Hair and beauty choices of African American women during the Civil Rights Movement, 1960-1974

by

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DEDICATION

To my village. This is for more than just me. This is for you.

$F+A=M^3$

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ABSTRACT

This research examined the Civil Rights Movement, specifically focusing on hair and beauty choices of African American women who were emerging adults (ages 18-25), between the years 1960-1974, which bridges both the classical period of the Civil Rights Movement and that of Black Power politics (Wilson, 2013). The specific time period corresponds with the adoption of African American hairstyles that were more Afrocentric, following the social climate of Black Pride (Walker, 2007). To achieve understanding of African American women's perspectives, seven participants were interviewed using Seidman's (2013) protocol for which a three-part, in-depth interview series was conducted. The successive interviews concentrated on the themes of: 1) hair history throughout their lives, 2) details of experiences during the Civil Rights Movement years 1960-74, and 3) creating reflections on the meaning of hairstyle choices in the participant's life.

This dissertation followed a non-traditional format that allowed for the completion of two scholarly articles related to African American women's hair. Article one: *Ages and stages: African American women and their lives through their hair*, examines participants' presentations of self. Communication of meaning and values associated with dress were negotiated between the participants and others, which resulted in their choices of presentation. Goffman's (1959) discussion of the presentation of self was used to explain how marginalized groups strive to act appropriately or ideally to dominant standards and power groups. Participants described how they chose their hairstyles and dress for varying audiences and settings. Their presentation of self was highly influenced by the intersectional subject positions held by the participants, reflecting larger hegemonic norms in U.S. society.

Article two: *Collective resistance of the natural: An exploration of African American women's exhibition of Black pride through their hairstyles,* explored aspects of new social movement theory to explain how the participants formed a collective identity associated with the Civil Rights Movement, specifically in aspects of Black Pride and solidarity during the 1960s and 1970s. Participants discussed how their hair choices reflected the movement's ideology and the newly adopted Black aesthetic. Their activism, traditional and less overt, informed and mirrored the construction of a collective identity through aspects of identifying with ideologies of the Black Pride/Power Movement, a raised consciousness toward the African American status in U.S. society, and changing associations and interactions as a result of the movement and other shifts in politics and social aspects.

The findings of this study offer insight into African American women's relationship with their hair and the effect of the Civil Rights Movement on their hair throughout their lives.

CHAPTER 1. GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Introduction

The United States Civil Rights Movement began in the 1950s with important campaigns, legislative changes, and heavy activism with what is called the classical period of the movement, and continued through the 1970s with a more radical political agenda like that of the Black Power Movement (Wilson, 2013). During this time, controversy over involvement in the Vietnam War and equality for women and African Americans were the impetus for participation and what garnered the most media coverage. Much legislation was passed in hopes of creating a more accepting and equitable American society (Giddings, 2006). Many groups of marginalized people fought for their rights through protests and specific agendas such as improved education and health care, to increase the social capital of their peers. Some individuals used elements of dress and clothing in an effort to move society forward (Rooks, 1996). Specifically for African Americans, an embrace of African culture was popularized, and for some, seen as an activist tool in contrast to the dominant White power of the time. The integration of African aesthetics included the Afro-centric prints, textiles, jewelry, and natural hairstyles worn by those of African ancestry.

This study focused on or about the point in the Civil Rights Movement when ideals of White beauty standards were no longer embraced by pro-Black proponents. Beginning around 1965, a wider-spread acceptance of a "Black-identified visual aesthetic" became more prominent in the Black community (Byrd & Tharps, 2014, p. 51). The aesthetic offered a new visualization of what it meant to be Black, where African language, history and cultural elements of food, music, and dress styles were adopted and embraced. Options apart from White beauty styles

were chosen by African Americans and subsequently led to powerful symbolism in hairstyles such as afros, braids, cornrows, and the wearing of African prints on headscarves and wraps (Rooks, 1996).

In addition to broadening the range of the acceptable presentation of self, the use of African-inspired aesthetics symbolized changing ideological and political stances. Ultimately, the afro and other natural styles provided an alternative to straightened hairstyles and the opportunity to embrace a different, uniquely African American-owned beauty (Rooks, 1996). Many African American men and women critically evaluated mainstream norms, deciding that their vision of an equal society allowed for more natural expression of self as a direct opposite of the dominant. Others, however, believed that dominant beauty values and ideals could become more inclusive (Brooks, 2007; Byrd & Tharps, 2014). Through media coverage on the television, in newspapers, and in popular press and fashion magazines, the Black is Beautiful mantra allowed redefinition of beauty standards.

The purpose of this research was to examine the effect of the Civil Rights Movement on specific African American women's hairstyles and experiences throughout their lives. African American hair is intricately linked to the African American culture and lived-experience. For this racial and ethnic group, hair has a long history and significance, as well as many meanings, assumptions, and stereotypes associated with its presence. From traditional African hairstyles and plant-based hair products available only in Africa, and a lack of resources, the animalization of all physical characteristics of the Black body during the slave trade, and hair signifying class, acceptance, and even political stance; Black hair has come to symbolize many elements of the culture (Bennett, 2000).

For African American women, their specific position as members of marginalized groups, both racially and through gender, as well as other identities, has lent an intersectional experience to their hair (Jones & Shorter-Gooden, 2003; Rooks, 1996). Prior to the Civil Rights Movement, African American women's worth was largely measured against White values of physical attractiveness, including attributes like straight hair and light skin. To avoid being cast as the Other, African American women adopted beauty practices including straightening hair and lightening skin (Collins, 2009). But during the 1960s to 1970s, Black women were afforded the opportunity to embrace their natural features in correspondence with the Black is Beautiful Movement. The spectrum of socially acceptable Black women's beauty widened during the 1960s as fashion magazines and beauty companies extended the range of admired skin tones and hair textures (Walker, 2007). Although the adoption of African American aesthetics as beautiful increased, pervasive hegemonic images were, and have continued to be inescapable (Collins, 2009).

This research examined the Civil Rights Movement, specifically focusing on hair and beauty choices of African American women who were emerging adults (ages 18-25), between the years 1960-1974, which bridges both the classical period of the Civil Rights Movement and that of Black Power politics (Wilson, 2013). This period corresponds with changes in African American hairstyles that were more Afrocentric, following the social climate of Black Pride (Walker, 2007).

To achieve understanding of African American women's perspectives, Seidman's (2013) protocol for a three-part, in-depth interview series was conducted. Successive interview concentrated on the themes of: 1) hair history throughout their lives, 2) details of experiences during the Civil Rights Movement years 1960-74, and 3) reflections on the meaning of hairstyle

choices in the participant's life. By using this qualitative method, the research was able to place the African American women participants at the center of their own story. The intent of this research was to provide insight into voices that have been historically ignored, by describing the lived experiences of participants not just at that moment in time, but additionally how their consciousness was affected by the movement, impacting their life choices related to hair and beauty, and definitions of self or self-image.

Dissertation Organization

Chapter One provides an overview of the dissertation including a general background of the study, research questions, theoretical framework, significance, the role of the researcher and definition of terms. Chapter Two is a review of relevant scholarship related to the Civil Rights Movement, African American hair history, the intersectional identity of African American women, and the symbolic meanings and collective identities presented through dress, among other topics that help to provide context to this research. Chapter Three illustrates the research design implemented in this study, including participant information, methods of data collection and analysis.

This dissertation followed a non-traditional format that allowed for the completion of two scholarly articles related to African American women's hair. The approach led to the development of articles with specific publication targets. Chapter Four was prepared for submission to the *Clothing and Textiles Research Journal* (*CTRJ*), a leading publication based in the interdisciplinary aspects of the clothing and textiles field that is the official publication of the International Textile & Apparel Association, Inc. and is published quarterly. *CTRJ* submission guidelines dictate APA reference style and article length of 30 pages maximum. This chapter examined how African American women presented self throughout their lives in relation to their

subject positions, roles in different spaces, and time periods. Chapter Five was prepared for submission to *Fashion and Textiles: International Journal of Interdisciplinary Research* (*FATE*). *FATE* is an open access journal, targeted toward scholarly and industrial researchers of the field. The submission targets the technical research division of Fashion Design and History and adheres to manuscript length of 30 pages maximum and APA reference style. This chapter examined African American women's hair choices during the Civil Rights Movement and discussed the ways their hairstyles reflected and were symbolic of their individual and collective identity and activism within the movement.

Chapter Six concludes this research study, focusing on implications of the findings in both manuscripts and potential directions for future work.

Research Questions

Research questions that guided the study:

Article 1

1. How did family, society, and perceptions of the self influence African American women's hair during childhood, the emerging adult stage (which occurred during the Civil Rights Movement years of 1960-1974), and into adulthood?

2. How did the participant's intersectional identities (race, gender, age, etc.) impact their hairstyle choices?

Article 2

1. How did African American women construct collective identity within the movements of Black Pride and Power ideology?

2. How did African American women's hair exhibit resistance of and/or conformity to hegemonic beauty standards?

Theoretical Approaches

A feminist perspective guided this study. As mentioned, the intersectionality of African American women's identity offers an experience that cannot be separated between gender and race, but instead "encompasses bodies of knowledge and sets of institutional practices that actively grapple with the central questions facing U.S. Black women as a collectivity" (Collins, 2009, p. 12). Being a woman and Black in America creates a common experience for African American women. Their responses to oppression present a particular standpoint and developed consciousness about their interaction with the world, as well as issues surrounding class, sexuality, religion, and others. At the foundation of both a general feminist ideology and that of Black feminist thought is the idea that there is knowledge in the everyday experiences of women that challenges dominant patriarchal structures. Allowing women's voices to be heard advocates self-definition, independence, and activism toward a commitment to justice for women and, in this study, specifically those who identify as Black.

This research used inductive reasoning to examine data in context of the social world. Major findings of participant experiences were connected to existing relevant theories as patterns developed and explanations of the data were necessary (Esterberg, 2002). Each article written for this dissertation draws upon specific theories of social science concepts.

In article one, participant's discussion of their influences to the presentation of themselves followed components of symbolic interactionism. Communication of meaning and values associated with dress were negotiated between the participants and other, which resulted in their choices of presentation. Goffman's (1959) discussion of the presentation of self explained how marginalized groups strive to act appropriately or ideally to dominant standards and power groups. Participants described how they chose their hairstyles and dress for varying

audiences and settings. Their presentation of self was highly influenced by the intersectional subject positions they held, reflecting larger hegemonic norms in U.S. society.

Article two explored aspects of new social movement theory to explain how the participants formed a collective identity associated with the Civil Rights Movement, specifically in aspects of Black Pride and solidarity during the 1960s and 1970s. The everyday actions of people establish collective groups, which work to resist dominant powers to pursue change (Taylor & Whittier, 1992). Participants discussed how their hair choices reflected the movement ideology and the newly adopted Black aesthetic. Their activism informed and mirrored the construction of a collective identity through aspects of identifying with ideologies of the Black Pride/Power Movement, a raised consciousness toward the African American status in U.S. society, and changing associations and interactions as a result of the movement and other shifts in politics and social aspects.

Significance

In the African American community, hair has held a long history of cultural pride and significance. Rooks (1996) describes the importance of hair for African American women as,

> The site where African American women comb their memories and braid or straighten their experiences to express the dreams and possibilities of a social reality where they are equal partners in the creation and styling of a world free of oppression. (p. 8)

However, choices made by Black women regarding their hair and beauty have not been fully covered in scholarly research related to beauty and dress, which mostly concentrates on mainstream values and history. This research affords the opportunity to gather individuals' lived experiences of the topic while looking toward larger societal meanings related to beauty, dress, gender, and race. Further, the inquiry into a specific time period and the actions during or

impacts the time has had since, provides context to African American women's contributions to the clothing and textiles field and U.S. history.

Hohle (2013) argues that in spite of the large amount of scholarly work focused on the Civil Rights Movement, there is still a void in understanding the movement's broader impact. Capturing the experiences of Black women during this time serves as partial history of a specific group, but can have a large impact on retelling the overall historical events of the Civil Rights Movement. Giving voice to those who are not commonly studied because of their position in society can shed new light on a significant period in American history. Because of their lived experiences and everyday interactions, the women who participated in this study can add new knowledge about social constructs related to Black women's hair (Jones & Shorter-Gooden, 2003). In addition, their intersectional perspective from two marginalized identities provides a more accurate depiction of society, ultimately leading to significant research findings (Brooks, 2007; Harding, 2004). As a remedy to the misrepresentation and exclusion of African American women, it is important to focus on their stories and experiences to inform knowledge and reconstruct history. Their narratives add to a variety of subjects related to women, race, dress, social movements, and history.

Role of the Researcher

In qualitative inquiry, research is formed by and through the researcher and the participants. The identities held by both impact the outcomes of the study (Bourke, 2014). Feminist thought places importance on the examination of relationships between the researcher and participants to increase the subjective understanding of the participant's point of view of their experiences (Brooks, 2007). My role as the researcher and the primary collector of data in this study requires the examination of personal values, assumptions, and biases (Creswell, 2014).

The researcher "has attributes, characteristics, a history, and gender, class, race, and social attributes that enter the research interaction" (Oleson, 2003, p. 350). In order to conduct the research as a democratic and emancipatory process it was important to understand the traditional researcher-subject relationship and attempt to shift those dynamics within this study (Lundy & McGovern, 2006). Acknowledging my positionality as an insider and outsider to the participant demographics and topic, as well as recognizing how my identity affected participant relationships, the research process, and diffusion of participant knowledge was important to the sharing of the women's understanding of the world (Bourke, 2014; Hawkesworth, 1989).

As a biracial woman, I have my own experiences related to my identity and hair. My mixture of races produced an appearance that is often valued within Black culture, light skin and what is considered to be "good hair," because they more closely resemble White characteristics. The experience of positive attributes, yet still negative stigma associated with my appearance has afforded me a unique positionality within the beauty binary of Black and White. Internally, I feel my hair more closely "fits" within the Black hair experience, but recognize the social systems that inform my perspective of that which is and that which is not. My experiences and understanding of elements of Black hair and culture may have assisted in developing a trusted relationship with participants, but are not representative of their stories. Because I am younger than many of the participants, their interactions with me were full of gratitude for preserving a part of history. I sensed that they wanted to tell me how it used to be in the cautionary way that an elder passes information on to the younger generation. Further, I believe that my own experience as a marginalized woman helped me to center and place importance on the participants' narratives in order to give them voice. In an attempt to avoid bias, Battle-Walters (2004) described an appropriate method for focusing on the ability to capture the often silenced

experiences of African American women. In her research, she interviewed working-class African American women at a local beauty shop. Battle-Walters (2004) regarded her responsibility:

> These women are experts of their own lives, and my part as author and researcher has been to record and present their experiences, using their voices. These women discuss their lives, express their views, and tell their stories united in one voice, empowered by many voices, voices that have been historically ignored. (p. 2)

My work in this study followed this sentiment with emphasis placed on the participants' stories and presenting their experiences as they were told to me.

A purpose of this research was to give voice to the lived experiences of African American women and their experiences with their hair. By focusing on the richness of the women's stories, insight was gained about the details of everyday experiences of the participants, their sense of self, and the impact of the Civil Rights Movement on their lives. The design of this study attempted to place knowledge within their narratives by allowing the participants to speak freely of their experiences, clarifying misunderstandings in data analysis, providing the women the opportunity to review the transcriptions of the interviews, and using the participants' own words to illustrate findings (Esterberg, 2002).

Definition of Terms

The following terms are defined for use in this study:

African American or Black- This research will use the terms African American and Black interchangeably to describe a common experience of an oppressed group of people in the United States. During the Civil Rights Movement, controversy arose about what name was politically appropriate to use in identifying the racial group. Moving from the term Negro or colored, emphasis was placed on being called Black, Afro American, and African American, depending on various political perspectives (Bennett, 1967). Because there is a variation in references to this specific group, participants in this study also referred to themselves and others using one or both terms.

Black Feminism- an ideology that promotes the incorporation of Black women's ideas, contributions, and perspective as a form of resisting and challenging dominant power. "Black feminist thought aims to empower African-American women within the context of social injustice sustained by intersecting oppression" (Collins, 2009, p. 26)

Black Feminist- an advocate for the position of Black women in society (Harris-Perry, 2011).

Black Nationalism- an ideology that promotes unity with the Black community and sufficiency, independence and separation from White society and power (Johnson, 2012).

Black Power- a political slogan; the social, cultural and political self-determination of the Black community (Wilson, 2013).

Feminism- an ideology that promotes equality, emancipation, and empowerment for women in all institutions of society (Collins, 2009).

Feminist- an advocate and supporter of rights for women.

Hegemony- dominant power that works to "shape the oppressive and productive nature of the human tradition" (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2003, p. 439).

Ideological Hegemony- the cultural forms, meanings, rituals, and representations that maintain status quo and social positions (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2003).

Integrationist- belief or support in the combination of social institutions by African American and White races (Giddings, 2006).

Intersectionality- the analysis of social oppressions, such as race and gender, where the experience of identities cannot be independent of each other, but instead create a combined perspective or position in society (Collins, 2009).

Intersectional Identity- the combination of social, cultural, or biological categories, which interrelate to inform a person's experience in society.

Lived Experience- structures of experiences or consciousness from a first-person point of view (Seidman, 2013).

Mainstream- thought, beliefs and values of the majority or dominant group.

Woman/women- female human who is an adult.

Hair Glossary

Afro or (a) Natural- referring to a halo-shaped hairstyle that was popularized during the 1960s and 1970s (Ebong, 2001; Walker, 2007).

Kitchen- Hair located at the nape of the neck.

Natural Hair- hair that is unaltered, unprocessed, or modified from its original state. In the 1960s, a "natural" was the early term used for an afro style (Byrd & Tharps, 2014; Walker, 2007).

<u>Pressed-</u> hair that is straightened with a heating element (i.e. a hot comb or flat-iron).

<u>Processed-</u> often referring to chemically permed or relaxed hair in order to straighten.

<u>Weave-</u> Synthetic or human hair (not native to the wearer) that is attached to a person's hair or scalp to add length or create a specific style (Johnson, 2013).

CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter reviews previous literature about African American's position in American society, the presentation of self, human development, and the construction of individual and collective identities. It also covers history of Black hair and the Civil Rights Movement through its evolution from an integrationist effort to one of promotion of Black pride and power. Finally, the corresponding trends of Black identity and hair that occurred as a result of the direction of the movement as well as the trends for African American hair from the 1980s until today are discussed.

African American Women and Diverse Selves

Black women stand at the interconnection of race and gender oppression. Collins (2009) states that because of the interconnectedness of oppressed identities, African American women have found themselves in an outsider-within social position throughout time. A sense of not belonging to the dominant race or gender offers African American women an intersectional standpoint on their lived-experience (Collins, 2009). Intersectionality, as introduced by Crenshaw (1989), examines how structures of power surrounding race and gender simultaneously marginalize and legitimizes existing power relations (Carbado, Crenshaw, Mays, & Tomlinson, 2013). Since Crenshaw's (1989) initial discussion, the concept of intersectionality has widened to encompass other social categories, including class, ethnicity and sexual orientation. These various categories of social identities coexist and overlap in an inseparable manner. The individual's placement within hierarchies of gender, class, sexuality, religion, or other social groups shapes their being.

Because Black women face the "double jeopardy" of race and gender, among other

marginalized identities, many individuals shift or present different fronts to accommodate their

selves (Beale, 1970; Jones & Shorter-Gooden, 2003, p. 40). Jones and Shorter-Gooden (2003)

found that African American women modify their behavior as they "are relentlessly pushed to

serve and made to hide their true selves to placate White colleagues, Black men, and other

segments of the community" (p. 7). In other words, individuals act differently among different

groups. In discussing the formation of the self through the lens of others, Goffman (1959)

explained,

> Different social groupings express in different ways such attributes as age, sex, territory,
> and class status, and that in each case these bare attributes are elaborated by means of a
> distinctive complex cultural configuration of proper ways of conducting oneself." (p. 75)

The 1960s and 1970s were an interesting time period for African American women

because they were faced with both racial and gendered social movements in which their

identities were both included and excluded. The Feminist Movement of the period was largely

driven by a White feminist agenda (Collins, 2009). For Black women, the pro-Black standpoint

of the Civil Rights and Black Pride or Power Movements, offered further intersectional

oppression. As historians have described, both the Civil Rights and Black Power Movements,

were strong in patriarchal values (Giddings, 2006; Johnson, 2012). Collins (2009) describes that,

although race seemed like the foremost issue with which Black women were concerned, their

organization to directly benefited Black women as a whole. In their involvement with the

movements, Black women's perspective of intersectionality varied according to their primary

allegiance. Some women felt that they were directly impacted by Black men's adoption of White

sexism in the movement. Other women seemed to continue their traditional duties of caring for

children, working, and other responsibilities without noticing gender oppression (Giddings,

2006; Springer, 2005). Throughout the entirety of the Civil Rights Movement, women were subject to sexism. Initially, they were virtually non-existent in the forefront of their efforts to attain equal rights. Leaders such as Ella Baker, Septima Clark, and Fannie Lou Hammer were active and organized many efforts; however, they and others often lost recognition for their work to male counterparts (Standley, 1990).

As the movement progressed to a Black Power ideology, women became more known for their leadership, but continued to be oppressed in their representation and within organizations (Johnson, 2012). Additionally, the role of women changed within the media. Portrayals of Black women fed into the fear of the Black Power Movement, by portraying Black women as militant feminists. Angela Davis, an icon of Black female militancy of this time period, was the "epitome of a Black woman gone bad" (Johnson, 2012, p. 18). Stereotypical characteristics of the Revolutionary Black women included: 1) angry as a fighter for social justice; 2) resisted assimilation, shown by wearing afros; and 3) avengers using violence to avenge those who harmed them and/or their people (community, family, etc.) (Johnson, 2012). This new portrayal of Black women by the media was overwhelmingly related to appearance and style choices. It was a significant perspective that linked the symbolic meaning of an afro to a political ideology (Rooks, 1996).

Formation of the Self

Individuals grow and develop through communication and interaction with others. It is through these exchanges that social norms are made clear and the understanding of and how individual behaviors align or do not align with them (Goffman, 1959). Until independence is gained, children understand the world through the lens of their parents. Throughout adolescence and into adulthood, the formation of self is tested against what is known from past experiences

and expectations for what the future holds (Erickson, 1968). As individuals age, more complex skills, feelings, and ideals are developed. At the ages of 18-25, people who live in Westernized societies experience emerging adulthood (Arnett, 2000). In this stage, they are deeply involved in exploring their identity while gaining education and training that will set the foundation for their life, work, and worldviews. This transition phase is unique, in that individuals are not fully considered adults because they are continuing to develop and have not made concrete decisions about their lives (Arnett, 2000). For example, in the emerging adult stage an individual may have decided on an educational path that will lead to a job in a certain field, but may not be quite sure of exact career goals. Moving into adulthood, identity continues to form due to new experiences and changing values of what is most important in life. The adulthood years focus on examination and evaluation of life's progress (Erickson, 1968).

Throughout the communication and interaction process, individuals make meaning of the world around them and their position within it. Interactions, both verbal and non-verbal, assist in the construction and the presentation of self (Goffman, 1959; Tawfiq & Ogle, 2013). Symbolic interaction theory is concerned with this development of the self and larger society based on the interactions between people (Blumer, 1969). As, Theorist Gregory P. Stone (1962) describes, "a primary tenet of symbolic interaction theory holds that the self is established, maintained, and altered in and through communication" (p. 86).

