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DIPLOMARBEIT

Titel der Diplomarbeit

"Enlightening Tanzania. An analysis of power relations using case studies of Tanzanian women bleaching their skin"

Verfasserin

Katharina Fritsch

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I dedicate this diploma thesis to the Silversand — a place where ideas could develop, be dismissed and pieced together again.

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1. Introduction

"My complexion is better than ever [...] brown skin" (Queen Ifrica 2009)

The extract from the song 'Mi Nah Rab' (2009) by the Jamaican reggae artist Queen Ifrica fits well into the Tanzanian context where lightness is also perceived as beautiful. During my three stays in Tanzania in various parts of the country and in different contexts — working as a volunteer, studying at the University of Dar es Salaam and as a researcher in Dar es Salaam — I could observe the hegemonic perception of 'light' or 'brown skin' as beautiful. While many people are 'naturally' light in Tanzania, many others bleach themselves in order to be part of this hegemonic 'light community'. During my studies I have set my focus on gender and cultural studies with a strong concentration on constructions of bodies. As a white person in Tanzania, I was constantly confronted with being white. Besides my own whiteness, the hegemony of lightness in Tanzania caught my 'analytical eye' regarding contextualisations of whiteness. My whiteness was thus perceived differently from the whiteness of a Tanzanian person bleaching his/her skin. Accordingly, I decided to do a research on skin bleaching among Tanzanian women[1].

During the last years, the practice of skin bleaching both in the global north and the global south has evoked international discussions. Central aspects of these debates are health, psychosocial and socio-cultural impacts of skin bleaching (Pierre 2008: 10). Yet, skin bleaching is not a recent phenomenon. Already during the times of the Ancient Greeks white lead used to bleach their skin. At the beginning of the twentieth century skin bleaching increased due to the establishment of the cosmetic industry. Nowadays the skin bleaching industry has become a great business consisting of members of the medical, the pharmaceutical and chemical communities. Though many skin bleaching products have been banned, it is still a big market both in countries of the global south and the global north (Mire 2000: 1 ff.; Pierre 2008: 18).

Despite the great use of skin bleaching products among white women in the global north, skin bleaching is perceived as a 'black problem' especially in medical contexts. In this sense the phenomenon of skin bleaching has been strongly pathologised in a racialised way

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[1] The reasons for choosing the sample are mentioned on page 18 f.

(Mire 2000: 1, 5). Social scientists as Amina Mire or Jemima Pierre challenge such pathologising approaches and plead for a contextualisation of skin bleaching practices within "the social and political context of white supremacist culture" (Mire 2000: 1) and within "global structures of difference and power" (Pierre 2008: 11). In this sense whiteness needs to be re-embedded into (neo)liberal, (neo)colonial and patriarchal structures.

The aim of this thesis is a deconstruction of whiteness. The shift of the analytical focus away from the 'marked racialised blackness or non-whiteness'[2] to the apparently invisible racialised whiteness has become the focus of a research field within the social sciences and humanities during the 1990s — the Critical Whiteness Studies (Hacker 2005: 14; El-Tayeb 2005: 8). The topic of skin bleaching reflects an important discussion within the Critical Whiteness Studies — whether skin colour is of relevance for the construction of whiteness or not (Axster 2005: 39 ff; Fanon 1967: 10 f.; Eggers et. al. 2005: 12 f.). Thus it is about an analysis of the relationship between power relations and constructions of the body.

Theoretically and methodically the diploma thesis is guided by a 'mix' of poststructuralist and politico-economic theories. Methodically my analysis is based on a Foucauldian discourse analysis which has been broadened by a politico-economic perspective. Thus I perceive whiteness as constructed by politico-economic structures and discourses. According to this theoretical and methodic approach, I am going to analyse the following **research question** including three subquestions:

How are power relations reconstructed by the practice of skin bleaching of Tanzanian women?

• How has gender, race and class been constructed?

• How are body politics significant to the maintenance of existing power relations within current societies?

• How does skin bleaching reproduce capitalist structures?

Regarding this research question the diploma thesis is guided by three **assumptions**. My first assumption has been changed after the field research. Despite my assumption of the

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[2] The explanation for why I normally use the term non-white instead of black is explained on page 43.

white woman being the dominant ideal of beauty in the Tanzanian context, the research has shown that it is rather the light woman who is perceived as the most beautiful. This change from whiteness to lightness is going to be analysed throughout the whole diploma thesis. While a strong focus is set on the construction of the light woman as beautiful, the aim is to re-embed constructions of beauty into specific race, class and gender relations. Therefore I have formulated the following assumptions:

- The phenomenon of skin bleaching in Tanzania has to be analysed within neocolonial, neoliberal and patriarchal power relations, which construct the white or light female body as the 'normal one' and the non-white female body as the 'deviant one'. Thus the hegemonic female subjectivation in Tanzania is the one of the 'lighter woman'. This hegemonic form of Tanzanian female subjectivation reflects an incorporation of existing power relations into current forms of black subjectivation (do Mar Castro Varela/Dhawan 327 f.; Habermann 2008: 224-235; Mire 2000: 1 ff.;).

- Skin bleaching shows that within capitalist structures whiteness becomes a commodity, which can be purchased by anyone at the price given. Skin bleaching is thus one form of acquiring the 'commodity whiteness' through which non-white women can become part of the hegemonic 'white community' (Mire 2000: 1 ff.; McClintock 1995: 33 ff.)

- Through the phenomenon of skin bleaching by non-white women interdependences between different social categories — especially between those of race, class and gender — become apparent. Skin bleaching does not necessarily lead to whiteness and non-white skin colour does not always mean non-white, which suggests that whiteness is not a static construct. Rather, whiteness can be understood as a process of normalisation which includes different groups of people into the imaginary 'white community' and excludes others, depending on specific politico-economic, historical, geographical and socio-cultural structures (Axster 2005: 39-53; Barrett/Roediger 2005: 7-34; Lorey 2007: 6-10).

According to the assumptions mentioned above, the hegemony of whiteness shall be deconstructed in relation to neoliberal, neocolonial and patriarchal structures. The thesis is structured into two chapters. In chapter 2 I am going to present my research approach where the theories and the method used in this diploma thesis are going to be discussed. The theoretical approach consists of two parts. The first part presents theories, terms and concepts used in this diploma thesis. The second analyses important discourses and politico-economic structures constructing whiteness as a dispositif [3]. Two 'settings'[4] — the colonial, liberal-bourgeois, patriarchal and the neoliberal, neocolonial, patriarchal setting are going to be analysed. The first setting is important in regard to this research as it was during that time (18th-20th century) that race, class and gender emerged as central social relations of modern societies (Husmann-Kastein 2006: 44 ff.). The second setting was chosen because it reflects current power relations of Tanzania at the moment. In the analysis of these two settings, a focus is put on the aspect how race, gender, and class relations are related in constructing whiteness. Regarding forms of subjectivation, the 'ideal' of the *homo oeconomicus* is going to be re-embedded into specific gender, class and race relations. In Chapter 4 the findings of the analysis of the empirical research done on skin bleaching among Tanzanian women in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania are presented. The politico-economic structures and discourses identified in the first chapter are going to be (re)constructed in the empirical material consisting of interviews and visual material. I am going to focus especially on changes and interruptions regarding the discourses and politico-economic structures identified in the theoretical part.

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[3] The term 'dispositif' and the question how whiteness can be defined as such are analysed in the theoretical part on page 39.

[4] The term 'setting' shall emphasise the constructivist character of social contexts.

2. Research approach

In this chapter I am going to explain my theoretical and methodical approach. I am going to start with the methodical part as the theoretical part consists of two sections from which the second one can not be understood without the methodical part. Thus the theoretical part is divided into two sections. The first one deals with theories, concepts and terms used in this diploma thesis. The second one analyses important discourses and politico-economic structures constructing whiteness as a complex of various power relations or as Foucault describes it — a dispositif (Foucault 1980a: 194).

2.1. 'Metheory'

My research approach focuses on a 'mix' of politico-economic and poststructuralist approaches. Regarding my method or 'metheory' — the term 'metheory' will be explained in the following section — I focus on discourse analytical theories belonging to poststructuralist approaches. My 'metheory' is a discourse analysis mainly based on Hannelore Bublitz's Foucauldian discourse analytical approach, but taking a broader view with the addition of the politico-economic perspective. Using Foucauldian terminology, I perceive whiteness as a dispositif constructed both by neoliberal, neocolonial and patriarchal discourses and politico-economic structures.

In the following I am going to explain why a Foucauldian discourse analysis needs to be perceived more as a 'metheory' than a 'method'. Then I am giving survey of the more methodic parts of a Foucauldian discourse analysis. After identifying the main aspects of a Foucauldian discurse analytical approach I am explaining how it can be applied to my research focus — the analysis of skin bleaching in Tanzania.

2.1.1. Discourse analysis by Michel Foucault – a 'metheory'

According to the authors of the book *Das Wuchern der Diskurse. Perspektiven der Diskursanalyse Foucaults*[5] (1999), Foucault's discourse-analytical approach is neither a theory nor a method (Bublitz et. al. 1999: 15 f.). Rather, it can be described as some kind of 'toolbox' which actually opposes methodological-methodic determination (Bublitz et. al. 1999: 16). In the same book Bublitz argues that within a Foucauldian discourse analysis, theory and method cannot be separated: the method has to be seen as a structural element of the theory as the former structures the latter in the sense of a historical analysis of discourses. Therefore Bublitz states: "The method constitutes the basis of the theory as it functions as the modi of constructing theory and society as objects, theory and societal reality as object are methodically constituted by discourses"[6] (Bublitz 1999: 28). Discourse analysis is thus not only a methodological instrument, but it is part of what it analyses and at the same time the analysing tool. Theory itself is perceived discursive as it can only reconstruct existing discourses. In this sense it is a "discourse about discourses" (Foucault 1993: 205). Social reality then always appears in form of a symbolic order constitued by discourses (Bublitz 1999: 29 f.). That is why I call the Foucauldian 'toolbox' a 'metheory'. Discourse analysis does not perceive the analysed terms, objects and theories as *a priori* existing categories, rather it develops them within an analytical process. This means also that the theoretical process itself needs to be regarded as discursive and (de)constructivist as the analysed objects — the discourses – are produced within the analytical process (Bublitz 2006: 27 ff.). It becomes clear that discourses have a double-function within discourse analysis as they constitute the analysed objects on the one hand and on the other hand they are part of the discourse analytical method. Discourses are practices of power as they construct what can be known, said and constructed at a certain point of time. As social reality is now perceived as discoursively produced, its 'natural' character' is deconstructed.

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[5] Bublitz et. al. (eds.) (1999): The Proliferation of the Discourses. Perspectives of the Foucauldian Discourse Analysis, Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.

[6] „Die Methode liegt als Konstruktionsmodus von Theorien und von Gesellschaft als Gegenstand der Theorie zugrunde, denn sowohl die Theorie als auch gesellschaftliche Wirklichkeit als Gegenstand konstituieren sich methodisch durch Diskurse" (Bublitz 1999: 28). All translations from German to English have been done by the author.

Discourse analysis thus constructs, reconstructs and deconstructs social reality by analysing the rules of formation of historical contexts which have led to the emergence of specific systems of knowledge and truth[7]. Bublitz calls such a deconstructive approach 'critical ontology' as it positions knowledge in a historical context (Bublitz 2006: 236 f.; Hanke/Seier 2000: 98-100).

As already mentioned discourse analysis is some kind of 'discourse about discourses' as discourses construct social realities which are then reconstructed through discourse analysis. In order to be able to reconstruct discourses of a certain society, the analyst needs to know its archive. The archive is somehow the 'cultural brain' of a society regulating which discursive events, statemtents can emerge or in other words, what can be said, known or seen. It functions as the historical a priori of a discourse analysis. In this sense discourse analysis follows the principle of construction through reconstruction (Bublitz 2006: 238 f.). This results into some kind of objectification of the discourse analysis or as Bublitz writes: „[I]t is about the objectification of the own discursive position by the means of reconstructing the discursive rules out of the material"[8] (Bublitz 2006: 248). Thus there is a shift from a scientific objectivity to a "discourse[...] of perspectivity"[9] (Hanke/ Seier 2000: 102). Concerning the relationship between archive and discursive formations, Bublitz points out that there are no linear, causal and continuous relationships between old and new discursive formations (Bublitz 2006: 240). According to Foucault, discursive formations always have their own rules of formation which are different from others. What could be said in one historical epoch, was impossible in another. Although new discursive formations always incorporate parts of old discourses, their eventful, spontaneous, 'mushrooming' character is important (Foucault 1991a: 11, 33, 17, 43; Foucault 1966: 29).

In the following part I am identifying the methodic parts of a Foucauldian discourse analysis. My assumptions are mainly based on Hannelore Bublitz's perception of Foucault's discourse analytical approach. Yet in some cases I refer to Foucault's perceptions as I occasionally do not agree with Bublitz's reception of Foucault.

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[7] The rules of formation are explained on page 13 f..

[8] „gemeint ist damit eine Objektivierung der eigenen diskursiven Position durch Rekonstruktion der Diskursregeln aus dem Material" (Bublitz 2006: 248)

[9] „Diskurs[...] der Perspektivität" (Hanke/Seier 2000: 102)

Furthermore, I integrate other analyses by Andrea D. Bührmann, Werner Schneider, Christine Hanke, Andrea Seier, Huber L. Dreyfuß and Paul Rabinow. Thus my methodic approach is based on the German-speaking perception of Foucault's discourse analysis for the most part.

2.1.2. Rules, rules, rules ...

In *The archaeology of Knowledge and The discourse on Language* (1993), Foucault explains that the aim of a discourse analysis is not to find "the half silent murmur of another discourse" (Foucault 1993: 28) behind the analysed discourse. He explains that it is rather about the analysis of the "field of exteriority" (Foucault 1993: 45) of a discourse, in other words of its appearance, its regularity and its conditions to emerge. Instead of searching for some kind of 'inner sense' of a discourse, its 'positivity' needs to be analysed (Foucault 1973: 43, 182).

> To analyse a discursive formation therefore is to deal with a group of verbal performances at the level of the statements and of the form of positivity that characterizes them; or, more briefly, it is to define the type of positivity of a discourse. If, by substituting the analysis of rarity for the search of totalities, the description of relations of exteriority for the theme of the transcendental foundation, the analysis of accumulations for the quest of the origin, one is a positivist, then I am quite happy to be one (Foucault 1993: 125).

Foucault calls the description of this 'postivitiy' of discourses 'archaelogy' as it somehow excavates the rules of formation — the formation of concepts, objects, enunciative modalities and strategies — out of discursive formations (Foucault 1973: 58, 193). Concerning the first rule — the formation of objects — Foucault explains that it is about the analysis of the relationship within and between the "surfaces of emergence" (Foucault 1993: 41) — the fields where objects emerge such as families or the working environment, the "authorities of delimitation" (Foucault 1993: 41) — institutions such as the medicine, the juridical apparatus, the church etc. defining, constructing and reproducing the objects — and their *"grids of specification"* (Foucault 1993: 42) — scientific, political, economic and cultural systems categorising and differentiating objects (Foucault 1973: 62-67). According to Foucault, an analysis of the second rule — the formation of the terms — needs to explore "to what schemata of series, simultaneous groupings, linear or reciprocal

modification the statements may be linked to one another in a type of discourse" (Foucault 1993: 60). In regard to the formation of terms Andrea D. Bührmann explains that it is about the question of how statements are linked within a discursive formation, how terms are distributed within this formation and which kind of combinations of statements exists (Bührmann 1999: 54). In her analysis of the race-anthropological discourse around 1900, Christine Hanke mentions the mathematical and statistical procedures as such schemata in which the term and object 'race' could emerge. Hanke argues that the formation of objects and terms cannot be analysed separately as it is due to specific terms that certain objects can emerge (Hanke 2006: 105, 111). Accordingly, I perceive the formation of objects and terms as a relational construction process which has led to a methodic step of fusing the formation of objects and terms into one combined rule.

The third rule is the formation of enunciative modalities. Here the analysis focuses on the question of who is talking, writing, analysing etc. and from where, in other words from which institutional places one speaks (Foucault 1973: 75 f.). Thus forms of subjectivation are analysed. In the empirical part non-hegemonic forms of subjectivation will be of crucial importance.

As for the fourth rule, the formation of strategies, Bührmann states that it is still 'under construction'. In this context Foucault mentions the analysis of hegemonic theories and topics regulating how discursive objects, terms and modes of expression are grouped, separated and excluded. It now becomes obvious that the four rules of formation are not independent, but that they determine each other (Foucault 1973: 106). Bührmann explains that Foucault's formation of strategies deals with the role of discourses within the field of non-discursive practices. Moreover it controls the separation of discourses, their relationships and their influences on each other. In this diploma thesis I only focus on the relation of discourses and non-discursive practices. According to Bührmann, non-discursive practices are the material and practical actions (Bührmann 1999: 55, 93). Thus skin bleaching can be defined as such a non-discursive practice.

2.1.3. From archaelogy to genealogy — rules are there to be broken

According to Thomas Lemke, in his 'discours-analytic project' Foucault shifts the focus more and more on the analysis of the relationship between power and discourse. Thus he creates a new tool — the genealogy — in order to be able to examine the various relationships between power and discursive formations (Lemke 2005: 325 f.). Dreyfuß and Rabinow perceive Foucault's genealogy as an approach which destroys the primacy of origins and of unchanging truths, of ideas of progress and linear, continuous development. Genealogy analyses how certain discursive formations could emerge in connection with specific power relations. In this sense archaelogy and genealogy can be understood as complementary approaches, as archaelogy provides the tools to analyse the rules of a discursive formation while genealogy examines the role of this discursive formation within a certain power constellation (Drefuß/Rabinow 1982: 117). The difference between archaeology and genealogy can be illustrated with the example of social sciences. While archeology analyses the rules of formation of social sciences, genealogy looks at the role they are playing within a certain society (Bublitz 2006: 259).

Lorey shows that in the *The archaeology of Knowledge and The discourse on Language* (1993) and *The order of Discourse* (1970) Foucault perceives power in a juridico-discursive sense, thus power relations in form of institutions, regulations, laws etc. restrict discourses in their mushrooming tendencies. Later he changes this view into a perception of power as being productive (Lorey 1999: 87-89; Foucault 2005: 224). According to Dreyfuß and Rabinow, archaelogy analyses the formal rules while genealogy focuses on the practices of power. "Foucault is interested in how both scientific objectivity and subjective intentions emerge together in a space set up not by individuals but by social practice" (Dreyfuß/Rabinow 1982: 108). Power formations are then perceived as "strategies without strategists" (Dreyfuß/Rabinow 1982: 109). Discourses are part of power relations as they themselves are powerful, productive practices constructing social reality. But as I have already mentioned, power relations do not only work through discursive practices, they can rather be described by the term 'dispositif'. Bublitz defines a dispositif as "a "smooth net of discourses" (Foucault 1977: 92) and power strategies

constructed around a discursively produced object"[10] (Bublitz 2006: 245 f.). In this sense a genealogical approach needs a wider analytical view on discursive formations as part of a dispositif (Bührmann/Schneider 2008: 60 f.; Lorey 1999: 94 f.).

Discourses are thus part of hegemonic power relations, but at the same time they can act against them. Thus a discourse analytical eye needs to maintain a sustaining glance into social reality: On the one hand it has to analyse the power of certain discursive formations in constructing social reality. On the other hand it also has to watch out for the singularity, discontinuous and eventful character of discourses as every discursive repetition is not completely identical and thus can create a difference (Hanke 1999: 116; Hanke/Seier 2000: 108). According to Hanke, reading 'against the grain' of one's own work represents one form of such a deconstructive process. Such a technique can open up avenues to discovering where discourses become fragile and thus open new ways of reading social reality (Hanke 2006: 101 ff.). This focus will be of importance for the analysis of skin bleaching. A genealogical approach enables me to theorise skin bleaching not only as a subjection under power relations but also as forms of self-appropriation of hegemonic forms of subjectivation resulting in changes and breaking of rules of formation (Butler 2001: 16 f.). I am going to theorise the relationship of subjectivation processes and power relations in the theoretical part of this chapter.

2.1.4. A 'metheory' to analyse the phenomenon of skin bleaching — description and analysis of the material

According to Lorey's Foucauldian perception of a dispositif being a complex formation of power relations, I perceive whiteness as a dispositif in the sense of being constructed by various discourses and power relations (Lorey 1999: 94)[11]. Thus the practice of skin bleaching is part of this dispositif. I have argued before that in order to be able to reconstruct the rules of a certain discursive formation in the empirical material, the analysing person needs to know the archive (Bublitz 2006: 248). The analysis of such an

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[10] „ein „feines Netz von Diskursen" (Foucault 1977: 92) und Machtstrategien um einen diskursiv hervorgebrachten Gegenstand" (Bublitz 2006: 245 f.)

[11] In the theoretical part I elaborate more on the perception of whiteness as a dispositif (see page 39).

archive is not possible in this diploma thesis. Therefore in the second part of the theoretical approach some of the rules of formation of the neoliberal, neocolonial and patriarchal discourses in which whiteness could emerge are going to be analysed. The central objects and terms analysed are whiteness — non-whiteness and the white women — the non-white woman. Furthermore the formation of enunciative modalities and of strategies in relation to whiteness within these discursive formations are going to be explored. Though new discursive formations never have causal relationships to their archive and former discursive formations, former rules of formation are partially integrated, reconstructed while others are dismissed (Foucault 1991a: 43). First I am going to analyse some of the rules of formation of various discourses and politico-economic structures at the 'deeper' in the sense of historical levels of the dispositif of whiteness which I describe as 'the colonial, patriarchal, liberal-bourgeois setting'[12]. Then those more on the surface in the sense of being the current structures are going to be analysed described as the 'the neoliberal, neocolonial, patriarchal setting'. I am not going to ascribe the various rules of formation identified in the second part of the theoretical approach to specific discourses but rather perceive them as being part of the colonial, patriarchal, liberal-bourgeois setting and the neoliberal, neocolonial, patriarchal setting, as in 'reality' discourses overlap. This analytical perspective also helps to reconstruct the relationship between the discourses and politico-economic structures.

Material

The material consists of interviews on the one hand and of advertisements on billboards, journal, newspapers and walls on the other hand. I conducted interviews with eight black Tanzanian women bleaching their skin, four persons working in the beauty and cosmetics business, one female TV presenter not bleaching her skin, one couture desinger, one Tanzanian male free journalist and researcher, one student of the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM), who is engaged in the fashion and beauty scene, and an officer working at the Tanzanian Food & Drugs Authority (TFDA). In Austria I had the possibility to

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[12] The term 'setting' shall emphasise the constructivist character of social structures.

interview Erich Leitner to obtain scientific information concering bleaching products. In Tanzania the interviews were mainly conducted in Kiswahili with the exception of three — those with Jokate, Chambi Chachage and Mustafa Hassanali — which were held in English. The interview with Erich Leitner was held in German.

As I stated regarding my third assumption formulated in the introduction, whiteness needs to be analysed in relation to gender, class and race relations. I decided to focus on women because of differently gendered perceptions of whiteness, especially in relation to the question of beauty which has been identified in the theoretical part (Dyer 1997: 72-74). The question of beauty is going to play an important role in the empirical research. The focus on non-white — and within this group on black — Tanzanian women is based on the assumption that there is a difference between the connotation of skin bleaching between white and non-white women. It might seem contradictory that I try to deconstruct white, non-white or black while on the one hand while insisting on the categorisation 'black women' on the other. I cannot deny it. I perceive black as a social construct, which can be filled with content depending on the context (Maylor 2009: 370). In Tanzania there are various perceptions of black, non-white or white. It is my aim to explore these various definitions. Nevertheless I needed to limit my sample. Therefore I decided to refer to the biologistic[13] categorisation of black in the sense of skin colour. Yet the biologistic perception of 'black' has already been deconstructed in the theoretical part and will be further deconstructed during the empirical analysis. Therefore I do not deny that I reproduce biologistic concepts of race and gender as I used them to classify my sample. However, the final aim of this diploma thesis is to deconstruct these categories. The focus on women is founded in the presumption that women have always had a central role within racialising discourses due to their presumed reproductive capacities (do Mar Castro Varela/ Dhawan 2005: 327).

Due to the assumption that there are differences between a city and a rural setting, I have limited my research to a city setting — Dar es Salaam being the biggest city of Tanzania. I tried to differentiate the female interviewees in relation to their different economic backgrounds. Their class was assumed due to their area of living. Jacqueline Mgumia, a

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[13] I use the term 'biologistic' instead of 'biologic' in order to emphasise constructive character of biology itself.

Tanzanian lecturer assisting me during my research, explained the class relation of various neighbourhoods in Dar es Salaam to me. During my research, I experienced that the upper class was somehow out of reach as they mostly did not admit using skin bleaching products. Nevertheless, I had the opportunity to have an informal talk with people selling natural beauty products, which gave me a small glimpse into the beauty perceptions within this class (Tija Juma). So I had to look for a sample of people admitting that they bleach their skin, which I found mainly in the middle class with some exceptions more related to the lower class. Most interviewees have a primary education with three exceptions (see below). Geographically the majority of the interviewees come from the districts of Kinondoni and Ilala. Two interviewees come from another city — Arusha — thus their information can provide an insight into a slightly different context. However, as it is still a city setting, I decided that it was feasible to use this interview — the two interviewees were interviewed together — as well.

As already mentioned, the definition of class is not limited to the question of a person's position within the production process, but is connected to other categories as well (Peterson 2003: 12). Concerning skin bleaching, class seemed to be strongly connected to the question of appearance rather than socio-economic status. Thus my differentiation of the interviewees into classes in a socio-economic sense was challenged by other categories during the research process. Still the differentiation in advance helped me to structure the sample. Also, a relationship between the socio-economic status and skin bleaching cannot be completely denied, as will be shown in the empirical analysis.

In the following I am going to introduce all interviewees. For personal reasons I changed the interviewees' names with the exceptions of Mai Martha, Jokate, Chambi Chachage, Rehema Forgen Mariki and Mustafa Hassanali, who agreed that their names would be used.

Women using skin bleaching products

Alice and Brenda: two girls working at the residential area of the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) as domestic workers, 23 and 26 years old, originally from Iringa (Alice) and Rombo (Brenda), both primary education

Florence and Grace: living in Arusha, 30 and 33 years old, self-employed: sale of clothes

Glory: living in Segerea (Ilala district), 35 years old, working in a bar, originally from Bukoba, primary school

Hadija and Amina: living in Tabata (Ilala district), 32 and 30 years old, both primary education, self-employed: sale of clothes

Haifa: living in Sinza (Kinondoni district), 28 years old, self-employed: buys and sells clothes, secondary education until form four (two years missing in order to be able to get into university)

Janet: living in Tabata (Ilala district), 24 years old, studies law at the institute of adult education, working in a hair salon in Sinza

Mai Martha: living in Sinza (Kinondoni district), 25 years old, originally from Morogoro, TV presenter at Independent Television (ITV), MC (Master of Ceremony), saleswoman of cosmetic products

Mary: living in Mbezi Beach (Kinondoni district), 30 years old, originally from Mbeya, primary education, came to Dar es Salaam in 2009 for work, self-employed: dealing mainly with the sale of phone credit

People working in the beauty industry

David: hairdresser and soccer player, originally from the Democratic Republic of the Congo

Fred Maisaga: doctor working at a S.H. Amon Cosmetic Supermarket at the centre of Dar es Salaam

Mustafa Hassanali: Tanzanian couture designer

Richard: a salesman of cosmetic products in Dar es Salaam

Further interviewees

Chambi Chachage: independent researcher, newspaper columnist and policy analyst based in Dar es Salaam

Erich Leitner: director of the *Gesellschaft Österreichischer Chemiker Wien* (Society of Austrian Chemists)

Jokate: student at the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM)

Lotus Kiamba: TV presenter of the show Nirvana at East African TV (EATV)

Rehema Forgen Mariki: Medical Devices Assessment and Enforcement Officer at the Tanzania Food & Drugs Authority (TFDA)

Tija Juma: employed at the marketing section of the international company GNLD (www.gnld.com)

Concerning the interviews I used the method of qualitative problem-focused interviews with narrative elements. The structure of the interview was provisional, as problem centred interviews use flexible interview guidelines (Flick 2004: 353-355). The problem researched within the interviews with the eight women bleaching their skin, a Tanzanian female TV presenter, a Tanzanian female student, a Tanzanian male free journalist and researcher and some people working in the beauty sector was the question of power relations leading to skin bleaching and specific forms of subjectivation linked to them. Thus the analysis focused more on the formation of the modes of expression and themes/ strategies. Additionally, some aspects of the formation of objects and terms (whiteness — non-whiteness, the white woman — the non-white woman) will also be reconstructable.

The interviews with Mustafa Hassanali, a couture desinger and Rehema Forgen Mariki, a Medical Devices Assessment and Enforcement Officer at the Tanzania Food & Drugs Authority (TFDA) were also qualitative problem-focused interviews with narrative elements. The interview with Hassanali focused on the difference between beauty assumptions within the commercial and the catwalk beauty industry. The interview with Rehema Mariki Forgen was mainly about the legal measures and problems from the view of an official Tanzanian authority. Some of the interviews with people working in the beauty and cosmetic business had more of an informational character, centring on the range of products and the problems associated with them.

Analysis of the material

After having analysed some important rules of formation and politico-economic structures of the dispositif of whiteness, I will then be able to analyse the material I collected in Dar

es Salaam, Tanzania which will be presented in chapter 4. The material consists of interviews and visual material in form of of advertisments on billboards, walls, magazines or newspapers. The material was analysed by reconstructing the rules of formation and the politico-economic structures of the colonial, patriarchal, liberal-bourgeois and the neoliberal, neocolonial, patriarchal setting and the politico-economic structures identified in the second chapter. According to Habermann's perception of Derrida, he regards discourses as practices which do not only materialise themselves in form of statements but also actions (Habermann 2008: 82). As visual material can be perceived as such discursive actions, it has been analysed with the same method as the interviews.

2.1.5. Nothing is objective — the view of a white female middle class researcher

In connection with the term 'whiteness' I have already positioned myself as a white female middle class student. Thus the relationship between myself as the analysing subject and the analysed objects is never 'neutral' but embedded in various forms of power relations. As a student of the department of political science in Vienna, my theoretical background is mainly eurocentristic which is shown in the choice of the theorists such as Michel Foucault or Judith Butler referred to in this diploma thesis. Moreover my view on the topic is structured by my specialisation on gender and cultural studies within my studies. Consequently, postcolonial authors such as Stuart Hall, Frantz Fanon or Issa G. Shivji and feminist literature from countries of the global South by bell hooks, Amina Mama or Oyèrónké Oyěwúmí play an important role within this analysis. As I studied one semester at the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM), I already entered the research with some kind of destabilised eurocentristic perspective.

Referring to Elke Wollrad (2008), Habermann argues that embedding his/her own position in power relations does neither mean that one can e.g. step out of the white community as a white person, nor that critical positions towards hegemonic power relations are impossible. Thus the possibility to attain knowledge beyond one's own subject position exists in form of participating in collective ways of resistance or collective emancipatory thinking and action (Habermann 2008: 34). For such emancipatory projects the dialogue between non-white and white researchers seems crucial to me. Peggy Piesche argues that such a

dialogue can avoid the reproduction of the hegemony of whiteness within an analysis of the same (Piesche 2006: 17). That is why I am very happy that I had the possibility of being supervised by Jacqueline Mgumia, a lecturer assistant at the Department of Sociology at the UDSM. Her assistance opened new perspectives on the phenomenon of skin bleaching to me. Due to my background these perspectives would not have been accessible to me without her. But I also tried to talk as much as possible with other Tanzanian researchers and feminist activists mainly in form of informal discussions in order to obtain a broader not only white view on the topic.

I now turn to my theoretical approach. First I am giving a survey of the theories used in this thesis, then important terms and concepts are going to be analysed. Finally I am going to elaborate on some important rules of formation and politico-economic structures of the colonial, patriarchal, liberal-bourgeois and the neoliberal, neocolonial and patriarchal setting.

