9-30-2015

Beauty Practices Among Latinas: The Impact of Acculturation, Skin Color and Sex Roles

Angelica Flores

Graduate Center, City University of New York

How does access to this work benefit you? Let us know!

Follow this and additional works at: http://academicworks.cuny.edu/gc_etds

Part of the Clinical Psychology Commons, Latin American Languages and Societies Commons, Latin American Studies Commons, and the Social Psychology Commons

Recommended Citation


http://academicworks.cuny.edu/gc_etds/922

This Dissertation is brought to you by CUNY Academic Works. It has been accepted for inclusion in All Dissertations, Theses, and Capstone Projects (2014-Present) by an authorized administrator of CUNY Academic Works. For more information, please contact deposit@gc.cuny.edu.
BEAUTY PRACTICES AMONG LATINAS: THE IMPACT OF ACCULTURATION, SKIN COLOR, AND SEX ROLES.

By

Angelica Flores

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Psychology in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy The City University of New York 2015
This manuscript has been read and accepted by the Graduate Faculty in Psychology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Elliot L. Jurist, Ph.D., Ph.D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chair of Examining Committee</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Maureen O’Connor, Ph.D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Executive Officer, Psychology</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Denise Hien, Ph.D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Deidre Anglin, Ph.D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Lesia Ruglass, Ph.D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Annabella Bushra, Ph.D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Supervisory Committee

THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK
ABSTRACT

BEAUTY PRACTICES AMONG LATINAS: THE IMPACT OF ACCULTURATION, SKIN COLOR, AND SEX ROLES.

By
Angelica Flores

Advisor: Elliot Jurist, Ph.D.

This study sought to explore if and how Latinas use of beauty products (cosmetics) was influenced by their degree of acculturation to U.S. American culture, their phenotype (skin color and facial features) and sex role orientation. While beauty practices are often regarded as trivial, they are important because they reflect women’s internalization of societal values and speak to the importance placed on impression management. Although it can be easily observed that people go to great lengths to decorate their exteriors in order to manage others perceptions of them, very few studies look at variables that influence these behaviors. Also, while there is extensive research on women’s bodies and their attempts to control it as evidence of the internalization of societal values, there is little information available about women’s manipulation of their facial attractiveness. It was speculated that one of the main reasons women engage in such practices is to gain social capital within a society that highly prizes feminine beauty. This study focused on Latinas as a result of the disproportionate emphasis on White women’s cosmetics use in the existing literature, as well as this groups’ unique social location in this country. Latinas are diverse and must regularly negotiate a double minority status as women of color, while also straddling a line between internalizing a new culture and retaining their culture of origin. Based on previous research among Latinas, it was expected that high U.S. American acculturation, medium skin color and high femininity scores would be related to
beauty product use among this sample.

Three original measures, the Beauty Practices Questionnaire (BPQ), the Skin Color Measure, and a Facial Ranking Task, were created specifically for this study and were piloted with a 50-subject sample. The BPQ was found to be reliable, but the Facial Ranking Task and Skin Color measure were not. As a result, measures were edited using participant feedback and a minimally altered version of the BPQ as well as a new measure that combined skin color and facial beauty preferences, the Skin Color and Facial Feature Preferences Measure, were included in the main study. The main study obtained data from 202 adult Latinas currently residing in the United States. Participants completed study measures online, which included the revised original measures and a demographics questionnaire, as well as the Abbreviated Multidimensional Acculturation Scale (AMAS), the Bem Sex Role Inventory – Short Form (BSRI-SF), and the Brief Symptom Inventory (BSI), all of which have been previously validated.

Results: Descriptive statistics, including tests of skewness and kurtosis, indicated that the main study data was normally distributed. Linear regressions were used to test the relationship between participant’s acculturation and enculturation and actual beauty product use as well as motivation to use beauty products. Contrary to what was expected, U.S. American acculturation scores were unrelated to beauty product use and to beauty product use motivation. However, native enculturation was significantly positively related with actual beauty product use. One-way ANOVAs were conducted in order to determine whether differences in actual cosmetics use and motivation to use beauty products were related to participant’s self-rated skin color. Contrary to what was expected, no significant differences in beauty product use or beauty product use motivation scores were observed between differently skin-colored participant groups. A linear regression was used to test the relationship between acculturation and enculturation and skin
color dissatisfaction. Since preliminary analyses found that married status covaried with skin color dissatisfaction, with married women expressing a greater degree of skin color dissatisfaction when compared to single women, married status was controlled for. Results did not support the hypothesis with U.S. American acculturation being unrelated to skin color dissatisfaction. A correlational analysis also failed to support the hypothesis that overall facial feature dissatisfaction scores would be related to U.S. American acculturation. Finally, correlational analyses were conducted in order to test the relationships between femininity and masculinity and beauty product use and motivation to use beauty products. The data did not support the hypothesis and, in fact, opposite relationships than those expected were found; while femininity was unrelated to beauty product use and motivation to use, masculinity was significantly positively correlated with actual beauty product use. Various explanations for non-significant finding are discussed and the relationships between beauty product use and native enculturation and masculinity are also expanded upon.

*Keywords:* Latina, Beauty, Cosmetics, Makeup, Acculturation, Enculturation, Skin Color, Sex Role, Femininity, Masculinity.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my gratitude to all the people who have supported me along the dissertation process as well as my journey through graduate school.

Firstly, I would like to thank all of the women who participated in the Latina Beauty Study without whom this project would not have been possible. I would especially like to thank the members of the Latinas Completing Doctoral Degrees Facebook group for participating, for advertising the study and for continuously inspiring and motivating me along the way.