As individuals interact with, engage in, and create discourse, they become privy to social rules and norms regarding appropriate and expected behavior (Goffman, 1959). The discourse works to challenge and affirm how people interact with each other. It is from this continued interaction that social guidelines and meanings, stereotypes, and assumptions develop and are sustained by recognition of institutions of power. Through all of these cues, people begin to

identify and define themselves internally and in relation to others (Blumer, 1969). Kaiser (2012) notes "there are multiple subjectivities, shaped in part by the interplay among diverse subject positions" (p. 29). Subject positions or social roles include biological factors such as sex and social constructs such as race and gender. Positions and roles, even those that are marginalized, are simultaneously experienced by the person and deeply rooted in historic and cultural discourses.

In addition to an individual's multiple subject positions that are developed because of how they may identify themselves within the world, they also act to their situation, environment, and audience. People enact diverse versions of themselves depending on the interaction with which they are involved (Tawfiq & Ogle, 2013). Their "performance" or more specifically, their "front", which is expressively employed by the individual in a situation, influences others' perceptions and definitions of them and of the self (Goffman, 1959, p. 15, p. 22). Within the performance, the front functions to define the situation for observers through "appearance, behavior, and the setting in which the interactions occur, and serve to guide subsequent interactions" (Tawfiq & Ogle, 2013, p. 279). People's presentations of themselves are highly dependent on the situation and audience. Individuals will accentuate certain matters and conceal others in an effort to control others' perceptions. The individual or performer attempts to present the self in a manner that is believable in the specific situation, which in turn furthers the societal perception of what behavior is standard and permissible. Therefore, the performance is socialized to the desirable "understandings and expectations of the society in which it is presented" (Goffman, 1959, p. 35). If successful, the definition of the social role and the individual's role within the larger institutional structure is maintained.

The presentation of self as it is communicated through dress and appearance is a rich resource for the construction of identity (Hunt & Miller, 1997). It requires an ongoing process as the self continually interacts and reacts with the world. Through continued disagreement or agreement on meanings and definitions of appearance, individuals engage, influence, and perceive one another. The unclothed (and clothed) body is overwhelmed with culturally defined meanings specific to appearances, symbols, and objects. This social process continues as individuals concern themselves with style, fashion, and dress (Entwistle, 2000). Additionally, people receive input and influence from others, their actions toward them, and the media they are surrounded by (Blumer, 1969). Through interactions with others, individuals are able to process elements of communicated appearance, which affirm or negate choices related to what is worn (Kaiser, 2012). All of this information indoctrinated both purposefully and subconsciously, determines actions and reactions, creating appearance and values related to it.

The body is used to articulate the multiple intersecting identities that are held, within the time and space that they are possessed. As a result, outward appearance changes depending on the level of self-awareness, interactions with power hierarchies, and movement through stages of privilege or marginalization (Kaiser, 2012). For example, openly expressing one's religion through dress can be highly dependent on personal preference, interaction or lack thereof with a peer group that follows similar appearance notions, and the surrounding political environment. A woman of Islamic faith may choose varying presentations of modesty that relate to her own interpretation of the *Koran* and appearance cues, dominant views of what is appropriate for her, and what she does or does not see in her physical environment. The norms of modesty can be ever-changing and can shift based on numerous factors the woman experiences (Tawfiq & Ogle, 2013).

As a person presents themselves to others, one typically acts in an image that is ideal and illustrates dominant societal values and norms (Entwistle, 2000). Performing as the socially ideal front is often presented by members of non-privileged groups in an effort to achieve social mobility (Goffman, 1959). The ideal social front is shaped by the context of appropriate norms and upholds the values of the culture and time period. In order to transcend boundaries and achieve acceptance into more privileged groups, the actor is required to present correct performances and manage their actions to ensure upward mobility, avoiding moving downward or creating a negatively perceived performance. Within this presentation of the ideal self, people who belong to marginalized social groups may sacrifice certain actions that may be linked to those identities in order to maintain the proper front (Goffman, 1959). This front is often a well-prepared presentation of self, pulling in many elements and ideas, in order for the self to be deemed suitable in the situation or interaction (Sklar & DeLong, 2012). For example, historically for African Americans to be upwardly mobile, Black identity had to be suppressed. African Americans often found it necessary to adopt "'White,' upper class behaviors," demeanor, and dress, in order to be credible or appear socially proper (Jones & Shorter-Gooden, 2003, p. 83).

Above and beyond being racially appropriate, African American women are forced to constantly and simultaneously battle gender oppression as well (Collins, 2009). The social agenda of fashion has long existed for women, motivated by performing appropriate feminine clothing behavior. Entwistle (2000) notes, "dress in everyday life is the outcome of social pressures and the image the dressed body makes can be symbolic of the situation in which it is found" (p. 15). To provide a sense of normalcy and better position themselves, African American women often "change how they look or behave to accommodate the varying codes of race, class, and gender" (Jones & Shorter-Gooden, 2003, p. 86). In addition to presenting a socially ideal

front that fits the dominant group, African American women also have to find their place within

their minoritized group. Jones and Shorter-Gooden (2003) describes this as changing one's self

to fit with the internal codes of behavior or "home codes" within Black culture. These home

codes, act as "rules of comportment within Black culture that are defined not just by race but also

by gender and class" (Jones & Shorter-Gooden, 2003, p. 83). Although the home codes dictate

actions within the African American community or spaces, they are the direct result of

internalized perspectives from the dominant group and heavily guided by hegemonic values and

standards. All groups of people hold certain internal codes that bring them together, but because

African Americans have experienced a painful history, their home codes provide a heightened

sense of community.

The Civil Rights Movement and collective identity construction movements

The movements of the 1960s and 1970s showcase easily identifiable collective

organization based on those who were involved distinct endorsement of culturally-based

appearances (Kuumba & Ajanaku, 1998). Collective identities are often created during social

movements. A shared characteristic of the group becomes important for individuals, and from

that commonality, new understandings and ways of thinking develop for the individual and the

group (Hunt & Benford, 2004). The newly constructed collective identity works in resistance to

dominance. A culture of resistance is often used by those who are marginalized. This culture of

resistance operates under a set of combined values, beliefs, and practices that lessens the effects

of oppression and differentiates itself from dominant culture. Kuumba and Ajanaku (1998)

describe how culture has been used historically by colonized people as a tool for survival and

emancipation. The efforts of many African Americans to distance themselves from White

dominance in their beauty and appearance practices presented a new way of combating racial inequality (Mercer, 1991).

Taylor and Whittier (1992) identify three factors that create collective identity in social movements: 1) boundaries to differentiate the challenging group from the dominant; 2) developed consciousness that presents and defines the challenging group's social position; and 3) negotiation of meaning, symbols, and actions used by the challenging group to resist and reconstruct dominant systems. These factors are "analytically distinct," but occur simultaneously and in connection with each other as the individuals develop a political position and their collective identity within a group is formed (Hunt & Benford, 2004, p. 442). Boundaries mark differences between the collective and the dominant, which use the distinction as a repressive force to marginalize individuals and groups. Through activism and organization, the collective redefines the boundaries of marginality as a site for resistance (hooks, 1991; Taylor & Whittier, 1992). Consciousness within the group and its members is created as they visualize shared values, missions, and beliefs that resist dominant ways of thinking, knowing, and doing. Movement goals and activities are justified through this common set of interests. Throughout the construction of the collective identity, negotiations of everyday politically-based actions are carried out to undermine the dominant and advocate for justice (Taylor & Whittier, 1992). Action for negotiation can include overcoming self-hatred or demanding fair treatment (Kuumba & Ajanaku, 1998).

Hair as Symbolism

Choices of hair and appearance are defining aspects in all women's lives. As they explore and present their identities, hair is symbolic of many things, beyond what is simply fashionable (Weitz, 2001). The expressions of hair and reasons for wearing are specific to the individual, but

influenced by the society and time period in which they live (Rooks, 1996). For example, in

aspects of life such as work, hair can be used as a means of negotiating or conforming to the idea

of professionalism by both the wearer and observer.

Rooks (1996) contends that hair can be used to show allegiance or identification within

racial or ethnic groups or that it can be styled according to ease and convenience. Hair often

expresses individual style, political stance, or assimilation or complete rejection of dominant

beauty ideals (Byrd & Tharps, 2014). For African American women, Jacobs-Huey (2006) argues

that hair has,

> Profound implications for how African American women experience the world. Black
> women's hairstyle choices are seldom just about aesthetics or personal choice, but are
> instead ever complicated by such issues as mate desire, mainstream standards of beauty,
> workplace standards of presentation, and ethnic/cultural pride. (p. 3)

 As mentioned, hairstyle choices often reflect life choices such as career, family, political values,

and other social relationships for all women, but because hair is central to the Black culture and

identity, dimensions of hair can have a different impact on the lived experiences of Black women

(Rooks, 1996; Byrd & Tharps, 2014).

It is important to understand the context of various hairstyles and how they relate to the

wearer, as well as the time period they are worn in and informed by (Mercer, 1991). Through all

of this information, hair is manipulated and socialized to present statements about self and

society, echoing values of the culture and decisions made by the wearer to adhere or not. For

Black hair specifically, the highly symbolic part of appearance offers insights into individual and

collective culture, as a "means of representing themselves and negotiating their place in the

world" (Jacobs-Huey, 2006, p. 4). As Mercer (1991) further explains the negotiating:

> The patterns and practices of aesthetic stylization developed by Black cultures in First
> World societies may be seen as modalities of cultural practice inscribed in critical

engagement with the dominant White culture and are the same tie expressive of a "neo-African" approach to the pleasures of beauty at the level of everyday life. (p. 257)

African American hair includes and is shaped by its immediate cultural values and those of larger society.

The Black community has created distinct cultural practices concerned with their hair, because they have not been allowed access to dominant social institutions such as beauty. Their practices developed in response to oppression from and deprival of opportunity to be a part of attributes and values surrounding beauty and appearance (Mercer, 1991). In this sense, Black hairstyles are an aesthetic solution for problems of ideologies surrounding race and beauty. Black hair history is laden with political, psychological, and sociocultural interconnections in both negative and positive representations; however, the practices and associations related to it provide a specific experience for a group of people that is deeply rooted and symbolic of many elements.

African American Hair History

In the United States, existing cultural preference for that which was associated with Eurocentric features was already in existence as the large influx of Africans arrived as slaves during the seventeenth century. As race was tied to biological aspects, elements like hair and skin were politicized and given negative or positive connotations and meanings. Those meanings were internalized socially and psychologically (Mercer, 1991). The strongly upheld binary of Black or White came to demonstrate human worth, specifically in terms of ugly or less than and beautiful or worthy. During slavery, this racial hierarchy was played out using skin color and hair, with any relation to Africa or African elements or characteristics were seen as negative (Mercer, 1991). It was not until African Americans were freed from their roles in the oppressive

slavery system that they were able to place more emphasis on their appearance, but they were still unable to transcend hegemonic ideologies of beauty (Walker, 2007).

Hair History: 1900-1950

At the turn of the twentieth century, African Americans implemented numerous strategies to move beyond the prejudice, discrimination, and oppression they faced from dominant society (Gill, 2001). In an effort to prove themselves as acceptable in society, they adopted White beauty standards. The modification of hair, from its natural state to that of a straightened style, and the lightening of skin was seen as imitating those of Whites (Walker, 2007). Further, it signified the adherence to dominant beauty standards and aspiration of transcending beyond oppressed positions as members of the African American race in society at that time (Walker, 2007).

The majority of beauty companies in the early 1900s focused on altering Black features in hair and skin, ridding them of their natural properties (Rooks, 1996). It was believed that because of their physical attributes, the Black "community [w]as forever trapped by its circumstances and imprisoned by its features," and unable to be successful in a White world (Byrd & Tharps, 2014, p. 35). Products focused on the negative aspects of Black hair and the reasons for straightening, often playing on racist and sometimes political overtones. The promotion of products often hinted toward a lack of racial pride as a reason for aspiration to remove African features. In addition to the harmful messages, marketing also left out the fact that certain straightening and lightening products could cause harmful effects for the user, such as skin burning, loss of hair and other ailments, because of the ingredients and processes used (Byrd & Tharps, 2014).

Although there was a significant trend toward White ideals during the period, certain African American entrepreneurs were able to challenge the negative portrayal of African

American women through the beauty industry. Black women were instrumental in creating a public space for a more positive image of their beauty, with "strong relationships between economic opportunity, reality, political values, beauty, and hair," which helped to establish hair historically for the community (Rooks, 1996, p. 16). Many Black-owned hair care companies promoted the beauty of Black women and avoided focusing on assimilation to White beauty ideals. The companies continued to promote products that straightened hair and lightened skin, but instead of marketing the assimilative rhetoric that had been used in reference to African Americans since slavery, these women drove to create a new vision for their community that emphasized healthy choices, economic well-being, and a variety of opportunities in becoming a well-rounded, beautiful person (Rooks, 1996). The entrepreneurs focused on what was happening in the Black community, not contrasting it to White. From this, grew the redefinition of Black women's portrayals in advertisements, one of the only media representations where they could produce a positive image of Black women instead of the many negative caricatures that overwhelmed society during this time (Rooks, 1996).

Madame C. J. Walker, Annie Trumbo Malone of Poro Company, and Sara Spencer Washington of the Apex Beauty Company were three of the most influential women involved in Black hair care and beauty industries (Blackwelder, 2003). These women, and others, not only invented beauty formulas for hair and skin; they provided service to their race through education, employment opportunities, and the promotion of the new idea of Black womanhood (Gill, 2001). Gill (2001) describes business pursuits of African American women in the beauty industry as forms of activism. Through their companies, they assisted many African Americans in economic independence and learning trades, as well as developing a new positive perspective to African American beauty culture.

The proliferation of Black-owned companies generated a large need to formalize operations of product distribution (Blackwelder, 2003). Educational focus on products and methods was essential in order to maintain product integrity and ensure appropriate styling, which helped preserve a favorable business reputation. Increased numbers of sales agents and beauty operators educated in specific products and methods added to the overall success of the companies they worked for (Rooks, 1996). Along with a strengthened production and education in the beauty industry, required legal certification and the availability of electricity for many of the hair styling methods was necessary. Because of these reasons, an increase in the number of African American-run beauty shops occurred (Blackwelder, 2003).

Initially, beauty shop operators had to entice women into paying for services. While fashionable hairstyles were hard to achieve without training, beauticians faced difficulty gaining customers (Blackwelder, 2003). Many African American women held low-paying jobs and had little disposable income. In order to draw customers, beauty operators wore uniforms to offer a sense of authority for women who were accustomed to styling their own hair among intimate friends and family in personal spaces. Over time, a visit to the beauty shop became a meeting place for African American women to exchange stories, histories, and build community among people with similar identities (Ebong, 2001). Hair straightening by beauticians was continued by many until the 1960s. The role of both beauty and barber shops would continue in significance in the African American community into the twenty-first century (Byrd & Tharps, 2014).

Beginning of the Civil Rights Movement

The story of African American hair from the early twentieth century until the 1960s and 1970s follows the social climate of the racial group in the United States. African Americans attempted to gain rights equal to Whites throughout much of the earlier part of the century, but

found ease in instead remaining within their segregated communities. Often the spaces inhabited by African Americans were significantly less than those of Whites which, in addition to other inequities, led them to seek and fight for their rights as equal American citizens (Hall, 2005).

Many earmark the formal beginning of the African American Civil Rights Movement in 1954, with the passing of *Brown v. Board of Education*, where it was ruled that separate, but equal educational facilities were unconstitutional (Wilson, 2013). The ruling allowed for aspirations of integration throughout American society, but had no serious timeframe for compliance, which helped those who opposed the law to avoid it (Giddings, 2006). In the following year, the Montgomery Bus Boycott, initiated by the publicity of Rosa Parks refusing to give up her seat, propelled non-violent activism into the following decade. The large boycott was the starting point for a variety of activist groups. Many of the initial reforms for school integration, equal access, and voting rights are titled as the classical period of the Civil Rights Movement, 1954-1966. Organizations formed at the time consisted of a core of church and union members, among others, in an effort to expose and condemn the inequitable conditions of African Americans (Wilson, 2013).

From post slavery to desegregation, hair was used as a means of acceptance to mainstream beauty ideals. It symbolized what was appropriate, achievable, and acceptable for African Americans. Oftentimes, hairstyles and class were intricately connected, as African Americans who were educated and had moved up in social standing adhered more closely to processed hairstyles to mimic their White counterparts (Hohle, 2013). Until this time period, few people rejected dominant White beauty standards. An integrationist political vision by African Americans was visible through beauty ideals, where aspirations sought to have long shiny, straightened hair and light brown skin. According to Byrd and Tharps (2014),

> Although integrationists were very interested in looking visually acceptable to Whites, they were always showing Black people that it was okay to rise up, take a stand, and fight. The seeds of resistance that were planted in the young men and women who listened to the teachings of nationalists such as Malcolm X or participated in the Freedom Rides and sit-ins of the Civil Rights Movement were to take root, eventually producing the leaders of the Black Power movement, leaders who demanded that Blacks redefine themselves visually in order to find true and total emancipation. (p. 48)

Because the overall image of many activists and prominent leaders continued hegemonic beauty standards, which were mirrored in advertisements and media, little challenge was initiated relating to dominant social norms (Walker, 2007). Elements of African culture would not be embraced until the focus of the movement changed in the mid-1960s.

New social movement theory examines the social, psychological, and cultural foundations of movements (Whittier, 1997). Moving beyond large scale, conventional actions of the Civil Rights Movement, and the everyday actions of individuals involved helped progress engagement and internalize new meanings and understandings of the Black community. As the Civil Rights Movement began to increase in widespread action, the growth in "members' common interests, experiences, and solidarity" formed a collective identity, visible through the Black hairstyles that followed the adopted African aesthetic (Rooks, 1996; Taylor & Whittier, 1992, p. 105).

The Black beauty industry evolved to include African-centered hair products and styles that produced natural looks. Natural styles did not initially require as much maintenance or professional servicing as straightened styles. As a result of the change in hairstyles, beauty shops which had grown to be central locations for social gathering and an opportunity for employment in the Black community, decreased in number (Rooks, 1996). Prior to the Black Power Movement, some African American women may have visited the beauty shop one time per week as a beauty ritual for attending church on Sunday (Byrd & Tharps, 2014; Ebong, 2001). The idea

that beauty service was not required for natural styles also contributed to African American hair being styled outside of the formalized shop setting. As natural looks became more and more mainstream, beauty operators worked to prove they were needed to maintain even natural hair (Rooks, 1996).

Landmark legislation of the *Civil Rights Act* (1964) recognized that discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin was unlawful (Springer, 2005). The Act initiated the right to vote freely or safely as a person of color but that right was cemented with the passage of the *Voting Rights Act* (1965) that ensured all citizens the right to vote (Wilson, 2013). This was significant for African Americans who had often faced violence and even death when trying to vote or exercise their citizenship (Freeland, 2009). Though much legislation was passed, the African American community became restless waiting for the slow progress of change. Further, efforts to suppress African American activism, including attacks like the Birmingham church bombing where four girls were killed, began to lessen the effectiveness of non-violent strategies for the attainment of civil rights (Giddings, 2006).

Conflict over non-violent approaches to extreme violence at the hand of pro-White antagonists changed the rhetoric of the movement from freedom to "Black Power". The achieved reforms from 1954 to 1965 sparked the activism of what would become the Black Power Movement, 1966-1974 (Wilson, 2013). As the 1960s advanced, imagery of the Civil Rights Movement began to shift from efforts pursued by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. to those put forth by Black Nationalists, including the Black Panther Party. The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), originated in 1957, began to show more radical political thought. Helped by its leader Stokely Carmichael, who became a pro-Black activist in the Black Power Movement,

SNCC became an important organization fighting for civil rights (Giddings, 2006; Walker, 2007).

Militant Black civil rights groups emphasized Black pride, self-help and self-defense from the oppressive powers that be, including the move toward economic and political independence (Mercer, 1991; Walker, 2007). Malcom X, a prominent leader in the Civil Rights Movement, proclaimed that "Blacks needed to reclaim control of their bodies in order to shape an 'authentic' Black identity" as a means to establishing a separate Black community, instead of racial integration (Hohle, 2013, p. 2). Malcom X believed that by adapting to White beauty standards of hair and skin color, Blacks were mutilating their bodies out of shame and that they should instead embrace what was natural to them. X's stance on beauty practices was evident in his own decision to stop straightening his hair. His chemically straightened Conk, a style popular among African American men of the time, was what he called his first step toward self-degradation (Hohle, 2013). The idea that conforming to beauty standards fed into a lack of racial pride was taken up by both men and women. Men would also challenge dominant standards by avoiding grooming their facial hair to appear more radical and militant (Byrd & Tharps, 2014).

Black pride and collective identity

As African Americans fought for equal and civil rights, there was enhanced recognition of traditional African culture as a source of pride and strength. Cultural expression of hair was incorporated into efforts for racial equality and self-determination. Each individual's change to natural hair helped to inform the collective identity, assisting the challenge of the larger movement (Mercer, 1991). Symbolically, for the larger African American community, hair choices represented a resistance to hegemony and commitment to racial equality. Collective identity serves to connect the individual with the larger social movement. Through the process of

collective identity self-transformation, political change is created and supplements the movement (Hunt & Benford, 2004). The construction of a political version of self aids in illustrating an alignment with a collective vision. Thus, the ideology behind the mobilization and activism within the movement is promoted. Together, like-minded individuals work in opposition to the dominant viewpoint and as they internalize collective values, the movement is pushed forward (Kuumba & Ajanaku, 1998).

In the Black Pride and Power Movements, African Americans sought to reject White dominance and reclaim African pride. For that time period, the natural provided an example of "culturally contextualized everyday resistance" (Kuumba & Ajanaku, 1998, p. 227). The afro or natural style came to symbolize collective identities rooted in Black pride and other counterhegemonic efforts. These natural looks imbued a cultural, symbolic, and collective identity, demonstrating the progress of the social movement (Kuumba & Ajanaku, 1998).

Natural hairstyles came to symbolize an individual's political stance, specifically Black Pride or Power. Because the hairstyles were so different from those of the 1950s and prior, natural styles were often seen as radical or controversial, until they became a more popular trend. Johnson (2012) described the relationship between appearance and politics at this highly charged time: "beauty and fashion were read as predictors of one's propensity to engage in radical and/or criminal behavior" (p. 21). For African Americans, how they wore their hair represented a visual continuum from straight to natural styles, which some used to signify ideals related to racial equality. For many, the utilization of Black aesthetics was a link to Africa or their heritage. Eventually, the adoption of Black aesthetics in appearance was as much a part of the movement as protesting and boycotting. It was the embrace of everything Black and the reclaiming of the African American community's African heritage (Byrd & Tharps, 2014).