2.2. Theoretical approach

In this diploma thesis I argue that skin bleaching is on the one hand an effect of neoliberal, neocolonial and patriarchal discourses and on the other hand part of capitalist structures, mainly in the sense of the intensified commodification of the lifeworld (Peterson 2003: 157 f.; do Mar Castro Varela/Dhawan 327 f.; Mire 2000: 1 ff.). Accordingly, some kind of 'mix' between so called politico-economic and poststructuralist theoretical approaches is needed in order to be able to analyse this phenomenon. Following Zein-Elabdin and S. Charusheela, Habermann calls such a 'mix of theories' "*counter-disciplinary*" (Zein-Elabdin/Charusheela 2004, quoted in Habermann 2008: 33). In her analysis of the *homo oeconomicus* Friederike Habermann emphasises the importance of bringing these two seemingly different approaches together as each theory always has its deficits. While politico-economic theories provide tools to link phenomena such as skin bleaching or the hegemony of whiteness to capitalistic structures, the question of identity and subjectivation and other forms of power relations are missed out. Here poststructuralism comes in with its theorisation of the subject as an "effect and object of certain crossing of power and knowledge" (Dreyfus/Rabinow 1982: 160). In this sense a combination of politico-

economic and poststructuralist approaches can contribute to a better understanding of skin bleaching (Habermann 2008: 29 ff.).

According to Habermann, politico-economic and poststructuralist approaches are not so different from each other as it may seem. She argues that it is often due to the wrong perception of terms and theoretical assumptions from the 'other side' that they are perceived more distinct from each other than they really are. Therefore she points out the parallels between terms such as 'ideology' and 'discourse' or 'practices' and 'performativity' (Habermann 2008: 29).

Within this diploma thesis I base my assumptions on a wide range of different theoretical approaches due to the importance of a combination of politico-economic and poststructuralist approaches. In the following I am giving a short survey of the theoretical approaches used: poststructuralism, postcolonial theory, gender studies, critical whiteness studies, discourse analysis/discourse theory and feminist political economy.

Poststructuralist theories are based on the French structuralism but try to overcome its structural determinism. The prefix 'post' of the term 'poststructuralism' does not imply an overcoming of structures. "In contrast poststructuralism not only tries to show our attachment to these structures and discourses, but on the one hand the contingency of these structures and on the other hand it focuses on the arduous struggle for alterations" (Habermann 2008: 30)[14]. The term 'contingency' instead of 'determinism' in a historical-materialist sense does not result in a theoretical parting from structures in general. Rather, it points out that it is not the changing of one structure such as the relations of production in a classical marxist way of thinking that can cause a shift within the whole system. Alterations can be the result of a variety of actions and practices, not only at the level of the society but also at the individual or group level. The main focus of poststructuralist theories is on the so-called 'epistemes', the hegemonic ways of thinking, writing and representations since the beginning of the modern times. Thus it is about deconstructing both modern sciences and everyday thinking (Habermann 2008: 30 f.).

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[14] „Im Gegensatz dazu versucht der Poststrukturalismus, nicht nur unser Verhaftetsein in diesen Strukturen und im Diskurs aufzuzeigen, sondern zum einen die Kontingenz dieser Strukturen, und zum anderen den Fokus auf das mühevollen Ringen um Verschiebungen darin zu legen" (Habermann 2008: 30).

A central aspect of poststructuralism is the deconstruction of the sovereign occidental subject as no longer homogenous and autonomous. The subject is analysed within current power relations through which it is being constructed as a subject and within which it acts. Power relations and identities in the sense of subjectivations are seen as open, shifting and never completed processes as they always need ongoing repetitions to constitute themselves (Habermann 2008: 31; ; Butler 2001: 8; Butler 2004: 209 ff.). According to Habermann referring to Derrida, these repetitions can never be completely identical due to the ever shifting of significance opening up possibilities for changes and subversion (Habermann 2008: 79).

Concerning the theorisation of subjectivation, discourse analytical approaches play an important role. According to discourse analytical approaches I am able to theorise subjectivations in connection with skin bleaching as a process of internalisation of neoliberal, neocolonial and patriarchal discourses (Habermann 2008: 69 f.). I base my analysis mainly on discourse analytical approaches to subjectivation by Michel Foucault (2005), Judith Butler (1997, 2001, 2004) and Amina Mama (1995).

Postcolonial theory focuses on the "interconnections between culture, discourse, and material practices in constructing North-South relations" (Chowdhry/Nair 2004: 21). Thus it is about the attempt to combine politico-economic and poststructuralist approaches. As with poststructuralism the term 'postcolonialism' does — in this case 'unfortunately' — not imply an overcoming of colonial ties between the global North and the global South. Rather, it analyses "both the continuities and persistence of colonizing practices, as well as the critical limits and possibilities it has engendered in the present historical moment" (Chowdhry/Nair 2004: 11). Therefore postcolonialism analyses both politico-economic structures and the (discursive) non-economic parts of the economy and politico-economic theories, i.e. hegemonic discourses about history, culture and knowledge; using the words of Bart Moore-Gilbert, it is about the "relationship between Western representation and knowledge on the one hand, and Western material and political power on the other" (Moore-Gilbert 1997: 34). Postcolonialism pleads for an interdependent analysis of class, race and gender relations (Chowdhry/Nair 2004: 12 ff.; Habermann 2008: 32).

Gender studies provide tools for deconstructing gender as an 'analytical category'. Thus gender[15] is regarded as a social construction organising our gendered realities and producing gendered subjects (Walgenbach 2007: 58-64). It was mainly during the 1980s that feminists from the global South such as bell hooks or Chandra Talpade Mohanty started to criticise the marginalization of black/non-white women within feminist debates of the global North (Mohanty 1991: 3 ff.; Chowdhry/Nair 2004: 13). They emphasised the interdependence of different categories, in this context especially of race and gender, showing that historically 'women' have been constructed as white (Mohanty 1991: 3 ff.; Chowdhry/Nair 2004: 13). Lorey argues that the female body has become a fetish[16] within German-speaking feminism as it is only perceived as being gendered neglecting its racialisation (Lorey 2006: 63 f.). According to Spike V. Peterson, feminism is "about deconstructing the naturalization of all hierarchies — racism, colonialism, classism, heterosexism etc. that rely on denigration of the feminine" (Peterson 2003: 36). Therefore gender cannot be analysed separately from other social relations, especially class and race relations and consequently has to be seen as an "interdependent category" (Walgenbach 2007: 62).

It was among other things due to these North-South debates within feminist theory that the critical whiteness studies emerged during the 1990s as a research field within the social sciences and humanities. Hence there has been a strong relationship between feminist and gender theory and critical whiteness studies (Hacker 2005: 14; Mohanty 1991: 3 ff.). In her book *Ain't I a woman. black women and feminism* (1981), bell hooks argues that whiteness has been an object of analysis and critiques since the beginning of European colonialism and slavery. Then, whiteness was often connoted with terror and trauma following the cruel experiences at that time. Therefore black and non-white people have always been generating knowledge about whiteness, not only in an anthropological form as the 'white side' has been doing it about non-white people (hooks 1981: 165). Since the beginning of

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[15] I use the term 'gender' in the sense of including also the biologist term 'sex' to show that also the latter has been socially constructed. (Butler 1991: 24)

[16] According to Sigmund Freud, the fetish is a penis-substitute. He refers to a specific period in childhood where the boy invents a substitute for his mother's non-existent penis (Freud 1927: 383 f.). A fetish is therefore a substitute for something which has never existed in order to maintain the apparent similarity between oneself and the others (Lorey 2006: 63).

the 20th century non-white knowledge about whiteness has been published in forms of poems, novels, plays and scientific research. One important analysis of whiteness is Franz Fanon's book *Black skin, white masks* (1952). Whiteness as a category of analysis thus emerged in relation to non-white — in this context especially black — critiques of white hegemony and has been part of non-white strategies of survival and political movements (Walgenbach 2005: 17 f.; Piesche 2005: 16).

Within critical whiteness studies the focus was shifted from the 'marked racialised blackness/non-whiteness' to the 'unmarked racialised whiteness'. Whiteness is regarded as a process of normalisation always defining the others as racialised and therefore as deviant (El-Tayeb 2005: 8). This apparent normality needs to be deconstructed in order to analyse its role within hegemonic power relations. According to Piesche, a deconstruction of whiteness needs a dialogue between non-white and white researchers in order to be able to analyse whiteness theoretically and methodically without reproducing white hegemony. However, the self-reflection of non-white and white researchers within the research processes is of crucial importance (El-Tayeb 2005: 7 f.; Arndt 2005: 27 f.; Eggers 2005: 20; Piesche 2005: 16 f.). Consequently, I positioned myself as a white female middle class student in the process of researching the phenomenon of skin bleaching in Dar es Salaam.

A politico-economic analysis is needed in order to understand the link between skin bleaching and the hegemony of whiteness and lightness in connection with capitalist structures. As feminist and postcolonial theories have emphasised the importance of gender and race relations within politico-economic structures, I use the feminist politico-economic approach of Spike V. Peterson as she includes poststructuralist, feminist and postcolonial approaches into her politico-economic analysis. Her analysis provides tools to link skin bleaching with the ongoing commodification of the lifeworld. Peterson argues that it is about the establishment of a consumerist ideology all around the world which results in a commodification of subjectivity itself. Modern technologies lead to a dematerialisation and deterritorialisation within the global political economy. Exchanges become dematerialised if electronically and digitally coded information instead of material goods are produced and exchanged. Deterritorialisation refers to the movement of information through virtual rather than material space (Peterson 2003: 117, 144, 157 f.).

I have now given an overview over all theoretical approaches which are used in this diploma thesis: poststructuralism, postcolonial theory, gender studies, critical whiteness studies, discourse analysis/discourse theory and feminist political economy. Using these theories I am turning to the definition of the terms and concepts important for the analysis done in this diploma thesis.

2.2.1. Central terms and concepts

In this part the definitions of the terms and concepts relevant for this diploma thesis are given. According to Cornelia Klinger and Gudrun-Axeli Knapp, gender, race and class constitute the three central relations structuring current societies both in the global north and the global south (Klinger/Knapp 2007: 20). These three terms are analysed first. I perceive gender, class and race as interdependent categories which means that they only exist in relation to each other. Thus one category can only be examined in relation and dependence to the others (Walgenbach 2007: 58-64). In the following I am examining class, gender and race separately but always integrate the other two in the analysis. After having defined class, race and gender, I am going to elaborate on three Foucauldian terms: (bio-power)', 'discourse and dispositif' and 'subjectivation'. Then 'whiteness' is defined as a process of normalisation (Lorey 2007: 1). Last but not least I am going to explain my view on 'commodification' based on V. Spike Peterson's theoretical assumptions.

Due to my poststructuralist and deconstructivist approaches I omit quotation marks on terms such as class, gender, race, white, non-white, normal, deviant, the other etc. in order to emphasise the equivalent construction of all terms used in this diploma thesis or in other words in our 'reality' as a whole (Habermann 2004: 14). I am aware that such a way of writing risks to reproduce the biologistic essentialist assumption of such terms but as Isabell Lorey points out in her text *Kritik und Kategorie*[17] (2008), a deconstruction of categories can never escape from a reproduction of the categories and thus from what it is supposed to criticise (Lorey 2008: 138 f.). Thus, quotation marks could also only pretend to escape such a reproduction.

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[17] "Critique and Category" (no official English translation found) (2008)

Gender

Following a deconstructive perspective, I perceive gender as a social category being the product of societal structures. Therefore it is not a stable construction but it is always (re) negotiated within social struggles. Due to my feminist politico-economic perspective I perceive gender relations embedded in politico-economic structures. Klinger and Knapp argue that whereas gender relations have existed before the development of the capitalist system, they have attained certain characteristics with the emergence of the modern state. This relationship will be analysed later on. However, gender relations are socially, geographically, historically and politico-economically embedded. Consequently, they materialise themselves in various institutions such as the gendered divisions of labour and gendered subjects — heterosexualised subjects representing the normal ones and homosexualised, transsexualised, queered subjects the deviants. They structure our social life as they construct they way we think, who we are, they way we act and perceive 'reality' (Walgenbach 2007: 62; Klinger/Knapp 2007: 20 f.; Habermann 2005: 12 f.; Peterson 2003: 14 f., 31). Following Butler's critiques of the essentialising and naturalising construction of 'sex' I reject the sex/gender-dichotomy and perceive sex in the sense of gender as "the discursive/cultural means by which "sexed nature" or "a natural sex" is produced and established as "prediscursive", prior to culture, a politically neutral surface *on which* culture acts" (Butler 2010: 10).

Until the 17th century there existed a one-sex-model which perceived women as deviant from men. Instead of biological differentiations social categories such as clothing or specific behaviour functioned to distinguish men from women. The two-sex-model emerged within the Enlightenment period and the development of the modern state. According to Habermann, it became "a major organisational principle for the revolution in the perception of nature in the 18th century" (Habermann 2005: 13). Jacques Laqueur argues that sexual stereotypes cannot be fully explained by social and political changes. More properly, the new creation of the body was inherent in all the various developments at that time, such as the rise of Protestantism, the construction of new public spaces or Locke's notion of marriage as a construct (Laqueur 1990, quoted in Habermann 2005: 13; see also Habermann 2008: 180 f., 189).

The rising modern sciences constructed two sexes in a biologistic way. Due to a theory of complementarism men and women were now regarded as different concerning both their bodies and characters. The women represented nature, men rationality and reason. Thus men were pushed into the public and women into the private sphere. "The woman was constructed as belonging to the private sphere in contrast to the reasonable man representing the public" (Habermann 2007: 212)[18]. Due to their so called 'apolitical, irrational nature', women could then be excluded from citizenship rights. The same happened to non-whites who became racially distinct. The modern subject in the sense of a *homo oeconomicus* was thus constructed as white, male and from the middle class. The term *homo oeconomicus* refers to Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* (1776) which is seen as the basic work of today's (mainstream) economy theory. The *homo oeconomicus* is the rational individual, guided and acting on the market by self-interest (Habermann 2005: 7-13; Habermann 2008: 210-212).

The biologistic invention of gender was linked to other categories such as class and race. Thus the emerging bourgeois woman was constructed in contrast to the working class woman and the non-white woman. The latter ones were regarded as the deviants of the normal white and bourgeois woman (Habermann 2008: 213). According to Oyèrónké Oyĕwúmí, the 'others' were perceived as "embodied, dominated therefore by instinct and affect, reason being beyond them" (Oyĕwúmí 2005: 5) Thus "[t]hey are the Other, and the other is a body" (Oyĕwúmí 2005: 5). Oyèrónké Oyĕwúmí calls the concept of gender emerging during the Enlightenment period as a "bio-logic" (Oyĕwúmí 2005: 11) as it is based "on an ideology of biological determinism: the conception that biology provides the rationale for the organisation of the social world" (Oyĕwúmí 2005: 11). Further she points out that this biologistic concept of gender needs to be analysed within the western context and, as Lorey argues, within a white setting (Lorey 2006: 61; Oyĕwúmí 2005: 9-11). Thus this biologistic notion of gender cannot be universalised. In this context Oyĕwúmí refers to notions of gender within the Yorùbá society where a person's social status is not determined by his/her biology but by social facts. As within feminist analysis the western notion of gender is still the dominant, "feminism remains enframed by the tunnel vision

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[18] "Die dem Privaten zugewandte, sorgende Frau entstand als Folie für den der Öffentlichkeit zugewandten, vernunftgeleiteten Mann" (Habermann 2008: 212).

and bio-logic of other Western discourses" (Oyěwúmí 2005: 13; see also Oyěwúmí 2005: 13-17).

However, for the following analysis of the emergence of the terms and objects of the 'white woman' and the 'non-white woman', the western notion of gender is used as it constitutes the dominant perception in the colonial, patriarchal, liberal-bourgeois and the neoliberal, neocolonial and patriarchal setting, because non-white women have also been subjugated under this "bio-logic" (Oyěwúmí 2005: 11; see also Habermann 2008: 222 f.; Dietrich 2006: 365 ff.). Nevertheless, Oyěwúmí's critiques help to keep in mind that a western concept is used to analyse these developments and thus notions of gender in the colonised societies are left out.

Race

Within this diploma thesis I use the term 'race' as an analytical category which has been constructed and is constantly being (re)constructed by different discourses and politico-economic structures. Thus I regard race as an 'empty ontological term' which constantly needs to be filled with content (Hanke 2006: 97 ff.; Peterson 2003: 10 f.).

The concept of 'race' emerged within the eighteenth century, a time where two developments met: the Enlightenment period and the colonial, imperial and capitalist expansion. It was the epoch when the so-called human sciences developed — especially Charles Darwin's evolution theory – providing mathematical and statistical tools to categorise people into races. During the eighteenth century the idea of races in the sense of a "Great Map of Mankind" (McClintock 1995: 34) still existed. It perceived all human beings as belonging to one hierarchical system with the western male white man on its top. The polygenetic theory of races as biologistically distinct emerged in the nineteenth century. Thus a "scientific racism' was established which with the words of McClintock was "the most authoritative attempt to place social ranking and social disability on a biological and „scientific" footing" (McClintock 1995: 49). Races were now perceived as a "family Tree of Man" (McClintock 1995: 37) with again the white middle class man sitting in the crown of this racial tree (McClintock 1995: 34 ff.; Husmann-Kastein 2006: 53; Habermann 2005: 14 f.; Habermann 2008: 237).

Such a concept of races then played a crucial role in the ongoing colonial expansion and exploitation of the global 'inferior' south as social hierarchies could now be justified by biology. The invention of race as a biological fact not only legitimised social hierarchies and exclusion between the global north and the global south but also within the nations themselves. In this context Habermann relates the emergence of race was connected to the construction of the bourgeois subject. The bourgeois subject was/is male, white, from the middle class and it represented/represents the normal. All other forms of subjectivations such as women, non-whites etc. were/are dismissed as deviants (Habermann 2008: 224-228, 235-244; McClintock 1995: 54).

Concerning current societies Habermann argues that biologistic concepts of men and women, whites and non-whites have lost their significance as the *homo oeconomicus* has become the hegemonic form of subjectivation (Habermann 2005: 22)[19]. However, especially postcolonial theories have shown how new forms of race relations have emerged within neoliberal systems such as the racialisation of domestic labor in countries of the global north mainly done by women from the global south (Agathangelou 2004: 155-159). Currently the term race has often been replaced by terms such as 'culture' and 'ethnicity', but as the example of domestic labor shows, "the naturalisation of multiple hierarchies" (Peterson 2003: 28) has not been undermined. It now becomes clear that race has always and is constantly being (re)constructed in dependence with other power relations such as gender and class resulting in various forms of racialised hierarchies (Peterson 2003: 10; Habermann 2005: 22; Habermann 2008: 244). Consequently, I am going to stick to the term race instead of using other terms such as 'ethnicity' or 'culture' to show how this term is constantly being (re)constructed.

Class

In his book *Class Struggles in Tanzania* (1977), Issa G. Shivji illustrates an application of Marxist analysis in African contexts. According to Shivji, a Marxist definition of class is related to the question of ownership of the means of production in capitalist systems (Shivji 1975: 5). In general, African societies are perceived to be too little capitalised. Thus

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[19] I am going to elaborate more on the question of de-biologising race and gender in the neoliberal context in chapter 2.2.3.

Marxist concepts have been rejected as non applicable mainly among bourgois African scholars. Such approaches are following an elite-concept which according to Shivji is "static, undialectical, and ahistorical" (Shivji 1975: 26; see also Shivji 1975: 18; Prah 2006: 87 f.)

According to Shivji, in Marxist theory the dominant mode of production depends on the ruling class holding the state and this class is as in most African contexts "serving the international capitalist system" (Shivji 1975: 16). In this sense African socities are undoubtetly capitalist. This does not negate that other modes of production exist at the same time (Shivji 1975: 16 f.). Shivji states that "[t]he historically determined system of social production in Africa is the system of underdevelopment as an integral part of the world capitalist system. The pattern of class divisions and the 'colonial' economic structure are therefore indivisible" (Shivji 1975: 19).

For this analysis I want to follow Shivji's approach of a Marxist analysis of the Tanzanian society but broadening it by using Peterson's perspectives on class relations. Though Peterson calls her approach "non-technical, non-Marxist" (Peterson 2003: 17), in my opinion it can be combined with Shivji's perspective on class as it represents a broader perspective on current politico-economic structures. Peterson defines class relations as "structural hierarchies based less on race or gender than on socio-economic stratifications [...] manifested between individuals within states and between countries within the international system of states" (Peterson 2003: 17). According to Peterson, the development of capitalism has resulted into internal and international divisions of labor and class hierarchies. There is a super-rich ethnically/racially divers global elite which is found in both rich and poor countries and is primarily male (Peterson 2003: 11). Peterson's class definition emphasises that "systems of oppression intersect but in a complex and sometimes contradictory way" (Peterson 2003: 12). Thus power relations such as sexism, racism and classism give unequal "access to *valued* resources, skills and working conditions" (Peterson 2003: 12).

This interdependent approach to class which does not only focus on socio-economic structures but regards class as interdependent with other categories such as gender and race will be of importance especially concerning the question of how skin bleaching can

enhance one's class status. Thus it will help to get a better picture of how class is being (re) constructed in the context of skin bleaching in Tanzania.

The analysis of class, race and gender has led to their deconstruction as social constructions. It has been shown that the categories as we know them nowadays emerged in relation with the emerging modern state in the eighteenth century. Although analysed separately, various interdependences have appeared such as the white, middle class woman. Thus their importance as social relations structuring current societies has been emphasised. Therefore these categories will be of crucial importance for the anaylysis of skin bleaching. Next I am turning to the terms of 'bio-power','discourse and dispositif' and 'subjectivation'.

(Bio-) power

I base my approach to the question of 'power' and within this to various forms of power relations especially to 'bio-power' on Foucault's theoretical assumptions. Foucault himself describes his approach as an analytics of power rather than a theory. In contrast to approaches to power in a juridical and thus negative and forbidding sense, Foucault analyses power in its positive and productive mechanisms (Foucault 2005: 224; Lemke 2005: 320; Habermann 2008: 73). Power relations are regarded to construct the 'realities' we are living in (Haberman 2008: 69). Summarising receptions of various theorists, Foucault (re)constructs the various relations between power, knowledge, discursive and non-discursive practices and the question of truth by the means of 'genealogy' as has been explained in the methodic part (Habermann 2008: 69 f.; Lorey 1999: 95; Dreyfuß/Rabinow 1982: 184, 203: Hall 2001a: 72 ff.). Foucault describes the relation between truth and power as the following: "Truth is not outside of power or itself lacking in power ... Truth is of this world; it is the product of multiple constraints ... Each society has its own regime of truth, its general politics of truth" (Foucault 1976, quoted in Dreyfuß/Rabinow 1982: 117). According to Dreyfuß and Rabinow, Foucault describes power relations as multidirectional, i.e. they can be operated from top down and also from bottom up (Dreyfuß/Rabinow 1982: 185). In this sense Demirović describes Foucault's notion of power as flexible, mobile and always negotiated within power struggles. Thus there is no

power without resistance rather the latter is part of the former (Demirović 2008: 18). Due to his perception of power as multi-dimensional, Foucault distances himself from a notion of power as centralised within the state apparatus (Foucault 2005: 79). Dreyfuß and Rabinow argue that he shifts the focus on the materiality of power, the political technologies forming our day to day practices or using Foucault's terminology: the micro-physics of power (Foucault 1975, quoted in Dreyfuß/Rabinow 1113). Power is then never monopolised by one centre but works through a "net-like organization" (Foucault 1980, quoted in Hall 2001a: 77). Due to Dreyfuß and Rabinow it is about the analysis of the "meticulous rituals of power" (Dreyfuß/Rabinow 1982: 110), the specific sites in which rituals of power take place — one being the Panopticon, which is going to be explained a bit further in this chapter. Within these rituals of power, processes of subjectivation are of crucial importance as Foucault regards the subject as produced through power relations (Dreyfuß/Rabinow 1982: 110-114) In accordance with Dreyfuß and Rabinow Foucault concentrates on a so-called "political technology of the body" (Foucault 1975, quoted in Dreyfuß/Rabinow 113). Dreyfuß und Rabinow describe the "originality" (Dreyfuß/ Rabinow 1982: 114) of his analytics of power as follows:

> He claims to have isolated the mechanism by which power operates: meticulous of power. He claims to have found the manner in which power is localized: the political technology of the body. He also claims to have revealed the dynamics of how power works: a microphysics of power (Dreyfuß/Rabinow 1982: 114).

Foucault's focus on the construction of the body and the subject is reflected in the concept of 'bio-power'. Dreyfuß and Rabinow analyse that in *The History of Sexuality Vol. 1. An Introduction* (1980b) Foucault makes a shift away from the repressive hypothesis, which maintains a tradition of power in a juridico-discursive sense as constraint, negativity and coercion and introduces the term 'bio-power'. According to Foucault, this concept emerged during the seventeenth century but it did not become the dominant technology until the nineteenth century (Foucault 2005: 148 ff.; Dreyfuß/Rabinow 127 ff.) However, it was during the Classical Age that "systematic, empirical investigation of historical, geographic, and demographic conditions" (Dreyfuß/Rabinow 1982: 134) gave rise to the modern social sciences. These new scientific approaches opened new ways of conceptualising politics in

comparison to older ethical modes of thinking such as the Machiavellian theories (Dreyfuß/Rabinow 126-134).

During the eighteenth century there was a shift away from the concept of 'the art of governing' towards the concept the population is the instrument and object of governance. Governance was being orientated on economic principles in order to be able to control and regulate the population; the so called political economy emerged. It is the time when our current forms of governance developed (Foucault 2005: 148-171). Foucault defines governmentality as follows:

> The ensemble formed by institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, the calculations and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific albeit complex form of power, which has its target population, as its principal form of knowledge political economy, and its essential technical means apparatuses of security (Foucault 1991b: 102).

Dreyfuß' and Rabinow's analysis of Foucault's notion of bio-power shows that it developed around two poles which joined at the beginning of the nineteenth century to create the technologies of power of modern societies. The first pole was the political concern with the human species, i.e. with scientific categories such as species or population rather than juridical ones. As has already been mentioned it was also the time when race and gender were constructed as scientific, biologistic categories. Questions of reproduction, disease, work, etc. became crucial. The police and administrative apparatus were in charge of people's welfare. The second pole was the question of the body in the sense of 'an object to be manipulated' (Dreyfuß/Rabinow 1982: 134). The body became the object of a 'disciplinary power' in order to be docile and productive. Various institutions such as barracks, prisons, hospitals and schools were developed to control and discipline the bodies. It was mainly the working classes who were subjugated under the new disciplinary technologies. According to Foucault, the creation of docile bodies was the condition for the growth of capitalism (Dreyfuß/Rabinow 1982: 134 ff.).

Concerning the creation of the 'disciplinary society', Jeremy Bentham's concept of the Panopticon is of great importance for Foucault. Its architecture consists in solitary cells constructed circularly around a tower. The inmates are only visible to the supervisor but not *vice versa* which results in an integration of the discipline by the inmates themselves in form of technologies of the self. Power works "personalized, diffused, relational, and

anonymous, while at the same time totalizing more and more dimensions of social life" (Dreyfuß/Rabinow 1982: 192). The Panopticon provides an "efficient technique for distributing individuals, knowing them, ordering them along a graded scale in any of a number of institutional settings" (Dreyfuß/Rabinow 1982: 193) Thus standards of normality are being created. Dreyfuß and Rabinow argue that an essential aspect of technologies of normalisation consists in the fact that they themselves constitute an "integral part of the systematic creation, classification, and control of anomalies in the social body" (Dreyfuß/Rabinow 1982: 195; see also Dreyfuß/Rabinow 1982: 193; Habermann 2008: 143).

While disciplinary technologies played a significant role in the nineteenth century, security technologies have become more important within liberal-capitalist societies. Within these societies exists a variety of sometimes even contradictory ways of living, attitudes and forms of subjectivations but all are constructed around some level of normality (Habermann 2008: 73 f.; Foucault 2005: 141). As a consequence, complex power-knowledge-formations emerge in which discourses, subjectivations and politico-economic structures play an important role (Bublitz et al. 1999: 13; Lorey 1999: 94; Dreyfuß/ Rabinow 1982: 110-114; Peterson 2003: 40).

Discourse and dispositif

Foucault perceives discourses as 'practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak' (Foucault 1993: 49). Concerning my definition of 'discourse' I retain Foucault's theoretical assumptions but integrate other interpretations by Hannelore Bublitz (1999, 2006), Andrea D. Bührmann (1999, 2008), Werner Schneider (2008), Isabell Lorey (1999) and Christiane Hanke (2006) within his discourse-analytical approach. Furthermore, I add a politico-economic view by V. Spike Peterson (2003) to the Foucauldian discourse-analytical approaches by the authors mentioned above.

Discourse-analytical approaches within social sciences perceive social reality as constructed by discourses. Discourses produce societal systems of meaning and order which constitute scientific and day-to-day knowledge and societal practices. They become

"cultural factors" [20] (Bublitz 2006: 241) and perceptions of 'truth'. Thus they construct who we are, what we do and what we know. They materialise themselves in various forms such as statements, institutional practices and subjectivations (Bublitz 1999: 23 ff.; Bublitz et al. 1999: 12).

Discourses also function as structural axes as they divide the right from the wrong, the normal from the abnormal etc. The 'normal' and the 'deviant' are thus always discursively produced and the latter is constitutive for the former as there is no normality without its deviant. In this sense the deviant other also always destabilises the existing order. Hence, the normal and the deviant are both part of the same discourses. According to Bublitz and others, discourses are both "custodians of the law"[21] (Bublitz et al. 1999: 12) and "rebels" [22] (Bublitz et al. 1999: 12). On the one hand discourses are the powerful structures of our society, on the other Foucault points out their eventful character as undermining existing structures. In *the order of discourse* (1970) he shifts his analysis to the 'other side' of the discourse and is now interested in "this great incessant and disordered buzzing of discourse" (Foucault 1970: 66), in "all that could be violent, discontinuous, pugnacious, disorderly as well, and perilous about them" (Foucault 1970: 66).

According to Foucault, discourses are rule-governed practices, which are formed by rules of formation. These are the formation of concepts, objects, enunciative modalities and strategies (Foucault 1993: 38). Foucault's research objects are statements, which in contrast to expressions can be repeated as they link one thing to another in form of linguistic signs and thus they are part of discourses (Bührmann/Schneider 2008: 26). If various statements follow the same rule of formation, they belong to a discursive formation. The rules of formation are then the conditions of existence, but as Foucault states "also of coexistence, maintenance, modification, and disappearance" (Foucault 1993: 38) within a specific discursive formation (Foucault 1973: 58). But as Habermann points out by referring to Derrida, no repetition is completely identical, thus every repetition can also open up ways for change and alterations (Habermann 2008: 79).

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[20] „Kulturfaktoren" (Bublitz 2006: 241)

[21] „Ordnungshüter" (Bublitz et al. 1999: 12)

[22] „Rebellen" (Bublitz et al. 1999: 12)

According to Bublitz, Foucault perceives discourses as always being in relation, but no causal one, with institutional practices, political and economic processes (Bublitz 1999: 24). He thus developed the concept of the dispositif in order to be able to theorise the whole complex of power relations of which discourses are only one player among various others. In Foucault's words a dispositif is as follows:

> [A] thoroughly heterogeneous ensemble consisting of discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical, moral and philanthropic propositions — in short, the said as much as the unsaid. Such are the elements of the apparatus (Foucault 1980a: 194).

While the concept of the dispositif the focus shifts more on the relations between non-discursive and discursive practices, the role of politico-economic structures in relation to discourses still seems of no importance. Although I regard structures as flexible and changeable according to my poststructuralist 'lens', there are politico-economic structures which seem to stay more or less stable in form of institutions, laws, divisions of labor or other materialised versions (Habermann 2008: 30 f.). Due to Peterson's triad analyis, "identities (subjectivity, self-formation), meaning systems (symbols, discourse, ideologies), and social practices/institutions (actions, social structures) are *co-constituting* dimensions of social reality" (Peterson 2003: 40).

After analysing the terms and concepts of discourse and dispositif, whiteness can now be defined as a dispositif. It has been shown that discourses are only one part of this dispositifs next to other power relations. Due to my feminist politico-economic 'second eye' I perceive politico-economic structures as the other part of this dispositif. With the concepts of discourse and dispositif in mind, let me turn to the concept of 'subjectivation'.

