

I am not my Hair, or am I? Examining Hair Choices of Black Female Executives

Gail Dawson
University of Tennessee Chattanooga

Katherine Karl
University of Tennessee Chattanooga

Using a social-identity based impression management framework, the authors explored the influence of Eurocentric preferences on the hairstyle choices of Black female executives. Two studies were conducted examining hairstyle choices. Results suggest that Eurocentric preferences, stereotypes, and bias seem to have a significant influence on the hairstyle choices of Black women working their way up the corporate ladder and less of an influence on Black female entrepreneurs. Implications for practice are provided as well as directions for further research.

Good hair means curls and waves (no)
Bad hair means you look like a slave (no) . . .

Hey (hey)
I am not my hair
I am not this skin
I am not your expectations, no (hey)
I am not my hair
I am not this skin
I am the soul that lives within

--Lyrics to "I am not my hair" by India Arie (2005)

INTRODUCTION

The role of hair in the workplace, particularly African American hair, has received a great deal of recent attention among both academics (Awad, Norwood, Taylor, Martinez, McClain, Jones, Holman, & Chapman-Hilliard, 2015; Ellis-Hervey, Doss, Davis, Nicks & Araiza, 2016; Hudson, Hunter & Rogers, 2017; Opie & Phillips, 2015; Randle, 2015) and the popular press (Byrd & Tharps, 2014; Gordon, 2013; MacFarlane, Tropp & Goff, 2017; Perkins, 2016). African American hair styles in the workplace have also been the subject of legal battles (Bennett-Alexander & Harrison, 2016; Greene, 2017; Hazen & Syrdahl, 2010; Macon, 2015; Rosette & Dumas, 2007). Below we describe the historical and political

background of hair styles among African American women, the costs of altering hair texture, perceptions of Afrocentric hairstyles in the workplace, and the treatment of Afrocentric hairstyles in the courts. We then apply a social-identity based impression management framework (Roberts, 2005) to predict the hairstyle choices of Black female executives. For the purpose of this study, Eurocentric hairstyles, with reference to Black women, are defined as those that require straightening hair (either chemically or thermally) or otherwise altering hair in texture and/or length to give it a more Caucasian or Eurocentric appearance. Afrocentric styles include afros, braids, twists, dreadlocks and other styles that allow the natural texture to remain unchanged.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Historically, Black women's hair choices have been largely influenced by societal pressures to adopt Eurocentric standards of beauty which idealize long, straight hair and light skin (Banks, 2000; Byrd & Tharps, 2014). During slavery, long, straight hair and lighter skin was associated with slaves of mixed heritage who often worked inside instead of in the fields (Patton, 2006). These characteristics that emulated European features were often associated with higher status and were considered more acceptable. After slavery, lighter skin and straight hair continued to be associated with status and was often a means to a socioeconomic end. With the migration of Blacks from southern rural areas to northern urban areas, braids, plaits, and cornrows were replaced by straight styles as they fought for social acceptance and tried to look less like uneducated people from the country. Hair-straightening products became a booming business (Byrd & Tharps, 2014).

During the Civil Rights Era of the 1960s and 1970s, it became popular for Black women to wear afros, braids, and other styles that allowed them to display the natural texture of their hair. The idea that Black was beautiful and that Black people no longer had to conform to Eurocentric beauty standards gained popularity with the Black Power movement which some considered to be radical and political. At the time, these hairstyles were considered a bold, visual, political stance and a rejection of the status quo (Jones & Shorter-Gooden, 2003). Although these hairstyles, along with the Black Power movement, seemed to fade in popularity during the 1980s and 1990s, their resurgence is still often considered political. Using an Afrocentric theory and a Black feminist framework, White (2005) examined the experiences of Black women who wear their hair in a natural, Afrocentric style. She argues that choosing to wear their hair natural is an act of resistance in dis-identifying with the status quo and constructing a new definition of beauty. These women found their Afrocentric hairstyle choices which were also changes in attitudes about hair, femininity, and beauty, to be liberating and empowering.

However, in subsequent years, the idea that Afrocentric hairstyles are not beautiful continued to be portrayed in the media. For example, Thompson (2009, p.847) suggests that "the image of Black beauty in popular Black magazines gives the impression that Black hair is only beautiful when it is altered." Indeed, Black hair texture is often graded from "Good" to "Bad" where "Good hair" is hair that minimizes African ancestry (it is straight and long) whereas "Bad hair" is the opposite—tightly coiled, thicker and most likely, short (Robinson, 2011). According to comedian Chris Rock, he was inspired to make his documentary film *Good Hair* (2009) after his three-year-old daughter Lola asked him, "Daddy, how come I don't have good hair?" The film takes a humorous look at the Black hair industry and includes interviews with celebrities and other public figures (Schuker, 2009). For example Nia Long says, "There's always this sort of pressure within the Black community like, if you have good hair, you're prettier or better than the brown-skinned girl that wears the Afro or the dreads or the natural hairstyle."

