DON'T TOUCH MY CROWN: TEXTURISM AS AN EXTENSION OF COLORISM

IN THE NATURAL HAIR COMMUNITY

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DEDICATION

This is dedicated to everyone who came before me. As Maya Angelou said, "bringing the gifts that my ancestors gave, I am the dream and the hope of the slave. I rise. I rise. I rise."

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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I. INTRODUCTION

"Hair is to black women what weight is to white women… But size rarely becomes a proxy for personhood, while black hair raises questions of beauty, authenticity and the politics of racial identity" (Parker, 2013, para. 2).

In her 1983 essay which was republished electronically in 2011, Alice Walker defines the term colorism as the, "prejudicial or preferential treatment of same-race people based solely on their color" (Walker, 2011, p.454). There has been a tremendous amount of research on colorism in the African Diaspora. Prior research has focused on how colorism is portrayed in advertising and the social and emotional effects that it has on the black[1] community (Keenan, 1996; Leslie, 1995). But little research has been conducted on another physical feature that distinguishes those of African descent from those of Eurpoean descent: hair.

A culture can be defined as, "the learned patterns of behavior and thought that assist a group in adapting to its environment and include ritual, language, memory and evolution" (Byrd & Tharps, 2014, p. xiii). In a seminal book that traces the history of black hair authors Ayana Byrd and Lori Tharps (2014) state that black hair can be considered a culture, one with its own language and rituals that has been passed down from generation to generation and is constantly evolving. The most recent step in its evolution is the natural hair movement. Natural hair can be defined as hair whose texture has not been chemically altered (Sandeen, 2017). In an effort to conform to Eurocentric[2] beauty standards, since the reconstruction era, African-Americans, especially women,

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[1] Through this research the terms African-American, Black-American, and Black will be used interchangeably.
[2] Through this research the terms Eurocentric and White will be used interchangeably

have chemically straightened their hair (Bryd & Tharp, 2014). The miscegenation that occurred during slavery led to both a skin shade and hair texture hierarchy in the black community, with "good hair" described as being straighter, softer and lacking any kink (Belinnger, 2007). In order to gain this "good hair" many black women use chemicals, known as a relaxer, to alter the texture of their natural hair (Henderson, 2015). "A hair relaxer is a lotion or cream that makes the hair easier to straighten or manage. It reduces the curl by breaking down the hair strand and chemically altering the texture" (Gonzalez, 2010, para. 1). Chemically straightening hair, using a relaxer, is still a common practice amongst black women (Henderson, 2015). Studies have shown that the powerful chemicals in hair relaxers can negatively affect the integrity of the hair (Shetty, Shetty, & Gopinath Nir, 2013). According to Banks (2000), many black women begin straightening their hair at a young age, between six and eight years old, because the idea that afro-textured or nappy hair is unattractive has been internalized and passed down from generation to generation as society has taught black women that afro-textured hair is shameful and given the amount of shame that black women have had to experience since slavery, no black woman wants to endure more (Bellinger, 2007).

Since the turn of the millennium, more and more black women have begun to embrace their natural hair texture (Bryd & Tharp, 2014). In a 2005 study, White (2005) found that many women are choosing to wear their hair in its natural state as a process of self-expression, self-definition and rejection of white beauty standards. While more black women are rocking their natural hair, they are still considered "a minority within a minority" and "often not accepted at work, in their family, and deemed less attractive to their male counterparts" (Ellington, 2015, p. 24). Many women with natural hair have

created a supportive community online, called the natural hair community (Ellington, 2015).

While the natural hair community partially stems from black women rejecting the concept of straight hair as more beautiful and preferential to curly or kinky hair, many feel that there is a growing divide in the natural hair movement. One in which women with tightly coiled or kinky hair are not equally represented; rather, women with curly or wavy hair are the face of the movement (Blay, 2016; Kaduza, 2016; Kola, 2015; Susan, 2014). This results in many believing that the natural hair community is conveying the message that, "if you're a black woman with natural hair that is considered 'nappy', your hair isn't beautiful in its natural state" (Blay, 2016, para.8). This growing divide can has been referred to as a curl hierarchy or texturism by many in the natural hair community.

Texturism has been described as "colorism in the natural hair community" (Blay, 2016, para. 10), as "overwhelmingly praising a certain type of natural hair, and clearly ignoring another" (Susan, 2014, para. 4), and "the belief that a particular curl pattern is better than another (Wallace, 2013). All of these definitions originate from blog posts or online think pieces that tackle the issue of discrimination in the natural hair community. There are no scholarly definitions. For the purposes of this research, Alice Walker's definition of colorism is used as a framework to describe texture discrimination as the prejudicial or preferential treatment of people with afro-textured hair based solely on the texture of their curls. Examples of texturism include North West, the daughter of Kim Kardashian-West and Kanye West, who is biracial with loose curls, being promoted as a natural hair icon for young girls by Vogue (Carlos, 2015) as opposed to Blue Ivy Carter, Beyoncé Knowles and Jay-Z's daughter, who has darker skin and tight, kinky curls. Another example of texturism is the multitude of comments and images shared on social

media that illustrate the idea that natural hair, which features lighter skinned girls with loose curls, is different from 'nappy' hair, which features darker skinned girls with tighter curls (see Appendix A). The prevalence of this texture discrimination demonstrates that the journey of going natural and having naturally textured hair has been interrupted by societal, Eurocentric beauty ideals (Harrell, 2015). As women use images in the media to shape their definition of beauty (Barnett, 2016), the presence of texturism in the imagery used to represent what natural hair should look like may negatively impact the way that black women create and interpret their own standards of beauty.

Through the language used throughout society, women have been told that their outer, physical beauty is the most important aspect of them (Patton, 2006). These societal beauty standards are seeded in hegemonically defined ideals and vary among cultures (Patton, 2006). In the United States, these beauty standards are based on Eurocentric features, such as light-skin and straight hair, because the idea of what is deemed beautiful has been constructed by the ruling class (Robinson, 2011). Eurocentric features cannot be held up as the pinnacle of beauty without the opposite, African features, being seen as less than beautiful, because of the "binary thinking that underpins intersection oppressions" (Collins, 2009, p.98). Beauty ideals are mediated through a variety of ways, such as through interpersonal relationships, society and the media (Bryant, 2003). These beauty standards do not hold African features as beautiful and "the black woman has not failed to be aware of America's standard of beauty nor the fact that she was not included in it" (Wallace, 1979, p. 157).

The quality of life for women and girls can be negatively impacted based on how they measure up to societal beauty ideals (Sekayi, 2003). Because society's hegemonic beauty ideals do not represent African features, African-American women are more likely

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to experience self-hate and feelings of inadequacy, as well as suffer from feelings of anger, pain or confusion towards their skin color or hair texture (Hall, 1995). The internalization of these beauty ideals can not only affect the individual but can also lead to a multigenerational culture of self-hatred (Hunter, 1998).

Hair is one of the main ways that Black women are devalued (Greene, White, & Whitten, 2000). U.S. society on celebrates one standard of beauty "a standard that devalues and excludes African hair textures, compelling black females to fit into Eurocentric beauty standards that actually work against them" (Robinson, 2011, p.360). These beauty standards in combination with a shade complex makes the texture and length of a woman's hair an essential part of the black female identity (Robinson, 2011). As media depicts cultural beauty norms in society (Mbure & Aubrey, 2017) and are used by individuals to construct their own ideals of beauty, it is important for brands to be aware of the images that they are promoting and the affect that those images may have on society. This phenomenon can be seen in studies showing a link between viewing thin models in magazines and body image disturbances amongst young women (Grabe, Ward & Hyde, 2008). Similarly, images that only portray Eurocentric features can contribute to the decreased feelings of self-esteem and self-worth amongst African-American women (Banks, 2000), and their perception that their dark skin and kinky hair is unattractive (White, 2005). Thus, as the natural hair movement continues to grow and afro-textured hair becomes a bigger market for beauty brands there must be greater care taken and conversation surrounding the choice of images used in product advertisements and a diversity in curl patters that are highlighted, as they can have a long lasting effect on black women.

In previous studies, researchers have found that exposure to thin-idealized media and advertising images leads to individuals internalizing these media representations and create thinness as the beauty ideal (Yu, 2014). Representation in advertising images matter "because power is exercised through forms of communication, which become solidified and naturalized through repetition in discourse" (Pilane & Iqani, 2016, p. 130). Advertising serves a unique path for societal ideals to impact society (McCracken, 1996) and has a profound impact on how individuals perceive themselves and those around them, because of this advertising images should be examined to determine the role that they play, if any, in perpetuating texturism. Therefore, a lack of diverse hair textures featured in media specifically targeting those in the natural hair community perpetuates a hair texture bias and can be harmful to the movement.

This research seeks to serve as catalyst for dialogue surrounding the lack of representation in the images used to represent the natural hair community and the role that these images play in furthering the goals of the natural hair movement. To answer this question, this study will analyze how texturism in portrayed in hair care product advertisements and the impact that they have on women's perception of the brand and themselves. While there has been research that focuses on skin tone discrimination in advertisement, there has yet to be research conducted on how hair care products geared towards afro-textured hair advertise to their target market. This research works to close that gap.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Historical Context

One constant among the multitude of tribal cultures in Africa, before the slave-trade, was the social, cultural and religious significance of hair (Bryd & Tharp, 2014). Hairstyles were used as a method to visually communicate one's social status, wealth, age, marital status and ethnic and religious identity (Jahangir, 2015).

In the 1660s, the export of Africans to the new world to serve as slaves began and reached its peak in the late 17th and early 18th centuries (Rönnbäck, 2015). By the time the transatlantic slave trade was abolished in 1807, more than 10 million Africans had been enslaved (National Public Radio, 2008). One of the first, of many, humiliations and indignations that Africans endured on the passage to the New World, was having their heads and beards shaved (Bryd & Tharp, 2014). This action, when considering the cultural significance that hair played to Africans, though most likely done for sanitary reasons, can be interpreted as the first step of taking away the slave's identity, erasing his or her culture, and altering the relationship that Africans had with their hair (Byrd & Tharp, 2014).

Much like colorism, texturism is rooted in discrimination stemming from slavery. In an effort to brainwash and demoralize slaves, especially women, white slave owners in the United States, pathologized African features such as kinky or coily textured hair and dark skin (Byrd & Tharp, 2014). Additionally, they would also liken slaves to animals, in saying their hair was not human hair but wool (Byrd & Tharp, 2014). By comparing black slaves to animals, white slave owners were attempting to validate the inhuman treatment they were subjecting black slaves (DeGruy, 2005). Because of the slave

owner's racist rhetoric, black women saw themselves, in comparison to white women, as being ugly and inferior and once someone believes that he or she is inferior, that person is much easier to control (Byrd & Tharp, 2014).

Throughout slavery, one way that white men exercised social control of black women was by committing sexual violence and rape, which often lead to racially mixed children (Hunter, 1998). Slaves with lighter-skin and straighter hair, as a result of this forced racial mixing, often worked inside the plantation house performing less backbreaking work than the field slaves (Hunter, 2004). Additionally, house slaves more often styled their hair in styles that imitated their white owners' hairstyles whereas field slaves wore hats, head rags or kept their hair short (Byrd & Tharp, 2014). Lighter-skinned blacks had a slightly higher place in society than darker-skinned Blacks because of their connection to whiteness (Hunter, 1998). This led to colorism and texturism developing in the slave community, where light-skinned slaves were seen has having a higher value because of their proximity to whiteness (Hunter, 1998).