I would like to express my sincere thanks to my committee. To my chair, Dr. Elliot Jurist, thank you for always walking the walk. From the moment you welcomed me into the program your consistency and transparency have been a breath of fresh air and I could not be happier that you were also the first to welcome me as a colleague into our field. To Dr. Denise Hien, thank you for encouraging my ideas and for all of the research and clinical opportunities you have given me; I cherish all that I learned from you and will carry it with me to my future endeavors. To Dr. Deidre Anglin, thank you for your support and your thoughtfulness, my dissertation truly would not have been possible without your direction and genuine interest. To Dr. Lesia Ruglass, thank you for all your thought-provoking questions and for all that you taught me during my time at TAP. To Dr. Annabella Bushra, I will be forever grateful for your support during the dissertation process as well as my time in residence; you not only helped me to grow as a clinician but also consistently modeled a generosity, optimism and kindness that allowed me to grow as a person. In addition, I would like to thank my statistician, Dr. Sarai Batchelder, who went above-and-beyond the call of duty by assisting me with conceptualization questions and graciously responded to my obsessive inquiries, reassuring me that all would end well.
Finally, I would like to thank family and friends whose love and support have sustained me throughout my years in graduate school. Shamim, your unconditional love and patience never cease to amaze me; thank you for being you and for allowing me to be all the versions of me I’ve needed to be in order to survive and thrive all of these years. Karin, you are more than a colleague and friend, you are my sister and I will always be thankful that we have had each other to celebrate during the highs and commiserate during the lows. To my brothers, Neto and Arturo, thank you for always expecting more from me, I hope I have made you proud. Seli, thank you for your grace and patience; I will now have the freedom to be more fun on the weekends and hope that you know that if I can reach my dream, so can you. And last, but certainly not least, mami, gracias por su amor, su apollo y su fe; sin su ejemplo y su esfuerzo jamás hubiera podido alcanzar este sueño.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF TABLES</td>
<td>xiv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overview of the Study</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acculturation</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colorism among African-Americans</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colorism among Latinos</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acculturation, Femininity and Skin Color</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women’s Beauty</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beauty and Skin Color</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cosmetics</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cosmetics, Status and Sex Roles</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research Questions and Hypotheses</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypothesis 1</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypothesis 2</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypothesis 3</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypothesis 4</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER 3: METHODS</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overview</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pilot Study Method</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sample</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table of Contents (Continued)</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Procedures</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measures</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beauty Practices</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facial Rankings</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skin Color Measure</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pilot Study Data Analyses</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pilot Study Results</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demographics Questionnaire</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beauty Practices</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facial Ranking Task</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skin Color Measure</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pilot Study Qualitative Results</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pilot Study Discussion</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main Study Sample</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Procedures</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measures</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demographics</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acculturation</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex Roles</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beauty Practices</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facial Beauty Preferences</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychological Functioning</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table of Contents (Continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Statistical Analyses</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER 4: RESULTS</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main Study Summary Statistics</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preliminary Analyses</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital Status</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S. Born Status</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participants’ Scores on Measures</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Abbreviated Multidimensional Acculturation Scale</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Bem Sex Role Inventory- Short Form</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Beauty Practices Questionnaire</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skin color and Facial Beauty Preferences</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relationship Among Variables</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tests of Hypotheses</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypothesis 1</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypothesis 2</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alternative Hypothesis 3</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypothesis 4</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qualitative Analysis</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table of Contents (Continued)

External Influence 93
Judgment 94
Dependence 95
Pleasure 95
Confidence 96
External Appearance 96
Imperfections 97
Natural versus Excessive 97
Situational Use 97
Limitations 98

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION 99
Overview 99
Acculturation and Enculturation 101
Sex Roles 103
Skin Color 106
Facial Beauty Preferences 109
Additional Quantitative Findings 113
Original Measures 113
Additional Limitations 119
Implications of Findings and Future Directions 120

APPENDIX A. Pilot Study Measures 123

APPENDIX B. Main Study Measures 139
### Table of Contents (Continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX C. Main Study Qualitative Codes</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFERENCES</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Pilot Study Summary of Demographic Variables</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Pilot Beauty Practices Questionnaire (BPQ) - Beauty Product Use Inventory Descriptive Statistics and Item Reliability Analysis Summary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Pilot Beauty Practices Questionnaire - Beauty Product Use Motivation Inventory Descriptive Statistics and Item Reliability Analysis Summary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Pilot Facial Ranking Task – Response Reliability Values</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Pilot Skin Color Measure Descriptive Statistics and Frequency Summary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Summary of Independent Variables, Potential Moderators and Dependent Variables</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Summary of Demographic Variables</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Pearson’s Correlations Between Age, Education, Income and Dependent Variables</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>ANOVA: Difference in Dependent Variables Based on Marital Status</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>t-Tests: Difference in Dependent Variables Based on U.S. Born Status</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Beauty Practices Questionnaire (BPQ) - Beauty Product Use Inventory Descriptive Statistics and Item Reliability Analysis Summary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Beauty Practices Questionnaire - Beauty Product Use Motivation Inventory Descriptive Statistics and Item Reliability Analysis Summary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Beauty Practices Questionnaire (BPQ) – Additional Questions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Skin Color and Facial Beauty Preferences Frequency Summary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Descriptive Statistics Of Independent and Dependent Variables</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Intercorrelation of Variables</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Linear Regression Analysis Predicting Cosmetics Use to Acculturation and Enculturation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Linear Regression Analysis Predicting Cosmetics Use to Acculturation and Enculturation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>ANOVA: Differences Between Skin Color Groups on Cosmetic Use Scores</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>ANOVA: Differences Between Skin Color Groups on Cosmetic Use Motivation Scores</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Linear Regression Analysis Predicting Facial Beauty Preferences Skin Color Dissatisfaction Scores to Acculturation and Enculturation While Controlling for Married Status</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linear Regression Analysis Predicting Total Facial Beauty Preference Dissatisfaction Scores to Acculturation and Enculturation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Overview of the Study

As the U.S. Census has repeatedly demonstrated in recent decades, Latinos make up a rapidly increasing percentage of the American population. The fact that there is now a large number of Latinos makes it important to understand if and how this group of people has adapted to American culture. Gaining more knowledge about their experiences and the behavioral changes they undergo as they adapt is key to informing mental health theory and practice. One of the most extensively studied processes related to psychological adjustment and various health outcomes for Latinos is acculturation. It is now generally accepted that it is important to understand how immigrants, not just Latinos, adjust to life in environments that vary from their cultures of origin. Such information can be helpful in facilitating interventions targeting these populations by tailoring them to be more culturally sensitive and appropriate. Acculturation research is also important because it can highlight which factors contribute to difficulties in adjustment for immigrants as well as which protective factors safeguard them from issues facing natives.