Although recent films, such as *Hidden Figures*, include portraying more positive Black images and acknowledging the contributions of Black people, movies, media, and fashion magazines typically depict beautiful as White with long, straight hair. Even when beautiful Black women appear in media – including Black movies, media, and fashion magazines – they often have Eurocentric features and long, Eurocentric hairstyles. As noted by MacFarlane, et. al (2017, p.1), "Naturally textured hair of Black women, by comparison, is notably absent within dominant cultural representation which automatically

'otherizes' those natural images we do see – at best they are exotic, counter cultural, or trendy; more often than not, they are marginal.”

COSTS AND DANGERS OF ALTERING HAIR TEXTURE

Lessons regarding the Eurocentric standard of beauty are learned early in life. Norwood (2017) recalls how her mother would comment on how lucky she was to have long, thick, flowing hair and that it was something she was “blessed with.” Likewise, Rooks (1996) recalls, “When I went South for the summer, my grandmother could not get me to Miss Ruby’s beauty parlor and a straightening comb fast enough....She reasoned that because no one was ever going to mistake me for having anything other than African ancestry due to the dark color of my skin ...straightening my hair would give me an advantage in the world. It was one less battle that would have to be fought,” (p.3-4). This ingrained notion that “Something other than what God gave you is better than what you have” has led millions of Black women to spend thousands of dollars each year and countless hours trying to make their natural hair straighter and longer (Thomas, 2009).

The processes used to alter the texture or appearance of Black hair typically involve using a thermal or chemical process, or the use of weaves or extensions. Haskin and Aguh (2016) explain some of the dangers resulting from these processes. Thermal straightening applies heat to the hair to temporarily modify it. How long thermally straightened hair remains in its modified state is dependent on perspiration and humidity, but the process has to be repeated often. This can result in overheating the hair which can weaken the hair shaft and cause breakage. Chemical straightening “can promote flexibility and make hair easier to manage” (Haskin & Aguh, 2016, p.608), but can also cause the hair to become weak and lead to breakage. Chemical burns to the scalp are another risk. Researchers have also linked hair relaxers to a high risk of uterine fibroids (Wise, Palmer, Reich, Cozier & Rosenberg, 2012). Weaves and extensions often involve attaching synthetic or human hair or tracts into braided hair which can result in excessive tension and weight damaging hair follicles. An alternative to this process attaches tracts using adhesives or glue which can result in allergic contact dermatitis. These processes can result in hair loss and alopecia as well as other scalp and hair disorders (Haskin & Aguh, 2016; Wright, Gathers, Kapke, Johnson, & Joseph, 2011). Due to the significant amount of time and money involved in these hair processing methods, the resulting hairstyles are often done with the intention of being preserved for days or even weeks and there is now a growing body of literature that has linked concerns over maintaining one’s hair style to unwillingness to exercise (Bowen & O'Brien-Richardson, 2017; Huebschmann, Campbell, Brown, & Dunn, 2016; Versey, 2014).

Regarding economic costs, it is estimated that the African American hair market is approaching \$500 billion a year (Opian, 2014). Chris Rock found the biggest moneymaker in the African American hair business to be weaves. In *Good Hair (2009)*, Rock interviews Black female professionals who spend nearly a thousand dollars on weaves, sometimes paying on an installment plan. The process of attaching the weave can take up to 8 hours or more. Chemical relaxers, referred to as “creamy crack” in Rock’s film because of the addiction many African American women have with chemically relaxing their hair, are applied and left on for up to 20 minutes, rinsed, then neutralized at a cost of \$50 to \$250. To maintain, constant reapplication is required on new growth every 6 to 8 weeks (Bailey, 2017).

THE IMPACT OF AFROCENTRIC HAIRSTYLES ON PERCEPTIONS IN THE WORKPLACE

Afrocentric hairstyles of Black women working in professional settings are often associated with stereotypes and biases regarding competency and negative characteristics (Rosette & Dumas 2007). Roberts and Roberts (2007) explain that Afrocentric hairstyles are sometimes interpreted as a proxy for “personal values, professional competence, and organizational fit” (p.369). For example, such bias is reflected in the statement of a hospital manager who told a Black woman when she came to work in an afro cut longer on the top and shorter on the sides, that she looked like she “belong[ed] in a zoo” (Ali v. Mount Sinai Hospital, 1996). Another example is when an editor from Glamour Magazine offered a list of

