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African American mother's socialization of daughter's dress and consumption of appearance-related products

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African American mother’s socialization of daughter’s dress and consumption of appearance-related products

by

LaPorchia C. Davis

A dissertation submitted to the graduate faculty
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Major: Apparel, Merchandising, and Design

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Iowa State University
Ames, Iowa
2015

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my loving mother Gloria Wilburn, who has been my mental and spiritual cheerleader, and to my late grandfather Eddie Lee Johnson and my aunt Brenda Jones, who encouraged me to keep going during my most challenging days.

I dedicate this work to you.
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ABSTRACT

The purpose of the study was to explore how African American mothers socialize their daughters’ dress and consumption of appearance-related products. This study provides critical insights into how African American mothers serve as purposeful role models and how they employ teaching strategies to cultivate their daughters’ learning about being a Black female in America. Black feminist, Afrocentric, and standpoint theories guided the study to demonstrate how African American mothers are key agents in shaping their daughters development of understanding of social marginalization and how to deal with marginalization through self-presentation.

Sixteen mother–daughter pairs from Pine Bluff, Arkansas, were recruited. No age requirement was imposed for mother participants; the daughters of the mothers were 22 to 29 years old. Each mother and daughter participated separately in an in-depth, face-to-face interview with questions that focused on the participant’s family life, memories of socialization about appearance, preferences for dress, as well as the mother’s evaluation of her daughter’s appearance. Interviews were transcribed and inductively analyzed.

Major themes that emerged from the interview related to: (a) parental style, (b) mother’s overall influence on dress, (c) daughter’s influence on mother’s dress, (d) father’s influence on consumer behavior, (e) style outcomes, (f) being an African American woman—mother’s perspective, (g) being an African American woman—daughter’s perspective, and (h) femininity. The mothers described their approach to parenting as authoritarian; however, their close relationships with their daughters indicated authoritative characteristics of parental style also. These mothers purposefully set strong rules for their daughters’ appearance while they were growing up to help them learn that appearance is
important for African American women to avoid negative stereotypes commonly held in mainstream U.S. society about African American women. Mothers instilled in their daughters the importance of expression of femininity, as well as development of positive body image and self esteem. Daughters recognized the substantial impact their mothers had on their shopping skills and manner of dress.

The mothers identified with Black beauty standards that embrace greater degrees of curvaceousness, whereas some mothers reflected ambivalent feelings as they encouraged their daughter’s to maintain a body that fit mainstream norms. Daughters who received encouragement from mothers were more concerned about their body image than were the daughters who were not influenced to fit mainstream norms.

Demographic data were collected at the beginning of each interview. Income level of mothers and education level of daughters had some influence on how the mothers and daughters interacted about dress purchases and reciprocal influence on style and shopping now that the daughters were adults. Fathers also were mentioned by a few of the women as socializing them to shop for quality products.

The findings have practical benefits for apparel and cosmetics marketers to understand the importance of African American mother–daughter dyads while shopping for appearance-related items. As African Americans spend proportionately more on appearance than do other ethnic groups in the United States, attention to this market is essential.
CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

Purpose

The purpose of this study was to examine how African American mothers socialize their daughters’ consumer behavior toward dress. As dress is a crucial component of being female, the study adds to the understanding of how young women are socialized to become African American women. Collins (1987) noted how “girls establish feminine identities by embracing the femaleness of their mothers. Girls identify with their mothers, a sense of connection that is incorporated into female personality” (p. 6). The examination of mother–daughter relationships undertaken in this study will provide critical insights into how African American mothers serve as role models and how they employ different teaching strategies to cultivate their daughters’ learning about being female.

Evidence shows that femininity is important for many African American women (Cole & Zucker, 2007). Some scholars noted that many women undergo a great deal of pleasure or power from behaviors traditionally associated with femininity, more specifically behaviors associated with appearance (Black, 2004) and mothering (Woolett & Marshall, 2001). West and Zimmerman (1987) also noted that the importance and public elements of “doing” female gender among African American women are reflected in appearance, which includes clothing and grooming as well as presentation of the home.

Dress includes “a wide array of . . . supplements and attachments to the body, such as makeup, nose rings, masks, shoes, headdresses, wigs, and hair plugs” (Damhorst, Miller, & Michelman, 1999, p. 2). Dress is any intentional modification of the body that changes appearance and that is potentially observable by others (Damhorst et al., 1999). Moreover, dress is a behavior that may require intensive thought and planning. Kaiser (1997) defined
appearance management as including “all activities and thought processes leading to the purchase and wear[ing]” (p. 5) of apparel as well as other body modifications classified as dress. “Dress and appearance are worthy of study because they are laden with meanings” (Damhorst, 1999, p. 2).

The way an African American daughter uses components of dress and appearance to express herself as a woman may provide many clues about the wearer and her upbringing. For example, the style and brand of clothing a daughter prefers may be shaped by materialism and social class or may represent an attempt to fit in socially with peers. Some African American daughters may watch how their mothers dress and try to emulate their appearance. In other families, however, self-presentation may not be emphasized and not the focus of parental socialization efforts.

Many African American mothers may feel that self-presentation of identity is important and that their daughters need to be aware of how they appear every day. Guy and Banim (2000) linked identity to women’s involvement with clothing that they wear, and Goffman (1959) proposed that self-presentation is important because people use appearance to gain acceptance and accomplish positive outcomes in their lives. Therefore, self-presentation gives mothers an opportunity to appear as the mothers they would like and aspire to be (Goffman, 1961).

Mothers have been found to play a significant role in consumer education while shopping with their children; mothers shop more often with their daughters than with their sons (Duham, 2011; Huddleston, Schrader, & Minahan, 2010; Minahan & Huddleston, 2008). According to Duham (2011), mothers take their daughters to certain stores to teach them how to shop for quality and how to select brands that work well with their body type.
Davis (2013) noted in her study that some African American mothers teach their daughters how to use cosmetics and other aspects of dress to shape their perception of beauty.

Mothers’ relationships with their daughters can include feedback about their bodies (Ogle & Damhorst, 2004), cosmetics usage, and clothing selection. In a sense, daughters may use their mothers as looking glasses or mirrors (Cooley, 1902) that reflect who they are, how they should look, and how they should act toward their bodies and other individuals (Cahill, 1989; Davis, 1992; Stone, 1962).

Finally, an emotional bond may develop when mothers and daughters connect while shopping or interacting about dress. For some mothers and daughters, going shopping together is a way to build a special relationship that, in many ways, informs both of them about beauty products, shopping habits, and brand loyalty (Moore, Wilkie, & Lutz, 2002). Some mother–daughter interactions while shopping will develop into rituals, a retreat, entertainment, and an exceptional way to build memories (Duham, 2011). Victoria Secunda considered that a “daughter is a mother’s gender partner, her closest ally in the family confederacy, an extension of herself” (“Mother Daughter Relationship,” 2013, para. 2).

Moreover, many daughters interact indirectly with their mother at an early age by putting on their mother’s shoes, purses, cosmetics, and jewelry. In addition, many daughters keenly observe how their mothers dress up and how their mothers communicate within society through dress (“Mother Daughter Relationship,” 2013). Examining African American mother–daughter dyadic interactions about as well as perspectives on dress and appearance can begin to initiate greater understanding of African American mother–daughter relationships in relation to dress.
Joseph and Lewis (1981) stressed that any theory associated with the study of African American mother–daughter relationships is incomplete without an understanding of racial relations and racism. In contrast, any theories about White mother–daughter relationships are incomplete without understanding the role of patriarchy in women’s lives. Indeed, theories that work well to explain White families do not necessarily apply to African Americans. African American people are not exempt from being influenced or affected by patriarchy; however, an abundance of evidence indicates that both races have an important history that cannot be reduced to an analysis constricted to sex and class (Joseph & Lewis, 1981). African American people have been systematically dominated, exploited, and oppressed (Joseph & Lewis, 1981), not only historically, but also economically, politically, and psychologically in the present day. Therefore, the psychological dynamics within African American families are shaped by existing economic and racist conditions, which may be culturally and qualitatively different from the dynamics within White families (Joseph & Lewis, 1981).

Researchers have not yet explored African American mother–daughter relationships regarding: (a) interactions about and involvement with dress, (b) personal practices, femininity, preferences for dress, and (c) a mother’s (remembered) evaluations of a daughter’s appearance. With the present research, a holistic approach was used to gain an understanding of African American mother–daughter interactions, attitudes, and feelings in relation to dress and consumption related to appearance, including shopping, interest and involvement in dress, style preferences, wardrobe/cosmetics management, and dressing practices. Both current interactions and memories of interactions in the past were studied.
Significance of the Study

African Americans spend proportionately more on cosmetics, apparel, and haircare products than do Americans in general (Smith, 2009), yet very little is known about their involvement in and consumer behavior toward dress. Nielsen (2013) found that African American’s annual retail spending on clothing is 87% more than the average American’s. Furthermore, African Americans spend 30% more of their annual household income (or 13% more of their income) on dress and appearance than do Americans in general, who on average spend 10% on dress (Nielsen, 2013). In 2009, African American women spent a total of $7.5 billion on beauty products and spent 80% more on beauty products than did Americans in general (Smith, 2009). An explanation for this higher expenditure pattern may be African American women’s dissatisfaction with many products and their need to try many brands to find what works for their skin and hair (Smith, 2009). The greater expenditures on dress and beauty products also may reflect the high importance placed on appearance by African Americans.

Duke (2002) found that African American girls felt that mainstream teen magazines seemed to overlook their fundamental concerns and interests and assumed that White dominance is normal and accepted throughout mainstream media. African Americans, as well as some other historically discriminated ethnic groups, have been left out of mainstream United States beauty and success standards. Perhaps this exclusion has resulted in more interest in appearance on the part of some excluded groups to garner respect and present the self as valuable. Smith, Thompson, Racynski, and Hilner (1999) proposed that African American women are extremely invested in and concerned about their appearance, more so on average than are White women and men of both races. African American women spend a
great deal of money, time, and energy to achieve and maintain a feminine appearance (Citrin, 2004; Craig, 2002; Jones & Shorter-Gooden, 2003).

In the quest to find research regarding African American mother–daughter interactions about dress and appearance, little research was found, particularly about underrepresented ethnic group mother–daughter relationships, and only limited studies were found that explored mother–daughter relationships about dress within any ethnicities. Investigating dress and appearance is important due to the influence mothers may have on daughters’ dress and the major role they play in socializing their daughter’s adulthood. Focusing on African American mother–daughter dyadic interactions offers a rich contextual understanding of the socialization process between a small sample of African American mothers and daughters and how mothers shape their daughters’ consumer behavior toward dress. Understanding and studying African American mother–daughter relationships toward dress and appearance will advance understanding of an understudied consumer group and an understudied relationship (Kahle, Beatty, & Homer, 1986).

Perhaps due to a worldwide society that discriminates against African American women, research about and the importance of their dress and appearance has been largely ignored. Negative stereotypes have often dehumanized African American women and dictated how African American women view themselves as well as how others view them (Campbell, Giannino, China, & Harris, 2008). Therefore, study of the mother–daughter relationship in relation to African American dress is essential to initiate understanding how African American women’s appearances are socialized in a racially divisive world.
Background

There is little specific research about whether daughters from any ethnic group model their mother’s patterns of dress and appearance or shopping and consumption patterns for dress. This study explored how African American young women are socialized to dress and become consumers of appearance-related products within an African American cultural context and the environments in which they live in Pine Bluff, Arkansas.

Many of the African American women who participated in a previous study stated that their relationship with their mother played a very important role within their lives (Davis, 2013). Many of the participants in Davis’s (2013) study discussed the importance of receiving their mother’s approval before and while experimenting with different cosmetic items as a child. In addition, participants in the study reminisced about how their mothers applied cosmetics and how they longed to wear a variety of cosmetics like their mothers did. One 22-year-old participant described how she watched her mother apply cosmetics and how she hoped one day to experience self-decoration:

I used to wear my mother’s makeup, and ever since I was little I wanted to wear makeup, because I used to see the way my mother put on her makeup and how pretty she would be, when she put on makeup. (Davis, 2013, p. 49)

Mothers clearly serve as role models for cosmetic use as well as other aspects of dress. Mothers are often directly involved in socializing and training their daughters to use makeup and apparel. Furthermore, mothers are believed to often be the most important role model for their daughters (Chodorow, 1989), and daughters often connect with their mothers more than with their fathers (Starrels, 1994).
Many scholars have observed that African American mothers serve as important role models and, in turn, have a positive impact on their daughters’ self-esteem (Lawrence & Thelen, 1995; Martinez & Dukes, 1991; Richman, Clark, & Brown, 1985). African American mothers often provide images of womanhood that their daughters can achieve (Sneed, 2011). Turnage (2004) highlighted how African American mothers teach their daughters not to internalize non-Black views of womanhood, beauty, and achievement. By providing the African American female positive and obtainable images of womanhood, an African American mother helps her daughter translate external stimuli into manageable pieces. As she translates these stimuli, she also develops strategies to avert its effect upon her daughter’s global self-esteem. (p. 158) African American mothers may purposefully socialize a daughter’s behaviors toward dress and appearance as a way to shape the daughter’s expression of female gender and may serve as socializing agents throughout the process of their daughter becoming African American women in American society. This study is an attempt to examine how this socialization occurs and whether dress is a part of the socialization process.

There are many attitudes, values, and beliefs taught by mothers that are internalized into the value systems of their daughters (Looker & Magee, 2000). Horney (1967) discovered that the relationship between mothers and daughters is often extremely important in the lives of both women, especially for daughters. “Black daughters often watch their single Black mothers struggle economically and socially to provide for their families” (Canty, 2011, p. 42). Many African American daughters do not need to read a book to know how hard their mother works to support their family financially and emotionally. According
to Joseph and Lewis (1985), African American mothers know the challenges their daughters will encounter throughout their lives due to being raised in a White, male-dominated, heterosexual, and racist society (Joseph & Lewis, 1985). Most importantly, African American mothers do not want their daughters to go through the pain and struggle they had to face (Cook, 2013).

**Protective Mothers**

Much research has been conducted on adolescents and parental influence. Pickhardt (2010) noted that children intently observe their parents’ actions and behavior and that adolescents look to their parents for their competence, power of influence, and approval.

Scholars have identified African American mothers as disciplinarians and overly protective mothers (Joseph, 1981; Meyers, 1980); however, some African American mothers raise daughters who are self-reliant and confident (Joseph, 1981; Meyers, 1980). Gloria Wade-Gayles (1984) proposed that many African American mothers do not socialize their daughters to be “passive” or “irrational.” Quite the contrary, they socialize their daughters to be independent, strong and self-confident. Black mothers are suffocatingly protective and domineering precisely because they are determined to mold their daughters into whole and self-actualizing persons in a society that devalues Black women. (p. 12)

This pattern of socialization of African American daughters serves as a survival tool in American society. Collins (1987) stressed how some African American mothers are protective and guard their daughters for as long as they can. In addition, African American mothers may socialize positive messages about womanhood that empower their daughters’ perceptions of themselves. African American mothers do not separate ethnicity from gender
because that would deny the intersectionality of being African American and female in society (Sneed, 2011).

According to Gilkes (2001), the African American community supports and rewards African American women who embody such traits and behaviors as strength, assertiveness, capability of earning wages through labor, and leadership in the community. However, these encouraged traits are incompatible with traditional norms of hegemonic femininity and at times have caused African American women difficulties in assimilating to mainstream White society. Collins (1986) and Joseph and Lewis (1981) suggested that Black mothers, based on their own experiences, view their daughters’ lives along the intersecting lines of race, class, and sex. Therefore, Black femininity in the African American community emphasized traits of expressiveness, instrumentality, and resilience (Cole & Zucker, 2007).

Craig (2002) described how generations of African American women often pay meticulous attention to how they are groomed (e.g., makeup, hair, body odor), and the clothing on their bodies to defy racist stereotypes regarding African American women as unkempt and poorly clothed. Joseph and Lewis (1981) noted in their research that African American mothers often overreact to old myths and stereotypes about African American women being too licentious, loose, immoral, and sexually promiscuous. Therefore, these overreactions may make African American mothers stern regarding their rules for their daughters’ dress, appearance, and deportment (p. 196).

African American mothers often remind their daughters that they are a representation of their mother to the world by the way they carry themselves. Collett (2005) stated that “although the child is an individual in his or her own right, the mother can bask in the child’s behavior as it is considered a reflection of the mother herself and subsequently a part of the
mother’s own self-presentation” (p. 331). Furthermore, this may explain why African American mothers invest more in their daughters’ appearance than in their sons, as a son’s appearance is not as directly connected to or reflective of the mother in African American communities or other communities. In conjunction, many African American mothers may invest in their daughters’ appearance because dress has rhetorical value within the African American community. Jackson and Greene (2000) postulated that African American females and males traditionally spend a great deal of time selecting their clothing for certain social events. African American mothers and daughters often utilize their dress, appearance, and hairstyles to adapt to and become a part of African American culture (Jackson & Greene, 2000).

Throughout the United States, another common aspect of dress within the African American culture is based upon religious background, which influences some mothers and daughters to “dress up” for church (Jackson & Greene, 2000). African American churches, particularly in the South, expect that African American mothers and daughters dress well and look aesthetically pleasing as “a sign of respect for God, an opportunity to demonstrate their attractiveness and sense of style, and in some cases an opportunity to wear clothes that are not worn at a working-class job” (Jackson & Greene, 2000, p. 44). Thus, wearing appropriate clothing, such as hats, gloves, suits, long skirts, and stockings, may be considered a part of church etiquette. Some mothers and daughters may feel obliged to look presentable without exposing themselves (i.e., the female body) while worshiping God. From this perspective, dress can be a religious statement as well as a social statement, which can transform into a representation of one’s culture.
Furthermore, for church many African American women adorn their heads with a hat, which may serve as a fashion statement and connect self-worth to their attire (Freedman, 2014). The scriptural impetus for the hat tradition in church originated from the Bible, which states: “every woman who prays or prophesies with her head uncovered, dishonors her head” (1 Cor. 11:5 King James Version). In other words, a woman who attends a Christian church should cover her head during worship, according to literal interpretations of the Bible. Some African American women may embrace the scriptural verse by wearing sophisticated and refined church hats (Taylor, 2013), thus abiding by scriptural commands but also adding flare and style to their appearance. Wearing the sometimes-flamboyant hats represents elegance and respectability (Taylor, 2013).

After slavery was abolished in the United States, many African American women who had served as maids and workers, cast off their uniforms on Sundays to flaunt their decorative hats and outfits during church service (Taylor, 2013). Even before emancipation, African American female slaves customized their hats with weavings of ribbons, bows, straws, jewels, feathers, and flowers before attending church (Taylor, 2013). In addition, the hats reminded the wearers of cultural traditions in Africa, where hats symbolized the crowns of queens (Taylor, 2013). Although this movement was common in past times, this tradition of a woman wearing a hat that matches her suit or dress, shoes, and handbag seems to be becoming almost nonexistent in many African American churches today (Page, 2012).

**Mother–Daughter Connection**

Many African American mothers and daughters have shared dreams, laughter, inside jokes, secrets, and small talk about whatever comes to mind (Williams, 2010). The connection between a mother and her daughter can help both of them express emotions
regarding events that may have occurred in their lives as well as transfer knowledge regarding all aspects of life including hair care, cosmetics, and apparel.

The power and understanding within European American mother–daughter relationships has been studied extensively for several decades (Kraemer, 2006). Kraemer (2006) noted that when mothers and daughters talk to one another in open conversations, they both feel more connected. African American mothers and daughters also have reported that they feel safer and more comfortable confiding in each other than they feel in any other family dyad (Wells, 2013).

Studies in the 20th century have illustrated the irreplaceable and unique bonding between mothers and daughters (Pascoe, 2006). For example, Smith-Rosenberg (1979) found that the mother–daughter relationship was the start of all female friendships and was considered prevalent and prized. According to Smith-Rosenberg (1979), daughters are born into a “female world” in which they are trained to be good mothers and wives. Theriot (1996) established that mothers often care for their daughters in an affectionate manner, which prepares their daughters for marriage and other life skills.

Smith-Rosenberg (1975) and Theriot (1996) argued that a daughter replicates her mother’s behaviors, attitudes, and traits. Boyd (1989) noted that the “daughter’s ideas of self, sexual behavior, nurturing and occupations were related to the attitudes of the mother” (p. 299). This also may explain how daughters, by learning from reciprocal coaching by their mothers, can understand the value of shopping for quality products (Minahan & Huddleston, 2012). Minahan and Huddleston (2008) found that, while shopping with their mothers, some daughters gain more independence, confidence, and skills and that shopping together is
considered a kind of ritual between mothers and daughters that develops social and personal skills.

Minahan and Huddleston (2008) conducted an in-person and e-mail interview study of mother–daughter shopping experiences with individuals between 18 and 70 years of age. The objectives of the study were: (a) to gain knowledge of why mothers and daughters shop together and (b) to uncover what is valued in their shopping experience. The researchers found that a bond from mother–daughter interactions transpires when shopping, plus reciprocal coaching occurs while they search for apparel or beauty commodities.

Furthermore, the researchers found that, when the mothers coached their daughters on shopping patterns, sometimes role reversal occurred in which the child became the teacher. The examination of the reciprocal socialization process between African American mothers and daughters (the influencer versus the influenced) and how this process shapes mothers’ and daughters’ consumer behavior toward dress and appearance also was of interest in the present study.

The overall purpose of this current study was: (a) to understand African American mothers’ and daughters’ feelings and memories and how they interacted with each other regarding dress and appearance and (b) to expand understanding of how African American mothers socialize their daughters to be African American women in America or the United States. Moreover, this study sought to gain understanding of how one’s dress is a behavior that is an expression of values that perpetuate womanhood and transcend throughout the rest of African American women’s lives.
Research Approach

For this study, the researcher used an interpretive, grounded theory approach to provide insights into African American mothers’ and daughters’ lived experiences of their relationships, looking specifically at how dress and appearance were influenced by these mother–daughter relationships. This research aimed to broaden understanding of African American mother–daughter relationships in general as well as their engagement in appearance modification. The study increases understanding of the varied experiences surrounding the socialization of African American daughters’ dress and appearance practices as well as African American mothers’ and daughters’ practices and preferences for dress.

The study of African American mother–daughter relationships as they relate to dress and appearance lacks recognition in current literature and research efforts. Studies of mother–daughter relationships related to dress and appearance have been conducted primarily on White mothers and daughters. Many of these studies have investigated the daughter’s purchase of clothing products, different motivations toward consuming products, and lessons transferred from mothers to their daughters regarding shopping for apparel. Previous studies also have investigated the preference for and attitudes toward appearance in relation to social psychological attributes such as body image, identity, and appearance management (Johnson, Kang, & Kim, 2014; Minahan & Huddleston, 2008; Ogle & Damhorst, 2000, 2003, 2004). None of these studies reached deeply into the mother-daughter socialization process for dress preferences and tastes, practices, and values.

This study used an interpretative paradigm to explore dress and appearance among African American mothers and daughters as suggested by grounded theory approaches (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss, 1987). Phenomenological interviews were conducted in
order to inductively identify the African American mother–daughter meanings found in the lived experiences of dress and appearance without a heavy reliance on etic concepts suggested by the literature (Merriam & Associates, 2002). First, a pilot study was conducted with two randomly selected mother–daughter dyadic participants (a total of four individuals). The findings of the pilot study helped the researcher adjust and perfect the interview protocol and procedures.

A basic assumption underlying interpretive approaches lies within exploring the changes and competing views of social realities (Anderson-Hudson & Ozanne, 1988). This approach assumes that “our knowledge of reality is gained only through social constructions such as language, consciousness, shared meanings, documents, tools, and other artifacts” (Klein & Myers, p. 69). Through the constant comparison of the multiple theories reviewed and the acquired data (Glaser & Strass, 1967), this study was conducted in order to conceptualize and understand the patterns of experiences of the African American mother and daughter pairs related to dress and consumption of appearance-related products. Several theoretical perspectives were useful in developing each of the initial research questions. These perspectives were developed from Black feminist theory (Collins, 1990; Hooks, 1995), standpoint and Afrocentric theory (Asante, 1998; Wood, 1994), and social learning theory (Bandura, 1977).

Qualitative data were collected through in-depth interviews with women from a small town in Arkansas. This particular town was chosen because the researcher was born and raised in Pine Bluff, Arkansas and, thus, had access to a convenience sample of mothers and daughters for this research study. Sixteen mother–daughter pairs from Pine Bluff, Arkansas, were recruited by a snowball sampling technique, advertisements posted to a local
professional women’s online resource, and a Facebook ad. Each of the interviews was semistructured with open-ended questions about the women’s dress and consumption of appearance-related products. During the interviews, participants were asked to bring a number of photos that reflected their style of dress and femininity. Each participant also filled out a personal data sheet with questions about her demographic information. Interviews were audio recorded and transcribed by the researcher. Data were analyzed through open coding by comparing the themes that emerged from the data (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The emic meanings of themes were discussed from a sociocultural perspective to construct theoretical understanding grounded in the data (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

Definitions

The following terms are used in this study:

_African American community:_ a cultural reference group identified by African American (Black) adults and children in the United States (Cross, 1985, 1991).

_African American women:_ “Labels play an important role in defining groups and individuals. . . . Over the past century terms used for Blacks have shifted from “Colored” to “Negro” to “Black” and now perhaps to “African American” (Smith, 1992, p. 496). For this study, I looked at and focused on women who were born and now live in the United States and identified themselves as African American women.

_Appearance:_ “all aspects of the human body that have the potential to be observed by other human beings” (Damhorst et al., 1995, p. 1), including dress, facial features, hair, and body shape.

_Appearance management:_ the process of dressing that “includes all activities and thought processes leading to the purchase and wear of clothing items, as well as processes of
body modification” and “encompasses what we do to and for our bodies visually, as well as how we plan and organize those actions” (Kaiser, 1997, p. 5).

**Appearance modification:** change in appearance to fit socially constructed norms, practices, and institutions “through skin bleaching, plastic surgery, hair straightening, and other technologies” (Anderson-Fye, 2012, p. 18).

**Body image:** an “individual’s concept of his [or her] body” (Fisher & Cleveland, 1968, p. v).

**Cosmetics:** “articles intended to be rubbed, poured, sprinkled, or sprayed on, introduced into, or otherwise applied to the human body . . . for cleansing, beautifying, promoting attractiveness, or altering the appearance” (Federal Trade Commission, 2012, para. 1).

**Culture:** acquired and transmitted mainly by symbols, consists of the pattern of ways of thinking, feeling and reacting, as well as constitutes the distinctive achievements of human groups, including their embodiments in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional ideas and especially their attached values (Hofstede, 2001, p. 9).

**Dress:** an intentional modification of the body that changes appearance and is potentially observable by others; includes “coiffed hair, colored skin, pierced ears, and scented breath, as well as an equally long list of garments, jewelry, accessories, and other categories of items added to the body as supplements” (Roach-Higgins & Eicher, 1992, p. 1). Processes undertaken to change body shape, including dieting, exercise, and drug use, may also be classified as dress.

**Feminine:** within the United States a mainstream definition includes characteristics of:

“physically attractive, deferential, unaggressive, emotionally expressive, nurturing,
and concerned with people and relationships” (Spence & Bucker, 2000, as cited in Wood, 2012, p. 22).

**Socialization:** the process through which individuals attain habits, values, ways of thinking, and behaviors that are congruent with and appropriate within their culture and community (Baumrind, 1980).

**Style:** in African American culture, a “means of expression through behavior, defining and redefining self . . . for African Americans the integration of apparel, accessories, how they are worn, and the attitude of the wearer” (O’Neal, 1998, p. 170).

**Dissertation Organization**

In Chapter 1, groundwork for the research is described. In Chapter 2, the background literature for this research is reviewed and the purpose, importance, and key theoretical perspectives guiding the study are discussed. Research questions for the study, which were developed from the existing literature, are presented at the end of Chapter 2. In Chapter 3, research methods, including the recruitment of participants, sampling procedures, data collection, and data analysis, are presented. Key background information about the mother and daughter participants in this study are reported in Chapter 4, along with a discussion of the major themes that emerged from the grounded theory analysis of the interview data and a presentation of data that illustrate the themes. Also, theoretical understanding of findings and relationships to previous research are presented. Chapter 5 comprises a summary and discussion of the findings, including a reflection on how the findings relate to the existing literature and theory. In addition, Chapter 5 provides a discussion about the implications of the research and practical application as well as the study’s limitations and recommendations for future research directions.
CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature review presents the background for the investigation of African American mother–daughter relationships pertaining to dress and appearance. The literature reviewed focuses on the socialization process between mothers and daughters and how mothers shape their daughters’ perceptions toward dress and appearance. The first two sections of the chapter comprise a presentation of theoretical foundations that relate to the study. The first section includes a discussion of literature relating to African American feminism, focusing on African American culture, motherhood, and dress in the African American community. The second section provides a discussion of the literature regarding African American socialization, social learning theory and mother–daughter relationships, appearance behaviors, and parenting styles. The final section of this chapter provides research questions that guided this study.

Theoretical Foundations: African American Culture and Intersectionality

Black Feminism

Feminism in the United States evolved through three major waves of social change (Krolokke & Sorensen, 2006). The first wave, which emerged in the women’s rights and suffrage movements of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, concentrated on equality and freedom for women. The second wave, in the 1960s and 1970s, is linked to the modern Civil Rights movement (U. Taylor, 1998). The second wave heightened feminist consciousness, mainly in the United States, and led to the women’s liberation movement, which focused primarily on securing work opportunities and equality for women in the workplace. In addition, the second wave recognized the oppression of “Blacks and homosexuals” (Krolokke & Soreens, 2006, p. 1). By the mid-1990s, the third wave of
feminism “embrace[d] ambiguity, diversity and multiplicity in transversal theory and politics” (Krolokke & Sorensen, 2006, p. 2). Collins (1990) defined Black feminism through four major themes, all generated from the perspective of African American women. First, African American women can empower themselves by self-definitions and self-evaluations that allow them to confront and dismiss negative images of African American women and replace those images with positive identities. Second, the overarching societal structure of domination within the intersectionality of gender, race, and class can be challenged by African American women. Third, intellectual thought and political activism are intertwined with African American feminism. Finally, African American women are aware of their distinct cultural heritage, which has given them the skills and energy to resist discrimination.

For African American women, the feminist movement had a different evolution, reflecting the women’s movement in general, but also incorporating an emphasis on issues specific to African Americans. During slavery, up through the mid-1800s, female African American slaves were forced to assimilate to the American culture of that time; slaves were stripped of their clothing, cultural identity, religion, and past life (Sanders, 2011) and were devalued due to their non-White features and their White-imposed status as barely human. As civil rights progressed during the mid to late 20th century, African American women struggled to assimilate to and begin to move beyond White standards of beauty as well as to gain advances in voting rights, education, and occupational achievement to enable them to catch up with White women’s advancements in society. By the end of the 20th century, African American women had achieved greater recognition for their contributions to the slowly changing, but increasingly multiracial and diverse, American standards of beauty, gender, race, religion, ability, and sexuality of African American women (Collins, 2000;
hooks, 1984). Black feminism “centralizes the experiences of all women, especially the women whose social conditions have been least written about, studied, or changed by political movements” (hooks, 1984, p. 25), thus lending an appropriate theoretical lens to this study.

**African American motherhood.** Black feminism is a key theory used in this study to address the connections and interactions between African American mothers and their daughters. African American motherhood is a basis for self-actualization and a catalyst for social activism (Collins, 2000). Motherhood can help to build women’s relationships with others, including relationships that enhance opportunities for jobs and community enhancement. Some mothers educate their daughters about the importance of balancing leisure in their lives, providing lessons to their daughters about being active in leisure activities to help them learn to work in teams, to enjoy life, and to be competitive as well as to embrace their individual identities and self-perceptions (Richardson, 1993; Shannon & Shaw, 2005). Mothers are the central focus of the family household, and mothers, more than fathers, are often inclined to be highly involved within the lives of their children, extended family (Larson & Richards, 1994), and community surrounding the family. Collins (2000) noted that African American motherhood can be considered a symbol of power among African American women who are involved in leadership work within the community. This power derives from within African American mothers’ homes and from within the larger African American community (Canty, 2011). Weitz (2001) described “power” as having the ability to control or influence others while trying to reach desired goals. In African American communities, sanctification of African American motherhood stems from “the idea that mothers should live lives of sacrifice [that] has come to be seen as the norm” (Christian,
1985, p. 234). Often, African American mothers who are active within their communities are highly respected by the community (Canty, 2011). The family life of most African American mothers is shaped by culturally defined expectations for their role (Jenkins, 2005).

Some African American women may have grown up around multigenerational models of the “mother.” The role of the mother is not an isolated conformity but, instead, is a role shared with many other mothers, who can be perceived as “multiple mothers.” Multiple mothering is a common manifestation within the African American community, as many African American women who nurture their own children also nurture other children who might be away from their extended family; these women develop into substitute or supplementary “mothers” and might be referred to as “other mothers,” “grandmothers,” and even “fictive kin” (Collins, 2000, p. 178).

Crittenden (2001) defined a mother as one who is a selfless individual and who provides service to another. There is no single definition or experience of motherhood (McMahon, 1995), yet a woman’s role as a mother is overemphasized in Western culture as all-loving, gentle, kind, and noble (Andersen, 1993, p. 159). Furthermore, African American motherhood is considered a social institution that is organized by systems of economic and patriarchal relations that are embedded socially and culturally in the lives of African American women (Rich, 1976). African American motherhood has been challenged by patriarchal ideology that has been internalized within women. For example, the media often perpetuate that African American mothers are unfit or unable to be good mothers (Chambers, 2003). African American mothers historically have been denied of any praises for parenting, as mothering is what they were expected to do without receiving any special attention or appreciation (Chambers, 2003).
African American mothers’ participation in socialization of their daughters to dress and appearance has been studied very little. However, it has been found that mothers do make sacrifices so that their daughters can look attractive and well put together (Collett, 2005). Bailey-Fakhoury (2014) found that African American mothers were aware of the aesthetics of their own appearance in a variety of situations, such as when dropping their daughters off at school, when attending parent–teacher conferences, and at many other events while navigating through White- and Black-dominated spaces within their communities. The mothers in her study believed that being well dressed was imperative to representing themselves and their daughters well in the public arena. Furthermore, African American mothers in her study put forth great effort to dismantle the prevailing stereotypes of how African American women appear to mainstream society.

