenous Africa' that existed before the 9th century BCE (before the Christian era) to AD1500. They too agree that African history reveals a variety of "political systems, social stratification, economic inequalities and a variety of African religious beliefs and languages" (Muiu & Martin 2009) which is in contrast with Euro-American hegemonic knowledge which denies the existence of order and progress within Africa before colonialism (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013:6).

While colonialism has an ancient history it is closely linked to the birth and maturation of the capitalist socio-economic system which in turn is the best way to study race and inequality (Magdoff 1972). Capitalism was exploitative and required a policy of conquest which produced its ideology. The birth of the ideology of racism fed off the policies of capitalism and created a permanent stimulus for exploiting people along racial lines which were seen as a justification of exploitation. (Magdoff 1972). Capitalism was therefore historically rooted and shaped the attitudes of the European colonists.

Early in the 1500s Portuguese seafarers were regular visitors to South Africa as they pioneered the sea route to India (Ogot 1992). The advent of the Dutch at the Cape in 1652 started with the establishment of a refreshment station by a company known as the Dutch East India Company (VOC), an organisation with the objective for business and profit. Magubane (2001:5) states that the company was a "creation of mercantile capitalism- it was ferocious in its plundering; it was piracy on land, piracy reorganised and adapted to exploiting the natural and human resources of the peoples of the entire colonial world". He also describes this company as a "commercial slaving octopus with international tentacles".

Keegan (1997) on the other hand describes the arrival of the Dutch and the emergence of colonial society as almost accidental by the fact that the Dutch East India Company did not favour the creation of settler communities in its trading empire but because this refreshment station provided sustenance for its garrison and maritime traffic situated in this area, this obliged the company to grant free burgher

status to certain of the Dutch East India Company employees to allow them to settle as independent farmers. The administration of the refreshment station at the Cape was from Batavia where the headquarters of the company was situated. The Dutch East India Company (VOC) was given extensive political powers to negotiate treaties, establish colonial outposts, declare wars, and recruit military and administrative personnel. The employees of the VOC were from among the lower classes of Netherlands society where some were illiterate and others with little education (Cabral 1969). The VOC was able to import slaves from East Africa and Madagascar to fulfil their labour needs hence the slave population increased since more labour was needed (Ogot 1992). Marriages took place across different races and a new multiracial order was created where European colonists were regarded as superior. To obtain more labourers in service of the VOC the representatives of the company took steps to dominate the local area (Cabral 1969).

During the 1700s the colonists intruded further beyond the nearest mountain ranges and their demand for livestock and labour increased. Indigenous societies were incorporated and used as colonial slaves. This was a strategy used to attain high profits without any regard for the rights of and at the expense of the indigenous owners of the land and livestock (Jaffe 1994). The Asian slaves formed part of the artisan class and were concentrated in the towns. They brought with them the Islamic religion which eventually shaped the working-class culture of the Western Cape. African slaves were found more often on the farms of outlying districts.

Jan Van Riebeck who directed the first Dutch colonising expedition of the Cape treated the Khoi and San people as a people outside of humanity (Magubane 2001:5). The European colonists made use of colonial imperialism and created sub-human attitudes towards the Khoikhoi and the San. The Khoi and the San were seen as inferior to its colonial counterparts. The colonised people were viewed as barbarians, savages and uncivilised. This was seen as a justification for their domination and exploitation (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013:131). These views would later form the perception of race and identity of the colonised for centuries.

According to Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013:131) "The right of conquest became an important legitimating value that authorised all sorts of violence deployed against the colonised". Anderson (1964:40) aptly describes this:

> Imperialism automatically sets a premium on a patrician political style: as a pure system of alien domination, it always, within the limits of safety, seeks to maximize the existential difference between the ruling and the ruled race to create a magical and impossible gulf between two fixed essences.

Colonial imperialism deprived the African people of power and arrested their development. Europe with its superior technology meant that they were able to assume intellectual superiority to the colonised and inevitably explain the exploitative relations between Black and White people (Rodney 1972). Superior-inferior social classifications were created with colonialism and the "hierarchy of new identities were not only informed by race but by degrees of humanity associated with the constructed identities" (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013:130). The colonised were treated and trained to become unequal which sustained the colonial namely, White supremacy. Skin which was lighter in colour was associated closer with humanity. This was the background which led to the psychological supremacy of White people over Black people (Maldonado-Torres 2007:244-245).

The indigenous people of the Cape became disadvantaged since there were no longer cattle to be obtained. To overcome this, they worked and served the European settlers (Magubane 1990). The meeting of European settlers with the indigenous peoples created a constant threat of attack and through this, a tendency towards Boer identity and solidarity was forged where a deep-rooted racial attitude was born (Keegan 1997:1). In 1685 after the nullification of the Edict of Nantes large numbers of French Huguenot refugees from the Netherlands were encouraged to flee to the Cape and were assimilated into the Dutch community by intermarrying with Dutch people (Magubane 1990; Magubane 2001). This was then when the development of the Afrikaner or Boer crystallised. They were a people who lived in poverty in Holland but had moved to the Cape in search of a new life. They depended on slave labour to survive and therefore killed or enslaved those who occupied the land which they desired and found their identity in those whom they conquered and exploited (Bryce 1969; DeKiewiet 1966).

In 1819, Britain appeared to be in a state of upheaval and the British parliament encouraged its populace to be exported to the Cape Colony. The British settlers came from all parts of the United Kingdom including Scotland and Ireland. They had

a vision in mind which was to create a small Britain in the Cape Colony (Magubane 1990). In 1820 the Boers were forced to move inland due to the threat of British settlers. Magubane (1990:33) aptly describes the arrival of the British to South Africa:

> The arrival of the British in South Africa began as a devil's dance between White settlers and African society seldom paralleled in human history. The British, backed by their navy, fought with frenzied determination until the Africans were either dead or reduced to the most degrading wage bondage in the modern world…. all camouflaged with sweet-sounding professions of human rights and dignity…Thus on the racial front, the era of British dominance was not only an era of "refined" White supremacist policies but of cultural activity as well. Everyone, including the Afrikaner, was subject to the "civilizing" process and was made to accept the British institutions, language, and culture as superior. The subjugated peoples thus had the traditions of their conquerors forced upon them.

The imitation of English class structure and traditions generated new colonial aristocracies as well as new classes of the poor and oppressed. Race intruded and almost justified these class structures. British rule was a multi-dimensional assault on the African traditional social organisation. It was an assault, militarily and politically when the African populations were conquered, economically when the conquered people were used as the labour force in agriculture and then for diamond and gold mining, ideologically, when Africans were converted to the least utilizable aspect of European culture namely Christianity and lastly socially, where the African traditions and traditional social structures were completely shattered (Rodney 1972). Missionary education was introduced into the colony to create native people who assured the stability of this new society and to undermine African societies (Magubane 1990). A strong relationship thus developed between the missionaries and the conqueror. The British made use of missionaries, settlers and commandos with the ideology of liberalism by teaching human brotherhood. Humanitarians and liberalists were the same since their vision of civilising the natives were one of deculturation and exploitation (Cairns 1965).

Christianity was a tool to reach the hearts and minds of the natives to change their thinking. Dr John Philips of the London Missionary Society who was sent to the Cape Colony stated that missionary stations were the most efficient agents which were used to promote the strength of the ideology of the colony and were the best military posts which legitimised colonial rule. These missionary stations also ensured contact between the coloniser and the colonised (Philips 1828).

During the so-called 'Kaffir Wars' the British called for the annihilation of the Xhosa. The Editor of the Graham's Town Journal namely, Robert Godlonton described the Xhosa as savages who sunk into moral deprivation. This perception became the ideology of the White settler brand of racism and their treatment of the Xhosa seemed logical and appropriate (Magubane 2001). Amongst others, the British built the port cities of Port Elizabeth and East London to expand its wool industry to feed the British clothing industry. However, this industry produced a demand for more land and the British were determined to obtain underutilised tribal land across the Fish River. Through violence, the British were able to subdue the African people and create a race lower than themselves. The wars fought against the African kingdoms were paid for by the British taxpayer (Magubane 2001). The expeditions were ordered by the Government to repress the aggressions of the Bushmen. In 1820 biological racism took place whereby phrenology became a justification for the building of an Empire. It argued that social behaviour was entirely dependent on the shape of the cranium. The logic of phrenological studies was that Africans personify degraded otherness which justified conquest and subordination to slave status (Magubane 2001).

A series of uninterrupted wars which took place in South Africa from 1806 up to 1906 created a society of victors and defeated which continued to plague South Africa to the extent that a new policy was formulated by Colonial Secretary Earl Grey (DeKiewiet 1966). This policy stated that British authority should be established in what was called Kaffirland where chiefs in those areas had to be subordinate in civil and military matters as well as acknowledge the Queen as their protector. Sir Harry Smith implemented this policy and became the governor of the Cape Colony in 1847. This policy was a method which was used to confiscate the cattle and land from the natives. The natives were deprived of their livelihood and eventually were made dependant and subject to British rule. Africans were ordered to be removed from

their land and replaced with British settlers and helped the British to generate an African as a permanent class of proletarian (Keegan 1997).

Sartre (1968:38). describes colonisation not simply as a matter of conquest but as "an act of cultural genocide" where the characteristics of the native society are obliterated The native is painted by the settler as someone without values, someone who negates values, lacks morality, is ultimately seen as evil and insensible to ethics. The native's traditions are seen as deprived of spirit and constitution (Fanon 1963). British policy and hegemony which was cunning, permeated throughout South Africa, saturated its society and became common sense for those who were subject to it. This 'othering' of the colonised created a cultural heritage where African culture and identity became devalued, not only is the culture devalued, the African person was also devalued. A legacy that ran for centuries.

The Dutch were cruel but the British destructed the make-up of the African society and replaced it with White supreme reign. The colonisation by the British as well as the imposition of their culture and traditions brusquely cut short the historical development of the African people and their civilisation. The African was declared an inferior savage and pagan race which needed to be under subjugation to the superior Europeans (Magubane 1990). This historical background formed the very foundation of the creation of race and identity in South Africa (Oyedemi 2016).

2.4. Apartheid and the creation of race and identity

'Race'-fixed identities which stemmed from 'scientific' theories in Europe during the nineteenth century are interconnected to the construction of identity. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century 'scientific racism' was seen as the stimulus for the development of racist practices which further developed and evolved in South Africa (Hendricks 2001). This, therefore, implies that "racialized distinctions with their corresponding boundary markers and hierarchical valuations were not prevalent at the Cape before this period which makes it a twentieth-century phenomenon" (Hendricks 2001:30). Lewis (2001) states that:

> The classification of physical features to signify collective identities precedes applications of the concept of 'race'. It was in the nineteenth century that 'race' explicitly became an organising idea in various forms of specialist and

popular thought about groups. Robert Young (2001:132-133) traces this to show that with the codifying of racial discourse in the 1800s, physiognomy became the basis for a systematic representation of individuals and groups. Racial discourse produced both distinct scientific concepts, and a particular cluster of connotation, attitudes and icons.

Long before apartheid began, racial segregation and White supremacist policies such as the controversial 1913 Land Act formed part of South African policies. Apartheid meaning separateness was an ideology which signified racial separation, inhumanity and exploitation. It was supported by the National Party (NP) government under the leadership of the Prime Minister of the National Party namely HF Verwoerd and introduced to South Africa in 1948 (Posel 2011). Lipton (1986) describes the defining characteristics of apartheid by stating that race identified by physical characteristics namely skin colour, was a determining factor in the hierarchical ordering of economic, political and social structures. Africans were discriminated against and excluded from many civil, political and economic rights enjoyed by Whites. The segregation of races took place where different races lived in separate areas, went to separate schools etc. Finally, this system of discrimination and segregation was enshrined into the law of South Africa which was enforced by the government

The main difference between the racial segregation policy before apartheid and during apartheid was that the racial segregation policies during apartheid became law (Lipton 1986). The institutionalisation of the segregation policies contributed towards its naturalising. Individuals internalised and gave meaning to the identities conferred onto them through their lived experiences and active involvement in defining their racial boundaries (Hendricks 2001). This organisation of race took place in South Africa and the apartheid regime lasted from 1948 to the early 1990s. The birth of apartheid marked the beginning of territorial segregation where Blacks were forcefully removed from areas which were later designated for Whites and which created immense rural slums in the homelands where approximately 3,5 million people were affected (Posel 2011).

Segregationist policies were rigorous and authoritative to the extent that policies of separate development where racial purity was evident, divided the African population

into their separate homelands (Posel 2011). Even though segregationist policies of apartheid seemed rigorous it did not reflect that same kind of internal stability or coherence. Apartheid was always accompanied by ways to rethink it, redefine it and reposition it and was plagued with tension and contradiction which created sites of porosity (Posel 2011; Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013). The apartheid project was to maintain White supremacy which promoted White economic prosperity and perpetuated the preservation of White political supremacy and the superiority of White 'civilisation' (Posel 2011). Black life was the greatest threat to White supremacy since they formed the overwhelming majority. The term *die swart gevaar* (the black menace) formed part of the abiding image of Blackness by White communities throughout the apartheid years. The view that Blacks, in general, were described as diseased or contagious emerged from Europe's initial encounter with Africans and later this view of Blacks continued to exist in South Africa during the nineteenth and twentieth century (Hendricks 2001; Posel 2011).

This image of Blacks accentuated the fear which Whites had for Blacks, yet the Black population remained the condition to White prosperity and were kept alive in servitude to the structures of White supremacy (Posel 2011). The economic interdependency of Whites on Blacks was reason enough to regulate race by creating impermeable boundaries to preserve racial purity and the racial privileges which upheld the apartheid regime. Regulatory practices constituted in racial terms where Whites, Coloureds, Indians and Blacks would find their conditions of residence, employment, migration, political association, communal life, leisure and intimacy were governed by the terms of apartheid policy. Racial discrimination and racism permeated every aspect of everyday life from the public to the intimate (Posel 2011). The state "extended its jurisdiction into what is 'traditionally' designated as the domain of individual consciousness into the sphere of private individual activity - civil society" (Reddy 2001:77).

The individual consciousness and civil society were not equally private spheres as the state was able to impose racial identities on its citizens and acted as the final judge in racially classifying them. This racial classification determined the fate of that particular subject (Reddy 2001). The apartheid regime expanded its authority by breaking down traditional separate spheres and merged these separate spheres of the state, the individual and civil society. In doing this the imposition of racial

classification permeated throughout all three spheres. Reddy (2001:77) describes the determinant of race as an exercise which takes place in the public sphere and states that:

> The state, through its practices of 'racial assignment' to individual consciousness, moulded the terrain (civil society) in which supposedly private individuals act out their desires. The political division between state and civil society is therefore sacrificed because identity, which is supposedly a part of the private realm, is in the Apartheid case, the determinant of social relations in the public sphere… Apartheid South Africa politicised collective identity. When state praxis has the effect of making an area of personal identity open to public debate and personal contestation, personal identity becomes politicised.

The Population Registration Act (1950) for example was a law which was passed and demanded that people be registered according to their racial group. Each racial group would be treated differently (Reddy 2001). The state identified each individual along the lines of colour, race and ethnicity, making the individual chained to that identity. This institutionalised racism in South Africa had entrenched a preoccupation with racial and cultural purity or contamination (Lewis 2001).

Van den Berghe (1965) states that the 1950 Act served to legally establish a racial-caste hierarchy within South African society. Various reasons can be identified for the legalisation of the 1950 Act, namely, to prohibit miscegenation and to expand the terrain of the state's authority. The 1950 Act was institutionalised to prevent individuals to 'pass' from one group to another to be re-classified. This system, however, had loopholes through which individuals could 'pass' for White to avoid harsh treatment (Reddy 2001). At first, the 1950 Act allowed census takers to assume the role of racial classifiers after which this power was allocated to officials of the Department of Native Affairs and later on to all-White public servants. These racial classifiers with no expertise in racial classification where the only requirement for the job was White superiority, were guided loosely by definitions of race which were supplied by the government.

Posel (2011:355) describes the determinant of race as 'the White classifiers' ordinary everyday experience of racial difference that was expected to inform their

judgements… (this classification was) unencumbered by rigorous criteria or standards of evidence" but was simply judged according to an individual's hair texture, fingernail colour, the individual's clothing, home language and modes of leisure. The racial classification which was conferred onto the individual would permeate every aspect of their lived experience (Posel 2011).

The 1950 Registration Act identified four racial groups namely, White (those of European descent), Coloureds (mixed), Blacks and Indians (South Asians from former British India). Sometimes the individual's racial heritage would not always be clear which caused problems in classifying them. To circumvent this problem various tests were created to assist authorities to classify people. One such test was a "hair pencil test" (Posel 2011). An individual who participated in the pencil test passed or failed the test based on how easily the pencil came out of the hair to distinguish Whites from Coloureds and Coloureds from Blacks (Terreblanche 2002). As a consequence of this test existing communities and families were split along perceived racial lines. Being classified as Coloured allowed a person more rights than being classified as Black. This resulted in many people attempting to hide their natural identity and race, and pass for other race because of the benefits that proximity to Whiteness offered (Terreblanche 2002).

So some people designated as Coloured will attempt to artificially make their hair look and feel as a White person's hair to pass for white. This undoubtedly created a cultural ideology of the pursuit of Whiteness or proximity to it. It talks to the critical role that race plays in identity formation in South Africa. Other laws such as the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, 1949, the Immorality Amendment Act no 21 of 1950, made interracial sex illegal, and the Separate Representation of Voters Act, 1951 were all used as a mechanism to ultimately protect the purity of the White race resisting the temptation of submergence and assimilation into the Black race (Posel 2011).

Christian nationalism was also one of the tools used to perpetuate racial and unequal separate development. The Christian theology of power claimed that the Afrikaner people were the chosen people of God. The ideologies of apartheid were representative of a divinely sanctioned crusade to protect White supremacy from being submerged into the Black 'heathendom' of Africa (Posel 2011).

The term Coloured was a social term instead of a legal description which indicated a status between Black and White in the early 20th century, South Africa. Coloureds were geographically located in the Cape Town suburbs of the Western Cape, Port Elizabeth and other parts of the Eastern Cape, and Northern Cape Province (Henrard 2002). Erasmus (2001) describes what she recalls her definition of being Coloured when she was young. She states, "I was not only White but less than White; not Black but better than Black. At the same time, the shape of my nose and texture of my hair placed me in the middle of the continuum of beauty as defined by both men and women in the community" (Erasmus 2001:13)

The Coloured identity was associated with sexualised shame and drunkenness. It was described as a lesser identity, an identity which was lacking, inferior and simply non-existent. The above description has contributed to the marginalisation and trivialisation of the Coloured identity in post-apartheid South Africa (Erasmus 2001). During the colonial period, the Coloured identity was positioned in-between White and Black. This mid-way positioning dragged Coloured people into compromises in the political realm and shaped how Coloured people were viewed.

The term 'Coloured' in South Africa remains the subject of ideological and political contestation since various definitions of the term exist. Adhikari (2013) however, identified four approaches to Coloured identity namely, an essentialist approach, the instrumentalist approach, the social constructionist approach and finally the postmodern concept of creolisation as espoused by Erasmus. The essentialist approach describes the Coloured identity as a product of miscegenation which reduces Coloured identity to racial hybridity and racial mixing between the first Dutch settlers and the indigenous Khoisan and other non-European groups. This has become a typical and popular view of Coloured identity (Adhikari 2013). Erasmus (2001) disagrees with the common-sense view that to be Coloured means to be of mixed race. She states that this definition seems to imply that to be Coloured is to be a product of a mixture of 'purer cultures' namely Black and White where Black and White are given coherent and homogenous identities. She encourages moving beyond the black-white reductionism description of Coloured identity to a more open and fluid definition. The instrumentalist approach sees the Coloured identity as an artificial creation or label given to a vulnerable group of people by the White ruling class for social control or to ploy to divide and rule the Black majority. The third

approach namely the social constructionist interpretation views Coloured identity as having agency and the ability to make and re-make their identity therefore, this identity is seen as a dynamic ongoing process. This agency, however, is dependent on a complex interplay of social, historical, political-cultural, and other factors (Adhikari 2013).

The fourth approach namely postmodern creolisation as espoused by Erasmus describes the Coloured identity as a product of cultural creativity. In her view, Coloured identities are based on "cultural creativity, creolized formations shaped by South Africa's history of colonialism, slavery, segregation and apartheid" (Erasmus 2001:14). She argues that creolized culture means the process of infinite cultural transformation with an emphasis on cultural creation (Erasmus 2001). It is a borrowing of ruling and subaltern cultures. Erasmus (2001:14) states that the Coloured identity cannot be defined as a product of mixed race but is based on "cultural creativity, creolised formation shaped by South Africa's history of colonialism, slavery, segregation and apartheid". It was only with the establishment of apartheid that Coloureds were no longer able to be absorbed into White communities but had to live in separate areas which were less desirable than the White communities. Their work opportunities were also separate from White occupational opportunities. Interracial marriage and sexual relations were no longer allowed between Whites and other groups this in turn lead to the forceful removal of Coloureds from their land (Henrard 2002).

The Coloured identity was never seen as an identity in its own right instead it was seen as an identity which was associated with shame, immorality, sexual promiscuity, illegitimacy, impurity and untrustworthiness (Erasmus 2000). It was known as the impure, mixed-race which resisted the very discourse of apartheid as this race was unclassifiable. It did not fit into the classification of being White, Black, Asian or Indian instead it was a classification which was considered as ambiguous and ambivalent (Reddy 2001).

Reddy (2001:78) states that the discourse of racial classification accomplished textually that which escaped biological certainty. It provided political certainty by making use of racial signifiers. The racial ideology which existed within South Africa provided a pervasive basis for identity formation and social interaction (Lewis 2001).

Even though the formal authority of apartheid ended in 1994, apartheid remains an important part of South African cultural heritage and a symbol of racism. Apartheid played a crucial role in the construction of the identity of non-White South Africans and framed their identities in terms of race. Race which was defined by physical characteristics such as the texture of one's hair, the size of one's lips, the colour of the skin determined one's capabilities. The body in other words was defined as being part of a particular narrative which was seen as inferior to that of White South Africans. Identities which are shaped over long periods cannot be isolated from past experiences. The identities of South Africans today cannot be isolated from the past experiences of apartheid.

2.5. Implications of colonialism on culture and identity in South Africa

Colonialism was not only about conquest but it was multifaceted from its beginning. It was a cultural as well as a political enterprise. It emptied the brains of the colonised and destroyed the history of the colonised (Fanon 1963). Europe deprived its colonies including Africa of legitimacy and recognition in the global cultural order (Quijano 2007). In the postcolonial world where colonialism is supposedly destroyed, lies the emptiness, illusions and myths of being free and decolonised. African leaders are not truly free in making decisions on the development of their countries without consulting Europe or North America. Those who try to make decisions independently from the world powers are subject to severe discipline (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013). Chabal and Daloz (1999) describe this problem as a 'crisis of modernity'.

The celebrated independence of Africa is a myth and the postcolonial world which is an imagined space of freedom and identity reconstruction is still a cause that is being fought for while Africans continue to live in a world dominated by the coloniality of power. (Ndlovu- Gatsheni 2013). Eurocentric colonial domination was assumed to be scientific and objective, today this remains to be the context in which society operates. Exploitation and social domination of populations in the world today portray precisely the exploited and dominated peoples of colonialism (Quijano 2007).

What then are the implications of colonialism and coloniality on the identity and culture of South Africans?

First of all, South Africa has had a long history of an identity crisis where questions of citizenship and belonging surface. Who is considered as an indigenous South African versus who is considered as a native?

These questions of multiple racial societies and identities were created by colonialism and remain to be answered. What being a South African is, continues to be debated and remains a state of becoming since the country is characterised by layers of complex identities (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013:140-141)?

South Africa has never been decolonised and deracialised. In 1910 South Africa gained colonial independence without being decolonised. In 1994 South Africa gained liberal democracy with decolonisation since the Black populations remained at the bottom of the ethnic/racial hierarchy of the country (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013). Colonialism which was a capitalist socio-economic system with exploitative policies of conquest can be found in postcolonial South Africa today where Europe and North America remain at the apex of power while the ex-colonial countries remain subject to them. The ideology of unequal exploitative relations along racial lines during the colonial era can be traced in South Africa today since the indigenous people of South Africa remain exploited and dominated. Colonialism is thus kept alive in our way of life, cultural patterns and our perceptions of self.

The economic survival and well-being of the non-White South Africans during apartheid was determined by their skin colour and hair texture. Colonialism and apartheid introduced elements of inferiority into the non-White individual consciousness without it being rejected since it became commonly shared in cultural communities, therefore this resulted in the internalisation of an inferior narrative of the African culture, identity and body amongst non-White South Africans. According to Oyedemi (2016), this is evident in the straightening of natural African hair, and the lightening of the skin amongst non-White South Africans in post-apartheid South Africa to attain or resemble Whiteness which is esteemed as the epitome of beauty.

The psychological and symbolic sphere of the racist ideologies of colonialism and apartheid continues to be perpetuated by the above mentioned cultural practices which eventually shapes the perception that non-White South Africans have about themselves and the narrative of the inferiority of the African identity, culture and body continue to be perpetuated from generation to generation. Evidence of this was in

the Pretoria Girls High School protests which took place in July 2016 where pupils at the high school protested against the school's code of conduct which allegedly instructed students to chemically straighten their hair since it was not considered neat/ tidy enough. This protest has brought hair politics, identity and debates around racism back into the national discourse.

Vestiges of colonialism and apartheid continue to be perpetuated in the public discourse of South Africans today where long-standing patterns of power in the form of beauty, job and land distribution which existed during colonialism and apartheid continue to exist far beyond the limits of the colonial administration. These patterns of power still favour the Western hegemonic perspectives and shape the culture, identity and body of the African in an inferior manner.

2.6. (Post)colonial narratives and critiques on African hair

As illustrated above, colonialism played a significant role in crafting ideologies about race, beauty and class through the body and continues to shape ideologies in contemporary times (Erasmus 2000). Another pivotal period which further shaped the ideologies of beauty, identity and class of Africans was the Civil Rights Movement in the USA which took place from the 1950s to 1970s. It was during this controversial time that marginalised groups especially African Americans in the USA fought against legalised racial segregation to gain rights equal to Whites through non-violent protests (Mercer 1991). For this study, I will specifically focus on hair and the beauty choices of African American men and women during the Civil Rights Movement. It was within this movement that African Americans distanced themselves from the Eurocentric standards of beauty and embraced an Afrocentric approach to African identity, beauty and class. Instead of adhering to the hegemonic Eurocentric beauty standards where Whiteness and White beauty was seen as the apex of beauty and Blackness was seen as inferior, African Americans combated racial inequality through new beauty appearance practices such as the enhancement of traditional African culture (Mercer 1991). The inclusion of African aesthetics into the beauty continuum consisted of the consumption of natural African hairstyles, Afro-centric textiles and jewellery (Rooks 1996). This new beauty practice provided a source of pride and strength for African Americans (Mercer 1991).

Malcolm X who was one of the conspicuous leaders during the Civil Rights Movement felt that it was of utmost importance for African Americans to embrace everything African, to reclaim the authority of their bodies to develop an 'authentic' Black identity (Hohle 2013). How an 'authentic' Black identity could be created would be through the rejection of White beauty standards of hair and skin colour (Hohle 2013). The wearing of natural African American hairstyles symbolised hegemonic every day, resistance to the dominance of White beauty and this proved to be a commitment to the cause of racial equality (Hunt & Benford 2004). One of the symbols of resistance was the afro or the fro which became popularised and symbolised Black pride, Black power and an individual's political stance. The afro symbolised pride, militant rebellion, resistance to the oppression of African Americans and it questioned authority (Craig 2002).

Synonymous to Black power was an organisation called The Black Panther Party which was a Black Nationalist organisation which core practice was to monitor police brutality against African Americans and was considered a threat to the internal security of the country at the time (Hohle 2013). The Black Panther Party also advocated for the rejection of mainstream beauty ideals and instead embraced the wearing of Afros and black berets to symbolise Black power (Standley 1990; Hohle 2013). The media at the time portrayed the Afro/fro in a militant manner. Angela Davis who was a prominent counterculture activist and also became involved in the Black Panther Party was one among many activists who were portrayed in a militant way (refer to figure 2.12 and 2.14).

Figure 2.12: Angela Yvonne Davis a political activist portrayed as a criminal. She was reported wanted on kidnapping and murder charges growing out of an abduction and shooting in Marin County, California on August 7, 1970. She was also portrayed as armed and dangerous (Democracy Now! 2018).

Her afro was symbolic of this when the FBI in the 1970s created a "Wanted" image of her being portrayed as a dangerous murder and fugitive. This image flooded the media and heightened the afro's symbolism of political activism, revolt and fear and it was perceived as a direct challenge to the government of that period (Walker 2007). The afro was commonly worn amongst young artists and intellectuals, civil rights workers' actors, musicians and college students (Kuumba & Ajanaku 1998; Walker 2007). Black female artists in the 1950s such as jazz singers and dancers wore unstraightened hair. Dancers such as Ruth Beckford, Pearl Primus and Katherine Dunham were amongst the first women to wear the afro. Other artists such as South African singer Miriam Makeba, American blues singer Odetta also sported afros during their performances on stage, refer to figure 2.13 (Craig 2002). Although these were performing artists, political commitment formed the core component of their lyrics and work which called for racial equality and racial justice (Craig 2002).

Figure 2.13: Miriam Makeba (4 March 1932 – 10 November 2008), nicknamed Mama Africa, was a Grammy Award-winning South African singer and civil rights activist. She was fond of wearing her hair naturally, in Afros and African-themed styles (Penny Liberty 2012).

At first natural hairstyles were seen as controversial and eccentric until it was popularised in the mid or late 1960s and was associated with the "Black is Beautiful Movement" (Walker 2007). The inclusiveness of Afro-centric beauty and class during the Civils Rights Movement was popularised and provided a new perspective of what it means to be Black which led to powerful symbolism in natural African hairstyles for example like braids, afros, cornrows, head wraps and headscarves (Walker 2007; Rooks 1996). In the late 1960s, the afro no longer symbolised a political statement but became a fashion commodity. The media and various hair product companies took advantage of this opportunity and created products which catered for Black consumers. These companies created a need amongst Black consumers and emphasised and promoted the "Black is Beautiful" campaign (Walker 2007). Natural hairstyles especially the afro became less linked to a political revolt but was later linked to Black beauty (Walker 2007).

Immediate (post) colonialism, another example of the celebration of Afrocentricity is revealed through the work of a Nigerian photographer known as J.D. 'Okhai Ojeikere. In the 1950s 'Okhai Ojeikere started his career where he produced and documented two thousand photographs which focused on how women of West Africa Nigeria, styled their hair (Paoletti 2014).

Figure 2.14: U.S. militant Angela Davis puffs a pipe in Helsinki, Finland, to promote her book, 'An Autobiography.' (Photo date: Sept. 12, 1975) (AFP/Getty Images/ Cooks 2014).

Below in figure 2.15 are two photographs which formed part of his celebrated hairstyle series. These documented photographs were created without backdrops or props and presented elaborate and impressive coiffures of Nigerian women (Paoletti 2014). The monumental headdresses of these women in 'Okhai Ojeikere's photographs were articulated as a celebration of Nigerian heritage, social and cultural life through photography. He later became the forerunner of documentary photography and one of Africa's greatest photographers. 'Okhai Ojeikere's work is proof that African hair /hairstyles were celebrated, and admired despite the colonial past of African hair and identity (Paoletti 2014).
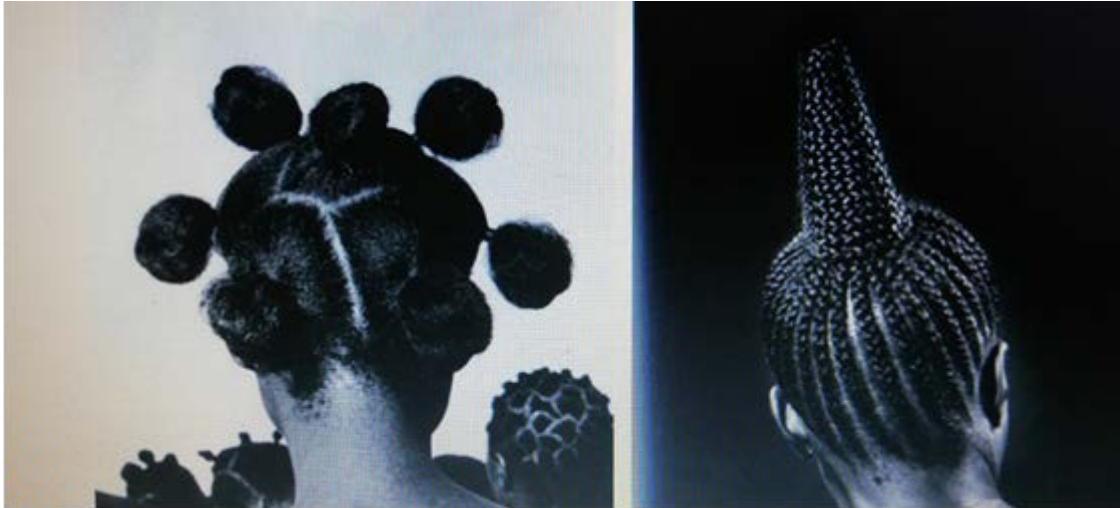
Figure 2.15: J.D. 'Okhai Ojeikere (Nigerian, 1930–2014). Untitled (Mkpuk Eba), 1974 (left) and Untitled (Modern Suku), 1975 (right). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Joseph and Ceil Mazer Foundation Inc. (Paoletti 2014).

2.6.1. (Post)coloniality, decolonisation and decoloniality

Before engaging the post-colonial narratives of African hair it is essential to examine the conceptual framing of post-colonialism. (Post)colonialism assumes that the problems of the past remain unresolved (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin 2006). Loomba (2015) supports this and states that there is nothing post about colonialism since the prefix 'post' complicates matters as a country can be postcolonial but at the same time it can be economically and culturally dependent on its colonial power. Postcolonialism is riddled with contradictions and she further states that "if the inequities of colonial rule have not been erased, it is perhaps premature to proclaim the demise of colonialism" (Loomba 2015:7). Therefore, it is debatable to state that a country which was once colonised can be properly seen as postcolonial since those countries remain subject to the oppressions which were established by colonialism (Loomba 2015).

Not only is the prefix 'post' problematic but the suffix colonialism too is problematic because she states that "colonialism did not inscribe itself on a clean slate and it cannot, therefore, account for everything that exists in 'postcolonial' societies" (Loomba 2015:17). In other words, colonialism was not the only history of the colonised country, since indigenous practices, ideologies and hierarchies existed alongside colonialism. Childs and Williams (1997) also state that an important

characteristic of postcolonial work is to revalue and recover indigenous histories. They describe the term 'postcolonial state' as perverse since the postcolonial state has yet to exist and the fact that that state is linked to something which has not fully disappeared, aptly describes and characterises the post-colonial world.

Instead of describing this phenomenon as postcolonial, some authors describe it as coloniality which is linked to modernity. Mignolo (2011:39) suggests that the hidden agenda of modernity was coloniality, and therefore classifies coloniality as the darker side of modernity, in other words, there is no modernity without coloniality, hence global modernities imply global colonialities. Mignolo (2011:41) asserts, "hidden behind the rhetoric of modernity, human lives became expendable to the benefit of increasing wealth and such expendability was justified by the naturalisation of the racial ranking of human beings". Modernity for the non-European world was associated with newness, salvation, progress and development, this, in turn, went hand in hand with the logic of coloniality. Coloniality he states was one of the "tragic consequences of modernity" (Mignolo 2011:44).

To better understand modernity from the perspective of the colonised, Quijano (2000), Mignolo (1995), Escobar (2007), Grosfoguel (2000) and others developed the analytical term coloniality. (Escobar 2007:179-210). Coloniality is embedded in colonialism yet there is a difference between the two. Colonialism is the political and economic power that one nation has over another whereby the power of that nation sets up direct colonial administration over these people. Coloniality refers to "long-standing patterns of power that emerged as a result of colonialism and continue to define culture, labour, intersubjective relations and knowledge production, well beyond the strict limits of colonial administrations" (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013:128). Quijano a Peruvian sociologist describes coloniality as:

> one of the specific and constitutive elements of a global model of capitalist power. It is based on the imposition of a racial/ethnic classification of the global population as the cornerstone of that model of power, and it operates on every level, in every arena and dimension (both material and subjective) of everyday social existence, and does so on a societal scale (Quijano 2000:342).

Coloniality lies between the modern/colonial world of yesterday where Europe and America remain the global power and where Africa lies at the bottom (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013). According to Maldonado-Torres (2007:243), it could be said that coloniality has survived colonialism and is kept alive in books, cultural patterns, academic performance, common sense, in aspirations and perceptions of self and has formed part of our everyday lives. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013:7) speaks about three kinds of coloniality namely coloniality of power, coloniality of knowledge and coloniality of being. These need to be discussed to better understand the African dilemmas. He describes coloniality of power as directly confronting the four elements of Western domination namely, the control of African economies, the usurpation and control of African chiefly and kingly authority, control of gender and sexuality and finally the control of subjectivity and knowledge which shaped the processes of the development of black subjectivity (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013:7-8). He further states that coloniality of power expresses the continuities of the psychologies, colonial mentalities and worldviews of the (post)colonial epoch (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013:7-8). Coloniality of knowledge is described as African knowledge being replaced with Eurocentric knowledge which is assumed as being scientific, neutral, universal and truthful. Coloniality of being is a tool used to analyse the realities of dehumanisation and depersonalisation of colonised African people into the condemned people of the earth (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013:8).

Even though colonialism has been destroyed "coloniality is still the most general form of domination today" (Quijano 2007:170). Today Europe and North America remain the beneficiaries of global modernity while the victims of colonialism such as Latin America and Africa remain exploited. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013:14) describes the ideals of a postcolonial African world and state: The postcolonial African world was expected to be a terrain of African rebirth and socio-political recreation of African selfhood that had been affected by alienating forces of colonialism. A new African consciousness of being free from colonialism was expected to dominate and shape the postcolonial African world (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013).

Decoloniality and decolonisation on the other hand is a response to coloniality which critiques Western knowledge and problematizes the histories of power from Europe (Mignolo, 2011; Quijano, 2007). It untangles the Eurocentric production of knowledge, critiques the supposed superiority and universality of Western culture.

It has been described as "epistemic disobedience" (Mignolo, 2011-122-123), since it critiques and opposes Western socioeconomic and political practices hence making decoloniality a political and epistemic project. It is a program which delinks from the present-day legacies of coloniality (Mignolo, 2011). Decolonisation therefore seeks to challenge, reverse, remedy, reconstruct, rethink and reframe the epistemic violence of hegemony of Eurocentrism to create another new world of possibilities. When interviewed about decolonisation, decoloniality and the future of African studies, Ndlovu-Gatsheni states that in this new world all human beings are re-humanised and validated, there is the acknowledgement of diverse ways of knowing, other lives are centred where the very idea of the centre disappears (Omanga, 2020).

He also states that for decolonisation to take place the very people who lead this movement need to first be liberated from themselves before they can do anything, since they too are products of colonisation (Omanga, 2020). Therefore, the value of indigenous knowledge and scholarship, the teaching of indigenous people and cultures in schools should be encouraged, the ability to speak up against structures which possess vestiges of discrimination and unconscious bias should take place.

This study encourages scholars to engage African hair and identity in a way that is delinked from the coloniality of being and power. It chooses to engage African hair and identity from a brand new perspective where the African identity is liberated from the rigid racial categorisation of the colonial past, where the African identity is validated, re-humanised and possesses the agency to create an identity for itself, where the psychologies and colonial mentalities of African identity are reframed, restructured and restored.

(Post)colonial theory and literature, therefore, reveals the impact of colonialism and its ideologies on the colonised by highlighting the norms of contemporary society which continue to perpetuate those ideologies as well as showcasing contemporary norms which challenge those ideologies. It is therefore crucial to understand this in the light of the representation and politics of hair (Richardson 2013). This is evident in post-colonial narratives and critiques on African hair which is discussed below.

For example, in her essay "Straightening Our Hair in Talking Back: Thinking Feminist, Thinking Black", hooks (1989) describes her personal experience with her

hair as an African American. She relays the straightening of hair a ritual of Black women and states that as a child the straightening of hair was not viewed as emulating Whiteness, instead, it was seen as a rite of passage from childhood to womanhood. When she reached womanhood however she understood the straightening of African hair to the suppression of Black consciousness and was a signifier of White supremacist oppression and exploitation. hooks interviewed several Black women from various colleges to discuss the importance of straightening their hair when seeking jobs. It was found that none of the Black women felt as if they were free to wear their natural hair and natural hair was not seen as acceptable while the straightening of natural hair was seen as more acceptable. hooks remarks that the straightening of Black hair was a symbol of the oppression of colonialism as well as a reflection of self-hatred and low self-esteem. The straightening of Black hair is seen as being historically linked to European beauty standards.

Bellinger (2007) conducted a study entitled "Why African American Women try to obtain 'Good Hair?'" Fifteen African American women between the ages of 16-18 as well as one Chinese female, an Indian female and one Pilipino female were interviewed to understand their reasons for why African American women change their hair. The author's personal experience also formed part of the study. The study found that the unattainable myth of achieving good hair for African American women are perpetuated from generation to generation. The majority of the participants stated that the reason why they change their hair is that their mothers did it when they were younger and carried this hair practice over to them too. Another reason for them changing their hair was the fact that if their hair resembled Caucasian hair it would provide them with better job opportunities or promotions. They also stated that the changing of their hair might be perceived by others as a lack of racial pride. Lastly, straightened hair which before was seen as a marker of status was seen by the participants as convenient and manageable.

Similarly, Thompson's (2009) article on "Black women, beauty and hair" where she interviewed eight Black women from the Caribbean and Caribbean-Indian descent through casual conversations, she argues that the media, as well as social narratives, play a role in the hairstyle choices which Black females make. Beauty and identity are socially constructed through language, texts and mediated images. No matter the choice of hairstyle of the female, it affects how others view her or

respond to her. She states that the Eurocentric standard of beauty affects how Black women interpret physical attractiveness, self-esteem and identity. In pop-culture paradigms, Black women are groomed to flaunt long, straight hair and are to adhere to the Eurocentric standard of beauty to be considered as beautiful, whereas natural Black hair is not associated with beauty. Black beauty is denied to exist and is only seen as beautiful when it is altered (chemically treated namely straightened or relaxed etc.). Straightened Black hair which resembles Caucasian hair is linked to being beautiful, socially mobile and promises higher economic opportunities. It was interesting to note that at some point in their lives each of the eight participants had straightened their hair for various reasons such as societal reprisal, for some for a lack of male interest and lastly they straightened their hair so that their sexuality was not questioned. This study found that very little had changed with the politicisation of Black hair and that Black people remain to contend the beauty standards of the past.

Patton (2006) challenges the Eurocentric standard of beauty in terms of body size, body image, hair, and skin colour by making use of Standpoint Theory together with Afrocentric Theory (ACT). Standpoint Theory challenges the ideology of Black versus White beauty standards and focuses on the individual's experience and exposes the oppressive practices of beauty, while Afrocentric theory confronts marginalised and racist beauty standards. ACT seeks to develop alternative realities, experiences and identities, and agency, to empower and free the mind of universal practices of a given paradigm. ACT moves the Eurocentric standard from the apex of beauty to a horizontal equaliser. ACT refers to a celebration of the self and not an adherence to a specific standard of beauty. She suggests that the only way in which the boundaries of beauty can be redefined and the marginalisation of beauty can be centred is when new cultural and political identities are created based on the realities of America's democratic environment.

Nyamnjoh and Fuh (2014) in a study entitled "Africans consuming hair, Africans consumed by hair", the authors explored African women's consumption of hair. The study focused on public media debates on African women's consumption of hair as well as Black female students from the University of Cape Town responses to these debates. Television shows such as *3rd Degree and Nolene* on SABC 3 were used. The study found that the debate around the consumption of hair by African women should go beyond the simple dichotomy between Afrocentric versus Eurocentric

hairstyles or standards of beauty and be seen as a constant work in progress where the hair is simply the raw material on which the ritual techniques of cultural processes and social inscription are produced. The authors found that African women are open to collective identities through the various hairstyles they choose to consume and refer to Erasmus (1997) and agree that hairstyles are subject to multiple interpretations depending on the social background of those interpreting the hairstyle.

In "African American personal presentation: Psychology of Hair and Self-Perception", Eliss-Hervey et al. (2016) explored how 282 African American women internalise beauty and the wearing of hair through the examination of locus of control and self-esteem. The participants were from urban, and rural communities who varied in socio-economic status, age, and education levels. The participants participated in seminars and speaking engagements where topics on the maintenance of natural hair, professionalism, personal experiences of the journey of natural hair, fitness, self-perception and self-esteem were discussed. After these engagements, the participants participated in a survey. The study found that a majority of the participants wore their natural hair (non-chemically processed) and that there was no significant difference between self-esteem and the choice of hairstyle chosen by African American women. Another finding was that African American women who wore natural hair were less concerned with how others perceived them when compared to the Eurocentric standard of beauty. It was found that African American women are increasingly appreciating and accepting the natural state of their hair. The study, therefore, supports the notion that African American women are increasingly rejecting the Eurocentric standard of beauty as the apex of beauty and have found a deep appreciation for natural hair and themselves.

(Post)colonial narratives on African hair and identity emphasises the impact of colonialism on the African identity and showcases the challenges and struggles which the Black African woman continues to deal with in a (post)colonial society. The narratives either reject and challenge the ideology of the European standard of beauty or some narratives suggest a continual acceptance of the colonial ideology of beauty and view natural hair as unacceptable while the emulation of Whiteness regarding hair, is seen as desirable.

What the above (post) colonial narratives lack is the view that the Black, African woman in the (post) colonial society does not only acknowledge colonial's impact on her hair and identity but embraces both the pre-colonial history as well as the colonial history which together impacts the construction of her identity. This re-framing or re-questioning the post-colonial narratives of African hair is one of the core thrusts of this study. By embracing both histories the (post) colonial African woman asserts a brand new hybrid identity which is emancipated from the dominant narrative of the conformity to a single Eurocentric ideology of beauty and identity. This results in the re-empowerment of the African woman to create her own identities through the hair(styles) she chooses to consume. This creation and navigation of identities are liberating as the African woman plays an active role in the process of her identity creation. The new hybrid identity is no longer a victim of the Eurocentric, colonial and apartheid identity but is liberated with the agency to present various identities through her hair. This hybrid identity will be discussed in detail in chapter 5.

2.7. Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter discussed hair, beauty and identity in precolonial Africa, colonial Africa- the historical background of race and identity in South Africa as well as postcolonial narratives and critiques of African hair and identity. The critical issue, however, is that the (post)colonial African woman is not seen as a victim of colonialism when it comes to her identity but instead she is re-empowered and plays an active role in the creation of her identity. The following chapter will discuss media, capitalism, identity and African hair.

CHAPTER 3

MEDIA, CAPITALISM, IDENTITY AND AFRICAN HAIR
(Literature Review)

3.1. Introduction

This chapter examines the literature on media representation of African hair and focuses on global capitalism within the hair market as well as its impact on the African identity. This chapter, therefore, seeks to highlight the magnitude of hair in media, society, as well as in the lives of individuals when it comes to their identity. It is very important to mention that academic literature on media and African hair is very limited therefore this chapter made use of popular narratives to fill this gap in the literature.

3.2. Media, popular culture and the representation of African hair

The media play a significant role in shaping our social identities. The information we consume through the media such as narratives, symbols and images shapes how we think of ourselves and how we view others (Brooks & Herbert 2006). The media and advertising discourses portray 'beauty' cultures, which incorporate local, international and transnational characteristics (Jha 2016). The impact of the globalisation of worldwide beauty standards is significant and the role that the media play in the representation of beauty and identity cannot be ignored.

The media present a limited range and a strict standard of what it means to be beautiful thus women find it difficult to achieve this one-dimensional idealistic standard of beauty (Hendriks 2002). The mass media are known as an agent of socialisation which creates and reinforces the cultural and global ideals of femininity and plays an indispensable role in cultural globalisation (Silverstein et al. 1986). There is a rise in mass media portrayal of highly homogenous standards of beauty and this monolithic cultural standard of beauty is achievable via hair altering products, make-up techniques, plastic surgery and other procedures where this artificial look is advertised as the norm for women (Richardson-Stovall 2012).

Academic literature on media and African hair is very limited therefore this literature looks at popular narratives such as newspaper articles, movies and social media on African hair. A recent study on hair texture discrimination was conducted in 2016 by the Perception Institute. This study aimed to explore how current hair and beauty standards affect the perception of hairstyles worn by African women (Lawrence 2017). The participants of the study consisted of 4163 Black and White American men and women who were recruited via an online panel as well as 688 self-identified women who were part of an online and offline community of naturalistas (women who embrace and wear natural hair). An important finding of the study showed that many of the participants held a bias towards women of colour. The overall finding of the study showed that regardless of race and gender, the majority of people held some bias towards women of colour based on their hair, with White women holding the most bias. This study also showed that the reason for this bias was due to societal conditioning which could be changed through more exposure to a positive media representation of African hair (Lawrence 2017). The finding of the above study sets the backdrop for mainstream media's representation of African hair in Western media.

From African hair being associated with being uncivilised and wild to it being seen as unprofessional and shamed, is what can be found in the media. African hair remains politicised in Western media. An example of this was with the Kenyan-Mexican Academy Award-winning actress Lupita Nyong'o hair which was painted as uncivilised and wild by a British magazine known as *Grazia*. Nyong'o was invited to be on the cover of Grazia and stated, "I am disappointed that [*Grazia*] invited me to be on their cover and then edited out and smoothed my hair to fit their notion of what beautiful hair looks like," she continued. "Had I been consulted, I would have explained that I cannot support or condone the omission of what is my native heritage with the intention that they appreciate that there is still a very long way to go to combat the unconscious prejudice against black women's complexion, hairstyle and texture." (Vagianos 2018). Nyong'o was also criticised for her hairdo at the MET Gala in 2016, see figure 3.1 below.

A similar incident took place with American singer-songwriter and model Solange Piaget Knowles who too was invited to be on the cover of the *London Evening Standard* magazine. Knowles wore a sleek braided hairstyle, however, the image

which she posted on her personal Instagram page showed her wearing a braided crown which did not make an appearance on the magazine cover. She, therefore, took to social media and started the hashtag 'don't touch my hair' #dtmh. Solange said that the braided crown which was a no show on the cover of the magazine held special meaning to her as it represented the Orion Constellation. Solange posted a photo of this image on her Instagram account by circling where the crown was supposed to be, this is illustrated in figure 3.2 below (Workneh 2017).

Figure 3.1: Lupita Nyong'o criticized for her hairdo at the MET Gala in 2016 (Chavez 2016).

The above news articles are typical discourses on African hair which is represented in Western media. African hair(styles) remain to be politicised and shamed. How Black females are portrayed or represented in the media influences the perception that others have of blackness, their response to blackness as well as how Black females view themselves (hooks 1992). The media have been criticised for its negative representation of Black African females and therefore the media play a significant role in the depiction as well as the representation of African hair (Collins 2004).
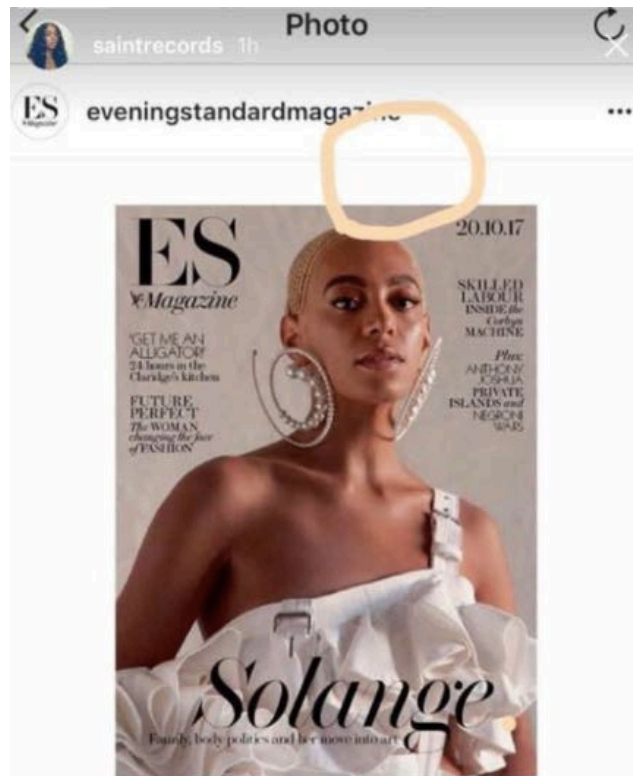
Figure 3.2: Solange Knowles's Instagram account shows that her braided crown which formed part of the photoshoot of ES Magazine did not make it on the cover of ES Magazine. Knowles, therefore, illustrates the absence of her braided crown on the magazine cover by drawing the circle which represents her braided crown above her head (Solange Instagram).

South African literature on media representation of African hair is very limited, however, studies which have been conducted have revealed that the hegemonic Western standard of hair and beauty remains to be the standard of beauty in South African mainstream media. A study conducted by Masina (2010) sought to examine two South African magazine representations of black females. The magazines which formed part of the study was *True Love* and *Destiny*. The findings of the study showed that straight or relaxed black hair formed part of the dominant representations of Black hair in the magazines. In other words, for Black hair to be seen as acceptable it has to be altered hence the media portrays relaxed African hair as acceptable and beautiful.

Madlela's (2018) study which looked at the representation of African women on the front covers of the South African magazine known as *True Love* found that the Western standard of long straight hair dominated the covers and adverts in the magazine. Hair products to enhance Black hair was also found as a prominent

feature in the magazines. From the journal articles and newspaper articles above, it seems as though the Western standard of beauty and hair continues to exist in mainstream media, however current discourse about African hair in television, film and social media has introduced counter-hegemonic perspectives on African hair. Natural hair has become more prominent and is placed at the forefront of the beauty continuum in online media and is changing the narrative of beauty. This was evident in the Miss South Africa and Miss Universe pageants which took place in 2019. Zozibini Tunzi who was crowned the winner of both pageants wore her natural hair when she was crowned. In a City Press Online newspaper article Werner Wessels, the creative consultant for Miss South Africa describes Tunzi in the following way,

> Zozibini was truly authentically herself. She came with the vision and purpose of changing the narrative of beauty. That's what made her stand out…Zozi was aligned with herself and never detached from who she was. Back in the day, natural hair was seen as an attribute of people who didn't take care of themselves but this has changed and the pageant world is trying to break even (Serame 2019).

The internet has also allowed a platform in which Black women can discuss and interact on Black aesthetics and haircare (Byrd & Tharps 2014). Celebrities make use of social media to express their views on wearing natural African hairstyles. These platforms such as Twitter, Facebook and YouTube seem to provide African women with an alternative to the Western standard of beauty namely, the embracing of natural African hair/hairstyles.

Madlela (2018) further describes this phenomenon by stating that online conversations such as posts mainly consist of content about natural haircare information on social media such as tutorials on YouTube on how to do certain hairstyles. YouTube is the most popular digital platform which assists Black women in interacting with other women who embrace natural hair textures. Hair vloggers who embrace natural hairstyles interact and share their knowledge of hair care and hair grooming through video tutorials (Alston & Ellis-Hervey 2014). This platform allows bloggers or individuals to reach millions of Black female viewers. These posts can be seen as support structures or as a digital supportive community. Unlike

traditional media where the Western beauty standards are promoted, this platform provides a supportive community of people who can exchange ideas on natural hair (Alston & Ellis-Hervey 2014).

Recent Facebook posts as well as a few short video clips of Black hairstyles as a trend among Asians have become apparent. One Facebook post in particular caught my attention. It was a post by Maurice Milles Mansa entitled, *The Afro Perm* which was posted on 29 April 2016 at 9:27 pm. This post caught my attention because it discussed people of other races specifically Koreans who attempt to alter their hair texture to imitate African hair(styles). Mansa (2016) lives in New York City and came across many Koreans who afro perm their hair. He says that the afro perm is where the hairstylist makes use of perm rods or rollers to make the hair curly. He states, (this) "creates hair bonds that make the hair curl instead of straighten," he further says, "some Korean communities have adopted coarse, textured hair due to their communities being heavily influenced by movies, pop culture and most especially African braids, extensions, dreads and cornrows. These hairstyles also form part of the various African hairstyle trends which the Korean community in New York City has adopted. He suggests that Koreans have embraced the African hair culture. See figure 3.3 below which shows the afro perm. This specific Facebook post is one among many social media posts of Asians altering their hair to imitate Blackness. Social media seems to provide a counter-hegemonic perspective on African hair. We see that Asians who generally have straight hair, perm or chemically alter their hair to resemble Black hair.

Figure 3.3 Asians with an afro-perm hairstyle. This look is popular in Japan and Korea and is also known as the reggae perm (Mansa 2016).

Snow (2012) describes the afro perm or reggae perm as making Asian hair from straight to textured. She states that the hairstylist makes the hair into a new shape which is textured and resembles an African hairstyle. Facebook is used as a platform for Koreans and Japanese who have straight hair to showcase an alternative hairstyle which is achievable by altering their hair. In sharing these posts and videos on Facebook they can engage and reach other Asians who are interested in dabbling in African hairstyles. This phenomenon is known as the 'cultural borrowing' of hairstyles or cultural appropriation. Cultural appropriation will be further discussed later in this chapter.