“dos and don’ts” of corporate fashion to a group of lawyers in Manhattan in 2007. The editor is said to have shown a slide of a Black woman wearing an Afro, which read “Just say no to the ‘fro,” and she went on to say that dreadlocks were “truly dreadful,” and that it was “shocking that some people still think it’s appropriate to wear those hairstyles . . . the office was not a place for such ‘political’ hairstyles” (Bennett-Alexander & Harrison, 2017; Cole, 2007). Additional evidence that Afrocentric hairstyles are often perceived as making a statement or adopting a political stance was expressed by one of Thompson’s (2009) study participants who said, “If I decided to grow an Afro and I went to work people would be like ‘what’s up with her, what’s she trying to prove?’ . . . they’d think I was some kind of radical.” Likewise, Brown (2015) deliberates how to style her natural hair for upcoming interviews and acknowledges that an afro is often perceived as militant while braids are perceived as ghetto.

Research studies have also shown bias against Afrocentric hairstyles. For example, Opie and Phillips (2015) found that participants evaluated employment candidates with Afrocentric hair as less professional and less likely to be successful than those with Eurocentric hair and that Black participants were even more critical of candidates with Afrocentric hair than their White counterparts. Likewise, a Perception Institute study found bias against naturally textured Black hair with textured hair being rated as less beautiful, less attractive, and less professional than smooth, straightened hair (MacFarlane, Tropp, & Goff, 2017).

TREATMENT OF AFRICAN AMERICAN HAIRSTYLES IN THE COURTS

In 2014, the U.S. military faced criticism for its regulation which banned twists, dreadlocks, and multiple braids/cornrows bigger than a quarter inch. These regulations were challenged as being racially biased, targeting women of color, disregarding ethnic hair and what is needed to maintain natural hair, and being too restrictive (Terkel, 2014). Subsequently, these regulations have been modified. However, the military is not the only organization accused of unfairly targeting these hairstyles. In addition to the military regulations, school districts across America have established similar restrictions that target Afrocentric hairstyles worn by Black girls. Macon (2015) details incidents in various states where schools have attempted to ban Afrocentric hairstyles, suspended students for wearing Afrocentric hairstyles, and one incident where a teacher cut off a Black student’s braid in front of the class to punish the student.

In *EEOC v. Catastrophe Management Solutions* (2016), the 11th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals rejected the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) claim of racial discrimination on behalf of an employment applicant based on her hairstyle. The job offer extended to the applicant was rescinded when she refused to cut her dreadlocks. The employer justified the action based on its grooming policy that calls for employees to be dressed and groomed to project a business and professional image and states that hairstyles that are excessive are not acceptable. In this case, the EEOC argued in defense of dreadlocks stating that “the hairstyle is a racial characteristic and, therefore should be protected under the law” (Wich, 2016); however, the appeals court determined dreadlocks were not an immutable characteristic protected by law. Yet Macon (2015, p.1258) suggests that “physical and cultural traits, such as hair texture and hairstyle, are increasingly used as a proxy for race.” That is, the specific hairstyle of dreadlocks may not be considered a racial characteristic, hair texture is. Likewise, others have criticized the 11th Circuit ruling claiming that such restrictive employer grooming policies impose unrealistic and demeaning expectations on Black women’s natural hair, and while appearing neutral on their face, such policies have illegal disparate impact by excluding African American women with natural hair from the workplace (Bennett-Alexander & Harrison, 2017, Greene, 2017).

A similar decision was made in *Rogers v. American Airlines* (1981) and *Pitts v. Wild Adventures* (2008). In *Rogers v. American Airlines* (1981), in which a female African American airport operations manager for American Airlines filed suit against the airline for their grooming policy which prohibited employees in certain employment categories from wearing an all-braided hairstyle, such as cornrows. Rogers claimed that she was protected because her hairstyle was “reflective of cultural, historical essence of the Black woman in American society.” However, the Court rejected her argument claiming that braids were an easily changed characteristic but at the same time the Court admitted that prohibiting the

“Afro/bush style might offend Title VII.” In *Pitts v. Wild Adventures* (2008), Patricia Pitts came to work with cornrows in her hair and her supervisor expressed disapproval suggesting that she change her hair into a “pretty” style. Ms. Pitts attempted to comply by spending time and money having her hair made into two-strand twists. However, this too was deemed inappropriate by her supervisor who felt the hairstyle too closely resembled dreadlocks. Because Wild Adventures had no grooming policy in place, Pitts refused to spend any additional time and cost to alter her hair. Within a few days Wild Adventures disseminated a written policy that banned “dreadlocks, cornrows, beads, and shells” unless they were covered by a hat or visor. When Patricia Pitts challenged the grooming policy as a form of race discrimination, the Court relied on the Rodgers precedent and rejected the race discrimination claim.