Today, we still see remnants of this skin shade and hair texture hierarchies in the black community. Throughout the institution of slavery, blacks were not allowed to practice African traditions, languages and religions, and after generations of cultural degradation, Black-Americans lack a strong, collective identity and are more culturally European or American than African (Robinson, 2011). Studies show, that without a strong group identity, minority cultural groups will imitate the cultural group that they perceive as holding the highest social value, which in America is whiteness (Vandiver, 2001). Because of this, African-Americans, specifically black women, are held to European beauty standards, such as light skin and straight hair.

After the abolition of slavery in the U.S. in 1865 (Celebration of the Abolition of Slavery in the United States, 1865), in an effort to gain the American dream, African-Americans, specifically those who were working and interacting with whites, bought into European beauty standards and started to lighten their skin and straighten their hair (Byrd & Tharp, 2014). Hair texture and skin tone were also seen as access to the echelons of black society in which lighter skin and straighter hair providing access to social organizations, churches, and institutions of higher education (Kerr, 2005). In determining admissions to these groups several "tests" were administered, two of the most popular and well known is the paper bag test and the comb test (ABC News, 2005; Bryd & Tharp, 2014). The paper bag test required blacks to have a skin tone lighter than a paper bag. If a person held the brown paper bag up to their skin and was darker than it they were not allowed entry (ABC News, 2005). The comb test consisted of blacks being able to smoothly pass a comb through their hair; if the hair was too kinky to run a comb through they were denied access (Bryd & Tharp, 2014).

At the turn of the 20th century, many companies began to take advantage of this and began to create and market products aimed to make Black-Americans fit in with the light-skinned, straight-haired beauty ideal that was popular at the time (Rooks, 1996). Initially, these companies were mainly white owned, with the most popular being Plough, Ozonized Ox Marrow, Black Skin Remover, and Curl-I-Cure: A Cure for Curls (Rooks, 1996). Companies played into the racial hierarchies of the time in their advertisements by asserting that straight hair and light skin was the only path to social mobility for blacks (Rooks, 1996).

In a 1910 printed advertisement for Plough (see Appendix B), the copy reads, "Race men and women may easily have straight, soft, long hair by simply applying

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Plough's Hair Dressing and in a short time all your kinky, snarly, ugly hair becomes soft, silky and smooth" (Bryd & Tharp, 2014, p. 74). Additionally, a 1905 ad for Curl-I-Cure: A Cure for Curls (see Appendix C) printed in the St. Louis Palladium, a black newspaper, states,

> *"You owe it to yourself, as well as to others who are interested in you, to make yourself as attractive as possible. Attractiveness will contribute much to your success – both socially and commercially. Positively nothing detracts so much from your appearance as short, matted unattractive curly hair" (Rooks, 1996, p.33).*

A 1903 ad published in the St. Louis Palladium by Ozonized Ox Marrow (see Appendix D) features a before and after drawing of a woman with unkempt, curly hair becoming straight and styled. The copy of the ad reads, "This wonderful hair pomade is the only safe preparation in the world that makes kinky or curly hair straight…a toilet necessity for ladies, gentlemen and children" (Rooks, 1996). The disparaging representation of black hair in these advertisements illustrates condemnation of African features and therefore African Americans. While this treatment angered many Black Americans, because of a lack of products available to straighten their hair, many continued to use these products (Huber, 2009).

In the mid-1950s, Malcolm X, a leading figure in the Nation of Islam, began to speak about the idea that African-Americans had been colonized mentally and would not be able to break free from the chains of racism until they learned to embrace their African roots and love their appearance (Byrd & Tharp, 2014). In a 1963 speech, Malcom X stated:

"We hated our African characteristics. We hated our hair. We hated the shape of our nose, the shape of our lips, the color of our skin…This is how they imprisoned us. Not just bringing us over here and making us slaves. But the image that you created of our motherland and that you created of our people on that continent was a trap, was a prison, was a chain, was the worst form of slavery that has been invented" (as cited in Byrd & Thaprs, 2014, p.47).

This marked a shift in the standard of beauty for Black-Americans, one in which afro-textured hair was not only accepted but celebrated (Rooks, 1996). The afro became a political statement, a symbol of an African-centered aesthetic and a refusal to conform to Eurocentric beauty ideals (Rooks, 1996). However, this hairstyle was mainly adopted by younger black men and women; "many black parents, grandparents and clergymen…thought their children's appearance was an unforgivable disgrace" (Byrd & Tharp, 2014, p. 53).

In the decades after the Civil Rights Movement, the afro began to become less of a political statement and more a fashion statement and by the end of the 1970s and beginning of the 1980s black women began to straighten their hair again (Bryd & Tharp, 2014). According to hooks (1995), this was due to the idea that racialized self-hate, in the form of interracial preference of straight hair texture or lighter skin, was a concept of the past, and that hairstyles were nothing more than an outward expression of individualism.

Now, much like in the 1960s, a new movement towards women accepting their natural hair texture and rejecting the myth that "good hair" is straight hair is beginning to take place (Molebatsi, 2009). The natural hair movement began in the early 2000s with celebrities such as Alicia Keys, Tracee Elis Ross and Erykah Badu embracing their natural hair coupled with many black women overhauling their lifestyle and going green

(Bryd & Tharp, 2014). As many black women have chemically straightened their hair for most of their life there was a lack of knowledge on how to take care of their natural hair and many turned to the internet for guidance (Ellington, 2015). By 2013, there were hundreds of blogs, YouTube channels, and social media pages dedicated to helping women go natural (Ellington, 2015). This movement has led to an increased demand in hair care products for natural hair and a 34% decrease in the sale of relaxers since 2014 (Sidibe, 2015). Yet, despite this movement towards rejecting the Eurocentric beauty standard as straight hair is better, there is still preferential treatment given to one type of curl over another.

> *"Many of us have moved beyond the use of harsh chemicals to achieve a different texture, but we're still walking around with the belief system that led relaxers to such prominence to begin with…Look at the images of Black women in the media – if their hair isn't straight, it's a very particular type of curly look that's meant to represent natural hair. It's another way for arbiters of mainstream beauty to divide our community"* (Andrews, 2012, para. 3).

The preference for lighter skin in the African-American community can be traced back to slavery (Kerr, 2006) and can be seen as a form of social capital in the United States, especially for women, "the ideal of feminine beauty in this country puts a premium on lightness and softness mythically associated with white women…" (West, 2001, p. 130). Social capital refers to the resources available to an individual due to his or her social standing and social networks (Bourdieu, 1986). As beauty serves as social capital for women, "women who possess this form of capital are able to convert it into economic capital, educational capital, or another form of social capital" (Hunter, 2002, p. 177). Studies show that this is true for women in the black community; those with lighter

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skin have higher educational attainment, personal earning and spousal status than those with darker skin (Hunter, 2002). This correlation between skin tone, beauty, and success leads many black women to believe in and strive to live up to Eurocentric beauty ideals (Puff, 2016). Corporations are capitalizing on this and "adding fuel to the flames of the eternal debate as to who is the fairest of them all" (Puff, 2016, p. 251). The imagery used in advertisements for beauty products highlights the role corporations play in promoting these racialized beauty ideals as advertisements serve as ideal media to observe and determine what beauty standards are dominant in society (Baumann, 2008).

Race portrayal in media

In a study examining the use of light versus dark complexions in advertising, Baumann found that women in ads generally had lighter skin than their male counterparts, regardless of race or ethnicity, and contributed these findings to the concept that in Western society lightness is more closely related to femininity whereas darkness is more closely related to masculinity (2008). Advertising does not depict true reality but rather a capitalist form of reality in which advertisements depict aspirational images of what should be rather than what it is (Schudson, 1984). When advertisements feature people, it shows consumers how people should appear and what is considered attractive by society (Pollay, 1986). Baumann found that the advertisements analyzed promoted the idea that women need to have lighter skin in Western society to be considered attractive (Baumann, 2008).

While Baumann's study focused on skin tone independent from race or ethnicity, there have also been studies conducted focusing on mediating beauty ideals across racial lines. Through a content analysis conducted on *Glamour South Africa,* researchers found that despite the magazine boasting that its readership was composed of 65% black

women, only 30% of the women featured in the magazine were black and all had physical features tied to a Eurocentric beauty standard, such as light skin and straight hair (Pilane & Iqani, 2016). This work depicts a post-feminist time, one that is racially charged, in which black women's value is tied to their physical features proximity to whiteness (Pilane & Iqani, 2016).

Besides skin tone, one of the biggest indicators of African ancestry is hair (Ellington, 2014). The concept of beauty in the U.S. is one that devalues rather than accepts and embraces tightly coiled, afro-textured hair (Banks, 2000). This can be seen in both implicit and explicit societal bias, as well as the lack of representation of afro-textured hair in the media (Banks, 2000). This leads many black women to see wearing the natural hair texture as an unviable hairstyle option (Barnett, 2016). There has been a long history of women with afro-textured hair chemically altering the texture of their hair in order to achieve a more straight and silky look (Henderson, 2015). Many black women straighten their hair as a way to emulate white beauty standards and reject their black features as a demonstration of self-hatred developed from an internalized social hierarchy based on hair texture and skin color (Barnett, 2016). But, it is important to note that not all black women who alter their hair do so to conform to beauty standards. One reason that women may straighten their hair is a mechanism of assimilation or for economic reasons; many times black women with natural hair are seen as threatening, unprofessional and unemployable (Barnett, 2016).

A 2017 study conducted by the Perceptions Institution on explicit and implicit bias of afro-textured hair amongst white and black women in the United States found that on average white women showed an explicit bias towards afro-textured hair and rated it less professional and attractive than non-textured hair (Johnson, Godsil, MacFarlane,

Tropp & Goff, 2017). On a 1 to 5 scale rating the level of professionalism, beauty and sexiness of textured hair from least to greatest, the average results were 2.1, 2.4, and 2., respectively (Johnson, Godsil, MacFarlane, Tropp & Goff, 2017). Black women, who did not consider themselves as part of the natural hair community, ranked afro-textured hair from least to most, professional, beautiful and sexiness at 3.9, 3.7, and 3.1 (Johnson, Godsil, MacFarlane, Tropp & Goff, 2017). Black women who considered themselves as part of the natural hair community had the most positive attitude toward afro-textured hair with an average ranking of 4.5, 4.3 and 3.5 for the three previously mentioned categories (Johnson, Godsil, MacFarlane, Tropp & Goff, 2017). Additionally, Black women showed that they perceived a societal bias against afro-textured hair (Johnson, Godsil, MacFarlane, Tropp & Goff, 2017).

Many researchers note a rise of African-Americans wearing naturally textured hair and hairstyles as a means to resist Eurocentric beauty standards (Molebatsi, 2009). When utilizing black feminist thought to examine this movement, it can be seen that an increased knowledge and raised consciousness can lead to a movement from which a new definition of beauty can arise (Barnett, 2016).

Since 2014, there has been a 34% decrease in the sale of relaxers, a product often used to chemically straighten afro-textured hair (Sidibe, 2015) and an increase in the demand for natural hair care products (Norwood, 2017). Natural hair can be defined as hair whose texture has not been chemically altered (Sandeen, 2017). Norwood states that there are multiple reasons as to why Black women may be embracing their natural hair texture. One is that it can be seen as a black feminist statement of resistance and another is that it is an embracement of a healthier life style (Sandeen, 2017). Additionally, through utilizing a black feminist lens it is argued that the natural hair movement is also a

movement of self-definition one in which Black women are able to define what is beautiful (Sandeen, 2017).