Subjectivation

I am using Foucault's discursive approach to subjectivation as a starting point and enrich it with theoretical assumptions of poststructuralism, postcolonial studies, gender studies and political economy. My main references are Judith Butler (1997, 2001, 2004), Amina Mama (1995) and V. Spike Peterson (2003). Foucault argues that subjects are being constructed dependent on discourses and power and always in reference to the 'Other'. The process of subjectivation is thus regarded as a process of subjection under power relations which at

the same time acts as the condition for a person to become a subject. Regarding my assumtions I have argued that the power relations coming into question in this diploma thesis are neoliberal, patriarchal and neocolonial. Subjectivation embraces concepts such as identity or socialisation but it does not stop there, rather it emphasises the process of becoming a subject with his/her own individuality (Butler 2001: 8; Foucault 2005: 240 ff.; Habermann 2008: 70; Hall 2004b: 178 f.). In her book *Beyond the masks. Race, gender and subjectivity* (1995), Amina Mama emphasises the role of one's individual history and personal relations in subjectivation processes. Thus she defines it as a "a process of movement through various discursive positions whose availability is determined by the experience, exposure and imagination of the individual" (Mama 1995: 163). Subjectivation processes can include multiple identities which result in so called decentralised subjects as Hall describes it (Hall 2004b: 180 ff.) Such an approach to subjectivation contrasts with classical Enlightenment perceptions of the subject as possessing a free, autonomous will, acting intentionally and having a certain identity (Lorey 2007: 5).

Various critiques of Foucault's perception of the subject have pointed out the lack of its capacity to resist hegemonic power relations. What is more, Foucault mainly disregards the psychic dimensions of subjectivation processes and politico-economic dimensions. In the following I try to draw a picture of the subject including these 'blind spots' within Foucault's theoretical approach (Butler 2001: 8; Peterson 2003: 13; Habermann 2008: 75) Habermann shows how Derrida's perception of signification can open new ways of theorising the subject. According to Habermann, Derrida points out that as the signifier is always constituted in relation to all the others, it possesses on the one hand a lack of signification and on the other hand it involves parts of the others, thus it has a 'supplement' (Habermann 2008: 76). Thus the constitutive 'Other' is always inherent in the 'self'. "No sign can be perceived as positivity as there is always difference and suspension inherent in it. Moreover it is linked to a specific time and space"[23] (Habermann 2008: 76). Derrida describes this never ending 'play of differences' which can at no time be completely fixed and stabilised as "différance" (Derrida 1986: 76). As signification always needs repetition and as this repetition can never be completely the same — Derrida calls

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[23] „Jedes Zeichen beinhaltet damit stets Differenz und Aufschub, Verzeitlichung und Verräumlichung, und kann nicht als Positivität begriffen werden'"(Habermann 2008: 76).

this non-identical repetition 'iteration' — possibilities to change structures and signification arise. It is this notion of 'iteration' which Butler picks up within her concept of 'performativity' (Habermann 2008: 76-79; Butler 2004: 218).

Butler follows Foucault's approach to subjectivation in the sense that the subject is constituted in relation to norms and discourses but she shows that the subjects and their bodies are not completely constituted by discourses.

> Hence, subjection is neither simply the domination of a subject nor its production, but designates a certain kind of restriction *in* production, a restriction without which the production of the subject cannot take place, a restriction through which that production takes place (Butler 1997: 83).

In this sense power relations function as the conditions enabling subjects to act. Discourses always need practices to operate and these practices are carried out by bodies or other material objects and subjects which can never be fully subjugated under discursive practices. Thus options of resistance appear (Habermann 2008: 109; Butler 2001: 17 f.). However, for Butler power works on subjects in two ways: one the one hand it forms subjects as it is its condition to act and on the other hand the subject appropriates the power being performed on him/her through his/her own actions. Andrea D. Bührmann and Werner Schneider call the latter, according to Foucault, technologies of the self which include perceptions of the self, self-experiences etc. (Bührmann/Schneider 2008: 70). If these technologies of the self, these appropriations of power result in an opposition to hegemonic power relations, the subjugating power has been altered and resistance has emerged. Even then the subject is still within the existing power relations as it has had to subjugate himself/herself to them in order to be able to resist (Butler 2001: 16 f.). In this sense Butler writes: "the "I" that I am finds itself at once constituted by norms and dependent on them but also endeavours to live in ways that maintain a critical and transformative relation to them" (Butler 2004: 3).

Dreyfuß and Rabinow argue that Foucault talks about how the 'soul' is being more and more subjugated under bio-power and how it disciplines and controls the body (Dreyfuß/ Rabinow 1982: 192). Drawing on psychoanalytical assumptions, Butler replaces the notion of the 'soul' by the one of the 'psyche'. Foucault's notion of the ideal incorporated in the 'soul' is now substituted by the Ego-Ideal which can be described as some normative

instance controlling and judging the ego. As already mentioned, subjectivation always occurs through exclusion and yet psychoanalytic approaches show that excluded 'Other' stays within the unconscious of the psyche. Thus performativity can only be understood in relation to what has been excluded. It is the unconscious which often undermines identification processes (Butler 2001: 82-84; Habermann 2008: 112).

Amina Mama's approach to subjectivation also points out the importance of psychoanalytical approaches combined with discursive theories in order to grasp the process of subjectivation. She argues that "both discourses [...] and individual subjects are produced in a continuous dialectic, out of reverberations between historical-cultural and psychological conditions" (Mama 1995: 133). In her study of postcolonial black subjectivities she focuses on racialised subjectivity which she defines as "one dimension of subjectivation processes which involve constant negotiation and change in the course of social relations" (Mama 1995: 142). Mama's approach functions as an important reference for the analysis of subjectivations in postcolonial Tanzania as both central research aspects — adult subjectivity and racialised subjectivity — are also central to this diploma thesis. Concerning the concepts of discourse and dispositif I argued that whiteness is a dispositif consisting of discourses and politico-economic structures. In her triad analysis Peterson emphasises the relationships between subjectivation processes and social structures. Furthermore, it has been argued that subjectivation processes also need psychoanalytical theories as they also influence our psyches. Thus subjectivtion processes need to be analysed in relation to discourses, politico-economic structures and psychological processes. Due to my lack of knowledge of psychoanalytical theories and due to the limited length of this paper I do not include psychoanalytical tools in the research of subjectivations in Tanzania. Nevertheless, I need their reference in order to be able to explain various forms of contradictions in subjectivation processes (Butler 2001: 8; Peterson 2003: 13; 40; Habermann 2008: 30 f., 112 f.; Mama 1995: 130 ff.).

The analysis of the three terms and concepts of '(bio-)power', 'discourse and dispositif' and 'subjectivation' has provided us with definitions which will be important for the further analysis. The concept of (bio-)power has been explained as a concept of power which focuses on the population and their bodies as central subjects. Discourses have been

identified as important 'actors' within power relations constructing our 'realities' and forms of subjectivations. Besides discourses, politico-economic structures are important parts in constituting so called dispositifs — power-knowledge formations. Whiteness has been defined as such a dispositif. Power relations then materialise themselves in subjectivations which according to our analysis need to be perceived as discursive, politico-economic and psychoanalytical. Power relations have also been dismantled as normalisation processes constructing the normal and the abnormal. Let me analyse whiteness as such a powerful process of normalisation.

Whiteness as a process of normalisation

Within critical whiteness studies, whiteness is perceived as a category of analysis and as an interdisciplinary field of research. Depending on whose point of view, different aspects of whiteness are analysed (Walgenbach 2005: 18; Piesche 2005: 14 ff.). In this thesis I want to focus on the perception of whiteness as a process of normalisation (El-Tayeb 2005: 8; Lorey 2007: 7). Concerning the term 'white' I normally use non-white instead of black unless it is an exclusively black position. This is due to the assumption that non-white does not always automatically mean black, on the contrary there exist various forms of non-white subjectivations (Hacker 2005: 14 f.). I am aware that the definition of 'black' is flexible and depends on the context. Furthermore, there is a difference between collective definitions and self-definitions (Maylor 2009: 370). Therefore I write 'black' if the interviewees perceive themselves as black, if authors in the literature refer to black people as I assume that they have their reasons for using this term and if the biologistic construction of black as skin colour appears.

Within critical whiteness studies, whiteness is often understood as an 'invisible and unmarked normality' (Hacker 2005: 14; Arndt 2005: 27 f.; Eggers 2005: 20). Even more so, whiteness is often described as a norm to which the others have to adapt themselves. Whiteness is thus linked to privileges which seem invisible to white subjects (Lorey 2007: 1 f.) This latter perception was brought up by Peggy McIntos. In her famous text *White privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack* (1990) McIntosh states: "White privilege is like an invisible weightless knapsack of special provisions, maps, passports, codebooks, visas, clothes, tools and blank checks" (McIntosh 1990: 1). Whiteness is perceived both as

norm and normality although these two terms imply different theoretical approaches. Therefore Isabell Lorey argues that there seems to be some kind of confusion concerning the terms 'norm' and 'normalisation' within critical whiteness studies (Lorey 2007: 1 f.).

In her text *Weißsein und Immunisierung. Zur Unterscheidung zwischen Norm und Normalisierung* [24] (2007), Lorey elaborates on the difference between 'norm' and 'normalisation' concerning a critical analysis of whiteness. Lorey criticises that a norm-oriented approach to whiteness remains within a juridical paradigm as norms belong to the same system of thinking as laws. In this sense privileges are regarded as special rights for individual subjects. To have privileges in this context means to be freed from something. The Latin 'immunitas' also means to 'be free' or 'to be freed from something', therefore privileges are a juridical form of immunity. But as privileges are exceptions and as exceptions are anything but invisible, an analysis of whiteness which remains within the juridical paradigm is not able to theorise whiteness as invisible and unmarked (Lorey 2007: 2-6). Lorey argues that a deconstruction of whiteness as a process of normalisation needs to be linked to a "bio-political immunisation" [25] (Lorey 2007: 10). Thus bio-power with its bio-politics becomes the focus of the analysis. Lorey theorises immunisation as a process of inclusion of others into the normal (white) community. This perception of immunisation can be well clarified by using the example of vaccination. Through vaccinations the body is being immunised against dangerous illnesses by taking the poison of the illness in a small dose. The immunisation occurs through a neutralisation of the poison within the body by producing anti-bodies. The 'dangerous other' is being integrated and the body is being healed. To be healed from the 'dangerous other' whatever this may be — in our case the 'wrong skin colour' by bleaching — means to be reintegrated into the normal community (Lorey 2007: 8-10).

The result of this process of normalisation is an increased normal space and a strengthening of the white hegemony. But as it is the case with vaccination the destabilisation by the other can never be completely excluded. Lorey describes normalisation therefore as follows: "It is a movement of permament construction and

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[24] "Whiteness and Immunisation. The difference between norm and normalisation" (no official English translation found) (2007)

[25] „biopolitische[n] Immunisierung" (Lorey 2007: 10)

involvement of the abnormal and the deviant into the 'inside' " [26] (Lorey 2007: 10). A separation of the outside and inside is no more possible (Lorey 2007: 8-10). Therefore whiteness always needs the construction of the 'Other' — the 'curable other' and the 'non-curable other' — in order to reconstruct itself. This also has to be performed within films and pictures where whiteness is often privileged and linked to notions of rationality, purity, civilised, respectable or beauty in contrast to the emotional, wild, barbaric, exotic other (Lorey 2007: 10; Axster 2005: 39-53; Barrett/Roediger 2005: 7-34; Walgenbach 2005: 23-28).

In this sense the boundaries of whiteness are constantly shifting depending on specific discursive formations and politico-economic structures. Central to the (re-)construction of whiteness are the interdependences between race, class and gender although such categories are never able to completely understand processes like the following (Lorey 2008: 133 ff.; Axster 2005: 39-53; Barrett/Roediger 2005: 7-34).

A good example of becoming white were the 'new immigrants' from East- and Southeastern Europe coming to the USA as immigrant workers between the end of the nineteenth century and the early 1920s. James Barrett and David Roediger elaborate that at the beginning these immigrants had some kind of 'racially in-between status' as they could not be placed within the normal white-black dichotomy. Successively they were integrated into the white community. Barrett and Roediger show how this integration of 'inferior white races' into the 'superior anglophone white race' functioned as some kind of immunisation against other races (Barrett/Roediger 2005: 8 f.).

Within German colonialism exclusively white colonials could loose their whiteness which was called *Verkafferung*[27]. White identity was linked to specific lifestyles, including material property and cultural attitudes. Thus whiteness was not tied to skin colour. This particular statement will be elaborated on further in this diploma thesis (Axster 2005: 39 ff.; Axster 2002: 7).

The term 'white trash' emerged in the USA in the early nineteenth century to describe impoverished groups of the white population. In this case an overlapping of race and class

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[26] „Es ist eine Bewegung der permanenten Konstruktion *und* Involvierung des Anormalen und der Abweichung in ein „Inneres" herein" (Lorey 2007: 10).

[27] to become a Kaffir

can be observed as it comes to a racialisation of economic circumstances. But the white trash was/is not only regarded as economically marginalised groups, they are being racialised rather in the sense of linking them to specific stereotypes such as excessive and dangerous sexuality, extreme racism etc. In this sense it is their race which is the reason for their economic situation. Thus within whiteness there are hegemonic and non-hegemonic forms of whiteness (Wollrad 2008: 35-37).

In one of my assumptions I argue that within capitalist structures whiteness is becoming a commodity. Therefore the term 'commodification' needs to be explained.

Commodification

Concerning the capitalist phenomenon of commodification I refer to Peterson's analysis in her book *A Critical Rewriting of Global Political Economy. Integrating Reproductive, Productive and Virtual Economies* (2003). According to Peterson, the current neoliberal system leads to an ongoing commodification or marketisation of the lifeworld, including bodies, aesthetics/cultural symbols/signs and social reproduction. The virtual economy with its modern technologies of dematerialisation and deterritorialisation of exchanges (financial, informational, symbolic) plays an important role within this process of commodification of the lifeworld. Thus a consumerist society and ideology is being created in countries both of the global north and the global south. On the one hand increased commodification processes can result into changes of current power relations such as the reconfiguration of gender relations, but on the other hand existing power relations are also reconstructed as Peterson argues:

> [C]ommodification processes are inextricable from ideologies of hierachical valorization: the knowledge, skills, culture, and behaviours associated with modern Europe and that which is masculinized have been, and continue to be, over-valorized at the expense of those associated with non-Europeans and that which is feminized (Peterson 2003: 169 f.).

Peterson differentiates between commodification processes at the micro level or individual, at the institutional and the macro or global level. At the micro or indiviual level identities are affected by the logic of the market. The definition of one's own identity around consumptions is not new but according to Peterson, in the current consumer society it is becoming a complete 'way of life'. Thus individuals' socialisation is constructed around

what they consume or own. The definition of one's own identity around consumptions is not new but Peterson argues that in the current consumer society it is becoming a complete 'way of life'. An interesting aspect in this context are the pressures on women and girls to enhance their market status by enhancing their individual appearance in form of cosmetics, hairstyles and clothes. Thus subjects need to 'sell themselves' in order to become valuable for the market. The link to the skin bleaching becomes obvious. The commodification of individuals has a long history mainly reflected in slavery and human trafficking as an important part of capitalist structures. The primat of marketisation in neoliberalism results in an expansion of new forms of commodification of individuals such as bride markets or sex tourism (Peterson 2003: 157-159).

At the institutional level commodification intensifies the role of private market agents, financial markets and corporate capital within the political sphere. This also happens at the macro or global level where interests of transnational capital become more powerful within international agencies and policy-making institutions. A governance without government develops in the sense that governance moves to the global level where economic forces dominate (Peterson 2003: 159). All these various commodification tendencies will be of importance for an analysis of the commodification of whiteness through the practice of skin bleaching and will be elaborated on in chapter 4 where the findings of the empirical research are going to be presented.

After having defined all the terms and concepts relevant for this diploma thesis, I am turning to the analysis of some important rules of formation and politico-economic structures of the colonial, patriarchal, liberal-bourgeois and the neoliberal, neocolonial and patriarchal setting. According to my 'theoretical and methodic mix', I am going to analyse some rules of formation of the setting but also link them to politico-economic structures. The terms and objects analysed are whiteness — non-whiteness and the white woman — the non-white woman. Accordingly, the analysis shall provide the categories which are then used to analyse the phenomenon of skin bleaching. Although the rules and politico-economic structures are identified separately, I do not perceive them as independent from all the other rules and politico-economic structures, because they all influence each other constructing the dispositif of whiteness.

2.2.2. The colonial, patriarchal, liberal-bourgeois setting

It was in the Enlightenment period when categories such as race, class and gender became scientific entities and whiteness was linked to scientific theories. Thus I perceive that period as crucial to an analysis of whiteness (Husmann-Kastein 2006: 44 ff.). I am aware that there are much older discourses, such as the Christian moralised color traditions linking white/light with the 'good' and black/dark with the 'bad', relevant for the construction of whiteness (Dyer 1997: 67). The focus on colonial influences also ignores other powerful relationships such as the Arab or Indian trade relations with the African continent or the Arab slave trade and results in an eurocentristic view that I cannot avoid (Schicho 2004: 312-319). In the empirical part I am going to try to partly integrate the latter influences in order to decrease this eurocentristic perspective on the constructions of whiteness in the sense of an exclusive focus on so called western influences.

I am starting with an analysis of the embedding of the emerging modern state and colonialism in specific race, class and gender relations. Then the cult of domesticity are explored as an important sphere where race, gender and class relations and thus also whiteness and non-whiteness were constructed. Finally I am going to take a look at the question of commodification of whiteness in form of *"commodity racism"* (McClintock 1995: 33).

Following Foucault, I do not perceive causal relationships between the colonial, patriarchal and liberal-bourgois setting and the neoliberal, neocolonial and patriarchal setting. Rather it is about an analysis of the changes, interruptions and continuities (Foucault 1991a: 43). As already mentioned concerning the method I am trying to read the 'settings' also 'against the grain' in order to be able to analyse the breakings within discursive formations (Hanke 2006: 101). Furthermore, the discourses are not as separable and distinct as they might seem, they rather intersect, overlap and in most cases can only be analysed in an interdependent way.

Constructing the west and the rest[28]

'The Negro is not. Any more than the white man' (Fanon 1967: 231).

So what is whiteness and blackness?

In his book *Black skin, white masks* (1967), Frantz Fanon deconstructs blackness and whiteness as effects of social and economic realities. He also emphasises the role of subjectivations within power relations (Fanon 1967: 11). Fanon's quotation implies a relational character of whiteness and non-whiteness or as Hall calls it 'the west and the rest' (Hall 1992: 275). According to psychoanalytical theorists such as Jacques Lacan and postcolonial and poststructural approaches, the 'Other' is perceived as the one excluded from the own identity. Edward W. Said analysed this binary relationship between the self and the other in his work 'orientalism' (1978) showing how "the Orient has helped to define Europe (or the West) as its contrasting image, idea, personality, experience" (Said 2005: 71). Therefore categories such as 'white', 'man' etc. always need the other in order to define themselves. But as already mentioned, poststructuralism perceives identity as a flexible process, which can never be fully fixed and stabilised. The same counts for the other who/which constantly destabilises the self. The 'Other' is then also part of the self (Habermann 2008: 18; 67).

The construction of the west needs to be analysed exactly in such a relational process of the constitution of the self in relation to the other. The west was constructed on a white national identity based on men and in relation to the racialised and gendered other — women and non-white people. Thus the modern subject — the *homo oeconomicus* — was white, male and from the middle class (Dyer 1997: 35; McClintock 1995: 39; Habermann 2005: 7-12). Due to the rise of human sciences, gender and race differences could be categorised as different in a biologistic sense (Habermann 2008: 234 f.). The human sciences can be defined as authorities of delimitation constructing whiteness and non-whiteness as objects and terms. By means of mathematical and statistical procedures people were categorised into specific racial categories so that they functioned as schemas

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[28] Stuart Hall shaped the phrase "the west and the rest" mainly with his article titled: *The West and the Rest: Discourse and Power.* In: Hall, Stuart/Bram Gieben (eds.) (1992): Formations of Modernity. Cambridge: Polity Press, S. 275-320.

by which these terms and objects could be constructed (Hanke 2006: 105 ff.). According to social Darwinism, the white bourgeois man was situated at the top of the "family Tree of Man" (McClintock 1994: 37) reflecting the highest position of human evolution (McClintock 1995: 36 ff.).

More and more the idea of evolutionary progress was linked to nations with the ones in the global north at the crown and the ones in the global south at the roots of the tree (Habermann 2008: 237). Accordingly, the idea of the modern, civilised, enlightened, white west as racially different from the primitive, uncivilised, brutal, non-white rest was crucial to the formation of the modern bourgeois society. "In the tree of time, racial hierarchy and historical progress became the fait accomplis of nature" (McClintock 1995: 38). In such a binary system, both the west and the rest were represented as homogenous entities neglecting all the differences and heterogeneity within them (Habermann 2008: 235). It was then due to this racialised and homogenising idea of evolutionary societal progress that colonial conquest and imperialism could be legitimised. The empire was perceived as the result of the struggle between 'superior' and 'inferior' races (Miles/Phizacklea 1984, quoted in Dyer 1997: 32). The concept of race thus played an important role for the development of the capitalist system. In form of colonialism more and more regions could be integrated into the capitalist system leading to exploitation (Wallerstein 1994: 5 f.). One rule of formation of strategies within the colonial discourse was therefore the link of the construction of race with the capitalist colonial expansion (McClintock 1995: 31-36; Prah 2004: 184; Habermann 2008: 228).

In her book *Imperial leather. Race, Gender and Sexuality in the colonial contest* (1995) Anne McClintock mentions two "centralizing tropes" (McClintock 1995: 36) within colonial-imperial science. In Foucauldian terms these two tropes can be defined as rules of formation of the objects and terms of whiteness and non-whiteness in the sense of grids of specification. McClintock argues that social Darwinism resulted in a secularisation, naturalisation and spatialisation of time. Time became chronological thus measurable and universally valid — it was naturalised — and was then projected on the whole world — it became spatialised. Cultural history around the world was subjugated under the idea of ONE evolutionary human progress. Thus the different cultures and societies in the world

were perceived to represent different steps of 'development' with the European stage as the top most level which all the others should finally also reach (McClintock 1995: 37). Using the term 'panoptical time' McClintock wants to describe "the image of global history consumed — at a glance — in a single spectacle from a point of privileged invisibility" (McClintock 1995: 37). This point of invisibility can also be described as 'white eye', which, according to Habermann, Hall uses to mark out how the world has been analysed by western sciences and western perceptions of 'reality' (Habermann 2008: 98). Richard Dyer writes in this context that a "white historical mastery of time and space" (Dyer 1997: 36) emerged.

McClintock shows how, besides being secularised, time was also domesticated as it was centred around the image of family. A gendered and in this sense feminised picture of the Family tree of Man developed which resulted in some contradiction as only white men were included as historical agents excluding women. Women were pushed to the realm of nature while white men inhabited progress and development (McClintock 1995: 39). Women, non-white people and the working-class were situated in an 'anachronistic space' characterised as "prehistoric, atavistic and irrational, inherently out of place in the historical time of modernity" (McClintock 1995: 40) In terms of capitalism these people were perceived as 'unproductive'. Again race needs to be embedded in capitalist structures (Habermann 2008: 228).

The prime-example of such an anachronistic space was Africa which according to McClintock became a fetish-land for the west. Walgenbach argues that colonies functioned as a sphere for colonialists to project their unfulfilled wishes to (Walgenbach 2005: 160). With the ongoing industrialisation in mind, the associations of 'free sexuality' and proximity to nature with non-white people seem now more 'logical' (McClintock 1995: 40). Therefore McClintock uses the term "porno-tropics" (McClintock 1996: 22) to refer to the gendered perception of the colonies as feminised and in need to be conquered, penetrated and controlled by white men. Gender was thus used to make racial distinctions, with the white race being the male and the black race the female. The colonies were perceived as 'empty lands' with no proper history and culture. An interdependence between gender and race appears (McClintock 1995: 22, 30, 55, 40).

Summarising this part I argued that the modern state emerged together with specific gender, race and class relations constructing the white, middle class man as the normal 'human being' and all the others as deviants. By discovering some rules of formation of the objects and terms such as the 'panoptical time', 'anachronistic space' and the human sciences it has been analysed how whiteness and non-whiteness could emerge as terms and concepts (McClintock 1995: 36-42). Furthermore such discursive formations were linked to the emerging capitalist system (McClintock 1995: 31 ff.; Habermann 2008: 228). Let me now turn to one important arena of the colonial, patriarchal, liberal-bourgeois setting — the domestic sphere.

The cult of domesticity

> Through the rituals of domesticity, increasingly global and more often than not violent, animals, women and colonized peoples were wrested from their putatively "natural" yet, ironically, "unreasonable" state of "savagery" and inducted through the domestic progress narrative into a hierarchical relation to white men (McClintock 1995: 35).

In the colonial, patriarchal, liberal-bourgeois setting various forms of subjectivations such as the white, male, middle class *homo oeconomicus* emerged (Habermann 2008: 224-246). In the following the forms of subjectivation of the white woman and the non-white woman shall be analysed in order to understand important rules of formation of objects, terms, enunciative modalities and strategies in this setting. However, it is mainly about the formation of enunciative modalities (Foucault 1993: 38).

Our location is the domestic sphere in the middle class home in the metropoles as well as in the colonies. The main actor on stage are the white woman, the white man and the non-white woman with the non-white man playing supporting roles. The setting was chosen due to McClintock's analysis of the Victorian cult of domesticity in her book *Imperial leather. Race, Gender and Sexuality in the colonial contest* (1995). She argues that the Victorian cult of domesticity played an important role within colonialism and imperialism reproducing gender-, class- and race hierarchies. Using Foucauldian terms, the domestic sphere can be described as a surface of emergence where the terms and objects of whiteness and non-whiteness and the non-white woman and the white woman were (re) constructed. In the domestic sphere the central dichotomies for the colonial, liberal-

bourgeois, patriarchal setting: whiteness — non-whiteness, men — women, nature — civilisation and private — public, productive-— unproductive were (re)produced (McClintock 1995: 31 ff.; Walgenbach 2005: 199 ff.). As Tanzania used to be first a German and then an English colony, literature about Biritsh and German colonialism seems appropriate (Schicho 2004: 312-314). McClintock argues that the Victorian cult of domesticity played an important role within colonialism and imperialism reproducing gender, class and race hierarchies. Thus the domestic sphere was one surface of emergence of whiteness and non-whiteness and the non-white woman and the white woman. It (re) produced the central dichotomies for the colonial, liberal-bourgeois, patriarchal setting: whiteness — non-whiteness, men — women, nature — civilisation and private — public, productive-— unproductive (McClintock 1995: 31 ff.; Walgenbach 2005: 199 ff.).

According to McClintock, imperialism realised itself through domesticity, but a domesticity without women as has already been argued concerning the "family Tree of Man" (McClintock 1995: 37). The slogan 'liberty, equity and fraternity' was therefore gendered, racialised and class related as it only valued for the middle class white men. Non-white societies and people were perceived as 'prehistoric' and needed to be domesticated which at that time was the equivalent to civilising. While the Victorian middle class home became a "space for the display of imperial spectacle and the reinvention of race" (McClintock 1995: 34), the colonies and among them particularly Africa became "a theater of exhibiting the Victorian cult of domesticity and the reinvention of gender" (McClintock 1995: 34).

Let us take a look at the stage[29]: We are at the Victorian middle class home where we find the 'domestic woman' and the 'economic man' — we remember the theory of complementarism constructing man and women as complementary opposites (Habermann 2005: 112). The liberal-bourgeois subjects needed the gendered and racialised other in order to constitute itself. Watching the scenario on stage we see that the idea of gendered complementarism only applied to white men and women only: the bourgeois woman was white. Whiteness was/is then also linked to a certain class — the middle class (Habermann 2008: 224-235). The middle class home was the place of reproduction of middle class

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[29] I use the image of the theatre in order to emphasise the constructed character of power relations and subjectivations.

ideals which according to McClintock, constituted "monogamy ("clean" sex, which has value), industrial capital ("clean money, which has value), Christianity ("being washed in the blood of the lamb"), class control ("cleansing the great unwashed") and the imperial civilizing mission ("washing and clothing the savage")" (McClintock 1995: 208). A central fetish in this context was the soap, which could 'enlighten' the working class from the dirt of industrial labor, the middle class women and the domestic workers from their work and the colonised people from their colour (McClintock 1995: 211-213).

The purifying connotation of soap can also be linked to images of beauty in the sense of whiteness in western culture. According to Dyer, "white is beautiful because it is the colour of virtue" (Dyer 1997: 72). White is then linked to goodness and important western moral ideals such as "purity, spirituality, transcendence, cleanliness, virtue, simplicity, chastity" (Dyer 1997: 72). Dyer points out that this relationship between white and good was not surely in place before Renaissance (Dyer 1997: 72). Habermann shows that in the 16th century the classical greek perception of beauty as male and white in form of the Laokoon-group became dominant within race theories. In contrast to Habermann's perception of beauty as primarily male, Dyer emphasises that at that time whiteness was identified with women, with the Virgin Mary as the classic example. Men were more perceived as searching for this whiteness (Dyer 1997: 74; Habermann 2008: 226). The image of the 'fair' woman thus became the symbol of beauty within imperialism (do Mar Castro/Dhawan 2005: 327). In this sense linking race with the question of beauty functioned as a rule of formation of the objects and terms of whiteness and non-whiteness in the sense of one of the grids of specification. Whiteness was thus constructed as beautiful. As the perception of beauty was also gendered, it led to the emergence of the terms and objects of the white woman and the non-white woman. Furthermore, linking whiteness with beauty practices can also be identified as a rule of formation of strategies. This link is reflected in a quotation from the doctoral thesis *Women's Beauty in the history of Tanzania* (2005) by Rehema Jonathan Nchimbi where she refers to dress codes linked to whiteness: "Whiteness came to be associated with ideas such as modesty, cleanliness, perfection and civilisation, and non-indigenous forms of dress came to signify notions of

sophistication and an increasingly cosmopolitan sense of identity" (Nchimbi 2005: 48). The link between whiteness and beauty is of crucial importance for the empirical analysis. The bourgeois middle class thus cultivated body politics in form of cleaning rituals, which would distinguish them from the dirtier working-class and non-white people. In order to become normal, one had to constantly clean oneself. The middle class home became a place where the values of liberal rationality — quantification and measurement, surveying and rational accounting — were practiced by the individuals. A good example is the important role of the ticking clock organising the everyday routine. These various forms of extending control and observation of the domestic sphere in order to produce the 'right' subjects for the modern market went hand in hand with technologies of the self. The subjects internalised these rituals. Forms of bio-power were established which were performed by the subjects in forms of technologies of the self (McClintock 1995: 167 f.; Habermann 2008: 143, 232; Foucault 2005: 148-187).

As domestic labor had no economic value, it needed to be invisible. "Housewifery became a career in vanishing acts" (McClintock 1995: 162). A good middle class wife was successful if she was working hard and at the same time appeared not to work. The same applied to the servant who en plus needed to stay invisible thus working without being seen (McClintock 1995: 163). The servants' paid labor interrupted the public-private separation and thus they needed to become racialised in order to legitimise their in-between status. They became stigmatised as racially degenerated and linked to characteristics such as "childlike, irrational, regressive and atavistic" (McClintock 1995: 42). Accordingly, McClintock talks about a racialisation of domesticity (McClintock 1995: 214). The capitalist public-private distinction with the forms of subjectivation of the white middle class man and the white middle class woman thus needed to racialise the others who did not fit into this pictures such as servants, Irish and Jews, the working class, prostitutes, black people, criminals or people with mental illnesses. These people were perceived as 'dangerous classes' associated with racial degeneration. An interdependence of class and race appears as the former was defined by the latter. Social inequalities were replaced by racialising constructions, poverty became a biologistic characteristic of certain groups (McClintock 1995: 216; Habermann 2008: 228).

Constructions change due to contextual, historical and geographical circumstances. Thus the scenario of the cult of domesticity took another shape in the colonies. The domesticating or better civilising mission and the role of the white woman became much more important (Walgenbach 2005: 119; McClintock 1995: 34 f.). While in the metropoles the domestic sphere became racialised, the colonies became domesticated. Again the interdependence of race and gender can be identified (McClintock 1995: 43).

There was/is a wide range of racial representations of non-white people. My central interest lies on the perception of the white woman and the non-white woman in the colonial, bourgeois-liberal, patriarchal setting. According to the polygenetic race theories, white men were at the top of the pyramid. White women were subordinated to men but higher than non-white women. Among the latter group black women were perceived as the 'lowest human species' and compared with the 'highest ape' they were the 'missing link' between the apes and the human species (McClintock 1995: 42; Habermann 2005: 200, 226). In accordance with Stuart Hall, black people and women were reduced to their 'essential nature'. Images of the 'noble savages' or the devoted domestic slave — the 'Mammy'— were all biologistic racialised stereotypes representing the 'Other'. Hall calls these images a "racialized regime of representation" (Hall 2001a: 336). Such a naturalisation was also linked with an an over-sexualisation of black people. This is reflected in the perception of black women as "possessing not only a 'primitive' sexual appetite but also the external signs of this temperament — primitive genitalia" (McClintock 1995: 42; see also Hall 2004a: 112-114).

