

Miss-represented: A critical analysis of the visibility of black women in South African *Glamour* magazine

ABSTRACT

This paper reports on a quantitative content analysis of 2,699 images of women present in one year's worth of the South African edition of *Glamour* magazine. Motivated by critical race theory, black feminist thought and critical consumption studies, the aim of the study was to determine how often black women were represented in the sample and, further, to examine the particular body types and hairstyles preferred in the aesthetic of black women featured. The findings showed that even though *Glamour* magazine claims that 65% of its readership is comprised of black women, they feature in only 30% of images, and when present, have hairstyles and body types most commonly associated with white supremacist ideas of beauty. The (albeit unsurprising) failure of *Glamour* magazine to adequately represent a diversity of black femininities is theorised as a result of pervasive neo-liberal, racist and patriarchal structures of power in post-apartheid South Africa. We argue that the case study illuminates a racially charged post-feminist moment, in which black women are represented as valuable only in terms of their proximity to a white ideal, and valued only in terms of their lucrative potential as an aspirant, compliant mass market.

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INTRODUCTION

According to the *Glamour* South Africa press kit, 65% of its readers are “young, urban, black women” between the ages of 18 and 34. Precisely because this group is commonly hailed by advertisers as a lucrative and significant target market, it is necessary to interrogate the extent to which media corporations “practice what they preach”. It would not be unreasonable to assume, based on the magazine’s claim, that young black women are very well-represented in the pages of the South African edition of *Glamour*. This research project tested this assumption by performing a content analysis of images of women in one year’s worth of the magazine.

The local edition of *Glamour* is syndicated from the UK magazine of the same title, and forms part of the global Condé Nast stable¹. First published in South Africa in 2004, *Glamour* markets itself to advertisers in its media kit, based on the 2013-14 All Media Product Survey (AMPS), as follows:

Stylish but never snobby, beautiful but always real, warm, smart, celebratory and hyper-connected, GLAMOUR is the glossy for the new-millennium woman. We provide a complete package, from fashion to finance, and we empower with a ‘You can do it’ attitude. We showcase luxury for every shape, spend and type. And we blend a proudly-South African ethos with the prestige and quality that are globally renowned Condé Nast hallmarks. Most of all, we prize our readers — upwardly mobile, fashionable and economically active young women who are sufficiently confident about their rights and ambitions to also care about fabulous shoes! (Glamour Media Kit, 2015).

These claims are followed up with statistics about the *Glamour* South Africa readership: 65% of readers are black, which puts the magazine third in South Africa in terms of numbers of black women readers (Glamour Media Kit, 2015). These claims on their own beg testing: to what extent does the magazine show its majority black readership black women in fashion, beauty, feature and advertising images? Does the magazine consider it important to ensure that the faces and bodies present in its pages speak to the identities and values of its readers? These questions are about more than simply the extent to which *Glamour* has successfully “localised” the global brand and diversified its international reputation; they also point to what role models for aspiration are being presented to the readership, and in turn what that aspiration means in South Africa’s racialised consumer culture. By taking up this narrow research focus, this paper aimed to not only perform a critical check on one important case study, but also to use that case study to think more broadly about the politics of race, gender, representation and aspiration in a consumer-culture driven post-apartheid South Africa.

In service of these aims, the paper is structured as follows. First, a critical review of relevant literature is offered. We contextualise our study with existing scholarship on magazines in South

¹ This paper focuses on the South African edition of *Glamour*, and for reasons of focus and scope did not include comparative data from other national editions. This could, however, be a fruitful area for future research, especially in comparison with other syndications in the global south.

Africa, and theoretically frame it with important views from black consciousness and black feminist thought, putting those into dialogue with theories of the post-feminist moment and the consumerist paradigm. Then, we discuss how the content analysis was undertaken and present the key findings. Finally, we theorise the findings and make an argument for the continued importance of critical scholarly challenges to complacent consumer media representations that perpetuate racist gender stereotypes, and reflect on what this means for questions of race identity and aspiration in post-apartheid consumer culture.