Advertising and Social Media

Women with afro-textured hair struggle to determine what is considered beautiful and acceptable hair within a society that is dominated by Eurocentric beauty ideals (Jeffries & Jeffries, 2014). According to Ellington (2014), this process is difficult because the media determines what is considered beautiful and acceptable hair within society. One major way that the media determines this through promoting images of African-American women with long straight hair rather than afro-textured hair, and this lack of representation leads to afro-textured hair not being accepted in mainstream society or African-American society (Ellington, 2014). This is also true for the representation of African-American women in advertising where it seems that advertisers are advocating for the conformity of African-American women to white beauty standards (Mayes, 1997).

Mass media plays a large role in the construction of societal beauty ideals (Cash & Pruzinsky, 2002; Tiggerman, 2004). Advertising serves a unique path for societal ideals to impact consumer societies (McCracken, 1986). This is exemplified by the use of endorsers in advertisements who bring carefully selected cultural meanings into advertisements in a visual form (McCracken, 1986). McCracken's meaning transfer model explains the process in which celebrity endorsers represent cultural symbolic meanings and transfer those meanings to product advertisements (1988). This model includes three stages; the first is an attachment of cultural meanings to a celebrity endorser through their previous appearances in the media or their demographic (i.e. age, race or gender), the second those meanings being transferred to a product or service

through the celebrity endorsement, and the final stage is the consumption of these images by a consumer and therefore the transfer of these meanings from the product to the customer (McCracken, 1988).

McCracken's meaning of transfer model has been adopted to explain how consumers consume "culturally constituted meanings of body-image" and suggests that "individuals can consume bodily meaning in a similar way as through goods" (Jobsky, 2014, p. 2). The body image transfer model suggests that the beauty ideal of thinness is transferred to consumer through advertising, media, and celebrity culture by visually showing what the ideal body looks like (Jobsky, 2014). As individuals consume these images, through normalization these beauty ideals are transferred to them and then may lead to an individual cultivating a negative body image (Jobsky, 2014). This indicates that advertisements, especially those promoting appearance-related products, encourage consumers to aspire to and attain thinness and beauty. This phenomenon shows the power that advertising images have on consumers.

Jobsky's body image transfer model and McCracken's meaning of transfer model can serve as a framework for product advertising by natural hair companies. One in which white beauty standards are mediated through product advertisements featuring models that exemplify these ideals and lead to consumers cultivating a negative self-image when they do not live up to these ideals. As hair care brands promote beauty related products, by primarily featuring only one texture of hair, these advertisements are promoting non-kinky hair as the ideal texture, and by doing so are encouraging consumers to aspire to this look. It is important to study the messages that advertisements promote because of the impact that it can have on not only an individual but society, as

well. Previous research has focused on traditional advertising forms, such as T.V. and print. However, this research focuses on a newer platform for advertising images that reach an even larger audience and is more cost effective for brands: social media.

Social media is an integral media for advertising and marketing (Chen, 2018) and is used by both large and small companies to increase brand awareness, sales (Hollebeck & Solem, 2017), and brand identity (Hussain & Ferdous, 2014). Brand identity can be defined as sending external messages to the public, consumers and stakeholders that illustrates the uniqueness and individuality of an organization; the crafting and maintaining of this identity of a brand is an important aspect of brand building (Hussain & Ferdous, 2014). A strong brand identity has the potential to create long-lasting positive images of the organization in the minds of the consumer (Wheeler, 2006), and sets the foundation for consumer loyalty and brand equity (Wallace et al, 2011). Social networking sites offer an incredible opportunity for brands to build brand affinity and loyalty (Wally & Koshy, 2014), and enable companies to deliver "brand related content consumers will share with one another as a way of extending the reach of a message and to add to an implicit consumer endorsement of the brand associated content" (Keller & Fay, 2012, p.459).

Instagram and other visual-based social media platforms serves as a key tool in communicating brand identity using visuals (Watkins & Lee, 2016). Launched in 2010 by Kevin Systrom and Mike Krieger and bought by Facebook in 2012, Instagram is a mobile social networking application where users can share photos and videos and user engagement takes the form of likes and comments (Aslam, 2018). As of December 2017, Instagram has approximately 800 million users, of which around 500 million are daily

active users (Aslam, 2018). According to a recently conducted study by the Pew Research Center, 35% of U.S. adults use Instagram and a majority of young people between the ages of 18-24, 64%, and 30-49, 40%, are on the app (Greenwood, Perrin & Duggan, 2016). Women are almost 10% more likely to use Instagram than men, and people of color use the social networking site at a higher level than whites with 43% and 38% of African-Americans and Latinos on the site, respectively (Greenwood, Perrin & Duggan, 2016).

The use of Instagram has been growing rapidly since its launch in 2010 (Alsam, 2008). In 2017, there were 95 million photos uploaded on the site, a 25 million increase from the previous year (Aslam, 2018). There has also been an increase in the number of corporations that use the site to promote their brand, products and services. As of 2017, there were approximately 25 million business Instagram pages (Aslam, 2018). According to Instagram, more than 200 million users visit at least one business profile per day and 60% discover new products on Instagram (Instagram, n.d.). This illustrates the powerful nature of Instagram's visual messaging as an advertising and marketing tool (Chen, 2018). Given the continued growth of social media sites, especially Instagram, as a platform for advertising as well as the fact that African-Americans engage, interact, and support brands on social media and social network sites at significantly higher rates than non-Hispanic whites (The Nielsen Company, 2018) it is important to examine the advertisement images being used to determine if similarly to traditional advertising visuals they promote a specific ideal of beauty. This research looks at Instagram images to determine if a hair type ideal is being promoted and how that impact women's perception of themselves.

III. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Black feminist thought and critical feminist cultural scholarship can be used as a theoretical framework to examine texturism in the natural hair movement. Critical feminist cultural scholarship was made popular by Noreene Janus in 1977 through her work, "Research of Sex-Roles in Mass Media: Toward a Critical Approach" (Baran & Davis, 2015). Janus argued that it was not enough to study sexism in the media solely as an act of female oppression but also the demeaning and stereotypical portrayal of women in the media in relation to capitalism should also be examined (Janus, 1977). There are four main approaches to critical feminist cultural scholarship: the images and representations approach, recovery and reappraisal approach, reception and experience approach and the cultural theory approach (Baran & Davis, 2015).

For the purposes of this research, the images and representations approach and the reception and experience approach will be utilized. The images and representations approach can be used to answer questions such as what do the images used in advertisements reveal about women's standing in society and what are the consequences of those images being used (Baran & Davis, 2015). For this research, this approach will be used to examine the representation of afro-textured hair in images representing hair care products marketed towards black women and how these images impact the way that black women view their hair. Previous research has indicated that beauty standards, such as a thin body being an ideal, stem from social and political factors but are reinforced by the media (Yu, 2014). Much like thinness, a preference for straight or curly hair is a beauty standard that is created by societal pressures and a need to create social capital, and then this ideal is reinforced by images portraying said beauty standards.

The reception and experience approach can be used to analyze women's experiences and perceptions on cultural products and additionally creates the space for women to share their experiences and speak for themselves (Baran & Davis, 2015). This approach will be used to examine how women feel about the presence or absence of multiple types of afro-textured hair in product advertising of hair products and examine the impact these images has on women's perception of the brand and themselves.

While the cultural theory approach of critical feminist cultural scholarship looks at the larger societal and economic structures that influence women's life experiences, depiction in media and societal position, this approach lacks an intersectional lens (Carbin and Edenheim, 2013). When both racial and gender oppression are featured in media then a theoretical framework that takes into consideration the ways that race and gender intersect is needed (Pilane & Iqani, 2016, p. 130). To include the multiple experiences of women of the African diaspora, black feminist thought will be used to examine the larger societal issues that play a role in how African-American women are represented in media. Historically, women of color have criticized mainstream, western feminism as a being overly focused on the issues of white, middle-class women (Collins, 2009). In her seminal book, *Black Feminist Thought*, Patricia Hills Collins states that, "the historical suppression of black women's ideas has had a pronounced influence on feminist theory. One pattern of suppression is that of omission. Theories advanced as being universally applicable to women as a group upon closer examination appear generally limited to White, middle-class, and Western origins" (Collins, 2009, p.8). It is paramount to incorporate black feminist thought because, "in order to change the ways in which knowledge and theory uphold racialized and gendered power relations, we must

broaden our ideas of what counts as critical social theory and feminist thought, and what counts a valuable knowledge" (Kyrölä, 2017, p.3).

Originating from the concept that a "sense of belonging cannot exist because there is no personal or culture fit between the experiences of African-American women and the dominant group" (Howard-Hamilton, 2003, p.21), black feminist thought is a critical social theory that "encompasses bodies of knowledge and sets of institutional practices that actively grapple with the central questions facing U.S. black women as a group" (Collins, 2009 p.35). Arising from the perceived failures of the women's movement, black liberation movement, and anti-capitalist movements, black feminism specifically acknowledges and addresses the experiences of those who had, and continue to have, the least amount of power in the abovementioned movements, black women who live "simultaneously under gender, racial, sexual, and class oppression" (Davis, 2017, p.9).

There are three main themes of Black feminist thought: 1) this framework expounds from the experiences of black women 2) although every woman's experience is unique there are certain experiences that intersect all black women and 3) due to the diversity amongst black women issues salient to them can be looked at from multiple angles (Collins, 2009). The identity of black womanhood has been shaped and created by others, not Black women, and this has led to a harmful and stereotypical view of Black women by society (Howard-Hamilton, 2003). This constructed identity has also led to decreased self-esteem and feelings of self-worth amongst African-American women that has been passed down from generation to generation (Banks, 2000). "African-American women experience the pain of never being able to live up to the prevailing standards of beauty –standards used by white men, white women, black men, and, most painfully, one another" (Collins, 2009, p.98). Only through self-valuation, self-definition and self-

validation can those negative self-images be replaced in the minds of Black women (Howard-Hamilton, 2003).

Because of the role that advertising plays in the construction of beauty ideals on both an individual and societal level the imagery used in advertising images geared towards black women are crucial in the construction of beauty ideals amongst African-American women. This research examines the images used in the Instagram posts of three top natural hair care brands to determine the images that they each use to represent and market to the natural hair community, as well as the impact that those images have on women's perceptions of themselves and the brand. Using black feminist thought and critical feminist scholarship as a guiding theoretical framework this research seeks to answer the following questions:

H1: Lighter skin tones will be more represented than darker skin tones throughout the images in the Instagram posts of the three top natural hair care brands.

RQ1: What hair texture is predominately featured in the most and least engaged Instagram posts of top natural hair care brands?

RQ2: Do the different types of images (people, product only or product in use) used in Instagram posts of the hair care brands impact the quality of a customer's interaction with the post?

RQ3: What insights about women's own perception of their natural hair texture can be seen through the comments on the Instagram posts of SheaMoisture, Carol's Daughter and Cantu?

IV. METHODOLOGY

A content analysis was conducted to determine the presence or absence of texturism in advertising images for hair care products for afro-textured hair, and a textual analysis was conducted to gain insight on the perceptions that women have on their natural hair, as well as how consumers interact with different types of content. A content analysis is a, "research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of communication messages" (Berelson, 1952 p. 18). The communication messages analyzed in the study are the Instagram posts of three hair care brands geared towards afro-textured hair, SheaMoisture, Cantu and Carol's Daughter. These are three of the top natural hair care product brands today (Easter, 2017). The researcher chose to focus on hair care brands that specifically cater to afro-textured hair because it is one of the few industries that have products specifically formulated for those of African descent.