The search for natural hair

The afro, or natural as it was originally called, emerged "as one of the most familiar symbols of racial pride for male and female activists and was common among civil rights workers, college students, actors, musicians, and even some professionals" (Walker, 2007, p. 183). The style originated with young, cosmopolitan artists and intellectuals who wore their hair in natural and afro styles during the late 1950s, as an eccentric stance. Many Black men had worn an unprocessed, shorter version of the natural throughout the early twentieth century. Prior to 1965, a woman who wore natural, unprocessed hair would have been considered awkward. The look would not have fit in with ideals of the traditional Black woman's image and was instead considered artsy if worn by an artist or dancer, or shameful when worn by an ordinary member of the community (Walker, 2007). Before the larger acceptance of natural styles, African Americans who wore their hair in this manner were typically urban, artists or musicians, or young in age. They were stereotyped as lazy, uneducated, and for women, their ability to be feminine and beautiful was questioned (Walker, 2007). It was not until the mid- to late-1960s that the popularization of natural hair for African Americans reached its peak in correspondence to the pro-Black "Black is Beautiful" movement.

In 1963, *Ebony* magazine, a popular Black media outlet focusing on lifestyle elements, still used cover models with straightened hair. Soon, college students began to wear afros. Many of these same college students also joined in as political activists, helping the afro become a symbol of the fight for equality (Byrd & Tharps, 2014). During this specific time period, there was an ideal shape for afros that resembled a halo effect, which was rounded and stood out from the head (Ebong, 2001; Walker, 2007). Women had more flexibility than men in styling their natural looks in an array of styles from braids to afros and other manipulations. The diversity in

natural styles provided them a sense of femininity and continued notions of gender and Black beauty culture. For Black women, the intersectional balance of promoting a Black aesthetic and feminine look required additional implementation of cosmetics and jewelry to present as more womanly. In contrast, natural styles worn by men were seen as characteristics of masculinity and did not have to follow fashionable guidelines (Byrd & Tharps, 2014; Walker, 2007).

As the politics and structures shifted, individuals involved in the movement created, developed and changed the movement, reflecting the thoughts and activism of the newly embraced Black Pride activism (Kuumba & Ajanaku, 1998). Initially, the adoption of the afro and other non-straightened styles caused conflict among generations within the Black community, with mainstream disapproval held by various ages and regions throughout the United States. The natural hairstyles were believed to be a fad. Older generations of African Americans had some difficulty leaving their beauty habits and the attached symbolism. Products and systems that straightened hair still existed and were profitable during this time, including the straightening chemical process of the "perm," promoted by Johnson products, a prominent beauty company (Battle-Walters, 2004). However, peer-pressure emphasized that people were not pro-Black unless they had rejected the idea of integrating into White mainstream (Byrd & Tharps, 2014). Because the value of natural hair was so closely related to cultural and political activism, straightened hair came to somewhat symbolize the rejection of African pride (Rooks, 1996).

The afro brought out fear, as it was a direct political challenge that was before non-existent. However, the aesthetic was still a style that was deeply influenced by popular culture. As the afro became more widely worn, people began to use products to achieve an afro, make their hair the correct texture, and return to what was considered natural. For once in the history

of Black hair, having "good" or straightened hair was a bad thing (Walker, 2007). Many wearers

of afros did not completely stop wearing their hair straight, nor were they willing to totally give

up their beauty care regimens (Battle-Walters, 2004). They would continue to visit the beauty

shop as they were expected to maintain a beautiful and fashionable appearance. As women, they

were still subject to the male gaze, regardless if they wore straightened or naturally styled hair

(Walker, 2007).

By 1969, an increase occurred in the number of sympathizers of the Black Pride

Movement. The Black Pride stance held the idea that it was important to embrace everything

about being Black and the culture instead of trying to adopt mainstream values, ideas, and

traditions (Standley, 1990). The dialogue of Black Pride was the less extreme cousin to that of

the more radical Black Power, which denounced all forms of consumerism and capitalism and

became synonymous with the Black Panther Party, a Black Nationalist organization. The

aesthetics of the Party asserted that straightening hair and using skin cream to lighten and smooth

out skin color rejected Black culture out of shame (Hohle, 2013). Their ideas echoed earlier

sentiments of Malcom X. The visual aspects of the Panther Party, afros, black berets, and other

appearance cues, were assigned to the movement through created symbolic meanings. The looks

of the Panther Party extended to the Black Power ideology, creating a simultaneous relationship.

In direct rejection to conformity, Black hair became more closely associated with the political

stance of racial solidarity and pride. An individual's hairstyle was not always a perfect

representation of the wearer's political stance, as the authenticity laid in being Black enough or

the definition of what Blackness looked like based primarily on hairstyles (Byrd & Tharps,

2014).

A larger majority of African Americans embraced the Black Pride Movement than the radical Black Power position. Pride in African heritage extended from language, history, and culture to dress and even food, which seemed less threatening than the violent Power Movement portrayed in mass media (Walker, 2007). This was evident in the promotion and acceptance of natural hairstyles as a popular modern style versus a political expression. By 1969, the majority of people in urban areas approved of natural styles, but many Black women tried to detach the style from the militant manner the media portrayed (Byrd & Tharps, 2014; Walker, 2007). This militant symbolism was famously linked to hair in the 1970 FBI wanted image of Angela Davis that flooded the media (Walker, 2007). At that time, Davis was wanted as a fugitive for murder, as well as her radical Communist beliefs. Through many media outlets, connections between Davis' appearance (her afro), political stance, and criminal behavior were synonymous (Johnson, 2012).

Walker (2007) describes the afro transition from a "political statement to a fashion commodity" over the years of 1965 to 1975, where it came to be as much fashionable as political (Walker, 2007, p. 178). The commercial media and hair product companies pounced on the opportunity to appeal to the Black pride adopters' consumer tastes. Many well-known brands used advertisements that represented social progress in the Black community, as a ploy to gain their consumer's loyalty. They incorporated pro-Black language and visual images into marketing. Even White corporations used targeted advertising for the "soul market," which marketed and promoted the "Black is Beautiful" motto. The emphasis on Black as beautiful often overpowered and exceeded the politics from which the radical or changed appearance had originated (Walker, 2007). From the industry's perspective, the victory of the movement was to

win over Black women as consumers and not lose them to the actual political ideology, which advocated that they did not need these products to achieve beauty.

"Black is Beautiful" was used to sell many other products beyond those for hair. A large emphasis was also put on the cosmetics industry, which had widely ignored products for African American women throughout the previous decades. The industry took the position of enhancing the natural instead of changing the overall look of a person through makeup. Even skin-lightening products marketed their ability to even-out skin tone instead of continuing age-old promises to make the user lighter in color. Products focused on colors and compliments to Black skin tones, which created a significant contrast from White cosmetics (Walker, 2007).

Natural hair challenged the establishment and stereotypical images of African American women, but at the same time created new notions of political ideologies linked to hair. In the process of movement evolution and growth, surrounding contexts and the effort itself impacted individuals, leading to the use of hair as a form of cultural resistance to hegemonic beauty ideals (Kuumba & Ajanaku, 1998). For many, wearing an afro was "the abandonment of commodified beauty as it expressed a rejection of a White aesthetic" (Walker, 2007, p. 186). For women, there were expectations that they would remain beautiful and feminine, while on the other hand, they were not considered to be true nationalists if they were concerned about their beauty (Walker, 2007). This placed them in a unique position when it came to choosing a hairstyle.

Post-Civil Rights Movement

Just a few short years after the critical period of Black pride promotion, the afro had become less symbolically connected to the revolution and its advocators. The afro and other versions of natural styles became further commercialized as they transcended to White Americans and Hollywood. Blaxploitation films, a genre of all Black films that were seen as

damaging to the African American community, featured characters that wore the afro, but were completely detached from its original meanings. Byrd and Tharps (2014) explain this by noting the difference in achieving the Afro; initially only a hair pick was used to fashion an afro, as a means of a natural, unaltered style. It was then marketed as a blow-out style done at a salon, with numerous products used to achieve it.

The political generations of the Civil Rights Movement consisted of groups of individuals that entered the movement during a similar wave of protest (Whittier, 1997). As these politics changed, the commitment of those involved and affected did as well. Many of those who grew up during the Civil Rights Movement had aged by the mid-1970s and were in a different place in their lives. They needed to present themselves as well-groomed in professional situations, specifically to obtain employment (Byrd & Tharps, 2014). Those who came of age after the Civil Rights Movement became less dynamic and active, adopting the style based on the new, politically defunct symbolization. Marketers continued to target African Americans as a consuming public, which further trivialized the fashionable aspects of the once politically-based styles (Walker, 2007). Eventually, movement direction and the commercialization of the hairstyle removed most political connections (Mercer, 1991). Because the afro and revolutionary ideology were so intricately intertwined, both the unpopularity of the style and the promotion of revolution and change waned. By the late 1970s to early 1980s, the Afro had fallen out of mainstream popularity, but has reappeared nostalgically in different forms in the decades since.

As the 1980s began, a strong emphasis on appropriate beauty standards returned that mirrored White characteristics, continuing the marginalization of Black people. The reversal of many of the achievements of the Civil Rights Movement included legislation against affirmative action. A strong influence of professional workwear looks on working professionals affirmed

hegemonic styles. Black hair became straight and lightened skin was again seen as more ideal (Byrd & Tharps, 2014). Some variety did exist in styles including the Jheri Curl and Wave Nouveau, which were processed curl styles that still imitated and achieved texture (Byrd & Tharps, 2014).

Byrd and Tharps (2014) argue that the appearance of Bo Derek, a Caucasian actress, in the movie *10* wearing her hair in braids, signaled the end of Black-only hairstyles. From the commodification of the afro and other styles of the 1980s, there was a change in the meaning of Black hair. What had been seen as non-traditional or less-than had become popular and on-trend because it was worn by White people; however, this fashionability was only afforded to Whites who wore the styles, not Blacks (Byrd & Tharps, 2014). For example, there were many lawsuits filed and often lost by Black women who had been fired or reprimanded for wearing braided styles while at work (Rooks, 1996). Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, hairstyles for Black women included braided and popular mainstream styles. Projected ideas about the differences in styles often involved class, with natural looks representing lower class or the young, and permed, straightened styles indicating those of a higher class, such as professionals (Byrd & Tharps, 2014).

Popular culture and musical artists were very influential in inspiring hairstyle choices. The 1984 incident with singer Michael Jackson, where his chemically-processed curly hairstyle caught fire, brought about many conversations related to hair and the use of chemicals (Byrd & Tharps, 2014). The revival of beauty ideals that promoted light-skin and long straight hair were seen in a new form of media: music videos. In addition, Vanessa Williams, a Black model and actress, who fit the physical characteristics of White beauty standards, was named Miss America in 1984. During this time an increase in the popularity of African American hair shows and

competitions occurred. Beauticians and hair care companies participated in the shows that featured and held contests for the most innovative styles, adding an artistic element to Black hair styling (Byrd & Tharps, 2014).

Toward the late 1980s, White-owned and run corporations began to buy Black companies in the hair industry (Johnson, 2013). In 1986, a boycott of Revlon Company occurred, based on a comment from the company's president, implying that Black businesses would become extinct because they sold bad products and did not care about their customers. Many were outraged, leading to Revlon's advertisements being taken out of popular Black magazines (Johnson, 2013). By 1988, over fifty percent of the Black haircare industry was owned by White companies, who maintained the original product and company names as a method of keeping customers (Byrd & Tharps, 2014; Walker, 2007).

At the beginning of the 1990s, the strong emphasis on straightened hair was maintained. Johnson (2013) found that in 1990, an overwhelming number of media advertisements targeted toward African American women and their hair care presented straight styles. However, as the decade progressed there was a resurgence of an African aesthetic, which was influenced by Black music culture. Banks (2000) argues that the emphasis on Afrocentrism was due to an increased consciousness on behalf of the African American community, which led to a social climate that nurtured Black expression both in popular culture and academia. Hair was again politicized, but not as strongly as it had been when it was linked to the Civil Rights Movement. Through the embrace of natural looks and a variety of styles, Black women were again embracing more than mainstream beauty standards (Banks, 2000).

The large range in hairstyles for African American women extends from those inspired by an African aesthetic to straightened hair and use of weaves or extensions. As new natural

hairstyles and products were marketed to African Americans, an increase in weave sales indicated that other new variety of styles were also occurring (Byrd & Tharps, 2014). Hair weaves were improved to look more authentic than they had before, and were used to create braids and emulations of other natural styles. Weaves were also used to create straightened hair. By the late 1990s, the hair care industry was largely owned by Asian companies, specifically in the Korean market, including many beauty supply stores and distributers of synthetic and human hair weaves (Byrd & Tharps, 2014).

As hip hop became a more popular music genre in the early 1990s, artists such as Queen Latifah, KRS-ONE, Public Enemy, and many others dressed in Afrocentric clothes and hair. Their promotions of certain styles of dress and hair including dreadlocks, braids, and twists were seen as a political stance, reflecting the values of Hip Hop musicians. The natural hairstyles stirred some resistance within the Black community. Specifically, the dreadlock, or loc, styles pointed to African history and Rastafarianism, and were worn as form of cultural resistance by many, but also as a commodification style, unattached from original meanings. Either way, it was not perceived as a positive or acceptable form of hair styling by dominant society (Kuumba & Ajanaku, 1998). The question arose as to whether the styles were embracing or harming historical notions of African American use of symbols and the connections to struggles for equality in American society (Rooks, 1996).

Into the twenty-first century, hair has continued to be a site of symbolic meaning for African American women. Although African Americans only made up a little over 12% of the U.S. population, they accounted for over 30% of all hair care products sold at the beginning of the decade (Johnson, 2013). Black women spend more time, effort, and income on their hair than women of other races, at a three-to-one ratio of beauty product per dollar (Johnson, 2013). Just

as in 1992, in 2009, 33% of all hair care products sold in the United States was to African Americans. In 2012, the Black hair market was calculated to include 1.7 billion dollars per year (Johnson, 2013). Many styles and products are made for a range of looks for African American women, from braids to natural curled styles and straightened looks, the last often promoted by the prosperous hair weave industry. Even products targeted toward multi-racial women became established brands (Byrd & Tharps, 2014).

The lifestyle megatrend of the Green Movement, the promotion and adoption of a sustainable society, sparked many consumers to question the ingredients of products and healthfulness of their use. For Black women, this included a decrease in the use of chemical straighteners and a quest for more natural hair products and practices (Byrd & Tharps, 2014). To coincide with this lifestyle change, the popularity of Black female music artists that wore their hair in natural styles and speakers and scholars on Black women's hair helped to push media portrayals of Black women, both in hairstyles and skin color. Natural hair became a less concentrated effort on being radical and was more readily deemed beautiful (Byrd & Tharps, 2014).

As the internet and use of social media increased, the ability to search for hairstyles and products for Black hair became more accessible (Johnson, 2013). Additionally, the internet provided a public forum to discuss Black hair, which has given a sense of power and agency to many Black women. The internet exploded with thousands of websites, blogs, personal hair stories, techniques, product reviews, all creating a significant voice for Black women and allowing for a sense of community. This emphasis on natural hair led to the creation of a scale or categorization of curl patterns and textures of African American hair (see Naturallycurly.com). In the classification of curly hair, hair bloggers argue that there is still privilege or preference

given to hair that is more White in characteristics (Byrd & Tharps, 2014). For example, loose or wavy curls being seen as better than those that are tightly curled.

Although the natural movement overwhelmingly seems like a positive effort on the part of African American hair, there are still many points that carry on hegemony in beauty standards. For Black women who choose to wear their hair in natural styles, questions remain about the acceptability, femininity, and beauty of their hair. In addition, critiques into what is seen as "normal" and "appropriate" in terms of hair styling, whether natural or processed, still persist. Byrd and Tharps (2014) explain that this "new" natural movement of the 2000s to 2010s is about self- acceptance and expression, not a political statement; however, the continued controversy surrounding African American women's hair may point to a politically charged topic. Multiple instances and popular news stories continue to exhibit racial discrimination regarding Black women's hair. Discussions about the hair of celebrities and figures throughout U. S. society, from the First Lady Michelle Obama and her daughters to entertainment artist Beyoncé and Jay Z's young daughter and to gymnast Gabrielle Douglas, have been hot button issues. Disputes concerning the stigma that Black hair is appropriately fixed, not professional or too radical keep the politicization and symbolic meanings of hair ever present (Byrd & Tharps, 2014).

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH DESIGN

Methodology

This dissertation examined African American women's hairstyle choices during the Civil Rights Movement and the effect of the movement on their hair in following decades in order to explore how society at that time and since has impacted their identity and created meaning for their lives. Because of the focus of this study, the participants, and their subject positions within U.S. society, the approach to this research was rooted in critical exploration of the phenomena. Critical research fosters insights into the underlying mechanisms that produce inequality in society (Esterberg, 2002). Further, critical research examines how issues related to power and justice effect, interact with, and construct social institutions and cultural dynamics to create the lived world (Kincheloe & McLaren).

By exposing the inequalities, those who are marginalized can become empowered through the examination of their feelings and experiences, as well as those of larger society and its stakeholders (Brooks, 2007). The investigation into similarities, differences and conflicts between lived realities within society help to change the overall narrative and power structure. Mercer (1991) suggests that:

> When hairstyling is critically evaluated as an aesthetic practice inscribed in everyday life, all black hairstyles are political in that they articulate responses to the panoply of historical forces which have invested this element of the ethnic signifier with both personal and political meaning and significance. (p. 251)

As a form of critical approach to investigation, feminist research, "seeks insight into the social world in order to help people change oppressive conditions" (Esterberg, 2002, p. 17). Feminist research posits the idea that social science, in general, does not highlight women's contributions or perspectives on life, and has been historically scarcely existent. Further, feminist

inquiry is the examination of what have become normalized ideas about women in various contexts (Esterberg, 2002; Olesen, 2003). Although there is no one method of conducting feminist research, at its foundation as a methodology, it directs the approach to research and techniques used in the process; because scientific inquiry has been historically male-dominant, it requires a different approach to facilitate a deeper understanding of women's experiences in the world. Probing how women are impacted and shaped by social practices and institutions but are still grounded in the "real and subjective," adds to knowledge (Esterberg, 2002, p. 19). Lastly, a feminist approach to research expects social change, which can be satisfied as simply offering the perspective of women to be included and valued, among other efforts to achieve equality and represent human diversity (Reinharz, 1992). In any case, feminist work illuminates the problematic positioning of women and the power structures that frame and create those positions through social practices (Olesen, 2003).

Feminist thought advocates the promotion of uniqueness within participant's experiences because every person comes from a different background and varied perspective (Brooks, 2007; Reinharz, 1992). In addition to feminism, Black feminist thought takes into account Black women and their intersections of race, class, gender, and other identities. Collins (2009) states, "Within this overarching contradiction, U.S. Black women encounter a distinctive set of social practices that accompany our particular history within a unique matrix of domination characterized by intersecting oppressions" (p. 26). The intersectional oppressions faced by African American women create a set of common experiences of the group. Because of their social position, intersectionality posits that their knowledge is,

> Socially located and that some locations, especially those at the bottom of social and economic hierarchies, are better than others as starting points for seeking knowledge not only about those particular women but others as well. (Olesen, 2003, p. 343)

Although not all Black women face every occurrence the same, or interpret and respond in the same manner, the overall shared experience among the group presents a collective body of wisdom and consciousness that shapes their lives (Collins, 2009).

Black feminism interacts as a form of activism to oppression faced by Black women. It stems from the Black woman's lived experience in the hopes of lessening oppression and promoting social justice. For African American women, consciousness is often an "everyday taken-for-granted knowledge;" therefore, instead of increasing awareness, Black feminist thought "affirms, rearticulates, and provides a vehicle for expressing in public a consciousness that quite often already exists" (Collins, 2009, p. 36). In practice, Black feminism presents Black women's experiences as a form of challenge to dominance, from scholarly examination to social movements.

Utilizing an in-depth interview process, this research was vested in "an interest in understanding the lived experience of other people and the meaning they make of that experience" (Seidman, 2013, p. 9), specifically African American women's experiences with their hair. Social abstractions, like Black culture or hair, are best understood and learned through the lived experiences of people who belong and identify with them. This study's research approach held that lived experiences of the participants are essential to the African American woman's story; a part to the whole. The research process helped to reconstruct parts of their lives, making *what was*, *what is*. Through this process a new understanding of the many intersecting contexts is made available. By examining women's lived experiences, emphasis is placed on the meaning of their experience and its place in a larger context. The context of this experience is significant in deriving accurate meaning in the participant's life and knowledge in general is created from this new, or unheard, perspective (Seidman, 2013).

Feminist epistemology places women's experiences at the beginning of scientific inquiry of societal knowledge to understand their first-hand account. It promotes understanding the world through the experiences of oppressed women and argues that by providing women opportunities to articulate their experiences of living in oppression, an ability to expose information that can inspire change from the historic to the present occurs (Brooks, 2007). Few women of the Civil Rights Movement are well-known beyond those highlighted in relation to major events and accomplishments of the movement. Activists Rosa Parks, Angela Davis, and Coretta Scott King are often most associated with the period. However, women organized, initiated, and composed many of the sit-ins, committees and boycotts, but were often left in the background or unacknowledged for their efforts because of overarching patriarchy in the movement (Giddings, 2006; Standley, 1990). As time has progressed, discussion about women who played integral roles has increased but is still largely missing from the majority of history about the movement (Associated Press, 2005). Also, the coverage of African American women during this time lacks the perspective of the women's daily experiences, with their stories virtually nonexistent.

Following a feminist methodology helped to emphasize the importance of starting with women's lives "as they themselves experience[d] them, in order to achieve an accurate and authentic understanding of what life [was] like for women" (Brooks, 2007, p. 56). Gathering the women's lived experiences as they were told offered a more accurate depiction of their reality during that time, while acknowledging how the women's lived experiences were shaped by their oppressed position in society. By interviewing Black women, this research allowed the opportunity to discuss how dress, specifically hair, was used to negotiate meanings of race, gender, class and other intersectional identities. Additionally, the impact of their stories revealed

more of an authentic experience, perhaps related to the geographical location in which they lived or occupations held. The more subject positions the person holds that are non-dominant (i.e., their race, class, or ability), the more prevalent an opportunity for gaining a portion of untold perspectives on history (Brooks, 2007). In agreement with this idea and Black feminist thought, Black women's viewpoint is often omitted and suppressed, so providing an outlet for the participants helped to challenge hegemonic narrative and history.

Methods and Procedures

This study utilized a qualitative method in order to gain an understanding of the lived experience of African American women who were ages 18-25 during the Civil Rights Movement years 1960-74, and the meaning they have made about their experiences (Seidman, 2013). When conducting qualitative research, ethical issues need to be considered before interacting with participants. The study was approved by the Iowa State University Institutional Review Board. Esterberg (2002) calls for two important protocols to be implemented to ensure ethicality: informed consent documentation and confidentiality measure. Participants were provided with an IRB-approved informed consent document detailing the study purpose, procedures, and any benefits or risks of agreeing to participate before the interview process began. The informed consent also notified participants that their involvement was voluntary and they were able to leave the study at any time. The consent document was discussed, given opportunity for questions and clarity, and signed by the participants at the beginning of interview one. Measures were also taken to ensure that the participants' privacy and confidentiality were protected. Participants were provided with pseudonyms to maintain their anonymity, and data was scrubbed of any personal identifiers that were mentioned. All data and documents were kept in secure files with access limited to the researcher and her advisor.