1. WOMEN'S MAGAZINES IN SOUTH AFRICAN AND GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE

Magazines are one of the oldest media forms and have been extensively studied from a variety of perspectives (see Iqani (2012a, 2012b) for a summary of research on magazines). Despite the rise of new technologies and interactive forms, print magazines are enduringly popular with audiences and remain an important cultural resource for personal identity projects (Gill, 2008:181). As such, magazines have received a huge amount of attention from feminist media scholars, who have explored the discourses and ideologies that shape the context of the texts (Alexander, 2003; Ballentine & Ogle, 2005; Beetham, 1996; Benwell, 2003; Brooks, Jackson & Stevenson, 2000; Gill, 2009; Iqani, 2012a, 2012b), how audiences read, interpret and use them (Benwell, 2005; Hermes, 1995; Jancovich, 2001; McCleneghan, 2003; McRobbie, 2000), and institutional and global structures of power that shape their production (Crewe, 2003; Machin & Thornborrow, 2003; Machin & Van Leeuwen, 2003; Machin & Van Leeuwen, 2005). These studies have looked at a variety of titles, and focused on both "traditional" glossies which tend to aim at a women's market, and the rise of new glossies aimed at the male market. The majority of this work has been contextualised in the global north, with a few exceptions of transnational comparative work and analyses of global brands like *Cosmopolitan* (see the work of David Machin and colleagues: Machin & Thornborrow, 2003; Machin & Van Leeuwen, 2003; Machin & Van Leeuwen, 2005).

It is well established that gender is performative (Butler, 2002). In the context of a feminist epistemology, magazines are key social sites of that performativity. Magazines have been shown to play an important role in both the social construction of gender and social processes of identity formation. In terms of the former, studies have shown how magazine discourses prioritise certain racial identities (Odhiambo, 2008), skin tones (Saraswati, 2010) and bodies (Gill, Henwood & McLean, 2000; Iqani, 2012b) as more desirable than others, all of which are bound up in performances of gender. This discourse work exists in tension with the personal, warm tone of most magazine editorials, which invite readers to imagine the magazine brand as a close, trusted friend (Gill, 2009; Iqani, 2012a). On both levels of discourse and interpolation, therefore, magazines contribute to defining who women are and their place in society (Ferguson, 1983:38), and are a significant resource on which people draw when forming their identities (Brown, 2008:38). As well as being a site for the construction of gendered identities, magazines have also been theorised as sites for the construction of consumer identities (Iqani, 2012a) and the promotion of post-feminist discourses of empowerment as tightly linked to consumption (Gill, 2008).

In the South African context, some work has been published on the role that magazines have played in constructing the burgeoning classist consumer culture in post-apartheid. Notably,

Sonja Laden's work on consumer magazines aimed at black markets in the 1990s (Laden, 1997, 2001, 2003) has shown how they were positioned to invite black South Africans to re-imagine themselves as consumers in a democratic South Africa, and to see magazines as tools of socio-cultural education in aspiring to more cosmopolitan, urbanised forms of blackness. Key in Laden's theorisation of the importance of consumer magazines for black markets is the idea of aspiration. Locally produced titles like *Bona*, *Drum* and *True Love* acted as a barometer for the better life that black South Africans hoped to attain in a "new" South Africa. Rather than addressing them as casualties of oppression, the magazines interpolated them as active agents, consumers and subjects worthy of materially improved lives (Laden, 2003:195). In counterpoint to this, other scholars argue that racist histories are implicated in new paradigms of consumption, leading to the objectification of black bodies in consumer magazines in South Africa (Odhiambo, 2008; Sonnekus & Van Eeden, 2009). Here we see how the legacy of colonialism and racism that pervades the discourses of much consumer media produced in the west is translated into local media content.