Although the pan-ethnic term “Latino” is used as an umbrella term for a diverse group of people, Latinos represent a culturally heterogeneous group and therefore vary on several cultural factors. One variable that merits more attention in the literature is the difference in skin color among Latinos. Researchers that have focused on the interaction between skin color and various outcomes, such as income and education, have found that skin color is an important factor to take into account. Colorism refers to preferential treatment that is granted to some individuals based on the lightness of their skin color and denied to others based on the relative darkness of theirs. Discrimination in the form of colorism is especially damaging because it tends to be perpetrated
both by members of one’s own ethnic group as well as majority group members. Although this phenomenon has been studied among African-Americans and Afro-Caribbeans, it has been less studied among Latinos. Those studies that have looked at colorism among Latinos have found significant results indicating that a color hierarchy exists among this population which privileges lightness. Among Latinos this skin color hierarchy is rooted in phenotypic variation caused by Spanish and European ancestry dating back to the colonial period.

Some writers have extended this literature by noting that experiences of colorism are more likely to affect women of color, or to at least affect them differently. Because we live in a country that privileges whiteness and simultaneously places extensive and unrealistic standards of beauty on women, it is reasonable to expect that perceptions of attractiveness could be impacted by skin color for women of color in a way that decreases such perceptions. Although some may consider concern with a designation of lower attractiveness superficial, being written off as less beautiful because of one’s skin color or race is important for various reasons. For one, it is yet another way in which White standards are imposed and utilized to maintain a structure of inequality, both via the majority groups’ devaluing of difference and via the internalization of these beliefs by the oppressed group. Additionally, given the value assigned to beauty, it functions as a valuable commodity for women, placing those that are judged as less attractive at a disadvantage. Since beauty and lightness are often conflated, and some women of color may internalize these beliefs, division is created among minority women when those that are lighter are privileged because of their higher “beauty”/value.

The efforts that Black women make in order to “improve” their appearance, and thus increase their social value, has gotten more exposure in recent years. For example, Chris Rock’s 2009 movie, “Good Hair” generated a lot of attention because it explored Black women’s use of
hair relaxers and hair extensions to achieve a more desirable Eurotypic hair texture despite the threats these methods posed to their health and their wallets. Of course, it is not only Black women who make alterations, temporary, permanent, or semi-permanent, to their appearance. There is a giant global beauty industry that often promotes its products by tapping into women’s insecurities, regardless of race, color, or ethnicity. Women of all backgrounds invest a great deal of money into looking good; they dye, pluck, thread, wax, shave, laser, conceal, and even cut, nip, and tuck the things they don’t like. Many women spend significant amounts of time and money on practices they believe will make them more appealing and yet not much literature has explored psychological factors related to women’s beauty practices. Yes, there is now more literature exploring racialized beauty practices among Black women and even more studies looking at racial differences in body satisfaction and esteem, but there is a huge gap in the literature regarding the ways in which Latinas specifically do (or don’t) manipulate their physical appearance in order to bolster their social capital.

The practices women engage in and the personal reasons behind their beauty choices are about much more than the superficial. The choices women make, particularly in how they present themselves to the world, speak volumes about their sense of identity and how they wish to be perceived. Although preferences in how women physically arrange themselves certainly don’t speak to who they are as whole persons, they can provide a glimpse into some of their values and beliefs, as individuals and as a society. Understanding what beauty practices among Latinas reveal about them may be especially complex as a result of all the variables (i.e. degree of acculturation, sex role identification, ethnic identification, skin color, etc.) interacting to influence their sense of self and how they want to present themselves in this society.

This study was intended to narrow the gaps in several related but, as of yet, unconnected
areas. Specifically, the goal of this research was to clarify whether Latinas’ skin color and their adoption of American culture impact their decision to manipulate physical appearance via non-permanent cosmetic practices. The following literature review will begin with an exploration of the process of acculturation, the various possible outcomes immigrants face in this process and the specific factors that can make the transition to a new culture problematic. I will then discuss the history and impact of colorism among African-Americans and Afro-Caribbeans before delving into how those findings have been generalized and incorporated into research with Latinas. Although data on beauty practices among Latinas is very limited, the existing research on the subject will be discussed and connected with hypotheses about what beauty practices could be expected from Latinas.
CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Acculturation

Over the last several decades, immigration in the United States has rapidly increased the number of minority group populations. It is expected that the White population will become a statistical minority and that Latinos specifically are expected to be the largest contributors to this shift (Tran, Lee, & Burgess, 2010). For this reason, such researchers have argued that understanding the mental health needs of minority groups and adjusting available treatments to meet their specific needs should be of the utmost priority. According to the most recent U.S. Census (2010), Latinos make up 16% of the United States population and are considered the largest ethnic minority in the country, and in future years are only expected to grow in number.