In summary, when grooming codes have been challenged in the legal system as being discriminatory, the courts have ruled in favor of the employers stating that the ban of ethnic hairstyles does not constitute discrimination on the basis of immutable characteristics (Macon 2015). Although afros are recognized by the legal system as representing a racial characteristic and receive at least a modicum of protection, braids, twist, and dreadlocks are not considered to be equivalent in this regard and are not protected. As a result, opined Onwuachi-Willig (2010, p.1087), “the legal system does not recognize and appreciate the burden grooming policies” impose on Black women to either hide or change a natural, phenotypical characteristic.” Restricting these hairstyles leaves very few options available to Black women other than altering the natural texture of their hair.

SOCIAL-IDENTITY-BASED IMPRESSION MANAGEMENT

According to Roberts (2005), in diverse organizations, social identity groups that are in a numerical minority tend to be more salient than majority identity groups and thus individuals in such groups are often motivated to engage in social-identity-based impression management (SIM), defined as “the process of strategically influencing others’ perceptions of one’s own social identity in order to form a desired impression” (p.694). One SIM strategy is assimilation which involves “attempts to reduce the salience of one’s own social identity by emphasizing distinctiveness from one’s own social identity group and similarities with members of more positively regarded social identity groups” (p.696). An example of assimilation was expressed by an African American vice president in Anderson’s (1999) study of African American executives:

The thing is that once you [African Americans] get on that management track, either you change right away and start wearing different suits and different clothing or you never rise any higher. They’re never going to envision you as being a White male, but if you can dress the same and look a certain way and drive a conservative car and whatever else, they’ll say, this guy has a similar attitude, similar values. He’s a team player. If you don’t dress with the uniform, obviously you’re on the wrong team. . . . It’s a choice (1999, p. 17, c.f. Roberts, 2005, p.696)

Thus, says Roberts (2005, p.696), appearing similar to others “may be a viable strategy for generating an impression that is based on one’s professional competence rather than one’s membership in a devalued social identity group.” In support, there is ample anecdotal evidence that Black women feel pressured to adopt Eurocentric hairstyles in the workplace. For example, a woman interviewed by Gordon (2013) said, “During an interview, an African-American woman with straightened hair is confident in the knowledge that her hair is not a factor in the interviewer’s thoughts because we have all bought into the idea that straightened hair is acceptable. Curly, kinky and braided hair is not.” A woman interviewed by Hill (2013) said “The lady told me that (if) I wanted to work for her company, I couldn’t wear my hair in its natural state. Not even braids. She said ‘nappy isn’t happy here.’” In addition, one in five Black women who participated in the Perception Institute study expressed that they feel social pressure to straighten their hair for work (MacFarlane, Tropp, & Goff, 2017).

Given judgments of executive presence--whether or not an individual is perceived as possessing what it takes to succeed--are affected by appearance, and that unkempt hair is noted as a key female appearance

blunder behind poorly maintained clothing (Hewlett, 2014), we expect altering one's natural hair texture to be an impression management strategy used by most Black female executives. More specifically, we predict that:

Hypothesis 1: Most Black female executives will adopt a Eurocentric hairstyle.

According to Roberts (2005), whether one engages in social identity-based impression management is dependent, in part, on the potential benefits one expects might be gained from a successful impression management attempt and the likelihood of successfully carrying out the attempt. Thus, people may not use SIM strategies if they feel they are incapable of changing the perceptions others have of them or if they feel the benefit of doing so is not worth the effort required to engage in such a strategy. The organizational context is also relevant. According to Nemeth and Staw (1989), employees are most likely to engage in impression management when rewards are based on subjective appraisals of whether employees have conformed to organizational norms and the tastes and preferences of management. Thus, in business situations where Black women are founders or cofounders of an organization, it is less likely they will feel pressured to adopt Eurocentric hairstyles because they aren't dependent on the perceptions of others for promotions. Therefore, it is predicted:

Hypothesis 2: Compared to non-founders, Afrocentric hairstyles will be more common among Black female executives who are either founders or co-founders of an organization.

To test our hypotheses, two studies were conducted. Similar to Takeda, Helms, Klintworth, and Sompayrac (2005) who examined the hair color of Fortune 500 CEOs, we examine a list of "Successful Black Women Entrepreneurs and Executives" as identified by *Black Enterprise* to see what percentage of them have Afrocentric hairstyles. We chose not to use the Fortune 500 list of CEOs as there was only one Black woman on the current list. Study 2 broadens the scope to Black women in corporate executive positions in Fortune 500 companies.