2. THEORISING MEDIA REPRESENTATIONS OF RACE AND GENDER

The existence of racist and sexist oppression calls for a theoretical framework that recognises the intersection of race and gender identity categories (Crenshaw, 1991). It is well-established that people of colour are under-represented in the media landscape (Covert & Dixon, 2008:232). A 2006 study (Millard & Grant, 2006:663) found that in full-page photographs in American beauty and fashion magazines, black women appeared only 9% of the time. Feminist scholars argue that black women in particular are under- and misrepresented in mainstream media spaces (Obbo, 1980:62). The popular culture idea of a beautiful black woman features light skin and long straight hair (Byrd & Tharps, 2002:155). Since American beauty standards "are set according to a white aesthetic—from Miss America to the Barbie doll—black women are left with precious few places" to find images of beauty that celebrate dark skin tones and naturally coily hair (Byrd & Tharps, 2001:154). Lighter skin and Caucasian-style hair are also preferred in media representations of black woman globally (Conrad, Dixon & Zhang, 2009; Glenn, 2008).

In the context of the horrific injustices of Apartheid, black women were doubly wronged on account of their race and gender. The Population Registration Act of 1950, which gave social and economic benefits to black people with straighter hair and lighter skin, created a hierarchy in the black community (Molebatsi, 2009:23). The authorities performed the infamous "pencil test" to classify people racially; those with hair close to the "white" texture were privileged and those with "coily" or "kinky" hair were discriminated against. Apartheid institutionalised white supremacy as a condition of pecuniary privilege (Posel, 2010) and as a beauty standard (Molebatsi, 2009). One result of these structures of oppression have been beauty industries that promote "white" aesthetics in both skin and hair, often to the physical and psychological detriment of black women consumers (Ajani ya Azibo, 2011; Dlova, Hamed, Tsoka-Gwegweni, Grobler & Hift, 2014; Thomas, 2009;). The intersection of racism and "colorism" (Hunter, 2013) produces devastating regimes of discursive exclusion that erase a wide diversity of looks, skin tones, and body types from what is considered lovable and valuable. It is precisely that erasure that we intended to measure in this study.

In post-colonial and post-apartheid South Africa, although the media system has been more democratised, colonial legacies persist (Wasserman & Beer, 2005:12). Considered in counterpoint to historical modes of representing black women as exotic, savage, hypersexual, brutish and uncivilised (Gqola, 2001; hooks, 2007, 2014), there is considerable urgency to the project of considering the kinds of images of blackness and femininity are circulating in contemporary media spaces. As already discussed, black women have been subjected to “hegemonically defined standards of beauty” that “privilege [...] Euro American body-image issues” (Patton, 2006:31). In order to resist these oppressive forms of representation, it is imperative that “we create and refashion forms of representation” (Gqola, 2001:15). Black womanhood is not homogenous. It is vital that more than one version of black femininity exists in the public imagination (Gqola, 2001:15; Harris-Perry, 2011:68). Arguably, mainstream feminism has historically conformed “to white heterosexuality”, and privileged white women and their struggles for gender equality (Sanger, 2009:139). In contemporary African societies, African feminist thought has critiqued western feminism and also become more pro-active and concerned about the issues that matter to them (Lewis, 2001:5). An “oppositional black culture” requires “loving blackness” as well as dismantling white supremacist attitudes about blackness (hooks, 2014:10). This ties in with a black consciousness position, that “being black is not a matter of pigmentation [but] a reflection of a mental attitude” (Biko, 1978:14). As such, a theoretical framework drawing from intersectional, black consciousness and black feminist thought was drawn on for the study.

3. A VISUAL CONTENT ANALYSIS OF “GLAMOUR” SOUTH AFRICA

On the basis of the huge existing base of scholarship examining magazines – the power of their aesthetics and discourses, their relation to race, gender and intersectional experiences of oppression, global and local dynamics, and their various links to consumer culture – examining the case study of *Glamour* South Africa allows us to ask important questions about representational justice and the performance of identity. Firstly, it allows us to consider what kinds of identity resources are made available to readers. Secondly, it allows us to critique the picture of black femininity present in the magazine, and to link this with bigger questions about aspiration in consumer culture. This was achieved through a content analysis, the implementation of which shall be discussed next.