**Historical Controlling Images and Stereotypes**

Many African American mothers put forth effort to deconstruct the negative, controlling images that have been used by society to suppress African American women. Jones and Shorter-Gooden (2003) noted that, in general, the lives of African American women “are still widely governed by a set of old oppressive myths circulating in the White-dominated world” (p. 2). Since pre-Civil War times, African American women have been stereotyped as Mammies, Jezebels, Sapphires, or (more recently) Superwomen (Jones & Shorter-Gooden, 2003; Thomas, Witherspoon, & Speight, 2004). These cultural stereotypes may play a role in the psyche of African American women. Issues relating to stereotypes have major effects on how African American women view themselves, their self-esteem, and their interactions with others.
During slavery, the dominant White culture tied the identity of African Americans to their aptitude for work, which allowed African Americans to attain an identity that was slightly positive and valuable, contributing to their sense of self and self-worth (Mays, 1986). Consequently, it was important, and a survival tool, for African Americans to put forth effort in workmanship, as it afforded them a sense of human value within an institutionalized system that devalued and depersonalized them (Mays, 1986).

The Mammy idealized (for Whites) the house slave, who was defined as a selfless caretaker who took care of the wants of her Euro American household above the needs of her own family. A Mammy was considered to be the African American mother dedicated to the Euro American family’s domestic needs and services. The image of the Mammy portrayed someone who was considered loyal to her slaveholder (Hall, 1997). The Mammy also was portrayed as a “desexualized woman who [was] old, overweight, and formidable in stature” (Fontaine, 2011, p. 3). Moreover, the Mammy embodied a less attractive woman who was constructed to represent ugliness (Pilgrim, 2000), thereby relegating the Mammy to household chores and nurturing children and other family members, eliminating any threat to the household of a sexuality that might disrupt the household or marriage. The Mammy image is considered important because that depiction shaped African American women’s behavior as mothers (Collins, 1991). Collins (1991) noted that, by emulating the Mammy, African American women taught their own children about their place within the White power structure, which in turn could help determine the success of their children.

The second negative controlling image was the stereotype of the Jezebel, also known as the whore or “hoochie,” typically reflective of the perceived (by Whites) sexuality of female slaves (Collins, 2000, p. 81). A Jezebel was a female slave viewed as sexually
immodest. The categorization of African American women as sexually promiscuous resulted in their receipt of repeated and “deserved” sexual assaults by Euro American slaveholders (Leathers, 2010). The Jezebel image cultivated the impression that female African American slaves could not be victims of rape because they were perceived as desiring and asking for sex. Jezebels also were very fertile, resulting in large numbers of offspring, who added to the slaveholder’s stock of slaves for sale or for use on the premises. The female slaves were seen as sexual objects that were unable to control their sexual needs (Baker, 2005). In other words, Jezebels were seductive women. They were also referred to as “sexually aggressive wet nurses” (Clarke, Gomez, Hammonds, Johnson, & Powell, 1983, p. 99). A Jezebel was referred to as a “wet nurse” because of her characteristic of nurturing slaveholders’ White children (Collins, 2000). Therefore, the origins of this stereotype came from the slavery era to vindicate abuse of the female slave women by slaveholders (Pilgrim, 2000), and it also served to exploit the institution of slavery (i.e., illegitimate offspring of slaves were fortuitous capital for the slaveholder to exploit).

The third image that originated during the times of slavery was the Sapphire image, which portrayed an African American woman who labored for Euro Americans and also had obligations as a mother in rearing her own pubescent child (Leathers, 2010). A Sapphire was seen as an overbearing African American female who was very aggressive, loud, malicious, domineering, and never satisfied (Thomas et al., 2004). Leathers (2010) postulated that these traits characterized African American women as sexually and verbally aggressive. A Sapphire was thought to be the “angry Black woman” because she conveyed the attitude and brazenness frequently associated with African American women (Yarbrough & Bennett, 2000, p. 638)—and was everything that a Mammy was not. With Jezebels and Sapphires
both considered as sexually aggressive and/or sexually promiscuous, responsibility for sexual interactions between the slaveholder and female slave could be placed directly on the slave women (Leathers, 2010). Hence, the negative connotations associated with the Sapphire’s “smart mouth” and the Jezebel’s sexually indiscriminate behavior cleared slaveholders of any rape accusations and any personal magnetism to African American women, who were qualitatively different from White women (Davenport & Yurich, 1991; Thomas et al., 2004). And, of course, because African American female slaves were considered property, the slave owner could do as he wished with his property.

The historical images and depictions of the sexuality of African American women throughout slavery have been characterized as directly opposite to the dominant culture’s definition of ideals of womanhood (Leathers, 2010). As defined by the dominant culture, African American women were considered to be breeders and sluts who were imperiled by rape, sexual harassment, and intimidation (Koven & Michel, 1993) and, therefore, not worthy of the definition of womanhood or “true womanhood.” Consequently,

by being Black and descended from slaves (even if their actual ancestors were free),

Black activists’ references to “highest womanhood,” to “true motherhood,” appeared to subvert a social script written from them by the larger culture that sought to deny them the possibility of nurturing, motherhood, and family maintenance. (Boris, 1993, p. 217)

Because of the mythical, stereotypical portrayals of African American women, the identities of real African American women reflected a great deal of insecurity and feelings of inferiority (Mays, 1986). They struggled to fake their own identities, which had been shaped by the dominant cultural stereotypes of African American women (Leathers, 2010). These
negative images are still embedded in a monolithic cultural image used to characterize African American women. The historical African American woman stereotypes were formed by society to portray African American women as less than and different from White women. In addition, as noted by Collins (2000), negative controlling images postulate an ideological justification for race, gender, class, and sexual inequality.

Thomas et al. (2004) argued that stereotypes reflecting the Mammy, Jezebel, and Sapphire are still recognized by African Americans in current times. These controlling allegories still subsist long after the end of enslavement and contribute to a hostile culture for African American women today in the United States. For example, Leathers (2010) noted a modern-day Mammy as someone who is nurturing, strong, supportive, and works strategically to satisfy the needs of others while marginalizing her own desires. Therefore, this stereotype may still portray African American women who are nurturing to others at their own expense (Abdullah, 1998). Abdullah (1998) noted that when African American women internalize the Mammy persona, they often have a poor self-concept.

Likewise, the image of a Jezebel today is one of an African American woman who uses her body and her sexuality for her own gain and offers intimate relationships indiscriminately to men (Leathers, 2010). Consequently, a Jezebel is still seen as a sexual object through the lens of mass media, especially in African American music videos where African American women are depicted as “video vixens” available to satisfy every man’s wants and desires.

Today, the Sapphire image portrays someone who may have a strong head on her shoulders and is self-reliant, depriving a man of his male leadership role (Leathers, 2010). African American women who internalize the Sapphire role often have trouble with their
emotions and expressing their needs (Thomas et al., 2004), which may result in single motherhood, having driven away their partners because of their mean-spiritedness.

Finally, a common stereotype used to portray African American women currently is that of the Superwoman. The contemporary Superwomen stereotype evolved after slavery and, today, represents an African American woman who is considered strong, encouraging, industrious, and ambitious, i.e., who disallows all negative stereotypes (Leathers, 2010). Mitchell and Herring (1998) described the Superwoman as an African American woman who is capable of successfully completing several tasks simultaneously. Many African American women feel that displaying what often are stereotypically considered masculine attributes to the African American community demonstrates their independence as well as their ability to provide for their family. Thus, some African American women prefer playing the role as Superwoman as opposed to being depicted as a lazy or incapable African American. However, being a "strong Black woman" is a mantra for so much a part of U.S. culture that it is seldom realized how great a toll it has taken on the emotional well-being of the African American woman. As much as it may give her the illusion of control, it keeps her from identifying what she needs and reaching out for help. (Romero, 2000, p. 225)

Likewise, Greene (1994) postulated that when African American women adopt the Superwoman role, they do so not because they do not want to ask for help from others, but because they fear that asking for help will impart the impression that they are weak, which makes African American women feel like failures.

Internalizing the Superwoman role, which represents survival and strength, often resulted in health problems for African American women, such as anxiety and depression as
well as psychological distress and the feeling that it was not necessary to seek any psychological assistance (Boyd, 1993; Gainor, 1992; Greene, 1994; West, 1995). Romero (2000) proposed that African American women who internalize the Superwoman role typically avoid anger because it can result in feeling out of control within their environment or for the task at hand. Many African American women are cognizant that their behaviors often are judged by the prevailing stereotypes of African American women, and this may cause them to unknowingly react and replicate the stereotypes in a number of ways (Greene, 1994; Thomas et al., 2004). Moreover, African American women who ascribe to this superwoman image may try to bear all the labor without the help of others to show that they are strong, independent, resilient, ambitious, and capable and to prevent themselves from being judged negatively (Thomas et al., 2004).

**Independence.** Wade-Gayles (1984) stated that African American mothers “socialize their daughters to be independent, strong and self-confident” (p. 12). African American mothers may relate independence to being feminine because their daughters need to understand how to feel about the self and their own psychological well-being. African American mothers are highly concerned about how their daughters’ self-image is portrayed to others and about the process of their daughters’ entry into womanhood (Bailey-Fakhoury, 2014). Lipford Sanders and Bradley (2005) mentioned that African American girls “are bombarded early with negative messages about their worth, intelligence, and beauty” (p. 301). African American mothers make it a priority to teach and prepare their daughters to live in a society that holds negative expectations for women who are Black (Hinton-Johnson, 2003). Bailey-Fakhoury (2014) noted that “to transcend and ultimately destroy African American female stereotypes, daughters need instructions on how to ‘bring it and show it’
while being comfortable in one’s own skin” (p. 64). Furthermore, African American mothers attempt to mold their daughters’ perceptions of themselves to be resilient and confident of their own female individuality.

**Double Consciousness**

Many African American mothers make sure their daughters understand the concept of “double consciousness” during the socialization process of entering into womanhood. Double consciousness can be defined as one’s inner conscious splitting into two characters as an attempt to becoming accepted in mainstream society (Cook, 2013). Double consciousness also can refer to African Americans having two social identities. For instance, mothers may relate to their daughters that idealized images portrayed by myths and the media are different from the way daughters should view themselves and other real women. DuBois (1903/1995) described double consciousness as a defense mechanism against racism. In his article “Double Consciousness and the Veil,” DuBois further explained:

> After the Egyptian and Indian, the Greek and Roman, The Teton and Mongolian, the Negro is a sort of seventh son, born with a veil, and gifted with second-sight in this American world—a world which yields him no true self-consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world. It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, the sense of always looking at one’s self through the eyes of others, of measuring one’s soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. (p. 168)

Double consciousness involves African Americans’ self-awareness of their real lives coupled with their consciousness of how their lives are viewed through the racial lens of White Americans. The “veil” represents the inability of White Americans to see commonalities
between themselves and African Americans and also their inability to look past skin color and accept African Americans as Americans (Swain, 2012).

African American women must be conscious of the many notions Euro Americans have in terms of “the slave self, the oppressed self, the Black version of the Euro American female self, the matriarchal self, the independent self, the alone self, the ugly self, the unfeminine self, and the trapped self” (Brown-Collins & Sussewell, 1986, p. 8). In other words, African American women have to assimilate to the dichotomies that exist within American culture. They must be aware of Euro Americans’ racial prejudice and their manipulation of knowledge about African Americans, which may affect the movement of African Americans through predominantly White spaces (Brown-Collins & Sussewell, 1986; DuBois, 1903/2010, 1903/1995). Young African American women need to learn how to navigate their lives through those predominantly White spaces.

African American mothers may inform their daughters that, as young African American women, they live in two worlds: one encompassing their African American identity and one in which African Americans have to embrace the European American culture (Swain, 2012). In essence, African Americans adapt to U.S. society by developing a bicultural self. Therefore, an African American mother may instill in her daughter that, by embracing that she is an African American in a European American-dominated world, she can better understand “herself and the culture of the society in which she lives. By doing this one hopes to be able to remove the veil which causes the double-self” (Swain, 2012, p. 12). In essence, double consciousness forces African American women to understand their own unique perspectives but also to see themselves as others might see themselves from within the mainstream culture.
African American Dress and Appearance

For this study, African American mothers and daughters were interviewed to gain insight into how mothers influence their daughter’s consumer behavior toward dress and appearance and how mothers socialize their daughter to use appearance as a means to express female gender role in U.S. society. The modifications and enhancements to the body broadcast to others (the perceivers) an “abstract characteristic of the relationships the wearer has with others and the type of situation in which the wearer is involved” (Damhorst, 1999, p. 128). Roach-Higgins and Eicher (1992) defined dress as arrangements of detectable body modifications and any material objects added to the body as supplements. Dress interconnects with three messages: (a) personal characteristics, including traits, ideals, interests and lifestyle; (b) cultural background, group roles, and group membership (family, friendship, gender); and (c) situations or occasions, such as intention to act and orientation (i.e., casual, serious, or formal) (Damhorst et al., 1999, p. 128). Roach-Higgins and Eicher (1992) noted that dress often provides two basic meanings for humans: (a) as a modifier of the body in social environments in which humans live and (b) in interpersonal communications with others. Dress also is used as protection of the human body from the physical environment. In addition, dress can be used as a form of social power within larger sociocultural settings (Johnson & Lennon, 2014).

Tulloch (2004) noted that, in order to recognize what is “Black” about the way African Americans dress and appear, one must learn more about cultural, historical, and social contexts to understand the meanings behind dress and appearance, such as skin, hair, grooming, and the forms of fabric through which style is inscribed into African American culture. Johnson & Lennon (2014) contended that meanings of dress are cultured over a
lifetime, are tied to time and place, and often undergo numerous changes over time. Tulloch stated that African American dress and appearance are depicted as communication of ways that African American individuals ascertain and convey their sense of style.

Damhorst (1999) noted that dress is vital in defining one’s self-identity and expressing sense of style to others. In fact, particular dress items worn by individuals often can express their disposition, beliefs, interests, social roles, status, and gender. Some African American mothers make sure their daughters are well groomed because they see that as helping to mold a positive self-identity for their daughters. In molding a positive self-identity, individuals can reveal to other individuals their interests, their upbringing, and even their socioeconomic status. Dress also is used to reflect a wide range of social positions and expectation of behaviors (Johnson & Lennon, 2014). African American mothers also assist in constructing their daughters’ self-confidence and social self-perception of themselves. African Americans mothers may socialize their daughters to effectively use dress to communicate, achieve goals, and identify with others within their social surroundings.

Hence, appearance is a form of communication. An individual’s appearance can help generate an impression before words are spoken (Sybers & Roach, 1962); other people, a group, or an audience can judge a person, correctly or erroneously, before his or her mouth opens. Assumptions consciously and subconsciously can already be made based on the clothes people wear, their body language, and how they are groomed. Therefore, appearance is regularly inferred to be a representation of a person’s self-esteem and attitude toward the self and others.

**African American community style of dress.** Parker et al. (1995) stated that in African American culture “beauty is defined less in relation to static images and more in
terms of performance competence in a multicultural world marked by conflicts as well as egalitarian ideals” (p. 111). Flynn and Fitzgibbon (1998) recognized the fluidity of African American beauty ideals, stating that:

attractiveness is based not only on the shape and size of the body but also how a woman or girl presents herself. Presentation includes grooming, dress, posture, and whether she walks and moves as though she is proud of herself and her culture. (p. 21)

Individuals in the African American community may have a unique style of dressing that serves as a form of communication that transmits their sense of self to others in the African American community. Along this same line, “Black beauty” is constructed from individuality while trying to uphold a collective social scheme that differs from that of the mainstream culture (West, 2012).

Taylor mentioned that many African American women express cultural pride, which is shown through style:

Black style is our culture. It’s our collective response to the world. Our style is rooted in our history and in knowledge of our inner power—our power as people. Black style is opposite of conformity. It’s what others conform to. In fact, quiet as it’s kept, our style is envied and emulated throughout the world. (as cited in Parker et al., 1995, p. 109)

Within the African American community, it is important to a make a statement through attitude and style. The use of style is balanced between conformity and individuality. In African American culture, one must adapt to the latest styles within the social group, tailoring one’s fashions so as to look well-dressed with the group but with an individual and
unique take or adaptation of trends that results in personal style (Parker et al., 1995).

Moreover, Carr-Ruffino (2009) noted that African American style is more self-conspicuous than that of most cultures. The uniqueness of African American dress and appearance articulates the need for personal expression, personal choice, and preferences in dress when forming authentic identity and assertiveness (Smetana, 2010).

**Standpoint theory and Afrocentric theory on beauty.** According to Wood (1994), standpoint theory focuses on how gender, race, class, and other social categories intersect and influence the circumstances of people’s lives, especially the social position they have and the kinds of experiences fostered as part of those social positions. Wood (1994) pointed out that African American women’s views of beauty standards might be different depending on their financial status. African American women are challenged by societal definitions of beauty just as they are by social status. However, in the United States, African American women are often stereotyped in such a way that they can never measure up to the American ideal standard of beauty. African American women have been challenged with the expectation that, in order to be considered beautiful, they must look White.

The use of standpoint theory is helpful in research aimed at understanding African American culture, as “standpoint theory can create cleavages in and assist in subverting the status quo, and to establish a woman’s and ethnic minority woman’s standpoint is to prepare to challenge hegemony” (Patton, 2004, p. 198). In addition, standpoint theory serves to understand the world from the standpoint of women and systematically marginalized and oppressed groups (Wylie, 2003). Moser (2005) stated, “If the oppressed individuals can develop a critical awareness of their situations as members of a class within a class-stratified society, then they can be said to achieve a privileged standpoint. The process is one of
building “class consciousness” in traditional standpoint theory, and of “consciousness raising” in feminist standpoint theory” (p. 472).

Furthermore, standpoint theory focuses more on a collective standpoint, for example, poor women, African American women, and victims of sexual violence (Calhoun, 2002). According to Ryan (2004), “the idea of a collective standpoint does not imply an essential overarching characteristic but rather a sense of belonging to a group bounded by a shared experience” (p. 789). Therefore, standpoint theory was used as the methodological foundation for this study on mother–daughter relationships.

Afrocentric theory can be used as a way to “redefine and confront the marginalization and racist beauty standards” that all women are under coercive pressure to accept (Patton, 2006, p. 32). African American women can learn to rationalize their own sense of beauty and appearance by resisting Eurocentric standards of beauty. In addition, Afrocentric theory is used to develop collective consciousness (Asante, 1998). Afrocentricity allows for performative beauty (Matiza, 2013). Patton (2006) explained that Afrocentricity creates a performative space that has room for all forms of women’s beauty due to the fact that beauty “is no longer in the context of a Euro-supremacist framework. There is not an adherence to any beauty standard but a celebration of the self” (Patton, 2006, p. 33). In other words, Patton (2006) claimed that beauty is diverse and not defined only by Eurocentric ideals of beauty. Change in the sense of what is beautiful expands as women refuse to admire only narrowly defined beauty. In addition, Afrocentric theory coexists with Western cultural perspectives because it “embraces an alternative set of realities, experiences, and identities” (Delgado, 1998, p. 423). Furthermore, Bailey-Fakhoury (2014) noted that “the Afrocentric/cultural experience is the setting in which African American mothers educate
their children about racial pride, traditions, and customs unique to being African American” (p. 70). Standpoint theory paired with Afrocentric theory is a very valuable and powerful tool when used to examine identity, body image, hair, and race.

**African American beauty and hair.** In her book, *In Style & Status: Selling Beauty to African American Women, 1920–1975*, Walker (2007) argued that images and discourse about the African American beauty culture indirectly characterizes African American beauty as a “social issue.” The African American beauty culture also “reveals the participation of Blacks in American consumer culture” (p. 4) as an “involvement . . . [that] often highlighted racial discrimination in American society” (p. 6). Walker (2007) made it clear that African American women have faced many challenges, particularly in relation to their dress and appearance. Historically, African American women who maintained a stylish appearance illustrated conformity to mainstream (Eurocentric) feminine ideals in order to gain the respect they deserved as women. Victoria Wolcott (2001) stated:

> Indeed, Black women throughout the twentieth century have used respectability to enhance their reputation, ensure social mobility, and create a positive image for their communities. To be “respectable” was an identity that any African American could embrace, whatever his or her economic standing. (p. 8)

In contrast, African American women who attempted to establish respectability through their own unique style of dress were considered to be participating in an act of resistance to the mainstream culture (Harris, 2003).

Eurocentric influences on African American dress and appearance choices go back to slavery days and are closely connected with the “notion of the color caste system: the belief that the lighter one’s skin color, the better one is and that straighter hair is better than kinky
Historically, that point of view regarding hair and appearance reflects the creation of a hierarchy of one’s skin color and beauty that was disseminated and upheld by enslavement and slaveholders. “Hair. It may seem like a mundane subject, but it has profound implications for how African American women experience the world” (Jacobs-Huey, 2007, p. 3).

During slavery, women with kinky hair were considered to have “bad” hair and to be unattractive; conversely, women with straight or wavy hair could be considered highly appealing and beautiful and had “good” hair (Patton, 2006). Slaves in the United States were primarily of African descent and were considered not quite human; African heritage was a sign of inferiority and, therefore, was deemed unappealing. The concept of bad hair versus good hair came from the social construction of beauty standards. In the book, 400 Years without a Comb, Morrow (1973) traced the history of African American women’s hair practices during slavery. Morrow argued that hair and skin color often were merged together when examining African American individuals. Morrow noted how African American slaves had their wide-toothed combs, which were needed for grooming their hair, stripped from their possessions. Many slave women were made to feel ugly and embarrassed about their kinky hair and felt the need to straighten their hair to feel more attractive.

In the United States, Britain, and the Caribbean, privileges were given to women who met the dominant beauty standards of “white/light skin, straight hair and what are seen to be European facial features” (Tate, 2007, p. 301). According to Byrd and Tharps (2001), the goal of grooming the hair had morphed from the elaborate and symbolic designs of Africa into an imitation of White styles adapted to Black kinks and curls. . . . There existed neither a public nor a private forum where Black hair was celebrated. (p. 16)
Those criteria for beauty still exist in the 21st century and still shape or serve as a reference point for beauty standards held for African American women. The Eurocentric physical criteria for perceived attractiveness are still apparent and held to some extent within the African American community. Therefore, African American mothers are cognizant of the mainstream standard of beauty projected on their daughters (Bailey-Fakhoury, 2014).

African American women portrayed in mass media today who are admired based on their appearance and beauty often are lighter-skinned women with longer and thinner noses, bright eyes, and straight or wavy-textured hair (Davis, 2013; Patton, 2006). However, this standard of beauty comes not only from the Euro American community but also from the African American community, where the “American Dream Girl” standard of beauty is still accepted at least in part (Davis, 2013; Patton, 2006). Byrd and Tharps (2014) concluded, America’s, including Black America’s, beauty ideal has not altered drastically since the late 1800s. Large breasts, small waist, and masses of flowing hair are still the look desired by men and sought after by many women. . . . Black people looking to fit into the mainstream visually still overwhelmingly have to contend with the same standards as in the past. (pp. 181–182)

Today’s media still reveals a preference for Eurocentric-looking models (Davis, 2013; Patton, 2006). Moreover, although the images of African American women are constructed through a lens that is believed to reflect a woman’s beauty, her beauty is often judged only by her outer appearance, not by her intelligence or her inner beauty.

Bailey-Fakhoury (2014) found that African American mothers encouraged their daughters to embrace their hair styles in ways that non-African American girls were unable to attain. In addition, Bailey-Fakhoury found that African American mothers cultivate their
daughters to embrace a “natural self” that is uniquely their own. Embracing the natural self can help African American women counteract media norms and mainstream beauty ideals. Having broader sociocultural standards of beauty for African American women in the mainstream media would help many African American women fully embrace their natural self, instead of altering their natural ideals.

**Black Power movement.** African American resistance in the 1960s and 1970s included the counter-hegemonic adoption of unique and different hairstyles that promoted African American beauty, style, and creativity with the use of dreadlocks, plaits, curls, weaves, scarves, or wigs (Patton, 2006). This resistance was demonstrated primarily in the Black Power movement that supported the “Black is Beautiful” campaign. The movement defied White supremacy in many capacities, and one aspect that was used as sign of defiance was hair (hooks, 1995; Patton, 2006). The Black is Beautiful campaign was created to do away with the stereotypes that categorized, delimited, and/or declared African Americans as ugly, undesirable, or outrageous (hooks, 1995). Most importantly, the Black Power movement sought the value of embracing all different complexions of Blackness (hooks, 1995). In the 1960s, African American women stopped “tidying their hair” according to White notions of appearance control, such as using curling irons to straighten hair. During this decade of acceptance, “natural” hair was promoted to show that African Americans’ hair is naturally beautiful (Moore & Kosut, 2010). People who had stood by passively watching the discrimination African Americans received on the basis on the color of their skin and other physical attributes “felt for the first time that it was politically appropriate to intervene” (hooks, 1995, p. 122). Using modification (or lack of modification) of hair and skin color,
African American women could “militantly confront and change the devastating psychological consequences of internalized racism” (hooks, 1995, p. 122).

Elizabeth Johnson (2013) noted that hairstyles, hair texture, and adornments can communicate a great deal about a woman. According to Patton (2006), hair is one tool or mechanism African American women can use to confront the damaging norms of the Eurocentric standard of beauty, which is impossible for African American women to attain. Redefining beauty was an important part of the women’s movement in general and the African American women’s movement in particular. Needless to say, during the 1960s and 1970s the Black Power movement brought to light many historical questions regarding the “roles beauty culture may play in the making of African American women’s racial and feminine identities” (Walker, 2007, p. 5).

Social Constructions of African American Appearance and Body Image

Parker et al. (1995) described the definition of the ideal beauty in mainstream U.S. society as White, tall, thin, with high cheekbones, and naturally pretty. This definition of the mainstream beauty ideal fits primarily Euro characteristics, which makes perceived beauty essentially unachievable for African American women (“Beauty Whitewashed,” 2011). According to Michele Wallace (1979):

The Black woman had not failed to be aware of America’s standard of beauty nor the fact that she was not included in it; television and motion pictures had made this information very available to her. She watched as America expanded its ideal to include Irish, Italian, Jewish, even Oriental [sic] and Indian women. America had room among its beauty contestants for buxom Mae West, the bug eyes of Bette Davis, the masculinity of Joan Crawford, but the Black woman was only allowed entry if her
hair was straight, her skin light, and her features European; in other words, if she was as nearly indistinguishable from a White woman as possible. (pp. 157–158)

Wallace challenged the notion of assimilating to Eurocentric standards of hairstyles and expectations of beauty. According to Swain (2012), although many European American women fall short of those idealized standards of beauty, African American women are often completely “left out” from the ideal beauty standard.

Hill (2002) found that both African American men and women judged the attractiveness of women based on the lightness of their skin. The findings of his study indicated that women with fair skin were rated the highest in attractiveness and women with darker skin were judged as unattractive and given low ratings. Falconer and Neville (2000) surveyed African American women at a historically Black college and found that those who were content with their skin color had a more positive perception of their appearance than did those who were less content with their skin color.

**Body Image**

A 20/20 television broadcast in 1998 posed questions to both African American and European American women about how they viewed themselves (S. Taylor, 1998). The 20/20 investigation found that White women tended to be more prone to bulimic and anorexic behaviors, whereas African American women exhibited a lesser degree of these behaviors. Only 10% of Euro American women were happy with their bodies, whereas 70% of African American women were content with their physiques (S. Taylor, 1998). European American women see narrow ideals of beauty and body images emphasized through mass media, whereas images portraying the ideals of African American women’s beauty and body images had been very limited and largely ignored, and even more so back in the 1990s.
Assimilation to Eurocentric standards may be encouraged by some African American mothers, whereas other African American mothers may fortify their daughters to resist these unattainable standards. On the other hand, being left out of mainstream standards may help African American women dismiss the standards as irrelevant to their own sense of attractiveness. In some research studies, African American women have been found to be comfortable with their own body types and self-images (Martin & Baugh, 2011); however, there have been conflicting findings. Since slavery, the African American community has been perceived as not meeting physical appearance norms in America. This has created a dynamic whereby some African American women have become dissatisfied with their physical appearance and have chosen to alter that appearance to reach mainstream society’s narrow criteria for beauty (Martin & Baugh, 2011). Previous research conducted on African American and European American adolescents found that they looked more at same-race images presented through media for body comparisons (Schooler, 2004). In addition, Poran (2006) provided direct evidence of how African American women have been negatively influenced by the mainstream media’s standards of beauty. Some of these examples include the pressure placed on African American women to become thinner and to fit the preferences imbedded in European American men’s standards for women’s attractiveness. This has created dissension among communities of African American women about what is appropriate and attractive. Therefore, trying to achieve an unrealistic beauty standard can potentially affect a person’s self-worth and create a risk of developing eating disorders (Brownell & Foreyt, 1986; Hsu, 1989; Rosen, 1990).

According to Lerner, Karabenick, and Stuart (1973), what a woman observes in the mirror is what she uses to measure her worth as a human being. Furthermore, some women
can be their own worst critics as they look in the mirror; some women tend to “over think” their appearance and are often not accurate in assessments of their own appearances (Lerner et al., 1973). Previous research conducted on self-esteem has been related to how women feel about their size, shape, and body (Trampe, Stapel, & Siero, 2007). Trampe et al. (2007) summarized six studies and found that women with body dissatisfaction were more affected by mass media images than were women who were satisfied with their body image. Women who were unhappy with their body image were more prone to social comparison and were affected by comparisons with both attractive models and real women. However, only those women who were dissatisfied with their bodies evaluated themselves negatively (Trampe et al., 2007). In general, self-esteem refers to how positively or negatively individuals feel about the subjective image of themselves that they have constructed (DeBord, 1997).

Studies conducted in the late 20th century indicated that African American women were less likely to conform to unrealistic ideals than were White women. For example, African American women were less likely to have issues with being “fat” compared to White women (Levinson, Powell, & Steelman, 1986; Rosen & Gross, 1987; Rucker & Cash, 1992). Researchers found an overall higher level of positive body satisfaction among African American girls and women in comparison to European American girls and women (e.g., Parker et al., 1995). Parker et al. (1995) suggested that African American women tend to compare themselves to each other instead of to idealized images of thinness.

Flynn and Fitzgibbon (1998) noted that African American women tend to have a heavier body shape than do White women. According to the National Center for Health Statistics, the average weight of African American women between 20 and 39 years of age is about 181.6 pounds, whereas White women within the same age range on average weigh
approximately 158.9 pounds (McDowell, Fryar, Ogden & Flegal, 2008). Nevertheless, scholars have found that in a large population sample of African Americans, heavier body sizes are praised more than are thin ones (Flynn & Fitzgibbon, 1998). Heavier body shapes among African American women are perceived as depicting power and wealth and serve as a representation of beauty in the African American community; in contrast, in the African American community thinness can be deemed as a symbol of illness and deficiency (West, 2012). It has been found that, in the African American community, someone who is too thin can be viewed as poor, a victim of substance abuse, suffering from hunger, or affected by a disease such as AIDS (Flynn & Fitzgibbon, 1998).

Studies of body image and satisfaction that have examined covariate characteristics to compare African Americans with other groups have found that a variety of factors make understanding African American women’s body image complex. For example, for African American women who are trying to achieve the White ideal of beauty, body dissatisfaction may be higher (Makkar & Strube, 1995). Makkar and Strube, (1995) found that the African American women who had higher levels of African self-consciousness (i.e., identified with African American culture) toward their body shape and size were less likely to compare themselves to White beauty standards. African American women who did not embrace their racial identity had lower self-esteem (Makkar & Strube, 1995) that affected their eating behaviors and perception of body image. Positive body image was related to self-esteem and higher degrees of racial identity (Makkar & Strube, 1995).

At the University of Alabama in 1999, a survey was issued to 3,700 students, including African American and European American women and men. The researchers found the following:
Black women were more invested in their physical appearance than were White women, and that normal size Black and White women had similar levels of dissatisfaction with body size and weight. . . . Heavy Black women were more satisfied with their weight than [were] heavy White women. (Jones & Shorter-Gooden, 2003, pp. 180–181)

Overall, the Jones and Shorter-Gooden(2003) research highlighted that some African American women, just like their European American counterparts, may experience disappointment with their bodies and feel forced to conform to a societal standard of beauty. However, larger body sizes may be more accepted and admired within some portions of African American culture.

**Socialization of African American Identity and Consumption Processes**

**African American Socialization Process**

Socialization is defined as “the way in which individuals are assisted in becoming members of one or more social groups” (Grusec & Hastings, 2007, p. 1). Many sociologists and psychologists have identified impediments to the socialization process among African Americans, because African American parents have to socialize their daughters to live in aggressive atmospheres as well as to deal with conflicting social experiences as an African American (Leslie, 1998). Collins (1997) wrote that African American “daughters are raised . . . to anticipate carrying heavy responsibilities in their families and communities because these skills are essential for their own survival as well as for the survival of those for whom they will eventually be responsible” (p. 270). Notably, Leslie (1998) has suggested a debate about whether African American parents often socialize their children to either African American “cultural motifs” or to “informed [African American] values” (p. 174). Leslie
considered informed values to include a “mother’s awareness of the principles underlying cultural patterns, whereas cultural motifs refer to enduring ways of behaving that are not necessarily related to an informed world view” (Leslie, 1998, p. 174). In other words, in what ways does socialization by African American mothers mirror the African American or the Eurocentric values, behavior, and views toward raising their children (Leslie, 1998)?