METHOD

Study 1

On its website, *Black Enterprise* provided a list of 108 Black women executives (Successful Black Women Entrepreneurs & Executives, n.d.). Two women on the list (Madame C. J. Walker and Maggie Lena Walker) do not live in modern times and were therefore excluded from the study. Photos of the remaining women were examined to determine their hairstyle. In situations where a photo was not provided on the website or the hairstyle could not be easily determined, Google search was utilized to obtain other images on which the determination was based.

Study 2

Study 2 used the same approach but broadened the study to Black women in Fortune 500 companies in executive management positions. Websites for each of the Fortune 500 companies were examined to identify the corporate officers and more specifically those who were Black women. Company websites that did not provide pictures of their executives were not included in the study. Where it was difficult to clearly identify race solely from the pictures provided, additional Internet searches were used to provide background information and determine race. Again, a Google search was utilized to provide additional pictures to determine hairstyle when necessary.

RESULTS

Study 1

A total of 15 (14.15%) of the 106 Black, women entrepreneurs and executives in our sample chose Afrocentric hairstyles supporting Hypothesis 1. However, because Black women executives working outside the United States might be subject to a different set of norms, the sample was revised by removing 20 women who were from other countries. One additional executive was eliminated because she passed away in 2001 and it is unknown that if she were still living whether her appearance and hairstyle would

have changed since 2001. With the revised sample, a total of 12 (approximately 14%) wore Afrocentric hairstyles. Thus, the removal of foreign executives had little effect on the percentage who choose Afrocentric hairstyles.

Next, the sample was divided into two groups, founders and non-founders. Within the founders group, 6 of the 19 founders (31.6%) had Afrocentric hairstyles while only 6 of the 66 non-founders (9%) did. The results of a Chi Square analysis showed the difference between founders and non-founders was significant [$\chi^2(1, 85) = 6.15, p < .05$]. Thus, hypothesis 2 was supported.

Study 2

From the websites that contained pictures of the corporate leaders, 72 Black women were identified. These women were then classified as having Eurocentric or Afrocentric hairstyles. One woman appeared to be bald and was not placed in either category; two others, for whom Google searches were done to determine their hairstyle, were seen in different photos wearing both Eurocentric and Afrocentric hairstyles and were placed in the Afrocentric group. In total, 60 (83.3%) had Eurocentric hairstyles, 11 (15.3%) had Afrocentric styles that included braids, twists, short afros, and extremely short, natural haircuts. Thus, study 2 adds further support for hypothesis 1.

DISCUSSION

Using Roberts (2005) social-identity based impression management framework, we predicted most Black female executives would adopt Eurocentric hairstyles. Consistent with our predictions, both studies showed a small percentage (about 14 or 15%) of Black female executives have Afrocentric hairstyles. We also predicted that founders and co-founders would feel less pressure to adopt Eurocentric hairstyles because they aren't dependent on the perceptions of others for promotions. In support, a significantly larger percentage of Black founders and co-founders were found to have Afrocentric hairstyles (31.6%) compared to the percentage of non-founders with Afrocentric hairstyles (9%). Together these findings suggest Eurocentric preferences, stereotypes, and bias seem to have a significant influence on the hair choices of Black women working their way up the corporate ladder.

Limitations and Directions for Future Research

The samples used for this study were relatively small and were limited to those for which data were available through online sources. Thus, it is possible that the samples were not an accurate representation of Black female executives. Future research is needed using a larger sample. A larger sample would also allow for comparisons by industry. For example, it may be that type of industry affects hairstyle choices. While our current sample represented several different industries, the sample size was too small to make comparisons.

Another limitation of this study is that it is still unknown whether Black female executives are more likely than nonexecutives to adopt Eurocentric hairstyles. Although no exact statistics could be found on the percentage of Black women in the United States who choose Afrocentric hairstyles, the Mintel research firm reported 71% of black adults in the U.S. wore their hair natural at least once in 2016 (c.f., Easter 2017) and another source reported that over 65 percent of Black female consumers are currently relaxing their hair (Walker, 2012). Thus, these figures suggest that a greater proportion of the Black female population, in general, are wearing Afrocentric hairstyles, future research is needed comparing executives and non-executives.

A third limitation is that our findings do not explain why Black female executives are choosing to adopt Eurocentric hairstyles. Is it an acceptance of a racially biased standard of beauty, an internalized form of oppression, or a desire to manage the impressions of others to help increase the likelihood that they will advance in their careers? Likewise, it is unknown why founders, compared to non-founders are more likely to adopt Afrocentric hairstyles. It is possible that founders are more likely to take risks in both in business and in personal appearance. However, additional qualitative research is needed to gain a better understanding of the motivations for their decisions.