Discourses on Black hair can also be found in movies such as Chris Rock's documentary film *Good Hair* (2009). This documentary explores the culture and aesthetics of the African American female's hair as well as their perception of good hair. It highlights the process that Black women go through to attain "good hair" whether it be through the straightening of their hair or the use of hair extensions. Carr (2013) describes that Chris Rock's documentary reveals the perverse ideological structures which shape the notion of African beauty and identity. Carr states further that although Rock reveals this normative understanding of African hair and beauty and identity, he does not interrogate this normative notion.

The movie *Black Panther* (2018) is the first Marvel superhero movie with a predominantly Black cast which portrayed African garb, African hairstyling and architecture of the future (Jones 2018). The movie occurs in the fictional

technologically advanced African nation known as Wakanda (Martin 2018) Below in figure 3.4 two lead characters in the movie namely Lupita Nyong'o as Nakia and Letitia Wright as Shuri wear their natural African hairstyles.

Figure 3.4: From left, Lupita Nyong'o as Nakia and Letitia Wright as Shuri in "Black Panther" both wear natural hairstyles (Matt Kennedy/Marvel and Disney).

This film is a first of its kind for Hollywood and is a counter-hegemonic text to typical Western mainstream movies on African hair and identity. It is an Afrocentric movie where people feel empowered about being Black and the hair(styles) in this movie communicates this sense of empowerment (Martin 2018). The hairstyles in this movie were inspired by the Himba, Zulu and Maasai tribes of Africa (Martin 2018). Photographers works such as the ones by Nigerian J.D. Okhai Ojeikere's collection of photographs of black hairstyles and the work of photographer Jimmy Nelson's collection of tribal culture photographs known as *Before They Pass Away* played a significant role in contributing to the hairstyles of the characters of Black Panther (Martin 2018).

The characters in the movie each had their hairstyle which communicated something about their identity. For example, King T'Challa's mother Ramonda played by Angela Basset (refer to figure 3.5) at first wore headdresses which represented her stateliness as a queen mother but later on in the movie her natural hair namely, white dreadlocks emerge which reveals her vulnerability. King T'Challa played by Chadwick Boseman boasts a mini-afro while his rival M'Baku has a semi-shaved

head played by Winston Duke. Both of these characters are portrayed as strong warriors of Wakanda. Their hairstyles were inspired by Senegalese Warriors (Martin 2018). Princes Shur T'Challa the sister to King T'Challa wears a hairstyle known as micro braids and is portrayed as an intelligent tech master. Okoye played by Danai Gurira wears a bald head with geometric signs painted on it. She is the head of the Dora Milaje. The Dora Milaje is known as the all-female elite special forces of Wakanda who protect King T'Challa. I would like to add that Okoye's bald head represents her boldness as the head of the Dora Milaje. Then the fact that an all-female special force group exists in Wakanda to protect the king reinforces the empowerment of Black African females. This representation of the Black female provides a counter-hegemonic representation which is difficult to find in traditional media.

Figure 3.5: Angela Bassett as King T'Challa's mother, Ramonda, who represents royalty in the movie wears a natural African hairstyle namely, dreadlocks (Matt Kennedy/Marvel and Disney).

A pivotal part in the movie which speaks to the rejection of the Western-centric ideology of beauty and identity and the emphasis placed on African identity as being associated with power and beauty is when Okoye and Nakia played by Lupita Nyongo goes incognito on a mission. It is at this point when Okoye is forced to disguise herself by changing her hair. She does this by covering her head with a straight-haired bob wig this is her form of assimilation. This form of assimilation is how traditional media portrays Black women to be. They can only be accepted once they have altered their hair and assimilated to the Western-centric standard of beauty. Okoye unwillingly wears the wig and even refers to the wearing of this wig as

a disgrace. When she is discovered, however, Okoye flings off the wig and uses it as a weapon to distract her attacker (Martin 2018). This very act is a striking message which states that kinks or curls are preferable to straight hair (Martin 2018). All the female characters in the movie are represented as sources of strength and status. *Black Panther* (2018) represents Africans as empowered, beautiful, and intelligent and most of all the Black African hairstyles in the movie shows that Black hair is versatile and beautiful. African hairstyles, therefore, punctuate the character and plot of the movie (Martin 2018).

The Netflix Movie known as *Nappily Ever After (2018)* also confronts the African American aesthetic of hairstyling and draws a distinct connection between a Black woman's identity and her hair. The representation of Black African hair in this movie is contrary to mainstream media' s representation of African hair and provides a voice to African women to speak about their natural hair journey and provide them with the freedom of choice of which hairstyle they choose to wear.

3.3. Global capitalism in the beauty and the hair industry

Global capitalism is evident in the beauty market and hair industry. The beauty and hair industry has grown fast with high-profit margins, as body parts which are cosmetically altered have now become big business (Warhust 2011). According to Brewer (2016), the hair care market is expected to increase from US$81.3 billion in 2015 to US$105.3 billion in 2024.

Throughout cultures and societies, cosmetics have played a significant role in shaping the characteristics of what it means to be beautiful (Connelly 2013). The desire of consumers for an improved personal appearance such as the attainment of shiny, healthy hair is one of the many factors which have increased sales within the beauty market and hair industry (Warhust 2011). The explosion in the demand for hair extensions has led to an increase in the importing and exporting of hair which has become big business. According to Kline's Salon Hair Care Global series report findings showed that there was an increase in professional hair care products in Asian markets in 2013 with an overall growth market of 3%. India for example had a double-digit growth rate where there was an increase in consumer purchase power.

A specific hair trend in Asia was hair colouring due to changing hairstyle trends. Products such as hair oils, conditioners and Keratin infused products also experienced vigorous growth. Various demographics also contributed to this growth namely men, the older as well as the younger generation (Salon Hair Care Global Series 2018).

3.4. Hair capital in Africa

The Black haircare industry is grossly underestimated as recently large cosmetic industries have been attracted by the modernisation of many African countries. The reason for this is because on average a Black woman consumes three times more hair care products and even more for other beauty products (five times more skincare products) as compared to a White woman of the same class (The African Beauty Industry [Sa]). The growing African middle class drives the demand for international branded cosmetics. These international brands dominate the Kenyan and Ugandan markets while the South African market is the most mature of the continent (The African Beauty Industry [Sa]). The African market has a great potential as the population's spending power of the affluent cities in Africa will rise to an estimated $1.3 trillion by 2030. According to Euromonitor International, the beauty and personal care industry in the Middle East and Africa will be the fastest-growing region with an estimated growth of 6% between 2016 and 2017 (The African Beauty Industry [Sa]). The demand for cosmetics (including hair and skincare products) have also increased in East Africa in countries such as Kenya, Mozambique, Uganda, Ethiopia and Tanzania where the main players in the cosmetic industry have introduced hair and skincare products which are specifically designed to meet the needs of African consumers (Cosmetic market grows in East Africa [Sa]).

Haircare product sales amongst African Americans reached an amount of $774 million in 2014 which is an increase of nine percent since 2009 (Sidibe 2015; Opiah 2014). The South African market is worth at least R4.5 million. This includes the market for wet hair products such as relaxers, shampoos, conditioners etc. as well as the dry hair products such as hairpieces, weaves, wigs and braids (Brewer 2016). The South African market spend on dry hair (weaves, wigs, hair extension etc.) industries are valued at R3 billion and R1.5 billion on wet hair (relaxers, straighteners, shampoos, conditioners etc.) industries. These sales show a

compounded annual growth rate of 30% between the period of 2008-2013 (Hair today, more tomorrow 2014). Wet hair products (hair lotions, shampoos, relaxers and) in 2013 were sold to the value of R12.1 billion in Cameroon, Nigeria and South Africa. (Hair today, more tomorrow 2014). New hair care products are expected to globally impact the hair care market.

Due to product innovation, in terms of revenue, the shampoo segment accounted for a 30.9% share in the haircare market in 2015. Major players in this segment are L'Oréal SA, Unilever, Procter and Gamble Co (Hair today, more tomorrow 2014). Four percent of the hair care market consists of hairstyling products which include gels, serums, mousse, holding sprays, heat-resistant sprays and sprays for curly hair. African manufacturers too are developing new products as part of their innovation programmes (Hair today, more tomorrow 2014). The competition among local and international manufactures are intense hence making it difficult for new manufacturers to enter the market. Manufacturers at the top of the hair market include Amka Products (Pty) Ltd, Avon Products Inc., L'Oréal, Revlon Inc., Henkel Corporation, Procter and Gamble Co, Combe Incorporated, Neutrogena Corporation and Aveda Corporation (Hair today, more tomorrow 2014). The Middle East and Africa (MEA) are expected to grow its haircare market by a growth rate of 4.0% from 2016-2024. Due to international investment interests of hair care markets in South Africa, investors are likely to boost the market in this region (Hair today, more tomorrow 2014).

3.5. Capitalising on hair in South Africa

In South Africa, certain racial groups shared a similar experience as in America of exclusion from the capital and consumer markets. Before 1994 South Africa was excluded from the formal economy but since the change in the political dispensation, a large group of Black middle class arose in South Africa whose need for products and services grew (Davenport & Saunders 2000). These products and services which previously were exclusive for Whites became more desirable for the Black middle class. The market for the Black middle class was a unique one hence businesses were compelled to change their business strategy to meet the needs of

the Black middle class (Davenport & Saunders 2000). Black entrepreneurs who have taken advantage of this change in business strategy have gleaned from the benefits from doing so, amongst others are Herman Mashaba and Jabu Stone who took advantage of this opportunity.

Mashaba who already was a successful sales representative while working for a company by the name of SuperKurl realised his passion for sales and decided to start his own company along with his wife, known as Black Like Me in 1985. Together with a partner, namely Johan Kriel, they developed a perm lotion which was produced in less the time that it usually takes to produce. By doing this, his company *Black Like* Me competed with Superkurl Jabu Stone Salons (Verduyn 2016). Mashaba built his company from the bottom up by selling his hair and grooming products from the boot of his car. This company initially started with a loan of R30 000 which escalated into a household name with a net worth of $100 million (Verduyn 2016).

Jabu Stone on the other hand capitalised on a niche area of hair care treatments for natural African hair namely braids and natural locks. Stone had a passion for African culture and pursued an alternative hairstyle trend for African hair. Instead of adopting the typical Western-style of doing African hair namely, weaves, wigs, making use of damaging perm lotions and relaxers he opted for natural haircare care. Stone's hair care products were formulated not only to protect the physical integrity of African hair but also the African identity and not to deny African women and men the beauty of their natural hair. (Big hair, big business 2014). Not only has Stone formulated natural hair products with sales of over R5 million but he has also established the Jabu Stone Salon as a franchise.

3.6. Pioneer capitalists of the female beauty industry

When it comes to the African American cosmetic market, the skin creams and hair supplies of Annie Turnbo-Malone and Madam C.J. Walker who were the forerunners of the beauty industry in 20th century America, laid the foundation for companies such as Avon and Mary Kay cosmetics (Boyd 2000; Phillips 2003). These women went from door to door to sell their products as well as advertised in newspapers targeted at African American women. Annie Turnbo-Malone was born in 1869 to

slave parents and later founded an African American cosmetic and hair care business. She was one of the pioneers of direct selling and sold her products by adopting a sales strategy which made use of agent operators who went from door to door to sell her products. Her products included deodorants, hairs straighteners, soaps, and face powders. Turnbo-Malone grew her business into an empire named Poro Company which became a multimillion-dollar industry with an estimated personal wealth figure of $14 million in 1920 (Phipps & Prieto 2018).

America's first richest black self-made millionaire is Sarah Breedlove later known as Madam C J Walker. Born to slave parents in 1867, the life of Madam CJ Walker is one from rags to riches. She was trained in the cotton fields as a young girl and eventually was promoted to a washerwoman and then cook. She was orphaned at the age of seven and married at the age of fourteen (Henderson 2001). Due to her frustration with her hair loss, she developed hair care products which assisted her hair to grow. Madam CJ Walker tested her hair products on others who were pleased with the results. The popular hair products were *Wonderful hair grower*, vegetable shampoo, hair straightening products this straightening process included the use of a hair straightening comb. She also had popular skincare and skin whitening products (Henderson 2001; Bundles 2003; Phipps & Prieto 2018).

In 1906 the Madam CJ Walker's manufacturing company was founded. Walker, like Turnbo-Malone, made use of sales representatives known as Walker agents to sell her products from door to door. She also advertised her products in the Denver's Colorado Statesmen Newspaper where she included mail by order advertisements (Henderson 2001; Koman & Staff 2006; Bundles 2003). At one stage in her business career, she had a total of 5000 sales recruits throughout the USA. Her salesforce included school teachers, cooks, housewives and washerwomen. Walker became known as the most successful Black businesswoman in the USA. and uplifted Black women economically, socially, psychologically, affirmed their self-worth, and the beauty of the Black woman and enabled their financial independence. She understood that business could be used for the betterment of race and community advancement (Henderson 2001; Bundles 2003).

Both Turnbo-Malone and Walker contributed to the upliftment of Black women in the late 19th century and early 20th century. During this period the ideology of Whiteness

prevailed and therefore hostility and fierce competition from White companies existed towards Black entrepreneurship and wealth-building. African Americans were excluded from both capital and consumer markets (Walker 2009). Historically employment of Black females was limited to domestic or fieldwork. The job opportunities which Turnbo-Malone and Walker offered provided Black women with jobs outside of this limited scope of work and allowed them to improve and liberate themselves economically. Black cosmetics were linked to modernity and progress which generated wealth (Thomas 2006). Later on, during the 1920s and 1930s advertisements targeted at African American women were more sophisticated and promoted a better self-image of African American women and the African American industry eventually grew successfully to expand its beauty products (Lee 2012).

Although Walker and Turnbo-Malone were the pioneers of the African American beauty industry in 20th century America, they perpetuated the Eurocentric standard of beauty of their time. The Eurocentric standard of beauty placed White beauty such as straight hair and light skin at the apex of the beauty continuum while all other types of hair and skin colour were viewed as inferior. To achieve this standard of beauty, Turnbo-Malone and Walker produced and sold products such as hair straighteners and skin lighteners to African American women to help them aspire towards Whiteness for them to be accepted as beautiful. These products which claimed to uplift Black women as well as increase the wealth of Black entrepreneurship in America highlighted the inferiority of Blackness where natural or tightly curled hair and dark skin was not accepted in 20th century America. The only manner in which Black beauty was accepted was through the straightening of their hair and the lightening of their skin.

3.7. Hair thieving as a form of capital

The business of importing and exporting hair assists in the sustainability and survival of families. This market, however, has a dark side too as hair hunters see this export of hair as an opportunity to attack females for their hair and hack-off their flowing tresses (Groden 2013).

Hair thieving is where hair thieves target women with "good hair" and sell them to make a living. Examples of this are in the city of Maracaibo in Venezuela. Hair

thieves or so-called piranhas attack women by gunpoint and cut off their hair. These heinous crimes are organised by gangs (Groden 2013). The victim namely, the female with long hair, is forced to cut off her hair. This hair is sold to beauty salons where the price of hair extensions can go up to over $500 (Groden 2013). What is interesting to note is that since the first hair thieving incident, the demand for hair extensions increased by 30 percent. Caselli (2013) states that hair theft is not an original crime and that most of the hair thieves are female. In other areas such as South Africa, Burma, Colombia and Brazil, men have been robbed of their dreadlocks as well. Hair thieving such as the stealing of dreadlocks and weaves are also prevalent in South Africa. Philander (2017) describes the theft of hair as a new crime trend in South Africa where thieves steal R17 000 worth of fake hair. Potential clients would come to the salon to sell their dreadlocks since they know that this hairstyle is popular and that people are willing to buy them. Criminals target people with dreadlocks and cut it off straight from their heads. Weave snatching has also become the latest phenomenon of hair thieving in South Africa (Philander 2017).

A victim of weave theft describes how she was beaten up for her weave. She was invited by a few guys to a local restaurant in South Africa. They had invited three other girls which she didn't know. When she decided to go to the bathroom, the three unknown ladies followed her and beat her in the bathroom and snatched her weave. She suffered bruises to her face and neck. She stated that the wig cost her R 3000. Hair thieving has become a serious crime in South Africa. The media blames the beauty culture for these hair thefts where violence infiltrates the realm of beauty (Caselli 2013).

Randall (2016) states that not only do hair thieves sell the stolen hair to beauty salons, but Venezuelan women now cut off their long tresses to survive. A 45-year-old Venezuelan woman after interviewed stated that she cuts off her hair and sells it to buy a basic necessity such as pain medication since she suffers from arthritis. In Venezuela, 200 women cross the bridge that connects Venezuela to Colombia to sell their hair to brokers. These brokers sell the hair as hair extensions to Colombians (Randall 2016).

3.8. The commercial journey of hair

China also yields an enormous amount of hair from its population and is the biggest exporter and importer of hair. Hair has a journey and travels from the individuals who sell or offer up their hair as a religious ritual, then to untangling workshops where the hair is untangled, sorted and sold, see figure 3.6, and figure 3.7 below.

Figure 3.6: Women after their hair is shaved in a Hindu ceremony in India (Brewer 2016a).

Figure 3.7: Indian temple hair is sorted at a factory in Chennai - it will end up in expensive hair salons in the West (Brewer 2016b).

Hair which is most wanted in the hair market is Remy hair (human hair which resembles Caucasian hair which is cut or shaved hair) as well as hair which has not been chemically treated (Brewer 2016). At the opposite end of the hair, the market is what is called "standard hair" which is a term used for comb waste. Hair which comes from combs and plugholes are collected sorted, untangled and treated and made into the most beautiful shiny hair tresses and sold on the hair market. A

mismatch of hair is also known as standard hair which comes from different Asian countries. Asian females with long hair usually sell their hair to peddlers which they accumulated when washing or combing their hair (Brewer 2016). Untangling workshops detangle in Myanmar, Bangladesh, and India. The hair is sorted and transformed into shiny, sleek hair extensions, refer to figure 3.8 below. Many people who buy this hair are likely not to ask questions about where it came from and since "Made in China" has a negative connotation or label the hair market presents this hair in more glamourous ways instead for example by stating that the hair is Brazilian or Peruvian etc. (Brewer 2016).

Figure 3.8: Piles of unsorted hair in Myanmar (Brewer 2016c).

3.9. Global hair culture and the commodification of identity

African hairstyles are influenced by international and local trends. These trends shape what is considered to be beautiful hairstyles. Madlela (2018) speaks about a fusion of the local with the global trends which then is called a glocal trend. This is an illustration of some Black African women who adopt a global trend but adapts it to their local flavour or style. This fusion of trends provides Black women with a choice of hairstyles which they feel comfortable wearing as well as giving them the ability to add their style to the trend which they see in the media. Black women are influenced by media messages when it comes to the choice of hairstyles to wear. These media messages contain ideological messages which promote capitalist values (Madlela 2018). These capitalist values are promoted and endorsed by celebrities who in turn

play a role in the individual buying into these messages, with an effect on identity perception.

The business of Black hair is enormous and is split into two categories namely wet and dry hair products. Wet products consist of hair relaxers, straighteners, aftercare products such as moisturisers. The dry hair market consists of weaves, wigs, hair extensions and hairpieces of which hair extensions are very popular as a hair trend amongst black women (Mpungose 2004). In the late 1900s, African American women considered long straight hair to be beautiful which continued into the twentieth century. Recently there has been a movement to embrace Black "natural hair", this is evident in women of African and Afro-Caribbean descent (Bosely & Daveluy 2015). According to consumer trends, there has been a 26% decrease in relaxer sales. This was found between the years 2008-2013 as well as a decrease between 2006 to 2011 (Bosely & Daveluy 2015).

The ideals of beautiful hair amongst this population have changed from relaxed straightened non-curly hairstyles to more naturally textured hairstyles. A contributing factor for this change in hairstyle practice is the popular traumatic hair care practices of chemical relaxation and thermal straightening which leads to hair damage (Bosely & Daveluy 2015). Ellis-Hervey et al. (2016) conducted a study on the psychology of hair and self-perception which consisted of a sample of 282 African American females who varied in age and from various socio-economic backgrounds. The sample of the study consisted of 282 African American females from urban and rural communities, varying in age, and socioeconomic backgrounds. These participants were asked to report on the hairstyles they wore as well as which hairstyles they viewed as attractive/unattractive, professional/unprofessional and the factors which influenced their current hairstyle. The findings of the study revealed that the majority (62%) of the participants wore their natural hair (non-chemically processed state) while 26% wore weaves or extensions. In the past, 28.8% of the participants wore a wig with natural texture while others (21.6%) wore weaves or extensions. The findings revealed that no substantial differences could be identified between the choice of hairstyle worn by African American women and their self-esteem (Ellis-Hervey et al. 2016). The above study, therefore, supports the notion of African American women who embrace the natural hair movement and who reject the Westernised ideals of beautiful hair.

Caucasian hair in the European culture in the traditional sense is a powerful symbol of individual and group identity. Short hair is considered masculine while long hair is considered feminine. If men wear long hair it is considered feminine and if women wear short hair they are considered masculine. Hair is therefore a sign of gender and assumptions are made about the sexual orientation of the individual based on the length of their hair. Hair is also a sign of wealth and leisure and the desire for long hair is romanticised in stories such as Rapunzel, Mary Magdalene, Lorelei etc. (Imarogbe 2003). European hair which comes from countries such Russia, Romania and Ukraine are seen as the most valuable hair since it comes in a variety of colours, has fine textures and are in short supply (Brewer 2016). The Asia Pacific namely, India, China, Japan had a leading share in the global haircare market of 33.12% in 2016 (Brewer 2016).

Another trend that seems to be portrayed when it comes to hair trends is the "cultural borrowing" of hairstyles or cultural appropriation. Weinberger (2015) describes this phenomenon as individuals who creatively find opportunities to present themselves in a multi-cultural environment through adoption or adaptation for example, by wearing hairstyles outside of their "culture". Cleveland, Laroche & Hallab (2013) state that when individuals are exposed to a multi-cultural environment or an environment where there is a co-existing of cultural attributes it is likely for those individuals to present a multi-faceted identity of themselves to others. The use of a culture's genres, rituals artefacts and technologies by members of another culture is known as cultural appropriation (Rogers 2006). This is evident in the previous example of the afro-perm which was discussed earlier as well as a specific example of Jeremy Lin, a Taiwanese-American basketball player who was criticised for wearing dreadlocks. Lin's choice of hairstyle was seen as being dismissive of African-American culture as it is of African origin. It was also perceived as cultural appropriation and an insult to African-American players in the NBA (Porteous 2017). Kim Kardashian on the other hand who naturally has sleek hair was criticised for wearing Fulani braids to the MTV Movie and TV Awards. People accused her of cultural appropriation, she stated, "…in no way am I ever trying to disrespect anyone's culture by wearing braids. If anything, my daughter was so excited to see me get matching braids with her. [When] we did her hair in these braids, she was so excited" (Ledbetter 2018). This shows that not only are African hairstyle choices

politicised and needs to be defended by African women but those who are not African and who choose to wear African hairstyles need to defend the reason why they chose those hairstyles.

The beauty industry focuses on the production and consumption of feminine beauty, sexuality and youthfulness and provides products which consumers demand to fulfil these standards of beauty. The beauty industry sells products which impact the perception of attractiveness on all individuals (Jha 2015; Connelly 2013). The prevalence of beauty standards in the media and its effect on society has received a growing interest in research (Jha 2015; Connelly 2013).

Beauty which is described as an image that one seeks to possess through various ways such as dress, bodily modification and adornment is a singular notion of the hegemonic standard of beauty. This standard of beauty which individuals seek to attain is culturally produced by advertising and visual communication. Media gatekeepers play a role in creating ideal images of beauty by casting actors and actresses who live up to this standard of beauty by possessing its characteristics (Jha 2015; Connelly 2013) This creation of beauty reinforces the concept of beauty as culturally normative which is encoded in advertisements and internalised by consumers who accept their ugliness. Those females who do not comply to the idealised version of feminine beauty are encouraged to alter their bodies by consuming beautifying products on the market such as diets, exercise programmes and even cosmetic surgery (Jha 2015; Connelly 2013). By fulfilling these unrealistic requirements of beauty, women are given a sense of status and success and a standard of beauty which all women should follow (Jan 2009). This artificial look forms part of discourses which are espoused as truths and legitimized as fact but are in fact vehicles of specific ideologies. This implies that beauty is not seen as an inherent human trait but it is a commodity which must be purchased. By consuming beautifying products and practices, beauty is purchased and by doing so the consumer tries to fit the ideal image of beauty. (Hall 1997). Even though women or consumers of beauty products who discipline their bodies might experience a sense of power and control, it is an illusion of power since it is incapable of changing the oppressive cultural norms perpetuated in the beauty system (Hall 1997; hooks 1992).

Other feminist scholars deem this idealistic image of beauty as damaging and oppressive which could cause psychological damage to women (Jan 2009). Images and representations about race, beauty, sex and gender are manufactured through the media to cultivate a consent among its consumers (Hall 1997; hooks 1992). A few media conglomerates dominate the distribution and production of media products (Jan 2009). These media conglomerates are based in Western countries. The messages sent from the mass media to its audiences can negatively affect their view of their racial or ethnic identity (Jan 2009). The mass media plays a significant role in shaping the identities of its audiences through messages that communicate who they are and how they should be understood within a hegemonic culture. Our sense of self, class, nationality, sexuality, ethnicity and race is provided by the products of media culture (Kellner 2003).

Consumption plays an important role in crafting identities. The lifestyles we choose to adopt or in this case, the hairstyles we choose to wear provides signals of how we choose to be seen and the values we have (Dolfsma 1999; Giddens 1991). The media's role in crafting these identities cannot be ignored as they establish shared perceptions and images from where these identities are constructed. How Black African hairstyles are represented in the media therefore plays a role in shaping the identity of a Black female.

3.10. Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter examined the media's representation of African hair with a focus on global capitalism within the hair market and its impact on African identity. It was found that media in general continues to uphold the Western Centric ideology of beauty and identity and negatively represents African identity and beauty. Social media, on the other hand, provides a platform for African voices to engage in counter-hegemonic discourses on natural African hair(styles) which reinforces and empowers Black African females to believe in the beauty and versatility of Black hair. In the next chapter, I will discuss the theoretical framework of my thesis by expounding on postmodernism and identity.

CHAPTER 4

POSTMODERNISM AND IDENTITY
(Theoretical Framework)

4.1. Introduction

Postmodernism and identity form the crux of my thesis as they constitute and expound on the essence of the argument of this study. Theoretical positions on the terrain of the "postmodern" are complex, diverse, contradictory and contested. This chapter will, therefore, provide an understanding of postmodern theory by engaging key scholars' interpretation of postmodernism, postmodernity, postmodern culture and their relevance in understanding identity in society today. Kenneth Gergen's (1991) work on *The Saturated Self: dilemmas of identity in contemporary life* and Robert Lifton's (1993) *The Protean Self: Human Resilience in an age of fragmentation* will provide a critical theoretical context in this chapter and provide theoretical insight into postmodernism and identity. The interpretation of the postmodern identity will form the framework to better understand African hair and identity from a liberatory postmodern perspective.

4.2. Understanding the postmodern phenomenon and critical discourses of postmodern theory

Various contradictory definitions of postmodernism exist since it is a complicated term or set of ideas that appear in a variety of disciplines such as film, literature, art, sociology, communications, technology, fashion, and architecture. It is difficult to trace historically when postmodernism began. Postmodernism can also refer to cultural and intellectual expressions of contemporary society or it could be described as a lens through which to view the world (Singh 2011). To understand postmodern theory, it is important to differentiate between pre-modern, modern and postmodern culture.

Modernity is defined as a time when humanity was frustrated with monarchies, religion and wanted a more organised society. Progress and logic were fundamental to this era (Stehr & Mast 2014; Rosenau 1992). Modernity which promised to liberate humanity from ignorance and irrationality ranged from the period of the 15th to 19th centuries while postmodernism assumedly originated in the late 1960s and early

1970s. Postmodern theories and studies of this period perceived the postmodern epoch as a response to cultural transformations in society since the end of the 19th century (Stehr & Mast 2014). While others say that postmodernism is not necessarily a rejection of modernism but a critique of it, to contemplate and deconstruct it (Rosenau 1992).

According to Olivier (2007:37) postmodernity "is a name we give to a culture which is different from the pre-modern and modern culture". He describes each culture as follows. What is fundamental to pre-modern culture is faith or mythical or religious explanations of society and nature. This culture viewed the understanding of the world mystically or religiously and never questioned it since to do so would mean to question God. Hence people did as they were told at the hand of bishops, priests and kings whom they believed were placed there by God. The universalisation of understanding the world was absent in pre-modern culture (Olivier 2007).

Fundamental to modern culture was reason. In this cultural epoch began to question everything. It was believed that society could progress through the use of human reason which was part of the enlightenment project. Religious explanations of the world were replaced by reason, rational and scientific explanations (Olivier 2007). A better world for all, full of freedom and prosperity could be built through science. The universalisation of nature and society was evident during the modern era (Olivier 2007). The traits of this era are to reject faith as the ultimate tool in acquiring truth and knowledge and replace it with reason. According to Brockless (2018), modern culture has various distinct features. The nation-state is seen as fundamental to human organisation. This state is ruled by a powerful centralised government where people share the same language and culture. Modern societies are capitalist because of private ownership as the means of production and the use of wage labour. Reason, rationality, technology and science are what define modern society. Personal freedom and individuality are important to this society while, tradition, culture and collectivism lose their primacy.

Postmodern culture on the other hand rejects the universalisation of nature and society, for example, meta-narratives are replaced and instead the emphasis is placed on particularity, diversity, difference and otherness for example local narratives. Olivier (2007) further states that postmodern culture has a distinctive

feature of informatisation, in other words, society is subject to information technology which replaces modern culture's fundamental feature of industrialisation and the primacy of science. Brockless (2018) defines postmodern culture as a global village because of the increased trade and cultural change as a result of technological changes. Multinational corporations which are worth more than the nation-state has replaced the nation-state. Society has become borderless and the rise of global culture is transmitted through the media for example Hollywood. Traditional identities are undermined and replaced by the globalisation of brands. Berner and Van Tonder (2003) tabulate the features of the modern and postmodern ages which is useful in understanding the differences between these eras. See table 4.1 below.

Table 4. 1: Features of the modern and postmodern age (Berner & Van Tonder 2003).

Modern Age	Postmodern Age
Reason embodies unity	Reason is replaced with intuition. A more symbol-orientated and consumer-controlled age
Modern **nation-state**, with central government and administration	**Post-industrial state** and the breaking down of traditional concepts of economic and social institutions
Bureaucratic and formal hierarchies	Hierarchies are blurred and **institutions** are **dynamic** and **fragmented**
Capitalist and **industrialist** society	**Society** is subject to informatisation. Industrialisation is replaced with information technology and information is fragmented.
Mass production is a key feature. Markets and consumption patterns are stable	**Mass customisation** is prevalent where the consumer becomes central to the production process. Markets are volatile and unpredictable.
Improvement and progress through discovery to improve the existing	**Radical theories** and views bring out innovation rather than progress
Science technology is ultimately relied upon	Emphasis is placed **on experience** and **appearance** and not on science technology.
A focus on **rational thinking** is important in the quest for truth where evidence and logic are paramount.	**Social meaning** is important and a focus on symbols (hyper-real) instead of the real experience is prevalent
Society is **divided** into the form of class	The individual is elevated instead of the community. Social diversity is increasingly evident; hence **the plurality of society** is seen as important .
Adherence to conventions and rules is the focus where behaviour is consistent	Conformity is replaced with diversity and fragmentation**. Differences** are encouraged such as **multiculturalism and multi-ethnicity**

To further discuss the postmodern phenomenon, I shall draw on seminal and historical texts as presented by critical social theorists in the past three to four decades. Rosenau (1992) however states that postmodernists criticise all that modernity has prompted and challenge global world views to delegitimate all meta-narratives. They question the superiority of the present over the past bringing relevance to the particular, traditional, sacred and irrational. Postmodern social scientist re-focus on those things that "have been neglected… insignificant, the irrational, the forgotten, the repressed, the traditional, the rejected, the marginal, the peripheral, the excluded, the silenced, the disqualified…all that which the modern age has never cared to understand in any particular detail" (Rosenau 1992:8). Rosenau further explains that two broad perspectives of postmodernism can be found namely, the critical /sceptical postmodernists and the celebratory/affirmative postmodernists. Sceptical postmodernists are distrusting and provide a negative perspective of postmodernism by describing postmodernism as an age of chaos, instability, despair, fragmentation and hopelessness in seeking for truth. The postmodern era is described as hopeless, grim, uncertain, alienating, ambiguous and tired (Durham & Kellner 2001; Firat & Venkatesh 1995).

Critical postmodernists do not like the undesirable and destructive consequences of the postmodern condition, this includes the "endless commercialisation, and commodification, loss of commitment to worthy causes, hedonism, and the general loss of social compassion… what they advocate is a radical break from the culture of late capitalism as described by Jameson (1984) to some sort of moral utopianism" (Firat & Venkatesh 1995:244). Sceptical postmodernists such as Michel Foucault, Jean Baudrillard, Jean-Francois Lyotard and Frederic Jameson reject truth, they deny its possibility and see truth as meaningless. Truth is perceived as a product of power games produced by those whose interests it serves. Truth is also viewed as a form of terrorism since it silences those who disagree and justifies the powerful while the weak are seen as inadequate. There is no distinction between truth and ideology and no real truth exists which is uncorrupted. The sceptics of postmodernism also state that truth is not independent of language but an effect of discourse, therefore the relationship between the signifier and the signified is problematic. Their understanding of truth is synonymous with their understanding of the author, subject,

history and time. In other words, no single person can tell us what a text means neither can a reader tell us the true reading of a text (Rosenau 1992).

Foucault's (1978) notions of power and knowledge in *The History of Sexuality* problematized the understanding of knowledge by stating that there are no sure foundations to knowledge. He states that in the postmodern world there are no objective criteria we can use to prove whether a theory is true or false. Foucault believed that there is no absolute truth only the powerful tell us what truth is. Postmodernity can be defined by power and discourse. He describes discourse as the framework of thinking and power works through discourse. Power he says is omnipresent because it comes from everywhere (Foucault 1978).

Discourses in a postmodern condition are shaped by knowledge which is interpreted through power. Knowledge according to Foucault is what a group of people decide to be true, thus those who are in power determine what truth is and this truth is accepted as knowledge (Barker 2008). Power and knowledge are revealed in postmodernism. Within particular localised contexts there are systems of knowledge or discourse which highlight codes of domination and social control. This, therefore, reveals the intimate link between discourse and systems of knowledge. Foucault was interested in the techniques and tactics of power how power is exercised. If objective truth is dead this means the modernist project of achieving progress through scientific knowledge is dead. Any all-embracing theory for example Marxism is a meta-narrative and is simply one person's view of reality (Foucault 1978).

In his work on *Simulacra and Simulations*, Baudrillard (1994) believed that modernity is an era of history which was organised around production where the original and copy were easily distinguishable. Postmodernity, however, is a stage of history organised around simulations where the selling of knowledge namely ideas, signs and images is the order of the day. Signs increasingly stand for nothing but themselves and become worth more than the original, this is known as simulacra (Barker 2008). Simulacra is a copy with no original which seems more real than an original or reality, hence –hyperreality is formed. Simulations in hyper-reality are perceived as more real than reality itself.

Baudrillard states that power is no longer ideological but simulated through signs and images. He illustrates simulacra by referring to Disneyland. He believes that

Disneyland is a simulated reality or a simulation of an idealised America, a hyperreal model of America. It generates role models or ideals of a perfect world. It is artificial yet it is real (Durham & Kellner 2001). The line between fantasy and reality is blurred which emphasises the power of the symbol over substance (hyper-reality). Baudrillard believes that simulations in the postmodern world replace reality. Power is no longer perceived as ideological but power is simulations which are signs and images (Baudrillard 1994).

In the *Postmodern Condition: A Report on knowledge* Lyotard (1984) questions whether the knowledge within scientific discourses has undergone a transformation since the transformation in scientific discourses such as the advancement of transportation, the increase in information processing machines, changes in culture and communicative technologies have taken place (Stehr & Mast 2014). Lyotard questions the legitimation of knowledge in modern culture. He states that grand narratives have lost its credibility or legitimacy in his famous dictum pronounced in 1984 where he characterises the postmodern by an 'incredulity to metanarratives' (Olivier 2007). Metanarratives are characteristic of the modern era in the promise of progress by placing an "optimistic faith in the power of science, rationality and industry to transform the modern world for the better" (Barker 2008:182).

Lyotard states that the postmodern condition has lost its faith in the foundational schemes which have justified the political, scientific and technological projects of the modern world. This totalising of knowledge he says should be resisted but should celebrate the differences and understandings located in particular knowledge regimes (Barker 2008). He associates post-industrialism with society and culture with postmodernism and defines postmodern societies as shaped by processes of local and regional determinism and constituted by the heterogeneity of "language particles" that form "institutions in patches" (Stehr & Mast 2014). Contemporary knowledge thus is fragmented, multivalent and developed from a diversity of locations and perspectives (Stehr & Mast 2014).

Frederic Jameson is known for questioning contemporary cultural texts and trends. He links the capitalist political economy to postmodern culture. In *Postmodernism or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (1984), Jameson argues that "postmodernism is a type of cultural form appropriated to the contemporary state of global capitalism.

Postmodern culture manifests the emergence of a new kind of flatness or depthlessness, superficiality in the most literal sense" (Durham & Kellner 2001). He describes this depthless, superficial feature of postmodernism as supreme and states that the postmodern self does not possess the expressive energies of the modern self. Further, he states that this one-dimensional postmodern self and texts put into question selves which have essence such as the depth Marxian model of essence and appearance, the existentialist model of inauthentic and authentic existence (Durham & Kellner 2001).

The affirmative or celebratory postmodernists or such as Zygmunt Bauman, Mark Poster, Angela McRobbie, Fuat Firat and Alladi Venkatesh agree with sceptical or critical postmodernists' when they criticise modernism but celebratory postmodernists are much more enthusiastic about the postmodern age. They do not accept ideological dogmas but seek a philosophical, intellectual practice. Some affirmatives place certain value choices above others. Affirmative postmodernists encourage differences where the individual is elevated above community, the plurality of society as seen as important and social meaning is celebrated (Rosenau 1992; Durham & Kellner 2001; Firat & Venkatesh 1995). Affirmative postmodernists celebrate the "new culture in emphasis on the appearance, look, style, variety and diversity of contemporary culture while others promote new oppositional types of cultural analysis and politics in the field of the postmodern" (Durham & Kellner 2001). Celebratory or affirmative postmodernists celebrate and welcome localised narratives and the freedoms associated with them (Firat & Venkatesh 1995).

In a *Sociological Theory on Postmodernity* Baumann (1991) states that postmodernism has the potential to provide a voice to diversity and difference. Postmodernism is modernity reflecting upon itself with an urge to change. The ambivalence and uncertainty of the postmodern condition create the opportunity for us to create our futures. The postmodern mindset commands a fulfilment of the promises of the modern era of reason (Barker 2008). He also states that for us to create our futures we must create solidarity of survival where we fight for the sake of other's differences and not our own (Baumann 1991).

Poster (1995) in *Postmodern Virtualities*, echoes a similar sentiment to Baumann when he states that postmodernism about new communication technologies

produces innovative and alternative forms of culture and creates new realms of experience. Poster is known for his interest in postmodern theory and new technologies and states that new media and technology generates new forms of communication and culture as well as subjectivity. The rational subject of the modern era which was created through print culture has now been replaced by the multi-media, this includes cyberspaces, virtual communities and cyberculture. These new technologies generate new identities, new ways of communication and social relations. Poster believes that this new way of communicating and mode of information is fundamental to the organisation of society in the postmodern era (Durham & Kellner 2001).

Another affirmative postmodernist namely McRobbie (1993) in *Feminism, Postmodernism, and the 'Real Me'*, uses postmodern discourse for feminism. She states that postmodernism authenticates marginalised discourses and silenced voices which were negated and suppressed in modern societies. Postmodernism provides a platform for the marginalised/silenced voices and enables them to articulate their experiences and perspectives. She argues that postmodern discourse questions concepts which relate to the "real me". The essentialist understanding of who we are which is viewed as unified conceals the ability to create a multiplicity of selves or more hybridized complex selves which are flexible and able to develop even further. This postmodern platform enables women to question femininity and create their notion of femininity and identity (Durham & Kellner 2001).

According to Afolayan (2009), the postmodern is not an epoch but is a critical and sceptical reaction to the crises of modernity. It is a cultural epoch and critique of foundationalist thought. He further states that it is "implicated in the constitution of the modern" (Afolayan 2009:65). He states that the postmodern does not dissolve the modern self but simply interrogates the boundary of the modern self. The postmodern critically question the modernist categories such as, autonomy, homogeneity, uniqueness, continuity etc. to deprive them of ideological power. (Afolayan 2009).

Similarly, Mease (2017) states that the postmodern is not so much an absolute rejection of the modern but it is born out of the failing of modern attempts to adequately describe the world. She further states that postmodernism critiques the

conventionally accepted notion of universal truths and instead embraces alternative truths and norms. Ultimately she views the postmodern approaches to scholarship as assuming that realities are established through human interaction instead of being separate from human interaction. Hence each individual's experience and reality is different and constitutes a different version of reality for their cultural or social group (Mease 2017). She also states that "Postmodern approaches challenge any way of structuring truth and reality that overpowers others. They do this by emphasizing suspicion, irony, pastiche (borrowing and piecing together), tension, irrationality, and vulnerability to demonstrate the inadequacy of any particular structure or order for understanding reality" (Mease 2017:4).

Firat and Venkatesh (1995) fall within the orientation of affirmative or celebratory postmodernism but label themselves as liberatory postmodernists. In their article *Liberatory Postmodernism and Reenchantment of Consumption,* the authors argue for and support the liberatory potential of postmodern ideas which relate to epistemology and discourse. Liberatory postmodernism they state refers to "practice unabashedly the conditions toward micro-emancipatory ends- as opposed to grand emancipatory projects" (Firat & Venkatesh 1995:245). The potential of liberatory postmodernism cannot be achieved since it is restricted by the market. The market is described as a modern institution which operates under the principles of the economy. This market is perceived as being free from direct critique which has become the "sole locus of legitimation" (Firat & Venkatesh 1995:245). Without challenging the market, the liberating potential of postmodernism cannot be realised.

Firat and Venkatesh are concerned with present consumer research. They state that in modern metanarratives of consumer research, primacy was given to production which was destroyed in the act of consumption (Poster 1995). The reversal of consumption and production is prevalent in the postmodern age. Instead of perceiving consumption as destructive, consumption is viewed as the social act of symbolic meaning. The consumer, therefore, becomes a creator of meaning and consumption became a process through which individual consumers can define themselves and their identity in contemporary society (Lee 2009). The consumer, therefore, produces and reproduces his/her identity through a variety of consumption choices hence the consumers provide meaning to products.

The liberatory postmodern perspective is where I situate my study. I believe that African hair and identity should be engaged from a liberatory postmodern perspective. Since the postmodern African female consumer is presented with a variety of hairstyle choices such as natural and artificial hairstyles, her choice of hairstyle will ultimately enable her to create an identity for herself. Through this choice she is given through the market she is seen as not only a consumer of hair/styles but a producer of identity in contemporary society.

4.3. Postmodernism, Self and Identity

As the issues of self and identity within the postmodern context relate to my study it becomes critical to engage postmodern identity. Postmodern identity problematizes modern identity in the sense that the individual is no longer perceived as coherent, autonomous, rational and separable from culture and the physical world. Instead, the individual in postmodern culture is perceived as incoherent, irrational, fragmented with the emphasis on the cultural and subconscious determination of individual action (Bagnall 1999). The postmodern identity is informed by discursive contexts which mould a diversity of identities within one individual hence a fragmented identity occurs through the various discourses. Another characteristic of postmodern identity is that it is provisional, in other words, it is always open to new and different possibilities. Postmodernity questions the humanistic notions of the development of the individual and problematizes it since there is a dependence on the individual's possession of essential human properties (Bagnall 1999). Postmodern identity depends on the way individuals interpret and construct themselves and present themselves to others. Identity is continuously under construction since there is a constant process of renewal and innovation taking place within society which is imposed on the individual through the mass media (Abrudan 2012).

A distinctive feature of postmodern culture is informatization, where society is subject to information technology which has a profound change in the way we understand the self (Olivier 2007; Gergen 1991). Through the exposure to informatization, emerging technologies furnishes us with a "multiplicity of incoherent and unrelated languages of the self" (Gergen 1991). The construction of identity in a postmodern culture is therefore closely tied to the media-laden landscape which not only includes film, printed media, radio, and television but also the internet with its wealth of ever-

proliferating texting and iconography (Kellner 1995; Featherstone 2007; Olivier 2007). Individuals identify with the images of the media and look for new ways of identifying themselves by what they consume. Since individuals are exposed to postmodern culture imploded with images, simulations, and signs, postmodern individuals can change their identity as they wish (Baudrillard 1994).

Identities in postmodern culture are no longer fixed, unified and stable as was characteristic of modern identities, instead they are dynamic, flexible, they are multifaceted and remain in a state of perpetual change. The postmodern self is tasked with the duty to construct an identity amid a fragmented and ever-changing environment (Mercer 1990). The multiplicity of symbols and signs which enable the postmodern individual to construct an identity is viewed as attractive by individuals since they prefer the variety of options exposed to them in an ever-changing environment. The agony of uncertainty is therefore outweighed by the freedom of choice (Southgate 2003). The variety of options provided by consumerism can be viewed as liberating as the individual is given the ability to create a new "self" and individuals determine what they want to identify with and with whom they wish to identify with.

The active consumption of styles and images grows in importance while ethnicity, class and gender decline in significance and the identity of individuals are defined and affirmed through their consumption choice (van Poecke 1996; Rosenau 1992). Consumption in the modern era differs from consumption in the postmodern era. In the modern era, the driving force of consumption was mainly functional whereas in the postmodern environment the driving force is compensatory and hedonistic consumption (Woodruff 1997). Consumption which is driven by sensations and the desire for pleasurable and new experiences is also known as hedonistic consumption. The triviality of every day is no longer of interest to the postmodern consumer and no longer satisfies the individual. He/ she is rather interested in the spectacle and sensational while compensatory consumption fulfils a need, lack or desire (Woodruff 1997; Malina & Schmidt 1997; Baudrillard 1996). The modern consumer was concerned with the functionality and utility of the product he/she consumed which could act as a solution to problems whereas the postmodern consumer is more concerned with the building of a sense of identity in a fragmented

society and therefore places emphasis on the symbolic value which products hold rather than its content value (Berner & Van Tonder 2003)

Consumers fashion their identities according to models provided by the media. These models of identity show the consumer how to be and not who to be. The media, therefore, provide the cultural bricks for consumers which enable them to construct and (re)construct their identity (Kellner 1995; Ott 2003). The act of consumption is therefore at the heart of identity construction and by consuming products, individuals purchase identities (Gabriel & Lang 1995). It is through consumption that individuals provide meaning to products because the meaning of products is interpreted by consumers themselves. An individual's identity is therefore created and (re)created through the products which they consume. (Lee 2009). Baudrillard (1994) aptly describes this phenomenon by using the sign/signifier technique to illustrate consumption. He states that through consumption the consumer can buy and acquire a language which creates a sense of who they are. The products we purchase therefore replicates our innermost desires and reflects our psychological production of the self.

Berner and Van Tonder (2003) sketch a description of the postmodern consumer's character and service expectations in postmodern society. They state the postmodern consumer is one who:

- Plays the role of identity constructor and he or she constructs identity through the consumption of products and services. Products are therefore reflective of cultural or symbolic value and consumers view this as more important than the functionality of a product.
- Elevates the individual above the community and therefore the individual's product or service choice is viewed as highly important.
- Avoids any brand loyalty and commitment to a product. He or she has the freedom of choice when it comes to service and product consumption.

- Pursues the immediate gratification of a service or product to satisfy a specific need. Immediate service responsiveness by service providers is of utmost importance.
- Expects service providers to provide this essential service if the service provider is not able to provide this service it will lose its credibility and the consumer will turn to another service provider to fulfil his or her need.
- Views information technology as paramount.
- Anticipates that a product or service provides more than its functional value.

Malpas (2005) describes the dark side of consumption and argues that postmodern consumers will never be fulfilled through the products which they consume since those products are simply characteristic signs of happiness but will not bestow real happiness to the consumer. Consumers or individuals who are unable to find happiness through the products which they consume, continue to pursue and consume more products to find true happiness. Consumers are thus propelled to purchase more products to find true happiness. This self-perpetuating process is difficult to come out of (Baudrillard 1994). Olivier (2007) makes use of Freud's (1958:100-161) analogy of individuals' identification with images in the media to that of hunter-gatherers in the past who revered totem animals which promised a certain measure of protection and empowerment.

> So for example, the marques of certain kinds of luxury cars inspire in consumers the desire to possess or own them, in the same way as ancient hunter or gatherer desired the protection of, for example, a sabretooth, signified by the image of such an animal painted on his or her arm or chest. Needless to say, as Freud speculated, the line from primitive totemism to polytheistic practices, and later monotheistic worship of a faceless god, is arguably an unbroken one, which in the present era assumes the shape of consumers' desire for certain 'brands' above others. This is a constitutive element of identities.

In this section I would like to highlight and focus on the works of two scholars namely, Kenneth Gergen (1991) the author of *The saturated self: dilemmas of*

identity in contemporary life and Robert Lifton (1993), the author of *The Protean Self: Human Resilience in an age of fragmentation*. The development of the multiplicity of selves in postmodern culture is central to both Lifton and Gergen's work. Lifton takes on an affirmative perspective about identity in postmodern culture, while Gergen takes on a more critical perspective. Lifton (1993) describes the multiplicity, versatility and mutability of selves in postmodern culture as protean which is a term that refers to Proteus, Greek sea god of changeable forms. Proteus the Greek sea god was changeable in shape and form similar to the postmodern self which is dynamic, fluid, mobile and adaptable. This forms the essence of the protean self which is filled with a sense of the optimistic possibility of a pluralistic sense of self (Pickering 1999:65).

Often in everyday life, the postmodern individual finds him/herself in circumstances where he/she needs to create and recreate who they are to meet the needs of the situations which they encounter. The mutable and adaptable character of the postmodern self is a necessary tool for survival in postmodern society. The protean self highlights the disappearance of the modern meta-narrative form of self which transforms into a multiplicity of selves and expresses itself in many different ways. Each self is used to communicate a different characteristic. Lifton states that this phenomenon is "a bridge between the modern and the postmodern, a source of continuity that takes in radical discontinuity" (Lifton 1993:231).

Hybridity which forms part of postmodern theory is characteristic of the protean self. Its hybrid characteristic allows the protean self to combine dissimilar fragments of the self and restructure it at will. The hybridity of the protean self provides the building blocks to restructure different identities. In doing so the hybrid self allows the freedom of enjoying new experiences by reconstructing the self (Lifton 1993). New and exciting identities are created at any given moment which emphasises the versatility and adaptability of the protean self which enables it to interchange between facades which are socially lubricated. The protean self, therefore, symbolises the dynamic and flexible character of the postmodern identity and similarly the postmodern self can expand through construction and reconstruction in any given situation (Lifton 1993).

Gergen (1991) has a more pessimistic perspective towards the multiplicity of selves in postmodern society. Gergen (1991:6 and 173) explores the impact of social saturation on our definition of the self. The intensification of the saturation of culture he says has jeopardized our definitions and perceptions about the self and now a novel culture is being created or formed. The social saturation which he refers to is emerging technologies which saturate us and become part of us and we become part of them to the extent that we become increasingly dependent on them. This saturation supplies multiple, unrelated and incoherent languages of the self. The authentic self we once knew which possessed identifiable characteristics such as rationality, inspiration and emotion, now dissolves and the self becomes no self at all. This saturation he associates with the conditions of postmodernism. He is so pessimistic with this view of the self that he says that the impact of technologies on the self is apocalyptic since our knowledge of the self is thrown into doubt (Gergen 1991:7).

He states that in society today our identities are in a continuous process of being re-constructed, re-formed and re-directed. The fragmentation of the self in postmodern society is as a result of technologies which form part of our everyday lives and intertwine into our daily consciousness. This fragmented identity he calls multiphrenia. Gergen supports one of the earliest psychologists of identity namely, Erick Erikson's (1956) view when he states that the fragmented identity which postmodern culture furnishes cannot be maintained. The puttylike character of the postmodern identity is easily influenced, shaped and manipulated.

The technologies of social saturation fashion the individual without character hence the boundaries which define an identity gives way only to form a pastiche personality (Gergen 1991:173). Pastiche according to Storey (2001) is an empty copy, which is a mere imitation of past historical genres, codes and styles. These genres, styles and codes are ready for commodification which are adopted and quickly discarded. Gergen (1991:71) therefore states that the pastiche personality borrows from various available sources to construct an identity which is desirable to the individual. With pastiche, we "carry other' patterns of being with us… Each of us becomes the other, a representative or a replacement…we contain multitudes and harbour a vast population of hidden potentials". The individual who once had a unified, sense of self and was coherent in a traditional culture now gives way to competing potentials in a

postmodern culture. Gergen (1991) states that this is a burden since the individual in the socially saturated society has an increasing assortment of self-doubt and irrationalities which it needs to face in the ever-increasingly saturated society of the postmodern world.

Since the multiplicity of selves, the versatility and the mutability of the self is central to my study, the work of Lifton (an affirmative postmodernist) and the work of Gergen (a critical postmodernist) form a crucial foundation for my study and provides insight into understanding this study's perspective of the postmodern identity. The postmodern identity is relevant to my study as it interrogates the boundary of the modern self and critiques the conventionally accepted notions of universal truths by providing an alternative reality through human interaction.

4.4. Postmodernism and Capitalism

We live in a postmodern society which is predominantly characterised by consumption. Consumers are exposed to diverse images and messages allowing them to engage with these images and messages on a consumption basis instead of on a production basis (Goulding 2000). Cultural products which are consumed are intended to be superfluous and disposable therefore the consumers of these products need to have an identity or self which is pliable (Ewen 1990). A key feature of the postmodern consumer is his or her ability to construct an identity. In other words, consumers can create an identity for themselves through the products which they consume (Firat & Venkatesh 1995). Consumption is intimately connected to the creation of a sense of self. Belk (1988) describes this phenomenon as the extended self. He states that we regard our possessions as parts of ourselves and our sense of self is supported by possessing things. Another celebratory postmodernist such as Charles Jencks (1987) states that postmodern culture provides consumers with a promise of a plurality of society where multiculturalism and multi-ethnicity exist which provides freedom of choice to the consumer. John Fiske (1989) argues that consumers are not passive but actively rework images and meanings and enjoy these dynamic positions as roaming subjects or individuals. Just as marketable goods are replaceable so are consumers' identities. Consumers can dispose of their identities and replace them with new ones. Consumers' desires are short-lived through the products which they consume and therefore the hunger for a new

identity through the consumption of new products is seen as desirable. This reflects the current trend within consumer culture. As I will later discuss, the acts of buying wigs, weaves, the colouring of hair etc. talks to how individuals purchase consumer products to represent a different self of identity.

A song by an American pop artist namely Lady Gaga and RedOne (2011), epitomizes this trend within consumer culture. Her song entitled *Hair* was stimulated by her teenage experience. As a young girl living with her parents, Gaga would be forced to dress in a certain way. She felt as if this was limiting and the only way for her to express herself was through her hair. She would wear various wigs to express herself and was heavily criticised for it. In this song, Gaga states that she is her hair, that her hair (wigs) give her a sense of identity and describes this as her song of liberation. She states that this song illustrates her ultimate expression of freedom and identity through the hair (wigs) she chooses to wear or consume (Jocelyn 2011). Below are some of the lyrics of her song *Hair* (Lady Gaga & RedOne 2011)

Whenever I'm dressed cool
My parents put up a fight
(Uh-huh, uh-huh)
And if I'm hotshot
Mom will cut my hair at night
(Uh-huh, uh-huh)

And in the morning
I'm short of my identity
(Uh-huh, uh-huh)
I scream Mom and Dad
Why can't I be who I wanna be?
(Uh-huh, uh-huh)
To be

I just wanna be myself
And I want you to love me for who I am
I just wanna be myself
And I want you to know, I am my hair

I've had enough, this is my prayer
That I'll die livin' just as free as my hair
I've had enough, this is my prayer
That I'll die livin' just as free as my hair
I've had enough, I'm not a freak
I just keep fightin' to stay cool on the streets

I've had enough, enough, enough
And this is my prayer, I swear
I'm as free as my hair
I'm a free as my hair
I am my hair
I am my hair

Free as my hair, hair, hair
Hair, hair, ha-ha-ha-hair
Hair, hair, hair
Hair, hair, ha-ha-ha-hair

Jameson (1998) criticises this cultural trend of consumer society and describes the individual subject within this consumer culture as schizophrenic. He states that the individual subject is dead. It does not exist and states that this is as a result of corporate capitalism. Jameson together with Deleuze and Guattari (1987) equates late capitalism with postmodern society. A schizophrenic is described as an individual without a solid identity and someone who is unable to distinguish between self and society and the consumer culture trend of postmodern society helps promote this schizophrenic identity (Deleuze & Guattari 1987:129). They claim that present-day capitalism provides the stage for consuming audiences to practice this schizophrenic characteristic of identity in the form of postmodern culture.