Acculturation describes the process by which two or more groups change culturally and psychologically as a result of interacting with one another. It is an asymmetrical process in which exchanges between the groups tend to have a larger impact on, and require more changes from the non-dominant, immigrant group (Berry, 1990). Once immigration leads to interaction between different groups and individuals, the way in which acculturation happens is dependent on two issues: cultural maintenance and contact and participation (Berry, 1997). Cultural maintenance refers to the degree to which cultural identity and characteristics are valued and the degree to which groups wish to retain them. Contact and participation refers to the degree to which groups wish to become involved with other groups or keep to themselves. Berry described four possible outcomes that arise for the members of the non-dominant group from this process: assimilation, separation, integration, and marginalization. Assimilation is an outcome whereby the individual does not wish to maintain his/her cultural heritage and seeks daily interaction with other cultures. Separation is the outcome whereby an immigrant places value on holding onto
his/her original culture and at the same time wishes to avoid interaction with others from the majority group. *Integration* occurs when there is interest in both maintaining one’s original culture and engaging in daily interactions with other groups. And finally, *marginalization* is the outcome where there is little possibility or interest in cultural maintenance and little interest in having relations with others. Much like with European immigrants who settled here before them, the future of this country will be affected by how well or how poorly first generation Latino immigrants and their descendants acculturate.

Historically, it wasn’t until the 1954 Social Science Research Council that there was discussion about acculturation leading to outcomes other than assimilation of the non-dominant group. Later, Graves (1967) made a distinction between acculturation as a collective experience and acculturation at the individual psychological level. Research confirmed this as an important distinction since individuals have been found to vary greatly from their groups in level of change as a result of acculturation (Berry, 1970; Furnham & Bochner, 1986). At the individual level, acculturation is an intrapsychic experience that involves alterations in attitudes, cognitions, and perceptions (Senices, 2005). Why do people acculturate? Berry (1980) suggested that individuals acculturate in order to address internal conflict, thereby reducing (or eliminating) the distress caused by it. That conflict arises as a result of experiencing the self as disjointed or fragmented after being confronted by membership in two or more differing groups (Laframboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993).

In a study that looked at how immigrant youth (13 to 18-year-olds) acculturate across thirteen different societies, Berry, Phinney, Sam, and Vedder (2006) found that participants fell into four distinct profiles that corresponded to the previously discussed acculturation strategies. The “ethnic” profile (22.5% of the sample) was similar to separation in that immigrants showed a
clear orientation toward the culture of origin. Those falling within the “national” profile (18.7%) were similar to an assimilation strategy, showing a strong orientation for the majority society group. Those in the “integration” profile (36.4%) retained characteristics from their culture of origin and embraced the majority group as well. And although the fourth group, the “diffused” profile (22.4%), endorsed various contradictory acculturation attitudes (assimilation, marginalization, and separation), they appeared similar to those in the marginalization strategy in that they seemed generally confused about their place in society. Those individuals in this last category reported the highest level of perceived discrimination, with those in the integration and national profiles reporting the lowest levels of perceived discrimination.

Although there appear to be four clear possible outcomes of acculturation, they are not necessarily all be options that are available to the immigrant; that is, one or another outcome may be imposed by the type of reception provided by the dominant group. So, for example, sometimes people may choose separation, but, when other alternatives are not an option, this is considered segregation (Berry et al., 2006). The option to integrate can only be a ‘choice’ in societies that are open to and value diversity (Berry, 1991). In order for integration to occur, both groups involved must be accepting of each other’s right to exist as culturally different. Berry (1997) argues that societies that embrace cultural pluralism and take steps to support cultural diversity, via social programs and policies, enable integration. In contrast, societies whose policies seek to eliminate diversity are conducive to the assimilation strategy and lead to segregation and marginalization of non-majority groups and individuals. Those groups that are marginalized tend to experience hostility and discrimination, a factor that has been linked to poor long-term adaptation (Beiser et al., 1988) and has been labeled as the most serious risk factor to immigrants mental health (Fernando, 1993).
While the findings on acculturation indicate that most people that traverse through the process survive it, and frequently thrive, it is important to attend to the experiences of those smaller groups that struggle more and face negative outcomes, both internally and externally, because of it. Based on the reciprocity rule, a concept in social psychology of intergroup attitudes that refers to the tendency of likes or dislikes to be reciprocated (Kalin & Berry, 1996), Berry et al. (2006) argue that when individuals experience discrimination, they are more likely to reject interaction and involvement with the national society and are more likely to be oriented to their own group (ethnic/separate) or to express confusion and ambivalence regarding connection to any group (diffuse/marginalized). Berry (1997) argues that those who do not have a sense of themselves and who feel rejected by others are vulnerable to psychological costs, both within the majority context and within their own communities. Similarly to the ways in which a chain is considered only as strong as its weakest link, the fabric of a society cannot remain unaffected by the distress experienced among smaller pockets of its population. Ignoring this distress is not only harmful to the individual and small groups experiencing it, but can also produce a larger corrosive impact.

The impact of discriminatory practices, at the group and individual level, is sometimes considered only in its relation to the minority or marginalized group. However, there are also consequences for the oppressor in a society in which a dominant group endorses negative beliefs and engages in harmful practices towards its minority members. Psychoanalytic thinking leads us to understand discrimination as a projection of fear and hatred that has been previously experienced by the people/groups doing the hating. White (2002) has stated, “Victims of racial hatred hate themselves and hate others. Perpetrators of racial hatred have themselves been hated and hate themselves” (p. 421). At the group and national level, discrimination and intolerance
toward other cultures can be conceptualized similarly. The idea of *multicultural assumption* within Berry’s theory of acculturation (1977), suggests that those who cannot accept others from differing cultures are not secure in their own cultural identity. This process of hating can be understood succinctly through a Buddhist proverb about anger, one of the emotions closely associated with hating and discriminating against others, “Holding on to anger is like grasping a hot coal with the intent of harming another; you end up getting burned.” Discrimination definitely harms the oppressed, but it also has a negative impact on the oppressor. At the individual level it can lead to feelings of shame and guilt and at the social level it creates a hostile atmosphere that can have practical consequences in the financial and legal realms.

