

**Exploring Socialization Processes in Mothers' Styling of
their African American Millennial Daughters' Hair**

by

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Abstract

In many cultures, hair has been a long-standing representation of beauty (Bankhead & Johnson, 2014). For African Americans, notions about hair have been passed down from teachings perpetuated during slavery. These teachings about hair were embedded in the acculturation process, then developed into socialization practices. Previous research has not specifically focused on the role of socialization in the hairstyling process of African Americans. This study's purpose was to explore how African American daughters remember their mothers' styling of their hair. Qualitative methods, revealed how their mother's socialized them and what they valued as important through hairstyling. A questionnaire completed by 293 African American millennial females found that participants were covertly socialized through hairstyling practices. Additional findings revealed that participants intend to continue with some of the hairstyling practices that their mothers implemented, but they want to avoid practices they perceive as damaging or unhealthy.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

African American culture cannot be understood simplistically. When dissected thematically, one may find a history of captivity and oppression, acculturation and socialization processes and impacts, redevelopment of the African-based culture, and descriptions of survival. The culture as it stands today has been born from members being defined as property during times of slavery, and then redefining themselves as people worthy of being recognized as a collective culture in America. Being African American is not simply defined by skin color, but it is defined by the observable cultural practices of an individual and the manners in which lifestyles are expressed.

One perspective for documenting the historical weaving of the culture could be through hairstyles, especially because of the “value placed on Black people’s hair” (Chapman, 2007, p. 1). African American hair is very versatile, aside from being able to be worn in an afro or be straightened, it may also be styled into “braids, dreadlocks, and knots,” (Patton, 2006, p. 30). Varied hairstyling methods range from historic cultural African techniques, to hairstyling during slavery (when slaves did not have the same tools to fashion their hair that they had in their homeland), to post-slavery when hair straightening was key to respectability, and finally to the 1960’s and 1970’s when black power was expressed by styling afros (African American hair in its natural state) to define blackness.

According to Byrd and Tharps (2001), historically, a variety of African cultures wore wigs as head protection from the sun, groomed their hair in different ways to demonstrate emotional and mental states, and utilized the crown as a means of communication by donning intricate and varying designs to signify marital status, clan membership, age, and even social status. They stated that hair was prized because of its various social and aesthetic implications. In

some African tribal cultures, long, plentiful, silky, and shiny hair was aesthetically pleasing, which may later have been an African-based contribution to the perspective on African American hair that evolved during slavery, when the natural state of slaves' hair was viewed in a negative manner. Over the centuries, beginning with the enslavement of Africans in the 1600s, many shifts occurred with African American hair: from first the African-based appearance being stripped away during captivity, to being reformed during slavery, then gaining post-slavery definition, and finally to being redefined during the middle of the 20th century.

During these centuries, the majority population of European American women could observe and follow fashionable hairstyle trends (Tortora & Marcketti, 2015), but these did not relate to non-majority populations such as African American women. Generations of African Americans have internalized and displayed shame of their physical appearances, including hair, based on the views of their European oppressors (Parmer, Arnold, Natt, & Janson, 2004). Earlier decades, dating back to the enslavement of Africans in America when stigmas about African American hair were initiated (Parmer et al., 2004), reveal existences of African Americans having to make their hair correspond to the straightness of the European Americans. This practice, according to Craig (1997), formed from “within the context of a national culture saturated with imagery that celebrated long, straight or wavy hair as an essential characteristic of femininity” (p. 399).

Post-slavery, degradation of African American hair and inferiority linked with the hair type persisted (Parmer et al., 2004). Through such a “narrow and relatively white” beauty ideal African American women have had to find ways to adapt or make due to be perceived as beautiful (Bankhead & Johnson, 2014, p. 92). Patton (2006) stated if a woman's representation of beauty does not follow the standards that are in vogue at the time, it can lead to distress. The

impacts of African Americans acculturating to whites forced a perspective that eventually became a part of the hairstyle teachings of multiple generations of females. Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits (1936) described acculturation as a process in which the ongoing and direct interaction of multiple cultural groups results in the outcome of cultural changes in one or more of the groups. With hair being an enduring symbol of female beauty,” (Bankhead & Johnson, 2014, p. 92) conforming to European Americans’ styling was likely a burden for African American women. They were plagued with heavyweight decisions of whether to wear their hair straightened according to societal standards, or let their hair remain in its natural state and be ridiculed by society and fellow members of their race (Walker, 2000). Hairstyle trends for African Americans become more evident in the mid-20th century as they transitioned from straightened hairstyles to more naturally textured styles.

Based on literature and past research studies, one can assume that generational stigmas about hair exist for African American women (Lewis, 1999; Parmer et al., 2004). The manner in which a mother handles her daughter’s hair will be directly associated with the personal hair grooming experiences she had with her mother (Lewis, 1999). For instance, African American female baby boomers were raised with the concept that their hair should be worn straightened; this notion subsequently should have influenced how they styled their Generation X daughter’s hair, and so on. This cycle of hairstyling methods should continue with each generation, whether practices remain similar or deviate from the norm. The continuation of hairstyling practices across multiple generations suggests the process of socialization, which is how one accepts the norms of the culture or social group in order to fit in and be acceptable throughout life, in addition to how the teachings are passed along to the next generation (Parke & Buriel, 1998). Well-groomed children are perceived to be raised well, and in the African American community,

mothers may socialize their daughters to mirror their own appearance and dress (Davis, 2015; Lewis, 1999). Therefore, for my study I sought to explore what messages about hair mothers perpetuated with their young African American millennial daughters in the 1990's decade. A millennial is defined as any person born during the timeframe of 1980 to 2000 (Young & Hinesly, 2012) thus, looking at the 10 years of the 1990's theoretically would cover the childhood experiences of more than half of this cohort.

In reference to hairstyling practices, it seems that acculturation forms the basis of acceptance, and socialization provides the teaching of acceptance. The premise of the study was that African American culture was the result of assimilation and integration. I conceptualized that what had been learned about hair during the acculturation process became a part of the culture and translated to socialization practices that were taught to consecutive generations. Observing the hairstyling practices of African Americans as their culture in the US developed will aid in visually tracing the impacts of acculturation and socialization processes of African American hairstyling after the historic period of slavery.

Study purpose

The purpose of this study was to explore how a sample of African American millennial females remember their mothers' styling of their hair as young girls. Through a mix of closed- and open-ended questions, young women were prompted to reveal the manner in which their mothers chose to socialize them and what those mothers valued as important. Because African American mothers could be judged based on the condition of their daughter's hair, one can reasonably assume that social acceptance was important and could have resulted in similar hairstyles among female children in the designated time frame. The role of parents in socializing their children grounded the study because family is the most influential source in an individual's

life during childhood (Parke & Buriel, 1998). “Hair is a woman’s glory and you share that glory with your family. They get to see you breathing it, washing it” (Angelou, 2009).

To understand how hairstyles connected to African American culture, the historical background to contemporary practices will be provided in the next chapter, breaking down the phases of African American post-slavery hairstyling. Acculturation and socialization processes will also be discussed to further support the discussion of contemporary practices in the 1960’s – 1990’s when African American hair became more symbolic and was emulated.

Definitions

Conceptual definitions

African American – A person born in the United States of America who is commonly thought of as having total or partial African heritage; also referred to as black people.

Acculturation – The process by which groups of people of at least two cultures have direct and constant contact that results in successive changes in the culture of one or all of the involved groups (Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits, 1936).

Millennial –the demographic cohort, born between 1980 and 2000, that followed Generation X (Young & Hinesly, 2012).

Socialization – The process that encompasses the teaching of roles, societal institutions, and values, through communications among family members and other social groups and that may benefit and prepare the individual for the present and future (Lidz, 1976; Parke & Buriel, 1998).

Hairstyling terminology

Barrette – Clip worn in or on the ends of hair, made of plastic, metal, wood, or other materials in various shapes, colors, and sizes (Calasibetta & Tortora, 2003).

Ballies – Elastic band with hard plastic balls on the ends that provide adornment to ponytails.

The balls range in color, size, and shape; sometimes referred to as hair ties, twistlers, or knockers, depending on the region (personal observation).

Cornrows – A style of braids characterized by a method that braids the hair in horizontal rows by adding more hair after each plait to the braid (Calasibetta & Tortora, 2003).

Dreadlocks – Hair arranged in many long hanging twists (Calasibetta & Tortora, 2003)

Good hair –straight or wavy, long, and silky hair; a term commonly used in the African American community (personal observation).

Straightening – For the context of this study, straighten was defined as the process used to make the hair straight without the use of chemicals. Straightening is typically accomplished by applying heated tools such as a curling iron, blow dryer, or flat iron to the hair.

Relaxer – A hair straightening kit that is used to alter the curly hair strand by chemically breaking the bonds, thereby resulting in a straight hair strand. A relaxer may be applied every 8-10 weeks to treat the new hair growth to blend with the processed hair. In the African American community, the term relaxer is often interchanged incorrectly with the term perm, short for permanent or permanent wave.

Chapter 2. Literature Review

Acculturation

Acculturation can be broken down into four outcomes: assimilation, integration, marginalization, and segregation. Each category illustrates the degree to which the person or group maintains their own cultural values or adapts the customs of the majority culture (Lerman, Maldonado, & Luna, 2009). Assimilation is to adapt to the dominant group and acquire their customs (Berry & Kim, 1988). Integration is to concurrently adapt to the dominant group and adopt their customs while incorporating them into their own ethnic culture to keep a sense of the original culture present (Berry & Kim, 1988). Marginalization is to neither adopt the dominant culture nor retain original ethnic culture (Berry & Kim, 1988). Segregation is not adopting or interacting with the dominant group but maintaining all aspects of the ethnic culture (Berry & Kim, 1988).

“Adopting many White European traits was essential to survival” (Patton, 2006, p. 28). Jones (2003) argued that over the centuries of slavery, an African American culture evolved from coping mechanisms, mere survival tactics, and acculturation. Jones (2003) identified five constructs that are important to African culture as they represent a psychological redefining of culture. These constructs, given the acronym TRIOS, are: time, rhythm, improvisation, orality, and spirituality. West (1990) alluded to the constructs by stating that African heritage was kept by utilizing distinct patterns of communication, body motions, and expressions such as “hairstyles, ways of walking, standing, talking, and hand expressions” (p. 35). Lerman, Maldonado, and Luna (2009) remarked that the newly presented culture may not be immediately demonstrated by the immigrating culture because acculturation changes occur gradually over time. As slaves, African Americans were not allowed the privilege of demonstrating their own

ethnic culture and had no choice of whether to assimilate or preserve their culture (Sellers, Shelton, Rowley, & Chavous, 1998). As a result, African Americans were forced to mix cultural traditions with survival tactics, resulting in new lifestyle variations (Jones, 2003; Phinney, Chavira, & Williamson, 1992). Even though Africans were oppressed in America, Jones (2003) argues that African American culture still shows connections with African roots. Sellers et al. (1998) stated that African and African American culture are equally important in defining the overall culture of African Americans. Connecting European ways with African traditions helped African Americans maintain and develop efforts to create a culture that could exist where black “intelligence, ability, beauty and character” (West, 1990, p. 35) were constantly being attacked, although that was based on the standards of people who were not black (West, 1990).

Slavery not only forced African Americans to blend culturally with Europeans; race mixing also was forced. The result of blacks and whites mixing was offspring who displayed a mix of physical characteristics that were more favored because they exhibited some European features, such as fairer skin and straighter hair. Although the offspring were of mixed ancestry, they still had to identify racially as black. Slavery contributed to a melting pot and a new culture for black people, and it extended the black race to include more varied features and physical characteristics (Byrd & Tharps, 2001). This may be a contributing reason for why African Americans faced adversities when it came to defining a beauty culture.

As evidenced by Joseph, Watson, Wang, Case, and Hunter (2013), the social unacceptability of a culture may cause members to not display or identify with the norms, beliefs, values, and customs. Joseph et al., (2013) found that Black Caribbean immigrants participate in African American culture when it is beneficial to them, but when their own culture is more valuable, they do not partake in African American cultural behaviors, implying that

certain cultural aspects of African American culture are shunned. “Public regard and engagement” and “cultural race-related stress and engagement” (Joseph et al., 2013, p. 415) were stated as reasons that some Black Caribbean immigrants choose when they want to identify with the African American culture. This demonstrates Black Caribbean immigrants display of Redfield et al.’s, (1936) outcomes of acculturation, specifically the selection of traits, determination of traits offered and chosen, and integration. It illustrates how the receiving culture (Black Caribbean immigrants) blends the contributing culture’s (established African Americans) traits with their own. Prior to Joseph et al.’s (2013) study, Sellers et al. (1998) conducted a study on the dimensions of racial identity of African Americans using the Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity. Given the history of race in America and African Americans being regarded as unworthy “second-class citizens” (Sellers, et al., 1998, p. 18), it is possible that the black Caribbean immigrants’ (Joseph et al., 2013) identification with the black race is situational.

Socialization

Socialization is the shaping of an individual’s core principles, reasoning, abilities, and attitudes to reflect those of the individual’s social group in the present and future (Parke & Buriel, 1998). The shaping of a person can occur through contact with others, particularly those people who are part of a social group to which the individual connects (Parke & Buriel, 1998). Social groups play a role in encouraging conformity and assigning rank; disseminating parties can range from associates to coworkers, and obviously include family members (Chan, Berger, & Van Boven, 2012; Henry, 2012; Moschis, 1976; Palla, Barabasi, & Vicsek, 2007; Yorno, Postmes, & Haslam, 2007). During childhood family members are the most influential social group involved in the process of socialization (Barker & Hill, 1996; Parke & Buriel, 1998). “An important goal of all families is to help prepare their members to participate successfully as

citizens of the wider society” (Thornton, Chatters, Taylor, & Allen, 1990, p. 401). For African Americans, according to Thornton et al. (1990), this preparation includes racial contexts and is appropriately termed racial socialization, that is, blacks teaching their children about the explicit or inexplicit societal racial positioning of the race.

Socialization is a process that occurs in each successive generation and therefore is grounded in history; that links it to acculturation (Parke, 2004). For African Americans, socialization takes place in two forms, general and racial. The latter, according to Peters (1985), is the manner in which African American parents consciously shape their children to conform to society in two perspectives, which are, raising their children to be mindful that they will not only encounter society as an American, but also as an African American, whose experiences will differ from those of other races. This perspective reflects an outcome of acculturation and identifies reasons why some African Americans adapted to white culture, including the desire to be treated in fairness and to gain freedom, both physically and mentally. It is not possible to grasp the concept of African American youth’s socialization without including racism as an aspect (Peters, 2002). “Race is a highly contested representation of relations of power between social categories by which individuals are identified and identify themselves” (Higginbotham, 1992, p. 253). The racial socialization process encompasses messages pertaining to “(1) personal and group identity, (2) intergroup and inter-individual relationships, and (3) position in the social hierarchy.” (Thornton et al., 1990, p. 402).

For African American females, the socialization process may have a different focus. African American mothers have to rear their daughters to develop an identity affected by race and societal views of females. This means that African American females must be conscious of being a general member of society, an African American member of society, and a female

African American member of society. Thomas and King (2007) researched socialization of African American daughters in two regards: racism and sexism, and called the combination gendered racial socialization. They implied that during the process of socialization, African American females have to take into account all of the various roles and duties that have been assumed by African American women; for instance, this could be raising a family without paternal help or being viewed in a stereotypical manner. Research shows that females receive messages pertaining to beauty standards, sex, independence, and racial pride (Thomas & Speight, 1999). Suizzo et al. (2008) found that the majority of African American mothers who participated in their study of middle class parents' desires for their children's success, wanted their children to embrace their culture because it was important in their identity. Barker and Hill (1996) implied that instilling self-pride while child rearing is central to a child's developmental health.

Socialization within Socioeconomic Parameters and the Familial Dynamic

“Family structure varies from culture to culture according to status, economics, and socialization” (Barker & Hill, 1996, p. 79). Thus, socioeconomic level plays a vital role in how a child is socialized. From generation to generation, cultural lessons are taught in the same manner, unless the socioeconomic status changes (Barker & Hill, 1996). Dependent upon the values and teachings displayed by the child, their actions may mirror those of the parents, which could contribute to the perceptions one may derive about the family (Barker, 1993; Barker & Hill, 1996). Thornton et al. (1990) stated that parents of varying backgrounds have different judgments of the social system based on factors such as their social setting, (e.g. socio-demographics), “the issue of racial socialization” (p. 402), and level of importance and appropriateness of the topics when addressing children.

Gaining socioeconomic mobility within African American culture has been challenging based on past historical occurrences such as slavery and oppression, and discrimination and racism (Barker & Hill, 1996; Williams, 1999). According to Williams (1999) racism has been an underlying factor as to why African Americans have difficulties achieving socioeconomic mobility. Racism has allowed for segregated neighborhoods and communities where blacks have been located in adverse living conditions (Williams, 1999). Contrary to Williams' (1999) notion, Barker and Hill (1996) attribute a lack of a structural family dynamic, unhealthy child rearing practices, and lack of resources as to why African Americans are not socioeconomically mobile. The familial unit has not been structural for African Americans, dating back to times of slavery when there was no father figure, and for decades after slavery the father was absent from the home for a multitude of reasons, such as war, incarceration, or death (Barker & Hill, 1996). In homes where a father is present, he may not be providing sufficient resources because jobs are inaccessible (Williams, 1999). In the familial dynamic African American mothers are vital in the racial socializing of a child in that their involvement is higher than that of other family members (Frabutt, Walker, & Lewis, 2002). In Suizzo et al.'s (2008) study, a majority of the mothers were very active in the learning process of their children outside of as well as within the home. Therefore, the role of the African-American mother, stated from Frabutt et al. (2002), is more prevalent in the home than the father's role, leaving the mother to decide how to raise the child. Teachings are often based on aspirations for the children being successful in adulthood (Barker & Hill, 1996; Suizzo et al., 2008). Therefore, it could be assumed that African Americans strive for upward mobility in socioeconomics and socialize their children based on their current status.

According to Miller (1999), parents can indirectly racially socialize their child through their own display of behaviors and involvement in content related to the culture. "Cultural

heritage” (Barker & Hill, 1996, p. 80) is intertwined with socioeconomic factors, hence, what parents may choose to teach their children about cultural heritage is based on the individuals’ social class as well as race. Thornton et al. (1990) found that in their study of black parents socializing their children based on their sociodemographic factors and environmental correlates, age (older parents) and gender (female parents), linked to consciously socializing their children. This finding contrasts Frabutt et al.’s (2002) finding of income and education levels not factoring into the socialization messages. These contradicting findings suggest that younger African American parents may not be as set on racially socializing their children in comparison to older generations of parents. One assumption could be that the younger African American parents may not have had to endure the same or similar societal circumstances as the older African Americans.

Until the 1960’s when racial pride movements were booming, straight hair was used to define class among African Americans (Craig, 1997). With that movement and in that timeframe, many women who straightened their hair during the racial pride eras were shunned, even if they were adapting to their work environments where Caucasians may have been dominant. Craig (1997) reported that pressures to conform to the African American culture’s beauty standards of the time were communicated by other members of the culture. It seems likely that this could have been a conflicting era for women in the labor force; kinky hair was not acceptable in the workplace as it was viewed as demonstrating defiance, and straight hair was not acceptable among some members of the African American culture because it was perceived as neglecting racial identity. One can imagine that to progress socially, an African American mother had to decide whether to socialize her daughter based on inherited culture or according to what was deemed appropriate to the dominant Caucasian culture.

Hair-esteem

Teiahsha Bankhead and Tabora Johnson have a body of work pertaining to hair esteem (Bankhead & Johnson, 2014; Johnson and Bankhead, 2014). In one of their studies (Bankhead & Johnson, 2014), they examined the self-esteem of African American women, who wore their hair in its natural hair state in environments with their social groups. Findings revealed that family members yielded the highest percentage of discriminatory responses towards the women's hair in its natural state. The most favorable responses were from non-relatives such as community members and friends. In a second study (Johnson & Bankhead, 2014) they used the same data pool and examined the influence that wearing hair in its natural state had on self-esteem. They developed a hair-esteem scale by adapting Rosenberg's (1965) self-esteem scale; it was used in both (2014) studies to support their research. They found that women who wore their hair naturally had higher self-esteem, and that overall, their natural hair was favored by multiple social groups. Based on their findings, they strongly encouraged black women to wear their hair in its natural state to build self-esteem levels.