Representation matters, because power is exercised through forms of communication, which become solidified and naturalised through repetition in discourse. This does not mean that media tell audiences what to think, but that they inform audiences “what to think about” (Cohen, 1963:13), not only in terms of foreign policy as Cohen originally argued, but also in terms of race and gender. In the context of the urgent need for ongoing enquiries into the representation of black femininity in contemporary South African media, our research questions in relation to the chosen case study were as follows. Firstly, we wanted to find out how often black women appeared in images in the magazine over a one-year period. Our hypothesis was that they were under-represented, but we wanted to generate data to either prove or disprove this. Our intention was to look for patterns across editorial and advertising imagery, rather than to compare these

two sub-categories². Secondly, we wanted to get a sense of whether, when they did appear in the sample, black women represented an eurocentric, whitewashed idea of beauty. Again our hunch was that this was likely, but we wanted to check that by looking at obvious visual markers of body types and hairstyles.

Content analysis has been used successfully by feminist media researchers in the past in order to demonstrate biases in media representation (e.g. Schlenker, Caron & Halteman, 1998). Content analysis allows one to count how many times manifest and objective content appears in a large sample of media texts. It offers an unambiguous way of collecting data as it quantifies “content in terms of predetermined categories and in a systematic and replicable manner” (Bryman, 2012:289–90). Our intention was to quantify “salient and manifest features of a large number of texts” (Deacon, Murdock, Pickering & Golding, 1999:116) and generate descriptive statistics about the patterns of visual representation in the sample of texts. Following this tradition, our approach was to collect one year’s worth of *Glamour* magazines (12 issues) and to code each image of a woman on the basis of her race, hairstyle and body type. This allowed us to generate quantitative data from that sample to either support or refute our hypothesis that black women were under- and misrepresented. The strength of content analysis as a quantitative research methodology lies in the ability to be relatively independent from the personal views of the researcher (Krippendorff, 2012:24). Although we position ourselves as feminist researchers deeply concerned with intersectional race and gender politics, the quantitative approach adopted allowed us to aim for objectivity in the data generation process.

We purchased access to one year’s worth of *Glamour* magazine through an online archive housed at www.zinio.com. 12 magazines, from July 2014 to June 2015 were examined. In total, 2699 images of women were present across that sample. Each image was numbered in accordance with the magazine from which it came, and its position in the magazine (from A1 to L212). A coding framework was developed in order to categorise the race, body type and hairstyle of all women appearing in each image, as well as to document the type of image featured. Our coding framework and key is reproduced in Table 1.

Table 1: Coding framework

Category	Code	Key
Race		
Black	1	Black African ancestry
White	2	Caucasian/European ancestry
Coloured	3	Mixed-race South Africans (African, European, Asian, Khoisan heritage)
Indian	4	South Asian ancestry
Other	5	Other race (e.g., East Asian) or race hard to determine

² A comparative study of the misrepresentation of black femininity in advertising and editorial images would be a valuable topic for a future study.

Body type		
Skippy	1	Typical size and shape of fashion models: extremely thin and tall
Curvy	2	Larger, plus-size body shape
Athletic	3	Bodies with muscular definition
Not visible	4	Image does not feature body (e.g., only face)
Hair		
Caucasian	1	Natural straight/wavy/curly hair belonging to white people
Braids	2	Braided African hairstyles, including cornrows.
Weaves	3	False hairpieces, wigs or weaves. Straightened, chemically relaxed hair.
Natural	4	Natural African coily/kinky hair, all textures and lengths.
Not visible	5	If the woman in the image has her hair covered, e.g. with hat.
Image type		
Cover	1	The person that is featured on the cover of the magazine
Advert	2	Image in paid-for promotional feature.
Editorial	3	Images used in feature articles produced by editorial staff.
Fashion	4	Images in fashion photographic features
Small	5	Small thumbnail images in various editorial features.