Given the negative impact of marginalization, it seems important to understand the factors that would lead some immigrants to experience it and not others. In the United States in particular, it is well known that racial discrimination is a pervasive and ongoing problem both for African-Americans and minority immigrant groups. Although racial identity among Latinos is quite complex, Latinos are often readily identified as non-White based on their phenotype, specifically their skin color, by the dominant group and this may leave them vulnerable to experiences of discrimination based on racial/ethnic distinctions.

**Colorism Among African-Americans**

Although colorism has existed for hundreds, if not thousands of years, the term was coined by Alice Walker (Wilder, 2010) and refers to a form of in-group prejudice based on an individual’s skin color, with lighter skinned individuals generally receiving preferential treatment. Colorism includes attitudes and beliefs that Blacks who have more European features (i.e. hair texture and facial features) are more attractive and intelligent than Blacks with features associated with African heritage (Russel-Cole, Wilson, & Hall, 2013). Racism refers to a system
of prejudice and discrimination that grants privilege to Whites and oppresses people of color or non-Whites. Although race is a social construct, racism is based on the erroneous assumption that race is biological and fixed (Hunter, 2002). Racism and colorism are different concepts, but are interrelated since colorism is often one way in which racism can be manifested. Research on the topic of colorism has largely ignored the phenomenon among Latinos, leading some theorists (Hall, 2011) to admonish intellectuals, particularly those that teach and work with Latinos, because of the propagation of Eurocentrism via this neglect.

Skin color is considered to be the most significant feature that people use when evaluating someone’s race (Brown, Dane, & Durham, 1998; Vázquez, García-Vázquez, Bauman, & Sierra, 1997). Hunter (2002) asserts that in America, as in much of the Western world, skin color is stratified because positive traits, such as beauty, have come to be associated with Whiteness while negative traits are more often associated with Blackness. This dichotomy has been internalized by Blacks and replicated within their community, with members attributing those positive qualities to light-skinned Blacks and the negative ones to dark-skinned Blacks (Harrison & Thomas, 2009). Although not often discussed openly, colorism is well-known within the Black community and has even been written about by widely recognized Black authors, such as Toni Morrison (2015). Colorism operates similarly among Latinos as a result of colonization and the internalized belief that the colonizers, White Europeans, were superior. To better understand the context that Latinos experience when they immigrate to the U.S., I will first discuss Colorism in terms of its development in the U.S. and then in Latin America.

Within American history, colorism dates back to the period of slavery. To address the issue of miscegenation during this time in the United States, the “one drop” rule was created in order to legally define all those who had even minimal African ancestry (just one drop) as Black
(Omi & Winant, 1986). This law was enacted to benefit White slave owners who could increase their slave holdings by turning the offspring they and other White servants fathered with female slaves into slaves as well. Although this law was theoretically supposed to place all Blacks on equal footing, that is, deprive them all of any rights, in practice there were significant differences in the way that Blacks were treated according to their skin color, facial features, and hair texture. These beliefs about the superiority of whiteness and lighter skin were transmitted down through generations so that African Americans today value lighter skin and perceive gradations of brown as being associated with different levels of status (Wilder, 2010).

Among African-Americans, the topic of colorism has remained somewhat taboo because of discomfort associated with the history of slavery, and specifically mixed offspring that resulted from the frequent rape of female slaves. Light-skinned Blacks have seen shifts in the way they have been perceived by both whites and other Blacks. The one-drop rule made it so that no matter how light, mixed individuals were considered Black. However, light skinned Blacks enjoyed privileges that their darker counterparts did not, both during slavery and afterward. Mixed slaves were often “house slaves”, allowed to work indoors while the harder job of working in the fields was reserved for those slaves that were dark and of more “pure” African blood. Dark-skinned Blacks were considered less human and less intelligent. After emancipation, light-skinned Blacks maintained distance from, and claimed superiority to, darker Blacks via participation in exclusive clubs that employed the use of colorism. Frequently, members of these clubs were allowed admission based on the paper bag test (i.e. having skin color that was lighter than a brown paper bag) and the blue blood test (i.e. having blood vein color that was clearly visible because of their lighter skin). Things took a turn for the worse for light-skinned African-
Americans in the 1960’s when the civil rights movement promoted Black pride and forced them to “prove” themselves as members of the Black community (Cunningham, 1997).

An early study of “color names and notions” among Black participants conducted by Charles Parrish (1946) revealed that there was a wide range of “color names” for different skin tones, 25 altogether, and that the names used to describe the lightest and darkest shades had more negative connotations whereas those used to describe medium skin tones reflected more favorable attitudes. In a more recent study, Wilder (2010) explored how color names among African American women in particular had, or had not, changed since Parrish’s (1946) study. The findings were similar and indicated that colorism among the women who participated was a three-tiered structure, with those falling into the medium skin tone range being less negatively labeled. Most color names found were for dark skin tones and were derogatory (i.e. charcoal and watermelon child), whereas middle skin tones received the least color names and were generally neutral (i.e. Brown). Although blatant discrimination based on skin color (e.g. the brown paper bag test) has largely disappeared since Parrish’s time, the results of this study indicated that for Black women, distinctions and preferences based on color are still very present. In particular, Wilder found that although women’s preference for brown skin was not assessed, it seemed that based on the neutral way in which they spoke about medium skin types, having brown skin was safe, or at least safer than light or dark skin within the African-American community.

Studies have provided evidence of prejudicial treatment toward dark-skinned Blacks across several domains. For example, Harrison and Thomas (2009) examined the preferential treatment shown toward light skinned Blacks in the job selection process and found that participants were more likely to recommend or hire light and medium-skinned job applicants even when dark-skinned applicants were equally qualified. Their findings provide evidence for
the preference for lighter skin and the unequal disadvantage that darker Blacks face. Studies that have looked at the representation of Blacks in media have noted that Blacks in advertisements tend to have lighter complexions (which is especially true for women) and more Caucasian features than Blacks in editorial photographs (Keenan, 1996). One study that looked at advertising trends in Ebony magazine, a publication aimed at Black audiences, found that although images of Blacks were “darkened” after the 1960s (as a result of an increase in Black pride), there was a gradual return of the lighter, Eurotypic look by the late 1980s (Leslie, 1995). Another study that focused on the way in which Black women are portrayed in news publications advertisements found that those Black women with White features were more likely to be pictured along with descriptor words such as ‘beautiful’ and ‘lovely’ than those Black women with Afrotypic features (Fears, 1998).