SheaMoisture Background

SheaMoisture was founded in 1991 in New York City by Richeliu Dennis (Segran, 2015). Since then, Dennis has founded Sundial Brands a conglomerate that owns SheaMoisture, Nubian Heritage and Madam C.J. Walker Beauty Culture (Sundial Brands, n.d.). In 2015, Sundial Brands cultivated an estimated $200 million dollars in revenue, a 31% increase from the previous year, and because of this quick growth Bain Capital acquired a minority share of the business (Segran, 2015). While SheaMoisture has all types of beauty products, historically, the brand's hair care line has been geared towards and marketed to women with afro-textured hair (Jerkins, 2017). It was announced November 27, 2017 that Sundial Brands would be bought out by Unilever, an umbrella company that owns brands like Dove and Axe (Neff, 2017).

SheaMoisture has partnered with black women since its inception to further the natural hair movement (Breakfast Club Power 105.1 FM , 2017). The brand waited for sixteen years to enter the retail space because the brand did not believe in the segregation of hair care products in retail stores (SheaMoisture, 2017). In 2016, they released a campaign entitled "Break the Walls" in which they highlighted the segregation of hair care products in the beauty aisles and called for a change (Victorian, 2016). However, in an effort to increase their following, the brand has been attempting to reach a more multicultural audience in an effort to reach a larger market share (The Baltimore Times, 2017).

Two of the major ways that SheaMositure has been trying to reach a larger audience is by adding more product lines that work on multiple hair types and by being more inclusive in their advertising (SheaMoisture, 2017). According to their website, SheaMoisture now has more than 150 beauty products that cater to every individual's needs (Sheamoisture, 2017) and has begun to feature more diversity in its advertising images (Victorian, 2016). However, because of these changes they have received a lot of backlash from their core audience of African-American women for seemingly straying from supporting them (Schmidt, 2017).

Cantu Background

Cantu was founded by Chris McClain and AB Brands in 2003 (Cantu, n.d.) and in 2015 was acquired by PDC Brands (PDC Brands Acquires Bodycology and Cantu, 2015). According to its the mission listed on its Facebook page, Cantu is "committed to developing quality hair care products designed to meet the distinctive needs of the multi-cultural, multi-textural woman (Cantu, n.d.). The brand is also the fastest growing multi-ethnic hair care company in the United States, according to Nielsen (Utroske, 2015).

Carol's Daughter Background

Carol's Daughter was founded by Lisa Price in 1992 (Carol's Daughter, n.d.)

Price began making hair care products in the kitchen of her New York apartment and

over the course of twenty years built a large customer base within the African-American

community including celebrities, such as Gabrielle Union, Mary J. Blige and Jada Pinkett

Smith (Bates, 2014). During the twenty years of the brand, Carol's Daughter opened

seven brick and mortar stores in the United States; however, by 2011 sales in the stores

were declining and the retail branch of the company filed for Chapter 11 bankruptcy in

2014 (Murphy, 2014). Only a few weeks after filing for bankruptcy, it was announced

that Carol's Daughter had been acquired by L'Oréal (L'Oréal, 2014). After the

announcement of the buyout, Price received a lot of backlash via social media with

people accusing her of selling out (Kwateng-Clark, 2017). Additionally, the brand has

come under hot water for marketing campaigns that feature predominately lighter-

skinned women (Vibe, 2011). This campaign marked a shift in Carol's Daughter's

definition of their target demographic instead of reaching out to mainly African-

American women, the brand stated that they were moving into a polyethnic space in

which beauty is colorless (Easter, 2017).

The seventy-five most engaged Instagram posts and the seventy-five least

engaged Instagram posts between January 1, 2017 and December 31, 2017, by

SheaMoisture, Carol's Daughter, and Cantu were analyzed. The level of post engagement

was determined by the number of likes on each Instagram post featuring still photos.

Both the images posted on Instagram, by the abovementioned brands, and comments

associated with these images were analyzed. To understand which hair type and skin tone

are most prevalent amongst the most and least engaged Instagram posts (RQ1and H1),

the hair type and skin tone of the women featured in the images were coded using the below mentioned hair typing chart by André Walker (André Walker, n.d.) and Fitzpatrick scale (Simonite, 2018) to determine skin tone. Additionally, the commenters and the comments they left under each post were analyzed to gain insight on the quality of a customer's interaction with the posts and how these post impact a customer's feelings towards his or her own hair (RQ2 and RQ3).

Procedure

This study looked at the Instagram posts of Cantu, Carol's Daughter and SheaMoisture that were posted between January 1, 2017 to December 31, 2017. The sample size consisted of 450 posts, 150 posts for each brand. The 150 posts represented the most liked and least liked posts during 2017 for the three previously mentioned brands. For each post the following variables were coded: the content of the image, skin tone and hair texture of both models featured and those who commented on the posts, products advertised, engagement level, hashtags used, original source of image, and topic and sentiment of post comments. Codes were recorded and analyzed in Microsoft Excel.

The type of images featured in these posts were categorized into three groups: people - an image that predominately features individuals; product only - an image that only featured a brand's product; and product in use - an image that featured the product in use by a model. Outside of these three types of images, graphics were also used heavily throughout the posts examined. Many times these graphics were marketing both brand exclusive event, such as pop up shops, or non-brand events in which the brand would have representation, such as Essence Fest or New York Fashion Week. Additionally, graphics were used to announce product giveaway competitions. Carol's

Daughter primarily posted images coded as people, Cantu primarily posted images coded as other, and SheaMoisture primarily posted images coded as product only. Many of Cantu's images featured graphics advertising store and on campus events, and giveaways.

This study also looked at which posts were product advertisements, what product was advertised, and how that product was mentioned in the post. A post was coded as a product advertisement if a specific product was mentioned or featured in anyway as part of the post. The three ways that products were featured in the coded posts included the specific product being featured in the image, listed in the caption or both..

The hashtags that were included as part of the posts were recorded, as well as if the image was originally created or captured by the brand, coded as original, or if the image was created by another sources, coded as re-post.

The engagement levels of each post was measured. The number of likes and comments were recorded. The number of likes was used to separate the most liked and least liked posts for analysis. Cantu's most liked post coded as part of this study had 7,982 likes and the lowest liked post had 146 likes. The highest number of comments on Cantu's post was 263, while three posts received zero comments. Carol's Daughter's most liked post had 20,291 likes and the lowest liked post had 90 likes. The highest number of comments received on the Carol's Daughter posts coded as part of this study was 3,794, while two posts received zero comments. SheaMoisture's most liked post had 23,889 likes and the lowest liked post had 217 likes. The most commented posts received 4,293 comment, while one post was not commented on.

The sentiment and topic of the comments were coded. Only comments that mentioned hair texture were coded. Comments made by the respective brands were not coded. In total there were 46,410 comments on all 450 Instagram posts included in this

study, of which 421 comments were coded The topic categories that comments were coded under were brand, specific product(s) advertised in the post, specific product(s) not advertised in the post, price of the product and model(s) featured in the post. If the comment did not fall into any of the above mentioned categories, it was marked as other and a topic was written in. The most written in topic was black hair and black hair care.

The sentiment of the comments was also coded. The sentiment categories that comments were coded under were praising, described as comments that praise the brand, product or model featured in the post; idealizing, described as comments from consumer commenting how he or she does not feel that they live up to the models featured in the post; informative, a customer asking question to the brand or other commenters or answering questions left by other commenters; feedback, comments providing negative feedback to the brand; and disagreeing, described as comments in which commenters are disagreeing and arguing with one another. To determine these categories, the researcher looked at the comments on 5 Instagram posts posted in 2018 for Cantu, Carol's Daughter and SheaMoisture. The sentiment of these comments served to create the categories used to code the comments that are a part of this research.

Both the models and the commenters hair texture and skin tone were coded. To determine the hair texture of both groups the André Walker hair typing chart was used. Using this hair chart the following hair types: 1, 2A, 2B, 2C, 3A, 3B, 3C, 4A, 4B, and 4C were grouped into four primary categories: Straight, type 1 hair, wavy, type 2 hair, curly, type 3 hair, and kinky, type 4 hair (See Appendix E). There were a number of model's and commenters' hair texture that could not be determined due to the hair being in a hairstyle where the texture was not visible, the hair being cut too short or the photo being too far away to determine texture.

To determine the hair texture of the models and commenters, an expanded version of the most well-known and widely used hair typing chart, developed by Andre Walker was used. Walker is a celebrity hairstylist who developed a system to categorize hair texture to better help women determine what products will work best for their hair (Andre Walker Hair, n.d.). This typing system includes four main hair types, type 1, 2, 3 and 4, and sub classifications of a to c within each type. Type 1 hair represent straight hair, type 2 hair represents wavy hair, type 3 hair represents curly hair and type 4 hair represents kinky, coily hair. The sub classifications of a to c are based on the diameter of the wave, curl or coil (Naturally Curly, n.d.). The hair of each individual was coded into ten hair types, 1, 2a, 2b, 2c, 3a, 3b, 3c, 4a, 4b, and 4c. Some individual's hair type was not able to be coded because of the hairstyle the model was wearing, such as if the hair is braided, or the quality of the photo made it difficult to type the hair.

To determine the skin tone of each model and commenter, the Fitzpatrick scale was used. This is a six-point scale that describes how much melanin is in the skin after exposure to the sun and was developed by Thomas Fitzpatrick, M.D. of Harvard Medical School (Skin Cancer Foundation, 2016). This scale goes from lightest, type 1, to darkest, type 6, (See Appendix F). While this scale was developed as an instrument to be used in dermatology (Skin Cancer Foundation, 2016), it has also been used to type skin tone outside of the medical field (Simonite, 2018). For example, researchers studying the accuracy of facial-analysis services use the Fitzpatrick scale to ensure the photos being used to test these services represent a wide array of skin tones (Simonite, 2018).

The researcher coded the abovementioned variables and an independent coder coded 10% of those to determine intercorder reliability. The independent coder was trained prior to coding the posts and the Instagram posts of SheaMoisture, Cantu, Carol's

Daughter from 2018 were used as samples. Inter-coder reliability was ascertained using Krippendorff's alpha. Using the online utility system, ReCal2, (dfreelong.org, n.d.) it was determined that the codes yielded an average reliability of .92, which can be considered reliable (Zhou & Sloan, 2015).

Skin tone bias

Given previous research in advertising it was hypothesized that lighter skin tones would be more represented than darker skin tones throughout the images in the Instagram posts of the three top natural hair care brands that were included as part of this study. All posts featuring an image with at least one model was used to test this hypothesis. Table one shows the coding sample for skin tone.

Table 1

Distribution of Instagram posts and product advertisements with models featured by brand

Brand	All posts			Product advertisements		
	Sample Size	# of posts featuring models	# of models featured	Sample Size	# of posts featuring models	# of models featured
Cantu	150	71 (47%)	153	85	25 (29%)	44
Carol's Daughter	150	107 (71%)	179	54	22 (40%)	22
SheaMoisture	150	53 (53%)	75	84	14 (17%)	27
Total	450	231 (51%)	406	223	61 (27%)	103

The Fitzpatrick scale was used to categorize skin tone; it is a one to six scale in which one is the lightest and six is the darkest. When looking at only the Afrocentric skin tones on the chart, type three to type six, it can be determined that lighter skin tones were more represented than darker skin tones (see Table 2). Given that the target audience for these natural hair care products are black and brown women, it would be expected that skin tones followed the audience's, favoring skin tones type three to six. Given the adjusted Fitzpatrick scale, the hypothesis is confirmed. regards to product advertisement, model skin tones trended lighter than the overall average (see Table 2). To assess if the variation between skin tones used in advertisements was significantly different than those used in

non-advertisements, a Chi-Square Goodness of Fit test was utilized for all three brands. For all three brands the Chi-Square analysis was not significant for Cantu (χ^2, (2) = .0012, p < .05) and Carol's Daughter (χ^2, (2) = 1.6083E-35, p >.05), meaning that there was not significant variation between the skin tones used in advertisements versus general posts. The Chi-square analysis was significant for SheaMoisture (χ^2, (2) = .425, p < .05), meaning that there is significant variation between the skin tones used in advertisements versus general posts. A Chi-square analysis was also used to determine if there is a significant variation in skin tones used to promote advertisements across all brands. The Chi-square was not significant (χ^2, (2) = 1.13141E-05, p < .05).