In-depth interviews were conducted in semi-structured format with open-ended questions to gain a holistic perspective of the interviewee's experiences. Both Creswell (2013) and Seidman (2013) suggest that interviews follow one main question. For example, interview one began with: tell me about your hair from your childhood. Other questions helped to guide the participants through their lives and to gather further data. Questions followed participant discussion and response, with prepared topics and questions to explore various aspects of Black hair, such as hairstyles, influences and icons, and media (Appendix A). All interview questions and the timeline document were emailed to the participants prior to the first interview, in order to prepare them for the questions (Creswell, 2013; Seidman 2013).

The research was conducted using the Seidman (2013) interview protocol for qualitative interviews. Through this method the interviewees examined the details of their experiences, reflected on them, and then were given the opportunity to make sense or order of experiences, in the larger understanding of their lives. The interview protocol is established around the approach of beginning, middle, and end, offering a thorough capture of the lived experience of the participant (Seidman, 2013).

The interviews were conducted in three parts to examine the created meaning for participant's hair and attached social identities as Black women by exploring their experience, placing it in context, and reflecting on the meaning (Seidman, 2013). The first interview was focused on the interviewees' hair history. They discussed their hair from an early age to current times and many aspects of their lives from family and education, to jobs and other related information. This interview gathered how they came to wear their hair the way they do now. Interview two focused on the details of the Civil Rights Movement, specifically concentrating on concrete details of their years as emerging adults. During this interview, the timeline document,

which highlighted dates of historical and popular culture events that were relevant to African

American and women, from the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision to the 2013

approval of women serving in combat, was discussed at length (Appendix B). This interview

sought fine points upon which participants could share opinions and further discussion of stories

to elicit more information (Seidman, 2013). The third interview was a summative questioning

period, where interviewees were asked to reflect on the meaning of hair in their lives, and

feelings and experiences they had with it leading to the current time. Participants were also

questioned how they felt the Civil Rights Movement had impacted their lives, hair, and dress

choices. The aim of using this interview method was to reconstruct the lived experience within

the topic area (Seidman, 2013).

The three-part interviews lasted an average of 90 minutes with over 30 hours of audio

recorded data. Per Seidman's (2013) logic of allowing the participant's time to reflect on the

interview and prepare for more details and memory of their experiences, interviews were spaced

in time with about one week in between, on average. Interviews were held in private or semi-

private locations, such as private offices on campus, participant homes, and local coffee shops

within semi-secluded areas.

The first interviewee, who was also the gatekeeper of subsequent participants, acted as a

pilot interview for the study. In this interview, the amount of time and questions that were

appropriate for gathering in-depth information about the target participant's experience was

decided (Creswell, 2013). The pilot interview questions were kept, with no major modifications

to the interview question sets (Appendix A). Any modifications to the overall question set were

dependent on individual participants and specific to information shared about their stories.

During and after each interview, field notes were written by the researcher regarding gestures,

emphasis and other parts of the interview that could not be captured through audio. Photographic images of participants were given within the span of the three interviews or following the interview process. Provided photographs were edited by blurring faces to conceal identity for future dissemination.

Participants

Participants were recruited using convenience and purposeful sampling that met demographic criteria of age (18-25 years old during the years 1960-1974), gender (women), and ethnicity (African American). Sampling began with an initial participant known to the researcher who gave names of participants within the large, Midwestern university and surrounding community. Through snowball sampling, prospective interviewees were contacted by email or phone to solicit their participation. Purposeful sampling and snowball sampling concentrated the participants' experiences, which was appropriate for the scope of this research (Creswell, 2013).

A total of seven women participated in the study. Creswell (2013) notes that sample size should range from three to ten people when all participants have experienced the same phenomenon under study. Appropriate sample size is also determined by the amount and forms of data collection (i.e., number of interviews and other type of data collected). Data gathered provided a substantial amount of common experiences shared by the participants. Each of the women discussed things that were distinctive to their lives, which would have been the case if a larger number of participants were included in the study, as no individuals experience life exactly the same. Saturation was determined by the researcher and her advisor based on the similarity of the women's responses during interviews. Overarching information failed to provide new insights or information; however, because the women were sharing their lived experiences, participant specifics continued to be unique to the individual (Creswell, 2013).

The women ranged in ages from 59 to 76 years old (see Table 3.1). Participants in this research were African American women born between 1939 and 1956, or aged 18-25 in the emerging adulthood stage during the Civil Rights Movement years of 1960-1974. Participants were at a fundamental age when the popularizations of natural or afro-centric hairstyles were at their height. Additionally, this was a significantly active period in the movement, including the passing of the *Civil Rights Act* (1964), the push for a Black Power Movement, to the end of the civil rights era.

Table 3.1

Study Participants

Participant	Birth Year	Region Came From	Ages during 1960-1974 time period	Education Level	Profession
Beth	1955	Midwest	5-19 years old	MS	Student Affairs
Cathy	1953	Southeast	7-21 years old	PhD	University/Community Outreach
Donna	1939	Northwest	21-35 years old	PhD	Professor
Ellen	1952	Northeast	8-22 years old	PhD	Student Affairs
Freda	1943	Midwest	17-31 years old	MS	Student Affairs
Ruth	1945	Midwest	15-29 years old	PhD	Professor
Wanda	1956	Southeast	4-18 years old	MS	Government Services

Over half of the participants (n=4) attained their doctoral degrees, with the remainder (n=3) earning their master's degrees. Each of the participants, with the exception of one, held a professional career in higher education. Three of the seven participants (43%) were retired at the time of the study, with all but one still near the university town. Participants lived in or were originally from the Pacific, North and Southeast, and Midwest regions. Only one participant grew up within a short distance of the university community where the study took place. All of the participants moved to the university community for career or educational pursuits for themselves or their spouses. Most of the women received their degrees of higher education (M.S.

or Ph.D.) from the university where the study was based. The earliest arrival to the university community was in the mid-1960s, four in the late 1970s to early 1980s, and two in the 1990s. Participants explained that they were drawn to the area through recruitment and retention efforts of African Americans to the university and surrounding community.

The university community where the women lived was located in small town (population of 27,000 in 1960 grown to around 60,000 in 2010). The 2000 census noted 2.65% of the population as African American, which was most likely the same or significantly more than the women who arrived in the 1960s and 1970s to the town (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). The small amount of African Americans in the town meant that a lot of the individuals knew each other. Many of the participants were friends or knew each other through social groups, their jobs, or attendance at the same church. The women had built community around being Black women in a predominately White college town and university. The range of ages within the 1960-1974 years allowed for the comparison and contrast of how age, education, and life stage (i.e., married or single, with or without children), affected the participants' experiences in relation to the various time periods in which the participants lived. Examining the perspectives of women from various geographical locations, professional positions, social class backgrounds, and other demographics also provided varied experiences.

Data Analysis

Collected data was organized and prepared per participant, as well as in relation to its placement within the interview series. The recorded interviews were transcribed verbatim by the researcher and a paid transcriptionist. An initial scan of the data found that there was a richness within interview three that was to be further examined, which led to the development of article

one. Through general overview, numerous references to wearing a natural or afro and its relation to the Black Power Movement induced the focus of article two.

Qualitative research analysis fosters the process of making meaning of the data (Esterberg, 2002). Esterberg (2002) discusses that analysis allows researchers to recognize patterns within the data, the determination of what those patterns mean, and exploration into the potential meanings. Each transcript was analyzed and coded independently by the researcher and her advisor. Coding by multiple people provided the potential for the generation of new codes and a richer analysis process (Saldana, 2013). A traditional approach to social science research of allowing codes to surface during analysis or open coding was implemented. The initial coding broke down data into parts for comparison and contrast. A second round of focused coding allowed the raw data to reveal potential meanings and be chunked and segmented into representative topics (Creswell, 2014; Esterberg, 2002). The topics presented phenomena within the data, which then used descriptive wording of topics to create larger categories and themes.

Codes and generated themes were shared between researchers in regard to each transcript as well as in constant comparison to the whole set for frequency, salience, and relationship to one another (Spiggle, 1994). Emergent ideas were clarified and individual thinking processes were discussed for new insights into the data (Saldana, 2013). The interpretation of the individual experiences was examined through the "'situatedness' of each finite observer [or participant] in a socio-political, historical context to challenge the plausibility of claims" from their perspective (Hawkesworth, 1989, p. 536). The researchers then worked together to compare, contrast, and define emergent themes, in an iterative back-and-forth process (Creswell, 2014; Spiggle, 1994). Developed themes helped to unify and create meaning of the larger ideas that represented participant stories (Saldana, 2013). The researchers created a model of themes to organize and

examine relationships within the data that emerged (Esterberg, 2002). Significant statements from each theme were extracted to help describe the lived experiences associated with the theme. Themes were representative of multiple participant perspectives, and were supported by quotations of responses as specific evidence (Creswell, 2014).

As mentioned, themes were analyzed for each individual participant as well as across the entire group. Additional aspects of complexity were built into the analysis based on the interview series method (Creswell, 2014). The specific foci of the interviews produced data in a chronological manner representative of the time periods, as well as the ages and development of the women. The narrowed down themes were connected to theoretical constructs that helped to convey findings. In article one, the discussion of presentation of self was illustrated through stages and ages of experiences. For article two, themes were aligned with the construction of collective identity and its relationship to social movement activism.

Qualitative validity is used to ensure accuracy of findings through study procedures that are trustworthy, credible, and authentic (Creswell, 2014). The three-interview structure of the study helped to put participant comments in context and provided internal consistency (Seidman, 2013). This study employed thick, rich description to present findings. Detailed accounts from several participants made themes more realistic, credible, and authentic by using data in the form of their own words and presenting contradictory evidence (Saldana, 2013). In addition, the goal of the research process was to understand how participants made meaning of their experience, which is validated by the serious thought given to the topic and what was true to them at that point in their life (Seidman, 2013).

Triangulation of data across and among participants, with outside historical accounts, the timeline document, and participant-provided photographs helped to establish themes. For

example, participants may have shown a picture of their hairstyle that represented something they were discussing. Also, by using the three-part interview series, substantial time was spent with each participant, which provided the researcher with an in-depth understanding of the participants' lives and the ability to compare or contrast their narratives. Creswell (2014) notes that "the more experience a researcher has with participants in their settings, the more accurate or valid will be the findings" (p. 202). Also, feminist ethical directives indicate that a close relationship with participants helps to reduce power dynamics that may exist, allowing for an authentic exchange of information (Esterberg, 2002).

The relation of a researcher to the topic under study can offer increased credibility. Seidman (2013) notes that interviews between two people of the same race or ethnicity help to build rapport, but researchers must acknowledge differences and hold distance to remain objective. The primary researcher's personal identification with and cognizance of African American culture provides the, "advantage of giving the investigator an extraordinarily intimate acquaintance with the object of study. This acquaintance gives the investigator a fineness of touch and delicacy of insight" (McCracken, 1988, p. 32).

As an African American woman, the researcher was able to develop a level of trust with the participants, in addition to discerning specific accounts related to hair care, styles, and race-specific cultural references. To ensure the primary researcher honored truths of the participants when observing and analyzing the data, discussions with her advisor were used to provide another point of view and differing perspective, as multiple analyzers will inherently bring different interpretations to the data (Saldana, 2013). Divergent standpoints helped to diminish analysis rooted in assumptions and bias of a sole researcher (Creswell, 2013).

The use of a feminist methodological approach allowed the women to voice their stories and feelings related to their experiences. As Hawkesworth (1989) explains, feminist research "need not claim universal, ahistorical validity for their analyses." This is fitting in that the women experienced the same phenomenon, had many similarities and hold similar subject positions, they have interacted with their environments in different ways, which provides unique details and features of their experiences that are notable in gathering (Brooks, 2007). Exploring the complex and concrete experiences helped to understand the meaning that African American women make of their hair in their lives. By offering their perspective, this research produced an appreciation for the women's experiences among and between the participants to generate knowledge from their truths.

CHAPTER 4. AGES AND STAGES: AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMEN AND THEIR LIVES THROUGH THEIR HAIR

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Abstract

The cultural meanings and constant comparison of African American women's hair to hegemonic beauty standards has historically occurred in American society because of the pervasive Black/White racial binary. This research examines the lived experiences of African American women, who were emerging adults (ages 18-25) during the Civil Rights Movement years, 1960-1974, questioning the influences of family, society, and self on their hair during childhood, the emerging adult stage, and into adulthood. In-depth interviews of seven participants highlighted their subject position; being both African American and women. The participants discussed fitting into an ideal image in childhood. They described the profound influence of the Civil Rights Movement on their appearance at the emerging adulthood stage. Lastly, in adulthood, the women explained how their roles and surrounding environment impacted their presentation of self.

Introduction

African American hair is intricately linked to African American culture and lived-experience. For this racial and ethnic group, hair has had a long history and significance, as well

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as many meanings, assumptions, and stereotypes associated with its presence (Rooks, 1996). From indigenous African hairstyles and plant-based products available only in Africa, to a lack of resources and the animalization of all physical characteristics of the Black body during the slave trade, to hair signifying class, acceptance, and even political stance; Black hair has come to symbolize many elements of the culture (Bennett, 2000). Because Black hairstyles may both denote a particular statement about the wearer and be created by contextual meanings and symbols for the wearer, African American hair is a suitable subject for scholarly inquiry (Bennett, 2000).

Rooks (1996) contends that hair can be used to show allegiance or identification within racial or ethnic groups and that it can be styled according to ease and convenience. As such, hair may express political stance, assimilation to White beauty standards, or individual style by its Black wearers. While these reasons are personal, African Americans are certainly influenced by the time period in which they live and by larger society (Rooks, 1996). Specifically, as a members of two marginalized groups, African American women are impacted by dominant society's patriarchal and racial values and beliefs (Beale, 1970; Jones & Shorter-Gooden, 2003). The particular societal position that African American women hold is distinctive in that they have to fit into hierarchal norms of both race and gender (Collins, 2009). As African American women present themselves daily, they are forced to consider the numerous spaces that they may encounter (Jones & Shorter-Gooden, 2003). The influences, choices, and behaviors of African American women provide an opportunity to examine how the self can be communicated and presented.

The cultural meanings and constant comparison of African American women's hair to hegemonic beauty standards has historically occurred in American society because of the

pervasive Black/White racial binary, where everything Black represents the negative (unattractive) and White is seen as positive (beautiful) (Jones & Shorter-Gooden, 2003; Mercer 1991). Recently, however, more robust conversations surrounding African American hair, both within and outside of the community, have resulted in part from enhanced technological capabilities. Communication channels of blogs and video blogs, supported by the widespread use of the Internet, allows user-created content that focuses on African American women's hair in the form of posts, opinions, thoughts, and commentary about Black hair (Byrd & Tharps, 2014). However, an examination of the lived experience of Black hair, both historically and contemporarily, in academic research is sparse. This research examines the lived experiences of African American women, who were emerging adults (ages 18-25) during the Civil Rights Movement years, 1960-1974. It will focus on the influences and choices in presentation of themselves from their childhood to present day.

The account of choices made by African American women regarding their hair and beauty in relationship to the Civil Rights era has not been fully covered, which lends the opportunity to provide context to this important historical period. This time marks a pivotal turning point, not the least of which was drastic change in the Black aesthetic. In addition, the particular position of African American women, representing two oppressed identities, a minoritized racial group and female, are inseparable and "encompasses bodies of knowledge and sets of institutional practices that actively grapple with the central questions facing U.S. Black women as a collectivity" (Collins, 2009, p. 12). By providing African American women opportunities to articulate their experiences of living in both racialized and gendered oppression, new knowledge and perspectives are available. This research questions the influences of family,

society, and self on African American women's hair during childhood, the emerging adult stage, which occurred during the Civil Rights Movement years of 1960-1974, and into adulthood.

Review of Literature

The literature review includes discussion regarding the position of African American women in the United States, the influence of subject positions on the formation of the self and appearance, and the role of the Civil Rights Movement period in challenging cultural norms of dress and appearance.

African American women and diverse selves. Black women stand at the interconnection of race and gender oppression. Collins (2009) states that because of the interconnectedness of oppressed identities, African American women have found themselves in an outsider-within social position throughout time. A sense of not belonging to the dominant race or gender offers African American women an intersectional standpoint on their lived-experience (Collins, 2009). Intersectionality, as introduced by Crenshaw (1989), examines how structures of power surrounding race and sex simultaneously marginalize Black women and legitimizes existing power relations (Carbado, Crenshaw, Mays, & Tomlinson, 2013). Since Crenshaw's (1989) initial discussion, the concept of intersectionality has widened to encompass other social categories, including class, ethnicity, sexual orientation and others. These various categories of social identities coexist and overlap in an inseparable manner. The individual's placement within hierarchies of gender, class, sexuality, religion, or other social groups shapes their being.

Because Black women face the "double jeopardy" of race and gender, among other marginalized identities like socioeconomic status, many individuals shift or present different forms of themselves (Beale, 1970; Jones & Shorter-Gooden, 2003, p. 40). Jones and Shorter-Gooden (2003) found that African American women modify their behavior as they "are

relentlessly pushed to serve and made to hide their true selves to placate White colleagues, Black men, and other segments of the community" (p. 7). In other words, individuals act differently among different groups. This is easily seen through shifts in dialect and styles of communication where the individual will code switch their behavior based on the setting (Jones & Shorter-Gooden, 2003). In discussing the formation of the self through the lens of others, Goffman (1959) explained, "different social groupings express in different ways such attributes as age, sex, territory, and class status, and that in each case these bare attributes are elaborated by means of a distinctive complex cultural configuration of proper ways of conducting oneself" (p. 75).

Formation of the Self. Individuals grow and develop through communication and interaction with others. It is through these exchanges that social norms are made clear and the understanding of how individual behaviors align or do not align with them (Goffman, 1959). Until independence is gained, children understand the world through the lens of their parents. Throughout adolescence and into adulthood, the formation of self is tested against what is known from past experiences and expectations for what the future holds (Erickson, 1968). As an individual ages, more complex skills, feelings, and ideals are developed. At the ages of 18-25, people who live in Westernized societies experience emerging adulthood (Arnett, 2000). In this stage, they are deeply involved in exploring their identity while gaining education and training that will set the foundation for their life, work, and worldviews. This transition phase is unique, in that individuals are not fully considered adults because they are continuing to develop and have not made concrete decisions about their lives (Arnett, 2000). For example, in the emerging adult stage an individual may have decided on an educational path that will lead to a job in a certain field, but may not be quite sure of their exact career goals. Moving into adulthood, identity continues to form due to new experiences and changing values of what is most important

in life. The adulthood years focus on examination and evaluation of life's progress (Erickson, 1968).

Throughout the communication and interaction process, individuals make meaning of the world around them and their position within it. Interactions, both verbal and non-verbal, help assist in the construction and the presentation of self (Goffman, 1959; Tawfiq & Ogle, 2013). The symbolic interaction theory is concerned with this development of the self and larger society based on the interactions between people (Blumer, 1969). As theorist Gregory P. Stone (1962) explained, "a primary tenet of symbolic interaction theory holds that the self is established, maintained, and altered in and through communication" (p. 86).

As individuals interact with, engage in, and create discourse, they become privy to social rules and norms regarding appropriate and expected behavior (Goffman, 1959). The discourse works to challenge and affirm how people interact with each other. It is from this continued interaction that social guidelines and meanings, stereotypes, and assumptions develop and are sustained by recognition of institutions of power. Through all of these cues, people begin to identify and define themselves internally and in relation to others (Blumer, 1969). Kaiser (2012) notes that "there are multiple subjectivities, shaped in part by the interplay among diverse subject positions" (p. 29). Subject positions or social roles include biological factors such as sex and social constructs such as race and gender. Positions and roles, even those that are marginalized, are simultaneously experienced by the person and deeply rooted in historic and cultural discourses.

In addition to an individual's multiple subject positions that are developed because of how they may identify themselves within the world, they also act to their situation, environment, and audience. People enact diverse versions of themselves depending on the interaction with

which they are involved (Tawfiq & Ogle, 2013). Their "performance" or more specifically, their "front", which is expressively employed by the individual in a situation, influences others' perceptions and definitions of them and of the self (Goffman, 1959, p. 15, p. 22). Within the performance, the front functions to define the situation for observers through "appearance, behavior, and the setting in which the interactions occur, and serve to guide subsequent interactions" (Tawfiq & Ogle, 2013, p. 279). People's presentations of themselves are highly dependent on the situation and audience. Individuals will accentuate certain matters and conceal others in an effort to control others' perceptions. The individual or performer attempts to present the self in a manner that is believable in the specific situation, which in turn furthers the societal perception of what behavior is standard and permissible. Therefore, the performance is socialized to the desirable "understandings and expectations of the society in which it is presented" (Goffman, 1959, p. 35). If successful, the definition of the social role and the individual's role within the larger institutional structure is maintained.

The presentation of self as it is communicated through dress and appearance is a rich resource for the construction of identity (Hunt & Miller, 1997). It requires an ongoing process as the self continually interacts and reacts with the world. Through continued disagreement or agreement on meanings and definitions of appearance, individuals engage, influence, and perceive one another. The unclothed (and clothed) body is overwhelmed with culturally defined meanings specific to appearances, symbols, and objects. This social process continues as individuals concern themselves with style, fashion, and dress (Entwistle, 2000). Additionally, people receive input and influence from others, their actions toward them, and the media they are surrounded by (Blumer, 1969). Through interactions with others, people are able to process elements of communicated appearance, which affirm or negate choices related to what is worn

(Kaiser, 2012). All of this information indoctrinated both purposefully and subconsciously, shapes actions and reactions, creating appearance and values related to it.

The body is used to articulate the multiple intersecting identities that individuals hold, within the time and space possessed. As a result, outward appearance changes depending on the level of self-awareness, interactions with power hierarchies, and movement through stages of privilege or marginalization (Kaiser, 2012). For example, openly expressing one's religion through dress can be highly dependent on personal preference, interactions or lack of them with peer group that follows similar appearance notions, and the surrounding political environment. A woman of Islamic faith may choose varying presentations of modesty that relate to her own interpretation of the *Koran* and appearance cues, dominant views of what is appropriate for her, and what she does or does not see in her physical environment. The norms of modesty can be ever-changing and can shift based on numerous factors the woman experiences (Tawfiq & Ogle, 2013).

As a person presents themselves to others, one typically acts in an image that is ideal and illustrates dominant societal values and norms (Entwistle, 2000). Performing as the socially ideal front is often presented by members of non-privileged groups in an effort to achieve social mobility (Goffman, 1959). The ideal social front is shaped by the context of appropriate norms and upholds the values of the culture and time period. In order to transcend boundaries and achieve acceptance into more privileged groups, the actors are required to present correct performances and manage their actions to ensure upward mobility, avoiding moving downward or creating a negatively perceived performance. Within this presentation of the ideal self, people who belong to marginalized social groups may sacrifice certain actions that may be linked to those marginalized identities in order to maintain the proper front within dominant society

(Goffman, 1959). This front is often a well-prepared presentation of self, pulling in many elements and ideas, in order for the self to be deemed suitable in the situation or interaction (Sklar & DeLong, 2012). For example, historically for African Americans to be upwardly mobile, Black identity had to be suppressed. African Americans often found it necessary to adopt "'White,' upper class behaviors," demeanor, and dress, in order to be credible or appear socially proper (Jones & Shorter-Gooden, 2003, p. 83).