The image of the black woman as abnormal is of crucial importance concerning the question of *Verkafferung* of mainly white men. The term is based on the Cape Dutch discriminatory name for black people 'kaffir'. Due to too much contact to 'local people' — which included sexual contacts but also aspects such as the knowledge of the 'local language' — white men were said to become too adapted to the colonised environment and thus degenerated. They had lost their 'race consciousness' and 'racial energy'. The last terms already imply a very different perception of race as it is not tied to skin colour, but lifestyle and attitude (Walgenbach 2005: 193 f.). Axster, therefore, talks about a dissolving of race as it no longer sticks to biologistic characteristics but to hardly measurable

characteristics such as race consciousness. Race becomes an ontologically empty category which needs to be constantly refilled. In the sense of a rule of formation of the objects and terms, whiteness was linked with aspects such as attitude or lifestyle which can not be grasped by the interdependences of race, class and gender (Axster 2002: 10 f.; Hanke 2006: 113 f.; Axster 2005: 39 ff.).

Verkafferung implied a threat to the white racial purity. Parallels to the already mentioned 'dangerous classes' can be observed as they were also racialised in order to desintegrate them from the white bourgeois community. Such as the analysis of the 'dangerous classes' the concept of *Verkafferung* reflects the interdependence between class and race as men with less capital were regarded more likely to degenerate (Walgenbach 2005: 204; McClintock 1995: 116). In this sense bio-political regulations were needed to reconstitute white racial purity. So called 'racially mixed marriages' were forbidden and children of such marriages were not acknowledged as white. The 'price' of one's *Verkafferung* was the loss of one's status of being white which also resulted in the loss of rights such as the right to vote (Axster 2005: 39-45; Axster 2002: 7). We have now found another authority of delimitation within the colonial, patriarchal, bourgeois-liberal setting — the juridical apparatus. Whiteness and non-whiteness were linked to specific rights and thus (re) produced by juridical means. A rule of formation of strategies was to link the question of race to juridical processes. Therefore Axster calls the process of *Verkafferung* a biopolitical regulative constructing the boundaries between white and non-white (Axster 2005: 53). Another rule of formations of strategies appears: Discourses about race were linked with practices of keeping the body 'healthy' and 'clean' as racial degeneracy could endanger the racial health of the white community (Bublitz 1999: 33).

In this sense whiteness and non-whiteness are constituted by performative acts as subjects are required to fulfil certain practices, lifestyles and attitudes in order to be acknowledged as 'white' or 'non-white' (Walgenbach 2005: 209). The construction of *Verkafferung* shows how power relations such as juridical processes of acknowledgement and forms of technologies of the self are working together. Walgenbach argues that a correlation between performance and incorporation is needed for whiteness to work as a process of normalisation (Walgenbach 2005: 113). "There was an interplay between being guided and

guiding oneself which became the central stage for the performance of *racialised* discipline"[30] (Axster 2005: 47).

The process of *Verkafferung* was mainly applied to male colonialists. Again the relationship between colonialism and maleness emerges. As men tried to conquer the 'nature' of the colonies — including non-white women—, they were more likely than white women to become 'nature' themselves (Walgenbach 2005: 198 f.). Therefore white women were sent into the colonies in order to rescue the white purity of the colonialists. Anne Dietrich underlines that the construction of the female bodies with its reproductive function has always been important in constructing collectives such as peoples or races. Clearly, women needed/need to be protected from all kinds of threats such as the 'brutal, sexually motivated black man' (Dietrich 2005: 365 f.).

Due to Christian gender conceptions white men were perceived as struggling between mind and body while white women were freed from sexual desires and libidinous behaviour (Dyer 1997: 16 f.; Dietrich 2005: 367). White women became THE representation of civilisation, chastity and purity, the 'moral gender' (Dietrich 2005: 365, 370). Accordingly, they were the perfect complements to the male colonialists "in struggle, yearning for home and whiteness, facing the danger and allures of darkness" (Dyer 1997: 36) — we can again observe the link between non-white people and societies and darkness. White women became so called "cultural agents"[31] (Walgenbach 2005: 195) within the colonies. Their 'job' was to perform the discourses about morality and racial purity — within the middle class, bourgeois home. Another rule of formation of strategies was then to link discourses about race with moral practices. Thus positive forms of living and being were connoted as white (Dietrich 2005: 369; Walgenbach 2005: 131-134).

Colonial households became "hatcheries of civilisation"[32] (Walgenbach 2005: 174). In Germany the *Deutsche Frauenbund*[33] was founded with the main 'mission' or organising the migration of German women to the German colonies. It trained white women from

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[30] „Ein Wechselspiel aus Führung und Selbstführung avancierte zum zentralen Schauplatz der performativen Einübung einer *rassischen* Disziplin" (Axster 2005: 47)

[31] "Kulturträgerinnen" (Walgenbach 2005: 195)

[32] „Brutstätten der Zivilisierung" (Walgenbach 2005: 174)

[33] *German federation of women*

both the middle class and lower class in housekeeping such as gardening, children education, running the household and domesticating the servants. There were white as well as non-white domestic servants whereas the former ones were relatively privileged as a white domestic servant could enhance the white mistress' social status. The relationship between white and non-white domestic servants and white, middle class mistresses was marked by maternalism. The servants were infantalised, defamated as being lazy, ungrateful and dishonest and perceived as sexually competing white men. Nevertheless white domestic workers had a racially in-between status due to their skin colour and their country of origin — the metropole. Yet if they were lucky, they could marry a white colonialist and climb up the white latter. In her book *»Die weiße Frau als Trägerin deutscher Kultur. Kolonial Diskurse über Geschlecht, »Rasse« und Klasse im Kaiserreich«*[34] (2005), Katharina Walgenbach underlines that white domestic servants were required a much higher performance of white culture as their white status was more unstable than that of white middle class women. Again the interdependence between class and race appears (Walgenbach 2005: 83, 145-150, 239-244).

White middle class women were the ones who could pull up degenerated white men, non-white people and white domestic servants into the civilised sphere by teaching them European civilised manners and values. Within the colonies white middle class women thus gained power towards degenerated white men, white lower class domestic servants and non-white people. Due to the interdependence of race and class, white women could enhance their social positions by referring to their whiteness. Nevertheless Walgenbach argues that white women did not emancipate themselves in the colonies as they could gain power mainly due to their racial status and by becoming domesticated, thus they achieved respectability (Walgenbach 2005: 145-157). In this sense Lorey (2006) writes: "The history of the construction of femininity must not be analysed independently of colonialism as German women were structurally discriminated while at the same time constructed as superior and civilised which they also reproduced themselves"[35] (Lorey 2006: 73).

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[34] *»The German women as agent of German culture. Colonial discourses about gender, »race« and class in the empire«* (no official English translation found)

[35] „Die Geschichte der Konstruktion des Weiblichen lässt sich nicht als fundamentale Ausblendung lesen, da weiße, deutsche Frauen strukturell immer zugleich diskriminiert und als Überlegene, Zivilisierte nicht nur konstruiert wurden, sondern sich als solche immer auch selbst konstruierten" (Lorey 2006: 73).

The analysis done up to now has shown that there are various forms of interdependences between class, race and gender. Thus the interdependences between class, race and gender can be defined as a rule of formation of the objects and terms of whiteness and non-whiteness. It acts as grids of specification. Interdependencies between class and race in form of the 'dangerous non-white classes', between race and gender — women as reproducing races — and race, class and gender reflected in the middle class white woman were mentioned (McClintock 1995: 216; Habermann 2008: 224-235; Dietrich 2005: 365 f.).

Just as white people could now loose their white status, non-white people could do this, too. As Fanon described it, black people had to put on white masks in order to become integrated into the white community. In his book *The African Nation. The State of the Nation* (2005), Prah refers to Christianisation and the teaching of colonial languages as the central practices in forming the elite in African countries (Prah 2005: 96 f.). "Those who prospered and socially advanced were those who followed the whiteman's ways; who went to his church, learnt in his schools, spoke his language, dressed and behaved like him" (Prah 2006: 94). The colonial educational and administrative system created the so called Europeanised-African who depending on the context got an in-between or white status. In the French context they were called '*évolués*', the 'developed' and in Portuguese colonies they were the *'assimilados'*, the 'assimilated'. Seen from the view of the colonised such 'developed, assimilated non-whites' were perceived as white (Prah 2005: 96-102). Fanon writes concerning a non-white person coming back from the metropole: "The Negro who knows the mother country is a demigod" (Fanon 1967: 19).

According to Prah, from the colonialists view Europeanised-Africans were situated between colonial masters and non-white people. Prah's analysis shows that they were partly integrated into the white community as they could i.e. enter European colonial clubs but they were never perceived as 'completely white'. Prah also argues that the colour factor played a significant role in the formation of the early African elite during colonialism. Thus the lighter the skin, the higher your estimation among the general population (Prah 2005: 127). Walgenbach (2005) shows how African wives of German colonialists were integrated into the German collective due to their outstanding

performance of white culture. Such a process was called 'naturalisation' — white was thus perceived as 'natural' — and like the process of *Verkafferung* it had juridical consequences. Although such 'naturalisation processes' were very rare, they are of qualitative value as they show that non-white people could even loose their in-between status and become white (Walgenbach 2005: 202).

Concerning the construction of whiteness within colonialism there can now be said that it functioned as a process of normalisation. The fact that some non-white people were integrated into the white community stabilised white hegemony. The interdependences between race, class and gender were analysed as crucial in constantly constructing new boundaries of the white community. New boundaries besides skin colour emerged such as language, religion, economic status or even lifestyle in order to vaccinate the white body against new diseases such as the developing African elite. The integration also produced new hierarchies within whiteness which deconstructs its apparent homogeneity. Skin colour seems to have played some role in this process in the sense that it could raise your standing in the white community (Lorey 2007: 8-10; Prah 2005: 103; Walgenbach 2005: 202). According to this analysis, skin bleaching can now be defined as a technology of the self in order to integrate oneself into the white community (Lynn 2009: 189).

Using the domestic sphere as one of the surface of emergence I could analyse how the objects and terms of whiteness and non-whiteness and of the white women and the non-white women could emerge. Various rule of formations of objects, terms, enunciative modalities — mainly the forms of subjectivations of the white women and the non-white woman — and of strategies have also been elaborated. In addition the cult of domesticity has been reconstructed in relation to the emerging capitalist system (McClintock 1995: 31 ff.). I am aware of the fact that due to the strong focus on whiteness the analysis has become one-sided as the strategies of non-white people to challenge hegemonic forms of subjectivations could not be addressed. Thus the reproduction of the hegemonic 'white view' in analysing the colonial, patriarchal, liberal-bourgeois setting could thus not be avoided. This shall not imply that there had not been various oppositions to these hegemonic constructions of whiteness and non-whiteness. However in the empirical analysis challenges to hegemonic forms of subjectivation from the side of non-white

people will be explored. Let me now turn to the question of commodification of whiteness within the colonial, liberal-bourgeois, patriarchal setting.

Packing racism into commodities

In this diploma thesis I want to analyse the various power relations constituting the dispositif of whiteness. In the following part the focus is set on the capitalist structures of commodifying whiteness in the colonial, patriarchal, liberal-bourgeois setting. As skin bleaching products can be perceived as a form of commodification of whiteness, such an analysis seems crucial to me.

In 1851 the discourses about the idea of progress, the Family of Man, panoptical time and anchronistic space were put on stage in form of the World Exhibition at the Crystal Palace in London's Hyde Park. There progress could be consumed in form of a mass spectacle (McClintock 1995: 56-61). According to Hall (2004a), colonialism resulted into an explosion of cultural representations. Imperialism was presented to the metropoles in form of maps, ethnographies, diaries of colonialists, travel writings, paintings, photographs or illustrations in scientific journals (Hall 2004a: 123 f.; McClintock 1995: 33). Within the last decades of the nineteenth century, this form of scientific racism shifted to a "*commodity racism*" (McClinotck 1995: 33) as McClintock calls it. "Commodity racism — in the specifically Victorian forms of advertising and photography, the imperial Expositions and the museum movement — converted the narrative of imperial Progress into mass-produced *consumer spectacles*" (McClintock 1995: 33). The Victorian middle class home became the target group for mass-produced commodities, advertising and raw materials coming from the colonies. On the one hand advertising promoted domesticity such as children bathing or men shaving their beards. On the other hand it brought images of " 'the civilizing mission' in progress" (Hall 2001b: 333) into the houses in form of visual representations "of imperial heroes and their masculine exploits in 'Darkest Africa' "(Hall 2001b: 333) on matchboxes, soap boxes, cigarette packets, tea tins, pencil boxes or chocolate bars. McClintock argues that commodity racism reinvented racial difference and broadened racism as it packed, marketed and sold it to a great mass of people (McClintock 1995: 33, 209; Hall 2004a: 124; Hall 2001b: 333). Thus advertising was a surface of

emergence and the advertising institutions functioned as authorities of delimitation, (re) producing whiteness in form of commodities.

The other consumers were the colonies, which were flooded with mass-produced commodities and images about the Victorian civilised households (Hall 2004a: 124). Thus advertising was crucial for the spread of ONE single history around the world (McClintock 1995: 170). "The production of commodities became linked to Empire —- the search for markets and raw materials abroad supplanting other motives for imperial expansion" (Hall 2001b: 333). Advertising turned the purchase of commodities into a spectacle as it "translated *things* into a fantasy visual display of *signs and symbols*" (Hall 2001b: 333). McClintock argues that by the late nineteenth century commodity was not only the basic form of a new industrial economy but also "the fundamental form of a new cultural system for representing social value" (McClintock 1995: 208).

There was a belief that the spread of commodities in the colonies would assist the ongoing civilisation processes. Commodities thus became fetishised as they were attached to certain signs and symbols not being part of them. I want to elaborate on one specific commodity — the soap — as the advertising of skin bleaching products shows many parallels to the perceptions of soap in the colonial, patriarchal, liberal-bourgeois setting (Lynn 2009: 197). McClintock points out that soap shows well how fetishism is central to industrial modernity rather than being an essential part of African tradition as it has often been assumed. As already argued that soap played a crucial role in the racialisation of the Victorian middle class home and the domestication of the colonies. It washed away three central aspects of the developing capitalist system: "the undervaluation of women's work in the domestic realm, the overvaluation of the commodity in the industrial market and the disavowal of colonised economies in the arena of the empire" (McClintock 1995: 208). According to McClintock, soap became important during a period of social crisis as the emerging capitalist social order was threatened by slums, social and economic struggles or anticolonial resistance. Due to its fetish characteristics, soap functioned to maintain uncertain boundaries of class, gender and race relations (McClintock 1995: 211). The Victorian cleaning rituals as a a sign of Britain's evolutionary superiority thus found in the soap the perfect means of fastening social boundaries. "Soap was credited not only with

bringing moral and economic salvation to Britain's "great unwashed" but also with magically embodying the spiritual ingredient of the imperial mission itself" (McClintock 1995: 211, see also McClintock 1995: 207-213; Hall 2004a: 124).

Soap became a central player within Britain's emerging commodity culture with its important brand 'Pears' Soap'. I want to analyse one of the advertisements of Pears's soap which reflects well the racialising aspects of colonial advertising. In the first part of the ad there is a black boy sitting in a bath gazing in an astonishing way into the purifying water. A white boy is standing outside handing him over the purifying soap. In the second part of the ad the black boy is outside of the bath looking into a mirror being held by the white boy. Within the mirror he can consume himself in form of a spectacle (McClintock 1995: 213). His body is now white but his face – "for Victorians the seat of rational and self-consciousness" (McClintock 1995: 214) is still black. He has become a racial hybrid while the white child is the racially "agent of history and the male heir to progress" (McClintock 1995: 214). Therefore the black child has become whiter but still not completely white, it has been partly integrated into the white community (McClintock 1995: 214).

We have now seen that by the late nineteenth century whiteness had become commodified as commodities became the central form of regulating the relationship between the global north and the global south. These commodities became fetishes for white, patriarchal, liberal-capitalist values and ideals. The soap functioned as the perfect embodiment of the naturalisation of these values devaluating all other forms of societies, subjectivations and economic structures (McClintock 1995: 207 ff.). Thus an important surface of emergence appears: the market. Furthermore the process of commodification can be described as an emerging rule of formation of the objects and terms in the sense of a grid of specification. The process of commodification of whiteness will be intensified in the neoliberal, neocolonial, patriarchal setting. Regarding the empirical analysis the commodification of whiteness in form of skin bleaching products will be of crucial importance.

The analysis of the colonial, patriarchal, liberal-bourgeois setting has reconstructed some important rules of formation and politico-economic structures, which led to the construction of whiteness as normal and non-whiteness as deviant both in the global north and south. The interdependences of race, class and gender have been shown as very

important in constructing the west and the rest with its various corresponding forms of subjectivations. Thus the construction of the modern capitalist system has been unmasked as white, patriarchal and liberal-bourgeois (McClintock 1995: 31 ff.; Habermann 2008: 130 ff.). Let us take a look at the neoliberal, neocolonial, patriarchal setting analysing continuities and changes of gender, class and race relations.

2.2.3. The neoliberal, neocolonial, patriarchal setting

As with the colonial, patriarchal, liberal-bourgeois setting I am going to elaborate on some important rules of formation and politico-economic structures of the second setting — the neoliberal, neocolonial, patriarchal setting. On the one hand continuities between the two settings, on the other hand changes, interruptions, new rules of formation and politico-economic structures are going to be analysed. The focus is set on the virtual economy and the ongoing neoliberal tendency of the commodification of the lifeworld (Peterson 2004: 157 f.). As my empirical material also consists of advertisements, journals and pictures besides interviews, an analysis of this part of the economy seems crucial. Furthermore I am going to elaborate on the new *homo oeconomicus* as the dominant form of subjectivation of this setting (Habermann 2008: 246-253).

Let's consume — the virtual economy and its role in restructuring race, class and gender relations

In her book *A critical rewriting of global political economy. Integrating reproductive, productive and virtual economies* (2003) Spike Peterson critically analyses globalisation in the sense of an economic restructuring. Integrating poststructuralist approaches she developed a triad analysis of political economy, which has already been mentioned concerning the definition of discourse and dispositif. Such a relational analytic approach perceives "identities (subjectivity, self-formation), meaning systems (symbols, discourse, ideologies) and social practices/institutions (actions, social structures)" (Peterson 2003: 40) as interdependent dimensions structuring social reality (Peterson 2003: 40). Beside the triad analysis, Peterson emphasises the concept of intersecting economies which she calls

RPV framing. RPV relates to the three forms of economies distinguished by Peterson: the productive economy (P), the reproductive economy (R) and the virtual economy (V) (Peterson 2003: 38).

> RPV framing brings the conceptual and material dimensions of "social reproduction", non-wage labor, and informalization *into relation with* the familiar but increasingly global, flexibilized, information-based and service-oriented "productive economy", as well as with the less familiar but increasingly consequential "virtual economy" of financial markets, commodified knowledge, and the exchange less of goods than of signs (Peterson 2003: 38).

In the following analysis I am focusing on the virtual economy as it is the central sector for establishing a "political economy of consumption" (Peterson 2003: 145) resulting into an intensified commodification of the lifeworld, including symbols, aesthetics, culture, subjectivations and bodies. In the last chapter it has been shown how whiteness was commodified in form of 'commodity racism' (McClintock 1995: 207 ff.). Thus the commodification of the lifeworld is not a new phenomenon. Due to modern technologies such as digitalisation, commodification processes can be expanded and accelerated (Peterson 2003: 157-159, 171). In this sense Mire states some continuities between the two settings as she argues that "[t]his tourist pornography of "exotic" bodies of third world women for the consumption of Western tourist represents a continuation of Western commodity racism" (Mire 2000: 3). The hegemony of whiteness within commodification processes appears and thus shows the relevance of the virtual economy for our analysis of skin bleaching in Tanzania.

Peterson describes globalisation as "both a continuation of „capitalist racialized patriarchy" (Eisenstein 1998) as a characterization of modernity, and a new conjuncture of capitalist racialised patriarchy that is associated with conditions of postmodernity" (Peterson 2003: 4). Peterson's quote refers to continuities and changes concerning the rules of formation in the neoliberal, neocolonial, patriarchal setting. The interdependences of race, gender and class relations is thus addressed as a continuous rule of formation of the objects and terms but it is newly contextualised. Habermann also argues that with neoliberalism promoting an impression of economy being impartial, class, race and gender relations become a 'normal' result in the search for maximal output. Social inequalities become naturalised in the sense of being part of the self-regulating market system (Habermann 2008: 248 f.).

The virtual economy plays an important role in promoting the ongoing commodification of the lifeworld and in restructuring race, gender and class relations. According to Peterson ,the term 'virtual' of the virtual economy illustrates the relationship between materiality and non-materiality in the current political economy in form of three modes. The first mode is the financial globalisation which symbolically exchanges money. The second one is informational as it is about the exchange of information and knowledge. Peterson argues that informational goods structure our ways of knowledge, in producing and of valuing commodities. Thus they link all three forms of economies. The third mode is about the exchange of signs and symbols or as Peterson calls it the "political economy of signs" (Peterson 2003: 116). Central to this mode is the aesthetic value of goods such as design or branding. This latter mode is thus related to the current consumer society as aesthetic and cultural signs are being commodified in order to sustain a consumerist ideology (Peterson 2003: 114-117, 142 ff.). The first and the second mode are relevant regarding the empirical research of this diploma thesis as advertisements are analysed. The link between discursive and politico-economic processes becomes obvious. Discursive codes become commodified and thus valuable for the capitalist system. Two important surfaces of emergence have 'appeared': the market and advertising. Although the virtual economy only includes the financial market, I perceive the market in general as a surface of emergence due to the relation between the productive, reproductive and virtual economy (Peterson 2003: 38).

In the global political economy value is no longer determined by the inherent measure of labor inputs or material needs but by its positioning in a system of signs/values. Of course there has always been a relationship between cultural coding and the production of commodities, but in the neoliberal context the symbolic dimension of consumption in the sense of commodifying signs and symbols seems to play a crucial role in surplus accumulation. The process of commodification in general and especially the one of commodifying signs and symbols thus functions as an important rule of formation of objects and terms in the neoliberal, neocolonial, patriarchal setting constructing whiteness in a monetary sense. It acts as one of the grids of specification (Peterson 2003: 116 f.).

In order to sustain a consumer society, a common sense of consumption being natural and desirable has to be created among consumers. Intensified consumerism results in a promotion of ephemeral instead of subsistence needs both in the global north and global south (Peterson 2003: 83). Especially in the global south such a promotion of consumerism pretends to enable participation of the global south in the world market while at the same time it masks the ongoing politico-economic inequalities between north and south. In this sense Prah writes: "The neo-colonial elite endeavours to replicate the tastes and consumption patterns of Western society, but neither has the means nor the orientation to capitalize and produce like the Western bourgeoisie" (Prah 2006: 114).

Specific needs and desires are being constructed by commodifying cultural codes and signs in order to create a market for the goods produced. Additionally, the consumers' participation as consuming subjects is needed — they need to become consuming subjects. The political economy of consumption is linked to the reproductive economy as it is the central sphere of consumption and an important site for subjectivation processes. As the private sphere has been constructed as feminine, consumption has also become strongly feminised. Women have become the primary consumers and thus main targets of advertising. Obviously, an analogy to the analysis of the colonial, patriarchal, liberal-bourgeois setting can be observed where women by representing the cult of domesticity were also the main targets for 'commodity racism' (McClintock 1995: 207 ff.). This marketing strategy focusing on women will be of importance in the further analysis of skin bleaching products in Tanzania. Concerning the relationship of the virtual economy to the productive economy, an important aspect is that it has to respond to the ongoing flexibilisation with a fast change in design, tastes and fashion (Peterson 2003: 83, 142-146).

Which signs and symbols are being commodified depends on power relations including specific gender, race and class relations. Those who have the relist of figures needed for advanced technologies such as intellectual capital, material infrastructure or education, choose the information and discourses dominating the global political economy. "Media and marketing become politically strategic as key transmitters of information that in turn shapes valorization — of ideas, goods, identities, and practices" (Peterson 2003: 118).

Thus media institutions among which I only focus on advertising institutions are authorities of delimitation (re)producing whiteness and non-whiteness in form of cultural signs and symbols as commodities (Peterson 2003: 117 f.). Information is thus never 'neutral' but cultural and conceptual. Advertising creates impressions and feelings among the consumers of a 'lack' or 'inadequacy' in their lives concerning their beauty, relationships, jobs or bodies (Peterson 2003: 3, 142). Standards of 'normality' need to be sold by which these 'lacks' can be measured. According to Habermann, the hegemonic form of subjectivation promoted by the virtual economy is male, light skinned and skinny. Therefore the virtual economy partly — the ideal of skinniness is a recent phenomenon — perpetuates the cultural imperialism of the colonial, patriarchal, bourgeois-liberal setting (Habermann 2008: 73 f., 259).

Skin bleaching products function as good examples of how colonial discourses and institutions were packed into new ads. M. Thomas Lynn shows that from the late 1930s on advertising of black cosmetics consumption was linked to the question of self-improvement and racial uplifting in South Africa. Moreover, black cosmetic consumption was connected to romance and leisure, thus, class in the sense of having enough money and time (Lynn 2009: 197).

The homogenising effects of globalisation processes need to be critically analysed. Hall argues that a new form of global mass-culture has emerged whose centre is the west. This mass-culture results in a specific form of homogenisation, which does not tend to produce westernised duplicates all around the world but tries to integrate various differences within the larger western worldview. Globalisation thus functions as a process of normalisation. Instead of homogenising all forms of politico-economic processes, cultures and subjectivations, it needs them in order to expand. To insure its hegemony, capital needs to negotiate with the others (Hall 1994a: 53-55). According to Peterson, advertising uses cultural variations in order to increase local purchase (Peterson 2003: 143).

In such negotiations other non-hegemonic forms of subjectivation gain space to represent themselves. New articulations of the local and the global emerge. "As with other new forms of the dominant cultural postmodern — such as homogenizaion and absorption, plurality and diversity — so local forms of local opposition and resistance are going

through a transformative phase" (Hall 1997: 183). Thus there are reciprocate relationships between the local and the global. The hegemonic normality always needs to integrate others in order to stabilise itself. The advertising of cultural pluralism can be analysed as such an integration process. hooks (1994) argues that such an advertised pluralism seems to imply an overcoming of racialised and gendered hierarchies whilst masking the ongoing primacy of whiteness which she describes as terror. Therefore she argues that racialised images of the other as primitive or sexualised persist and that the other is often only used as scenery to highlight whiteness. Accordingly, the aim of advertising pluralism is a marketing strategy to enhance consumerism rather than to promote non-hegemonic forms of subjectivation (hooks 1994: 36-43, 218).

Actually, hegemonic forms of subjectivation are 'translated' into local contexts. Hybrid forms of subjectivations emerge where the hegemonic and the non-hegemonic are not distinguishable any more because they have fused into new forms. In the empirical part I am going to show how the search for brightness rather than whiteness can be analysed as such a hybridisation and cultural interpretation of hegemonic whiteness. On the one hand it reflects an internalisation of hegemonic power relations into local forms of subjectivation, on the other hand the various forms of 'translations' open new ways of deconstructing and changing them (Hall 1994b: 217-219).

Summarising the last part I have illustrated the importance of the virtual economy in constructing what we know, what/who we buy, what/who we value and also who we are. The embedding of this part of the economy into specific race, class and gender relations has been analysed. Globalisation has been identified as a process of normalisation promoting the hegemonic form of subjectivation as male, light skinned and skinny which partly reflects continuities between the two settings (Habermann 2008: 259). However, changes, interruptions and the specific rules of formation such as the intensified role of commodification in constructing objects and terms were also emphasised (Peterson 2003: Peterson 2003: 157-159, 171). In the following part the continuities and changes between the two settings will be analysed in relation to the rules of formation of enunciative modalities and strategies in the neoliberal, neocolonial and patriarchal setting.

The new homo oeconomicus — a form of subjectivation for everybody?

> [P]eople are not simply either black *or* white but rather complex, multi-layered beings, with a capacity to move between positions, create new ones, and constantly negotiate and renegotiate their identities as they struggle to make sense of a world in which fixed categories are constantly subverted and changed (Mama 1995: 142).

The analysis of the colonial, patriarchal, liberal-bourgeois setting has shown that the white, male, middle class subject was the normal form of subjectivation constructing all other forms as deviant. Concerning the constructions of the white woman and the non-white woman it has been analysed that depending on the context and on the interdependence of class-, race- and gender relations white women could also become normal forms of subjectivation (Walgenbach 2005: 202; Dyer 1997: 35; McClintock 1995: 39; Habermann 2005: 7-12). On the following pages the changes and continuities between the *homo oeconomicus* in the first setting and the second setting are going to be analysed. While the focus is mainly set on the rules of formation of enunciative modalities and strategies, rules of formation of objects and terms — of whiteness — non-whiteness, the white woman — the non-white woman are also addressed to. Concerning the colonial, patriarchal, liberal-bourgeois setting I mentioned that there had been various challenges to hegemonic forms of subjectivation from the side of non-white people, which due to the frame and focus of this diploma thesis were not analysed. This is also the case of the setting analysed in the following. The various challenges towards hegemonic forms of subjectivation will be analysed in the empirical part.

In her book *Der homo oeconomicus und das Andere. Hegemonie, Identität und Emanzipation*[36] (2008), Habermann argues that the new *homo oeconomicus* has become the hegemonic form of subjectivation for (almost) everybody. The term 'almost' is crucial as it refers to the embedding of the *homo oeconomicus* into new forms of race, gender and class relations — therefore the term new *homo oeconomicus*. In the following I want to show that on the one hand race, class and gender relations are reconstructed in the neoliberal, neocolonial, patriarchal setting and on the other hand relations of inequality continue that have been analysed in the colonial, patriarchal, liberal-bourgeois (Habermann

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[36] *The homo oeconomicus and the other. Hegemony, identity and emancipation* (no official English translation found) (2008)

2008: 248 ff.). As I base my assumptions mainly on Habermann's work, the following analysis is very eurocentristic and focuses on societies of the global north for the most part. However, due to globalisation and the interdependence of societies I perceive such an analysis as relevant regarding the Tanzanian context.

In the analysis of the colonial, patriarchal, liberal-bourgeois setting the *homo oeconomicus* was deconstructed as white, male and from the middle class. Due to my theoretical approaches I perceive social constructions as contextual and flexible. Thus the construction of the *homo oeconomicus* in the neoliberal, neocolonial, patriarchal setting needs to be reconceptualised. Habermann argues that in the current setting, the *homo oeconomicus* acts as a possible form of subjectivation not only for white, middle class men but also for the so called others — women and non-white people. Biologistic constructions of gender and race seem to have lost significance as the self-fulfilling neoliberal promise implies that everybody can become a *homo oeconomicus* and thus economically successful. Apparently 'neutral' characteristics such as adequate education, skills or language are required. As Hall (1994c) describes, the neoliberal market sells various kinds of forms of subjectivation such as the *homo oeconomicus*, which we — the consumers — can buy, just like in the supermarket. However, this metaphor already implies potential barriers such as the possible lack of money for people to buy them (Hall 1994b: 212). Using more abstract terms, the neoliberal jargon masks the ongoing racialised, gendered and class related inequalities (Haberman 2008: 247).

In the neoliberal, neocolonial, patriarchal setting race, class and gender relations have changed. The new women's movement and the black movement in the second half of the 20th century played a crucial role in challenging biologistic justifications of exclusion of women and non-white people from the sphere of the *homo oeconomicus* and thus from various (productive) jobs, activities and rights. As a result the white male community of the middle class has integrated the others — women and non-white people — while continuously devaluating so called feminised and racialised characteristics. But the new *homo oeconomicus* cannot be completely perceived as detached from his ancestor — the white, middle class, male *homo oeconomicus* from the colonial, patriarchal, liberal-

bourgeois setting. For white, middle class men it is still easier to take up this form of subjectivation. This shall be shown in the following (Habermann 2008: 248-270.).