Buckley and Carter (2005) noted that African American mothers work hard to socialize their daughters to be independent, strong, and assertive and to take on an identity that provides an alternative to prescribed White female gender roles in their everyday lives. For this reason, it is important to gain more understanding of how African American mothers socialize their daughters as African Americans in the United States as well as how mothers transfer knowledge of cultural norms regarding dress and appearance.

Butler (1995) contended that gender is performative and is “produced as a ritualized repetition of convention” (p. 31). Ethnicity also may be performative. Beauty and hair are part of the recurring performances that serve to continually reinforce African American female roles and identity. Mothers teaching their daughters how to dress appropriately results in recurring performances in which women adhere to and reproduce beauty standards of the African American community. The practicing and re-experiencing of modifications to the body serve as repetition of these performative actions. The performance entails not only a mother teaching her daughter techniques but also, in some respects, the ritual involved in defining forms of beauty through mother–daughter dress and appearance. Overall, some African American mothers instill in their daughters that the presentation of their appearance, among other things, is an important way to influence how society perceives them and treats them.
Appearance Socialization by Mothers

Mothers serve as role models for their children; they are likely to influence and shape their children’s appearance goals and behaviors. Researchers have indicated that mothers serve as agents of socialization regarding their daughter’s body and their daughter’s appearance (Moreno & Thelen, 1993; Ogle & Damhorst, 2003). Smith, Mullis, and Hill (1995) noted that, psychologically, the mother–daughter relationship is viewed as exceedingly complex and critical across the lifespan. Given that daughters often identify with their mothers, daughters also often tend to emulate their mother’s behaviors, values, and attitudes toward the body (Ogle & Damhorst, 2003).

Ogle and Damhorst (2000) interviewed 20 mothers and their adolescent daughters to examine how diet-related opinions and behaviors compared between mothers and their daughters. The researchers focused on reciprocal socialization between mothers and their adolescent daughters regarding appearance. Some of the daughters did not model their mothers’ diet-related patterns of behavior exactly due to the fact that they did not deem their mothers’ appearance-related concerns or behaviors applicable to themselves (Ogle & Damhorst, 2000, 2003, 2004). However, the mothers who underwent dieting to control their weight or modify their appearance had daughters who were short-term dieters as well. Furthermore, mothers in the Ogle and Damhorst (2000) study who had never dieted had daughters who also had not taken part in diet-oriented body modifications. Both the mother and daughter constructed and deconstructed the ideology of a changeable, malleable body.

In general, U.S. mothers play a role in guiding their daughters’ weight and appearance norms. These norms can lead to mothers serving as natural caretakers to prepare their daughters for the real world by helping to develop their self-esteem. Studies have
shown that mother–daughter relationships influence adolescent girls’ construction and perception of themselves and body image (Asher, 1992). It has been found that mothers directly and indirectly affect their daughters’ body image and eating habits (Cooley, Toray, Wang, & Valdez, 2008).

Mothers who worry about their body image or weight are key socialization agents for imitation among their children, who often follow their mother’s body image behavior patterns (Ogden & Steward, 2000). Steiger, Stotland, Ghadirian, & Whitehead (1994) also found a connection between mothers and daughters concerning their weight and appearance concerns. Their findings implied that a daughter’s body image is often linked to her mother’s subjective sense of wellbeing. Subjective wellbeing is known as “an umbrella term for different valuations that people make regarding their lives, the events happening to them, their body and minds, and circumstances in which they live” (Diener, 2006, p. 400). For example, if an African American mother is not having issues regarding the weight or body image of the daughter, the daughter is less likely to form anxiety concerning her body image and is more likely to have a happier life (Vered & Walter, 2015). However, some studies found that daughters of mothers who have weight and appearance concerns do not necessarily have worries about their own weight and appearance (Attie & Brooks-Gunn, 1989). Therefore, understanding mother–daughter socialization of weight and appearance norms can facilitate understanding of the psychological process of how a daughter develops her own body image (Vered & Walter, 2015).
Theories of Parenting and Socialization

Parenting Styles

Parenting style refers to the way parents communicate with their children. How a parent communicates can create an atmosphere in which the parents’ actions are expressed and their children’s behavior can be influenced (Darling & Steinberg, 1993). Researchers have noted that the emotional climate generated within a family is developed through practices of parenting and parents’ behaviors, for example, in their gestures, their actions, their expressions of emotion toward the child, and their tone of voice when addressing the child (Darling & Steinberg, 1993).

According to Baumrind (1978), there are three distinctive types of parenting style: authoritarian, authoritative, and permissive. Each parenting style can be defined by a parent’s level of responsiveness and demandingness. Aunola, Stattin, and Nurmi (2000) identified demandingness as “the extent to which parents show control, maturity, demands, and supervision in their parenting. Responsiveness refers to the extent to which parents show affective warmth, acceptance, and involvement” (p. 206). Furthermore, Grolnick and Ryan (1989), building upon Baumrind’s (1967) parenting style descriptions, added two dimensions to the discussion of parenting styles: structure and autonomy support. Structure indicates the extent to which parents provide clear and consistent guidelines, expectations, and rules for child behaviors, without respect to the style in which they are promoted . . . [whereas] autonomy support refers to the degree to which parents value and use techniques which encourage independent problem solving, choice, and participation in decisions versus externally dictating outcomes, and motivating achievement.
through punitive disciplinary technique, pressure, or controlling rewards. (Grolnick & Ryan, 1989, p. 144)

*Authoritative* parents (also known as “democratic”) are receptive to their child’s needs and also are demanding by setting expectations for the child. They set clear goals and standards for their child and reassure the child that there is open communication and independence among members of the family (Baumrind, 1971). According to Walker (2008), “authoritative parents instill academic and social competence by helping children balance the need for autonomous, active thinking with other-oriented, rule-following tendencies” (p. 221). Baumrind (1973) made it clear that authoritative parenting is interconnected with high cognitive and social competence in children and that most children of authoritative parents are often more independent than are children of parents with other parenting styles.

Parents with an *authoritarian* parenting style retain a high level of control, expect their orders to be obeyed, provide low emotional support, and provide a low level of parental cordiality toward their child (Glasgow, Dornbusch, Troyer, Steinberg, & Ritter, 1997). Authoritarian parents display a high level of demandingness and are domineering and less responsive to their child’s needs. They have high expectations that rules be followed without question. This style of parenting can result in lower levels of social responsibility or independence in children (Baumrind, 1967).

Parents with a permissive style of parenting lack control but provide substantial levels of warmth and emotional support for the child (Baumrind, 1967). Permissive parents are responsive, cater to the needs of their child, and are less demanding than are parents with other styles of parenting. Without a high degree of self-regulation, permissive parents
infrequently mandate mature behavior from their child (Baumrind, 1967, 1971), causing the child to lack of a number of attributes including maturity, self-reliance, independence, social responsibility, and impulse control. Children with parents who have this parenting style have shown low levels of cognitive and social competence (Baumrind, 1973).

Parenting style, as it relates to mothers’ approach to socializing their daughters about dress and appearance, can help explain the type of influence African American mothers have on their daughters’ consumption of appearance-related products. Moreover, parenting styles also may help illustrate how African American mothers socialize their daughters to become African American females in society.

**Social Learning Theory**

Social learning theory, developed by Albert Bandura (1973, 1977, 1986), is a psychological model that attempts to elucidate how socially appropriate human behavior patterns are learned and “approaches the explanation of human behavior in terms of a continuous reciprocal interaction between cognitive, behavioral, and environmental determinants” (Bandura, 1977, p. vii).

**Modeling process.** Bandura (1977) argued that not all observed behaviors can be learned effectively nor does learning necessarily lead to behavioral changes. Human beings learn through a modeling process, which is more complex than mere observation and consists of four major steps: (a) attention, (b) retention, (c) reproduction, and (d) motivation. Each of these steps are intertwined but will be discussed separately to provide a better understanding the human behavior patterns involved in the modeling process between mothers and daughters.
**Step 1: Attention.** Most importantly, for children to learn from other people’s actions, children must first pay attention, perceive precisely, and then model behavior (Bandura, 1977). Human beings can learn only from what they experience, whether they gain that experience firsthand or vicariously.

**Step 2: Retention.** Another influence on social learning is retention. Children often have a robust retention span, which causes them to remember mental and cognitive images of their parents’ behaviors. Bandura (1977) also noted that repetition may enhance the retention of learning. When an individual (a parent) replicates a behavior, it is easier for observing children to recognize and remember the behavior.

**Step 3: Reproduction.** An additional facilitator of social learning is reproduction, which entails the behavior of one person (the child), learned through observation, ratifying the behavior of the one who was observed (the parent). This step includes children demonstrating behavior patterns learned from observing their mothers. However, this step requires that individuals repeatedly practice the observed behavior to fully learn and emulate the behavior patterns.

**Step 4: Motivation.** Bandura (1977) indicated that motivation originates from the idea of reinforcement and that individuals “are more likely to adopt modeled behavior if it results in outcomes they value than if it has unrewarding or punishing effects” (p. 28). Both motivation and reproduction transpire when adolescent behavior is physically enacted through consistent interaction with that individual’s mother (Healy, 1992). Some daughters exhibit higher levels of observation when they emulate their mother’s behavior. For example, daughters often pay close attention to how their mothers apply lipstick; attention
and retention of those observations are then used as they experiment with lipstick on themselves at an early age (i.e., repeatedly reproduce the observed behavior).

Additionally, self-efficacy plays a key role in how daughters model their mothers’ behavior patterns. Bandura (1995) explained that self-efficacy “refers to beliefs in one’s capabilities to organize and execute the courses of action required to manage prospective situations” (p. 2). Simply, self-efficacy is what daughters believe they can achieve using their own skills in certain situations (Snyder & Lopez, 2007). However, adolescents with a low sense of self-efficacy may lack motivation to complete tasks. In contrast, Williams and Williams (2010) found that “individuals with high levels of self-efficacy approach difficult tasks as challenges to master rather than as threats to avoid” (p. 455). The four steps of social learning—attention, retention, reproduction, and motivation—are key factors in how adolescents observe parents as role models and learn the meanings of real beauty, self-efficacy, and self-esteem through mother–daughter interactions.

Johnson et al. (2014) studied women’s memories of learning appearance management rules from significant others or other members of their sociocultural background during childhood and adolescence. Johnson et al. found that many of the adult participants remembered childhood rules that stressed aesthetic apprehensions and relative forms of appearance management through style of dress. The Johnson et al. study relates to Bandura’s (1973, 1977, 1986) social learning theory because participants remembered how their parents used commands and modeling to shape learning about the importance of appearance.

In the present study, the mothers were expected to be the dominant socializing agents for their daughter’s appearance management behaviors. Bandura (1977) argued that mothers are inclined to be authoritative regarding their children’s appearance because they are
frequently in contact with and observed by their children and, therefore, provide a high degree of influence. Johnson et al. (2014) noted that a mother is likely to have powerful leverage in her daughter’s life. Because Western female role norms emphasize competence at making one’s appearance attractive (Johnson et al., 2014), mothers, in their status as women, serve as immediate models of appearance modification behaviors. This is concordant with previous research (e.g., Benedikt, Wertheim, & Love, 1998; Ogle & Damhorst, 2000; Paxton et al., 1991; Smetana, 1988) that found that mothers serve as key models for their children in matters related to appearance (Johnson et al., 2014, p. 89).

**Consumer Socialization**

Consumer socialization “is the process by which young people acquire skills, knowledge and attitudes relevant to their functioning in the market place” (Ward & Wackman, 1972). Among family members, mothers have been acknowledged as an important consumer socialization agent (Ozgen, 2003). Keen (2008) found that the majority of the 190 million people who shop in U.S. malls are female. Many mothers, daughters, and grandmothers shop together at malls or outlets; this represents a historic shopping connection between mothers and daughters. For centuries, mothers have been the keepers of all purchases of products and services for the family (Huddleston et al., 2010). Chung (2001) proposed, “The history of shopping can to some extent be regarded as the history of women. As shopping and women changed or evolved, the other has reacted or adapted” (p. 1). Stinson (1993) found that single mothers have less influence on their children’s consumer socialization toward clothing. Chaudhury (2009) noted that a single mother often has to distribute a number of responsibilities to her children because of her need to multitask. As a result, adolescents with mothers who work at full-time jobs are exposed to and have more
opportunities for spending. They were reported to shop for apparel with other adolescents more than did adolescents with mothers who were employed part time or were unemployed (Haynes, Burts, Dukes, & Cloud, 1993). Hence, peer influences on shopping may develop more strongly among children of single mothers.

Families influence their children directly and indirectly in consumer socialization. Mothers often communicate and teach their values of consumption to their children during early childhood (Ali, Batra, Ravichandran, Mustafa, & Rehman, 2012). Therefore, a difference in parenting style can result in a difference in consumption and shopping behavior, such as the preferred price, style, or brand name (Ali et al., 2012). Similarly, Carlson, Grossbart, and Stuenkel (1992) found that parenting style sets the foundation for explaining how mothers socialize and incorporate consumer knowledge and consumption patterns in their children.

Children as socialization agents. Families with higher socioeconomic status are more receptive to their children’s opinions regarding the purchase of consumable goods (Ekstrom, Tansuhaj, & Foxman, 1987) and are often more aware of the products available for purchase in the marketplace (Moschis & Churchill, 1978). Moore et al. (2002) found that daughters often reflect their mothers’ brand preferences as well as their product and shopping preferences.

There is a lack of scholarly literature on consumer socialization within the context of consumption practices of appearance-related products among African American mothers and daughters. The African American mother–daughter dyadic interactions about shopping need to be further examined to gain understanding of how daughters learn through socialization as well as through their cultural and environmental influences.
Research Questions

The purpose of the study was to examine how African American mothers socialize their daughter’s consumer behavior toward dress and appearance and if this socialization (re)produces African American female ethnicity through appearance in a performative sense. The study also examined evidence of reciprocal socialization (Ogle & Damhorst, 2003), i.e., the process by which mothers and daughters shape each other’s feelings, beliefs, and behaviors through interactions about dress, personal practices, and preferences for dress. From the foregoing literature review, the following five research questions were developed to guide this study:

RQ 1: How do African American mothers influence their daughters’ shopping behaviors for dress? And do African American daughters reciprocally influence their mother’s shopping behaviors for dress? If so, how?

RQ 2: How do African American mothers “teach” or “socialize” their daughters about dress and appearance?

RQ 3: Do African American mothers “teach” or “socialize” their daughters about race and identity, and are dress and body image a part of this teaching?

RQ 4: To what extent do African American daughters mirror their mother’s preferences, beliefs, and practices related to appearance modification?

RQ 5: To what extent do African American mothers’ socialize their daughters’ to expression of femininity as projected through dress? Is this expression of mainstream femininity or African American definitions of femininity?
CHAPTER 3. METHODS

For this study, in-depth, face-to-face interviews were conducted with African American mothers and their daughters. A series of questions guided the semistructured interviews to facilitate broad exploration of a wide variety of topics and “to allow interviewees to express their opinions and ideas in their own words” (Esterberg, 2002, p. 87). The researcher ensured that participants had the opportunity to tell their stories in their own words. In addition to the interviews, participants were asked to complete a brief demographic survey.

Participants

Sample

To participate in this study, the mother had to have been born and lived in the United States most of her life and had to identify as an African American woman. No age requirement was imposed for participant mothers; however, information about their age was collected in the demographic questionnaire and is used to describe participants. The daughter of the mother had to identify as African American and be between 22 and 29 years of age. Both mother and daughter had to live in Pine Bluff, Arkansas, and they both had to agree to meet with the researcher to complete separate, individual, in-depth, one-on-one, face-to-face interviews.

Recruitment of Study Participants

Upon receipt of approval from Iowa State University Institutional Review Board (Appendix A), this study employed a sample of 16 African American mother–daughter pairs (a total of 32 individuals). Snowball sampling was used to recruit participants. “In snowball sampling, a key informant, usually initial participants and/or known acquaintances of the
researcher, [refer] the researcher to other potential participants such as friends, acquaintances, or others they feel may be appropriate for the study” (Tyner, 2008, p. 30). Using the snowball strategy allows participants to gain an initial level of trust with the researcher because she has been referred by members of the participant’s community (Esterberg, 2002).

In addition to snowball sampling, a professional listserv for professional women in the Pine Bluff area was used to e-mail the recruitment flyer (Appendix B) to potential participants. Also, a Facebook ad was created to advertise and inform friends, family, and potential participants in the surrounding area about the research project (Appendix B). Friends and acquaintances also helped recruit mother–daughter pairs who were appropriate for the study. These friends and acquaintances were asked to inform potential participants that the researcher would follow up with a phone call to arrange a time and place for the interview.

The researcher recruited participants from Pine Bluff, Arkansas, because she is from Pine Bluff and could readily gain access to African American mother–daughter pair samples to complete this study. Pine Bluff is located in Jefferson County and is about 45 miles south of the state capitol, Little Rock. Pine Bluff has a total population of 46,094 people, 75% of whom are African American (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010).

**Procedure**

Interviewing took place during 2015. Potential participants contacted the researcher through e-mail, using an e-mail address that was provided in the professional listserv e-mail and in the Facebook ad. The recruitment flyer described the purpose of the study as well as the time commitment involved and noted that each participant would receive a store gift card
incentive worth $15 for her participation. Each participant provided her name, phone number, and e-mail address for the researcher to contact her. The researcher contacted each interested, potential participant individually via phone using a phone script (Appendix C) to confirm if the participant met the study requirements and to answer any questions concerning the research. Then, the researcher asked the selected participants to provide a date, time, and place to meet for the interview. The participants were offered the opportunity to meet the researcher in a conference room at the Pine Bluff Jefferson County Public Library or in their home to complete the interview. Each mother and daughter was interviewed separately.

Before the interview began, the researcher collected signed consent forms from each mother and daughter pair separately (Appendix D and Appendix E). The scheduled interviews included three activities: (a) the demographic survey; (b) an in-depth, one-on-one, face-to-face interview with questions that focused on the participant’s family life, personal practices, preferences for dress, interactions and understanding of dress, as well as the mother’s evaluations of her daughter’s appearance; and (c) an auto-driven photo elicitation discussion. During the interviews, the researcher jotted down short field notes to help her later recall descriptions or other details of the mothers and daughters.

“Auto-driving” is a visual photo elicitation technique (Heisley & Levy, 1991; McCracken, 1988) by which an interview is “driven” by the participants as they actually see and hear their individual reflections, responses, and behavior toward their dress and appearance (Heisley & Levy, 1991). For instance, pictures can serve as powerful “stimuli for projective interviewing” (Heisley & Levy, 1991, p. 257) and can stimulate participants’ responses with more descriptive and insightful dialogue. According to McCracken (1988), the auto-driving technique is a supplementary method to “initiate narratives” and a useful
prompting strategy to gain insight about different facets of the participants’ experiences that are “otherwise difficult to bring into the interview” (pp. 36–37).

Each mother and daughter participant was asked to collect a number of her own personal photographs that represented her sense of style and femininity. Each participant was asked to reflect on and share any thoughts about how her dress in the picture reflected her style, female gender norms, and appearance preferences. Each photo was used in the auto-driving technique to help develop conversation and stories about the participants’ memories regarding dress and appearance. For instance, the participants were asked guided questions such as: “Tell me about this photo?” Planned prompt questions included: “How does your sense of style impact your dress and appearance?” “How did you feel when you wore this outfit?” “Why did you wear this outfit?” “How did others perceive you when you wore this outfit?” “What did your mother/daughter think of you when you wore this outfit?” “Where did you purchase your outfit?” Did you ask your mother/daughter for advice when you purchased this outfit?” “How does femininity play a role in your dress and appearance?”

The participants’ photographs were not analyzed as data. The photos were only used to facilitate memories and conversation during the interview.

The researcher assured each participant that responses would be kept confidential and informed the participants that they had the right to withdraw from the study at any time or to decline to answer questions that made them feel uncomfortable. The researcher asked the participants if they agreed to have their interview audio recorded. If participants declined to be audio recorded, the researcher did not continue the interview and thanked the participant for her time.
To make sure each participant’s identity was protected, alphanumeric codes were assigned to each mother and daughter pair. The mothers’ codes began with the letter “M,” and the daughters’ codes began with the letter “D.” For example, one mother and daughter pair were identified as M1 (mother) and D1 (daughter). These numeric codes were used to identify and refer to the mother–daughter pairs throughout the study.

**Interviews and Questionnaire**

Each interview began with the researcher summarizing the purpose and procedures of the study. The participant then read and signed a consent form and completed a brief questionnaire about her demographic characteristics (Appendix F and Appendix G).

The interviews included two types of questions: semistructured questions and open-ended questions (see Appendix H and Appendix I). *Ad hoc* probing for depth of responses was conducted. The interviews were audio recorded with permission from the participants. Participants also were informed that they could skip any question or refuse to participate at any time and that not participating would not result in any penalty or loss of benefits. The individuals were informed that there were no right or wrong answers and that they should answer each question honestly to their best ability. Once the interviews were completed, the researcher transcribed each of the interviews.

**Description of Demographic Survey**

The personal demographic survey provided the researcher background information regarding each mother and daughter participant. The survey given to the daughters included questions about their age, ethnicity, city and state of residence, highest level of education completed, occupation or employment, marital status, religious background, and household income (Appendix F). Age, city and state of residence, and occupation or employment were
open-ended questions; ethnic background, last degree or education completed, marital status, and religious background were closed-ended or multiple choice questions.

The survey given to the mother participants included similar questions about their age, ethnicity, city and state of residence, highest level of education completed, occupation or employment, marital status, and religious background and also included questions about their household income (multiple choice range of incomes) and how many daughters they had (Appendix, G). The mothers and daughters were asked about their income to gain a sense of the family’s social capital and monetary resources for consumption of appearance-related products.

Pilot Study

In order to test the effectiveness of the interview questions and procedures, a pilot study was conducted in Pine Bluff. Samples of two African American mother–daughter participants (a total of four individuals) were selected randomly from interested participants to take part in the pilot phase of the study. The interviews lasted between 1 hour and 45 minutes and 2 hours each. Each of the interviews was recorded in private space within the participant’s homes. The purpose of the pilot study was: to pilot test the length of time it would take for each participant to fill out the demographic questionnaire, to test the auto-driving technique, and to determine if the researcher needed to rephrase interview or demographic questions. After the pilot study, the researcher met with her faculty advisor to discuss the transcripts of the pilot interviews, to listen to the audio recordings, and to make any necessary adjustments to the study, such as interview questions and materials based on the results of the pilot study. Once the changes were made and approved, the researcher moved forward to recruit more mother–daughter pairs for the study. As no substantial
changes were required in the data-gathering procedures, the four pilot interviews were maintained as research data.

**Compensation**

Participants were given a $15 Wal-Mart or Target gift card to thank them for taking the time to participate in the interview. No other compensation was offered.

**Confidentiality**

The data collected from the participants were kept confidential. The identities of all the participants were omitted from the study materials. Signed consent forms were kept separate from the data, and identifying codes were placed on a list until the interviews of both the mother and daughter in the dyad were completed. The researcher kept the transcripts and audio recordings in a locked encrypted computer file to maintain their security. Transcribing was conducted in a private room or with earphones so that others could not hear the participants’ voices on the audio recordings. The researcher also informed participants that, should they leave the study at any time, the transcripts and recording would be destroyed immediately. Data collected from the study, such as quotes, were reported in ways that did not disclose the respondent. Pseudonyms (alpha numeric codes) were used in any reporting of quotes.

**Data Analysis Procedures**

**Coding and Developing Themes from Qualitative Data**

The purpose of the analysis was to search for themes and patterns in the data from the mother and daughter interviews. Each of the interviews was audio recorded and transcribed. The transcripts of the interviews and field notes were analyzed.
The researcher searched the data for: (a) themes or constructs that appeared in more than one interview, (b) relationships among themes, and (c) patterns across mother–daughter pairs and differences between mothers and daughters (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Memories of interactions, attitudes, and feelings and evaluations were the focus of analysis. To begin, the researcher read through the transcripts a number of times, identifying concepts related to mother–daughter relationships and compiling them into larger themes. The process included iterative comparison of data and themes until each of the themes was developed (Esterberg, 2002; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). A coding guide was developed to sort and group the themes identified. As themes emerged, axial coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) began in a process of organizing the themes as subthemes under larger organizing themes (see the list of themes in the Thematic Analysis of Major Findings section of Chapter 4).

Next, in the open coding process, each of the themes was applied to the data when the theme fit an utterance or thought offered by an interview participant. During coding, the data are “broken down, conceptualized, and put back together in new ways” (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 57). The interviews were coded line by line. During the open coding, new categories, recurring themes, and patterns would emerge and would be incorporated in the final coding guide (Esterberg, 2002). Finally, selective coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) was conducted to compare across groups of individuals on the basis of income level, education level, and other characteristics that emerged as relevant differentiating factors during coding and analysis.

Microsoft Excel was used to organize the application of themes to each interview. The interviews were transcribed in a Microsoft Word document and then copied and pasted into a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet. In the Microsoft Excel spreadsheet the participant’s
numeric code was placed in the left-most column to identify each subsequent column of themes applied to lines of data (Creswell, 2009). Due to the number of participants, it was important to keep the coding data structured.

**Application of Theories**

Finally, theoretical linkages were enlisted to provide further understanding of the data. An inductive use of theories was undertaken, such that some theories that were not presented in the literature review but that had applicability could be used to advance understanding of patterns in the data. At this stage, comparison between mother and daughter responses facilitated pattern identification and theory application.

**Trustworthiness and Dependability**

To enhance trustworthiness of the findings, several measures were undertaken when collecting the data and during analysis processes to increase the trustworthiness and dependability of the study. First, after the interviews were conducted, the researcher listened to the recordings and transcribed 400 pages of the interviews. Transcribing each of the interviews helped the researcher become more familiar with the data.

In addition, during the coding process the researcher also meet with a faculty advisor to further discuss the coding process. In these meetings, different concepts, themes, and categories were examined and explored for further direction. A second coder was enlisted to establish reliability in coding. The second coder (a doctoral student in the apparel, merchandising, and design field) checked the accuracy of application of the coding guide to 25% of the data. Disagreements regarding the coding assignments were negotiated between the researcher and the coder to reach agreement between the two independent coders.
Hayes and Krippendorff (2007) explained that “the key to reliability is the agreement observed among independent observers” (p. 78). Intercoder reliability was calculated by multiplying by 2 the number of total agreements between the researcher and the second coder and then dividing by the sum of the total number of codes assigned by the two coders (Lombard, Synder-Duch, & Bracken, 2002), as follows:

\[
\frac{(2 \times \text{number of agreements}) \times 100}{\text{number of coding decisions by coder 1 + numbers of coding decisions by coder 2}}
\]

The intercoder reliability for all eight randomly selected transcripts (25% of the data) was 97%.

**Use of Quantitative Data from the Demographic Survey**

The quantitative data generated from the demographic survey data sheets were used to create a description for each mother and daughter participant’s characteristics. Comparisons of individuals grouped using the demographic data were used to shed light on the findings from the qualitative data in the process of selective coding (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

**Researcher’s Background**

The background of the researcher has a significant impact on the research topic, data collection, and interpretation of data. I was inspired to explore this topic on African American mother-daughter interactions about dress and consumption of appearance-related products from the findings of my master’s thesis study (Davis, 2013). In that study, the African American female participants expressed how receiving their mother’s approval before and while experimenting with cosmetics products was vital while growing up. It was apparent that further exploration of how African American mothers socialize their daughters to dress and appearance would be valuable, as little scholarship exists on that topic. I was
strongly driven to add to the body of research, taking an Afrocentric approach to the study of African Americans and dress.

As a doctoral student in Apparel, Merchandising, and Design at Iowa State University my coursework prepared me for exploring African American mother–daughter relationships about dress and appearance. I took several qualitative methods and research design courses as preparation to conduct this complex study. The coursework in Apparel, Merchandising, and Design provided a number of important analytical tools and skills in the field of qualitative research.

I was born and raised in southeast Arkansas, in the town of Pine Bluff. My mother was a significant source of socialization for my own dress and appearance in the Pine Bluff African American community. I also had ready access to participants and easy rapport with the population of Pine Bluff. I had personal insight into the topic, how African American women in Pine Bluff talk, the African American perspective on life in the United States, and being a Black female in America. I often shop with my mother for clothing and appearance-related products, and I have discovered myself reciprocating with advice for my mother a number of times while shopping together. I have great interest and involvement in dress and have a close relationship with my own mother. My enthusiasm for the topic and experiences of socialization to dress and African American womanhood by my mother provided me with personal insight into the topic of study.
CHAPTER 4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter presents findings from the present study in two sections. The first section presents a description of the background information of the mother and daughter participants in the study. In the second section, major themes and subthemes that emerged from qualitative findings are identified and discussed. Comparisons across groups on theme distribution are presented at the end of the chapter.

Demographic Characteristics of Participants

The demographic characteristics of the participants in this study were compiled from the demographic questionnaires completed by each participant. Characteristics identified were the mother and daughter participants’ age, ethnicity, city and state of residence, educational level, occupation/employment, marital status, religious background and, for each of the mother participants, her income level and how many daughters she had.

Participants in this study included 16 African American mother–daughter pairs (a total of 32 individuals) from Pine Bluff, Arkansas. Each of the daughter participants was a biological daughter of one of the mother participants. The daughter participant ages ranged from 22–29 years, with a mean age of 26 years (see Table 1). The mother participant ages ranged from 39 to 65 years, with a mean age of 53 years (see Table 1). All the mothers and daughters declared their ethnicity as African American.

Of the mothers participating, three were single, eight were married, four were divorced, and one was a widow. Ten of the daughters indicated they were single, three were married, two were newly engaged, and one was divorced. Nine of the mothers had one daughter, five of the mothers had two daughters, one of the mothers had three daughters, and one mother had four daughters. Six of the daughters had one adolescent in her household.
Table 1

*Age of Participants*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Daughters (n = 16, M = 26)</th>
<th>Mothers (n = 16, M = 53)</th>
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<td><strong>Age (years)</strong></td>
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and 10 of the daughters did not have any adolescents and no younger children in their household.

As for education, five mothers had earned their high school diploma as their highest level of education completed, four had received a 2-year degree (some college), two had completed a bachelor’s degree, three mothers had achieved a master’s degree, and two had completed a doctoral degree (see Figure 1). Two of the daughters had completed high school as their highest level of education, one had completed a 2-year college degree (some college), 10 had completed a bachelor’s degree, and three had completed a master’s degree (see Figure 2). In addition, two of the daughter participants mentioned that they were working toward a doctoral degree.
To gain a sense of their socioeconomic status, the mother participants were asked about their household income. Although there was some diversity, most of the mothers indicated that they had an annual income of $40,000–$70,000 per year (see Figure 3a). A majority of the daughters’ incomes also ranged between $40,000-70,000 per year. However, one fourth of the mothers had incomes below $30,000 per year (see Figure 3b), which places them below the poverty line in the United States. Only 6% of the daughters reported yearly income below $30,000. According to the U.S. Census Bureau (2010), in Pine Bluff, 30.2% of the population has an income below the poverty level.
Finally, each of the participants was asked about her religion to provide a sense of background that might influence a participant’s beliefs about her dress and appearance. All of the mothers and daughters self-identified as Christians.

**Thematic Analysis of Qualitative Data**

The results chapter is organized around major themes and subthemes from participants’ responses to the qualitative questions asked during the interview. In addition, quotes from the participants that help illustrate key themes are identified by alpha-numerical/age code (e.g., “M1, 51” for a mother participant 51 years of age and “D1, 25” for her daughter 25 years of age) instead of using the participants’ actual names. Major themes A, B, C, F, and G were directed by the interview questions, so they are not truly inductive. Subthemes under each of these themes were emergent and inductively discovered. Themes and subthemes D and E also emerged inductively.

The major themes and subthemes that emerged are as follows:

A. Parental style: Descriptions of how a mother related to her daughter.
1. Closeness: Mothers and daughters described a close friendship and unbreakable relationship.

2. African American authoritarian parental style: Mothers connected with their daughter by imposing rules and regulations for dress and appearance as well as structure in the household. The southern African American mothers and daughter accounts of their mothers did not indicate a distant or cold relationship with the daughters, in contrast with the portrayal of authoritarian parents in the literature. Most of the literature states that authoritarian parental style involves high expectations and often reflects an emotionally cold or distant parent–child relationship.

   a. Control of dress: Mother’s expectations for dress that limited her own and her daughter’s appearance. Rules and surveillance about body exposure and sexual modesty were a primary strategy for mothers.

   B. Mother’s overall influence on dress: Mothers were aware of and attempted to have an influence on their daughter’s dress.

      Subthemes:

      1. I taught her: Daughter learned female gender roles as result of socialization experiences.

      2. Rebellion and resistance through dress: Daughter’s perceived lack of influence on dress and appearance from her mother during her early adulthood. Reports of daughter resistance and moving beyond mother’s socialization of shopping and style are included.
3. Self-presentation: African American mothers used their daughters as an extension of their own identity through dress within the African American community.

C. Daughter’s influence on mother’s dress

Subtheme:

1. Fashion tips: African American daughters provided practical styling advice to keep their mothers current on fashion trends and appearance.

D. Father’s influence on consumer behavior: Influence on daughter’s shopping behavior regarding expensive name-brand labels and appearance-related products.

In addition, fathers stressed the need to satisfy an aesthetic sense of appearance and to look beautiful as an African American woman.

E. Style outcomes: Mothers and daughters actively pursued individual expression that demonstrated their culture, values, and level of confidence through dress and appearance.

Subthemes:

1. Conservatism: Dress reflected a lifestyle, which was passed down from their own mothers and grandmothers, typically known as “other mothers,” who shaped daughters’ perceptions of how an African American woman should portray herself in public.