Because our study was focused on the representation of black women, it was important to use racial codes in order to count how many black women were present, and to take note of their aesthetics. The first author coded all images, then appointed a research assistant to do a second round of coding. This was undertaken in order to ensure that the manifest content being coded was obvious and that there was a greater degree of objectivity in the coding process. Both coders recorded their data on separate Excel spreadsheets. The second author checked both coding frames and ascertained that there were few discrepancies, and that the two coding frameworks had yielded results similar enough to proceed with the analysis. On the basis of this coding process, it was possible to generate statistics that described the racial profile of women featured in the sample, as well as their hair and body types. These are presented and theorised in the discussion that follows.

4. HOW BLACK WOMEN APPEAR IN A YEAR OF “GLAMOUR”

The aims of the content analysis were simple: determine how often black women featured in *Glamour* magazine over one year, and further assess what kind of body types and hairstyles were present therein. As such, the presentation of the results is relatively straightforward. Figure 1 shows that in the sample of images coded, the majority (61.7%) of women featured were white. Of the remaining 38.4%, black women featured 30.0% of the time. Indian, coloured, and women of other or indeterminate ethnicities made up the remainder of the minorities present.

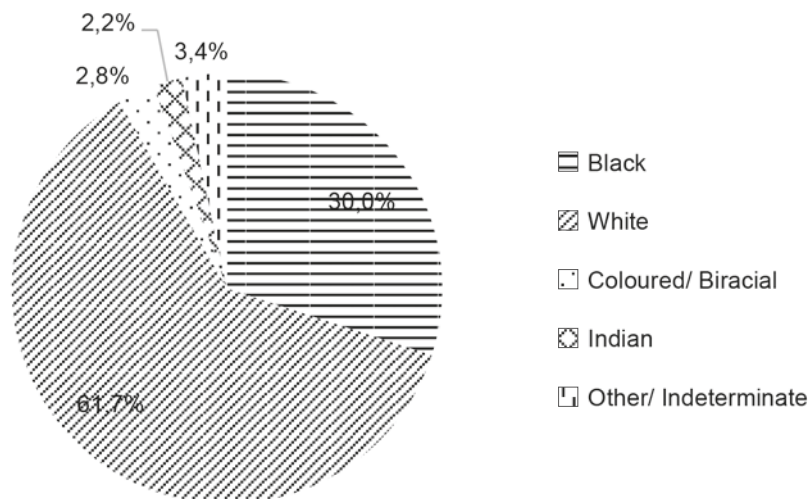


Figure 1: Racial profile of women in the image sample (numbers indicate per cent)

White women were the subject of images in 1664 out of 2699 (61.7%) images. Considering that the magazine claims that the majority of its readership is black, this is clear evidence of their failure to take a black audience seriously. Black women are grossly underrepresented in the magazine on average, though slight differences were apparent across image categories. Black women were featured on the cover in 25% of images, in 32.6% of editorial images, 36.7% of fashion shoots, and 30.1% of small images. It is particularly notable that black women feature only in one quarter of covers. Magazine covers are considered one of the most powerful locations in consumer magazines, and the underrepresentation of black women there speaks volumes about their neglect in the industry in general. Notably, the advertising category was the lowest, with black women featured in only 23.5% of images. This underrepresentation would be problematic in any multicultural society, it is especially so in a country like South Africa, in which black Africans make up the majority of the population. It also hints at a project that assumes that black readers aspire to whiteness as a social and aesthetic category (we will discuss this further in the next section).

With the presence of black women in the sample of images thus measured, it was next necessary to examine how those black women present were styled. We looked at two indicators, hairstyle and body type. As already noted, we did not expect to see a visual celebration of “natural” African hair, nor a diversity of hairstyles and body shapes and sizes. We expected *Glamour*, like most other consumer magazines, to be underpinned by “westernized standards of beauty” (Smith, 2000:35). The data confirmed our hypotheses.