In her text *Globalization and Shifting Gender Governance Order(s)* (2005), Brigitte Young argues that there have been three important restructuring processes of gender relations in the transition from fordism to postfordism both in countries of the global north and the global south. First, the model of the male breadwinner and the female housewife has declined. Gender relations have changed as women have also become breadwinners. Additionally, neoliberal restructuring has resulted in an increased informalisation, flexibilisation and precarisation of the labour market associated with so-called female working conditions. A feminisation of the labour process has developed. Second, the public-private distinction has been challenged. This is reflected in the fact that mainly women both in the global north and south are required to combine formal, informal and subsistence activities in order to sustain their families. Third, equality among men and women of the middle class has increased while new forms of inequalities among women in relation to their race, class and nationality have emerged. As a result of these three restructuring processes, especially in the global cities of the global north a highly qualified still mainly white, middle and upper class men on the one hand and a large poorly qualified working force mainly female and non-white men on the other have developed (Young 2005: 3 f.; Habermann 2008: 263-265).

Therefore Habermann argues that there has been a de-gendering of the white middle class and upper class men and women in the global north which resulted in a shift of gender conflicts to the level of race and class. In order to become a *homo oeconomicus* a woman, has to free herself from reproductive work. The patriarchal connotation of the new *homo oeconomicus* appears. New forms of racialisations have emerged to maintain a working force performing those tasks not attached to the *homo oeconomicus* such as reproductive work or domestic work. Accordingly, mainly non-white women — in countries of the global north mainly women with migration background — are racialised and gendered in the sense of being 'naturally perfect' for performing certain tasks such as domestic work or cleaning activities. Racial stereotypes of the 'Mammy' have thus 'survived' (Agathangelou 2004: 155-159: Habermann 2008: 244-253). One rule of the formation of whiteness and

non-whiteness and the white woman and the non-white woman as terms and objects is thus the link between race and gender in the sense of who is able to be 'freed' from reproductive activities. A person's relationship to reproductive activities becomes a form of the grids of specification in order to be categorised as white or non-white. In this sense Habermann writes: "Some forms of behaviour need to be excluded from the leading image so that one can adjust oneself to the hegemonic form of subjectivation of the *homo oeconomicus*. A society cannot work without the excluded forms of behaviour such as taking care of people"[37] (Habermann 2008: 271; see also Habermann 2008: 263 ff.).

The possibility of 'passing' in the sense of becoming a *homo oeconomicus* is thus not available to all people rather new others are needed in order to construct normality in the neoliberal, neocolonial, patriarchal context. New rules of the formation of race and thus whiteness and non-whiteness as objects and terms emerge. The question of race and whiteness — non-whiteness has become more a question of culture among which the western culture is still perceived as superior. Yet Habermann argues that biologistic conceptions of gender and race still continue as has been mentioned concerning the racialisation of domestic work (Habermann 2008: 244-253).

Like in the colonial, patriarchal, liberal-bourgeois setting the relationship of class and race appears as a rule of formation of the objects and terms of whiteness and non-whiteness in the sense of a grid of specification. In countries of the global north some parts of the lower class have become racialised as their social status has been linked to apparent attitudes, lifestyles and mentalities. They are called 'white trash'. As has been analysed in the colonial, patriarchal, liberal-bourgeois setting, social inequalities are being racialised in order to construct them as unchangeable (Wollrad 2008: 35-37; Habermann 2008: 249). According to Habermann, Balibar refers to such a linking of race to class as "class racism"[38] (Balibar 1987, quoted in Habermann 2008: 247) as certain intellectual characteristics or attitudes are related to certain classes. As in the first setting whiteness is also linked to characteristics such as attitudes, lifestyle or appearance which can not be

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[37] "Die aus dem Leitbild ausgeschlossenen Verhaltensweisen ermöglichen erst ein am *homo oeconomicus* orientiertes Verhalten: Ohne diese Verhaltensweisen, zum Beispiel der Sorge um andere Menschen, ist Gesellschaft dauerhaft nicht möglich" (Habermann 2008: 271).

[38] „Klassen-Rassismus" (Balibar 1987, quoted in Habermann 2008: 247)

explained by the interdependences of race, class and gender (Habermann 2008: 247 ff.). This rule of formation of whiteness and non-whiteness is of crucial importance concerning the new *homo oeconomicus.*

In contrast to the colonial, patriarchal, liberal-bourgeois setting, in the neoliberal, neocolonial, patriarchal setting the new *homo oeconomicus* has become 'available' for the others — women and non-white people. Race, class and gender hierarchies seem to have been equalised as everybody can be integrated into the community of *homi oeconomici* if s/he fulfils the requirements. This apparent equality is well reflected in a quotation of Prah (2005) as he states: "If neo-colonialism has affected the African in the economic, political and cultural spheres of social life, it is at the intellectual and scholastic levels that this "imprisonment" is most covertly disguised" (Prah 2005: 114).

Yet the last analysis has shown that the new *homo oeconomicus* is embedded in specific race, class and gender relations reconstructing normality as white, male and from the middle class. In this sense the characteristics of the *homo oeconomicus* such as adequate education, skills, language, attitude or appearance have become racialised, gendered and class-related. The hegemonic form of subjectivation of the new *homo oeconomicus* implies certain bio-politics as it promotes the ideal of a manager as white, male and skinny. As a result women and non-white people can perform various forms of technologies of the self such as plastic surgery, skin bleaching or hair straightening in order to become a *homo oeconomicus.* Like adequate education, adequate beauty becomes a criterion to get certain jobs. Nevertheless the ideal of the new *homo oeconomicus* as white, male and skinny constructs women and non-white people as being never completely normal as they are required to change their biologistically perceived differences in order to fulfil the 'requirements' of this hegemonic form of subjectivation. Race, gender and class are thus linked to beauty practices. In relation to whiteness a strategy, which has already been identified in the first setting consists in the linking of whiteness to beauty practices (Habermann 2008: 260 f.).

In the last chapter some important rules of formation and politico-economic structures of the neoliberal, neocolonial, patriarchal setting (re)constructing the dispositif of whiteness have been identified. The interdependences of race, class and gender relations have been

identified as important rules of formation but in new constellations and contexts. Thus they were filled with new contents. The virtual economy has been presented as an important politico-economic sphere of commodifying whiteness. Concerning the forms of subjectivations, the reconstruction of the *homo oeconomicus* in the neoliberal, neocolonial, patriarchal setting has been examined. It has been shown how the white male middle class normality has expanded by integrating women and non-white people into it. White middle class male normality has thus been challenged but as the analysis has revealed, it is still hegemonic. Becoming integrated implies becoming a *homo oeconomicus,* which results in various gendered, racialised and class related technologies of the self such as the right attitude, the right appearance or the right language (Habermann 2008: 246 ff.). It is this discursive and politico-economic sphere on which whiteness and non-whiteness could be reconstructed. Due to the patriarchal construction of the *homo oeconomicus* the constructions of the white woman and the non-white woman are among other factors related to their possibility to 'free' themselves from reproductive tasks (Agathangelou 2004: 155-159). In the neoliberal, neocolonial, patriarchal setting white, male, middle class normality has been reconstructed by rearranging race, class and gender relations. Whiteness and non-whiteness need to be constantly reproduced. Thus we have come full circle to Amina Mama's quotation. Let me give a short conclusion of what has been done in the last chapter.

2.2.4. Reconstructing (neo)colonial, (neo)liberal, patriarchal power relations — changes and continuities

In the last chapter some important rules of formation and of politico-economic structures of the dispositif of whiteness have been reconstructed. In accordance with Foucault (1991a) I perceive the two settings as distinctive discursive formations. Consequently, I did not try to analyse causal relationships. Yet in new discursive formations some rules of formation of former discursive formations are partially integrated and reconstructed while other rules are dismissed (Foucault 1991a: 43). Thus some continuities between the two settings could be examined.

In the first setting —the colonial, patriarchal, liberal-bourgeois setting — I have defined the domestic sphere where gender, class and race relations were being (re)produced (McClintock 1995: 31 ff.). It functioned as an important surface of emergence. In relation to 'commodity racism' two other surfaces of emergence could be identified: the market where whiteness was commodified and advertising promoting whiteness in form of commodities. By analysing 'commodity racism' and with it the link between racialised discourses and capitalist expansion, the analysis could be embedded in politico-economic structures (McClintock 1995: 31 ff.).

Various rules of the formation of the objects and terms of whiteness and non-whiteness and the white woman and the non-white woman have been analysed. Three authorities of delimitation have been mentioned: the human sciences which constructed race and gender as biologistic categories (Hanke 2006: 105 ff.), the juridical apparatus constructing race in juridical terms and the advertising institutions constructing whiteness and non-whiteness as commodities (Axster 2005: 39-45; Walgenbach 2005: 202; McClintock 1995: 31 ff.).

Various grids of specification have been identified. Due to the two tropes of 'anachronistic space' and 'panoptical time', whiteness could be constructed as superior and non-whiteness as inferior. These constructed race hierarchies were also gendered placing non-white women and among them black women in particular at the very bottom (McClintock 1995: 36-42). Another important rule of formation of the objects and terms in the sense of a grid of specification was the interdependences between class, race and gender. Various interdependences such as the one between class and race in form of the 'dangerous non-white classes' could be explored. Besides these interdependences, the analysis has shown that whiteness and non-whiteness have also been linked to aspects such as attitude, lifestyle, language or appearance, which deconstruct biologistic constructions of gender and race. Furthermore, it reflects the limit of categories to grasp whiteness as its content always varies. Thus whiteness can be defined as an 'empty category' which constantly needs to be filled with content (Hanke 2006: 113 f.). In this context the connection of race and the question of beauty could be identified. This perception of beauty was also gendered which among other factors led to the emergence of the terms and objects of the white woman and the non-white woman (Axster 2005: 39 ff.; Walgenbach 2005: 131 ff.;

McClintock 1995: 216; Habermann 2008: 224-235). The politico-economic analysis has shown how the process of commodification emerged as a rule of formation of objects and terms in the nineteenth century constructing whiteness as a commodity (McClintock 1995: 207 ff.).

Concerning the rules of formation of strategies, five have been analysed: First, the construction of race was linked to the ongoing capitalist colonial expansion, second the question of race was linked to juridical processes, third and fourth discourses about race were connected to moral and 'health' practices. The fifth strategy constitutes the link of whiteness to beauty practices (McClintock 1995: 31-36; Prah 2004: 184; Axster 2005: 53; Bublitz 1999: 33; Dyer 1997: 72-74; Habermann 2008: 226).

In relation to the rules of formation of enunciative modalities, the focus was on the question how the white male middle class subject — the *homo oeconomicus* — could emerge as the normal form of subjectivation in the colonial, patriarchal, liberal-bourgeois setting devaluing all other forms such as women and non-white people. As I concentrated on the forms of subjectivations of the white woman and the non-white woman, I have further elaborated on the question of how white women could integrate themselves into the normal white, male, middle class community by reproducing racialised hierarchies (McClintock 1995: 37-39; Walgenbach 2005: 155).

In the second setting — the neoliberal, neocolonial, patriarachal setting — the interdependences of race-, gender- and class relations have been identified as a continuous rule of formation of the objects and terms in the sense of grids of specification but in new contexts. Racialised hierarchies among women could also be identified in the colonial, patriarchal, liberal-bourgeois setting, but in the second setting they seem to have intensified. An interdependence between race and gender as a grid of specification has been shown as being a white woman implies being freed from reproductive activities (Habermann 2008: 263 ff.; Walgenbach 2005: 155).

Concerning the construction of race, it has been shown that on the one hand biologistic conceptions of race and gender still exist, but like in the first setting other rules of formations of whiteness and non-whiteness could be examined. Thus like in the first setting, in the second setting whiteness has also been linked to characteristics such as

attitude, lifestyle or appearance. In addition race has been partly substituted by the term 'culture' opening up the space for whiteness to integrate new characteristics. In this context I have shown another continuity between the two settings but newly contextualised: the rule of formation of strategies in form of linking whiteness to beauty practices (Habermann 2008: 246 ff.; Axster 2005: 46 f.). Current form of skin bleaching are practices in new contexts where whiteness is being reproduced (Habermann 2008: 260 f.).

The politico-economic analysis of the second setting has shown an intensification of the process of commodification of the lifeworld. While the basis was laid in the first setting in form of a 'commodity racism', neoliberal globalisation has resulted into an increased commodification of the lifeworld. Thus parallels concerning the rules of formation could be analysed. The process of commodification as a rule of formation of objects and terms in the sense of a grid of specification has been explored as crucial in the neoliberal, neocolonial, patriarchal setting. In the first setting, the market and advertising have been identified as surfaces of emergence. The advertising institutions promoting and selling whiteness and non-whiteness in form of cultural signs and symbols have been explored as important authorities of delimitation (Peterson 2003: 114-118).

Concerning the rules of formation of enunciative modalities, the hegemonic form of subjectivation of the new *homo oeconomicus* has been analysed. Due to women's movements and black movements racialised and gendered hierarchies have been challenged and changed. Thus the others — women and non-white people — have been partly integrated into the white male middle class community. The neoliberal jargon promotes the hegemonic form of subjectivation of the *homo oeconomicus* as available to everybody (Habermann 2008: 248-253). White hegemony seems to have lost significance due to discourses about cultural pluralism. However the analysis has unmasked globalisation processes as normalisation processes using other non-white forms of subjectivations, forms of production, cultures and societies in order to sustain white, male, middle class hegemony (hooks 1994: 218; Hall 1994a: 53-55; Peterson 2003: 143).

Accordingly, whiteness can be described as a process of normalisation which constantly needs to reproduce its boundaries. As a result some of the others are integrated in order to keep white hegemony stable. Processes of integration have been elaborated at the example

of naturalisation processes in the colonial, patriarchal, liberal-bourgeois setting and the new *homo oeconomicus* in the neoliberal, neocolonial, patriarchal setting. Normalisation processes are dependent on the performance of the subjects. Thus technologies of the self have been identified as crucial in order to integrate oneself into the white community. Skin bleaching functions as such a technology of the self (Walgenbach 2005: 202; Habermann 2008: 260 f.).

As subjectivation processes are always flexible and as subjects are never completely subjugated under power relations, there have always been challenges and resistances to white, male, middle class hegemony (Habermann 2008: 109; Butler 2001: 17 f.). In the theoretical part the challenges from the side of non-white people to hegemonic forms of subjectivation were not analysed. This will be the main task of the empirical analysis. In her book *Beyond the Masks. Race, Gender and Subjectivity* (1995), Amina Mama mentions two discourses of how non-white people react to white hegemony. These are the colonial-integrationist discourse and the black radical discourse. The first implies an acceptance of white hegemony, the second refers to non-white forms of resistance and challenge (Mama 1995: 100). The latter one will be of importance in analysing skin bleaching not only as process of internalising hegemonic forms of subjectivation but also to read it 'against the grain' and examine how hegemonic power relations are translated into local contexts and thus changed (Hanke 2006: 101).

According to the method or rather 'metheory' I have elaborated on in the part of this diploma thesis, I am now going to reconstruct the various rules of formations and politico-economic structures in the empirical material which I identified in the theoretical part. The main focus is put on the rules of formation of the second setting as the empirical material can be related to it. But as I perceive the Tanzanian context as a new discursive formation, I am going to analyse how rules of formation of the colonial, patriarchal, liberal-bourgeois setting are being reconstructed in this context. Thus particular emphasis is put on changes and interruptions especially in relation to forms of subjectivation.

3. Tanzania in the (neo)liberal, (neo)colonial, patriarchal setting

In this chapter I am going to give a survey of Tanzania's embedding in (neo)colonial, (neo) liberal and patriarchal power relations in order to make the context of the research understandable. I am starting in the mid-nineteenth century when Tanzania was subjugated under colonial rule (Schicho 2004: 312). In this context I want to emphasise again that I perceive 'reality' as constructed. Thus all the terms used such as 'Africans', 'Arabs', 'Indians' etc. need to be critically perceived as forms of subjectivation, which change due to various contexts. As with other terms used before such as 'white', 'black' etc I am going to omit quotation marks. Due to the focus of this diploma thesis on skin bleaching, I am also going to give a survey of the history of the skin bleaching industry with a strong focus put on Tanzania.

3.1. A short history of Tanzania

> It is inescapable that race and religion are inextricably linked in the minds of Tanzanians, i.e. colonialism as being a Christian vestige and slavery an Islamic vestige; or Tanganyika being a missionary bastion while Zanzibar a Muslim bastion (Maoulidi 2010: 146).

During colonial times racial distinctions were fostered – amongst other things – by different legal systems for Asians, Europeans and Africans (Schicho 2004: 314). How these racialised categories are still reproduced in present Tanzania is analysed in chapter 4 where the findings of the empirical research are presented.

In the mid-nineteenth century the coastal region of current Tanzania and the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba were characterised by Arab and Islamic city states with long traditions of existence. Arab, Persian and Chinese traders had played important roles in the coastal areas since the eighth century. Indian traders came around the twelfth century (Nchimbi 2005: 14). Though Africans made up the majority of the population, an Arab minority had constituted itself as the ruling class with the help of Indian traders. Furthermore, a new middle class of Arab-African descent had developed, calling themselves 'Shirazi' refering to the Persian city. In the interior of the present Tanzania mainland new states emerged as Masai immigrated from the North, Bantu groups (such as the *Wangoni*) from the South, etc. Trade routes starting from Kilwa or Zanzibar financed by Indian capital 'explored' the

interior and enabled the transportation of African slaves for the plantations on the coast and on the islands as well as ivory. Thus Arabians started to be associated with slave traders enslaving the African population (Schicho 2004: 311 f.).

3.1.1. The colonial heritage

On the islands ...

Since the seventeenth and eighteenth century Arabs had broken the Portuguese influence on the East African coast. In the beginning the sultan's court and thus the centre of the Ottoman Empire were shifted to Zanzibar. Diplomatic relations between the colonial powers and the sultanate were well established by that time. In 1890 Zanzibar and Pemba became a British Protectorate due to a countertrade between the German and the British colonial powers. The main economic activity consisted of the production and export of cloves, which until 1873 was mainly done by slaves (Schicho 2004: 316). The following quote by Walter Schicho reflects the interdependence of race and class relations in Zanzibar even beyond independence: 'Slave labor, converted into wage labor, plantation owners, Indian capital providers, a middle- and under-class of Arabs, Shirazi and Africans from the mainland working as craftsmen, workers and employees and low British executives, an Arab court around the sultan and a British administration were the characteristics of the society of Zanzibar until after independence'[39] (Schicho 2004: 316). Thus Arabs were perceived as superior, which resulted in a situation in which the individual tried to be 'at least' Shirazi. This was also reflected in the exclusion of the African majority (around 70%) from political and economic decisions and the privilege of the Arab upper class by the British colonial power (Schicho 2004: 317).

Ethnic lines also influenced the development of political associations such as the Arab Association, Indian National Association, African Association and Shirazi Association. These ethnic lines were continued in the development of the mainly Arab Zanzibar National Party (ZNP) in 19575/56 and the mainly African Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP) in

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[39] "Sklavenarbeit, zu Lohnarbeit konvertiert, Plantagenbesitzer, indische Kapitalgeber, eine Mittel- und Unterschicht aus Arabern, Shirazi und Festlandsafrikanern als Handewerker, Arbeiter, Angestellte und kleine Beamte der Engländer, ein arabischer Hof rund um den Sultan und dazu eine britische Verwaltung kennzeichneten bis nach der Unabhängigkeit die Gesellschaft in Zanzibar" (Schicho 2004: 316).

1957. The elections in 1961 and the ZNP's victory resulted in violent conflicts between adherents of the parties. New elections were held in 1963 which were won by the coalition between the ZNP and the and ZPPP (Zanzibar and Pemba People's Party). On the 12th of January 1964 a 'revolution' took place and the ASP's Abeid Karume took over. Again there was a lot of violence, mainly against the people of the 'wrong race' and religion — Arabs and Asians (Schicho 2004: 319 f.).

... meanwhile on the mainland

In 1886 the present mainland of Tanzania became part of the German colony 'Deutsch-Ostafrika'. The German colonial administration focused on the development of local agricultural export production and fostered by Indians' control of local trade. I just mention one central event of resistance — the Maji-Maji-war in 1905-1907 — when ethnic groups of the South fought against the German colonial power (Schicho 2004: 312).

After the First World War, in 1922, the German colony was divided among the British and the Belgians. The mainland, now called 'Tanganyika', became a British mandate of the league of nations, Rwanda and Burundi got under Belgian rule. In comparison to German colonialism, British colonialism followed the principle of the so-called 'indirect rule' with apparently 'traditional' chiefs — who were sometimes newly introduced — carrying out some parts of the colonial administration. From 1926 on a legislative council existed with only white and Indian representatives of the population. German businesses and properties were mainly sold to British colonialists and the rest went into Indian and Greek hands. Thus in addition to their important role in the trade sector, Indians gained power in the agricultural sector, the administration, the management of European businesses and in the financial sector (Schicho 2004: 312 ff.).

Concerning the economy, the British prevented the development of industries in favour of the metropolis and Kenya, which became the main producer for the East-African market. Further local production of cash crops had already existed in three regions since the German colonial period. In the southern region of Lake Victoria the ethnic group of the *Wasukuma* produced cotto, in Buhaya and the Kilimanjaro region — associated with the

ethnic group of the *Wachagga* — coffee was planted. Thus a rural form of capitalism emerged (Schicho 2004: 313 f.)

From the beginning of the 20th century, anti-colonial movements started to organise themselves. The African Association (AA), founded in 1929, played an important role in forming regional associations. In the 1940s the first acknowledged labour unions emerged. In 1948 the Tanganyika African Association (TAA) lead by Julius Kambarage Nyerere — the first President of Tanzania — was founded. In 1954 the TAA became the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), the party which paved the way to independence. The elections of 1958/59 marked a strong victory of the TANU and in 1961 Tanzania became 'independent' (Schicho 2004: 325 f.).

3.1.2. After 'independence'

The years after independence were marked by politics of 'africanisation' resulting in a deployment of Africans in politics, administration and the police (Schicho 2004: 321). In 1964 a union between Zanzibar and Tanganyika was signed and in 1977 the United Republic of Tanzania was constituted. In 1977, ASP and TANU also joined into one single party — the *Chama cha Mapinduzi* (CCM), the revolution party (Schicho 2004: 323). Although this union can be perceived as a symbol of Pan-Africanism, Issa G. Shivji argues that the union was mainly the result of western pressure in order to control the emerging socialist tendencies on Zanzibar under Abdulrahman Mohamend Babu and his Umma-Party (Shivji 2006: 56).

The beginning of the independence era was marked by a continuation of development patterns set by colonialism. The focus was on the promotion of capitalist farmers and the expansion of agricultural export production based on concepts of the World Bank. This changed in 1967 with the Arusha Declaration stressing the policy of socialism and self-reliance — in Swahili *Ujamaa na kujitegemea*. Commanding heights of the economy were nationalised and the central political goals were the elimination of poverty, ignorance and diseases. Accordingly, free education and health systems were created. Equality among all members of the Tanzanian society irrespectively of their gender or race was promoted. The TANU constitution of 1954 emphasised equality between the various races thus opposing

all forms of tribalism, which was perceived as colonial heritage. A central unifying act was the introduction of Swahili as the official language. Despite these principles, racial conflicts continued as the revolution in Zanzibar showed (Schicho 2004: 318).

In relation to gender relations, the first women's organisation 'The Tanganyika Council of women' was founded in the early 1950s. In 1962 the council was incorporated into the women's organisation of TANU called Umoja wa Wanawake wa Tanganyika (U.W.T.) — unity of women of Tanganyika – stressing women's role in social, political and economic development (Koda 1975: 130 ff.; Schicho). As a kind of heritage the improvement of gender equality during the *Ujamaa* period can be identified in the percentage of women in parliament, which constituted 36% in 2010 (Inter-Parliamentary Union 2011: 2).

Cooperative forms of production were introduced, resulting in the policy programme of *Ujamaa Vijijini,* which resettled 5 Million people into villages where they were supposed to produce collectively. Concerning foreign policy Issa G. Shivji states: 'Nyerere's foreign policy was pretty consistent in its support for the national liberation struggle, for participation in the non-alignment movement and against hegemony of the two super-powers' (Shivji 2006: 59). Nyerere was a central figure in the Pan-African movement, being one of the foundation members of the Organisation of the African Unity, the antecessor of the African Union. Paradoxically, Tanzania became more aid-dependent during the time of *Ujamaa* as it got aid from both the west block and east block states due to its non-alignment status (Shivji 2004: 59; Schicho 2004: 323 f.).

In the late 1970s Tanzania's economic situation worsened due to various internal and external reasons such as droughts, the two oil crises (1973/79), the war with Uganda (1978/79) and finally the debt crisis in the 1980s. From inside and outside, voices became louder for economic liberalisations and democratisation. Nyerere stepped back and Ali Hassan Mwinyi became the second president in 1985. In 1986 Mwinyi signed a contract with the IWF resulting in a liberalisation of trade and financial regimes, privatisation of the economy and an end of free education and health systems. The time of the neoliberal Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) began. The multi-party system was reintroduced in 1992 when the CCM won. Benjamin Mpaka became the third president, the current president is Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete (Schicho 2004: 311 ff.; Shivji 2006: 61, 65)

The SAPs had a strong influence on gender- and race relations. Due to privatisations, layoffs etc. women were pushed back into the home sphere. Furthermore, the burden of their unpaid — as 'feminine' connoted — work increased, as they had to cope with the loss of many public services offered by the state before, such as health care etc. (Sparr 1994: 20 ff.). However, especially in the urban context like Dar es Salaam, women started to engage in income-generating activities due to the sharply declining wages (of their husbands in this case) and the great layoffs. Aili Mari Tripp shows that at the end of the 1980s women became the main breadwinners in Dar es Salaam due to their engagement in income-generating activities, resulting in a shift of gender relations (Tripp 1994: 240).

As already mentioned, *Ujamaa's* politics had tended to decrease social distinctions along religious, ethnic and racial lines (Schicho 2004: 318). After the introduction of neoliberal policies social inequalities increased emphasising these forms of social differentiations. The interdependence of class and race shows in the fact that mostly Tanzanian traders of Arab and Asian origin have gained more influence in the realm of the liberalisations (Shivji 2006: 62). Especially Tanzanians of Asian descent have the image of being un-patriotic and are criticised for their economic influence (Maoulidi 2010: 138 f.).

According to the IWF and WB Tanzania functions as a prime-example of the SAPs (Schicho 2004: 326), arguably a strange perception as Tanzania is nowadays among the so-called least-developed countries, being found at rank 148 of the World Development Index (UNDP). Rather a reflection of Tanzania's 'development' needs to be linked tothe neoliberal, patriarchal setting. Whereas the SAPs might be a 'success' in a neoliberal sense due to its stabilisation of macro-economic structures such as inflation, the following quotation of Issa G. Shivji reflects the intensification of class differences resulting into a strengthening of the upper class which has profited from the business possibilities of a liberalised market. "This period also saw the coming together of the neo-liberal political elite with the neo-liberal business elite while the neo-liberal intellectual elite dissolved itself in one of these or joined the world of NGOs, biding their time to start a guest-house or a conference centre" (Shivji 2006: 64).

This short outline of Tanzania's embedding in (neo)colonial, (neo)liberal and patriarchal power relations has shown some continuities and breaks concerning race, class and gender

relations in Tanzania between the colonial, liberal-bourgeois, patriarchal and the neoliberal, neocolonial, patriarchal setting. Let me now give a short description of the skin bleaching business especially in regard to the Tanzanian context.

3.2. Skin bleaching — a lucrative business in the (neo)colonial, (neo) liberal, patriarchal setting

> The beauty industry is big, because it's kind of a national sport. [...] Every country has its own sport. In Tanzania, everybody is looking for beauty (Hassanali).

Skin bleaching is not a recent phenomenon. Already at the times of the Ancient Greeks people used white lead to bleach their skin. At the turn from the nineteenth century into the twentieth century skin bleaching increased due to the establishment of the cosmetic industry. The first target group were women of European descent living in the United States and in the imperial outposts. According to the text *Skin Bleaching: Poison, beauty: Power and the Politics of the Colour Line* of Amina Mire (2000), the biggest group of users of skin bleaching products in Europe and North America are white women. In relation to white women — but as we will see later — also to non-white people these products supposedly remove blemishes, pimples and 'dark spots' (Mire 2000: 10; Pierre 2008: 18). Mire argues that such technologies of the self target the achievement of "racial purity of the white supremacist race" (Mire 2000: 10). M. Thomas Lynn also refers to the role of skin bleaching products in (re)producing race and class hierarchies as he states "these preparations became highly profitable commodities by playing on a bourgeois and racialised aesthetic that valued skin purged of evidence of outdoor labor and intimacy with dark skinned "others" " (Lynn 2009: 190).

By the 1920s black women mainly in the United States and in South Africa had become 'new target groups' for skin bleaching products. By then the products were mainly produced in the United States where some businesses were owned by black people and also women. So called 'black cosmetics' were sold as a "personal liberation" through self improvement" (Lynn 2009: 191). In this sense self skin bleaching products can be perceived as a technology of the self as it functions as a possibility for black people both in the United States and in South Africa to raise their racial status. The first cosmetic

company in South Africa was Apex (Lynn 2009: 192 f.). By the 1950s the market for skin bleaching products had gone beyond the boundaries of South Africa and had expanded to — according to the South African magazine Drum — thirteen African countries or colonies. Lynn emphasises the role of South African periodicals targeting southern Africans such as *Drum, The African Weekly, The African Parade, Bantu Mirror* or *Bantu Opinion* in creating an 'African' market for skin bleaching products. Thus the interplay between advertising and the market appears. This has been analysed in relation to the virtual economy in the theoretical part (Lynn 2009: 200; Peterson 2003: 116 ff.).

In the 1930s the most common ingredient was ammoniated mercury. The production and distribution of mercury-based skin bleaching products is currently illegal in North America, Europe and many countries of the global south (Lynn 2009: 195; Mire 2000: 5). Since the 1950s hydroquinone has become the most common ingredient for skin bleaching products. In the 1970s the US Food and Drug Administration advised that hydroquinone concentration should be kept at 1 to 2 percent due to various side-effects such as ochronosis — a blue-black hyperpigmentation in the epidermis (Lynn 2009: 205).

In Tanzania under Julius Kambarage Nyerere skin bleaching products together with wigs, short shorts, miniskirts and tight trousers were banned as part of 'African socialism' and its counter-western policies in relation to clothing, fashion etc. (Lynn 2009: 205; Nchimbi 2005: 2). After the neoliberal shift the Ministry of Health tried again to ban certain soaps and cosmetics containing mercury. In 2003 the Tanzanian Food and Drugs Authority (TFDA) started to regulate cosmetics in form of the Tanzania Food, Drugs and Cosmetics Act of 2003. Since then 222 products containing hydroquinone, mercury, steroids or some other harming ingredients have been banned (Forgen Mariki; Nchimbi 2005: 2).

Rehema Forgen Mariki, a Medical Devices Assessment and Enforcement Officer at the Tanzania Food & Drug Authority (TFDA), explains that shop sellers have decreased selling bleaching products since the Regulation Act of 2003 (Forgen Mariki). Richard's insight into the cosmetic market — Richard is a salesman of cosmetic products — contradicts Forgen Mariki's assumption as he states: "All the rich people are in the cosmetic business. There is no other business like the one of cosmetics which brings as

much money as this one"[40] (Richard). Consequently, so called illegal activities have increased in relation with bleaching products. This shift is reflected in a statement of Alice and Brenda: "Now if you go to the shop, you don't get it [Caro Light; A/N]. You ask him, he gives it to you under the counter"[41] (Alice and Brenda). Figure 4 shall give an insight into one of the various cosmetic shops.

Figure 4: Shop selling cosmetic products.
See list of figures.

According to my research, the products found in Tanzania are mainly imported from South Africa, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Zambia regarding the African continent and UK, France, and the United States from the global North (Forgen Mariki; Richard; Maisaga). Conforming to Forgen Mariki, a Medical Devices Assessment and Enforcement Officer at the Tanzania Food & Drug Authority (TFDA), there exist around seven cosmetic companies in Tanzania which produce 'normal' cosmetics i.e. not bleaching products although this statement needs to be reflected critically due to the differentiation between 'bleaching' and 'lightening'[42].

The large consumption of bleaching products in Tanzania needs to be linked to the role of the beauty industry in Tanzania. A link can be drawn to the statement of Mustafa Hassanali, a Tanzanian couture desinger, at the beginning of this chapter describing the beauty industry as some kind of "national sport" (Hassanali). According to Hassanali, the

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[40] "Matajiri wote wameingia kwenye biashara ya vipodozi. Hakuna biashara nyingine kama ile ya vipodozi ambayo inaleta hela kama ile" (Richard)

[41] "Sasa hizi ukienda dukani, hupati. Unauliza, anakupa ya kichenga, chenga" (Alice and Brenda).