**Colorism Among Latinos**

Much like the transmission of internalized racism among African-Americans via slavery, colonial value systems were internalized by Latin Americans, so that even after colonialism came to an end, these values continued to be transmitted down to the generations that followed (Almaguer, 1994; Barrera, 1979; Blauner, 1972; Fanon, 1967; Jordan, 1968). Historically, colorism has been linked to the development of identity among Hispanics, with whiteness being idealized and Blackness being devalued (Senices, 2005). As a result of the colonization of Latin America, a social hierarchy largely based on color developed. Although it was not always necessarily true, those individuals with lighter skin where believed to contain more Spanish and less native blood. In Mexico, a four-tiered hierarchy developed after the Spanish conquest, with Spaniards at the top followed by Criolles (Spaniards born in Mexico), Mestizos (mixed Spaniard and Mexican), and Indians (natives) who were considered uneducated and savage (Fortes De
Leff, 2002). Those individuals that most closely resembled the Eurotypic ideal are the ones who occupied the highest positions in society.

Montalvo (2009) strongly believes that Latinos’ collective memories of colonialism have primed them to deal with discrimination based on phenotype in the U.S. Although Latinos are treated as a homogenous group, they have tremendous variability in terms of their identities as well as phenotype. Skin color among Latinos spans the gamut from white to brown to black. Montalvo also adds that the term ‘Hispanic’ (like ‘Latino’) has been used to racialize this heterogeneous group and has resulted in the designation of a minority status within which racism and colorism play key roles in the appointment of status. This label hides the fact that Latinos vary across various dimensions, including, nationality, social class, and sociohistory among many others. Unlike other groups whose population share individual features that are congruent with racial labels, the variation among this group, specifically in skin color, enables many Latinos to choose how they wish to identify racially. Thus, experiences of discrimination, such as colorism, may strongly impact whether Latinos can “pass” as White and develop an identity similar to dominant culture members or whether they will be classified as Black and develop a minority identity. Today, in the United States, those Latinos who can “pass” for White and wish to assimilate have the opportunity to experience the privileges enjoyed by the majority and denied to those individuals who are relegated to the minority groups (Senices, 2005). It has been noted that immigrant reception is largely influenced by how closely incomers resemble the population of the receiving site, both of the dominant and minority ethno-racial groups (Portes & Zhou, 1993). For this reason, Senices believes that White Latinos will be afforded the opportunity of a smooth transition into the majority culture and that colorism is the deciding factor that trumps all others in the acculturation process. This extension of the White racial
boundary to include some Latinos, mainly those with light skin, is not unlike what has historically transpired in this country when ethnic groups that were previously considered racially ambiguous (i.e. Jewish and Irish immigrants) were incorporated into the White category (Brodkin, 1999; Ignatiev, 1995; Roediger, 2005).

As previously discussed, acculturation is a process that immigrants must negotiate upon arriving within a new culture and their ability to do so successfully has important implications for various life outcomes. However, theories of acculturation have been criticized for ignoring the heterogeneity among Latinos and not taking into account how differences among them, such as skin color, will affect the outcome of their acculturation process (Montalvo, 2004, 2009). Studies that have focused on various Latin countries have found important information regarding colorist attitudes. For example, in Ecuador there is a geographic separation between the majority population who publically endorse the ideal of “Mestizage”, translating to mixed-race (while in actuality embracing “Blanqueamiento”, which translates to whitening), and the minority Black and indigenous populations who are mainly located in the impoverished regions of Esmeraldas and the Chota, away from the political centers of the nation. Those Ecuadorian Blacks who migrate to the main cities are typically employed in professions with the lowest level of prestige; they are nannies, cooks, factory workers, etcetera (Rahier, 1998). Similarly in Brazil, with its large Black population, there exists a color caste system that allocates status and privilege based on skin color and other physical manifestations of genotype, including hair texture and facial features (Telles, 2004). What all of these findings seem to imply is that when looking at acculturation, it is important to take into account both experiences of discrimination based on color (and other factors) before and after arrival to the new culture because these previous experiences will influence immigrants adjustment to the host culture.
Various studies looking at Latinos’ preferences within the U.S. indicate a bias against dark skin. Relethford (1983) found that darker-skinned Mexicans were more likely to live in the barrio, whereas lighter-skinned Mexicans were more likely to live in suburban areas. Latinos with darker skin and features that are more in line with Afrotypic and indigenous heritage are more likely to marry lower status partners, attain less money, attain less education, and live in segregated communities (Arce et al. 1987; Espino & Franz, 2002; Gomez, 2000; Hunter 2007; Montalvo & Codina 2001). Skin color preference among Latinos was evident in a study where participant color self-identifications were compared to researchers’ observations (Darity & Boza, 2004). While 47% of the sample was observed to be White, 62% of them identified as such and while 17% was observed to be Black, only 2% self-identified as such. Vasquez, Garcia-Vazquez, Bauman, and Sierra (1997) also found that dark-skinned Mexicans were less acculturated and showed a higher interest in the Latino community than Mexican participants with lighter skin. When asked how strongly they thought of themselves as American, light Latinos were significantly more likely to respond that they felt so “strongly” in comparison to dark-skinned Latinos (Jones-Correa et al., 2006). These findings seem to suggest that adapting to the racial stratification system in the United States may be especially difficult for darker-skinned immigrant Latinos who may be identified as Black in the U.S. even though they don’t identify themselves by such terms (Landale & Oropesa, 2002). Additionally, although many studies exploring the role of skin color among Latino immigrant experience have focused on men and women, issues with colorism may impact women differently because of the association with lighter skin and beauty. For Latinas, adapting to American standards of beauty and femininity adds another layer of complexity to their experience because they are bombarded with images of femininity that may differ significantly, both in quantity and in quality, from those of their
countries of origin.