In Marx and Engels (1948) describe capitalism as social power. Capitalism is more than simply an economic system Marx described capitalism as a 'definite mode of life' which moulds and informs our relationships with others, our sense of who we are, actions and practices in the material world. Marxist theorists of capitalism such as Theodor Adorno and Georg Lucas, state that commodification has permeated present-day consumer society and state that this trend of consumer capitalism is a form of social control. This form of social control removes the distinction between the self and the world, between true and false. Repressing truth through falsehood (Kellner 1995).

Hardt and Negri (2001) in *Empire* also criticise this trend in the consumer culture of postmodern society. They state that the variety of identities which postmodern society perpetuates and celebrates is not innocent, it is driven by capital, capitalism

thrives on difference which is characteristic of the world market. They aptly describe this by stating (Hardt & Negri 2001:150-151):

> Differences (of commodities, populations, cultures and so forth) seem to multiply infinitely in the world market, which attacks nothing more violently than fixed boundaries: it overwhelms any binary division with its infinite multiplicities… With the decline of national boundaries, the world market is liberated from the kind of binary divisions that nation-states had imposed, and in this new free space, a myriad of differences appears.

In postmodern society, there is an emergence of a new constellation of power which they term Empire. Empire is described as "the political subject that regulates global exchanges. It is the power that governs the world on multiple levels namely on an economic, political, juridical, social and cultural level" (Olivier 2007:44). The power of Empire is decentralised in a territorial sense and has no geographical boundaries but it incorporates the globe within its expanding frontiers. Empire perpetuates and promotes multiple identities and signals a new stage in capitalist production.

Featherstone (2007) on the other hand describes three main perspectives of consumer culture and states that it is firstly based on the premise that the purchase and consumption of goods have led to the expansion of capitalist commodity production. Featherstone further states that "Some perceive this growing expansion of consumption as leading to greater egalitarianism and individual freedom whereas others regard it as ideological manipulation and the seductive containment of the population" (Featherstone 2007:13). Secondly, the sociological view that consumers purchase products because of the satisfaction which is derived from those goods purchased as well as the social bonds these purchases create. Thirdly, the emotional pleasures derived from consumption. In other words, the desires and dreams which are celebrated in the consumption of cultural imagery. He also states that: "If it is possible to claim the operation of a 'capital logic' deriving from production, it may also be possible to claim a 'consumption logic' which points to the socially structured ways in which goods are used to demarcate social relationships." (Featherstone 2007:16). He argues further that when one speaks of the consumption of goods it is easy to hide the wide range of goods which consumers purchase. Each product purchased serves a purpose such as goods used for maintenance and

leisure. "Goods can move out of production to consumption status and can move in and out of commodity status" (Featherstone 2007:17). The symbolic association of goods in Western societies could also renegotiate differences in social relationships which makes the reading of the status of a commodity bearer complex (Featherstone 2007:17).

Postmodern culture provides the individual consumers with a plurality of selves through the hairstyles which they choose to purchase and consume. This promise of a plurality ultimately provides individual consumers with freedom of choice hence my study focuses on postmodernism and the role of present-day capitalism which provides consumers with the platform to project a multiplicity of selves through the assortment of hairstyle choices available to them.

4.5. Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter provided a clearer understanding of the postmodern phenomenon and its critical discourses. The critical discourses of postmodernism included two orientations of postmodernism namely the affirmative or celebratory perspective and the critical or sceptical perspective of postmodernism were discussed. I, however, situate my study in the affirmative perspective but more specifically in the liberatory postmodern perspective where differences, as well as the liberatory potential of postmodernism, is celebrated. The postmodern African consumer can feel liberated through the hairstyles which she chooses to consume and to embrace the multiplicity of identities furnished by these various hairstyles whether it be natural or artificial hairstyles. It is also important to acknowledge that many factors may contribute to the ability to embrace multiple identities, and the choice is equally influenced by many social-cultural factors such as (post)colonial experiences, entertainment, media, culture, the perception of the self, etc.

I support Firat and Venkatesh (1995) when they state that the liberatory potential of African females is limited due to the neo-liberal market of capitalism. Despite this, I would like to celebrate the agency of African women in not only their role in consumption but in the production and construction of their new identities through the hairstyles they choose to consume. I would like to end with the sentiment of Angela McRobbie (1993) when she states that postmodernism validates the

discourses of the marginalised and silenced voices in modern society and validates their experiences.

In the following chapter, I will refine and situate my study in the liberatory postmodern perspective by introducing a new theoretical concept which I call the multi-flex, neo-hybrid identity. It explains how the African female navigates her identity through postmodern society through the various hairstyles she chooses to consume.

CHAPTER 5

MULTI-FLEX-NEO-HYBRID IDENTITY: RETHINKING THE POSTCOLONIAL AND POSTMODERN IDENTITY
(Theoretical Framework)

5.1. Introduction

To understand today's postmodern South African woman and the choices she makes in the construction and reconstruction of her identity, I would like to assert a new perspective and new theoretical thinking about the postcolonial identity of the African woman and her hair. The new identity of the African woman which consists of vestiges of colonialism and apartheid and who is exposed to the postmodern era of buying identities through the market plays an active role in the creation of her 'identities' through the various hairstyles she chooses to wear. This new identity is emancipated from the dominant narrative of conformity to a single Eurocentric ideology of beauty and identity which results in the agency and re-empowerment of the African woman in the construction of her own identity. This new identity, I introduce here as a multi-flex, neo-hybrid Identity. This new identity does not only apply to African women but it can be applied across cultures. This theory therefore speaks from an African perspective, yet at the same time this new theory or identity can be applied across cultures (this will be illustrated in chapter 11). This chapter will therefore firstly define hybridity, link it to post-structuralism and (post)colonialism. Then finally multi-flex-neo-hybridity will be introduced and described concerning, how it differs to hybridity and the role it plays in the postmodern African female's identity.

5.2. Understanding the concept hybridity

The notion of hybridity is associated with concepts and ideas which both reinforce and contradict each other at the same time, therefore it is imperative to contextualise the concept of hybridity (Kraidy 2005). The ambiguity of hybridity makes this concept bothersome. It resists definition even though it is biological and is an oxymoron since it defies categorical definitions (Kapchan & Strong 1999). According to Pieterse (2001) and Anim-Addo (2013), hybridity has had various meanings over time as well

as various meanings in different cultures and what makes it important is that it problematizes boundaries and is profoundly ambivalent. Hybridity undermines the subject from within and without, and displaces purity (Gunaratnam 2014). Bodies are perceived as fragmentary, unfinished, work-in-progress due to the intermingling with human and non-human others (Gunaratnam & Clark 2012). Despite its ambivalence, hybridity is described as ordinary, unexceptional and everywhere (Werbner, Modood & Bhabha 2015; Pieterse 2001). Ifekwunigwe (1999) argues that hybridity has been adopted by mainstream academic discourse without identifying the problematic origin of "race" science fiction from the 19th century. The 19th-century depiction of race is problematic and reflects the social science response to the damaged history of racism and raciology (Gilroy 2000). Hybridity, therefore, is not a new term and has been politically charged throughout the past two centuries. It is a metalanguage for biological, cultural and ethnic mixing.

The term hybrid is rooted in biology and fundamentally means mixture (Young 1995). It comes from the Latin word hibrida which refers to the offspring of a wild boar and a tame sow. In principle, a hybrid is a cross between the offspring of two different animal or plant species. It not only refers to plant and animal species but also refers to people, cultures, and traditions as in the vocabulary of the Victorian extreme right which referred to different races as different species (Young 1995; Tizard & Phoenix 2002; Benjamin 2004). Once viewed as contaminated, impure and promiscuous, hybridity was common among the Romans and Greeks who themselves borrowed from other cultures such as the Persians and Egyptians to form hybrid cultures. Although the Roman Empire was considered to be a multi-ethnic empire it condemned cultural hybridity. The posterity of a Roman man and a non- Roman woman was referred to as a hybrid. Cultural hybridity was viewed as unfavourable since it was associated with social disorder and racial degeneration. (Benjamin 2004).

The fall of the Roman Empire did not bring about an end to the condemnation of biological hybridity but persisted through to the Middle Ages, into modern times as well as into 18th and 19th century Europe. Interracial contact which resulted from overseas conquest and population displacement in Europe such as Britain, France and the United States brought about the fear of racial degeneration via the mixing of Europeans and non- Europeans (Benjamin 2004; Kraidy 2005). Racial mixing was

therefore a major concern in colonialist discourse. It was believed that racial mixing would bring about the dilution of the European race and therefore hybrids, namely the posterity of racial mixing was viewed as racially inferior to Europeans. Hybridity was therefore mostly marked by negative connotations which were related to instability and contamination. (Papastergiadis 2000).

Today, hybridity forms part of several academic fields such as literature, sociology, biology, architecture, sports as well as interdisciplinary subjects including postcolonial studies (Kapchan & Strong 1999; Kraidy 2005). Kapchan and Strong (1999:242). state that "hybridity seems to promise a unique analytical vantage point on the politics of culture by acknowledging the intricate and complex weave of any heterodox and heteroglossic community". The fact that hybridity forms part of several fields brings about its conflicting meanings and interpretations. Although some scholars have been optimistic about the notion of hybridity, others have been critical where a polemical backlash against cultural hybridity is evident (Pieterse 2001). Kraidy (2005:65-67) highlights two paradoxes which have led to the anti-hybridity backlash namely that hybridity is perceived both as subversive and pervasive, exceptional and ordinary as well as marginal yet mainstream. The second paradox describes hybridity as "foggy conceptual boundaries and extreme semantic openness [which] invite arbitrary and at times exclusionary usage".

These paradoxes or inconsistencies are what the anti-hybridity backlash is based on. Therefore, allegations such as the theoretical uselessness of hybridity, the argument that hybridity supports the logic of transnational capitalism and is perceived as neo-colonial, the suspicion that hybridity is used by Western-based intellectuals, the allegation that hybridity is only useful as a critique of essentialism, hybridity is a dependant notion, and that hybridity serves as a function of the decline of western hegemony is at the forefront of the anti-hybridity backlash (Friedman 1997; Pieterse 2001; Kraidy 2005).

Hybridity is concomitant with the advent of postmodern, post-structural and (post)colonial discourses. These discourses have been engrossed with issues of hybridity, mestizaje, with issues of in-betweenness, as well as with the mixture of ideas and identities which were produced by colonialism (Loomba 2005). Therefore,

the following section will discuss each discourse about hybridity with a more in-depth focus on postcolonial discourse and hybridity.

5.3 Post-structuralism, (post)colonialism and the hybrid identity

5.3.1. Post-structuralism and the hybrid identity

Central to post-structuralism is the recognition of the centrality of language and discourse. Texts and discourses are described as constructive phenomena within a post-structuralist discourse which mould the practices as well as the identities of human subjects. For Foucault and Derrida language and discourse are viewed as a means to effectively construct and control institutions, knowledge, social relations etc. Language and discourse are not viewed as a transparent means to describe the biological and social world (Luke 1997).

Foucault questions whether the world namely, social and natural can be understood and accessible and analysable without resorting to the constructive forces of discourse (Luke 1997). Discourses which make up a dense fabric of symbolic texts, written and spoken texts of institutional bureaucracies have disciplinary effects as well as delimits and enable fields of knowledge and inquiry. While Derrida posed the question of whether cultural texts can be viewed as accounts of truths about the phenomenal world. According to Derrida, all texts consist of a dynamic play of 'difference' which renders them polysemous, in other words, multiple meanings can be generated by readers from different social contexts. Derrida's conception of all texts as polysemous can be described as hybrid texts, texts with multiple meanings (Luke 1997).

Therefore, post-structuralist theory questions whether there are essential human subjects and whether the individual agents exist outside of their cultural, historical, and social discourses. Luke (1997:55) therefore states that:

> Poststructuralist work thus forms a critique and it makes the case that: (a) all inquiry is by definition a form of discourse analysis, and (b) all research consists of a `reading' and `rewriting' of a series of texts from a particular historical and epistemological standpoint.

Poststructuralist theory provides a counter-ontological critique of discourses. By doing this it enables a self-reflexive critique of modernist models (Luke 1997).

Similarly, Mease (2017) states that post-structuralism does not completely reject but is an extension which is born out of the failing of structural attempts to adequately describe the world. She further states that it is an academic project that emerged from the study of language. It is an academic grounded inquiry which focuses on the ontological foundations of seemingly ordered structures that guide daily life. Within structuralism, the universal structures which shape human experience across time and space are theoretically explained. There is the assumption of universal and totalitarian realities or structures that can objectively be discovered (Mease 2017). However, within post-structuralism, structures are constituted through language and social interaction and are inherently unstable. Structures are not inevitable but imminent, their existence is embedded in everyday life. Hence, instead of focusing on the structures behind language and social interaction, post-structuralism focuses "on the mechanisms by which structures are produced and maintained through language and social interaction: (Mease 2017:6).

When it comes to identity in a post-structuralist world, an identity which is regarded as "socially organised, reorganised, constructed, co-constructed, and continually reconstructed through language is unstable, negotiated and flexible. It emerges within interactions of a given discourse. (Kouhpaeenejad & Gholaminejad 2014). As language and discourse which is central to post-structuralism are viewed as socially constructed, the hybrid identity of an individual within the post-modern framework is also socially constructed, multiple, flexible etc. Hence, post-structuralism and hybrid identity are linked.

5.3.2. (Post)colonialism and the hybrid identity

(Post)colonialism addresses the question of alternative discourse formation that challenges the hegemony of the colonial grand narrative. This can also be linked to third-wave feminism and the concept of the voice-listening nexus in that both embrace individualism and diversity. Third wave feminism also focuses on a more poststructuralist interpretation of gender and sexuality which aligns with (post)colonialism and alternative discourse formation (Heywood, 1997). Colonial

discourse which is pivoted on the notion of essentialism where the European coloniser justified their colonial rule, thought of themselves as inherently or "essentially superior" in contrast to the subjugated colonised who were perceived as inherent or "essentially inferior" (McLaren 1991; Ahluwalia 2001). This "inferior colonised" and the "superior coloniser" creates two sides of a binary where the two sides are perceived as exclusive opposites. However, fundamental to the postmodernist, poststructuralist and (post)colonialist projects is the concept of heterogeneity which replaces the ideology of modernist essentialism, universalism, and purity of binaries. The concept of heterogeneity is itself open to multiple interpretations. (McLaren 1991; Ahluwalia 2001).

The current global culture which we live in reflects this heterogeneity through the intersection of art, of high as well as popular culture, of peoples, economies, borders, information technology etc. This has therefore encouraged the production of a combination of those various intersections. To explain this combination or intersection of art, cultures, information technology, and peoples, the term hybridity comes to the fore to describe this phenomenon. The notion of hybridity is perceived as a site of agency, a strategy or process of survival and resistance and has been chosen by critics in (post)colonial debates (Young 2005). The biological meaning of hybridity namely, the offspring or product of a mixed union has attracted critics since this definition could also include an artificial or forced union or violent contact as is the case with colonialisation. This, therefore, makes hybridity appropriate to the study of (post)colonialism (Young 2005).

This section, therefore, deals with hybridity within a postcolonial context. Key authors or principal theorists who played a role in dislocating the term hybridity from its biological origin to the language and cultural field of power are Homi Bhabha, Gayatri Spivak, Néstor García Canclini, Mikhail Bakhtin, Jesús Martín-Barbero, and Edward Said amongst others (Kraidy 2005). This section will explore the notion of hybridity in a few selected works namely Homi K. Bhabha's work, Mikhail Bakhtin's analysis of the novel, as well as Néstor García Canclini's treatment of hybridity. African postcolonial critics will also form part of this section. These authors include Franz Fanon, Kwame Appiah, Charles Ngwenya and Achille Mbembe. These critics have been chosen since they offer insights from an assortment of disciplines and

themselves are committed to transdisciplinarity as well as intertextuality of critical research.

Bhabha grounds his formulation of hybridity in a combination of deconstruction and psychoanalysis by using Derrida, Freud and Lacan to describe the power relations between the coloniser and the colonised. However, Edward Said's (1978) Orientalism, enables Bhabha to problematize the binary opposition of East and West in Said's theory as a fixed system of representation. Bhabha argues that Said's refusal to engage with the different identities within Orientalist discourse namely the (Occident) West and the (Orient) East as well as the underdevelopment of Said's idea of vacillation is problematic. Since these economies threaten to split up Orientalist discourse and are described as binary opposites. Despite Bhabha's criticism of Said's work, he can develop his theory which engages this binary of identities as described in Orientalist discourse and develops ambivalence as a central theme or concept for Bhabha's theory of colonial discourse (Easthope 1998).

The intervention of Homi K. Bhabha's work within (post)colonial theory can be characterised as a non-essentialist theory of culture which both undermines the colonial grand narrative and provides a lens through which to identify the dynamics of alternative or counter-narratives. Bhabha focuses on two main ideas namely hybridity and mimicry. Cultural hybridity plays a central role in the work of Indian-American Homi K. Bhabha namely, in *The Location of Culture (1994).* Bhabha's interpretation of hybridity challenges the temporal dimension of colonial discourse namely it's logic of permanence and never changing identity and it is this temporal dimension of colonialism that is at the centre of Bhabha's work. Bhabha's hybridity moves away from the binary oppositions of colonial discourse where a clear distinction is made between the superior White coloniser who is better and more educated than the inferior native, foreign colonised (Mizutani 2009).

The fixed or rigid designations of identity within colonial discourse are opened up by the in-between spaces of cultural hybridity also known as the third space (Bhabha 1994). Culture for Bhabha is not static but is dynamic where disparate elements come together to form a whole which itself keeps changing (Bhabha 1994; Ahmad 1995). The polarising character of colonial discourse namely, the polarity of the self and the other is broken up. The focus of difference is no longer the difference

between the one or the other but something in-between. It is a fluid space where identities are not based on the past but the future and it is a place where difference negates binaries. Cultures are therefore regarded as spatially and temporally fluid (Bhabha 1994; Ahmad 1995). Bhabha suggests that the in-between space or third space of fixed identifications within colonial discourse are permeable where difference is entertained without an imposed hierarchy. This crossing of cultures where the negotiation of cultures, the exchange and intersections of cultural contents and values occur is where cultural hybridity begins (Bhabha 1994). Cultural borders are therefore permeable and in a sense exposes cultures to unintentional borrowings which in turn creates new cultural formations.

Even though the term hybridity suggests miscegenation, Bhabha's formulation of the term does not concern the racial dimension of miscegenation, neither does it intend to serve as a "moral ground for favouring racial mixture over the imperialist ideology of racial purity nor is it a conceptual yardstick for probing colonial histories to discover some objective, sociological realities about miscegenation" instead, Bhabha's hybridity is to be used metaphorically (Mizutani 2009:3-4). It assists the postcolonial critic to resist, upset and contaminate the imperial ideology, aesthetics and identity which otherwise would remain unmixed and uninfluenced by anything other than itself (Mizutani 2009; Kraidy 2005). In doing so postcolonial hybridity is celebrated as a symptom of resistance by natives striking back at colonial domination.

Through this subversion of dominant discourses also known as "cultures of postcolonial contra-modernity" (Bhabha 1994:6), Bhabha's emphasis on hybridity reappropriates dominant discourses through what he calls a hybridising process of mimicry (Kraidy 2005). Mimicry according to Bhabha "emerges as the representation of a difference that is itself a process of disavowal" (Bhabha 1994:86). Mimicry is described as a process of cultural repetition and not of cultural representation, hence it destabilizes and highlights the ambivalence of the authority of colonial discourse. It can be seen as the emergence of an agency which illustrates how the colonised subject perforates the hegemony of colonial discourse and asserts his or her identity which is perceived as 'menacing' to colonialism (Mizutani 2009). The root word of mimicry comes from the word mime which means to imitate but the Pocket Oxford dictionary goes further and describes mimicry as "the imitation of the speech or

mannerisms of another to entertain or ridicule" (Oxford 2001). Ridicule is fundamental to Bhabha's concept of mimicry since colonialism which is presented as a civilising mission automatically expects the colonised to play the role of imitators. It is only when the colonised tries to become like the coloniser that the colonised subject emerges from his or her state of barbarity (Bhabha 1994).

In an attempt to stabilise the cultural flux that characterised the relationship between coloniser and colonised a structure of superior coloniser and inferior colonised was put in place. The civilising mission which justified colonialism was underlined by the logic that because the inferior colonised are not exposed to the superior coloniser's super culture they needed to be elevated to the same level of civilisation and superiority as that of the coloniser to be exactly like the coloniser (Bhabha 1994). Hence the colonised had to mimic the coloniser. The problem however with this logic was that to make the colonised exactly as the coloniser would then erase the caveat between the superior coloniser and the inferior colonised and the justification for the civilising mission of colonialism would end at this point. This would undermine the entire colonial process. The assumed cultural gap was, therefore, important to maintain, hence the coloniser never expects the colonised to catch up. The emergence of the colonised subject out of barbarity would never be sufficient to make the coloniser exactly like the colonised and therefore the colonised subject would forever remain "not quite, not white" (Bhabha 1994:86).

Bhabha (1994:86) asserts that the idea of a "lesser culture mimicking the superior culture" turns the act into a mockery of the superior coloniser's culture. Mizutani (2009) argues that it is not so much the difference of the inferior, native colonised but it is its ambivalent resemblance that is more directly relevant. The hybrid subject still resembles and would still claim a certain identification with the White coloniser. The effect of mimicry therefore destabilises the White man as the author of colonial discourse (Mizutani 2009).

Some scholars celebrate cultural hybridity while others criticise it. Ania Loomba (1998) criticises the formulation of hybridity by stating that hybridity which was initially conceived as an antidote to the polarising character and the temporal dimension of colonial discourse is, in fact, itself a fixed, stable reduction of culture. Loomba states that the hybrid agents which are represented in colonial discourse

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are always presented in the same fashion and are ironically homogenous, unstable and undifferentiated. Instead of subverting and reappropriating dominant discourses hybridity risks becoming another kind of transcendentalism.

Mizutani (2009) argues that for hybridity to exist it needs the colonial discourse. It is only in the moment of colonial penetration that hybridity can exist. Resistance to colonial discourse only takes place after it has entered the discursive field of colonialism. This, therefore, legitimizes the colonial discourse instead of overcoming or subverting the dominant discourse of colonialism. Hybridity is, therefore, dependant on the polarising characteristic of colonial discourse for it to function and exist. Bhabha is therefore not completely free from the colonial West as the centre of history. For some cultural hybridity is a process which turns insults into strengths (Werbner et al. 2015) while others argue that cultural hybridity imposes systems of inequality (Buden 2005; Ahmad 1995). These scholars are of the view hybridity produces an ideology of a cosmopolitan cultural elite where culture romanticises global migration while negating the realities of refugees and the displaced which in turn underestimates the impact of the lack of belonging of this cultural elite (Blumentrath et al. 2007).

Néstor García Canclini, an Argentinian-Mexican cultural critic discusses cultural hybridity from a Latin American political and cultural perspective. García Canclini's understanding of hybridity runs parallel with Bhabha's formulation of hybridity in many ways. Both authors negate the polarising character and one-directional understanding of colonial discourse and believe that hybridity is a space of negotiation of cultures, they also seem to be of the view that hybridity is a space of resistance of the dominant colonial culture. It is within this space that a new heterogeneous product is formed where elements of the metropolitan culture (coloniser's culture) are incorporated and redefined by the peripheral culture (colonised's culture) therefore undermining the authority and authenticity of the metropolitan culture (Kraidy 2005).

García Canclini's interpretation of hybridity involves the production of a new material form which is created based on the negotiation with an old form, while Bhabha's hybridity simply operates within the spaces of in-betweenness (third space) which are carried by the official dominant culture. To further understand García Canclini's

formulation of hybridity, it is imperative to provide insight into the culture and politics of Latin America. Racial and cultural mixture arose after the imperial decolonisation movements in the Americas, this was viewed as imperative for national policy, hence Latin America adopted mestizaje as an official ideology of nation-building in the hope of forging national identities and easing tensions between the descendants of Spanish colonists and indigenous populations (Mignolo 2011). Mestizaje comes from the Latin word misticum and mixticium which means to mix. The French Word Metis which comes from the Portuguese mestizo or the Spanish mestizo first appeared in 1690 (Mignolo 2011). This provides insight into Latin American historical and socio-cultural unions, the diversity of cultural, geographical and linguistic mixture.

Therefore, hybridity for García Canclini (1989) is a tool of analysis for understanding the mixed reality of Latin America namely, the different historical periods and the present-day politics of economics and culture. Since there has rarely been a replacement of tradition by modernization, hybridity produces a "multitemporal heterogeneity" (García Canclini 1989:47) while the latter produces "impure cultures" (García Canclini 1989:249). Multitemporal heterogeneity speaks to the continued relevance of indigenous colonial and postcolonial cultural sediments of Latin America. As an example of this García Canclini makes mention of the contradictions in Latin American countries between modernism and modernization. He further explains this by referring to the 1824 Brazilian Constitution which declared the rights of man yet at the same time slavery remained a reality in Brazilian society. Another more recent example is the possession of certain items in the households of middle-class citizens from Mexico City to Santiago. The items which they possess in their households include books in a variety of languages, some households even hold indigenous crafts, satellite television and colonial furniture. The purpose of being in the possession of a mixture of traditional and modern objects not only makes these middle-class citizens feel that they are cultured but also that they have the ability to incorporate modern objects into traditional "matrices of social privilege and symbolic distinction" (Kraidy 2005).

García Canclini (1989) describes impure cultures and hybrid cultures as comics and graffiti which are the products of contradictions within and between political, cultural and economic territories. Graffiti he describes as a hybrid in style and intent since it "affirms territory but destructures …symbolic goods" (García Canclini 1989:249). Not

only are public walls used as a form of escape where the artist's views or ideologies are expressed but graffiti also synchronises fragmented messages with colour, words and typography (Kraidy 2005).

Hence, hybridity for García Canclini (1989) unlocks the uncertainty around modernity in Latin America which is pregnant with mixtures of modern and traditional discontinuities and are characterised by historical, global, national and local encounters between the traditional and modern. Most importantly his formulation of hybridity is political since it enables elite groups to assimilate cultural artefacts of the past into a hegemonic national framework and highlights the inclusion as well as the exclusion of traditional forms into modern practices. He postulates that Latin American modernity has "integrated traditions rather than caused their demise" and through oblique power, hybridity highlights how power operates in historically mixed, culturally hybrid and politically transitioning societies in Latin America (Dapia 2000; Kraidy 2005). García Canclini purports that there is no "pure" traditional or popular culture which is untouched by modernisation, industrialisation or urbanisation and therefore states that the issue is not how traditions should be conserved instead it is a question of how those traditions can be transformed and interact with modernity. This process he describes as reconversion. Therefore, the articulation of traditional forms into modern processes reveals the co-existence of both unchanged traditions and modern processes as a condition of hybridization (Dapia 2000).

Mikhal Bakhtin, a Russian literary theorist and philosopher of language developed the linguistic version of hybridity which was related to concepts of heteroglossia (linguistic duality), carnivalesque (a work which celebrates freedom, equality and abundance since it reverses the social hierarchy and celebrates socially unacceptable things), chronotope (literally means time-space which refers to how an author expresses time and space in a novel and makes them more visible) and polyphony (is borrowed from the world of music and is defined in terms of plurality which is referred to as independent unmerged voices as well as consciousnesses). Dialogism is a blanket term used to discuss these key theoretical concepts. A distinctive concept of language and a coherence amongst these theoretical ideas run through all the writings of Bakhtin namely, the pervasive presence of intertextuality, the denial of univocal meaning, and the infinite spiral of interpretation (Holquist 1990).

For this section, I would like to focus on the theoretical concept of heteroglossia which is informed by Bakhtin's theory of the novel. This theory is discussed in one of Bakhtin's essays namely, "Discourse in the Novel" which also forms part of *The Dialogic Imagination* (Bakhtin 1981). In this essay, Bakhtin discusses the dialogic nature of prose in the novel and describes how heteroglossia is epitomised in the novel. Bakhtin argues that traditional 'poetics' or literary language does not provide a suitable model for the interpretation of the novel which is intrinsically dialogic because it conceives of language as monologic and unitary. He, therefore, formulates a new type of methodology for analysing the novel which he refers to as the 'form-shaming ideology' of the novel. According to Bakhtin, language is characterised by heteroglossia and does not have a unitary system of shared linguistic norms and conversations. The word heteroglossia in Greek hetero means different and glossa means tongue, language. It is therefore a "pluralist ontology that allows for many frames of meaning" (Lemay-Herbert & Freedman 2017).

Bakhtin describes language as intrinsically dialogic by the mere fact that the utterance of a speaker or writer is double-voiced since the intended meaning of the speaker or writer is not the only interpretation of the utterance but meaning is also generated by the reception of the utterance as well as its interaction with other words directed at the same object (Morson & Emerson 1990). Bakhtin (1981:262) believes that the novel epitomises dialogical heteroglossia and argues that novelistic language is described as "a diversity of social speech types (sometimes even diversity of languages) and a diversity of individual voices, artistically organised". Poetry and drama as literary genres are viewed as traditionally stylistic, and for Bakhtin (1981:274):

> Stylistics locks every stylistic phenomenon into the monologic context of a given self-sufficient and hermetic utterance, imprisoning it as it were in the dungeon of a single context; it is not able to exchange messages with other utterances; it is not able to realise its own stylistic implications in a relationship with them; it is obliged to exhaust itself in its own single hermetic context.

Linguistic genres like drama and poetry lack a key mechanism namely, double-voicedness, a multiplicity of voices or a double-voiced discourse which is provided by

the writer or speaker in the novel. The novel therefore cannot be studied with the same set of ideas to language like drama and poetry instead, the novel is different and presumes a different relationship to language. The quality of heteroglossia which is pervasive in the novel gives rise to the dialogical quality of the novel, its open-endedness and its ability to continue to develop. This is in contrast to completeness and *finalizability* (Holquist 1990). This open-endedness which characterises heteroglossia can be described as hybridity. The process of hybridisation for Bakhtin is a dynamic on-going process while hybridity is the end result (Guignery, Pesso-Miquel & Specq 2011). His formulation of hybridity is described as a combination of two languages which undermines the notion of a monological authoritative discourse. Bakhtin views hybridity as a way of "subverting hegemonic discourse while adopting the latter's main elements" (Lemay-Herbert & Freedman 2017). Bakhtin (1981:358) aptly describes hybridity as:

> an utterance of two social languages a mixture of two languages within limits of a single utterance, an encounter, with the arena of utterance, between two different linguistics consciousnesses, separated from one another by epoch, by social differentiation or by some other factor.

Young (2005:20) states that Bakhtin's description of hybridity defines a language's ability to be "simultaneously the same but different". This is identified with Romantic irony since romantic thinking described each language as embodying a view of the world peculiarly its own. This notion of heteroglossia is relevant to culture since the emphasis is placed on the double-voicedness, multiple registers of meaning on which actors create their identities. Hybridisation can be viewed as a "process through which identities and cultures are forged with a 'multiplicity of outcomes' that depend on 'complex' and context-specific realities" (Lemay-Herbert & Freedman 2017). The self and cultures are therefore open to an ongoing open-ended interpretation.

Within the African context, Franz Fanon was one of the prominent writers in black Atlantic theory in an age of anti-colonial liberation struggle. He published amongst others, two key original works namely, *Black Skin, White Masks* (Fanon 1986) and *The Wretched of the Earth* (Fanon 1963). *Black Skin, White Mask* sought to understand the foundations of anti-Black racism "in the deepest

recesses of consciousness and the social world" (Drabinski 2019). After this Fanon focused his attention to Africa namely, North Africa, Algeria as well as sub-Saharan African Africa which he called "black Africa" and thus contributed to African (post)colonial philosophy (Drabinski 2019). Fanon was a West Indian psychoanalyst and social philosopher and had a very different interpretation of hybridity than that of Homi Bhabha. Even though Fanon recognised the blurring of boundaries between the colonised and the coloniser, he argued that hybridity had to be resisted since he perceived it as destructive. In his book *The Wretched of the Earth,* he purported that the colonial world can be described as a Manichean world where only black and white exists. It is within this world that colonial knowledge institutionalised the separation of black and white bodies (Sharp 2009). Fanon, therefore, argues that two elements of colonialism were in tension. These include:

1. Through colonial rule and education, the colonised were constantly told of the superiority of colonisers' values and that these should be aspired to and copied.
2. However, at the same time, there was the existence of what Fanon called 'the fact of blackness', in other words, how a colonised person can most immediately be identified is by the colour (or other features) of their skin. This 'fact of blackness' was a marker of inferiority which was inescapable.

(Sharp 2009:123)

In his book *Black Skin, White Masks* (Fanon 1986) Fanon argues that Black subjects within the colonial system were invited to mimic White culture. He supports Bhabha's view that the colonised would never be successful in copying or mimicking the coloniser's values which in turn maintains the superiority of the coloniser (Sharp 2009). This gap between the coloniser and colonised will ensure the subjection of the colonised and because of their racial difference, the colonised would be caught between being Black and their aspirations to the coloniser's culture. (Loomba 1998). This ambivalent position is not celebrated by Fanon, instead, he describes this as a traumatic condition. Psychic trauma occurs when the colonised subject realises that he will never be able to attain Whiteness which he was taught to desire and he will never be able to shed the Black skin

which he was taught to devalue. Fanon highlights the impact which the colonial system had on the Black subject and states: "Because it is a systematic negation of the other person and a furious determination to deny the other person all attributes of humanity, colonialism forces the people it dominates to ask themselves the question constantly: 'In reality, who am I?'" (Fanon 1963:25).

Within the colonial system, the White subject is not only desirable but also master, while the Black subject is subject to his White master. Sharp (2009:124) states, "Blackness confirms the White self, but Whiteness empties the black subject". The colonised subjects, therefore, cope with this condition by adopting White masks which are perceived to assist in the shedding of their Black skin. Fanon describes this as the alienation from the self. He further responds to this trauma by stating that the Black subject needs nothing else but to be liberated from himself. Fanon reverses the civilising mission of the coloniser as well as the idea that colonialism was needed because the colonised could not rule themselves. According to Fanon the colonised are not perceived as violent instead he regards colonialism as psychopathological and violent. He states that the act of conquest, as well as the mental power which the coloniser had over the colonised, was violent in itself.

In response to the violent nature of colonialism, Fanon argues that violence is inevitable in decolonisation and provides reasons for this. Firstly, he states that violence would loosen the grip of the coloniser, secondly, it would provide a common purpose for the colonised and lastly it would be a mechanism of cleansing and restoring the self-respect to the colonised (Sharp 2009).

Fanon's critique of hybridity is flawed since his theory does not include those subjects who are products of hybrid cultures. He only focuses on the opposites of colonial discourse in his analysis namely, either black or white. He does not address those subjects who form part of both cultures. Then the question of Fanon's use of violence. When using violence as a mechanism to loosen the colonial grip, does this not simply imply a reversal of roles instead of a form of liberation of the Black subject from himself?

Kwame Anthony Appiah, a British-Ghanaian philosopher and cultural theorist is known for his much-cited work namely *Is the "Post-" in "Postcolonial" the "Post-" in*

"Postmodern"?" (Appiah 1991*)*. In this piece, Appiah speaks to how different cultures interact and inevitably this results in hybridisation. He examines an art exhibition which was held in New York and focuses on a piece labelled, *Yoruba Man with a Bicycle.* Appiah describes this piece as follows in the exhibition catalogue:

> Man with a Bicycle
>
> Yoruba, Nigeria
>
> Wood and paint H. 35 in.
>
> The Newark Museum
>
> The influence of the Western world is revealed in the clothes and bicycles of this neo-traditional Yoruba sculpture which probably represents a merchant enroute to market
>
> (Appiah 1991:341)

To provide a brief background of the art exhibition, Appiah states that the art pieces at this specific exhibition belonged to the neo-traditional genre. The pieces were identified as the property of ethnic groups and not of individuals or workshops and are labelled with the names of the people who own these private collections. The art pieces are produced for the West. The specific art piece which he discusses is a sculpture of a Yoruba man with a bicycle. What makes this piece unique is the fact that the Yoruba culture, as well as stories about Yoruba culture, are made available through the object and this distinguishes it from folk art from elsewhere (Appiah 1991).

In his analysis of this exhibition, Appiah concludes and refers to the transformative nature of globalisation. He suggests that with the interaction and circulation of cultures, we all influence one another, hence there is no longer a pure African culture. Said aptly describes this and states:

> No one today is purely one thing. Labels like, Indian, or woman, or Muslim or American are no more than starting-points, which if followed into an experience for only a moment are quickly left behind. Imperialism consolidated the mixture of cultures and identities on a global scale

Even though colonialism was fundamentally unjust and brought about a separation between the coloniser and the colonised, it bound up different cultures, peoples and societies together in the sense that Europeans and natives influenced one another's cultures. This implied a commonality between the colonised and the coloniser which brought about a sense of hybridity and transculturation which (post)colonialism shares with globalisation (Ahluwalia 2001). The art piece *Yoruba Man with a Bicycle* was produced and illustrates the "manner in which the bicycle has been appropriated, making it an African object and machine…it has become part of the aesthetic imagination which is reproduced in contemporary African art" (Ahluwalia 2001:125). Globalisation which is reflected in this art piece is also reflected locally in Africa. Appiah aptly describes the art piece as follows:

> Yoruba man with a Bicycle was produced by someone who did not care that the bicycle is the White man's invention- it is not there to be the other to the Yoruba self, it is there because someone cared for its solidity; it is there because it will take us farther than our feet will take us; it is there because machines are now as African as novelists… and as fabricated as the kingdom of Nakem.

(Appiah 1991:357)

Appiah, therefore, confirms the intermingling, interdependence, and the influence that one culture has on the other. We are influenced by one another that the artefacts which we use almost becomes normality to the local culture. He then embraces hybridity.

Achille Mbembe, a Cameroonian social theorist in his best-known text namely, *On the Postcolony* (2001*)* contributes to the theoretical literature on (post)colonialism. *On the Postcolony* is a collection of critical essays which explores concepts of subjectivity and power relations within postcolonial Africa (Abrahamsen 2003). In this book, Mbembe describes the complexities of African life for Africans. It was written in the context of African colonisation by European powers (from the late 19th century to early 1960s) which ended with decolonisation after World War II.

Mbembe's description of hybridity in postcolonial Africa is described as a form of resistance. According to Abrahamsen (2003:207), "hybridity is intimately connected to resistance since it signifies the creativity and adaptability of the subaltern in the face of power and demonstrates that the colonial encounter cannot be understood in terms of a one-way relationship of domination". This preoccupation with resistance is a defining feature of postcolonial literature and is found in Achille Mbembe's work. How resistance operates within a structure of power is viewed as subtle and not necessarily as in direct relationship or opposition to power. He seeks to recover the marginalised voice of the African and retells history from a counter-hegemonic narrative hence, destabilizing the hegemonic narratives through which the West has constructed the other. This in itself is a form of resistance (Abrahamsen 2003).

In doing this Mbembe has given new meaning to the space in which we understand the world and thus have created a space for alternative ways of acting and being. He highlights the everyday form of resistance of the African and how this may give rise to alternative ways of bringing about social and political change. Mbembe describes power in the postcolony as grotesque and obscene when he talks about the glorification of leaders in state ceremonies and official parades. He states that "the ordinary person is not a passive object of this obscene display of power and wealth but regularly mocks and ridicules it through, vernacular rewritings of party slogans, through gossip, and through popular cartoons" (Abrahamsen 2003:208). The ordinary person can render the state powerless through ridicule and mockery. He or she can avoid the exploitive reactions that political opposition would invite. Through ridicule and mockery, the power of the state is demystified in subtle ways, in other words, it is not opposed directly but operates inside a structure of power that it both challenges and helps to sustain (Abrahamsen 2003). Hence, Mbembe creates an alternative creative space for the subaltern to subtlety resist the power of the state.

Contemporary discourse of hybridity

In his book *What is Africanness?* (Ngwena 2018) Charles Ngwena problematizes notions of African identity which are singular, essential, ahistorical, and implicating their nativising effects. He states that Africanness cannot be reduced to the cultural or racial essence which is articulated in both colonial discourses and some anti-

colonial discourses. There is a need to move away from the cultural and raced essence of African identity and to accept that history contaminates existing cultures which in turn implies that Africanness is rooted in and is a product of the unalterable effects of transculturation. African cultures, therefore, possess elements of the past, the present and other cultures which makes it subject to pluralisation. He suggests that race should be deconstructed for Africanness to be an inclusive category whereby difference is not oppositional but relational. This is in contrast to colonial ideologies of the self where external differences determined relationships and where difference as an expression of metaphysical polarities was at the forefront of colonial discourse (Ngwena 2018).

Ngwena's definition of Africanness is based on Stuart Hall's (1990) cultural theory of identity which is multiple, conjunctural identifications, an identity which is always becoming, hence a heterogeneous notion of African identity. In other words, Ngwena argues that in thinking about African identities we should recognise new identities and new ethnicities which exist side by side with old identities and ethnicities. It should also be inclusive of the multiplicity of peoples and cultures as well as their interdependence on one another. Africanness and African identities should "remain pluralistic explanatory devices that are open to democratic iteration, multiple mappings of Africa, heterogeneous identification and transformation rather than epistemologies that are normatively fixed and immune to change" (Ngwena 2018:147). Ngwena aptly describes the hybrid nature of Africanness as follows:

> My argument, therefore, is that an African episteme should, above all, address the present and be historically situated. If we wish to address the African present in a continent that is radically changed from its past, it is no longer possible to retrieve a pure African episteme or to construct an African episteme at the exclusion of its Western counterpart as the two have become interimbricated.... An African episteme, 'even in the process of its reconstitution' cannot divest itself of the temporal present with its historical entanglements, ambivalences and cross-cultural hybridity.

> (Ngwena 2018:140,141)

By shifting away from the two main historical currents of the logic of African identity or Africanness namely colonial discourses and some anti-colonial discourses, where Africanness is viewed as a homogeneous, stable identity, Ngwena argues for a heterogeneous and hybrid nature of African identity which is open to historical entanglements, always becoming, and a productive identity.

Ngwena (2018) also expounds on the African identity within postmodern society. He refers to Fraser (2000) who warns against claiming Africanness as an 'authentic' identity in a postmodern world. She states that in a postmodern world where there is an increase in accelerated migration, global communication and transcultural interaction we should be cautious about denying the complexity of peoples' lives and the multiplicity of their identifications. We therefore cannot claim an 'authentic' collective identity of Africanness. We cannot view Africanness as a stable category of nature or a transcendent singularity instead it is a social construction which includes cosmopolitanism, migration and class. The heterogeneity of Africanness needs to be emphasised (Ngwena 2018:142). Simon Gikandi further emphasises the fluidity of African identity. He states that Africanness is made up of both routes and roots (rooted in local geographies). We have to acknowledge the cleavages of difference within African identity, we need to celebrate and embrace its state of cultural hybridity.

Ngwena encourages that we no longer conceptualise African identity as in times past but instead we need to be attentive to the pluralistic articulations of African subjectivities and the recognition of the emergence of new identities and ethnicities with postmodern Africa. He further states that there is no "single racial or cultural signifier for Africa, such a marker is absent, even if we can imagine it (Ngwena 2018:148). He also states "at the same time my argument is not that Africans merely occupy geographical space. Rather, it is that they comprise a social group with identifiable equality needs" ...You are African if you say you are. Africanness is belonging" (Ngwena 2018:148). This definition of Africanness is a good introduction to my interpretation of the multi-flex neo-hybrid African postmodern identity which I explain in the following section.

Towards a Multi-flex Neo-hybrid African postmodern identity

The concept of a multi-flex, neo-hybrid identity that I propose here has two main objectives: firstly, to relinquish the African identity's association with the dominant narrative of its conformity to a single European ideology of beauty and identity. At the same time this multi-flex, neo-hybrid identity does not negate the past but consists of vestiges of colonialism and apartheid yet are exposed to the postmodern era of the purchasing of identities through the market. So in other words even though the African female wears hair that resembles Eurocentric beauty which could be linked to false consciousness, she does not shy away from wearing and flaunting Afrocentric hairstyles either. She wears natural as well as artificial hair, not being loyal to any specific hairstyle. This then links with third-wave feminism and voice listening nexus where a diversity/ plethora of hair(styles) namely, natural and artificial hair which is encouraged and flaunted. Secondly, to propose an African identity which is re-empowered and liberated through agency, choice and active participation in the construction of its own identity.

Current literature on African hair and identity tend to engage African hair from the perspective of a colonial legacy through a postcolonial lens. In other words, postcolonial narratives on African hair and identity emphasise the impact of colonialism on the African identity and showcases the challenges which the Black African woman continues to deal with in a postcolonial society (Oyedemi 2016; Thompson 2009). These narratives either reject the ideology of the European standard of beauty or some narratives suggest a continual acceptance of the colonial ideology of beauty and views natural hair as unacceptable while the emulation of Whiteness regarding hair is seen as desirable. What these postcolonial narratives lack is the view that the Black African woman in the postcolonial society does not only acknowledge colonialism's impact on her hair and identity but embraces both the pre-colonial history as well as the colonial history which together impacts the construction of her identity. This re-framing or re-questioning of the post-colonial narratives of African hair is imperative to this study.

Today the postcolonial Black African woman is presented with a multiplicity of hairstyles to choose from. Hair and hairstyles do not only communicate our identity but are also a tool used to assert pride and to navigate various identities. The media for example play an important role in presenting a panoply of hairstyles to African

women in the process of constructing a multi-flex neo-hybrid identity that decentres the ideology of rigid racial identity. By consuming these various hairstyles African women can navigate through various identities in the postmodern presentation of self.

Before describing the difference between the hybrid and the multi-flex neo-hybrid identity I would like to expound on these two terms namely multi-flex and neo-hybrid. Multi-flex is a combination of two words namely, multiple and flexible. Flex comes from Latin word which means to bend in many ways or directions while, multi means multiple/many/myriads. Together the word multi-flex means the following: a myriad of bends in many different directions; it is a complex style of identities encompassing numerous formation strategy patterns designed to bring about perpetual change in the identity of the postmodern African woman. The individual, however, is in control of her identity formation and multi-flex consists of the myriad variety of combinations of borrowed identities which will never remain the same but is under constant construction. Then the word neo-hybrid is composed of two concepts namely, neo which means new/revived/ modified while hybrid means composed of heterogeneous elements. In other words, when these two concepts are put together neo-hybrid means a modified composition of an assortment of heterogeneous identities.

The difference between the hybrid and the multi-flex neo-hybrid identity is illustrated in table 5.1.

Table 5.1: The difference between a hybrid and a multi-flex, neo-hybrid identity.

Hybrid Identity	Multi-flex Neo-Hybrid Identity
Mixture	Choice- agency, capitalism (market)
Imposition (colonial) assertion (traditional)	Freedom
Mixed- rigid (e.g. bi-racial)	Navigatory, flexible (the individual can easily navigate and adapt to various identities and fit in with those identities

First of all, the multi-flex neo-hybrid identity provides the African woman with *agency* and the ability to choose which identity she would like to portray for a specific period. What do we mean by choice, agency and capitalism when it comes to the multi-flex neo hybrid identity? To understand this, I would like to explain this further. The African woman in the postmodern age is allowed to choose from a multiplicity of hairstyles which are presented to her through the market. We have already established that through history hairstyles communicated an identity since it

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communicated race, class, and beauty (hooks 1992; Can-Tamakloe 2011; Oyedemi 2016). Hairstyles worn or consumed by women today continue to communicate identity. I would then propose that hairstyles and identities are connected, hairstyles are identities which are consumed by African women.

The identity choice of the African women is hers to make and she inherently has the power to determine a specific identity through the hairstyles which she chooses to consume. Her power/agency is made manifest through her choice. Other authors feel that agency is defined in the presence or the absence of choice (Inesi et al. 2011).

However, the agency which the African woman has can be described as power or the re-empowerment of her identity. This does not mean that the African woman is dependent on the market to create her identity, the market simply provides her with a multiplicity of hairstyles. The market does not impose an identity on the African woman. Instead, the market is dependent on her since she becomes the creator of her own identity. It is the individual who creates the capital for the market. In other words, the individual supports the market. This argument is supported by Firat and Venkatesh (1995) when they state that in the postmodern age a reversal of consumption and production is prevalent. In the modern age, primacy was given to production whereas in the postmodern age primacy is now given to consumption. Hence the consumer now becomes the creator of meaning and consumption becomes a process through which an individual can define his or herself and their identity (Lee 2009).

However, according to poststructuralists which include Butler, Foucault and Derrida, identities whether forced upon individuals or not, represent oppressive attachments to certain social categories. These social categories have themselves been constructed through hegemonic networks of power (Frueh 2003; McQueen 2015). Butler tends to confirm my argument in her explanation of agency. She purports that resisting forced identity produces a paradox since imposed identities are prescriptive or dictated by power. These prescriptive identities always fail to fully describe individuals which produce the possibility of resistance (Alcoff 2000). This resistance can be viewed as agency. The implication this has on the multi-flex neo-hybrid identity of the African woman is that the market doesn't fully describe this identity but

simply showcases the multiplicity of identities to the postmodern African woman who eventually has the power to ultimately decide which identity to choose and consume.

When the multi-flex neo-hybrid identity is compared to the hybrid identity, the identity of the hybrid simply states that there is a coming together of identities with no choice given to the individual. Instead of being provided with a choice, the hybrid identity imposes an identity onto the individual which is the same principle as the imposition of identities during the colonial discourse. Individuals were not provided with a choice of which identity to accept instead they were attached to identities which were imposed on them by the colonialists.

This leads me to my second comparison of the hybrid and the multi-flex neo-hybrid identity. The multi-flex, neo-hybrid identity which is free from the subjugation of conforming to a single identity accepts all the identities which she creates through her hairstyle choices. She has agency and the *freedom* to choose which identity she would like to accept for that specific period. The African woman can change her identity without any constraint. She can easily change her identity and not be constrained by her present state or her present hairstyle. She has the freedom to change her hairstyle at any time.

How freedom is defined may differ. Freedom could mean the yearning for emancipation from gender, colonialism or economic dependence. Contemporary philosophers and politicians believe that freedom and identity are compatible with one another thus it is always interdependent, it stands in continuity with one another and not in conflict with one another (Kaul 2013). Weir on the other hand claims that identity is conceived as oppression or entrapment and is antithetical to freedom by referring to Foucault's definition of identity where identity is power-laden. In other words, we are not truly free in choosing our identity but our identity is imposed onto us by the powers that be (Weir 2013).

Charles Taylor refers to freedom as a "hyper good" which supersedes all others as it provides us with the greatest of sense meaning. It was considered a modern myth which referred to the liberation of individuals (Taylor 1989). Lyotard (1984:31) supports Taylor when he states that freedom is a key modern good or a means of legitimation as it forms part of one of "two major versions of the narrative of

legitimation". The narratives include what modern societies define as true which forms the foundation for decisions concerning which knowledge is worth pursuing. Freedom as a narrative sees "humanity as the hero of liberty" (Lyotard 1984:31). As a legitimation of true knowledge, Lyotard (1984:31) states that "in the context of the narrative of freedom, the State receives its legitimacy not from itself but the people while at the same time he perceives this narrative as a means by which the state gains power over the individual in the name of progress, thus paradoxically freedom can be defined as the means of legitimising the exercise of power rather than the expression of liberty of an individual.

Pettit (2003) describes social freedom as option-freedom and sometimes as agency-freedom. The theory of option-freedom describes freedom as non-limitation, given its indifference to the source of influence whereby freedom is limited. This also describes the amount of choice which is available to the agent, "where the quantity of choice is taken to be a function of the character of the options accessible to an agent and the mode of access that the agent has to those options" (Pettit 2003:12). In other words, what the agent is at liberty to do. This option is important when it comes to economists and the market since economists are concerned with how markets and other systems perform in facilitating the freedom of choice. On the other hand, agency-freedom describes freedom as non-domination. This form of freedom is more complex as the status of the agent is protected and recognised with his or her fellow citizens. Agency-freedom is described as a free person or citizen who enjoys equal protection with others under the law of society.

About the definitions of freedom above, my definition of freedom about the African woman's multi-flex neo-hybrid identity can be described as an identity which is not power-laden, which is not an entrapment but an identity which provides the greatest sense of meaning to the African woman since she has the liberty to choose her own identity. My definition supports the theory of option-freedom since the African woman is provided with a multiplicity of identities or hairstyles from the market. This is in contrast to the hybrid identity which imposes a traditional and colonial assertion of identity on the African woman.

Thirdly, the multi-flex, neo-hybrid identity is *flexible* as the individual can easily *navigate* and adapt to various identities and fit in with those identities it created. To

illustrate the flexibility of the multi-flex neo-hybrid identity I would like to make use of Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari's (1987) description of arboreal and rhizomatic classification systems. Deleuze and Guattari (1987) describe arboreal systems by referring to the structure of a tree where order is strictly hierarchical namely from the superior to the inferior (Stagnoll 2005:13). This structure or system is viewed as static or fixed where lesser ideas flow into and are supported by a central trunk. This type of system suppresses creativity as well as prevents superior concepts from being criticised. The rhizomatic classification on the other hand is in contrast to this system in that this system is structured like grass rather than like a tree.

This structure is different since it can be described as a stem which is different from the roots of a tree. Any part of the rhizome can be connected to anything else as it creates connections between semiotic chains or organisations of power, whereas the root of a tree has a fixed hierarchal system which has a starting point and a linear branching out. In the rhizomatic system knowledge does not flow linearly but in all directions at the same time as there is a causal relationship between the past and present understanding of knowledge. A multiplicity is characteristic of a rhizome, it has "neither subject or object only determination, magnitudes and dimensions" (Deleuze & Guattari 1987:30). There are no hierarchies in a rhizomatic system and operates without boundaries and negates binaries, instead, it connects and reconnects over gaps, while at the same time reterritorializes and deterritorializes itself through hybrid connections. The multiplicity of the rhizomatic system can be described as a union which contains different parts which in itself are ever-changing. The dimensions within this system are defined through its ability to transform, hence it is in contrast to the stability of the arboreal system (Grosz 1994).

Deleuze and Guattari's definition of the rhizomatic system is appropriate in defining the multi-flex neo-hybrid identity of the Africa woman since she can navigate from one identity to the next or even to navigate to more than one identity simultaneously without being loyal to any identity. It is this heterogeneous, flexible and navigatory nature which is characteristic of the multi-flex neo-hybrid identity of the African woman, whereas the hybrid identity purports a rigid, although mixed identity, which is not able to navigate from one identity to the next.

The multi-flex, neo-hybrid theory does not only apply to hair and identity but it can also be applied to music consumption for example. Individuals who choose to listen to a certain type of /a certain genre of music tend to associate themselves with the type of culture associated with that music. However, an individual does not have to remain loyal to one type of music genre but has the liberty to listen to and enjoy music from multiple genres. A critique of this navigatory identity is that it is not centred and runs the risk of being undeveloped. My response to that is that the multi-flex- neo-hybrid identity is not a root but an anchor. An anchor is where you choose to situate or locate your identity. The African woman, therefore, chooses where to anchor her identity by the hairstyle she chooses to wear.

5.4. Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter defined hybridity by linking it to post-structuralism and (post)colonialism. This chapter also compared the hybrid identity to the multi-flex-neo-hybrid identity of the African woman. This multi-flex, neo-hybrid identity provides a theoretical backdrop for the analysis of data collected for this study. It explores if there are generational differences in the perception of identity through hair among South African women and if media representation of hair is colonial, westernised, hybridised or multi-flex, neo-hybrid. The following chapter will discuss the research methodology of this study.

CHAPTER 6
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

6.1. Introduction

This study seeks to critically explore social narratives of South African women's hair and how the media perpetuate the construction of a postmodern African female identity within the backdrop of the commodification of hair and identity in a globalised market and beauty environment. The study used a qualitative research approach. According to Jackson, Drummond and Camara (2007), "qualitative research is primarily concerned with understanding human beings' experiences in a humanistic, interpretive approach" (Jackson et al. 2007:21). The study used a qualitative approach to explain in detail the subjective perceptions of the social narratives of South African women's hair. The study also seeks to use an interpretive approach for media perpetuation of the construction of a postmodern African female identity through the commodification of hair.

6.2. Research Method

This study will be a qualitative research approach. According to Denzin and Lincoln (2002) to understand human experiences in an interpretive, humanistic approach, qualitative research is used. It involves an interpretive approach to its subject matter in an attempt to make sense of phenomena in terms of the meaning which people bring to them. The study used a qualitative approach to explain in detail the subjective perceptions of the social narratives of South African women's hair as well as provide an interpretive approach to media perpetuation of the construction of a postmodern African female identity through the commodification of hair. The benefit of this approach is that it provides an in-depth description of participants' attitudes, feelings, and experiences and interprets the meanings of their actions (Denzin 1989).