Using hairstyling interactions to evaluate racial and gender socialization processes, the dynamic of mother-child relationships, and the formation of attachment relationships, Lewis (1999) observed that the way mothers handled their daughter's hair stemmed from the characteristics of the dyad, and from the mothers' personal experiences with their own mothers. Thus, what the female child learns during the hair combing process may have been passed down from previous generations. Johnson and Bankhead's (2014) finding that negative perceptions of natural hair were communicated mostly from family members demonstrates that messages can affect a woman's self-esteem level. Therefore, if negative stigmas are internalized during childhood and passed along, either self-esteem levels may increase or decrease, and such

messages could influence how African American females tend to their manes when it is time to be seen in public. Johnson and Bankhead (2014) stated that the black female's identity is inseparable from her "relationship to and presentation of her hair" (p. 86). On the other hand, these teachings may have been imperative in the development of high self-esteem levels found in African American females. Mothers may have unknowingly built up their daughter's self-esteem by racially socializing them, which in turn built a resistance to negativity from others because it was already received from their mothers.

Pope, Corona, and Belgrave (2014) found that African American females value their hair over other features pertaining to physical body image, and the majority of the messages communicated about hair perceptions were centered on length and texture. Pope et al.'s (2014) examination of mother daughter dyads' perceptions of body image revealed that the daughters' perceptions of themselves aligned with their mothers' perceptions of them, which suggests that the messages received by daughters influenced their individual self-perceptions. According to Lewis (1999), the manner in which a young girl develops self-awareness may be an outcome of the communication process that occurs during hairstyling with her mother and "what the young girl internalizes about herself and her mother may have its origins, in part, in emotionally charged memories from hair combing experiences" (p. 506). In relation to my study, a question can be posed as to whether it will be found or implied that African American female children received messages about physical beauty based on the types of hairstyles they were given. Did hair preparation and styling play a role in socialization? Lewis (1999) implied that many symbolizations can be obtained from hairstyling processes between mother and daughter, such as "parental acceptance or rejection, security, shame or pride... as well as the racial identity for which hair has long been a symbol" (p. 506).

African American History of Hair

Hair, a prized mane and means of communication, was taken from Africans who were captured and sent into slavery (Sharp, 1993). According to Bellinger (2007), heads were shaved by slave owners to maintain hygienic levels. Byrd and Tharps (2001), however, stated that the slave owners were aware of the importance that hair held among the Africans, and they shaved their heads to deprive them of their identity and status. Byrd and Tharps (2001) included in their book about the history of African American hair, accounts of European explorers who visited Africa and wrote of the various hairstyles that were exhibited by Africans. In West Africa, hair was never seen undone or not styled (Byrd & Tharps, 2001). During the years of slavery, the role of hair in identity shifted in a negative way. Slaves were taught to view their hair as wool, and were forced to have their hair unkempt if they worked in the field, but if they worked in the house, they were supposed to make it mirror the hair of whites as closely as possible (Bellinger, 2007). Today it seems possible that this contributed to African Americans ultimately characterizing their hair as good or bad. Good hair, in the African American community, a term that persists now, is hair that is straight or wavy, long, and silky. This definition conflicts with the natural state of African American hair, which can be generally characterized as having a dense coil and lacking luster, although African hair “ranges from the deep ebony, kinky curls of the Mandingos to the loosely curled, flowing locks of the Ashanti” (Byrd & Tharps, 2001, p. 1).

To obtain good hair, one must straighten it and add products to give it shine because the natural strand is so densely coiled that the natural oils produced by the hair do not reach the entire strand. The straightening process demonstrates acculturation in that African Americans adapted to white culture and straightened their hair to look more like whites. However, tracing actual history shows inconsistencies; for example, women in the early 20th century labeled

straight hair as a modern hairstyle, perhaps perceiving it as generally fashionable rather than reflecting a negative view of their natural hair's characteristics. It might reflect a redefining of beauty in hairstyling wherein African American beauty standards were created amidst the past teachings and new methods of hair care and products available to black women. Maintaining straight hair suggested that appearance had become a top priority for black respectability (Ford, 2013).

Thompson and Keith (2001) and Patton (2006) reviewed studies reporting that historically in America, to be free was to have an esteemed position, and having straighter hair was a requirement for blacks to move closer to achieving that status. Until the 1960's, straight hair was the predominant hairstyle worn, especially by African American women (Craig, 1997). Black hair transitioned from being viewed as a low quality fiber to being perceived as a symbol of approval and division among socioeconomic classes (Craig, 1997). During the 1960's, activism for civil equality, respectability in terms of hair morphed into something more suitable for the spirit of the times, i.e. something more natural. Prior to that, respectability for the African American woman was displayed by having the body mostly covered, and the hair pressed and pulled back in a bun or French twist style (Ford, 2013). This look soon came to be unsuitable for the activism of the time, and denim and a natural hairstyle took precedence (Ford, 2013). These trends led into the 1970's, when there was a substantial display of African American hair in its natural state, called the afro, that served the multiple purposes of representing blackness, beauty, authority, pride, and politics (Craig, 1997; Walker, 2000).

The shift presented a striking conflict with what African American women had been socialized to do beginning in childhood, and that was to always keep their hair kempt and never go out in public without it being straightened (Ford, 2013). This socialized concept derived from

the perception that whites had historically had of black women, which was of dishevelment (Ford, 2013). Like today, beauty was defined as having straight hair, paralleling European American beauty standards (Ford, 2013). African American female activists had tried to maintain their teachings about hair, but this proved difficult when they often encountered people who threw materials and objects at them, such as ketchup and mustard and other liquid items, that ruined their hair and dress. Ford (2013) suggested that frequent visits to hair salons, quickly running up hefty bills, contributed to why black women began wearing their hair in its natural state.

In the 1970's black hair in its natural state was embraced and perceived as beautiful, and African American beauty standards, for hair in particular, had once again been redefined. That redefinition suggests that blacks may have found a piece of the freedom that they had been seeking for centuries. Another cultural representation, hip-hop, spawned in the 1970's and was used to voice "gleeful and aggressive views of survival, social critique, and revelry to neighborhood audiences" (Phillips, Reddick-Morgan, & Stephens, 2005, p. 253). Hip-hop was a medium used to express "social, economic, and political issues" (Alridge, 2005, p. 226) and managed to become an integral part of black culture. Hip-hop was a voice of the younger generations in the post-active civil rights era (Alridge, 2005); it was comprised of music, dance, art, language, and, of course, a style specifically associated with African Americans (Phillips et al., 2005). Hip-hop took off in the 1980's, and as a result of exposure to other cultures, the art forms of this movement, such as dress and hairstyles of African Americans, were emulated by other cultures.

African American hair trends transitioned from the natural afro to a looser curl in the 1980's with the introduction of the Jheri curl (Byrd & Tharps, 2001). This caused a surge in the

appearance of African American-owned hair care companies. By the 1990's, the black consumer's spending power was being exploited and non-black haircare gurus were taking over production of ethnic hair care (Grayson, 1995; Byrd & Tharps, 2001). As stated earlier from Johnson and Bankhead (2014), Grayson (1995) reported that this marketing ploy demonstrated how hair was placed on a pedestal in order to relate beauty to the black consumer.

As the 1990's approached, ethnic styles surfaced, and the 1990's were laced with "braids, afros, and cornrows" (Byrd & Tharps, 2001, p. 106). Contrary to the media displayed hairstyles, Mattel produced a different image of African American hair when their black Barbie doll hit the market with hair that did not appropriately reflect a typical black woman's hair. The dolls had long, straight hair, and one doll came with hair extensions that could be attached after the doll's hair had been styled, cut, or dyed. In later years, the company created black dolls that had more textured hair and were depicted with hair accessories and products that were familiar to black consumers (Grayson, 1995). Nevertheless, according to Byrd and Tharps (2001) black media such as *Essence* magazine, pushed for the embracing of African American culture.

African American mothers in the 1990's may have had to compete with portrayals of their culture from corporations and from their own people. In the 1990's, hip hop became a global force, pushing African American culture to gain recognition at a global level (Collins, 2004). As hip hop expanded in the 1990's from covering topics about politics and equality to include fashion and lifestyles about drugs, money, and sex, what was being portrayed in the music videos was a reflection of reality in the black community; hip hop was becoming a direct representation of black culture (Phillips et al., 2005). Witt (1997) stated that acceptable and appropriate behavior is reinforced with children through media, in particular, television. With some media portrayal of women being hypersexualized in black pop culture, mothers may have

returned to thinking more about socializing their daughters to display age appropriateness and self-respect, and appropriate hairstyling could have played an important part. Therefore, at a young age, African American young girls learned what hairstyles were appropriate (Grayson, 1995), whether it regarded race or age.

Conclusion

For African Americans, hair has been used as a symbol to express acceptance, rejection, cultural origins, and beauty. For this study, acculturation serves as a backdrop for socialization processes and hairstyling practices in African American culture. Decades have brought about many changes and practices ranging from straightening the hair daily to wearing it in a natural afro. However, many traditions stand the test of time, get ingrained in generations, and become the definition or identifiers of a culture. “The choices Black women make about hairstyle... often mean the difference between acceptance or rejection by groups and individuals” (Grayson, 1995, p. 13). An objective of this study is to explore what was important during socialization processes of African American young girls through examining hairstyling practices.

The following four research questions were formed to explore the significance of hairstyle practices for African American women:

RQ1: Did hairstyling practices of African American young girls during this time frame vary across different environments? How might they have varied (ethnicity of mother, neighborhood, geographic region, school ethnicity, and age)?

RQ2: Do women's memories suggest that hairstyling played an important role in their socialization as young girls?

RQ3: Did socialization practices in relation to African American hair influence hair esteem?

RQ4: Will millennial African American females display intentions to continue the process of socializing their daughters through hairstyling in the same manner that they were socialized?

Chapter 3. Methodology

Research Design

Past research studies geared towards socialization of African Americans have focused on socioeconomic and atmospheric factors as influencers in the socialization process, racial socialization and identity as factors of resiliency, the outcomes of physical features on self-esteem levels, and the manner in which parents transmitted socialization messages to their children. This study will add to previous research by exploring socialization processes in light of acculturation impacts as possible reasoning for African Americans exhibiting certain hairstyling practices.

Previous research exploring hairstyling processes of African American mothers, such as Lewis (1999), focused on racial socialization from the emotional and attachment standpoint of mother-daughter relationships. Although past studies have examined the relationships of the mother-daughter dyads through their interactions during hairstyling routines, the research has not specifically focused on the role of socialization as an influencer in the hairstyling process of African American young girls. Therefore, this study employed exploratory research to seek insights along these lines. A qualitative research design was used that included a questionnaire developed from established instruments to target African American female millennials. These methods allowed exploration of the participants' responses to identify emerging themes, as well as gather details, in order to make inferences when analyzing the data.

Instrument Development

For the purpose of this study, a questionnaire (see Appendix A) was developed consisting of questions adapted and adopted from existing scales. These included (1) Johnson and Bankhead's (2014) 10-item hair-esteem scale (see Appendix B), which was adapted from

Rosenburg’s (1965) self-esteem scale and (2) items adapted from Suizzo et al.’s (2008) interview protocol (see Appendix C). Questions were also prepared by the researcher. Johnson and Bankhead’s (2014) hair-esteem scale appears to have only been used in their studies (Bankhead & Johnson, 2014); therefore, some questions were reworded and refined to fit this study. Ratings were also adjusted to include neutral, and the order was reversed from ranging in order from strongly agree (=1) to strongly disagree (=4) to ranging from strongly disagree (=1) to strongly agree (=5). Some questions from Suizzo et al.’s (2008) interview protocol were reworded from open-ended questions to scaled questions. Original and adapted questions are listed in Table 1. The questionnaire called for the participant to think back on her childhood in relation to ethnicity, socioeconomic background, and experiences. Items included questions pertaining to cultural background, childhood hairstyles, and demographics (sex, age, marital status, number of children, current occupation, level of education, and annual income). The participants were expected to spend between 15-30 minutes to complete the questionnaire.

Table 1

Original and Adapted Questions and Statements

References	Original Question or Statement	Adapted Question or Statement
Johnson & Bankhead (2014)	I feel that my hair is of value, at least on an equal plane with others.	I feel that my hair is of value, at least on an equal plane with other ethnicities.
	I wish I could have more respect for my hair.	I wish I could have more admiration for my hair.
	All in all, I am inclined to feel that my hair has failed me.	All in all, I am inclined to feel that my hair has not pleased me.
Suizzo et al. (2008)	Where did you grow up?	Did you grow up in a two parent household?

What type of neighborhood did you grow up in?

Are there things about your own upbringing that you try to imitate/reproduce in raising your own child?

Is there any hairstyle that you would allow your daughter to wear that your mother figure did not allow you to wear? If so, please describe that hairstyle and state why you would allow it.

Are there hairstyling practices that you would imitate/reproduce when grooming your own daughter's hair? If so, please state what practices you would try to imitate doing.

Are there things about how you were raised that you try to avoid doing with your own child?

Are there hairstyling practices that you would try to avoid when grooming your own daughter's hair? If so, please state what practices you would try to avoid doing.

Do you talk to or teach him/her about being _____? How do you do this? What kinds of things do you say? What kinds of things do you do?

When my mother figure did my hair, she was teaching me how to have appropriate African American hair.

What do you consider to be your child's racial or ethnic background?

I would take my child's ethnic background into consideration if it differs or will differ from mine.

Do you think it is important for your child to understand what it means to be _____ [insert identification used by mother]? If so, why? If not, why not?

(See statement below)

Do you think it is important for your child to understand that there are racial or ethnic differences? If so, why? If not, why not?	Do you think it was important for your mother figure that you understood that there were ethnic differences?
Do you talk to or teach him/her about being _____? How do you do this? What kinds of things do you say? What kinds of things do you do?	My mother figure taught or talked to me about being African American.
Has your child experienced or observed any racist attitudes or incidents thus far, and if so, can you describe those?	I had childhood experiences or observations of racist attitudes or incidents.

Pilot Study

The intentions of the pilot study were to identify any issues in the questionnaire dealing with wording, vocabulary, or answer choices, and to determine if questions needed to be added or eliminated. The target participants for the pilot study were African American based sororities on Auburn University's campus because they fit the description of African American females aged 19 or older, i.e. millennials. The two active African American based sororities at Auburn University were contacted by email at the time of the initiation of the pilot study. The email contained a description of the purpose of the questionnaire, the official Protocol Information Letter, and a link to the questionnaire, and it asked the chapter president of each sorority to forward the information to their members. As compensation for participation, community service hours, required by the sororities, were offered to the members at the discretion of the organizations' chapter presidents. After two weeks neither sorority president had responded to the email, and no member had responded to the questionnaire. The researcher then sent another

email to the chapters' presidents urging participation, and provided another week for responses, but, unfortunately, this yielded no participants and no responses. As a result, the researcher moved forward with collecting data for the main study with no feedback or modifications to the questionnaire.

Main study

Data Collection

Purposive sampling was used to procure participants. The target participants were women who culturally identified as African American. Ages 19-29 (born from 1987-1997) were the central target. This age demographic comprised members of the millennial generation, young women who experienced childhood during the 1990s. Participants were recruited through Instagram. Duggan, Ellison, Lampe, Lenhart, and Madden (2014) reported that 26 percent of adult internet users utilize Instagram. Of that 26%, 29% are women, 38% are non-Hispanic black, and 53% are aged 18-29 (Duggan et al., 2014). Permission to solicit participants via Instagram was obtained from the Auburn University Institutional Review Board (IRB). This study was limited to African American women and therefore did not reflect a generalized population. However, seeking Instagram users allowed for a diverse sample in terms of age, geographic region, and background.

A Google search of Instagram pages that pertained to African American hair was conducted to find the top 10 Instagram pages with the goal of utilizing those as destinations for soliciting participants. Search keywords were African American hair, African American hairstyles, black hair, and black hairstyles. The top pages were selected according to the number of followers the Instagram account had. Based on the profile page information, Instagram suggested additional similar profiles, which the researcher used to solicit recruiters. The

operators of the pages were contacted via email address, if provided in their Instagram profile biography information, or via a direct message on Instagram. The email (see Appendix D) or direct message contained the purpose of the study, reason for selecting their account, and terms of compensation if they agreed to assist with recruitment. The operators were offered promotion of their Instagram page on the researcher's personal Instagram account. If the operators agreed to aid in the recruitment of participants, they were then provided with an image along with a description and a link to the survey to post as the caption (see Appendix E).

Of the 16 Instagram accounts contacted to assist with recruitment, only one responded and agreed. However, instead of page promotion as compensation, the researcher agreed to pay the Instagram account operator per post. While posting, the operator was not allowed to deviate from the wording used in the description provided by the researcher. However, because Instagram does not allow hyperlinks to be posted in a caption, the account operator was allowed to post the link to the questionnaire in her biography. The operator was asked to upload the post to her timeline and leave it up for two weeks, depending on the response rate. In the first 24 hours, there were more than 90 responses. The researcher then contacted the Instagram account operator five days later to put up a second post (see Appendix E), which resulted in more than 250 responses. The researcher personally observed the Instagram account to be sure the post was not deleted or altered before the allotted time frame expired.

The questionnaire with 68 items was administered through Qualtrics software. Participants were entered into a drawing for a gift basket that contained hair products via collection of email addresses in a separate survey link that was embedded in the original questionnaire as the last item. This ensured that the participants remained anonymous, and their questionnaire responses were not linked with their identity or email address. Once a winner was

determined, all correspondence was handled by the researcher. The Instagram account operator was not notified of the winner.

Subjects were told that the study examined processes that may have influenced hairstyling of African American young girls by their mothers or mother figures in the 1990's decade. Participants completed the questionnaire using a personal computer or mobile device.

Sample Characteristics

A total of 542 respondents was the yield. Responses with unusable data were discarded, which included participants who did not complete or agree to participate in the study, did not identify as African American, were born before 1980 and after 1997, and males. Hence, 293 responses were usable. The participants were self-reported African American females between the ages of 19-35 (born from 1981-1997). Less than 20% of the women were married; the majority of the women identified as single (80.1%). Less than half (43.8%) of the women reported a sole annual income of \$25,000 – \$50,999, while 34.2% reported earning \$24,999 or less. The most commonly reported education levels were: some college, no degree (31.4%); Bachelor's degree (31.4%); and Master's degree (19.5%). Nearly 38% worked in a professional occupation; 25.4% were students, and 13.6% identified other occupations such as military personnel and educators. Nearly 68% reported that they did not have children.

Data Analysis

Four research questions with sub-questions were developed for this study. For each research question listed below, a combination of questions and statements from the questionnaire were used for analysis purposes. The questionnaire was created to hopefully stimulate appropriate responses in order to gather quality data, an approach employed in content analysis research. The goal of content analysis is to analyze data based on meanings derived from the

responses of a group or culture (Krippendorff, 1989). The responses then can be grouped into common themes and tallied to “reveal trends, patterns and differences” (Krippendorff, 1989, p. 404).

RQ1: Did hairstyling practices of African American young girls during this time frame vary across different environments? How might they have varied?

1a: What variations of hairstyling practices of African American young girls were common based on ethnicity of their mother figure?

1b: What variations of hairstyling practices of African American young girls were common based on the type of neighborhood they were raised in (rural, suburban, urban, or multicity)?

1c: What variations of hairstyling practices of African American young girls were common based on the geographic region they were raised in (Northeast, Northwest, Southeast, Southwest, West, Midwest, or Hawaii and Alaska)?

1d: What variations of hairstyling practices of African American young girls were common based on the dominant ethnicity of the school?

1e: What variations of hairstyling practices of African American young girls were common based on the age of the respondent?

RQ2: Do women's memories suggest that hairstyling played an important role in their socialization as young girls?

RQ3: Did socialization practices in relation to African American hair influence hair esteem?

RQ4: Will millennial African American females display intentions to continue the process of socializing their daughters through hairstyling in the same manner that they were socialized?

The data for research question 1 were analyzed by categorizing responses to each sub-question and comparing percentages. For example, for the sub-questions 1a and 1d, which pertained to ethnicities of mothers and schools, African American was compared with non-African American; for 1b, which pertained to neighborhood types, urban was compared to rural, suburban, and multicity, with that process continuing through all possible combinations of categories; 1c pertained to geographic regions, and all regions were compared with one another as with sub-question 1b; finally, age groups were compared with each other for sub-question 1e.

To analyze the responses for research questions 2-4, the responses to the multiple choice questions were tallied and reported as a percentage (e.g. responses from 57% respondents suggested that relaxing young girls' hair was common). The responses from the Likert-type scales were analyzed using the weighted mean and the percentages that were calculated from the responses. Open-ended responses were analyzed using content analysis, and were examined for commonalities and grouped into themes. Based on the responses, inferences were made in order to appropriately address the research questions. Table 2 demonstrates which questionnaire statement or question correlates with each research question.