Above and beyond being racially appropriate, African American women are forced to constantly and simultaneously battle gender oppression as well (Collins, 2009). The social agenda of fashion has long existed for women, motivated by performing appropriate feminine clothing behavior. Entwistle (2000) notes, "dress in everyday life is the outcome of social pressures and the image the dressed body makes can be symbolic of the situation in which it is found" (p. 15). To provide a sense of normalcy and better position themselves, African American women often "change how they look or behave to accommodate the varying codes of race, class, and gender" (Jones & Shorter-Gooden, 2003, p. 86). In addition to presenting a socially ideal front that fits the dominant group, African American women also have to find their place within their minoritized racial group. Jones and Shorter-Gooden (2003) describes this as changing one's self to fit with the internal codes of behavior or "home codes" within Black culture. These home codes, act as "rules of comportment within Black culture that are defined not just by race but also by gender and class" (Jones & Shorter-Gooden, 2003, p. 83). Although the home codes dictate actions within the African American community or spaces, they are the direct result of internalized perspectives from the dominant group and heavily guided by hegemonic values and standards. All groups of people hold certain internal codes that bring them together, but because

African Americans have experienced a painful history, their home codes provide a heightened sense of community.

Home codes can include behaviors of appearance, which wearers have to manage within the dominant and minoritized groups with whom they interact. From this, dress helps to provide ways of being and becoming associated with an individual's various positions in society. Behaviors related to and the visible display of dress can show interplay of several identities at once, communicating information about the whole person (Sklar & DeLong, 2012). The appearance behaviors, as well as the physical traits of the certain groups, help to mark the body with social meanings (Collins, 2009; Goffman, 1959). Historically, African American women have been subject to overarching pressure to meet hegemonic beauty standards in their skin color, hair texture, body shape and size (Jones & Shorter-Gooden, 2003). According to Kaiser (2012), "the simultaneity of subject positions is probably nowhere more evident than through styled-fashioned-dressed bodies" (p. 35). African American women's subject position in marginalized race and gender categories within U.S. society provides unique opportunities for appearance management approaches.

The Civil Rights Movement and Identity. The marginalization of African American women as it pertains to dress and appearance can be seen throughout African American history. As African Americans were freed from the oppressive slavery system, they were able to place more emphasis on their physical health and appearance. In order to prove themselves as acceptable to mainstream society, women in particular, adopted White beauty standards. The majority of post-slavery beauty companies promoted appearance behaviors that altered Black features in hair and skin, ridding them of their natural properties in the hopes of fitting the ideal image (Rooks, 1996).

From post slavery to pre-integration of the early 1950s, hair was used as a means of acceptance to mainstream beauty ideals. It symbolized what was appropriate, achievable, and acceptable for African Americans. Oftentimes, hairstyles and class were intricately connected, as African Americans who were educated and had moved up in social standing adhered more closely to processed hairstyles to mimic their White counterparts (Hohle, 2013). In addition to social standing, African American women's femininity was garnered through her perceived beauty or adherence to dominant White appearance standards. Through the 1950s and early 1960s few people rejected dominant White beauty standards. An integrationist political vision by African Americans was visible through beauty ideals, where the desire laid in having long shiny, straightened hair and light brown skin. Beauty products and mainstream marketing supported the Black community's idea of being included in mainstream society and the reduction of race specific stereotypes. Little challenge was initiated relating to overall social norms that had been widely accepted (Byrd & Tharps, 2014).

Conflict over non-violent approaches to extreme violence at the hand of pro-White antagonists changed the rhetoric of the movement from freedom to "Black Power". It was not until this second phase of the Civil Rights Movement, what is called the Black Power Movement; that a large change in Black hair care and styles occurred (Wilson, 2013). At this point, many African Americans felt that conforming to White beauty standards demonstrated a lack of racial pride (Byrd & Tharps, 2014). How African Americans wore their hair held a visual continuum from straight, signifying to some an integrationist perspective, to natural styles showing ideals related to the Black Power Movement and Black Nationalism. For some, the utilization of Black aesthetics was a link to Africa or their heritage. Eventually, the embracing of everything Black and the reclaiming of African heritage, as demonstrated in appearance, became

as symbolic of the Civil Rights Movement as the acts of protesting and boycotting (Byrd & Tharps, 2014).

The embrace of an African aesthetic led to styles, like the natural, or afro as it was later called, cornrows, braids and unprocessed looks. It is to be noted, many wearers of natural styles did not completely abandon product use or straightened hair, nor did they necessarily recognize the political stance of their hairstyle choices (Battle-Walters, 2004). For African American women, the range in choices of styles allowed expression of femininity, gender, and opportunities to adhere or not abide by mainstream beauty standards. The held intersectional identities played out in African American women's ability to embrace their natural hair type (or not) while maintaining or challenging their perceived societal status (Byrd & Tharps, 2014; Walker, 2007). Regardless of their individual choices of processed or naturally styled, African American women continued to be subjected to the male gaze (Walker, 2007).

Method and Participants

Participants were recruited using convenience and purposeful sampling that met demographic criteria of age (18-25 years old during the years 1960-1974), gender (women), and ethnicity (African American). Sampling began with an initial participant known to the researcher who gave names of participants within the large, Midwestern university and surrounding community. Through snowball sampling, prospective interviewees were contacted by email or phone to solicit their participation. Purposeful sampling and snowball sampling concentrated the participants' experiences, which was appropriate for the scope of this research (Creswell, 2013). Participants were provided pseudonyms to maintain confidentiality and anonymity.

A total of seven women participated in the study. The women ranged in ages from 59 to 76 years old (see table 1). Over half of the participants (n=4) attained their doctoral degrees, with

the remainder (n=3) earning their master's degrees. Each of the participants, with the exception

of one, held a professional career in higher education. Three of the seven participants (43%)

were retired at the time of the study. Participants lived in or were originally from the Pacific,

North and Southeast, and Midwest regions. Only one participant grew up within a short distance

of the university community where the study took place. All of the participants moved to the

university community for career or educational pursuits for themselves or their spouses. The

earliest arrival to the university community was in the mid-1960s, four in the late 1970s to early

1980s, and two in the 1990s.

Table 1

Participant Demographics

Pseudonym	Birth Year	Education Level	Profession
Beth	1955	MS	Student Affairs
Cathy	1953	PhD	University/Community Outreach
Donna	1939	PhD	Professor
Ellen	1952	PhD	Student Affairs
Freda	1943	MS	Student Affairs
Ruth	1945	PhD	Professor
Wanda	1956	MS	Government Services

In-depth interviews of the African American women were conducted. Participants each

completed a three-part, semi-structured interview series. Successive interviews concentrated on

the themes of: 1) hair history throughout their lives, 2) details of experiences during the Civil

Rights Movement years 1960-74, and 3) reflections on the meaning of hairstyle choices in the

participant's life. The results of this paper derived from the richness of the third interview in

which participants summarized and reflected on their entire life history regarding their hair and

appearance. The interview format allowed the researchers and the participant "to explore the

participant's experience, place it in context, and reflect on its meaning" (Seidman, 2013, p. 20).

To capture African American women's life stories of their hair, a narrative approach was used. The goal of this research was to give voice to the lived experiences of African American women and their experiences with their hair. By focusing on the richness of the women's stories, insight was gained about the details of everyday experiences of the participants, their sense of self, and the impact of the Civil Rights Movement on their lives. The design of this study attempted to place knowledge within their narratives by allowing the participants to speak freely of their experiences, clarifying misunderstandings in data analysis, providing the women the opportunity to review the transcriptions of the interviews, and using the participants' own words to illustrate findings (Esterberg, 2002).

Each interview lasted approximately 90 minutes, creating over 30 hours of audio recorded data. No compensation was offered to participants in exchange for sharing their experiences. Interviews took place in private locations throughout the university, participant homes, and local businesses. The researchers also asked participants to provide photographs that would illustrate their hairstyles throughout their lives. All interviews were recorded and field notes were written during and immediately following the interview to capture non-verbal expressions or discussion items for follow-up questions in future interviews.

Interviews were transcribed verbatim by the researchers and a paid transcriptionist. Each transcript was analyzed by the interviewer and a trained qualitative researcher. The transcribed interviews were coded independently. Notes and themes were shared among authors in regard to each transcript as well as in constant comparison to the whole set for frequency, salience, and relationship to one another. The interpretation of the individual experiences was examined through the "'situatedness' of each finite observer [or participant] in a socio-political, historical context to challenge the plausibility of claims" from their perspective (Hawkesworth, 1989, p.

536).The researchers then worked together to compare, contrast, and evaluate emergent themes, in an iterative back-and-forth process (Spiggle, 1994). Significant statements from each theme were extracted to help describe the lived experiences associated with the theme. Themes were representative of multiple participant perspectives, and were supported by quotations of responses as specific evidence (Creswell, 2014).

Results

Results of the study were best presented in the chronological order in which the participants lived their lives. The subsequent section follows the development of the women through childhood, emerging adulthood, and finally adulthood. These stages adhere to traditional patterns of human development with childhood being a time of dependence on parents or caregivers and becoming aware of the self as an individual, emerging adulthood as an opportunity to find one's place within the world and develop foundational aspects of self, and adulthood, when concrete decisions about life are made and long-term relationships formed (Erickson, 1968). The participants' discussion of their lives focuses on the lived experiences of African American women coming of age during a tumultuous time in society. The participants discussed fitting into an ideal image in childhood. They described the profound influence of the Civil Rights Movement on their appearance at the emerging adulthood stage. Lastly, in adulthood, the women explained how their roles and surrounding environment impacted their presentation of self.

Childhood. During the 1940s to the 1960s the participants were under the age of 18. As children, cultural practices are cemented through childhood experiences and by the family, which help to reproduce existing social structures (Crane, 2000). The participants discussed how their appearance and hair was largely guided by what was appropriate for them as African American

females in society during that time. All but one of the women had distinct memories of someone taking care of their hair when they were younger. The caretaking process helped to teach the women that hair was a large part of grooming and hygiene that would eventually transition to their responsibility as they grew older. Typically, the interviewees stated it was the mother who would teach her daughter, "how to do what they need to do for their hair" (Freda), until they were able to do it themselves.

The women stated recognition of how their subject positions played into their presentation within the ideal or, at that time, White standards of beauty. Donna explained,

> I think it was almost prescribed that just like the length of your skirt or you wore a hat if you went to church. If you went downtown you always dressed up because you weren't going to be able to be treated well in the stores unless you looked a certain way.

Donna's quote highlights expectations of appearance in the 1940s and 1950s for African Americans and women or girls. Similarly, Freda mentioned, "When young women crossed the line of being a teenager into young womanhood, now they had to wear their hair loose and long. Before then, you did not wear your hair loose." Donna and Freda illustrated Goffman's (1959) thought that acting in a socially ideal manner or, in these examples, creating socially ideal forms of appearance is important for members of non-privileged groups in an effort to receive respect in the social situation. For women, there were expectations of long, loosened hair when they reached a certain age. In addition, they had to wear skirts of an appropriate length or hats to church regardless of the race of people with whom they were interacting. Being African American required a level of formality in order to be taken seriously by White counterparts and in presumably White spaces, such as a downtown center of town. Both gender notions and racial climate had an effect on the outward appearance of the participants and determined how they and the larger group of African American women were perceived and even reacted toward.

Regardless of socioeconomic status, hair was an easily tended-to part of presentation. Wanda stated that "growing up, hair, getting your hair done was just part of being groomed." Presenting a coiffed image followed general actions of grooming and caretaking, but for these women, it also afforded the opportunity to transcend marginalized social classes. Ruth explained that when her mother grew up, she was "pretty poor, she did not have a lot of clothes and things like that, but she often talked about how she would press her hair." Ruth went on to discuss how,

> Hair was very important in the black community, so this taking care of your hair and making you look nice was a part of mothering. We wouldn't think about going out of the house without our hair combed, that was a ritual.

In a sense, the task of taking care of children's hair was a normal standard that reflected mothering. On the other hand, however, the notion of grooming was deeply rooted in audience considerations, which prompted participants to attempt dressing outside of their social class as to conceal from onlookers their true social class membership. Through their hair, they sought to represent the self as more well-off or closer to the ideal than they were realistically. As the participants performed these standard maintenance routines, they continued the deemed-appropriate conduct for their social group (Goffman, 1959). Emphasizing that good mothering was signaled through grooming helped to cement the idea that outward appearance was indicative of social class and should mirror the ideal as closely as possible.

As the women became older, they were able to recognize how their race impacted their appearance. One participant described how growing up in a specific era influenced her values and ideal presentation, based on the marginalization of African Americans and need for social mobility. According to Freda,

> I grew up in an era where personal appearance was valued not only in my family, but in society in general. Because I grew up in an era where it was darn difficult for African

Americans to get decent jobs, maybe I didn't do it consciously, but subconsciously I knew in my mind I had to look a certain way.

The ideal presentation followed hegemonic standards. Because of this engrained notion, Freda recognized the ability to avoid hardship by following the dominant directive. As Goffman (1959) explained, the performer attempts to present the self adequately to the situation and audience, reinforcing the standards and guidelines of appearance. Freda and those around her subscribed to the need for an appropriate appearance because they were already in a predicament due to their race. Not maintaining one's self would further diminish opportunity.

Overall, as children, the participants followed mainstream beauty ideals and standards of appearance. At this point in their lives, they were not solely responsible for their grooming, which was largely influenced by their caretakers and the caretakers' values of appropriate appearance. In order to present themselves in an appropriate or ideal manner, notions of that image were strictly held. The emphasis on appearance could also be due to the societal values related to dress during the 1940s and 1950s, along with specific racial and gender contexts.

Civil Rights Movement influence. All of the participants were in the emerging adult stage of ages 18-25 during the active years of the Civil Rights Movement, 1960-74. During these specific years in the movement, there was a large change and an embrace of a Black aesthetic (Byrd & Tharps, 2014). The combination of the Black as beautiful rhetoric and the influential stage in participants' development as adults had a significant impact on their appearance. Participants talked explicitly about what it was like coming of age during the Civil Rights Movement period. Cathy explained, "I was coming out of high school and going into college when that was happening… I benefited from what the new rules were. I think I benefited from viewing that I did not need to wear my hair straight." In this example, the new rules of how beauty standards related to race became evident. As the definitions of race are continually

revised throughout time, Cathy depicted how her thoughts about her appearance and self-fashioning evolved. These changes were seen on an individual and collective level, changing the overall cultural discourse on African American rules for appearance (Byrd & Tharps, 2014; Rooks, 1996).

As the women aged, they became more independent in their hairstyle choices and comfortable with their natural hair type, even though it did not mirror hegemonic ideals. Beth explains this transition from childhood to early adult and how it related to her self-presentation.

> I guess I would say that definitely when I was young, like pre-[doing own hair], like years my mother was taking care it, hair was something that I wanted to have look cute. You know, so you went to mom to kind of fix your hair and make you feel like you're in check. I would say that phase throughout high school, probably college, but I think the thing that was added to that, I was kind of impacted by the things in the 60s and 70s. So I think during those times, it became also influenced by kind of who I was ethnically, as well, and racially. And sort of affirming that I could wear [natural] hairstyles that were more affirming of me as a Black woman.

Beth's quote illustrates the influences of her age and the eras that she lived, in addition to her identity as a Black woman. She echoes the level of affirmation that she was awarded from her natural hair expression being a choice when it came to her appearance as a Black woman.

Although there was a political element to the choice of wearing their hair in natural styles, it was not always the driving force for doing so. Ruth explained,

> The political part of it, when the movement first started, was I am rejecting the White standard of beauty. Then when that became more acceptable, more people could buy into it. I can't take credit for rebelling against white views. I accepted it after it became beautiful to me.

For Ruth, acceptance of natural styles did not directly come from her opposition to White standards of beauty, but instead her own level of appreciation for the styles. The social legitimation of the marginal facilitated an aesthetic learning process that made Ruth admire the styles. Wanda added that comfort with her appearance came with age,

You get to be comfortable with yourself and who you are. You make those adjustments how you want to. For me, as I matured, you know, I began to say this is who I am, this is who I have to work with.

She further discussed that she chose to wear her hair in many natural styles, like an afro or braided styles, during her emerging adult ages. In part, her choices fit with the popular hairstyles of that time period, but were also significant because her natural texture of hair was allowed to be popular. For once in the history of Black hair, having "good" or straightened hair was a bad thing, which validated hair such as Wanda's (Walker, 2007).

All of the participants acknowledged that there was a newfound opportunity to wear their hair in natural styles. However, several of them conveyed that there still was an ideal image in order to be considered professional which continued to mirror hegemonic appearance standards. Cathy discussed how,

People were, not necessarily conservative, but there was a professional look. So for instance, my hair would likely have been pressed [straightened] and I would likely have worn skirts and dresses versus wearing pants or culottes, which I did wear, but not to work.

In this quote, Cathy is describing her appearance and hair choices during the 1970s. To be taken seriously and considered professional, she needed to present an image that fit her with her organization and environment. When expressing what was deemed an ideal presentation, Cathy kept all actions consistent with the prescribed standards. Any appearance choices that did not align with her professional self, like wearing popular, young styles of pants or culottes, were not worn in the work setting (Tortora & Marcketti, 2015). Specifically when it came to her hair, she noted that she wore her hair pressed or straightened to emulate the ideal image.

The emerging adulthood years of 18-25 is a highly influential stage in human development because of the creation of foundational aspects of life, including education, worldviews, and identity (Arnett, 2000). During those years, the participants were in high school

transitioning to college, exploring independence, and beginning their families and careers. Experiencing this point in their lives during a social movement for the racial equality of African Americans and the resultant changes in the dominant beauty narrative led the participants to explore more options related to their appearance. While they were able to partake in wearing Afrocentric hairstyles, dominant standards regarding hair still permeated aspects of their lives, including appropriate professional presentation.

Adulthood. As the participants moved into adulthood, they continued to present themselves in manners based in part on their roles as professionals and mothers, and on their surrounding environment. The participants largely concentrated on their experiences related to Black versus White roles in professional and personal facets of their lives. Participants' discussion of the spaces, identities, or performances they experienced was often discussed in an interconnected manner. In any of these areas, the women felt it was important that they communicate a sense of professionalism that was complimentary to their race and gender.

All participants discussed that they felt different appearance behaviors were necessary when in all-Black spaces, whether it was at church or the beauty shop, an event, or among friends and family. For some African American women, the Black community can serve as a refuge, where larger societal bias is not as overwhelming as in other contexts (Jones & Shorter-Gooden, 2003). However, the self that is presented in Black spaces was also discussed as a place that required a concerted effort to fit in with the culture. For example, those who are seen as upwardly mobile are often expected to project an element of "Whiteness;" however, when in other situations, they would be expected to show that they can act "Black," or anything but "White" (Jones & Shorter-Gooden, 2003).

Ellen provided a description of how her appearance adhered to home codes, modified to

fit in predominantly Black versus White communities and geographical areas.

> When I know I'm going to [predominantly Black metropolitan areas or home city], girlfriend is at the hairdressers. I try to because again, the community that really knows me are those cousins. But I got one cousin who "wow, what's wrong? You don't look good. When did you get your hair done?" Blah, blah, blah, blah, blah. I swear in the community they will tear you apart. And the community where I'm from, they will tell you quick and fast… So I don't leave [current state] without looking my, whatever it is, my best. People won't necessarily say anything around here, but shoot!

She furthered this thought when she compared and contrasted wearing the different knit caps she

would wear depending on who she will encounter,

> I mean around here [small, predominantly White town] they don't even understand a knit cap, but the knit cap I wear here versus the knit cap I would wear in [a larger, racially diverse city], those are two different knit caps. One looks better. I think I look best when I'm dressing for my African American crowd. But I do think that that has gotten me some criticism here or criticism at work, you know.

In these quotes, Ellen describes that in predominantly Black spaces, such as metropolitan

areas like her hometown, she is expected to present herself in accordance to the Black aesthetic

or she will face judgment. However, in her current residence or at work, where she encountered

predominantly White spaces not privy to Black hair or style, she has faced some critique or

indifference to the aesthetic. Depending on the racial makeup of the audience, participants felt

that they had to adjust their appearance to avoid negative feedback or perceptions. This

adjustment was a conscious effort to fit in and was described through the upkeep or

abandonment of hairstyles by participants.

When it came to the personal and professional aspects of appearance, participants

described discomfort in interacting with few people who looked like them. Their professional

roles at times included traveling to rural, all-White areas or being the sole African American in

their entire department at work. This spilled over into their personal lives where they were often

the only African American family at their children's school activities or shopping at the grocery store. The balance of professionalism, personal appearance, and ethnic expression was sometimes difficult for the women to find without suppressing aspects of one or another. Wanda discussed that,

> As an African American person I'm always self-conscious. Not self-conscious but aware that first of all I'm African American and I'm in a predominately White community and I am the only African American professional [in her organization]. That in itself has layered some expectations so... I kind of have to model myself like, okay, I can't go in there with cornrow stuff sticking out of my head like a Buckwheat or something! I have to maintain a professional role where what I am saying is more important than what my hair looks like. At the same time all of it is complementary if you are a professional African American.

Wanda's comment brings to light the idea that balance of identities can cause African American women much internal dialogue about self-identity. Often, African American women are expected to downplay their race or gender and adjust their style to adhere to the setting (Jones & Shorter Gooden, 2003). Wanda refers to avoiding cornrows like Buckwheat, "the ultra nappy-headed" character from *The Little Rascals* (Byrd & Tharps, 2014, p. 46). The stereotypical caricature of Buckwheat denotes a less than position in society based on an unkempt appearance. Through her professional appearance, Wanda has tried to present an alternative image to the stereotypical depiction, in an effort to be taken seriously and as competent (Byrd & Tharps, 2014).

Other participants also noted they were concerned how the style of their hair played into their perceived professionalism by colleagues. The participants talked about how they negotiated hairstyles they considered more representative of African American culture at work. Donna did not feel trying out different Black styles was unprofessional. She commented,

> I had a professional appearance that still gave me my identity as an African American woman. Like I said, I was doing all kinds of stuff. When I found someone, found that niche of people who could do my hair in various styles to stay culturally in style and also still be professional... I never had any problems.

On the other hand, some descriptions of hair that was deemed more professional were hairstyles that closely resembled White styles. Beth explained that she felt,

> More comfortable and more like I have a professional look when it is flat ironed [straightened]. So, I think that's definitely true. When I've experimented with more a wavy natural look, I've been careful that I don't have meetings on those days that are outside of the office.

The management of hair spoke volumes about respondents' social identities and intersection as women and African Americans. Depending if they were in Black or White spaces, and professional or personal spaces, participants discussed changing how they looked to fit the varying codes of race, gender, class and occupation. Participants very much expressed, "teetering on the cusp of their various personas, feeling conflicted, confused, and self-conscious" (Jones & Shorter-Gooden, 2003, p. 87).