6.3. Research Design

An interpretivist paradigm will be conducted for this study. According to Reeves and Hedberg (2003:32), the interpretivist paradigm focuses on understanding the world from the subjective experiences of individuals. Meaning oriented methodologies such as participant observation and interviews make use of subjective experiences of individuals. These subjective experiences are then the reasons which lie behind social action and informs the full complexity of human sense-making (Kaplan & Maxwell 2005). The interpretivist paradigm assists in understanding firstly, the hair experiences, hair choices and the impact this has on the identity of Black and Coloured colonial-born as well as Black and Coloured post-apartheid born South African females. Secondly, the interpretivist paradigm assists in how the media perpetuate the construction of a postmodern African female identity within the backdrop of the commodification of hair and identity. The benefits of an interpretivist paradigm are the following: Firstly, through an interpretivist paradigm researchers can deeply understand and describe events, objects and humans in a social context. Secondly, the researcher can probe the interviewee's values, perceptions, thoughts, prejudices, feelings etc. Therefore, gaining valuable data which provide better insights into phenomena (Wellington & Szczerbinski 2007). Studies which made use of the interpretivist paradigm are Ellis-Hervey et al. (2016) which discusses the psychology of hair and self-perception and Bellinger (2007) which discusses why African women try to obtain "good hair". This design is of benefit to my study as it enables me to gain a deeper understanding of the phenomenon through the eyes of colonial-born Black and Coloured females as well as born-free Black and Coloured females of South Africa.

Coupled with the interpretivist paradigm, a phenomenological approach is adopted for this study. Phenomenology is concerned with peoples' lived experiences of a particular issue which is being researched. It is the study of phenomena as they appear in our experience or how we experience things (Maypole & Davies 2001). A phenomenological approach was used on the colonial-born Coloured female participants of the study. Personal story interviews namely, intergenerational phenomenological narratives will be used to gain a first-hand encounter of the historical context and current hair trends that influence the African female's choice of hairstyles. The benefits of a phenomenological approach include the following:

Firstly, the researcher can obtain first-hand knowledge about what participants experience through subjective and direct responses (Maxwell 2013). Secondly, the human factor is the greatest strength of a phenomenological approach (Patton 2002). Lastly, as new experiences emerge the research can make revisions along the way. This enables the researcher to create patterns and themes which can be reviewed by the participants (Miles, Huberman & Saldana 2014) By using the phenomenological approach I obtained first-hand knowledge of the colonial-born Coloured female participants' historical and current experience of hairstyle choices. Through direct and subjective responses from the colonial-born Coloured female participants I made revisions along the way and constructed themes which were reviewed by the participants. An example of the phenomenological approach includes Eddles-Hirsch's (2015) study on phenomenology and education research.

6.4. Sampling

To examine how the media, communicate certain ideological representations of African women through their hair, I selected six editions of *DRUM Hair magazine* from 2014-2019 editions. *DRUM Hair magazine* which is an extension of the normal *DRUM magazine* was chosen because the magazine focuses on hair specifically African hair. *DRUM Hair magazine* also provides an assortment of hairstyles for the African woman. Non-probability sampling was used, specifically, convenience, purposive and snowball sampling methods were chosen for this study. With non-probability sampling researchers "recruit only specific populations to investigate a specific topic or when the total population is unknown or unavailable. There are four main types of non-probability sampling namely, convenience, purposive, snowball and theoretical sampling" (Lopez & Whitehead 2013:124). A sample is chosen based on what the researcher reflects as representative elements (Bless, Smith & Sithole 2013:172).

The sample which formed part of *convenience sampling* was *DRUM Hair magazine*. Convenience sampling according to Lopez and Whitehead (2013) is "the most common form of qualitative sampling and occurs when people are invited to participate in the study because they are conveniently (opportunistically) available concerning access, location, time and willingness. Convenience sampling is a

relatively fast and easy way to achieve the sample size for a study" (Lopez & Whitehead 2013:124).

DRUM Hair magazine was first published in 2012. It is an annual publication except 2014 where two magazines were published. In this study one issue per year was analysed namely, 2014-2019 as only those editions were available at the time. Each cover story which is analysed, consisted of an average of ten pages. Refer to table 6.1 below which provides a detailed description of each edition.

Table 6.1: Description of each *DRUM Hair* magazine edition.

Magazine Edition	Cover Story Description
DRUM Hair Edition 2014	Actress Terry Pheto talks about not being afraid of trying new hairstyles to transform her look. From natural hair to weaves and braids.
DRUM Hair Editions 2015	The actress Nomzamo Mbatha talks about her transition to natural hair, her top styles and how new styles make her feel.
DRUM Hair Edition 2016	Actress and media personality Boity Thulo talks about how she discovered a completely different side of the hair world when she moved out of her comfort zone.
DRUM Hair Edition 2017	Actress Jessica Nkosi is the queen of wigs and weaves and talks about the first wig she fell in love with as well as her favourite hairstyles and hair role models.
DRUM Hair Edition 2018	Actress Enhle Mbali Maphumulo talks about the highlights and lowlights of her hair.
DRUM Hair Edition 2019	Actress Ayanda Borotho speaks about trying out new hairstyles and experimenting with trends. She also talks about her hair journey and the impact that going natural has had on her life.

Purposive sampling was also used for the selection of the personal story interviews or intergenerational phenomenological narratives of five colonial-born Coloured female participants who represent three generations. With purposive sampling participants are recruited according to pre-selected criteria relevant to a particular research question and is used to provide information-rich cases for in-depth study. This is because participants are those who have the required status or experience or are known to have special knowledge to provide the information researchers seek. (Lopez & Whitehead 2013:124-125). Hence the five colonial-born Coloured female participants met the criteria required for this study namely, they are colonial-born Coloured females from Cape town who are biologically related. It was difficult to obtain three generations of colonial-born Coloured females from Cape Town but I know this family and I approached them to participate in this study.

Five colonial-born Coloured females from Cape Town between the ages of 48-108 who are biologically related forms part of this sample group. Table 6.2 below describes each colonial-born Coloured female participant.

Table 6.2: Colonial-born Coloured female participant information.

Participant Number	Age and Occupation	Hairstyle Type at time of interview
Participant 1	70-year-old, a retired teacher	Shoulder length straightened hair
Participant 2	104-year-old, a retired teacher	Very short grey natural hair, covered with a hat
Participant 3	49-year-old, home executive	Long straightened hair
Participant 4	62- year- old, nurse	Short straight hair
Participant 5	48-year-old, home executive	Long straightened hair

These participants were chosen because they experienced White cultural domination during colonialism and apartheid in South Africa. They were born and bred in Cape Town and seemed to be well acquainted with the city's history and culture. The reason why Coloureds from Cape Town were chosen is that Cape Town is a significant geographical area in the colonial history of South Africa. The Cape Colony is where colonialism of South Africa began and where the colonial social construction of race and citizenship in South Africa started. This sample group, therefore, provided a rich background to the Coloured history and culture of Cape Town. Intergenerational phenomenological narratives were used to explore the historical experiences of hair and identity amongst three generations of Coloured women. According to Bevan (2014), the phenomenological approach to interviews

applies questions based on themes of experience contextualisation, apprehending the phenomenon and its clarification.

The sample which formed part of *snowball sampling* was 11 born-free Coloured females between the ages of 18-25. In this method, participants provided a referral namely, others who also fit in the population parameters of the study, and who could and wanted to partake in the study (du Plooy-Cilliers et al. 2014:143). In selecting the born-free Coloured women, I had approached a 19- year- old Coloured woman and recruited her for the study. She was also able to introduce me to other women she knew, who also equally volunteered to participate.

Table 6.3 below provides detailed information about each born-free Coloured female participant.

Table 6.3: Born-free Coloured female participant information.

Participant Number	Age and Occupation	Hairstyle type at the time of the focus group discussion
Participant 1	19-year-old student	Natural unrelaxed hair styled in a ponytail
Participant 2	19-year-old who works as an employee at a restaurant	Relaxed hair which she wore in a bun hairstyle
Participant 3	18-year-old student	Natural hair with braids
Participant 4	18-year-old who works as an employee at a restaurant	Natural hair in a bun hairstyle
Participant 5	25 –year- old musician	Short straight hair which was styled in a wet look
Participant 6	18-year-old-student	Chemically relaxed hair which she wore in a bun
Participant 7	18-year-old-student	Natural hair in a short afro
Participant 8	18-year-old-student	Natural hair in a short afro
Participant 9	18-year-old-student	Natural hair and styled it in a ponytail
Participant 10	18-year-old-student	Short bob styled wig
Participant 11	18-year-old-student	Chemically relaxed hair styled in a bun

Eight colonial-born Black females between the ages of 47-83 also formed part of the snowball sampling group. In selecting the colonial-born Black women, I had approached a 47- year- old Black woman and recruited her for the study. She was also able to introduce me to other women she knew, who also equally volunteered to participate. Table 6.4 below provides detailed information about each colonial-born Black female participant

Table 6.4: Colonial- born Black female participant information.

Participant Number	Age and Occupation	Hairstyle Type at time of the interview
Participant 1	50-year-old, Social Worker	Natural hair with hair extensions namely braids
Participant 2	54-year-old, Senior Education Specialist	Short permed (chemically altered) hair
Participant 3	83-year-old, Retired nurse	Short natural hair
Participant 4	72-year-old, Janitor	Short natural hair (her hair is covered with a headwrap/scarf)
Participant 5	47-year-old, Lecturer	Wig hairstyle
Participant 6	50-year-old, Lecturer	Natural Afro hair
Participant 7	61-year-old, Lecturer	Permed (chemically altered) hair
Participant 8	49-year-old, lecturer	Dreadlocks

Six born-free Black females between the ages of 21-25 also formed part of the snowball sampling group. In selecting the born-free Black women, I had approached a 21- year- old born-free black woman and recruited her for the study. She was also able to introduce me to other women she knew, who also equally volunteered to participate. Table 6.5 below provides detailed information about each born-free Black female participant.

Table 6 5: Born-free Black female participant information.

Participant Number	Age and Occupation	Hairstyle Type at the time of the focus group discussion
Participant 1	21-year-old student	Cornrow hairstyle
Participant 2	25-year-old student	Brazilian bob wig
Participant 3	24-year-old student	Braided hairstyle
Participant 4	23-year-old student	Peruvian weave
Participant 5	21-year-old student	Artificial dreadlocks
Participant 6	21-year-old-student	Chemically relaxed hair covered in a head wrap

Black and Coloured women have purposively been chosen as they first form part of the category of 'African' women in South Africa and secondly, Coloured and Black women are two racial groups who were criticised for their hair texture during colonialism and apartheid (Posel 2011). It was also important to compare and contrast the personal stories of colonial-born Black and Coloured females to the personal stories of born-free Black and Coloured females. This was important to establish whether the colonial-born groups and the born-free groups share the same view of hair and identity in a (post)colonial, post-apartheid, postmodern environment, and to examine to what extent have those born in colonial South Africa shaped by

White cultural domination shed their colonial construction of hair in a post-apartheid liberated South Africa.

This sample group was suitable for this study because firstly, *DRUM Hair* magazine focuses on African hair namely, Black hair and secondly the social narratives of South African women namely, Coloured and Black women who experienced cultural White domination during colonialism and apartheid could critically be explored.

6.5. Population

According to Creswell (2003), the population of a study refers to an entire group that possess some common attribute or characteristic. This characteristic qualifies participants to be population members. A population can be divided into two groups namely, the target population which is the entire group of people or objects to which the researcher intends to generalise the findings of the study. Then the accessible population is the quota of the population to which the researcher has access to. This can be a subset of the population (Creswell 2003). When applied to this study the target population and the accessible population can be described in this manner:

6.5.1. The target population includes:

- Print media; (specifically hair magazines);

- Born-frees and colonial-born South Africans

6.5.2. The accessible population:

- *DRUM Hair magazine* since it focuses on African hair specifically;

- Born-free Black and Coloured female participants (these include South African female participants who were born post-1994 and beyond. These participants did not experience legislated oppression.

- as well as colonial-born Black and Coloured female participants (this included those South African women born before 1994 and who experienced legislated oppression such as discrimination of hair texture as well as experiencing cultural White domination.

6.6. Data Collection

Data was collected from print media content material namely, *DRUM Hair* magazine (editions 2014-2019) due to the assortment of hairstyles and identities it provides for African women. The cover stories of each magazine which consisted of an average of ten pages per cover story were collected. These cover stories are interviews which *DRUM Hair* magazine conducted with local Black female South African celebrities. The celebrities were interviewed about their hair(styles) as well as their hair journeys. Coupled with the interview were images of the celebrities who wore various hairstyles which formed part of the cover stories.

Data was also collected in the form of *semi-structured interviews/personal accounts/stories* or phenomenological narratives from colonial born Coloured and colonial-born Black female participants. According to Lopez and Whitehead (2013), "semi-structured interviews have an interview guide providing a set of questions for discussion. The questions are set to ensure the research questions or objectives are covered. However, there is the freedom to ask any question in any order, following tangents or seeking clarification of previous answers or elaboration of responses" (Lopez & Whitehead 2013:128). This method was applied to gain a first-hand encounter of the historical experiences of African women and to identify the hair struggles of the different generations. Each participant who formed part of the semi-structured interviews were interviewed separately and individually. Some of the questions which the colonial-born Coloured females were asked include the following:

- Please share with me your understanding of an individual passing for a White or Coloured person?
- Could you share a personal experience of where you had to change your hairstyle/ hair texture or looks to fit in? If not your own experience but an example of someone else, you know who went through a similar experience?
- Why do you think that you or others would want to change their hair/hairstyle?
- Why are hair/hairstyles or certain bodily features important to the Coloured community?

- Is there anything that stands out in your mind perhaps a thought or advice that your mom gave you about your hair that you can still remember? For example, how your hair should look like?
- What advice did you give to your daughters about their hair when they were little?

(Refer to appendix I for a full list of the semi-structured interview questions for the colonial-born Coloured female participants). Some of the questions which the colonial-born Black females were asked include the following:

- As a young girl growing up can you remember what hairstyles you wore and why?
- Why do you think that people would want to change their hair/hairstyles?
- When you were little what did you like and not like about your hair and why?
- What advice did you give to your daughters about their hair when they were little? Did you perhaps pass on the advice which you received from your mom to your daughters?
- What according to you is beautiful hair and why?
- What do you think of women who wear their natural, unrelaxed hair?
- What do you think of women who relax their hair and wear weaves and wigs?
- Let's talk about your current hairstyle. Can you share with me why you chose this hairstyle which you currently have?

(Refer to appendix II for a full list of the semi-structured interview questions for the colonial-born Black female participants).

Focus group interviews were conducted on born-free Coloured and born-free Black female participants to gain their perceptions about not only the historical context of hair and identity but also their perceptions of hair and identity within a (post)colonial, postmodern, post-apartheid setting. Some of the questions which the born-free Coloured females were asked include the following:

- How do you feel about the statement: "Our current hairstyle choices are influenced by our past?"
- When you were a little girl do you perhaps remember an incident which you had with your hair whether it was at home at school or on the playground or perhaps it was something which your mom/aunt/grandmother always noticed

or said about your hair? What happened or what did they say that stands out in your mind?

- Can you share the hairstyles your mom/grandmother/aunt used to wear when you were young and how their hairstyle choices influenced your hairstyle at the time?
- How often do you change your hairstyle and why?
- What do you consider to be beautiful hair and why?
- How do you feel about women who keep on changing their hairstyle?

(Refer to appendix III for a full list of focus group questions). Some of the questions which the born-free Black females were asked include the following:

- How do you feel about the statement: "Our current hairstyle choices are influenced by our past?"
- How often do you change your hairstyle and why?
- What do you consider to be beautiful hair and why and what do you think about the new Miss South Africa and her hairstyle?
- How do you feel about women who keep on changing their hairstyle?

(Refer to appendix IV for a full list of focus group questions).

Perceptions are not objective since reality is a social construct and not everyone's experiences are the same, therefore the social world is fluid and changes as people change (du-Plooy-Cilliers et al. 2014). Therefore, it was important to engage the perceptions of both born-free Coloured and Black female groups to explore their perceptions. Semi-structured questions were presented in these focus groups based on the historical hair and current hair trends to prompt a dialogue between focus group members. The focus group interview for the born-free Coloured females took place in Polokwane which lasted for one hour and 30 minutes. The focus group interview for the Black born-free female group took place in a boardroom at the University of Limpopo.

The dialogue and discussions which took place in both focus group interviews assisted the researcher to formulate themes and subthemes from the discussions. According to Bless et al. (2013) focus group, interviews are suitable because group participants can deliberate on matters in question and spark off ideas from one another through this discussion session.

6.7. Data Collection Approach and Method

The data collection method is connected to the research objectives of the study. Objective three of the study states: To examine through a first-hand encounter how the historical context and current hair trends influence the colonial-born South African Black and Coloured women's choices of hairstyle and what these choices communicate in the (re) presentation of their post-apartheid identities.

Therefore, to explore a first-hand encounter of the historical experiences of African women and their perceptions about hair choices and identity, this study made use of face-to-face semi-structured interviews for the 5 colonial-born Coloured female participants and the eight colonial-born Black female participants. Each face to face semi-structured interview lasted for an average of 30-40 minutes per participant. Some participants were interviewed for longer (a maximum of an hour and a half) depending on the information which they provide.

The semi-structured interviews for the five colonial-born Coloured female participants took place in various locations in Cape Town such as Belhar, Blouberg Strand as well as Kuilsriver. The semi-structured interviews for the colonial-born Black female participants took place in Polokwane, Limpopo since the Black population in this province amounts to 97.3% of the population (Pauw 2005).

Objective four of this study states: To ascertain how the post-apartheid Black and Coloured generation (the Born-frees) construct their identities through hairstyle choices and the impact this has on the (re) presentation of their identities within the global beauty market environment. Hence, focus group interviews were conducted with eleven born-free Coloured and six Black female participants to further explore the perceptions of hair and identity amongst African born-free females within a (post)colonial, postmodern context. Semi-structured questions formed part of the focus-group interviews. These questions were drawn up based on the born-free African females' perception of the historical context and current hair trends that influence their choice of hairstyle. The questions sought to create a dialogue between members of the focus group (Bless et al. 2013:200). The interviews for the born-free Coloured female participants took place at a chosen location in Polokwane. The focus group interview for the born-free Black female participants took place at

the University of Limpopo. Each focus group interview lasted for about an hour and a half.

A variety of thoughts and feelings about certain topics were provided by the focus group participants, revealing the various viewpoints of each individual (Rabiee 2004). The researcher facilitated both focus group sessions and the responses from the participants provided the researcher with themes which were generated from the group interaction and discussion.

Lastly, objective one of the study states**:** To critically examine how the media construct a new identity for African women through the presentation and commodification of hair and hairstyles available to them. Then objective two of the study states: To determine the types of claims, appeals and themes in media representation of African hair through the case study of *DRUM Hair* magazine's portrayal of Black female identity. Hence, a semiotic textual analysis of six cover stories of *DRUM Hair* magazine namely, the 2014-2019 editions of the magazine was conducted. Each cover story of the *DRUM Hair* magazine consisted of an interview with a local South African celebrity. The interview conducted covered issues such as hair and identity and what it means to local South African celebrities. Coupled with the interviews were images of the celebrities who wore an assortment of hairstyles. Semiotic analysis involves the study of signs to analyse and deconstruct the connotative and denotative meanings of a text (du Plooy-Cillers et al. 2014).

6.8. Data collection instrument

Based on the information provided above about semi-structured interviews as well as focus group interviews, the researcher formulated an interview guide which was guided by the study's research objectives. The objective intended to ascertain through a first-hand encounter how the historical context and current hair trends influence the African female's choice of hairstyle and the impact this has on the (re) presentation of her identity within a globalised beauty market environment.

Then for the six editions of *DRUM Hair magazine* I made use of semiotics as a tool for a descriptive textual analysis of images in *DRUM Hair* magazine together with a thematic analysis of the local celebrity interviews in the cover stories *in DRUM Hair*

magazine. This instrument was guided by the following research objectives: to critically examine how the media construct a new identity for African women through the presentation and commodification of hair and hairstyles available to African women; to determine the types of claims, appeals and themes *DRUM Hair* magazine portrays about Black female identity; and to map the historical, cultural and capitalist rationales that help shape the assortment of hair available to African women as portrayed in *DRUM Hair* magazine.

6.9. Data Collection process

The procedure which was used for the collection of the intergenerational phenomenological narrative interviews of the biologically related colonial-born Coloured females were as follows: Since I needed access to a Coloured family from Cape Town to match my intergenerational phenomenological narrative interviews, I approached a family who consisted of five biologically related Coloured females who represented three generations. This group matched the sample group of my study and they were asked whether they were interested in participating in my study. They agreed to participate in my study and I went to Cape Town to conduct the semi-structured interviews in Belhar, Kuilsriver and Blouberg Strand respectively. Before I conducted the interviews I asked for consent from each participant. Each participant gave their consent by signing a consent form. The interview lasted between 30-40 minutes while for one of the participants an interview lasted for about a maximum of one and a half hours.

It was very difficult for me to access the colonial-born Black female participants, the born-free Black participants as well as the born-free Coloured participants because I did not know anyone who matched the profile I was looking for. So to gain access to this population I approached one of my born-free Black female work colleagues to introduce me to colonial-born as well as born-free Black female participants in Limpopo. My colleague is a part-time lecturer as well as a hairstylist who styles Black females' hair. It was therefore natural for me to approach her to introduce me to my sample of Black females.   With her assistance, I was able to access some colonial-born Black female participants and six born-free Black female participants for my study.

The focus group interview for the born-free Black female group took place in a Boardroom at the University of Limpopo. Before the focus group interview began I asked for the group's consent to conduct the interviews. The group gave their consent by signing a consent form and we began the interview. The focus group interview lasted for one and a half hours.

About the colonial-born Black female group, it is important to note that at first, I wanted to also do intergenerational phenomenological interviews with the colonial-born Black female sample group but it was very difficult, because I could not find a family of three generations amongst the colonial-born Black female participants since the grandmother in the group refused to participate in the interviews. I could only find two participants representing two generations who were willing to participate in the interviews. At first, I approached one potential colonial-born Black female to participate in the interview but she seemed offended that I wanted to do an interview with her about her hair so she refused. Her refusal should be contextualised within a social understanding of Black female and hair.

Many Black females consider hair a personal and sensitive issue, hence there is a bit of reluctance in talking about hair with strangers. But after explaining to her what I wanted to know from her she decided to go ahead with the interview. I then interviewed her and asked her to introduce me to other colonial-born Black females, which she did. I then reached a total of eight Black colonial-born females. Before I began the interview with each individual I asked for their consent. They gave their consent by signing the consent form. Each interview lasted for an average of 30-40 minutes.

It was difficult to recruit young Coloured females for this study because there is a small Coloured population in Limpopo. The population data show that the Coloured population makes up 0.3% of the overall population in the province of Limpopo (Pauw 2005). However, through a personal connection, I was introduced to three born-free Coloured females who then introduced me to other born-free Coloured females after which I reached eleven born-free Coloured female participants. The interview took place in Polokwane. Before the focus-group interview was conducted I asked for permission to conduct the interview. The group gave their consent and the interview lasted for one and a half hours. The procedure which I followed for the

focus group interviews matches that of du Plooy-Cilliers et al. (2014:143), they state that the researcher approaches people to match the population of the study and asks them to suggest others who may be willing to participate in the research. Those participants who are introduced to the researcher suggests others who match the population requirements for the study. The number of participants for the colonial born Black and colonial-born Coloured female participants matches the number of participants which are required for a focus group interview. According to du Plooy-Cilliers et al. (2014:183), the ideal number for each focus group should be six to twelve participants. Both the semi-structured interviews and the focus group interviews were recorded with a recording device.

6.10. Data Analysis

The data were analysed in the following way:

6.10.1. Semiotic textual analysis

This analysis is used to interpret visual or recorded images to describe the content, structure and the functions of messages within a text (Frey et al. 1999). The textual analysis methodology which was used for this study is the application of semiotics. Semiotics, "the study of how meaning occurs in language, pictures, performance and other forms of expression" (Tomaselli 1996:29), provides the analytical tools for a descriptive analysis of images in the *DRUM Hair* magazines. This method helps in decoding of media messages (du Plooy-Cillers et al. 2014:248).

A semiotic analysis of six cover stories of *DRUM Hair* magazine was conducted under the three basic categories of signs, namely iconic sign, which constructs a literal interpretation of the sign, indexical where the sign draws attention to what it refers to (something that cannot be seen), and the symbolic describes the metaphorical realm of the sign (Tomaselli 1996:30-31). Also, Charles Pierce's triad of the sign was used. Pierce explains the triad of the sign by proposing the triple origin of existence: encounter (firstness), the experience (secondness) and the intelligible (thirdness) (Tomaselli 1996:30-37). The semiotic analysis of the signs in *DRUM Hair* magazine editions 2014-2019 exposed the role that these signs and symbols played in the construction of the African female identity.

Ferdinand de Saussure's (1966) interpretation of the composition of the sign was also used as part of this analysis. The sign is composed of the signifier (which is the sound associated with or image of something, for example, a tree), and the signified is the idea or concept of the thing (for example the idea or concept of a tree). The sign, therefore, combines the signifier and the signified into a meaningful unit.

Then finally Roland Barthes' (1967) explanation of signs was also used as part of this method of analysis. He states that cultural signs, symbols and images can have both denotative functions (which refer to the direct meanings of the sign) or connotative functions (which get attached to the original word and get other wider fields of meaning or it refers to the secondary/ hidden meanings that can link up to ideological messages).

Therefore, the images in *DRUM Hair* magazine editions 2014-2019 were scrutinized following the methods of analysis above.

6.10.2. Thematic analysis

The semi-structured interviews from the colonial-born Black female and colonial-born Coloured female participants, as well as the focus group interviews of the born-free Black female and born-free Coloured female participants, were recorded. Both the semi-structured interviews and focus group interviews were transcribed. The transcribed data totalled about 50 to 60 pages. After transcribing the data, it was then analysed for emerging themes. A thematic analysis was used to analyse transcribed data from the semi-structured interviews from colonial-born Black female and Coloured female participants as well as from the focus-group interviews of the born-free Black female and born-free Coloured female participants. The thematic analysis is based on Terre Blanche, Durrheim and Painter's (2014:322-326) five-step interpretive data analysis. This analysis consists of five steps which include familiarisation and immersion, inducing themes, coding, elaborating and interpretation and checking. A thematic analysis also formed part of the interview section of the cover stories of *DRUM Hair magazine.*

In adopting Terre Blanche et al.'s (2014) five-step interpretive data analysis I would like to elaborate on these steps. The initial stage of the analysis focused on the written transcripts of the semi-structured interviews of the colonial-born Black and

Coloured female participants, the focus group interviews of the born-free Black and Coloured female participants as well as the interviews from the *DRUM Hair magazine* cover stories. Once the data were transcribed, they were read through several times. The reason for this was to gain a strong sense of each participant's experience. After this, the text which was relevant to the research questions were broken up into phrases, words, statements or sentences and were highlighted. This was then organised in thematic categories. These thematic categories were reflective of the research objectives of the study.

The transcribed data was summarised and thematically re-arranged for data presentation. To remain true to the content of the data, the findings of the study are supported by the participants' own words. The findings of the study are also related to previous research studies. In doing so the subjective perceptions of the participants' experiences were grounded in their own words.

6.11. Quality Criteria

I made sure that credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability were maintained during the collection and analysis of my data. According to Treharne and Riggs (2015:57), quality criteria has to do with maintaining an eminence when conducting qualitative research as well as how quality can be proven in qualitative research outputs.

6.11.1. Credibility

The credibility of a study refers to the extent to which the findings of the study are accurate and whether the interpreted data provided by the participants of the study are believable from their perspective (du Plooy-Cilliers et al. 2014:258). To ensure the credibility of this study, feedback from the participants about the interpretation of the captured data was used as a reflection of the participants' perspective and experiences. The researcher, therefore, made sure that only the participants' perceptions were reported and interpreted without inducing the researcher's opinion. Credibility also refers to the correctness with which the researcher interpreted the data that was provided by the participants (du Plooy-Cilliers et al. 2014:258). The combination of qualitative methodologies such as a semiotic textual analysis of

DRUM Hair magazine editions 2014-2019 and the use of intergenerational phenomenological narratives assisted in ensuring the credibility of my study. This process is also called methodological triangulation.

6.11.2. Transferability

Transferability refers to the extent to which the results of the study applies to other similar situations (du Plooy-Cilliers, Davis & Bezuidenhout 2014). A detailed explanation of the findings of the study and its context was described. The findings of the study were also discussed with existing literature and other studies of its kind. Bless et al. (2013:237) describe transferability as the degree to which the researcher describes and provides a comprehensive description of the environment in which the data was collected. I provided a detailed description of the environment of data collection.

6.11.3. Confirmability

Confirmability is similar to replicability and refers to the extent to which other observers and researchers can replicate the findings of the study. The findings of the study should support the interpretation of the researcher and how well the findings flow from the data (du Plooy-Cilliers et al. 2014:259).

The researcher provided a critical evaluation of the methodology used for this study for other researchers to replicate the study. The findings and research process of this study was presented and discussed with peers and finally, the researcher searched for literature and data that confirms and disconfirms the findings.

6.11.4. Dependability

This refers to the consistency and quality of assimilation between the research theory, the data analysis and data collection methodology of the study (du Plooy-Cilliers et al. 2014:259). The researcher continuously analysed and re-examined the data captured to inform further data collection as well as made use of insights that emerged during the analysis of the data collected.

6.12. Ethical Considerations

The researcher requested permission from the participants of the study. All the participants were 18 years old or above. Proof of agreement via a written informed consent was provided to each participant. The data collected from the participant was kept as confidential. The anonymity of the participants was guaranteed. The data collected was only used for academic purposes and was stored away in a secure environment which will only be accessible to the researcher.

6.13. Conclusion

The methods and materials which were used as part of this study were outlined in this chapter. The study was qualitative where semi-structured interviews, focus group interviews and a semiotic-textual analysis formed the data collection methods for the research. Semiotics textual analysis and thematic analysis were used to analyse the data collected. The study aimed to critically explore social narratives of South African women's hair and how the media perpetuate the construction of a postmodern African female identity within the backdrop of the commodification of hair and identity in a globalised market and media environment. The next chapter presents findings of the semiotic-textual analysis of *DRUM Hair magazine* representation of African woman's hair in the 2014 to 2019 editions. The chapter reveals how the media construct a new identity for African women through the presentation and the commodification of hair and hairstyles available to African women as well as to map the historical, cultural and capitalist rationales that help shape the assortment of hair available to African women as portrayed in *DRUM Hair magazine* issues of 2014-2019.

CHAPTER 7

CELEBRITY AND MEDIA REPRESENTATION OF AFRICAN WOMEN'S HAIR AND THE MULTIFLEX, NEO-HYBRID BLACK WOMAN
(First chapter of data presentation)

7.1. The structure of research findings

Before presenting the research findings for this chapter, I would like to provide an outline of the findings of this study; the findings of this study will be presented in five separate chapters. The reason for this is to provide a logical narrative of the study with findings presented in a thematic structure with an in-depth analysis. Each chapter is structured according to specific themes concerning the demographics of the sampled population of the study. This is a deliberate approach rather than a rigid structure that has become trite in dissertation writing, where a whole chapter is dedicated to research findings and is often overloaded. The approach here opts for a thematic structure in crafting a narrative that tells individual group experiences, rather than merely presenting a huge chunk of data as research findings in one overloaded chapter.

The findings of each chapter will be structured in the following way: In this chapter, I will present a textual analysis of print media's representation of African women's hair and the multi-flex, neo-hybrid Black woman, through the analysis of six editions of *DRUM Hair* magazine of 2014 to 2019. In chapter 8 I will present the intergenerational narratives of the colonial-born Coloured female participants. In chapter 9 I will present stories emerging from the colonial-born Black female participants. In chapter 10 I will present the findings of the born-free Coloured female participants and their hair experiences, while in chapter 11 I will present the findings from the born-free Black female participants.

7.2. Introduction

This chapter critically examines how the media communicate a postmodern African woman identity, through the construction of a post-modern/(post)colonial new identity for African women that I describe as a Multi-flex Neo-hybrid identity through the

presentation of an assortment of hairstyles available to African women. This is done within the backdrop of the commodification of hair and identity in a globalised market and media environment.

7.3. Semiotic textual analysis

As thoroughly explained in the methodology chapter, I adopt semiotic analysis tools for textual analysis in this chapter. To briefly reiterate, a semiotic textual analysis positioned in the interpretivist paradigm formed part of the data analysis for this study. Semiotic analysis involves the study of signs to analyse and deconstruct the connotative and denotative meanings of a text (du Plooy-Cilliers et al. 2014:248). I chose six editions of *DRUM Hair* magazine based on convenience and accessibility and analysed the cover story of each to see how hair is portrayed. Hence, six editions of *DRUM Hair* magazine namely, 2014-2019 *DRUM Hair* editions formed data of the semiotic textual analysis. Each edition was analysed individually. These editions illustrated the Multi-flex Neo-hybrid identity of the African woman in (post)colonial, post-modern South Africa. This analysis is used to interpret visual or recorded images to describe the content, structure and the functions of messages within a text (Frey et al. 1999).

In the textual analysis of the magazine data I employed, firstly, Ferdinand de Saussure's distinction between the two inseparable components of the sign namely, the signifier and the signified. Secondly, the three basic categories of signs namely, iconic sign, which constructs a literal interpretation of the sign, indexical where the sign draws attention to what it refers to (something that cannot be seen), and the symbolic describe the metaphorical realm of the sign (Tomaselli 1996). Thirdly Charles Peirce's triad of the sign was also used. Peirce explains the triad of the sign by proposing the triple origin of existence: encounter (firstness), the experience (secondness) and the intelligible (thirdness) (Tomaselli 1996). (See chapter 6 of my discussion of research methodology). The semiotic analysis of the signs in *DRUM Hair* magazine editions 2014-2019 exposed the role that these signs and symbols play in the construction of the African female identity.

7.4. Research Results

As explained in Chapter 6 (Research Methodology) I also embarked on a thematic analysis of the interviews of the celebrities covered in the magazine. The cover stories presented in the interview are analysed in conjunction with the textual analysis of images (Figures 7.1 to 7.9). The results of these analyses are presented in key thematic frames, namely: *the rhizomatification of hairstyles, simulations as a form of power* and finally *hair and construction of identity.*

7.4.1. Rhizomatification of hairstyles

The first theme which emanated from the data was the *rhizomatification of hairstyles.* This theme is rooted in Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari's (1987) description of rhizomatic classification systems. According to Deleuze and Guattari, multiplicity is characteristic of a rhizome. There are no hierarchies in a rhizomatic system and it operates without boundaries and negates binaries, instead, it connects and reconnects over gaps, while at the same time reterritorializes and deterritorializes itself through hybrid connections. The multiplicity of the rhizomatic system can be described as a union which contains different parts which in itself is ever-changing. The dimensions within this system are defined through its ability to transform.

This rhizomatic system can be found in the editions of *DRUM Hair* magazine (editions 2014-2019) in that within the cover stories of *DRUM Hair* magazine the African woman can navigate from one identity to the next without being loyal to one identity. There are no binaries, rather there is a multiplicity of hair choices. The African woman can do this through the assortment of hairstyles at her disposal. Each hairstyle she chooses to wear is a different identity which she creates. She can navigate from one identity to the next. She is also able to constantly transform her identity through the multiplicity of hairstyles she chooses to wear hence the term the rhizomatification of hairstyles. This can be illustrated in the various editions of *DRUM Hair* magazine.

For example, in the cover story interview of *DRUM Hair* magazine the 2014 edition, (see figure 7.5- figure 7.7), the actress Terry Pheto is described as one who experiments and wears about any hairstyle whether it be straight hair, curly hair, short or long hair. Pheto in the cover story interview on page 6 states, "…I can play

around with lots of different styles and even cut them if necessary." She further states:

> I now know my hair has the power to transform me into different characters. My hair helps me to distinguish between one character and the next. It may not define me but it does complete me (Kumona 2014:9).

The power of Pheto's hair to transform her into different characters, links with what Robert Lifton (1993) describes as the protean self. The development of the multiplicity of selves in postmodern culture is central to Lifton's (1993) work. Lifton (1993) describes the multiplicity, versatility and mutability of selves in postmodern culture as protean which is a term that refers to Proteus, Greek sea god of changeable forms. Proteus the Greek sea god was changeable in shape and form similar to the postmodern self which is dynamic, fluid, mobile and adaptable. This forms the essence of the protean self which is filled with a sense of the optimistic possibility of a pluralistic sense of self (Pickering 1999:65). This is true for Pheto as her hair can transform her into a multiplicity and versatility of selves.

The rhizomatification of hairstyles is further illustrated in *DRUM Hair* (2016) edition when the media personality, Boity Thulo also flaunts a multiplicity of hairstyles. These hairstyles include natural as well as artificial hair. Some of the statements Thulo made during her interview with *DRUM Hair* describes the rhizomatification of hairstyles. Thulo states:

> ...I realised how much more I could do with my hair. I'm yet to try other things; bolder colours that for now, other people are braver to try...I tried different things and they worked. That's when I wondered why I hadn't tried different things before. No, I'm not attached to my hair and it makes me feel free to be able to try anything that I want especially short hair...I can have a weave on today and wake up tomorrow with short hair...I'd like to try a really, really long weave. I also like faux dreads...I just don't like it when people tell me what kind of hairstyle I should have or stick to (Makhona 2016:6-15).

See Figures 7.1 to 7.4 below which demonstrate the versatility of Boity Thulo's hairstyles which she flaunts. The semiotic analysis of the image provides a deeper context of messages embedded in the image. Firstness/iconic/signifier or denotative

interpretation of the image can be interpreted in the following manner. In figure 7.1 we see Thulo wearing a long soft grey weave with a touch of pink which matches her make-up as well as her outfit. The juxtaposition between the colour of Thulo's weave, clothes and the soft green colour in the background of the image contrast one another.

This juxtaposition places the background in contrast to the image of Thulo. The contrasting effect also allows us to focus on the hair in the image. Thulo's hair is the focus of the image and forms part of the positive space in the image while the background forms part of the negative space making it pleasing to the eye. Therefore, the reader's attention is focused on Thulo's hair which is at the centre of the image and her hair becomes the object of focus for the reader.

Figure 7.1: Thulo wears a long soft grey and pink weave.

Thulo looks powerful in this image. She looks at the camera almost to say, "I am powerful and daring, look at my hair! I dare to wear hair which is grey and pink!" Thulo's hair is not naturally grey and pink but is a weave, however, she dares to wear these colours. The fact that grey and pink is not the colour of her natural hair also shows how adventurous, powerful and daring she is. Her body position which is a look to the left also indicates how daring she is. It almost says, "Look at me I dare

you to do the same!" Because her hair/weave is the focus of the image it provides the female with her power to be daring and adventurous. This shows the rhizomatification of her hair since Thulo is open to wearing different hairstyles, which is firstly not her own hair but a weave, secondly, she wears a different hair texture, thirdly it is not her usual hair colour but it is pink and grey and lastly, she wears a different hair length. This also shows a multiplicity of characteristics within one hairstyle namely, not only the change in hair length but hair texture and hair colour as well. This is characteristic of the rhizome.

Secondness/the indexical/connotative meaning or the signified take us further as the image draws our attention to what it refers to that might not be seen physically. In figure 7.1 Thulo looks directly into the camera in a flirtatious manner which can be interpreted as one who has power.

Thirdness refers to a symbolic level which has no direct connection to the idea or image which it portrays apart from ideas which we internalise and take as natural. The meaning of these images relies on the interpreter. The long, flowing grey and pink weave in figure 7.1 resemble being feminine and that her weave is not ordinary but it seems as though it is custom made which means that it could be expensive. Hence this image shows the financial status of the media personality in the image and her ability to purchase such an expensive weave. Thulo also has the freedom to wear this kind of hair. Thulo's hair, make-up and clothes symbolise her financial status. Not only does Thulo have the hair to flaunt but she also has the money to spend and flaunt on custom made weaves like this.

The question might arise, "Why is Thulo, a Black female wearing long artificial hair which covers up her natural hair?" This image could represent false consciousness which indicates that the proletariat unknowingly misperceives the exploitation in capitalist society and their position in society. However, when we look at figures 7.2, -7.4 below we see that Thulo does not only wear wigs or weaves but she wears her natural hair as well. This reinforces the fact that the postmodern woman has flexibility and a variety of choices to make when it comes to choosing a specific hairstyle. Unlike the colonial legacy of African hair and identity where the many African women only pursue Eurocentric beauty, she is now liberated from conforming to one standard of beauty namely, Eurocentric beauty and is now able to choose any

hairstyle whether it be Eurocentric or Afrocentric and it would be considered beautiful. The postmodern African woman has become an agent of choice.

Figure 7.2: Thulo wears long braids to the Vodacom Durban July 2015.

Firstness or the iconic/ denotative interpretation of figure 7.2 which is also known as the signifier is that Thulo is wearing long black braids which she styled to the side. She is styled in a black and white outfit with accessories to match. This image is a medium shot image which includes Thulo's head and torso which means that the focus of the image is not only on her hair but also the outfit she is wearing. At the bottom of this image written in white are the words Vodacom Durban July 2015. The Durban July is a horse racing event as well as a platform for socialites, celebrities and stars to show off the latest outfits and trends in fashion. Hence this means that Thulo wore this hairstyle and outfit to the Vodacom Durban July 2015. The background of the image also sets the scene for the Durban July event.

Secondness/the indexical meaning or the signified takes us further as the image draws our attention to what it refers to that might not be seen physically. Thulo's braids are long which also indicates the femininity of her hairstyle. The way in which her hair is coiffed on her head almost looks like a crown which she wears with pride. As Thulo poses for the camera she looks directly into the camera which indicates an image of power and her hand on her hip further illustrates this sense of power. The black jacket which she is wearing resembles a black cape. This indicates that she is a superwoman or a powerful woman. The jewellery/ accessories which Thulo wears in figure 7.2 is not dainty and small but are big, blingey and in 'your face', they stand out and indicate that Thulo is trying to make a big and bold statement with her long

braided hairstyle, her outfit and her accessories. The expression on her face is one of satisfaction and she is satisfied with herself and where she finds herself namely at the Durban July. The mere fact that Thulo attended the Durban July indicates that she forms part of this socially powerful group of socialites and celebrities. Thulo is also proud to wear a braided hairstyle at such an auspicious occasion as the Durban July. The hairstyle which she wears therefore suits the occasion where she mingles with the rich and famous.

Thirdness refers to a symbolic level of the image. We expect that Thulo who is a media personality, actress and presenter attends such events and forms part of the elite. We also expect that her hairstyle which she chooses to wear to this event should be one that symbolises and reflects the greatness of the event namely, the Durban July. Thulo concedes to the dress code of the event and wears a braided hairstyle which is styled in the form of a crown on her head. This hairstyle symbolises that she is an African queen which also emphasises her African identity. Thulo's hairstyle resembles a rhizomatic hairstyle because in figure 7.2 she wears her natural hair which is entwined with artificial hair to form her braided hairstyle. This braided hairstyle is a typical style among African women. Once again this hairstyle is a combination of artificial and natural hair to form a new, different kind of hairstyle namely, braids. This is typical of the postmodern woman who can navigate from one style to the next without remaining loyal to one. She is even able to intertwine various hairstyles with one another creating a brand new hairstyle altogether. The African woman does not have to pursue one standard of beauty, but she can combine Afrocentric hairstyles with Eurocentric hairstyles to create something brand new in the end.

Firstness/ iconic or the denotative interpretation is also known as the signifier of figure 7.3 is that Thulo is wearing her short natural hair which is fashionably dyed in a daring red. She also wears make-up, glasses and it looks like she is wearing an executive suit to match the look. This photo is a close-up. Thulo is also looking directly into the camera.

Figure 7.3: Boity Thulo wears her natural hair which is dyed red. It is also called a crop hairstyle.

Secondness/the indexical meaning or the signified meaning of figure 7.3 is that Thulo was daring enough to dye her natural hair red. She is open to trying a new look. This hair colour stands out and contrasts with her skin colour. Thulo is making a bold statement with her new hair colour. Her hair colour brings out the daring side to her personality. She is looking directly into the camera which means that she is confident and she looks through the glasses as someone who is in power. Thirdness refers to a symbolic level of the image. The focus of the image which is the glasses which Thulo is wearing is associated with intelligence. Glasses are usually associated with people who are well-read or who possess a vast amount of knowledge, therefore glasses are associated with intelligence (Davies et al. 2018). Nowhere else in the *DRUM Hair* (2014) cover story does Thulo wear glasses except when she is wearing her natural hair. This could perhaps symbolise that she is associating boldness and naturalness with being intelligent. By wearing her natural hair Thulo gives her hair a break from all the weaves and wigs and gives it time to breathe and be free. Figure 7.3 can therefore symbolise an intelligent hairstyle choice, the wearing of her natural hair. Figure 7.3 is rhizomatic in nature as Thulo is open to new and a different hair colour other than her own. By adding colour to her hair as well as the accessories of glasses and an executive suit Thulo takes on a different personality.

Firstness/the iconic or denotative interpretation of figure 7.4 also known as the signifier is as follows: In this image, Thulo wears a combination of her natural hair which is shaved into a pattern as well as artificial hair namely a hairpiece/hair extension. Thulo smiles and looks directly into the camera while clasping her collar with her right hand. Secondness/the indexical or connotative meaning or the signified of figure 7.4 is that Thulo shows that she is daring enough to wear a combination of both natural and artificial hair. The fact that Thulo looks directly into the camera suggests a position of power. Her body language namely, her smile and her right hand clasping her collar show that she is "cool", fashionable and is very confident in wearing this hairstyle. This image epitomises her adventurous and daring personality in her ability to wear a combination hairstyle of this sort. Thirdness or the symbolic level in figure 7.4 suggests that Thulo has the money to wear different hairstyles which are hip, trendy, young and fashionable. She can wear a variety of hairstyles including wearing her natural hair.

Figure 7.4: Thulo wears a combination of her natural hair which is shaved on the one side with a pattern as well as a long hair attachment on the other side of her head.

Figures 7.1 to 7.4 illustrates the rhizomatification of hairstyles or the variety of hairstyles which one individual can wear whether it be natural or artificial hair or a combination of both and to wear each of these hairstyles with pride and confidence.

It becomes necessary to examine the representation of hair and identity that is presented in figures 7.1 to 7.4. An analysis of figure 7.1 may raise a critical postcolonial argument about a Black woman wearing artificial long hair that is unnatural to Black Sub-Saharan African women, a sign of colonial legacy. Contrary to this, I assert here and propose that this is a reflection of the power of choice that a

postmodern Africa woman has in shaping her identity. I propose that we engage this from a postmodernist lens, where the individual has the choice to present herself in a variety of ways, including her trendy, stylish, intelligent, African and postcolonial self. The weave then becomes a mere accessory and not a negation of her African self. This is particularly relevant in the sense that in the subsequent image, figure 7.3 she wears her natural her. Her identity is a neo-hybrid identity that is not a mixture of two identities as in hybrid identities, but a fluid and flexible identity that navigates various forms of presentation and not a static mix. This ability to navigate various ways of self-presentation helps in the construction of multiple and flexible (multi-flex) postmodern selves. When Thulo wears a multiplicity of hairstyles she is also able to take on a multiplicity of identities by wearing a diversity of hairstyles. In each picture, the media personality Thulo looks like a different person. Thulo's identity is changeable and adaptable. Her pluralistic hairstyles can transform her into multiplicity and versatility of the self.

Other examples which exemplify the rhizomatification of hairstyles are in *DRUM Hair* (2015) the actress and television personality Nomzamo Mbatha was asked what her hair means to her. She then stated: "A new attitude. Each hairstyle I get gives me a new feeling and persona" (Kumona 2015:11). She also states that she loves various hairstyles such as blonde beehive braids because it helps her to be incognito. She also likes a big curly Diana Ross type afro as well as dreadlocks. The celebrities whom Mbatha admires include Rihanna, the American music superstar. Mbatha states:

> I love Rihanna's versatility and experimental nature when it comes to her hair. I also love Mafikizolo's hair as she is open to trying out any style. It also helps that every style looks great with her face. I am also absolutely crazy about Beyoncé's hairstyles; she never gets it wrong. And I love people with natural hair (Kumona 2015:11).

Mbatha's statement above also reflects and illustrates her love for a variety of hairstyles or a rhizomatification of hairstyles. Actress Jessica Nkosi makes a similar statement in her interview with *DRUM Hair* (2017). When she was asked who her hair role models were she stated:

I love Kelly Rowland, she is one woman I have seen in entertainment who isn't afraid to take risks when it comes to hair…I also absolutely love celerity hairstylist and salon owner Jawad Maphoto. He knows how to create different looks when he styles you and, most importantly, he knows what works and what doesn't (Kumona 2017:9).

In *DRUM Hair* (2018) actress, Enhle Maphumulo is described as the following; "when it comes to hair she's just adventurous. From short and chic, to smooth and sleek with bangs and sometimes a touch of the Afrocentric, there's no territory untouched for this beauty" (Prince 2018:7). Mbatha and Nkosi's statement, as well as the manner in which Maphumulo is described align with that of affirmative or celebratory postmodernists such as Zygmunt Bauman, Mark Poster, Angela Robbie since they place emphasis on and encourage differences and the plurality of society, is seen as important and social meaning is celebrated (Rosenau 1992; Durham & Kellner 2001). Celebratory postmodernists celebrate an emphasis on diversity and variety. They believe that the postmodern identity problematizes modern identity in the sense that the individual is no longer perceived as coherent, and autonomous, instead, the individual is perceived as fragmented, incoherent (Bagnall 1999; Durham & Kellner 2001).

The postmodern identity is informed by discursive contexts which mould a diversity of identities within one individual hence a fragmented identity occurs through the various discourses. Another characteristic of postmodern identity is that it is provisional and is always open to new and different possibilities (Bagnall 1999). Postmodern identity depends on the way individuals interpret and construct themselves and present themselves to others. Identity is continuously under construction since there is a constant process of renewal and innovation taking place within society, which is imposed on the individual through the mass media (Abrudan 2012). This is true for Mbatha, Nkosi and Maphumulo since a diversification or the rhizomatification of hairstyles is of importance to them and they enjoy the plurality of hairstyles and identities at their disposal.

The analysis above aligns with the multi-flex, neo-hybrid postmodern identity of the African woman. The selected *DRUM Hair* magazines which were analysed provides the African woman with agency and the ability to choose which identity she would

like to portray for a specific period. This is what the multi-flex, neo-hybrid identity advocates. The multi-flex, neo-hybrid identity is free from the subjugation conforming to a single identity but accepts all the identities through the hairstyle which the individual chooses. This is exactly what the celebrities in the cover stories portray. They are open to wearing a multiplicity of hairstyles. The individual has the agency and freedom to choose which hairstyle/identity she would like to accept for a specific period of time. The multi-flex, neo-hybrid identity is flexible and also allows the Black African female to easily navigate and adapt to various identities through the assortment of hairstyles which she chooses to wear thus this is reflected in *DRUM Hair* magazine issues 2014-2019.

7.4.2. Simulations as a form of power

The second theme which emerged from analysing the data is *simulations as a form of power* which is rooted in Baudrillard's definition of simulations. Baudrillard (1994) believed that postmodernity is a stage of history which is organised around simulation where the selling of knowledge namely, ideas, signs and images is the order of the day. Signs increasingly stand for nothing but themselves and become worth more than the original, this is known as simulacra. Simulacra is a copy with no original which seems more real than an original or reality, hence, hyper-reality is formed. Simulations in hyper-reality are perceived as more real than reality itself (Barker 2008). Baudrillard further states that power is no longer ideological but simulated through signs and images. Simulacra, he states, generate role models or ideals of a perfect world. It is artificial yet it is real (Durham & Kellner 2001). The line between fantasy and reality is blurred which emphasises the power of the symbol over substance (hyper-reality). Baudrillard believes that simulations in the postmodern world replace reality. Power is no longer perceived as ideological but power is simulations which are signs and images (Baudrillard 1994).

When we apply Baudrillard's definition of simulations to *DRUM Hair* magazine we could say that the selling of the idea of ultimate success in *DRUM Hair* magazine is when an individual purchases a plethora of hairstyles available to her in the globalised beauty market. This idea of ultimate success is promoted and endorsed by Black South African celebrities who form part of the images/signs/simulacra within *DRUM Hair* magazine. Therefore, a Black South African celebrity who wears a

variety of hairstyles makes such an image powerful and worth much more. These images/signs/simulations of successful South African celebrities who wear a variety of hairstyles generate role models or ideals of a perfect world for the Black South African female.

Brooks and Herbert (2006) also speak about symbols and images within the media. They state that the information we consume through the media such as narratives, symbols and images shape our social identities. The impact of the globalisation of worldwide beauty standards is significant and the role that the media play in the representation of beauty and identity cannot be ignored. The mass media are known as an agent of socialisation which creates and reinforces the cultural and global ideals of femininity and plays an indispensable role in cultural globalisation (Silverstein et al. 1986). This is true for the adoption of hairstyles by African women because of what they see in the media. African hairstyles are influenced by international and local trends. These trends shape what is considered to be beautiful hairstyles.

Madlela (2018) speaks about a fusion of the local with the global trends which then is called a glocal trend. This is an illustration of some Black African women who adopt a global trend but adapts it to their local flavour or style. This fusion of trends provides Black women with a choice of hairstyles which they feel comfortable wearing as well as giving them the ability to add their style to the trend which they see in the media. Black women are influenced by media messages when it comes to the choice of hairstyles to wear. These media messages contain ideological messages which promote capitalist values (Madlela 2018). These capitalist clauses are promoted and endorsed by celebrities who in turn play a role in the individual buying into these messages, with an effect on identity perception. Frederic Jameson shares a similar sentiment and questions contemporary cultural texts and trends. He links the capitalist political economy to postmodern culture. Jameson argues that postmodernism is a type of cultural form appropriated to the contemporary state of global capitalism (Durham & Kellner 2001).

Examples of simulations are found in the cover stories of *DRUM Hair* magazine. In these cover stories not only are Black South African female celebrities interviewed about their hair and their careers but the celebrity status of these individuals are also

emphasised. Ideas of success are employed in these cover stories namely, what they have achieved in their careers as celebrities, who these celebrities are associated with as well as a multiplicity of hairstyles which they choose to endorse or wear.

For example, in *DRUM Hair* 2014 actress Terry Pheto was interviewed and formed part of the cover story. Pheto is described as a film goddess and an international star by referring to the different roles she played in a variety of movies. Her role in the 2005 Oscar-winning movie *Tstotsi,* her role in the 2013 hit movie *Long Walk to Freedom* where she played opposite Idris Elba is also emphasised. Pheto was also named the face of L'Oréal (2008-2011) as well as starred in the American soapie *The Bold and the Beautiful.* Along with this immaculate background description of Pheto as a celebrity are the images of Pheto wearing an assortment of hairstyles to match her celebrity status. Refer to the hairstyles in figures 7.5 – figure 7.6 below.

In figure 7.5 Pheto is seen wearing a big curly afro. Her hair which forms the focus of the whole image takes up most of the image space therefore the reader's attention is focused on her hair. This can be described as the signifier/firstness, denotative/ iconic interpretation of the image. When *DRUM Hair* describes the immaculate status of Pheto the celebrity or the 'bigness/magnitude' of her celebrity status, the 'bigness' or magnitude of Pheto's hair is also emphasised hence, her big hair matches her big status as a celebrity, thus her big curly afro floods the page leaving no room for the rest of her body. This can be viewed as the signified/indexical, connotative and secondness of the image. The thirdness or the symbolic level of this image is that Pheto's hair symbolises her success. The bigger the hair, the bigger her success as a celebrity.

According to the analysis above it can then be said that *DRUM Hair* makes use of images of power such as in figure 7.5 where a local celebrity named Pheto who is internationally recognised is used as part of an image to sell an idea. The idea which is being sold is an Afrocentric hairstyle which is associated with success. Only successful people would wear such a hairstyle as that of Pheto in figure 7.5. So when we connect Baudrillard's simulation as a form of power, *DRUM Hair* uses an image of a powerful celebrity to endorse and advocate the wearing of an Afrocentric hairstyle namely, a big afro. Figure 7.5 illustrates the magnitude of Pheto's celebrity

status through her hair, her big curly afro. This image is therefore viewed as powerful and illustrates the message of power and success which *DRUM Hair* is selling.

Figure 7. 5: Pheto wears a curly afro.

Not only is Pheto able to wear a curly afro in figure 7.5 but in figure 7.6 we see Pheto flaunting a long weave which is styled to the side. She wears a beautiful and elegant evening gown to match her elegant hairstyle, this can be the iconic interpretation of the image or the firstness encounter with this image also known as the denotative meaning of the image. Her elegant hairstyle matches her elegant celebrity lifestyle whether she wears natural or artificial hair. What is also important to note is that she wore this outfit and hairstyle to a special event namely, the Toronto International Film Festival which emphasises her celebrity status even further. She is not just a local celebrity but this signifies that Pheto rubs shoulders with international celebrities as she was invited to events of such a nature. This is the secondness/connotative or indexical interpretation of figure 7.6.

Thirdness/ the symbolic level of this image is that Pheto's outfit, her elegant hairstyle and the fact that she flew to Toronto to attend the Toronto International Film Festival showcases her moneyed lifestyle and symbolises her status namely, an international celebrity. Then the red carpet in the image also symbolises status and importance.