Table 2

Research Question Pairing

Research Question	Correlating Questionnaire Question/Statement
<p>RQ1: Did hairstyling practices of African American young girls during this time frame vary across different environments? How might they have varied?</p>	<p>Did you grow up in a two parent household?</p> <p>What was the dominant ethnicity in your home during childhood?</p> <p>In relation to the previous question, was this your mother or father’s ethnicity?</p> <p>Who was the prominent mother figure in your household?</p> <p>Based on the following images, select the hairstyles that most resemble the styles you were given as a child.</p> <p>What kind of hair accessories did your mother figure use in your hair? (Select all that apply).</p> <p>What was the typical process for styling your hair? For instance, did your mother figure have to put grease on your hair before styling it, or apply heat to it? Select and number the steps in the order you remember.</p>
<p>1a: What variations of hairstyling practices of African American young girls were common based on the ethnicity of their mother figure?</p>	<p>What type of neighborhood did you grow up in?</p> <p>What was the dominant ethnicity in your neighborhood during your childhood?</p> <p>Based on the following images, select the hairstyles that most resemble the styles you were given as a child.</p>
<p>1b: What variations of hairstyling practices of African American young girls were common based on the type of neighborhood they were raised in (rural vs suburban vs urban)?</p>	<p>Based on the following images, select the hairstyles that most resemble the styles you were given as a child.</p>

What kind of hair accessories did your mother figure use in your hair? (Select all that apply).

What was the typical process for styling your hair? For instance, did your mother figure have to put grease on your hair before styling it, or apply heat to it? Select and number the steps in the order you remember.

1c: What variations of hairstyling practices of African American young girls were common based on the geographic region they were raised in (Northeast, Northwest, Southeast, Southwest, West, Rocky Mountain states, or Hawaii and Alaska)?

What geographic region did you live in mainly, up to when you were around 12 years of age?

Based on the following images, select the hairstyles that most resemble the styles you were given as a child.

What kind of hair accessories did your mother figure use in your hair? (Select all that apply).

What was the typical process for styling your hair? For instance, did your mother figure have to put grease on your hair before styling it, or apply heat to it? Select and number the steps in the order you remember.

1d: What variations of hairstyling practices of African American young girls were common based on the dominant ethnicity of the school?

What was the dominant ethnicity in your school during childhood?

Based on the following images, select the hairstyles that most resemble the styles you were given as a child.

What kind of hair accessories did your mother figure use in your hair? (Select all that apply).

What was the typical process for styling your hair? For instance, did your mother figure have to put grease on your hair before styling it, or apply heat to it? Select and number the steps in the order you remember.

1e: What variations of hairstyling practices of African American young girls were common based on the age

In what year were you born?

Based on the following images, select the

<p>of the respondent?</p>	<p>hairstyles that most resemble the styles you were given as a child? (Select all that apply).</p> <p>What kind of hair accessories did your mother figure use in your hair? (Select all that apply).</p> <p>What was the typical process for styling your hair? For instance, did your mother figure have to put grease on your hair before styling it, or apply heat to it? Select and number the steps in the order you remember.</p>
<p>RQ2: Do women's memories suggest that hairstyling played an important role in their socialization as young girls?</p>	<p>I was taught to act or dress a certain way based on my ethnicity.</p> <p>My mother figure took charge of my grooming as a child.</p> <p>My mother figure dressed me in a particular way to maintain a standard.</p> <p>I was always neat and tidy.</p> <p>My hair was always groomed.</p> <p>I felt ashamed around my friends when my hair was not done.</p> <p>My hairstyle and clothing were of equal importance to my mother figure.</p> <p>I remember my mother figure doing my hair as a child.</p> <p>My hair sessions with my mother figure were a bonding experience.</p> <p>When my mother figure did my hair, she was teaching me how to have appropriate African American hair.</p> <p>What factors do you believe were considered when your mother figure was styling your hair?</p> <p>How old were you when your mother figure</p>

stopped doing your hair or you asked her to stop doing your hair? (If you cannot remember a specific age, try recalling what grade you were in).

How old were you when your mother figure stopped doing your hair or you asked her to stop doing your hair? (If you cannot remember a specific age, try recalling what grade you were in).

Were there special or regular occasions when more care was taken with hairstyling?

Did you have a relaxer in your hair as a child? If so, at what age?

Did you regularly get a relaxer?

Were you told that you had to get a relaxer?

What is your fondest memory of your mother figure doing your hair?

RQ3: Did socialization practices in relation to African American hair influence hair esteem?

Physical features, associated with my ethnicity, such as hair texture and skin complexion, differentiate me from other ethnicities. I feel proud that my physical features identify my ethnicity.

I believe historically my primary ethnicity was influenced by other ethnicities.

On a whole I am satisfied with my hair.

At times I think my hair is no good at all.

I feel that my hair has a number of good qualities.

I am able to care for my hair as well as most other people.

I feel I do not have much to be proud of about my hair.

I certainly feel my hair is unsatisfying at times.

I feel that hair is of value, at least on an equal plane with other ethnicities.

I wish I could have more admiration for my hair.

All in all, I am inclined to feel that my hair has not pleased me.

I take a positive attitude towards hair.

RQ4: Will Millennial African American females display intentions to continue the process of socializing their daughters through hairstyling in the same manner that they were socialized?

I style or will style my daughter's hair the same way as my mother figure styled mine.

Is there any hairstyle that you would allow your daughter to wear that your mother figure did not allow you to wear? If so, please describe that hairstyle and state why you would allow it.

Are there hairstyling practices that you would imitate/reproduce when grooming your own daughter's hair? If so, please state what practices you would try to imitate doing?

Are there hairstyling practices that you would try to avoid when grooming your own daughter's hair? If so, please state what you would try to avoid doing?

I would take my child's ethnic background into consideration if it differs or will differ from mine.

Do you think it was important for your mother figure that you understood that there were ethnic differences?

My mother figure taught or talked to me about being African American.

I had childhood experiences or observations of racist attitudes or incidents.

Chapter 4. Results and Discussion

The purpose of this study was to explore the variations of hairstyling practices for young African American girls in multiple settings based in their childhood. These settings ranged were childhood neighborhood, school, home, ethnicity of mother, and decade of childhood. These settings were selected because they provided a background where a social group might have influenced an individual's preferences or rituals: the researcher assumed that differences found would reflect the influence of the setting. Multiple factors were observed to see if any patterns would emerge from the data. Additionally, the role and impact of hairstyling in the girls' lives were explored. Responding to a questionnaire delivered via Instagram, 293 self-reported African American females aged 19-35 answered questions related to their memories of their childhood hairstyles and the mother-daughter relationship.

RQ1: Did hairstyling practices of African American young girls during this time frame vary across different environments? How might they have varied?

To offer a full picture of hairstyling practices, participants were asked to identify categories of hairstyles, types of hair accessories used, and hairstyling processes followed. For each question, participants could choose all that applied. In each table, the number of participants who identified each of the choices offered are presented. Five variables were examined in relation to hairstyling practices. Two explored ethnicity, mother's ethnicity and the dominant school ethnicity, as factors in the hairstyling practices. Other examined variables were neighborhood type, geographic region, and girl's age. The purpose for selecting these environments was to look for environmental situational influences on hairstyling practices. Questionnaire responses are presented for each sub-question for Research question 1. The data

are presented in descriptive formats, including tables and figures, for clarity and further elaboration.

1a: Mother figure ethnicity. The dominant ethnicity in 93% of the participants' childhood homes was African American. (See Table 3.) Sixty percent of participants grew up in two parent households; 84% reported that both parents were African American. Questionnaire responses showed that the prominent mother figure in 90% of the participants' homes was the actual mother. Some participants indicated having multiple mother figures in the home; mother and grandmother were the most common situation. Only 7% of the participants indicated that their mother figure was not African American.

Table 3

Household Parental Ethnicity

Parent	African American	Non-African American
Mother	36	5
Father	5	1
Both	232	9
<i>n</i>	273	15
% of total	93	5

Tables 4-5 and 6-7 (Appendix F) demonstrate the hairstyling selections that the participants received based on the ethnicity of their mother. The percentage of participants with non-African American mothers was small (5%); therefore, the results are not discussed in as much detail as for participants with African American mothers. In Table 4, participants identified the hairstyles that most resembled those given to them as a child. Seven choices are shown

because dreadlocks, the eighth choice, was not selected by any respondent. In Table 5, participants identified accessories that most resembled those used in their hair as a child from a list of seven options. In Tables 6-7 (see Appendix F), participants ranked the steps in their childhood hairstyling process from 1-8 (as needed).

Table 4

Incidence of Hairstyles per Mother's Ethnicity












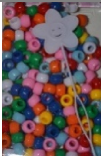


Hairstyles	Ponytails w/ twists	Cornrows w/ beads	Flat twists w/ curls	Two Ponytails w/ curls	Half up half down w/curls	Afro puffs	Afro	Other
								
African	178	174	116	111	86	61	20	22
American	(66%)	(65%)	(43%)	(41%)	(32%)	(23%)	(7%)	(8%)
	(268)							
Non-	8	3	5	2	2	1	5	4
African	(58%)	(21%)	(36%)	(14%)	(14%)	(7%)	(36%)	(29%)
American								
	(14)							
<i>n</i>	186	177	121	113	88	62	25	26
% of total	63	60	41	39	30	21	9	9

Table 5

Incidence of Hair Accessories per Mother's Ethnicity

Accessory	Ballies	Barrettes	Scrunchies	Beads	Rubber bands	Headbands	Other
							
African American (268)	267 (100%)	259 (97%)	173 (65%)	169 (63%)	133 (50%)	91 (34%)	6 (2%)
Non-African American (14)	13 (93%)	9 (64%)	9 (64%)	4 (29%)	6 (43%)	7 (50%)	0
<i>n</i>	280	268	182	173	139	98	6
% of total	96	91	62	59	47	33	2

Hairstyles. The most commonly selected hairstyles by participants with African American mothers were “ponytails with twists” and “cornrows with beads” (each selected by 65%). The next most selected hairstyles were “flat twists with curls” and “ponytails with curls” (each selected by about 41%). These four styles require relatively more time and effort to create than the other styles; the first two last the longest without having to be fixed. Among the participants with African American mothers, the styles that seemed to require less styling time, more upkeep, and more hair being worn loose were less common. For example, 23% selected

afro puffs as a childhood hairstyle, and only 7% of the participants indicated that their mothers styled their hair in an afro. This also demonstrates that the African American mothers may not have favored their daughters' natural hair being worn loosely, such as the afro or in puffs, in comparison to it being braided or tamed.

For participants with non-African American mothers, “ponytails with twists” was the single most commonly selected hairstyle (58%). “Flat twists with curls” and “the afro” were each equally selected by 36% of the participants. “Afro puffs” was the least commonly selected hairstyle (selected by 7%). “Cornrows with beads” (selected by 21%) was less popular than “ponytails with twists” among participants with non-African American mothers, contrasting responses from participants whose mothers were African American, for whom this style was one of the most common. Hence the afro, in which the hair is worn loose in its natural state, was selected more than braided styles by the participants with non-African American mothers. This suggests that the amount of work and time the non-African American mothers were willing to spend on their daughters' hair was less than African American mothers.

Hair accessories. Table 5 shows that for participants with African American mothers, the two most commonly used hair accessories were ballies (selected by 100%) and barrettes (selected by 97%). The next two most common accessories were scrunchies and beads (each selected by 63%). Rubber bands were selected by 50%, and headbands were the least common (selected by 34%). The percentages of accessory usage suggest that the African American mothers used accessories that were fitting for the more common hairstyles. For instance, ponytails with twists required using ballies and barrettes, therefore, the most commonly used accessories were paired with the most commonly selected hairstyle.

The most commonly used hair accessory for participants with non-African American mothers was ballies (selected by 93%). Barrettes and scrunchies were the next most common (each selected by 64%), and headbands were selected by 50% of participants. Rubber bands (selected by 40%) and beads selected by (33%) were the least selected accessories. This demonstrates that non-African American mothers may not have styled their daughters' hair in braid styles that were typically associated with beads; this correlates with the hairstyle "cornrows with beads" having a low commonality among participants with non-African American mothers.

Hairstyling process. There were not enough data presented to report the results of the typical hairstyling process for participants with non-African American mothers. However, Tables 6-7 (see Appendix F) provide a more in-depth overview of the participants' selections for the hairstyling process. Listed below is the ranking of the most common steps in the hairstyling process for the participants with African American mothers.

African American mother

1. Wet (26%); section (25%)
2. Section (29%)
3. Comb or brush (27%); section (22%); apply grease (22%)
4. Style (26%); comb or brush (21%)
5. Style (38%)
6. Change accessories (33%)

For participants with African American mothers, the most commonly selected first step in the hairstyling process was to wet or section the hair. Sectioning the hair was also the most common second step. The next step was to comb or brush the hair, and then style it and change the accessories.

Summary. Although hairstyling practices (styles and accessories) of African American young girls with African American mothers did not vary completely from those with non-African American mothers, they varied enough in ways such that the variations seemed to relate to manageability. African American mothers selected hairstyles that would last longer, even though they required more styling time. Non-African American mothers leaned towards styles that did not require as much styling time, such as the afro. In turn, the utilization of hair accessories was determined by the hairstyles that were given. Therefore, the commonness of a hairstyle determined the commonness of the accommodating hair accessory. Due to the limited data, no variations were able to be determined between the hairstyling process of non-African American mothers.

1b: Neighborhood type. All neighborhood types were represented in the sample. Forty-one percent of the sample grew up in an urban neighborhood setting; 36% percent grew up in a suburban setting, 12% were multicity (moved to different communities); and 10% were raised in a rural setting. The dominant ethnicity in each neighborhood type, with the exception of suburban, was African American. Table 8 summarizes the findings on dominant neighborhood ethnicity.

Table 8

Dominant Ethnicity per Neighborhood Type









Neighborhood ethnicity	African American	Non-African American
Urban (120)	104	16
Suburban (105)	38	67
Multicity (36)	28	8
Rural (28)	24	4
<i>n</i>	194	95
% of total	66	33

Hairstyles. The commonality of hairstyle selections was consistent across all neighborhood types. “Ponytails with twists” and “cornrows with beads” were the two most commonly selected hairstyles. “Flat twists with curls”, “two ponytails with curls”, and “half up half down with curls” were the next most common styles.

For the participants who grew up in multicity settings, the following styles were equally selected (each selected by 53%): 1) “ponytails with twists”, 2) “cornrows with beads”, and 3) “two ponytails with curls”. It appears that the mothers of the multicity participants varied the hairstyles more often than the mothers of the participants who did not grow up in multiple neighborhoods. This may have been because they were in different environments, and the hairstyles may have reflected the environment they were in at the time.

Table 9

Incidence of Hairstyles per Neighborhood




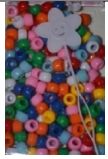


Hairstyles	Ponytails w/ twists	Cornrows w/ beads	Flat twists w/ curls	Two Ponytails w/ curls	Half up half down w/ curls	Afro puffs	Afro	Other
								
Urban	75	80	45	45	31	22	10	12
(120)	(63%)	(67%)	(38%)	(38%)	(26%)	(18%)	(8%)	(10%)
Suburban	61	59	42	36	32	23	6	7
(105)	(58%)	(56%)	(40%)	(34%)	(30%)	(22%)	(6%)	(7%)
Multicity	19	19	15	19	14	9	2	2
(36)	(53%)	(53%)	(42%)	(53%)	(39%)	(25%)	(6%)	(6%)
Rural (28)	21	14	13	11	9	6	1	1
	(75%)	(50%)	(46%)	(40%)	(32%)	(21%)	(4%)	(4%)
<i>n</i>	176	172	115	111	86	60	19	22
% of total	60	59	39	38	29	21	7	8

Hair accessories. The participants of each neighborhood type selected ballies and barrettes (each selected by a range of 90% to 100%) as the most commonly used hair accessories during their childhood. Scrunchies, beads, and rubber bands were the next most commonly used childhood hair accessories, and headbands were the least commonly used hair accessory for each neighborhood type. Usage of rubber bands and headbands were higher for the participants who

were raised in suburban neighborhoods than the participants who grew up in urban neighborhoods.

Table 10

Incidence of Hair Accessories per Neighborhood

Accessories	Ballies	Barrettes	Scrunchies	Beads	Rubber bands	Headbands	Other
							
Urban (120)	107 (89%)	107 (89%)	71 (59%)	74 (62%)	46 (38%)	31 (26%)	2 (2%)
Suburban (105)	95 (90%)	92 (88%)	64 (61%)	59 (56%)	57 (54%)	42 (40%)	2 (2%)
Multicity (36)	35 (98%)	33 (92%)	19 (53%)	17 (47%)	14 (39%)	9 (25%)	2 (6%)
Rural (28)	28 (100%)	25 (89%)	17 (61%)	18 (64%)	15 (54%)	7 (25%)	0
<i>n</i>	265	257	171	168	132	89	6
% of total	91	88	59	58	45	30	2

Hairstyling process. Tables 11-14 in Appendix F provide a more in-depth overview of the participants' selections of the hairstyling process based on the type of neighborhood in which they were raised. Listed below are the rankings of the most common steps in the hairstyling process for each neighborhood type.

Urban

1. Section (26%)
2. Apply grease (23%); comb or brush (20%)
3. Section (23%); comb or brush (23%)
4. Style (23%)
5. Style (25%)
6. Change accessories (23%)

Suburban

1. Wet (26%); section (22%)
2. Section (35%)
3. Comb or brush (27%); apply grease (23%); apply moisturizing lotion (23%)
4. Style (28%)
5. Style (40%)
6. Change accessories (35%)

Rural

1. Comb or brush (71%)
2. Apply moisturizing lotion (32%)
3. Section (36%); comb or brush (32%)
4. Comb or brush (25%); apply grease (21%); style (21%)
5. Style (32%)
6. Change accessories (36%)

Multicity

1. Comb or brush (31%)

2. Section (36%)
3. Apply grease (31%)
4. Apply moisturizing lotion (31%)
5. Style (42%)
6. Change accessories (36%)

Based on the most common selections, the hairstyling process for participants who grew up in an urban setting was as follows: the hair was first sectioned, then grease was applied, the hair was then combed or brushed, and then styled, and accessories were changed. For the participants who were raised in a suburban setting, wetting the hair was the first step, next the hair was sectioned, combed or brushed, and then styled with the accessories changed.

Rural and multicounty raised participants had similar practices that both began with combing or brushing the hair. The second and third steps alternated between sectioning the hair and applying moisturizing lotion or grease. The participants from the rural neighborhoods also selected comb or brush as a common fourth step. The last steps were to style the hair and change the accessories as with the other neighborhood types.

Summary. Aside from the hairstyling process, the selections of hairstyles and hair accessories were consistent across all neighborhood types. The researcher was expecting to find a variance in the results for the suburban category because the prominent neighborhood ethnicity was non-African American. However, this was not displayed in the results, which suggests that neighborhood ethnicity was not a factor in the hairstyles that were given or hair accessories that were used. The results do show that the most popular hairstyles were “ponytails with twists” and “cornrows with beads”, and the least popular styles were the “afro” and “afro puffs”. Ballies and barrettes were the most commonly used hair accessories, and headbands and rubber bands were









the least commonly used per neighborhood. The only variation displayed for the participants who were raised in a suburban neighborhood was that their mothers were more likely to accessorize with rubber bands and headbands in comparison to the other neighborhood types. The hairstyling process ended the same across all neighborhood types (styling and changing the accessories), but began differently for some. The process began with wetting or sectioning for urban and suburban neighborhoods; and for rural and multicity the process began with combing or brushing the hair.

1c: Geographic region. None of the respondents grew up in Hawaii or Alaska; therefore, that category was excluded from data analysis. As for the other categories, the largest represented region was the Northeast with 38.4%, then the Southeast with 32.6%; 11% grew up in the Midwest, 8.6% in the Southwest, and 9% in the West.

Hairstyles. “Ponytails with twists” and “cornrows with beads” were the two most commonly selected hairstyles by the participants raised in the northeast and southeast regions (each selected by a range of 59% to 63% of the participants). “Flat twists with curls” (35% Northeast; 44% Southeast) and “two ponytails with curls” (29% Northeast; 42% Southeast) were the next two most commonly selected hairstyles. For the participants raised in the northeast region, the next most commonly selected hairstyles were “afro puffs” (25%) and “half up half down with curls” (20%). Thirty percent of the participants raised in the southeast region selected “half up half down with curls” as a common style, while only 16% selected “afro puffs”. The afro was the least common hairstyle in both regions, being selected by 11% of the Northeast raised participants and 3% of the southeast raised participants.