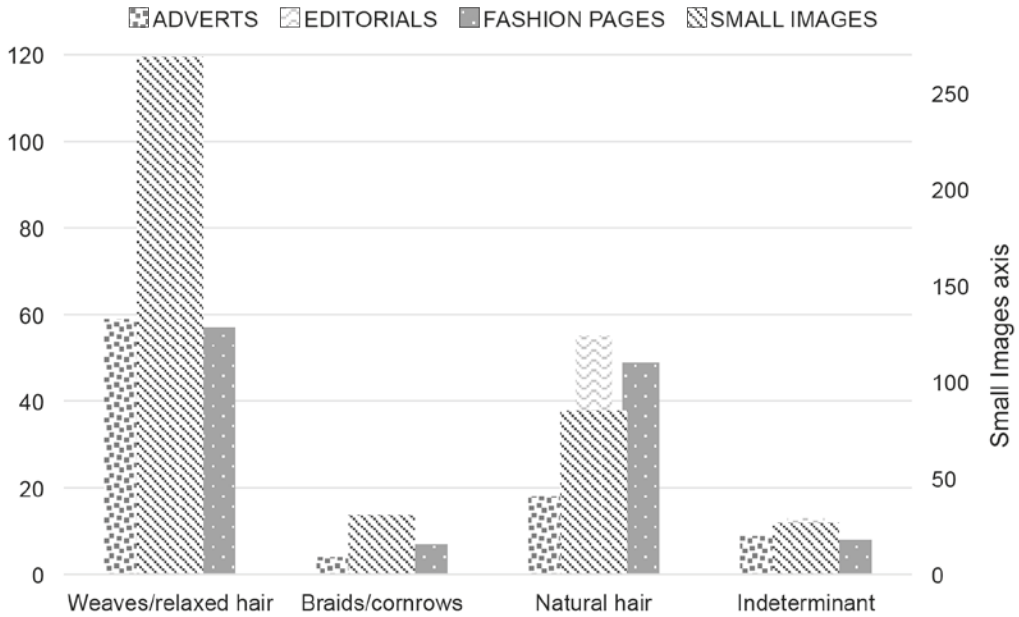


Figure 2: Hairstyles of black women featured in the sample (numbers indicate frequency)

As Figure 2 shows, the majority (65.3%) of black women pictured in *Glamour* over one year wore weaves or relaxed hair, while the minority featured hairstyles more typically associated with ethnic blackness (7.5% wore braids and 20.6% had natural hair). Weaves are wigs or hairpieces, made with either synthetic or human hair, which are attached to natural hair, and relaxed hair has been chemically straightened to look more “flowing”. We read both of these hairstyles as to some extent mimicking a “white” aesthetic (although as some argue, this cannot be simply written off as a betrayal of blackness (Dosekun, 2015)). Notably, natural hairstyles appeared mainly in editorial images. In the remainder of images (indeterminate), hair was hidden under hats or other headgear.

In terms of the aesthetic of bodies visually presented, we wanted to ascertain the extent to which black women featured possessed thin, model-type bodies most often associated with the white standard of beauty. Of course, we expected most women (of any race) featured in the magazine to be extremely thin, as is the standard aesthetic in the fashion industry. However, we wanted to check whether the presence of diversity in the form of blackness made any room for other kinds of diversity to be included. As Figure 3 shows, the data confirmed that a skinny aesthetic was prioritised for women of colour as well as white women, with the majority (58.01%) of black women featured possessing that body type.