Table 2

Average skin tone, median skin tone and mode skin tone of models featured in all posts and featured in only product advertisements by brand

	All posts			Product advertisements		
Brand	Avg. skin tone	Median skin tone	Mode skin tone	Avg. skin tone	Median skin tone	Mode skin tone
Cantu	4.978	5	5	4.4	5	5
Carol's Daughter	3.6	4	4	1.46	1	1
SheaMoisture	3.77	5	5	3.57	5	4

Note. P<.05

Hair Texture Bias

To determine the presence or absence of texturism in the imagery used to promote products to the natural hair community, the hair texture of models featured in the Instagram posts of Cantu, Carol's Daughter and SheaMoisture were studied. The hair texture of models featured in the 75 most liked posts and the 75 least liked posts were

coded using the André Walker hair typing chart. All posts using images featuring at least

one model was used to answer this question (see Table 3).

Table 3

Description of coding sample for hair texture of models featured in most engaged and least engaged Instagram posts by brand

Brand	Most liked Instagram posts			Least liked Instagram posts		
	Sample Size	# of posts featuring models	# of models featured	Sample Size	# of posts featuring models	# of models featured
Cantu	75	28 (37%)	50	75	44 (58%)	105
Carol's Daughter	75	71 (95%)	115	75	42 (56%)	35
SheaMoisture	75	17 (23%)	22	75	32 (43%)	49
Total	225	116 (52%)	187	225	118 (77%)	189

This research determined that texturism is present in the imagery choices of the

three top natural hair care brand. A chi-square test was performed and showed that hair

types were not equally represented across the most and least engaged Instagram posts, X^2

(2, N =55) = .00267, p < .05. In examining the two afro-textured hair types, curly hair,

3A, 3B, and 3C, is predominately featured in both the most engaged and least engaged

Instagram posts of all three hair care brands over kinky hair, 4A, 4B, and 4C (see Tables

4 and 5).

Table 4

Frequency of hair texture of models featured in the most engaged and least engaged Instagram posts by brand

	Most liked Instagram posts			Least liked Instagram posts		
Hair Texture	Cantu	Carol's Daughter	SheaMoisture	Cantu	Carol's Daughter	SheaMoisture
Straight	4 (8%)	16 (14%)	4 (18%)	8 (8%)	18 (51%)	14 (29%)
Wavy	1 (2%)	2 (2%)	0 (0%)	2 (2%)	1 (3%)	1 (2%)
Curly	17 (34%)	28 (24%)	7 (32%)	35 (33%)	9 (26%)	7 (14%)
Coily, Kinky	9 (18%)	11 (10%)	1 (5%)	29 (28%)	2 (6%)	6 (12%)

Table 5 presents the general frequency of hair type of models that are featured on

Instagram by post engagement and brand.

Table 5

Frequency of hair type of models featured in the most engaged and least engaged Instagram posts by brand

	Most liked Instagram posts			Least liked Instagram posts		
Hair Texture	Cantu	Carol's Daughter	SheaMoisture	Cantu	Carol's Daughter	SheaMoisture
1	4 (8%)	16 (16%)	4 (18%)	8 (8%)	18 (51%)	14 (28%)
2A	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (2%)
2B	1 (2%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
2C	0 (0%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	1 (1%)	1 (3%)	0 (0%)
3A	1 (2%)	3 (3%)	4 (18%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
3B	9 (18%)	13 (11%)	1 (5%)	17 (16%)	0 (0%)	3 (6%)
3C	7 (14%)	12 (10%)	2 (9%)	16 (15%)	9 (26%)	4 (8%)
4A	2 (4%)	7 (6%)	0 (0%)	7 (6%)	1 (3%)	1 (2%)
4B	3 (6%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%0	16 (14%)	0 (0%)	4 (8%)
4C	4 (8%)	3 (3%)	1 (5%)	6 (6%)	1 (3%)	1 (2%)
Undeterminable	19 (38%)	58 (50%)	10 (45%)	30 (29%)	12 (34%)	23 (47%)

Note. p < .05

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Sentiment of comments

A textual analysis was conducted to determine the quality of a customer's interaction based on the type of image featured in the post. The three type of images were images featuring people, product only or product in use. The comments on each of the posts were categorized into the following sentiments: praising, idealizing, informative, feedback, and disagreeing. The comments on each posts were analyzed to determine the topic and the sentiment of said comments.

Images featuring only people received more likes and comments than any other types of images. The use of images featuring people generated numerous comments focused on praising or idealizing the models in the images. Almost all of the models featured in posts which left commenters lusting after their curls in the comments section had type 3, curly hair. Given the findings that a disproportionate amount of the models featured in these images feature curly hair, commenters are praising and idealizing this hair type. For example, one person commented on a Carol's Daughter post featuring a model wrote, "I'm like why can't my curls look like that" while another commenter wrote on a post from SheaMoisture, "if a woman's hair is her crowning glory, this lady is the queen of everything!" Other comments include praises such as, "If I could get my curls to look that good"; "#HairGoals"; "I wonder if my hair would get like that if I try this product"; and "her curls are my goals." Interestingly, many of the women who post these idealizing comments also had type 3 or type 2 hair.

In addition to numerous praising and idealizing comments left on images featuring people, there were also many posts giving feedback to the brands on the lack of representation of coily, kinky hair. On a product advertisement image featuring a white woman with straight hair, a woman left the comment "since when do white people need

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Carol's Daughter this is crazy now I'm not being nasty but come on its for natural kinky curly hair wtf". In a similar image posted by SheaMoisture using the hashtag hair goals, a comment was left questioning what it means to define straight hair as the ultimate goal, "so does this mean if my hair isn't straight then it's not #hairgoals, either?"

Posts utilizing images that featured only products were often less engaged. On these posts, commenters asked questions about specific products. Examples of these questions include, "will this work for my 4C hair" and "what is the best products for curly hair."

Commenters also sought advice from each other on how to take care of their hair or product recommendations, "anybody with 4c hair tried this line already? Thoughts."; another example is, "I just started wearing & embracing my natural curls, the curl & style milk is awesome! I wana [sic] get the whole line soon 😻 Any tips for a curly hair gal makin [sic] a comeback." This highlights the role that the natural hair community plays in helping women find resources and support in caring for their hair.

The quality of the interaction is also heavily influenced by a current public perception of the company. This is illustrated in the number of comments and the fervent nature surrounding SheaMoisture's Hair Hate advertisement, its merger with Unilever, and rumors that SheaMoisture was altering their products to suit straight or wavy hair types. Similarly, Cantu faced backlash throughout the comments on many posts for the inclusion of isopropyl alcohol, rubbing alcohol, on new packaging. While feedback given to Cantu was based solely in disappointment surrounding this ingredient that can be a drying agent to the hair, the feedback for SheaMoisture stemmed further than focusing just on products and discussed the role of models used to market natural hair care products, as well as the perceptions of afro-textured hair as a whole. This is illustrated in

the following comments that were not made on posts that specifically addressed these issues, but rather posts featuring models and products. These posts were categorized as feedback:

- *"Did you guys really change your formula (since the start of your company) so it'll be better for white women to use? 4c hair girls say your product is too light for them to use now and they look up the formulas have been."*
- *"I'm concerned that the brand that helped me accept my kinks and coils as they are is being absorbed by the company that was telling me I needed to be lighter to be beautiful."*
- *"Nobody is mad that they are expanding. The complaint is they are quickly ERASING black women. Especially the 4C dark skin women that carried the brand to where it is now. We want them to succeed and expand, but not complete [sic] push us aside. Like how you make a hair hate video and put white chicks and a mixed chick with wavy hair when women with afros and dreads, who built the brand, are being sent home from school and fired from work for their natural hair?"*

The abovementioned feedback, showcases feelings from SheaMoisture's base that the lack of representation of coily, kinky hair is equal to the erasure of women with type 4 hair from the natural hair movement. In acknowledging the daily struggles and traumas that darker skin women with kinky hair face because of the natural texture of their hair, one commenter writes that she feels that SheaMoisture is erasing black women from their brand,

"The complaint is they are quickly ERASING black women. Especially the 4C dark skin women that carried the brand to where it is now. We want them to

succeed and expand, but not completely push us aside. Like how you make a hair

hate video and put white chicks and a mixed chick with wavy hair when women

with afros and dreads, who built the brand, are being sent home from school and

fired from work for their natural hair?"

However, it is important to note that not all commenters were upset or

disappointed with SheaMoisture. Other commenters came to their defense, sometimes

causing arguments to erupt between individuals. The below mentioned comment was left

in response to other commenters' negative feedback of SheaMoisture and was

categorized in this study as disagreeing.

"The bottles aren't labeled "Black use ONLY!" It was made for natural hair;

whether that's bone straight or tight curls. Just because the product was founded

by black women, doesn't mean other races can't use it. They have so many lines

that cater to so many different hair types, and different hair types come with

different races. These arguments are bs. If it bothers you so much, just don't buy

their products. Shoot, more for me! Ya'll are petty."

Customer's perceptions

Through a textual analysis of the comments on the Instagram posts of

SheaMoisture, Carol's Daughter and Cantu, it was determined that women of the African

diaspora perceive that society deems their hair unattractive. On several posts,

commenters shared their experiences in dealing with texture discrimination. One

commenter shared that when her 4C hair would not straighten enough at a modeling job

she was fired from the job. Another commenter on a different post shared her experience

with being told that she needed to straighten her hair, "hate when people ask 'why did

you perm your hair?' I proudly say it's all natural and their next question is 'why don't you straighten it?' cause I'm damn proud of it, that's why!!! It was even suggested I straighten it from job interviews!"

Some women stated that they use social media or branding images to find acceptance of their hair types, but a lack of equal representation can lead to difficulty accepting their texture, *"I still have trouble accepting my hair texture. Especially because it's hard to find YouTubers with a similar texture."* This illustrates the importance of representation in the images promoting the natural hair community.

VI. DISCUSSION

Implications on society and theory

From the comments that were examined as part of this study it can be learned that hair texture represents an identity marker. Many commenters identified themselves as being "curlies" and "naturalistas" or referring to themselves by their specific hair type, "I am 4C" or "where are my 4C girls at." For many of the commenters, their hair texture is a part of their individual and ethnic identity rather than solely a physical attribute. This aligns with previous research that states "black hair is not just about hair; it is about identity" (Thompson, 2009, p.88). The natural hair movement is an opportunity for black women to create and shape their own identity, which has previously been sculpted by others (Howard-Hamilton, 2003).

A study of college-aged women with afro-textured hair, conducted by Tameka Ellington found that women with afro-textured hair use social networking sites to seek emotional support in the process of accepting their hair and redefining beauty for themselves, as well as find information on caring for their hair (Ellington, 2015). This finding aligns with findings in this research. It was found that individuals sought support and information on hair care needs and practices in the comments of the Instagram posts analyzed as part of this study. This illustrates that the online natural hair community serves as a safe place for women with afro-textured hair. This community or group formation and building is fostered by the creation of an individual and ethnic identity surrounding hair texture.