**Acculturation, Femininity, and Skin Color**

Forming a positive sense of identity may be especially challenging for Latinas because of their belonging to two groups that are frequently socially devalued (Gonzales, Blanton, & Williams, 2002). Being members of a double visible minority (women and Latina) places Latinas in a position where they are vulnerable to experiences of racism and sexism at both individual and systemic levels (Bracero, 1998). The immigrant female’s task of acculturating to a climate with an extensive history of discrimination toward women and people of color, such as the U.S., is likely to be complicated. For Latinas, acculturating to American culture may imply a renegotiation of their sense of what it means to be a woman in a new context with different standards and behavioral manifestations of femininity.

Femininity and masculinity refer to the extent to which people adhere to various traits typically associated with men and women (Sanfilipo, 1994). Although these concepts were initially considered polar opposites, Bem (1974) came to understand and measure them as two separate dimensions that could be present in varying levels within the same individual. Depending on a person’s responses to items on the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI), they can be classified as masculine, feminine, undifferentiated or androgynous. According to Bem (1977, 1981a, 1981b) androgynous individuals, those people found to be high in both dimensions, are expected to be more adaptable in different situations than those who are high on just one dimension. Two concepts that capture the differences between masculinity and femininity within Latino cultures are Marianismo and Machismo. Machismo appears to have been more popularized and refers to the set of expectations and behaviors attributed to men. Machismo speaks to the dominant role men are granted within the culture and is often used to highlight and
glorify negative aspects of the hypermasculine prototype, such as virility and aggressive behavior toward women (Barker & Lowenstein, 1997). However, some of the less spoken about positive expectations associated with Machismo have to do with men’s roles as providers and protectors among their families and communities. Marianismo corresponds to women’s roles within Latino cultures; it stems from Catholicism and emphasizes the expectation that the “good” ideal woman should liken herself to the Virgin Mary. This ideal leads to the expectation that women should be virtuous, docile, moral, and self-sacrificing (Del Priore, 1993). Machismo and Marianismo are like two sides of the same coin; you cannot truly speak about one without referencing the other.

Patricia Arredondo (2002) has created a psychohistorical account of themes associated with three well-known historical Latina figures, La Malinche, La Virgen de Guadalupe, and Sor Juana Ines de la Cruz, in which she explores various ways in which Marianismo has influenced and limited women’s roles in Mexico and other Latin countries. In her paper, Arredondo speaks to the pressure and ambivalence Latinas struggle with as a result of being held to the standards of Marianismo. Although this concept grants women a central role within the family, it also places restrictions on women’s activities and reinforces a power hierarchy that privileges and protects men by rendering them morally weaker than women and thereby unaccountable for their actions, especially those that hurt women. Although the concept has been widely embraced in the past, Gil and Vazquez (1996) have more recently clarified the implied restrictions in the form of a list of commandments. These ten “commandments” are all concerned with teaching women to adhere to the behavior codes akin to those of saints and marquioness’, that is, to be virtuous, dignified, compliant, dependent, and self-abnegating.
Researchers that have focused on sex role attitudes have found some important differences between the U.S. and Latin America which support the notions of Marianismo and Machismo. While sex roles have been found to be egalitarian in the U.S. (Best & Williams, 1997), among typical Latin American households, gender roles are more rigidly defined, with power granted to men (Gowan & Trevino, 1998; Mayo & Resnick, 1996). Males are expected to take on a more independent and superior provider role while women are expected to assume homemaker responsibilities. Compared to White children, Latino children have been found to experience more pressure to conform to gender notions (Corby, Hodges, & Perry, 2007).

Wainryb and Turiel (1994) have argued that the stricter division in sex role expectations in Latin America can be attributed to a hierarchical structure that favors interdependence of the family and contrasts to the individualistic American culture. Some research among adults, has found that, contrary to expectation, Latino-American participants’ ratings reflected less rigid definitions of gender than Anglo-American responses (Harris, 1994). However, an important factor that was unaccounted for and would likely explain such findings was the Hispanic-American participants’ level of acculturation. Acculturation research that has examined this area, has found that as men and women are exposed to American values over time, they do in fact begin to shift toward more egalitarian ideas about women’s roles (Leaper & Valin, 1996; Phinney & Flores, 2002; Zuo & Tang, 2000).

Having a good grasp on Latinas’ ideas about their roles as women and how these concepts change through the process of acculturation following immigration and across generations is important because it adds another layer necessary in the understanding of their experience as women of color in the United States. In addition to exploring different Latina identities, studying how these self-concepts actually impact their daily lives and practices is also
necessary. One such study found that immigrant Latinas’ Marianista beliefs negatively impacted their level of physical activity (D’Alonzo, 2012). In this case, the findings supported the hypothesis that the emphasis on passivity and inactivity in all areas unrelated to the family would lead to the neglect of self-care, specifically in the area of physical activity.