Additional research is also needed to examine the consequences to Black women of conforming to Eurocentric standards of what constitutes beautiful and professional hair. Research on emotional labor--the process of regulating one's emotions during interactions with customers, co-workers and supervisors to meet the expectations or requirements of the jobs--shows that dissonance between one's felt and expressed emotions often leads to stress, emotional exhaustion and burnout (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Hochschild, 1983; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1989). Likewise, altering one's appearance to conform to job or organizational expectations or requirements (referred to as "appearance labor" or aesthetic labor") may lead to dissonance if individuals feel forced to adopt appearance standards that go against their preferences (Peluchette, Karl & Rust, 2006; Witz, Warhust & Nickson, 2003). In addition to a substantial financial burden, organizational expectations for Eurocentric hairstyles may create a heavy emotional and cognitive burden for Black women as they consider their hairstyle choices and make decisions how to best manage the impressions of others. These added burdens may eventually lead to resentment, lower organizational commitment and higher turnover. Future research is needed to examine these relationships.

Implications for Practice

Organizations should examine their dress and grooming codes to see what is necessary because of job-related factors and what may introduce unnecessary bias and stereotyping as well as undue pressures for Black women to conform to a standard of beauty that does not regard their ethnic differences. According to the EEOC guidelines, "Employers can impose neutral hairstyle rules – e.g., that hair be neat, clean, and well-groomed – as long as the rules respect racial differences in hair textures and are applied evenhandedly" (eoc.gov). Thus, when grooming policies have a disproportionate effect on or seem to specifically target a certain portion of the population without allowances for racial and ethnic differences particularly when they are not job-related, they should be reevaluated, modified, or simply eliminated.

CONCLUSION

As more Black women embrace their natural hair textures and Afrocentric hairstyles gain more acceptance in society, standards for what is considered beautiful, appropriate, and professional may also be redefined and the pressure to adopt Eurocentric hairstyles may lessen, but only time will tell. The results of the current study suggest that there is still considerable pressure to adopt Eurocentric hairstyles.

REFERENCES

- Ali v. Mount Sinai Hosp.*, No. 92 CIV. 6129 (JGK) (NG), 1996 WL 325585, at *7 (S.D.N.Y. June 12, 1996).
- Anderson, E. (1999). The social situation of the Black executive: Black and White identities in the corporate world. In M. Lamont (Ed.), *The Cultural Territories of Race: Black and White Boundaries*: 3-29. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Arie, I. (2005). *I Am Not My Hair*, song lyrics retrieved February 13, 2018at: <http://genius.com/Indiaarie-i-am-not-my-hair-lyrics>
- Awad, G., Norwood, C., Taylor, D. S., Martinez, M., McClain, S., Jones, B., & Chapman-Hilliard, C. (2015). Beauty and Body Image Concerns Among African American college women. *Journal of Black Psychology*, 41(6), 540-564.
- Bailey, J. (2017). The truth about hair-straightening treatments. *O, The Oprah Magazine*. Retrieved February 12, 2018 at: <http://www.oprah.com/style/the-truth-about-hair-straightening-treatments#ixzz56AXijYzI>
- Banks, I. (2000). *Hair Matters: Beauty, power, and Black women's consciousness*. New York, NY: NYU Press
- Bellinger, W. (2007). Why African American women try to obtain 'good hair'. *Sociological Viewpoints*, 23, 63-72.
- Bennett-Alexander & Harrison, L. F. (2016). My hair is not like yours: Workplace hair grooming policies for African American women as racial stereotyping in violation of title VII, *Cardozo Journal of Law & Gender*, 22, 437-462.
- Bowen, F. & O'Brien-Richardson, P. (2017). Cultural hair practices, physical activity, and obesity among urban African-American girls. *Journal of the American Association of Nurse Practitioners*, 29 (12), 754-762.
- Brotheridge, C. M.; Grandey, A. A. (2002). Emotional labor and burnout: Comparing two perspectives of 'people work'. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 60, 17-39.
- Brown, S. L. (2015). Wearing my afro is always a political act. *The New Republic*, retrieved February 13, 2018 at: <https://newrepublic.com/article/122515/wearing-my-afro-always-political-act>.
- Byrd, A. & Tharps, L. (2014). *Hair Story: Untangling the roots of Black hair in America*. New York, NY: St. Martin' Griffin 2nd Edition.
- Capodilupo, C. C., & Suah, K. (2014). Gender and race matter: The importance of considering intersections in black women's body image. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 61(1), 37-49.
- Cole, Y. (2007). Is natural black hair a glamour don't? Retrieved February 14, 2018 at: <http://www4.uwm.edu/ptb/africology250/glamour.pdf>.
- Easter, M. (2017). Money flowing into the natural hair industry is a blessing and curse for those who built it up. Retrieved February 12, 2018 at: <http://www.latimes.com/business/la-fi-natural-hair-industry-20170809-htlstory.html>
- EEOC v. Catastrophe Management Solutions*, No. 14-13482, 2016 WL 4916851 (11th Cir. Sept. 15, 2016).
- Ellis-Hervey, N., Doss, A., Davis, D., Nicks, R., & Araiza, P. (2016). African American personal presentation: Psychology of hair and self-perception. *Journal of Black Studies*, 47 (8), 869-882.
- Gordon, S. (2013). Is your 'natural' hairstyle preventing you from getting a job? Retrieved February 12, 2018 at: <https://www.forbes.com/sites/shenegotiates/2013/03/11/is-your-natural-hairstyle-preventing-you-from-getting-a-job-2/#568b8195646e>
- Greene, D. W. (2017). Splitting hairs: The Eleventh Circuit's take on workplace bans against Black women's natural hair in *EEOC v. Catastrophe Management Solutions*, *University of Miami Law Review*, 71, 987-1036.
- Haskin, A., & Aguh, C. (2016). All hairstyles are not created equal: What the dermatologist needs to know about black hairstyling practices and the risk of traction alopecia (TA). *Journal of the American Academy of Dermatology*, 75(3), 606-611.