Table 15

Incidence of Hairstyles per Geographic Region







Hairstyles	Ponytails w/ twists	Cornrows w/ beads	Flat twists w/ curls	Two Ponytails w/ curls	Half up half down w/ curls	Afro puffs	Afro	Other
								
Northeast (106)	64 (60%)	67 (63%)	37 (35%)	31 (29%)	21 (20%)	26 (25%)	12 (11%)	10 (9%)
Southeast (91)	56 (62%)	54 (59%)	40 (44%)	38 (42%)	27 (30%)	15 (16%)	3 (3%)	3 (3%)
Midwest (31)	16 (52%)	22 (71%)	17 (55%)	13 (42%)	12 (39%)	7 (23%)	3 (10%)	3 (10%)
West (26)	16 (62%)	9 (35%)	8 (31%)	10 (38%)	10 (38%)	6 (26%)	1 (4%)	4 (15%)
Southwest (24)	15 (63%)	15 (63%)	12 (50%)	15 (63%)	15 (63%)	1 (4%)	0	1 (4%)
<i>n</i>	167	167	114	107	85	55	19	21
% of total	57	57	39	37	29	19	7	7

For participants raised in the Midwest “cornrows with beads” (71%) was the most commonly selected hairstyle. The second most commonly selected hairstyles were “flat twists with curls” (55%) and “ponytails with twists” (52%), and then “two ponytails with curls” (42%), and “half up half down with curls” (39%). Twenty-three percent selected “afro puffs” and only 10% selected the “afro”. Sixty-three percent of the participants who grew up in the southwest region selected the following four styles as the most common: “ponytails with twists”, “cornrows with beads”, “two ponytails with curls”, and “half up half down with curls”. “Flat twists with curls” (50%) was the next most commonly selected style. Sixty-two percent of the participants raised in the west region selected “ponytails with twists” as their most common childhood hairstyle. The following four styles were all the next most commonly selected styles: “half up half down with curls” (38%), two ponytails with curls” (38%), “cornrows with beads” (35%), and “flat twists with curls” (31%). “Afro puffs” were selected by 26% of these participants.

Of all the styles, “afro puffs” and the “afro” were the most common in the northeast region. In contrast, the hairstyles depicting relaxed hair with curls, such as “flat twists with curls”, “two ponytails with curls”, and “half up half down with curls” were less common there than in other regions, including the Southeast that had the second most participants. This suggests that straighter hair was more prevalent in the southeast, midwest, southwest, and west regions. “Cornrows with beads” was the most commonly selected style by the participants raised in the midwest region. Ponytails with twists” was the most commonly selected hairstyle by participants raised in the west region.

Table 16

Incidence of Hair Accessories per Geographic Region

Accessories	Ballies	Barrettes	Scrunchies	Beads	Rubber bands	Headbands	Other
							
Northeast (106)	96 (91%)	97 (92%)	72 (68%)	64 (60%)	33 (31%)	36 (34%)	1 (1%)
Southeast (91)	87 (96%)	83 (91%)	50 (55%)	55 (60%)	50 (55%)	26 (29%)	0
Midwest (31)	29 (94%)	26 (84%)	16 (52%)	24 (77%)	12 (39%)	10 (32%)	3 (10%)
West (26)	20 (77%)	19 (73%)	13 (50%)	11 (42%)	18 (69%)	7 (27%)	1 (4%)
Southwest (24)	24 (100%)	23 (96%)	12 (50%)	9 (38%)	16 (67%)	6 (25%)	1 (4%)
<i>n</i>	256	248	163	163	129	85	6
% of total	88	85	56	56	44	29	2

Hair accessories. Ballies and barrettes were selected as the most commonly used hair accessories by the participants from each region. The participants raised in the Northeast selected scrunchies (68%) and beads (60%) as the next two most commonly used accessories, then headbands (34%) and rubber bands (31%) as the least common. Scrunchies (55%), beads (60%),

and rubber bands (55%) were the second most commonly used hair accessories for the participants who were raised in the southeast region: headbands were the least commonly utilized accessory (selected by 29%).

For the participants who were raised in the midwest region, beads (selected by 77%), in addition to ballies and barrettes, were the most commonly used hair accessories. Scrunchies (selected by 52%) was the next most common: rubber bands (selected by 39%) and headbands were the least commonly used (selected by 32%). For participants raised in the west region, rubber bands were also a commonly used accessory (selected by 69%). Scrunchies (selected by 50%) and beads (selected by 42%) were the next most common, and headbands were the least commonly used accessory (selected by 27%). Lastly, for the participants raised in the southwest region, rubber bands (selected by 67%) and scrunchies (selected by 50%) were the second most commonly used hair accessories, and beads (selected by 38%) and headbands (selected by 25%) were selected the least.

Across all regions headbands were the least commonly used accessory, and ballies and barrettes were the most common. Scrunchies were more commonly used in the northeast region than all others. Rubber bands had the highest commonality in the west, southwest, and southeast regions. The usage of beads was highest in the midwest region, then the northeast and southeast regions.

Hairstyling process. Tables 17-22 in Appendix F provide a more in-depth overview of the participants' selections of the hairstyling process based on the geographic region in which they were raised. Listed below are the ranks of the most common steps in the hairstyling process for each region.

Northeast

1. Wet (25%)
2. Section (28%)
3. Apply lotion (26%)
4. Style (26%)
5. Style (33%)
6. Change accessories (27%)

Southeast

1. Section (24%); wet (23%)
2. Section (30%)
3. Comb or brush (27%); apply grease (24%)
4. Style (26%)
5. Style (34%)
6. Change accessories (31%)

For participants raised in the northeast and southeast regions, the hairstyling process was nearly the same with the exception of the third step, which ranged from applying moisturizing lotion or grease, to combing or brushing the hair. The process began with wetting or sectioning the hair and ended with styling and changing the hair accessories.

Midwest

1. Wet (29%); section (26%)
2. Apply moisturizing lotion (26%)
3. Comb or brush (35%)
4. Section (23%); apply lotion (23%)

5. Style (29%)
6. Style (32%)
7. Change accessories (16%)

West

1. Section (27%)
2. Section (31%)
3. Comb or brush (42%)
4. Style (31%)
5. Style (27%)
6. Change accessories (27%)

Southwest

1. Wet (33%)
2. Apply moisturizing lotion (38%)
3. Comb or brush (38%)
4. Comb or brush (21%)
5. Style (33%)
6. Change accessories (46%)

The process for participants who were raised in the Midwest and southwest regions was similar. The process began with wetting or sectioning the hair, then applying hair moisturizing lotion and combing or brushing the hair: styling the hair and changing the accessories completed the process. The hairstyling process for the participants who were raised in the west region consisted of four common steps: sectioning, combing or brushing, styling, and changing the accessories.








Summary. Compared to other variables, geographic regions offered the most variations. Hairstyles that depicted straighter hair were more common in the southeast region in comparison to the northeast region. The northeast region had the highest commonality of the “afro puffs” and “afro” hairstyles. The usage of scrunchies was also highest in the northeast region. Rubber bands had the highest commonality in the west, southwest, and southeast regions. The usage of beads was most common in the midwest, northeast, and southeast regions. The hairstyling process did not vary much across the geographic regions.

1d: Dominant ethnicity of childhood school. Just over half of the participants (55%) selected African American as the dominant ethnicity in their childhood schools. The other 45% selected non-African American as their childhood school’s dominant ethnicity.

Hairstyles. The dominant ethnicity of the school did not appear to have much impact on the hairstyling practices. No clear differences in selections of common hairstyles were found. The most commonly selected hairstyles were “cornrows with beads” and “ponytails with twists,” (selected by a range of 53 to 65%) and the least common hairstyle was the afro (selected by less than 10% per ethnicity).

Table 23




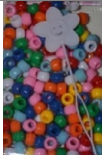


Incidence of Hairstyles per School Ethnicity

Hairstyles	Ponytails w/ twists	Cornrows w/ beads	Flat twists w/ curls	Two Ponytails w/ curls	Half up half down w/ curls	Afro puffs	Afro	Other
								
African	99	103	62	61	47	38	13	9
American	(63%)	(65%)	(39%)	(39%)	(30%)	(24%)	(8%)	(6%)
(158)								
Non-	78	70	54	50	39	23	6	13
African	(60%)	(53%)	(41%)	(38%)	(30%)	(18%)	(5%)	(10%)
American								
(131)								
<i>n</i>	177	173	116	111	86	61	19	22
% of total	61	59	40	38	29	21	7	8

Hair accessories. The two most commonly used hair accessories among participants who attended schools where the dominant ethnicity was African American were ballies (94%) and barrettes (91%). The next two most commonly used accessories were scrunchies (61%) and beads (63%). Rubber bands (41%) and headbands (31%) were the least commonly used hair accessories for these participants.

Table 24

Incidence of Hair Accessories per School Ethnicity

Accessories	Ballies	Barrettes	Scrunchies	Beads	Rubber bands	Headbands	Other
							
African American (158)	149 (94%)	144 (91%)	97 (61%)	100 (63%)	65 (41%)	49 (31%)	3 (2%)
Non-African American (131)	117 (90%)	114 (87%)	75 (57%)	69 (53%)	68 (52%)	41 (31%)	3 (2%)
<i>n</i>	266	258	172	169	133	90	6
% of total	91	88	59	58	46	31	2

Among participants who attended schools where the dominant ethnicity was non-African American, the two most commonly used accessories were also ballies (90%) and barrettes (87%). The next most commonly used accessories were scrunchies (57%), beads (53%), and rubber bands (52%). A near equal percentage of these participants selected rubber bands and beads: suggesting that rubber bands and beads may have been used in combination by the mothers of participants who attended predominantly non-African American schools.

For the participants who attended predominantly non-African American schools, rubber bands were more common. Otherwise the use of hair accessories was similar per school

ethnicity. Ballies and barrettes were the most commonly used accessories: scrunchies and beads were the next most common, and headbands were the least commonly used.

Hairstyling process. The hairstyling process was similar between the participants who attended schools with a dominant African American ethnicity and those who attended predominantly non-African American schools. Tables 25-26 in Appendix F provide a more in depth overview of the participants' selections of the hairstyling process. Listed below are the ranks of the most common steps in the hairstyling process for each dominant school ethnicity.

African American school dominance

1. Wet (25%); section (23%)
2. Section (25%); apply moisturizing lotion (22%); apply grease (20%)
3. Apply grease (23%); section (21%); comb or brush (20%); apply moisturizing lotion (18%)
4. Style (22%); comb or brush (21%); apply moisturizing lotion (19%)
5. Style (32%)
6. Change accessories (30%)

Non-African American school dominance

1. Wet (24%); section (22%)
2. Section (29%)
3. Comb or brush (31%)
4. Style (26%)
5. Style (39%)
6. Change accessories (31%)

Based on the most common selections, the process for participants who attended schools with a dominant African American ethnicity began with wetting the hair, then sectioning the hair. The process then continued with greasing the scalp, then styling the hair and changing the accessories. The process was the same for the participants that attended predominantly non-African American schools. The only variation is the third step, which was to comb or brush the hair, instead of applying grease to the scalp.



Summary. The split between predominantly African American and non-African American dominance in schools was nearly even, and the hairstyles, accessories, and process were consistent across both. The variations that were found were slight, such as rubber bands being more common in non-African American schools, and the third step of the hairstyling process varying between applying grease to the scalp or combing or brushing the hair.

1e: Age of respondent. The age groups were broken up into the following groups: early 1980's (1980-1984), late 1980's (1985-1989), early 1990's (1990-1994), and late 1990's (1995-1997). There were 50 respondents born in the early 1980's; the largest group, 112 respondents, were born in late 1980's; the second largest group of respondents, early 1990's, had 88 respondents, and the smallest group was late 1990's with 38 respondents.

Hairstyles. The two most commonly selected hairstyles across all four age groups were "ponytails with twists" and "cornrows with beads". The second most commonly selected styles were "flat twists with curls" and "two ponytails with curls". Next in commonality was the "half up half down with curls" style, then the "afro puffs" hairstyle. The "afro" was selected the least across all age groups.

Table 27

Incidence of Hairstyles per Childhood Age







Hairstyles	Ponytails w/ twists	Cornrows w/ beads	Flat twists w/ curls	Two Ponytails w/ curls	Half up half down w/ curls	Afro puffs	Afro	Other
								
Early 1980s (50)	29 (58%)	30 (60%)	13 (26%)	22 (44%)	15 (30%)	8 (16%)	3 (6%)	7 (14%)
Late 1980s (112)	61 (54%)	65 (58%)	45 (40%)	40 (36%)	32 (29%)	14 (13%)	8 (7%)	7 (6%)
Early 1990s (88)	58 (66%)	57 (65%)	40 (45%)	35 (40%)	29 (33%)	25 (28%)	7 (8%)	7 (8%)
Late 1990s (38)	29 (76%)	22 (58%)	18 (47%)	13 (34%)	10 (26%)	13 (34%)	2 (5%)	1 (3%)
<i>n</i>	177	174	116	110	86	60	20	22
% of total	61	60	40	38	29	21	7	8

The selections were consistent across all of the age groups, with the exception of the “afro puffs” hairstyle being selected more by the females born in the early and late 1990’s (28% early 1990’s; 34% late 1990’s); these percentages were double the percentages from the females

born in the early and late 1980's (16% early 1980's; 13% late 1980's). "Flat twists with curls", was selected the least by the participants in the early 1980's in comparison to all of the other age groups.

Table 28

Incidence of Hair Accessories per Childhood Age

Accessories	Ballies	Barrettes	Scrunchies	Beads	Rubber bands	Headbands	Other
							
Early 1980s (50)	44 (88%)	46 (92%)	24 (48%)	25 (50%)	18 (36%)	16 (32%)	3 (6%)
Late 1980s (112)	100 (89%)	97 (87%)	68 (61%)	60 (54%)	49 (44%)	27 (24%)	1 (1%)
Early 1990s (88)	86 (98%)	80 (91%)	56 (64%)	57 (65%)	44 (50%)	27 (31%)	2 (2%)
Late 1990s (38)	36 (95%)	35 (92%)	25 (66%)	27 (71%)	21 (55%)	20 (53%)	0
<i>n</i>	266	258	173	169	132	90	6
% of total	91	88	59	58	45	31	2

Hair accessories. Across all of the categories per girls' age, ballies and barrettes were the most commonly used hair accessories; scrunchies and beads were second in commonality, and headbands and rubber bands were used the least. Scrunchies, beads, rubber bands, and headbands

were selected more by the participants born in both the early and late 1990's. Participants born in the late 1990's had the highest percentages in nearly every category compared to the other age groups; this was especially true for the use of headbands (selected by 53%).

Hairstyling process. Listed below are the ranks of the most common steps in the hairstyling process for each age group. Tables 29-32 in Appendix F provide a more in depth overview of the participants' selections of the hairstyling process.

Early 1980's

1. Apply grease (22%); comb or brush (22%)
2. Section (28%); comb or brush (24%)
3. Section (24%); apply grease (24%); comb or brush (24%)
4. Style (28%)
5. Change accessories (24%)

Late 1980's

1. Wet (24%); section (21%)
2. Section (26%); apply grease (21%)
3. Comb or brush (24%); apply moisturizing lotion (21%); section (20%)
4. Style (25%); comb or brush (21%)
5. Style (35%)
6. Change accessories (29%)

Early 1990's

1. Wet (28%); section (25%)
2. Apply moisturizing lotion (27%); section (24%)
3. Comb or brush (30%)

4. Comb or brush (24%); style (24%)
5. Style (30%)
6. Change accessories (32%)

Late 1990's

1. Section (29%); wet (26%)
2. Section (32%)
3. Apply grease (26%)
4. Apply moisturizing lotion (26%)
5. Style (45%)
6. Change accessories (39%)

With the exception of the early 1980's, the typical hairstyling process did not appear to vary much among the age groups. The most obvious variation between the early 1980's was the process did not start with either wetting or sectioning the hair.

Overall summary. Table 33 summarizes the findings for research sub-questions 1a-e. No matter what the category was, whether it was age group, dominant school ethnicity, geographic region, neighborhood, or the ethnicity of their mother figure, “cornrows with beads” and “ponytails with twists” were the two most commonly selected hairstyles, and “afro puffs” and the “afro” were selected the least. Ballies and barrettes were the two most commonly used hair accessories, and headbands were used the least. The overall hairstyling process generally took five to six steps to complete. Wetting or sectioning the hair was how the hairstyling process typically started, and it finished with styling the hair and then changing or adding the hair accessories.

Table 33

Summary Table

	Hairstyles	Accessories	Styling process
Ethnicity			
African American	Most common Ponytails w twists Cornrows w beads Least common Afro	Most common Ballies Barrettes Least common Headbands	Selected order 1) Wet 2) Section 3) Comb/brush 4) Style 5) Change accessories
Non-African American	Most common Ponytails w twists Least common Afro puffs	Most common Ballies Barrettes Scrunchies Least common Beads	Selected order N/A
Neighborhood Type			
Urban	Most common Ponytails w twists Cornrows w beads Least common Afro	Most common Ballies Barrettes Least common Headbands	Selected order 1) Section 2) Apply grease 3) Comb/brush 4) Style 5) Change accessories
Suburban	Most common Ponytails w twists Cornrows w beads Least common Afro	Most common Ballies Barrettes Least common Headbands	Selected order 1) Wet 2) Section 3) Comb/brush 4) Style 5) Change accessories
Rural	Most common Ponytails w twists Least common Afro	Most common Ballies Barrettes Least common Headbands	Selected order 1) Wet 2) Section 3) Comb/brush 4) Style 5) Change

			accessories
Multicity	Most common Ponytails w twists Cornrows w beads Ponytails w curls Least common Afro	Most common Ballies Barrettes Least common Headbands	Selected order 1. Comb/brush 2. Section 3. Apply grease 4. Apply lotion 5. Style 6. Change accessories
<hr/>			
Geographic Region			
Northeast	Most common Ponytails w twists Cornrows w beads Least common Afro	Most common Ballies Barrettes Least common Rubber bands Headbands	Selected order 1) Wet 2) Section 3) Apply lotion 4) Style 5) Change accessories
Southeast	Most common Ponytails w twists Cornrows w beads Least common Afro	Most common Ballies Barrettes Least common Headbands	Selected order 1) Wet 2) Section 3) Comb/brush 4) Style 5) Change accessories
Midwest	Most common Cornrows w beads Least common Afro	Most common Ballies Barrettes Least common Rubber bands Headbands	Selected order 1) Wet 2) Apply lotion 3) Comb/brush 4) Section 5) Style 6) Change accessories
Southwest	Most common Ponytails w twists Cornrows w beads Two ponytails w curls Half up half down w curls Least common	Most common Ballies Barrettes Least common Headbands	Selected order 1) Wet 2) Apply lotion 3) Comb/brush 4) Style 5) Change accessories

	Afro puffs Afro		
West	Most common Ponytails w twists Least common Afro	Most common Ballies Barrettes Rubber bands Least common Headbands	Selected order 1) Section 2) Comb/brush 3) Style 4) Change accessories
School Ethnicity			
African American	Most common Ponytails w twists Cornrows w beads Least common Afro	Most common Ballies Barrettes Least common Headbands	Selected order 1) Wet 2) Section 3) Apply grease 4) Comb/brush 5) Style 6) Change accessories
Non-African American	Most common Ponytails w twists Cornrows w beads Least common Afro	Most common Ballies Barrettes Least common Headbands	Selected order 1) Wet 2) Section 3) Comb/brush 4) Style 5) Change accessories
Age Group			
Early 1980's	Most common Ponytails w twists Cornrows w beads Least common Afro	Most common Ballies Barrettes Least common Rubber bands Headbands	Selected order 1) Apply grease 2) Section 3) Comb/brush 4) Style 5) Change accessories
Late 1980's	Most common Ponytails w twists Cornrows w beads Least common Afro	Most common Ballies Barrettes Least common Headbands	Selected order 1) Wet 2) Section 3) Comb/brush 4) Style 5) Change accessories

Early 1990's	Most common Ponytails w twists Cornrows w beads Least common Afro	Most common Ballies Barrettes Least common Headbands	Selected order 1) Wet 2) Apply lotion 3) Comb/brush 4) Style 5) Change accessories
Late 1990's	Most common Ponytails w twists Least common Afro	Most common Ballies Barrettes Least common Rubber bands Headbands	Selected order 1) Section 2) Apply grease 3) Apply lotion 4) Style 5) Change accessories

Even though the hairstyling process typically began with wetting or sectioning the hair, wetting the hair was only selected by 35% of the total sample of participants. In actuality, wetting the hair was the least common step in the hairstyling process. Combing or brushing, sectioning, and styling were the most common steps (each selected by about 90% of the participants).

RQ2: Do women's memories suggest that hairstyling played an important role in their socializing as young girls?

Hairstyling manners of mothers of African American young girls were examined to explore if and how hairstyling impacted socialization processes. Based on the responses the role of hairstyling pertaining to socialization was multifaceted. Hairstyling provided a platform for attachment bonding, defined appearance expectations, and reiterated the mother's authority.

Mothers' involvement in hairstyling. Table 34 shows the mother's involvement in the hairstyling process, and was reviewed using closed ended questions and a scale pertaining to childhood grooming practices which measured frequencies ranging from always (1) to I do not know (6). The mean was calculated to determine an overall attitude towards the statements.