Through the comments it was also found that many black women perceive that their afro-textured hair is not accepted by society. Many women described the

discrimination that they, or others, have faced due to the texture of their hair. This aligns with the findings of the Perception Institution in its Good Hair Study which found that white women have a bias against natural hair and that black women perceive that bias (Johnson, Godsil, MacFarlane, Tropp, & Goff, 2017). Given the treatment, reception and lack of acceptance of afro-textured hair, it is no surprise that many women of the African diaspora do not see wearing their naturally textured hair as a viable option and choose to alter their hair to gain wider societal acceptance (Barnett, 2016). Because hair is a part of many black women's identity, the continued devaluation of afro-textured hair can have a major impact on black women's feelings of self-esteem and self-worth leading to a cycle of generational self-hate (Banks, 2000). However, the natural hair movement can serve as an act of resistance that can help break this cycle.

Through the lens of black feminist thought, the collective identity of the natural hair community, and the group knowledge on the experience of navigating the societal oppressions of afro-textured hair creates a prime opportunity for this collective standpoint to foster activism, resistance and social change (Collins, 2009) from which a new inclusive beauty standard can arise.

> *"Black feminist thought can stimulate a new consciousness that utilizes black women's every day, taken-for-granted knowledge. Rather than raising consciousness, Black feminist thought affirms, rearticulates, and provides a vehicle for expressing in a public consciousness that quite often already exists. Most important, this rearticulated consciousness aims to empower African-American women and stimulate resistance."* (Collins, 2009, pg. 36).

Much like the embracement of the afro in the 1950s and 1960s which correlated with the Civil Rights Movement, the movement to gain equal rights for African-

Americans (History.com, 2009), the reemergence of black women forgoing chemically straightening their natural curls can also be seen as an extension of what has been coined the New Civil Rights Movement, #BlackLivesMatter (Demby, 2014). This marks a pivotal time for the African-American community as they fight for social change, justice and to reshape the conversations surrounding blackness in America. Furthermore, "black women's path to a 'feminist' consciousness often occurs within the context of antiracist social justice projects" (Collins, 2009, p.34). The natural hair movement speaks to this reshaping of beauty standards for African-American women and can be seen as a movement towards self-acceptance, self-definition and self-validation (White, 2005). However, the presence of texturism in the natural hair community negates two of the driving motivations behind the natural hair movement: resisting Eurocentric beauty norms and reclaiming the power to self-define beauty (Norwood, 2017). This movement aims to fight through a history of racism and marginalization in an effort to redefine beauty and promote beauty in blackness, and not having equal representation of kinky, coily hair in the images used to promote this movement showcases that continued impact of a dominant white society. To serve as a model for a movement to accept and embrace all hair textures in advertising and therefore impact society we can look to the body positive movement.

As a society we have come to recognize and accept that hyper thin models used as product endorsers perpetuates an unrealistic beauty standard that has a negative impact on the way that women view their bodies and causes negative psychological implications (Diedrichs & Lee, 2011). As a result, many brands are now using models that "don't fit the typical size zero mold" (Bazilian, 2016), marking a shift in the most prevalent body type featured in advertisements. This inclusion and celebration of multiple body types

should serve as a model for needed change in the way that hair care brands advertise their products.

This research shows that there is a texture and skin tone bias in the images used to market hair care products to women with afro-textured hair. This bias perpetuates the notion that the standard of beauty is one of light skin and hair that is free of kinks (Robinson, 2011). Not being able to live up to unrealistic beauty standards has a negative impact on black women (Banks, 2000). Much like the change that has been made in featured body types in advertising a change needs to be made in the hair textures that are featured in advertising. In order to stop perpetuating a beauty standard that is, in its very nature, the antithesis to African features and therefore unrealistic for black women, advertisers must start diversifying the images they use to represent the natural hair community. Through the use of these more inclusive images brands will help black women embrace their natural hair texture, redefine beauty for themselves and break the generational cycle of self-hate. We have recognized the impact that beauty ideals and images have on body image and there has been campaigns and shifts to move away from that. It's time to do the same thing with hair. For the natural hair movement to truly achieve its goals, the images used to represent individuals in the natural hair community must feature a variety of hair textures.

Implications on advertising practices

As the demand for natural hair care products increases beauty product companies are all clamoring for market share. Larger companies that traditionally did not cater to afro-textured hair are creating lines or purchasing already established companies to reach this lucrative market (Jerkins, 2017). Conversely, hair care brands that were originally created for and marketed to those with afro-textured hair are changing their formulas,

products and advertising strategies to tap into a larger, multi-cultural market (Jerkins, 2017). Since being purchased by larger worldwide brands, SheaMoisture and Carol's Daughter have been strategically trying to increase their market in this way (Easter, 2017 and The Baltimore Times, 2017).

Carol's Daughter was acquired by L'Oréal in 2014 (L'Oréal, 2014). As a result of this purchase many customers worried that the products and brand would change to appeal to a whiter audience (Jerkins, 2017). Leading up to this acquisition Carol's Daughter faced financial struggles including declining sales in 2011 and filing for bankruptcy in 2014 (Murphy, 2014). This time period in Carol Daughter's history can also been seen as a transition in their target audience and images used to attract that audience. In 2011, Carol's Daughter came under hot water for marketing campaigns that featured predominately lighter-skinned women (Vibe, 2011). This campaign marked a shift in Carol's Daughter's definition of their target demographic where instead of reaching out to mainly African-American women, the brand stated that they were moving into a polyethnic space in which beauty is colorless (Easter, 2017). This shift can been seen in the content analysis of the images Carol's Daughter uses to promote their products and brand on Instagram. The models in these images overwhelming favored a more Eurocentric look over an Afrocentric one, in which lighter skin tones and straighter hair were predominately featured (see Tables 2 and 4). In fact, the models used specifically in product advertisements were primarily white (see Table 2).

SheaMoisture was recently acquired by Unilever in November 2017 (Neff, 2017). SheaMoisture has partnered with Black women since its inception to further the natural hair movement (Breakfast Club Power 105.1 FM , 2017). The brand waited for sixteen years to enter the retail space because it did not believe in the segregation of hair care

products in retail stores (SheaMoisture, 2017). In 2016, they released a campaign entitled "Break the Walls" in which they highlighted the segregation of hair care products in the beauty aisles and called for a change (Victorian, 2016). Despite this history of partnering with black women and championing the natural hair movement, the brand has recently been attempting to increase its market share by reaching a more multicultural audience (The Baltimore Times, 2017). One way that they have started to do this is by diversifying the images in their ads to appeal not only to black women but to other ethnic groups (Vicotrian, 2016). However, in doing so many feel like the brand is erasing black women from its audience all together (Schmidt, 2017). The shift in targeting not only black women in its promotional images is seen in this content analysis in which models had a more Eurocentric look with lighter skin tones and straighter hair (see Tables 2 and 4).

Cantu is the only brand out of the three included as a part of this research that was never black owned and never sold to a larger corporation that houses other hair care brands. Cantu which was purchased by PDC brands in 2015 is the conglomerate's only hair care brand (PDC Brands Acquires Bodycology and Cantu, 2015). In this, Cantu sticks to its niche of offering products for women with textured hair. This can be seen in the images that they use to promote their products and brand on social media, as well as that many of their brand activation events take place on the campuses of historically black colleges and universities. The models used in images by Cantu had more afro-centric features compared to Eurocentric ones (see Tables 2 and 4).

Each of the three brands are at a different stage in their growth trajectory with Carol's Daughter being purchased by a multinational company four years ago, SheaMoisture recently being purchased by a multinational company less than a year ago, and Cantu not being under a national umbrella company. These trajectories align with the

models used to represent each brand. Carol's Daughter featuring the most Eurocentric models, SheaMoisture trending slightly less Eurocentric, and Cantu's models being the least Eurocentric out of all of them. This demonstrates the idea that Eurocentric beauty ideals are what marketers believe is needed to be showcased to reach a wider audience range and grow a brand to become more profitable. Despite this, greater care needs to be taken in the choice of images used to represent these brands and therefore represent the natural hair movement, as they can have a great impact on an individual, the black community and greater society.

Images featuring models or endorses is important in advertising because the use of endorsers can increase an advertisement's viewership and foster a positive attitude towards a company and its products (Plaias & Comiati, 2010). As these images are more seen, they have a greater likelihood of having an impact on a consumer. Previous work has shown that the beauty ideal of thinness can be transferred to consumers through advertisements that use images to visually communicate what the ideal body looks like (Jobsky, 2014). The same can be true for hair care product advertisements. This research shows that curly hair is featured more than coily, kinky hair. This unequal representation showcases societal preference against kinky, afro-textured hair, as advertisements depict what is considered attractive by society. By keeping with the status quo and not doing more to diversify their images, natural hair care brands are contributing to the narrative the kinky, coily hair is not attractive. As beauty ideals are communicated through advertising images to consumers, the presence of texturism in the images used to represent natural hair care brands perpetuates Eurocentric beauty standards and is detrimental to the natural hair movement.

Additionally, this unequal representation is alienating natural hair care brands current base of support. This is seen in the comments that were coded and analyzed as part of this research. Many commenters expressed disappointment over the lack of representation of coily, kinky hair and the increased representation of white models with straight hair. This can be seen in a response from a consumer to claims that SheaMoisture has changed their products to better suit non afro-texture hair, "the products were meant for coarse hair. It was thicker and suitable for it. Now it's watered down and useless on thick coarse hair. Way to be so dismissive. Try understanding the black women's outrage for helping to make this brand as big as it is today only to be shoved to the side." Consumers can view lack of representation as purposeful exclusion of coily, kinky hair. While it may be an attempt for the brand to increase its target audience instead of as a business decision, the lack of representation is interpreted as an attack on the consumers' identity. This in turn impacts brand loyalty, as the perceived identity that the brand is creating and sharing on social media goes against the values of some consumers.

Black consumers have $1.2 trillion in spending power (The Nielsen Company, 2018) making this group a critical target population for brands. This is especially true for hair care brands. In 2017, Americans spent $63 million on ethnic hair care and beauty products of this total market spend African-Americans represent $54 million (The Nielsen Company, 2018). Given the incredible spending power of the black community especially when it comes to hair care and beauty products it is paramount that brands do not alienate this base and are instead taking time to build loyalty and grow their connections and reputation with the black community. Additionally, a recent Nielsen report indicates that brand loyalty within the black consumer base is in part dependent on the brand's perceived level of authenticity, cultural relevance, social conscious and

responsibility (The Nielsen Company, 2018). As many as 38% of blacks between the ages of 18 and 34, and 41% ages 35 or older expect the brands that they purchase to support relevant social causes (The Nielsen Company, 2018). As the presence of texturism negatively affects a consumer's perception of a brand, it is crucial that natural hair care brands in order to stay relevant in the eyes of the black consumers diversify the hair types featured in the images they use to promote their brand. It is also important for brands to have black women as part of their marketing and C-suite team. During the controversy with SheaMoisture's hair hate campaign which was created VaynerMedia, many critiqued the fact that the team that worked on this campaign was predominately white (Coffee, 2017). Black feminist thought contributes the idea that black women are the experts in issues relating to their experiences, of which hair is one, and are seen as more believable and trustworthy (Collins, 2009). Stemming from this, as well as the backlash towards VaynerMedia and Sheamoisture, brands should use black women as the experts when it comes to choosing images used to represent them and their community. This will create more credibility and feelings of authenticity for the brand (Collins, 2009).