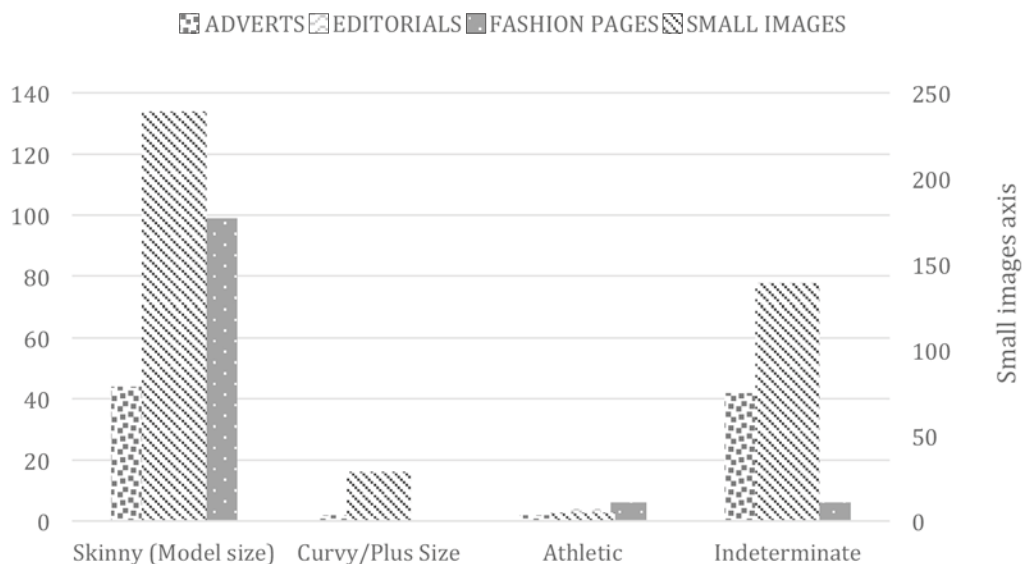


Figure 3: Body types of black women featured in image sample (numbers indicate frequency)

The remainder of this paper discusses these findings in light of critical race theory, intersectional feminist thought and consumer culture. We argue that although our study provides strong evidence for the misrepresentation of black femininity, this should be considered in the context of the misrepresentation of femininity in general, as well as the strong alliance between consumer media forms and neoliberal power.

5. MISREPRESENTED AND MARGINALISED: A BLACK FEMINIST CRITIQUE

Arguably there is little space within the economy of consumer media for radical, intersectional and progressive forms of representation. We were not expecting to find a diverse range of women in the magazine, and we were certainly not expecting to find that the majority of aspirational identities presented were black. Our study presents convincing data which proves that black women are not only underrepresented in a media form that claims them as their majority audience, but also that when they are present they are likely to be styled in a “whitewashed” manner, with thin bodies and long, straight hairstyles. Of course, curvaceous black women with natural hair are not the only women who might feel alienated by the aesthetic of *Glamour* South Africa. But the visual alienation produced in this media platform is deserving of focused critique, because of the history of racist and sexist oppression that black women in South Africa have experienced, and the magazine’s own claims to value a black audience.

“The task of representing black women in postcolonial ways demands from us that we create and refashion forms of representation” (Gqola, 2001:15). *Glamour SA* has failed to do so. Instead of refashioning the representation of black women, it has perpetuated long-standing forms of discrimination in which whiteness and proximity to whiteness are privileged. Black women, who are the majority of *Glamour* readers, deserve to see more diverse images of black femininity in the magazine. The title risks alienating the majority of its audience if it continues to visually prioritise white women and black women who, other than the shade of their skin, look a lot like the white women featured more often. Arguably, the “skinny” body aesthetic is a westernised idea of beauty that contradicts and erases indigenous ideas of beauty, which prize fuller figures and curvaceous shapes and see “big” as beautiful (Puoane, 2005). Black women of all ages, shapes and sizes deserve to see a variety of beautiful, successful, glamorous women pictured.