2. Taste in dress: mother’s and daughter’s preferences as to what an individual likes to wear and finds pleasing.

3. Uniqueness: expressing a different style from anyone else, but still looking current and fashionable.
F. Being an African American woman—mother’s perspective

Subthemes:

1. Purposeful raising of daughters: African American mothers guided their daughters lived experiences in a culturally relevant way to adapt to and orient themselves to the African American community.

2. Teaching through words: a way in which mothers shape their daughter’s learning about what it is to be an African American woman.

G. Being an African American woman—daughter’s perspective

Subthemes:

1. Self-respect through appearance is everything: Daughters actively worked on care of their appearance in the public and private sphere.

2. Wanting to be or thinking they were White: White beauty standards were considered to be the norm to aspire to, even within the African American community. The daughters who attended predominately White schools struggled with their identity as an African American child in relation to their hair and skin color.


Subthemes:

1. Beauty and womanhood: embracing one’s own individual beauty and optimizing it as an African American woman.

2. Body image: African American mothers encouraged their daughters to accept their body as is and promoted a positive self-image by embracing their curves. Mothers also encouraged their daughters to maintain a healthy body weight
(what the mothers considered healthy) in order to stay confident and have high self-esteem.

3. Hair: a form of artistic expression and body adornment, which affected how the mothers and daughters perceived their own and others’ perceptions of attractiveness as an African American woman.

4. Media influence on body image: Receiving and viewing positive messages in the media had an impact on how the daughters perceive their own identity and body image.

**Mother–Daughter Relationships**

**Closeness.** At the beginning of each of the 32 separate interviews, each of the participants was asked to describe her relationship with her mother or daughter. This question aroused many different responses from both the mothers and the daughters. Many of the daughters expressed how their relationship with their mother was very close, stating for example, “Really good; we have a close relationship” (D5, 24) or “We’re really close, like sisters” (D10, 29). One daughter participant, who was newly engaged, stated,

We’re close; we talk every day. Even when I’m not here we end up talking. I know that when she calls I need to make time for her, ’cause I know that it will [not] be a minute that we will be on the phone; at least an hour that we will be on the phone talking about work and family. (D1, 25)

Her mother (M1, 51) commented about how her daughter was her first born and how she had spent a great deal of time with her daughter because she was a stay-at-home mom while attending graduate school. Therefore, according to this mother, their bond could not be broken.
Another daughter, a native of Pine Bluff, described her relationship with her mother as:

a very special one. . . . We talk to each other at least once a day—it may not always be voice to voice, but by text message or some form of communication. We’re very close just because it has always just been me and her. (D3, 24)

Her mother, from Pine Bluff, Arkansas, gave a very detailed description of the relationship between herself and her daughter and how she had prayed for a beautiful daughter:

We are close; she is my little baby, and I call her “little girl,” and she will always be my little girl. I prayed when I was in my 20s to have a little girl, and I told the Lord exactly what kind of little girl I wanted to have. (M3, 55)

She continued:

I wanted her to have funny-colored eyes ’cause I knew I had a history of brown hazel eyes in the family. I wanted her to be healthy and a beautiful child, and I even prayed for her hair and her teeth, and there were so many things while she was inside of me I prayed for. . . . We are close and I made sure that I introduced her to every and anything I could. (M3, 55)

One daughter, explained her relationship with her mom as “good.” I call her on my 45-minute commute to work, and then I call her on the 45 [minute] commute back. [Laughing], so we talk at least twice a day” (D9, 29). Her mother stated that she and her daughter are:

very close. I want her to able to talk to me about anything that she needs to, and she knows that I am always there for her whenever she needs me. I keep that line of
communication open so that she knows that I am a mother first and a friend if she needs me. (M9, 56).

Throughout the interviews there were no responses that reflected lack of closeness in the mother–daughter relationships. Thus, each mother saw a way to be a positive African American mother role model for her daughter and expose her daughter to a perspective of knowledge, values, and struggles of socialization in the social world.

**African American authoritarian parental style.** According to Willis (1992), African American families have high expectations placed on showing respect, abiding by rules, and learning from older adults in the community. In the African American community, respect is defined by showing reverence to authority figures and older adults (Briggs, 1986). The mothers were happy about their mother–daughter relationships, but at the same time they all made it clear that they were not their daughter’s best friend and that a respect barrier was important and recognized in their relationship. One mother (M9, 56) commented, “If my daughter needs me to help I will, [but] only in the way that I know is right, and I rely a lot on the Bible for that, too. I’m not her best friend. She can’t disrespect me.” In fact, several of the mothers echoed that being disrespectful was not an option for their daughters.

However, the mothers had a relationship such that their daughter could talk to them about any difficulties regarding school, work, or even relationship problems. One mother commented,

The thing I always told my daughter [is], “You can talk to me.” I don’t want her to . . . fear . . . talking to me, so we have an open relationship, but not so open to the point where she doesn’t understand that I am the mother. [She’s] not going to talk to me any kind of way. (M3, 55)
Another mother talked about how she let her daughter know that she should be informed on any issues before she heard about it from others:

I try to have a close relationship with my daughter because I want her to feel like she can come and talk to me at any time about anything. My thing with my daughter is, “You tell me first, don’t let somebody out here tell me something about you. Whether it’s good or bad, you tell me first. (M5, 48)

One daughter stated that in their relationship regarding respect, her mother is “like a quiet storm. Everything would be okay at one point and then, all of a sudden, I realize that things just got real” (D1, 25). Another daughter stated,

You know, my mom makes it known that she is still the momma and as her daughter I will always give her respect, no ifs, ands or buts. You know, we have a relationship where I value everything that she does as mother because she raised me. (D11, 26)

In the present study, for the African American mother participants, being an authoritarian parent helped to shape their daughter’s learning about negative and positive views about race, identity, dress, and body image. However, the mothers showed warmth toward their daughters by making the shaping and controlling of their daughters’ behaviors and attitudes their high priority. Many of the daughters referenced their mother as strict or “she don’t play” as an illustration of their parenting style, both while an adolescent and as a young adult. In this study, the phrase “my mamma don’t play” referred to the fact that daughters were are not allowed to be disrespectful or act in an inappropriate way in their home or in the public sphere—or there would be consequences.
During their interviews, mother participants gave various responses regarding their parenting style. When asked, “Can you tell me about your parenting style?” one mother said in a serious tone of voice, “I am a strong disciplinarian” (M12, 65). She went on to say, My parents were strong disciplinarians, and I am a strong disciplinarian, and even though she says, “Oh, I won’t be that way with my child,” she will be. . . . Her discipline will be the same as mine, and she will be a strong disciplinarian. (M12, 65) When I asked her daughter about her mother’s parenting style, the daughter commented, “She’s really traditional, but she is old school Southern” (D12, 29). Another mother stated, I am a disciplinarian. I feel like there has to be structure. I believe in order. I have fun with my kids, but I’m not my kids’ best friend. I don’t want them to feel like they can cross that line with me. (M5, 48) Her daughter’s reply to a similar question was, Girl!!! STRICT, STRICT [laughing]! No, she don’t play, even though I am 24. It’s, it’s a way I want to raise my son. Her parenting style is, I mean, she’s not too strict, but we have rules and regulations. Respect is a must. (D5, 24) Another mother noted how her daughter was a good child and how heavy discipline was not used in the household: “I didn’t have to spank my child. She was good child” (M8, 57). Her daughter had an analogous response: “Growing up it was more of a parent–child relationship; she was a disciplinarian person. Although I didn’t get grounded or spankings, I knew when I did something wrong; I knew we would sit down and talk about it” (D8, 26).
One mother stated meekly, “My parenting style was hard, but we made it. I made sure my kids were straight” (M4, 49). Her daughter described her mother’s parenting style as follows:

When I was a lot younger she was strict—like really, really, strict as it relates to . . . . going to certain places; she was very vigilant. She would monitor a whole lot . . . and we were not able to get away with a lot of foolishness. . . . Overall, I guess she was a vigilant type of parent. (D4, 28)

Many mother participants discussed their parenting style and expressed ways that this parenting style benefited their daughter’s understanding of her surroundings and environment. The mothers believed in having consistency in setting and enforcing rules regarding their daughter’s behaviors. Many of the African American mothers stated that their parenting style was more authoritarian. Research has identified that authoritarian parenting style includes displaying little warmth and requiring children to obey parental rules and directions; it is considered the most common parenting style among African American families (Kopko, 2007). However, the requisite lack of warmth and closeness did not seem to be a part of authoritarian parenting by the African American mothers in this study. Kopko (2007) noted how some researchers believe that differences in parenting styles are linked to a number of “culture and parental beliefs systems” (p. 5). Scholars have also found that cultural beliefs play an important role in differentiating parenting styles between European American and African American mothers (Burchinal, Skinner, & Reznick, 2010).

In a previous study, Jackson-Newsom, Newsom, Buchanan, and McDonald (2008) also found that African American parents use an authoritarian parenting style to exercise behavioral and psychological control in addition to strict and behavioral monitoring over
their children. Jackson-Newsom et al. noted that African American parents in their study used “harsh (as opposed to reasoned) discipline” more often than did European American parents, but they also found that African American children responded more positively to discipline than did European American children (p. 63). In congruence with the authoritarian parenting style, each of the mothers referenced how structure in the household was essential to teach her daughter to understand the difference between right and wrong choices as a woman. Some of the mothers also emphasized how they had high expectations of their daughters. Most importantly, the mothers stated how the communication barrier had to be clear and logical in their mother–daughter relationship. None of either the mother or daughter participants had any negative comments regarding her mother–daughter relationship. Overall, each mother paid close attention to how she socialized her own daughter to have the necessary tools she needed to survive and to be successful.

Given the strong emphasis on discipline, but also the simultaneous, prevailing closeness between the mothers and daughters, a combination of authoritarian and authoritative (Baumrind, 1971) parental styles seems to describe the approach to parenting that this sample of African American mothers employed. Categorizing their approach as only authoritarian, in accordance with some previous literature, does not provide an accurate understanding of the relationships described by both the mothers and daughters.

**Control of dress.** Several of the daughters mentioned how their mother did not take kindly to them purchasing clothing items that were inappropriate. Many of the daughters went on to mention, “I am grown,” but they still respected their mother’s opinion when it came to dress and consumption of appearance-related products. The mothers were very opinionated, even when their opinion was not asked, when it came to what their daughter
purchased and how she dressed. The mother participants had no problem telling their daughter when their dress and appearance were inappropriate.

Several of the mothers were very conscious of the negative connotations about African American women and how the world views their dress and physical appearance. Similar to how standpoint theory addresses the resistance of controlling images of African American womanhood (Collins, 1990; Wood, 1994), each of the mothers was well aware that her daughter would be judged by others based on her dress and appearance. Mother participants mentioned how difficult it is to wipe away the negative impressions about African American women’s perceived shortcomings when it comes to dress and appearance. Thus, many of the mothers believed that, if their daughter was aware of and carefully controlling her dress and appearance, there would be no grounds for criticism by others. One mother stated,

My daughter’s age group came out with these leggings or tights, and she was wearing the leggings without a long shirt over it, like a tunic fully covering, and she put on one of those one night, and we almost hit the roof! I just couldn’t get with that. I said, “I don’t like that at all!” I just don’t think she should show that much. As African American women, we are very curvy, so showing everything is not a good thing. (M9, 56)

Similarly, her daughter commented that her mother mentioned not to show too much of her breasts when it comes to dress and appearance: “My mom [tells] me don’t show everything. She always lets me know that I can find some nice outfits and still be covered up fully” (D9, 29). Another mother stated,
I will let my daughter know if her dress is inappropriate. Because I don’t like my daughter showing all of her boobs, if I think she wearing something that is inappropriate, I will tell her because we are big girls. (M6, 56)

Her daughter recounted something similar: “When it comes to my mom telling me how I should behave in clothes or purchase clothes, she taught me to make sure that I cover up everything and leave something for a person’s imagination” (D6, 28).

Another mother participant discussed how her daughter had a couple of inappropriate outfits, so she had to check her daughter a few times about her dress and appearance in public. The mother stated,

There are a couple of outfits as an adult that she put on and I have told her, “Well that’s cute, but that is not appropriate to wear.” I have to ask her, “Where are you wearing that? You are projecting something that shouldn’t be.” (M3, 55)

Her daughter remembered when her mother was very upset that she wore an outfit that her mother thought was inappropriate. During her interview, the daughter mentioned that she was very embarrassed about it and that she did not want other people to think she was “something she was not” in that outfit. She commented,

Even though my mom is aware of my fashion sense, she knows that I like the shorter looks, and one outfit I had the side boob action going on. Oooh, [Mom] wasn’t having it! I haven’t worn that outfit since then because that is not the image that I want people to have in their minds of me. (D3, 24)

Many African American women recognize the role they play in serving as role models for their daughters. One mother commented,
Well, my mom taught me how to dress and told me not to come out with that hoochie mama stuff on. My momma wouldn’t dress like that—no way. So I wouldn’t want my daughter to dress like that ’cause that [isn’t] good. (M4, 49)

Her daughter apparently learned the lesson, as she stated,

First of all you should be a lady at all times. And I shouldn’t wear anything that is too revealing, inappropriate, or too, too tight. She didn’t really have to tell me in words; I would just mimic how she dressed; like I never saw my mom in anything that was not appropriate for her age. So, watching her as I grew up kind of shaped my style of dress. (D4, 28)

Throughout the interviews most of the daughters indicated that they were aware of how their mothers would react if they saw their daughter dressed in a way that was not appropriate. Nevertheless, when it came to how their daughter dressed, the mothers made sure to emphasize to their daughter that they were not “raising a whore” or that their daughter was “not going to be walking around looking like a slut” based on how she was dressed. Collins (2002) argued that “the dominant ideology of the slave era fostered the creation of four interrelated, socially constructed controlling images of Black womanhood, each reflecting the dominant group’s interest in maintaining Black women’s subordination” (p. 72). Therefore, evidence from this study shows how important it was to the mothers to socialize their daughter to have moral fortitude and standards when it came to dress and consumption of appearance-related products to resist the controlling images imposed from outside the African American community.

In addition, the daughters exhibited role-taking skills that allowed them to understand their mother’s perspective on appropriateness and modesty in relation to dress. Modesty of
dress was defined as covering up as well as and wearing specific clothing that showed respect for the female body. Role-taking is known to be the backbone of interaction (Mead, 1934). Symbolic interactionism places a high importance on role-taking, viewing it as a central position in the development of the self (Turner, 1962). Role-taking is a process of adopting the views of the other during an interaction (Turner, 1962) and, in this case, is a social skill facilitating the daughters’ learning from and appreciating their mothers. Thus, the data showed a general sharing of the meanings of body exposure between mothers and daughters, also reflecting their closeness and development of shared meanings during the daughter’s upbringing. Overall, during the course of the interviews, the daughter participants discussed how their African American mothers socialized their dress and appearance by talking to them through “how they should dress” and that clothing should be used for “protection” of the body, not for “showiness.” Each mother illustrated that clothing is used as a source of protection by keeping their bodies shielded of physical threats, hazardous environments, and unwanted attention from men.

Rape culture has been defined as “a complex set of beliefs that encourage[s] male sexual aggression and support[s] violence against women [and girls]” (Fletcher, 2010, p. 1). Each mother believed that when her daughter dressed in provocative ways, she was viewed as a second-class citizen (Kambarami, 2006). Therefore, it was important to the mothers that they socialize their daughters to dress in a manner, which is less likely to invite unwarranted interactions from sexually aggressive men. In addition, objectifying their bodies in a negative way can give off a connotation as being a “loose” woman. Beiner (2007) found that jurors frequently placed blame on rape victims, claiming that their choice of dress played a
role and caused the perpetrator to act. The mothers in this study did not want their daughters to be judged unjustly on the basis of such stereotypes.

Foucault (1977) saw women as having “docile bodies” or bodies that are subject to power struggles. The production of a “docile” body is accomplished through surveillance and control (Foucault, 1977). Some of the mothers were primary sources of surveillance and rule imposition to guard their daughters against falling into social stereotypes of African American women as sluts or whores.

**Mothers’ Overall Influence on Dress**

Many of the daughters discussed how their mothers influenced their shopping behavior relating to dress. Previous studies have reported that mother’s influence 85% of all purchasing decisions about consumer-related products in the family household (Barmann, 2014).

**I taught her.** During the interviews, many of the mothers noted how they had taught their daughter ways to shop, and some mothers felt they did not influence the daughter’s shopping behavior when it came to adopting certain dress and appearance items. One mother stated, “I have introduced her to makeup products, [but] she doesn’t wear it often. I have to wear it every day; she doesn’t need it often, along with the skin care products” (M5, 48).

One mother talked about teaching her daughter to look at the material of the items carefully: “I taught her to not look at the price but look at the material—what it’s made of. You have to look for good quality material; you also have to look for things that will last traditionally” (M8, 57). Another mother noted, “I taught her about different little shops, like consignment shops, and taking care of your items, because they will last a really long time” (M6, 56).
In the present study, many of the daughter participants described that they learned female gender roles as a result of socialization experiences. In fact, many of the daughters expressed that their mother had a major impact on their shopping behavior and that they often replicated items their mothers would buy when they were a child or even currently as an adult. One daughter mentioned,

My mom heavily influenced me because, before I could even know or think to dress myself, she was doing it for me. So, even as a little girl I would dress up in her clothes or nightgown or put her lipstick on. . . . As little girls, we liked to play dress up and put our mom’s earrings and things on. So, even as a little girl, she always had influence on me. My mom influenced my shopping behavior, showing and telling me to purchase apparel items that are multipurposeful, meaning I can wear my clothing items with a number of other things. (D7, 25)

Mead (1934) suggested that adolescents explore their social identities or “roles” through their intellectual heritage. Mead noted that the usage of play for young adolescents “is play at something. A child plays at being a mother, at being a policeman; through doing so it is, exploring different roles” (pp. 150–151).

Appearance management played a role in the daughter participant shopping behavior relating to her dress. Another daughter recognized her mother’s influence: “She influenced it [my dress] a lot; she kind of has me to where I can’t do anything small now regardless of what it is. If it’s a special event, just like she will do, I have to find the perfect outfit” (D9, 29). She continued:

I grew up shopping with her; we both love fashion. I think that I am a little more into it than she is, but she has always been the type. She taught me how to match; my
mom would not let me leave the house if I didn’t match. She says I represent her when I go out. I am her only child, so anytime she went shopping, I went shopping. (D9, 29)

For one daughter, when it came to selecting handbags, her mother had a great deal of influence in selecting or feeling the texture of her shopping items. She declared:

Because of my mom, I wouldn’t buy like something . . . like a knock off of something or something that is faux leather. Not that I don’t wear faux leather, but I don’t want to carry a faux leather bag. I would rather wait until I can afford [the real thing], and then I will get it. She influenced me in that way. (D12, 29)

However, a few of the daughters mentioned that their mothers did not have any influence on their dress and appearance. When asked, “How has your mother influenced your dress and appearance?” one daughter stated, “No, not all because she barely buys stuff, and I’m like a shopaholic. Like I buy myself something at least once a month” (D11, 26). Another daughter stated, “My mom and I have totally different styles, so shopping we are like guy and girl shopping ’cause one person is annoyed.” She continued, “My mom likes to shop smart with things on sale, you know, being more frugal” (D2, 22).

Rebellion and resistance through dress. Some of the daughters mentioned that they sometimes purchased apparel products that were a little revealing, but that were sophisticated for certain outings with friends. Therefore, in certain situations, a daughter might rebel against her mother’s advice about how she should look as a young adult. One daughter mentioned one of her birthday outfits: “Well, my mother really didn’t see me” (D6, 28). When I asked, “Do you think your mom would have approved of this outfit?” she meekly stated, “No, because the stomach is out and I’m not all that covered” (D6, 28).
Another daughter felt that as she got older her sense of style change, which therefore made her move away from her mother’s influence on dress. She said, “Things change and trends change, so I just modeled what I liked and what I didn’t like. I would say that she had an impact, but as I got older I just did my own thing” ((D4, 28). Although the overall themes are reflective of larger findings, it is important to recognize the differences across the 16 daughters. Not all of the African American mothers from Pine Bluff influenced or socialized their daughter in exactly the same way in relation to dress and appearance. But the mothers’ rules and lessons about dress and appearance clearly stuck with the daughters even into their 20s when they were much more independent from their mothers.

Bandura’s (1977) social learning theory intertwines with the findings of the present study because, to some extent, the daughters modeled their mother’s shopping behavior. Many of the daughter participants’ responses had a common theme indicating that they believed that their mother served as a key influence on their shopping behavior, which made the mother–daughter relationship stronger as they shopped or selected certain appearance-related products. Bandura (1977) noted that adolescents and adults often imitate or model many behaviors of other individuals. However, the modeling process has an effect on the daughters directly or indirectly in numerous ways; the purchase decision strategies of daughters were influenced by their mother’s interactions or communications about price, rules for purchasing items, and the emphasis on buying quality items. The mothers passed along to their daughter’s standards of product quality and strategies for shopping.

**Self-presentation.** The majority of the daughters identified that their mother was a key socializing agent regarding their dress and appearance. Their comments described how
their mother socialized them to appear appropriate in their dress and consumption of appearance-related products.

Several of the daughters described in meticulous detail how their mother socialized them to dress within the African American community. One daughter noted:

She made sure that I didn’t go out looking ratchet or ghetto. . . . I made sure I just wasn’t too extreme, I wasn’t disrespectful and, you know, I respected myself in the end. She just made sure that I feel comfortable in what I have on and as long as I feel comfortable, so that’s all that matters. (D11, 26)

“Ratchet” and “ghetto” are terms commonly used in Pine Bluff. Ratchet refers to a woman who is undesirable to men and often acts out of control in public (Urban Dictionary, 2015). Ghetto refers to someone who is undergoing hardship, often speaks very loudly, and lacks manners and style (Urban Dictionary, 2015).

Another daughter stated how her mother socialized her to behave in clothes. She commented, “Growing up in a Southern Baptist church, your skirt was to be certain length and you were to sit a certain way; you made sure that your legs were crossed at feet” (D8, 26). Mothers passed along clear lessons about essentials of modesty. Another daughter had a similar comment on how she was socialized:

Basically, when I wear a dress, keep my legs closed [laughing]. And if I have a shirt that’s low cut, maybe I need to close it up or put a blazer or something on, and I never really wear shorts like that, but of course if I was to wear something too short, know to take it off [laughing]! (D5, 24)

Collett (2005) explained how some adolescents are used as a prop to display elements of their mother’s appearance. Children are sometimes used as an important tool for their
mother’s self-presentation as well as an extension of their mother’s identity (Collett, 2005). Impression management means “accentuating certain facts and concealing others” (Goffman, 1959, p. 65). Impression management gives mothers a chance to assert their identity by how they dress their children before leaving their house (Collet, 2005). This concept is illustrated by one daughter’s statement:

Well, from the time I was a baby (and I have all these pictures), my momma would match me to her outfit every time we went somewhere. She sews really well, and she would sew us matching outfits. Then, as I made it up to junior high . . . I had my own sense of style. Whenever I leave the house . . . she was not letting me leave the house if I did not look right. And that was her main thing: “You represented me when you go out, and I’m not letting you look like that going out this house.” She told me that was very important. (D9, 29)

In African American culture, nice dress and appearance in public may be seen as a sign of social status. The African American mothers in this study made it a priority to dress their daughter well because their children were an extension of their own identity and household.

**Daughter’s Influence on Mother’s Dress**

Some mothers described how their daughter’s shopping behavior had no impact on what they should or should not buy. One mother said simply, “No, she has a strong opinion” (M11, 46). This mother believed that, because she and her daughter wore two completely different sizes, there was no reason to purchase the items her daughter would wear based on dress and appearance. However, as young adults, some of the daughters had an impact on their mother’s shopping.
Fashion tips. Some of the mothers fondly noted that their daughter influenced their shopping behavior by providing shopping tips. Some of the daughters gave tips for their mother to look more fashionable instead of like an “old lady.” One mother stated, “Just because I’m over 50 [doesn’t] mean that I have to dress like I am. I kind of have to shake myself and say, ‘That’s not who I am and why am I trying to dress like an old woman?’” (M3, 55). She continued by acknowledging that she would not wear things that her daughter would, but “I can wear similar things to what she wears and be fashionable.” Another mother shared how her daughter used her as a dress-up doll: “I am her Barbie doll, and she wants to update my wardrobe” (M9, 56). It was interesting to discover that some daughters reversed socializing roles and now influenced their mother’s dress.

Many of the daughters stated how they enjoyed providing tips to their mother to keep her “hip” by enhancing her knowledge of current urban dress fashions. Pine Bluff is a smaller city environment where urban style is considered fashionable and accepted. African Americans make up 76% of the total population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010) and have a strong influence on local fashion. Several of the daughters apparently wanted to help their mother be stylish in their community environment.

The daughters were detailed about how they provided tips for their mothers so that they would appear more fashionable. When I asked one daughter if she provided any shopping tips for her mother, she replied,

Oh, girl! I do! I keep her out of mom jeans, ’cause my mom is in her 60s, and I keep her out of mom jeans. She cannot wear mom jeans. And it’s either a heel or a flat. So there are no kitten heels around here [laughing]. So it’s either high or low, and I give her a tip; she doesn’t give me any. (D12, 29)
Another daughter, a school teacher in Pine Bluff, also expressed how her mother needed a little help when it came to selecting clothing in her size. She commented:

Well, even though she’s on the healthier [heavy] side, she usually buys clothes that are too big. And I try to get her, even though you buying clothes that [are] actually your size doesn’t mean it’s going to be hugging you. You know what I’m saying? So like, she tried to buy the sweater set and it was an extra size too big, and I was like, “Momma just go down a size. (D11, 26)

Another daughter mentioned how, since her father passed away, her mother’s sense of style had faded a little. So now she was trying to get her mother back on the fashion scene when it came to her hair, dress, and appearance. She explained:

So like my most recent experience with my mom lately, before she turns 60, we’re all about getting her to be [fashionable], but when my father passed away, she just let herself go and just like really doesn’t care. So I think the first thing was her getting like a short haircut and just being trendy and fashionable [like] how she used to be. (D7, 25)

Many of the daughter participants felt the same way, wanting to see their mothers looking good even though they did not see each other on a regular basis. Indeed, most of the mothers actually lived in their own homes and the daughters lived in their own homes, some daughters having a family of their own. Yet, each of the daughters expressed the need to keep her mother current on fashion trends and appearance. In fact, the daughters stressed the importance of making sure their mother look well dressed before leaving the house, because it was instilled in them by their mothers at a young age to look well groomed at all times. The daughters became the teachers of dress and appearance, because the daughters now had
the expertise on current fashion trends. That some of the mothers seemed accepting of fashion advice from their daughters perhaps attests to the closeness of the mothers and daughters that allows for the sharing of roles within the relationship.

**Father’s Influence on Consumer Behavior**

Although this study focused on African American mother influences on daughter dress and consumption of appearance-related products, during the interview father influences were mentioned by some daughter participants. One daughter, a student at the University of Arkansas–Pine Bluff, described,

My mom doesn’t care about stuff like that. My stepdad taught me more. He likes name brand items; my mom, she didn’t. That wasn’t a big thing for my mother. But for my stepdad it was, so that is all he bought. I was introduced to high quality stuff more through him. He likes to pay full price. Like if he bought Polo, he wanted to go to the Ralph Lauren store. Being with him made me pay attention to more expensive things. (D2, 22)

Even though some daughters had a close relationship with their mothers, their fathers had an influence on the daughters’ consumer behavior toward dress and appearance as well. For instance, one daughter reflected on how her father socialized her to shop for quality items. She stated,

My father is very numbers driven . . . [with regard to] cost, economical, and cost efficient. So he is always looking for the best deals, the best rate. And I’m always thinking how can I do that? [laughs] [Whereas] my mom is more so quality, my dad is more quantity and quality. So he has a big impact on my consumer behavior towards dress. (D7, 25)
Some of the daughter participants believed that shopping with their father continued to help them now, as adults. One daughter stated, “My dad likes nice stuff, and he will often ask me for my opinion on stuff. And it’s like me and my dad gets along with shopping more than me and my mom does” (D11, 26). Statements such as these from the participants indicated that their mother often was the budget-minded shopper who planned the expenditures for day-to-day activities in the household, whereas their father focused on larger and special purchases.

**Style Outcomes**

**Conservatism.** Several of the mothers mentioned how their style of dress was more conservative due to their family background, which was passed down from their own mothers and grandmothers, who shaped their assumptions of how an African American woman should portray herself.

One mother stated, “I am a conservative person, so I have to remind my daughter that she needs to always dress according to whatever she is going to: ‘Make sure you look appropriate and presentable’” (M8, 57). Another mother participant voiced how one never knows whom one might meet and that, based on her status in her career, she needed to dress conservatively. She commented, “I would say that I am conservative . . . ’cause I never know when I may have to go into a meeting. . . . So I need to make sure that I am dressed professionally” (M1, 51). Another mother echoed how her job had a major impact on her dress, saying that when it came to her dress she was “conservative because I am in an office setting every day, and I’m usually wearing slacks to work” (M16, 47). One mother participant also discussed how her own mother was a “conservative dresser” and went on to
say, “I am a conservative dresser and in many ways, my daughter is too, and I’ve noticed that through our shopping together” (M12, 65).

Along those same lines, one mother mentioned that conservative dress is important not only for her perception of self but also for church attendance as well. She talked about how her grandmother would take her shopping for church clothing: “On Sundays I could go out to the shopping center to get something to wear for church, and it was serious business” (M1, 51). Thus, dressing conservatively was instilled in her at an early age by watching her grandmother select her Sunday attire. Another mother also mentioned that she liked to dress up for church, which played a role in her conservative dress. She commented,

I feel that dressing in my Sunday best is important, because I feel good and I look conservative. Looking sharp is the key to dress and appearance to me, especially on Sunday, because I feel that I am not only dressing for myself; I’m looking my best for God. I try to instill that in my daughter when she is picking out clothes to not show so much. You can still look good without showing too much of your body. (M7, 60)

One mother echoed the same sentiment, saying, “I dress like I’m going to church every day. I make [myself] look professional and sharp. So from the [start] I teach my daughter how to dress smartly” (M10, 65). Conservative dress for the mothers in this study referred to wearing clothing that was classic in style or included tailored outfits that were not defined as gaudy or conspicuous.

Throughout the interviews, I noticed that all of the mothers mentioned how dressing conservatively was a part of being a mother and a way to serve as a model for their daughter as to how to dress appropriately for appearance in public. Even though all the daughters
were young adults, their mothers felt that they still had a say in how their daughter looked and dressed in the African American community.

**Rules for and taste in dress.** During each daughter interview I asked, “How has your mother influenced your dress and appearance?” Some of the daughters stated that their mother socialized their dress because they had watched the way their mother dressed for work. By example, their mothers instilled in them the practice of always looking presentable and dressing professionally. One daughter stated, “[My mom] has influenced and socialized it a lot because of the way she dresses. She has to dress up just about every day, Monday through Friday so, and she is always looking professional. That has influenced me” (D5, 24). Similarly, another daughter echoed, “[My mother] influences; she doesn’t decide, but she does influence . . . the way I look and the way I dress, especially professionally (D12, 29).

For many of the mothers, dressing and looking professional was important because most of them worked in administrative offices or held positions as an educator or manager or in academic and college affairs. Consequently, the daughters mentioned that dressing just any kind of way was not an option in their household, and therefore, their mother’s sense of style heavily influenced their own outer appearance. One daughter stated,

I dress by the way [my mom] dress[es]. Anything I do, I do so that I can please my parents; so if I am out here a little distasteful, I start to think, “Okay, could I wear this around my family?” Even though they are very aware of my taste and my fashion sense, I want to be classic and timeless and unique. (D3, 24)

A mother also mentioned how her own mother, as well as her grandmothers on both sides of her family, were all good dressers. She added,
My mother was a teacher, and years ago teaching was a very upstanding profession, so they dressed professionally. I think because of their profession and the way she left the house helped me dress and [learn] how I want to present myself as well as my daughter. (M1, 51)

Many of the mothers also mentioned how their own style of dress had a major influence on how their daughter presented herself to the world as well as in her profession.

**Uniqueness.** Many of the daughter participants also expressed passionately that they never wanted to look like anyone else when it came to dress and appearance. For example, one daughter participant stated,

> My sense of style is very different. I do not want to look like anyone else. I do not like to purchase the same thing everyone else is purchasing from a department store. So, in this photo I’m wearing very bold and Afrocentric pieces . . . I made the skirt and the top. I was headed to an event with a friend, and I just wanted to do something outside of the box with my style. It was just a fun time [laughing]. (D13, 29)

The daughter participants clarified how they had their own unique style of dress and were very confident as to who they were as a person and confident with the things they had in their closet to wear to express their individual identity as an African American woman. Another daughter said,

> Even though I am older my mom still teaches me to be different when I dress. I never want to look like anybody else. My style is different because I love weird and wild prints. My mom will tell me to always embrace my crazy style and forget what everyone else thinks. (D15, 26)
Their individual expression of dress and appearance ranged from urban to runway chic, hippie chic, and classic chic. Several of the daughters also mentioned that they received comments about their unique style from others such as, “You look cute,” “Working it girl,” or “You look beautiful.”

African American women’s definition of style in general was described in a landmark study of adolescent girls by Parker et al. (1995). They found that African American girls’ personal style involved making a statement and having uniqueness exhibited in their dress and appearance. The African American girls involved in style, regardless of their body type, frequently received positive compliments from African American boys, family members, and friends about “looking good” and “having a going on.” Therefore, this direct personal support may enhance feelings about appearance and self-esteem (Parker et al., 1995). According to O’Neal (1998), the importance of style among African Americans emphasizes self-expression, uniqueness, and being and doing things differently. In other words African Americans in general desire to be aesthetically different and somewhat unique in dress.