Opportunities for further research

A weakness of this study is the use of a small group of posts featuring models to analyze to determine the presence or absence of texturism. A larger sample group, including more images as well as more hair care brands would strengthen the argument. Another weakness of this study is solely using Instagram posts to draw the previously mentioned conclusions. Further work should be done to determine if these outcomes are similar across social media platforms.

Further research should be conducted to determine the role that socioeconomic class plays in a woman's perception of texturism in natural hair care brands and how it impacts her perception on her own hair. It is important to study class in regards to the representation of women in media as it has been stated in critical feminist cultural scholarship that in studying issues as it pertains to women one must focus on class, as it is the "fundamental division within capitalist societies" (Janus, 1977, p.25). Similarly, black feminist thought states that there are many intersecting identities amongst black women and this provides a unique opportunity to view the same issue from multiple angles (Collins, 2009). To answer these questions, a focus group or survey could be conducted in which the women's income level is used as a dependent variable when looking at perceptions stemming from texturism.

Studying the presence of texture bias in advertising and consumers' reaction and response to this bias is significant. There is little academic research on African-American women as their issues are often found at the intersection of race and gender, "many of the experiences Black women face are not subsumed within the traditional boundaries of race or gender discrimination as those boundaries are currently understood" (Crenshaw, 1991, pg. 1244). As well as highlights the importance and critical needed for an intersectional lens to be utilized in more frequently in academic research, as one identity, such as race, gender or religion, cannot fully encompass the experiences or inequalities a person may face. Additionally, as the natural hair movement continues to grow it is important to highlight the discrimination and lack of representation of afro-textured hair types, and to showcase the effects images mediated through product advertisements can have on consumers.

Through examining a topic that has not been studied before in mass communication research, texturism as an extension of colorism, this study will add to the conversations surrounding beauty standards in the black community and the role that hair texture plays in identity. Furthermore, this research upholds claims that have been made by many women in online blogs and social media platforms that the women who are held up as "natural hair goals" within the natural hair community mostly all have type 3 curls, and hopes to serve as a catalyst for discourse and change.

APPENDIX SECTION

APPENDIX A: EXAMPLE OF TEXTURISM

An example of the idea that there is only one type of natural hair (BlackCleopatra, 2015).
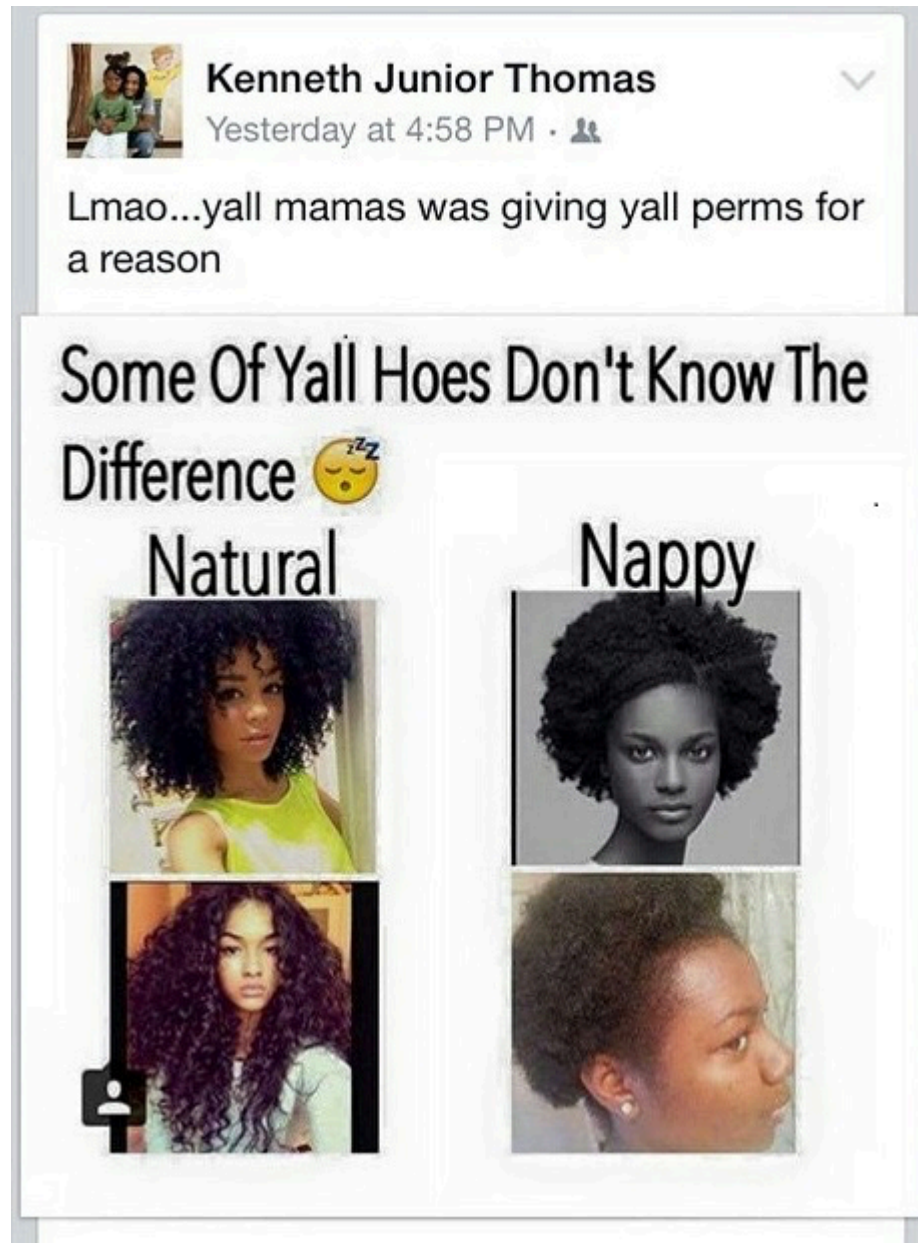
APPENDIX B: PRINT ADVERTISEMENT FROM PLOUGH

A 1910 print advertisement that was ran for Plough that illustrates the disparaging

representation of African Americans in 20th century hair care advertisement (Rooks,

1996).

APPENDIX C: PRINT ADVERTISEMENT FROM CURL-I-CURE: A CURE FOR

CURLS

A 1905 print advertisement that was ran for Curl-I-Cure: A Cure for Curls in the

St. Louis Palladium that illustrates the disparaging representation of African Americans

in 20th century hair care advertisement (Rooks, 1996).

APPENDIX D: PRINT ADVERTISEMENT FOR OZONIZED OX

A 1903 advertisement published in the St. Louis Palladium by Ozonized Ox

Marrow that illustrates the disparaging representation of African Americans in 20th

century hair care advertisement (Rooks, 1996).

APPENDIX E: ANDRÈ WALKER HAIR TYPING CHART

The André Walker hair typing chart categorize hair based on the diameter of the curl and was used to code both the models and commenters' hair texture in this study (Walker, n.d.)

1   2a   2b   2c   3a   3b   3c   4a   4b   4c
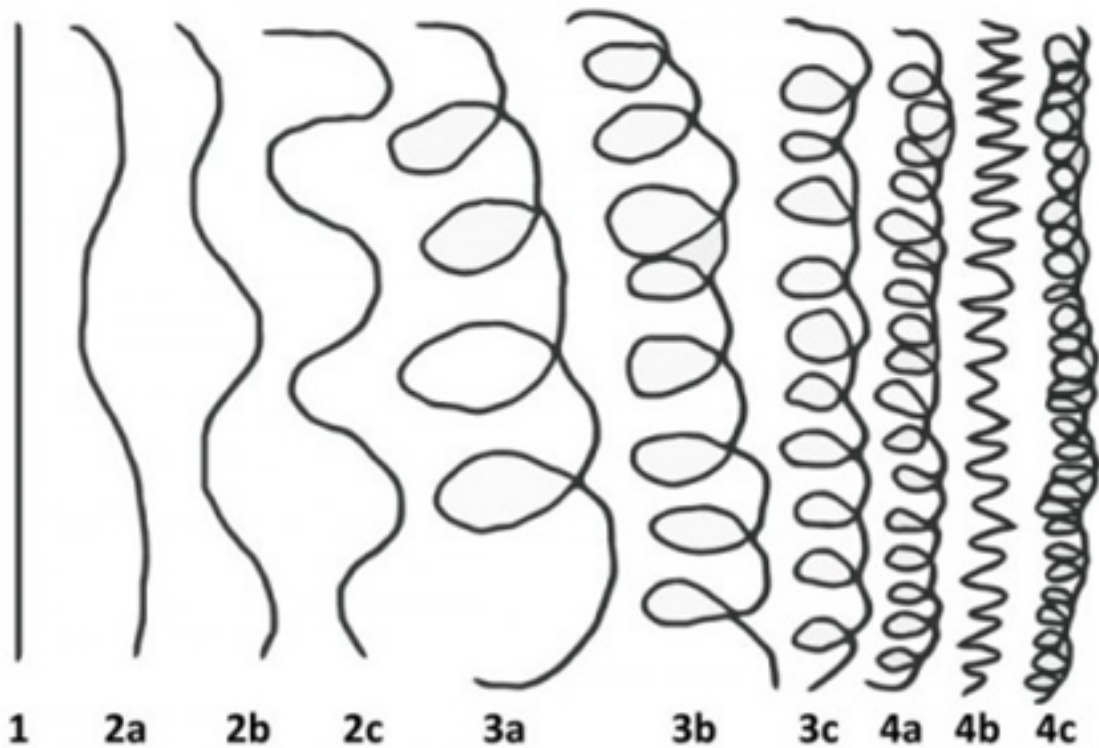
APPENDIX F: FITZPATRICK SCALE

The Fitzpatrick Scale was used to code skin tones for both models and commenters. It is a six-point scale that describes how much melanin is in the skin after exposure to the sun and was developed by Thomas Fitzpatrick, M.D. of Harvard Medical School (Skin Cancer Foundation, 2016).

The Fitzpatrick Scale

Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4	Type 5	Type 6
Light, Pale White	White, Fair	Medium, White to Olive	Olive, Moderate Brown	Brown, Dark Brown	Black, Very dark Brown to Black
Always burns, Never tans	Usually Burns, Tans with difficulty	Somtimes mild burns, gradually tans to Olive	Rarely burns, Tans with ease to a Moderate Brown	Very rarely burns, Tans very easily	Never burns, Tans Very easily, Deeply Pigmented

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APPENDIX G: CODEBOOK

Brand.
1. Cantu
2. Carol's Daughter
3. SheaMoisture

Date. Add the date in which the post was published. Use the following format: DD-month abbreviation-YYYY (e.g. 31-Jan-2016)

Number of models featured. List the number of female models featured in the image

Model skin tone. Please code for each model (m1, m2, m3, etc.) in the image that you can determine their skin tone using the Fitzpatrick Scale attached.
1. Type 1 – Light, Pale White
2. Type 2 – White, Fair
3. Type 3 – Medium White to Olive
4. Type 4 – Olive, Moderate Brown
5. Type 5 – Brown, Dark Brown
6. Type 6 – Black, Very Dark Brown to Black
7. Undeterminable

Hairstyles. *Please code for each female model (m1, m2, m3 etc.) in the image.*
1. Hair out: *Hair is styled in a way that you can see the texture of the hair.*
2. Hair up: *Hair is style in a way that you cannot see the texture of the hair (i.e. braids, locs, twists)*
3. Undeterminable

Hair texture. *Please code for each female model (m1, m2, m3, etc.) in the image that you can determine the texture of their hair using the typing chart and examples attached.*
1. Straight
2. Wavy 2A
3. Wavy 2B
4. Wavy 2C
5. Curly 3A
6. Curly 3B
7. Curly 3C
8. Kinky 4A
9. Kinky 4B
10. Kinky 4C
11. Undeterminable

Product advertisement. Is a specific product advertised in the post?
1. Yes, product is featured in the photo
2. Yes, product is listed in the caption of the post (beneath the photo)
3. Yes, product is featured in both the photo and the caption (beneath the photo)

4. Yes, product is featured in another way (not listed above). How?
5. No, there is no product featured in this post.

1. Are hashtags used in the photo?
   a. Yes: *List the hashtag(s)*
   b. No
2. Is the model(s)'s Instagram account tagged in the photo? *Please code for each model (m1, m2, m3, etc.)*
   a. Yes
   b. No

Post engagement. Please list the number of likes, comments and shares this post received.