- Hazen, L., & Syrdahl, J. (2010). Dress codes and appearance policies: What not to wear at work. *The Colorado Lawyer*, 39(9), 55-63.
- Hewlett, S. A. (2014). *Executive presence: The missing link between merit and success*. First edition. New York, NY: Harper Business, an imprint of Harper Collins Publishers.
- Hill, I. (2013). Viewpoint: How is natural, African-American hair viewed in the workplace? Retrieved February 12, 2018 at: <http://college.usatoday.com/2013/07/01/viewpoint-how-is-natural-african-american-hair-viewed-in-the-workplace/>.
- Hochschild, A.R. (1983). *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Hudson, M. L., Hunter, K. O. & Rogers, P. C. (2017). Hair and outrospection in the nonprofit and public sectors. *Qualitative Research Journal*, 17 (2), 24-139.
- Huebschmann, A. G., Campbell, L. J., Brown, C. S., & Dunn, A. L. (2016). My hair or my health: Overcoming barriers to physical activity in African American women with a focus on hairstyle-related factors. *Women & Health*, 56(4), 428-447.
- Jones, C., & Shorter-Gooden, K. (2003). *Shifting: The double lives of African American women in America*. New York: Harper Collins.
- MacFarlane, J., Tropp, L. R., & Goff, P. A. (2017). Explicit and implicit attitudes toward Black women's hair. Retrieved February 13, 2018 at: <https://perception.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/TheGood-HairStudyFindingsReport.pdf>
- Macon, A. L. F. (2015). Hair's the thing: Trait discrimination and forced performance of race through racially conscious public school hairstyle prohibitions. *University of Pennsylvania Journal of Constitutional Law*, 17, 1255-1281.
- Mintel (2015). Natural hair movement drives sales of styling products in us Black haircare market. Retrieved February 13, 2018 at: <http://www.mintel.com/press-centre/beauty-and-personal-care/natural-hair-movement-drives-sales-of-styling-products-in-us-black-haircare-market>
- Nemeth, C. J. & Staw, B. M. (1989). The tradeoffs of social control and innovation in groups and organizations, In Berkowitz, L. (Ed.), *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, Vol. 22. New York: Academic Press, 175–210.
- Norwood, C. R. (2017): Decolonizing my hair, unshackling my curls: An autoethnography on what makes my natural hair journey a Black feminist statement, *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, Retrieved February 12, 2018 at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616742.2017.1369890>
- Onwuachi-Willig, A. (2010). Another hair piece: Intersectional race and gender discrimination under Title VII. *Georgetown Law Journal*, 98, 1079-1132.
- Opiah, A. (2014). The changing business of Black hair, a potentially \$500b industry, *Huffington Post* (Jan. 24, 2014). Retrieved February 12, 2018 at: <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/antonia-opiah/the-changingbusiness-of- b 4650819.html>
- Opie, T. R., & Phillips, K. W. (2015). Hair penalties: The negative influence of Afrocentric hair on ratings of Black women's dominance and professionalism. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 6 (1131), 1-16.
- Patton, T. O. (2006). Hey girl, am I more than my hair?: African American women and their struggles with beauty, body image, and hair. *NWSA Journal*, 18 (2), 24-51.
- Peluchette, J. V., Karl, K. A., & Rust, K. (2006). Dressing to impress: Beliefs and attitudes regarding workplace attire. *Journal of Business and Psychology*, 21 (1), 45-63.
- Pitts v. Wild Adventures, Inc.*, No. 7:06-CV-62-HL, 2008 WL 1899306 (M.D. Ga. Apr. 25, 2008).
- Rafaeli, A.; Sutton, R. I. (1989). The expression of emotion in organizational life. *Research in Organizational Behavior*, 11, 1–42.
- Randle, B. A. (2015). I am not my hair; African American women and their struggles with embracing natural hair! *Race, Gender & Class*, 22 (1/2), 114-121.
- Roberts, L. M. (2005). Changing faces: Professional image construction in diverse organizational settings. *Academy of Management Review*, 30(4), 685–711.