Table 34

Childhood Grooming Practices

Statement	Frequency						Weighted mean
	Always	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never	I do not know	
Taught to act or dress based on ethnicity.	13.10%	10.00%	22.07%	15.17%	36.21%	3.45%	3.62
Mother took charge of grooming as a child.	62.41%	28.62%	6.55%	1.72%	0.69%	0.00%	1.50
Mother dressed me to maintain a standard.	46.37%	22.49%	15.57%	8.65%	5.54%	1.38%	2.09
Always neat and tidy.	63.23%	23.71%	10.31%	2.41%	0.34%	0.00%	1.53
Hair was always groomed.	70.73%	24.04%	4.18%	1.05%	0.00%	0.00%	1.36
Felt ashamed around friends	17.77%	9.41%	26.48%	19.51%	20.91%	5.92%	3.34

when hair was
not groomed.

Hairstyle and clothing were of equal importance to mother.	43.40%	32.64%	14.24%	4.51%	3.82%	1.39%	1.97
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The responses showed that the participants' mothers were heavily involved with their daughters' grooming processes (hairstyling and dress) until puberty, and they often weighed hairstyle and clothing equally. The participants were often dressed to maintain a standard, and were rarely taught to act or dress in a particular manner based on their ethnicity, correlating to Thomas and King's (2007) study of gendered racial socialization in which they found that mothers socialized their daughters to be respectful and recognize equality. There was an underlying message that the mothers taught the daughters self-respect through maintaining a well-groomed appearance.

Most of the participants' mothers determined when they would stop styling their hair, if their hair would be relaxed, and the frequency of applications. The participants gained independence with hairstyling mainly after puberty, but prior to then, the mothers always took charge of the grooming. The grooming process consisted of always keeping their daughters neat and tidy, with their hair always done. In turn, while the mothers were maintaining a standard among their social group, they were also teaching their daughters how to uphold a standard as well. Thus, the participants indicated sometimes feeling ashamed when their hair was not done.

The young girls had been socialized to maintain a well-groomed appearance from head to toe, and were not trained to cope when they were not all the way put together.

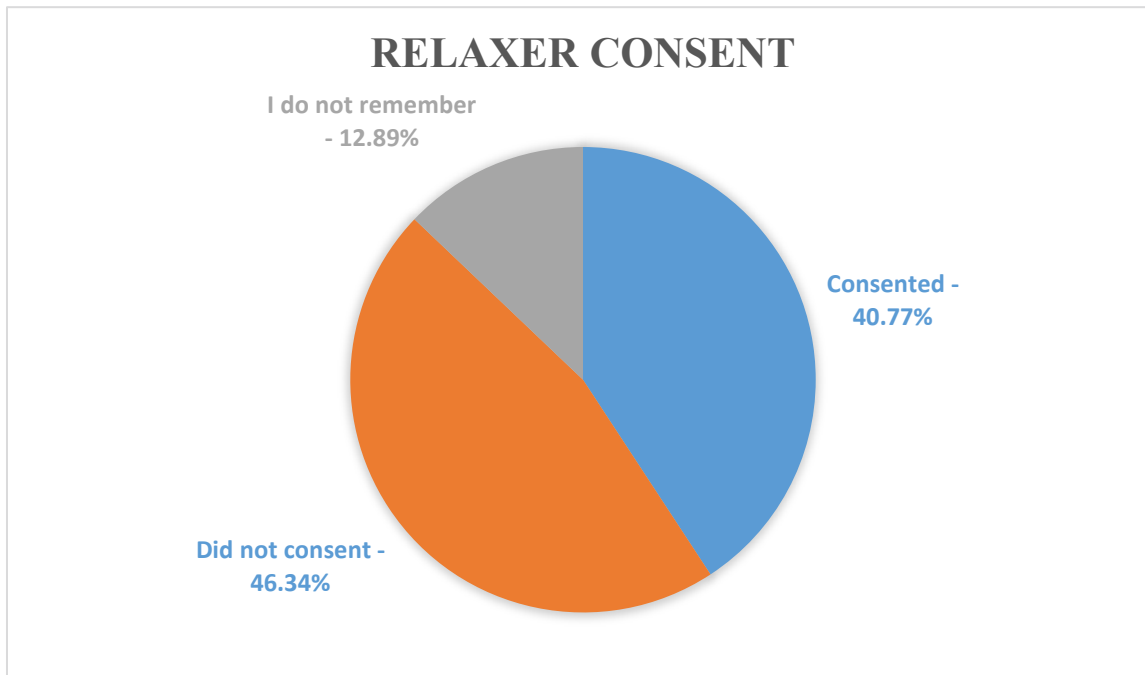


Figure 1. Participants' consents for relaxers

Figure 1 exhibits the participants who did and did not consent to receiving a relaxer. More than 80% of the participants received a relaxer as a child (see Figure 1). Forty percent recall being told that they had to get a relaxer, and nearly 75% indicated that receiving a relaxer was a regular occurrence (see Figure 2). This suggests that it was common for African American young girls to receive a relaxer whether it was by choice or involuntary, and they were not given much liberty to say no. The earliest age that any of the participants received a relaxer was 2 years of age; this aligns with the commentary from Rock and Stilson's (2009) documentary, in which it was stated that African American mothers relax their daughter's hair as young as 1 year of age.

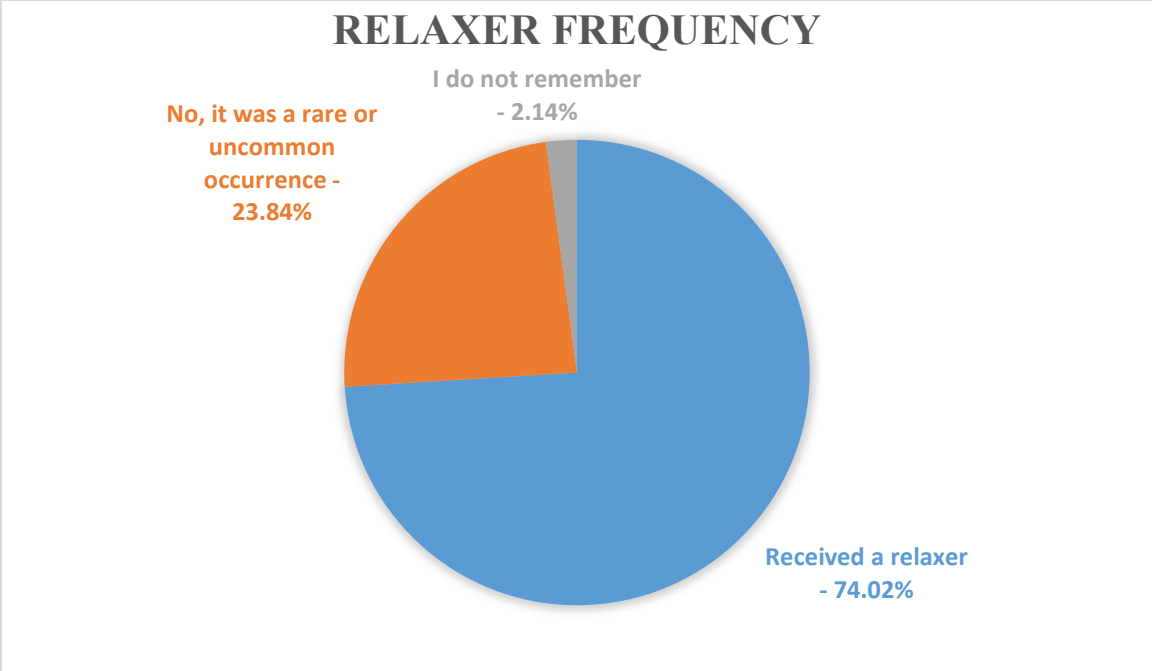


Figure 2. Regularity of receiving a relaxer

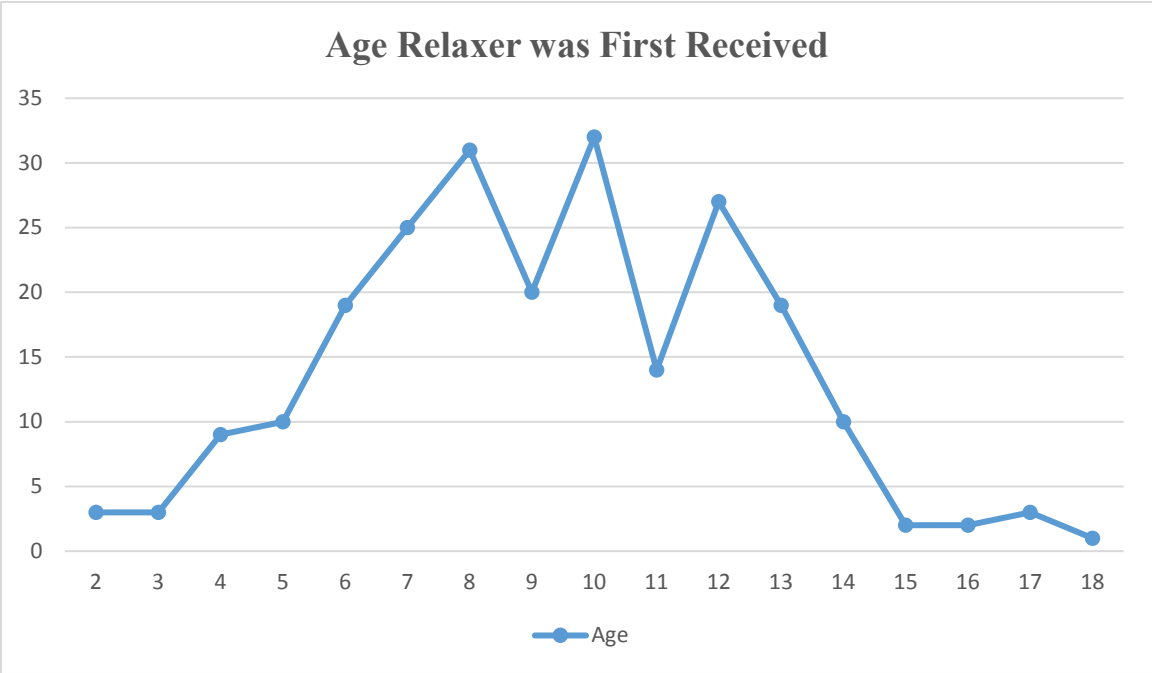


Figure 3. Age of first relaxer

Ages 8 and 10 were most commonly selected as the age a relaxer was first received (see Figure 3). Less than 10% of the participants received their first relaxer after the age of 14. This shows that relaxers were typically applied during younger ages, generally during elementary school. The participants considered receiving a relaxer to be normal. Whether a relaxer was a common occurrence or not, at some point a young African American girl experiencing childhood during the 1980's to early 2000's could expect to have her hair relaxed by the time she reached middle school age.

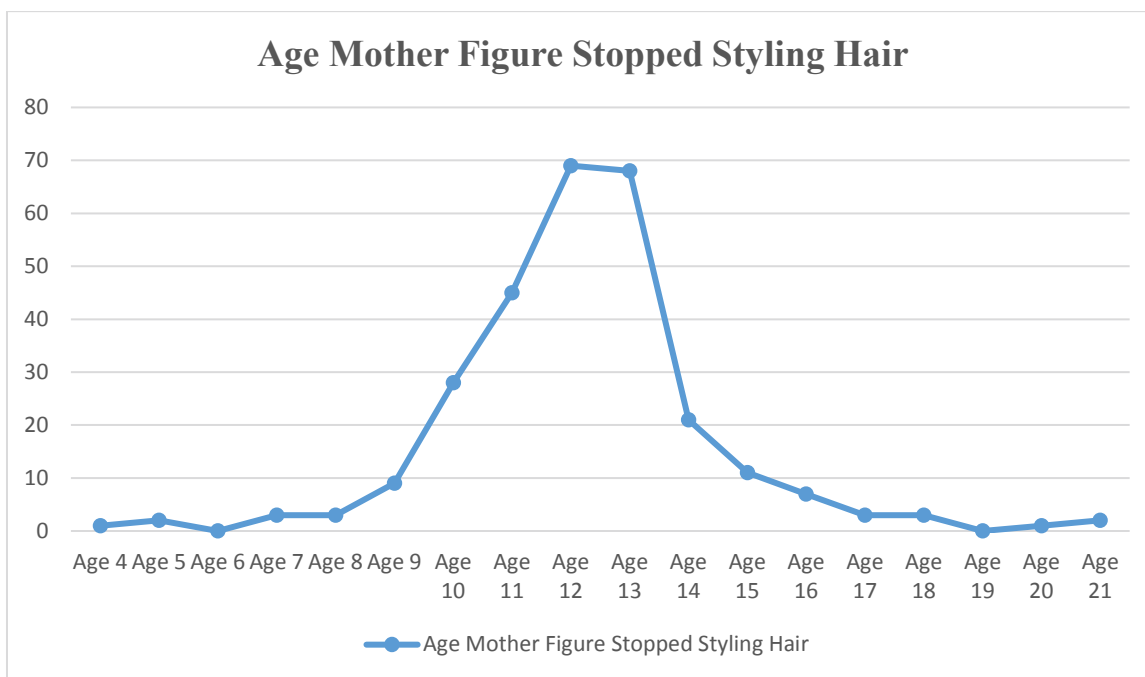


Figure 4. Age of independence from mother's styling

Demonstrated in Figure 4 are the ages that the participants' mothers stopped styling their hair. The most commonly selected ages were 12 and 13 (each selected by 23%), and 11 (selected by 15%). The earliest a mother stopped styling her daughter's hair was 4 years of age, while the oldest was 21 years of age. Two participants stated that their mothers still styled their hair. These participants may have meant that their mothers style their hair sometimes rather than daily. The majority of the participants' mothers (85%) stopped styling their hair by the age of 14. Thus, the

mothers did not foster attitudes of post-puberty dependency in relation to hairstyling. The responses suggested that, as the participants matured towards high school they took charge of their own hairstyling.

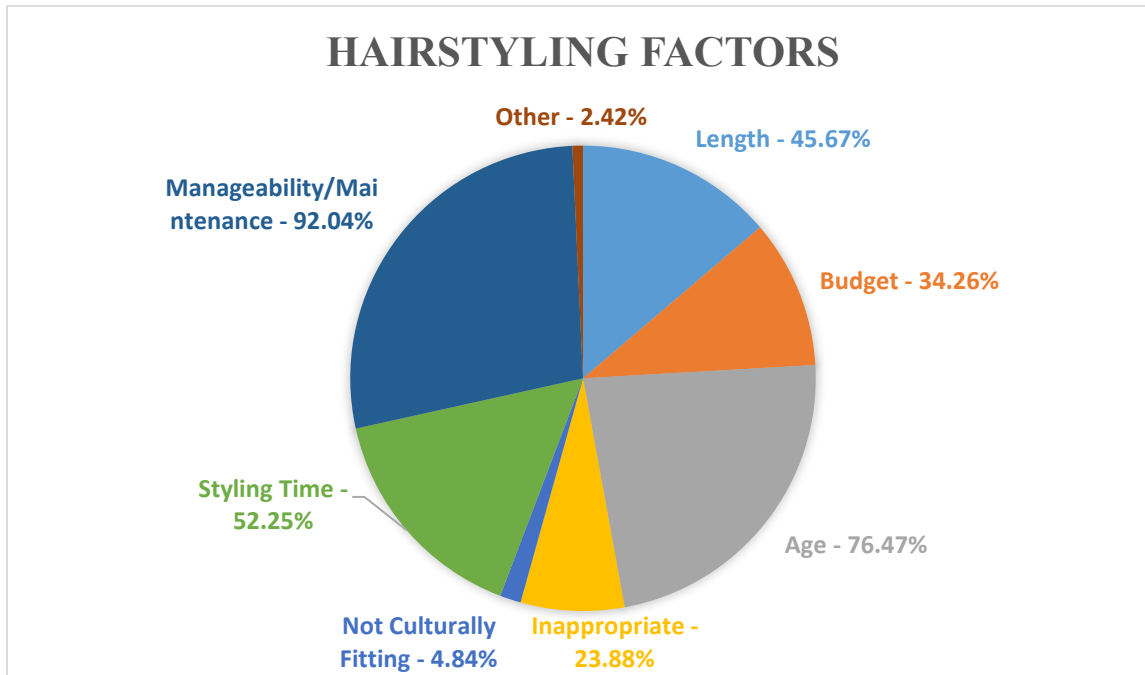


Figure 5. Factors considered in hairstyling process

Hairstyling factors and care for occasions. The participants were asked to select all of the factors they believed their mothers took into consideration when styling their hair (see Figure 5). The two most selected factors were maintenance (selected by 92%) and age (selected by 76%). The next most selected factors were styling time (selected by 52%) and length (selected by 46%). There was a sense of neutrality when asked if the mothers were educating about appropriate African American hair. Thus, the factor “not culturally fitting” was selected the least (4%). The responses suggested that the mothers were teaching the young girls that their hairstyles should be maintainable and fitting for their age.

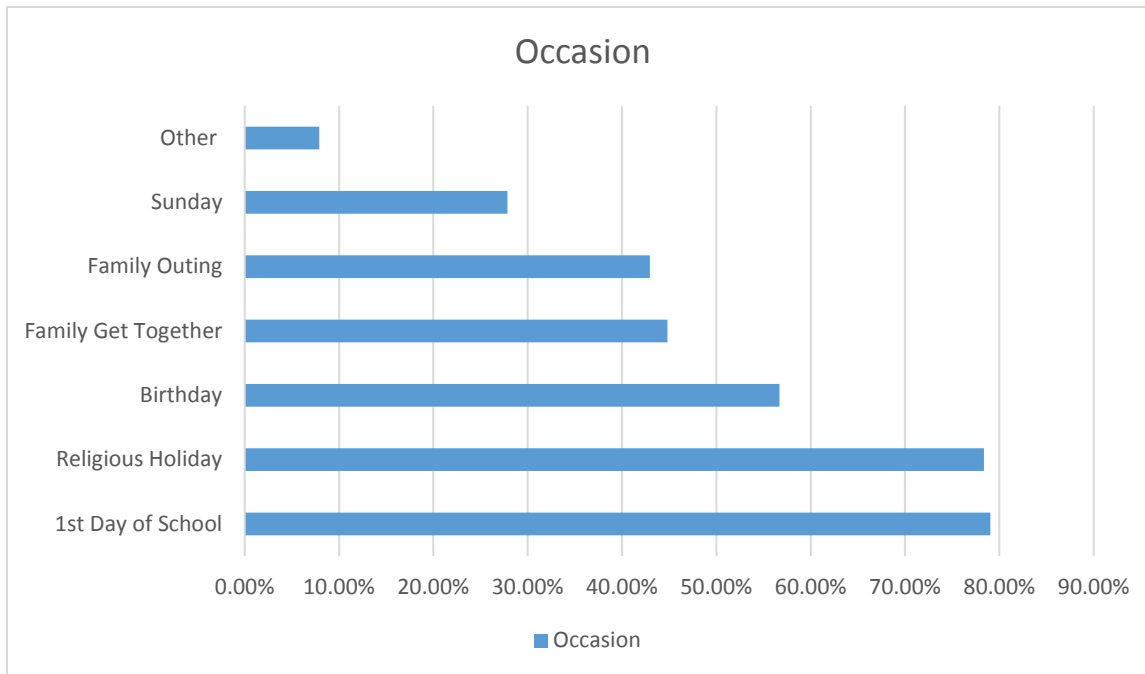


Figure 6. Special hairstyling occasions

Figure 6 exhibits the occasions where the mothers put more care into the process of hairstyling. The first day of school and religious holidays were the most common occasions when more care was taken with hairstyling (each selected by 79%). Based on the previous styling factors that were considered, an assumption can be made that hairstyles given for the first day of school were maintainable and age appropriate. The next most selected occasion was birthdays (selected by 57%), then family outings and family get togethers (each selected by 43%). Sundays were selected the least (28%), which implies that more frequent or regular occasions were not considered as highly important as more select occasions.

Fondest hairstyling memories. Nearly all of the participants (94%) were in agreement that they had memories of their mothers styling their hair during childhood. More than half of them (54%) agreed that their hairstyling sessions with their mother were a bonding experience. Overall, the participants displayed a sense of neutrality when asked if their mother was teaching them how to have appropriate African American hairstyles during the sessions; 30% percent

Table 35

Memories of Hair up to Puberty

Statement	Level of agreeance					
	SD	D	N	A	SA	Weighted mean
Remember mother doing hair as a child.	3.44%	0.34%	2.06%	17.18%	76.98%	4.64
Hair session with mother was bonding experience.	3.79%	11.03%	29.66%	34.14%	21.38%	3.58
When mother did hair, she was teaching appropriate African American hair.	8.25%	22.68%	28.87%	25.43%	14.78%	3.16

disagreed with that statement, while 40% agreed, and nearly 30% were neutral. When asked what were their fondest memories of their mother styling their hair, the following themes emerged: bonding, discomfort, reprimanding, setting, first time style, events, and commitment. Some of the participants acknowledged not having any memories of their mothers styling their hair; they said that someone else styled their hair. Some participants stated they did not have any fond memories because they did not like the styles they were given.