1. Number of likes
2. Number of comments
3. Number of shares

Sentiment. *Please code for each comment (c1, c2, c3, etc.)*

1. Is the comment from the brand?
   a. Yes
   b. No
2. Does the comment mention hair texture?
   a. Yes
   b. No
3. What is the topic of the comment?
   a. Brand
   b. Specific product(s) advertised in the post
   c. Specific product(s) not advertised in the post
   d. Price of product
   e. Model(s) featured in post
   f. Other – please describe to the best of your ability
   g. Undeterminable

3. What is the overall sentiment of the comment?
   a. Praising – *praising the brand, product or model featured in the post Example – "Shampoo x is the best shampoo I've ever used*!"
   b. Idealizing – commenting how he/she doesn't feel that they live up to the model featured in the post. *Example – "I wish my hair was that long."*
   c. Informative – Asking/answering a question. *Example – "Would product X work on my hair?" "You can find Product Z online."*
   d. Feedback - Providing negative feedback to the brand. *"You changed your ingredients." "I won't be using Brand X anymore"*
   e. Disagreeing – Commenters disagreeing with each other. *"You don't know anything about product x."*
   f. Other – please describe to the best of your ability
   g. Undeterminable

The Fitzpatrick Scale

Type 1
Light, Pale White

Always burns, Never tans
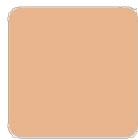
Type 2
White, Fair

Usually Burns,
Tans with difficulty
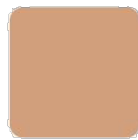
Type 3
Medium,
White to Olive

Somtimes mild burns,
gradually tans to Olive
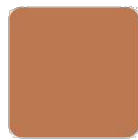
Type 4
Olive,
Moderate Brown

Rarely burns, Tans with
ease to a Moderate Brown
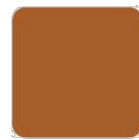
Type 5
Brown,
Dark Brown

Very rarely burns,
Tans very easily
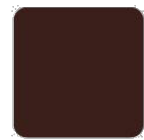
Type 6
Black, Very dark
Brown to Black

Never burns, Tans Very
easily, Deeply Pigmented

Skin Types

1	2	3	4	5	6
Very Fair	Fair	Medium	Olive	Brown	Black
always burns	usually burns	sometimes burns	rarely burns	never burns	never burns
cannot tan	sometimes tans	usually tans	always tans	always tans	always tans

1   2a   2b   2c   3a   3b   3c 4a 4b 4c
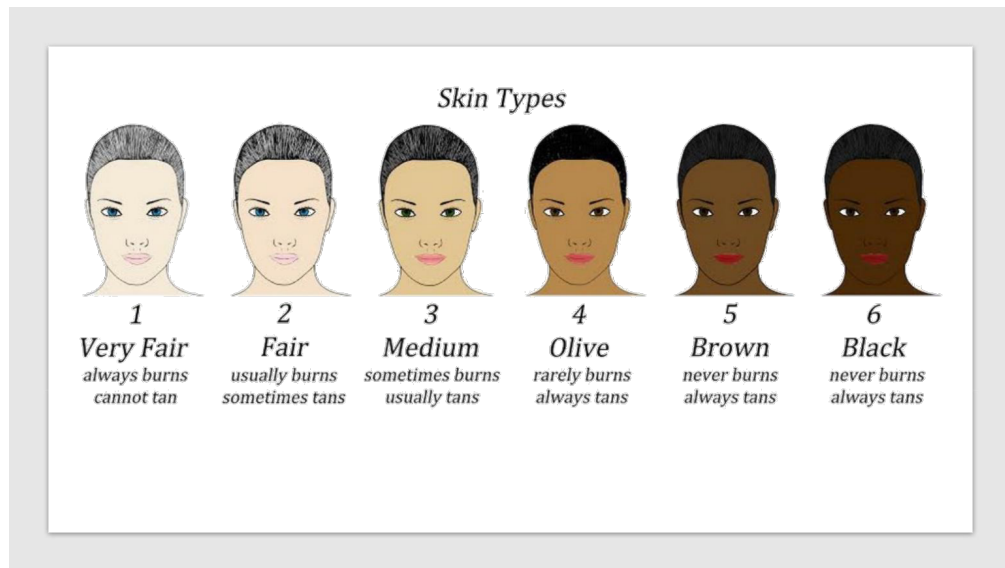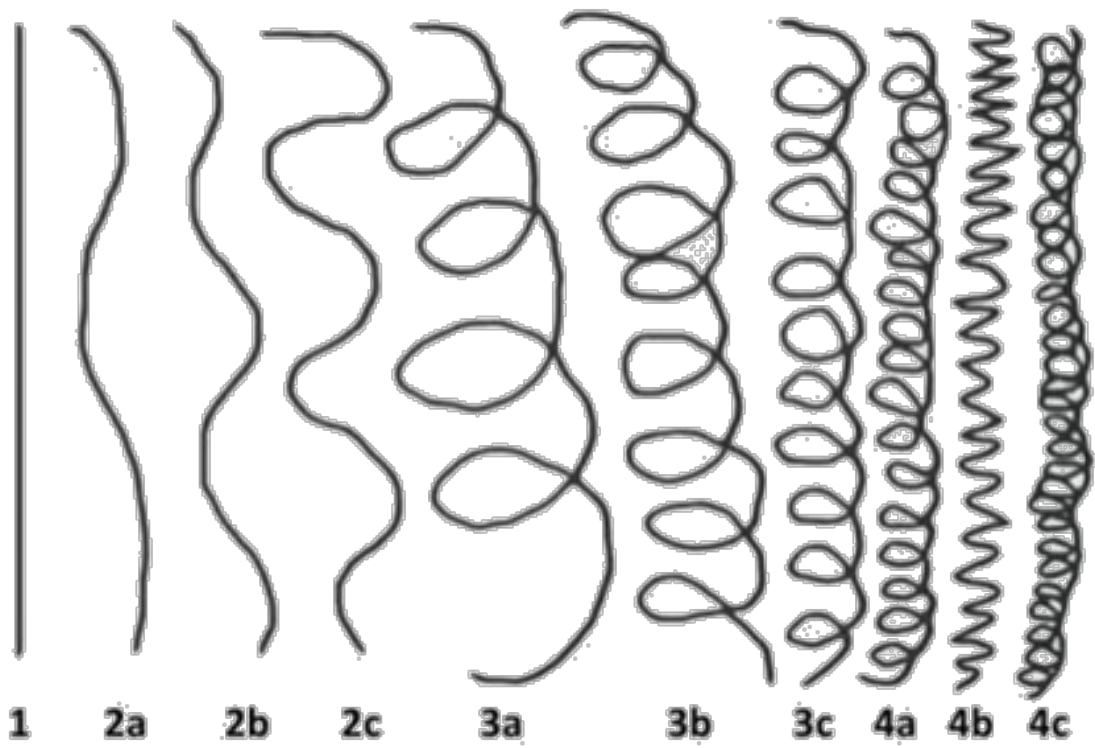
Type 1 Hair

Type 1 hair is described as straight. The hair shaft is round and the cuticles (or layers) are smooth, so it reflects light well and has a lot of shine.

Because it doesn't have any bends in the strands, scalp oils can move easily down the strand, giving this hair type a tendency to appear oily if not washed regularly.

Straight

2A

Type 2a hair is slightly "S" waved hair that sticks close to the head. Type 2a hair tends to be fine in density. Although it does have a natural sheen, Type 2a waves usually lack volume and definition.

2B

Type 2B Wavy Curv

In Type 2b hair, the wave usually forms throughout the hair in the shape of an "S" like Type 2a, but the hair sticks closer to the head. Type 2b waves might be slightly frizzier on the crown of the head, and tends to lose curl definition easily.

2C
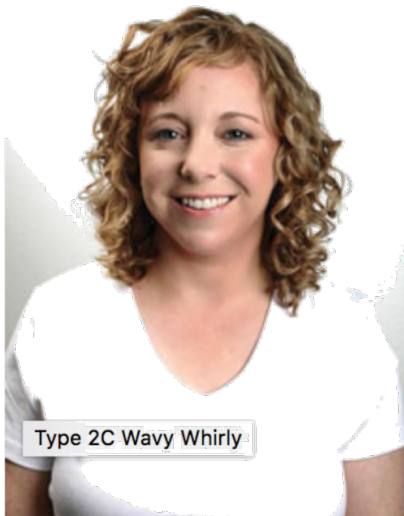
Type 2C Wavy Whirly

Type 2c waves are the coarsest of wavy hair patterns. They are composed of a few more actual curls, as opposed to just waves. Type 2c hair tends to be more resistant to styling and loses curl definition more easily than other textures--bantu knot-outs, roller sets, or twistouts might actually cause the hair to lose definition rather than promote it.

3A

Type 3A Curly Twirly

Type 3a curls show a definite loopy "S" pattern that is well defined and usually springy. Type 3a curls have a circumference the width of a piece of sidewalk chalk. Generally, this hair type can be easily straightened or retexturized. Type 3a curls are more prone to frizz and losing definition than Type 2 hair.

3B

Type 3b curls are more voluminous and have a smaller circumference than Type 3a curls-- the size of a Sharpie marker. Type 3b hair is not as shiny as Type 3a curls, and the texture can be coarse and dense.

3C

Type 3c curls resemble tight corkscrews and are approximately the circumference of a pencil or straw. Type 3c hair tends to be higher in density and coarser than type 2 or 3 hair, giving it more volume. Type 3c curls are finer in texture, though packed tightly together on the head.

4A

Type 4A Coily Springy

Type 4a is tightly coiled hair that has an "S" pattern. It has more moisture than Type 4b coils and has a visible curl pattern. The circumference of the spirals is close to that of a crochet needle. The hair can be wiry or fine-textured. It is usually fragile with high density. Type 4a hair has fewer cuticle layers than other hair types, which means it has less natural protection from damage.

4B

Type 4B Coily

Type 4b strands have a "Z" shape and a less defined curl pattern. Instead of curling or coiling, the hair bends in sharp angles like the letter "Z." Type 4b hair is tightly coiled and can feel wiry to the touch. Type 4b hair can range from fine and thin to wiry and coarse with many strands packed densely together. This hairtype often experiences shrinkage up to 75% of its actual hair length. Type 4b coils can hold altered styles well in comparison to Types 2, 3, or 4a hair.

4C

Type 4C Coily Ziggly

Type 4c hair is composed of strands that will almost never clump without the use of styling techniques. Type 4c hair can range from fine, thin, soft to coarse with densely packed strands. Some say Type 4c coils look identical to 4b except that the curls are tightly kinked with less definition. Tighter coily hair can shrink more than 75%.

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