**Being an African American Woman—Mother’s Perspective**

During the interviews, many of the mothers began to get exceedingly emotional when answering some of the interview questions regarding socializing their daughter to be an African American woman in America. I did not anticipate such a powerful reaction coming from any of the mother participants in this study. Some of the mothers began to cry or spoke with tears in their eyes. Each of the mothers expressed how she loved her daughter and raised her to be a woman who will be “resilient” and “independent.”

This section comprises a discussion about the points regarding mothers socializing their daughters lived experiences in a grounded, culturally relevant way. First, the findings
and a discussion about how mothers shaped their daughters to be African American women in America are presented. Then, the findings and a discussion related to the daughters’ perspectives on how their mother socialized them to have “tough skin” touches on race, identity, and projection of the female body as an African American woman in America are presented.

**Purposeful raising of daughters.** The mothers were passionate about how they socialized their daughters to be an African American woman in America. Each mother had a lot to say about preparing her daughter for the world with regard to race, identity, and dress and to project an African American woman’s body image. When I asked, “How do you think you have shaped your daughter into becoming a Black woman in America?” one of the mother participants began to tear up as she answered this question, responding:

> by introducing her to the things that we had when she was little. I put her in pageants or instilling in her education and making her well rounded and knowing that you are going to have these obstacles put before you ’cause you are a Black child. For years people thought my daughter was interracial. She is a Black and her daddy is just light. I had to instill in her that she was Black and people know that she was Black. So introducing her to anything that I could and afford to show her no matter what city and what culture that she was in, she could entertain and be a part of, and no one is better than you are. (M3, 55)

Several mothers discussed how they raised their daughter by letting her know the challenges she would face as an African American woman. For instance, one mother noted that she told her daughter that
being Black, the other race [is going to] talk about you, pick on you; don’t fight it. I also told my daughter to learn as much as you can, go to school, get what you can, ’cause you have to know your stuff ’cause of your skin color; they don’t. They can get a job and don’t know nothing, but [you’re going to] have to know. That’s what I tried to instill in her. (M10, 65)

Another mother stated, “I always had to tell her that as a Black woman you have to fight even harder. If you want it you have to strive to get it and don’t let anything stand in your way” (M8, 57). This was echoed by another mother who commented:

I raised her by letting her know that nothing is given to you. You’re going to have to work for what you want in order to have anything you have to work for it. You have to work for your college material. Do the best you can with what you have, always be respectful, and know where you came from, and don’t forget. No matter how much you have or no matter how much you prosper. And always keep God in your life. (M6, 56)

One mother discussed how she always talked to her daughter about the current issues happening in the world today:

I try to do a lot of talking, with all my children. I try to focus on a lot of issues that are going on and make sure that they are taking care of issues and how they have an impact on my life as well as their lives. I think I do a great deal of talking and conversation. I think in our household in general, we talk a lot about issues that are going on and the issues in our society. (M1, 51)

Several mother participants echoed that point with a similar response regarding how their daughter needed to know that society would view her differently and expected a higher level
of excellence from her to prove herself. White (2009) noted that African American women are raised to believe that one has to work twice as hard to get anywhere in life and to be successful. The mothers described how they shaped their daughter to work hard to navigate society and advocate for herself.

**Teaching through words.** Many of the daughters in this study also were passionate about this interview question, and they provided a sense of how they felt about how their mother socialized them to learn to be an African American woman in America. Each daughter gave descriptive comments on how her mother structurally protected and promoted racial and gender hierarchy.

When asked, “can you tell me how your mother taught you how to become a Black woman in America,” one of the daughter participants stated that her mother taught her:

- certain values I learned at a really young age as far as respect for people and being confident, knowing your worth, and mainly putting God first. Because, with that, everything else falls into place, everything else is in vain. . . . So growing up, I was taught to have respect for myself, dress a certain way, act a certain way, talk a certain way. . . . The three major things will be the values that she instilled in me, the experiences that I go through, and the personal relationship I have with God has helped shaped me to become an African American woman in America. (D7, 26)

Another daughter’s comments had a more pragmatic tone:

- Basically as a Black woman in America they make it hard for us anyway, so . . . some things you can’t take it to heart; you just have to take mental notes on it and keep going, and just basically charge into the game, but if it’s something that can be done about, then fix it. If not, just keep on going basically. (D5, 24)
She went on to say that her mother also shaped her into becoming an African American woman by telling her that she must:

be educated and smart, to know my studies, and know my surroundings, and [to] know what nobody can take from me and not to depend on [anybody] as well as having good posture and sitting up straight, and that [has] a lot to do with your image.

(D5, 24)

Another daughter’s comments also reflected realistic advice she received from her mother:

There will always be someone [who] has something to say. Sticks and stones may break bones and words do hurt no matter what we say, but it’s how we perceive ourselves more so than how others perceive us. We have to remember our true identity; we can get through anything else. (D8, 26)

**Being an African American Woman—Daughter’s Perspective**

Self-respect through appearance was everything to the women in the study. Several of the daughters mentioned how their mother’s opinion about self-respect was crucial in their household. Many of the daughters mentioned how that, in general, the African American community can be a critical element shaping one’s dress and appearance. Therefore, having a respectable self-image served as a catalyst toward women’s outer appearance. In responding to how her mother socialized her dress and appearance in the African American community, one daughter stated,

She wants me to be a respected young lady, letting me know that the way that I dress is a reflection of her and me, and that’s my first chance to make a first impression.

Coming from a small town and being in an environment and being in activities, a lot
of people would know who I am and would look at me and be negative and critical. So I take that into perspective now when I dress. (D3, 24)

Another daughter had a similar observation: “Basically she always taught me that appearance is everything and first impressions are lasting impressions. People sometimes judge you off what you wear. So always look presentable no matter where you going” (D5, 24). Interestingly, in a separate interview, her mother made the same comment: “We were taught first impressions are lasting impressions, and sometimes it’s the first thing people see when they see you, and that’s how they perceive you. So that’s why first impressions are lasting impressions” (M5, 48).

First impressions are known to be very important within the African American community (Moore, 2011). One daughter participant used an old saying to illustrate how she was socialized to dress and appear:

“Bust before dusk, a woman’s virtue, you cannot trust.” In the day (you know it’s this whole Southern thing), you should be more modest. In the evening you can let loose a little bit more. You know you should never . . . wear anything too short and nothing too revealing and [my mom] always taught me to wear pantyhose no matter what the season is. . . . She really did a good job of teaching me about appropriate dress for the occasion. (D12, 29)

The interviews with the daughters illustrated each daughter’s own understanding as to why her mother stressed the importance of self-respect reflected in her dress and appearance. For instance, one mother stated, “I think my daughter can identify with me completely to always have self-respect when it comes to her appearance. She knows that I don’t play, and I wouldn’t want to see her dress immodestly.” Another mother stated, “I tell my daughter to
always dress with self-respect because she is also representing me. I always want her appearance to come off as womanly, professional, and respectful” (M14, 53).

Many of the mothers believed that talking to their daughter about gaining self-respect through dress and appearance openly helped the daughter navigate effectively through her environment, in which she could figure out individual preferences for dress but also behave in a lady-like manner. In addition, the mothers believed they needed to have a strong influence on their daughter’s dress as a part of her development into womanhood.

**Wanting to be or thinking they were White.** Some of the daughters grew up in a predominately White environment, attended predominately White private schools, and therefore had participated in what are known in the African American community as “White” activities. A few of the daughter participants referenced how they longed to be White when they were children or adolescents. Several of them mentioned how their mother had to socialize their understandings and internalizations of their racial identity. Most of the daughters were either “consciously or half conscious of their White places” (Feagin, Vera, & Imani, 1996, p. 51). These White places are physical spaces, such as classrooms, offices, and dinners [physical space], that denote racial character and often designate who belongs and who has authority over the space (Bailey-Fakhoury, 2014).

One mother described:

I can remember when she was in kindergarten, and she went to a predominately White daycare. She had curly hair, and it wasn’t kinky, but it was curly, and of course, some of the other kids had the longer, straighter hair, and she wanted to know, “Well, I’m White. Why can’t my hair look like that?” And I’m like, “You [are] not White.” And I went to her dad and was like, “[Daughter] thinks that she [is] White.”
And he said, “What?” and I said, “Well you know ’cause of the way that you look and everything, she goes to school with these kids, and she thinks that she is White.” I had to inform her that she wasn’t, and she argued me down that she was White. But anyway, she finally realized that she wasn’t White. So we did use Black products in our hair. (M3, 55)

In the corresponding daughter’s interview, the daughter commented,

I went to preschool. I thought I was White because I looked just like them. There weren’t that many Black kids in my class, and the ones [who] were, were dark, so I didn’t look like them; I looked more like the White kids, and I thought I was White. In gymnastics, there weren’t Black kids, and when I got to kindergarten, I was like, “Okay, I’m Black.” My mom putting me around other children [who] I can deal with [made] it a lot easier to identify with. (D3, 24)

Another mother–daughter pair had similar statements. The mother noted, “I enrolled her in [an] all-White school from first to sixth grade, and she was the only Black in the school her last 4 years” (M12, 65). She went on to say,

She started in pageants when she was 2, and she won her first pageant. I tried to teach her then, until she got old enough to understand, what beauty is, and I told her beauty is more than just the face. (M12, 65)

Her daughter’s comment was:

When I was in one to six grade, I went to private school. I was the only Black girl in my class EVER. Like first through sixth, there were no Black girls in my class. And I was the only one, and so naturally being the only [Black], where there is a private school where there is only White children who were very, very, privileged . . . it’s
natural to come home displaying characteristics that are common in other people’s homes (not my own!). So my mom did a very good job of keeping me centered and keeping me focused on the fact that I am a Black woman. And it’s great to be that. I was natural while I was in school with them. . . . We all know that White girls have straight hair. My hair was big and kinky, and when we went swimming that was an issue. So those are the kinds of things that would be a big problem for me; like I had horrible self-esteem issues because I wanted to be a White girl. So my mom, in this instance teaching me to be a strong person was kind of putting her foot in every doubt that I had about myself because I would always compare myself to the White girls and just kind of keeping me motivated in that way. (D12, 29)

**Femininity**

For some mothers femininity played a huge role in their own dress and appearance, and for others femininity was not a big issue, because they were satisfied in their appearance and were assertive as a strong African American woman. One mother participant commented about a photo,

> These are glamour shots that I took. I felt sexy. They did the makeup and made me feel like Hollywood. They come in and do your hair. And you are putting on all these different outfits. You can pretend to be something you weren’t. I felt feminine in this photo, and I just like it. (M2, 39)

Another mother stated, “A great deal of femininity plays 100%. It shows elegance and the essence of a Black woman going to a formal event. So it shows the softness yet directness of good self-esteem” (M5, 48). Another mother made reference to her hair during her 20s, as she commented,
This photo was taken in my 20s when the Jerri curl was going on. I was in style . . . I felt dressed up and people told me I looked nice. I like to make sure that I had my earrings, to let them know that I am a woman. (M10, 65)

She explained how both men and women wore the same hairstyle during her 20s; therefore wearing earrings separated her from looking unfeminine. One mother stated,

Femininity plays a role in my dress and appearance depending on where I am going. I am happy with how I look and how I dress. I look beautiful and properly groomed so I guess being feminine was the goal for this photo. I represent a strong Black woman in this photo. (M14, 53)

The daughter participants used their photos to express their feelings about femininity. When asked, “How does femininity play a role in your dress and appearance?” one daughter stated, “Femininity plays a role because I am major and ultra girly” (D12, 29). Another daughter participant stated, “Oh a big role! Because I always want to look like a woman, and I want to stay looking like a woman and looking classy. Even when I’m not dressed up, I still want to look feminine” (D5, 24).

Another daughter declared,

My femininity is like very classy and upscale type of “don’t mess with her cause she is bad to the bone” type of thing. I was going to a wedding and I was trying to be really stylish, but not too much ’cause I didn’t want to take away from the bride. (D4, 28)

Finally, another daughter stated,

Being feminine is the epitome of a woman, so when I dress, I dress to impress others and also myself. I never want to look unfeminine. So everything goes back to what
my mother taught me growing on how to be a lady and what a lady looks like. I’m a Black woman so I need to always look presentable. (D14, 29)

The Black matriarch concept in scholarly literature indicates societal problematizing of African American women as “too strong, too independent, and too self-sufficient for their own good” (Franklin, 2000, p. 19). In the present study, the importance of femininity was important to many of the women and may help them counteract the old negative stereotypes of African American women as loud, too strong, unfeminine, and not pretty.

**Beauty and womanhood.** When the daughters were asked “What early lessons did your mother teach you about beauty and womanhood,” many of the daughters were excited to express different ways their mother socialized their expression of femininity through dress. For example, one daughter stated, “First of all, know who you are and embrace who you are and be independent. Because I grew up in a single parent household, my main thing was be sufficient as possible as an individual and as a woman, too” (D4, 28). Another daughter indicated,

Beauty: It just kind of repeats itself. Always take care of your personal hygiene, always make sure you are groomed, hair combed, make sure things are cleaned and ironed. Womanhood: Always present yourself as a lady and act as a lady should with morals. Blackness is beauty, and Blackness is power. (D10, 29)

One of the daughter participants simply declared that her mother expressed, “You should never smell a woman; you should never see parts of a woman that shouldn’t be exposed” (D15, 26). However, another daughter gave great detail:

Beauty is in the eye of the beholder. It doesn’t define your physical appearance. It’s a combination of a person inside out. Because growing up I always heard my mom
saying, “It doesn’t matter if [she’s] the most beautiful woman in the world and
gorgeous . . . if she has an attitude that [makes] her so unattractive.” And as I get
older I can really understand what she means.

She went on to talk about her mother’s influence on her notions of beauty and womanhood:
“When you’re in public you are supposed to always have an appropriate presence about
yourself and always dress to impress. . . . For womanhood, it goes back to the values of
respect for yourself and how you talk to people” (D7, 25).

**Body image.** Bessellieu (1997) described how body image to African American
women is a far-reaching definition of beauty that is constructed by the individual’s personal
characteristics (attitude), with less emphasis than mainstream White norms on physical
appearance. Scholars have found that African American women are less affected by
dominant beauty and body standards, and often have a higher body satisfaction and positive
self-image than do European American women (Evans & McConnell, 2003). One of the
daughters in the present study mentioned that her mother talked about how manner of dress
was a part of her race and image as an African American woman, but that embracing her
body image was important, too. She remarked,

> My mom taught me to always dress according to my culture, or should I say embrace
> my culture as well as my body image; I have a lot of curves. I know that there is
> negative perception regarding how some Black women dress because of their
curviness, especially, if they like a nice figure. My mom just told me that “Black is
> beautiful” and just embrace what I have and dress according to my body shape and
> size. (D14, 29)
According to Williamson (1998), the African American community is known for positively embracing women with larger body types and curvier figures. Although some African American mother participants encouraged their daughters to embrace their body and curves, other mother participants educated their daughters about being healthy and about how body image is crucial to self-image, i.e., that being too large might endanger their health and social image. Bessellieu (1997) found that 205 African American female participants disclosed how their body image depended on their perception of body weight. Many of the African American women from Bessellieu’s study who were overweight did not categorize themselves as overweight or heavy individuals. These women had a positive self-image about their weight, unlike other African American women who felt stigmatized and admitted to being overweight.

The topic of body image was regularly discussed by a few of the mother–daughter pairs. One mother stated,

We talk about body image because we both have gained weight. And as opposed to talking about it, we should do something about it. She has a nice figure, and I tell her that she needs to maintain it because it’s easy to get into a slump, and when you gain a lot of weight, it’s hard to get rid of it. It lowers your self-esteem when you’re not used to carrying that much weight. So I don’t want her self-esteem to be affected because image is everything. (M5, 48)

The daughter participant stated, “Yeah, my mom talks to me about body image all the time; she tells me that she knows that we need to go to the gym more often” (D5, 24).

One daughter commented,
My mom is funny because she influences me to “get my life” with my midsection ’cause she knows that is the first place that she gains weight in. So she bought me workout gear for Christmas, and I was like, “What you trying to say [laughing]?”

(D3, 24)

Another daughter explained that her mother told her that “it’s great to be healthy and your body [doesn’t] make you better than anyone else” (D12, 29). And yet another daughter explained:

My mom is very tough when it comes to my body image and weight. Sometimes it can get a little frustrating because she always mentions how skinny I was in college. Now that I’m older, I picked up a few pounds, and I still look nice; I still look and feel beautiful. But my mom is always like, “Girl, you need to lose a few pounds.” I know my momma means well, but sometimes it’s a little heartbreaking. I never want to disappoint my mom, because I know she has my best interest in life. So now I’m working out and getting back into shape. (D14, 29)

The mother participants made it clear that, in the African American community in Pine Bluff, their daughter’s body image was essential to her success and to being confident in her own skin. “Mothers have always held powerful sway over their daughter’s ideas about food, eating, and body shape” (Stacey, 2000, p. 80), which was evidenced by how some of the mother participants tried to push their daughters to be healthy and fit. Many of the mothers noted how they wanted to influence their daughter to be [thin] because, as an African American woman, she would always be judged on her appearance.

In contrast, not all of the African American mothers pushed their daughters to lose weight or to be fit. One daughter stated,
My mom has always told me to love my body, big or small, and not to worry about what images I see in the media or people around. I know that my momma and I talk about body image, and she never forces or pressures me to be thin. (D7, 25)

Another daughter explained,

When I was younger I did have issues with my body image. I am a little more confident in image now. I am more open with it as I have gotten older. [My mother] has reminded me that I am beautiful in any way. She has taught me to care about and love myself. Since I have grown up, I think about health, because that is most important to me. (D1, 25)

The outcomes of this study are similar to those found by Ogle and Damhorst (2004) in that mothers influenced their daughters reception of cultural discourses about thinness as attractive and about bodies being malleable or not in relation to weight. Some of the mothers and daughters in this study showed rejection of the ideology of a malleable body and the limited norms of attractiveness focused on thinness. Some of the mothers believed their daughter should embrace their curves as a part of their feminine beauty and positive self-esteem as an African American woman. In contrast, some of the mothers demonstrated ambivalence about their daughter’s need to fit into the stereotypical White ideal of beauty as thin but at the same time wanting their daughters to accept their bodies. These mothers were more accepting of the mainstream notion that body size is malleable and should be managed. This ambivalence related to the need for the daughter’s survival in mainstream society and their mother’s ability to urge adoption of exercise behaviors to attempt control over the daughter’s body.
Hair. hooks (1995) specified how the Black Power movement confronted many areas of White supremacy, and one area that was challenged in particular was hair. The Black Power movement raised concerns and challenged the idealized standard of European American beauty (Moore & Kosut, 2010). Many of the daughters referred to how their mother told them to always embrace their permed (relaxed) or “natural” hair and wear accessories, because it lets the world know that one is uniquely feminine and attractive. According to Thompson (2009b), African American hair is “laden with social, class, sexual, and cultural implications” (p. 851).

Accordingly, hair and accessories were key elements of dress noted by the mothers and daughters from Pine Bluff. For most of the mothers and daughters, hair and accessories mattered because that can change how people look and feel about their appearance. In a prior study, Weitz, (2001) argued that,

no matter what a woman does or doesn’t do with her hair—dyeing or not dyeing, curling or not curling, covering with a bandana or leaving uncovered—her hair will affect how others respond to her, and her power will increase or decrease accordingly. (p. 683)

For example, one mother stated, “There is power in hair and how people feel about you. It’s a way to express your image and your character as a woman. It’s your personal statement” (M7, 60). In another example, one daughter stated,

My mom always told me to make sure my hair is always looking good. And if my hair is done, I look good and I feel good. Hair is a part of my appearance too. . . . My hair should always be styled nicely so I can look feminine and womanly. My mom
never wants me to look unfeminine or like a man. That’s why my hair must be well put together. (D13, 29)

One mother, in commenting about her daughter’s skin and hair, recollected,

My daughter probably was the darkest—her skin tone was the darkest of any of her classmates—and also she had very, very, short kinky hair that had a tight curl pattern, and it was not what European Americans said was beautiful for Black women. I told her that beauty comes from within, and if you’re happy with you it doesn’t matter [what] anybody else thinks, and so that’s one thing I have tried to encourage her: to be strong in who she is, and now dark skin is in, you know natural hair is in. (M11, 46)

Her daughter stated, “My mom would reassure me that I was always beautiful with just the natural look. I have actually been natural for like six years. I embrace my natural hairstyle” (D11, 26).

Another daughter participant mentioned how her mother told her that accessories matter. She commented, “I can remember as a kid she would always say wear earrings. Keep earrings in all the time. . . . I know that was the first lesson” (D5, 24). On that same topic, another daughter stated, “My mom really socialized me to wear earrings. You know your earrings can bring out your whole outfit. She always said, “Girls wear pretty things and earrings” [laughs], so now I make sure my hair is always styled super cute and earrings on” (D14, 29). Earrings are part of the gender tool kit to help safeguard against mistaken perceptions of Black women who do not fit the White standard of female beauty.

Furthermore, many of the daughter participants regarded how their mother socialized them to understand that hair and accessories were the most important expression of
femininity through dress. None of the daughter participants mentioned any concern that their mother emphasized that their hair and accessories were a part of dress and of being feminine or womanly. Hair and accessories were considered to be a part of their overall aesthetic of dress and appearance within the dominant African American women’s culture in Pine Bluff.

**Media influence on body image in the African American community.** Many of the daughters talked about body image and how their bodies played a major role in their daily lives. The daughters felt that messages of African American women in the media impacted how they viewed their bodies and how they should look and appear as an African American woman. According to Sampey (2012), African Americans are more socially networked to media than are White American consumers. It was found that one daughter referred to how the African American community in the media influenced her ideas for dress and sense of style. She explained:

> When I watch TV, especially entertainment . . . I’m a well-rounded person, I like to watch my news and I like to watch things for pure entertainment. I see things like different celebrities or even just Black culture on TV. It’s so many lanes you can get different ideas from: from different hair, what’s hot this season, or to just shop on a friendly budget so there are things sometimes that I can take that are practical with me when I go shopping. (D7, 25)

Receiving and viewing positive messages in the media had an impact on how the daughters perceived their own identity and body image. Another daughter also noted how the media in African American culture influenced her dress and appearance. She said, “It influences it a lot. I pay attention to TV. I try to keep up with what’s out. I would say that the community influences me a lot, ’cause that’s how I come up with the latest fashion.”
(D13, 29). Furthermore, Turner, Hamilton, Jacobs, Angood, and Dwywer (1997) found that media often shapes, rather than reflects, societal perceptions of the female body and that women’s body image fulfillment is subjective and influenced by the exposure of other media outlets and fashion magazines.

However, the mothers within this study did not mention that media impacted how they socialized their daughter’s body image. Several of the mothers mentioned how they do not look to the African American community for their dress and appearance. One mother said, “I dress to please and satisfy me” (M15, 52). Another mother described some of the African American community in Pine Bluff, saying, “Most of the people I see dress a mess for their age.” This mother continued, “Some is okay and some is not; tattoos need to be done and away with” (M10, 65).

Many of the mothers were concerned about their daughter’s image and, thus, wanted their daughter to avoid any stereotype threat regarding their dress. Stereotype threat refers to when an individual is at risk of confirming a negative stereotype (i.e., body image) about one’s social group identity (Steele & Aronson, 1995). The middle- and low-income mothers in this study seemed to show the most concern for their daughter’s body image. These mothers pushed their daughters toward fitting into the mainstream norms (i.e., White standards of beauty). One mother said, “My only concern that I have with the body size and shape for that matter is around the stomach area. If she starts getting too plump in her mid-section, we talk about that, that’s it” (M12, 65).

Some of daughters in this study expressed how their father played a pivotal role in shaping their consumer behavior toward dress and appearance. Scholars have found that fathers have a strong influence on their children’s physical activity and exercise (Savage,
DiNallo, & Downs, 2009). However, none of the daughters mentioned how her father provided advice toward shaping her body image. Therefore, it is important to note that African American mothers served as key socialization agents more so than did fathers in relation to shaping their daughter’s body image and sense of self.

**Differences Related to Participant Characteristics**

A selective coding approach (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) was used to examine differences between groups defined by demographic characteristics of the participants. Income and education differences were considered. In addition, college students and daughters with advanced degrees were examined to see who currently received money from their mothers to purchase items; however, no differences were found.

**Income effects.** There was variety in responses related to how some of the mothers turned to their daughters for support when shopping for high- or low-priced items. When the mothers were compared on the basis of income level, higher-income mothers (annual income of $75,000 to above 100,000) were more likely to state that they did not turn to their daughters for advice or guidance while shopping. One mother stated, “No, no, no, I don’t. I just don’t buy the same things that she do. That’s just young and old school again difference.” (M13, 60).

In contrast, all middle-level income (annual income of $40,000 to 70,000) mothers looked to their daughters for support or advice when making purchasing decisions. The middle-income mothers acted as “opinion seekers” (Flynn, Goldsmith, & Eastman, 1996), seeking external information from their daughters before making a purchasing decision (Punj & Staelin, 1983). One middle-income mother stated,
Quite often, like [before] Homecoming, I was in Dillard’s, and I was thinking of getting these riding boots, and they were $395, and I sent her a picture ’cause I was trying to get a good Homecoming outfit together, and she said not for $395, they don’t look that good. (M9, 56)

Another middle-income mother stated,

Well quite often . . . more of the high-end stuff, ’cause I don’t think I deserve to pay for things for myself so I’ll be like, “What do you think,” and I’ll send her pictures of shoes and a list of things, and she’ll be like, “Mom go on and get it, you don’t do stuff for yourself,” so it’s quite often. (M11, 46)

The low-income mothers (annual income under $30,000) considered themselves to be “cheap” shoppers. Several of the mothers expressed how they liked to shop online with coupons to receive a better deal when shopping for appearance-related products. Deal seeking seemed to be a main driver of purchase decisions, and daughters were not described as crucial contributors to that process. One mother explained that she would rather shop online to save money: “We will shop online and will wait until it’s a little cheaper” (M3, 55).

Another mother stated, “I like to use coupons and shop on the clearance rack” (M6, 56).

One mother was excited and not ashamed to say how she enjoys collecting and shopping with coupons. She said,

Yes, yes, yes. I am a coupon addict. Yup. I just got finished looking at some in the newspaper, and I’m waiting on the others so I can get those coupons out of there. Coupons have a whole lot and a lot of people don’t know . . . who don’t do it. But some folks are just so addicted, that uh, they all on Facebook getting free stuff. I use coupons to save money. (M13, 60)
The findings suggest that income level of mothers may shape the relationship between mothers and daughters in relation to how mothers turn to daughters for support when shopping for high- or low-priced items.

Daughters of the higher income mothers were more appreciative of their mother’s support towards shopping for high- and low-priced items. One daughter said, “I tend to appreciate her opinion because I want to carry myself in a way that is appropriate. Sometimes I can be appreciative for not getting certain items ’cause they could be short or something wrong” (D1, 25). Another daughter stated:

All the time, because I’m so indecisive, whether I’m going out to eat or I’m going shopping, I always for some reason always narrow it down to two things, and I just find it so challenging sometimes and so difficult. . . . It’s always narrowed down to two things, and she has to help me take it a step further and look at ok, be very basic, what’s the pros and cons, and after I get done rationalizing with her over the phone, she’ll help me decide which products to get over the other. But I’m always, always, always narrowing it down to two things. (D7, 25)

In contrast, the daughters of the middle-income mothers did not seek much support in shopping for high- or low-priced appearance-related items. Most of the middle-income daughters were moving along in their own professional development (i.e., career). One daughter stated,

Not very often, if there were a moment where I have to consistently question myself “should I buy it?” I would ask my mom, like, “Do you think it’s worth it?” But I don’t just call her normally. I kind of have gist. (D2, 22)
Gist can be defined as the general meaning of something or some idea how to shop without asking for advice. (*Urban Dictionary*, 2015). Another daughter said,

> I really don’t have to now ’cause I’m by myself. If it’s something that’s low and I really like it, I’m going to get it. If it’s more expensive, I may debate about it for a little while, but I never have to just call, be like “Ooh momma, what you think about this?” (D4, 29)

However, daughters of the low-income mothers seemed to follow their mother’s patterns of behavior by collecting coupons and bargain shopping for high- and low-priced items. One daughter talked about how she enjoyed shopping with coupons. She said, “Yes, I do. We save them. We get them out of the newspaper or sometimes we copy and print them from the computer. We are really big on saving, period” (D13, 29). Another daughter explained how she used coupons when there was a huge sale, saying,

> All the time because anytime there’s a big sale, I always take my mom with me because I am a little more frivolous; so bring my mom with me to make reasonable purchases. You know, I have a whole counter full of stuff and she’s there to say yay or nay. (D12, 29)

This daughter seemed to seek some advice from her mother. The daughters of lower-income mothers indicated that searching for coupon deals and bargains was a process they shared with their mothers.

**Education level among daughters and fashion tips.** The study also revealed a distinction between participants’ education level and their knowledge of fashion. Twelve of the middle-income daughters who had received bachelor’s degrees provided more fashion tips to their mothers than did other daughters who had completed high school or their
master’s degrees as their highest level of education. In reference to her mother’s appearance one daughter said,

I have to remind her that, although she is older, she is not dead, and sometimes she can try things that she wouldn’t normally try because she feels that she is a grandmother and she [should] not be wearing them. (D8, 26)

Another daughter explained:

I try to get her to be a little more versatile. At one point I was starting to feel that her wardrobe was starting to look the same. So, she’s really open to change! And she does say that she wants to look different and not the same all the time. It’s not to the point where I’m like, “Mom, you look homely.” Sometimes I ask why she didn’t buy for me. We coordinate on what we like ’cause we wear the same size shirts and shoes. There are some shoes in her closet that I put on ’cause we have the same size. Shoes have been the foundation of fashion between us. Shoes are timeless and that works better. (D3, 24)

Overall, education and income level seem to work together to shape mother and daughter interactions about purchase decisions and the purchase process. Although mothers with higher income and education levels may feel confident in their tastes and purchase decisions because of their many years of freedom to shop with fewer budget limitations and because of their professions that require sophisticated attention to appearance as part of role demands (Dimola, 2001), their daughters recognize the fashion sense and purchase savvy of their mothers; hence, they rely on their mothers for advice and also some monetary support. The daughters of middle-income mothers may be more economically independent from their parents and also may see themselves as having more knowledge of fashion trends than their
mothers do, particularly if they have moved beyond their mothers in level of education and career accomplishment. Lower-income mothers were still highly engaged in bargain hunting with their daughters, so in many cases these dyads were more collaborative in the shopping process and engaged in honing their skills at bargain shopping together. However, there was a lack of comments from the daughters of the high- and low-income mothers about giving their mothers advice. Many of the high-income and low-income daughters did not speak in relation to how they shared and provided fashion tips to their mother about dress and appearance.
CHAPTER 5. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this study was to examine how African American mothers socialize their daughter’s consumer behavior toward dress. This qualitative study consisted of in-depth, face-to-face interviews and also included an auto-driving technique, all of which were conducted with 16 mother–daughter pairs (a total of 32 individuals) of African American women. The in-depth interviews were conducted in Pine Bluff, Arkansas. Participants were selected through snowball sampling so that a level of trust could be established. Many of the participants were invited to participate through a professional listserv network and, in addition, a Facebook ad was created to advertise the research project to potential participants in the surrounding area.

The 16 daughter participants, ranging from 22 to 29 years of age, were biological offspring of the 16 mother participants. No age limitation was placed on the mother participants. The mothers were included in the study to gain an understanding of how they socialized their daughter’s dress and consumption of appearance-related products as well as an understanding of how African American mothers cultivate their daughter’s learning about being female and being an African American woman in America.

Few studies have been conducted on African American mother–daughter interactions toward dress and appearance, despite the proportionately greater expenditures on dress by African Americans. Thus, the goal of this study was to begin to fill this gap in the literature and to enhance and expand understanding of African American mother–daughter relationships as they relate to dress and appearance and socialization of being female. In addition, the current narratives that are present in the literature are often from a predominately White perspective. However, this study presents narratives that explore
mother-daughter dress and appearance from an African American perspective. The interpretive analysis resulted in discovery of eight main themes in the data: (a) parental style, (b) mother’s overall influence on dress, (c) daughter’s influence on mother’s dress, (d) father’s influence on consumer behavior, (e) style outcomes, (f) being an African American woman–mother’s perspective, (g) being an African American woman–daughter’s perspective, and (h) femininity.

Summary of Findings

Closeness Within Strong Rule Setting

Many of the mothers mentioned that communication with their daughters had to be clear and logical in their mother–daughter interactions. Throughout the interviews there was a lack of negative comments regarding closeness in the mother–daughter relationships. The daughter participants often were emphatic that having an open relationship with their mother was very significant in their adult lives. During the interviews, the mothers were emotional when addressing how they taught and socialized their daughters about race, identity, dress, and body image. Many of the mothers expressed how their parenting style shaped their daughters to be “resilient” and “independent” as an African American woman in America. Many of the mothers expressed how their parenting style benefited their daughters to navigate in their surroundings and environment.

The mothers in this study defined their parenting style as authoritarian, a style they felt was necessary to socialize their daughters’ behavior as children and adults. However, the mothers’ parenting style appears to be a combination of authoritative and authoritarian, as defined in scholarly literature (Jackson-Newsom et al., 2008). Several of the African American mothers admitted that they were strict in their daughter’s upbringing. However,
the mothers connected with their daughter by exercising rules and regulations for dress and appearance as well as for structure in the household. These southern African American mothers from Pine Bluff did not indicate a distant or cold relationship with their daughters, in contrast to the portrayal of authoritarian parents within the literature. And in contrast to the literature on authoritarian parental style, both the mothers and daughters described a very close and supportive mother–daughter relationship despite the strong parental rule structure in the household.