[42] The apparent differentiation between bleaching and lightening is analysed on page 96-100.

hair business is the biggest business in Tanzania. The preference of weaves and extensions resulting in a straightening of the hair reflect other forms of technologies of the self in order to normalise oneself in the sense of the new *homo oeconomicus (*Hassanali). Yet as with skin bleaching, hair straightening can not only be understood as a subjection under power relations but also as a contextualisation of power relations. According to Chambi Chachage, independent researcher, newspaper columnist and policy analyst based in Dar es Salaam, most women want straight but black or dark hair rather than blond hair. Thus hegemonic forms of subjectivation are appropriated and changed (Chachage).

In the theoretical part I argued that normalising globalisation processes need to integrate non-hegemonic forms of politico-economic structures, cultures and forms of subjectivation (Hall 1994a: 53-55). In this sense Hassanali states: "So there is a huge potential but this potential needs to be exploited. Africa is not a dark continent as people think" (Hassanali). The opposing of 'Africa as a dark continent' and thus as an 'anachronistic space' reflects processes of self-appropriation of hegemonic capitalist structures by countries of the global south. According to Hassanali capitalist markets need to be created according to the desires of 'Africans'. "[N]obody cares for that ultra-massive continent which has so much of consumerism, consumerism of the maximum, just create for them" (Hassanali). Therefore hegemonic whiteness needs to be 'adapted' to the desires of Tanzanian consumers which is reflected in the hegemony of the 'light beauty' being the research focus of the following chapter. After this outline of the context of the research, I am now turning to the presentation of the findings of the analysis of the empirical material.

4. Skin bleaching in Tanzania — a technology of the self in a neoliberal, neocolonial, patriarchal setting

In this chapter I am going to present the findings of the analysis of the empirical material consisting in interviews and visual material. I analysed the empirical material by (re) constructing the various rules of formation of the dispositif of whiteness identified in the theoretical part in the empirical material. Thus it is about the formation of objects and terms of whiteness and non-whiteness and the white woman and the non-white woman, of strategies and of enunciative modalities (Foucault 1973: 58). In the theoretical approach a focus was set on the formation of objects and terms and of enunciative modalities. This is continued in the analysis of the empirical material. Regarding the formation of objects and terms, the surfaces of emergence, the authorities of delimitation and grids of specification need to be analysed (Foucault 1973: 62-67).

I have decided to use the surfaces of emergence as 'stages' where the terms and objects of whiteness and non-whiteness and the white woman and the non-white woman are being (re)constructed by authorities of delimitation by (re)producing the grids of specification which have been identified in the theoretical part. Thus I am going to analyse which grids of specification such as the interdependence of race, gender and class relations or the process of commodification can be reconstructed at each surface of emergence. In the end the reader should have been given a picture of how the various surfaces of emergence are (re)constructing whiteness or as the analysis will show lightness as normality by reproducing the grids of specification identified in the theoretical part. In the second part of the analysis of the material I am going to reconstruct the grids of specification in relation to the enunciative modalities or forms of subjectivation. Yet a strong focus is set on changes and interruptions in regard to the grids of specification in order to show how subjects are acting within power relations.

4.1. Surfaces of emergence within the dispositif of whiteness

In my analysis of the empirical material two more surfaces of emergence beside advertising, the market and the domestic sphere could be identified: 'friends' and 'the

town' with 'the street' as the main area. Interestingly salons were hardly mentioned, which might be due to the fact that skin bleaching is done at home and not in salons. Furthermore, the main activities of salons are beauty practices related to hair (Hassanali). Still some interviewees referred to salons as places where you get images about beauty (Hadija and Amina). Although the various rules of formation are presented separately, I perceive them as dependent on each other in constructing whiteness as hegemonic. One interdependence between the rule of formation shall be emphasised here. In the theoretical part I have already shown that beauty perceptions have not only been racialised but also gendered, that is why the rules of the link between race and beauty and gender and race are presented together (Dyer 1997: 72; do Mar Castro/Dhawan 2005: 327).

I start with the smaller surfaces — the domestic sphere, friends and the city setting with the street as central sphere — and then turn to the two big surfaces: the advertising and the market. In the theoretical part it has been shown that advertising and the market cannot be differentiated in the sense of a virtual economy, thus there are overlaps between the two surfaces. However for analytical reasons, I decided to analyse them separately (Peterson 2003: 116 ff.).

In the theoretical part it has been shown that whiteness is a flexible construct which needs to be contextualised. Thus I ask the reader to remember that Tanzanian women referring to 'white' normally have a lighter Tanzanian woman in mind. There are also ethnic groups in Tanzania, which are perceived white. The various forms of whiteness are going to be discussed in relation to forms of subjectivation in Tanzania.

4.1.1. The domestic sphere: Skin bleaching — a cult of domesticity

In the theoretical part, the domestic sphere was identified as a central place where gender, class and race hierarchies are (re)produced. Furthermore, it reflects the dichotomisation between men and women, private and public and productive and unproductive in a capitalist system (McClintock 1995: 31 ff.). In the interviews this surface of emergence could be reconstructed as families were mentioned as an important social group (re) constructing whiteness and non-whiteness and the non-white woman and the white woman. In the interviews mainly parents, sisters and brothers and husbands or boyfriends

are mentioned in terms of 'family' (Mary; Hadija and Amina; Alice and Brenda; Janet, Glory; Florence and Grace). The role of the domestic sphere in relation to skin bleaching is also related to the fact that the home is the place where the practice of skin bleaching is performed. Regarding the domestic sphere the grids of specification of the link of beauty with race, race and gender, race and class and the process of commodification could be (re) constructed.

The link between women and the private sphere in the sense of the family sphere[43] seems important in order to understand the role of gender relations in constructing beauty as white or – as we will see later – as light and gendered. Regarding the colonial, liberal-bourgeois, patriarchal setting, I have argued that women were supposed to 'wash away' their domestic work and 'just be pretty'. The home needed to be represented in an 'ordered and clean way' (McClintock 1995: 162 f.). In the colonial, liberal-bourgeois, patriarchal setting the soap played an important role in the representation of the 'clean household' and its clean 'household members'. In the context of this empirical research skin bleaching seems to have taken over this role from the soap in representing 'clean domestic women'. This perception is well reflected in the following quote from Jokate's interview:

> Men don't like very intelligent women because they think they will be competing at the house. You know if you are strong, intelligent, you always want to have your way. And men always want to be on the top. So you hear 'women should just be like flowers, should just listen to us, should just look beautiful'. They should just look beautiful (Jokate).

Women's important form of subjectivation is thus to be beautiful and 'decorate their husbands' (Jokate; Haifa). While some husbands and boyfriends are reproducing the link between beauty and whiteness or lightness, others are opposing it. Florence explains to me that she started to bleach as her boyfriend did not like her dark skin colour. 'I was black and I had a boyfriend who did not like it that I was black, thus he left me. Afterwards I started to bleach and I got a boyfriend who likes white women'[44] (Florence). In contrast Brenda refers to her husband who opposes her bleaching. 'Others like me are married, I live with my husband but he doesn't like it that I bleach. He doesn't like it. He knows that

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[43] From my view the family is perceived as belonging to the private sphere in Tanzania.

[44] "Mimi nilikuwa mweusi, nilikuwa na boyfriend ambaye hapendi niwe mweusi, akaniacha. Baadaye nilianza kutumia cream nikapata boyfriend ambaye anapenda mwanamke mweupe" (Florence).

there are problems'[45] (Brenda). Due to physical side effects the bleaching is limited, a fact which I will discuss in more detail later in regard to the forms of subjectivation.

The representation of the household is also linked to the question of class. Middle, and upper class households are represented by 'adequate' beauty of the respective housewives. Skin bleaching thus requires some level of income. The link between class and race is addressed by Hadija as she tells me that her husband wants her to stop as it is too expensive (Hadija). Accordingly linking race to class, if a woman bleaches her skin it implies that she has a husband or boyfriend who can afford it. In this sense Janet states: "If you see a girl who is bleaching you know already that money is needed"[46] (Janet).

The link of beauty with whiteness can also be analysed using the example of weddings. In three interviews (Alice and Brenda; Glory; Hadija and Amina) the link between marriage and bleaching is mentioned. Interestingly, two of the three interviewees come from different regions — Dar es Salaam and Bukoba (Northern Tanzania) — which reflects the wide spread of skin bleaching in Tanzania. Although skin bleaching seems to be mainly linked to urban areas, the example of the woman living in Segerea, originally from the rural area of Bukoba, shows that skin bleaching is also practiced in rural areas (Glory). Before the wedding, many women start bleaching in order to look beautiful. The commodification of whiteness appears as beauty and whiteness or lightness can be bought in form of products. The following quote from Glory's interview reflects this process of commodification of whiteness or lightness. "In our region near Bukoba, if a woman marries, she is put inside the house, products are bought, she uses them until she becomes white, since that day I have started this"[47] (Glory).

Glory's statement also presents the process of 'preparing' a woman for the wedding as a collective one, thus the family acts as a constituting unity of constructing beauty as white or light (Glory). In contrast to the interview with Glory, in most of the other interviews the family was mentioned as opposing instances to bleaching. Especially the parents are

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[45] "Mwingine kama mimi nimeolewa, naishi na mume wangu lakini hapendi nipake cream. Hapendi. Anajua ina matatizo" (Brenda).

[46] "Ukimwona msichana ambaye ni mweupe wa kununua, unajua tayari ni gharama" (Janet).

[47] "Sisi kwetu, Bukoba mkoani, mwanamke akiolewa lazima wanamweka ndani, unamnunulia vipodozi, anapaka mpaka anakuwa mweupe, tangu siku ile nikaanza hivo hivo na hivo" (Glory).

presented as those who emphasise blackness as a characteristic of being African. Given the generation of these parents (around fifty years old), they might still be influenced by the pan-african policies of Nyerere and thus by – as Amina Mama refers to it — black radical discourse (Mama 1995: 100; Schicho 2004: 323 f.). The link between being African and being black can be identified in a quote from Mary's interview, the woman from Mbezi Beach: "In my family they did not like it that I am white, they want me to be black. Isn't our origin black as your origin is white?"[48] (Mary). The difference of perceptions among the generations can also be analysed using Janet's and Glory's examples. Janet started bleaching because her sister was bleaching. In Glory's family two other sisters are also bleaching (Janet; Glory). As the younger generation is much more linked to the neoliberal, neocolonial, patriarchal setting — as the liberalisations of the market took place in the late 1980s (Shivji 2006: 61, 64) — a relationship between neoliberal politico-economic structures and the (re)emergence of whiteness or as the ongoing analysis will show rather lightness as a hegemonic form of subjectivation appears.

In this sense the domestic sphere constitutes an important surface where the link between whiteness, lightness and beauty is being (re)produced. Furthermore, the domestic sphere reflects the gendered perception of beauty as it is women who need to be beautiful in order to represent their homes properly. The analysis has shown how this 'proper' household is also linked to the question of class as skin bleaching implies that there is enough money among the family members to buy these products. Due to the link of beauty with whiteness or lightness, the strategy of linking whiteness to beauty practices such as skin bleaching is being (re)produced. In the theoretical part I argued that in the colonial, liberal-bourgeois, patriarchal setting there was a cult of domesticity reinforcing the domestication of women and colonised people. It was in the domestic sphere where domesticating technologies of the self such as washing oneself with soap occurred (McClintock 1995: 34 ff.). Parallels can be identified to the technology of skin bleaching which can now be defined as another form of (self-)domestication of non-white women. Now I am turning to the next surface of emergence — the friends.

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[48] "Kwenye familia walikuwa hawapendi niwe mweupe, wanapenda niwe mweusi. Watu weusi siyo asili yetu kama wewe asili yako ni kuwa mweupe?" (Mary).

4.1.2. Friends: "We are all on the same path"

Analysing the interviews I identified another social group — the friends — as a surface where the terms and objects of whiteness and non-whiteness, the white woman and the non-white woman emerge. The main grid of specification which could be (re)constructed in relation to the friends is the link of race to beauty.

Concerning the question where the interviewees get their perceptions of what and who is beautiful from, friends were often mentioned. Accordingly, Haifa emphasises the role of peer groups in constructing perceptions of beauty: "The thoughts come from groups. There are many girls sitting together, they are just sitting. That's where the thoughts start"[49] (Haifa). In contrast to families, friends are mostly referred to as people supporting the notion of white or light as beautiful. Concerning gender relations it is important to explain that 'friends' generally imply female friends thus the perception of a white or light woman as beautiful is also (re)constructed among exclusive women's groups (Mary, Richard, Haifa, Glory, Florence, Grace). So it is a kind of chain reaction, one starts and the others follow, which can be identified in statements such as "My friends asked me "what oil do you use, I want to use it too"[50] (Mary) or "My friends support me because we are all on the same path"[51] (Haifa).

It is among friends that products are discussed, informations exchanged, beauty perceptions (re)constructed and judgements about one's appearance delivered. Friends' opinions seem to be very important to some interviewees, as can be illustrated with an excerpt from the interview with Glory who tells how her friends perceive her since she has stopped bleaching and thus become darker again.

> G: Even my friends tell me "now you don't look pretty".
> K[52]: Do you have a lot of friends who bleach?
> G: A lot.
> K: And what do they say?

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[49] "Mawazo yanakuwa kwenye makundi. Wanakaa yaani wasichana, wanakaa wengi hivi. Yaani mawazo yanaanzia hapo" (Haifa).

[50] "Marafiki zangu waliniuliza "unapaka mafuta gani na mimi nataka nipake" " (Mary).

[51] "Marafiki zangu wanasupport kwa sababu wote tuko kwenye njia moja" (Haifa).

[52] 'K' is the abbreviation for my name.

G: They tell me that I have changed a lot, they laugh about me.
K: So they laugh when you tell them that you want to become black?
G: They tell me "don't try it", "use this and this and this".[53]

The recommendation to continue bleaching demonstrates the pressure this group of friends performs on Glory so that at the end of the interview she comes to the conclusion that perhaps she should at least buy some lotion which lightens her up a bit. "I should buy a lotion so that I become a bit lighter"[54] (Glory). Regarding the reproduction of the link of beauty with whiteness or lightness, the quote from Glory's interview demonstrates the perception of dark as not pretty and white as beautiful which has been identified especially in the colonial, liberal-bourgeois setting (Dyer 1997: 72). The term '*kutisha*' which I translated with 'pretty' — its usual meaning in daily life — literally means 'to scare' reflecting associations of blackness or non-whiteness with scaryness, barbaric, with an anachronistic space as McClintock calls it (McClintock 1996: 40 ff.).

In this sense friends seem to play an important role in constructing whiteness or lightness as beautiful. In contrast to the theoretical analysis, the grid of specification of the link of beauty with race in the sense of whiteness has undergone a change in the Tanzanian context as it is lightness which is perceived as beautiful. The last quote from Mary's interview implies this change. This new grid of specification — the link of beauty with lightness instead of whiteness — is the focus of the following analysis. I am now turning to the last small surface of emergence — the town with the street as the main area.

4.1.3. On the street in the city: "Mtoto white anapita" — "A white girl is passing"

"It's a city thing"[55] (Hadija) — the relationship between bleaching and urban areas is mentioned by various interviewees (Hadija and Amina; Mary, David; Janet; Alice and

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[53] G: Hata marafiki wananiambia 'sasa hivi unatisha wewe'. [...] 'Mwenzangu unatisha sasa hizi', wananiambia.
K: Una marafiki wengi ambao wanajichubua?
G: Wengi.
K: Na wanasemaje?
G: Wananiambia nimebadilika sana, wanacheka.
K: Kwa hiyo wanacheka ukisema unataka kuwa mweusi?
G: Wananiambia "usijaribu", "paka hivo na hivo na hivo".

[54] "Ninunue lotion nipitishe kidogo" (Glory).

[55] "ni mambo ya mjini" (Hadija)

Brenda). Regarding the analysis of the city-village relationship the grids of specification of the link of race with class and beauty with whiteness or lightness could be reconstructed. City and villages differ in distinct technologies of the self. The urban area reflects 'modern' ways of dressing, living and beauty practices such as bleaching. A quote from Hadija's interview reflects how these 'modern' technologies of the self are related to class. She tells me that people in the village are impressed by the price of the products. "If you tell her the price, she will not be happy [...] "so you have money if you use something like that?" "[56] (Hadija and Amina). Moreover, the following quote from Hadija's interview illustrates how one's racial status in the sense of lightness and class status in the sense of socio-economic background are linked to other technologies of the self beside skin bleaching — clothing.

> City thing, you see the changes. The way you dress, you are different. In the village you might wear a Kanga[57], you wake up in the morning, you wear a Kanga. But if you go to another place, you see that people are different. In the village you might walk only with a Kanga, but in in the city, you can't walk with a Kanga from here to there, you need to wear a dress[58] (Hadija and Amina).

Accordingly, 'modernity' and 'whiteness' or 'lightness' are associated with various technologies of the self reflecting the wide range of aspects whiteness or lightness can be linked to. In the theoretical part it has been shown how whiteness can be linked to other characteristics such as lifestyle or attitude going beyond the interdependence of race, class and gender. In this sense Haija states: "These days if you are black, [...] you seem like a lout"[59] (Haifa). The term *'mshamba'* has two meanings in Swahili: on the one hand it refers to people living in rural areas and on the other it means 'lout' or 'uncouth person'. Blackness is thus associated with 'uncivilised' reflecting racialised images of black or non-white as backward and white as 'modern' (McClintock 1995: 40 ff.). The grid of

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[56] "Ukimwambia bei yake, hatafurahi. [...] "na wewe una hela ukitumia kitu kama hicho?" " (Hadija and Amina).

[57] the 'Kanga' is a piece of decorated thin cotton cloth used as a garment by women in Eeast Africa

[58] Mambo ya mjini, unaona mabadiliko. Kama unavyovaa, umebadilika. Kijijini labda unavaa kanga, unaamka asubuhi, umejifunga kanga. Lakini ukienda sehemu nyingine unakuta watu wako tofauti. Labda unajifunga kanga tu kijijini unatembea pale, lakini kwa huko mjini, huwezi kutoka hapa na hapa na kanga, lazima utavaa gauni (Hadija and Amina).

[59] "Siku hizi mweusi, [...] yaani unaonekana kama mshamba" (Haifa).

specification of the anachronistic space appears as people in the village seem to live in another time (McClintock 1995: 40).

In the town setting one area could be identified as the main surface where whiteness and non-whiteness or rather lightness and non-lightness are being (re)constructed: the street. It is on the street where people meet and exchange ideas, where people are judged by their appearance and where people interact (Hadija and Amina; Janet, Alice and Brenda; David). These daily interactions with people on the street seem to play an important role in (re) producing subjects concerning the categories of gender, class and race. The influence of daily situations on a persons's forms of subjectivation is expressed by Glory who talks about the differences between the time when she was white and now since she has stopped bleaching:

> Now they don't ask, they just pass me and you hear "this one doesn't have money, it has finished". They don't say anything. They don't come to ask me. They talk about me behind my back[60] (Glory).

The quote from Glory's interview reflects the link of race with class as lighter skin is perceived with a higher socio-economic status. Besides the link of class with race, gendered and racialised perceptions of beauty are also (re)constructed on the street. In three interviews the scenario of men sitting next to the street and a white girl is passing by was mentioned. An excerpt from the interview with Janet illustrates well such daily situations.

> You see men sitting somewhere, if a white girl passes, for sure they will turn to watch her. You see that. It must be. They will turn to watch her, they will say 'this girl is beautiful', because of what? Because of her white colour. You will hear 'a white girl is passing'. So they characterise her as beautiful.[...] It's different with a black person, if she passes, you will just hear 'watch the girl'. You see. For what reason? Because of being white[61] (Janet).

So black women are 'just women' while white women are also white. It is their whiteness that enhances their beauty and status as men are more attracted to them. Accordingly, one

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[60] Sasa hawaulizi, wanapita tu na unasikia "hana hela huyu, ameishiwa na hela". Hawasemi. Hawaji kuniuliza. Wananiongelea huko pembeni (Glory).

[61] Unakuta wanaume labda wamekaa sehemu, akipita msichana mweupe, lazima watageuke kumwangalia. Unaona. Lazima hiyo. Watageuka kumwangalia, watasema "yule msichana ni mzuri" kwa jili ya nini? Rangi yake nyeupe. Utasikia "mtoto white anapita". Yaani wanampa sifa zile kwamba ni mzuri. Yaani mtaani, mtaani. [...] Tofauti ya mtu mweusi akipita, au tutasikia tu 'check mtoto'. Umeona. Kwa ajili ya nini? Ya kuwa mweupe (Janet).

form of subjectivation for women consists in being an attraction for men objectifying women and putting them at a lower social level in relation to men. The unequal gender relations are also illustrated by the term *'mtoto'* which is used by Janet in the quote from her interview above in order to refer to girls and young women and which I therefore translated with 'girl'. The term *'mtoto'* actually means 'child'.

The town with the street as the main 'stage' could thus be identified as a surface of emergence where whiteness and non-whiteness or rather lightness and non-lightness are (re)produced in daily life. Two grids of specification could be (re)constructed: the interdependence between race and class as bleaching is linked to the two setting and the link gendered and racialised perception of beauty as it is white women who are perceived as the 'best attractions' for men. How these gendered and racialised roles are translated into forms of subjectivation and how they are challenged will be analysed a bit further in the work. Now I am turning to the large surfaces of emergence — the market and advertising.

4.1.4. The market: Packing lightness into commodities

In the following I am going to present the grids of specification which could be (re) constructed within the surface of emergence of the market. I am showing how the market (re)produces the link of beauty with lightness, the interdependence of race and class and how whiteness is being commodified by being 'packed' into different commodities.

Bleaching and lightening — a difference?

My field research in various shops showed that there are various terms in relation to skin bleaching. Thus beside 'bleaching' the products are entitled as 'lightening', 'brightening', 'whitening' and even 'softening'. Whereas the first four terms are related to becoming lighter, the last term reveals other meanings attached to bleaching. Softening is related to lightening reproducing associations of smoother, nicer, healthier skin with light or white skin as has been analysed in relation to soap in the colonial, liberal-bourgeois, patriarchal setting (McClintock 1995: 207 ff.). The market reproduces the link of lightness to beauty.

Figure 1 is from the Tanzanian magazine *Shear Hair&Beauty* (August/September 2010, issue 6) promotes various cocoa butter products. While these products are not containing any bleaching ingredients, the light skin of the person shown in the advertisement (re) constructs the link between soft and light. Figure 2 also reflects the link between soft and light or white skin by using images of women touching their smooth skin. Furthermore, it illustrates the wide range of bleaching products reflecting the great role of the process of commodification as a grid of specification. Whiteness is thus commodified in a range of different bleaching products.

Figure 1: Cocoa Butter
products. See products. See list of figures.

Figure 2: Different skin bleaching.
See list of figures.

In many interviewees with people working in the beauty industry and women using bleaching products, a differentiation between bleaching and lightening can be identified. This differentiation is also reflected in two different terms in Swahili. *'Kujichubua'* is the Swahili word for bleaching literally meaning 'to scrub oneself' and *'kung'arisha'* is the translation for lightening whereas it also means softening (Alice and Brenda; Forgen Mariki; Maisaga; Glory; David; Hadija and Amina; Mai Martha). In most of the interviews the main characteristic of lightening products mentioned is its softening function. Becoming lighter is related to softer skin which is perceived as more beautiful. In the sense of a formation of strategies whiteness is linked to beauty practices. These associations are reflected in the following excerpt from the interview with Alice and Brenda: "To lighten is

that the colour stays. You shall keep your colour but it becomes nice. Soft. [...] You become a bit lighter"[62] (Alice and Brenda).

Fred Maisaga, a doctor working at a S.H. Amon Cosmetic Supermarket at the centre of Dar es Salaam, explains the difference between bleaching and lightening as follows: "Lightening is not bleaching. [...] You know a person's skin when (s)he is born [...] the skin is like here [he is showing to the inner side of my arm; A/N], alright? Something which lightens you up, will be like here [the inner side of the arm; A/N], it can't exceed that"[63] (Maisaga). Then Maisaga continues to explain that your skin becomes darker because of various environmental conditions such as wind or the cold — the link of cold and becoming darker has already been mentioned. Thus lightening means to go back to your 'natural' or 'normal' colour or as he describes it to the skin you were born with. Lightening is linked to strategies of 'normalising' your body which is also reflected in other interviews. Rehema Forgen Mariki, Medical Devices Assessment and Enforcement Officer at the Tanzania Food & Drug Authority (TFDA), describes lightening as the following: "It's not to bleach [...] As I have told you, if you take a shower, you tend to do what, not to clean the body? So among the ingredients which are put inside they help to clean"[64] (Forgen Mariki). Lightening is thus related to 'cleaning the body' reflecting the association with soap and cleaning practices which were analysed in the colonial, liberal-bourgeois, patriarchal setting (McClintock 1995: 211-214). The association of bleaching with cleaning the body can also be identified in relation to the function of bleaching products to reduce skin impurities such as pimples. According to Alice and Brenda, they use these creams in order to reduce pimples (Alice and Brenda).

In comparison to lightening, in many interviews bleaching is associated with becoming white and with products which Haifa describes as "very strong"[65] and which according to

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[62] "Kung'aa yaani rangi isififie. Uwe na colour yako tu nzuri. Soft. [...] Unakaa light kidogo (Alice and Brenda).

[63] 'Kung'arisha siyo kwamba inachubua' (Maisaga)
"Unajua watu wanapozaliwa wako na ngozi [...] hiyo ngozi ni ya hapa [he is showing to the inner side of my arm], (...) sawa? [...] Kitu kinafanya lightening itakuwa haya, haiwezi kuzidi hapa' (Maisaga)

[64] "Yani siyo kujichubua. Kujichubua ni kuondoa ngozi ya juu. Lakini nimevyokuambia, ukioga na sabuni, unategemea nini, siyo utatakata? Sasa baadha ya ingredients ndani ambazo zinawekwa humu ndani lakini zinasaidia tu kukatisha" (Forgen Mariki).

[65] "kali sana" (Haifa).

some interviewees lighten you up in a couple of days (Janet; Haifa; Hadija and Amina; David). Bleaching is linked to whiteness while lightening to lightness resulting in a shift of perceptions of 'normality' which seems to be associated with lightness instead of whiteness (Hadija and Amina; Alice and Brenda; Mary).

According to Fred Maisaga, the main difference is whether the products contain hydroquinone or not. Interestingly Caro Light, one of the products mainly used by the interviewees, has been described as a lightening product in most interviews although it contains hydroquinone (Mary; Alice and Brenda; David). The marketing strategy of labelling skin bleaching as 'lightening' or 'softening' reappears. This strategy is reflected in the explanation of Mary that Caro Light is sold as common skin product without reference to its bleaching effects (Mary).

Figure 3: Caro Light. See list of figures.

The shift from the term 'bleaching' to 'lightening' and 'softening' can be perceived as an answer of the market to the ongoing critiques of skin bleaching products (Mire 2000: 8-10; Lynn 2009: 203 ff.). Lightening products are perceived as 'healthier' which do not "change the structure of your skin" (Forgen Mariki) and do not have so many side-effects as bleaching creams. They 'just' lighten up your skin in the sense of a 'shine' (Richard; Forgen Mariki; Maisaga). In contrast to this apparent differentiations between 'lightening' and 'bleaching', Erich Leitner, director of *Gesellschaft Österreichischer Chemiker Wien* (Society of Austrian Chemists) identified all the products which I showed him and which were described by the interviewees or shop sellers as lightening and not bleaching creams as containing bleaching ingredients (Leitner).

The differentiation between bleaching, lightening, whitening, brightening and even softening reflects the ongoing commodification of whiteness or rather lightness in form of various bleaching products (re)producing the link of whiteness or lightness with beauty. These apparent differentiations have been incorporated by the interviewees as they distinguish between bleaching and lightening. The separation into the 'light woman' and the 'bleached white woman' as different forms of subjectivation is going to be analysed in chapter 4.2. In the following the interdependence of class and race regarding different products shall be analysed.

Lightness — a commodity for everybody

According to Rehema Jonathan Nchimbi (2005), middle class women have become the target group for the contemporary beauty industry both in the global north and the global south (Nchimbi 2005: 14). The analysis of the surfaces of emergence of the domestic sphere and the city has shown how this focus on women regarding beauty products is linked with a gendered and racialised concept of beauty. It is non-white women who need to lighten themselves up in order to become beautiful. In the following part the focus shall be set on the reproduction of classes and racialised differences by the means of different bleaching products. Thus it is about an analysis of the grid of specification of class and race.

The role of the middle class regarding consumption is reflected in the following quote from Mai Martha's interview who sells bleaching products. Furthermore, it implies the role of bleaching as a technology of the self in changing one's class as she states that the middle class follows the upper class (Mai Martha).

> A lot of the people who like to be white come from the middle and the upper class. The middle class I think it's a percentage let's say, I shall say it's like that, a lot who like it are from the middle class, they are following the upper class[66] (Mai Martha).

In some of the interviews the differentiation between bleaching and lightening reappears but now in relation to class. Thus the middle and upper class can use 'better' products

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[66] "Wengi wanaopenda kuwa weupe ni wa hali ya kati, hali ya juu. Hali ya kati nimeamua ni asilimia kusema, niseme hivi, wengi sana wanataka wa hali ya kati, wanawafuatilia wa hali ya juu" (Mai Martha).

mostly referred to as 'lightening products' which are around 20 or 30$ whereas the lower class bleach themselves with 'bad' products such as Caro Light which is around 4000 to 5000 Tanzanian Shillings (Tsh)[67]. The cheapest products which could be found were around 2000 or 3000 Tsh. According to Tanzanian Household Budget Survey of 2000/01 by the National Bureau of Statistics, the mean income of a household in Dar es Salaam is about 60 Euros or 126 000 Tsh in order to illustrate the amount of money spent on bleaching products (National Bureau of Statistics Tanzania 2002: 155). The following quotation illustrates the great use of skin bleaching products among all classes:

> Now there are many who bleach themselves because everybody wants to be beautiful. But they don't know how beauty works. They just use anything, people don't have money but beauty requires money. To lighten you up in a qualitative way which softens you skin, then you put powder and make-up. Now if a person doesn't have the possibility, (s)he buys the cheap ones[68] (Richard).

According to Richard the bleaching products most sold are the banned ones containing hydroquinone which are also the cheapest ones like the already mentioned Caro Light (Richard). Again the middle and partly the lower class appears as main consumers. In this context the 'mkorogo' plays an important role. The term 'mkorogo' means 'mixture' and refers to the self-mixed creams you get in shops or on the street. The big problem is that the ingredients are not transparent. The following statement of Forgen Mariki, a Medical Devices Assessment and Enforcement Officer at the Tanzania Food & Drug Authority (TFDA), I heard in various versions from different people. "(S)he tells you that (s)he takes avocado, then (s)he puts car battery fluid inside. (S)he takes Jik [a bleaching products for clothes; A/N]. (S)he takes any soap"[69] (Forgen Mariki).

The 'normal light community' seems now open to all classes. However the interviews show how the link of race and class is still (re)produced. Cheap products are linked to destroyed skin and expensive ones to healthy, nice, shiny skin or as Mai Martha calls it

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[67] 1 Euro is around 2100 Tanzanian Shillings (Tsh)

[68] "Sasa hivi wapo ni wengi wanaojichubua kwa sababu kila mtu anataka urembo. Sasa hawajui kuwa urembo unakwenda vipi. Wao wanajiingiza tu, mtu hana hela kwa sababu urembo unabidi uwe na hela. Kung'aa vile vile na quality ambavyo vinafanya ngozi yako iwe soft, smoother, unapaka powder na make-up. Sasa kama mtu hana uwezo, anununua vile vya bei ya chini" (Richard).

[69] "Anakuambia anachukua avocado, halafu anaweka maji ya battery ya gari. Anachukua jik. Anachukua sabuni ya kujua ile" (Forgen Mariki).

'nourishment' (Mai Martha; David; Richard; Forgen Mariki). Therefore the lower class can only integrate themselves into the 'light community' by suffering skin damages, which shows the limits of normalisation. In relation to 'healthier' technologies of the self, some interviewees also refer to the question of education. Janet states in this context: "It's written in English or it's written in French. A lot don't know this language. 99% of the people who using these products or 90% don't understand this language"[70] (Janet). Mary admits that she does not understand what is written on the products and then she continues that the upper class does not use products such as Caro Light as they understand what is inside (Mary). Accordingly, one strategy which has been identified regarding the colonial, liberal-bourgeois, patriarchal setting can be reconstructed: Discourses about race are linked to practices of keeping the body 'healthy' and 'clean' as has been analysed regarding the concept of *Verkafferung* (Axster 2005: 39 ff.). This strategy is also well reflected in the ongoing tendency of promoting 'natural' cosmetics among the upper class in Tanzania. During my research I had the possibility to talk with Tija Juma who works in the marketing section of a company called GNLD promoting natural cosmetic products. In the discussion Juma often referred to the 'shine' they want to create due to natural cosmetics, supplements etc. In this sense the upper class does not need to use harming skin bleaching products but enrich their skin in order to make it healthier (Tija Juma). The 'right' class can compensate the colour difference.