Figure 7. 6: Pheto wears a long weave.

Only those individuals who are highly important can experience the red carpet, it is only rolled out for the best of the best. Pheto is among those who are the best in the film business. Once again this highlights Pheto's international celebrity status and therefore this image/ simulation is seen as exceptionally powerful. This image/simulation is fundamental in constructing the magnitude of Pheto's celebrity career.

When Baudrillard's simulation is applied to this image, the symbolic representation of power is used in figure 7.6 it could be said that in figure 7.6, *DRUM Hair* makes use of various elements of power within this image. Firstly, the magazine uses a celebrity as part of the image, secondly, the backdrop (namely, Toronto International Film

Festival) which forms part of the image also portrays an element of power since an international film festival is associated with capital and power. Hence Pheto who is a local celebrity is also then associated with power since she can attend such an auspicious event. *DRUM Hair* magazine also demonstrates that such a woman of power wears a long weave to a prestigious occasion like this, the Toronto International Film Festival. Figure 7.6 therefore is loaded with power for it demonstrates that a long weave hairstyle like Pheto is associated with ultimate success. Figure 7.6. illustrates that the international setting namely, the Toronto International Film Festival and the long weave which Pheto is wearing reinforces one another. In other words, the international setting is used to boost the image of long hair and the power associated with it.

Similarly, in *DRUM Hair* 2018 the actress Enhle Mbali Maphumulo's celebrity status is highlighted and emphasised when she is portrayed as a businesswoman with her own clothing line as well as being the now ex-wife of internationally renowned DJ Black Coffee. In Figure 7.7 Maphumulo wears an immaculate brown afro wig with an immaculate crown on her head. Her hair and the crown on her head forms the central focus of this image. This describes the firstness/iconic/ denotative interpretation of the image.

Figure 7.7: Maphumulo wears an afro wig.

The secondness/indexical/denotative interpretation of the image is that Maphumulo's immaculate hairstyle matches her immaculate personality as well as her adventurous life as a celebrity. The crown on her head signifies her crown which is her hair- the afro wig. The hair on a woman's head is also referred to as her crown. Therefore, her crown on her head (her hair) gives her an identity which is that of a queen. She, therefore, wears a double crown namely, the actual crown on her head and her other crown namely, her hair (afro wig) on her head. Maphumulo needs to wear a hairstyle which is fit for a queen, it needs to be big, bold and immaculate to match her risky and adventurous celebrity lifestyle. This is exactly what her natural afro wig portrays. She is a celebrity queen and a queen needs her crown which is her big afro wig. Her direct eye-contact and folded arms also emphasise her position of power as a queen. The thirdness or symbolism of this image is that the crown symbolises her life as a celebrity. She has reached celebrity queen status and is ultimately successful as a celebrity with the hairstyle to match that success.

When Baudrillard's simulation is applied to figure 7.7 it can be said that the crown on Maphumulo's head is a symbol associated with kingdoms, royalty and power. The imitation of royalty is conjured. This crown is placed on an Afrocentric hairstyle which

in turn is associated with power. It, therefore, elevates the Afrocentric hairstyle, the afro to a level of royalty, which also symbolises power.

Figure 7. 8: Maphumulo wears a long brown weave accessorised with yellow feathers.

In figure 7.8 Maphumulo wears a long brown weave accessorised with yellow feathers as well a colourful dress to match the look. She is smiling and looking directly into the camera. This can be interpreted as the firstness/iconic or denotative meaning of figure 7.8. The secondness/indexical or connotative meaning of figure 7.8 is that the yellow feathers on her head resemble those of a male peacock. Male peacocks show off their feathers by doing a dance to attract or to woo female peacocks to mate. In the case of Maphumulo, the yellow feathers on her head woo the readers of *DRUM Hair* magazine and attract the reader's attention to Maphumulo's head and hair. It also enables her to show off her hairstyle to the readers. Her hairstyle can then also be interpreted as being sexually attractive to males similarly to how a male peacock attracts a female mate. Direct eye-contact with the camera suggests her state of power and confidence. The thirdness or symbolic interpretation of this image is that Maphumulo's hair symbolises her ability to attract a good mate. If the readers wear a hairstyle like hers they would also be

successful in attracting a mate like hers namely, internationally renowned DJ Black Coffee who is a successful celebrity like herself.

The simulation of power is also applicable to figure 7.8 we can say that similarly to the male peacock which has the power to attract the attention of a potential female mate, Maphumulo plays the role of a powerful male peacock. By wearing the yellow peacock-like feathers on her long brown weave to attract the attention of the readers of *DRUM Hair* magazine the readers' attention is placed on the long brown weave which is worn by a local South African celebrity which in turn makes the hairstyle a powerful one.

In figure 7.9 Maphumulo wears a shoulder-length sleek black weave and poses with her then-husband Black Coffee in front of a black motor vehicle. They are both dressed in black and white, this can be interpreted as firstness/ the iconic/denotative meaning of figure 7.9. The secondness/connotative/indexical meaning of figure 7.9 is that Maphumulo does not wear her natural hair but instead wears a sleek, chic black shoulder-length weave. This hairstyle which she purchased is associated with success since the couple seems to be financially successful due to both of them wearing matching fashionable clothes and pose in front of an expensive car. This heightens their image of being successful celebrities even further. Maphumulo's hairstyle, therefore, matches her successful lifestyle as a celebrity.

The thirdness or symbolic level of figure 7.9 can be interpreted as follows: the reader who wears this type of hairstyle will therefore be associated with relationship and financial success. The double dosage of celebrities namely the use of Maphumulo and Black Coffee in one image heightens and doubles the level of success which Maphumulo has achieved as a celebrity, making figure 7.9 a powerful simulation and an image to strive towards as a reader of the magazine.

Figure 7. 9: Maphumulo and Black Coffee pose in matching black and white outfits.

Drawing on Baudrillard's simulation of reality, one can argue that there the constant simulation of power, which is also applied to figure 7.9 we can say that *DRUM Hair* magazine makes use of various elements of power within this image to support the hairstyle which they are trying to promote namely, the sleek, chic black shoulder-length weave which Maphumulo is wearing. The first element of power is the Mercedes Benz Gelandewagen which forms the background of this image. This car is an expensive 4X4 which is associated with people who are rich and therefore powerful. Secondly, two celebrities form part of the image namely, DJ Black Coffee who is an established and internationally recognised DJ as well as his then celebrity wife Maphumulo. The fact that two powerful celebrities are placed in an image magnifies the symbolism of power, specifically cultural power. The chic black shoulder-length hairstyle which this powerful celebrity, Maphumulo wears is given power since this hairstyle is worn by a powerful celebrity. Hence figure 7.9 is a powerful one.

In the analysis above we see that simulations of power are evident since in the images above elements which are associated with power and capital such as a crown, a Mercedes Benz, peacock-like feathers, celebrities, expensive clothes as well as the consumption of an assortment of hairstyles etc. help form an image of power. The analysis also found that the hairstyles which the celebrities chose to wear which include hairstyles from afros to weaves are given power since the powerful elements in the image reinforce the power of the hairstyle.

The variety of hairstyles worn by the celebrities in the images above is typical of the postmodern identity where the individual is free to choose any hairstyle and not conform to one specific one. By doing so the postmodern African female can navigate from one identity to the next by her choice of hairstyle.

This is also reflective of the multi-flex, neo-hybrid identity which is flexible. Since the African woman has the freedom to choose which identity she would like to accept for a specific period. She can change her identity without any constraint and is also able to easily change her identity and not be constrained by her present state or her present hairstyle. Hence the variety of hairstyles which the celebrities in the figures 7.5 - 7.9 wore is evidence of the flexibility and agency of the postmodern African woman in her choice of hairstyle.

7.4.3. Hair and construction of identity

The last theme identified for this chapter is *hair and construction of identity*. For much of South African history, hair has been a marker of identity that communicates issues of race, acceptability, class and beauty (hooks 1992; Pieterse 1992; Can-Tamakloe 2011; Oyedemi 2016). Hair and hairstyles worn by women today continue to communicate identity and self. In the current postmodern epoch, hair has become a tool to assert pride and navigate various identities. Of critical interest is the role of the media in the presentation of the panoply of hair(styles) to South African women in the process of constructing a fluid, flexible and hybrid identity that decentres the ideology of rigid racial identity. This then allows African women to navigate through various racial identities in the postmodern presentation of self leading to neo-hybrid identities. Women's magazines are instrumental in the feminine identities which they create, which according to feminist media critics are oppressive and establishes new

practices that are perpetuated in everyday social, cultural and behavioural norms for their target audience. This is created through the range of goods and lifestyles that are perpetuated within these magazines (Laden 2003).

Firat and Venkatesh (1995) who label themselves as liberatory postmodernists and who are concerned with consumer research state that in modern metanarratives of consumer research primacy was given to production which was destroyed in the act of consumption (Poster 1995). The reversal of consumption and production they state is prevalent in the postmodern age. Instead of perceiving consumption as destructive, consumption is viewed as the social act of symbolic meaning. The consumer, therefore, becomes a creator of meaning and consumption becomes a process through which individual consumers can define themselves and their identity in contemporary society (Lee 2009). The consumer, therefore, produces and reproduces his/her identity through a variety of consumption choices hence the consumers provide meaning to products.

Since the postmodern African female consumer is presented with a variety of hairstyle choices such as natural and artificial hairstyles, her choice of hairstyle will ultimately enable her to create an identity for herself. Through this choice provided by the market, she is seen as not only a consumer of hairstyles but a producer of identity in contemporary society. Postmodern identity depends on the way individuals interpret and construct themselves and present themselves to others. Identity is continuously under construction since there is a constant process of renewal and innovation taking place within society, which is imposed on the individual through the mass media (Abrudan 2012).

It was interesting to find how the celebrities within the cover stories of *DRUM Hair* magazine editions 2014-2019 describe how their hair/hairstyles help them to construct various identities. In *DRUM Hair* 2014 edition actress Terry Pheto said "I now know my hair has the power to transform me into different characters. My hair helps me to distinguish between one character and the next" (Kumona 2014:9). Each hairstyle which Pheto chooses to wear helps her to create a new character or identity for herself. This statement relates to Firat and Venkatesh (1995) who believe that the consumer in the postmodern era now can construct her own identity through what she consumes, hence Pheto's consumption of various hairstyles assists her in

constructing various identities. Pheto's statement also links up with the multi-flex, neo-hybrid identity which is flexible and where the individual can navigate from one identity to the next. Pheto does not need to remain loyal to one hairstyle/identity but makes use of the 'power' of her hair to assist her in creating a new identity every time. When Pheto's statement is linked to the multi-flex, neo-hybrid identity theory she is no longer forced to conform to a rigid racial identity of being subject to pursue the Eurocentric ideology of beauty but as a postmodern African woman, she can partake in the multiplicity of identities through the various hairstyle choices available to her by the beauty market. This is what the multi-flex, neo-hybrid identity enables her to do as well as to decentre the Eurocentric ideology of beauty as the apex of beauty. By consuming various hairstyles Pheto can navigate through various identities (refer to figure 7.5 above).

In figure 7.5 Pheto is wearing a big curly afro. Her hair which forms the focus of the whole image takes up most of the image space therefore the reader's attention is focused on her hair. This can be described as the signifier/firstness, denotative/ iconic interpretation of the image. The secondness, connotative/indexical meaning to this image is that Pheto chooses a natural curly afro hairstyle which is associated with an Afrocentric identity. She looks directly into the camera which suggests that she is powerful and confident about her natural African hairstyle. Thirdness/symbolic level of this image can be interpreted in the following way: natural hair should be worn with confidence.

In *DRUM Hair* 2015 edition when actress Nomzamo Mbatha was asked what her hair means to her she responded, "A new attitude. Each hairstyle I get gives me a new feeling and persona" (Kumona 2015:10). In figure 7.10 Mbatha wears a long brown curly weave with a pink top and black suede pants with black heeled shoes this can be described as the firstness/denotation or iconic interpretation of the image. The indexical/connotative/secondness of the image can be interpreted in this way: Mbatha does not wear her own hair but instead wears a long brown weave (artificial hair) to create a different persona to that of her natural hair look. Her choice of wearing a long curly brown weave (long hair is associated with European femininity), the colour pink as well as high heeled shoes can be viewed as a very feminine look or persona. The long weave which Mbatha wears is not her natural hair but is artificial hair and the hairstyle is an expensive look. The thirdness or symbolic level

of this image shows that Mbatha has the money to invest in expensive weaves which helps her to create a new persona or identity. A new hairstyle creates a new you or identity.

Figure 7. 10: Mbatha wears long brown curly weave to create a new persona.

Actress Ayanda Borotho on the other hand in *DRUM Hair* 2019 edition speaks about the impact that going natural had on her life. Cutting her hair short a few years ago was the beginning of a life-changing journey for Borotho. When Borotho was asked why she decided to go natural and wear her natural hair she stated,

> Three years ago I cut my hair and started afresh. You know, when I look at it in hindsight, I think that's when the whole *Unbecoming to Become* journey for my book started. That's when I started questioning things about my life, the decisions I've made and the things that influenced them, why I'm the way I am. Somewhere deep in my spirit, there was a connection to my physical self, because I was trying to take better care of myself- I had just had my last baby who's turning four soon, and so I wanted to focus more on myself. There was a connection between that yearning of my true self and what that would manifest like in my physical appearance. That's where the

hair decision came from, even though at the time, it wasn't as thoroughly processed as I'm articulating it right now (Ngwadla 2019:8)

The natural hairstyle which Borotho wore (refer to figure 7.11) to describe her journey to discovering her *true self* helped to construct her true identity, who she really is.

Figure 7. 11: Borotho wears a big natural afro hairstyle.

In figure 7.11 Borotho wears a big black afro hairstyle and a natural skin-toned chiffon dress. This can be interpreted as the iconic/denotative/firstness of figure 7.11. Borotho wears an almost skin tone coloured dress to match the natural look she intends to create. Her skin-coloured chiffon dress matches her afro hairstyle natural look. The bracelet on her arm which resembles a butterfly expands the natural/nature-theme of the image. She is smiling and looking directly into the camera which suggests her confidence and power which she projects of her true, natural self in this image. This can be described as the indexical, secondness, connotative meaning of figure 7.11. The thirdness/symbolic level of this image can be interpreted as Black women can be happy, confident and perceived as powerful when they wear and flaunt their natural hair.

Borotho's statement above aligns with McRobbie (1993) when she states that postmodernism authenticates marginalised discourses which were negated and suppressed in modern societies. Postmodernism provides a platform for the marginalised and enables them to articulate their experiences and perspectives. She argues that postmodern discourse questions concepts which relate to the "real me". This platform enables women to question femininity and create their own notion of femininity and identity (Durham & Kellner 2001). Borotho was thus able to assert her true self by choosing to wear an Afro in creating a natural African look. However, she did not always wear her natural hair. She went through a variety of hairstyles to get to wear her natural hair. She explains,

> for a very long time I went with the trends and did what everyone else did on their hair. So I did the whole relaxing my hair thing, then I wore my hair short for quite a while and then I did the weaves, but curly weaves because I realised I love big hair (Ngwadla 2019:8).

After she tried all of the hairstyles mentioned above Borotho wanted to discover her true self and needed a hairstyle to project her true identity. By wearing her natural hair Borotho was able to construct an identity which manifests her true self through this new hairstyle. The examples above indicate how the African woman can construct an identity for herself through her hairstyle choice.

7.5. Overview of Research Findings

This chapter critically examined how the media perpetuates the construction of a post-modern/(post)colonial new identity for African women namely a multi-flex, neo-hybrid identity through the presentation of an assortment of hairstyles available to African women. By making use of local South African celebrities to wear an assortment of hairstyles both artificial and natural hairstyles, *DRUM Hair* magazine provides the African woman with the tools to navigate from one identity to the next through the hairstyle she chooses to wear. This chapter also illustrates that the wearing of artificial hair by African women is not portrayed as something negative but is portrayed as an accessory which forms part of the postmodern identity of the African woman. The argument that African women who wear artificial hair such as weaves conform to the colonial legacy of beauty is engaging African hair and identity from a colonial perspective. I challenge this perspective and assert that there is a

clear shift towards a liberatory postmodern multi-flex, neo-hybrid identity where the African woman has the freedom to choose how she presents herself through her choice of hairstyle. The wearing of weaves, short natural hair, the colouring of hair in different colours, Afros, natural braids, artificial braids and all sort of hairstyles are ways of African women navigating a postmodern identity. An identity that is multiple and flexible (Multi-flex) and neo hybrid – not a mixture but navigatory forms of identity. The market place and capitalist culture provide the platforms for the African woman to participate in this.

7.6. Conclusion

The multi-flex, neo-hybrid identity of the African woman was highlighted and identified by the examination of six editions of *DRUM Hair* magazine namely, editions 2014-2019. Through the presentation of an assortment of hairstyles available to African women in *DRUM Hair* magazine and presented by celebrities, the African woman can navigate a panoply of identities through the hairstyles she chooses to wear.

There are critical issues to engage in exploring the multi-flex, neo-hybrid identities of African women broadly. Firstly, understanding that the media do have the power to construct ideology or agenda, it is clear that celebrities and the media through *Drum Hair* Magazine present a multi-flex representation of African women. But beyond media representation, do women see themselves in this postmodernist identity? Secondly, understanding the colonial-apartheid history of South Africa, it is equally necessary to explore if the colonial-apartheid construction of women's (specifically Black and Coloured) identities through hair has given way to new post-apartheid liberatory forms of identity. The subsequent chapters of the research findings will present data on these. The next chapter examines if women born during the colonial-apartheid era identify with this multi-flex neo-hybrid identity or if the colonial-apartheid experience continues to shape their identity through their hair choices.

CHAPTER 8

INTERGENERATIONAL (POST)COLONIAL NARRATIVES ABOUT HAIR BY COLONIAL-BORN COLOURED SOUTH AFRICAN FEMALES
(Second chapter of Data Presentation)

8.1. Introduction

In the previous chapter, I discussed how the media construct a new identity for African women through the presentation and commodification of hair and hairstyles available to African women. In this chapter, however, I investigate whether this type of new identity for African women affects Coloured females who were born during colonialism and apartheid (colonial-born). It is important to study this population and this period of their birth. The reason for this is that colonialism and apartheid reflect the history of White cultural domination as well as because Coloured women tried to pass for Whiteness by aspiring to have Caucasian hair during this period. It is also important to study this population because now we live in a rainbow democratic nation within the dominance of Blackness it is therefore important to gauge whether this perception of hair has changed amongst the colonial-born Coloured females in this new post-apartheid South Africa.

The objective of this study, therefore, is to ascertain through a first-hand encounter how the historical context and current hair trends influence the African female's choice of hairstyle and the impact this has on the (re) presentation of her identity. Therefore, this chapter focuses on the presentation and interpretation of findings from semi-structured intergenerational interviews of Capetonian, Coloured women. To gain a first-hand encounter of the historical experiences of African, Coloured women, this study made use of personal story interviews namely, intergenerational phenomenological narratives. These women are biologically related and represent two generations of Coloured women who were born during the period of colonialism and apartheid. This background will assist in identifying Coloured women's intergenerational (post)colonial narratives of hair.

8.2. Data Management and Analysis

The data collected was from semi-structured interviews/personal accounts/ personal story interviews namely, intergenerational phenomenological narratives of Coloured women from Cape Town.

Purposive sampling was used for the selection of personal story interviews. Coloured women were chosen for this study since my study focuses on African women who experienced cultural White domination during the colonial period. Five Coloured women from Cape Town were purposively chosen as they first form part of the category of 'African' women in South Africa. Secondly, Coloured women were chosen as they were criticised for their hair texture during the apartheid era (Powe 2009; Posel 2011). Thirdly, Cape Town is a significant geographical area since the Cape Colony is where the colonialism of South African began and where the social construction of race and citizenship in South African started. These five Coloured women are biologically related which is important to gauge whether the perception of hair and identity is passed on from generation to generation. These women were also born and bred in Cape Town and are well acquainted with the city's history and culture. I have convenient access to these women therefore they were chosen. They also provided a rich background to the Coloured history and culture.

Each of the women was interviewed separately to engage in a detailed discussion about their accounts of their hair. The ages of the women chosen varied from 48 years to 104 years. Below is Table 8.1. *Colonial-born Coloured female participant information* which includes information about each participant.

Furthermore, first-hand encounters of the historical context and current hair trends that influenced the Coloured female's choice of hairstyle was explored. The transcribed data from the intergenerational phenomenological narratives namely personal stories of the five Coloured women were thematically analysed. This analysis was based on Terre Blanche et al.'s (2014) five-step interpretive data analysis. This analysis consists of five steps which include familiarisation and immersion, inducing themes, coding, elaborating and interpretation and checking (Terre Blanche et al. 2014:332-326).

Table 8.1: Colonial-born Coloured female participant information.

Participant Number	Age and Occupation	Hairstyle Type at time of interview
Participant 1	70-year-old, a retired teacher	Shoulder length straightened hair
Participant 2	104-year-old, a retired teacher	Very short grey natural hair, covered with a hat
Participant 3	49-year-old, home executive	Long straightened hair
Participant 4	62- year- old, nurse	Short straight hair
Participant 5	48-year-old, home executive	Long straightened hair

There are some critical questions addressed to the Coloured females born during colonialism and apartheid. Some of the critical questions which I asked them included the following:

- Please share with me your understanding of an individual passing for a White or Coloured person?

- Could you share a personal experience of where you had to change your hairstyle/ hair texture or looks to fit in? If not your own experience but an example of someone else, you know who went through a similar experience?

- Why do you think that you or others would want to change their hair/hairstyle?

- Why are hair/hairstyles or certain bodily features important to the Coloured community?

- Is there anything that stands out in your mind perhaps a thought or advice that your mom gave you about your hair that you can still remember? For example, how your hair should look like?

- What advice did you give to your daughters about their hair when they were little?

For more details on the semi-structured interview questions please refer to Appendix I.

8.3. Research Results

The thematic findings presented here provide an overview of Coloured females (post)colonial narratives about hair and identity by exploring first-hand encounters of the historical context and current hair trends that influence the Coloured female's choice of hairstyles. The following themes surfaced in the analysis of the interview data.

8.3.1. Whiteness as the Hegemon

Drawing from the participants' responses, Whiteness continues to be used as a benchmark of superiority when it comes to beauty and identity in the minds of the Coloured female participants. White features, for example, a fair skin complexion, gladde hare (straight hair), a pointed and not a flat nose are what is described as beautiful especially when it comes to the birth of a new-born baby in the Coloured community. As participant 5 (the 48-year-old) explains:

> I think it is the curse of the past that has indoctrinated us to conform to certain standards of look when the child is born. The child is only cute when the child has a sharp nose, blue eyes, straight and blonde hair. When the child's features are different from these norms then the child is not regarded as beautiful according to our indoctrination and yet when a child is born how beautiful is a child period

In a similar tone participant, 4 (the 62-year-old) clarifies the reason that Coloureds place Whiteness as superior to Colouredness and states

> …fair skin is seen as beautiful for a baby, while if your baby had darker skin…negative comments would be made. Straight hair will be seen as beautiful and *kroes* hair (tightly curled hair) would be seen as ugly and for the skin colour, you had to be fair to be beautiful. To have darker skin is not seen as being beautiful.

Participant 1 (the 70-year-old) also provides a reason for this view of Whiteness which Coloureds possess and states

> We want the child to be accepted by everybody. We want people to find the child to be beautiful. This is what we want and also we don't want our child

to suffer with their hair the same way that we did…Capetonian Coloureds define beautiful hair as straight hair and beautiful features as a little sharp nose, a nicely shaped mouth and nice skin colour.

Participant 3 (the 49-year-old) clarifies the reason why Whiteness is at the apex of beauty when it comes to the birth of a new-born child. She stated:

Because it is ingrained down the generations through socialisation and indoctrination of our parents' parents who grew up in the apartheid era that aspiring to be White or like a White dominant culture is superior and that's what should be aspired to and the children's' children should follow suit. If a child is born and a child is phenotypically more White, then that child is a prized possession or referred to as [1]*O maar die kind is mooi, kyk die mooi hare en die mooi oe, kyk hoe lig is die vel, dit gaan so bly* and you would know that a Coloured family will watch and see for the first six months to see if any changes happen to that child. If that child's skin colour goes any darker or if that child's hair changes texture and colour or if that child's [2]spits neus becomes as flat as sardines squashed together in a sardine can. They follow closely all of that kind of growth because those features are aspired to.

The findings above closely relate to the literature discussed in chapter 2 where with colonialism Europe assumed intellectual superiority to the colonised and their exploitative relations between non-White people began (Rodney 1972). It was during colonialism that the superior-inferior social classifications were created. New identities were created not only by race but "by degrees of humanity associated with the constructed identities" (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013:130). Skin which was lighter in colour was associated closer with humanity and this provided the background which led to the psychological supremacy of White people over Black people (Maldonado-Torres 2007). Do the above findings also align with Bellinger's (2007) study entitled *Why African American women try to obtain Good Hair?* The study found that one of the reasons why the participants changed their natural hair texture was because it resembled Caucasian hair and it would provide them with better job opportunities or

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[1] A direct translation of that Afrikaans sentence is: Oh but the child is beautiful. Look at its beautiful hair and the beautiful eyes. Look at how light or fair in complexion the skin of the child is. It will stay like this.
[2] Spits neus is the Afrikaans word for sharp nose.

promotions. In another study by Thompson (2009), she argues that beauty and identity are socially constructed through language, texts and mediated images. She further states that the Eurocentric standard of beauty affects how Black women interpret physical attractiveness, self-esteem and identity. Black beauty is denied to exist and is only seen as beautiful when it is altered. Straightened Black hair which resembles Caucasian hair is linked to being beautiful. This study found that very little had changed with the politicisation of Black hair and that Black people remain to contend the beauty standards of the past.

Whiteness is still perceived as the epitome of beauty within the mind-set of the Coloured female participants, even in post-apartheid South Africa. There is an aspiration towards Whiteness to achieve this epitome of beauty. The yearning to achieve Whiteness can be found in the hair rituals or practices of the Coloured female participants. For the participants' hair to appear straight and resemble Whiteness, there are various hair rituals which need to be practised for them to attain straight hair. Some participants made use of chemical relaxers or straighteners or Brazilian treatments (which is also a hair straightener) to straighten their hair. The use of expensive hair products, such as chemical relaxers, straighteners and Brazilian treatments continue to form part of the current hair practices of the Coloured participants. This, therefore, reveals a continual aspiration towards Whiteness by the participants in a post-apartheid era.

Participant 2 (the104-year-old) who no longer can do her hair now wears her natural hair covered up with a hat states:

> I lived for relaxing my hair…to get my hair very straight and to get my hair very long. I went to the hairdresser very near to where we stayed and I went there every Friday. I went so often that it seemed as if I wanted other, different hair. My hair had to be straight to look pretty.

Participant 5 (the 48-year-old) affirms this ritual and states:

> I used various products on my hair. All Coloured women treat their hair all the time. I have used chemicals from straighteners to relaxers to Brazilians (a treatment which acts as a hair straightener).

Participant 1 (the 70-year-old) states:

When I was working I could go to the hairdresser and buy and purchase Redken hair products. It is quite pricey, and whether the results were successful was another story. I even made use of horse shampoo for my hair to grow… And you know for us, every three months we have to make a plan to relax our hair so if the relaxer doesn't last for three months by two months the regrowth comes out, which means we need to make a plan to relax our hair again for it to be straight.

Participant 1(the 70-year-old) and participant 2 (the 104-year-old) wore wigs for their hair to resemble straightness or Whiteness. Participant 1 stated:

I had a lot of wigs. I have a blonde wig, an in-between wig, a short wig that fitted short on my head and I found the wigs convenient especially when I went to teacher's conferences and meetings… I also wore a hairpiece, like a ponytail but it was so painful because it was pressed into my scalp to make sure that it stays and doesn't fall off.

Participant 2 (the 104-year-old) states: "I wore wigs, very smooth and straight wigs as well as curly wigs to make my hair look straight. I couldn't let my hair look *kroes* (tightly curled) because I taught at a school in front of all those school children. Straight hair was considered beautiful."

Participant 1 (the 70-year-old) may not have worn a wig during the interview but the hairstyle which she wore was a straightened one. This could imply that she still believes that straight hair is beautiful. Participant 2 (the 104-year-old) no longer has the mental capacity or capability to chemically straighten or chemically relax her hair since she is old, instead she wears a hat which covers her naturally textured hair. Participant 5 (the 48-year-old) continues to chemically straighten her hair since the hairstyle she wore during the interview was a straightened hairstyle.

Most of the participants followed a certain weekly hair ritual which was either visiting the hair salon regularly or doing their hair at home which included the washing of hair, rolling of hair, blowing out of hair as well as flat ironing of hair and finally making

use of a [3]*swirl kouse* on the head to have their hair lie flat and to make the roots lie flat and look straight. Participant 1 (the 70-year-old) noted,

> Even now that my hair is like this, it is still an effort to wash it, to make four paths in my hair and to blow dry it out and to iron my hair. Daily I comb my hair and put it in a ponytail and if I know I am going somewhere I would *swirl* my hair by putting a stocking on my head so that the roots of my hair can lie flat. Weekly I go to the hairdresser to wash my hair and every three months I used the Keratin (straightener) treatment on my hair.

Participant 3 (the 49-year-old) noted: "I will use all the products to make my hair look as straight as possible and try and sleep with a *swirl kouse*… for my hair to lie flat and look sleek." Participant 5 (the 48-year-old) recalls the hair rituals she had as a child and states:

> I do remember the *swirl kouse* fondly. After your hair was washed and dried, it was rolled in curlers, dried with a hairdryer. It would be taken out of the curlers, brushed you could swirl your hair and keep the *swirl kouse* on your hair in that direction for several hours and also at night and the next day. You would comb it out and swirl it again in the opposite direction and sleep with it on for the night and the next day your hair would be pretty presentable.

Not only is straight hair perceived as beautiful but long sleek hair is admired and aspired to. This is what participant 3 (the 49-year-old) explains:

> So the longer my hair is the more admired it becomes since people always compliment me on my long hair. It is not necessarily the case with shorter hair or hair that is not below the shoulders. As soon as your hair becomes longer than your shoulders it becomes in many ways aspired to and I have since learnt that long hair is a statement of wealth that generally women who come from wealthier families or who are married to wealthier husbands

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[3] A *'swirl kouse'* is a slang word used amongst the Coloured community to refer to used pantyhose. This pantyhose is used as part of the popular hair ritual of Coloured females before bedtime. The way in which to create a *swirl kouse* is as follows: Take an old pair of clean stockings or pantyhose. Cut off one of the legs of the pantyhose and tie a knot on one end while keeping the other end open to place on your head. *Swirl* your hair by brushing and wrapping your hair around your head, while doing this keep one hand at the top of the head to keep your hair flat. Place the *swirl kouse* on your head and turn it around your head until all your hair is flat and neat under the *swirl kouse* and go to bed.

have a luxury of having their hair long and maintaining their long hair and wearing it long because the maintenance increases with longer hair.

The participants continue to spend large amounts of money to make their hair look straight or sleek. They would spend from between R500 to R2000 on hair products and salon visits to achieve sleek hair. Participant 5 (the 48-year-old) states: "I spend anything from R700 to a R1000 if not R2000 on the chemical products that I expose my hair to reach an end result to straighten my hair" Participant 1 (the 70-year-old) noted that no matter the amount of money she spends on her hair; her hair remains kroes. The kroesness of her hair always comes back. Participant 1 (the 70-year-old) notes:

> Like I told you that I used to spend R1800 for treatment. For the colour, not even the colour but the touch-up, then just an ordinary treatment, and a blow out that comes between R800 to R1000 and when I go do the treatment it was R1800 plus colour. I used to spend a lot of money and now my hair is still the same, it stays kroes.

Adhikari (2013) refers to this when he states that head hair and hair texture has always been part of the 'Coloured' identity in South Africa. The obsession with hair and hair texture is linked to assimilationism which can be described as one of the essential features which were at the heart of the Coloured identity. Throughout the 20th century, the Coloured community under White supremacy was marginalised, this is reflected in the history of South Africa (Adhikari 2013). The Coloured community, therefore, yearned for acceptance into the dominant society of white supremacy to share in the benefits of citizenship (Adhikari 2006). The acculturation of Coloureds into the Western bourgeois culture was seen as the ultimate climax of human progression and achievement. The emphasis placed on achieving this demonstrated that Coloured people lived up to White middle class 'respectability' and legitimised Coloured peoples' claims to full citizenship rights. Thus being White in mind, spirit and achievement were one of the strongest imperatives of social achievement amongst the Coloured people (Adhikari 2006).

Due to the rejection of assimilation of Coloured people into the dominant society, the Coloured community alternatively defended their rights and promoted their interests as a group by emphasizing their difference to Africans or Black South Africans.

Erasmus (2001:13) also describes her understanding of being Coloured as "not White but less than White, not Black but better than Black". This intermediate position gave Coloured people significant privileges as compared to Africans, therefore the motive behind their assertion of 'colouredness' was to protect this position of privilege in the fear of being consigned to the status of Africans. The imperative of being associated with Whiteness whether it be in the value placed on straight hair or fairer skin, or the prizing of White ancestors in their family lineage, highlighted the Coloured people's obsession with their association of Whiteness and their distancing from Africanness (Adhikari 2006).

Hendricks (2001) similarly speaks to this phenomenon when he states that 'race'-fixed identities which stemmed from 'scientific' theories in Europe during the nineteenth century are interconnected to the construction of identity. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century 'scientific racism' was seen as the stimulus for the development of racist practices which further developed and evolved in South Africa. This, therefore, implies that "racialized distinctions with their corresponding boundary markers and hierarchical valuations were not prevalent at the Cape before this period which makes it a twentieth-century phenomenon" (Hendricks 2001:30). Lipton (1986) describes the defining characteristics of apartheid where race was defined by physical characteristics namely skin colour. This factor in the hierarchical ordering of economic, political and social structures was seen as imperative to the ideology of apartheid. The institutionalisation of the segregation policies contributed towards its naturalising where individuals internalised and gave meaning to the identities conferred onto them through their lived experiences and active involvement in defining racial boundaries (Hendricks 2001).

From the above, it is clear that Whiteness continues to remain a benchmark of beauty for the Coloured female participants and remains the hegemon when it comes to beauty. Whiteness is seen as superior to that of Colouredness since gladde hare is seen as more beautiful than kroes hair, fair skin is seen as more beautiful to darker skin and a sharp nose is seen as more beautiful than a flat nose. Within the historical context of hair and identity in South Africa Whiteness was at the apex of beauty and phenotypical European features were perceived as superior. This perception, however, remains relevant amongst Coloureds today.

8.3.2. The lingering legacy of the inferiority of 'self'

The lingering legacy of the inferiority of non-White bodies and the inferiority of the 'self' which was imposed by colonialism and apartheid continues to be evident and is revealed in the responses of the Coloured participants when they compare their hair and Coloured features to that of White *gladde hare* (straight hair) and White features. According to participant 1 (the 70-year-old):

> *Gladde hare* is still perceived as beautiful hair. People with *gladde hare* are still considered to be from a higher class and they are associated with prestige. *Gladde hare* brings a sense of upliftment and pride.

Participant 1 (the 70-year-old) explains what she means by this and notes:

> My mother went to teach in Oudtshoorn and she lived with Mrs Potts those were the uppity ups people, the people with the hair. My mother had short hair but her mother taught her that she had to be smart and she shouldn't think that you are inferior to them.

Participant 1 (the 70-year-old) further recalls an incident where her straightened hair helped her to fit into her environment. She states:

> My mother and I used to [4]Wella straight our hair and I remember going to Mossel Bay with my son and his White male friend. They were playing in the water and the White guy probably didn't know if I was 'n [5]boere meit van die plaas but my straightened hair sort of uplifted me to fit in nicely with my son's friend.

Participant 5 (the 48-year-old) aptly describes the current thinking of the Coloured people when it comes to beauty when she states:

> Capetonians are still clinging to that idea that White identity is beautiful. They have difficulties in moving beyond that in work environments and social circles. *[6]Hulle soek nog altyd vir wit mense* to socialise with White

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[4] Wella straight is the name of a product used to straighten hair.
[5] A 'boere meit' van die plaas, directly translated means a farm girl or maid.
[6] 'Hulle soek nog altyd vir wit mense' directly translated means, they still look for white people

people, you must be fair-skinned then you are regarded as superior in society…your hair and your skin is still such a vital part of your identity.

Within a Capetonian Coloured context participant, 4 (the 62-year-old) describes the comparison between kroes hair and sleek hair. She notes:

Straight hair is viewed as beautiful hair and kroes hair would be viewed as ugly hair. I think the reason for this is because of the way we were reared probably and how our parents were reared and this is what they passed down to us… and probably they thought that having straight hair and being fair in complexion made you clever and you know I am sure that apartheid had something to do with it.

Participant 1 (the 70-year-old) also describes her current perception of kroes hair when she states:

Kroes hair and a flat nose are associated with a Bushman and so as Coloureds, we still don't want to be associated with Bushmen or if your child has a big bum [7]*ooo jinne nee asseblief*. But it's a fact. That is what the White man put into us man because that's the way they treated us they would treat a Black Indian better that had straight hair and think more of him than they think of you that has '[8]*n kroes kop en plat neus*.

Kroes hair is also known as 'n [9]*taai* kop is associated with Blackness which is ridiculed. It is also associated with struggle and pain, the struggle of maintaining *kroes* hair. Participant 1 (the 70-year-old) describes how ashamed she was of her natural hair and states:

I also used to wear wigs then I would swim with my wig on and be so careful that it doesn't fall off. My embarrassing moment was when it was hot and I was wearing a wig [10]*dan loop die sweet*. Now you want to push the wig to wipe off the sweat but if you do that you might just push the whole wig and then it moves back while everyone is looking at you. So then you decide to just move the fringe of the wig but at the same time,

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[7] 'Ooo jinne asseblief' directly translated from Afrikaans means Oh no please
[8] 'n kroes kop en plat neus' is Afrikaans for kinky hair and a flat nose
[9] 'taai kop' is a slang Afrikaans word for a kinky head of hair
[10] 'dan loop die sweet' means the sweat runs down my head

you are afraid that the wig will fall off. Or the wig moves up from the back and then your hair [11]*korrels* are sitting at the back of your head and you are sitting in a meeting and everyone looks at your hair to see that the hair on top of your head is different from the hair at the back of your head because that is your natural hair. Those were very embarrassing moments with hair.

Participant 3 (the 49-year-old) describes the shame which Coloured hair is associated with when it gets wet and returns to its natural state. She notes:

If you are a Coloured woman you will know that your hair is temperamental just like you are. So your hair goes through menopause, through a menstrual cycle, postmenstrual and ovulation at times as well and that's supposed to be the best times so your hair is just totally temperamental it responds to the weather when you want it to and when you don't want it to. Coloured women will always make sure that their hair is tied in a ponytail when they go to the beach and when they swim, they always make sure that they have a [12]*pom-pom* to tie their hair because the way they went into to the water and the way they emerge from the water is totally different. The state of their hair will change when they come out of the water. Hence they take conditioners, hair gels, their pom-poms, their combs and products with them because when they come out of the water their hairbrushes won't be able to control their unruly hair.

Participant 1 (the 70-year-old) shares a similar experience with swimming and her state of her hair. She notes:

So my hair needed tender loving care and when we went swimming I never dipped my hair in the water. I would only swim so far (showing her shoulders) because I was scared that my hair would go back to its natural state and I am far away from hairdressers and I don't know the people in the

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[11] 'korrels' is an Afrikaans which refers to the texture of hair, it means it is tightly coiled and resembles peppercorns.
[12] A pom-pom is slang for a hair band used to tie up your hair into a ponytail

town and it's not going to nice and that [13]*boertjie i*s going to look at my hair and he may even be shy of… [14]*"Kyk hier! Kyk die antie se kroes kop!"*

The inferiority of the self is described when participant 1(the 70-year-old) further describes her conversations with her friends when she states that her friends made her feel inferior in their conversations with one another when they were talking about someone else's hair texture. This is what she said:

> My friends made me feel like that in their conversations and they would say. "Look! She likes him but did you see she's a [15]bushy, she's got kroes hair." Those were the words and terminology they would use. You're a Bushman, you've got *kroes* hair of *jy is 'n taai kop* things like that. Then you would sit in the company and you would shake your head also admitting that it is like that knowing that it hurts you but not show it.

Participant 1 (the 70-year-old) also talks about how this view of the inferiority of the self has infiltrated down to her family when she states:

> Even now my daughter in law's mother spoke to me about somebody and said: "They haven't got straight hair but their hair is nice now. She mentioned this not reflecting on me but to someone else that is a friend but it will still touch some little parts inside you not that you think that you are lower than them because you know things have changed but it makes you think goodness gracious they are still at this stage where hair is important. And then I think of my son's three kids one of the girls don't have straight, straight hair like the other siblings but her hair isn't kroes but its bushy straight you see. So they call her *bossie kop.* [16]*"Kyk die bossie kop!"* then I would say don't say that because that brings negative things and makes the child feel inferior.

Participant 5 (the 48-year-old) is aware of the inferiority of non-White bodies, however; she chooses a different approach. She states:

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[13]13 'boertjie' in this context means white person
[14] 'Kyk hier! Kyk die auntie se kroes kop means directly translated, "Look here! Look at this auntie's kinky hair".
[15] The word 'bushy' here refers to bushman
[16] 'kyk die bossie kop' means look at the bush head. This refers to the child as having a bush of hair that looks like a bushman's hair.

My children are dark of complexion… I know all too well what it is like to work with my children having different features to that of Whiteness. My children are dark and I want them to celebrate their darkness and themselves and to have that pride in their skin colour and their hair. My youngest daughter refuses to relax her hair and I leave her like that. I am not going to force her. My eldest again likes to have her hair sleek. But I want my children to be proud of their skin colour and their hair. Nothing should ever attack that in their minds or alter that perception in their minds about themselves.

What is interesting to note about participant 5 (the 48-year-old) is that her youngest daughter refuses to relax her hair. This could point to the fact that now in post-1994 some younger children celebrate their natural hair by refusing to chemically relax their hair.

Kroes hair is still prohibited and shameful and is ugly on its own. Participant 3 (the 49-year-old) explains how walking around with '*n kroes kop* (natural tightly curled hair) was prohibited by her grandmother. She notes:

My grandmother would always say when I was young and frizzed my natural hair she would give me one look and say to me, *"[17]En hoekom is you hare so kroes?"* Because she knew that if I had my hair blow-dried it would look straight or wavy and she preferred it that way. My mother didn't say anything bad about my hair but my grandmother would. Even up till today, if I have to go to her now with my hair looking what it looks like now, she will say, [18]*"Kan jy nie jou hare was nie? [19]Hoekom lyk jou hare soe?"* So I will make sure that my hair is straight when I go and visit her.

Kroes hair is described as hard, thick, short hair which is unruly, uncontrollable and too bushy. It needs to be controlled for it to be perceived as presentable. Participant 5 (the 48-year-old) gives her perception of Coloured hair:

Coloured women's hair is a combination of either being coarse and fine but curly or thin and curly or thick and bushy and curly and dry and I got the last

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[17] "En hoekom is jou hare so kroes?" means "And why is your hair so kinky?"
[18] "Kan jy nie jou hare was nie?" means "Can't you go and wash your hair?"
[19] "Hoekom lyk you hare soe?" This means "why does your hair look that way?"

one. So when my hair gets too thick, too curly and too bushy and it beats Tina Turner, I would decide its time do something drastic and then I would either cut or straighten or colour or I do all of it to try and maintain control over this hair because Coloured hair is uncontrollable at times.

Another example of the lingering legacy of inferiority is when participant 5 (the 48-year-old) does not feel comfortable with wearing her natural hair when she notes:

I don't think I have had the boldness to allow my hair to be the bushiest that it can possibly be and the curliest that it possibly can be but I will try it one day and let all resistance crumble and let all inhibitions fade away.

What is also interesting to note is that none of the participants has ever worn hairstyles associated with Blackness such as braids, afros or dreadlocks. The only type of hairstyle they have tried is straight hair or frizzy hair (which is straight hair which is made wet and is left to dry by itself with no application of heat). Here are some of their responses to this. Participant 1 (the 70-year-old) states:

I wanted to wear dreadlocks once but my husband didn't like the idea. He didn't agree with me getting dreadlocks and he didn't appreciate my gesture. So I thought no let me rather not do it.

The above statement of participant 1 (the 70-year-old) resonates with Lifton (1993) who describes the multiplicity, versatility and mutability of selves in postmodern culture as protean which is a term that refers to Proteus, Greek sea god of changeable forms. Proteus the Greek sea god was changeable in shape and form similar to the postmodern self which is dynamic, fluid, mobile and adaptable in nature. However, even though participant 1 wants to participate in the multiplicity of identities she is prohibited to do so by her husband and therefore forfeits the opportunity to do so.

Participant 4 (the 62-year-old) states: "I would not wear any kinky hairstyles. No, we want to rather be associated with and have straight hair instead and I don't know why." Participant 5 (the 48-year-old) also notes:

No, I have never changed my hairstyle to wigs or weaves or braids because I wouldn't be able to manage it and putting it on and taking it off, a wig for example even a weave. If you wash it, you have pieces that come out… So

for me no I haven't gone that route I have just used my own hair and did with it what I could.

Participant 1 (the 70-year-old) states: "No because it's not my style. I think it's for younger people. An afro I think I will try it in summer. I don't like braids because I am so afraid of being associated with Rasta people and I don't want to be associated with them." Participant 3 (the 49-year-old) says: "No I didn't try an Afro because my hair wouldn't be able to form an Afro but it would be bushy and curly and frizzy. Braids look too painful and we suffer enough with our hair."

The perception of kroes hair as ugly, shameful and unacceptable while straight hair is seen as beautiful seems to be generational amongst the participants as all the participants never changed or tried any other hairstyles besides straight hair over the years. This perception is evident in the participants' responses. Participant 1 (the 70-year-old) recalls what her mother always used to say about her hair. She would say "[20]*Moenie met 'n kroes kop rond loop nie".* Participant 3 (the 49-year-old) states that "up until today if my daughters' hair becomes a bit too frizzy I would say [21]*nee daai hare is te kroes. O Vader!"* Participant 2 (the 104-year-old) also believed that kroes hair was ugly since she took her daughter regularly to the hairdresser to be straightened. Participant 2 (the 104-year-old) states: I made sure that my daughter went to the hair salon every week…because her hairs were kroes. …I told the hairstylist to make her hair straight …it must be straight to be beautiful even at school. It must lie flat".

The responses above relate to literature on race, body and identity in South Africa as not only skin colour but hair texture played a role in determining the race of individual South Africans during the apartheid era.   With a certain race came certain privileges therefore individuals would try to 'pass' as another race by straightening their hair (Thompson 2009). Hair associated with Africanness and kinkiness was laden with symbols of oppression and inferiority (Banks 2005). During apartheid in South Africa, identities were framed in terms of race which were defined by physical characteristics such as the texture of one's hair, and the colour of one's skin. Other bodies were defined as part of a particular narrative that saw them as inferior to that of White bodies. This resulted in them attempting to hide their natural identity and

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[20]" Moenie met 'n kroes kop rond loop nie" this means "Don't walk around with kinky hair."
[21] "nee daai hare is te kroes. O Vader!". This means: "No that hair is too kinky. O my goodness!"

race, and pass for another race because of the benefits that Whiteness offered. This leads to a culture of violence on one's body (Oyedemi 2016).

Erasmus (2001) emphasises the importance placed on hair texture and the appearance of Coloured women's hair during the 1970s-1980s. The appearance of Coloured women's hair had an impact on achieving membership and recognition within South African society as a middle-class Coloured woman. Coloured women's hair consists of various textures which range from kroes (coarse) to curly, to wavy and straight. Course hair was viewed negatively and is associated with shame and Blackness while gladde hare[22] was associated with Whiteness (Erasmus 2001). Coloured women who had kroes hair were socially ridiculed and rejected by men since Coloured men were more interested in Coloured women who had gladde hare. Those who did not have gladde hare but kroes hair strived to obtain and maintain gladde hare by performing laborious hairstyling rituals which included the straightening of the hair once every six months. This would be an otiose exercise since once the hair was exposed to moisture or rain, the hair texture would return to its kroes state. She further states that the beliefs held by groups about hair texture and styling are maintained through group associations which play a role in the individual's self-esteem, identity, courtship, friendship and beauty (Erasmus 2001).

The obsession with hair and hair texture in the apartheid period and the identity which it communicated is fundamental to understanding the current perceptions which Coloured females hold about their hair today. It can, therefore, be said that the Coloured participants continue to view kinky or kroes hair as African and continue to distance themselves from hair which is not straight because kroes hair is associated with Africanness and laden with symbols of oppression and inferiority. In the above paragraphs, it is undeniable to acknowledge the lingering legacy of apartheid on the participants. The notion of *gladde hare* and fair in complexion as being beautiful has been passed on from generation to generation. The shame associated with kroes hair remains part of the baggage which Coloureds carry with them from the apartheid past.

In a post-apartheid, (post)colonial, postmodern South Africa where the hegemonic dominance of Blackness exists, colonial-born Coloured females continue to distance

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[22] Gladde hare is Afrikaans slang for sleek or straight hair. If an individual amongst the Coloured community had this type of sleek hair texture, his or her hair would be perceived as being "good", beautiful hair.

themselves from being associated with Blackness and continue to pursue Whiteness. Hence, they suffer from the colonial cultural legacy of apartheid when it comes to hair and identity. They view beauty through a colonial lens and have not embraced the liberatory postmodern view of African hair and identity. Thus the colonial-born Coloured female participants' views have not changed but remain stagnant in the colonial legacy of apartheid.

Not only was hair texture an important determinant of identity in the apartheid era but with the establishment of apartheid, the 1950 Registration Act identified four racial groups namely, White (those of European descent), Coloureds (mixed), Blacks and Indians (Asians from former British India), each with its own identifiable characteristics. What is important to note about the Coloured racial group is that the Coloured identity was never seen as an identity in its own right instead it was seen as an identity which was associated with shame, immorality, sexual promiscuity, illegitimacy, impurity and untrustworthiness (Erasmus 2000). It was known as the impure, mixed-race which resisted the very discourse of apartheid as this race was unclassifiable. Its classification was considered ambiguous and ambivalent (Reddy 2001). Hence it would be interesting to gauge and understand how the colonial-born Coloured female participants identify themselves in a post-apartheid, post-modern and (post)colonial South Africa.

8.3.3. Coloured Identity Defined

The definition of what it means to be a Coloured person is not that simple to define as some Coloureds refuse to be associated with the term Coloured while others embrace it. However, all of the participants of this study identify themselves as Coloureds. Some of them identified Whiteness as being part of their ancestry. The participants defined themselves and emphasised their White or European ancestry while de-emphasised or downplayed their Black ancestry when asked about their Colouredness or Coloured ancestry. For example, participant 1 (the 70-year-old) stated: "My father's father was French", while participant 3 (the 49-year-old) stated:

> My version of the story is that my maternal grandfather has French heritage …hence my grandfather is mixed not pure French but mixed and my maternal grandmother would be Khoisan I would think mostly, but she would

always say her mother had the most beautiful, long, straight black hair…My paternal grandfather was an Afrikaaner, a White man and my paternal grandmother was Indian, hence my father is of mixed race

Another interesting way some of the participants described their ancestry was by describing the complexion and hair texture of the members in their family. Participant 2 (the 104-year-old) stated:

> My mother was light of complexion and she had long straight hair. My father was dark and had a lot of hair and his beautiful wife with her long black hair used to say to him, "Listen, you are messing up the whole business of making children because of the type of hair you have".

When asked about her identity as a Cape Coloured, participant 1 (the 70-year-old) also mentions the complexion and the hair texture of her family members to describe her identity. She states:

> My mother's mother had very long black straight hair but she married a man who was dark with kroes hair. In those days they had those mixed marriages so they didn't know whether he was a mixture of Black and Coloured because two of my mother's brothers had kroes hair and the other two had straight hair because of my grandmother. My daddy's brother wasn't' Black but he was blush met *gladde hare en mooi* (straight hair and beautiful) features. My daddy's father's first lot of children is fair with straight hair and he gave birth to a son with straight hair then he got married to a girl with black hair and their children had blonde hair.

Another interesting observation is participant 3 (the 49-year-old) description of the Coloured identity. She defines the Coloured identity from the essentialist perspective when describing Coloureds as a mixed race. She states: "My maternal grandfather is mixed not pure French but mixed…. My paternal grandfather was an [23]Afrikaaner, a White man and my paternal grandmother was Indian, hence my father is of mixed race and my mother is of mixed race which produces me of mixed race. I am a colourful person".

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[23] A 'Afrikaaner' is a white person which speaks Afrikaans.

The essentialist approach describes the Coloured identity as a product of miscegenation which reduces Coloured identity to racial hybridity and racial mixing between the first Dutch settlers and the indigenous Khoisan and other non-European groups. This has become a typical and popular view of Coloured identity (Adhikari 2013).

The marginalisation and trivialisation of the Coloured identity continue to exist in post-apartheid South Africa (Erasmus 2001). During the colonial period, the Coloured identity was positioned in-between White and Black. This mid-way positioning dragged Coloured people into compromises in the political realm and shaped how Coloured people were viewed. The term 'Coloured' in South Africa remains the subject of ideological and political contestation since various definitions of the term exist.

The acculturation of Coloureds into the Western bourgeois culture was seen as the ultimate climax of human progression and achievement. The emphasis placed on achieving this demonstrated that Coloured people lived up to White middle class 'respectability' and legitimised Coloured peoples' claims to full citizenship rights. Thus being White in mind, spirit and achievement were one of the strongest imperatives of social achievement amongst the Coloured people (Adhikari 2006). This is the reason why hair texture has always been part of the 'Coloured' identity in South Africa. The obsession with hair and hair texture is linked to assimilationism which can be described as one of the essential features which were at the heart of the Coloured identity (Adhikari 2013).

Due to the rejection of assimilation of Coloured people into the dominant White society of apartheid, the Coloured community alternatively defended their rights and promoted their interests as a group by emphasising their difference to Africans or Black South Africans. The three-tiered racial hierarchical system of South Africa placed the Coloured community in an intermediate position with the dominant White minority at the top and the Black or African majority at the bottom of this hierarchy. Erasmus (2001:13) describes her understanding of being Coloured as "not White but less than White, not Black but better than Black".

This intermediate position during the apartheid era gave Coloured people significant privileges as compared to Africans, therefore the motive behind their assertion of

'colouredness' was to protect this position of privilege in the fear of being consigned to the status of Africans. The imperative of being associated with Whiteness whether it be in the value placed on straight hair or fairer skin, or the prizing of White ancestors in their family lineage, highlighted the Coloured people's obsession with their association of Whiteness and their distancing from Africanness (Adhikari 2006). Therefore, it is easy to understand why the Coloured female participants claim their European heritage instead of their African heritage. From the passages above it is clear that the participants identify themselves as being Coloured. Whiteness remains to feature as a prominent part of the Capetonian Coloured identity as well as hair texture and skin complexion. In a post-apartheid, (post)colonial South Africa nothing seems to have changed. Colonial-born Coloured female participants continue to value their European heritage and distance themselves from Blackness. They continue to hold onto the cultural legacy of the past and remain stagnant in their perception of hair, beauty and identity in a South Africa today. Their perceptions of hair, beauty and identity have not changed because this colonial legacy has been passed on from generation to generation.

8.3.4. Negotiating ambiguities of belonging

Most of the participants can relate to the struggle of fitting into their social or work environments. Participants worked hard to try and fit into these environments and to be accepted by others by altering their hair as discussed in previous sections. How they altered their hair was by making use of straighteners, relaxers Brazilian and Wella treatments. They also 'swirled' their hair before going to bed by sleeping with a stocking on their heads to get their hair to lie flat. Not only would participants go to any lengths to straighten their hair but they would do anything to make their hair grow long and sleek for example participant 5 (the 48-year-old) stated:

> You had to go through all the products that you can think of on the market to keep your hair in style. I even had to sleep with rollers and by midnight I had to wake up because I can't sleep well. Hence conforming to the standards of the job market required of you was difficult when you have my profile of hair.

Some participants also described the physical pain of trying to feel accepted and to fit into these environments. Participant 3 (the 49-year-old) stated: "My hair at the moment is worn out because of all the chemicals".

Since the Coloured identity within the apartheid era was placed in an intermediate position, understandably, the Coloured participants negotiate their ambiguities of belonging. I will argue that today even though Coloureds have no privilege over Blacks, they have embraced the racist ideology of apartheid and currently still embrace an imagined ideology that bears no resemblance to the current social, political situation now in post-apartheid South Africa.

8.4 Overview of Research Findings

One of the most important and unexpected findings from the Coloured participants above is that even though the colonial and apartheid dictates of identity no longer have relevance to current (post)colonial, post-apartheid, postmodern South Africa, where the hegemonic dominance of Blackness exists, being White in mind, spirit and achievement remains to be the strongest imperative and social achievement amongst the intergenerational narrative of the Coloured participants. There remains to be an emphasis on their difference to Black South Africans in terms of their hair texture, family lineage/ genealogy, and skin complexion. This further heightens and highlights the participants' obsession with their association with Whiteness and their distancing from Blackness.