Many of the mother participants stressed their concern that they not be viewed as “raising a whore” or “slut;” thus, one finding was that African American mother participants expected their daughters to “show class” (presumably middle and higher) and have standards about their dress and appearance. Thus, poor representation of self through dress could lead to being considered part of the “rape culture,” in which an outfit can contribute to sexual assaults. The mothers held the notion that a sexy appearance would invite rape, even though evidence from incidents of rape does not necessarily support this causal attribution (Beiner, 2007). Each of the mothers believed in demonstrating consistency in setting rules by which the daughter lived. Collins (1997) noted that African American mothers are strict disciplinarians and overly protective of their children. In this study, the mother participants believed that their authoritarian parenting style helped to shape their daughters’ learning regarding negative and positive assessments of right or wrong choices as a young African American woman.

Each of the mothers socialized their daughters to have the necessary tools to survive as young, respectful, African American women. The mothers purposefully exposed their
daughters to knowledge and role-taking skills that included appropriateness of dress in their household and community.

**Mother’s Overall Influence on Dress**

During the interviews, many of the daughter participants stated how their mother highly influenced their shopping behavior regarding dress. Many of the daughters expressed that, from the time they were young, even before they could actually dress themselves, their mother had an influence on how they should look, dress, and appear to others. It was very evident to the daughters that, when they were young, their mother purchased or sewed their clothing to influence their dress and appearance. In addition, the daughters were often cognizant of how their mother dressed. The daughters revealed that, when they were younger, watching their mother dress or shopping with their mother would make them want to copy their mothers. Hawkins and Mothersbaugh (2010) reported that children learn how to shop by observing and developing mental images of items and symbols in the marketplace, and therefore, children will begin recalling items for which their parents shopped.

Some of the daughter participants recounted how they used to play “dress up”—a way of learning to understand the meanings of dress and appearance related to being female. Many of the daughter participants also mentioned how their mother directly served as models for taste and dress practices. For example, some of the mothers would dress herself and her daughter alike, as it seemed important that their attire match. The daughters also expressed how their mother made a point of letting them know that they were a representation of her when they went out in public. Moreover, dressing in an overtly sexy or immorally suggestive manner was not allowed within the participants’ African American households.
Most of the daughter participants had moved into their own homes; however, their mothers still emphasized to their daughters the importance of dress and appearance.

Furthermore, several of the daughter participants expressed how their mother instilled within them values of self-presentation. Some of the daughters also felt that their mother no longer had much influence on their style choices in dress now that they were adults in their 20s. Instead, mothers were seen as having lasting impacts on purchase decision patterns related to frugality or investment dressing or on larger attitudes related to appearance, such as always taking care to look presentable.

Comments articulated by the mothers emphasized how they served as role models to their daughters with respect to dress and appearance. A daughter’s socialization of self-presentation was highly important to these mothers in the Pine Bluff African American community. The mothers noted how their dress and appearance had an impact on their daughter’s shopping behavior; the mothers emphasized that daughters should always present themselves well and be conscious of their appearance. The mother participants believed that socializing their daughters’ shopping behaviors helped a daughter to understand the importance of selecting good material and quality products as well as taking care of apparel and accessory items. A few of the mothers were working in high-ranking positions in Pine Bluff; therefore, they particularly emphasized to their daughter the importance of dressing professionally, socializing their daughters to social class and professional expression through appearance.

**Daughter’s Influence on Mother’s Dress**

The mothers in this study believed that they did not need to replicate their daughters’ adult style behavior. Many of the mothers expressed that they had taught their daughter how
to shop wisely for clothing and appearance-related products and were satisfied with this lasting impact; replicating the daughter’s style choices was not important due to age differences. Other mothers believed simply that there was no reason to replicate their daughter’s style because the two did not wear the same size clothing.

Some of the mothers stated that the daughter wanted her dress and appearance to be more fashionable. Many of the daughters attempted to dress their mother by providing advice as to what they thought their mother should be wearing. The daughters believed that their mother should always look good, even when the two were not together. In addition, many of the daughter participants stated that, now that their mother was older, she tended to purchase clothing that was too big and loose fitting. By providing fashion tips, they kept their mother up to date on fashion trends and appearance. It was important to the daughter participants that they inform their mother how to dress to be fashionable and chic instead of dressing “her age.” During their younger years, the mothers had provided a form of maternal love by providing guidance and scrutiny of their daughter’s appearance, and the daughters reciprocated as they moved into adulthood by helping their mother to be more stylish. Family fashion leadership roles were reversed in some of the mother-daughter dyads as the daughters moved into young adulthood.

**Father’s Influence**

One surprising finding was that some of the daughter participants expressed how their father had influenced their shopping behavior. Although the present study focused on African American mother–daughter socialization regarding dress and consumption of appearance-related products, that fathers had impacted some of the daughters’ consumer behavior regarding dress and appearance was apparent and deserves further study.
The father influence on shopping behavior frequently related to value given to expensive name-brand labels. A few of the daughters also revealed that their father stressed the need for his daughter to satisfy her aesthetic sense of appearance and to look beautiful as an African American woman. The father’s influence shaped the daughter’s attainment of consumer behavior purchase decisions and strategies. However, the father often was more oriented toward quality and cost of items, which helped the daughter in her adulthood get more “bang for her buck.” A father was likely to have taught his daughter the value of money, which informed her purchasing decisions for appearance-related products. A few of the daughter participants stated that they got along better with their father than with their mother when it came to shopping.

**Style Outcomes**

One theme that emerged from the interviews of several of the mother participants was how, as an African American mother, conservative dress was important. Each of the mothers expressed how she constructed meaning of her own appearance while keeping in mind how others would perceive her in predominately White spaces. Many of the mothers referred to how family background played a key role in cultivating their style of dress. In turn, they held a perceived social requirement to socialize their own daughters about the importance of self-presentation in dress and appearance.

Some of the mother participants stated how they watched and observed how their grandparents and parents dressed at a young age, which molded their appearance choices and defined their taste toward dress and self-presentation. Moreover, the mother participants declared how their conservative style of dress was passed down from generation to
generation. If race played a role in how African Americans should dress, the mothers made sure to let their daughters know this as part of the socialization process.

The mothers in this study believed that conservative dress was a major component of their religious experience and that it was important to dress properly for church. Furthermore, the mother participants used their religion as a set of beliefs to guide how their daughter should dress. Their conservatism played a major role in their daughters’ socialization and aesthetics regarding clothing and appearance. Along that same line was the importance of instilling rules and tastes in their African American daughters’ dress and appearance. Although, each of the daughter participants was considered a “grown” adult, the mothers still expressed concern about how their daughter should appear in the public eye.

Many of the mother participants informed their daughters that they were “African American and female” and, therefore, must look presentable. Even though their daughter was an adult, the mothers were still telling their daughter that “Black respectability,” reflected in the dress code, was critical within the African American community. A woman’s ability to make personal choices about dress and attire may often be limited by the constraints of Black respectability. Thus, when it came to the African American mothers socializing their daughter’s dress and appearance, the concept of Black respectability was explicitly taken into account when considering what image their outer appearance projected. Due to the negative stereotypes historically imposed on African American women who cannot or choose not to adopt European American patriarchal ideals, African American respectability reflects self-worth, self-respect, and discipline while also challenging the negative images about African Americans (Griffin, 2000). Many of the daughters talked
about how their mother stressed the overriding importance of dressing well and of continual self-improvement to live up to and surpass ideals of mainstream, White society.

Black respectability essentially is a reflection of White Victorian values imposed on Blacks to prove to White people that Blacks are “just as good” (Kennedy & Ullman, 2003). Nonetheless, an African American mother modifies strictness about her daughter’s apparel choices depending on where the daughter is going, such as to church, to a meeting, or to another nice event. Purchasing or wearing clothing that is inappropriate, such as showing too much of the body, was considered as not ladylike. Avoidance of stereotype threat is essential to these African American mothers (Steele & Aronson, 1995).

Dressing well in accordance with Black respectability often is associated with the mother’s social class. Participants occasionally mentioned how they needed to project “class,” and mother participants were aware that others would judge their daughter based on appropriateness of dress and appearance. Thus, following the proper dress code was important for the African American mothers as they represented themselves in the African American community. The mother participants also stated how they talked to their daughter, no matter how young or old she was, about always having a respectable and unique presence as it relates to her appearance. Several of the daughter participants also remembered how others boosted them with compliments such as “You look cute,” “Working it girl,” or “You look fine” when they achieved these codes. These compliments, coming from their female friends and family members in the African American community as well as in the form of pleasant comments from their White acquaintances, seemed to have a major impact on the daughters’ self-esteem and confidence.
Being an African American Woman—Mother’s Perspective

Hill (1999) explained that racial socialization for African Americans refers to “working hard and getting a good education,” resulting in stress on African American children to prepare themselves for success by getting a good education. The mothers interviewed for the present study concurred with Hill (1999), as they expressed that they considered their children’s receiving a good education to be very important; they believed their daughter needed to learn as much as she could to navigate successfully in American society. In addition, many of the mothers had a talk with their daughter about race and identity at a young age and introduced their daughters to activities that would enhance their education and self-perceptions to allow the daughters to be well rounded and confident within predominately White spaces. Several mothers spoke to their daughters about the unfairness of life, how she would have to deal with racial issues for the rest of her life, and in addition, how people of other races would not have to work as hard to accomplish their goals. Congruent with this value of work, the African American mothers’ served as role models as working women, emphasizing professionalism and appropriateness in appearance as part of the tool kit to use toward gaining achievements in life.

African Americans mothers interviewed for this study also socialized their daughters that, to survive in the real world, one must also accept responsibility for one’s behavior instead of using racism as an excuse. Considering appearance as important and an essential part of self-development stemmed from this responsibility. In shaping their African American daughters for the real world, the mothers wanted their daughters to be psychologically healthy. They informed their daughters to always keep God first no matter what issues may occur regarding race and identity in America.
Collins (1997) noted that there are two images from Eurocentric perspectives on African American motherhood: the devoted Mammy and the strong matriarch, who raise weak sons and “unnaturally superior” daughters (p. 265). One finding, stressed by many of the daughters in the present study, was how their mother protected them and promoted their racial and gender hierarchy. Each of the daughters was happy that her mother raised her under somewhat strict guidance because her mother’s life lessons challenged her to work harder and be superior to Whites as an African American woman, making her stronger. Each of the daughters also stated how her mother told her to always work hard for things she wanted because no one else can do it for her. Instilling hard work and principles of God in her daughter’s life made the daughter believe that everything would fall into place within her life and that, as an African American woman, she could overcome any racial barriers.

Thornton, Chatters, Taylor, and Allen (1990) found that working hard and having a good education are common messages conveyed about ways to overcome a dominant society’s discriminating ideology of success. Marshall’s (1995) study also showed that parental emphasis on education, hard work, religiosity, humanism, and equality are part of racial socialization messages. Many of the daughters expressed how they were happy with the way their mother socialized their learning toward being an African American young woman in America. The daughters knew that racial barriers would continue to be part of life’s lessons, and they were prepared to cope with that by living up to ideals of morality that they had been taught. They had learned from their mothers that ideals of morality were reflected in appearance.
The interview data revealed that when some of the daughter participants were children they wanted to be White. White beauty standards were considered to be the norm within the African American community when the study’s participants were growing up. One finding of this study was that some of the daughters were consciously or half consciously a product of their White spaces. Some of the daughters referred to how, if they attended predominately White schools, they struggled with their identity as an African American child because they had issues with their unruly hair while their White counterparts had straight hair. A few of the daughters felt pressure to have loose or wavy hair to conform to the hair texture standards of their peers. Some of the participants mentioned how their self-esteem was impacted because, as a child, they truly wanted to be White and they could not figure why some things about them were different from the others around them at school. Moreover, some of the daughters had considered themselves to be less attractive and experienced self-hate as children. Further, it was found that each of the mothers recognized that hair was a crucial issue in ideals of beauty, and they all tried to instill a sense of confidence in their daughters to keep them grounded and focused on growing up as an African American in American society. The daughter participants noted that, as they got older and started attending predominantly African American schools (high school and college), they no longer felt the need to conform to White beauty standards and they more readily embraced their own beauty.

Each African American mother participant noted that her daughter was a legitimately beautiful human being worthy of respect. Some of the daughter participants described how their mother enrolled them in pageants to help them gain poise and confidence and to help them cultivate their talents. However, the mother participants commented on how they
entered their daughter in pageants so that she would be well rounded in social skills and talents and would know that beauty is more than just a pretty face and the color of one’s skin.

**Femininity**

Femininity played a major role in the appearance of many of the mothers in this study. Several of the mothers felt that being unfeminine and immodest in dress and appearance was not the epitome of an African American woman. However, the mother participants believed that their appearance and their photos showed to others that they were strong, resilient, and elegant African American women who had a strong sense of self and positive self-esteem. In addition, femininity to the mothers was about dressing for a role and, if a woman wanted to be taken seriously, she must dress with dignity that required expression of traditional femininity.

Femininity was expressed by their choice in outfits, which reflected a combination of self-expression and personal preference in the African American culture (Cahn, 2015). The daughters also fully embraced their femininity because that was how their mother, as an African American woman, raised and socialized them. Many of the daughters expressed how their mothers taught them to look like a lady at all times and to be presentable. In addition, being womanly in dress and appearance seemed to reflect a conscious and subconscious need to dress to impress because “one never knows who will be looking.” Many of the daughters expressed how they were “ultra girly” and feminine, which they felt was reflected in their purchase of many outfits they could use to change their appearance and be attractive.

Historically, African American women were denied any categorization as respectably feminine and were viewed only as degenerate sexual objects or desexualized “Mammy” servants (James, 2011). During slavery, African American woman were seen as de-gendered
and powerless. The women in this study clearly were committed to rising above the depersonalizing and degrading stereotypes of the past. Just as Butler (1995) impressed that gender is performative, African American mothers actively taught their daughters how to dress appropriately, how to style their hair, and how to apply beauty cosmetics as a part of redefining forms of beauty as they relate to African American female roles and identity. In this study, the findings revealed that the African American mothers and daughters did not equate femininity with being weak, nor did the daughter participants fear their female gender roles or feel any inner conflict with their femininity as an African American woman.

Parker et al. (1995) highlighted how African American women’s attitudes have a major impact in defining their appearance and attractiveness. Wearing earrings was considered by some of the participants to be an enhancement to dress and appearance; the mothers socialized their daughter that wearing earrings could help them personalize their own individual style and also was a way of clearly marking their femininity. Many of the daughters believed that wearing earrings was aesthetically pleasing and an expression of female dress and gender, i.e., a way to counteract stereotypes that African American women are not feminine.

**Body Image**

When it came to dress and body image, many of the daughter participants expressed that their mothers emphasized that how they dress is a part of their race and that their body image should reflect African American perspectives and definitions of beauty. One finding that emerged from the interview data was that some of the daughters were taught to dress according to their culture and also to embrace the curves of their bodies. The daughters participating in this study had a variety of body shapes and sizes. The majority of the
daughters were aware of the negative backlash about African American women showing off their bodies negatively; therefore, dressing in relation to their body size and shape was important to them. In American culture, there are expectations that women should be both thin and fit to be considered attractive. However, these African American daughters knew that having a curvy, hourglass figure that was not always thin was standard among the African American culture; reflective of this awareness were the statements by many of the daughters that they did not feel the need to conform to White standards of body image and shape nor did they desire to have a very slim appearance. However, the findings of this study also showed that, in their discussions with their daughters about body image, many of the mothers also counseled their daughters about how it was important to maintain a healthy, i.e., somewhat slender, weight in order to stay confident and have high self-esteem as it relates her body and presentation of self in mainstream society. In general, some of the mothers seemed more concerned about their daughters maintaining thinness than did the daughters.

Stacey (2000) stated, “Many mothers who try to influence their daughters’ physical shape have learned firsthand the harsh reality that women are still judged on their appearance” (p. 82). However, Stacey also noted that “the mother–daughter connection is powerful and convoluted, and . . . often fraught with unstated conflict” (p. 82). Many of the mother participants in this study realized that if their daughter had extra weight on her body, it could decrease her self-esteem due to low tolerance in mainstream society for excess body fat. At the same time, many of the mothers encouraged their daughters to embrace their body as is because accepting one’s unique body is part of positive self-esteem. The majority of the mothers identified with Black beauty standards that embrace greater degrees of curvaceousness and believed that their daughter’s body image was key to their daughter’s
success; however, they also knew that, in today’s world, life can be hard for those who are overweight. Some mothers reflected ambivalent feelings as they encouraged their daughter to maintain a body that fit mainstreams norms (i.e., White beauty standards) for attractive weight and fitness that would make their daughter’s life more efficacious but also wanted their daughters to accept their natural bodies and have positive body image.

The daughter participants also were asked about how they were taught about beauty and womanhood. Many of daughter participants noted how their mother expressed her femininity through dress and how their mother taught them: (a) to embrace their own perception of self and be independent, (b) to take care of their personal hygiene in addition to always being well groomed and clean, and (c) to always present themselves in a ladylike manner that reflected good morals.

Many of the daughter participants stated how their mothers socialized their femininity through dress by informing the daughter to always attend to her permed (relaxed curl) or natural hair. In addition, the daughters were socialized to wear some form of accessory because accessories are statement pieces that send a message to others that they are uniquely feminine and attractive. Several of the mothers and daughters noted how hair and accessories can change how a woman feels about herself and that wearing them is a way for an individual to express her image and character as an African American woman. The findings of the study related to Afrocentric theory (Moore & Kosut, 2010; Asante, 1998; Wood, 1994); hair and accessories can be significant and meaningful elements for African American women as they express their individuality and value within the African American community.
In congruence with previous scholarship on African American hair, an additional finding was that the Pine Bluff women’s hair is an important extension of identity (Thompson, 2009a; Jacobs-Huey, 2006). Many of the daughter participants expressed how they were transitioning to having natural hair because natural hair was a growing movement among African American women in America today. It was found that the daughter participants embraced their natural hair as a symbol of self-acceptance, which was profound and powerful for these young women because they were celebrating their beauty and moving beyond the struggles they had had with their hair. For the daughters, the new era of beauty meant having the choice to wear their hair naturally and to be confident with loving their natural self.

**Differences Among the Mother-Daughter Pairs**

**Income.** There were differentiating responses about how the African American mothers from Pine Bluff turned to their daughters for support when shopping for high- and low-priced items. The differences across the mothers’ incomes played a significant role in how socioeconomic status affected their daughter’s consumption of appearance-related items. The higher income mothers did not look to their daughters for fashion support or advice, perhaps due to their generational and age differences. The higher income mothers also had occupations that had socialized them to be professional and confident in appearance. In contrast, the middle-income mother’s often used their daughters as opinion leaders or expert consultants to gather advice about products before making a purchasing decision. Several of the middle-income mothers were concerned about making expensive purchases and regularly conferred with their daughters about price and value of an appearance-related item before finalizing a purchase.
Furthermore, the media’s influence on shopping habits is very evident in the study. Television shows such as Extreme Couponing on TLC, blogs such as couponproblog.com, and Groupon have become a part of many families lives in the United States. Moreover, the low-income mothers in this study described themselves as price conscious, less impulsive, and highly aware of their spending habits. The low-income mothers often applied the term “cheap” to themselves and practiced shopping with coupons in pursuit of good deals. Several of the low-income mothers mentioned how they like to gather coupons from the newspapers and shop online until items are more reasonable to purchase. The low-income mothers stated that the use of coupons is the best way to save, budget, and get appearance-related items for free or half price. Daughters of the low-income mothers had learned about careful budgeting for purchases and often accompanied their mothers on bargain-hunting shopping trips.

Family income influenced perspectives the daughters had toward support or guidance from their mothers. The daughters of the higher income mothers felt more appreciative of their mother’s support and utilized their mother’s opinions regarding certain appearance-related items before purchasing. It is suspected that the higher income mothers were still purchasing some dress items for their daughters. The daughters of the middle-income mothers did not care as much about receiving their mother’s feedback on purchasing high- or low-priced items. They felt that calling their mothers and asking questions about an outfit or price was not important. Many of these daughters had possibly moved beyond their mothers in income and fashion knowledge. In contrast, the daughters of the low-income mothers reported similar patterns of behavior for collecting coupons and bargain shopping for high-
and low-priced items. The daughters noted that couponing for household and an appearance-related product is not a horrible hobby to have, but is beneficial in their daily lives.

**Education Level among Daughters and Fashion Tips**

There was a striking difference in comments concerning giving fashion tips from daughters who had just completed high school and those with a master’s degree. These daughters did not mention how they shared or provided fashion tips to their mothers during the interview. The middle-income daughters who had received their bachelor’s degree provided more fashion tips to their mothers regarding dress and consumption of appearance related products. Twelve middle-income daughters from Pine Bluff mentioned how they wanted their mother to be versatile with her dress and appearance. The daughters also communicated with their mother about how it is okay to step outside of the box in relation to sense of style and appearance. Education and income level may combine to make daughters more independent in their purchase patterns and more likely to offer opinions to mothers with lower levels of education and income.

**Media Influence on Body Image in the African American Community**

Many of the daughters from Pine Bluff expressed that the media had an impact on how they viewed their body. Some of the daughters felt that Black culture displayed in the media played a role in their lives in relation to how they chose their clothes styles, colored their nails, and wore their hair. However, the mother’s from Pine Bluff did not follow the media nor did they look to some styles of dress popular in the surrounding African American community to socialize their daughters appearance. Various mothers in this study believed that some of the styles in Pine Bluff were a “mess” and not in line with the conservative style of their own dress.
Some mothers had concerns for their daughters’ body image and wanted the daughters to avoid any negative stereotype threats related to African American women’s body size and shape projected through the media. It was found that the middle- and low-income mothers were most concerned about their daughters’ appearance and body image as African American women. They wanted their daughters to fit the mainstream body image norm to support their daughters’ sense of self and self-esteem. Encouragement to exercise to stay in shape was common from these mothers. The daughters who received encouragement from their mothers were more concerned about their body image than were the other daughters who were not influenced to fit the mainstream norm.

The African American fathers of the daughters in this study played a supportive role in their aesthetics, sense of Black beauty, and consumer behavior skills. However, none of the daughters mentioned how their father influenced their feelings of body image as African American women. The daughters also did not mention whether their fathers encouraged physical activities or discussed the negative stereotypes projected in the media about African American women.

**Contributions to Existing Theory**

**Black Feminism**

A number of theories were useful in gaining understanding about African American mother–daughter relationships, their attitudes and behaviors toward dress and consumption of appearance-related products, and the process of African American mothers’ socialization of their daughters to become African American women. Black feminist theory contributed greatly to this study because it focuses on the issues of appearance as related to the ways that women’s self-presentations are culturally “situated bodily practices” (Entwistle, 2000, p. 11).
In addition, Black feminist theory helped bring to light how African American mothers serve as role models and the impact they have on their daughter’s knowledge of their bodies and the social construction of women’s dress and identity in the African American community of Pine Bluff. Black feminist theory guided interpretation of how an African American mother socializes her daughter to become an African American woman in America and also to be a self-defined and self-reliant individual who is able to confront gender, race, and class oppression (Collins, 1990).

Black feminist theory particularly helped the researcher recognize that mothers were actively working to keep their daughters from perpetuating common stereotypes about African American women through dress and appearance. These common stereotypes are perpetuated by looking like a “whore” or “slut.” African American mothers socialized their daughters to be well dressed and attractive before stepping out into the public sphere. Therefore, the mothers placed strong emphasis on preparing their daughters for professionalism, identity, and positive representation within the African American community.

Standpoint theory was helpful in conducting this study because it illustrates the importance of African American mother–daughter interactions in relation to social issues within society. Wylie (2003) stressed the importance of conducting “research for the reality of women’s lives, preferably those who are oppressed by race and class, [which] will lead to a more objective account of social reality” (p. 30). Standpoint theory centers on mothers’ and daughters’ individual experiences in relation to how mothers (and “other mothers”) socialize their daughters via their performance of gender in the public eye. Standpoint theory also aided in understanding the oppression and resistance of social categories, such as race,
gender, socioeconomic status, and sexuality, that are social positions involved in shaping lived experiences.

Afrocentric theory also was helpful in gaining understanding of the African American mother–daughter experience. Afrocentric theory recognizes the importance of examining the social space in which mothers inform daughters about African American beauty and the many possibilities for women to diversify their own dress and beauty standards as a way to marginalize and resist Eurocentric beauty myths. Afrocentric theory also facilitates understanding of African American women’s diversity in “terms of body image, body size, hair, and skin color because of the focus on valuing the personal experience, allowing one to name and define her own experience(s)” (Moore & Kosut, 2010, p. 360). Finally, the most significant contribution of this present study is its addition to the body of knowledge about underrepresented ethnic mother–daughter relationships regarding dress.

Social Learning Theory

Social learning theory helps explain how African American daughters learn through continuous reciprocal human behavior patterns from their mothers. Social learning theory illustrates how gender identity and social roles are learned from the process of observing others. In the present study, the African American daughters reported that they observed what their mothers wore and thereby learned what it meant to be well groomed and presentable with their dress and appearance in the African American community. The findings revealed that African American mothers purposefully act by example and direct verbal discussion to socialize their daughter’s self-presentation behaviors, thereby having an impact on the daughters’ self-concept and self-image
Staples and Johnson (1993) noted that African American mothers have high expectations for their daughters because they view their daughters as having many opportunities to succeed in mainstream society. In the present study, the daughters were able to gain and expand their knowledge about appropriate dress by modeling and imitating their mother’s culturally appropriate dress behavior. Collins (1986) noted that, for African American girls, growing up “means developing a better understanding, that even though she may desire more affection and greater freedom, her mother’s physical care and protection are acts of maternal love” (p. 127). These acts of maternal love include the socialization process of African American mothers working hard to guide and protect their daughters against prevailing negative messages regarding Black womanhood.

The interview data indicated how African American mothers stress the importance of religious beliefs, self-respect, education, and equality. Furthermore, instructional messages to daughters reported by their mothers reflected how the mothers’ socialization practices created an environment in which their daughter could become a productive African American woman while using strategies to cope with and overcome racial issues. African American mothers “socialize their daughter to be independent, strong and self-confident” (Wade-Gayles, 1984, p. 12). Similarly, in this study the African American mothers attempted to raise daughters with strong sense of self-pride, independence, and self-discipline.

African American mothers are cognizant of how a daughter defines her body image and how she accepts her own personal beauty. Jackson-Lowman (2013) stated,

As one African American proverb suggests: “Beauty is as beauty does.” . . . A single monolithic standard of beauty is untenable; it makes no sense. Nature, with its phenomenal diversity, provides a model of the range and variety that beauty may
assume. Thus, a lily is no more beautiful than a rose; an oak tree no more beautiful than a palm tree; and an opal no more beautiful than a pear. Each is beautiful in its own right and each has unique value and plays a special role in nature. (p. 169)

This study demonstrated how African American mothers are important agents in shaping a daughter’s development of understanding of social marginalization and how to deal with marginalization through self-presentation.

**Consumer Socialization**

The consumer socialization process was part of how African American mothers served as socialization agents for their daughters’ consumer behavior, beliefs, attitudes, and practices toward appearance-related products. Children learn their consumer behavior skills and practices from observation and imitation of parents (Atkin, 1978; Ward & Wackman, 1971). In the present study, the African American mothers influenced their daughter’s shopping behaviors because of the dynamic bond created through shopping together. Reciprocal socialization behavior continued into the adult life of many of the daughters and influenced their personal decision processes as well as those of their mothers (Huddleston & Minahan, 2011).

Coaching from mothers was part of taking an active role in their daughters’ purchases. The Pine Bluffs African American mothers often co-shopped with their daughters as an enjoyable educational experience to teach consumer skills about brand names, price, material, and quality care of clothing selection. Consumer socialization is known to be a cultural process that allows children and adolescents to “acquire skills, knowledge and attitudes relevant to their functioning as consumers in the marketplace” (Ward, 1974, p. 2).
Hence, consumer socialization theory explains how an African American mother transfers skills, values, economic motives, and preferences toward brands and style choices to her daughter. Neeley (2005) declared that mothers have a more impactful role in the consumer education of their offspring than do fathers. In this study mothers, as well as some fathers, had an impact on their daughter by sharing knowledge about shopping for quality products and budgeting for appearance-related purchases.

Scholars also have noted the process of reciprocal socialization that daughters use to influence their mother’s consumption of appearance-related products (Minahan & Huddleston, 2012). Reciprocal consumer socialization was evident and useful in understanding that many African American daughters, as they grow into adulthood, have influence on their mother’s consumer behavior as it relates to appearance modification and appearance-related products. Indeed, the present study showed that some African American mothers from Pine Bluff received useful tips from their daughters and participated in reciprocal socialization with their daughters as it related to dress and consumption of appearance-related products.

**Implications for Research**

This present study, which provides theoretical implications for understanding the context of African American mother-daughter relationships, is an important step in understanding how African American mothers socialize a daughter’s involvement in dress and consumption of appearance-related products. As shown by the findings of this study, African American mothers play a significant role in a daughter’s socialization process with regard to decision-making about dress and appearance-related product purchases and practices as well as with regard to expression of racial identity. However, previous studies
have examined only how Caucasian mothers serve as advocates for their daughter’s socialization to appearance and shopping behavior. Furthermore, this study contributes to the academic literature because little previous academic research could be found that investigated dress and appearance from an African American mother–daughter perspective or even about African American dress and appearance in general.

The lack of information about African American mother–daughter interactions about dress and consumption of appearance-related products reflects the general lack of research on African American mothers and daughters. Academic researchers should consider increasing the amount of research conducted on African American mother–daughter relationships to advance the knowledge of how African Americans teach and socialize their children about dress and appearance as well as any number of other life skills and practices. Additionally, African American mothers and daughters should not be unobserved, devalued, or discouraged in the field of academic research.

The present research is valuable because it is the first to examine African American mother–daughter dyads and strategies communicated about purchasing practices and rules and taste regarding dress and appearance. The findings have practical benefits for the apparel industry to understand the importance of African American mother–daughter dyads while shopping. It is also important for the apparel industry to understand African American mother and daughter consumer development of wants and needs toward appearance-related products. The findings also have implications for markets other than apparel. This study of an underrepresented population offers a rich contextual understanding of the socialization process reflecting a mother’s concern for her daughter’s appearance and consumer behavior and vice versa.
Limitations

Some limitations of this study included: (a) recruitment of participants, (b) generalizability of the study, and (c) monetary compensation for participants. Examining the limitations offers guidance for future research.

Recruitment of Participants

For this study, mother–daughter pairs who lived in Pine Bluff, Arkansas, were recruited as participants. The pool of potential daughter participants was limited due to the age requirement (22–29 years of age) instituted for the investigation. Many mother–daughter pairs were interested in this study; however, a few of the potential daughter participants did not meet the age requirements. Therefore, I had to use a professional listserv and a Facebook ad to recruit participants for the study.

Limitations of the Sample

This study had a sample size only of 16 mother–daughter pairs (32 individuals) who completed this study. Conducting in-depth interviews with more participants would have increased the volume of data. Greater numbers of participants would increase the generalizability of the findings of this study but still would not have been a random sample due to the open invitation, volunteer approach to sampling. In addition, the location from which the study sample was taken narrowed any generalizability to one southern city, Pine Bluff, Arkansas.

The qualitative data analysis was further limited by the use of face-to-face interviews. Using face-to-face interviews may have caused the participants to be less honest and open, in particular about their feelings toward their mother or daughter. It also was possible that I influenced the responses of the participants by leading them to answer one or more interview
questions in a certain way because of my enthusiasm for the topic and having a close relationship with my own mother.

The sample may have been biased further because it is possible that only mothers and daughters who had a good relationship volunteered to be interviewed. It is clear from the interviews that the sample does not give insights into mothers and daughters who have problematic relationships.

Another limitation of this study was the level of education completed by the participants. According to the U.S. Census (2010), in Pine Bluff 83% of the population has a high school diploma as their highest educational achievement, 18% has completed a bachelor’s degree, and less than 2% has completed a doctoral degree. However, of the mothers and daughters in this study, 2% had obtained their high school diploma as their highest educational achievement, 4% had completed a bachelor’s degree, 10% had an associate’s degree, 19% had completed a master’s degree, and 12% had completed a doctorate degree. Therefore, higher levels of education relative to the Pine Bluff population also could have affected the mother–daughter relationships reflected in the sample.

In addition, all of the mothers had jobs, so unemployed mothers were not represented in the sample. Unemployment in Pine Bluff was 7.5% at the time of the study, so a portion of the population was not tapped. Moreover, Pine Bluff is a unique city with a majority (75.6%) of the population African American. The small city of 49,000 is relatively safe and is located in the mid-south region of Arkansas. Therefore, the African Americans residing in Pine Bluff do not represent all African Americans in the United States.
Monetary Resources for Participants

Due to the budget constraints for this study, some potential participants of this study could not be included in the study. Compensation was offered and used to recruit participants, and the budget did not allow for me to give out gift cards to additional participants. To eliminate this kind of limitation in the future, it is necessary to plan ahead and to explore funding through grants and other sources, including identifying a philanthropic organization that is interested in the issue being studied.

Recommendations for Future Research

Many studies are needed to expand on what was found about African American mother–daughter interactions related to dress and consumption of appearance-related products. It is important for future researchers to conduct new queries on the complex topic of African American mothers and daughters. One recommendation for a future qualitative research study is to use a larger sample size of African American mother–daughter pairs from a wider array of geographic regions so that broader generalizations can be made.

A mixed-methods study, using a quantitative survey and focus groups as means to study African American mother and daughter relationships in relation to dress and appearance should be conducted. A focus group would be helpful in broadening understanding of how African American mothers and daughters view dress and appearance as an important aspect of their lives and in the African American community. In addition, a survey would help gain understanding of how African American mothers socialize adult daughters about racial issues relating to their body and appearance modifications. For instance, developing a survey would be useful because African American mother–daughter pairs may feel more privacy and perhaps be able to relay more honest or more deeply felt
ideas and attitudes in quantitative measures about how socialization of dress and appearance is meaningful as it relates to daughters’ understanding of the female gender role and the parental role modeling process. However, continued qualitative research is necessary too, as qualitative interpretive methods allow for richer data that record the actual voices and concerns of individuals.