Associations of the higher class with other skin tones are reflected in the following quote from Mary's interview where she differentiates between herself coming from the middle class of the upper class: "They [the upper class; A/N] have nice skin. The one who has the possibility, has white skin. It's not such a whiteness as yours, (s)he has this kind of colour which is different of mine"[71] (Mary). Mary relates classes to different skin tones but also distinguishes the whiteness or lightness of the Tanzanian upper class from a whiteness as mine as a white Austrian. Thus Mary relates the Tanzanian upper class to a lighter skin colour but still differentiates it from white non-Africans. The global hegemony of

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[70] "Imeandikwa kwa Kiingereza au imeandikwa kwa Kifaransa. Wengi hawaifahamu ile lugha. Asilima 99 ya watu ambao wanaotumia vipodozi vile au asilimia tisini hawajui ile lugha" (Janet).

[71] "Wana ngozi nzuri. Ambaye ana uwezo, ana ngozi nyeupe. Kama siyo nyeupe kama nyeupe ya kwako, anakuwa na rangi fulani ambayo iko tofauti na mimi" (Mary).

whiteness has thus been normalised in the Tanzanian society in the sense of a preference of lightness.

In connection with bleaching and lower classes, the term 'uswahilini' is mentioned in some of the interviews which describes the areas in Dar es Salaam where the lower class lives. In this sense Brenda explaines: "In the Swahili areas, there they like to make them beautiful. They like white people, they don't like to see a black person. That's because they use creams until they are white"[72] (Alice and Brenda). Due to the term which literally refers to areas where people of the ethnic group of the *Waswahili* live(d), the question of whiteness and non-whiteness is related to the question of culture and ethnicity rather than race. In the theoretical part I mentioned that in the neoliberal, neocolonial, patriarchal setting the term 'race' is often replaced by 'culture' or 'ethnicity'. Yet I argued that this shift still implies 'natural hierarchies' such as structural subordination of non-white people thus (re) producing racialised inequalities (Habermann 2008: 244; Peterson 2003: 10). The 'replacement' of 'race' by other terms can also be identified in the interview with Richard, a salesman of skin bleaching products, where he links racialisations to the question of nation by stating: "The ones with hydroquinone it's the citizens who take them, now these are not expensive, they cost 8000 Tsh or 4000 Tsh, or 2000 Tsh"[73] (Richard).

The last analysis has shown how race and class relations are (re)produced by the means of different skin bleaching products. The main target group is the middle class. While the market seems to provide technologies of the self in order to normalise oneself for everybody, the apparent differentiation between 'bleaching' and 'lightening' (re)produces the upper class as healthy and the lower class as unhealthy destroying their skin. The middle class constituting the main consumers of skin bleaching products are somehow in-between the 'softening and lightening upper class' and the 'bleaching lower class' as the analysis of the forms of subjectivation will show. In order for the consumers to buy these various skin bleaching products, specific tastes, desires and identities need to be promoted. In the theoretical part I argued that advertising institutions play an important role in

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[72] "Uswahilini, ndiyo wanapenda kujiremba sana. Yaani wanapenda mweupe asili, hawapendi kumwona mtu mweusi. Kwa hiyo watu wanatumia cream mpaka wawe weupe" (Alice and Brenda).

[73] "[Z]enye hydroquinone ni wenyeje wanaochukua, sasa hizi siyo za bei ya juu, hii ni elfu nane au elfu nne, au elfu mbili" (Richard).

shaping tastes, desires and identities (Peterson 2003: 117 f.). Therefore let met turn to the surface of emergence of advertising.

4.1.5. Advertising: The 'enlightened city'

The analysis of the market has shown how the market (re)produces the interdependence between race and class and the relationship between lightness and beauty. The following analysis shall take a look on how advertising institutions function as important authorities of delimitation in reproducing the interdependence of class and race and the link of beauty with lightness. I am starting with the link of class with race. The following quote from Hadija's and Amina's interview illustrates this interdependence. Moreover the already analysed link of the city with lightness and the village with blackness reappears (Hadija and Amina):

> K: In which advertisings do you think they use more white people and in which ones more black people?
> H: If you look at advertisements of creams, very often it is white people, perhaps in usual advertisements such as for food, they use normal people.
> [...]
> K: Where do you see black people in advertisements?
> H: There are many in advertisements for agriculture, a person from the countryside, [...] a lot of advertisements for perhaps campaigns such as election campaigns. You find village people, village people are black people. They don't take white people from the city, they take black people from the village.
> [...]
> K: And in advertisements about business do you think there are more black or light people?
> S: Light people.[74]

The quote from Hadija's and Amina's interview reflects the link between whiteness or lightness and middle or even upper class as white or light people are shown in advertisements for business while 'normal' black people are shown in relation to agriculture and thus the lower class. A bit further in the interview Hadija explains that

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[74] K: Kwenye tangazo gani unafikiri wanaweka zaidi watu weupe na kwenye tangazo gani wanaweka watu weusi?
H: Ukiangalia kwenye macream sana, ni watu weupe, kwenye labda tu matangazo ya kawaida ya kula hivi nini, wanatoa watu kawaida.
K: Wapi unawanona watu weusi kwenye matangazo?
H: Wapo sana kwenye matangazo ya kilimo, mtu mshamba, [...] matangazo tu mengi labda macampaign, macampaign ya uchaguzi kama sasa hivi. Unakuta watu wa vijijini walio weusi. Hawachukui watu weupe wa mjini, wanachukua watu wa kijijini. Wapo wengi sana.
K: Na kwenye tangazo la biashara unafikiri kuna watu weusi zaidi au watu wang'avu?
A: Wang'avu.

white people like me — the interviewees often use me in order to differentiate various forms of whiteness — are not often seen in advertisements however, rather light people are usual. Thus advertising institutions in the sense of authorities of delimitation produce the light middle class person living in the city as a 'role model' (Haifa; Hadija and Amina). Interestingly, Hadija links normal people to blackness, thus lightness is somehow perceived as special, a form of subjectivation one wants to 'reach' at least in form of bleaching (Hadija and Amina). Thus the normality constructed by advertising in form of the light woman is challenged by Hadija's perception of black people as being normal. Forms of resistances and challenges to hegemonic power relations on the subject level appear. They will be dealt with regarding the formation of enunciative modalities or forms of subjectivation (Hadija and Amina). The following pictures emphasise the link between race and class identified in the statements of Haifa, Hadija and Amina mentioned above.

Figure 5: Business women. See list of figures.

Figure 6: Advertising Mobile banking. See list of figures.

Figure 5 is from an article about women entrepreneurship in the women's section of the Tanzanian daily newspaper *The Citizen* (Saturday, 14.08.2010). The article and the picture represent the integration of women into the world of the *homo oeconomicus* as has been elaborated in the theoretical part (Habermann 2008: 247). Again all women are light-skinned Tanzanian women thus business women and therefore the middle and upper class are related to a lighter skin tone. The skin tone of the women in the middle reflects the

hegemonic form of subjectivation of the light woman in Tanzania. Furthermore the three women wear clothes representing city live and thus a higher class. In this sense whiteness or lightness is linked to other characteristics such as lifestyle or appearance.

The virtual economy has no boundaries as Figure 6 shows. It also reaches the rural areas as money can now be received by the mobile. Thus a "political economy of consumption" (Peterson 2003: 145) is being promoted in which everybody in the cities as well as in the villages, men as well as women can participate. Although people from the rural area can now also be part of the world of the *homo oeconomicus*, racialised differences are still visible in the advertisements as they are represented darker than those from the city. This means, black rural people can become *homines oeconomici*[75] but by representing their racialised difference the limits of integration into the 'normal light community' are implied. People from the village are still perceived as different. New forms of racialised hierarchies appear reflecting the embedding of the new *homo oeconomicus* in specific race, gender and class relations still favouring the persons who are closer to the ideal of the white middle class man (Habermann 2008: 260 f.).

4.1.6. Advertising: The 'light beauty'

The analysis of the other surfaces of emergence — domestic sphere, friends, the street and the market — has illustrated a shift from a perception of white as beautiful to light as beautiful. Let me show how advertisements promote the 'light beauty'. Thus it is about the grid of specification of linking race with beauty.

The interviewees were not congruent concerning the question whether more white or black people are shown in advertising (Hadija and Amina; Haifa; Glory; Mary; David). From my own perception I could observe that in relation to beauty products there is still a hegemony of white or light people shown. This hegemony is illustrated by figure 7 — an advertising for the bleaching cream 'Fair&Light' or figure 8 — a picture of a woman at a beauty salon

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[75] the term '*homo oeconomici*' is the plural in Latin of the term '*homo oeconomicus*'

illustrate. My observation is also reflected in a statement of Hadija: "If you look at advertisements of creams, very often it is white people"[76] (Hadija and Amina).

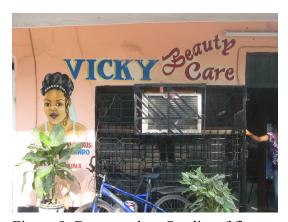Figure 7: Advertising Fair&Light. See list of figures.

Figure 8: Beauty salon. See list of figures.

At the first moment many interviewees state that generally more black people are shown in advertising. Then on second thought they explain that they are not very dark but rather light (Mary, Hadija and Amina). A shift from 'white' to 'light' in terms of different terms in Swahili — 'white' as *'mweupe'* and 'light' as *'maji ya kunde'* can be identified (Glory; Janet; Hadija and Amina; Jokate; Haifa; Mary; Florence and Grace; Alice and Brenda). The following extract of the interview with Hadija and Amina reflect the hegemony of the light woman in advertising: "Thus they don't put black people, they put people whose skin is a bit lighter, not very dark and not very white. Let's say we call them '*maji ya kunde*' [77]"[78] (Hadija and Amina). Moreover, Hadija and Amina explain to me that rather 'natural' cosmetics are promoted which soften your skin when it comes to beauty practices in magazines or on TV. The link between soft and light reappears (Hadija and Amina). The construction of the 'natural light beauty' in relation to cosmetics is also mentioned by Mary: "For example with cosmetics. What I see many who are into cosmetics like black people. A person who is naturally black. If a person wants to promote his/her product, he/

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[76] "Ukiangalia kwenye macream sana, ni watu weupe" (Hadija and Amina).

[77] *'maji ya kunde'* is the term to describe light Tanzanian people — it can be translated with 'brown'.

[78] "Yaani, hawaweki watu weusi, yaani wanaweka watu ambao ngozi zao kidogo zimeng'avuka, sio weupe sana na sio weusi sana. Yaani tuseme sisi tunawaita 'maji ya kunde' " (Hadija and Amina).

she looks for a girl who is black.[...] She is not really black. Her skin must be soft and light"[79] (Mary). Figure 9 from the Tanzanian magazine *Shear Hair&Beauty* (August/ September 2010, Issue 6) below reflects this hegemonic lighter skin tone of '*maji ya kunde*'. Besides the article refers to natural cosmetics (Shear Hair&Beauty 2010: 62 f.).

Figure 9: Promoting natural cosmetics. See list of figures.

The hegemony of the lighter women in advertising represents a challenge towards white hegemony on the one hand while on the other hand it reflects a contextualisation of whiteness in the Tanzanian context. In the theoretical part I have shown how advertising plays an important role in the virtual economy by promoting hegemonic forms of subjectivation. Moreover it has been argued that globalisation functions as a process of normalisation which works through local forms of of politico-economic processes, cultures and subjectivations in order to establish oneself (Hall 1994a: 53-55; Peterson 2003: 143). The following statement of Mustafa Hassanali illustrates the adaption of global normalisation processes to local structures:

> Yes, with TV commercials, I mean if you put sorry an Indian or a white person on a big huge advertorial campaign in Tanzania, it will fail. I tell what will fail also. If people don't relate to the ad, they don't relate to the product. They don't have belief in it. That's because a lot of ad agencies they use a lot of Tanzanian real people because it has to be real (Hassanali).

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[79] Kwa mfano kwenye vipodozi. Ninaona kama wengi ambao wako kwenye vipodozi wanapenda mweusi. Yule ambaye ni mweusi wa asili. Kama akitaka kutangaza kipodozi chake, anatafuta msichana ambaye ni mweusi. [...] Siyo mweusi kabisa. Lazima yuko soft, ngozi yake inang'aa" (Mary)

The quote from Hassanali's interview also reflects racialised differentiations among Tanzanians as the 'or' between 'Indian' and 'white person' seems to place Tanzanians of Indian descent more on the white than on the non-white side. I will analyse this othering of Tanzanians of Indian and Arab descent regarding the analysis of forms of subjectivation in the next chapter.

Normalisation through pluralisation can also be illustrated at an extract of Jokate's interview where she explains how advertisings adapt to the various skin tones found in Tanzania while (re)producing the hegemony of whiteness in form of lightness:

> J: But with more awareness, with more appreciation of the diversity of beauty, skin tones that we have, they have to find their way in advertisements. You can have different skin tones but you have a certain skin tone that is predominant.
> K: And which one is that in Tanzania?
> J: Ok I can't give you a concrete answer because I haven't researched that.
> K: Perhaps from your perception?
> J: Ok from my perception I would say that you find a lot of light skinned people, I mean lighter tones.

Hadija, Amina and Haifa explain that when they were children it was not as usual to see as many white or light people in advertisements (Hadija and Amina; Haifa). In this sense Hadija states "You know when we were children, I think, black skin was more beautiful than the white one"[80] (Hadija and Amina). A relationship between the hegemony of light people in advertisings and the neoliberal shift in Tanzania can be identified reflecting the role of the media in constructing certain forms of subjectivation in order to create consuming subjects for products such as skin lighteners. The role of the media in (re) producing global white hegemony is illustrated in Lotus' interview:

> K: So does the media actually admit that they kind of produce a picture which does not fit to the normal Tanzanian society?
> L: Admit? I am not sure but I don't think it's a secret. If you go to a producer or head of production of any TV station, I don't think it's a secret. If I show him different women, when he's gonna choose and if I ask him why, I don't think it's a secret. But they wouldn't say they are discriminating someone, that they wouldn't admit to. But that's what they are actually doing. But they wouldn't admit that. For them it's business. They want to sell. Whatever sells they want to put there.

The last part of the quote from Lotus' interview "Whatever sells they want to put there" (Lotus) reflects the rule of formation of the process of commodification as bodies

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80 "Unajua tulipokuwa watoto mimi nahisi, yaani ile ngozi nyeusi ni nzuri kuliko nyeupe" (Hadija and Amina).

are becoming commodities selling specific forms of subjectivation. In this sense TV presenters need to match with the hegemonic form of subjectivation of the light Tanzanian woman as the example of Mai Martha — a TV presenter at Independent Television (ITV) — shows. While denying that she is bleaching, Mai Martha admits that she uses a lot of make-up when she is at work. "There I have put on make-up, don't you know. When I am at work"[81] (Mai Martha). Furthermore she refers to various types of technologies lightening people up on TV so that they appear much lighter than they really are (Mai Martha).

Figure 10: Zap Advertising. See list of figures.

How hegemonic the light woman has already become can be illustrated by an advertisement of the mobile provider ZAIN for the ZAP-service which enables the exchange of money via mobiles. The advertisement shows a male and a female hand exchanging money by a mobile. Regarding the fact that the woman's hand is much lighter than the man's, Hadija explains to me:

> I think it's like that they show our nature, because Tanzanians are black, you see, they are black, but the blackness of a woman and of a man is different. The woman needs to be a bit lighter and the man needs to be a bit darker[82] (Hadija and Amina).

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[81] "Pale nimeweka make-ups, siyo unajua. Nikiwa kazini" (Mai Martha).

[82] "Yaani mimi ninavyofikiri kwamba wanaonyesha uwaasilia, kwa sababu Watanzania ni weusi, umeona, ni weusi, lakini mweusi wa mwanaume na mweusi wa mwanamke ni tofauti. Mwanamke akaweza kidogo akan'gaa na mwanaume akaweza kuwa kidogo mweusi" (Hadija and Amina).

Referring to the advertising of ZAIN, Florence and Grace aim at the gendered perception of beauty: "Because they like white skin, therefore in every picture they put a white person"[83] (Florence and Grace). And as I ask them why lightness is only important in relation to women, Florence explains to me: "Because women are the beautiful ones"[84] (Florence and Grace).

In this sense advertising institutions have created the light woman as the hegemonic form of subjectivation especially in relation with beauty. The following quote from Florence's and Grace's interview reflects this hegemony while at the same time challenging it. Therefore forms of resistance and non-hegemonic forms of subjectivation appear which I am going to present in the next and last part of this diploma thesis.

> K: If you think about a beautiful person in Tanzania, what does (s)he look like?
> F: White skin. They can't show a black woman. Even on TV, if you see her like this, you see that she is black, but if you see her like that [on TV; A/N], she appears white. It should be like that a beautiful person is black, in the sense that she represents Tanzania. She should be black, a black beauty. Now all the beautiful women are white, they bleach themselves.[85]

The analysis of advertising has shown how this surface of emergence is crucial in constructing lightness as beautiful. In addition, the interdependence of class and race could be (re)constructed by showing how lightness is linked to the urban setting and to the middle and upper class. I am now turning to the formation of enunciative modalities or forms of subjectivation in the Tanzanian context.

4.2. Formation of enunciative modalities within the dispositif of whiteness

After having reconstructed some of the grids of specification in relation to the surfaces of emergence, let us turn to the forms of subjectivation in the Tanzanian context. As with the analysis of the surfaces of emergence, I am going to reconstruct some of the grids of specification in relation to forms of subjectivation. The main grids of specification which

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[83] "Kwa sababu wanapenda ngozi nyeupe kwa hiyo kila picha wanaweka mweupe" (Florence and Grace).

[84] "Kwa sababu wanawake ndio ni warembo" (Florence and Grace).

[85] K: Ukimfikiria mtu mrembo hapa Tanzania anakuwaje?
F: Inakuja rangi nyeupe. Hawawezi kuonyehsa mwanamke mweusi. Hata katika TV, ukimwona hivi, unamwona ni mweusi, lakini ukimwona hivi, anaonekana mweupe. Ilikuwa inatakiwa mrembo kama mrembo anakuwa mweusi, maana anawakilisha Tanzania. Anatakiwa kuwa mweusi, black beauty. Sasa warembo wote wanakuja weupe, wamejichubua.

could be identified in the empirical material are the link of beauty with lightness and the interdependence of race and class. In the following part skin bleaching perceived as a technology of the self of integrating oneself into the 'community of the *homo oeconomicus'* will be analysed. Furthermore, forms of self-appropriations and challenges to hegemonic forms of subjectivation will be explored. Skin bleaching thus becomes not only a form of subjection under power relations, on the contrary, the subjects are perceived as acting within them, challenging and interrupting them.

4.2.1. The accurate skin colour — Karibu[86] to the 'community of the *homo oeconomicus'* — or maybe not?

The analysis of the surfaces of emergence has illustrated the interdependence of race and class. In this sense bleaching can function as a technology of the self in order to become a *homo oeconomicus.* In this sense I want to elaborate more on the role of skin bleaching as a 'ticket' to the 'light community'.

Many interviewees state that due to their skin bleaching they have gained social status or as Hadija expresses it "(s)he has made it"[87] (Hadija and Amina; see also Glory; Janet). In this sense bleaching can enhance your social status in the Tanzanian society. According to the interviewees, this role of enhancing your social status by bleaching is very popular among the lower class. Therefore Alice states: "Some don't have water or food but they have their lotion"[88] (Alice and Brenda). Glory links bleaching to the lower class as she refers to prostitutes in this context: "Very often you find these prostitutes on the road. They bleach themselves"[89] (Glory). Regarding the interdependence of class and race Hadija's statement reflects how a higher class can compensate its belonging to the 'community of the *homo oeconomicus'* without bleaching.

> You know, the way we see people in Tanzania, for example perhaps a person who works, (s)he has her/his income, (s)he has her/his possibility [...] but you will see that (s)he does not like to

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[86] "Karibu" means "Welcome" in Swahili.

[87] "yuko juu" (Hadija and Amina).

[88] "Wengine hawana maji na vyakula lakini lotion wanayo" (Brenda and Alice).

[89] "Sana unawakuta wale malaya njiani. Wanajichubua" (Glory).

bleach. But a great percentage of people of the lower class they like what — to use these creams. But a person who has the possibility doesn't like it very much. (S)he doesn't like it, (s)he likes her skin to be soft and light. [...] You don't see parliamentarians, advocates, you don't see them. We here like it, we like to be white but advocates you don't see white ones[90] (Hadija and Amina).

Coming from the middle class, Hadija thus differentiates herself strictly from the upper class who in her opinion do not bleach while she herself feels good about using these products. She seems to be aware of the fact that she enhances her social status by bleaching. Hadija and Amina trade clothes and when I ask them whether their lighter skin colour helps their business I get the following answer: "You see a difference, because perhaps as a white person if you wear one of your clothes, you look beautiful. The customer likes it. [...] (S)he will enter the shop"[91] (Hadija and Amina). In the theoretical part I have analysed how beauty practices function as 'tickets' to the world of the *homo oeconomicus* especially for women. Regarding the question whether whiteness or lightness enhance job opportunities, Florence and Grace argue that if you do not have the 'right' skin colour, you do not get a job. "If you are beautiful, if you ask for a job at the reception, you get it. But if you are not beautiful, you don't get a job"[92] (Florence and Grace). In this sense lightness or whiteness seems to play an important role in the middle and lower classes as it enhances your social status. In contrast the upper class can draw more on their socio-economic background. Yet Lotus' perception of the Tanzanian upper class reflects again the role of skin colour also in relation to the upper class as she states: "All the leaders of the country, their wives, you know they are either Arabs or Indians or mixed or somehow light skinned" (Lotus).

While the neoliberal discourse 'sells' the perception that everybody can become a *homo oeconomicus* by fulfilling the adequate skills and qualification, this form of subjectivation is embedded in specific gender, class and race relations (Habermann 2008: 248-270). Thus

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[90] Yaani, unajua, jinsi tunavyochukulia watu Tanzania, kwa mfano labda mtu ambaye anafanya kazi, ana kazi yake, ana uwezo wake [...] lakini unakuta hapendi kupaka macream. Lakini asilimia ya watu wenye kipato cha chini wanapenda nini — kupaka vile vipodozi. Lakini mtu mwenye uwezo hapendi sana. Yaani hapendi, anapenda tu ngozi yake ng'avu. Hukuti wabunge, mawaziri, yani hukuti. Sisi hapa tunapenda ile, tunapenda kuwa mweupe lakini mawaziri hukuti watu kuwa weupe (Hadija and Amina).

[91] "Unaona tofauti kwa sababu labda kama mweupe halafu umechukua katika zile nguo moja, umechukua umevaa, umependeza. Mtu anapenda. [...] Ataingia dukani " (Hadija and Amina).

[92] "Ukiwa mrembo, ukienda kuomba kazi za reception, unapewa. Lakini usipokuwa mrembo, hupewi kazi" (Florence and Grace).

the others — women and non-white people — can become *homines oeconomici* but they still need to adapt to the ideal of the white, middle class man. This is reflected in Lotus' explanation concerning the TV business where female news presenters — using Lotus's words — "can't be too feminine" (Lotus) rather they have to imitate their male colleagues (Lotus).

The statements of Hadija and Lotus above show that such normalisation processes in form of bleaching only function to some extent as the upper class is still perceived as different in a socio-economic and racialised sense — Lotus refers to "Arabs or Indians or mixed or somehow light skinned" (Lotus) and Hadija describes their skin as "soft and light"[93] (Hadija and Amina). Thus bleaching can enhance the social status of middle and lower class women but it cannot completely compensate the socio-economic difference. Furthermore, the technology of bleaching shows how the new *homo oeconomicus* is still linked to its ancestor — the white bourgeois man. As a result specially non-white women mainly of the middle class but also of the lower and upper class bleach themselves in order to change their biologistically perceived racialised differences (Jokate; Mai Martha; Janet). The limits of normalisation processes are now analysed in relation to the question of 'bought whiteness' in comparison to 'natural whiteness'.

4.2.2. 'Bought whiteness' versus 'natural whiteness'

According to Foucault, the subject is formed in relation to the 'Other' and in relation to power relations (Foucault 2005: 240; Habermann 2008: 70). The analysis of the interviews has shown that in relation to the form of subjectivation as a bleached Tanzanian woman the other means the 'naturally' white people. Thus hierarchies and differentiations within whiteness appear. Whiteness becomes contextualised depending on specific politico-economic, historical, geographical and socio-cultural structures. The differentiation between 'natural' and 'artificial' or 'bought whiteness' as some interviewees call it, reflects the limits of normalisation and the possibility of the development of new forms of subjectivation.

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[93] "ng'avu" (Hadija and Amina).

In the interviews one question focused on the question which groups are perceived as white in Tanzania. Most interviewees first mention some ethnic groups such as the *Warangi, Wachagga, Wasambaa* or the *Wapare.* These groups are known to have lighter skin although not all of them are actually light skinned as Alice argues in relation to the *Wachagga:*

> It depends on the region, there are like the Wachagga, let's say they have two colours. There are black and white persons. Natural, even if (s)he does not use bleaching creams, (s)he has a nice colour. But among them you find also very black people, I don't know whether it is because of the cold or the work[94] (Alice and Brenda).

This quote from Alice's and Brenda's interview reflects various rules of formation of the objects and terms of whiteness and non-whiteness or rather lightness and non-lightness. First, the link between race and beauty is addressed as Alice perceives the *Wachagga* as having a nice colour. Second, she also states that not all *Wachagga* are white thus she shows that it is a hegemonic construction that the *Wachagga* are white although not all of them are light skinned. In my overview of Tanzania I mentioned that the *Wachagga* are known as wealthy people due to their 'good' relationship with the colonial power. In this sense the link of race and class appears (Schicho 2004: 314). The link between light and beautiful is also mentioned by Janet in relation to lighter Tanzanians: "You find a lot of people who say that the *Warangi* are beautiful"[95] (Janet).

Regarding Tanzanians with Arab and Indian descent, the separation between 'Asians', 'Africans' and 'Arabs' which has been identified in the overview of Tanzania can be reconstructed in the interviews. In some interviews Tanzanians of Arab and Indian descent are not perceived as Africans (Haifa; Alice and Brenda). This perception is reflected in the following statement of Haifa: "Indians and Arabs they are known to be white. They are not Tanzanians, they are from far away countries, Indians from India?"[96] (Haifa). According to some interviewees, Africans are black thus racialised constructions have been appropriated

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[94] Yani inategemea na mikoa, kuna kama Wachagga, tuseme wengi wako na rangi mbili. Kuna weusi na weupe. Natural, asipopaka cream lakini ana rangi nzuri. Lakini kuna baadhi unakuta, sjui kama ni baridi au kizazi lakini ni mweusi kabisa (Alice and Brenda).

[95] "Unakuta wengi ambao wanasema 'Warangi ni wazuri'" (Janet).

[96] "Wahindi na Waarabu wanajulikana kuwa weupe. Sio Watanzania, siyo wanatoka nchi za mbali, Wahindi India?" (Haifa).

as forms of subjectivation in the sense of a black radical discourse as Amina Mama calls it. Blackness has become a positive form of subjectivation (Mama 1995: 100; see also Mary, Alice and Brenda, Florence and Grace). Therefore Grace argues: "Isn't there the black colour on the Tanzanian flag? The black colour is the original Africa"[97] (Grace).

As Africans are 'in reality' black, the ethnic groups which are perceived as white are also differentiated from other whites such as Arab, Indians or white people from the global north. According to Alice and Brenda, ethnic groups perceived as white in Tanzania are actually '*maji ya kunde*' thus light as I have already identified in relation to the surfaces of emergence. Alice describes them as "not really white"[98] (Alice and Brenda) and "normally white"[99] (Alice and Brenda). Brenda explains that their colour is '*maji ya kunde*' and continues that Tanzanians are either black or '*maji ya kunde*' thus light (Alice and Brenda). Among the other whites — the Arabs, Indians and *Wazungu*[100] — differentiations are also made by some interviewees. Haifa explains in this context:

> Wazungu are very white, you are hurt if you go into the sun, your eyes hurt. Arabs and Indians have this kind of whiteness, yellowish. This one is more beautiful. People bleach in order to become like them[101] (Haifa).

As has already been analysed, the light Tanzanian woman becomes the hegemonic form of subjectivation as it is perceived as the most beautiful. Although Tanzanians of Arab and Indian descent are not always regarded as Africans they are still differentiated from white people of the global north who are perceived as really white and thus as very others. According to Jokate, Indians are not seen as very beautiful as they "are kind of shapeless" (Jokate). In contrast Arab women are regarded as very beautiful as they are light skinned and as they have the 'right' shape. Racialised forms of subjectivation of an African woman are reproduced as an African woman is linked to a specific anatomy which is

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[97] "Kwenye bendera ya Kitanzania siyo kuna nyeusi? Rangi nyeusi ni Afrika ya asili" (Florence and Grace).

[98] "siyo yule mweupe sana" (Alice and Brenda)

[99] "mweupe tu wa kawaida" (Alice and Brenda)

[100] the term 'mzungu' originallary referred to Europeans but is now mainly used for white people from the global north

[101] Wazungu ni weupe sana, [...] unaumiza hata ukiingia juani, ukaweza ukaumia macho kwa sisi. Mwaarabu au Wahindi wanakuwa na mweupe fulani hivi, wanjano, wanjano. Yule ni mzuri zaidi. Watu ambao wanajichubua kwa ajili wawe kama hivyo (Haifa).

mainly characterised by large hips. Links can be drawn to over-sexualisations of black women during colonialism reducing them to their genitals (Jokate; Mary, Janet; McClintock 1995: 42). The last analysis has focused on differentiations of skin colour among different people perceived as white. Yet as the analysis of the surfaces of emergence has illustrated, race cannot be disconnected from other power relations such as class. The perception of Tanzanians of Arab or Indian descent needs to be linked to their socio-economic status in the Tanzanian society as they belong to the wealthier people in Tanzania (Shivji 2006: 62).

The quote from Haifa's interview above implies that women who are bleaching want to become a lighter Tanzanian woman, the Arab woman being one expression of this hegemonic form of subjectivation (Haifa). While women who are bleaching are usually perceived as white or rather light, the interviewees differentiate them from the 'natural' whites because — as they say — you can see that they have bleached themselves. "Like a Mzungu, Arab or Indian, their skin, their whiteness is known. You know, like you, you are alright everywhere. But a black person who bleaches herself/himself, there are differences" (Janet). In her statement Janet refers to the difficulties of normalisation by bleaching as some parts of the body such as the gristles of the finger or toes can not be bleached thus they stay dark. Another problem is the sun sensitivity of bleached skin which often results in a reddening of the skin (Janet). According to the interviewees, such people are not beautiful any more as they have 'exceeded' it. As long as these women are 'just' becoming lighter, they are beautiful but as soon as the side effects appear, they are not beautiful any more as Brenda states: "If they bleach themselves until they become red, they are not beautiful any more"[102] (Alice and Brenda).

According to Jokate, people who have bleached themselves too much "become that weird looking person" (Jokate). Alice and Brenda explain to me that people start to make fun of a person who shows side effects such as reddening of the skin or stretch marks, which means their enhanced social status by bleaching is lost (Alice and Brenda). The limits of normalisation appear as these women suffer from side effects in order to integrate themselves into the 'light community'. Bleaching can thus enhance your social status but

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[102] "Wakiwa wamejichubua sana mpaka wakawa wekundu wanakuwa sio wazuri" (Alice and Brenda).

you are still being differentiated from those who are 'naturally' beautiful and who do not have to buy it. In this sense the bleached Tanzanian woman is constructed like a racialised form of subjectivation in-between the existing ones such as black or non-white and white. I am now taking a deeper look at this specific form of subjectivation.

4.2.3. The 'light beauty' as THE form of subjectivation — self-appropriations of hegemonic beauty ideals

> I want to hypothesise that the construction of whiteness has developed to the extent to what is seen as white is really this thing called yellowish [...] the way it has developed, it has been africanised (Chachage).