(Post)colonial authors which come to mind when discussing this particular finding is both Homi Bhabha (1994) and Frantz Fanon (1963). Mimicry within the context of Homi Bhabha which is described as cultural repetition is evident amongst the Coloured participants. The Coloured participants mimic the Caucasian hair by making use of chemicals such as straighteners, relaxers and other treatments to change the texture of their hair and to emerge from their state of 'barbarity' when it comes to their hair texture. For a moment the Coloured female can imitate Caucasian hair but as soon as the chemical straighteners grow out their hair returns to its natural state of "kroesness" and 'barbarity'. This is illustrated in participant 1's response when she states that no matter how much money she spends on her hair, it will remain kroes, it will always return to its state of kroesness. In other words, the

Coloured female's hair texture is 'not quite, not white'. Their hair texture will never reach and remain in the state of straightness as that of Caucasian hair.

Fanon (1963) describes this as a traumatic condition when the colonised subject realises that (s)he will never be able to attain Whiteness (through the changing of her hair texture) which (s)he was taught to desire and that (s)he will never be able to shed the black/ (coloured) skin which (s)he was taught to devalue. (S)he is forced to ask herself, "Who am I?" Fanon then further states that the colonised subjects, therefore, cope with this condition by adopting white masks which in this sense is the continual ritual or practice of chemical straightening their hair and this is perceived to assist in the shedding of their Black skin or the kroes texture of their hair. Fanon (1963) describes this as the alienation from the self. He further responds to this physic trauma by stating that the black subject needs nothing else but to be liberated from himself.

In a postcolonial South Africa, the historical context of hair and identity continues to impact the intergenerational narrative of Coloured participants both psychologically, physically and socio-economically. It seems as if the passing of culture is self - imposed on the Coloured female. Since first of all, there seems to be a sense of shame for their own natural hair as it does not comply with the White standards of beauty which are straight hair. This makes them feel inferior, withdrawn, and the result of this is low self-esteem. Kroes hare which was seen as being a bushy or a bushman is linked to Blackness, a physical feature which they do not want to be associated with. Other physical features such as a flat or big nose are also associated with Blackness which they did not want to be associated with. Despite the hegemonic dominance of Blackness in post-apartheid South Africa today, the responses from the participants exclude and almost reject Blackness and do not try to negotiate their sense of belonging around Blackness, instead there remains a need to cling to Whiteness when it comes to defining their identity.

South Africa has had a long history of an identity crisis where questions of citizenship and belonging surface. Who is considered as indigenous South Africans versus who is considered as a native? These questions of multiple racial societies and identities were created by colonialism and remain to be answered. The definition of what a Coloured South African is, continues to be debated and remains a state of

becoming since the country is characterised by layers of complex identities (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013). Colonialism is therefore kept alive their way of life, cultural patterns and their perceptions of the self (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013). What then are the implications of colonialism and coloniality on the identity and culture of South Africans? The economic survival and well-being of the Coloured South African during apartheid was determined by skin colour and hair texture.

Colonialism and apartheid introduced elements of inferiority into the non-White individual consciousness without it being rejected since it became commonly shared in Coloured communities, therefore this resulted in the internalisation of an inferior narrative of Coloured culture, identity and body amongst non-White South Africans. The psychological and symbolic sphere of the racist ideologies of colonialism and apartheid continues to be perpetuated by the above mentioned cultural practices which eventually shapes the perception that these Capetonian Coloured females have about themselves and the narrative of the inferiority of the Coloured identity, culture and body continues to be perpetuated from generation to generation.

Another important finding to highlight is the fact that the multi-flex neo-hybrid postmodern identity does not apply to this group of Coloured participants. They do not seem to be emancipated from the Eurocentric ideology of beauty and identity but continue to cling to this ideology. Irrespective of a post-apartheid rainbow nation ideology or the celebration of multiculturalism and diverse identity, the women in this study who were born during the colonial and apartheid South Africa have refused these post-1994 cultural narratives. Instead, they hang on to the Eurocentric cultural hegemony and continue to aspire to it and pursue it.

8.5. Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter discussed the intergenerational (post)colonial narratives of Coloured females and their hair. A critical finding from the intergenerational narratives above indicates that the Coloured females born during colonialism and apartheid continue to be obsessed with hair texture and the assimilation of Whiteness plays a crucial element in the formation of their identity. This narrative is perpetuated from generation to generation. The following chapter will investigate whether colonial-born Black South African females hold the same view of hair and

identity in a (post)colonial, post-apartheid, postmodern environment as those of the colonial-born Coloured females who were born during colonialism and apartheid.

CHAPTER 9

(POST)COLONIAL NARRATIVES OF COLONIAL-BORN BLACK SOUTH AFRICAN FEMALES
(Third chapter of data presentation)

9.1. Introduction

In the previous chapter, I investigated whether the new identity for African women which is constructed by the media affects the colonial-born Coloured female participants. The findings of the previous chapter reveal the colonial-born Coloured females do not embrace the new identity for African women which is constructed by the media instead they hang on to the Eurocentric cultural hegemony of hair and identity and continue to pursue it.

The objective of this chapter, however, is to investigate whether the colonial-born Black female participants hold the same view of hair and identity in a (post)colonial, post-apartheid, postmodern environment as those of the colonial-born Coloured females. Since both these racial groups come from the same era namely, the colonial era and both groups were exposed to cultural White domination it would be interesting to know whether they share the same views on hair and identity.

Further in this chapter, I discuss aspects such as data management and analysis, the research results and the overview of the research findings. This chapter focuses on the presentation and interpretation of findings of semi-structured interviews consisting of eight colonial- born Black female participants. The reason why this group of women were specifically chosen was to determine whether these women who were born during the colonial era also have a (post) colonial view of hair and identity in a post-apartheid South Africa and its rainbow multiculturalism within the dominance of Blackness. This background will assist in identifying the Black women's (post)colonial narratives of hair and identity.

9.2. Data Management and analysis

As explained in chapter six the data collected was from semi-structured interviews consisting of eight colonial- born Black women who are from Polokwane, Limpopo South Africa. Snowball sampling was used for the selection of the semi-structured interviews. The colonial-born Black females were chosen for this study since my study focuses on African women who were exposed to cultural White domination during apartheid. Eight Black women from Limpopo were chosen as they first form part of the category of 'African' women in South Africa. Secondly, Black females were chosen as they were criticised for their hair texture during the apartheid era (Posel 2011). These eight Black females were born during apartheid, and range between the ages of 47-83 years. They also provided a rich background to the Black history and culture in Polokwane, Limpopo.

The women were interviewed individually. The purpose of the semi-structured interview was to try and understand what influences the hairstyle choices of females who were born during the colonial era which in turn would provide a (post)colonial narrative of colonial-born Black females. The goal is to explore how their narrative communicates identity in current South Africa. Below is Table 9.1. *Colonial-born Black female participant information* which includes information about each participant.

Table 9.1: Colonial- born Black female participant information.

Participant Number	Age and Occupation	Hairstyle Type at time of the interview
Participant 1	50-year-old, Social Worker	Natural hair with hair extensions namely braids
Participant 2	54-year-old, Senior Education Specialist	Short permed (chemically altered) hair
Participant 3	83-year-old, Retired nurse	Short natural hair
Participant 4	72-year-old, Janitor	Short natural hair (her hair is covered with a headwrap/scarf)
Participant 5	47-year-old, Lecturer	Wig hairstyle
Participant 6	50-year-old, Lecturer	Natural Afro hair
Participant 7	61-year-old, Lecturer	Permed (chemically altered) hair
Participant 8	49-year-old, lecturer	Dreadlocks

The transcribed data from the semi-structured interviews of eight colonial-born Black female participants were thematically analysed.

There are some critical questions addressed to the colonial-born Black female participants. Some of the critical questions which I asked them included the following:

- As a young girl growing up can you remember what hairstyles you wore and why?
- Why do you think that people would want to change their hair/hairstyles?
- When you were little what did you like and not like about your hair and why?
- What advice did you give to your daughters about their hair when they were little? Did you perhaps pass on the advice which you received from your mom to your daughters?
- What according to you is beautiful hair and why?
- What do you think of women who wear their natural, unrelaxed hair?
- What do you think of women who relax their hair and wear weaves and wigs?
- Let's talk about your current hairstyle. Can you share with me why you chose this hairstyle which you currently have?

Please refer to Appendix II to find a full list of questions addressed to the colonial-born Black female participants.

9.3. Research Results

The thematic findings below provide an overview of the colonial- born Black female participants' (post)colonial narratives about hair and identity by exploring first-hand encounters of the historical context and current hair trends that influence the colonial-born Black females' choice of hairstyles. In my analysis, the Multi-flex Neo-hybrid identity does not apply to the colonial-born Black female sample group because they continue to hang on to the Eurocentric ideology of beauty and identity. The following themes surfaced in the analysis of the interview data.

9.3.1. Coloniality reflected in hairstyle choices

This section consists of three parts firstly, the past ideology of African hair amongst colonial-born Black female participants, secondly the current ideology of African hair amongst the colonial-born Black female participants and lastly a comparison of both

the past and current ideologies of African hair amongst the colonial-born Black female participants.

Drawing from the participants' responses, vestiges of colonialism are evident in the past hairstyles of the colonial-born Black female participants. When the participants were asked to share the hairstyles which they wore in the past, hairstyles such as bald heads and very short hairstyles formed part of the common hairstyle practices of the past. Arnoldi and Kreamer (1995) comment on this and state that it was only with the advent of colonialism and slavery that African hair which symbolised beauty and identity, was shaved off or covered up. They state that through this act of the removal of hair, the African people were removed from their cultures and a new standard of beauty and identity was introduced and needed to be adhered to.

Before colonialism, the head and hair in African societies played an important role in how the individual was conceptualised (Arnoldi & Kreamer 1995). The significance of hair such as wigs, hair extensions, elaborate natural hairstyles and the head itself gave individuals their beauty and identity in traditional as well as ancient African cultures before the colonial period. The adornment of the head via elaborate hairstyles and the wearing of headgear such as pins, hats, combs and other ornaments was significant to traditional African cultures before colonialism (Schildkrout & Kiem 1990). Hair was not merely a superficial thing but had great significance that it was seen as one's spiritual connection with the gods (Yarbrough 1984). However, Sagay (1983) and Klimczak (2016) also state that in the earlier period of Egyptian civilisation head shaving and the wearing of wigs were a common practice too. Bald heads amongst ancient Egyptian women were a common practice for religious, social and hygienic purposes. The shaving of heads by high-rank officials and priests who shaved their entire bodies was a common practice too.

Byrd and Tharps (2001) further state that the practice of the shaving of heads and the banning of African cultural practices was implemented by the Europeans with the arrival of Africans to America which represented the removal of the identity of the African people. It was then when the cultural significance and the importance of hair took on a completely different meaning. The shaving of heads and the wearing of short hairstyles amongst Africans which was implemented during colonialism continued to form part of the hairstyle practices of apartheid-born Black female

participants. Even though the wearing of headgear and elaborate hairstyle was practised before colonialism this practice seemed to be abandoned by those colonial-born Black female participants and replaced with the wearing of short hair or bald heads.

The long-standing patterns of African hairstyles and the perceptions of Africans which existed in the colonial era were kept alive in the (post)colonial narratives of the colonial-born Black female participants. These long-standing patterns of certain hairstyles with the advent of colonialism continued to be practised amongst the apartheid-born Black female participants. Latin American authors namely, Quijano (2000), Mignolo (1995), Escobar (2007), Grosfoguel (2000) and others define this phenomenon as coloniality. Maldonado-Torres (2007) agrees and states that coloniality has survived colonialism and is kept alive in books, cultural patterns, common sense, in aspirations and perceptions of self and has formed part of our everyday lives. The practice of the shaving of heads and short hairstyles is illustrated in the responses of the colonial-born Black female participants below: Participant 2 (a 54-year-old) described the hairstyle she wore when she was a little girl and stated:

> My hair used to be very short because that is what we were expected to have when I was doing lower grades at primary school. When I went to high school it was a boarding Roman Catholic School, we would plait our hair or just keep it short. They didn't like us to have you know long hair and of course, very few people had ponytails. We would keep our hair short.

Participant 3 (an 83 -year -old) echoes a similar sentiment as that of participant 2 and describes how her mother used to style her hair as well as her (her daughter's) hair. Participant 3 stated:

> My mom used to cut her hair short. When hair was too painful to comb she would get her hair cut. The style was done by almost all of the Black females. African natural hair rarely grows long. So when there is a little hair growth because they were not using any chemicals, it was too painful to comb and that's why they cut it. And when African women go out they never go out bare-headed but once you are over 81, housewives would put something on their head, a doek (head wrap) out of respect. How my mom treated her hair is how she treated my hair and it influenced my hairstyle

choice. I found nothing wrong with that. The African way of treating hair was very simple. It was just to keep hair short. Our parents cut our hair with a pair of scissors or maybe a cheese kop (bald head) with a razor blade. I wore this hairstyle up until grade 11. Even at school, they wanted the school children to keep their hair short or bald.

Participant 4 (a 72-year-old) shared a similar experience to participant 2 and 3 when she stated:

Yes, I still remember when I went to high school. We were bathing with cold water. So we said let's cut our hair because in the morning when we bath there's no warm water and we are going to suffer…you know it's not easy and that's why we cut our hair shorter that time. We cut it shorter so that when we bath we make our hair damp and comb it easily. Because they were so strict when you don't comb your hair you were getting punishment at high school.

What is interesting to note about the above participants' responses is that they talk about school rules when it comes to hair length. The participants stated that at school they had to keep their hair very short. Participant 2 (a 54-year-old) however, mentions that she attended a Roman Catholic boarding school where these rules were applied to African hair. The ideology of the Roman Catholic boarding school concerning African hair, beauty and identity are linked to the ideology of the coloniser. It was this ideology which undermined the beauty of African hair. Magubane (1990) states that British policy and hegemony which was cunning, permeated throughout South Africa, saturated its society and became common sense for those who were subject to it. This 'othering' of the colonised created a cultural heritage where African culture and identity became devalued, not only is the culture devalued, the African person was also devalued. A legacy that ran for centuries. I would briefly like to refer to authors who discuss the link between Christianity and colonialism.

Rodney (1972) states that British rule was a multi-dimensional assault on the African traditional social organisation. It was an assault militarily and politically when the African populations were conquered, economically, when the conquered people were used as the labour force in agriculture and then for diamond and gold mining,

ideologically, when Africans were converted to the least utilizable aspect of European culture namely Christianity and lastly socially, where the African traditions and traditional social structures were completely shattered. Missionary education was introduced into the colony to create native people who assured the stability of this new society and to undermine African societies (Magubane 1990).

Christianity was a tool to reach the hearts and minds of the natives to change their thinking. Mission stations were the most efficient agents which were used to promote the strength of the ideology of the colony and were the best military posts which legitimised colonial rule. These missionary stations also ensured contact between the coloniser and the colonised (Philips 1828). Christian nationalism was also one of the tools used to perpetuate racial and unequal separate development (Posel 2011). Hence it seems as though Christian nationalism not only permeated through to missionary stations but also through to schools which were linked to the coloniser, where African beauty, hair and identity was devalued. Hence it seems as though the perception of African hair, beauty and identity which existed during the colonial era permeated down to the Roman Catholic schools – (post)colonial era, where only short hairstyles or bald heads were allowed to be worn by Black young girls. They were not allowed to grow their hair but had to keep it short.

Another interesting finding was that according to the participants' responses natural hair was associated with pain, it was viewed as too short, it was too hard, the curls were too tight and it was difficult to comb. This is evident in their response to what they liked and disliked about their hair as a child. It was found that four of the participants didn't like anything about their hair when they were younger. They had nothing positive to say about their hair. The only things they liked about their hair was that it was naturally black and that it was growing well. Here are their responses. Participant 6 (the 50-year-old) stated, "I liked the fact that my hair was naturally black and the growth was okay and I was pleased with how my hair was growing." Participant 8 (the 49-year-old) shared participant 6 (the 50-year old)'s sentiment and stated, "I liked that my hair was naturally black, some people had to use dye to make their hair black but mine was naturally black so I liked that. It didn't fall out either." Participant 7(the 61-year-old) however described her hair length as something positive. She stated: "I think my hair was long for an African girl. It was growing right."

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The rest (5) of the participants found it difficult to manage their hair when they were young. The reasons for this included some of the following: their natural hair was too painful to comb, their hair was too short, and their hair was too hard. Participant 1 (a 50-year-old) stated, "…my hair on my neck becomes too painful to comb. What I didn't like is its very natural and if you don't comb it after you take a bath or shower it is very painful but you need to comb it while it is still wet otherwise you will have a problem."

Participant 2 (a 54-year-old) stated describes how she dislikes the length of her hair. She stated, "When I was little, I wanted my hair to be long and I thought if it was short I looked boyish and then I wasn't like the girls who I considered to be my role models. Unfortunately, it didn't grow the way I wanted it to grow." Long hair which resembles Caucasian hair was very important for participant 2. Participant 5 (a 47-year-old) in a similar manner describes how she disliked the length of her hair as well and stated:

> I never liked my hair. I've always wished for…my aunt had this very long beautiful black hair and I always wanted to be like her because of her beauty, her light skin and her long hair and I don't know why to be honest I did not feel very good about myself so I wished to be lighter in complexion and I wished to have longer hair.

Participant 8 (a 49-year-old) stated, "I didn't like that my hair was hard. It was difficult to comb and it was painful…I just hated my natural hair because it was hard to comb." Participant 4 stated, "…I didn't like to keep my hair so I used to ask my father to cut my hair very short…I must not suffer because of my hair…".

The responses above align with literature on the historical background of race and identity in South Africa. According to literature, during colonialism, the colonised were treated and trained to become unequal which sustained the colonial namely, White supremacy. Skin which was lighter in colour was associated with humanity. This background led to the psychological supremacy of White people over Black people (Maldonado-Torres 2007:244-245). Sartre (1968:38) describes colonisation as "an act of cultural genocide" where the characteristics of the native society are obliterated. The native is painted by the settler as someone without values, morality

and is ultimately seen as evil. This othering of the colonised created a cultural heritage where African culture and identity became devalued. Not only was the culture devalued but the African person was devalued too. A legacy which continues amongst the colonial-born Black female participants. According to the colonial-Black female participants, anything Black continues to be associated with being bad and is deemed as inferior because of the colonial Eurocentric influence of the past.

Hence hair which was longer, straight and soft was admired and desired. For their hair to resemble straight, long and soft hair hairstyles such as hair stretching, perms, hair relaxers as well as the S-Curl (which was a chemical used on natural hair to soften and curl the hair) formed part of the fashionable hairstyles amongst the apartheid-born Black female participants. These hairstyles also formed part of the acceptable African hairstyles during the apartheid era. Hair texture played a pivotal role in the determinant of race during the apartheid period (Posel 2011). This is reflected in the responses of the participants. Participant 1 (a 50-year old) describe the hairstyles she wore when she was young as well as the reasons for wearing those hairstyles. She states:

> During my twenties, most of the hairstyles would be when you relax your hair or perm that's when the curls are used to curl your hair and it would maintain that shape. It's quite a beautiful shape then you have to go and buy the relevant gel and spray so that you maintain that quality…We chose those hairstyles because with the relaxer it would just make your hair straight, this relaxer assists you to avoid pain when you comb your hair. Natural hair is painful to comb and sometimes the hair will even break. So to have smooth combing you will do the hair relaxer. It will also give shape to the way you want to style your hair. Then when it comes to perming, it's curly. It already has a certain shape. When you are in your perm you expect your hair to be curly and rolled…It also assists in making you beautiful and it makes your life easier when you comb your hair because even when you comb your hair and pull the comb out of your hair, your hair still maintains that curly shape. And it's easy especially during those days when we were going to school because you need to be tidy and presentable and at the same time you need to be happy about yourself.

Participant 4 (a 72-year-old) describes the hairstyles she wore when she was younger and states: "We used to stretch our hair. If you stretch your hair it looks very nice as a young girl and we used Brule Crème and glycerine to make your hair nice and shiny and soft and then we combed our hair." Participant 5 (a 47-year-old) spoke about perming her hair and stated: "We used to wear perms. This was during very late high school and before that, we wore our natural hair. The reason for this was because they were in style those days. Everyone wanted to do it." Participant 6 (a 50-year-old) describes the S-Curl hairstyle which she wore when she was young. She state:

> As a young girl, I remember wearing the S-Curl. I like the S-Curl. It was a fashionable hairstyle at the time. The S-Curl hairstyle is where you put a certain product on your hair to soften it and it makes the hair to be curly. It makes an S like curl and I like to keep it short. The reason for that hairstyle was because it was fashionable and if you would wear it that time you would be considered keeping up with the times.

Participant 2 (a 54-year-old) stated:

> When I was working people used to straighten their hair. In our common language, we use the term stretch which means to stretch the hair to make it long…At times when I needed to change my hairstyle, I would do an S-Curl hairstyle. The reason for this is because after some time I would find re-growth in my hair and it is just not easy to comb it out so the S-Curl would just soften my hair and allow it to grow.

9.3.2. Acculturation of White cultural dominance

Another crucial question posed to the colonial-born Black female participants was, "Why do you think that people would want to change their hair/hairstyles?" The responses of the participants based on this question also reflected their striving towards a Eurocentric ideology of beauty. Participant 2 (a 54-year-old) stated: "I think people want to change their hair texture because obviously, just giving my opinion they want to look beautiful or they just want to look different. Others change because

they just want to look younger." Participant 7 (a 61-year-old) supports this statement and said, "It gives you a different look or a different image."

Participant 8 (a 49-year-old), participant 4 (a 72-year-old) and participant 6 (a 50-year-old) suggested that the reason why people want to change their hair is to keep up with the trends. Participant 3 (an 83-year-old) however describes why she thinks people want to change their hair. She stated:

> You know acculturation. When you mix with Whites you sort of absorb the culture from the other group. We were looking at the Whites and we admired their soft hair…but before that, we were just washing our hair and putting Vaseline or soap on our hair. So with acculturation, as you mix with other people's culture you take on other people's culture. We wanted to look like them. We wanted to adopt the culture of Whites. That's all… When Black people started getting educated they wanted to inherit a lot of things from the White people by imitating them just like that. It was fashionable to do that.

While participant 5 (a 47-year-old) stated:

> We want to be like the other person. We do not want to be too different and I think as African people honestly speaking, we don't really like our own natural hair, most of us or rather I don't like it. The reason I don't like it is that it's hard, the curls are too tight, it is very painful to comb it and it is not nice if it is not combed. It doesn't grow and it doesn't give you a lot of options for different hairstyles because of the length.

The response from participant 5 (the 47-year-old) contradicts literature about African hair pre-colonialism. Unlike participant 5's response to African hair during the pre-colonial era played a pivotal role in the identity of the individual. According to literature hair/hairstyling was a serious concern for Africans before the colonial period as it was a source of identity, beauty, power and a reason for pride. Hair was not merely a superficial thing but had great significance as the shape of the head and hairstyle was of vital importance to the identity of the individual (Schildkrout & Keim 1990). The practice of hair adornment and hair grooming became an art form amongst the traditional African people. Hairstyles

reflected the tribe, status, wealth, age and family background of the wearer and received the most care and attention (Yarbrough 1984). Thus participant 5's response is in contrast to what literature states.

Participant 3 and participant 5's responses correspond with literature she states that Black beauty was viewed as inferior to White beauty and was no longer the ideal of beauty during the slave trade (Thompson 2009). White privilege set the standard of beauty hence there was a great amount of pressure on the Black female to obtain the Eurocentric ideal of beauty (Thompson 2009). This explains why participant 3 states that she admired Caucasian hair and that she wanted to look White as well as imitate them and why participant 5 states that she doesn't like her natural hair.

In a (post)colonial, post-apartheid era, coloniality continues to be perpetuated in the current hairstyle practices of the colonial-born Black female participants. Firstly, the colonial-born Black female participants continue to wear hairstyles that project the Eurocentric ideology of beauty. These hairstyles include the wearing of wigs, perms, as well as the covering up of their natural hair since five out of the eight participants, wear those hairstyles. Participant 2 (a 50-year-old) has permed hair. Even though participant 3 (an 83-year-old) wore a natural hairstyle she did mention that when she goes out she wears wigs or covers up her hair with a head wrap (doek). Participant 4 (a 72-year-old) wore her natural hair but it was covered up by a head wrap. Participant 5 (a 47-year-old) wore a wig and participant 7 (a 61-year-old) had a permed hairstyle.

The reasons behind wearing these hairstyles are described below. Participant 2 (a 50-year-old) who wore short permed hair stated,

> Firstly, I love short hair because if it is long I just tell myself I don't look that natural. Secondly, I don't plait my hair because I have a serious problem with dandruff. Thirdly, with my short hair, I just feel like a confident, Black African woman…Isn't it after some time we find that we have re-growth and it is just not easy to comb our re-growth out so I would have my hair softened (by making use of a perm)?

Even though participant 2 embraces her short hair she still finds the re-growth of her natural hair to be problematic. The natural hair which re-grows at the root of her

scalp is problematic because it is not easy to comb hence she perms her hair to change the natural texture of her hair. The perm softens her hair hence making it easier for her to comb her hair. She says that she feels like a confident Black woman with short hair but does not address the fact that she is not confident with her natural short hair. The short hair needs to be altered for her to become a confident Black African woman.

Oyedemi (2016) describes the phenomenon of conformity of Black women to the Eurocentric standard of beauty as a violent process. As a result of a history of structural violence through hair, this creates not only physical but also cultural violence where natural hair is erased based on an internalised narrative of ugliness of African hair. Therefore, participant 2 continues to perpetuate the internalised narrative of the ugliness of African hair by perming her re-growth.

Participant 3 (an 83-year-old) wore her natural hair during the interview but she did mention that when she leaves the house she doesn't wear her natural short hair but wears wigs or covers up her hair with a doek (a head wrap). Participant 3 described why she wore the hairstyle that she had and stated,

> I am 83 years old and one day I was very disappointed when my hair started breaking and it fell off. Sometimes I would go with a year without cutting my hair but when I was working and I was on duty my hair would grow to a certain extent that I used to perm my hair and with my permed hair I looked very beautiful but my hair never grew so very long. I permed and stretched and dyed my hair when it turned grey that's how I treated my hair before I retired. When I retired I stopped all that and I never went to cut my hair instead my hair fell out. I wash my hair, comb it, it breaks. I don't cut it and it breaks by itself. As you see its short. I tried every product and nothing works on my scalp. At this point in my life, I have accepted my hair and have no problem. I have got wigs and doeks (head wraps) that I wear when I go out.

The hair rituals which participant 3 performed reflects an aspiration towards the Eurocentric ideology of beauty. The changing of her natural hair texture via the use of chemicals such as a perm as well as the stretching of the hair is evident of the aspiration towards Caucasian hair texture. Another indication of the aspiration towards Eurocentric beauty is the fact that participant 3 was not happy with her hair

length. length namely, the shortness of her hair she was dissatisfied with. She longed for her hair length to increase. This response resonates with what Jere-Malanda (2008) stated which was that a Eurocentric description of hair was seen as the ideal image, namely, long, straight and flowing hair, while an Afrocentric image of hair which was short and tightly curled hair was seen as ugly and not good hair.

Then finally she states at the end of her response that she has accepted her hair and has no problem with wearing her short natural hair, however, she wears wigs and head wraps which cover up her short natural hair when she goes out. This indicates that she has still not accepted her natural hair to wear in public instead her natural hair needs to be covered up either by a wig or head wrap. In other words, even though she stated that she doesn't have a problem with her natural hair, her actions prove otherwise.

Therefore, even though the current hairstyle of the participant is short natural hair she remains to be dissatisfied with her hair and covers it up instead when she goes out in public. Participant 3 therefore continues to view her natural hair as problematic since she covers it up in public. Jere-Malanda (2008) and Thompson (2009) echoes this and states that the Afrocentric image of short, tightly curled hair had to either be covered up, hidden away or tamed by straightening…therefore there was a great amount of pressure on the Black female to obtain the Eurocentric ideal of beauty. Banks (2000) and Mercer (1990) further state that Black hair is seen as a conspicuous characteristic of racial difference therefore it is covered up.

Participant 4 (a 72-year-old) wore her natural hair but it was covered up by a head wrap. Her reason for her hairstyle choice is the following, "I like my choice of hairstyle because it is me, it is my hair. I don't attach it with something. I like it for the way it is. It is my own hair." What is problematic about this statement is that even though participant 4 likes her choice of hairstyle which is short natural hair, she still covers up her hair with a head wrap. Similarly, this response can be linked to Banks (2000) and Mercer (1990) who state that Black hair is seen as a conspicuous characteristic of racial difference therefore it is covered up. Arnoldi and Kreamer (1995) also state that it was with the advent of colonialism and slavery that African hair was either shaved off or covered up. African hair which symbolised beauty, identity and represented a variety of African cultures was removed. The act of

covering up and the removal of hair represented the removal of the identity of the African people.

Participant 5 (a 47-year-old) wore a wig. The reason for wearing this hairstyle is as follows, "It's convenient because in a matter of minutes I can have a complete hairstyle. It's like I have been to the hair salon. So it's easy to do." The wearing of wigs is not only for the sake of convenience but also the natural hair of participant 5 is covered up which resonates with what Banks (2000), Mercer (1990), Arnoldi and Kreamer's (1995) talks about when it comes to the covering up of hair to hide natural hair (as stated in the paragraphs above).

Participant 7 (a 61-year-old) had a permed hairstyle. Her reason for wearing this hairstyle is,

> About five or six years ago my hairstyle was about relax and curl. I would go to a hair salon and get it done… Then I lost that hair during chemo then I was bald for a year at least so I bought an afro wig for a year. Then when my hair started growing I kept it natural for 2 years. Then I did a blow, just softening it for a year that was last year then I decided I wanted to do a perm. When I started working my hair was permed, then again in December, I did a perm. I am happy with my perm and I will stick to it.

The current hairstyle of participant 7 (a 61-year-old) is a perm. Participant 7's natural hair has been altered chemically. The participant does not provide a clear description as to why she chose to wear this hairstyle. It is clear however that according to her response she has mostly worn hairstyles where her hair is chemically altered namely, where she used hair relaxers and perms on her natural hair. Only for three years, she kept her natural hair that is during chemo and after chemo.

9.3.3. Intergenerational Coloniality of Identity

Coloniality is perpetuated from generation to generation through the advice which a majority of the participants provide to their daughters about their hair. Five out of the eight apartheid-born Black female participants gave their daughters advice about hair which seems to project the Eurocentric ideology of beauty. This is evident in the participants' responses, for example, participant 2 (a 50-year-old) described the advice she gave her daughter. She said, "No matter what my daughter makes it a

point of looking beautiful. She must not look like a tomboy which has short hair, because boys don't care about looking after their hair." This response resonates with what was found in Thompson's (2009) article namely, "Black women, beauty and hair." In this study, it was found that one of the reasons why Black women straighten their hair is not to have their sexuality questioned. According to participant 2 short hair is not seen as being beautiful hair but is associated with being a tomboy. Long hair is what needs to be aspired to and admired which is also an element of Eurocentric beauty. A Eurocentric description of beautiful hair is hair which is long, straight and flowing (Thompson 2009; hooks 1992).

Participant 3 (an 83-year-old) echoes the sentiment of participant 2 and states: "I just told my daughters that a girl is beautiful with long hair so keep plaiting your hair so that your hair can be long." Participant 3 (an 83-year-old) and participant 2 (a 54-year-old) do not view short hair as beautiful, instead, long hair needs to be aspired to which is part of the Eurocentric ideology of beauty when it comes to hair length. Long hair resembles Caucasian hair which their daughters need to aspire to be viewed as beautiful.

Participant 5 (a 47-year-old) describes the advice she gave her daughter and states:

> I did my children's hair until they were old enough to say no. So I would always relax their hair too. And then my eldest now she refuses to relax her hair, she now wears her natural hair. She doesn't put anything on it, she doesn't even braid it. She just keeps it as it is and of course if I could choose I would not choose that style for her. I would like for her to have this Brazilian artificial (weaves) hair/hairstyles that other girls do. She looks a bit boyish in my personal opinion. That disturbs me sometimes.

Instead of encouraging her daughter to wear her natural hair participant 5 (a 47-year-old) does the opposite. She always made use of hair relaxers on her daughter's hair and now wants her daughter to wear artificial hair such as Brazilian weaves/wigs which resembles Caucasian hair and projects the Eurocentric ideology of beauty. Artificial hair is seen as more appropriate for her daughter to wear than her natural hair. Participant 5's response is perhaps indicative of generational differences between a colonial-born Black female vs a born-free Black female.

Participant 4 (a 72-year-old) on the other hand stated the following: "I told my daughters that they must make their hair nice so I relaxed their hair when I took them to the hair salon. They enjoyed going to the salon to relax their hair because plaiting their hair was too painful." Participant 4 also made use of hair relaxers on her daughters' hair which chemically alters natural hair to resemble straightness, which is also an element of Eurocentric beauty.

Participant 7 (a 61-year-old) similarly used hair relaxer on her daughter's hair and said, "When my daughter was little I relaxed her hair. The first time she went to school it was relaxed and well done, then later we used to do single braids long ones on her hair because it was easy to tie them when she goes to school." This might not have been advised but participant 7 shared the hairstyle practices she performed on her daughter when she was a little girl. The hairstyle practices which were performed on participant 7's daughter's hair also resembled Caucasian hair.

Five out of the eight participants used hair relaxer on their daughters' natural hair, this included participants 2, 3, 4, 5 and 7. Oyedemi (2016) refers to this as generational violence. Some of their responses included the following: Participant 2 (a 54-year-old) stated: "My mother would relax my daughter's hair to make it look beautiful." Participant 4 (a 72-year-old) also stated, "I told my daughters they must make their hair very nice so I relaxed their hair when I took them to the hair salon." Participant 5 (a 47-year-old) stated, "I would always relax their (my daughters') hair, while participant 8 (a 49-year-old), participant 1 (a 50-year-old) and participant 6 (a 50-year-old) did not use hair relaxers on their daughters' hair.

The majority, however, namely 5 out of the 8 participants used hair relaxers on their daughters' hair. Some of the reasons why they used hair relaxers on their daughter's hair included; for their daughters to look beautiful and nice. It, therefore, seems that the perception of African hair and identity which formed part of the past ideology of the apartheid-born Black female participants are permeated from generation to generation The hair ritual of making use of hair relaxers, therefore, projects a Eurocentric standard of beauty which resembles Caucasian hair. Thompson (2009) speaks about this and states that the Eurocentric standard of beauty affects how Black women interpret physical attractiveness, self-esteem and identity. In pop-culture paradigms, Black women are groomed to flaunt long, straight hair and are to

adhere to the Eurocentric standard of beauty to be considered as beautiful, whereas natural Black hair is not associated with beauty. Black beauty is denied to exist and is only seen as beautiful when it is altered (chemically treated, relaxed or straightened). Straightened Black hair which resembles Caucasian hair is linked to being beautiful, socially mobile.

Accordingly, it seems as though very little has changed with the politicisation of Black hair amongst the apartheid-born Black female participants and they remain to be content with the beauty standards of the past, hence coloniality is evident in the current hairstyle practices of the apartheid-born Black female participants.

9.3.4. Struggle between the self and society's notion of beauty

Another theme which derived from in the interview data is the incoherence of the self. In other words, the responses from the participants and the claims which they make are inconsistent and self-contradictory. Several of the responses from the participants is evidence of this. Firstly, when the participants were asked what they think beautiful hair is, the majority (six out of the eight) participants stated that natural hair is beautiful except two participants who think that both natural and artificial hair is beautiful. Even though most of the participants view natural hair as beautiful all of the participants chemically altered their daughters' hair with hair relaxers when they were young as well as chemically relaxed their own hair. All of the participants chemically relaxed their hair at some stage in their lives.

All the participants also relaxed their hair and the reasons for them using hair relaxers on their hair was to look presentable, beautiful, to look nice and have a better life, etc. The changing of the hair texture of non-white South Africans was pivotal during the apartheid era. Posel (2011) states that amongst others an individual's hair texture played a role in determining, the race of the individual. The racial classification which was conferred onto the individual would permeate every aspect of their lived experience. It would impact the life the individual would live namely, the individual's economic situation as well as the area in which they would live.

The hair pencil test was also a well-known mechanism which was used to racially classify non-White individuals. An individual who participated in the

pencil test passed or failed the test based on how easily the pencil came out of the hair to distinguish Whites from Coloureds and Coloureds from Blacks (Terreblanche 2002). Hence the institutionalisation of these racial categorisation mechanisms during the apartheid era formed part of the fashionable hairstyles of the colonial-born Black female participants.

Some of the participants' responses about natural hair included the following: Participant 2 (a 54-year-old) stated,

> Natural hair is more beautiful for me because you don't waste a lot of time trying to look different. With natural hair it is self-explanatory, no more do you need to put effort with wanting to look natural and I also love that Miss Universe wore her natural hair to the pageant. She is confident despite those negative remarks from South Africa. She is beautiful and confident with that short hair of hers.

Even though participant 2 (a 54-year-old) states that natural hair is beautiful she, however, used hair relaxer on her daughter's hair when her daughter was young. Participant 2 (a 54-year-old) also relaxed her hair and the reason for doing so is explained in her response below.

> The first time I relaxed my hair was when I was in high school during the holidays. The reason being I envied other girls' different hair. I thought O my god if mine was as short as it was then I didn't look beautiful.

Participant 2 (a 54-year-old) therefore experiences a struggle between her -self and society with her comment that beautiful hair is natural hair as she relaxed her daughter's hair and her hair as well. Her hair practices reveal the inconsistency in her claim. Participant 2 did not view short hair as beautiful and therefore admired those with longer hair than hers. This view can be linked to the view that an Afrocentric image of hair which is short and tightly curled was seen as ugly or not good hair and had either to be covered up, hidden away or tamed by straightening it. (Jere-Malanda 2008; Thompson 2009). Accordingly, participant 2 chose to relax her own hair and her daughter's hair perhaps because that was perceived as more beautiful than natural hair.

Participant 4 (a 72-year-old) said something similar she stated,

Natural hair is beautiful because if you relax your hair, that muti (concoction) which you use to put on your hair can affect you somehow. It can affect your health somehow. It's better to wear your own hair because prevention is better than cure.

However, participant 4 (a 72-year-old) used chemical relaxers on her daughters' hair as well as her own hair. In her response below she explains:

I relaxed my hair for the first time during the sixties. We relaxed our hair at the hair salon. So during this time, there was no relaxer in the shops we got relaxer only at the hair salon. You know during apartheid the White people had a structure of putting us behind. So they made sure that we go to the hair salons to buy the relaxer and it would not be on the shelves in the shops. It was only at a later stage that they would put the relaxer on the shelves at the shop…The reason we chemically relaxed our hair is to look nice and to have a better life because now everybody because of this technology the young women must take care of their hair, nails, eyes, etc. Because technology is high and women are working so they want to look beautiful that's why they do that.

Participant 4's (a 72-year-old) responses are evidentially contradictory and incoherent as at one stage she states that chemical hair relaxers are not healthy and not good for you while on the other hand, she states that apartheid kept Black people behind because they did not have access to chemical relaxers if used would help Black women to look more White/Caucasian if they were to straighten or chemically relax their hair. She also stated that the reason for chemically straightening her hair was to look nice and to have a better life. This resonates with what hooks (1992), Pieterse (1992), Johnson and Khanna (2010), Can-Tamakloe (2011) and Oyedemi (2016) state when they say that hair texture signified a 'trespassing' of non-White South Africans from one racial identity to another. Assuming a new identity meant that non-White South Africans could escape the relegation and repression of one identity to access the privilege and status of the other. Since with a certain race came certain privileges and individuals would try to "pass" as another race by straightening

their hair. This I would assume is what participant 4 described as having a better life once her hair was straightened.

Participant 6 (a 50-year-old) also stated that natural hair is beautiful but she too relaxed her own hair at some stage in her life. She stated, "Natural hair is beautiful hair if you just keep it clean in such a way that you are satisfied. Remember if you are satisfied you would be more confident in who you are." In her response below she explains why she relaxed her hair when she was young and states,

> I remember that I was at the College of Education. The reason why I relaxed my hair is because I wanted to fit into my community. I wanted to be beautiful. Other students were relaxing their hair too that's why I relaxed mine.

Even though participant 6 (a 50-year-old) views natural hair as beautiful hair she chemically relaxed her own hair because she wanted to be as beautiful as the other students who chemically relaxed their hair too. This claim too is contradictory and inconsistent. Participant 6's response aligns with literature since Thompson (2009) states in a study that beauty and identity are socially constructed through language, texts and mediated images. No matter the choice of hairstyle of the female, it affects how others view her or respond to her. The other students whom participant 6 interacted with probably only deemed her hair as beautiful once it was relaxed this, therefore, created a struggle between what she deemed as beautiful hair versus what they deem to be beautiful hair.

Participant 6 (a 50-year-old) however, is one of the few participants who did not chemically relax her daughter's hair instead she encouraged her to wear her natural hair. Her daughter did not share the same view as her mother and chemically relaxed her anyway.

Even though participant 6 and participant 4's responses were contradictory it is not evident that they relaxed their hair at the time of the interview since participant 6 wear an afro hairstyle while participant 4 covered her natural hair with a headwrap/scarf.

Participant 8 (a 49-year-old) shares a different view to the participants above and views Africans as naturalists. She stated,

To me, beautiful hair is clean natural hair in any form whether short or braided but clean natural, no chemicals on the hair because as Africans we like natural things. We are not those people who… those things came with the Westerns. We can't change our bodies; we can change clothes but our bodies must remain like that. So that's why I say the African is a naturalist.

Despite saying that Africans are naturalists and that beautiful hair is natural hair participant 8 at one stage also chemically relaxed her hair and states when she chemically relaxed her hair and why. Participant 8 states,

I think I relaxed my hair once when I was a teacher because I just wanted to try another style. After all, it was long that I was doing the S-curl and the perm. I only relaxed my hair once because my scalp reacted to the chemicals in the hair relaxer.

Even though participant 8 only relaxed her hair once she also made use of perms and the S-curl which are also hairstyles where a chemical is used on their hair to change the natural hair texture of the hair. At one stage participant 8 says that Africans like natural things but she did not wear her natural hair instead she made use of chemicals to alter the texture of her hair. Both responses from participant 8 therefore are incoherent, inconsistent and contradictory.

When the participants were asked what they thought about young women today who relax their hair, wear wigs and weaves they stated that those women do not accept themselves, they have no confidence yet five of the participants themselves either perm their own hair, wear wigs or cover up their hair. This contradiction is evident in their response to women who relax their hair and wear artificial hair. Participant 3 (an 83-year old) who wore short natural hair but who wears wigs herself to cover up her natural hair in public stated,

I don't appreciate that people should change their hairstyle. I want everybody to be natural. So when I see a young girl putting on something so big I become so angry inside and I don't know why. I want people to look natural. I feel angry and become upset…and as a nurse these chemicals that we use on our heads, it affects their scalp and persistent irritation of the skin or any part of the body causes cancer or it is because I have got cancer

myself. So when I see people doing funny things on their head or their scalp I become upset.

Participant 3's response is contradictory because she too wears a wig when she goes out in public. She does not appreciate young women who wear artificial hair on their heads yet she wears a wig in public. Participant 3's response is therefore incoherent and inconsistent.

Participant 7 (a 61-year-old) who has a permed hairstyle had this to say about young women who wear artificial hair,

> I don't necessarily judge them but I have a problem with them but I wouldn't do it. I have a wig and I have a reason why I have one I wore an afro wig, not by choice I would only wear an afro wig. I started wearing an afro wig only because I lost my hair from chemo and then I had to wear a wig and now I want to have an afro wig in my wardrobe for occasions when I can't manage my hair. That's why I don't have a problem with wearing a wig but under normal circumstances, I wouldn't wear a wig. I will never wear a long straight wig because they are not African and it will not fit with what I am, my norms. I will feel funny and wouldn't be comfortable with wearing a straight wig or weave.

Even though participant 7 (a 61-year-old) does not approve of young women wearing wigs which are straight and resemble Eurocentric beauty, she too chemically altered the natural texture of her hair hence she does not wear her natural hair but wear permed hair (hair which is chemically altered to soften her natural hair). This is contradictory as she does not approve of others wearing artificial hair but she approves of chemically altering her natural hair.

All the responses above show that the participants experienced a struggle between self and society. They believe one thing but because of beauty and identity which are socially constructed through language, texts and mediated images it heightens the struggles which individuals have within themselves (Thompson 2009). The above participants' responses indicate how much value the participants place on societal appraisal when it comes to their hairstyle choice and identity. It seems as though the Eurocentric standard of beauty affects how colonial-Black women interpret beauty,

self-esteem and identity. Their adherence to the Eurocentric standard of beauty from society plays a role in their hairstyle choices.

9.3.5. Intergenerational trauma

The last theme which was identified was trauma reflected in the responses of the apartheid-born Black female participants. Psychological trauma can be described as a distressing event which results in damage to the mind. Fanon (1963) however, describes psychic trauma about the impacts of colonialization on the colonised subject. He states that colonial psychiatry marginalised certain racial groups as well as women. The Black body he states is marked with trauma, which is continuously upheld by psychological and physical injuries and has been passed from generation to generation. (Gayle 2010). Psychic trauma occurs when the colonised subject realises that he will never be able to attain Whiteness which he was taught to desire and he will never be able to shed the Black skin which he was taught to devalue (Fanon 1963). According to Gayle (2010) "…racism is woven into the social, economic, and political fabric of society or civilisation.".

Trauma is evident in the response of participant 5 (a 47-year-old) who wore a wig. She stated,

> I never liked my hair. I've always wished for…my aunt had this very long beautiful black hair and I always wanted to be like her because of her beauty, her light skin and her long hair and I don't know why to be honest. I did not feel very good about myself so I wished to be lighter and I wished to have longer hair. I am the only one in my family who is dark-skinned. So people would tease me about the colour of my skin. Some would be kind to me and say that I looked beautiful and that I had nice brown skin but in the same sentence they would say that someone else is beautiful by referring to her light skin and her beautiful hair. So I would just realise that they were just being kind by saying that I look beautiful. Let me share something with you. My mom said I once took a scrub and scrubbed and scrubbed my skin so hard that it bled because I wanted to be like my eldest sister. I was about four or five years old at the time. My sister is very light in complexion. So I

didn't understand why I was the only one who was dark. So I have always had issues about my skin colour.

Participant 5's trauma took place during her childhood (which was during the colonial period) when she was teased for being the only dark-skinned female in her family. This trauma took place within her family unit (who are also victims of colonial Eurocentric ideology of beauty) where the perception of Black skin as being inferior to that of light skin formed part of her existence at a very young age. The devaluation of black skin seemed to be generational as she was teased about her skin colour by family members. When she states, "and I always wanted to be like her because of her beauty, her light skin and her long hair and I don't know why to be honest," this indicative of a psychological injury to her mind. The reason why this is psychological injury is because participant 5 was taught that light skin and long hair is what should be admired and aspired to and if you do not possess long hair and light skin you are not considered as someone beautiful. She states that she honestly does not know why she wanted light skin and long her, she is thus not aware of the psychological influence her family had on her.

Her family's comments about her dark skin injured her self-esteem and self-worth. This further highlights the impact that colonialization had on the colonial subject. The perception of Blackness was passed onto participant 5 from generation to her generation thus the Eurocentric ideology of beauty saturated her existence and affected the perception she had of herself. When participant 5 found out that she could not be light-skinned after trying to scrub off her blackness/darkness, trauma took place. Participant 5 found out at a very young age that she could not be light or White no matter how hard she scrubbed her skin. Participant 5 experienced this trauma which continues to influence her perception of her dark skin and natural hair today in a post-apartheid South Africa. Sharp (2009) refers to Fanon and addresses this and states that the colonised subjects, therefore, cope with this condition of Blackness by adopting White masks which are perceived to assist in the shedding of their Black skin. Participant 5 tried to adopt a White mask through the action of scrubbing her dark skin until it bled. She wanted to shed her black skin. Fanon describes this as the alienation from the self. He further responds to this trauma by stating that

the Black subject needs nothing else but to be liberated from himself (Sharp 2009).

Not only was participant 5 psychologically traumatised but she passed the perception she had of blackness down onto her daughters in a post-apartheid era. This is evident in the following statement,

> I did my children's hair until they were old enough to say no. So I would always relax their hair too. And then my eldest now she refuses to relax her hair, she now wears her natural hair. She doesn't put anything on it, she doesn't even braid it. She just keeps it as it is and of course if I could choose I would not choose that style for her. I would like for her to have these artificial Brazilian hairstyles that other girls do. My eldest daughter looks a bit boyish in my personal opinion…she doesn't do her hair. That disturbs me sometimes.

Could it be that participant 5 has also psychologically traumatised her daughter by always making use of hair relaxers on her daughter's hair when she was a little girl? This could be indicative of the generational effect of coloniality even in post-colonial South Africa. Colonial-born participant 5 carries the Eurocentric ideology of beauty and identity of the colonial period and passes it onto her born-free daughter who is traumatised by this. Trying to get rid of the African hair texture to look beautiful. The effect that this regular hair ritual had on her eldest daughter has caused her daughter to wear her natural hair. At this stage of her life participant, 5 wants her daughter to wear artificial hairstyles such as Brazilian artificial hair. However, her daughter does not want to be forced into following the Eurocentric ideology of beauty but chooses to wear her natural hair instead. Not only is participant 5 psychologically traumatised but her daughter seems to be traumatised as well. Traumatised into being forced to follow a Eurocentric ideology of beauty.

What is interesting to note, however, was the response of participant 6. Participant 6 (a 50-year-old) advised her daughters to embrace their natural hair but they chose to wear artificial hair/weaves instead. She stated, "When my daughters were little I did as my mother did to me. I advised my daughters to keep their hair natural but then it's difficult because I see them buying weaves and different hairstyles from the one that I am encouraging them to wear." If participant 6's daughters were being forced

into wearing and embracing their natural hair instead of artificial hair that might also be viewed as psychologically traumatic for them as they were strongly encouraged or perhaps forced into wearing their natural hair. The daughters of participant 5 and 6 did not stick to the advice which their mothers gave them but chose to experiment with other types of hairstyles which is typical of the born-free Black and born-free Coloured female participants.

9.3.6. Anger a result of trauma

Participant 3 (an 83-year old) provided a very important response which ultimately highlights psychological trauma. Participant 3 advocates for the wearing of natural hair but she wears artificial hair in public. She says that she becomes angry when Black women wear big wigs on their head. It upsets her because she wonders what White people would think of African women with these elaborate hairstyles. This is evident in her response below,

> I don't appreciate that people should change their hairstyle. I want everybody to be natural. So when I see a young girl putting on something so big I become so angry inside and I don't know why …So when I see people doing funny things on their head or their scalp I become upset. What do the White people think of the Black people when they wear these big wigs on their heads? It makes me angry. God decided that Black people should have short hair and White people will have long straight hair. Then, people who buy contact lenses to have blue eyes, it makes me angry. The reason for this is when we socialise we imitate other cultures. It's stronger from the Black people to imitate the Whites and I don't know why. The African culture is barbaric according to my thinking. Whites do not consider any African hairstyles as admirable.

Similar to participant 6 (a 50-year-old), participant 3 (an 83-year-old) states, "I become so angry inside and I don't know why." The psychological trauma which participant 3 endured is not even evident to her. The institutionalised view of the inferiority of Blackness during apartheid becomes part of participant 6's language and it is treated as being common sense and has become naturalised. According to Hendricks (2001), the institutionalisation of the segregation policies contributed

towards its naturalising. Individuals internalised and gave meaning to the identities conferred onto them through their lived experiences and active involvement in defining their racial boundaries. Participant 3 continues to be concerned about the White man's gaze and her subjection to it when she states "What do the White people think of Black people when they wear these big wigs on their heads? It makes me angry."

What makes participant 3 angry is not the fact that the White man gazes at Blackness instead she is angered by what the White man must think of the spectacle of weaves on Black Women. This in itself highlights the trauma of participant 8 who in a post-apartheid South Africa continues to psychologically be subjected to the gaze of the White man. Sobopha (2005) comments on this and states that not only has hair been an issue in South African history but as history unveils itself it shows that the Black female body is constituted largely by the gaze of the politically powerful. Maldonado-Torres (2007) also discusses this and states that the colonised were treated and trained to become unequal which sustained the colonial namely, White supremacy. This was the background which led to the psychological supremacy of White people over black people. The Black body is therefore marked with trauma which is continuously upheld psychologically by participant 3. The last part of participant 3's response namely, "The African culture is barbaric according to my thinking. Whites do not consider any African hairstyles as admirable," is the psychological trauma which has become naturalised and sustained in her everyday life.

The responses from the participants above reveal evidence of psychic trauma which forms part of the apartheid-born Black female participants and which is sustained in their everyday lives through their perception of Blackness and their subjection to the White/colonial gaze.

9.4. Overview of Research Findings

When compared to the previous chapter with the colonial-born Coloured females this sample group holds the same view as the colonial-born Coloured participants as their perception of African beauty and identity remains to lean towards the Eurocentric ideology of beauty.

The multi-flex, neo-hybrid identity does not apply to the colonial-born Black female population since they do not embrace a variety of hairstyles instead they advocate in their actions for the Eurocentric ideology of beauty. The findings of this chapter, however, is similar to the findings of the colonial/apartheid born Coloured female participants. This is true since vestiges of colonialism and apartheid are evident, perpetuated and woven into the social, political and economic fabric of the lives of both the colonial/apartheid born Coloured female participants and the apartheid-born Black female participants.

9.5. Conclusion

In conclusion, the colonial-born Black female participants hold a similar view to that of the colonial-born Coloured female participants. Since both these racial groups were exposed to and were victims of Eurocentric cultural dominance during the colonial era. Even though the colonial-born Black female participants live in a post-apartheid, (post)colonial South Africa, the colonial legacy continues to influence their perception of African beauty and identity. Hence their perception of African identity continues to be viewed through a colonial lens.

The intergenerational legacy of coloniality which is evident in this chapter will be explored in the next chapter. The next chapter will investigate whether born-free Coloured female participants share the same view as that of the colonial-born Black female participants.

CHAPTER 10

BORN-FREE COLOURED SOUTH AFRICAN FEMALES' (POST)COLONIAL NARRATIVES ABOUT HAIR
(Fourth chapter of data presentation)

10.1. Introduction

In the previous chapter, I investigated whether the colonial-born Black female participants hold the same view of hair and identity in a (post)colonial, post-apartheid, postmodern environment as those of the colonial-born Coloured females. The findings revealed that the colonial-born Black female participants hold a similar view to that of the colonial-born Coloured female participants. Since both these racial groups were exposed to and were victims of Eurocentric cultural dominance during the colonial era. Even though the colonial-born Black female participants live in a post-apartheid, (post)colonial South Africa, the colonial legacy continues to influence their perception of African beauty and identity. The perception of African hair and identity of the colonial-born Black females has not changed but remained the same. The objective of this chapter, however, seeks to investigate how the born-free Coloured generation construct their identities through hairstyle choices and the impact this has on the (re)presentation of their identities. This chapter also seeks to investigate whether the born-free Coloured female participants hold the same view of African hair and identity as those of the colonial-born Black female participants.

Further, this chapter discusses aspects such as data management and analysis, the research results and the overview of the research findings. This chapter focuses on the presentation and interpretation of findings from focus group interviews consisting of 11 Coloured females born post-apartheid. The reason why this group of women were specifically chosen was to determine whether these women who were born after apartheid have a (post) colonial view of hair and identity in a post-apartheid South Africa and its rainbow multiculturalism within the dominance of blackness. This background will assist in identifying Coloured women's (post)colonial narratives of hair and identity.

10.2. Data Management and analysis

The data collected was from a focus group interview consisting of 11 Coloured women born after apartheid (born-frees) who are from Polokwane, Limpopo South Africa. The reason for focusing on this sample group was because firstly, my study focuses on African women. Coloured women fall within the category of African women in South Africa who were exposed to Eurocentric cultural dominance during the colonial era (Posel 2011). Secondly, Coloured females were chosen as they were criticised for their hair texture during the apartheid era (Posel 2011). Hair texture played a crucial role in determining the identity and race of the individual. With a certain race came certain privileges. The whiter the skin the more privileges the individual would receive. Privileges such as better job opportunities as well as better housing were provided (Posel 2011). Lastly, the Coloured population in the Limpopo province of South Africa is a minority group and only makes up about 0.3% of the population (Pauw 2005). It was, therefore, important to gauge whether the born-free Coloured female participants share the same view of African hair and identity as those of the colonial-born Coloured and colonial-born Black female participants or whether they share a unique view of African hair and identity. These 11 born-free Coloured female participants ages range from18-25 years. They were not born during the colonial era hence their (post)colonial narratives of hair and identity might be different from those Coloured females who were born during the colonial period of South Africa.

The born-free Coloured females formed part of a focus group. The purpose of the focus group was to try and understand what influences the hairstyle choices of females who were born after 1994 which in turn would provide a (post)colonial narrative for born-free Coloured females. Below is Table 10.1. *Born-free Coloured female participant information* which includes information about each participant.

Table 10.1: Born-free Coloured female participant information.