Conclusion

This study sought to investigate the influences of family, society, and self on African American women's hair, specifically during childhood, the emerging adult stage, which occurred during the Civil Rights Movement years of 1960-1974, and into adulthood. The participants discussed how their hair and appearance was influenced by their intersectional identities of race, gender, and age in relation to the time and society in which they lived. Findings demonstrated that during childhood, participants were heavily influenced by dominant (i.e., White) and female appropriate beauty ideals of the 1940s to 1960s. Attaining the ideal image of straightened hair afforded an opportunity to obtain employment and to receive a certain level of respect within specific locations. In addition, prescribed ideals of skirt length and rites of passage related to presentation of self placed gendered ideals for appropriateness on the participants. As emerging adults, the Civil Rights Movement had an impact on the women's construction and presentation of self. The popularity and acceptance of newly adopted natural hairstyles allowed the women to

explore a new sense of self that promoted and affirmed their identity as African American women. In adulthood, their ideal presentation became more complex, as they adopted professional roles in predominantly White settings. The different fronts necessary for their personal versus professional selves, within predominantly Black or White spaces, called for conscious decision-making about what appearance would represent them best in their varied roles and settings.

Participants' experiences discussed in this research reflect Goffman's (1959) thought that in an effort to receive validation from the dominant group, marginalized identity groups will aspire toward the ideal through their actions and behaviors. Directives, norms, and standards set by the privileged and dominant groups in society help to construct self (Goffman, 1959; Kaiser, 2012). As members of oppressed racial and gender groups, the interviewees formation of self was heavily influenced by and in reaction to those in power.

In the 1960s, hegemonic beauty ideals were lessened as the Black Power Movement called for a strengthened embrace in physical attributes that were natural to those with African heritage (Rooks, 1996). As a result, the women in this study were able to express their constructed selves in a variety of ways through appearance, which supported their natural traits. However, when it came to professional appearance, Afrocentric looks were not as widely accepted. When the participants reached adulthood, professional presentation became increasingly important. In addition, the women wanted to appear true to their African American identity. Dualistic appearance of personal and professional fronts was explained by the participants that largely followed the codes of the racial environment the women were surrounded by. A certain level of upkeep and knowledge about current hairstyles was deemed necessary within African American peer interactions and spaces, yet a different presentation was

required in White spaces. Through appearance behaviors and based on the spaces and people they interacted with, the women considered their varied presentations of self.

Because of the participants' common age and generation, they shared a set of experiences and similar generational ideals. As such, women of diverse ages and stages in their life might add a different perspective. However, Black feminist thought describes that, in order for Black women to survive in an oppressive society, their expression of everyday life must be "articulated, self-defined, [and form a] collective standpoint" (Collins, 2009, p. 40). The perspectives within this study have added knowledge to the role of appearance and hair in African American women's everyday lives. Further, connections of African American women's experiences with hegemony promote an understanding of society that challenges mainstream thought and power.

In future work, it would be of value to examine experiences with African American women of the same age range, who live in predominantly African American communities. The interest in this widened sample could further the women's influences on presentation of self and their negotiations between professional and personal fronts in various settings. Additionally, women who were highly active in the Civil Rights Movement may have different perspectives from the women interviewed who were impacted by the movement, but did not identify themselves as activists.

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CHAPTER 5. COLLECTIVE RESISTANCE THROUGH THE NATURAL: AN EXPLORATION OF AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMEN'S EXHIBITOIN OF BLACK PRIDE THROUGH THEIR HAIRSTYLES

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Abstract

The Black Pride and Power Movements of the 1960s and 1970s sought self-affirmation of the African American community and to reclaim African pride. As individuals engaged in the movement, they began to internalize new meanings and understandings of themselves, leading to self-transformation and collective identity that promoted the specific political ideology and agenda of the group. This research examines the lived experiences of African American women, who were emerging adults (ages 18-25) during the Civil Rights Movement from 1960-1974 to explore their experiences with wearing natural hairstyles during this time. In-depth interviews of seven participants highlighted how wearing natural hair was used in the three dimensions of collective identity formation: boundaries, consciousness, and negotiation (Taylor & Whittier, 1992). Counterhegemonic use of appearance constructed, created, and negotiated a collective identity that was aligned with demonstration for racial equality of African Americans.

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Introduction

During the 1960s and 1970s, the natural, or afro as it was later called, became a symbol of Black pride and was deeply rooted in the Black Power Movement (Mercer, 1991). The use of the natural style and accompanying African aesthetics in dress was drastically different than the hegemonic beauty values held by African Americans in the past. As a visual symbol of resistance to dominant ideals, African Americans' newly adopted styles represented a commitment to the racial equality movements of the time in conscious and overt ways, as well as those that were less defined for the wearer (Kuumba & Ajanaku, 1998). This research analyzes the wearing of natural hair during the Civil Rights Movement period as part of individual and collective African American cultural resistance.

Research of social movements has largely focused on formal structures, such as rebellions or revolutions. However, everyday acts of resistance are more common in the pursuit of justice (Kuumba & Ajanaku, 1998; Whittier, 1997). New social movement theory emphasizes the importance of "culture, symbolism, collective identity, and ideology" in oppositional efforts (Kuumba & Ajanaku, 1998, p. 228). A day-to-day example of those oppositional efforts was illustrated by Kuumba and Ajanaku's (1998) examination of cultural resistance and collective identity formation through the dreadlock aesthetic.

Contemporary movements like the Civil Rights Movement brought to the forefront enhanced interest and concern for cultural elements of individuals and their communities (Taylor & Whittier, 1992). Specifically, the Civil Rights Movement employed, "a diverse range of strategies and ideologies [that] were linked by the common tendencies towards political, economic, and cultural liberation of people of African descent" (Kuumba & Ajanaku, 1998, p. 229). In this vein, the use of African American hair during the Civil Rights Movement can be

investigated as a form of activism, both visibly and symbolically. Black hair is a highly symbolic part of the body that offers insights into the individual and collective African American culture. For African Americans, hair works as a "means of representing themselves and negotiating their place in the world" (Jacobs-Huey, 2006, p. 4).

Historically, in the United States, a cultural preference for Eurocentric features as beautiful has dominated values of appearance (Mercer, 1991). As race was tied to biological aspects, elements such as hair and skin were politicized and given negative or positive connotations and meanings, which were internalized socially and psychologically. For African Americans and other marginalized groups, adherence to dominant standards was often enacted to avoid inferiority and in an attempt to increase social mobility (Walker, 2007). Societal standards are often internalized and dictate appearance behaviors (Johnson, Lennon, & Rudd, 2014). African Americans implemented numerous appearance strategies to move beyond the prejudice, discrimination, and oppression they faced from dominant society, including changing their physical features, particularly those of skin color and hair texture, to follow mainstream values (Gill, 2001). These approaches to Black beauty were largely upheld by many people and the Black beauty industry until the late 1950s to early 1960s, when "natural" hairstyles became more accepted and popular. During this time period, styles like the afro were created as a point of liberation from White dominance. The afro, a largely chemically unprocessed natural style, physically and metaphorically linked African Americans to Africa in a counter-hegemonic process that helped redefine the culture and larger community (Mercer, 1991).

This research examined the lived experiences of African American women, who were emerging adults (ages 18-25) during the Civil Rights Movement years, 1960-1974, to explore African American women's experiences with wearing natural hairstyles during this time.

Further, this study investigated how wearing natural hair constructed, created, and negotiated a collective identity that was aligned with demonstration for racial equality by African Americans.

African American hair has held a long history of cultural pride and significance. Because hair holds a strong relationship to cultural meanings and societal values of the African American identity, it provides an opportunity to examine larger society's effect on a wearer's decisions and behaviors (Walker, 2007). The researchers used the dimension of Black hair as a fundamental starting point in examining the larger societal context of particular time periods, social movements, and the impact of those things on individuals' experiences (Rooks, 1996). Specifically, the focus of this study is on African American women's hair experiences during the Civil Rights Movement, which gives insight into an element of a culture and its relationship to a social movement. Exploring the marginality of this social group as a position and place of resistance is crucial for the overall understanding of an oppressed, exploited, and colonized people (hooks, 1991).

The position of African American women as members of two marginalized groups, both racially and gender oppressed identities within dominant society, offers "a powerful lens through which to evaluate society and a base from which to change it" (Beale, 1970, Brooks, 2007, p. 63). Exploring the lived experiences of African American women's everyday choices and activism is not widely covered within historical contexts of political engagement or the use of dress to promote resistance. Although the political aspects of the Civil Rights Movement and some of the powerful figures of the Movement have been researched extensively in scholarly work, the understanding of the movement's broader impact and the role of African American women have not (Hohle, 2013). As a remedy to the misrepresentation and exclusion of African

American women, this research offers an opportunity to learn from seven women's lives and stories to help inform the history of the period and the people who lived within it.

Literature Review

This literature review covers concepts of new social movement theory and collective identity construction within the Civil Rights and Black Power Movements. Further, it discusses the use of natural and Afrocentric hairstyles to promote self-affirmation of the African American community which echoes the political opposition of the movements.

Culture and collective identity. Contemporary social movements are infused with and inspired by an embrace of culture and the expression of identity by activists who adhere to a similar ideology. New social movement theory examines the social, psychological, and cultural foundations of movements (Whittier, 1997). Moving beyond large-scale, conventional social movements, such as disputes related to economic well-being of individuals that occurred prior to the Civil Rights time period, the theory includes the everyday actions of individuals involved in social movements. With an additional emphasis on social aspects of individuals' lives, new social movement theory explains that people with similar ideals and goals often help to form movements through informal networks (Hunt & Benford, 2004). The semi-arranged group likely holds some shared definitions, but increases their formality and action through "members' common interests, experiences, and solidarity," which works to help form a collective identity (Taylor & Whittier, 1992, p. 105). As individuals engage in social movements, they internalize new meanings and understandings of themselves, leading to a self-transformation that works to create a collective identity based on the group's political ideology and agenda (Whittier, 1997).

Collective identity serves to connect the individual with the larger social movement. Through the process of collective identity self-transformation, political change is created and

supplements the movement (Hunt & Benford, 2004). The construction of a political version of

self helps to illustrate an alignment with a collective vision. Thus, the ideology behind the

mobilization and activism within the movement is promoted. Together, like-minded individuals

work in opposition to the dominant viewpoint and internalizing collective values pushes the

movement forward (Kuumba & Ajanaku, 1998).

Whittier (1997) discusses social movements as "clusters of organizations, overlapping

networks, and individuals that share goals and are bound together by a collective identity and

cultural events" (p. 761). Individuals that form into a collective are created, developed, and

changed throughout the course of the movement, reflecting the thoughts and activism of the

group (Taylor & Whittier, 1992). As politics and structures shift, opportunities are presented for

new groups of people to create change in society.

In the process of movement evolution and growth, surrounding contexts and the effort

itself impact individuals who participate or are bystanders. Political generations consist of groups

of individuals that enter a social movement during a similar wave of protest or political time

period and consequently generational cohorts (Whittier, 1997). Generational cohorts are within

the same age group, have experienced the same events, and interpreted them in the similar

manner, which leads to forming allied ideologies and cultural resistance. The recruitment and

replacement of people from a new generational cohort or wave of activism diversifies social

movements, often providing a "mechanism" for change to occur (Whittier, 1997, p. 761). For

example, a new generational cohort of African Americans brought forth the Black Power

Movement, which differed from the initial non-violent approach, exuding changed values and

directives of the movement. This example provides evidence of how, through collective action,

the stage was set for new generations to move the cause forward without starting from the beginning (Kuumba & Ajanaku, 1998).

The collective's action is rooted in culture as "cultural symbols emerge and serve as representations and conduits for the social movement ideas and philosophies" (Kuumba & Ajanaku, 1998, p. 229). As a part of social movements, culture is an important point where the structural aspects of the movement and hypothetical outcomes come together. Further, culture holds a duality, in that it can help to promote oppressive values, but can also be a source of resistance and liberation (hooks, 1991). A culture of resistance is often used by those who are marginalized. This culture of resistance operates under a set of combined values, beliefs, and practices that lessens the effects of oppression and differentiates itself from dominant culture. Kuumba and Ajanaku (1998) describe how culture has been used historically by colonized people as a tool for survival and emancipation. The efforts of many African Americans to distance themselves from White dominance in their beauty and appearance practices presented a new way of combating racial inequality (Mercer, 1991).

African American hair as collective. The rejection of dominant culture is often the beginning stage in a resistance movement (Kuumba & Ajanaku, 1998). For groups that were colonized, oppositional identity in resistance to those if power often mirrors their indigenous culture. For example, for Africans and African Americans, negative stigma surrounding characteristically African physical features was used as a divisive tool during colonization and slavery (Mercer, 1991; Walker, 2007). In an effort to suppress Africaness post-slavery, the Black beauty industry developed and centered on techniques and products that emulated European-White beauty standards. As African Americans fought for equal and civil rights, there was enhanced recognition of and looking to traditional African culture as a source of pride and

strength. In the Black Power Movement, African Americans sought to reject White dominance and reclaim African pride. It was not until the 1960s that the natural, or afro as it was later called, was widely adopted and promoted Black pride (Rooks, 1996). For that time period, the natural provided an example of "culturally contextualized everyday resistance" (Kuumba & Ajanaku, 1998, p. 227).

The afro or natural style came to symbolize collective identities rooted in Black pride and other counterhegemonic efforts. Natural looks imbued a cultural, symbolic, and collective identity, demonstrating the progress of the social movement (Kuumba & Ajanaku, 1998). Johnson (2012) described the relationship between appearance and politics at this highly charged time when "beauty and fashion were read as predictors of one's propensity to engage in radical and/or criminal behavior" (p. 21). Natural hairstyles came to symbolize individual's political stance, specifically Black Pride or Power. Because the hairstyles were so different from those of the first half of the twentieth century, natural styles were often seen as radical or controversial, until they became a more popular trend.

In 1963, *Ebony Magazine*, a popular Black media outlet focusing on lifestyle, still used cover models with straightened hair. Soon after, college students began to fashion their hair into afros. Many of these same college students' also joined in as political activists, helping the afro become a symbol of the fight for equality (Byrd & Tharps, 2014). For African Americans, how they wore their hair held a visual continuum from straight to natural styles, which some used to signify ideals related to racial equality. For many, the utilization of Black aesthetics was a link to Africa or their heritage. Eventually, the Black aesthetics adoption in appearance was as much a part of the movement as protesting and boycotting. It was the embrace of everything Black and the reclaiming of their pure-form African heritage (Byrd & Tharps, 2014).

Thus, the cultural expression of hair was incorporated into efforts for racial equality and self-determination. Each individual's change to natural hair helped to inform the collective identity, assisting the challenge of the larger movement (Mercer, 1991). Symbolically, for the larger African American community, hair choices represented a resistance to hegemony and commitment to racial equality. By 1969, an increase occurred in the number of sympathizers of the Black Pride Movement. The Black Pride stance held the idea that it was important to embrace everything about being Black and the culture instead of trying to adopt mainstream values, ideas, and traditions (Standley, 1990). The dialogue of Black Pride was the less extreme cousin to that of the more radical Black Power, which denounced all forms of consumerism and capitalism and became synonymous with the Black Panther Party, a Black Nationalist organization. The aesthetics of the Party asserted that by straightening hair and using skin cream to lighten and smooth out skin color, the Black culture was rejected out of shame (Hohle, 2013). Because of its seemingly radical association, the Afro brought out fear, as it was used to illustrate a direct political stance.

A larger majority of African Americans embraced the Black Pride Movement than the radical Black Power position. Pride in African heritage extended from language, history, and culture to dress and even food, which seemed less threatening than the violent Power Movement portrayed in mass media (Walker, 2007). This was evident in the promotion and acceptance of natural hairstyles as a popular modern style versus a political expression. As the afro became more widely worn, people began to use products to achieve an afro, make their hair the correct texture, and return to what was considered natural. Eventually, movement direction and the commercialization of the hairstyle transitioned the afro from political to fashionable (Mercer, 1991).

Collective Construction. Collective identity is central to social movements. New movements emphasize that various efforts impact a movement and that collective self-transformation is important to political change. Shared characteristics of the group become important for individuals, and from that commonality, new understandings and ways of thinking develop for both the individual and the group (Hunt & Benford, 2004). The newly constructed collective identity works in resistance to dominance. The movements of the 1960s and 1970s showcase easily identifiable collective organization based on their distinct endorsement of a culturally based appearance (Kuumba & Ajanaku, 1998).

Taylor and Whittier (1992) identify three factors that create collective identity in social movements: 1) boundaries to differentiate the challenging group from the dominant; 2) developed consciousness that present and define the challenging group's social position; and 3) negotiation of meaning, symbols, and actions used by the challenging group to resist and reconstruct dominant systems. These factors are "analytically distinct," but occur simultaneously and in connection with each other as the individual develops a political position and their collective identity within a group is formed (Hunt & Benford, 2004, p. 442). Boundaries mark differences between the collective and the dominant, which use the distinction as a repressive force to marginalize individuals and groups. Through activism and organization, the collective redefines the boundaries of marginality as a site for resistance (hooks, 1991; Taylor & Whittier, 1992). Consciousness within the group and its members is created as they visualize shared values, missions, and beliefs that resist dominant ways of thinking, knowing, and doing. Movement goals and activities are justified through this common set of interests. Throughout the construction of the collective identity, negotiations of everyday politically-based actions are carried out to undermine the dominant and advocate for justice (Taylor & Whittier, 1992).

Action for negotiation can include overcoming self-hatred or demanding fair treatment (Kuumba & Ajanaku, 1998).

The Black Pride and Power Movements politicized the everyday lives of Black people and their objectification by dominant power, drawing attention to the boundaries between the Black and White positions in society (Kuumba & Ajanaku, 1998; Mercer, 1991). The embrace of pro-Black rhetoric during this time period and surrounding activism brought forth new values and perspective in relation to racial equality and ultimately a critical position, which increased awareness in the Black experience. The development of the resistance was expanded by negotiating the use of everyday forms of activism to promote equality. As mentioned, movements during this particular time period held easily observable practices of presentation that exhibited collective ideology. For example, other appearance aspects that were used to symbolize liberation and resistance by subcultures included hippies with long hair, and leather worn by motorcycle club members and other rebellious youth groups (Mercer, 1991). By exploring these aspects of collective identity construction, the development of a shared ideology and its impact on social movements is better understood.

Methods and Participants

This study utilized an in-depth qualitative method to collect data on the lived experiences of African American women who were ages 18-25 during the years 1960-1974. Participants each completed a three-part, semi-structured interview series. Each interview concentrated on the themes of: 1) hair history throughout their lives, 2) details of experiences during the Civil Rights Movement years 1960-74, and 3) reflections on the meaning of hairstyle choices in the participant's life. This interview format allowed both the researcher and the participant "to explore the participant's experience, place it in context, and reflect on its meaning" (Seidman,

2013, p. 20). Results of this paper derived from the participants' discussion of their hair, influence of popular culture, and activism during the 1960s and 1970s. The goal of this research was to give voice to the lived experiences of African American women and their experiences with their hair. By focusing on the women's stories, insight into the details of everyday experiences of the participants and their sense of self was gained. The researchers attempted to remove personal bias by designing a study that allowed the participants to speak freely of their experiences through a semi-structured interview. Clarification of any misunderstandings in data analysis was resolved by allowing the women the opportunity to review the transcriptions of the interviews, and using the participants' own words to illustrate findings (Esterberg, 2002).

Each interview lasted approximately 90 minutes, creating over 30 hours of data. No compensation was offered to participants in exchange for sharing their experiences. Interviews took place in private locations throughout the university, participant homes, and local businesses. The researchers also asked participants to provide photographs that would illustrate their hairstyles throughout their lives. All interviews were recorded and field notes were written during and immediately following the interview to capture non-verbal expressions or discussion items for follow-up questions in future interviews.

Interviews were transcribed verbatim by the researcher and a paid transcriptionist. Each transcript was analyzed by the interviewer and a trained qualitative researcher. The transcribed interviews were coded independently. Notes and themes were shared among authors in regard to each transcript as well as in constant comparison to the whole set for frequency, salience, and relationship to one another. The interpretation of the individual experiences was examined through the "'situatedness' of each finite observer [or participant] in a socio-political, historical context to challenge the plausibility of claims" from their perspective (Hawkesworth, 1989, p.

536).The researchers then worked together to compare, contrast, and evaluate emergent themes, in an iterative back-and-forth process (Spiggle, 1994). Significant statements from each theme were extracted to help describe the lived experiences associated with the theme. Participants were provided pseudonyms during interview transcription to maintain confidentiality and anonymity.

A purposeful sampling method was used to recruit participants that met demographic criteria of age (18-25 years old during the years 1960-1974), gender (women), and ethnicity (African American). The perspectives of the women constituted a generational cohort, where they experienced similar events and perspectives of the movement (Whittier, 1997). Interviews began with an initial participant known to the researchers who provided potential women within the large, Midwestern University and surrounding community. Through snowball sampling, prospective interviewees were contacted by email or phone to participate. Purposeful sampling and snowball sampling concentrated the participants' experiences, which was appropriate for the scope of this research. Political generations of people who experienced and participated in social movements at the same time share similar and distinctive perspectives on the movement based on the context of the time period in which they lived. (Whittier, 1997).

Table 1

Study Participants

Participant	Birth Year	Region Came From	Age (years old) during 1960-1974 time period
Beth	1955	Midwest	5-19
Cathy	1953	Southeast	7-21
Donna	1939	Northwest	21-35
Ellen	1952	Northeast	8-22
Freda	1943	Midwest	17-31
Ruth	1945	Midwest	15-29
Wanda	1956	Southeast	4-18

A total of seven women participated in the study, ranging in ages from 59 to 76 years old. Over half of the participants (n=4) had attained their doctoral degrees, with the remainder (n=3) earning a master's. Six of the participants, held a professional career in higher education. At the time of the study, three of the participants (43%) were retired. Participants lived or were originally from the Pacific, North and Southeast, and Midwest regions, with only one growing up within close distance to the university community where the study took place. Each of the participants moved to the university community for career or educational advancement of themselves or their spouses.

Results

Participants described key themes that were associated with the Civil Rights Movement and shared ideas surrounding hair, expressing a collective identity. As mentioned by the participants, the influence of the Black is Beautiful ideology as well as radical Black activism helped to form a collective identity in their communities. Consciousness was raised as alternative appearances were valued, in direct opposition to what had been historically defined as less-than. Throughout the establishment of the collective and larger movement, the negotiation of meanings and symbols was implemented by the participants as actions of everyday resistance related to Black pride affirmed and redefined Black beauty. As the participants moved into different life stages and the movement shifted to less active demonstration, the use of their hair as an oppositional tool followed.

Boundaries: Black love and liberation. Boundaries are often created by dominant groups in social, political, economic, and cultural aspects of society, to differentiate those who belong and those who do not. As a resistance group begins to define itself, it does so in contrast to the dominant identity, affirming that which is unique to the collective's characteristics (Taylor

& Whittier, 1992). Boundary demarcation is a vital element of collective identity construction

(Hunt & Benford, 2004). For the African American community, achieved reforms from 1954 to

1965 sparked what would become the Black Power Movement from 1966 to 1974 (Wilson,

2013). Imagery of the Civil Rights Movement began to shift from efforts pursued by Martin

Luther King, Jr. to those put forth by Black Nationalists, including the Black Panther Party. The

rhetoric of the movement also changed from freedom and equality to Black Power. In addition to

the more radical political stance, a moderate sentiment of Black is Beautiful was widely adopted

and became heavily popularized by the culture (Freeland, 2009; Wilson, 2013). Participants

discussed the theme of Black as beautiful versus dominant ideals that created boundaries for

them in two ways: 1) through the popularization of Black culture, and 2) the challenge to

dominant appearance standards as they adopted natural styles.