In this part I am going to analyse how the 'white woman' as a hegemonic form of subjectivation is being appropriated by the interviewees resulting in a changed hegemonic form of subjectivation: the 'light Tanzanian woman'. The grid of specification reconstructed is the link of beauty with lightness. The focus is put on forms of challenges of hegemonic power relations. In regard to the definition of the term 'subjectivation' I argued by referring to Judith Butler's theorisation of the subject that subjects need to subjugate themselves under power relations in order to be able to resist (Butler 2001: 16 f.). Power relations always need practices to operate thus skin bleaching can be perceived as a such where power is performed on subjects while also possibilities to resist, challenge and transform them are opened (Butler 2001: 17 f.). The role of the unconscious of the psyche has been emphasised in relation to subjectivation processes in the sense of a destabilising 'instance' as it is the 'place' where excluded parts of oneself remain. Thus the unconsciousness can undermine identification processes resulting in contradictory forms of subjectivation (Butler 2001: 82-84; Habermann 2008: 112). The questions of resistance and contradiction shall now be analysed in relation to the hegemonic form of subjectivation of the 'light Tanzanian woman'.

Regarding the question of 'bought whiteness' versus 'natural whiteness', I have emphasised the role of the other in constructing oneself. In relation to the construction of the 'light Tanzanian woman' the other in the subject position of the 'man' plays an important role. In the analysis of the 'domestic sphere' as a surface of emergence of whiteness and non-whiteness and especially of the white and non-white woman, images of

women in Tanzania have already been addressed. It was argued that despite changing gender roles as a result for example of the increased integration of women into the labour market, they are still strongly seen as dependent on their husbands and tied to the domestic sphere (Jokate, Haifa, Mai Martha). Furthermore, the role of beauty was emphasised as women are perceived as 'flowers' or 'decorations' of their husbands as Jokate explains (Jokate). Beauty is thus gendered as it is women who need to be beautiful.

A lot of interviewees refer to men as some kind of 'decisive authority' in constructing images of women (Jokate; Alice and Brenda; Florence and Grace; Haifa; Janet). When I ask Alice and Brenda where their images of beauty come from they answer: "Perhaps from men. They say "this girl is beautiful" because of her being white. A lot of men say that they are beautiful"[103] (Alice and Brenda). Florence and Grace link the question of pleasing men also with marriage arguing that nowadays nobody wants to marry a black woman. The grid of specification of the process of commodification is addressed as skin bleaching can function as a form of increasing the 'value' of a woman (Florence and Grace).

Some interviewees also challenge the preference of white or light women by men. As already mentioned regarding the domestic sphere, Brenda's husband opposes her bleaching (Alice and Brenda). Hadija and Amina tell me that their husbands do not care about their colour, rather they are worried about the money. "They don't care much, because isn't it you yourself who likes it that way? He wants me to stop [...] he worries because the expenses increase"[104] (Hadija and Amina). The link of beauty with products reflects the process of commodification of whiteness in form of bleaching products. Apart from this the interdependence of race and class is addressed as one needs to afford these products.

The first part of Hadija's statement "isn't it you yourself who likes it that way?" (Hadija and Amina) illustrates the process of subjectivation. She states that she herself decides what she thinks is beautiful while subjugating herself under hegemonic power relations. These forms of self-appropriations of hegemonic beauty ideals can also be found in other interviews. Concerning the question where Mary gets her beauty images from she answers:

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[103] "Kwa wanaume labda. Wanasema "huyu dada mrembo, mzuri" kwa ajili ya weupe wake. Yaani asilimia kubwa ya wanaume wanasema ndiye ni mrembo" (Alice and Brenda).

[104] "Yaani huo hawajali sana kwa sababu yaani wewe mwenyewe siyo jinsi unavyopenda? Anataka niache, [...] anajali kwa sababu gharama zinakua" (Hadija and Amina).

"I don't have any. In my opinion I do my things myself"[105] (Mary). Alice refers to her skin bleaching as self-made decision by stating "I don't have any person to advise me. I have decided myself to use it"[106] (Alice).

Skin bleaching becomes a technology of the self which the subjects apply to the extent they want to or their bodies accept it. In all interviews the question of limits of skin bleaching due to side effects is addressed reflecting the boundaries of the 'normal white community'. Thus some of the interviewees have decided to stop 'bleaching' and shifting to 'lightening products' like Janet, who suffered from side effects which made her stop using these products. Now she uses Caro Light every third day which she perceives as 'lightening' in order to achieve some kind of 'chocolate colour' as she describes it reflecting the hegemonic form of the light Tanzanian woman: "I want to have a chocolate colour, it's not black and not white"[107] (Janet). Yet Janet's perception of beauty is contradictory as she also states the following: "But here there are two different things, among the question of beauty there is the one of being white and the one of being black. Even if you are black you can be beautiful, you don't need to be white"[108] (Janet).

The challenge to the link of beauty with whiteness can be identified in most interviews reflecting contradictory perceptions of beauty among the interviewees. Beauty is not automatically linked with whiteness, in fact many interviewees emphasise the beauty of black people (Mary; Glory; Brenda and Alice; Florence and Grace; Janet; Mai Martha). In relation to the 'black beauty' different racialisiations of the non-white — especially the black woman — and white woman can be reconstructed in some interviews. Some interviewees emphasise the role of the body shape in constructing black beauty reproducing racialised discourses about black women which reduce them to their bodies (McClintock 1995: 42). In the theoretical part I argued that the self always constitutes itself in reference to the 'Other' (Habermann 2008: 70). Therefore the ideal of the 'black beauty' also needs to be analysed in relation to existing race relations (Habermann 2008: 70). Thus

[105] "Yaani mimi sina. Naona nafanya mambo mwenyewe" (Mary).

[106] "Mimi sina mtu ananishauri. Nimeamua tu nitumie hiyo" (Alice and Brenda).

[107] "Mimi nataka na rangi ya chocolate, siyo rangi nyeupe na nyeusi" (Janet).

[108] "Lakini hapa kuna vitu vivili tofauti, kati ya urembo kuna ule urembo wa kuwa mweupe na kuna ule urembo wa kuwa mweusi. Hata akiwa mweusi akaweza kuwa mrembo, siyo lazima awe mweupe " (Janet).

the 'black beauty' constitutes a form of self-appropriation of a racialised form of subjectivation by black people themselves (re)producing racialised stereotypes. Jokate addresses the racialised stereotype of the 'black beauty' as she states: "So I think it has a lot to do with that stereotyping which is already there at a global level that African beauty is basically black" (Jokate).

According to the interviews there are limits of becoming as white as me — my form of subjectivation as a white western person functions again as the other. Physical side effects have already been mentioned as forms of limits. Other 'boundaries' consist in discourses about Africans as black as has already been identified in relation to the question of 'bought whiteness' versus 'natural whiteness' (Florence and Grace, Alice and Brenda, Mary). In this sense Mary describes bleaching as a form of racialised change. "It makes you white. You loose your own skin colour, it changes you. You start being white"[109] (Mary). Mary addresses skin bleaching as a 'ticket' into the 'white community'. Later on she takes up the question of racialised change again by stating: "I leave my origin a bit"[110] (Mary). People who are very bleached and very white in the Tanzanian context have somehow undergone a racialised change. Alice and Brenda compare themselves with my whiteness saying: "If a person uses this [referring to a bleaching product; A/N], if (s)he uses it too much, (s)he will be like you"[111] (Alice and Brenda). The terms 'too much' imply that some racialised 'boundaries' can be crossed by bleaching too much. Lightening is still acceptable but becoming white like me is too much.

People who have bleached themselves very much are described by most interviewees as not beautiful any more. Some interviewees tell me that you are surprised by these people as they are not 'normal' any more (Mai Martha; Alice and Brenda; Maisaga). In this sense most interviewees use bleaching products in order to become a bit lighter but still stay 'normal'. The already analysed difference among skin bleaching products by terming it differently such as 'bleaching', 'lightening' or 'softening' is reflected by the interviewees in the self-descriptions of their skin bleaching practices. More or less the same amount of

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[109] "Inakufanya uwe mweupe. Yaani uache kuwa na ngozi yako, inakubadilisha. Unaingilia kwenye kuwa mweupe" (Mary). [109]

[110] "Natoka asili yangu kidogo" (Mary).

[111] "Mtu akipaka hii, akizidisha, atakuwa kama wewe" (Alice and Brenda).

interviewees describe it either as 'bleaching' or 'lightening' (Mai Martha; Alice and Brenda; Mary; Glory; Florence and Grace; Janet). Thus four interviewees deny that they are bleaching emphasising that their creams are only softening creams whilst three of them are using Caro Light (Alice and Brenda; Mary). Mai Martha, a famous Tanzanian TV presenter, is mentioned in two interviews in relation to famous people bleaching themselves while she herself denies it (Haifa; Jokate; Mai Martha). Mai Martha's example reflects how somebody who made it in the sense of becoming a famous TV presenter needs to appear 'naturally' white as skin bleaching is linked to negative connotations such as skin problems and 'artificiality' (Janet; Alice and Brenda). Haifa herself addresses the question of denial by explaining that she does not want people to know that she is bleaching, so that they think she is as light as she seems. Again the link to the question of 'bought whiteness' and 'natural whiteness' can be drawn, devaluing the first towards the second one. The wish to appear 'naturally light' reflects once more the limits of normalisation processes as the 'normal' is linked to 'naturalness' which the others can only achieve by changing their biologistically 'natural' differences. Moreover, one's own belonging to the group of people bleaching is somehow denied and excluded from one's own form of subjectivation which is the 'light Tanzanian woman'.

The link of the whiteness of very bleached people to my whiteness as a white Austrian woman implies that these women have 'entered' the 'white community'. Yet in relation to the new *homo oeconomicus* it has been analysed that bleached people do not necessarily belong to the 'white community' as the two other analyses above have shown. In this context the interdependence of race, class and gender has been identified as crucial in constructing the 'white or light community'. While the light Tanzanian woman still remains African, the strongly bleached woman does not fit into any of the existing racialised categories of black or non-white and white any more. The strongly bleached woman becomes a racialised form of subjectivation which can be described as some kind of racially in-between. This in-between status results in a destabilisation of existing constructions of race as their constructivist character becomes obvious. Race must be understood as a contextualised construction resulting in different perceptions of whiteness and non-whiteness in different contexts. A person perceived as white in Tanzania, might

not be white in Austria. Thus race is an empty category which is constantly being (re-) constructed (Hanke 2006: 113 f.).

The last analysis has shown that the hegemony of whiteness has been contextualised into a hegemony of the 'light Tanzanian woman' as THE form of subjectivation. Some reasons have been addressed such as damaging side effects which force people to stop using bleaching products and radical black discourses linking Africans to blackness. Thus lightness is perceived as more beautiful by not loosing one's identity of being African. The hegemonic form of subjectivation of the 'light Tanzanian woman' can be perceived as a contextualisation of the hegemony of the 'white woman' in Tanzania on the one hand, on the other hand it also needs to be seen as a self-appropriation of hegemonic forms of subjectivation which have been challenged and reconstructed in a new context. The link can now be drawn to the quotation of Chambi Chachage at the beginning of this part describing this new hegemonic form of subjectivation as "yellowish" (Chachage) and "africanised" (Chachage).

4.3. Re-embedding the 'light beauty' into neoliberal, neocolonial and patriarchal power relations

In the analysis of the empirical material various rules of formation and politico-economic structures could be reconstructed which were identified in the theoretical part. Yet interruptions, changes and resistances could also be analysed. Regarding the surfaces of emergence the three areas identified in the theoretical part — the domestic sphere, the market and advertising — have been reconstructed in the material as important 'stages' where the objects and terms of whiteness and non-whiteness or rather lightness and non-lightness are being (re)constructed. Two new surfaces have appeared in the empirical part: friends and the city with the street as the main area. Various grids of specification could be reconstructed in the empirical material among which the interdependence of race, class and gender, the link of beauty with race and the process of commodification have turned out to be the most important ones. According to the analysis, it is in regard to the grid of specification of the link of beauty with whiteness where THE main change towards the rules of formation described in the theoretical part could be identified: the move from

whiteness to lightness and thus from the hegemonic form of subjectivation of the 'white woman' to the 'light woman'.

The analysis has illustrated that the construction of lightness as beautiful cannot be perceived as independent from other rules of formation especially the interdependence of race, class and gender. In the analysis of the surfaces of emergence the gendered and racialised construction of beauty has been (re)constructed. According to the interviewees, beauty is strongly connected to women. They are described as 'flowers of their men' and 'attractions' to men reinforcing the perception of women as inferior to men and as sexualised objects. The analysis of the various surfaces of emergence — among them especially in regard to the domestic sphere — has shown how this gendered and racialised perception of beauty is linked to technologies of the self such as skin bleaching functioning as a new form of (self-)domestication of women.

The reconstruction of the interdependence between race and class could be shown by analysing how 'healthier' lightening products are associated with the upper class and partly with the middle class whilst 'bad', 'unhealthy' products are consumed by the lower class. As the upper class can use more qualified products, their skin is perceived as nicer and more beautiful. Therefore the market produces different products or different classes making the commodity 'whiteness' or 'lightness' available to apparently everybody whilst reproducing class related and racialised differences. Limits of normalisation by the means of skin bleaching appear as gendered, racialised and class differences from the middle and lower class to the upper class cannot be compensated completely. In this context the question of differentiations between 'natural lightness' versus 'bought whiteness' has been analysed reflecting naturalising strategies of normalisation processes. 'Natural whiteness' or rather 'natural lightness' — especially in form of the Arab woman — are perceived as more beautiful than 'bought whiteness' linking beauty constructions to race. Thus many women deny that they are bleaching in order to appear 'naturally white'. In this sense the construction of the 'light beauty' has been re-embedded into specific gender, class and race relations.

5. Conclusion

In this diploma thesis I have analysed the research question of how power relations are reconstructed by the practice of skin bleaching of Tanzanian women. The assumptions formulated at the beginning have been argued throughout the analysis. It has been shown that first, the phenomenon of skin bleaching in Tanzania has to be analysed within neocolonial, neoliberal and patriarchal power relations, which construct the white and lighter female body as the 'normal one' and the non-white female body as the 'deviant one'. Second, skin bleaching needs to be linked to the process of commodification within capitalist structures. Whiteness or lightness can thus be perceived as a commodity which 'everybody' can purchase at the price given. Third, whiteness has been presented as a process of normalisation which includes different groups of people into the imaginary 'white community' and excludes others, depending on specific politico-economic, historical, geographical and socio-cultural structures. Let me summarise the main findings of the empirical analysis in relation to the theoretical part. In the theoretical part some rules of formation and politico-economic structures of the dispositif of whiteness have been analysed. In the empirical part these have been partly reconstructed whilst a focus has been put on changes and interruptions within this dispositif. The main change consists in the shift from whiteness to lightness as THE form of subjectivation.

The 'cult of domesticity' analysed in the theoretical part could be reconstructed in the empirical material. The central rule of formation is the interdependence between race and gender. In the colonial, liberal-bourgeois, patriarchal setting white women played an important role in performing 'racial purity' and 'white civilisation' in form of representing a 'clean home' (McClintock 1995: 162 f.). In the Tanzanian context it is the 'light woman' who has 'taken over' this representative role. Accordingly, skin bleaching needs to be related to this 'domestic light woman' functioning as a form of (self-)domestication of women. As has been analysed regarding the colonial, liberal-bourgeois, patriarchal setting, by emphasising representative role of women of the 'clean home', the reproductive work behind this 'cleanness' is being denied reflecting the devaluation of reproductive work in the capitalist system (McClintock 1995: 162 f.).

As has been analysed in the theoretical part, normalising globalisation structures need to work through non-hegemonic forms of politico-economic structures, cultures and forms of subjectivation in order to become hegemonic (Hall 1994a: 53-55). In the theoretical part advertising has been identified as an important authority of delimitation in constructing hegemonic forms of subjectivation (Peterson 2003: 117 f.). The empirical analysis has shown how advertising has contextualised white hegemony into a contextualised form of subjectivation — the light Tanzanian woman. This new hegemonic form of subjectivation is not only linked to beauty, but also to the middle and upper class and the city life. Thus the interdependence of class and race could be reconstructed. In this context a link of lightness to the city has been identified illustrating how whiteness or lightness can not be completely grasped by the categories of race, class and gender as lightness has been linked to aspects such as lifestyle or appearance.

The analysis of 'commodity racism' in the colonial, liberal-bourgeois, patriarchal setting has focused on the role of the soap in constructing white hegemony by 'packing' it into a commodity (MClintock 1995: 33, 211-214). In the empirical analysis parallels between the 'purifying' soap and skin bleaching products could be illustrated. As with the soap, skin bleaching products make the commodity 'whiteness' available to apparently everybody. Yet the range of different products illustrates the reproduction of racialised and class related differences. In this context the different labels of bleaching such as 'lightening' or even 'softening' have been unmasked as a marketing strategy of producing different products for different classes. While the upper and partly the middle class use 'healthy' lightening products, the lower class consumes 'unhealthy' bleaching products.

The middle class has been identified as the main consumers of skin bleaching products. It has been shown that skin bleaching can enhance one's social status. Thus skin bleaching can function as a 'ticket' for the middle class and the lower class to become part of the world of the new *homo oeconomicus*. Due to the great range of skin bleaching products for all classes, the status of the new *homo oeconomicus* seems to be available to everybody. However the empirical analysis has shown how class and race differences are being reproduced as skin bleaching can not fully compensate these differences. The role of 'natural whiteness' has been discussed reflecting naturalising constructions of 'normality'

limiting the integration of bleached white or light women into the 'normal white or light community'. In this sense the others – women and non-white people — are confronted with the need to change their biologistically perceived differences in order to fulfil the ideal of the white, male bourgeois (Habermann 2008: 260 f.).

The analysis of the forms of subjectivation has shown that the interviewees mainly want to become light instead of white as the latter is associated with some form of de-Africanisation and with physical side-effects. While strongly bleached women are perceived as 'white like me' by the interviewees, the analysis has shown that skin bleaching does not necessarily lead to an integration in the 'white or light community'. In comparison to the light Tanzanian woman who still remains African, the strongly bleached woman does not fit into any of the existing racialised categories of black or non-white or white any more. The bleached woman can be understood as a racially in-between. Thus existing forms of racialisation are destabilised. Race can be deconstructed as an 'empty category' which is constantly being reconstructed (Hanke 2006: 113 f.).

At this point of the conclusion I want to reflect my own position as a white, female, middle class researcher from Austria during the research process. As I have mentioned various times, the interviewees often referred to me as the other against whom they differentiated themselves. On the one hand I reflected some kind of 'ideal natural whiteness', on the other hand many interviewees distanced themselves from my whiteness as has been analysed in the empirical part. Thus I was confronted by being (re)constructed as different during the interviews which sometimes complicated the interview situation as I felt a strong distinction between the whiteness of the interviewees and mine. Yet, it was especially this distinction which opened the possibility to understand contextualisations of whiteness.

Accordingly, the interviewees want to become lighter but stay within the hegemonic construction of Africans as black. The strong demarcation of the interviewees towards western whiteness like mine as a white Austrian reflects forms of resistance towards hegemonic whiteness reflecting how contextualisation processes of whiteness open possibilities for change, interruptions and breaking within this dispositif. Thus, the technology of the self of skin bleaching must not only be perceived as a subjection under

power relations but also as a challenging act towards white hegemony. On the one hand the subjects subjugate themselves under white hegemony, on the other they distance themselves from western whiteness and appropriate this technology of the self within their own contexts. In this sense I end this diploma thesis by quoting Judith Butler (2004):

> As a consequence of being in the mode of becoming, and in always living with the constitutive possibility of becoming otherwise, the body is that which can occupy the norm in myriad ways, exceed the norm, rework the norm, and expose realities to which we thought we were confined as open to transformation (Butler 2004: 217).

6. Empirical material

6.1. List of interviews

Alice and Brenda (name changed)   interview on 19.08.2010, Dar es Salaam
two girls working at the residential area of the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) as domestic workers, 23 and 26 years old, originally from Iringa (Alice) and Rombo (Brenda), both primary education

Chambi Chachage   interview on 02.09.2010, Dar es Salaam
independent researcher, newspaper columnist and policy analyst based in Dar es Salaam

David (name changed)   interview on 25.09.2010, Dar es Salaam
a hairdresser and soccer player, originally from the Democratic Republic of the Congo

Erich Leitner   interview on 10.10.2010, Vienna
director of the *Gesellschaft Österreichischer Chemiker Wien* (Society of Austrian Chemists)

Florence and Grace (name changed)   interview on 06.08.2010, Dar es Salaam
living in Arusha, 30 and 33 years old, self-employed, sale of clothes

Fred Maisaga   interview on 05.08.2010, Dar es Salaam
doctor working at a S.H. Amon Cosmetic Supermarket at the centre of Dar es Salaam

Glory (name changed)   interview on 14.08.2010, Dar es Salaam
living in Segerea (Ilala district), 35 years old, working in a bar, originally from Bukoba, primary school

Hadija and Amina (name changed)   interview on 12.08.2010, Dar es Salaam
two women living in Tabata (Ilala district), 32 and 30 years old, both primary education, self-employed: sale of clothes

Haifa (name changed)   interview on 19.08.2010, Dar es Salaam
living Sinza (Kinondoni district), 28 years old, self-employed: buys and sells clothes, secondary education until form four (two years missing in order to be able to get into university)

Janet (name changed)   interview on 19.08.2010, Dar es Salaam
living in Tabata (Ilala district), 24 years old, studies law at the institute of adult education, working in a hair salon in Sinza (Kinondoni district)

Jokate   interview on 18.08.2010, Dar es Salaam
student at the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM)

Lotus Kiamba   interview on 01.09.2010, Dar es Salaam
TV presenter of the show Nirvana at East African TV (EATV)

Mai Martha   interview on 24.09.2010, Dar es Salaam
living in Sinza (Kinondoni district), 25 years old, originally from Morogoro, TV presenter at Independent Television (ITV), MC (Master of Ceremony), saleswoman of cosmetic products

Mary (name changed)   interview on 25.08.2010, Dar es Salaam
living in Mbezi Beach (Kinondoni district), 30 years old, originally from Mbeya, primary education, came to Dar es Salaam in 2009 for work, self-employed: dealing mainly with the sale of phone credit

Mustafa Hassanali   interview on 24.09.2010, Dar es Salaam
Tanzanian couture designer

Richard (name changed)   interview on 24.09.2010, Dar es Salaam
a salesman of cosmetic products in Dar es Salaam

Rehema Forgen Mariki   interview on 23.09.2010, Dar es Salaam
Medical Devices Assessment and Enforcement Officer at the Tanzania Food & Drug Authority (TFDA)

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employed at the marketing section of the international company GNLD (www.gnld.com)

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8. Appendix

8.1. Abstract English

In this diploma thesis the practice of skin bleaching among Tanzanian woman is analysed. The research question deals with how power relations are reconstructed by the practice of skin bleaching of Tanzanian women. The thesis is structured by three assumptions. First, skin bleaching needs to be analysed in relation to neocolonial, neoliberal and patriarchal power relations constructing the white or light female body as the 'normal' and the non-white or non-light body as the 'deviant'. Second, skin bleaching reflects the commodification of whiteness as it becomes a commodity which everybody can buy at the 'accurate' price. Third, skin bleaching by non-white women illustrates how different social categories such as race, class and gender are interdependent. Consequently, whiteness can not be understood as a static but flexible construct. Using the concept of normalisation, whiteness is perceived as a a such always integrating some of the 'abnormal others' in order to stay hegemonic.

The thesis is structured into two main parts. The first deals with the methodic and theoretical approach — the research approach. My research approach is a 'mix' between poststructuralist and politico-economic theories. My method is based on a Foucauldian discourse analytical approach but broadened by a politico-economic perspective. Thus discourses and politico-economic structures are perceived as acting in a joined way. According to a Foucauldian discourse analysis, so called rules of formations are identified in the theoretical part which are then reconstructed in the empirical material. Two 'settings' — the colonial, patriarchal, liberal-bourgeois and the neoliberal, neocolonial, patriarchal setting are analysed regarding how whiteness has been and is being constructed. Important rules of formation identified are the interdependence of class, race and gender relations, the process of commodification and the link of race with beauty. Furthermore, the construction of whiteness is analysed in relation to the emergence of capitalist structures. The focus is put on how whiteness has been and is (re)constructed by the means of commodities such as the soap in the colonial context and skin bleaching products in the neoliberal context.

In the second part these rules of formation and politico-economic structures are reconstructed in the empirical material consisting of interviews and visual material in form of advertisements. The author takes the reader on a trip through various sites where whiteness or rather lightness are being reproduced in the Tanzanian context. These site are the market, advertising, the domestic sphere, friends as a social group and the city setting with the street as the main area. Furthermore, forms of subjectivation such as the 'bleached woman', the 'naturally light woman' versus the 'artificially white woman' etc. are analysed. The analysis of the empirical material shows how some power relations identified in the theoretical part are being reproduced in the Tanzanian context while a focus is also set on challenges towards them. In this context the shift from whiteness to lightness as THE form of subjectivation identified in the empirical material is of crucial importance. On the one hand it needs to be perceived as a contextualisation of whiteness through which whiteness becomes hegemonic in the Tanzanian context. Yet, the challenging aspect towards power relations of this shift from whiteness to lightness is also emphasised. Thus the diploma thesis shows that skin bleaching cannot only be understood as a subjection under power relations by emphasising the agency of the subjects using bleaching creams. The focus is placed on how women use these creams, why they use it and how they perceive themselves within the Tanzanian society. Thus in this diplomat thesis various forms of contextualisations of whiteness and possibilities to resist this hegemonic power relation are explored.

8.2. Abstract German

Diese Diplomarbeit befasst sich mit der Praxis des Hautbleichens unter tansanischen Frauen. Die Forschungsfrage bezieht sich auf die Reproduktion von Machtverhältnissen durch das Phänomen des Hautbleichens. Die Diplomarbeit wird von drei Annahmen geleitet. Die erste setzt Hautbleichen in den Kontext neoliberaler, neokolonialer, patriarchaler Machtverhältnisse, die den weißen oder hellen weiblichen Körper als 'normal' und den nicht-weißen oder nicht-hellen als 'abweichend' konstruieren. Zweitens wird Hautbleichen als ein Ausdruck zunehmender Kommodifizierungstendenzen innerhalb des kapitalistischen Systems angesehen. Weißsein wird zu einer Ware, die jede(r) zum 'angemessenen' Preis kaufen kann. Drittens spiegelt Hautbleichen die Interdependenz verschiedener sozialer Verhältnisse wie „Rassen-", Klassen-, oder Geschlechterverhält-nissen wieder. Weißsein wird daher nicht als statisches, sonder als flexibles Konstrukt angesehen. In diesem Sinne wird der Begriff der Normalisierung herangezogen, um die verschiedenen Kontextualisierungen von Weißsein und die Integration bestimmter 'abweichender Anderer' in die 'weiße Gemeinschaft' zu beschreiben.

Die Diplomarbeit besteht aus zwei großen Kapiteln. Das erste befasst sich mit dem Forschungsansatz, sprich der methodischen und theoretischen Verortung, die sich aus einer Verbindung poststrukturalistischer und polit-ökonomischer Ansätze ergibt. Methodisch orientiert sich diese Diplomarbeit an einer Foucaultschen Diskursanalyse, wobei polit-ökonomische Ansätze integriert werden. Diskurse und polit-ökonomische Strukturen werden daher als sich beeinflussend angesehen. Im Sinne einer Foucaultschen Diskursanalyse werden im theoretischen Teil so genannte Formationsregeln anhand von zwei „Settings" — dem kolonialen, patriarchalen, liberal-bürgerlichen Setting und dem neoliberalen, neokolonialen, patriarchalen Setting – herausgearbeitet. Als wichtige Formationsregeln werden das Zusammenspiel von Klasse-, „Rassen"- und Geschlechter-verhältnissen, der Prozess der Kommodifizierung und die Verbindung von „Rasse" mit Schönheitskonstruktionen identifiziert. Weiters werden Konstruktionen von Weißsein in den Kontext der Entstehung kapitalistischer Strukturen gesetzt. Dabei wird analysiert, wie Weißsein in Form von Waren wie der Seife im kolonialen Kontext und Hautbleich-produkten im neoliberalen Kontext (re)konstruiert wurde/wird. Diese Formationsregeln

und polit-ökonomischen Strukturen werden dann im Untersuchungsmaterial bestehend aus Interviews und visuellem Material rekonstruiert.

Die Autorin nimmt die Lesenden auf eine Art 'Reise' durch verschiedene Arenen in Tansania, wo Weißsein oder Hellsein als hegemonial (re)produziert werden. Diese Arenen stellen der Markt, die Werbung, die Freundinnen als soziale Gruppe und die Stadt mit der Straße als zentralem 'Schauplatz' dar. Außerdem werden verschiedene Subjektivierungs-formen wie die 'gebleichte Frau', die 'natürlich helle Frau' gegenüber der 'künstlich hellen Frau' etc. analysiert. Die Analyse des empirischen Materials zeigt, wie bestimmte Machtverhältnisse, die im theoretischen Teil identifiziert wurden, reproduziert werden. Dabei wird jedoch auch ein Fokus auf Formen des Widerstands gegenüber herrschenden Machtverhältnissen gelegt. In diesem Zusammenhang spielt die Verschiebung von Weißsein zu Hellsein als DER Subjektivierungsform eine besondere Rolle. Dieser Wandel stellt einerseits eine Kontextualisierung von Weißsein im tansanischen Kontext dar, durch die Weißsein hegemonial bleibt, andererseits kann er auch als eine Möglichkeit des Widerstands gegenüber Weißsein als hegemonialem Machtverhältnis angesehen werden. In diesem Sinne versteht die Autorin Hautbleichen nicht nur als einen Ausdruck der Unterwerfung von Subjekten unter Machtverhältnisse, sondern wendet sich den Handlungsmöglichkeiten der interviewten Frauen zu. Die Frage besteht in Folge dessen darin, wie und warum Bleichcremen verwendet werden und wie sich die Interviewten innerhalb der tansanischen Gesellschaft wahrnehmen. Der Fokus liegt auf Formen der Kontextualisierung von Weißsein und Formen des Widerstands gegen dieses hegemoniale Machtverhältnis.

8.3. Curriculum Vitae

Persönliche Daten

Vorname	Katharina
Zuname	Fritsch
Geburtsdatum	28.05.1987
Adresse	Anna-Frauer-Gasse 5/6
	1180 Wien
Telefonnummer	0650/4452937
e-mail	katharina_fritsch@hotmail.com

Ausbildung

1997-2005	Franziskanergymnasium Hall in Tirol
2003-2004 (11.Schulstufe)	Auslandsjahr in Brasilien
Oktober 2005-heute	Studium der Internationalen Entwicklung
Oktober 2005-Jänner 2005	Studium Romanistik Portugiesisch
Oktober 2006-heute	Studium der Politikwissenschaft an der Universität Wien

Studienschwerpunkte:
- Gender Studies
- Cultural Studies

Auslandsaufenthalte zu Studienzwecken

Oktober 2009-Februar 2010	Auslandsstudium an der University of Dar-es-Salaam, Tansania im Rahmen eines Joint-Study Programms
August 2010-Oktober 2010	Forschungsaufenthalt für die Diplomarbeit in Dar es Salaam, Tansania

Praktische Erfahrungen

September 2007- Februar 2008	Auslandspraktikum in Tansania (im Bereich kultureller Tourismus und Jugendarbeit)
März 2010-Juni 2010	wissenschaftliches Praktikum beim Paulo Freire Zentrum, Zentrum für transdisziplinäre Entwicklungsforschung und dialogische Bildung
WS 2010/2011, SS 2011	Philologisch-Kulturwissenschaftl. Fakultät Wien Wissenschaftliches Universitätspersonal, Toturium

„Transdisziplinäre Entwicklungsforschung — Problemformulierung, Problembearbeitung, Umsetzung: Tansania"

Seit Oktober 2010   Mitglied des Redaktionsteams des Paulo Freire Zentrums, Zentrum für transdisziplinär Entwicklungsforschung und dialogische Bildung

Seit April 2011   Freie Mitarbeiterin beim Wissenschaftsmagazin der Zeitschrift Falter

Publikationen

Katharina Fritsch (2009): Mythos „Weißsein". In: RAISON. Zeitschrift für gesellschaftliche Entwicklung. Nr. 3, 12: 2009, 60-64.

Sprachkenntnisse   Deutsch (Muttersprache)
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Französisch (fließend)
Portugiesisch (fließend)
Swahili (fließend)