Participant Number	Age and Occupation	Hairstyle type at the time of the focus group discussion
Participant 1	19-year-old student	Natural unrelaxed hair styled in a ponytail
Participant 2	19-year-old who works as an employee at a restaurant	Relaxed hair which she wore in a bun hairstyle
Participant 3	18-year-old student	Natural hair with braids
Participant 4	18-year-old who works as an employee at a restaurant	Natural hair in a bun hairstyle
Participant 5	25 –year- old musician	Short straight hair which was styled in a wet look
Participant 6	18-year-old-student	Chemically relaxed hair which she wore in a bun
Participant 7	18-year-old-student	Natural hair in a short afro
Participant 8	18-year-old-student	Natural hair in a short afro
Participant 9	18-year-old-student	Natural hair and styled it in a ponytail
Participant 10	18-year-old-student	Short bob styled wig
Participant 11	18-year-old-student	Chemically relaxed hair styled in a bun

The transcribed data from the focus group interview of 11 Coloured born-free women were thematically analysed. This analysis was based on Terre Blanche et al.'s five-step interpretive data analysis. This analysis consists of five steps which include familiarisation and immersion, inducing themes, coding, elaborating and interpretation and checking (Terre Blanche et al. 2014:332-326). This process has been fully explained in the methodology chapter namely, chapter six.

There are some critical questions addressed to Coloured females born post-apartheid/ born-frees. Some of the critical questions which I asked them included the following:

- How do you feel about the statement: "Our current hairstyle choices are influenced by our past?"
- When you were a little girl do you perhaps remember an incident which you had with your hair whether it was at home at school or on the playground or perhaps it was something which your mom/aunt/grandmother always noticed or said about your hair? What happened or what did they say that stands out in your mind?

- Can you share the hairstyles your mom/grandmother/aunt used to wear when you were young and how their hairstyle choices influenced your hairstyle at the time?
- How often do you change your hairstyle and why?
- What do you consider to be beautiful hair and why?
- How do you feel about women who keep on changing their hairstyle?

These questions above form part of some of the critical questions addressed to the born-free Coloured female participants. Please refer to Appendix III for more details on the focus group interview questions addressed to the born-free Coloured female participants.

10.3. Research Results

The thematic findings presented below provides an overview of the born-free Coloured females' (post)colonial narratives about hair and identity. In my analysis, the Multi-flex Neo-hybrid identity proves to be fundamental in understanding the (post)colonial narratives of hair and identity amongst Coloured females born after 1994. The two main objectives of the Multi-flex Neo-hybrid identity of the African women is to free the African identity's association with the dominant narrative of its conformity to a single European ideology of beauty and identity and secondly to propose an African identity which is re-empowered and liberated through agency, choice and active participation in the construction of its own identity. These main objectives of the Multi-flex Neo-hybrid identity are evident in the responses of the Coloured participants. The following themes surfaced in the interviews namely, choice, convenience and freedom; the social construction of hairstyle choices; the liquid or flexible character of the postmodern self.

10.3.1. Choice, Convenience and Freedom

The active consumption of (hair)styles and images grow in importance in a postmodern environment since the driving force of consumption in the postmodern era is compensatory and hedonistic consumption (Woodruff 1997). Consumption behaviour which aims to cope with psychological deficit or threat is also known as compensatory consumption. The three key factors which drive compensation

consumption is self-esteem threat, lack of control and the lack of belonging (Zheng & Peng 2014). The factor which applies to the Coloured female participants is lack of control. The reason I chose lack of control as a factor is concerning time. As described by the participants, their busy lives as students do not always allow them to have the time to do their hair. Hence 8 out of the 11 Coloured female participants' hairstyle choices is based on convenience and ease. The participants had the following to say about their current hairstyle choice:

Participant 2 (the 19-year-old) said: "I have my hair in a bun because it is easy and convenient. Unlike blow drying or straightening my hair, therefore wearing a bun is so easy and convenient." Participant 4 (the 18-year-old) agrees with this sentiment and states: "I wear my hair in a bun because this hairstyle is fast and on the go and I am lazy to do my hair". Participant 5 (the 25-year-old) who has straight hair is not a student but a musician describes her reason for her current hairstyle choice because of her busy lifestyle. She states:

> First of all, the girly stuff is too much for me. It's unnecessary for my kind of lifestyle…so I choose an easy hairstyle. I simply wash my hair and leave in the conditioner and on the sides of my head, my hair is cut short. See it's easy, no stress. The reason for this hairstyle is because of the busy lifestyle that I have. It doesn't require hair, that's why I decided to wear this type of hairstyle and also it is too hot. Long hair is just too much drama for my life that's why I prefer wearing my hair short.

Participant 7 (the 18-year old) who wears her natural hair describes her current hairstyle choice in this way: "My hair doesn't allow heat so I wear my natural hair, an afro hairstyle since it is the way to go. It's easy to manage but it's expensive to maintain." Participant 10 (the 18-year –old) who wears a wig states: "I just cut my own hair because I just wake up late and when I wake up late I am lazy to comb my hair so that's why I wear a wig over my own hair. I just don't have time to do my hair."

The findings above reiterate literature about the postmodern individual and the creation of her own identity. She creates her identity according to models provided by the media as well as the way she interprets and constructs herself and present herself to others (Kellner 1995; Ott 2003; Abrudan 2012). Berner

and Van Tonder (2003) state that she pursues the immediate gratification of a service or product to satisfy her specific need and elevates herself about the community. In other words, the responses of the participants above demonstrate that the participant's choice of hairstyle is determined by how she feels as well as the immediate gratification provided by the hairstyle chosen.

According to the responses above, no matter the hairstyle of the participants whether it is a natural or an artificial hairstyle, due to the busy lifestyle of the Coloured female participants, they seem to choose hairstyles which are easy, and convenient, hairstyles which take the minimum amount of time to create and hairstyles which are "on the go". The postmodern consumer and in this case the Coloured females pursue the immediate gratification of a hairstyle to satisfy their specific need which in this case is a hairstyle that does not take a long period to create. Immediate service responsiveness is of utmost importance to postmodern consumers.

Featherstone (2007) and Woodruff (1997) speak about the emotional pleasures derived from consumption or hedonistic consumption. Hedonistic consumption is driven by sensations and the desire for pleasurable and new experiences. Participants who fit this type of consumption is for example participant 6. She believes that television influenced her hairstyle choice and states:

> One thing I like or enjoy doing is my hair. So I like spending time in front of the mirror, doing my hair. When I watch television at home and I see a nice hairstyle, I mimic that hairstyle and then do it, that's what influences my hairstyle choice.

When participant 6 (the 18-year-old) sees a new hairstyle on television she is tempted to try it, this participant's choice of hairstyle is therefore forms part of hedonistic consumption since participant 6 finds pleasure in trying out new hairstyles which she sees on television. Participant 1 (the 19-year-old) also chose her current hairstyle based on how she feels and stated: "I chose this hairstyle namely a ponytail because I feel that it defines me. I am a plain and simple girl, it's my personality." Another interesting factor which played a role in hairstyle choice was emotion or mood. Many of the participants namely, 7 out of 11 participants stated that their

hairstyle choice depends on their mood. Participant 1 (the 19-year-old) stated: "I change my hairstyle once or twice a month or it depends on how I feel."

Participant 10 (the 18-year-old) echoes this sentiment and states: "For me, it depends because sometimes it's also about my mood, where I am going." Participant 4 (the 18-year-old) stated: "I change my hairstyle when I get tired of it. I change it until I feel that I can't anymore and I also change it when I have the energy to do it."

Other participants change their hairstyle when they think change is needed or when their hair becomes untidy. This is reflective in the response of participant 3(the 18-year-old) when she states: "I change my hairstyle after the third week or whenever it starts to get untidy, I change it and do another hairstyle that's neater." Participant 11 (the 18-year old) only changes her hair when others say that she should. She states: "I would only do my hair when others talk about my hair and say that my hair is a mess. That would influence me to do my hair."

According to the above responses, the Coloured female participants who were born after the colonial era do not share a similar view of African hair and identity as the colonial-born Coloured and Black female participants. The colonial-born Coloured and Black female participants hold onto the Eurocentric ideology of beauty when it comes to African hair and identity. However, the Coloured females who were born after the colonial era base their choice of hairstyle on convenience, ease as well as how they feel at that particular time. The colonial-legacy of African hair and identity does not seem to apply to the responses of the participants above instead a shift in thinking is evident in their responses. The responses of the born-free Coloured female participants resemble a (post)colonial narrative of freedom where their hairstyle choice is entirely up to them and does not seem to be influenced by the colonial past of South Africa. Instead, their responses reflect the identity of a postmodern African woman who has agency when it comes to the construction of her identity through the hairstyle she chooses to consume.

10.3.2. The Social construction of hairstyle choices

The majority of the participants namely, 7 out of 11 of the participants believe that their current hairstyle choices are socially influenced. Participant 1 (the 19-year-old) stated that because of her experiences with others in her environment she chose her current hairstyle which is a ponytail. She states that her experiences of being stared at by others in the past are a major reason why she chose her current hairstyle which she views as plain and simple not to attract much attention. She said:

> I would say that my current hairstyle choice is influenced by how I grew up, not by my family but by my environment, people surrounding me because obviously with me growing up light-skinned and I would always say I am different…So with me being in the public growing up people would always stare at me. Like all the people, in a lustful way. So I would always like not want to look beautiful. I would always want to look plain and simple. So that fewer people would look at me. So that just grew on me and that's just how I am until today. So I think that the people within my environment do influence me. Like I would never want to have an elaborate hairstyle because I would feel like somehow I would get the attention again and I would just not like it.

Participant 1(19-year-old) describes herself as light-skinned and being different from those people in her surroundings who might not have been as light-skinned as she is. Then she also states that being light-skinned is associated with being stared at lustfully. Her response aligns with literature related to colourism where Whiteness was seen as being superior to other races. Whiteness was admired and desired literature explains. With colonial imperialism came superior-inferior social classifications of race. According to Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013:130), the "hierarchy of new identities were not only informed by race but by degrees of humanity associated with the constructed identities". The colonised were treated and trained to become unequal which sustained the colonial namely, White supremacy. Skin which was lighter in colour was associated closer with humanity. This was the background which led to the psychological supremacy of White people over the Black people (Maldonado-Torres 2007). The main difference between the racial segregation policy before apartheid and during apartheid was that the racial segregation policies during apartheid became law (Lipton 1986). The view that Blacks, in general, were

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described as diseased or contagious emerged from Europe's initial encounter with Africans and later this view of Blacks continued to exist in South Africa during the nineteenth and twentieth century (Hendricks 2001; Posel 2011). Hence Whiteness was aspired to.

The acculturation of Coloureds into the Western bourgeois culture was seen as the ultimate climax of human progression and achievement. The emphasis placed on achieving this demonstrated that Coloured people lived up to White middle class 'respectability' and legitimised Coloured peoples' claims to full citizenship rights. Thus being White in mind, spirit and achievement were one of the strongest imperatives of social achievement amongst the Coloured people (Adhikari 2006). Due to the rejection of assimilation of Coloured people into the dominant society, the Coloured community alternatively defended their rights and promoted their interests as a group by placing emphasis on their difference to Africans or Black South Africans.

The imperative of being associated with Whiteness whether it be in the value placed on straight hair or fairer skin, or the prizing of White ancestors in their family lineage, highlighted the Coloured people's obsession with their association of Whiteness and their distancing from Africanness (Adhikari 2006). This desire for being White amongst non-Whites was aspired to.

It is important to note that participant 1 is a born-free Coloured female who lives in a post-apartheid, (post)colonial, postmodern South Africa where the hegemony of Blackness exists, yet within this environment Whiteness according to participant 1 remains to be admired and stared at as something different and beautiful. It seems as though the colonial-legacy of identity and race remains to form part of the society in which participant 1 lives. Participant 1 states that this makes her feel uncomfortable in her own space and hence chooses hairstyles which do not attract too much attention to her. Therefore, her hairstyle choice is socially constructed.

Participant 3 (the 18-year-old) believes that her hairstyle is influenced by fashionable hairstyles from the past when she states: "…you can see our generation is falling back on what happened in the past. Like for instance, the bob hairstyle is becoming fashionable now and the afro like all the other hairstyles that were made back then are now coming back in this new generation."

Participant 7 (the 18-year-old) states: "… my hair is influenced by the past because my hairstyle now which is an afro, is reflective of Black consciousness, to empower myself, to be original and real."

Participant 7's response is very interesting since she refers here to the Black Conscious Movement an anti-apartheid activist movement of the mid-1960s which took place in South Africa (Hirschmann 1990). Steve Biko who was the leader of the movement promoted the philosophy which emphasised the rejection of White monopoly on truth. Part of the vision of the movement was that Black people needed to believe in their own value. They first needed to liberate themselves and gain psychological transformation in their minds while taking pride in their Blackness was an important step in personal liberation (Hirschmann 1990). That being said, perhaps participant 7 wanted to be psychologically liberated from the Eurocentric ideology of beauty by embracing wearing her natural hair in the form of an afro hairstyle.

This also links up with the Civil Rights Movement in the USA which took place during the 1950s to 1970s. This movement was a controversial time where marginalised groups namely, African Americans fought against the legalised racial segregation to gain rights equal to Whites through non-violent protests (Mercer 1991). It was within this movement that African Americans distanced themselves from the Eurocentric standards of beauty and embraced an Afrocentric approach to African identity, beauty and class. The wearing of natural African American hairstyles symbolised hegemonic everyday resistance to the dominance of White beauty and this proved to be a commitment to the cause of racial equality (Hunt & Benford 2004). One of the symbols of resistance was the afro or the fro which became popularised and symbolised Black pride.

The afro symbolised pride, militant rebellion, resistance to the oppression of African Americans and it questioned authority (Craig 2002). Participant 7 (the 18-year-old) seems to be aware of these movements and therefore, it can be said that her hairstyle choices are socially constructed.

Participant 8 (the 18-year-old) however, states that her experience with conforming to a certain hairstyle also influenced her current hairstyle choice and explains:

> My hair was not an afro before but it was relaxed. The relaxer I used
> damaged my hair so because of that, I had a fresh cut so I had to begin

again with my short hair and I love it. So because of my past hairstyle which damaged my hair, I no longer relax my hair but wear an afro.

To conform to a type of hairstyle which is viewed as beautiful participant 8 (the 18-year-old) relaxed her hair, this phenomenon Oyedemi (2016) describes as personal violence. The act of conforming to a beauty standard at the cost of violating yourself. Participant 8 violated herself by using the chemical hair relaxer which damaged her hair. So to free herself from conforming to the beauty standards placed on her by her surrounding environment, instead, she chose to wear her natural hair, instead of conforming to the beauty norms of society participant 8 frees herself from this and she reclaims herself by wearing her natural hair. Similarly, Thompson (2009) states that social narratives play a role in the hairstyle choices which Black females make. She states that Beauty and identity are socially constructed through language, texts and mediated images. This is what participant 8 freed herself from.

Another influential factor which played a role in the current hairstyle choices of the participants is the influence of their mothers or sisters. Most of the participants namely 7 out of the 11 participants revealed that their mothers would always tell them that their hair should always be neat, tidy and not wild. Participant 3(the 18-year-old) states:

> My mom just always used to tell me that me keeping my hair tidy is me respecting myself. My hair needs to be neat and tidy. You look clean when your hair is neat. Your hair represents the person you are.

Participant 6 (the 18-year-old) states: "My sister always said that the beauty of the face lies within the hair, so your hair must always be neat because no one would take you seriously if you didn't do your hair if your hair is undone."

The majority of the participants namely, 7 out of the 11 participants also stated that the hairstyles which their moms wore in the past also influenced their hairstyles. Participant 2 (the 19-year-old) states: "My mom had a bob hairstyle and she always used to dye her hair and that influenced me. When I was in high school I also started to dye my hair." Participant 7 (the 18-year-old) states:

My mom's hair was long and she always relaxed her hair every month and so she wanted that to transcend to our hair, her daughter's hair because she perceived her hair as neat and the relaxer worked on her hair so she tried it with our hair but our hair is not like hers.

The response from participant 7 (the 18-year-old) highlights the contrast between the colonial-born generation versus the born-free generation. Unlike her mother who did not have the agency or choice to wear her natural hair when she was young, participant 7 (the 18-year-old) can have the choice of wearing her natural hair and not being judged for it. It is acceptable to wear a natural hairstyle in a post-apartheid, (post)colonial era while it was not considered beautiful to wear natural hair during the colonial era. This, therefore, highlights the fact that the born-frees have the choice to wear whatever hairstyle they want and it will be accepted in society.

Participant 8 (the 18-year-old) spoke about her sister's influence on her hairstyle choices. She states:

My sister always relaxed her hair and it was nice because she is a "yellow bone" (light-skinned). I kinda felt like I wanted to do the same but I just felt like it wasn't me. But then I followed her path and relaxed my hair as well. I just followed her path.

What is interesting about participant 8's response is that she refers to her sister as a yellow-bone/ light-skinned. She too as participant 1 (the 18-year-old) speaks to colourism. I suspect, however, that this participant may not be aware of the term colourism but it forms part of her everyday vocabulary. This is indicative of the colonial legacy which exists in the day to day conversation of born-free Coloured female South Africans in a postmodern, (post)colonial, post-apartheid South Africa.

Participant 10 (the 18-year-old) states: "My mom had long hair and I had short hair and I wished my hair was like my Mom's. When I grew up I just cut it. So whatever my mom did to her hair she did to mine, for example, she relaxed it and plaited it but my hair just wasn't the same as her hair."

Participant 10's (the 18-year-old) response also reveals the intergenerational influence of the colonial-born generation on the born-free generation. Participant 10's

mother passed down her hair practices onto her born-free daughter at an age where she could not make decisions for herself but simply had to comply with her mom's decisions for her. Participant 10 also speaks about desiring long hair like her mom's which is also vestiges of colonialism which is evident in the response of participant 10. Long straight hair is viewed as more desirable within the colonial era but remains to form part of the (post)colonial, post-apartheid legacy.

From the passages above, vestiges of colonial legacy are evident in the responses of the participants. This is evident with their reference to colourism, long hair, chemically relaxed hair, Black consciousness, etc.

10.3.3. Liquid/flexible character of the postmodern self

By consuming various hairstyles African women can navigate through various identities in the postmodern presentation of the self. The Multi-flex Neo-hybrid identity is epitomised in this section of this chapter, that is the Multi-flex Neo-hybrid identity provides the African woman with agency namely, the ability to choose which identity she would like to portray for a specific period. Her power or agency is made manifest through her hairstyle choice. This is epitomised in the responses of the Coloured born –free participants. When the participants were asked how often they change their hairstyles this is what they said. Participant 5 (the 25-year-old) stated,

> Whenever I have a different mood I change the colour of my hair because last week I was blonde, the week before that I was green and this week I have red hair. So I am influenced by mood and it depends upon what I am doing next….so I am influenced by my movement and when I feel cute I dye my hair pink.

Participant 2 (the 19-year-old) states: "I change my hair weekly because I believe that change is needed now and then. It becomes boring having the same hairstyle. Weekends I will roll my hair in and have a different hairstyle with that curly hair every single day starting from Monday to Friday and then the next week I change it again." Participant 4 states: "I change my hair when I get tired of it". While participant 9 says: "I change my hairstyle based on my mood and where I am going."

When the participants were asked which hairstyle they prefer to wear to special events the majority namely 5 out of the 11 participants stated that their hairstyle

preference depends on the event they attend as well as their outfit hence they do not keep the same hairstyle. Each event and each outfit needs a different hairstyle. This is evident in the participants' responses. Participant 5 (the 25-year-old) states: "If it's a certain occasion, I will dye it creatively and it also depends on if I want to go to that certain event or if I am forced to. You know money talks, so you've gotta go."

Participant 7 (the 18-year-old) illustrates this further with her response, she states:

> If I were to go to a funeral I would wear a doek (headscarf) because I feel that is respectful. When I go to church I would wear an updo and for my matric ball, I would wear a wig because that is the only time I get long and sleek hair. I love that hair but I just have to work with what God gave me.

From the response of participant 7(the 18-year-old) who naturally has an afro hairstyle, she states that she loves long sleek hair. The only way in which she will be able to have long sleek hair is by wearing artificial hair such as a wig. This is reflective of the colonial legacy of Eurocentric beauty which is viewed as the apex of beauty within a (post)colonial, post-apartheid era. Existing literature on African hair and identity illustrates this. Literature states that the transatlantic slave trade was a catalyst for the psychological mind shift regarding the notion and representation of Black beauty where Black beauty was no longer the ideal of beauty but was seen as inferior to White/Eurocentric beauty (Thompson 2009; hooks 1992). A Eurocentric description of hair was seen as the ideal image, namely, long, straight and flowing hair. An Afrocentric image of hair which was short and nappy hair was seen as ugly or "not good" hair and had to either be covered up, hidden away or tamed by straightening it (Jere-Malanda 2008; Thompson 2009). Participant 7 sees the need to cover up her natural afro hair with a wig for an auspicious occasion. When she states "but I have to work with what God gave me", she does not seem to love her natural hair as much as artificial hair. She views her natural hair in a negative light therefore her perception of beautiful hair is influenced by the colonial-legacy of the ideology of Eurocentric beauty.

The following participants below, however, illustrate the multi-flex, neo-hybrid postmodern identity of the African woman who is exposed to an assortment of hairstyle choices. The multi-flex ,neo-hybrid identity provides the African woman

with agency and the ability to choose which identity she would like to portray for a specific period. This identity is flexible as the individual can easily navigate and adapt to various identities and fit in with those identities it created. The multiplicity of symbols and signs which enable the postmodern individual to construct an identity is viewed as attractive by individuals since they prefer the variety of options exposed to them in an ever-changing environment (Mercer 1990; Southgate 2003). The responses of the participants who align with this postmodern identity are discussed below.

Participant 11 (the 18-year-old) states: "For me, it depends on which event. If I am going to a funeral I will just wear my hair straight. If I am going to a wedding, I want to braid my hair and if I am going to a party I want to blow dry my hair straight." For participant 10 (the 18-year-old) however, her hairstyle preference is determined by her outfit. She states, "I prefer short hair because it depends on what I am wearing. So my outfit influences my hairstyle."

Participant 1 (the 19-year-old) states: "If someone feels that changing their hairstyles makes them feel good about themselves then that's amazing. Whatever you do you should feel good about yourself. Like if that increases your self-confidence then continue doing it."

Participant 3 (the 18-year-old) and participant 5 (the 25-year-old) state that they become bored with wearing the same hairstyle every day hence the changing of hairstyles is a good practice. Participant 3 (the 18-year-old) states: "I think it's good to change your hairstyle. I know myself. I get bored with the same hairstyle." Participant 5 (the 25-year-old) states: "…for me I constantly need change because I get bored with things fast so I need something different for example e different coloured hair. It's okay if people change their hairstyles. It's just like wearing underwear. It's okay to change your hairstyle."

Participant 7 (the 18-year-old) further illustrates this point and states: "I am okay with women who change their hairstyles and I think it's good for them to be diverse and unique and always looking for new ways to look good. We can't always be the same plain person; we need to be elevated." However, participant 8 (the 18-year-old) was undecided when it came to her perception of women who constantly change their hairstyle. She states:

I am okay with women constantly changing their hairstyles because it shows creativity. Their minds are wild. If reflects their mood and what they see in the mirror is what they want people to view. I like it and I don't like it. I am undecided because once you change your hair all the time I think it breaks your hair all the time. I am not talking about a wig or weave; I am talking about your natural hair. If you change it all the time your hair is going to get damaged and what hair are you going to wear because your hair is your crown. What are you going to do with your hair if it is damaged?

However, a few of the other participants did not think that the constant changing of hairstyles was a good idea. They align with critical/sceptical postmodernists who are distrusting of postmodernism and provide a negative perspective of postmodernism. These sceptical postmodernists describe postmodernism as an age of chaos, instability, despair, fragmentation and hopelessness in seeking for truth. The postmodern era is described as hopeless, grim, uncertain, alienating, ambiguous and tired (Durham & Kellner 2001). Amongst others, Frederic Jameson (1984) defines postmodern culture as a "new kind of flatness or depthlessness, superficiality in the most literal sense" (Durham & Kellner 2001). He describes this depthless, superficial feature of postmodernism as supreme and states that the postmodern self does not possess the expressive energies of the modern self (Durham & Kellner 2001). The responses of those participants who align with the critics of postmodernism were as follows. Participant 9 states:

I think that those who constantly change their hairstyles are very confused since they don't know what hairstyle they want. They just never get enough. Today they have short hair and tomorrow they say they want long hair. I think that they don't know what they want. I don't think it's okay to constantly change your hairstyle.

Even though participant 9 made the above statement, however when she was asked which hairstyle she considered to be beautiful her response was contradictory to her statement above. She responds in the following way,

I consider weaves to be beautiful because I feel that it just changes my whole look and my outfit. Everything is perfect when I am wearing one, so natural hair doesn't do it for me when I am going places.… I think wigs are

beautiful because it changes my look and it's easier to maintain because it's off your head. You just take it off your head when you want to.

Participant 9's response is the epitome of the multi-flex neo-hybrid postmodern identity of the African woman who is given the freedom to choose whatever hairstyle she wants to wear at a given period. She does not need to remain loyal to one identity but can navigate from one identity to the next.

Participant 11 seems undecided about females who constantly change their hairstyles and states:

I think certain women want attention by just changing their hairstyles. They like comments from friends. Maybe they get bored with the same hairstyle every time and maybe they are seeking for attention wanting to look different. I think it's okay to change your hairstyle.

The liquid/flexible character of the participants are further illustrated with the response of participant 5, participant 6 and participant 7. These participants consider natural and artificial hair as beautiful. Participant 5 states:

I think natural hair is beautiful when someone doesn't have to try so hard but one the other hand I also don't have a problem with weaves either. Weaves are like clothing like I am wearing mine on my skin and those who wear weaves are wearing theirs on their heads so it's kind of like the same thing. I'm wearing clothes and you wearing hair but beautiful hair for me is natural hair.

Participant 6 states: "I think natural hair, weaves and wigs, they all just work out. With today's generation, it's all about competing so you wanna do what your peers do." Participant 7 states:

Natural hair is beautiful, it's the best, it's who you are, also wigs are perceived as a substitute because take people with cancer, for example, their hair falls out its…. I think it's made for those people who can't show off their hair and so any hair for me is good hair.

Although these participants like natural hair they have the benefit of wearing it in this post-apartheid age. Yet they also celebrated varieties of styles such as wigs and

weaves. This talks to the flexibility, choice and agency of the born-free individual that the colonial-born individual lacks. The responses above illustrate the liquid or flexible character of the Coloured born-free female participant who changes her hairstyle based on her mood, her outfit or the event which she is going to attend. The majority of the born-free Coloured participants support women who constantly change their hairstyles. The above responses can also be linked to Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) definition of the rhizomatic system. The fact that the born-free Coloured females appreciate and constantly change their hairstyle/identity refers to a rhizomatic system. A multiplicity is characteristic of a rhizome, it has "neither subject or object only determination, magnitudes and dimensions" (Deleuze & Guattari 1987:30).

Hairstyles which are constantly changed by the born-free Coloured participants show their multiplicity of character. In the same way that the rhizomatic system can be described as a union which contains different parts which in itself are ever-changing, where the dimensions within this system are defined through its ability to transform (Grosz 1994), the born-free Coloured female participants wear hairstyles which are ever-changing which in turn enables their identities to transform. It could also be said that their identities are heterogeneous, flexible and navigatory in nature which is characteristic of the multi-flex, neo-hybrid identity of the African woman. Baumann (1991) also speaks about the postmodern identity as modernity reflecting upon itself with an urge to change. The born-free Coloured participants have an urge to change their look, their hairstyle, their identity as they become bored with one kind of hairstyle.

10.4. Overview of Research Findings

What is evident in the above research results is that the born-free Coloured female's choice of hairstyle is linked with the multi-flex neo-hybrid identity by that fact that it does not negate the past but consists of vestiges of colonialism and yet, is exposed to the postmodern era of the purchasing of identities through the market. Vestiges of colonialism are highlighted in the born-free Coloured participants' responses meshed together with the postmodern identity of being exposed to an assortment of hairstyles. The postmodern identity of the Coloured female born-free participants is multifaceted and remains in a state of perpetual change. The identity of the Coloured female, a born-free postmodern consumer is easily changeable and they can

navigate and adapt to various identities and fits in with those identities which she created. Multiplicity is characteristic of the Coloured female born-free postmodern self. It is a union which contains different parts which in itself are ever-changing, the born-free Coloured female postmodern self can undergo transformations, it is heterogeneous, flexible which is characteristic of the multi-flex, neo-hybrid identity.

When the responses of the born-free Coloured participants are compared to the colonial-born Coloured and colonial-born Black female responses, the born-free Coloured females are influenced by the colonial past of their mothers, they do not negate it is highlighted in some of their responses. However, the responses of the born-free Coloured females also embrace the postmodern era of purchasing identities through the market. This is in contrast to the generations of their grandmothers or mothers who placed the colonial legacy of the Eurocentric of beauty at the centre of the beauty continuum.

The variety of options provided by consumerism can be viewed as liberating as the born-free Coloured female is given the ability to create a new self and individuals determine what they want to identify with. The triviality of every day is no longer of interest to the Coloured born-free participants and no longer satisfies them. She is rather interested in the spectacle and sensational. Constant change is perceived as a good practice. The liquid or flexible character of the Coloured born-free participants was unearthed when the participants were asked how they feel about women who constantly change their hairstyle.

Hence for the postmodern, (post)colonial, post-apartheid participant their individuality is seen as of utmost importance to them instead of the colonial legacy of the past. For them the individual takes precedence and her freedom of choice plays a crucial role in the type of hairstyle she consumes. This resonates with what Berner and Van Tonder (2003) state that the individual is elevated above the community and her personal experiences are seen as paramount when it comes to her choice of hairstyle, therefore, the construction of her identity. The postmodern, (post)colonial individual is not loyal and committed to the Eurocentric ideology of the past but she has the freedom of choice when it comes to what hairstyle she chooses to consume. Similarly, to what McRobbie (1993) states, the postmodern individual is given the platform to articulate (her personal) experiences and perspectives. The essentialist

understanding of the Eurocentric ideology of beauty when it comes to hair does not apply to the born-free participants.

10.5. Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter sought to investigate whether born-free Coloured females born after 1994 hold the same view of hair and identity in a (post)colonial, post-apartheid, postmodern environment as the colonial-born Black female participants and to determine whether these women who were born after apartheid have a (post) colonial view of hair and identity in a post-apartheid South Africa and its rainbow multiculturalism within the dominance of Blackness. The findings of the above participants reveal the multi-flex, neo-hybrid nature of the Coloured female born-free participants and demonstrate that the born-free Coloured female participants even though they do not negate their colonial legacy, share a different view to the colonial-born Black female participants. The born-free Coloured female participants' perception of beautiful hair does not only align with the Eurocentric ideology of beauty but also focuses on the individual's preference. The multi-flex, neo-hybrid identity of the born-free Coloured females born post-apartheid is highlighted in the responses above while the assimilation of Whiteness which plays a crucial role in the formation of identity for the colonial- born Coloured and colonial-born Black females does not form the only component in the identity formation of the Coloured born-free participants.

In the following chapter, I will investigate whether born-free Black females share a similar view of hair and identity as those of the born-free Coloured females.

CHAPTER 11

BORN-FREE BLACK SOUTH AFRICAN FEMALES' (POST)COLONIAL NARRATIVES ABOUT HAIR
(Fifth chapter of data presentation)

11.1. Introduction

In the previous chapter, I investigated whether the born-free Coloured female participants hold the same view of African hair and identity as those of the colonial-born Black female participants. The findings of the previous chapter reveal the multi-flex neo-hybrid nature of the Coloured female born-free participants and demonstrate that the born-free Coloured female participants even though they do not negate their colonial legacy, share a different view to the colonial-born Black female participants Their perception of beautiful hair does not only align with the Eurocentric ideology of beauty but also focuses on the individual's preference.

The objective of this chapter, however, seeks to investigate whether born-free Black females born after 1994 hold the same view of hair and identity in a (post)colonial, post-apartheid, postmodern environment as those of the born-free Coloured female participants. What is of utmost importance to investigate in this chapter is whether the aspiration for Eurocentric hair which was present during colonial South Africa continues to be aspired to amongst the born-free Black female participants who form part of a rainbow democratic nation within the dominance of Blackness. This chapter, therefore, seeks to investigate whether the view of Eurocentric beauty still forms the apex of beauty when engaging African hair, beauty and identity.

Further, this chapter discusses aspects such as data management and analysis, the research results and the overview of the research findings. This chapter focuses on the presentation and interpretation of findings from focus group interviews consisting of 6 Black females born post-apartheid. The reason why this group of women were specifically chosen was to determine whether these women who were born after apartheid have a (post) colonial view of hair and identity in a post-apartheid South Africa and its rainbow multiculturalism within the dominance of Blackness. This background will assist in identifying Black women's (post)colonial narratives of hair and communicate their identity.

11.2. Data Management and analysis

The data collected was from a focus group interview consisting of six Black women born after apartheid who are from Polokwane, Limpopo South Africa. Snowball sampling was used for the selection of the focus group interviews. These born-free Black females were chosen for this study since my study focuses on African women, hair and identity. Another reason for using this sample group is because Black females were criticised for their hair texture during the apartheid era (Posel 2011). These six Black females range between the ages of 21-25 years of age. They also provided a rich background to the Black history and culture in Polokwane, Limpopo.

The women formed part of a focus group interview. The purpose of the group was to try and understand what influences the hairstyle choices of females who were born after 1994 which in turn would provide a (post)colonial narrative for born-free Black females. All of the participants are students. Below is Table 11.1. *Born-free Black female participant information* which includes information about each participant.

Table 11.1: Born-free Black female participant information.

Participant Number	Age and Occupation	Hairstyle Type at the time of the focus group discussion
Participant 1	21-year-old student	Cornrow hairstyle
Participant 2	25-year-old student	Brazilian bob wig
Participant 3	24-year-old student	Braided hairstyle
Participant 4	23-year-old student	Peruvian weave
Participant 5	21-year-old student	Artificial dreadlocks
Participant 6	21-year-old-student	Chemically relaxed hair covered in a head wrap

The transcribed data from the focus group interview of six Black born-free women were thematically analysed. This analysis was based on Terre Blanche et al.'s five-step interpretive data analysis. This analysis consists of five steps which include familiarisation and immersion, inducing themes, coding, elaborating and interpretation and checking (Terre Blanche et al. 2014:332-326). This process has been fully explained in the methodology chapter namely, chapter six. There are some critical questions addressed to Black females born post-apartheid/ born-frees. Some of the critical questions which I asked them included the following:

- How do you feel about the statement: "Our current hairstyle choices are influenced by our past?"
- How often do you change your hairstyle and why?

- What do you consider to be beautiful hair and why and what do you think about the new Miss South Africa and her hairstyle?

- How do you feel about women who keep on changing their hairstyle?

These questions above form part of some of the critical questions addressed to the Black female participants born post-apartheid. Please refer to Appendix IV for more details on the focus group interview questions addressed to the born-free Black female participants.

11.3. Research Results

The thematic findings presented below provides an overview of the born-free Black females' (post)colonial narratives about hair and identity. In my analysis, the multi-flex, neo-hybrid identity proves to be fundamental in understanding the (post)colonial narratives of hair and identity amongst Black females born after 1994. The two main objectives of the multi-flex, neo-hybrid identity of the African women is to free the African's identity's association with the dominant narrative of its conformity to a single European ideology of beauty and identity and secondly to propose an African identity which is re-empowered and liberated through agency, choice and an active participation in the construction of its own identity. These main objectives of the multi-flex, neo-hybrid identity are evident in the responses of the Black participants. The following themes emerged in the interviews namely, the centrality of the postmodern, (post)colonial individual, the negation of the past, natural hair at the forefront of beauty and the heteroglossi(c) identity.

11.3.1. The centrality of the postmodern, (post)colonial individual

Firstly, one of the findings which seem to be evident throughout the responses of the born-free Black female participants is the centrality of the postmodern, (post)colonial individual. In other words, the postmodern, (post)colonial individual is placed at the centre of hairstyle consumption choices. It is the individual who ultimately decides which hairstyle she chooses to wear. It was found that the individual chooses which hairstyle she wants to wear based on the following: how she feels emotionally, the shape of her face, her lifestyle, the outfit which she chooses to wear, and lastly the individual wants to wear hairstyles which enable her to be herself. Not only is her

hairstyle choice based on one of the options mentioned above but her hairstyle choice can also be based on a combination of the options provided above. This view is affirmed by celebratory postmodernists such as McRobbie (1993), Firat and Venkatesh (1995), Kellner (2001) and Berner and Van Tonder (2003), who state that firstly, in the postmodern era the individual is elevated above community where the individual's or the consumers' view is seen as more important than the community's view. In other words, the postmodern (post)colonial individual's discourses which were marginalised and negated in modern societies are now authenticated and are now allowed to articulate their experiences and perspectives.

Secondly, reason is replaced with intuition. In this context this statement means that the postmodern, (post)colonial individual bases her hairstyle choices on how she feels and thirdly, the consumer becomes central to the (identity) production process. The consumer, therefore, becomes the creator of meaning (of their identity) and consumption becomes a process through which the individual consumer can define herself and her identity in contemporary society because the market place provides choices to acquire products in the self-creation of identity (Lee 2009). Abrudan (2012) speaks about the postmodern identity as dependent on the way the individual interprets and constructs herself, and presents herself to others. Woodruff (1997) also supports the responses of the born-free Black participants and states that the driving force in the postmodern environment is compensatory and hedonistic consumption. Hedonistic consumption is driven by sensations, the desire for pleasurable and new experiences. This is evident in the responses of the born-free Black female participants.

The multi-flex,neo-hybrid identity also affirms this finding of the born-free Black female participants since the multi-flex, neo-hybrid identity provides the African woman with *agency* and the ability to choose which identity she would like to portray for a specific period. The (post)colonial individual is given the power to choose. She chooses a specific identity through the hairstyles which she chooses to consume. Her power/agency is made manifest through her choice.

Examples of this are found in the response of participant 3 (the 24-year-old) when she states:

So with me, it's just I think most of the time it's how my outfit looks. If my outfit looks dull I would want to have a hairstyle that like draw peoples' attention towards my hair rather than my outfit…a month ago I went through some personal stuff that leads me to cut my hair, so I think that emotional stuff also influences how I wear my hair…I just felt that cutting my hair would like shed some weight off my shoulders. I think my friends namely, the kind of people that I hang out with sometimes if they have their weaves I feel I can't miss out. I too need to wear weaves and not just them.

In contrast to the theme, the centrality of the postmodern, (post)colonial individual, participant 4 (the 23-year-old) reveals that her hairstyle choice is not only influenced by her preferences but also influenced by her group of friends. According to participant 4's response, she fears that she would "miss out" if she would not wear a similar hairstyle as those of her friends, namely, a weave. Perhaps she would feel as though she misses out of belonging to a certain group identity.

Participant 2 (25-year-old) agrees with participant 3 and 4, however, she adds that the shape of her face is what she bases her hairstyle choice on. She states:

I also choose my hairstyle based on how I feel. However, I also choose hairstyles based on the shape of my face. I am an oval face person. My face is oval. Everybody has a different kind of face shape… with the different hairstyles that I have I make sure that it suits my face.

Participant 1 (the 21-year-old) on the other hand, chooses to wear certain hairstyles that reflect her "real" self. She states:

I grew up in an environment where my sisters would line us up like it's time to get your hair done and relax it. I used to hate that. I didn't like it at all so now I wear my Afro, it is natural. I enjoy it and I love it. My experience has changed me to realise that I just want to be me. I don't want to be controlled by some circumstances or anything. So I enjoy being the way I am.

Participant 1 (the 21-year-old) grew up in a family which conformed to the Eurocentric ideology of beauty by chemically relaxing their hair regularly. According to participant 1, it seems as though this was a regular hair ritual. Not only did they need to conform to society's norm of beautiful hair namely, the Eurocentric ideology

of beauty but this norm was enforced by her family specifically her sisters. In other words, the colonial legacy of beauty is evident in the hairstyle practices of participant 1's family. Even though participant 1 lives in a post-apartheid, (post)colonial-era she was forced to conform to the colonial legacy of beauty. Murray (2011) speaks to this and states that White privilege set the standard of beauty during the colonial era hence there was a great amount of pressure on the Black female to obtain the Eurocentric ideal of beauty. To obtain this ideal image, the Black female had to undergo 'alterations' to be socially and conventionally accepted as beautiful (Murray 2011). Participant 1 therefore needed to alter her hair texture to be socially and conventionally accepted.

Oyedemi (2016) describes the conformity of Black women to the Eurocentric standard of beauty as a violent process. He states that the history of structural violence through hair creates cultural and physical violence when Black women alter the texture of their hair. The cultural violence of erasing their natural hair texture which is perceived as ugly to attain 'finer' textured hair and resembles Eurocentric hair, is still a schizophrenic dilemma about Black South Africans' perception of beauty. This is evident in participant 1's situation.

However, later in her response participant 1 states that she hated the hair ritual of chemically relaxing her hair. Instead of wearing straightened hair participant 1 now wears her natural hair in the form of an Afro hairstyle. She states that her natural hair is the "real me". It is truly who she is and that she does not want to be dictated to when it comes to the hairstyle choices. McRobbie's (1993) work on postmodernism addresses the above response of participant 1 by stating that postmodernism questions concepts which relate to the "real me". In the past participant, 1 was forced to relax her hair or get her hair "done". This was enforced by her family, which she disliked. They forced her to change the texture of hair, to change the "real her". After being subjected under the control of her family members she has resisted the dominant culture within her family to relax her hair instead participant 1 chooses to stop relaxing her hair and chooses to embrace her real natural hair. Hence participant 1 states "…I just want to be me. I don't want to be controlled by some circumstances or anything." Participant 1 seems to be happy with the "real" her, which is reflected in her choosing to wear her natural hair. Participant 1 questions her family's hair rituals of the past which enable her to discover the "real her".

Participant 1's response also resonates with García Canclini's (1989) and Bhabha's (1994) discussion of hybridity where they both state that the peripheral culture undermines the authority and authenticity of the metropolitan culture (Kraidy 2005). Participant 1 now undermines the authority and resists the authority of her family and resorts to wearing her natural hair and no longer feels controlled by her family and circumstances. What is also evident is that now in a postmodern, post-apartheid, (post)colonial South Africa participant 1 also has freedom of choice and can wear her natural hair.

Even though vestiges of colonialism exist within her hairstyle choices participant 1 is now able to choose whether she wants to continue with conforming to the Eurocentric ideology of beauty or not. Unlike the colonial-born female participants, participant 1 can choose a hairstyle outside of the realm of Eurocentric hairstyles to a more Afro-centric hairstyle choice, this is emblematic of the postmodern African woman who is spoilt for choice. The born-free generation can also be associated with a political generation, a "Rhodes must fall" generation which clamours for decolonisation. A decolonisation of hairstyles to be exact where there is a shift in the perception of African beauty, hair and identity, a shift which embraces Afro-centric beauty, hairstyles and identity.

According to the above responses, it is clear that the postmodern, (post)colonial individual plays a central role in the consumption of her hairstyle choices. It is the individual herself who determines which hairstyle she wants to wear based on how she feels, how she feels emotionally, the shape of her face, her lifestyle, the outfit which she chooses to wear, and lastly, the individual wants to wear hairstyles which enable her to be herself.

11.3.2. The negation of the past

The second theme which was identified from the born-free Black female participants is the negation of the past. According to the majority of the participants' responses namely, 5 out of the 6 born-free Black female participants stated that their past did not influence their current hairstyle choices. Even though the born-free Black female participants were not directly asked whether colonialism or apartheid influenced their current hairstyle choice, they stated that their past does not influence their current

hairstyle choices, since the born-free Black female participants do not share the same past as those colonial- born Coloured and Black female participants.

It is important to note that this finding namely, the negation of the past is not entirely supported by the multi-flex, neo-hybrid identity since the multi-flex, neo-hybrid identity does not negate the past but consists of vestiges of colonialism and apartheid. What is meant by this is that the multi-flex, neo-hybrid identity is not ignorant of the past namely, the colonial-legacy of hair and beauty which influences the identity of the postmodern African woman. Instead, the postmodern African woman's identity consists both of colonial as well as postmodern elements.

The negation of the past is reflected in the response by participant 3 (the 24-year-old) who states:

> …I don't believe that whatever choice I make with what I want to have on my head is influenced by my past. I make decisions based on how I am feeling at the time…I don't think that I do have a past that would influence the kind of hairstyle that I would choose. So I don't have a past.

Participant 4 (the 23-year-old) seems to echo this sentiment when she states: "I wouldn't say that the past influences hairstyles in any way". While participant 6 (the 21-year-old) states: "…my hairstyle is influenced by my religion…So it's not a matter of the past influencing me it's just my religion." Similarly, participant 1 (the 21-year-old) states: "I wouldn't say that the past influences the way I wear my hairstyle." Rosenau (1992) affirms the finding of the born-free Black female participants and states that postmodernists question the superiority of the present over the past bringing relevance to the particular, traditional, sacred and irrational. The attention given to the insignificant, repressed and the marginal which was neglected by the modern age is given significance in the postmodern age. This can be found in the responses of the born-free Black participants. Attention is given to the individual and her preferences, not the past. According to the responses of the born-free Black female participants' colonialism is not given the superiority of the present. I suspect that even though the above participants state that the past does not influence their hairstyle choice, it does not miraculously disappear but remains evident in the participant's responses, for example, participant 1's (the 21-year-old) comment about the regular chemical relaxing of their natural hair as part of their family hair rituals (in

the previous sub-section). I suspect that the past enables them to choose differently and that the past has influenced the present.

The Eurocentric ideology of hair is not at the apex of beauty for the born-free Black participants instead their hairstyle choice is determined by the individual herself. Eliss-Hervey et al.'s (2016) study also affirm this finding when their study found that there was no significant difference between self-esteem and the choice of hairstyle chosen by African American women. Another finding of that study was that African American women who wore their natural hair were less concerned with how others perceived them when compared to the Eurocentric standard of beauty. This study found that African American women are increasingly rejecting the Eurocentric standard of beauty as the apex of beauty and have found a deep appreciation for natural hair and themselves. Eliss-Hervey et al.'s (2016) study, therefore, confirms the rejection not only of the Eurocentric standard of beauty by African American women but it also highlights the rejection of the past. The Eurocentric standard of beauty which formed part of the past is rejected and a new standard, namely, an Afro-centric standard of beauty replaces it.

The negation of the past contradicts Thompson's (2009) article on "Black women, beauty and hair". Thompson (2009) states that the Eurocentric standard of beauty affects how Black women interpret physical attractiveness, self-esteem and identity. She further states that Black women are groomed to adhere to the Eurocentric standard of beauty to be considered beautiful. This, however, is not the case with the born-free Black female participants. The Eurocentric ideology of beauty is not adhered to. The reason for this is because Thompson (2009) still engages African hair from the perspective of a colonial legacy through a (post)colonial lens. This view is challenged when it comes to the responses from the born-free Black female participants who are exposed to an assortment of hairstyle choices in the market. Unlike colonial-born Black female participants, the born-free, (post)colonial, postmodern Black female participants can explore hairstyle choices outside of the Eurocentric standard of beauty. They have the freedom of choice which is typical of the postmodern identity, to choose which hairstyle they would like to wear and therefore create their own idea of what beauty is. What is important to note is that each born-free Black female participant flaunts various hairstyles namely, dreadlocks, braids, an Afro, relaxed hair, and wigs which highlights the hairstyle

choices available to the born-free Black female participants. Their hairstyles are indicative of the fact that they do not adhere to the Eurocentric ideology of beautiful hair which is long, straight, flowing hair.

The above finding indicates that the born-free Black female participants negate the past and they do not believe that the past influences their current hairstyle choices.

11.3.3. Natural hair at the forefront of beauty

When the born-free Black female participants were asked what they considered beautiful hair to be, their responses did not resemble a leaning towards the Eurocentric ideology of beautiful hair instead the participants' responses reflected a mixed perception of beautiful hair.

The participants were also asked what they thought of Miss Zozibini Tunzi's natural hairstyle she wore at the Miss South Africa 2020 pageant. At the time of the focus group interview, Miss Tunzi was crowned Miss South Africa 2020 and only at a later stage, she became Miss Universe 2020. Miss Tunzi wore her short natural hair at both the Miss South Africa 2020 and the Miss Universe 2020 beauty pageant, see figure 11.1 and figure 11.2 below. The crowning of Zozibini Tunzi as Miss Universe 2020 and the fact that she wore her natural hair is very significant for Black African women in South Africa as well as the rest of the world. The reason for this is because, during the colonial period, hair associated with Africanness and kinkiness was laden with symbols of oppression and inferiority (hooks 1992; Banks 2000). Black beauty was not the ideal of beauty but was seen as inferior to White/Eurocentric beauty. A Eurocentric description of hair was seen as the ideal image namely, long, straight and flowing hair (Thompson 2009). An Afro-centric image of hair which was short and tightly curled was seen as ugly or "not good hair" and had to either be covered up, hidden away or tamed by straightening it (Jere-Malanda 2008; Thompson 2009).

Beauty pageants like the ones mentioned above usually perpetuate the Eurocentric standard of beauty and do not promote an Afro-centric standard of beauty. Hence for Miss Tunzi to be flaunting her short natural hair and to be crowned Miss Universe 2020, enabled Black beauty as well as natural hair to become more prominent and

placed at the forefront of the beauty continuum. It also changed the narrative of beauty for African women (Serame 2019).

Figure 11. 1: Miss Zozibini Tunzi wears her natural hair while representing South Africa at the Miss Universe 2020 (Edwards 2019).

Figure 11. 2: Miss Zozibini Tunzi crowned at Miss Universe 2020 (Edwards 2019).

Three out of the 6 participants viewed natural hair to be beautiful hair while the other 3 participants felt that any hair that they feel comfortable wearing is perceived as beautiful hair. Those who considered natural hair to be beautiful had the following to say: Participant 5 (the 21-year-old) stated: "I really envy people with natural African hair, pitch-black hair. I think that's the nicest hair ever and I think Miss South Africa is

really beautiful she should become Miss World. She is perfect." At the time of the focus group interviews, Ms Zozibini Tunzi did not win Miss Universe yet but she had just won the Miss South Africa 2020 pageant hence, participant 5 makes that response. Celebrities who are prevalent in the media such as Miss Tunzi are powerful images in the media since they play a significant role in influencing and changing the beauty landscape for African women.

Brooks and Herbert (2006) speak about symbols and images within the media. They state that the information we consume through the media such as narratives, symbols and images shape our social identities. The impact of the globalisation of worldwide beauty standards is significant and the role that the media play in the representation of beauty and identity cannot be ignored. The mass media are known as an agent of socialisation which creates and reinforces the cultural and global ideals of femininity and plays an indispensable role in cultural globalisation (Silverstein et al. 1986). This is true for the adoption of hairstyles by African women because of what they see in the media. African hairstyles are influenced by international and local trends. These trends shape what is considered to be beautiful hairstyles.

Black women are influenced by media messages when it comes to the choice of hairstyles to wear. These media messages contain ideological messages which promote capitalist values (Madlela 2018). These capitalist clauses are promoted and endorsed by celebrities who in turn play a role in the individual buying into these messages, with an effect on identity perception. Participant 1 (the 21-year-old) stated:

> I also prefer and I see beautiful hair as being natural hair…So I think natural hair specifically an afro is the most beautiful hair for me. Miss South Africa is beautiful and her hairstyle is wow and if my hair could allow me to do that I would.

Similarly, participant 6 (the 21-year-old) stated: For me its natural hair because it's the kind of hairstyle I always wear and when I look at myself in the mirror I see the beauty in it so for me its natural hair."

Another interesting finding which is typical of the postmodern identity is the fact that some participants not only found natural hair to be beautiful but other hairstyles were

also considered as beautiful. Those participants who felt that any kind of hairstyle which they feel comfortable in had the following to say. Participant 3 (the 24-year-old) stated:

> For me, I think beautiful hair is what you feel comfortable in. The kind of hairstyle that makes you comfortable, the kind of hairstyle that you like as a person. It doesn't matter if it's short hair, relaxed hair, whether its braids, whatever makes you comfortable and you love and are passionate about is beautiful and for Miss South Africa, I think this is a game-changer… short hair, black hair it's just so beautiful …

Participant 2 (the 25-year-old) echoes the sentiments of participant 3 (the 24-year-old) and states:

> For me every kind of hairstyle is beautiful…I have achieved every kind of hairstyle that I have always wanted thus far and I am continuing and I think all of them. I cannot single out one. I can't say natural hair is most beautiful or relaxed hair is most beautiful no because for me I think I look good in both and Miss South Africa she's beautiful. I was so happy that natural… She is bold enough you know. This does give young Black girls in South Africa confidence and to not be ashamed of their hair…Miss South Africa's natural hairstyle has decolonised the way that young Black women think and feel about their hair. It has given them confidence.

Participant 4 (the 23-year-old) also stated that a mixture of hairstyles she considers to beautiful hair but for her most of all clean hair is beautiful hair. She states: "For me, I think clean hair is beautiful hair. It could be anything but if it is dirty for me I feel like you just ruining everything. It could be cornrows, a weave an afro as long as it's clean for me is beautiful."

The above finding indicates that the born-free Black female participants do not lean only towards a Eurocentric ideology of beauty when it comes to hair but are happy with natural hair and any hairstyle which they feel comfortable with.

11.3.4. Heteroglossi(c) identity

Another theme which was identified is heteroglossi(c) identity amongst the born-free Black female participants. The term heteroglossi(c) is derived from the term used by the literary theorist Mikhail Bakhtin namely, heteroglossia. Heteroglossia describes the co-existence of a diversity of voices, a hybrid utterance, points of view or styles within a single language especially referring to a novel. However, my definition of heteroglossic refers to the hybrid utterance, the co-existence of a diversity of hairstyle choices or hairstyle preferences within one group of participants namely, the born-free Black female participants. The born-free Black female participants as a group do not adhere to one kind of hairstyle preference but embrace, experiment and encourage the wearing of an assortment of hairstyles whether it be the wearing of natural or artificial hair. This identity is typical of the postmodern multi-flex neo-hybrid identity of the African female who is provided with the opportunity to choose from a multiplicity of hairstyles which are presented to her through the market.

This theme is evident in the diversity of hairstyle choices preferred by the born-free Black female participants. Two questions which were posed to the participants reveals the heteroglossic identity amongst the born-free Black female participants. Firstly, the participants were asked what hairstyles they consider to be beautiful and secondly, they were asked what kind of hairstyles they would wear for special occasions. When the responses for each question are compared it reveals the heteroglossic identity of the born-free Black female participants. The responses from the participants can be grouped into 3 sections namely, those participants who prefer wearing artificial hair, those who prefer wearing natural hair and those who prefer wearing a combination of both natural and artificial hair.

Even though participant 6 (the 21-year-old) and participant 2 (the 25-year-old) prefer wearing artificial hair for special occasions their responses to what they considered beautiful hair to be, seemed contradictory. Participant 6 (the 21-year-old) epitomises this contradiction. She states:

> For me any kind of hairstyle is beautiful. If the person herself is very comfortable. Weaves are beautiful. They are so straightened they are so nice. So any kind of hairstyle is beautiful if the person herself feels comfortable with a hairstyle…But actually, for me its natural hair because that's the kind of hairstyle I always wear and when I look at myself in the

mirror I see the beauty in it, so for me its natural hair. For me, specifically, its natural hair but weaves are also beautiful for the people who prefer it. I'm saying I also envy weaves if I had the chance to take off this doek I will. I once wore a weave during my graduation and I didn't want to take it off. I like them.

In her response to which hairstyle she prefers for special occasions participant 6 (the 21-year-old) states: "I prefer weaves for graduation…I have to look like extraordinary in a way so I prefer weaves for graduation. I think weaves are super beautiful." Participant 6's responses are heteroglossic in nature. What participant 6 states in the one response she contradicts in the second response. At one stage she likes wearing any kind of hairstyle, then she likes wearing weaves, then she likes wearing her natural hair and eventually she likes wearing weaves again. Perhaps this what Bagnall (1999) means when he states that the postmodern identity problematizes modern identity in the sense that the individual is no longer perceived as coherent, autonomous, rational and separable from culture and the physical world. Instead, the individual in postmodern culture is perceived as incoherent, irrational, fragmented with the emphasis on the cultural and subconscious determination of individual action.

But what is also interesting to note in participant 6's response is that she prefers wearing a wig which resembles a Eurocentric hairstyle for special occasions. I suspect that the colonial legacy of Eurocentric beauty permeates participant 6's response. She feels the need to conform to the Eurocentric ideology of beauty to be socially accepted as beautiful at her matric ball. Even though participant 6 lives in a post-apartheid, (post)colonial-era she chooses to conform to the colonial legacy of beauty. Murray (2011) speaks to this and states that White privilege set the standard of beauty during the colonial era hence there was a great amount of pressure on the Black female to obtain the Eurocentric ideal of beauty. To obtain this ideal image, the Black female had to undergo 'alterations' to be socially and conventionally accepted as beautiful (Murray 2011).

Mercer (1990) also states that identities in postmodern culture are no longer fixed, unified and stable as was characteristic of modern identities, instead they are dynamic, flexible, they are multifaceted and remain in a state of perpetual change.