Feminist media theorists have long argued that there are many forms of tyranny within magazine discourses. Readers are invited to compare themselves with young, thin bodies, perfect skin and hair, expensive fashion and beauty regimes – and they inevitably fall short. The beauty standard imposed onto audiences by many beauty magazines does not represent a majority of women (Smith, 2000:39). Normal women from every ethnic background may experience a form of symbolic violence from the consumer magazine industry. However, this symbolic violence is doubled for women of colour. That *Glamour* presents white women as the most featured role model, and only includes black women who come close to a white aesthetic, can be read as a form of whitewashing aspiration and an erasure of diverse visions of black beauty and dignity. The black models featured in the magazine are present because of their proximity to whiteness, rather than their representativeness of multiple versions of blackness. Although some scholars argue that the wearing of weaves is not an attempt to imitate whiteness, but in fact a mode of connecting with a glamorous, cosmopolitan, globalised narrative of black femininity (Dosekun, 2015; Tate, 2007), the point holds that when only one version of femininity is represented in media spaces, other ways of imaging beauty and self-worth are erased.

The case study examined in this paper reveals a racially charged post-feminist moment in contemporary South African consumer culture. Although titles like *Glamour* perceive the political and economic expediency in targeting a black market, they remain embedded in a racist political-economy that seems unable to shake the belief that whiteness is more valuable. It seems that consumer media producers imagine that black target markets are willing to accept the presentation of a disproportionate number of white role models, and that the forms of consumption to which they aspire are best visualised through whiteness. On the basis of the data generated in this study, we argue that *Glamour SA*, and by extension the consumer media industry more generally, values black women mainly as members of a mass market willing to comply with white ideals, and is most willing to include them in media content when they show proximity to a white ideals of beauty.

The links between “whitewashing” black feminine beauty and consumer aspiration is one that deserves more reflection. As Laden has argued, consumer magazines aimed at black markets form an important part of social discourses that seek to educate citizens into consumer-oriented

forms of social mobility. In the more “high-end” titles like *Glamour*, it seems that aspirations to move from lower to upper middle class status involves a symbolic proximity to whiteness. This certainly exposes the ongoing economic and social privileges that white South Africans enjoy, and hints at the ongoing control by white capital of the consumer media economy in South Africa³. From a black consciousness and black feminist perspective, the question of aspiring to whiteness can be framed as at best, offensive, and at worst as part of an ongoing white, capitalist, patriarchal move to continue to deprive black women of the equality and power they deserve to share. This noted, it is necessary to think through the extent to which the whitewashed imagery presented in the magazine can be theorised as speaking to the aspirations of black readers. Although it cannot be proved without an audience study, some commentators might argue that the magazine over-features white women because black readers turn to the magazine as a manual for class and social mobility (Laden, 2001, 2003), and that as such whiteness symbolises their aspirations. From this perspective, South Africa’s history of legislated racism cannot be ignored. As Deborah Posel has argued, the definition of race was partly predicated on the ways in which consumption was regulated (Posel, 2010). As such, in South Africa there is still a tight link between ideas of whiteness and economic privilege, which may still leave residue on the social and psychic fabric of magazine readers. The extent to which this influences black women’s aspirations is an area that most certainly requires further research.

6. CONCLUSION

This study has contributed to scholarship on the relationship between media, gender and race in South Africa. Although international scholarship is very helpful to local research, the context of South Africa’s black majority rather than minority population insists on new approaches and theoretical frameworks. Future research is required in order to gain a deeper understanding of readers’ views on the racial profile of glossy magazines’ content, as well as how their ownership and production culture may feed into the culture of misrepresentation. This paper has shown how in one key case study, *Glamour*, black women are both under- and misrepresented. It is absolutely important for the representation of black women in this country to continue to be critically discussed, both in scholarly and popular debates. The data has proved that *Glamour* does not value black femininity in all of its diverse glory, despite its claims to do so. This is an indictment on this particular title, but it also it speaks to a broader media landscape in South Africa, that remains insufficiently transformed.

³ A study of the political economy of *Glamour* was outside of the scope of this project, though questions about the extent to which consumer media industries in South Africa have transformed are an important area for future research. It will be important to understand more about the production processes of magazines like *Glamour*, in part to understand the extent to which black women are themselves involved in the creation of the content.

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