Discomfort. Discomfort was a common association with hairstyling practices for the participants. For example, most of the participants remembered getting their hair pressed because

they associated it with the pain of being burned, or they were uncomfortable while having to hold their necks over the sink while getting their hair washed.

- “I don't think I have a fond memory of my mom doing my hair. I know I remember the combing, brushing of the ear, comb breaking. Being in an uncomfortable position for hours on end. But in the end it would be worth it in the end.”
- “None of the memories were very good, I hated having to lay across the counter to get my hair washed or sitting on the floor or in the chair forever while my mother styled and combed my hair.”

Reprimanding. Some of the participants mentioned not enjoying the hairstyling process because they were chided. There were mentions of being hit, scolded, or jerked. The reprimanding seemed to occur when any movement happened, such as squirming, pulling away, or turning the head.

- “It hurt a lot and if I complained or moved too much I'd get hit with the comb.”
- “I never enjoyed getting my hair done. I'm sure it wasn't all bad but I can truly only recall breaking numerous brushes and constantly being told to "turn your head" etc. I always enjoyed the end result though. I have a daughter also, so now that I am grown, I understand doing hair is a chore. Especially when there's so much of it.”
- “Getting my hand smacked with a combination if I tried to pull away. It was funny.”

From the researcher's personal experiences, the responses suggest that the mothers were attempting to expedite the hairstyling process as much as possible with their daughters' cooperation. When the daughters did not cooperate they were reprimanded in different manners and to different extents, resulting in the child resenting having her hair styled.

Bonding. Comments revealed that bonding was an essential part of the hairstyling process for some, which relates to the earlier statement that their hairstyling sessions with their mothers were a bonding experience.

- “I cannot recall a specific moment but I appreciate our time to bond and talk with one another while my mother did my hair.”
- “Every time my mom would do my hair she would have this salon lady voice. She would greet me by my last name and talk and sing while doing my hair. She would do this for a while until we laughed so hard water would just be going everywhere.”
- “When she would braid my hair in individual braids because although it was time consuming it allowed me to have her undivided attention for that time period and it made me feel special because she was taking time to make me feel pretty.”

The participants demonstrated signs of gratitude towards being able to bond during the hairstyling process. Watching television together, having conversations, eating, and singing were some of the activities the women mentioned sharing with their mother figures.

Comfort. Some of the mothers provided a sense of comfort while styling their daughters’ hair. The participants mentioned falling asleep in their mother’s laps, soothing conversations, and receiving scalp massages during hairstyling.

- “Our conversations and how relaxing it was. I would often fall asleep, especially when she would scratch my scalp with the comb.”
- “How relaxing it was sometimes.”
- “Laying across her lap and feeling her skin on my cheek. Then waking up with my drool on her leg. Lol.”

The bonding and relaxing experiences suggest Lewis's (1999) notion that "hair combing offers an opportunity for attachment, as well as intense emotional intimacy between mother and child" (p. 506).

First time style. Times where the participants were allowed to wear their hair in a desired style were also meaningful. First time hairstyles were described as either trendy, traumatic, or pleasurable.

- "The first time I picked a style that I wanted out of a magazine and my mother let me go to a hair dresser to have it done."
- "The first time my mother allowed me to get beads in my hair! I thought it was the coolest thing ever because the weight of them made my hair "swing!"
- "My fondest memory would be the first time my mother allowed me to wear my afro. She told me I had good hair and that my hair was only tucked away as a protective measure. She explained that it was good because it was healthy."

Other memories of first time hairstyles were of being allowed to have their hair in a certain manner that may not have usually been permitted, such as wearing hair extensions, wearing the hair loose, or having hair accessories such as beads.

Admiration. Admiration elicited fond memories of hairstyling for the participants. Memories were geared towards being admired by their mother, peers, or self. Self-admiration pertained to the women admiring their hairstyle once it was finished.

- "My mom would put my hair in box braids and they took a really long time...I would feel so proud when I saw the final product."

- “I like when she would tell me “I’m going to make you more pretty than you are already.” I would be so proud and happy when I got to look at he finished product. I did feel very pretty.”
- “When my mom cornrowed my hair into a ponytail and I wore it to high school and received so many compliments.”

The participants who mentioned their mother admiring them displayed emotions of pride about their hair. This implies that the mothers were looked up to for confirmations of beauty and provided a boost of confidence.

Setting. Memories associated with a setting were mentioned in combination with a hairstyling practice, such as having the hair washed in the sink or sitting by the stove while getting their hair pressed.

- “Sitting by the stove getting my hair pressed with a hot comb.”
- “Laying on the counter having my hair washed. I was and am still tender headed, so the actual combing and styling part was not always pleasant.”
- “Every morning before school, sitting in between her legs on the side of the bed as she was still halfway under the covers.”

The comments citing a setting revealed that most hairstyling took place in the kitchen, living room, or bedroom. The setting of the hairstyling process may have been dependent upon what type of style was going to be accomplished.

Occasion. Hairstyles that were done for occasions typically occurred on Easter, Sundays, or the first day of school. This relates to earlier statements that the first day of school and religious holidays were top occasions for more care to be taken with hairstyling practices. Quite

a few of the women mentioned Sundays as an occasion where they received a press, wash, or new hairstyle for the week.

- “Having to have certain styles for events. For example, I had to have a fresh perm for pictures or the first day of school. I had to have braids when I would go swimming.”
- “Styling my hair for a wedding. I was the flower girl.”
- “When my grandmother put way too many twists in my hair with accessories. So my 1st grade school photo I had every color in my hair from all the bows and flowers.”

Commitment. The mothers assured that their daughters did not have unkempt hair, regardless of their skill, obligations, or time constraints.

- “My mother is white and she did not have any experience dealing with curly, frizzy hair. We look back at photos now and laugh at how my hair always had a "messy" look despite my mom having styled it. Now I am teaching her how to do her granddaughter’s hair.”
- “Recalling how bad she was at it but loving her anyway because she always tried her best and I never looked unkept; my hairstyle may not have been the best but it was kept.”
- “My mom was a working mom and she would leave for work before I had to get up for school. My mom would do my hair while I was sleeping. I would fix any areas that were messy. My mom just didn’t trust that my dad would get it right.”

These instances demonstrate the importance of hair in the African American culture, and provide further support for Pope et al.’s (2014) finding of African American females placing more value on their hair than other physical features.

RQ3: Did socialization practices in relation to African American hair influence hair esteem?

Communication and self-esteem have a positive correlation, meaning the manner in which a mother communicates with her daughter can influence how the daughter perceives herself (Thomas & King, 2007). To assess whether socialization practices influenced hair esteem, two Likert scales, one pertaining to ethnic pride and the other from Johnson and Bankhead's (2014) hair esteem scale, were used to measure levels of agreement ranging from strongly disagree (=1) to strongly agree (=5). Johnson and Bankhead (2014) applied quantitative methods to analyze their data from the hair esteem scale. They used bi-variate and multivariate analyses to examine relationships between variables. However, because this present study is exploratory, qualitative methods were employed; thus the weighted mean was used to describe the results from the tables. Bankhead and Johnson (2014) defined hair esteem as "positive feelings about one's own natural hair" (p. 97). Thomas and King (2007) found mothers communicated messages of self-pride and racial pride to their daughters; therefore, the participants in this study were expected to display pride in their hair and heritage. Data provided evidence that suggested that the participants' hair esteem levels were in fact influenced by their socialization processes. Keywords such as hair, skin complexion, and ethnicity were used to trigger the participants to think as specifically as possible in relation to physical features. The responses in Table 36 revealed pride in hair and culture, as well as acknowledgment of distinguishing ethnic features.

Current hair attitudes. Overall, the participants were proud of being African American and having physical features that identify their ethnicity (88%). The participants agreed (79%) that their physical features, associated with being African American, such as hair texture and

skin complexion, are distinguishing. They were neutral about the African American culture being historically influenced by other ethnicities (41% agreed; 37% disagreed).

Table 36

Memories of the Role of Ethnicity

Statement	Level of agreement					Weighted mean
	SD	D	N	A	SA	
Physical features differentiate me from other ethnicities.	5.15%	5.15%	11.00%	43.30%	35.40%	3.99
Proud that physical features identify ethnicity.	1.72%	1.37%	9.28%	31.96%	55.67%	4.38
Believe historically primary ethnicity was influenced by other ethnicities.	13.40%	24.05%	21.65%	24.40%	16.49%	3.07

Hair-esteem. As shown in Table 37, the participants were overall satisfied with their hair. The participants were in agreement with the positive statements about their hair, and in disagreement with the negative statements. There were two statements where the weighted average leaned towards neutral. Eighty-six percent agreed that they were satisfied with their hair, and 96% felt that their hair possessed a number of good qualities. The participants felt that they

could care for their hair as well as others (87%), and 69% felt that their hair has as much value as hair associated with other ethnicities. They had a positive attitude towards hair (92%).

Table 37

Current Feelings about Hair

Statement	Level of agreement					Weighted mean
	SD	D	N	A	SA	
On a whole satisfied with hair.	1.38%	1.72%	11.38%	37.24%	48.28%	4.29
Think hair is no good at all.	46.05%	26.12%	11.34%	14.43%	2.06%	2.00
Feel that hair has a number of good qualities.	1.03%	1.03%	2.07%	31.03%	64.83%	4.58
Able to care for hair as well as most other people.	2.07%	2.41%	8.62%	41.72%	45.17%	4.26
Do not have much to be proud of about hair.	68.38%	24.74%	2.75%	2.06%	2.06%	1.45
Feel hair is unsatisfying at times.	27.15%	16.15%	21.99%	29.21%	5.50%	2.70

Feel hair is of value on an equal plane with other ethnicities.	2.78%	6.60%	21.18%	31.60%	37.85%	3.95
Wish I could have more admiration for hair.	22.68%	23.71%	26.12	16.15%	11.34%	2.70
Inclined to feel that hair has not pleased.	53.45%	35.86%	6.90%	2.41%	1.38%	1.62
Take a positive attitude towards hair.	0.00%	1.03%	6.53%	30.58%	61.86%	4.53

Based on the weighted averages, the participants felt neutral towards their hair being unsatisfying at times (43% disagreed; 35% agreed), and they also felt neutral about wishing they had more admiration for their hair (46% disagreed; 27% agreed). However, the disagreement was over 40% for each statement. These responses suggest that the participants were not completely dissatisfied with their hair, but there may have been times when they were not satisfied with an element of their hair. The participants also disagreed with the statement about their hair being no good at all (72%), and that they did not have much to be proud of about their hair (93%). Overall, they (89%) disagreed about not being inclined to feel that their hair has not pleased them. Their personal feelings towards their own hair defied the stigmas of African American hair being undesirable and difficult to manage.

The responses from the hair esteem scale presented evidence that the participants exhibited positive hair esteem and felt that their hair is pleasing, valuable, satisfying, manageable, and encompasses quality characteristics. According to Miller (1999) racial socialization coupled with racial identity provides a sense of protection from negative environmental influences; as a result, century old stigmas about African American hair were contested in the young girls' socialization processes through hairstyling, resulting in positive hair-esteem.

RQ4: Will Millennial African American females display intentions to continue the process of socializing their daughters through hairstyling in the same manner that they were socialized?

Research question 4 was addressed using a scale that examined racial socialization practices that were employed during their childhood (see Table 38), and open-ended questions pertaining to the continuation of hairstyling practices mothers applied during upbringing. The scale was adapted from an interview protocol in Suizzo et al.'s (2008) study (see Appendix C). The scale was analyzed using the weighted mean to determine the overall attitude towards the statements. The open-ended questions were analyzed by categorizing the responses into themes.

Racial socialization. As shown in Table 38, the responses revealed that the participants were racially socialized during their upbringing. Their mothers taught or talked to them about being African American and found importance in explaining to them that there were differences in ethnicities. The participants also experienced or observed racist attitudes or incidents. The mothers instilled ethnic awareness through racial socialization practices; this allowed the participants as young girls to recognize racially motivated incidents and attitudes. Even though the participants identified as African American, they agreed that they would take their child's

ethnicity into consideration if it differs or will differ from their own. The purpose of the latter statement was to gain insight on their perception and consideration of their children and to examine if they would perceive African American as the dominant ethnicity of their children considering their own upbringing.

Table 38

Racial Socialization during Childhood

Statement	Level of agreeance					Weighted mean
	SD	D	N	A	SA	
Take child's ethnic background into consideration if differs from mine.	4.55%	3.85%	13.29%	43.36%	34.97%	4.00
Think it was important for mother that you understood there were ethnic differences?	2.10%	13.99%	19.58%	37.41%	26.92%	3.73
Mother taught or talked about being African American.	5.23%	13.59%	14.63%	36.24%	30.31%	3.73
Had childhood experiences or observations of racist attitudes or incidents.	5.23%	13.94%	11.15%	40.77%	28.92%	3.74

Intent to continue childhood hairstyling practices. The participants displayed an overall neutral attitude about continuing hairstyling methods that their mothers applied with them. Themes that emerged from questions pertaining to continuation of styling practices revealed that the participants wanted to maintain some of the traditions their mothers practiced, but wanted to update some of the practices as well. Overall, the main focus was to maintain a healthy head of hair, which meant doing away with some of their mothers' methods and revamping them to newer and more accepted practices. The themes developed based on recurring statements, and the proceeding selected quotes best reflected the overall attitude of the participants.

Hairstyle allowances. The question of what would be allowed in hairstyling for daughters contrasted what was allowed for the participants. Experiences that were withheld from them as children were discovered during their adulthood; which was not a pattern they wanted to repeat with their daughters. Some participants were denied the opportunity to wear their hair in its natural state, wear it loose, or have an opinion about hairstyling. Key themes follow.

Autonomy. Participants revealed that they would permit their daughters to dictate their own hairstyle or process such as a relaxer, haircut, or color. Allowing a voice in hairstyling was a priority which stemmed from not being able to have an opinion during their childhood. References to natural styles were repeated. The statements revealed that some of the females did not get to experience having natural hair as a child, and they do not want to take that choice away from their daughters.

Natural state. Most of the participants stated they would allow their daughters to wear their hair in its natural state; styles such as bantu knots, braid outs, twist outs, and afros were frequently referenced. Although none of the females had dread locks as young girls, a handful of

them said they would permit their daughters to wear locks as a style. Hair health, hair education, social acceptability, self-acceptance, and natural beauty were all stated as reasons to allow their daughters to wear their hair in its natural state. There was a focus on teaching their daughters about their hair as African American women. In regards to hair education, participants indicated that they are aware of how to maintain natural hair; as a result, they are training their daughters to wear their hair natural. Others indicated that either their mothers did not approve of natural hair or were not knowledgeable on the upkeep.

- “I would allow my daughter to wear more wash and go hairstyles than I did as a child because I am more knowledgeable on how to maintain African American hair than my mother was. There are more products available now.”
- “My daughters wear Afro puffs and twist-outs. My mother wasn’t educated on maintaining natural hair therefore didn’t attempt those styles.”
- “Afro. Because my daughter should be okay with her hair the way it grows out of her head. God didn’t make mistakes on us.”
- “I would stay away from pressing my daughter’s hair as much as mine and I would focus more on her loving her natural curls because I had a lot of heat damage and I wanted to be like all the other girls with perms. I had to learn to love my curls when I started my natural hair journey in 2011.”

Self-acceptance. The theme of self-acceptance emerged through responses that focused on embracing African American hair in its natural state. Through their own hairstyling, the participants have been able to exercise versatility in hairstyling from the knowledge they obtained from natural haircare. They want to impart the knowledge they have gained about their

hair to their daughters. It may be concluded that self-acceptance will develop through the care of hair in its natural state.

Loose hair. Wearing the hair loose was the next prevalent hairstyle the females would allow for their daughters. Based on the content of the statements, some of the females were not allowed to wear their hair partially or completely loose. It was not stated as to why some of the mother figures did not allow the females to wear their hair loose; however, the females in this study seemed to be reacting to it by allowing their daughters to do what their mothers did not allow them to do. The following statement demonstrates the opposition, “I will allow my daughter to wear her hair out more often. My mom kept my hair in some sort of braids or pony tails.” It appears that during their childhood, wearing the hair loose in some fashion may have been deemed inappropriate, or it may have required more managing. Regardless, they are willing to permit these hairstyles that were denied to them. Other styles that participants mentioned were styles that required maintenance. This highly contradicted their upbringing, considering maintenance was a key factor in the hairstyling process for the young girls experiencing childhood during the 1990’s.

Hairstyle Imitations. Participants were asked which hairstyles and practices they would want to continue with their own daughters. The responses revealed a variety of styles and practices ranging from braids and ponytails to routine hair care and washing techniques. The hairstyle continuations mirror hairstyle variations from RQ1, revealing braids with beads and ponytails as the two most popular styles. There were women who stated that they would not want to continue any hairstyles or practices that their mothers applied on them because they were not healthy for the hair, such as relaxers or using a lot of heat to straighten the hair.

Braid styles. Braid styles, whether cornrows, plaits, or single braids with beads, were the most commonly stated hairstyle to be continued.

- “My mother braided my hair a lot when I was younger. I would do the same for my daughter because the styles are cute, the hair is protected and easily maintained.”
- “Braiding to her scalp. I can only do plats and twists now. My mom didn’t do my hair, she took me to the beauty parlor. I think it was more important to my father being as though he was raised in a house full of beauticians.”
- “I loved all of the braids and beads my mom put in my hair. I will definitely do that on my daughter’s hair.”

Comments, such as these, revealed that the women were concerned with keeping their daughters’ hair healthy and stylish, and braid styles were perceived to be practical because they require less upkeep. The women also wanted to ensure that their daughters learned to embrace and become accustomed to wearing their own hair by not using extensions for braiding.

Ponytails. Another popularly imitated style was ponytails. The following statements show that ponytails, as well as braid styles, will be continued.

- “I would probably try to reproduce simple hairstyles that involve ponytails or leaving the hair out and wrapping it in a headband for a wash and go look.”
- “Classic ponytail with smooth edges and natural puff!

Based on these responses, ponytails will be continued because they are a manageable and practical hairstyle. Some of the women indicated that they would continue to use hair accessories, such as ballies and barrettes, for styling ponytails: others did not mention the continued use of hair accessories.

Protective style. A protective style is any style that tucks away the ends of the hair from being exposed to damaging agents; styles may include braids, buns, weaves, and bantu knots. Similar to protecting the hair, not using chemicals was also a practice some women stated they would continue to practice with their daughters. Most of the women in the study pointed out that their own hair is not processed, hence they would apply the same techniques they use on their own hair to their daughters' hair.

- “As a child my mother encouraged me to wear my natural hair in what is now called protective styles. So I would do the same for my daughter.”
- “Though I did not like them as a child, my mother did a lot of protective styles which helped my hair grow long.”
- “Yes, doing protective braided styles and letting my child wear their hair crinkly from the braids.”

Curls. Even though applying heat to the hair may be viewed as damaging, in this study more women indicated that they would continue to apply heat to imitate straightened styles such as styles with curls.

Routine hair care. Methods that the women would carry on pertained to routine hair care, such as frequent washing, greasing or oiling the scalp, moisturizing the hair, and properly brushing and combing the hair.

- “I wash my daughter's hair once a week the same my mother did mine.”
- “I will oil her scalp like my mom oiled mine and I'll put in decorative bows, etc.”

Bonding. A few of the women mentioned they would continue to use the hairstyling process as a bonding session.

- “Watching tv during styling, doing hair with other women in the room. Bonding with my child during hair styling.”
- “Styling her hair myself, teaching her the importance of caring for it and using it as an opportunity to bond with her like my mom would with me.”

The intention to continue these hairstyling practices exhibit the women’s efforts to preserve African American hairstyling practices with their daughters. “Yes, all of them. Such as, ponytails with twists or braids, straightening methods, cornrows. This would allow my daughter to have the same experiences as me, as well as continue practicing typical African American hairstyles.” The women not only wanted to preserve the practices and hairstyles, but also to improve on them so that African American hair is embraced by future generations through teaching and learning their own hair.

Hairstyle avoidances. Participants were asked which hairstyling practices they would try to avoid when grooming their own daughter’s hair. The overall focus of many of the responses was geared towards maintaining healthy hair through avoiding damaging agents such as chemical processes, heat, excessive product use, and tension.

Chemical processes. The highest indicated practice that the women stated they would avoid was the use of chemical processes such as relaxers, perms, and texturizers.

- “Perming! I did it when I was younger but would [not] put my daughter through that. Way too damaging on the hair.”
- “I will not put a relaxer in my daughter's hair. My mother relaxed my hair when I was younger, and I want my child to experience her natural hair and decide whether she wants a relaxer or not [at the appropriate age].”