- Roberts, L. M., & Roberts, D. D. (2007). Testing the Limits of antidiscrimination law: The business, legal, and ethic ramifications of cultural profiling at work. *Duke Journal of Gender Law and Policy*, 14, 369-405.
- Rogers v. American Airlines, Inc.*, 527 F. Supp. 229 (S.D.N.Y. 1981).
- Rooks, N. (1996). *Hair Raising: Beauty, Culture, and African American Women*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
- Rosette, A. S., & Dumas, T. L. (2007). Hair Dilemma: Conform to mainstream expectations or emphasize racial identity. *Duke Journal of Gender Law & Policy*, 14, 407-421.
- Schuker, L. A. E. (2009). A comic's 'Good Hair' day. After two years, Chris Rock completes his documentary on African-American coiffure. Retrieved February 12, 2018 at: <https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB123266955608708165>
- Successful Black Women Entrepreneurs & Executives, retrieved February 13, 2018 at: <https://www.blackentrepreneurprofile.com/successful-women/> .
- Takeda, M. B., Helms, M. M., Klintworth, P., & Sompayrac, J. (2005). Hair colour stereotyping and CEO selection: can you name any blonde CEOs? *Equal Opportunities International*, 24(1), 1-13.
- Terkel, 2014 Military revises 'Racially Biased' Hairstyle Rules. Retrieved February 13, 2018 at: (http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2014/08/13/military-hairstyle_n_5675031.html).
- Thomas, T. (2013). "Hair" they are: The ideologies of Black hair. *The York Review*, 9, 1-10.
- Thomas, W. C. (2009, Oct 25). OPINION: What is 'good hair'? for Black women, there's no easy answer. *McClatchy - Tribune Business News*. Retrieved February 12, 2018 from <https://proxy.lib.utc.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.proxy.lib.utc.edu/docview/457332864?accountid=14767>
- Thompson, C. (2008-2009). Black Women and identity: What's hair got to do with it? *Michigan Feminist Studies*, 22 (1). Retrieved February 12, 2018 at: <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?cc=mfsfront;c=mfs;c=mfsfront;idno=ark5583.0022.105:g=mfsg;rgn=main;view=text;xc=1>
- Thompson, C. (2009). Black women, beauty, and hair as a matter of being. *Women's Studies*, 38(8), 831-856.
- Versey, H. S. (2014). Centering Perspectives on Black Women, Hair Politics, and Physical Activity. *American Journal of Public Health*, 104(5), 810-815.
- Walker, K. (2012). HAIR: Black Women's Right to Remain Relaxed. Retrieved February 12, 2018 at: <http://www.eyony.com/style/hair-black-womens-right-to-remain-relaxed-122>
- White, S. B. (2005). Releasing the pursuit of bouncin' and behavin' hair: natural hair as an Afrocentric feminist aesthetic for beauty. *International Journal of Media & Cultural Politics*, 1(3), 295-308.
- Wich, S. M. (2016). EEOC's Stance on Dreadlocks Rejected. Retrieved February 13, 2018 at: <https://www.shrm.org/resourcesandtools/legal-and-compliance/employment-law/pages/dreadlocks-eeoc-stance-rejected.aspx>
- Wise, L. A., Palmer, J. R., Reich, D., Cozier, Y. V., Rosenberg, L. (2012). Hair Relaxer Use and Risk of Uterine Leiomyomata in African-American Women. *American Journal of Epidemiology*, 175 (5), 432-440.
- Witz, A., Warhurst, C. & Nickson, D. (2003) The labour of aesthetics and the aesthetics of organisation, *Organisation*, 10 (1), 33-54.
- Wright, D. R., Gathers, R., Kapke, A., Johnson, D., & Joseph, C. L. (2011). Hair care practices and their association with scalp and hair disorders in African American girls. *Journal of the American Academy of Dermatology*, 64(2), 253-262.