The presentation of Black Power ideology, which activated Black as beautiful and Black

pride, "offered a venue for the creation of Black culture that was not defined by the dominant

White culture" (Freeland, 2009, p. 263). Seeing African American popular culture echo the

movement helped participants recognize and align with the sense of pride. Beth described the

impact of championing Black empowerment on her:

> The popularity of those [Black musical] groups and the surge in Black culture, it was
> very affirming. There were always talent shows, but I remember myself and a couple of
> friends, we did something with afros. It was very fun and I think we won. It was
> affirming in that way, in realizing that this is a period of time where we are recognizing
> those things… Those images, very positive images, were always in view. It was beyond
> Angela Davis. The Black Power fist during the Olympics and all of those things of what I
> thought were empowering and always around and were home.

Beth's quote illustrates the role Black popular culture played in providing positive images of

Black identity. Being surrounded by the images provided a new understanding of her ethnicity

and created a sense of affirmation that may not have existed prior to the time period. Wanda

further discussed that musicians, activists, and "all of those things really kind of enhanced that, yes, we can do it just like everybody else and there's a feeling of self-worth". From the feeling of self-worth, a central identity in Blackness was affirmed and celebrated in unity (Kuumba & Ajanaku, 1998).

Hierarchical placement of identities in U. S. society work to organize people in dominant and marginalized categories and create boundary lines. Ethnic groups share characteristics that are socially and visually recognized, which serves two functions: to differentiate and devalue their characteristics (Taylor & Whittier, 1992). During the time period of Black pride, African Americans sought to positively define their ethnic features as a point of dignity with an emphasis on self-love. As an oppressed group, the African American community asserted their representation through the African aesthetic (Mercer, 1991). Their stance deviated from hegemonic beauty directives and embraced what was deemed as natural. Participants described how the celebration of African or Black characteristics challenged White norms. Donna explains,

> It was like, that was what the Black Power Movement kind of influenced. People were trying to find the Black Power where Black is Beautiful. We're beautiful, we should shine that way. I think that is where most of the motivation came from, for people to stop trying to fit in to a White mode and to redefine ourselves…That style that 'we're going to wear our hair like this. This is our way of expressing ourselves' and saying 'we're proud, we're Black and we're proud' that was part of it too.

Embracing their natural hairstyle and all that was beautiful and rooted in their Blackness was in opposition to White norms and what had been typical in appearance. A boundary was created between the two appearance types.

Within the concept of boundaries there is "permeability of boundaries between the subordinate and dominant groups" caused by varying subject positions like race, sex, age, class, and others (Taylor & Whittier, 1992, p. 112). Donna explained that "I think in the 60s, most White people were going as far away from being identified that [Afrocentric] way." Her

statement emphasized that the majority was not interested in identifying themselves with the

Afrocentric style. However, another participant discussed that her high school was a trade school

and diverse for the time period, where there were some White classmates that wore their hair in

afro styles.

> There was a White guy in our class who had, just very curly hair... it stood in a very nice
> natural. We really admired his afro. Yeah, there were some. We affirmed those who
> could legitimately pull off an afro, but if they were just one of these and they couldn't
> really do [it], we talked about them too. Like, you need to not do that again. You can't
> pull that off (Beth).

Beth's explanation of her classmates may be an example of how boundaries vary based on levels

of intersectionality within structural and institutional systems of society, such as socioeconomic

status. Established boundaries by non-dominant groups are essential in forming the collective's

identity because they emphasize shared commonalities and positionality to those within and

outside of the group (Hunt & Benford, 2004). Although the majority of White people were not

adopting the natural style, there was some boundary crossing allowed for those who could

achieve the correct look. The relationship with the movement, cause, and community may have

played into the acceptance of those Whites that wore the style. Though the style was worn by

some outside the African American race, it continued as a symbol for collective identities that

were associated with Black Pride and other counterhegemonic movements (Kuumba & Ajanaku,

1998).

Black Pride and Power Movements were successful in increasing self-love among the

African American community. Through their efforts, boundaries were created between the

challengers through a positive Black self-image and the dominant, which portrayed Black

subjectivity. Black Nationalist discourses "acknowledged that racism 'works' by encouraging the

devaluation of Blackness by Black subjects themselves, and that a re-centering sense of pride is a

prerequisite for a politics of resistance and reconstruction" (Mercer, 1991, p. 250). Maintaining an oppositional identity to dominant society allowed the participants to embrace their culture and self. The use of visual resistance helped to facilitate the oppositional tool and the sense of identity as a resistor.

Consciousness for liberation. Raising an individual's consciousness serves the collective by understanding existing barriers, as well as defining the group's struggle and resistance of the dominant. Consciousness can be constructed through various means, including interaction with others, emotion work, and components of identity construction (Hunt & Benford, 2004). Developing cognitive liberation or critical understanding refers to an "ongoing process in which groups reevaluate themselves, their subjected experiences, their opportunities, and their shared interests" (Taylor & Whittier, 1992, p. 114). As the collective comes to know things aside from the hegemonic ideology, its members cement their belonging and allegiance to the cause (Mercer, 1991). Participants discussed raised awareness due to expanded understanding of the African American history and social position within U.S. society, and changed imagery of Black women, specifically through Angela Davis and its impact on their personal thinking and actions.

The participants explained that the movement was a time of heightened activity and "a lot of Black Pride" (Ellen). One participant explained how she and her peers were becoming politically aligned with the movement, "We were reading these books and thinking we were feminists and stuff. Like I said, I read this book, Stokely Carmichael's book. I think it was called *Black Power*. So, yeah, we were enamored with all of these ideas" (Ruth). Stokely Carmichael was the leader of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). SNCC originated in 1957, but by the mid-1960s had begun to show more radical political thought under

Carmichael's direction. Carmichael, who became a pro-Black activist in the Power Movement, popularized the phrase, Black Power (Giddings, 2006; Walker, 2007).

Part of the political awakening also came from a sense of the historical plight of African Americans that led the participants to seek social transformation. Ellen began college as a history major and then added sociology; she explained,

> I was going to work as a social worker. I was driven. The history classes between the time and '70s for a college student, they were very good. Now I think, why wouldn't you want to go to college? It was so much fun. I just learned a lot.

She went on to explain that what she was learning in college helped to frame her activist approach and inspired her quest for racial equality on her campus. Ellen experienced a dialogical relationship where "changes in thinking may be accompanied by changed actions and that altered experiences may in turn stimulate a changed consciousness" (Collins, 2009, p. 34). The history and radical political ideologies that the women were learning inspired new thoughts about the movements and racial equality for both African Americans and women, among other identities. Based in this new knowledge, they were active on many social issues. All of the participants discussed activism that they engaged in during the Civil Rights Movement years. They ranged from protesting for co-ed dormitory visitation to requesting increased recruitment of Black faculty and students on campus. Other engagement included not wearing bras and holding anti-war demonstrations.

Becoming aware gave the women an idea of their position within society and informed newly established expectations of their treatment based on their marginalized identity (Taylor & Whittier, 1992). Beth found that she recognized the historical implications, the impact of the movement on redefining Blackness, and the importance of hair to the new status of African Americans,

> I think all I really understood was that where we were in history, people had paid some price for us to get here. So, I appreciated that and knew that it didn't just suddenly happen. That there were these opportunities that were being made, that instead of looking down upon being different, that we can celebrate being different. So, I understood that. I understood some of the historical things that had happened and that I knew that even though this was sort of a very, just a thing. Looks and all are not worth time…It's just not the kind of thing that is important. I understood that this was still an outgrowth of the [movement] even though the political agenda was much more important. That it was okay for me to wear an afro and be affirmed for that. That these were political agendas with some very direct outcomes that people were laying down their lives for. So, this was a side benefit that I could celebrate it in this way.

Though appearance was not at the forefront of Beth's activist agenda, she knew that wearing an afro was a part of the challenge to racial equality and enjoyed the ability to participate in an everyday action that moved forward the cause. Mercer (1991) agrees that although the style of dress during the revolutionary time period may have been disregarded, as the movement was shown through mass media, the styles increased the visibility of Black people and their struggles.

Another element that the participants pointed to as making them think about their position as Black women was the imagery of Angela Davis. Davis, an icon of Black female militancy of this time period, was the "epitome of a Black woman gone bad" (Johnson, 2012, p. 18). As the movement became centered on Black Power, the role of women changed within the media. Portrayals of Black women fed into the fear of the Black Power Movement, by portraying Black women as militant feminists (Johnson, 2012). This new portrayal of Black women by the media was overwhelmingly related to appearance and style choices. It was a significant perspective that linked the symbolic meaning of an afro to a political ideology (Rooks, 1996).

Participants explained the effect of the new imagery on their mindset. Ruth felt her sense of beauty was affected by the popularity of natural styles, because she thought,

> Oh, that is so cool. That is so cool. And we loved Angela Davis's look. We were all enamored with Angela Davis… I thought it was cool looking. And I did buy into the Black is Beautiful at the time. And I liked. I liked feeling like, ok, this is my nappy hair.

All of the participants discussed a sense of excitement and fascination with Angela Davis, specifically during her highly publicized criminal charges and trial. Ellen described, "I identified with her from the time I saw the poster. And I identified with her as a more militant person." Davis's militancy became a symbol of the Black Power Movement and as Donna explains, "[people] were wearing that style as a way to say 'I'm Black, I'm beautiful, I'm not going to emulate the oppressor.'" The image of Angela Davis, although shown negatively in news outlets of the time, came to visually symbolize a pure form of Black as beautiful and resistance to dominant appearance ideals. Beth helped to articulate this idea,

> I think I was definitely more influenced by that sort of radical element, for a lack of a better term to use. The big 'fro and the kind of... I was more drawn to those who had a little bit more. At least at that time it was radical. Only radical in that it was an embracing of what was natural. Instead of radical for the sake of being radical. That it was more accepting ourselves for what we are. The way that we are, once you accept that, then how we choose to express that is fine. Whether that is cornrows or afros, extensions or...

In another manner, Ellen found that because of her activism she was seen as militant. She stated,

> The White people at [my university] told me that I was an activist, told me I was militant. Whenever I would talk to the deans or talk about what I thought we needed as students, I was coming out of a, you know, this is what other people get and so why can't we have it?

People's perceptions of Ellen as militant were also appearance related and somewhat internalized: "[We] kept it [hair] braided because we were militant. I don't think we were militant but that's what they started calling us" (Ellen). Participants were perceived as and started to see themselves as having a sociopolitical consciousness or being activists because of wearing the afro and natural style, which emulated Angela Davis.

Many elements informed the participants about the significance and shared goals of the movement, from reading texts and learning about African American history, exchanging ideas with others, and the media representation of Black women. Social and political struggles of

society and the Black community in general, were ever present and formative in their raised awareness. The women's and their peers' critical understandings helped to develop "a collective oppositional consciousness that channel[ed] women into a variety of actions geared toward personal, social, and political change" (Taylor & Whittier, 1992, p. 109) This was evident through their personal thoughts and changes to behavior, as well as those that impacted the larger community.

Negotiation: Affirmation and professionalism. Negotiation establishes and reinvents boundaries and consciousness through interaction (Blumer, 1969; Kuumba & Ajanaku, 1998). Everyday negotiation redefines social definitions and negative symbolic meaning and is important for the efforts of the collective (Hunt & Benford, 2004). The ideal appearance of people in society is established by dominant and marginalized groups reinforcing definitions of what is appropriate (Goffman, 1959). However, social movements are able to change meanings and associations through their protest. When marginalized groups begin to challenge dominant powers, devalued characteristics are then promoted as a mode of resistance (Mercer, 1991; Taylor & Whittier, 1992). Negotiations are heavily influenced by interactions and context, a process that was described by participants (Hunt & Benford, 2004). Participants' membership in the collective followed forms of negotiating through altered ways of thinking and acting in challenging dominant representations in different settings and life stages or time periods.

The polarization of Black versus White is deeply engrained in U.S. society and operates on the binary of inferiority and superiority, or ugly and beautiful (Mercer, 1991). Because African Americans have been historically on the inferior edge of beauty norms, their hair was seen as a visible stigma along with their skin (Mercer, 1991). Challenges to socialized negative definitions demand that others value characteristics different than the norm. During the Black

Pride period, the change to positively upholding Black beauty was in direct opposition to White

features, which helped to affirm the appearance of participants and offer a new opportunity for

expression. Freda explained,

> Black women became to realize that you were just as pretty with an afro as if you do a press and curl or perm. The idea was now that you don't have to do anything if you don't want to. It was a personal choice… I think it had an impact from the standpoint that you realized it was okay to be Black or African American or light complexioned or have good hair. It all was okay. That era was, not only for me, but was a sense of coming into our own.

For Freda, wearing an afro was a source of strength and defiance, in that she was able to do as

she pleased and feel affirmed. The challenge to dominant representation and new approach was

echoed by Cathy, who discussed,

> I think I was impacted by the fact that there were some different choices that could be made. I was coming out of high school and going into college when that was happening. I benefited from what the new rules were. I think I benefited from viewing that I did not need to wear my hair straight. Not that somebody said something overtly. It was because there was something else that you could do.

> The women were able to use opportunity and choice as a form of everyday resistance,

which helped to make natural hair more accepted in larger society, while instantaneously

benefitting the women who wore the styles because they had the ability. The range of styles

available for African American women was discussed by Beth, who did not "go natural"

completely.

> I didn't wear my hair natural a lot because I kept doing this kind of back and forth thing. It wasn't like a natural that was always ready to pick out, so it was sort of a process thing. I was never completely natural, so I created an afro from partly processed hair. It was not truly all natural in that way because I wasn't really willing to completely commit. And, I think it was partly because I didn't know. I liked my hair all these different ways, so I didn't want to completely commit to natural because that would mean, because I didn't know how to hot comb my hair, I would be just stuck with this natural and I didn't want to be confined. So, instead I kind of created all these different styles, sort of knowing that I could sort of do it using other products or other mechanical features like rollers and things.

Beth's unwillingness to avoid processing her hair and back-and-forth styling choices exhibited

that she was still able to challenge negative representation. Although she was impacted by other

factors, such as her ability to do her own hair, Beth was willing to try other procedures to

emulate the natural effect. Beth's process to achieve a natural was not unique; many African

American women simulated the natural in a variety of ways, in addition to varied levels of

adherence to the oppositional symbolism (Walker, 2007).

Another factor that impacted negotiation of participants' identity within the

demonstration of natural hair was their belonging to a generational cohort. As members of a

political generation that entered the movement at similar ages, they continued to grow into

similar developmental periods. The participants experienced change from different environments

or contexts due to life stages, such as education, career and family (Whittier, 1997). As they

aged, their movement activism and political commitment shifted. Depending on geographical

location, profession, and other aspects of their lives, thoughts about natural styles and their

perceived appropriateness varied. Furthermore, during the mid-to-late 1970s, the afro had

become more fashionable and lost some of the political sentiment; therefore, participants' use of

hair as an everyday act may have lessened.

As they found themselves in new settings and roles, their natural hairstyles may have

been the norm or an exception. Cathy explains how her environment and professional position

redefined the statement made by wearing a natural style change for her,

> It was what happened coming to a predominately White environment, especially in the
> Midwest. Probably in the south it would have been different. There may have been some
> people who would still wear their naturals. There were a couple of people here who wore
> them. I think it was trying to fit in. It wasn't like there were a lot of you and you didn't
> need anybody trying to explain what was going on with your hair… When I went to
> work, I'm sure I went more with pressed hair, probably because you were professional
> and I think in the workplace there was still some of that, they didn't want someone

coming in looking a certain way. Nobody said that, but somehow I knew I got the message.

Cathy furthered that she did not want to look out of place and natural hair would be unconducive to her work in predominantly White rural areas. On the other hand, Ruth, who worked in the service industry explained, "There was no problem [wearing an afro]. All of this was so prevalent in the 70s that if they were going to hire black people, they were going to have an afro, you know?" The contrast of Cathy and Ruth's quotes highlight differences between the uses of wearing a natural hairstyle as a form of opposition. In Cathy's decision, she avoided portraying resistance through her hair to uphold professional expectations based on an educational setting in the Midwest; however, Ruth's work within the service industry, where the afro had become more accepted decreased the significance of the natural as a statement.

A cohort's allegiance to the collective identity can vary as life progresses (Whittier, 1997). Elements of the women's appearance as it related to the movement changed when they entered post-baccalaureate programs or professional positions. Donna noted that "professionals did not go to that style because it was not in the general public's idea to be professional." What had once been an important element and tool for resistance for participants was no longer a significant internalization. The proper professional look that had been adopted by society was still heavily influenced by hegemonic standards, which impacted the women's appearance decisions. Beth explains,

> I would say that I had made some decision about what was a professional look. That would be something more conservative. I think I did understand that in my thinking that the afro and the afro puffs and all of that was more for fun slash radical sometimes. When it wasn't radical, it was fun and expressive, but for the work environment I needed something more conservative.

Participants further discussed that if they wanted to be taken seriously as a professional, they would change their hair after they were hired or forego natural styles altogether to be deemed more acceptable and employable.

Hair "may be seen as both individual expressions of the self and as embodiments of social norms, conventions and expectations" (Mercer, 1991, p. 248). Personal transformation and expressive action that the women participated in negotiated the meaning of Black beauty. As a resolution to the problematization of Black hair, their wearing of the afro countered negative symbols and redefined afros as a positive attribute of Black culture, while at the same time being self-affirming. The participants' negotiations reflected their activism at different points in their lives and demonstrated alignment with the collectives' values. For instance, participants made choices about their hair based on what was most salient to them, which was, in their early career, a professional appearance (Collins, 2009). Participants discussed their use of negotiation through hairstyles when it came to their environment, profession, and even their ability and flexibility to achieve certain styles.

Successful collective identity established by a movement is identifiable when the interpretive orientation is evident in everyday life (Kuumba & Ajanaku, 1998). For the participants, collective identity within the Civil Rights Movement was constructed through presented boundaries between Black and White beauty ideals, gaining a critical evaluation of self and society and one's place in it, as well as acts of negotiation that shifted meanings and ideologies of the political climate that they experienced. A simultaneous process of participants' everyday activism through their hair and the overall efforts of the larger movement shaped collective identity membership.

Conclusion

Social movements of the 1960s and 1970s involved various types of activism that fought for renewed understandings of people and cultures, while resisting dominant ideology (Taylor & Whittier, 1992). Specifically for African Americans, the power of collective identity during the time period transformed mainstream culture, allowing an alternative visual aesthetic that represented an affirmation of Black as beautiful. The creation, adoption, and embrace of African culture, specifically natural hairstyles, challenged White hegemonic beauty standards (Mercer, 1991). The purpose of this research was to explore African American women's experiences with wearing natural hairstyles during the 1960s and 1970s Civil Rights Movement. Additionally, this study investigated how wearing natural hair constructed and negotiated a collective identity that demonstrated racial equality for African Americans.

Participants of this study constructed a collective identity as a response to the oppressive dominant ideology and a fight for racial equality. Boundaries differentiating the dominant and marginalized, specifically those of Black and White beauty ideals, became sites for resistance through the popularization of Black culture and a challenge to dominant appearance standards by adopting natural styles. A raised consciousness through awareness of African American history, social position within U.S. society, and the impact of a changed imagery of Black women, impacted their personal thinking and actions. All the while, negotiating through forms of activism, such as wearing natural hairstyles, altered ways of thinking and acting in response to dominance in different settings, life stages, and time periods.

The Black Pride and Power Movements had a large impact on popular culture of the time and allowed for a collective identity of those with shared values of solidarity. Specifically for the participants, the changing political and societal environment was both unstable and at the same

time affirming. At this time, they were able to use cultural representations of the African American community to produce and negotiate meanings as an oppositional force. Many facets led the women in forming their identity personally and professionally, as well as a being a collective member of a movement challenging ideas of power, beauty, and human rights.

Because of the participants' common age and political generation, they shared a set of experiences and ideologies related to liberation and hopes for racial equality. However, there is no homogeneous Black woman's experience (Collins, 2009). Within the Black woman's experience, there are many differences between individuals, which can impact how symbols and meaning are defined, specifically in the Civil Rights Movement, relating to the political climate and how individuals distinguish their membership within the collective. There can be a range of group understandings and identities developed based on oppressed groups developing a sense of self, situated in different settings. These understandings impact individual and collective challenge of the dominant (Taylor & Whittier, 1992). Overall, the experiences of participants within this study offer a collective perspective about the ways in which identity and appearance in African American women's everyday lives challenged oppression they faced. Further, connections of African American women's experiences with hegemony promote an understanding of society that challenges mainstream thought and power.

Because these women were cognizant of the movement but were not fully active, future research into African American women's self-transformation into a collective identity could examine those who were highly active to further stories related to everyday experiences. Additionally, exploration into African American males' perspective on their appearance and collective identity establishment could provide further information into the genderization of beauty practices and ideals, contrasting expectations for men versus women.

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CHAPTER 6. CONCLUSIONS

For many African Americans, memories of "hair care rituals are unforgettable, for reasons both bad and good" (Byrd & Tharps, 2014, p. 137). Byrd & Tharps (2002) explain that African American people's relationship with their hair is significant in their identity, changes as they age and grow developmentally, and is highly experiential throughout their lives. In addition to creating meaning and symbolism for the wearer, hair is a prominent visual component of appearance and is widely reflective of societal values and ideals (Mercer, 1991). Complicating this dynamic portion of the body and appearance, notions of race and gender add further social contexts, regulations, and positional stances. The purpose of this research was to examine the effect of the Civil Rights Movement on African American women's experiences with their hair throughout their lives.

The Civil Rights Movement was an important point in American history where the fight for equality in the United States began in the 1950s, with important campaigns and legislative changes, and heavy activism occurring until the 1970s. Civil rights were concerned with involvement in the Vietnam War, rights for the LGBT community, and equality for women and African Americans. The movements of this time followed a contemporary form of activism in that individual and collective identities were redefined and formed as an oppositional tool of resistance and at the same time an embrace of various oppressed and marginalized cultural aspects (Taylor & Whittier, 1992). The larger mission of the Civil Rights Movement was to gain an improved and equal American society for African Americans. Wilson (2013) describes the two periods of the movement with the classical period, where the overall rhetoric was freedom from oppression, and the Black Power period where an emphasis on Black self-love and Black as

beautiful occurred. The Black Power period corresponds with the integration of African

aesthetics including Afro-centric prints and textiles, jewelry, and natural hairstyles worn

hairstyles that were seen as Afrocentric, following the social climate of Black Pride (Walker,

2007). This study focused on or about the point in the Civil Rights Movement, where the idea of

being pro-Black no longer embraced the ideals of White beauty standards.

The experiences of African American women as a cultural group, at a specific time

period and age provided a bounded system to analyze and understand phenomena (Yin, 2003).

This research examined African American women who were emerging adults (ages 18-25),

between the years 1960-1974, a pivotal time in American and African American history, in

particular. At this time in the participants' lives, an influential stage in human development was

also occurring. The creation of foundational aspects of their lives, including education,

worldviews, and identity were impacted and effected by the Civil Rights Movement (Arnett,

2000). Because of the collective use of hair by the African American community as a form of

resistance, the newly adopted African aesthetic informed a developmental stage in participants'

lives.