Future investigations in larger southern areas with a predominately African American population, as well as African American mother–daughter pairs from other regions of the United States should be explored to get other mother–daughter interaction perspectives. In addition, further exploration should be conducted on African American mother–daughter pairs from lower socioeconomic circumstances as well as very high-income families to see how those mothers influence a daughter’s consumer behavior toward dress and consumption of appearance-related products. This would provide an opportunity to gain an overarching perspective of the relationship of income to mothers and daughters as the socialization process shapes a daughter’s dress and consumption patterns as well as her body image. A future study could examine African American mother–daughter pairs from diverse social hierarchies with different lifestyles, values, and behaviors. Shopping habits can differ according to socioeconomic status; therefore, data are needed from all income levels.

Further research also should consider a younger African American daughter sample to tap the socialization process as it is occurring. In addition, this study examined only African American mother–daughter relationships. No studies could be found examining how African American fathers influence their daughter’s shopping behavior toward dress and appearance and body image. Future researchers may want to learn how African American fathers influence their daughter’s dress and consumption of appearance-related products to
obtain understanding of the larger family context. Finally, future studies are needed to explore other underrepresented ethnic groups and the mother–daughter socialization process of dress and consumption of appearance-related products of other ethnicities.

**Conclusion**

Despite the limitations, this qualitative study makes a contribution to the literature through its exploration of African American mother–daughter pairs, speaking in their own words, about dress and consumption of appearance-related products. This study recognized that the voices of African American mothers and daughters, which have been largely ignored in academic research, need to be heard. The study adds to the African American studies literature by providing valuable insight into how African American mothers serve as purposeful role models and employ teaching strategies that cultivate their daughter’s knowledge about femininity and the cultural meanings of being an African American female in America. This study also provides new knowledge about some African American mothers and daughters and challenges prevailing notions that the relationship between African American mothers and daughters are cold or distant. In addition, it provides new and deeper understanding of mothers and daughters from an ethnic group that has not been studied.

This study was generated from my own experiences with my mother and the messages I received about dress and appearance. Although I received negative messages about being an African American woman, it was my mother who celebrated my Black skin, my curves, and my experiences and provided early messages that my Blackness was beautiful.

This study is critically important as it uncovers the uniqueness and substantial closeness of a small sample of African American mother–daughter relationships. This study
will contribute and serve as a foundation for future African American mother–daughter research. Each of the women in this study shared her feelings, experiences, memories, and definitions about her dress and appearance. The findings within this study do not reflect the experiences of all African American mothers and daughters and their relationships in Pine Bluff or of African American mothers and daughters in the United States in general. However, this study does illuminate the voices of the mothers and daughters, validates their experiences, and provides a context for understanding how African American mothers and daughters interact with one another in relation to their dress and appearance.
REFERENCES


Collins, P. H. (1997). The meaning of motherhood in Black culture and Black mother–daughter relationships.” In M. Baca Zinn, P. Hondagneu-Sotelo, & M. Messner


Development, 61, 401–409.


APPENDIX A. HUMAN SUBJECTS APPROVAL

IOWA STATE UNIVERSITY
OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Date: 3/20/2015
To: LaPorchia Chantell Davis
1221 Mayfield Dr Apt 205
Ames, IA 50014

CC: Dr. Mary Lynn Damhorst
1068 LeBaron Hall

From: Office for Responsible Research

Title: African American mother-daughter interactions about dress and consumption of appearance-related products

IRB ID: 15-102
Approval Date: 3/20/2015
Date for Continuing Review: 3/19/2017
Submission Type: New
Review Type: Expedited

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

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

- Use only the approved study materials in your research, including the recruitment materials and informed consent documents that have the IRB approval stamp.
- Retain signed informed consent documents for 3 years after the close of the study, when documented consent is required.
- Obtain IRB approval prior to implementing any changes to the study by submitting a Modification Form for Non-Exempt Research or Amendment for Personnel Changes form, as necessary.
- Immediately inform the IRB of (1) all serious and/or unexpected adverse experiences involving risks to subjects or others, and (2) any other unanticipated problems involving risks to subjects or others.
- Stop all research activity if IRB approval lapses, unless continuation is necessary to prevent harm to research participants. Research activity can resume once IRB approval is reestablished.
- Complete a new continuing review form at least three to four weeks prior to the date for continuing review as noted above to provide sufficient time for the IRB to review and approve continuation of the study. We will send a courtesy reminder as this date approaches.

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

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

Please don't hesitate to contact us if you have questions or concerns at 515-294-4566 or IRB@iastate.edu.
INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD (IRB)
Application for Approval of Research Involving Humans

Title of Project: African American mother-daughter interactions about dress and consumption of appearance related products

Principal Investigator (PI): LaPorchia Chantele Davis
Degrees: M.S., B.S.
University ID: 170349179
Phone: 870-329-8505
Email Address: lccdavis@iastate.edu
Correspondence Address: P.O. Box 1025 Ames, Iowa 50014

Department: Apparel, Events, and Hospitality Management
College/Center/Institute: Human Science

Level: Tenured, Tenure-Eligible, & NTE Faculty
Adjunct/Affiliate Faculty
Collaborator Faculty
Emeritus Faculty
Visiting Faculty/Scientist
Senior Lecturer/Clinician
Lecturer/Clinician, w/Ph.D. or DVM
P&S Faculty, P13 & above
Postdoctoral Associate
Graduate/Undergrad Student
Other (specify):

FOR STUDENT PROJECTS (Required when the principal investigator is a student)

Name of Major Professor/Supervising Faculty: Mary Lynn Danhorst
University ID: 05532157017
Phone: 515-294-9919
Email Address: mldmhrst@iastate.edu
Campus Address: 1068 LeBaron Hall
Department: Apparel, Events, and Hospitality Management

Type of Project (check all that apply):
☐ Thesis/Dissertation
☐ Class Project
☐ Other (specify):

Alternate Contact Person: Mary Lynn Danhorst
Correspondence Address: 31 Mackay Hall, AESHMH
Phone: 294-9919
Email Address: mldmhrst@iastate.edu

ASSURANCE

☐ I certify that the information provided in this application is complete and accurate and consistent with any proposal(s) submitted to external funding agencies. Misrepresentation of the research described in this or any other IRB application may constitute non-compliance with federal regulations and/or academic misconduct.

☐ I agree to provide proper surveillance of this project to ensure that the rights and welfare of the human subjects are protected. I will report any problems to the IRB. See Reporting Adverse Events and Unanticipated Problems for details.

☐ I agree that modifications to the approved project will not take place without prior review and approval by the IRB.

☐ I agree that the research will not take place without the receipt of permission from any cooperating institutions when applicable.

☐ I agree to obtain approval from other appropriate committees as needed for this project, such as the IACUC (if the research includes animals), the IBC (if the research involves biohazards), the Radiation Safety Committee (if the research involves x-rays or other radiation producing devices or procedures), etc., and to obtain background checks for staff when necessary.

☐ I understand that IRB approval of this project does not grant access to any facilities, materials, or data on which this research may depend. Such access must be granted by the relevant custodial authority.

☐ I agree that all activities will be performed in accordance with all applicable federal, state, local, and Iowa State University policies.

Signature of Principal Investigator Date

Signature of Major Professor/Supervising Faculty Date
(Required when the principal investigator is a student)

Printed Name of Department Chair/Head/Director

Signature of Department Chair/Head/Director Date

☐ I have reviewed this application and determined that departmental requirements are met. The investigator(s) has/have adequate resources to conduct the research, and the research design is scientifically sound and has scientific merit.

☐ For IRB Use Only

Full Committee Review: ☐
Review Date: March 22, 2015
Approval/Determination Date: March 22, 2015
Approval Expiration Date: May 23, 2017

- Approval Not Required: ☐
- Not Research: ☐
- No Human Subjects: ☐
- IRB Reviewer’s Signature

Office for Responsible Research
Revised: 8/15/13
Research Involving Humans Study Information

Please provide answers to all questions, except as specified. Incomplete forms will be returned without review.

PART A: KEY PERSONNEL

1. List all members and relevant qualifications of the project personnel and define their roles in the research. Key personnel include the principal investigator, co-principal investigators, supervising faculty member, and any other individuals who will have contact with the participants or the participants' data (e.g., interviewers, transcribers, coders, etc.). This information is intended to inform the committee of the training and background related to the specific procedures that each person will perform on the project. For more information, please see Human Subjects – Persons Required to Obtain IRB Training.

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<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>Interpersonal contact or communication with subjects, or access to private identifiable data?</th>
<th>Involved in the consent process?</th>
<th>Contact with human blood, specimens, or other biohazardous materials?</th>
<th>Other Roles in Research</th>
<th>Qualifications (i.e., special training, degrees, certifications, coursework, etc.)</th>
<th>Human Subjects Training Date</th>
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Please complete additional pages of key personnel as necessary.

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<td>2.</td>
<td>Does your study include children (persons under age 18) as research subjects?</td>
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If Yes, please read and respond to the following:

ISU policy requires that background checks be completed for all researchers and key personnel who will have any contact with children involved in this research project. Details regarding this policy can be found here. Principal Investigators and faculty supervisors are responsible for ensuring that background checks are completed BEFORE researchers or key personnel may have any contact with children. Records documenting completion of the background checks must be kept with other research records (e.g., signed informed consent documents, approved IRB applications, etc.) and may be requested during any audits or Post-Approval Monitoring of your study.

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**PART B: FUNDING INFORMATION AND CONFLICTS OF INTEREST**

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<td>1.</td>
<td>Is or will the project be externally funded?</td>
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If No, skip to question 8.

If Yes, please identify the type(s) of source(s) from which the project is directly funded.

- Federal agency
- State/local government agency
- University or school
- Foundation
- Other non-profit institution
- For-profit business
- Other; specify:

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<td>Is or will this project be funded by a subcontract issued by another entity?</td>
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<td>5.</td>
<td>If ISU is the recipient of the subcontract, does it involve any federal funding, such as federal flow-through funds?</td>
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6. If this project will be externally funded, please provide the complete name(s) of the funding source(s); please do not use acronyms. If any subcontracts will be issued to others, please describe and include a list of all entities.
7. Please attach a complete and final copy of the entire grant proposal or contract from which the project is or will be funded.

8. Do or will any of the investigators or key personnel listed on this application have a conflict of interest management plan in place with the Office of the Vice President for Research & Economic Development?

PART C: GENERAL OVERVIEW – PURPOSE AND EXPECTED BENEFITS

1. Research Objectives – Briefly explain in language understandable to a layperson the purpose and specific aim(s) of the study.

The purpose of this study is to examine how African American mothers socialize their daughters' consumer behavior toward dress. Dress is a crucial component of being female, so the study will add to understanding of how young women are socialized to become African American women. (Dress includes all modifications of the body that effect appearance.)

2. Broader Impacts/Significance – Explain in language understandable to a layperson why this research is important and how the information gained in this study is expected to advance knowledge and/or serve the good of society.

The study begins to fill the lack of theoretical research on African American mother/daughter relationships in relation to appearance and consumption related to appearance. African Americans spend proportionately more on cosmetics, apparel, and haircare products than do Americans in general, yet we know very little about their involvement in and consumer behavior toward dress. The focus on mother/daughter pairs will increase knowledge of family influences on dress.

Investigating dress and appearance is of importance due to the influence mothers have and the major role they play in socializing their daughters. Focusing on African American mother-daughter dyadic interactions will offer a rich contextual understanding of the socialization process between African American mothers and daughters and how mothers shape their daughters' consumer behavior toward dress and vice versa.

3. Benefits to Participants – Are there any expected direct benefits to research participants from participation in the research? Note: Monetary compensation is not considered to be a benefit of participation in research.

If Yes, please describe the expected benefits to participants.

PART D: PARTICIPANT SELECTION
Office for Responsible Research
Revised: 8/15/13
1. How many individuals do you plan to include in the study (including those involved in screening procedures)? The number listed here is the maximum number of participants that may be included in the study.

10-25 mother-daughter pairs

2. **Inclusion Criteria** – Describe the specific characteristics of persons that will be included in your study, and provide justification for these requirements.

To participate in this study, the mother must be African American or Black, born and live in the United States in or near Pine Bluff, Arkansas, and identify as an African American woman. No age requirement will be imposed for mothers. However, information about age will be collected in the demographic questionnaire to describe participant characteristics.

The daughter of the mother must be African American, between 22 and 29 years of age, and live in or near Pine Bluff, Arkansas.

Only mother/daughter pairs will be included in the sample.

3. **Exclusion Criteria** – Describe the characteristics of persons who will not be allowed to participate in your study, and provide justification for their exclusion.

Participants will be excluded if they are not:

- African American
- Male persons (though some male individuals may be socialized by their African American mothers toward dress and appearance, this study begins to explore only mother-daughter interactions)
- Aunts and grandmothers are also excluded from this study.
- African American daughters who are not between 22-29 years of age
- Minors are excluded from participation.
- The mother (or daughter) of an individual will not participate in the study.

4. Do you intend, or is it likely, that your study will include any persons from the following vulnerable populations? (Check all that apply.)

- ☐ Children (any persons under age 18, including ISU/college students who may be under age 18)
  - Specify age range:
  - Prisoners
  - Persons with impaired decision-making capacity, such as those with dementia or severe cognitive impairment, those declared incompetent, persons in life-threatening situations, etc.
  - Wards of the State
  - Persons who are institutionalized
  - Pregnant women or fetuses
  - Neonates
  - Educationally disadvantaged
  - Economically disadvantaged
  - Students in a class taught by the researchers
  - Employees or subordinates of the researchers
  - Other vulnerable population, given the setting of your research; please describe:

- ☑ Yes  ☐ No  5. Will ISU students or other college students be asked to participate in your study?

- ☐ Yes  ☑ No  5.a. If Yes, do you plan to include college students who may be under age 18?
### PART E: RECRUITMENT PROCEDURES

1. How will you identify or search for potential participants? (Check all that apply.)

- [ ] Review of public records (e.g., voter lists, utility lists, phone directory, ISU directory, etc.)
- [ ] Review of private records (e.g., medical records, student records, other private records)
- [x] Purchased mailing lists
- [x] Personal contacts/knowledge
- [x] "Snowball" sampling
- [x] Participant responses to posted advertisements (electronic or hardcopy) or flyers
- [ ] Other; please describe:

2. Please describe the details of how each of the methods checked in #1 above will be implemented.

Recruitment will be done by snowball sampling and, with the help of a professional listserv in Pine Bluff, Arkansas, a recruitment flyer will be emailed to all users in the professional listserv. In addition, a Facebook ad will be created (see attachment) to advertise the research project to participants in the surrounding Pine Bluff, Arkansas, area to inform friends and family about the study.

The researcher will recruit from Pine Bluff, Arkansas, because of the large African American population and the researcher’s familiarity with the African American community.

3. What methods will you use to contact potential participants? (Check all that apply.)

- [x] Letter or email
- [x] Phone call
- [ ] Posting flyers
- [ ] Posting announcement on website (Check all that apply.)
  - [ ] ISU Department of Psychology SONA system
  - [ ] ISU Department of Marketing/MIS SONA system
  - [ ] ISU Office of the Vice President for Research and Economic Development
  - [ ] ISU Departmental/Research Project websites
  - [ ] Other; please describe:
    - [x] Distribution of email or advertisement via Listserves or online bulletin-boards
    - [ ] Television or radio advertisements
    - [ ] Personal or verbal announcement, such as in a class, meeting, etc.
    - [x] Informal, personal communication
    - [ ] Other; please describe:

4. Please describe the details of how each of the methods checked in #3 above will be implemented.
Volunteers will respond to the researcher via email (address posted online) to express their willingness to participate in the interview and their preferred interview time to meet. Beyond the email correspondence, phone calls will be made to further confirm the interview time and location for participation. (see attachment)

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<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
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5. Attached are copies of any letters, emails, phone/verbal scripts, flyers, announcements, or advertisements that will be used. Please note the IRB must review final and complete copies of all materials used to contact or recruit subjects. For verbal processes, a script or list of points to be covered during the discussion must be provided.

If No, please explain why:

---

**PART F: SCREENING PROCEDURES**

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<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
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1. Will participants be asked to provide any information about themselves (e.g., medical history, personal characteristics) for screening purposes prior to enrollment in the study?

If Yes, please describe:

The daughter participants will need to provide their age to determine eligibility for the study.

In addition, the daughter's mother will need to be contacted, and she must agree to be in the study before the daughter can participate.

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<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
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2. Will participants be asked to take part in any interventions (e.g., fasting, blood draws, etc.) for screening purposes prior to enrollment in the study?

If Yes, please describe:

3. If Yes to question 1 and/or 2, please describe how you will obtain the informed consent of participants PRIOR to their participation in screening activities.

The informed consent document of the study will be emailed to the potential participants for review. After the consent is granted, the confirmation of specific details about daughter ages will be gathered. The document will be emailed or delivered in hard copy. If the daughter participants are in the appropriate age range, their participation in the research will continue, if not, their participation will end.

---

**PART G: COMPENSATION**

Office for Responsible Research
Revised: 8/15/13
1. **Will participants receive any of the following types of compensation for their participation in your research? (Check all that apply.)**

   - [ ] Money (cash or check)
   - [X] Gift cards
   - [ ] Gifts
   - [ ] Reimbursement for expenses (i.e., costs of travel to lab, child care, meals, etc.)
   - [ ] Course credit (including extra credit)
   - [ ] Other; specify:

2. **If Yes, please answer questions 2a through 2d. This information should also be provided in the informed consent document.**

2.a. Describe the specific amount of compensation to be provided (i.e., in monetary terms, points for course credit, value of gifts, etc.).

   Participants will be compensated for participating in this study with a $15 Wal-Mart or Target gift card to the thank them for taking the time to participate in the interview. No other compensation will be offered.

2.b. Explain how compensation will be provided if the participant withdraws prior to completion of the study. **Note:** Completion of all study procedures cannot be a requirement for research participants to receive compensation.

   If a participant withdraws during the interview, compensation will still be given for their time.

2.c. If course credit is given, describe alternative ways students can earn the same amount of credit and how these alternatives are **genuinely comparable** to participation in the study in terms of time and effort.

   No course credits will be given.

2.d. If the study involves multiple visits, sessions, or time-points, how will compensation be prorated (e.g., how much will be provided per visit/session/time-point)?

   Compensation is only given to participants once. If agreed to at the end of the initial interview, participants will be contacted to check on accuracy of the analysis of their data for a member check of validity.

   **Note:** Compensation plans must be in accordance with policies set forth by the ISU Controller’s Department. Detailed information is available here.
1. Research Procedures – Using layperson’s terminology, please describe in detail your plans for collecting data from participants. Include a description of all procedures, tasks, or interventions participants will be asked to complete during the research (e.g., random assignment, any conditions or treatment groups into which participants will be divided, mail survey or interview procedures, observation protocols, sensors to be worn, amount of blood drawn, etc.).

Note: When referencing attached documents (i.e., surveys, interview protocols, copies of stimuli, instructions for tasks, etc.), please ensure that each attachment is clearly labeled and clearly referenced in this section.

Participants will complete an Informed Consent Document before beginning any data collection. In depth, semi-structured interviews will be conducted with the mother and daughter separately. Each interview will last approximately 1-2 hours. Interviews will be audio-recorded. Interviews will be conducted in a private space, such as a closed room at the Pine Bluff Jefferson County Public Library or the participants’ home if invited, to allow for comfort of the participant. The interview questions will focus on family life, personal practices and preferences for dress, interactions and involvements together about dress, and memories and evaluations of each other's appearance. Each participant will also complete a demographic survey.

Participants will be invited to bring photos to the interview, but will not be required to do so. The photos will be used as an auto-driving technique. Participants will be asked to bring photos of themselves to help develop conversation and stories about their memories regarding their dress and appearance and their mother/daughter’s. Participants actual photos will not be recorded in any way and will not be analyzed. The photos are only used to facilitate memories and conversation during the interview.

RESEARCH INVOLVING DECEPTION OR INCOMPLETE DISCLOSURE

☐ Yes ☒ No 2. Will participants be deceived or misled about anything during the study? If Yes, please answer questions 2a through 2d in Appendix A. If No, please skip to question 3.

☐ Yes ☒ No 3. Do you plan to intentionally withhold information from participants, such as the full purpose of the study, a full description of procedures, etc.? If Yes, please answer questions 3a through 3d in Appendix A. If No, please skip to question 4.

RESEARCH INVOLVING EXISTING DATA OR INFORMATION FROM RECORDS

☐ Yes ☐ No 4. Does the research involve the collection or study of currently existing data or information to be gathered from records, such as the following? (Check all that apply.)

☐ Student/educational records (including collection of class assignments, tests, etc.)
☐ Medical records (if checked, submit the Application for Use of Protected Health Information.)
☐ Data collected for a previously conducted study
☐ Information from government databases, such as the US Census, Iowa Dept. of Public Health records, etc.
☐ Samples from specimen/tissue banks
☐ Other; please describe:
If Yes, please answer questions 4a through 4g in Appendix B. If No, please skip to question 5.

### RESEARCH INVOLVING OBSERVATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>5. Does the research involve collection of data from observation of people's behaviors or activities?</th>
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<td>If Yes, please answer 5a through 5d in Appendix C. If No, please skip to question 6.</td>
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### RESEARCH INVOLVING INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH

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<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>6. Will the research take place in an international setting?</th>
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<td>If Yes, please answer 6a through 6c in Appendix D. If No, please skip to question 7.</td>
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### RESEARCH INVOLVING INVESTIGATIONAL DRUGS, DEVICES, DEXA/CT SCANS, X-RAYS, OR HUMAN CELLS OR TISSUES

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<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>7. Does this project involve an investigational new drug (IND)? Number:</th>
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<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>8. Does this project involve an investigational device exemption (IDE)? Number:</td>
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<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>9. Does this project involve DEXA/CT scans or X-rays?</td>
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<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>10. Does this project involve human blood components, body fluids, or tissues?</td>
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<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>11. Does this project involve human cell or tissue cultures (primary or immortalized)?</td>
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<td>If you answered Yes to either question 10 or 11 and the cells, body fluids, etc., have not been documented to be free of blood-borne pathogens, personnel handling these substances are required to take Blood-borne Pathogens Training annually.</td>
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<td>Bloodborne Pathogens training is online via the EH&amp;PS website.</td>
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<td>If you have any questions, contact EH&amp;PS at (515) 294-5359.</td>
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### PART I: DATA ANALYSIS

1. Describe how the data will be analyzed (e.g., statistical methodology, statistical evaluation, statistical measures used to evaluate results).
Audio recorded interviews will be transcribed. Qualitative data analysis will involve reading through the interview transcripts for concepts, developing key themes from at least 25 percent of the transcripts, coding by identifying the location of themes in the data, and drawing connections between the discrete pieces of data (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Analyses will proceed to draw insights for each research question. Comparisons and contrasts will be made across participants. Within this study, the researcher will ensure each participant will have the opportunity to tell her own lived experience. The researcher will search the data for (a) relations among themes and (b) patterns in the data. The researcher will look at the types of context in which various themes or meanings were found.

The photographs will not be collected, recorded, or used for analysis for the study.

PART I: CONSENT PROCESS

According to federal regulations, participants can only be included in research if they, or their legally authorized representative, provide legally-effective informed consent. In some cases, the IRB can waive this requirement.

I. Consent for Adult Participants

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A. Will you obtain the informed consent of all participants?

If A is Yes, please answer the following questions:

1. Describe the procedures you will use to provide information about the details of the study to participants.

   Preliminary details of the study will be given to the participant while soliciting participation. Details of the study will be verbally explained to each participant and the consent form will be emailed or given in paper form before arranging the interviews. After the consent form is signed at the interview meeting, the interview will begin.

2. Who, in general, will obtain informed consent from participants (i.e., explain the study, collect signed forms, etc.)? Please do not list actual names of study staff; rather, describe their role such as “the principal investigator,” “research assistants,” etc.

   The PI will obtain the informed consent from participants during the interview process of the research participants.

2.a. What training have they received or will they receive regarding how to appropriately obtain informed consent?

   The PI had completed IRB training and participated in past human subjects research, which required obtaining informed consent.

3. Information conveyed to participants must be in a language understandable to them. Please describe the measures you are taking to ensure the informed consent process is understandable (e.g., translation into another language, using commonly understood terminology, assessing reading level of the consent form, etc.).

   Participants will be provided in the informed consent through email (to be printed) or a
3.a. If translation is required, please provide the name of the person(s) who conducted the translation(s) and his/her qualifications for doing so.

4. When will informed consent be obtained in relation to beginning data collection?

Informed consent will be obtained before data is collected.

☐ Yes  ☐ No  5. Will all participants sign a consent form to document the consent process? Note: Signatures must be handwritten by the participant; typing one’s name on a form does not constitute a legally valid signature according to federal regulations. If No, please explain why.

☐ Yes  ☐ No  6. Do any of the researchers or key personnel involved in the study have a supervisory, evaluative, or other position of “power” over participants? If Yes, please describe the measures you are taking to minimize any coercion or undue influence (real or perceived).

☐ Yes  ☐ No  7. Are any participants likely to be unable to provide consent for themselves, such as those who have severe cognitive impairments, dementia, are in life-threatening situations, cannot communicate, etc.? If Yes, please describe plans to obtain consent from the participant’s legally authorized representative.

7.a. To the extent possible, given the condition of the participant, how will you ensure they agree to take part in the research?

If A is No, (i.e., you will NOT obtain informed consent from all participants), please answer the following:

8. Please provide strong and compelling justification for why you cannot carry out your study if you had to obtain informed consent. Note: The fact that obtaining consent would be inconvenient or time consuming is not considered to be sufficient justification.

9. Please explain why participants' rights and welfare will not be adversely affected if you do not obtain their consent.
II. Parent/Legal Guardian Consent and Child Assent (applies when participants are under age 18 or are considered to be children in the country where the research takes place)

☐ Yes  ☒ No  A. Does your study involve children?

If A is Yes, please complete the questions in Appendix F.

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**PART K: RISKS/DISCOMFORTS**

☐ Yes  ☒ No*  1. Are there any foreseeable risks or discomforts to participants from taking part in your research? *If No, please answer the following question.

If No (i.e., there are no foreseeable risks or discomforts to participants), please explain why you believe this is the case:

Participants will only be asked about their life stories. They will not be required to offer information that they do not want to tell the researcher. They are able to leave the study at any time if they are made to feel uncomfortable or may refrain from answering any question they choose to skip.

If Yes, please answer Yes or No to items 1.a through 1.g below. Indicate whether the following types of risks/discomforts are foreseeable. When Yes, please describe the risks/discomforts and explain how each will be mitigated or minimized.

- ☒ Yes  ☐ No  1.a. Physical Risks (e.g., injury, bruising from a blood draw, pain, side-effects from drugs administered, allergic reactions, etc.)

- ☒ Yes  ☐ No  1.b. Psychological Risks (e.g., emotional discomfort from answering questions, stress or anxiety from procedures, mood alterations, viewing offensive or “shocking” materials, etc.)

It is possible that participants may have some unpleasant memories of their mother or daughter. Participants will not be pushed to share unpleasant memories.

- ☐ Yes  ☒ No  1.c. Social Risks (e.g., harm to reputation, embarrassment, or stigmatization if participation becomes known, disruption of personal or family relationships, etc.)

Mother and daughter responses will not be shared in any way with their significant other. It will be made clear to potential participants that their responses cannot be shared with others or their participating relative.

Office for Responsible Research  
Revised: 8/15/13
PART I: PRIVACY AND CONFIDENTIALITY

1. Describe how participants' privacy will be protected during recruitment and data collection (e.g., discussions/procedures will be conducted in private locations, messages regarding the research will not be left on answering machines without permission of participant, documents or recordings will be kept secure, etc.).

The researcher will contact individuals through email and phone contact if preferred. The informed consent will clearly indicate that their participation is voluntary and completely confidential. The interviews will be kept confidential; names will not be included in the final study. Participant photographs will not be kept, recorded, or copied.

2. Please answer the following questions to describe the methods you will employ to maintain confidentiality and security of the data at all points in the research process (e.g., during data collection, during analysis, etc.).

2.a. Who will have access to the data and study records?

Only the PI will have access to the contact record and digital recordings on a password-protected computer. The advisor to the PI may need to listen to small portions of an interview, but cannot know who is interviewed. The advisor will work with transcripts of interviews, but no identifying information will be kept with transcripts.

2.b. Describe how/where physical copies (i.e., paper files, samples, etc.) of data and study records will be stored (e.g., in cabinets, desks, shelves, etc.).

Physical copies of data, informed consents and contact information will be kept in a locked file cabinet, available to only the PI.
2.c. Describe security measures in place to maintain security of physical/paper data, samples, or study records (e.g., how access will be controlled, locks, etc.).

Only the PI will have access to the locked file cabinet holding physical data. All audio recordings will be destroyed within six months of data collection. Data collected from the study, such as quotes may be reported in ways that will not disclose the respondent. Pseudonyms will be used in any reporting of quotes.

2.d. Describe how/where electronic data will be stored (e.g., a desktop computer, laptop, portable drive, shared drive, etc.).

Electronic data will be stored on a portable computer (password protected files) and thumb drives locked in file cabinet, only available to the PI. The computer is privately owned and not accessible by university technical personnel.

2.e. Describe the measures in place to maintain security of electronic data (e.g., encryption, password protection, firewalls, using university controlled systems, etc.).

Security of electronic data will be password-protected and kept under appropriate updates. Encryption will be used to maintain file security.

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2.f. Will your data include any audio recordings and/or video recordings of participants? If Yes, please answer the following:

2.f.(1) Who will have access to the audio and/or video recordings?

The PI and advisor will have access to audio-recorded data. The advisor will not know identities of the participants.

2.f.(2) Describe how/where the audio and/or video recordings will be stored (e.g., in a cabinet, on a computer, etc.).

The researcher will keep audio recordings on a password protected computer.

2.f.(3) Describe the measures in place to maintain security and confidentiality of the audio and/or video recordings (e.g., how access will be controlled, locks, password protection, firewalls, etc.).

Security of electronic data will be password-protected; the password will only be known by the PI.

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2.f.(4) Will the actual recordings or images of participants from recordings be shared in any dissemination (e.g., manuscripts, reports, presentations, etc.) of the study results? If Yes, what measures will you take to disguise their identity (i.e., blurring facial images, voice alteration methods, etc.)?
<table>
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<tr>
<th>2.g</th>
<th>Will any identifiers or identifiable information (e.g., names, social security numbers, addresses, phone numbers, exact dates of birth, etc.) be collected with or linked to the study data at any point in time? If Yes, please answer the following:</th>
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<tr>
<td>Yes ☒ No ☐</td>
<td>2.g.(1) Describe the identifiers that will be collected or linked to the study data.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Names and email addresses are required for contact and on the consent form. These will not be connected to the data after the mother and daughter in a dyad are interviewed.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.g.(2) Why is it necessary to collect identifiers or link identifiers to the study data?</td>
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<td>To contact participants to arrange the interview. Identification of participants is required until the mother and daughter in the dyad have been interviewed. Then anonymous codes will be applied to transcripts and tapes.</td>
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<td>2.g.(3) At what point in the process will identifiers be separated or removed from the data?</td>
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<td>After mother and daughter in a dyad are both interviewed.</td>
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<td>2.g.(4) Please describe any coding systems you will use to maintain confidentiality of identifiable data (e.g., plans to replace names with ID codes or pseudonyms).</td>
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<td>The researcher will replace participants names with pseudonyms. For the mother-daughter pairs:</td>
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<td>(Mothers) will be identifiable as M1, M2, etc. and (Daughters) will be indentifiable as D1, D2, etc.</td>
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<td>To make sure each participant identity is protected, numeric codes will be assigned to each mother and daughter pair. The mothers code will begin with an “M” and the daughters code will begin with a “D”. For example, mother and the daughter pair will be identified as “M1” (Mother) and “D1” (Daughter). These numeric codes will be used to identify and refer to the mother-daughter pairs throughout the study. Consent forms will not be coded or attached to the data in any way. If a participant agrees to be contacted for validation purposes, her name and contact information will be kept with the audio recording and transcript until the validation follow-up is completed.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.g.(5)</td>
<td>Will you create a “key” linking identifiers with any ID codes or pseudonyms?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yes ☒ No ☐</td>
<td>If Yes, how will you maintain control of the key and ensure the key is kept secure? Note: Best practice is to store the key in a separate location from the study data.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Only the PI will have access to the contact record and digital recordings on a password-protected computer.</td>
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<td>At what point will the key be destroyed?</td>
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<td></td>
<td>After a mother/daughter pair is interviewed and validation interviews are complete.</td>
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</table>
2. b. Have you or will you obtain a Federal Certificate of Confidentiality for this study? If Yes, please submit a copy of the certificate materials with this application. Note: Certificates of Confidentiality are designed to protect identifiable research records against forced disclosure (e.g., subpoena). Certificates can be sought from the National Institutes of Health in certain circumstances. Visit the Certificates of Confidentiality website for more information.

2. l. Will the data be shared or submitted to a repository or registry, such as the Clinical Trial Registry Databank (ClinicalTrials.gov), the Database of Genotypes or Phenotypes, or via other data sharing agreements? If Yes, please describe.

3. What specific steps will you take to ensure participants are not identifiable (directly or indirectly via "deductive disclosure") when research results are reported?

The researcher will use numeric/letter codes and their age to identify and refer to each mother-daughter pair throughout the study. The numeric codes will not be connected to participants' identities after contact information is deleted from the data (which will occur after mother/daughter pair interviews are complete). All participants have the same ethnicity and gender; only age might indicate a participant. Age will not be connected to quotes of specific individuals in reports of data. In addition, stories that might reveal a specific person (i.e., a daughter might recognize a story about herself) will not be reported specifically.