Many other statements were similar to the latter pertaining to relaxing the hair. Overall, the majority of the women were concerned with maintaining healthy hair and giving their daughters autonomy in their hairstyling options. In addition to embracing natural hair, the women also wanted their daughters to have a voice in how they wear their hair, whether it be relaxed or not. Some of the women indicated that their mothers did not give them the choice when receiving a relaxer, and they would not have this approach with their daughters.

Heat. The next highest avoidance was applying heat to the hair, whether it was completely avoiding the use of heat or minimizing the amount of heat. The women perceived the use of heat as damaging to the hair, just like chemicals, because of the manipulation of the natural curl pattern.

- “I would try to avoid straightening hair altogether for my daughter. My mother did not force me to get a relaxer after I declined her suggested [sic], but it was always suggested that my hair be straight or put away until I was 12.”
- “I would use little to no heat on her head.”

Extensions. In line with embracing hair textures, the women also stated that they would avoid adding extensions to their daughters’ hair. The women may have felt that wearing weave or extensions stimulates reliance on false hair, rather than accepting and wearing their own hair. The main reason most women cited for not adding weave to their daughters’ hair was age appropriateness. Some of the women acknowledged that they would allow their daughters to wear hair extensions at an older age, but for young girls they deemed this practice as inappropriate.

- “Giving her weave or braids with weave.”

- “No perms and not having age appropriate hair styles i.e. weaves at a young age.”

Tension. Preservation of hair is vital, some of the women accredited discomfort and breakage of the hair with applying too much tension, marking tension for avoidance. Tension prone styles and practices that the women stated they would avoid were braids, ponytails, using accessories such as rubber bands and ballies, the use of fine toothed combs, combing dry hair, and roughly combing/brushing the hair. Tension created by pulling the hair strand too tight or hard is uncomfortable and may result in breakage.

- “Styles that put stress or too much pulling I will avoid on my children so to not damage their edges and hairline.”
- “Yanking out the naps and being as gentle to the scalp.”

Product overuse. Furthermore, a few of the women stated they would avoid overuse of products such as shampoo, grease, and oil; in addition to gel, these products were also mentioned as products the women would discontinue using. Overuse of products may cause buildup in the hair.

- “Overuse of grease and I will allow her to express herself more but with boundaries.”
- “Frequent washing and applying heat.”

It was not stated as to why the some of the women would not use shampoo, grease, or gel in their daughters’ hair.

Chapter 5. Conclusions

Parents are instrumental in helping children develop positive self-concept and identity through socialization (Thomas & King, 2007, p. 137). This study explored African American female millennials' memories of their mothers' styling of their hair. Through closed- and open-ended questions, the participants revealed what they perceived was of importance to their mothers and how they were socialized through hairstyling. Based on the data presented, the researcher concludes that hairstyling was an important means used to instill standards, such as always maintaining a well-groomed appearance, being aware of ethnicity, and indirectly continuing cultural traditions.

Two hundred and ninety-three females between the ages of 19-35 self-reported as African American; over 90% of their mothers were African American. Based on previous research (Barker & Hill, 1996; Thornton et al., 1990), I believed that varying backgrounds and social settings would influence the manner of socialization. Five settings were examined for variations in the hairstyling process: mother's ethnicity, neighborhood type, geographic region, predominant school ethnicity, and girl's age. All of the settings that were most commonly reported by the participants were predominantly African American with the exception of the suburban neighborhood. There was consistency with styling and hairstyling practices. The most apparent symbol of socialization was the uniformity of the hairstyles that were given and the accessories that were used. Also, the generalized steps in the hairstyling process were consistent across the subcategories.

The participants were asked to select the most common hairstyles they were given from images depicting the following hairstyles: cornrows with beads, ponytails with twists, flat twists with curls, two ponytails with curls, half up half down with curls, the afro, and afro puffs. The

participants were also asked to select the most common hair accessories their mothers used from images depicting the following accessories: ballies, barrettes, rubber bands, beads, scrunchies, and headbands. Ponytails with twists and cornrows with beads were the two most common hairstyles for participants during this time frame. Ballies and barrettes were the most commonly used hair accessories during the given time frame as well. This suggests that African American mothers selected styles that took longer to accomplish but required less management over the length of time the style was worn. The hair accessories they used were also appropriate for the selected hairstyle, such as accessorizing cornrows with beads and rubber bands, and using ballies and barrettes to accessorize ponytails with twists. The limited number of non-African American mothers gravitated towards styles that required less styling time, such as the afro, and accessorized more with headbands. In addition to headbands being more commonly used by non-African American mothers, they were common in suburban neighborhoods. Mothers in these neighborhoods may have sought to assimilate to the majority culture, wanting to have their hair accessorized like the majority. Otherwise, headbands were not a commonly used hair accessory. Also non-African American mothers or mothers in suburban neighborhoods may have had different lifestyles than African American mothers or those in other neighborhoods such as having to work; therefore, they may have had time to style their daughters' hair more often, rather than choosing longer lasting styles that required less management.

The hairstyles depicting what appears to be relaxed hair, hair that has been chemically processed with a relaxer to make it straighter, were more common in the southeast region than in the northeast region. In the latter the styles depicting textures of unrelaxed hair such as the afro, cornrows with beads, and afro puffs, were more common. Climate may have been an explanation for straighter hair being more prevalent in the southeast region. The typically warmer and more

humid climate may have made the unprocessed hair harder to manage; from the researcher's personal experiences having unprocessed hair in a hotter climate makes the texture revert from straight to curly.

Overall the least common styles were the afro and afro puffs. This suggests that the mothers had been socialized to wear their hair straight, and therefore, they styled their daughters' hair in the same manner. The afro puffs hairstyle was mostly selected by the respondents born during the 1990's decade. The findings align with Byrd and Tharps (2001) statement about ethnic styles surfacing in the 1990's decade, when the popularity of "braids, afros, and cornrows" (p. 106) increased dramatically. The researcher's expectation was to find that the females born in the early 1980's would have been given the afro and afro puff hairstyle the most because of the popularity of the afro in the 1970's. It seems that the saturation of the afro in the 1970's may have caused the style to fade out by the 1980's, and then resurface during the 1990's.

The actual hairstyling process for this study was generalized for each setting. The possible steps were: wet; section; apply grease; apply hair moisturizing lotion; comb or brush; change or add hair accessories; and style. Therefore, the data were limited because responses were clustered into groups which may have obscured individual differences. Each of the steps may not have occurred for each participant, plus the steps may not have occurred in the same particular order for each participant. Even though there were limited data on the actual styling process for some of the varied settings, the overall process generally started with either wetting or sectioning the hair, then applying a moisturizer or grease (in some cases both); the hair was then combed or brushed, and then styled, with it being accessorized last. Wetting the hair was selected the most as the first step in the hairstyling process, but, it was the least common step

overall. However, there is no apparent or logical explanation for why the participants most commonly selected wetting the hair as the first step. Combing and brushing, sectioning, and styling the hair were the steps that were applied the most. This suggests that the hairstyling process could have occurred without the need to wet the hair first.

Previous research found that messages relayed to females relate to beauty standards, independence, and racial pride (Thomas & Speight, 1999). The participants in this study were not overtly told how to dress and act based on ethnicity; this slightly contradicts the purpose of socialization, which is to shape an individual to reflect the values of the social group (Parke & Buriel, 1998). The mothers were mainly responsible for grooming their daughters; however, the majority of the participants gained independence with their hairstyling by the time they reached adolescence. One can assume that the mothers imparted grooming practices that could be easily maintained when their daughters took charge of their own grooming. The mothers also indirectly sent messages to their daughters that their hair should appear straightened. Some of the participants recall consenting to receiving a relaxer, while others did not have a say. Relaxers were a common occurrence, and they were received starting at the age of 2, but most commonly between ages 8 to 12.

It was demonstrated in Pope et al.'s (2014) study that hair has more value than other physical features for African American females, and there was an emphasis placed on length and texture. In this study the participants' mothers selected styles based mainly on manageability and age. Styling time and length of hair were also important factors that were considered during the hairstyling process. This suggests that the mothers considered the effort they would have to put into a hairstyle, in addition to how long the style would last. Through their choices the mothers taught messages that hair must be maintainable and age appropriate. Maintenance of hairstyles

may have been the most important factor because mothers may have had time constraints that prevented them from setting aside time every day to style the hair. There may have been multiple females in the home that needed haircare, the mothers may have had careers that did not allow for styling hair daily, or they may have lacked the skill or aptitude to style the hair. So when a style was done it was meant to last. One factor that was not overtly considered was culturally fitting. This could mean that culture was so engrained in the mothers that giving culturally fitting styles was second nature to them.

The mothers took more care with hairstyling for occasions that were infrequent such as religious holidays, the first day of school, and birthdays. One possible explanation for this is that the mothers may have wanted their daughters to look appropriate for pictures. These occasions may have been more prone to photographing because they seem to entail dressing up, therefore requiring proper grooming from head to toe.

In this study the participants' memories of their mothers styling their hair related to bonding and comfort, discomfort and reprimanding, first time styling and admiration, setting and occasion, and commitment. Hairstyling occurred in the kitchen, bedroom, and living room. It seems that no matter where hairstyling took place, the participants found themselves trying to be comfortable during the process. Some mothers provided a more comfortable setting while others were focused on finishing the style. The latter goal could result in reprimanding and scolding of the daughters if the mothers got frustrated during the process. For mother and daughter, the process of hairstyling can communicate "parental acceptance or rejection, security, and shame or pride" (Lewis, 1999, p. 506). I would say parental acceptance and rejection was displayed through comfort, discomfort, and reprimanding, shame or pride was signified with admiration, and security was represented through bonding.

A vital part of a child's developmental health is learning self-pride during the child rearing process (Barker & Hill, 1996). The participants remember being made aware of their physical ethnic differences during their childhood. They were also proud that their physical features identify their ethnicity. Some participants acknowledged that other ethnicities historically influenced their primary ethnicity, but others disagreed that there was any influence from other ethnicities.

The participants' positive hair-esteem levels demonstrated that they were proud of their African American features. Based on Johnson and Bankhead's (2014) finding that family members perpetuated negative perceptions of natural hair, the researcher expected to find that the participants in this study would display negative hair-esteem levels. However, they had positive feelings and attitudes about their hair, such as viewing their hair as satisfying, having good qualities, easy to care for, and valuable in comparison with other ethnicities. This finding reiterates Miller's (1999) notion that the resiliency of African Americans is built from "racial and environmental circumstances (p. 493) and provides a sense of protection from negative statements. Therefore, the participants' hair-esteem was in turn developed from the negative comments or perceptions that may have been imparted during their childhood.

There were some participants who agreed that their hair was unsatisfying at times, and some who wished they could admire their hair more. The researcher believes that it is normal for many women to have these attitudes about their hair and is not specific to African American women. Future research could delve into the more detailed elements that African American women like or do not like about their hair and how such feelings affect their self-esteem because overall African Americans have high regards for hair (Pope et al., 2014). Factors such as length, texture, curl pattern, manageability, and color should be considered.

The participants' agreement with statements pertaining to racial socialization reiterate the literature that females receive messages about racial pride (Thomas & Speight, 1999). During their childhood the participants' mothers discussed with them meanings of being African American, as well as informed them that there were differences among ethnicities. Based on Peters' (1985) notion that socialization occurs racially, and African American parents teach their children how to maneuver through society as African Americans, these discussions could have encompassed teachings of the role of being a female and being black in society. Peters (1985) also stated that African American parents advise their children to prepare to have differing experiences from other ethnicities in society. This was reinforced in this study by the participants' agreement with the statement, "I had childhood experiences or observations of racist attitudes or incidents." The participants also acknowledged that they would consider their child's ethnic background if it differed from their own.

It was evident that the participants' personal grooming experiences with their mothers will shape how they will groom their daughters. The hairstyling practices and styles the participants said they would allow, imitate, or avoid were a reflection of their childhood experiences with their mothers doing their hair, as well as a combination of them maturing and learning their own hair. Styles and practices that appear likely to continue are as follows: braids, ponytails, curls, protective styles, routine hair care, and bonding. The participants also stated they would allow styles that they were not permitted to wear, such as loose hair and hair in its natural state. They also revealed they would allow their daughters to have a voice in the hairstyling process. The repetitive statements about natural hair revealed a theme of self-acceptance.

This study demonstrates a shift in hair presentation and expectations from the historic times when straightened hair was the key to respectability. The women in this study were more interested in maintaining healthy hair than maintaining an image that conformed to old-fashioned stigmas. Un-straightened hair was formerly associated with shame and belittlement based on the responses in this study, but naturally un-straightened hair textures are now being embraced and exhibited. The participants said they would avoid chemically straightening their daughter's hair, excessive thermal heat, product overuse, and tension causing hairstyles. Assumptions can be made that these women are trying to veer away from using traditional products, such as grease, that are used with straightened hair textures. In future research, a comparative study about African American hair health utilizing African American females who do and do not chemically straighten their hair, use thermal heat, and excessively use products should be employed to gain a better understanding of why the participants in this study would not want to continue these practices.

In summation, mothers of African American females do socialize them through hairstyling processes if they are responsible for styling their hair. They ensure that their daughters are familiar with beauty standards of the ethnic and popular culture. Hairstyling is grounds for personal relationship building between mother and daughter, and can set the tone of the dyad. In this study some mother-daughter relationships were built through bonding during hairstyling, while others treated hairstyling as a task and no relationship was fostered. The manner in which the mothers' hair was styled was transmitted in their styling of their daughters' hair. Some of the participants would continue the process and practices the same as their mothers did with them, while some plan to improve them. This will continue the covert transmittance of

African American culture in hairstyling while demonstrating the changes the women are making to adapt hairstyling to the present times.

Limitations

This study was limited to millennial African American females who experienced some childhood in the 1980's and 1990's; therefore, the findings are not generalizable to other generations or ethnicities. An assumption was made that all of the participants were truthful about identifying as African American. There was no way for sure to know that they were African American; however, there was evidence in the open-ended responses that they were. I also made the assumption that all of the participants' mothers were capable and responsible for styling their hair, which was accredited as the platform for socialization processes. Therefore, all responses to the questionnaire were viewed with the mother in mind as the primary hairstylist. A pilot study was also tried to determine if any changes or adjustments needed to be made before conducting the main study. The pilot study was not successful, therefore no adjustments to the study were able to be made. For convenience and time purposes this study used a questionnaire instead of interviews, which the researcher believes limited the background information of some of the responses. Solicitation of participants was done through purposive sampling; as a result, the researcher was not able to draw conclusions from all of the data due to a lack of a diversified sample, such as having a small percentage of non-African American mothers to compare with African American mothers.

Future Research and Implications

This study contributed to previous research by accrediting socialization processes as reasoning for African Americans exhibiting certain hairstyling practices. Conducting future research involving mother-daughter dyads would provide further information that would

expound on the mothers' reasoning for their hairstyling methods and practices. It was assumed that a generational knowledge of hairstyling was transmitted and African American mothers had the aptitude to style their daughters' hair. However, it was not asked if the participants' mothers possessed the aptitude to style their hair, or if their hair was even done by their mothers. Thus, in future research it would be logical to ask mothers if they had the aptitude or if their mothers had the aptitude to style hair, if so, was the styling a taught or learned process? As with previous research that used mother-daughter dyads, using interviews to gather perspectives from three generations seeing how they align would be useful in revealing the mothers thought processes and how they viewed hairstyling while socializing their daughters. It would be insightful to observe similarities or differences in hair between the three generations (grandmother, mother, and daughter), such as hair texture, coarseness, fineness, or even length. It would also be insightful to examine if hairstyling practices changed due to economic, social, or demographic changes, such as moving to a different neighborhood, interracial marriage, socioeconomic status, or aptitude for styling. It would be possible to probe to link the circumstances.

The exploratory structure of this study provides many avenues for expanding the study; future research should employ different research methods, such as using interviews and focus groups. These methods would be useful because could they expand on comments and information that may not have been captured in the questionnaire. The researcher is able to probe during the interview process or during the focus group, where differences and similarities may emerge. The themes found may be a guide as to what can be asked in a focus group or interview. An advantage to my study was that I was able to reach and solicit a greater array of participants through the use of Instagram. The disadvantage was that I was not able to have a diversely

geographic representation. I believe that the Instagram account had mainly northeastern followers, therefore my sample had a large representation of respondents from the northeast.

This study merely scratches the surface of generational hairstyling practices and preferences of African Americans. However, the information provided in this study may be useful to sectors of the beauty industry that target African Americans, particularly the hair industry. The millennials in this study demonstrated practices of wearing their natural hair and maintaining hair health, so they may not purchase products aimed at altering their hair texture or products that they find damaging to their hair. They mentioned reducing the use of hair grease, thermal heat, and chemical processes; therefore, marketing these products to African Americans may not be beneficial to profit or sales. Future research should also examine how African American hairstyling has evolved. This study provides traces of hairstyling trends changing from relaxers being normal and expected, to avoiding relaxers in order to embrace natural hair. This is reflected by the steady decline in relaxer sales since 2008 (Mintel, 2013). This means that the practice of straightening the hair is becoming less prevalent, and more textured hair is becoming more prevalent. If companies that primarily sell relaxers want to survive, it would be best to market other products such as cleansers like shampoos and conditioners.

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Appendix A
Questionnaire

The following questions relate to your ethnic background.

1. What is your sex?
 - a. Female
 - b. Male

2. With what ethnicity do you most identify now?
 - a. African American
 - b. Non-African American

3. Did you grow up in a two parent household?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No

4. What was the dominant ethnicity in your home during childhood?
 - a. African American
 - b. Non-African American

5. In relation to the previous question, was this your mother or father's ethnicity?
 - a. Mother
 - b. Father
 - c. Both

6. Who was the prominent mother figure in your household?
 - a. Mother
 - b. Sister
 - c. Grandmother

- d. Aunt
 - e. Other _____
 - f. There were multiple mother figures in my home (select all that apply)
 - Mother
 - Sister
 - Grandmother
 - Aunt
 - Other _____
7. What geographic region did you live in mainly, up to when you were around 12 years of age?
- a. Northeast (Massachusetts, Maine, New Jersey, New York, Connecticut, Delaware, District of Columbia, Vermont, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, Maryland)
 - b. Southeast (Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, Florida, Virginia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Tennessee, West Virginia)
 - c. Midwest (Illinois, Michigan, Kansas, Kentucky, Wisconsin, Indiana, South Dakota, North Dakota, Minnesota, Missouri, Ohio)
 - d. Southwest (Texas, New Mexico, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Arkansas)
 - e. West (California, Nevada, Arizona, Oregon, Washington, Iowa)
 - f. Rocky Mountain states (Utah, Colorado, Montana, Wyoming, Idaho, Nebraska)
 - g. Hawaii, Alaska
8. What type of neighborhood did you grow up in?
- a. Urban

- b. Suburban
 - c. Rural
 - d. I moved to different communities
9. What was the dominant ethnicity in your neighborhood during your childhood?
- a. African American
 - b. Non-African American
10. What was the dominant ethnicity in your school during childhood?
- a. African American
 - b. Non-African American

The following questions concern your memories of the role of ethnicity in your life. Please indicate your level of agreement with each statement.

Physical features, associated with my ethnicity, such as hair texture and skin complexion, differentiate me from other ethnicities.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
I feel proud that my physical features identify my ethnicity.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
I believe historically my primary ethnicity was influenced by other ethnicities.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

The next series of questions relate to your grooming as a child. Please indicate the frequency that best fits each statement.

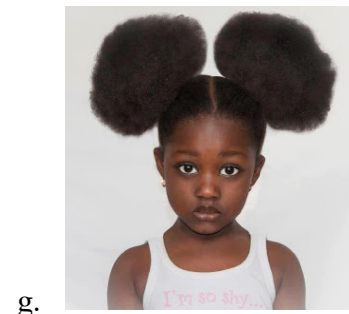
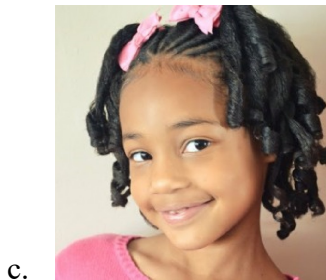
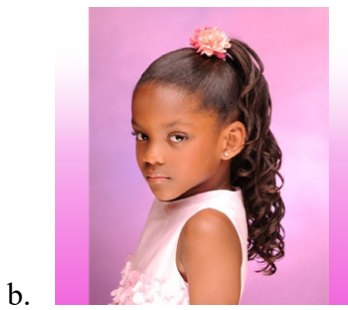
I was taught to act or dress a certain way based on my ethnicity.	Always	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never	I do not know
My mother figure took charge of my grooming as a child.	Always	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never	I do not know
My mother figure dressed me in a particular way to maintain a standard.	Always	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never	I do not know
I was always neat and tidy.	Always	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never	I do not know
My hair was always groomed.	Always	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never	I do not know
I felt ashamed around my friends when my hair was not done.	Always	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never	I do not know
My hairstyle and clothing were of equal importance to my	Always	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never	I do not know

mother figure.						
----------------	--	--	--	--	--	--

For the following questions reflect on your first memories of your hair before you reached puberty (typically around the age 11). Please indicate your level of agreement with each statement.