This study employed a critical exploration into African American women's hair and

identity. Critical inspection is "concerned in particular with issues of power and justice and the

ways that the economy, matters of race, class, and gender, ideologies, discourses, education,

religion and other social institutions, and cultural dynamics interact to construct a social system"

(Kincheloe & McLaren, p. 436-7). The connection of race, gender, class, and other subject

positions shapes and constructs self. Positioning these components in comparison to or alongside

hegemonic ideologies provides and understanding of how oppression plays out in women's daily

lives (Olesen, 2003).

The understanding of African American women's experiences with their hair throughout their lives was gained by using Seidman's (2013) protocol for a three-part, in-depth interview series, concentrating on the themes of: 1) hair history throughout their lives, 2) details of experiences during the Civil Rights Movement years 1960-74, and 3) creating reflections on the meaning of hairstyle choices in the participant's life. The interviews were completed with seven women, providing potential for understanding a comprehensive set of individual lived experiences that then lend to describing the impact of the Civil Rights Movement on the larger African American women's perspective of the point in time and since.

This dissertation research followed an article format that allows the publication of two journal articles. Each article has a different focus based on emergent topics and themes within the data. Research questions that guided the stud include:

Article 1

3. How did family, society, and perceptions of the self, influence African American women's hair during childhood, the emerging adult stage (which occurred during the Civil Rights Movement years of 1960-1974), and into adulthood?

4. How did the participant's intersectional identities (race, gender, age, etc.) impact their hairstyle choices?

Article 2

3. How did African American women construct collective identity within the movements of Black Pride and Power ideology?

4. How did African American women's hair exhibit resistance of and/or conformity to hegemonic beauty standards?

Article one examined the participants' discussion of their influences to the presentation of themselves under symbolic interactionism. Dress was used to communicate and negotiate meanings and values between the participants and others, resulting in the presentation of self throughout different stages in their lives. Goffman (1959) helped to illustrate how the presentation of self is constructed as marginalized groups strive to act appropriate or ideal in the eyes of dominant standards and power groups. Discussion of participants' choices of hairstyles and dress varied depending on audiences and settings they interacted with, in addition to influences from their intersectional subject positions, which operate under the hegemonic norms in U.S. society.

Article two used the construction of collective identity in new social movements to explain how the participants self-transformed their identity, consciousness, and actions to align with the Civil Rights Movement, specifically in aspects of Black Pride and solidarity during the 1960s and 1970s. The everyday actions of hair styling helped to establish collective identity that worked to resist dominant powers and pursue change (Taylor & Whittier, 1992). Participants discussed how their lives and hair choices reflected the movement ideology and Black pride. The time period and participant actions informed the construction of a collective identity through existing and redefined boundaries of ideologies surrounding oppression and the Black Pride/Power Movement, a raised consciousness of the African American status in U.S. society, and negotiation as a result of the movement and other shifts in political and social aspects.

The two distinct articles focused on African American women's hairstyle choices throughout their lives. Each connected the Civil Rights Movement to decisions made about hair and overall appearance. The perspectives of how the movement time period effected the women and created meaning for their lives from then on was explained through their creation and re-

articulation of individual and collective identities. Participants provided a critical perspective on their lived reality and meaning making events and experiences throughout.

Limitations

The major limitation of this research was the use of the two article format which comprised the majority of interpretations related to the data. Because the results of the data were written to targeted academic journals, they were created to specific journal guidelines and writing styles. In addition, the rich and descriptive participant experiences were limited to those themes illustrated within the articles. Many topics and information shared within this study were simply unable to be covered within the format chosen. The plethora of data will provide the opportunity for future dissemination of participant experiences.

The interpretive component of qualitative research is subjective because it is heavily influenced by the researcher, who is the gatekeeper of the participants' knowledge (Esterberg, 2002). Both the researcher and the participant hold a position based on their experiences, history, and contexts related to the topic (Olesen, 2003). In this study, the researcher identified with the African American identity and had prior knowledge about African American hair. Identity of the researcher impacts the way information is co-created. All individuals are informed through their experiences however, it is important to be conscious of positions and identities when trying to understand others and present their stories (Seidman, 2013). The implementation of reflexivity helped to construct a research study that respected and appreciated the women's stories as authentic (Olesen, 2003).

A delimitation of this research was the use of a purposeful sample. The specific interest in gathering participants of a specific age, race, and gender was important to the exploration of the topic. The sample can lend a limited perspective to historic accounts that is not generalizable

to all, but illustrates a shared experience and is overall appropriate for the scope of this research.

Hawkesworth (1989) furthers the appropriateness of this approach as feminist research, in that

the research,

> Need not assert theirs is the only or final worked on complex questions. In the absence of claims of universal validity, feminist accounts derive their justificatory force from their capacity to illuminate existing social relations, to demonstrate the deficiencies of alternative interpretations debunking opposing views…Feminists move beyond texts to confront the world, they can provide concrete reasons in specific contexts for the superiority of their accounts. (p. 557)

The participants' claims were derived from their standpoint, "from the strength of rational

argument, from the ability to demonstrate point by point the deficiencies of alternative

explanations" (Hawkesworth, 1989, p. 557). The specificity of their accounts lends much to be

examined.

Connection to African American Women Today

The lived experiences of the women in this study echo much of what other researchers

(Jones & Shorter-Gooden, 2003; Opie & Phillips, 2015) have found about African American

women's plight with beauty and appearance. Standards related to what is deemed ideal,

appropriate, or professional continue to prove difficult for African American women. Currently,

African American women who adhere to dominant appearance behaviors more closely are often

less subject to backlash than those who do not (Opie & Phillips, 2015). At the same time, efforts

to return to Afrocentric hairstyles during the Civil Rights Movement have sustained, offering the

option to explore a variety of hairstyles for African American women. Although the initial

natural movement lessened over time, it created a space where natural hair could be worn. More

recently, the resurgence of natural styles arose as African American women shifted from relaxed

to natural hair in the early 2000s. The reinvigoration of African American hair has attempted to

place the natural as the "new normal" (Byrd & Tharps, 2014, p. 207).

Since the 2000s, more and more African American women have chosen to wear their hair in its natural curly state, which has popularized outlets for natural hair tutorials, shifted the Black hair industry, and had a large impact on popular culture (Byrd & Tharps, 2014). In many of these respects natural Black hair maintains challenges to the status quo in a similar manner to that of the participants of this study. Cultural critic Michaela Angela Davis explains, "recently, there's been so much drama about Black hair and appropriation in pop culture, and there's no better way to bring understanding and information than by telling stories;" her video series on hair testimonies of African American women (Bryant, 2016, para. 4). Another opinion is that ethnic groups have morphological differences when it comes to their hair and that is acceptable, recognizing and embracing diversity in appearance (Hudson, 2014).

By learning about the women's experiences in this study, there is potential to understand the current status of African American women's hair through the lens of history. The participants offered much reflection ranging from decades ago to more recent times, which helped to illustrate their lives as Black women and choices of appearance, specifically their hair. Their hair was and remains situational in that it depends on many factors and elements that they were influenced by, surrounded with, and able to achieve. The women's experiences are not limited to the past and share common strands with many elements of today's African American community and culture, of which they are still a member and making more hair stories.

Implications

The stories collected through this project provided an opportunity to construct a space "where a multiplicity of women's voices are granted equal air time" and the opportunity to shape community surrounding the topic could occur (Brooks, 2007, p. 75). A dominant theme in feminist research is to question knowledge (Olesen, 2003). For example, whose knowledge is

being given? And, how or for whom is it being prepared? Increasing the understanding from African American women' experiences with their hair shared "partial, situated knowledge" and avoided the suppression of their stories. In this respect, the research follows a Black feminist standpoint, where the participants offer their lived experience. The recognition of various boarders and fluidities that women experience adds vastness and intricacy to insight about their lives (Olesen, 2003). By uniting these African American women's experiences together, we are able to "build alliances, develop a common position, and take a stand on a particular issue, without compromising their differences," specifically by rewriting a moment in history and its continued meaning for these women today (Brooks, 2007, p. 76). Further, permitting what Croom and Patton (2015) discuss as an endarkened feminist epistemological approach, where "opportunities to (re)examine scholarly topics that receive little attention, center the experiences of continuously marginalized communities, and provide alternative theories and solutions to address systematic inequities…" (p. 68).

This research hopes to gain a new point of view about the social reality of African American women's experiences during the Civil Rights Movement and its effect. African American hair has "historically symbolized and continues to reflect struggles of race and gender in the United States" (Walker, 2007, p. 2). For many Black women, the strong connection between their racial identity and hair was awarded freedom from oppression during the 1960s, but returned to dominant standards in the decades since (Byrd & Tharps, 2014). Because this research not only focused on what Black women experienced during the specific time, but examined what meaning that moment in time placed on their lives, it provides the ability to dually expose historic and present-day oppression related to Black hair and offer solutions to combatting negative associations.

Race continues to be a popular social issue in American society and throughout the world. In the past 20 to 30 years, research has begun to focus on African American women's lived experiences. Often, research conducted does not move beyond focuses that reinforce imagery of stereotypes or the praise of achievements and disregard of racial inequality (Battle-Walters, 2004). The Civil Rights Movement was a significant period of time, because many African American women questioned the legitimacy of the dominant world view that they were to follow White beauty standards in order to gain social equality and acceptance (Mercer, 1991). The topic of this research can provide an opportunity to move beyond retelling the stories of African American women who lived during this time, and identify how the images, expectations, and social elements of Black hair during this time period created a meaning for the participants' hair then, and throughout the rest of their lives. Mercer (1991) notes that although the liberation gained through hair during the 1960s and 1970s was effective and made possible "inverting the order of aesthetic oppression; only to point out that that the counter-hegemonic project inscribed by these hairstyles is not completed or closed and that this story of struggles over the same symbols continues" (p. 255)

Lastly, few women of the Civil Rights Movement are well-known beyond those highlighted in relation to major events and accomplishments of the movement. Activists Rosa Parks, Angela Davis, and Coretta Scott King are often most associated with the period. However, women organized, initiated, and composed many of the sit-ins, committees and boycotts, but were often left in the background or unacknowledged for their efforts because of overarching patriarchy in the movement (Giddings, 2006; Standley, 1990). As time has progressed, discussion about women who played integral roles has increased, but is still largely missing from the majority of history about the movement (Associated Press, 2005). Further, the coverage of

African American women during this time lacks the perspective of the women's daily experiences, with their stories virtually non-existent. The idea that hairstyles do not always have a particular statement, but are often created by contextual meanings and symbols for the wearer, places African American in an appropriate framework for scholarly research (Bennett, 2000). Because hair holds a strong relationship to cultural meanings and societal values of the African American identity, it provides an opportunity to examine larger society's effect on a wearer's decisions and behavior.

Future Research

Because of the participants' common age and generation, they shared a set of experiences and similar generational ideals. As such, women of diverse ages and stages in their life might add a different perspective. Within the Black woman's experience, there are many differences between individuals, which can impact how symbols and meaning are defined, specifically in this case, relating to the political climate and how individuals distinguish their membership within the collective. There can be a range of group understandings and identities developed based on oppressed groups developing a sense of self, situated in different settings. These understandings impact individual and collective challenge of the dominant (Taylor & Whittier, 1992).

For future work, it would be of value to compare experiences with African American women of the same age range, who live in pre-dominantly African American communities. The interest in this widened sample could examine the women's influences on presentation of self and their negotiations between professional and personal fronts in various settings. Additionally, women who were highly active in the Civil Rights Movement may have different perspectives

from the women interviewed who were impacted by the movement, but did not identify themselves as activists.

The experiences of participants within this study offer a perspective of how identity and appearance in African American women's everyday lives challenged dominance. Further, connections of African American women's experiences with hegemony promote an understanding of society that challenges mainstream thought and power. Black feminist thought describes that in order for Black women to survive in an oppressive society, their expression of everyday life must be "articulated, self-defined, [and form a] collective standpoint" (Collins, 2009, p. 40). Future research into African American women's self-transformation into a collective identity could examine those who were highly active in movements to compare and contrast with everyday experiences of others. Additionally, exploration into African American males' perspective on their appearance and collective identity establishment could provide further information into the genderization of beauty practices and ideals.

In essence, the perspectives within this study have added knowledge to the role of appearance and hair in African American women's everyday lives. Further, connections of African American women's experiences with hegemony promote an understanding of society that challenges mainstream thought and power. The focus on African American women, offers "a powerful lens through which to evaluate society and a base from which to change it" (Brooks, 2007, p. 63). The hope of this research was to provide a space for African American women's voices about the everyday impacts of the Civil Rights Movement on their lives, specifically in areas of hair and beauty. Their insight on topics such as dress and appearance has been historically ignored. By describing the lived experiences of participants not just at that moment

in time, but additionally investigating how their consciousness was affected by the movement, and continued to have an effect on their appearance choices is unequivocally important.

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APPENDIX A. INTEVIEW QUESTIONS

Interview One: Life History

Gathering of basic biographical data.

- Where you were born or mostly lived
- Your current residence
- Who raised you? Did you have brothers/sisters/only child?
- Did you attend college? When, where, for what?
- What is your current position? Have you always worked in this field? Career Path? (entry, further education, etc.)
- When they moved to Iowa, if applicable?
- Marriage?
- Had children?

Human Development Stages- How did you come to wear your hair this way? Tell me about your hair as a child to now.

- Child
  - Who was primarily responsible for doing your hair? Family? Friend? Beauty shop?
  - Who/what influenced how you wore your hair? Sources or people who inspired it?
  - What hairstyles did you wear?
  - At what point did you begin to do your own hair?
  - Did you experience anything positive or negative related to your hair?

- Adolescent
  - Who was primarily responsible for doing your hair? Family? Friend? Beauty shop?
  - Who/what influenced how you wore your hair?
  - What hairstyles did you wear?
  - At what point did you begin to do your own hair?
  - Did you experience anything positive or negative related to your hair?

- Emerging Adult
  - Who was primarily responsible for doing your hair? Family? Friend? Beauty shop?
  - Who/what influenced how you wore your hair?
  - What hairstyles did you wear?
  - At what point did you begin to do your own hair?
  - Did you experience anything positive or negative related to your hair?

- Adult
  - Who was primarily responsible for doing your hair? Family? Friend? Beauty shop?
  - Who/what influenced how you wore your hair?
  - What hairstyles did you wear?

- o At what point did you begin to do your own hair?
- o Did you experience anything positive or negative related to your hair?

Interview Two: Details of experiences Civil Rights Movement years, 1960-1974

Discussion of timeline document.

Demographic information gathered.

- What was your age during those years?
- What were you doing at that time?
- Where did you live at that time?
- When they entered and graduated high school?
- When they entered and graduated college?

Hair- During the years 1960-1974, how did you wear your hair?

- How was your hair styled? Who did your hair? (Beauty shop, at home, by friends)
- How did your friends and family style their hair?
- Who/what influenced you to wear your hair that way?
- What beauty sources did you look to?
- Did you receive any messages or advice about what was appropriate hair? Did it change over time?
- Did you look to any political leaders or someone on the national stage that impacted you because of their hair? Why?
- Were there any popular culture icons that you looked to for style ideas? Who? Why?
- Did the styles of your hair change with your roles (i.e., work, college, etc.)?
- Were there any positive or negative experiences that you had with your hair during this time? From who? Describe the situation.

Interview Three: Reflections on the meaning of hair

Given what you said about your hair during your life, how do you understand your hair in your life?

- Looking back, how do you see the changes in your hair throughout your life?
- Does your hair today reflect the time in which you lived? If so, how?
- How does your hair reflect your current position or standing as both a person and/or professional?
- Do you see a change in your choice of hairstyles because you are in later stages of your career? (Retirement?)
- If you had to summarize all your experiences with your hair… Would you say they were majority positive or negative?

Moving Forward

- How do you feel about the current status of African American hair?
- How do you feel popular culture influences African American hair? Positive/negative?
- Do you have or make any recommendations to younger African American women related to their hair? (children, nieces, etc.)

APPENDIX B. TIMELINE INSTRUMENT

Timeline of Historical Events

1950s

1954- *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, KS*, ended public segregation in public schools.

1955- Emmett Till lynched in Mississippi and Rosa Parks' refused to move to the back of a Montgomery Bus.

1957- Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) established; Martin Luther King Jr. was the president.
- Integrated Little Rock Nine, where a group of nine African American teenagers were prevented from entering Little Rock Central High School.

1960s

1960- Staged it-in at Greensboro, NC Woolworth's lunch counter, as a nonviolent protest to the racially segregated store.
- The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) formed.
- FDA approved birth control pills.

1961- Several students protested as "freedom riders" into the segregated Southern United States.
- President Kennedy established the President's Commission on the Status of Women, which documented substantial discrimination against women in the workplace and made specific recommendations for improvement, including fair hiring practices, paid maternity leave, and affordable child care.

1963- Martin Luther King, Jr. arrested at protests in Birmingham and wrote the *Letter from Birmingham Jail.*
- Police began the use of fire hoses and dogs to attack Black protestors.
- NAACP field secretary Medgar Evers murdered.
- President John F. Kennedy assassinated.
- March on Washington, "I have a Dream" speech by Martin Luther King, Jr. occurred.
- 16th St. Baptist Church bombed, killing of 4 girls; riots and 2 other youth killed.
- Betty Freidan published the *Feminine Mystique.*
- Equal Pay Act is passed to ensure fair pay among men and women.

1964- 24th Amendment abolished the poll tax in 11 states, where poor Blacks found difficulty in voting.
- President Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibited discrimination and provided federal government the power to desegregate.
- 3 Civil Rights Workers were murdered in Mississippi, leading to a federal investigation.
- Malcolm X assassinated.
- "Bloody Sunday" march to Montgomery occurred.

- Voting Rights Act of 1965 passed to prohibit racial discrimination in voting.
- Watts Riots occurred in Los Angeles, CA.
- Executive Order 11246 passed, which empowered government contractors to "take affirmative action" toward prospective underrepresented employees in all aspects of hiring and employment.

1965- *Griswold v. Connecticut* overturned prohibition of contraceptive use by married couples.

1966- Black Panthers founded.
- National Organization for Women (NOW) founded.

1967- Stokely Carmichael coined the phrase "Black Power."
- *Loving v. Virginia* overturned laws prohibiting interracial marriage.
- Race riots occurred in Newark, NJ and Detroit, MI
- Affirmative Action policy expanded to cover gender discrimination.

1968- Martin Luther King Jr. assassinated.
- Civil Rights Act of 1968 passed to prohibit housing discrimination.
- Robert Kennedy is assassinated.
- TV series "Julia" began, starring Diahann Carol, first weekly sitcom to portray African American women in a non-stereotypical light.

1970s
1970- Angela Davis became a popular figure associated with the afro style.
- *Essence* magazine first published.

1971- *Ms.* Magazine first published.
- Melba Tolliver fired for wearing an afro while covering Tricia Nixon's wedding.
- *Right On!* Magazine first published.
- *Shaft* debuted.

1972- Equal Rights Amendment passed by Congress.
- Title IX is passed banning sex-based discrimination in schools.

1973- Roe v. Wade passed by the Supreme Court, ruling state laws that banned abortions unconstitutional.

1974- Pam Grier stars as Foxy Brown wearing the popular afro.

1977- The Jheri Curl becomes a popular hairstyle.

1978- The Pregnancy Discrimination Act is passed, prohibiting discrimination related to pregnancy or childbirth.

1979- Bo Derek appears in the movie *10* with cornrows causing controversy.

1980s

1981- Sandra Day O'Connor was the first woman appointed to the U.S. Supreme Court.

1982- Michael Jackson's *Thriller* is released.

1988- Congress passed Civil Rights Restoration Act to expand non-discrimination laws to private institutions receiving government money.

1990s

1990- *Essence* magazine declares "Sisters love the weave."

1991- Civil Rights Act of 1991 strengthens existing civil rights laws and provides for damages in cases of intentional employment discrimination.
  - Anita Hill sexual harassment case against Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas is tried in front of a national audience.

1992- Riots occurred after the acquittal of police officers in the beating of Rodney King.

1995- Million Man March happened in Washington, D.C. to promote unity within African American men.

1999- Artists Lauryn Hill and Erykah Badu popularized Afrocentric hairstyles.

2000s

2007- Don Imus loses his job as a radio show host when he calls the Rutgers' women's basketball team "some nappy-headed hos."

2008- Michelle Obama illustrated on the cover of *The New Yorker* wearing an afro and militaristic clothing, resembling Black Panther regalia.

2009- Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Restoration Act is passed to prohibit sex-based wage discrimination.
  - *Good Hair* documentary released by actor Chris Rock.

2013- Ban on women serving in combat roles in the military is lifted.

APPENDIX C. IRB APPROVAL FORM

IOWA STATE UNIVERSITY
OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Institutional Review Board
Office for Responsible Research
Vice President for Research
1138 Pearson Hall
Ames, Iowa 50011-2207
515 294-4566
FAX 515 294-4267

Date: 6/24/2014

To: Ashley Ratute Garrin

CC: Dr. Sara Marcketti

From: Office for Responsible Research

Title: African American Women's Self-Development Through Hair Styles

IRB ID: 14-321

Approval Date:	6/23/2014	**Date for Continuing Review:**	6/22/2016
Submission Type:	New	**Review Type:**	Expedited

The project referenced above has received approval from the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at Iowa State University according to the dates shown above. Please refer to the IRB ID number shown above in all correspondence regarding this study.

To ensure compliance with federal regulations (45 CFR 46 & 21 CFR 56), please be sure to:

- **Use only the approved study materials** in your research, **including the recruitment materials and informed consent documents that have the IRB approval stamp.**

- **Retain signed informed consent documents for 3 years after the close of the study**, when documented consent is required.

- **Obtain IRB approval prior to implementing <u>any</u> changes** to the study by submitting a Modification Form for Non-Exempt Research or Amendment for Personnel Changes form, as necessary.

- **Immediately inform the IRB of (1) all serious and/or unexpected adverse experiences** involving risks to subjects or others; and (2) **any other unanticipated problems involving risks** to subjects or others.

- **Stop all research activity if IRB approval lapses**, unless continuation is necessary to prevent harm to research participants. Research activity can resume once IRB approval is reestablished.

- **Complete a new continuing review form** at least three to four weeks prior to the **date for continuing review** as noted above to provide sufficient time for the IRB to review and approve continuation of the study. We will send a courtesy reminder as this date approaches.

Please be aware that IRB approval means that you have met the requirements of federal regulations and ISU policies governing human subjects research. **Approval from other entities may also be needed.** For example, access to data from private records (e.g. student, medical, or employment records, etc.) that are protected by FERPA, HIPAA, or other confidentiality policies requires permission from the holders of those records. Similarly, for research conducted in institutions other than ISU (e.g., schools, other colleges or universities, medical facilities, companies, etc.), investigators must obtain permission from the institution(s) as required by their policies. **IRB approval in no way implies or guarantees that permission from these other entities will be granted.**

Upon completion of the project, please submit a Project Closure Form to the Office for Responsible Research, 1138 Pearson Hall, to officially close the project.

Please don't hesitate to contact us if you have questions or concerns at 515-294-4566 or IRB@iastate.edu.