4. Please check here to confirm that you will retain research records (i.e., signed consent forms, approved IRB applications, etc.) for at least 3 years after the study is complete. Doing so is required by federal regulations.

PART M: REGISTRY PROJECTS

1. Does this project establish a registry or databank?

Note: To be considered a registry or databank: (1) the individuals whose data are in the registry/databank might be contacted in the future; and/or (2) the names and/or data pertaining to the individuals in the registry/databank might be used by investigators other than the one maintaining the registry/databank.

If Yes, please answer the following questions:

1a. What information/data will be included in the registry?

1b. What is the reason for establishing a registry (i.e., how will data from the registry be used)?

1c. Who will be involved in establishing and providing oversight of the registry?
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<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
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</table>

1.d. Will the data in the registry be available to anyone other than the investigator(s) who maintain the registry?
Checklist for Attachments

Listed below are the types of documents that should be submitted for IRB review. Please check and attach the documents that are applicable for your study:

- [ ] Grant proposal or contract—must be the complete and final version submitted to funding agency
- [x] Recruitment fliers, phone scripts, or any other documents or materials participants will see or hear
- [x] A copy of the informed consent document or letter of introduction containing the elements of consent
- [x] A copy of the assent form if minors will be enrolled
- [x] Data-gathering instruments (including surveys, interview questions, focus group protocols, cognitive tests, observation protocols, etc.)
- [ ] When applicable, copies or detailed descriptions of stimuli participants will be exposed to, instructions for testing, investigator’s brochures, etc.
- [ ] Appendices attached when applicable
  - [ ] Appendix A
  - [ ] Appendix B
  - [ ] Appendix C
  - [ ] Appendix D
  - [ ] Appendix E

The original signed copy of the application form, any completed appendices, and one set of accompanying materials should be submitted for review in hard copy to the Office for Responsible Research, 1138 Pearson, or electronically to IRB@isistate.edu.
**APPENDIX**

The sections in this appendix are color-coded to correspond with the colored sections in the main application. Please complete the items in the appendix only if directed to do so in the main application. Please ensure all questions in the main application and any necessary appendices have been addressed before sending to the IRB for review.

### A. RESEARCH INVOLVING DECEPTION OR INCOMPLETE DISCLOSURE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Continuation from Part H: #2:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.a. Please explain in detail how persons will be deceived or misled.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2.b. Please provide strong and compelling justification for why it is scientifically necessary to deceive or mislead participants in order to conduct the research and why a non-deceptive methodology is not possible.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.c. Please explain the steps you will take to ensure participants’ rights and welfare are not adversely affected by deceiving or misleading them.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2.d. Please describe the process you will use to “debrief” participants and explain the ways they were deceived or misled during the study. A copy of the information to be provided during debriefing must be attached.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Continuation from Part H: #3:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.a. Please explain in detail what information will be withheld.</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3.b. Please provide strong and compelling justification for why it is scientifically necessary to intentionally withhold information from participants in order to conduct the research.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.c. Please explain the steps you will take to ensure participants’ rights and welfare are not adversely affected by withholding information from them.</td>
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</table>

Office for Responsible Research
Revised: 8/15/13
| 3.d. Please describe the process you will use to “debrief” participants and explain the information that was withheld. A copy of the information to be provided during debriefing must be attached. |

Continue to Part H: #4 (Existing Data)
### B. RESEARCH INVOLVING EXISTING DATA OR INFORMATION FROM RECORDS

Continuation from Part H: #4:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>4.a. What is/are the source(s) of the data/records?</th>
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<tbody>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>4.b. Are all of the data/records publicly available, without restriction?</th>
</tr>
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</table>

4.c. Describe the specific variables, information, or content that will be obtained from the data/records.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>4.d. Is the use of the data/records subject to any restrictions, such as the following? (Check all that apply.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>□ FERPA—The Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act (applies to student records)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>□ HIPAA—The Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act (applies to medical records) — If checked, submit the Application for Use of Protected Health Information.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>□ Institutional policies (for personnel records or other private records)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>□ Confidentiality provisions promised to the persons whose data you will obtain, such as those described in previously signed informed consent documents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>□ Other; please describe:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.d.(1) If Yes, please describe how you will meet or address those restrictions when obtaining the data.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
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<tr>
<th>4.e. Will any of the following identifiers be included with the information you obtain from these records? (Check all that apply.)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>□ Names: □ First Name Only □ Last Name Only □ First and Last Name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>□ Phone/fax numbers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>□ ID codes that can be linked to the identity of the participant (e.g., student IDs, medical record numbers, account numbers, study-specific codes, etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>□ Addresses (email or physical)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>□ Social security numbers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>□ Exact dates of birth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>□ IP addresses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>□ Photographs or video recordings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>□ Other; please specify:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
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<tr>
<th>4.f. Is there a reasonable possibility that participants' identities could be ascertained from any combination of information in the data? If Yes, please describe:</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Attached</td>
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</table>

Continue to Part H: #5 (Observation)
C. RESEARCH INVOLVING OBSERVATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Continuation from Part H: #5:</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5.a. Please describe the specific behaviors or activities that will be observed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>5.b. How will you record information during observation (e.g., field notes, audio/video, etc.)?</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>☐ Yes ☒ No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| ☐ Yes ☒ No | 5.d. Will participants give informed consent to be observed? If No, please provide strong justification for why obtaining permission/consent is not necessary or not possible. Note: The fact that obtaining consent would be inconvenient or time consuming is not considered to be sufficient justification. |

Continue to Part H: #6 (International Research)
D. RESEARCH INVOLVING INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH

Continuation from Part H: #6:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>6.a.</th>
<th>Please describe the experience, knowledge, or other qualifications the investigators have related to conducting the research in this international setting(s).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6.b.</td>
<td>Please describe the specific steps you are taking to ensure the research is conducted in accordance with the local norms and customs, cultural expectations, language needs, etc., in the international setting(s).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.c.</td>
<td>Please describe the specific steps you are taking to ensure the research is conducted in accordance with any policies, laws, or governmental requirements in each country where the research will take place.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Continue to Part H: #7 (Investigational Drugs, Devices, Etc.)
E. CONSENT PROCESS FOR CHILDREN INVOLVED IN RESEARCH

Continuation from Part J.II: #2:

Parent/Legal Guardian Consent and Child Assent (applies when participants are under age 18 or are considered to be children in the country where the research takes place)

According to federal regulations, children can only be enrolled in research if their parent(s) or legal guardian(s) have given consent, unless the IRB waives this requirement. Children must also agree to participate in the research to the extent such agreement is possible, given the child's age, communication abilities, etc.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>☐ Yes  ☒ No</th>
<th>B. Will you obtain the informed consent of the parent/legal guardian for all children included in the study?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>If B is Yes, please answer the following questions:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Describe the process you will use to inform parents or legal guardians about the child's participation in the study (i.e., how you will make contact with parents/guardians, what will be shared with them, etc.).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Who, in general, will obtain informed consent from parents/legal guardians (i.e., explain the study, collect signed forms, etc.)? Please do not list actual names of study staff; rather, describe their role such as “the principal investigator,” “research assistants,” etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.a. What training have they received or will they receive regarding how to appropriately obtain informed consent?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Information given to parents/legal guardians must be in a language understandable to them. Please describe the measures you are taking to ensure the information is understandable (e.g., translation into another language, using commonly understood terminology, assessing reading level of the consent form, etc.).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.a. If translation is required, please provide the name of the person(s) who conducted the translation(s) and his/her qualifications for doing so.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. When will parental consent be obtained in relation to beginning data collection with children?</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
5. How will you ensure that all children have the consent of their parent/legal guardian before including them in the study?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
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</table>

6. Will a parent sign a consent form to document the consent process? Note: Signatures must be handwritten by the parent; typing one's name on a form does not constitute a legally valid signature according to federal regulations.

If No, please explain why.

If B is No, (i.e., you will NOT obtain informed consent from all parents/legal guardians), please answer the following:

7. Please provide strong and compelling justification for why you cannot carry out your study if you had to obtain parent/guardian consent. Note: The fact that obtaining consent would be inconvenient or time consuming is not considered to be sufficient justification.

8. Please explain why participants' rights and welfare will not be adversely affected if you do not obtain parent/guardian consent.

The goal of the assent process is to ensure children are informed about the study and freely agree to take part. The process for obtaining assent from children must be appropriate for the age and development of the children involved in the study; in some cases, true assent may not be possible (such as with infants). Documentation of assent may not be appropriate for children who cannot read or write. Additionally, multiple assent processes may be necessary to ensure both younger and older children are adequately informed.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
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</table>

C. Will you obtain assent for all children included in the study? If Yes, please answer the following questions:

If C is Yes, please answer the following questions:

1. Describe the process you will follow to obtain the assent (i.e., "affirmative agreement") of each child.

2. Who, in general, will obtain assent from each child (i.e., explain the study, collect signed forms, etc.)? Please do not list actual names of study staff; rather, describe their role such as "the principal investigator," "research assistants," etc.
2. a. What training have they received or will they receive regarding how to appropriately obtain assent, given the age range and developmental status of the children?

3. What steps are you taking to ensure information about the study is presented to each child in a language understandable to them (e.g., translation, simplified language, assessing reading level of any assent document, etc.)?

4. When will assent be obtained in relation to beginning data collection?

5. How will you know that each child has given assent (i.e., agreed to take part in the study)? (Check all that apply.)
   - [ ] Each child will sign an assent document following a verbal overview of the study (applicable for children who can read and understand an assent document).
   - [ ] Each child will verbally indicate their agreement to participate (applicable for children too young to read, who cannot read, or where a verbal process is most appropriate, given the age and ability of the children).
   - [ ] Other indication of assent (Please describe.)

If C is No, (i.e., you will NOT obtain assent from all children), please answer the following:

6. Please provide strong and compelling justification for why you cannot carry out your study if you had to obtain each child's assent. Note: The fact that obtaining assent would be inconvenient or time consuming is not considered to be sufficient justification.

7. Please explain why the child's rights and welfare will not be adversely affected if you do not obtain their assent.

Continue to Part K (Risks)
APPENDIX B. RECRUITMENT FLYER

IRB# 15-102
Seeking African American Mothers and Daughters for

Dress & Appearance

RESEARCH

The purpose of this study is to examine how African American mothers influence their daughter’s consumer behavior toward dress. Dress includes apparel, cosmetics, hair styling, and all other modifications of the body.

Participants will be asked to:

1. Allot approximately 2-hours for the interview
2. Complete the IRB consent form
3. Fill out a brief demographic survey
4. Discuss with the researcher (a) interactions with their mother/daughter about dress, (b) personal practices and preferences for dress and (c) memories of evaluations of daughter’s/mother’s appearance.

Study Criteria

To qualify for participation in this research you must:

1. Be an African American daughter between ages 22-29 with an African American mother, who was born and now lives in the Pine Bluff, AR area.
2. Your mother or daughter must agree to participate in the study.
3. Live in the Pine Bluff, AR area

***Each person who participates will receive a $15.00 gift card ***

TO PARTICIPATE OR FOR MORE INFORMATION

Contact LaPorchia C. Davis via email lcedavis@iastate.edu
APPENDIX C: PHONE SCRIPT TO SCHEDULE APPOINTMENT

Daughter

Hello (NAME),

My name is LaPorchia Davis, a doctoral candidate in the Apparel, Merchandising, and Design program at Iowa State University. I received your email and I’m following up regarding your participation in my study “African American mother–daughter interactions about dress and consumption of appearance-related products.” If you decide to participate in the study you will have to fill out a demographic survey about your race, ethnicity, and age.

During the interview, you will be asked (but not required) to show me pictures of yourself. I will ask a series of questions to help develop conversation and stories about your memories regarding your dress and appearance. If possible, (not required) bring the following items before the interview begins:

1. Pictures of yourself in clothing to help facilitate memories and conversation during the interview.

You will receive $15.00 gift card to Wal-Mart or Target for participating and sharing your mother-daughter experience.

Do you have any questions for me at this time?

I need to confirm if you meet the study criteria.

1. Are you an African American female between the ages of 22-29 years?
   a. Yes
   b. No

2. Are you and your mother from the United States?
   a. Yes
   b. No

3. Do you and your mother live in or near Pine Bluff, Arkansas?
   a. Yes
   b. No

4. Will you be able to interview separately from your mother?
   a. Yes
   b. No

5. Did you inform your mother about this study?
   a. Yes
   b. No

6. Did your mother agree to participate in this study?
   a. Yes
b. No

I will now like to ask for your email addresses to email you a copy of the consent form for review. You will be able to sign a hard copy of the consent form during your scheduled interview.

Email Address- Daughter: ______________________________

Phone Number- Daughter: ______________________________

Would you like to set your appointment date, time, and location for the research study?

   a. Yes
   b. No

If yes, I would like to set and confirm a date, time, and location you will be able to interview separately. Please provide the location where you would like to interview separately.

Date/Time___________________________

Location ______________________________

I expect for the interview will last up to two hours. Thank you for your participation. The materials will be sent to you within the next day. I will also give you a reminder call three days before your scheduled interview to confirm you and your mother’s participation. If you have questions or need to cancel your appointment please at your earliest convenience.

Email:  lcdavis@iastate.edu or Phone: 870-329-8506

Have a nice day,
Hello (NAME) my name is LaPorchia Davis, I received an email from (NAME OF DAUGHTER) she expressed interested in my research study. I am conducting my dissertation on: *African American mother–daughter interactions about dress and consumption of appearance-related products*. This research will take place in a location where you feel most comfortable. If you decide to participate in the study you will be asked to fill out a consent form and demographic survey about your race, ethnicity, age, and income. During the interview, you will be asked to show me pictures of yourself (not required). I will ask a series of questions to help develop conversation and stories about your memories regarding your dress and appearance. If possible, (not required) bring the following items before the interview begins:

1. Pictures of yourself in clothing to help facilitate memories and conversation during the interview.

You and your daughter will receive a $15.00 gift card to Wal-Mart or Target for participating and sharing your mother-daughter experience.

To qualify for the study you must be an:

1. African American mother born and live in the United States in or near Pine Bluff, Arkansas and identify as African American or Black.
2. Have a biological African American daughter between the ages of 22-29 years
3. Be able to interview separately from your daughter.

I would now like to ask for your email addresses to email you a copy of the consent form for review. You will be able to sign a hard copy of the consent form during your scheduled interview. Would you like me to send a copy to you?

Email Address- Mother: ____________________________

Phone Number- Mother: ____________________________

Would you like to set your appointment date, time, and location for the research study?

a. Yes
b. No

If yes, please confirm a date, time, and location you will be able to interview separately.

Date/Time___________________________
Location __________________________
I expect the interview to last up to two hours. Thank you for your participation. The materials will be sent to you within the next day. I will also give you a reminder call three days before your scheduled interview to confirm you and your daughter’s participation. If you have questions or need to cancel your appointment please at your earliest convenience.

Email: lcdavis@iastate.edu or Phone: 870-329-8506

Have a nice day,
**APPENDIX D. DAUGHTER CONSENT FORM**

**Title of Study:** African American mother–daughter interactions about dress and consumption of appearance related products

**Investigators:** LaPorchia Davis, Ph.D. Candidate Apparel, Merchandising, and Design Program
Dr. Mary Lynn Damhorst, Ph.D., Apparel, Merchandising, and Design

This is a research study. You are selected to participate in this study because you are an African American female between the ages of 22-29 and your biological mother is African American or Black born and live in the United States in or near Pine Bluff, Arkansas. You have both indicated willingness to participate in the study. Please take your time in deciding if you would like to participate. Please feel free to ask questions at any time.

**INTRODUCTION**

This study is being conducted by a Ph.D. candidate at Iowa State University to fulfill a doctoral program requirement in Apparel, Merchandising, and Design. The purpose of this study is to examine how African American mothers socialize their daughter’s consumer behavior toward dress. Dress is a crucial component of being female, so the study will add to understanding of how young women are socialized to become African American women. You are invited to participate in this study because you are an African American female between the ages of 22-29 and your biological mother was born and live in the Unites States in or near Pine Bluff, Arkansas and identifies as an African American or Black mother.

**DESCRIPTION OF PROCEDURES**

If you agree to participate in this study, your participation will last no more than one to two hours. The one-on-one interview will be conducted as your schedule allows. You and your mother will be interviewed separately. The interview sessions will be audio-recorded. The tapes will be transcribed by the researcher and will be erased following the transcription (within six months). You will also need to (1) complete the demographic survey and participate in a (2) face-to-face, one-on-one, in-depth interview separately from your mother. You will be asked to bring pictures of yourself and your mother to the interview to facilitate your memories, but you are not required to bring them and the pictures will not be recorded as data.

If you agree to be re-contacted, you may also be asked to be interviewed later for a check of accuracy of data analysis. The second short interview will be audio recorded. The tapes will
be transcribed by the researcher and will be erased following the transcription (within six-months). The interview will be conducted as your schedule allows.

**DESCRIPTION OF DEMOGRAPHIC SURVEY**

The personal demographic surveys will provide the researcher background information regarding each mother-daughter participants. The personal demographic survey will ask questions that pertains to the daughter participants’ regarding their age, ethnicity background, city and state of residence, last degree or education completed, occupation or employment, marital status, and their religious background (Appendix F). Age, city and state, and occupation or employment are open-ended questions; ethnic background, last degree or education, marital status, and religious background are closed-ended questions.

The mother participants’ will be asked similar questions about their age, ethnicity, city and state of residence, last degree or education completed, how many daughters the mother may have, their occupation or employment, household income, marital status, and religious background (Appendix, G). Age, city and state, and occupation or employment, and number of daughters are open-ended questions; ethnic background, last degree or education, household income, marital status, and religious background are closed-ended questions.

**RISKS**

The risks of this study are very minimal. While participating in this study you may experience possible discomfort at disclosing personal information during the interview.

**BENEFITS**

If you decide to participate in this study there will be no direct benefit to you. It is hoped that the information gained in this study will fill in a gap of understanding of African American mother–daughter interactions as they relate to concerns and beliefs about dress and consumption of appearance-related products. The findings will also expand knowledge of African American mother-daughter relationships and family influences on dress.

**COSTS AND COMPENSATION**

You will be compensated for participating in this study with a $15 Wal-Mart or Target gift card to thank you for taking the time to participate in the interview. No other compensation will be offered.

**PARTICIPANT RIGHTS**

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary and you may refuse to participate or leave the study at any time. You may skip any questions you do not wish to answer and you may stop answering questions at any time. You may decide not to participate in the study or leave the study early for any reason without penalty.
CONFIDENTIALITY

Records identifying participants will be kept confidential and will not be made publicly available. To ensure confidentiality the following measures will be taken: Participants will be assigned numeric codes, which will be assigned to your interview and the demographic survey so that you remain anonymous. Tapes of interviews will be reviewed in a private room with earphones. The researcher will only hear your voice on the interview tapes. Any identifying details obtained in the course of an interview will be generalized to protect confidentiality. All data gathered will be kept in a password-protected computer file. All information will be destroyed after the study is complete. Your responses will not be shared with your mother by the researcher in any way.

How findings will be used:

Once data collection is complete, the results of the study may be used for professional publications and presentations and may be reported in a dissertation. Any quote of your interview will be treated with strict confidentiality; any information that could reveal your identity will not be quoted so that you will remain anonymous. Randomly assigned numeric codes will be used in place of your name. The principal investigator will securely protect each code and all information will be destroyed after the study is complete.

At the end of this form the principal investigator will ask for your permission to use your quotes for professional publications and presentations.

QUESTIONS OR PROBLEMS

You are encouraged to ask questions at any time during this study.

- For further information about the study contact: LaPorchia Davis (researcher) by phone (870-329-8506) or by e-mail at lcedavis@iastate.edu. Or contact the advisor for the project, Dr. Mary Lynn Damhorst, Apparel, Events, and Hospitality Management Department, 515-294-9919, mldmhrt@iastate.edu.
- If you have any questions about the rights of research subjects or research-related injury, please contact the IRB Administrator, (515) 294-4566, IRB@iastate.edu, or Director, (515) 294-3115, Office for Responsible Research, Iowa State University, Ames, Iowa 50011.

************************************************************************

PARTICIPANT SIGNATURE

Your signature indicates that you voluntarily agree to participate in this study, that the study has been explained to you, that you have been given the time to read the document and that your questions have been satisfactorily answered. Your signature also gives the researcher
permission to use your responses for professional publications and presentations, if quotes of your responses do not reveal your identity. You will receive a copy of the written informed consent prior to your participation in the study.

Participant’s Name (printed) ________________________________

_______________________________  ______________________________

(Participant’s Signature)  (Date)
APPENDIX E. MOTHER CONSENT FORM

Title of Study: African American mother–daughter interactions about dress and consumption of appearance related products

Investigators: LaPorchia Davis, Ph.D. Candidate Apparel, Merchandising, and Design Program
Dr. Mary Lynn Damhorst, Ph.D., Apparel, Merchandising, and Design

This is a research study. You are selected to participate in this study because you are an African American or Black mother, born and live in the United States in or near Pine Bluff, Arkansas, and your biological daughter is African American or Black between the ages 22-29. Your daughter has agreed to participate in this research. Please take your time in deciding if you would like to participate. Please feel free to ask questions at any time.

INTRODUCTION

This study is being conducted by a Ph.D. candidate at Iowa State University to fulfill a doctoral program requirement in Apparel, Merchandising, and Design. The purpose of this study is to examine how African American mothers socialize their daughter’s consumer behavior toward dress. Dress is a crucial component of being female, so the study will add to understanding of how young women are socialized to become African American women. You are invited to participate in this study because you are an African American or Black mother born and currently live in the United States in or near Pine Bluff, Arkansas with a biological daughter who is African American between ages 22-29.

DESCRIPTION OF PROCEDURES

If you agree to participate in this study, your participation will last no more than one to two hours. The one-on-one interview will be conducted as your schedule allows. You and your daughter will be interviewed separately. The interview sessions will be audio-recorded. The tapes will be transcribed by the researcher and will be erased following the transcription (within six months). You will also need to (1) complete the demographic survey and participate in a (2) face-to-face, one-on-one, in-depth separate interviews. You will be asked to bring pictures of yourself and your mother to the interview to facilitate your memories, but you are not required to bring them and the pictures will not be recorded as data.

You may also be asked to be interviewed later for a check of accuracy of data analysis. The second short interview will be audio recorded. The tapes will be transcribed by the researcher and will be erased following the transcription (within six months). The interview will be conducted as your schedule allows.
DESCRIPTION OF DEMOGRAPHIC SURVEY

The personal demographic surveys will provide the researcher background information regarding each mother-daughter participants. The personal demographic survey will ask questions that pertains to the daughter participants’ regarding their age, ethnicity background, city and state of residence, last degree or education completed, occupation or employment, marital status, and their religious background (Appendix F). Age, city and state, and occupation or employments are open-ended questions; ethnic background, last degree or education, marital status, and religious background are closed-ended questions.

The mother participants’ will be asked similar questions about their age, ethnicity, city and state of residence, last degree or education completed, how many daughters the mother may have, their occupation or employment, household income, marital status, and religious background (Appendix, G). Age, city and state, and occupation or employment, and number of daughters are open-ended questions; ethnic background, last degree or education, household income, marital status, and religious background are closed-ended questions.

RISKS

The risks of this study are very minimal. While participating in this study you may experience possible discomfort at disclosing personal information during the interview.

BENEFITS

If you decide to participate in this study there will be no direct benefit to you. It is hoped that the information gained in this study will fill a gap of understanding of African American mother–daughter interactions as they relate to concerns and beliefs about dress and consumption of appearance-related products. The findings will also expand knowledge of African American mother-daughter relationships and family influences on dress.

COSTS AND COMPENSATION

You will be compensated for participating in this study with a $15 Wal-Mart or Target gift card to thank you for taking the time to participate in the interview. No other compensation will be offered.

PARTICIPANT RIGHTS

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary and you may refuse to participate or leave the study at any time. You may skip any questions you do not wish to answer and you may stop answering questions at any time. You may decide not to participate in the study or leave the study early for any reason without penalty.
CONFIDENTIALITY

Records identifying participants will be kept confidential and will not be made publicly available. To ensure confidentiality the following measures will be taken: Participants will be assigned numeric codes, which will be assigned to your interview and demographic survey so that you remain anonymous. Tapes of interviews will be reviewed in a private room with earphones. The researcher will only hear your voice on the interview tapes. Any identifying details obtained in the course of an interview will be generalized to protect confidentiality. All data gathered will be kept in a password-protected computer file. All information will be destroyed after the study is complete. Your responses will not be shared with your daughter by the researcher in any way.

How findings will be used:

Once data collection is complete, the results of the study may be used for professional publications and presentations and may be reported in a dissertation. Any quote of your interview will be treated with strict confidentiality; any information that could reveal your identity will not be quoted so that you will remain anonymous. Randomly assigned numeric codes will be used in place of your name. The principal investigator will securely protect each code and all information will be destroyed after the study is complete.

At the end of this form the principal investigator will ask for your permission to use your quotes for professional publications and presentations.

QUESTIONS OR PROBLEMS

You are encouraged to ask questions at any time during this study.

- For further information about the study contact: LaPorchia Davis (researcher) by phone (870-329-8506) or by e-mail at lcdavis@iastate.edu. Or contact the advisor for the project, Dr. Mary Lynn Damhorst, Apparel, Events, and Hospitality Management Department, 515-294-9919, mldmhrst@iastate.edu.
- If you have any questions about the rights of research subjects or research-related injury, please contact the IRB Administrator, (515) 294-4566, IRB@iastate.edu, or Director, (515) 294-3115, Office for Responsible Research, Iowa State University, Ames, Iowa 50011.

PARTICIPANT SIGNATURE

Your signature indicates that you voluntarily agree to participate in this study, that the study has been explained to you, that you have been given the time to read the document and that your questions have been satisfactorily answered. Your signature also gives the researcher
permission to use your responses for professional publications and presentations, if quotes of your responses do not reveal your identity. You will receive a copy of the written informed consent prior to your participation in the study.

Participant’s Name (printed) ________________________________

______________________________  __________________________

( Participant’s Signature)  (Date)
APPENDIX F. DAUGHTER DEMOGRAPHIC SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

What is your age? _________

What ethnicity are you? (Please check all that apply)
   o African American/ Black
   o White/European American
   o Latina/Hispanic American
   o Asian/Asian American
   o Middle Eastern American
   o Other ______________________________

City and State where you reside ______________________________________________

Please check the last degree or education completed:
   o High School Diploma
   o Some College
   o Bachelor’s Degree
   o Master’s Degree
   o Doctorate
   o Not Applicable

How many children do you have? ______________

Occupation or employment (if applicable)____________________________________

Household Income?
   o Under 30K
   o 40-70K
   o 75-90K
   o Above 100K

Marital Status (Check One)
   o Single/Never Married
   o Single/Divorced
   o Married
   o Domestic Partnership (not married)
   o Widowed

Religion (Check One)
   o Christian
   o Buddhism
   o Muslim
   o Hindu
   o Other religion
APPENDIX G. MOTHER DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE

What is your age? ________

What ethnicity are you? Please check all that apply.
  o African American/ Black
  o White/European American
  o Latina/Hispanic American
  o Asian/Asian American
  o Middle Eastern American
  o Other ________________________

City and state where you reside __________________________________________

Please check the last degree completed in school:
  o High School Diploma
  o Some College
  o Bachelor’s Degree
  o Master’s Degree
  o Doctorate
  o Not Applicable

How many children do you have? __________

Occupation or employment (if applicable)____________________________________

Household Income?
  o Under 30K
  o 40-70K
  o 75-90K
  o Above 100K

Marital Status (Check One)
  o Single/Never Married
  o Single/Divorced
  o Married
  o Domestic Partnership (not married)
  o Widowed

Religion (Check One)
  o Christian
  o Buddhism
  o Hindu
  o Muslim
  o Other religion
APPENDIX H. DAUGHTER INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Daughter–Mother Experience

1. Tell me about your experience shopping with your mother?
2. Explain your relationship/interaction with your mother?
3. What are the challenges you have when shopping with your mother? How do you deal with those challenges?
4. How often do you share your feelings with your mother shopping?
   Do you share shopping tips?

   Provide savings discounts to stores such as (coupons, gift cards, vouchers, etc.)?
5. Can you tell about your family?

Coaching/ Socialization

6. How does your mother teach you how to shop for quality items? Do you follow her advice?
7. Would you say your mother influenced your consumer behavior towards dress?
8. How connected do you feel to your mother when shopping for products together?
9. How often do you turn to your mother for support when shopping for high/low priced items?
10. Can you tell me how your mother taught you the importance of dress and appearance in the African American Community?
11. Can you tell me how your mother taught you how to become a African American woman in America?
12. In what way did you mother socialize you to have “tough skin” as a young African American woman in America?
13. Can you describe your mothers parenting style?
14. How did your mother teach/tell how should behave in clothes?
15. Do you feel that you replicate your mother’s shopping behavior, attitude, and traits towards appearance-related products?

Brand Preference/ Purchasing

16. Where do you shop for cosmetics and apparel? Do you have a brand preference?
17. How much input does your mother usually give when you’re making purchasing decisions?
18. Do you usually have to hide certain make-up or apparel products from your mom?
19. How often do you purchase for clothing and cosmetics?

Importance of Dress and Appearance

20. How do you define beauty?
21. How has your mother influenced your dress and appearance?
22. What early lessons did your mother teach you about beauty and womanhood?
23. What are the standards and messages you receive about Blackness?
24. How do you feel about Blackness and Black fashion?
25. Do your mom ever compliment you on your dress and appearance? If so, what does your mother say?
26. What messages do you receive from others regarding your dress and appearance?
27. Can you describe your style of dress?
28. Do your mom ever ask for advice regarding her appearance?
29. How does the African American Community influence your style of dress?
30. In what way do you express your ethnicity through dress and appearance?
31. Do you always check your appearance before you leave the house?
32. How often does your mother talk to you about the importance of the way you dress and your appearance?

**Body Image**

33. What is your favorite part of your physical (body) appearance? And why?
34. How do you use clothes to accentuate parts of your body?
35. Do you encourage your mom to wear clothing that accentuates part of her body? And Why? Or Why not?
36. Do you and you mom ever discuss body image? If so what does your mother tell you about your body size or shape?

**Autodriving Questions:**

First guided question: Can you tell me about this photo?

Planned prompts questions:

1. How does your sense of style impact your dress and appearance?
2. How did you feel when you wore this outfit?
3. Why did you wear this outfit?
4. How did others perceive you when you wore this outfit?
5. What did your mother think of you when you wore this outfit?
6. Where did you purchase your outfit?
7. Did you ask your mother for advice when you purchases this outfit?
8. How does femininity play a role in your dress and appearance?
APPENDIX I. MOTHER INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Mother-daughter experience

1. Tell me about your experience shopping for with your daughter?
2. Explain your relationship/interaction with your daughter?
3. How connected do you feel to your daughter when shopping for products together? (E.g. makeup, clothing, shoes)
4. What are the challenges you have when shopping with your daughter? How do you deal with those challenges?
5. How often do you share you private and secret feelings with your daughter when shopping?
6. How would you react if you saw your daughter dressed a certain way that you felt was inappropriate?
7. Can you tell me a little about your family life?
8. Can you tell me about your own mother-daughter experiences growing up?
9. How often do you shop with your daughter? How often do you talk to your daughter on a regular basis? Does your daughter share shopping tips? Provide savings discounts to stores such as (coupons, gift cards, vouchers, etc. ?

Coaching/Socialization

10. How did you teach your daughter how to shop for quality items?
11. How often do you turn to your daughter for support when shopping for high/low priced items?
12. How has your family background helped you socialize your daughter’s learning about dress and appearance?
13. Can you tell me about your process of being a mother?
14. Can you tell me about your parenting style?
15. Do you feel that you replicate your daughters shopping behavior, attitude, and traits when shopping for appearance-related products?
16. How do you think you have shaped your daughter into becoming an African American woman in America?
17. How did you teaching or raise your daughter to have “tough skin” as a young African American woman in America?

Cosmetics/ Clothing brand

18. Where do you shop for cosmetics and apparel? Do you have a brand preference?
19. What type of cosmetics and clothing do you usually wear?
20. How much input does your daughter usually give when you’re making purchasing decisions?
21. Do you usually have to hide certain make-up or apparel products from your daughter?
22. How often do you turn to your daughter for makeup advice? Do you usually follow her advice to stay connected with the cosmetics and clothing trends?
Importance of Appearance

23. How do you define beauty?
24. What early lessons did you teach your daughter about beauty and womanhood?
25. Do your daughter ever compliment you on your dress and appearance? If so, how?
26. Can you describe your style of dress?
27. Do your daughter ever ask for advice regarding her appearance?
28. How does the African American Community influence your style of dress?
29. What are the standards and messages you receive about Blackness?
30. How do you feel about Blackness and Black fashion?

Body Image

31. What is your favorite part of your physical appearance? And why?
32. How do you use clothes to accentuate parts of your body?
33. Do you encourage your daughter to wear clothing that accentuates part of her body?
34. Do you and your daughter ever discuss body image? If so, what do you tell your daughter about body size or shape?

Autodriving Questions:

First guided question: Can you tell me about this photo?

Planned prompts questions:

1. How does your sense of style impact your dress and appearance?
2. How did you feel when you wore this outfit?
3. Why did you wear this outfit?
4. How did others perceive you when you wore this outfit?
5. What did your daughter think of you when you wore this outfit?
6. Where did you purchase your outfit?
7. Did you ask your daughter for advice when you purchased this outfit?
8. How does femininity play a role in your dress and appearance?
LaPorchia C. Davis was born in Pine Bluff, Arkansas. She received her Bachelor of Science degree in Merchandising and Textiles from the University of Arkansas at Pine Bluff. She received her Master of Science in Apparel, Merchandising, and Design from Iowa State University. She wrote her doctoral dissertation in the field of Apparel, Merchandising, and Design, receiving her Ph.D. from Iowa State University in Summer 2015.