I remember my mother figure doing my hair as a child.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
My hair sessions with my mother figure were a bonding experience.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
When my mother figure did my hair, she was teaching me how to have appropriate African American hair.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
I style or will style my daughter's hair the same way as my mother figure styled mine.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

11. Based on the following images, select the hairstyles that most resemble the styles you were given as a child? (Select all that apply).



i. Other (Briefly describe)

12. What kind of hair accessories did your mother figure use in your hair? (Select all that apply)



a. Ballies

b. Barrettes



c. Head bands



d. Beads



e. Rubber bands



f. Scrunchies



g. Other _____

13. Is there any hairstyle that you would allow your daughter to wear that your mother figure did not allow you to wear? If so please describe that hairstyle and state why you would allow it.

14. Are there hairstyling practices that you would imitate/reproduce when grooming your own daughter's hair? If so please state what practices you would try to imitate doing.

15. Are there hairstyling practices that you would try to avoid when grooming your own daughter's hair? If so please state what practices you would try to avoid doing.

16. What factors do you believe were considered when your mother figure was styling your hair? Select all that apply.

- | | |
|------------------|------------------------------|
| a. Length | e. Not culturally fitting |
| b. Budget | f. Styling time |
| c. Age | g. Manageability/maintenance |
| d. Inappropriate | h. Other _____ |

17. What was the typical process for styling your hair? For instance, did your mother figure have to put grease on your hair before styling it, or apply heat to it? Select and number the steps in the order you remember.

- | | |
|--|--------------------------|
| a. ____ Apply grease to the scalp | e. ____ Section the hair |
| b. ____ Apply hair moisturizing lotion | f. ____ Style the hair |
| c. ____ Comb/Brush the hair | g. ____ Wet the hair |
| d. ____ Change or add the hair accessories | h. ____ |
| | Other _____ |

18. How old were you when your mother figure stopped doing your hair or you asked her to stop doing your hair? (If you cannot remember a specific age, try recalling what grade you were in).

19. Were there special or regular occasions when more care was taken with hairstyling?

a. Yes

i. Religious holidays

(e.g., Easter,

Christmas)

ii. First day of school

iii. Birthdays

iv. Sundays

v. Family outings

vi. Family get togethers

vii. Other

b. No

20. What is your fondest memory of your mother figure doing your hair?

The following questions pertain to relaxers.

21. Did you have a relaxer in your hair as a child? If so at what age?

a. Yes, I was _____ years old (If you cannot remember a specific age, try recalling what grade you were in).

b. No

c. I do not remember

22. Did you regularly get a relaxer?

a. Yes

b. No, it was a rare or uncommon occurrence

23. Were you told that you had to get a relaxer?

a. Yes

b. No

c. I do not remember

The following 10 statements concern your feelings about your hair now. Please indicate your level of agreement with each statement.

On a whole, I am satisfied with my hair. Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

At times I think my hair is no good at all.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
I feel that my hair has a number of good qualities.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
I am able to care for my hair as well as most other people.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
I feel I do not have much to be proud of about my hair.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
I certainly feel my hair is unsatisfying at times.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
I feel that hair is of value, at least on an equal plane with other ethnicities.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
I wish I could have more	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

admiration for my hair.					
All in all, I am inclined to feel that my hair has not pleased me.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
I take a positive attitude towards hair.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

The following questions relate to raising children. Please indicate your level of agreement with each statement.

I would take my child's ethnic background into consideration if it differs or will differ from mine.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
It was important for me as a child to understand that there were ethnic differences.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
My mother figure taught or talked to me about being African American.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
I had childhood experiences or observations of racist attitudes or incidents.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

Demographics

24. What is your age?

- a. 18-23
- b. 24-29
- c. 30-35
- d. 36-41

25. When is your birthday? DD/MM/YYYY

26. What is your marital status?

- a. Single
- b. Married
- c. Divorced
- d. Widowed

27. Do you have children? If so how many?

- a. Yes, I have
 - i. _____ girls.
 - ii. _____ boys.
- b. No, I do not have children.

28. Please indicate your current occupation.

- a. Upper management/
Proprietor/Owner
- b. Middle management
- c. Professional
- d. Sales
- e. Service worker
- f. Student
- g. Homemaker
- h. Retired
- i. Other, please specify

- j. Not currently working

29. Please indicate your highest level of education.

- a. Grade school
- b. Some high school, no
diploma

- c. High school diploma/GED
- d. Some college, no degree
- e. Associate's degree
- f. Bachelor's degree
- g. Master's degree (for example, MBA, MS, MFA)
- h. Professional degree (for example, MD, DDS, LLB)
- i. Doctorate degree (for example, PhD, EdD)

30. What is your sole annual income?

- a. Under \$25,000
- b. \$25,000 – \$50,999
- c. \$51,000 – \$75,999
- d. \$76,000 – \$100,000
- e. \$150,000 – \$200,000
- f. Above \$200,000

Appendix B

Hair-Esteem Scale

Bankhead-Johnson Hair-esteem Scale (2014).

On a whole, I am satisfied with my hair.	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
At times I think my hair is no good at all.	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I feel that my hair has a number of good qualities.	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I am able to care for my hair as well as most other people.	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I feel I do not have much to be proud of about my hair.	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I certainly feel my hair is useless at times.	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I feel that hair is of value, at least on an equal plane with others.	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I wish I could have more respect for my hair.	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
All in all, I am inclined to feel that my hair has failed me.	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

I take a positive attitude toward hair.	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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Appendix C

Interview Protocol Sample Questions

Suizzo et al. (2008)

Mother's Own Upbringing

1. Where did you grow up? What kind of neighborhood did you grow up in? How is it similar to and different from the neighborhood you now live in? How many were there in your family when you were a child?
2. Can you tell me about your relationship with your mother and your father? If mother grew up with one parent or with another primary caregiver (e.g., grandmother), ask about that person in this and the following questions.
3. What did they teach you or give you that you consider important? What are the important lessons that you learned from your parents?
4. Are there things about your own upbringing that you try to imitate/reproduce in raising your own child? Are there things about how you were raised that you try to avoid doing with your own child?

Racial Socialization

1. What do you consider to be your child's racial or ethnic background?
2. Do you think it is important for your child to understand what it means to be _____ [insert identification used by mother]? If so, why? If not, why not?
3. Do you think it is important for your child to understand that there are racial or ethnic differences? If so, why? If not, why not?
4. Do you talk to or teach him/her about being _____? How do you do this? What kinds of things do you say? What kinds of things do you do?

5. Do other members of your family participate in teaching your child about his/her racial or ethnic background? What do they say and/or do?
6. Has your child experienced or observed any racist attitudes or incidents thus far, and if so, can you describe those?

Long-Term Goals and Values

1. What are your goals for your child's future? What kinds of values do you want to transmit to or teach your child? Why are those values and goals important to you?
2. How do you try to teach or transmit those values to your child? Can you give me an example of how you tried to teach a value to your child?
3. Do you think that your child may encounter difficulties or obstacles in his/her education? If so, what do you think those obstacles might be?

Appendix D
Recruitment Email Script

URGENT: Participants needed for questionnaire

Hello, this email is for the operator of the ___(insert name)___ Instagram account. My name is Saufeeyah Purvis, a graduate student in the Department of Consumer and Design Sciences at Auburn University. I am conducting a study to examine processes that may have influenced the hairstyling of African American young girls by their mothers or mother figures in the 1990s decade. In order to collect data I am administering a questionnaire and I will be targeting women who identify as African American and are between the ages of 19-29. I have decided to use Instagram as a method for recruiting participants. I purposefully selected your Instagram account because you appeal to the target participant I am looking to recruit. I would like to know if you would agree to promote my questionnaire on your Instagram account in efforts for me to recruit enough participants. In exchange for your time I can promote your Instagram account on my personal page or we may arrange another reasonable form of compensation upon agreeance. If you would please respond to my request as soon as possible letting me know if you would assist in the process I would greatly appreciate it. Thank you for your time and consideration.

Sincerely,

Saufeeyah Purvis

Appendix E
Instagram Posts

Post #1



You are invited to participate in a research study to examine processes that may have influenced the hairstyling of African American young girls by their mothers or mother figures in the 1990's decade. Please copy and paste the following link into your browser to access the questionnaire!

http://auburn.qualtrics.com/SE/?SID=SV_5mUKSi6c8uawNlp

Post #2



For those of you who already haven't participated in the questionnaire, now is the last chance! Only 50 more respondents are needed. You are invited to participate in a research study to examine processes that may have influenced the hairstyling of African American young girls by their mothers or mother figures in the 1990's decade. To access the questionnaire click link in bio.

Appendix F

Ranked Hairstyling Process Tables

Table 6

Ranked Hairstyling Processes for African American Mothers

Step	Wet hair	Section hair	Apply grease	Apply lotion	Comb/brush hair	Style hair	Change accessories	Other
1 st	70 (26%)	66 (25%)	52 (19%)	22 (8%)	49 (18%)	1 (0%)	0	4 (1%)
2 nd	12 (4%)	77 (29%)	56 (21%)	61 (23%)	50 (19%)	2 (1%)	0	2 (1%)
3 rd	7 (3%)	60 (22%)	58 (22%)	54 (20%)	73 (27%)	5 (2%)	2 (1%)	2 (1%)
4 th	5 (2%)	36 (13%)	30 (11%)	49 (18%)	56 (21%)	70 (26%)	10 (4%)	0
5 th	1 (0%)	10 (4%)	12 (4%)	14 (5%)	29 (11%)	102 (38%)	49 (18%)	2 (1%)
6 th	0	0	6 (2%)	1 (0%)	0	60 (22%)	88 (33%)	1 (0%)
7 th	1 (0%)	0	4 (1%)	0	0	4 (1%)	45 (17%)	1 (0%)
8 th	0	0	0	0	0	0	3 (1%)	3 (1%)
n	96	249	218	201	257	244	197	15
% of total	36	93	81	75	96	91	74	6

Table 7

Ranked Hairstyling Process for Non-African American Mothers

Step	Wet hair	Section hair	Apply grease	Apply lotion	Comb/brush hair	Style hair	Change accessories	Other
1 st	4 (29%)	2 (14%)	4 (29%)	1 (7%)	3 (21%)	0	0	1 (7%)
2 nd	1 (7%)	4 (29%)	3 (21%)	3 (21%)	4 (29%)	0	0	0
3 rd	0	4 (29%)	3 (21%)	3 (21%)	4 (29%)	1 (7%)	0	0
4 th	1 (7%)	1 (7%)	1 (7%)	1 (7%)	2 (14%)	8 (57%)	0	0
5 th	0	2 (14%)	0	0	2 (14%)	2 (14%)	6 (43%)	0
6 th	0	0	0	0	0	4 (29%)	2 (14%)	0
7 th	0	0	0	0	0	0	2 (14%)	0
n	6	13	11	8	15	15	10	1
% of total	43	93	79	57	107	107	71	7

Table 11

Ranked Hairstyling Process per Urban

Step	Wet hair	Section hair	Apply grease	Apply lotion	Comb/brush hair	Style hair	Change accessories	Other
1 st	24	31	21	10	15	1	0	3
2 nd	5	21	27	22	24	1	0	1
3 rd	4	27	19	20	28	2	1	1
4 th	4	13	12	15	22	28	4	0
5 th	0	4	6	8	12	35	19	1
6 th	0	0	3	1	0	23	27	1
7 th	1	0	3	0	0	4	17	0
8 th	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	2
n	38	96	91	76	101	94	71	9
% of total	13	33	31	26	35	32	24	3

Table 12

Ranked Hairstyling Process per Suburban

Step	Wet hair	Section hair	Apply grease	Apply lotion	Comb/brush hair	Style hair	Change accessories	Other
1 st	27	23	17	7	20	0	0	1
2 nd	5	37	15	24	14	0	0	0
3 rd	2	0	24	24	28	1	0	1
4 th	0	13	8	19	21	29	4	0
5 th	0	2	3	2	10	42	17	0
6 th	0	0	3	0	0	18	37	0
7 th	0	0	1	0	0	0	14	1
n	34	75	71	76	93	90	72	3
% of total	12	26	24	26	32	31	25	1

Table 13

Ranked Hairstyling Process per Rural

Step	Wet hair	Section hair	Apply grease	Apply lotion	Comb/brush hair	Style hair	Change accessories	Other
1 st	11	3	7	4	20	0	0	0
2 nd	1	6	6	9	5	1	0	0
3 rd	0	10	4	4	9	1	0	0
4 th	0	4	6	3	7	6	2	0
5 th	0	4	1	3	3	9	3	0
6 th	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	0
7 th	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	0
8 th	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
n	12	27	24	23	44	17	24	1
% of total	4	9	8	8	15	6	8	0

Table 14

Ranked Hairstyling Process per Multicity

Step	Wet hair	Section hair	Apply grease	Apply lotion	Comb/brush hair	Style hair	Change accessories	Other
1 st	8	8	6	1	11	0	0	0
2 nd	1	13	7	6	6	0	0	1
3 rd	1	7	11	6	7	1	1	0
4 th	1	6	4	11	6	6	0	0
5 th	1	0	2	1	4	15	9	1
6 th	0	0	0	0	0	9	13	0
7 th	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0
n	12	34	30	25	34	31	28	2
% of total	4	12	10	9	12	11	10	0

Table 17

Ranked Hairstyling Process per Northeast

Step	Wet hair	Section hair	Apply grease	Apply lotion	Comb/brush hair	Style hair	Change accessories	Other
1 st	27	22	21	7	21	1	0	1
2 nd	3	30	21	20	24	1	0	0
3 rd	2	23	17	28	23	3	1	2
4 th	2	12	13	19	20	28	2	0
5 th	0	4	7	4	9	35	17	0
6 th	0	0	3	0	0	23	29	0
7 th	1	0	2	0	0	0	15	0
8 th	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
n	35	91	84	78	97	91	64	4
% of total	12	31	29	27	33	31	22	1

Table 18

Ranked Hairstyling Process per Southeast

Step	Wet hair	Section hair	Apply grease	Apply lotion	Comb/brush hair	Style hair	Change accessories	Other
1 st	21	22	17	9	17	0	0	1
2 nd	5	27	17	18	15	0	0	1
3 rd	2	19	22	13	25	2	1	0
4 th	2	10	11	12	18	24	5	0
5 th	0	2	2	8	7	31	19	0
6 th	0	0	1	1	0	15	28	0
7 th	0	0	2	0	0	3	14	0
8 th	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1
n	30	80	72	61	82	75	70	3
% of total	10	27	25	21	28	26	24	1

Table 19

Ranked Hairstyling Process per Midwest

Step	Wet hair	Section hair	Apply grease	Apply lotion	Comb/brush hair	Style hair	Change accessories	Other
1 st	9	8	4	1	3	0	0	0
2 nd	2	6	6	8	3	1	0	0
3 rd	2	3	7	3	11	0	0	0
4 th	1	7	2	7	4	4	0	0
5 th	2	2	1	1	5	9	5	0
6 th	0	0	1	0	0	10	7	0
7 th	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0
8 th	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
n	16	26	21	20	26	24	17	1
% of total	5	9	7	7	9	8	6	0

Table 20

Ranked Hairstyling Process per Southwest

Step	Wet hair	Section hair	Apply grease	Apply lotion	Comb/brush hair	Style hair	Change accessories	Other
1 st	8	5	4	1	0	0	0	1
2 nd	2	5	2	9	1	0	0	0
3 rd	2	3	5	2	9	0	0	0
4 th	0	4	3	4	5	2	1	0
5 th	0	2	2	1	4	8	1	0
6 th	0	0	0	0	0	7	11	0
7 th	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	0
n	12	19	16	17	19	18	17	1
% of total	4	7	5	6	7	6	6	0

Table 21

Ranked Hairstyling Process per West

Step	Wet hair	Section hair	Apply grease	Apply lotion	Comb/brush hair	Style hair	Change accessories	Other
1 st	2	5	1	3	5	0	0	1
2 nd	0	6	4	2	4	0	0	1
3 rd	1	4	6	4	9	0	0	0
4 th	0	2	0	6	3	6	0	0
5 th	1	0	0	0	3	6	3	0
6 th	0	0	1	0	0	4	5	0
7 th	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	0
n	4	17	12	15	24	17	12	2
% of total	1	6	4	5	8	6	4	1

Table 22

Ranked Hairstyling Process per Rockies

Step	Wet hair	Section hair	Apply grease	Apply lotion	Comb/brush hair	Style hair	Change accessories	Other
1 st	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
2 nd	0	2	2	1	0	0	0	0
3 rd	0	1	0	2	2	0	0	0
4 th	0	0	1	0	2	2	0	0
5 th	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0
6 th	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0
7 th	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
n	3	5	3	3	4	4	5	0
% of total	1	2	1	1	1	1	2	0

Table 25

Ranked Hairstyling Process per African American School Dominance

Step	Wet hair	Section hair	Apply grease	Apply lotion	Comb/brush hair	Style hair	Change accessories	Other
1 st	39	37	27	7	28	1	0	3
2 nd	5	39	31	35	28	1	0	1
3 rd	6	33	37	29	32	3	0	1
4 th	3	18	15	30	33	35	6	0
5 th	1	9	9	6	19	51	27	1
6 th	0	0	2	0	0	36	48	1
7 th	1	0	3	0	0	3	27	0
8 th	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
n	55	136	124	107	140	130	110	9
% of total	19	47	42	37	48	45	38	3

Table 26

Ranked Hairstyling Process per Non-African American School Dominance

Step	Wet hair	Section hair	Apply grease	Apply lotion	Comb/brush hair	Style hair	Change accessories	Other
1 st	31	29	24	15	21	0	0	1
2 nd	7	38	25	26	21	1	0	1
3 rd	1	26	21	25	41	2	2	1
4 th	2	18	15	19	23	34	4	0
5 th	0	1	3	8	10	51	21	1
6 th	0	0	4	1	0	24	40	0
7 th	0	0	1	0	0	1	18	1
8 th	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
n	41	112	93	94	116	113	86	6
% of total	14	38	32	32	40	39	29	2

Table 29

Ranked Hairstyling Process per Early 1980's

Step	Wet hair	Section hair	Apply grease	Apply lotion	Comb/brush hair	Style hair	Change accessories	Other
1 st	8	9	11	3	11	0	2	1
2 nd	1	14	10	5	12	1	0	0
3 rd	1	12	12	6	12	0	0	0
4 th	1	7	6	7	5	14	2	0
5 th	0	1	0	6	3	13	11	1
6 th	0	0	0	0	0	8	12	0
7 th	0	0	0	0	0	2	6	0
8 th	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
n	11	43	39	27	43	38	34	3
% of total	4	15	13	9	15	13	12	1

Table 30

Ranked Hairstyling Process per Late 1980's

Step	Wet hair	Section hair	Apply grease	Apply lotion	Comb/brush hair	Style hair	Change accessories	Other
1 st	27	24	19	11	17	0	0	1
2 nd	2	29	24	20	19	1	0	1
3 rd	1	22	15	24	27	3	1	1
4 th	3	10	12	15	23	28	2	0
5 th	0	6	3	3	8	39	18	0
6 th	0	0	2	0	0	20	32	1
7 th	1	0	2	0	0	0	14	1
8 th	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
n	34	91	77	73	94	91	67	6
% of total	12	31	26	25	32	31	23	2

Table 31

Ranked Hairstyling Process per Early 1990's

Step	Wet hair	Section hair	Apply grease	Apply lotion	Comb/brush hair	Style hair	Change accessories	Other
1 st	25	22	18	5	13	1	0	1
2 nd	7	21	13	24	15	0	0	1
3 rd	3	20	20	16	26	0	1	0
4 th	1	14	7	16	21	21	4	0
5 th	1	8	7	4	10	26	16	1
6 th	0	0	2	1	0	23	28	0
7 th	0	0	2	0	0	2	14	0
8 th	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
n	37	85	69	66	85	73	65	3
% of total	13	29	24	23	29	25	22	1

Table 32

Ranked Hairstyling Process per Late 1990's

Step	Wet hair	Section hair	Apply grease	Apply lotion	Comb/brush hair	Style hair	Change accessories	Other
1 st	10	11	4	3	7	0	0	1
2 nd	2	12	9	9	4	0	0	0
3 rd	1	6	10	8	8	2	0	1
4 th	0	4	5	10	7	6	2	0
5 th	0	1	2	1	8	17	4	0
6 th	0	0	2	0	0	9	15	0
7 th	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	0
8 th	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
n	13	34	32	19	34	34	30	3
% of total	4	12	11	7	12	12	10	1