This is typical of the multiflex neo-hybrid identity which is flexible as the individual can easily navigate and adapt to various identities and fit in with those identities it created. Similarly, Abrudan (2012) states that identity is continuously under construction since there is a constant process of renewal and innovation taking place within society which is imposed on the individual. Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) definition of the rhizomatic system is appropriate in defining this phenomenon of participant 6 since she can navigate from one identity to the next or even to navigate to more than one identity simultaneously without being loyal to any identity. It is this heterogeneous, flexible and navigatory nature which is characteristic of the multi-flex neo-hybrid identity of the African woman.

Participant 2 (the 25-year-old) in her response to which hairstyle she considers to be beautiful she states:

> For me every kind of hairstyle is beautiful…I cannot single out one hairstyle.
> I can't say natural hair is most beautiful or relaxed hair is most beautiful no because for me I think I look good in both and even weaves, even cornrows.
> I love them all and I think they are all beautiful.

In her response to which hairstyle she would prefer wearing for special occasions participant 2 (the 25-year-old) states:

> For me, it depends on the event. It depends on my outfit. If I am going to wear a long dress, then the hair has to be short, whether a short weave…or I would have had a very short weave also known as a razor cut weave. Or if the dress is short then I must have my long weave.

In her first response participant, 2 is heteroglossic in her approach to hairstyle choices because she feels that any hairstyle is beautiful to wear whether it be natural or artificial hair. Nonetheless, when asked about her hairstyle preference for special occasions she seems monoglossic in her hairstyle choices since she only prefers wearing a weave to special occasions. Similarly, to participant 6 (the 21-year-old), participant 2 (the 25-year-old) feels the need to conform to the Eurocentric ideology of beauty when it comes to special occasions. It can therefore be said that the colonial legacy of Eurocentric ideology of beauty is evident in participant 2''s response as well. The constant change of hairstyles indicates participant 6 (the 21-year-old) and participant 2's (the 25-year-old) heteroglossic identity.

The second group of participants namely participant 5 (the 21-year-old) and participant 1 (the 21-year-old) prefer natural hair over any other hairstyle. Both of the participants' responses to both questions reflect their preference for natural hair. When asked which hairstyle she considers as beautiful hair participant 5 (the 21-year-old) states: "I really envy people with natural African hair, pitch black. I think that's the nicest hair ever." Then in response to her hairstyle preference for special occasions, participant 5 states: "I think for my graduation I am going to braid my hair with a thin twist. I think it is going to be nice under the graduation cap. It's beautiful and the graduation cap will sit nicely on my head." In both responses participant, 5 seems to be consistent in her hairstyle choices.

Participant 1 (the 21-year-old) considers natural hair as beautiful hair but is diverse in her response when she states: "I also prefer and see beautiful hair as being natural hair. Not because I like it but when I see other people have it, I feel 'oh my I wish my hair could reach that level'. It looks beautiful and neat. So I think natural hair specifically an afro is the most beautiful for me." In her response to her hairstyle preference she states:

> Any hairstyle you want to have goes for me but for me that day I had dreads and I felt very comfortable with it. I think it's the best hairstyle I can have as far as for events. It's all about comfort for me and about feeling more natural. I don't want weaves they are too itchy to wear even braids they just irritate my skin so I just like being natural.

Participant 1 (the 21-year-old) also portrays a heteroglossic identity since she thinks that beautiful hair is natural but does not necessarily like natural hair. Participant 1's response is also typical of the multi-flex, neo-hybrid identity which provides the African women with agency and the ability to choose which identity she would like to consume. The identity choice of the participant 1 is hers to make and she inherently has the power to determine a specific identity through the hairstyles which she chooses to consume. Her power/agency is made manifest through her choice.

Then the third group of participants namely participant 4 (the 23-year-old) and participant 3 (the 24-year-old) prefer a combination of natural and artificial hairstyles. When participant 4 (the 23-year-old) was asked which hairstyle she considered to be beautiful she states: "I think clean hair is beautiful. It could be anything but if it is dirty

for me I feel like you just ruining everything. It could be cornrows, a weave. an afro as long as it's clean for me it's beautiful". In response to her hairstyle preference participant 4 states: "I would wear any hairstyle as long as it is elegant".

When participant 3 (the 24-year-old) was asked which hairstyle she considers to be beautiful she states: "For me, I think beautiful hair is what you feel comfortable in. It doesn't matter if it's short hair, relaxed hair, whether its braids, whatever that makes you comfortable and you love and are passionate about." Then when participant 3 was asked which hairstyle she prefers wearing to special occasions she states "...I would always choose hairstyles based on my feelings, my outfit and comfortability."

The participants who form part of these three groups highlight the diversity or heteroglossic identity of the born-free Black female participants. Then finally two other important questions which were posed to the born-free Black female participants further reveal their heteroglossic identity. Participants were asked how often they change their hairstyles and their responses ranged from changing their hairstyles every day to changing their hairstyles once every month. Participant 4 (the 23-year-old) in particular gave a very interesting response when she states:

> I change my hairstyle almost every day because underneath here like I said my hair is cut and I own like 7 wigs that are all virgin hair. So why do I change my hair I change it because like I said sometimes my outfit is so wack that I just want all the attention to be on my hair. Or maybe I will put on like curls it also depends on a look that I am trying to achieve…Instagram outfits. You go to Instagram and you are inspired by an outfit but you also have to like…some hairstyles don't match every outfit. So if I am going out like to a club I wanna look like a vixen so like it also depends on what I am trying to achieve. So I change my hairstyle like almost every other day because now it's not costly anymore for me. After all, I already have the hair. I just have to wash it and can do that at home.

When participant 4 stated that she owns 7 wigs her response is indicative of the global hair market and its commodification of hair. Global capitalism is evident in the beauty market and hair industry. The beauty hair industry has grown fast with high-profit margins (Warhust 2011). The explosion in the demand for hair extensions has

led to an increase in the importing and exporting of hair which has become big business (Salon Hair Care Global Series 2018).

The changing of hairstyles or the changing of identities happens regularly for participant 4 (the 23-year-old) due to the assortment of hairstyles inspired on Instagram. This is indicative of social media platforms which provide the postmodern, (post)colonial African woman with the option to discuss and interact on social media about Black aesthetics and haircare (Byrd & Tharps 2014). The social media platform allows bloggers or individuals to reach millions of Black female viewers. These posts can be viewed as support structures or as a digital supportive community which participant 4, a born-free Black female makes use of when it comes to making hairstyle choices.

This is affirmed through the multi-flex, neo-hybrid identity of the postmodern age where the African woman in the postmodern age is allowed to choose from a multiplicity of hairstyles which are presented to her through the market. The multi-flex, neo-hybrid identity which is flexible, enables participant 4 (the 23-year-old) to easily *navigate* and adapt to various identities and fit in with those identities it created. In other words, participant 4 who chooses to wear different hairstyles, wears different identities too.

When participants were asked how they feel about women who constantly change their hairstyles. These were some of their responses: Participant 3 (the 24-year-old) states: "I think they like experimenting which is good and I think they are versatile about who they are and they fit well into so many life situations. And I think it's good that one changes from time to time." Participant 5 (the 21-year-old) states: "I love it when people change their hairstyles now and then. I want to change my hairstyle every day. People should change their hairstyle every chance they get." Participant 6 (the 21-year-old) states: "For me, I envy women who change their hair from time to time..." and participant 4 (the 23-year-old) states: "Those women who change their hairstyle inspire me because I want to keep changing my hairstyle and sometimes not all of us are creative so somebody needs to come up with something so that we can all copy them."

The diversity of hairstyles worn by the born-free Black female participants is evident in the hairstyles which they wear. Berner and Van Tonder (2003) state that social

diversity is increasingly evident; hence the plurality of society is seen as important in the postmodern age. Current hairstyle choice is influenced by many reasons

According to the findings above the born-free Black female participants flaunt an assortment of hairstyle choices of a heteroglossic nature which is typical of the postmodern, post-apartheid, (post)colonial individual. This finding challenges current literature such as Oyedemi (2016), Can-Tamakloe (2011), Jere-Malanda (2008), Thompson (2009) etc. which engage African hair from a colonial legacy. No longer does the African female need to be subject to the Eurocentric ideology of beauty but now the (post)colonial, born-free, Black female South African is emancipated from the colonial legacy of African beauty and is now able to choose from a multiplicity of hairstyles which are presented to her through the market. This finding is not only applicable to born-free Black females but also for born-free Coloured females too as findings of the previous chapter is evidence of this.

11.4. Overview of Research Findings

In summary, the above findings firstly, reveal that the born-free Black female participants place the individual at the centre of hairstyle consumption choices, in other words, the individual chooses and decides which hairstyle it wants to wear. The individual bases its choices on how it feels, the shape of its face, its lifestyle, outfit and hairstyles which enables it to be itself. Secondly, the born-free Black female participants do not share the same past as those colonial-born Coloured and colonial-born Black female participants. Hence they negate the past and believe that their past does not play a role in their hairstyle choices. The Eurocentric ideology of beauty which formed the apex of beauty during the colonial period is no longer placed at the apex of beauty in a post-apartheid, (post)colonial and postmodern South Africa when engaging African beauty and identity. This is reflective in the hairstyle choices of the born-free Black female participants who flaunt a variety of natural and artificial hairstyles.

Thirdly, the diversity of hairstyles which are flaunted by the born-free Black female participants indicates the dynamic and multifaceted identity of the born-free Black female participant who remains in a state of perpetual change. The born-free Black

female participants flaunt an assortment of hairstyles which is typical of the postmodern identity.

11.5. Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter investigated whether born-free Black females born after 1994 hold the same view of hair and identity in a (post)colonial, post-apartheid, postmodern environment as those of the born-free Coloured females. The findings above reveal that the born-free Black female participants have a similar perception of hair and identity as those of the born-free Coloured female participants. The born-free Black female participants' responses reveal that the postmodern, post-apartheid, (post)colonial individual is placed at the centre of hairstyle consumption choices, the past does not influence the current hairstyle choices of the born-free Black female participants and finally, a heteroglossic nature of hairstyle choices is evident in their responses.

This finding can also be applied to born-frees of other races such as White born-frees and Asian born-frees. Evidence of this is particularly visible on social media platforms. In a Facebook post by Maurice Milles Mansa entitled, The Afro Perm posted on 29 April 2016 at 9:27 pm (which I refer to in chapter three of this study, refer to figure 3.3.), this post shows Koreans who attempt to alter their hair texture to imitate African hairstyles. Mansa (2016) came across many Koreans who Afro perm their hair. He states that "some Korean communities have adopted coarse, textured hair due to their communities being heavily influenced by movies, pop culture and most especially African braids, extensions, dreads and cornrows. These hairstyles also form part of the various African hairstyle trends which some in the Korean community in New York City have adopted. He suggests that Koreans have embraced the African hair culture. These social media posts show Asians altering their hair to imitate Blackness. This finding therefore can also be applied to other races. The actress Bo-Derek famously wore corn-rows in the 1979 movie 10, making the style a cross-cultural craze (Payne 2018). See figure 11.3 below. Kim Kardashian too was seen wearing a similar hairstyle see figure 11.4 below. Singer Justin Bieber in figure 11.5 below is seen wearing dreadlocks which also imitates Afro-centric hairstyles.

Figure 11. 3: Bo-Derek wearing Fulani braids in the 1979 movie 10 (Overdeep 2018).

Figure 11. 4: Kim Kardashian wearing braids (Nesvig 2020).

Figure 11. 5: American singer, Justin Bieber wearing dreadlocks (Wang 2016).

The above pictures prove that the findings of the born-free Black female participants can be applied to other races besides Blacks and Coloureds. In the following chapter, I will summarise the study and provide suggestions for further research of a postmodern, (post)colonial perspective of African hair and identity.

CHAPTER 12

DISCUSSION, RECOMMENDATIONS, LIMITATIONS AND CONCLUSION

12.1. Introduction

African women are presented with a variety of hair choices such as natural hairstyles, dreadlocks, weaves and wigs. The problem is that scholars and social critics tend to engage African hair from the perspective of a colonial legacy through a postcolonial lens (hooks 1992; Jere-Malanda 2008; Thompson 2009; Oyedemi 2016) This then tends to create a critique of African women wearing weaves as purely a result of coloniality. But while this may be the case in certain instances, it is limiting and does not capture the postmodern presentation of self by African women through their construction and the media's construction of African hair and identity. Bearing this in mind, the dominant narrative of African women adopting Eurocentric hairstyles is challenged with the choices that are available to African women. This study therefore critically explored social narratives of South African women's hair and how the media perpetuate the construction of a postmodern African female identity within the backdrop of the commodification of hair and identity in a globalised market and media environment.

This chapter reflects on the results of this study based on the research objectives and theoretical framework which guide the study. It will also provide an overview, as well as a discussion of the results of the study which are supported by the literature from the study.

12.2. Summary and Discussion of results

12.2.1. Findings of DRUM Hair Magazine

To critically examine how media, constructs a new identity for African women through the presentation and commodification of hair and hairstyles available to them.

Firstly, within the cover stories of *DRUM Hair* magazine the African woman is presented with a multiplicity of hairstyles which includes hairstyles which are long, short, curly, natural, artificial, etc. This multiplicity of hairstyles enables the African

woman to undergo an ever-changing transformation from one hairstyle to the next as well as to navigate from one identity to the next with each hairstyle she chooses to wear. When she chooses a hairstyle she can create a brand new identity for herself. The media thus provide her with the tools to create various identities for herself through the diversity of hairstyles available to her.

The African woman who is exposed to an assortment of hairstyles can navigate from one identity to the next without being loyal to one identity which is typical of the postmodern identity. The media thus enable the African woman to construct a postmodern identity through the multiplicity of hairstyles/identities available to her. This is consistent with Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari's (1987) description of rhizomatic classification systems. According to Deleuze and Guattari multiplicity is characteristic of a rhizome. There are no hierarchies in a rhizomatic system and it operates without boundaries and negates binaries, instead, it connects and reconnects over gaps, while at the same time reterritorializes and deterritorializes itself through hybrid connections. The multiplicity of the rhizomatic system can be described as a union which contains different parts which in itself is ever-changing. The dimensions within this system are defined through its ability to transform. The media, therefore, constructs a rhizomatic identity for the African woman through the assortment of hairstyles at her disposal.

The multiplicity of hairstyles/identities which the African woman is exposed to can also be linked to Robert Lifton (1993) and his description of the protean self which is central to the postmodern identity. Lifton (1993) describes the multiplicity, versatility and mutability of selves in postmodern culture as protean which is a term that refers to Proteus, Greek sea god of changeable forms. Proteus the Greek sea god was changeable in shape and form similar to the postmodern self which is dynamic, fluid, mobile and adaptable in nature. This forms the essence of the protean self which is filled with a sense of the optimistic possibility of a pluralistic sense of self (Pickering 1999:65). This is true for the postmodern African woman since the various hairstyles which she wears enable her to transform her into a multiplicity and versatility of selves.

McRobbie (1993) echoes this sentiment and states that the postmodern woman can create her own notion of femininity and identity through the multiplicity and flexibility

of selves which she creates. The multiplicity of hairstyles of the postmodern woman was also evident during the pre-colonial era. Sieber (2000) states that hairstyling/hairstyles or coiffures were a serious concern for African women before the colonial period as it was a source of identity, beauty and power. A rich variety of hairstyles which existed in African cultures before colonialism played a central role in the lives of African people. Klimczak (2016) also states that a variety of hairstyles were also worn amongst different classes in ancient Egypt. These hairstyles included the wearing of wigs, braids, shaved heads etc. Nyamnoh and Fuh (2014) agree with this finding as in their study they found that African women are open to collective identities through the various hairstyles they choose to consume and agree that hairstyles are subject to multiple interpretations depending on the social background of those interpreting the hairstyle.

Secondly, the commodification of hair/hairstyles are also evident because not only do the media provide an assortment of hairstyles namely, a postmodern identity to the African woman, but they also sell the idea that when the African woman purchases a plethora of hairstyles which are available to her in the globalised beauty market, she is ultimately successful. This idea of ultimate success is promoted and advocated by local Black South African female celebrities who form part of the images/signs/simulacra within *DRUM Hair* magazine. Therefore, images of Black female South African celebrities who wear a variety of hairstyles in *DRUM Hair* magazine contributes to the power of this idea of ultimate success. These images/signs/simulations of successful South African celebrities who wear a variety of hairstyles generate role models or ideals of a perfect world for the Black South African female who can also achieve ultimate success through the purchase of a plethora of hairstyles.

This idea is consistent with Baudrillard's (1994) definition of simulations and simulacra that postmodernity is a stage of history which is organised around simulation where the selling of knowledge namely, ideas, signs and images is the order of the day. Signs increasingly stand for nothing but themselves and become worth more than the original, this is known as simulacra. Simulacra is a copy with no original which seems more real than an original or reality, hence, hyper-reality is formed. Simulations in hyper-reality are perceived as more real than reality itself (Barker 2008). Baudrillard further stated that power is no longer ideological but

simulated through signs and images. Simulacra, he states, generate role models or ideals of a perfect world. It is artificial yet it is real (Durham & Kellner 2001). The line between fantasy and reality is blurred which emphasises the power of the symbol over substance (hyper-reality). Baudrillard believes that simulations in the postmodern replace reality. Power is no longer perceived as ideological but power is simulations which are signs and images (Baudrillard 1994). The images created by Black female celebrities in simulating ideas of choice, power, success, and different 'selfs' are real, hyperreal. Women wearing simulated hair in weaves, wigs and so forth are no longer simulating different images but have become simulacra of reality. The reality of different ways of African women presenting themselves.

This resonates with Brooks and Herbert (2006) who also speak about symbols and images within the media. They state that the information we consume through the media such as narratives, symbols and images shape our social identities. The impact of the globalisation of worldwide beauty standards is significant and the role that the media play in the representation of beauty and identity cannot be ignored. The mass media are known as an agent of socialisation which creates and reinforces the cultural and global ideals of femininity and plays an indispensable role in cultural globalisation (Silverstein et al. 1986). This is true for the adoption of hairstyles by African women because of what they see in the media. African hairstyles are influenced by international and local trends. These trends shape what is considered to be beautiful hairstyles.

Madlela (2018) also speaks about a fusion of the local with the global trends which then is called a glocal trend. This is an illustration of some Black African women who adopt a global trend but adapts it to their local flavour or style. This fusion of trends provides Black women with a choice of hairstyles which they feel comfortable wearing as well as giving them the ability to add their own style to the trend which they see in the media. Black women are influenced by media messages when it comes to the choice of hairstyles to wear. These media messages contain ideological messages which promote capitalist values (Madlela 2018). These capitalist clauses are promoted and endorsed by celebrities who in turn play a role in the individual buying into these messages, with an effect on identity perception.

Thirdly, the media suggest that since the postmodern African female consumer is presented with a variety of hairstyle choices such as natural and artificial hairstyles, her choice of hairstyle ultimately enables her to create an identity for herself. Through this choice she is given through the market and media she is seen as not only a consumer of hairstyles but a producer of identity in contemporary society. Postmodern identity depends on the way individuals interpret and construct themselves and present themselves to others. Identity is continuously under construction since there is a constant process of renewal and innovation taking place within society, which is imposed on the individual through the mass media (Abrudan 2012). It is interesting to find how the celebrities within the cover stories of *DRUM Hair* magazine editions 2014-2019 describe how their hair/hairstyles help them to construct various identities. This is consistent with liberal postmodernists Firat and Venkatesh (1995) who believe that the consumer, therefore, becomes a creator of meaning and consumption becomes a process through which individual consumers can define themselves and their identity in contemporary society (Lee 2009). The consumer, therefore, produces and reproduces his/her identity through a variety of consumption choices hence the consumers provide meaning to products.

This also resonates with the multi-flex, neo-hybrid postmodern identity proposed in this study, which provides the African woman with agency and the ability to choose which identity she would like to portray for a specific period. This is what the multi-flex, neo-hybrid identity advocates. The multi-flex, neo-hybrid identity is free from the subjugation of conforming to a single identity but accepts all the identities the market presents through the hairstyle which the individual chooses. The individual has the agency and freedom to choose which hairstyle/identity she would like to accept for a specific period. The multi-flex, neo-hybrid identity is flexible and also allows the Black African female to easily navigate and adapt to various identities through the assortment of hairstyles which she chooses to wear.

According to literature Schildkrout and Keim (1990) and Sieber and Herreman (2000) share a similar sentiment when they state that hairstyles of African women in the pre-colonial period were a source of identity, beauty, power and a reason for pride. Hairstyles during this era were not merely a superficial thing but had great significance as the shape of the head and hairstyle was of vital importance to the

identity of the individual. It reflected the tribe, status, wealth, age and family background of the wearer and received the most care and attention.

This also aligns with literature on hair and identity during the apartheid era. According to Posel (2011), hair texture also played an important role in the identity of non-White South Africans during the apartheid era. When an individual's racial heritage would not always be clear this created a problem in classifying them. Hence, the hair pencil test was created to assist authorities in classifying people. An individual who participated in the pencil test passed or failed the test based on how easily the pencil came out of the hair. Hence an individual's hair texture was a determinant of race. The racial classification which was conferred onto the individual would permeate every aspect of the individual's lived experience.

In summary, the media construct a multi-flex, neo-hybrid postmodern identity for the African woman which promotes the purchasing of a variety of identities through the hairstyles she chooses to consume and allows her to create a variety of identities through the assortment of hairstyles available to her. She also becomes the creator of her own identity through the hairstyle she chooses to wear.

To determine the types of claims, appeals and themes in media representation of African hair through the case study of *DRUM Hair* magazine's portrayal of Black female identity

Firstly*, Drum Hair* magazine engages African hair and identity through a postmodern lens where variety and diversity of hair texture, hair length and hair colour which includes Eurocentric and Afro-centric hairstyles are heavily emphasised. For the African woman to ultimately be successful, she is encouraged to wear a variety of hair/hairstyles. Hairstyles such as weaves, dreadlocks, wigs, afros, hair extensions, different hair colours such as blonde, red, grey etc. the more of a variety the African woman has the more successful she is presented to be.

Secondly, the Eurocentric ideology of beautiful hair which is long straight hair is not the only type of hairstyle which is viewed as beautiful but Afro-centric hairstyles such as dreadlocks, short tightly curled hairstyles, and afros are also deemed as beautiful. *Drum Hair* magazine also shows that Black hair does not need to be altered to be considered as beautiful but can be styled in a variety of ways which to show off its diversity and flexibility. This also demonstrates the media's acceptance of Afro-

centric hair/hairstyles and identity. The Black woman is encouraged to embrace and love her natural hair and the identity which it communicates as well as other types of hairstyles.

Lastly, the African woman can use the various hairstyles which are available to her in the beauty market to construct her own brand new identity. For much of South African history, hair has been a marker of identity that communicates issues of race, acceptability, class and beauty (hooks 1992; Pieterse 1992; Can-Tamakloe 2011; Oyedemi 2016). The hair and hairstyles presented in *DRUM* Hair magazine communicates various identities for the African woman and is a tool to assert pride. The African woman is not only presented with a variety of hairstyles but is allowed to be the constructor of her own identity through the hairstyle she chooses to wear. She is also able to navigate from one identity to the next and is encouraged to not remain loyal to one particular identity, hence the diversity of identities is key. She can construct a fluid, flexible and hybrid identity that decentres the ideology of rigid racial identity. This then allows her to navigate through various racial identities in the postmodern presentation of self leading to neo-hybrid identities. This is contradictory to the recent literature on African hair and beauty where African hair and identity are engaged from the perspective of a colonial legacy (Bellinger 2007; Jere-Malanda 2008; Thompson 2009; Oyedemi 2016).

DRUM Hair magazine presents some claims, themes and appeals in representing the varieties of hairstyles and their symbolic meaning. The appeals and themes of power, success, confidence, agency, the flexibility of identity and the African woman as the constructor of her own identity are some of the themes and appeals used in making claims about hairstyles and self-presentation in the *DRUM Hair* magazine. The claims, themes and appeals which *DRUM Hair* demonstrates, resonate with the multi-flex, neo-hybrid identity which promotes variety, diversity, flexibility, freedom and agency of the African woman to be the constructor of her own identity through the variety of hairstyles she chooses to wear.

To examine through a first-hand encounter how the historical context and current hair trends that influence the colonial-born South African Coloured and Black women's choices of hairstyle and what these choices communicate in the (re)presentation of their post-apartheid identities

This study addresses this research objective through personal conversations with Black and Coloured participants.

12.2.2. Findings of colonial-born Coloureds

Even though the colonial and apartheid dictates of identity no longer have relevance to current (post)colonial, post-apartheid, South Africa, the Eurocentric cultural ideology of the body remains to be the strongest imperative and social achievement amongst the intergenerational narratives of the Coloured participants. This was evident since Whiteness is still perceived as the epitome of beauty. White features such as a fair skin complexion, long straight hair and a sharp nose are what was described as being beautiful amongst the colonial-born Coloured female participants. The aspirations toward Whiteness were evident in the hairstyle practices of the colonial-born Coloured females. Hairstyle practices such as the chemical altering of hair, the admiration of straight long hair were seen as more beautiful than tightly curled short hair. It was also found that the Eurocentric ideology of beauty was passed down from generation to generation as the narratives of this sample population were intergenerational. Even though there are no legislated benefits to Whiteness or a legislated discriminatory benefit of closeness to Whiteness, Coloureds continue to embrace a racist apartheid ideology, an imagined ideology that bears no resemblance to the current social and political situation now.

In postcolonial South Africa, the historical context of hair and identity continues to impact the intergenerational narrative of colonial-born Coloured female participants both psychologically, physically and socio-economically. It seems as if the passing of culture is self-imposed on the Coloured female. Since first of all, there seems to be a sense of shame for their natural hair as it does not comply with the White standard of beauty which is straight hair. This makes them feel inferior, withdrawn and the result of this is low self-esteem. Kroes hare (kinky hair) which was seen as being a bushy or a 'bushman like' is linked to Blackness, a physical feature which they do not want to be associated with. If aspirations for closeness to Whiteness was a strategy of survival in a colonial-apartheid regime with hegemonic Whiteness in cultural and economic spheres, for a racial group that straddles the in-betweenness of race in South Africa, one may expect freedom of self-presentation of Colouredness or closeness to Blackness in a post-apartheid dominance of Blackness. However,

despite the hegemonic dominance of Blackness in post-apartheid South Africa today, the responses from the colonial-born Coloured female participants exclude and almost reject Blackness and do not try to negotiate their sense of belonging around Blackness, instead there remains a need to cling to Whiteness when it comes to defining their identity.

This is compatible with what Fanon (1963) argued that when the colonised subject realises that (s)he will never be able to attain Whiteness (through the changing of her hair texture) which (s)she was taught to desire and that (s)he will never be able to shed the Black/(Coloured) skin which (s)he was taught to devalue. (S)he is forced to ask herself, "Who am I?" Fanon further states that the colonised subject, therefore, copes with this condition by adopting White masks which in this sense is the continual ritual or practice of chemical straightening their hair and this is perceived to assist in the shedding of their Black skin, closeness to it or the kroes texture of their hair. Fanon describes this as the alienation from the self. He further responds to this physic trauma by stating that the Black subject needs nothing else but to be liberated from himself.

The finding above also resonates with Adhikari (2013) when he states that hair and hair texture has always been part of the Coloured identity in South Africa. The obsession with hair and hair texture is linked to assimilationism which can be described as one of the essential features which were as the heart of the Coloured identity. Throughout the 20th century, the Coloured community under White supremacy was marginalised, this is reflected in the history of South Africa. This finding, therefore, indicates that colonial-born Coloured females continue to be obsessed with hair texture and the assimilation towards Whiteness plays a crucial element in the formation of their identity which is perpetuated from generation to generation. This finding, however, is not consistent with the multi-flex, neo-hybrid identity of the postmodern African woman since it only embraces the Eurocentric ideology of beautiful hair.

12.2.3. Findings of the colonial-born Blacks

The findings of the colonial-born Black female participants are similar to the findings of the colonial-born Coloured female participants since the vestiges of colonialism and apartheid are evident in their responses. When the participants were asked to share the hairstyles which they wore in the past, hairstyles such as bald heads and very short hairstyles formed part of the common hairstyle practices of the past. This resonates with Arnoldi and Kreamer's (1995) observation that it was only with the advent of colonialism and slavery that African hair which symbolised beauty, identity and various African cultures was shaved off or covered up. They state that through this act of the removal of hair, the African people were removed from their cultures and a new standard of beauty and identity was introduced and needed to be adhered to. Byrd and Tharps (2001) also state that the practice of the shaving of heads and the banning of African cultural practices was implemented by the Europeans with the forced arrival of Africans to America, which represented the removal of the identity of the African people.

Another finding was the acculturation to White cultural dominance. This was evident since in a post-modern, (post)colonial, the post-apartheid era the colonial-born Black female participants continued to perpetuate the Eurocentric ideology of beauty through their current hairstyle practices. These hairstyles included the wearing of wigs, perms as well as the covering up of their natural hair. This resonates with what Oyedemi (2016) states that this phenomenon of conformity of Black women to the Eurocentric standard of beauty is a violent process. He states that as a result of a history of structural violence through hair this creates not only physical but also cultural violence where natural hair is erased based on an internalised narrative of ugliness of African hair.

Similarly, to the finding amongst the colonial-born Coloured female participants, the colonial-born Black female participants also perpetuated intergenerational coloniality of identity when providing advice to their daughters about their hair. Their advice projected a Eurocentric ideology of beauty where hair length was important. Long hair which resembled Eurocentric hair was aspired to. The encouragement of the usage of hair relaxers was also encouraged. Therefore, the perception of African hair and identity which formed part of the past ideology of the colonial-born Black female

participants permeated from generation to generation. This is consistent with Thompson (2009), who states that the Eurocentric standard of beauty affects how Black women interpret physical attractiveness, self-esteem and identity. In pop-culture paradigms, Black women are groomed to flaunt long, straight hair and are to adhere to the Eurocentric standard of beauty to be considered as beautiful, whereas natural Black hair is not associated with beauty. Black beauty is denied to exist and is only seen as beautiful when it is altered namely, chemically treated (straightened or relaxed).

The findings from the colonial-born Black female participants are similar to that of the colonial-born Coloureds. One may then conclude that those born during the colonial-apartheid era are still culturally hung on to Eurocentric ideologies of beauty. This does not resonate with the multi-flex, neo-hybrid identity since the Eurocentric ideology of beauty is at the apex of beauty in the narratives of the colonial-born Black and Coloured female participants of this study.

To ascertain how the post-apartheid/born-free Coloured and Black generation (the born-frees) construct their identities through hairstyle choices and the impact this has on the (re)presentation of their identities within the global beauty market environment.

12.2.4. Findings of the born-free Coloureds

Contrary to the colonial-born generation of Coloured women, the born-free Coloured female participants reveal a multi-flex, neo-hybrid description of identity in the manifestation of the variety of hairstyle choices which they make. The identity of the born-free Coloured female participants is multifaceted and remains in a state of perpetual change (Deleuze & Guattari 1987). Their identity is easily changeable and they can navigate and adapt to various identities and fits in with those identities they create. Multiplicity is characteristic of the born-free Coloured female postmodern self. It is a union which contains different parts which in itself are ever-changing. The Coloured female, the born-free postmodern self can transform, it is heterogeneous and flexible which is characteristic of the multi-flex, neo-hybrid identity (Grosz 1994). The variety of options provided by consumerism can be viewed as liberating as the born-free Coloured female is given the ability to create a new self as individuals

determine what they want to identify with. The triviality of every day is no longer of interest to the Coloured born-free participants and no longer satisfies them and are rather interested in the spectacle and the sensational, which comes with wearing different hairstyles which are of different colours or through the wearing of weaves and wigs. Although vestiges of the colonial legacy namely, the Eurocentric ideology of beauty is evident in the responses of the born-free Coloured female participants, the Eurocentric ideology of beauty is not placed at the apex of the beauty continuum. This is different from the colonial-born Coloured female participants. The reason for this is because the born-free Coloured female participants' perception of beautiful hair does not align with the Eurocentric ideology of beauty but instead focuses on the individual's preference.

These findings resonate with what Berner and Van Tonder (2003) state that the individual is elevated above the community and her personal experiences are seen as paramount when it comes to her choice of hairstyle and ultimately the construction of her identity. These findings reiterate literature about the postmodern individual and the creation of her own identity (Firat & Venkatesh 1995; Bagnall 1999; Abrudan 2012). She creates her identity according to the variety of hairstyles she chooses to wear. Similarly, McRobbie (1993) states that the postmodern individual namely the born-free Coloured female participants are given the platform to articulate their personal experiences and perspectives. Therefore, the essentialist understanding of the Eurocentric ideology of beauty when it comes to hair does not apply to the born-free Coloured female participants.

12.2.5. *Findings of the born-free Blacks*

The findings of the born-free Black female participants are similar to that of the born-free Coloured female participants as it reveals that the born-free Black female participants place the individual at the centre of hairstyle consumption choices. In other words, the individual chooses and decides which hairstyle she wants to wear. The individual bases her choices on how she feels, the shape of her face, her lifestyle, outfit and hairstyle which enable her to be herself. The born-free Black female participants do not share the same past as those colonial-born Black female participants instead they negate the past and believe that their past does not play a role in their hairstyle choices. Although vestiges of the Eurocentric ideology of beauty

which formed the apex of beauty during the colonial period is found in the responses of the born-free Black female participants it is not placed at the apex of beauty when engaging African hair and identity. This is reflective in their hairstyle choices of the born-free Black female participants which flaunt a variety of natural and artificial hairstyles.

These findings are in contrast to current literature which engages African hair and identity. Current literature tends to engage African hair from the perspective of a colonial legacy through a (post)colonial lens such as Jere-Malanda (2008) and Thompson (2009) where African hair is viewed as ugly or "not good" hair which either needs to be covered up, hidden away or tamed. This is not the case with the born-free Black female participants who boast a variety of hairstyle choices which includes natural Afro-centric hairstyles as well as artificial hairstyles such as wigs and weaves etc.

The diversity of hairstyles which are flaunted by the born-free Black female participants indicates the dynamic and multifaceted identity of the born-free Black female participant who remains in a state of perpetual change when flaunting an assortment of hairstyles which is typical of postmodern identity. Therefore, the multi-flex, neo-hybrid identity which provides the African woman with agency namely, the ability to choose which identity she would like to portray for a specific period applies and is epitomised in the findings of the born-free Black female participants. Similarly, to the born-free Coloured female participants, the findings of the born-free Black female participants resonate with Kellner (1995), Ott (2003) and Abrudan (2012) when they state that the postmodern female creates and constructs her identity herself which she presents to others.

12.2.6. Theoretical Framework

To propose a theoretical frame in understanding the (re)construction of the African female identity within the backdrop of the plethora of globalised commodified options available to them and the exposure to globalised media images in the current (post)colonial and postmodern era.

To understand today's (post)colonial, postmodern African female and the choices she makes in the construction and reconstruction of her identity, I propose a new conceptual perspective, the multi-flex, neo-hybrid identity. The African woman who is exposed to the postmodern era of buying identities through the market plays an active role in the creation of her 'identities' through the various hairstyles she chooses to wear. This results in the emancipation of the African woman from conforming to a single Eurocentric ideology of beauty and identity to having agency and re-empowering her to construct her own identity.

The multi-flex, neo-hybrid identity views African hair and identity through a postmodern lens and engages with it in a brand new way where no binary of identities but rather a multiplicity of identities are emphasised. This new perspective frees the African identity from its association to the dominant narrative of its conformity to a single European ideology of beauty and identity. The multi-flex, neo-hybrid identity does not negate the past but consists of vestiges of colonialism and apartheid yet are exposed to the postmodern era of the purchasing of identities through the market. Through the multi-flex, neo-hybrid identity the African woman is re-empowered and liberated through agency, choice and active participation in the construction of her own identity. This new identity does not only apply to African women but it can be applied across cultures. This theory therefore speaks from an African perspective hence it relates to Afrocentric thought which has succeeded in interpreting the human story from an African perspective. Yet at the same time this new theory or identity can be applied across cultures (as illustrated in the previous chapter in images11.3-11.5). The first characteristic of the multi-flex, neo-hybrid identity is that the African woman is provided with agency and the ability to choose which identity she would like to portray for a specific period. Her power/agency is made manifest through her choice. This does not mean that the African woman is dependent on the market to create her identity, the market simply provides her with

the multiplicity of hairstyles. The market does not impose an identity on the African woman. Instead, the market is dependent on her since she becomes the creator of her own identity. She creates the capital for the market. This argument is supported by Firat and Venkatesh (1995) who state that in the postmodern age a reversal of consumption and production is prevalent. The consumer now becomes the creator of meaning and consumption becomes a process through which an individual can define herself and her identity (Lee 2009).

The second characteristic of the multi-flex, neo-hybrid identity provides the African woman with the freedom to choose which identity she would like to accept for a specific period. She can change her identity without any constraint. She can easily change her identity and not be constrained by her present state or her present hairstyle. The third characteristic of the multi-flex, neo-hybrid identity is its flexibility as the individual can easily navigate and adapt to various identities and fit into with those identities it created. This resonates with Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) description of rhizomatic classification systems which is described as a stem which can be connected to anything else as it creates connections between semiotic chains or organisations of power. In the rhizomatic system knowledge does not flow linearly but in all directions at the same time as there is a causal relationship between the past and present understanding of knowledge. A multiplicity is characteristic of a rhizomatic system which can be described as a union which contains different parts which in itself are ever-changing and able to undergo constant transformations.

This new identity provides a theoretical backdrop for the analysis of data collected for this study. It explores if there are generational differences in the perception of identity through hair amongst South African women or if media representation of hair is colonial, westernised, hybridised or a multi-flex, neo-hybrid identity.

12.3 Limitations

12.3.1. Limitations of a qualitative approach

First of all, the study is limited to a qualitative research approach. This approach has been very essential to 'hearing' subjective and phenomenological in-depth stories of participants, which are not easily quantifiable. A qualitative approach is not

concerned with numerical representability but with an in-depth understanding of phenomena. Qualitative research deals with aspects of reality which cannot be quantified therefore a major limitation are its perceived lack generalizability. The perceptions, belief differences and attitudes of the participants revealed during the research might not be easily measurable (Queirós, Faria & Almeida 2017). The subjective nature of data collection and data analysis in qualitative research is another limitation of this approach. The reliability problem where it is difficult to replicate the findings of a qualitative study is also a limitation (Queirós et al. 2017).

12.3.2. Limitations of sample population

Qualitative research is often not representative of the general population because of the limited sample which is typical of qualitative research. The findings, therefore, are not all generalizable to all colonial-born and born free South African females. The impact of the geographical locations of the sample population which was selected impacts the responses received from the participants. Since the majority of the colonial-born Coloured female participants are from the Western Cape, the born-free Coloureds female participants are all from Limpopo, and the majority of the colonial-born Black female participants and the born-free Black female participants are from Limpopo.

a. Convenience sampling

A convenience sample does not provide a representative result as it does not reflect how the generalised population feels about anything. Poor generalisability, therefore, leads to estimate bias (Etikan, Musa & Alkassim 2016). It is also challenging to replicate the results of a convenience sample since this sample makes use of willing participants nearby. This results in dramatic differences in the findings of different efforts even when the same questions are asked (Jager, Putnick & Bornstein 2017). There may also be the possibility of over or under-representation of the population (Etikan et al. 2016). Since this study does not look at all media but specifically at *DRUM* Hair magazine and its illustration of hair and identity for African women. Therefore, it does not reflect on how the general media feels about African hair and identity.

b. Purposive sampling

The limitation of purposive sampling is that the researcher is subjective and bias in choosing the subjects of the study. This obstructs the researcher's ability to draw inferences about a population (Etikan et al. 2016). Five colonial-born Coloured females were purposively chosen for this study because they experienced White cultural domination during colonialism and apartheid in South Africa. They were born and bred in Cape Town and seemed to be well acquainted with the city's history and culture. The reason why Coloureds from Cape Town were chosen is that Cape Town is a significant geographical area in the colonial history of South Africa. However, the findings from this sample group do not reflect the entire population of Coloureds in Cape Town nor does it reflect the entire Coloured population in South Africa hence the researcher cannot make inferences about the entire population.

c. Snowball sampling

Limitations of snowball sampling are that the researcher has a limited amount of control over the sampling method since he/she relies mainly on the previous participants which took part in the study. The researcher also does not know the true distribution of the population of the sample hence representativeness of the sample is not guaranteed. Sample bias is inherent in snowball sampling since initial subjects nominate people whom they know well which in turn share the same characteristics. This means that the researcher might only gain information from a small subgroup of the population (Woodley & Lockard 2016). Eleven born-free Coloured females, eight colonial-born Black females and six born-free Black females formed part of the snowball sampling of this study. In this method, participants provided referral others who also fit in the population parameters of the study, and who could and wanted to partake in the study hence the researcher relied on the participants to nominate people whom they know well to form part of the study which does not provide a true distribution of the population of the sample. Therefore, the representativeness of the sample is not guaranteed.

12.3.3. Limitations of semi-structured interviews

Even though semi-structured interviews provide rich information through the asking of follow-up questions to probe additional information, it is time-consuming and is not

generalizable. There is a loss of standardisation when compared to a structured interview since probes create a variation with each interview and there is more chance of interview bias with semi-structured interviews than with structured interviews. Another limitation of semi-structured interviews is that if the interview is not piloted correctly the participant might find it difficult to understand or it could result in the participant answering a question in a certain manner (Queirós et al. 2017). Semi-structured interviews were conducted on the participants of this study. The interviews were time-consuming and are not generalizable as it only reflects the views of the participants interviewed and not the entire population. The researcher asked follow up questions to probe for additional information of the participants hence not all the participants were asked the same questions. These interviews were piloted correctly as the researcher facilitated the interview.

12.3.4. Limitations of focus group interviews

Although focus groups provide a broader range of information, it can be difficult to manage and control as well as difficult to encourage people to participate in the interviews hence it may not be representative of the population as a whole. There is also a potential bias in participants' responses due to the group influence. Small non-representative samples are used in focus group interviews where an artificial environment is created (Queirós et al. 2017). This study made use of focus group interviews for the born-free Coloured and born-free Black female participants. The findings of these focus group interviews do not necessarily reflect the findings of the population therefore these findings cannot be generalised. A potential bias in participants' responses may have occurred due to the group influence even though the facilitator did inform the group that the opinions of each participant were a valid one.

12.3.5. Limitations of semiotic textual analysis

The limitations of a semiotic textual analysis include; the analysis does not reveal the author's intention, the meanings are not fixed in the text, it does not reveal how the text was received or understood by its audience and it also privileges 'academic

readers' of texts (Bignell 2002). A semiotic textual analysis was conducted on *DRUM* Hair magazine. The interpretations of the text from *DRUM* Hair magazine reflects the researcher's interpretation. It does not reflect how its audience received the text nor does it reveal the author's intention of the text.

12.4. Recommendations for future studies

12.4.1 Recommendations for future scholar works

  a. A mixed-method approach namely, both a qualitative as well as a quantitative approach can be applied for future research where the findings of the study can be both subjective and objective in nature and where the potential bias of the findings can be reduced.

  b. A different geographical location of sample population can be explored in future studies as well as the use of random sampling to reduce bias. More intergenerational data from sample populations can be collected and analysed and compared to generalise the findings. Then also the use of a combination of surveys/questionnaires of a quantitative nature and focus groups and semi-structured interviews can together be used to reduce bias, increase the standardisation of findings and include a greater sample of the population. In turn, this would increase the generalisability of the data.

  c. To avoid the limitations of a semiotic textual analysis as highlighted in section 12.3.5, the researcher could include the author's intention of media texts as well as the reader's/audiences' interpretation of media texts. This can reduce the potential bias of the findings.

12.4.2 Recommendations for society

  a. Policy recommendations
  Institutions should embrace the diversity of hair choices at school, at work, in the media etc. The protests at Pretoria Girls High School in July 2016 is evidence of this. High school students protested against

Pretoria Girls High school's code of conduct for discriminating against afro-textured hair. These protests which commanded the attention of media and society in South Africa brought hair politics, identity and debates around racism back into the national discourse. This led to pressure from the government for all high schools in South Africa to adjust its code of conduct to accommodate and embrace a diversity of hairstyles in South African schools.

In support of this, even the beauty industry has embraced the diversity of hair choices. When Ms Zozibini Tunzi a Black South African female wore her natural afro-textured hair, she was not only crowned Miss South Africa 2019 but Miss Universe 2019 as well. The fact that a beauty pageant which is historically Eurocentric now embraces natural hair is a game-changer for African beauty and identity in the industry.

b. Race, diversity and postcolonial society

I believe that when the multi-flex, neo-hybrid identity is applied in a (post)colonial diverse society, women of all races should boldly step out of the colonial legacy of privilege and domination and embrace the diversity of fashion, trends, styles, body types, and hairstyles that describe the essence of human diversity. This embrace should not be done as a mere cosmetic 'mask' worn to perform diversity or being an "African', it should come from a place of genuine appreciation of South African diversity. This way, a European woman wearing an Afro, or a Chinese woman wearing dreadlocks will not be seen as cultural appropriation but embracing the multi-flex, neo-hybrid postmodern diversity.

The colonial born South African females who continue to only pursue Eurocentric hairstyle choices and who hold on to the shame of their natural hair, should learn to embrace a variety of hairstyles by including their Afro-centric natural hairstyles in their pursuit of beauty. In a post-apartheid, (post)colonial, postmodern era colonial-born females should learn to celebrate their natural hair and not be afraid to be themselves.

12.5 Significance of the study

This study makes a contribution to knowledge in this area of communication, popular culture and identity by the fact that it engages with African hair through a postmodern (post)colonial lens and challenges current existing literature on the topic of African hair and identity.

This study is liberating since it allows us to critically review our identity and what we deem as beautiful and to question the daily choices we make not only with our hairstyles but with fashion, food etc. For if we, like current scholars and social critics engage African hair through a colonial lens we will see imperfect, puzzling reflections of ourselves but if we simply adjust that colonial lens to a postmodern, (post)colonial lens it will establish a new shift in our thinking practice. For the colonial lens is a lens which is partial and incomplete but the (post)colonial, postmodern, the post-apartheid lens of engaging African hair and identity enables us to see everything with complete clarity.

12.6 Conclusion

According to the findings above the following can be concluded. The findings of the colonial-born Black female and colonial-born Coloured female participants seem to suggest that very little has changed with the politicisation of African hair amongst the colonial-born Black female and Coloured female participants and they remain to be content with the beauty standards of the past, hence coloniality is evident in the current hairstyle practices of the colonial-born Coloured female and Black female participants.

While the multi-flex, neo-hybrid identity is applicable in the findings of the born-free Black female, born-free Coloured female participants as well as evident themes found in the six editions of *DRUM Hair* magazine namely editions 2014-2019. The multi-flex, neo-hybrid identity applies since the Eurocentric ideology of beauty which formed the apex of beauty during the colonial and apartheid period is no longer placed at the apex of beauty in a post-apartheid, (post)colonial and postmodern South Africa, when engaging African beauty and identity. Instead, a variety of identities are evident in the assortment of hairstyle practices amongst the born-free Black and born-free Coloured female participants as well as the selected editions of *DRUM Hair* magazine. In conclusion, coloniality seems to continue to shape the identities of women born during the colonial apartheid era. But for those born in the postcolonial and post-apartheid era, they embrace a navigatory forms of hybridity that are not loyal to one identity but explores various forms of identity, which the market place affords them and the media perpetuate in the construction of multi-flex, neo-hybrid and postmodern identities.

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Appendix I: Semi-structured Interview questions for the colonial-born Coloured female participants.

Dear Participant

My name is Janell Le Roux, and I am currently registered for a PhD in Communication Studies. My research is about exploring the historical contexts of hair trends as well as current hair trends that influence your choice of hairstyle. So I would like to know about your hair journey and what influenced and still influences your hairstyle and hair choices. Thank you for agreeing to take part in this study.

1. **Apartheid and the culture of passing**

a. Please share with me your understanding of an individual passing for a White or Coloured person.

b. Could you share a personal experience of where you had to change your hairstyle/ hair texture or looks to fit in? If not your own experience but an example of someone else, you know who went through a similar experience.

c. Why do you think that you or others would want to change their hair/hairstyle?

d. How do you think that the culture of passing has impacted you as a Coloured person?

2. **Coloured identity**

a. Tell me about your ancestry/background, in other words, where do your mom and dad come from and how did you end up living in Cape Town.

b. What does being a Coloured mean to you?

c. When a child is born into a Coloured family what are the features that people comment about and notice first?

d. Why is hair/hairstyles or certain bodily features important to the Coloured community?

e. What are beautiful hair and beautiful bodily features to a Coloured person?

f. Is there anything that stands out in your mind perhaps a thought or advice that your mom gave you about your hair that you can still remember? For example, how your hair should look like?

g. What advice did you give to your daughters when they were little?

3. **Your hair and presentation of identity**

a.   Could you describe your hair journey to me?

b.   What is your weekly, monthly hair routine?

c.   Which hair products do you use and why?

d.   How much money do you spend on your hair every month and why?

e.   How do you think people perceive you with your current hairstyle choice?

Appendix II: Semi-structured Interviews questions for colonial-born Black female participants

Dear Participant

My name is Janell Le Roux, and I am currently registered for a PhD in Communication Studies. My research is about exploring the historical contexts of hair trends as well as current hair trends that influence your choice of hairstyle. So I would like to know about your hair journey and what influenced and still influences your hairstyle and hair choices. Thank you for agreeing to take part in this study.

A: Past ideology on hair and beauty

1. As a young girl growing up can you remember what hairstyles you wore and why?

2. Please share with me the hairstyle common among young women when you were a young woman.

3. Could you share a personal experience of where you had to change your hairstyle/ hair texture or looks to fit in with your peers or for a prospective job? If not your own experience but an example of someone else, you know who went through a similar experience.

4. Why do you think that people would want to change their hair/hairstyle?

5. What were the fashionable hairstyles when you were a young girl and why?

6. When you were little what did you like about your hair and what did you not like about your hair and why?

7. Is there anything that stands out in your mind perhaps a thought or advice that your mom gave you about your hair that you can still remember for example what your hair should always look like?

8. When was the first time you relaxed your hair and why?

9. Apartheid affected everything in South Africa. What influence did it have on how you present yourself, for example how you dress and did your hair in those days.

B: Current ideology of hair and hairstyle choices

10. What advice did you give to your daughters about their hair when they were little? Did you perhaps pass on the advice which you received from your mom onto your daughters?

11. What do you think about how young women wear their hair today as compared to when you were younger?

12. What do you think of women who wear their natural unrelaxed hair?

13. What do you think of women who relax their hair and wear weaves and wigs?

14. Let's talk about your current hairstyle. Can you share with me why you chose this hairstyle which you currently have?

15. What according to you is beautiful hair and why?

16. Some people believe that apartheid influenced how Black women present themselves during apartheid. But now people are free to wear any kind of hair or hairstyle they want. Did you experience the same? Please explain to me how your hairstyle has changed since1994 if it has?

Appendix III: Focus group interview questions for born-free Coloured females

Dear Participant

My name is Janell Le Roux, and I am currently registered for a PhD in Communication Studies. My research is about exploring the historical contexts of hair trends as well as current hair trends that influence your choice of hairstyle. So I would like to know about your hair journey and what influenced and still influences your hairstyle and hair choices. Thank you for agreeing to take part in this study.

1. How do you feel about the statement "Our current hairstyles/hairstyle choices are influenced by our past"?
2. As a young girl growing up what were the hairstyle options you had to choose from? What were the hairstyles you wore and why?
3. When you were a little girl do you perhaps remember an incident which you had with your hair whether at home at school or on the playground perhaps it was something which your mom/aunt/grandmother always noticed or said about your hair? What happened or what did they say that stands out in your mind?
4. When you were a little girl is there anything that stands out in your mind for example a thought or advice that your mom or grandmother gave you about your hair? What did they say that stands out in your mind?
5. Can you share the hairstyles your mom/grandmother/aunt used to wear when you were young and how their hairstyle choices influenced your hairstyle at that time?
6. Let's talk about your current hairstyle choice. Why do you have this hairstyle or what influenced you to have this hairstyle?
7. How often do you change your hairstyle and why?
8. When did you relax your hair for the first time and why?
9. What do you consider to be beautiful hair?
10. What hairstyle do you prefer for special events such as graduation, weddings etc.?
11. How do you feel about this statement: "Your hairstyle choice says something about who you are"?
12. How do you feel about women who keep on changing their hairstyles?

13. Do you have any other comments about hair /hairstyles?

Appendix IV: Focus group interview questions for born-free Black females

Dear Participant

My name is Janell Le Roux, and I am currently registered for a PhD in Communication Studies. My research is about exploring the historical contexts of hair trends as well as current hair trends that influence your choice of hairstyle. So I would like to know about your hair journey and what influenced and still influences your hairstyle and hair choices. Thank you for agreeing to take part in this study.

1. How do you feel about the statement "Our current hairstyles/hairstyle choices are influenced by our past"?
2. As a young girl growing up what were the hairstyle options you had to choose from? What were the hairstyles you wore and why?
3. When you were a little girl is there anything that stands out in your mind for example a thought or advice that your mom or grandmother gave you about your hair? What did they say that stands out in your mind?
4. Can you share the hairstyles your mom/grandmother/aunt used to wear when you were young and how their hairstyle choices influenced your hairstyle at that time?
5. Let's talk about your current hairstyle choice. Why do you have this hairstyle or what influenced you to have this hairstyle?
6. How often do you change your hairstyle and why?
7. When did you relax your hair for the first time and why?
8. What do you consider to be beautiful hair? What do you think about the new Miss South Africa and her hairstyle?
9. What hairstyle do you prefer for special events such as graduation, weddings etc.?
10. How do you feel about this statement: "Your hairstyle choice says something about who you are"?
11. How do you feel about women who keep on changing their hairstyles?
12. Do you have any other comments about hair /hairstyles?

Appendix V: *DRUM Hair* 2014

DRUM
THE BEAT GOES ON

250+ HAIRSTYLES
BRAIDS, AFROS & MORE

ISSUE 3 | 2014
R42 (R5,16 VAT INCL) OTHER COUNTRIES: R36,84 (TAX EXCL)

HAIR

LOVE YOUR HAIR!

RELAXED HAIR
GLAM MAKEOVERS YOU CAN DO AT HOME

PLUS
IDEAS FOR LITTLE GIRLS

KHANYA MKANGISA
THE A-Z OF WEAVES

TAMAR BRAXTON

RED-CARPET LOOKS YOU'LL WANT TO TRY

TERRY PHETO
'MY HAIR COMPLETES ME'

Appendix VI: *DRUM Hair* **2015**

Appendix VII: *DRUM Hair* 2016

Appendix VIII: *DRUM Hair* **2017**

Appendix IX: *DRUM Hair* 2018

Appendix X: *DRUM Hair* **2019**

WIN! 40 HAIR HAMPERS UP FOR GRABS

DRUM HAIR

LOVE YOUR HAIR!

AYANDA
BOROTHO

'I CHANGED
MY HAIR
THEN MY LIFE'

PROTEIN OR
MOISTURE?
HERE'S WHAT
YOUR HAIR
NEEDS

CROWNING
GLORY

MISS SA
FINALISTS
SHOW OFF
THEIR
TRESSES

FLAUNT YOUR
NATURAL HAIR!

- KNOW YOUR CURL TYPE
- GREAT CARE ADVICE
- INSPIRING STYLES

SINDI DLATHU

LOOK-
ALIKES!
STUNNING
CELEB
MAKEOVERS

WANT TO
GO LONG?
CREATE
NEW LOOKS
WITH CLIP-IN
EXTENSIONS

SOUTH AFRICA R52 (VAT included)
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ETHICAL CLEARANCE

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TURFLOOP   RESEARCH   ETHICS
COMMITTEE   CLEARANCE   CERTIFICATE

MEETING: 02 November 2017

PROJECT NUMBER: TREC/ 399/ 2017: PG

PROJECT:

Title: A postmodern perspective and social narratives of South African
                    women's hair, and the media's construction of a Neo-Hybrid Identity
Researcher: JM Le Roux
Supervisor: Prof. T Oyedemi
Co-Supervisor: N/A
School: School of Languages and Communication Studies
Degree: PhD in Communication Studies

PROF/TAB-MASHEGO
CHAIRPERSON: TURFLOOP RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

The Turfloop Research Ethics Committee (TREC) is registered with the National Health Research Ethics
Council, Registration Number: **REC-0310111-031**

Note:
i)   Should any departure be contemplated from the research procedure as approved, the
        researcher(s) must re-submit the protocol to the committee.
ii)   The budget for the research will be considered separately from the protocol.
        PLEASE   QUOTE   THE   PROTOCOL   NUMBER   IN ALL ENQUIRIES.

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CONFIRMATION OF EDITING

To Whom it may concern,

Re: Confirmation of editing services

This letter confirms that the Doctoral Thesis of Mrs JM Le Roux (201735535): *Multi-flex Neo-hybrid identities: Liberatory Postmodern and (Post)colonial narratives of South African Women's Hair and the Media Construction of identity* has been copy edited and proofread by Dr Kris Bal.

For any queries please feel free to contact me directly.

Regards,

Dr KD Bal

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