Latina beliefs about what it means to be a woman, and particularly the passive attitude implied by Marianismo, may be central to explaining other Latina behaviors as well. For example, the beauty practices that Latinas engage in may be influenced by changes in their beliefs about what it means to be a woman, shifts that are probably influenced by their level of acculturation and skin color. Among African-Americans, research exploring the relationship between skin color and gender has found that women and men are affected differently by the interaction of skin color and other socioeconomic variables (Thompson & Keith, 2001). Although participants were not administered a measure of their sex-role orientation, the findings were consistent with gender expectations of masculinity and femininity, in that skin color influenced Black men’s perceived efficacy (i.e. feelings of control over their own lives) and Black women’s self-esteem (i.e. feelings of self-worth). This finding that skin color influences feelings of self-esteem was especially true for the darkest women of low socio-economic status who were most vulnerable to oppressive experiences. Such findings indicate that skin color gradations are of great importance to Black women, potentially because skin color is closely linked to perceptions of attractiveness, a topic that tends to be central for these women since their worth is sometimes heavily based on appearance (Boyd Franklin, 1991; Glenn, 2008; Kelch-Oliver & Leslie, 2006; Thomas, Hacker, & Hoxha, 2011). Likewise, it appears that skin color is also related to perceptions of attractiveness among Latinas, with medium skin tones considered the most desirable (Stephens & Fernández, 2012). This preference for skin that is neither “too
light” nor “too dark” appears to mirror the earlier discussion on color names among African-Americans, which suggested a preference for medium tones among that population as well. Among both groups, it seems that those with skin color falling in the mid-range are perceived as unquestioningly belonging to their ethno-racial group (unlike those group members with the lightest shades) while simultaneously avoiding the negative stigmas (including unattractiveness) that are associated with darker skin.

Some authors (e.g., Hill, 2002; Hunter, 1998) have already noted that colorism has a bigger impact on Black females where beauty is concerned. Since identity has been conceptualized as relational and existing in contrast to an other (Hill Collins, 1991), a racist beauty ideal that privileges a Eurotypic aesthetic does so by contrasting it to Black ugliness. Thompson and Keith (2001) found that lighter-skinned African-American women had higher self-esteem than those with darker skin. Because light skin is often associated with beauty, and because physical appearance is a more important factor for women in terms of resources, Hunter (2002) hypothesized that lighter-skinned women would be able to convert their “beauty” into other forms of capital, such as economic and educational. Indeed, Hunter found that amongst those women of color (African-American and Mexican-American) with each lighter skin color gradation, level of education was higher. Among Latinos, Lakoff and Scherr (1984) found that among Mexican-Americans there was a strong preference for fair-skinned women with European features. Telzer and Vasquez Garcia (2009) found that dark-skinned immigrant Latinas wanted to change their skin color to be lighter, felt less attractive, and had lower self-esteem.

**Women’s Beauty**

Much like positive qualities that are associated with lightness as part of colorist beliefs, similar positive associations are made toward attractiveness; in fact, as has been previously
discussed, the two qualities are often conflated. In America, those individuals who are perceived as attractive are also assumed to be intelligent, kind, virtuous, nurturing and more likely to be successful (Dion & Dion, 1987; Eagly, Ashmore, Makhijani, & Longo, 1991; Feingold, 1992). This tendency to attribute to attractive individuals other positive qualities was originally coined the halo effect (Thorndike, 1920) and was later experimentally verified by Dion, Berscheid, and Walters (1972) who found that participants tended to believe that “what is beautiful is [also] good” (p. 285). This effect has been observed across cultures, but the qualities attributed to attractive individuals vary depending on what traits are most valued in the culture in question. For example, raters in collectivistic cultures are more likely to believe that attractive individuals are generous and empathic while those in individualistic cultures are more likely to believe them to be more assertive (Wheeler & Kim, 1997).

Determining what is considered beautiful is no simple task since ideas of beauty vary greatly across cultures, historical periods and individuals. However, some consensus has been reached indicating that the faces considered most attractive tend to be those that are youthful and symmetrical (Baudouin & Tiberghien, 2004; Fink & Penton-Voak, 2002; Jones & Hill, 1993). Among women, the cluster of features that generally obtain the highest attractiveness ratings are those that are expressive (such as high eyebrows), neonate (such as large eyes), and sexually mature (such as prominent cheek bone structure). Given these findings, evolutionary theorists have provided some plausible ideas regarding how these features function as markers of reproductive fitness. Reproductive fitness refers to one’s ability to successfully procreate, thereby ensuring genetic survival. Markers of another person’s reproductive fitness are considered helpful in guiding the selection of partners whose genes are likely to contribute to the survival of offspring and future generations (Fink & Penton-Voak, 2002). For women, physical
attractiveness may be an important identifier of reproductive fitness. One study that looked at men’s mate preferences across almost 40 different cultures (Buss, 1989) found that, compared to women, men in almost every single culture rated physical attractiveness as a more desirable trait. Physical attractiveness has also been found to be more important in predicting life outcomes for women than for men (Bar-Tal & Saxe, 1976; Margolin & White, 1987). Fredrickson and Roberts (1997) believe that the rewards granted to those who are beautiful encourage women to take on an observer’s view of themselves and fuel their preoccupation with appearance. They have proposed an Objectification Theory, which explains women’s internalization of sexism via a heightened awareness of their bodies resulting from their constant exposure to the male or social gaze.

In the United States, as in many other countries, media largely influences the context within which women learn about what it means to be attractive and what their physical appearance should be. Advertisements are highly gendered (Davis, 1990) and some researchers have found that such advertisements that focus on women’s bodies have adverse effects on women, affecting how they perceive their own bodies as well as their mood (Myers & Biocca, 1992). Women who identify as more feminine along the gender continuum may be most vulnerable to these forms of advertisement, since they are the ones most likely to have lower body esteem in general (C. Davis, Dionne, & Lazarus, 1996). A more recent study by Frith, Shaw, and Cheng (2005) also demonstrated that, despite criticism from feminist scholars over the past three decades, magazine advertisements in the U.S. continue to feature predominantly White models, evincing a general preference for Whiteness.
**Beauty and Skin Color**

In addition to media, in many Latin American countries beauty pageants are considered one of the most important platforms through which ideals of beauty are propagated. Rahier (1998) posits that such contests serve as a space where groups reiterate the values and behaviors they believe are central to their sense of themselves and their survival. He also argues the ruling elite organize these contests to enforce a power hierarchy via the manipulation and exposure of the female body. These contests are one of the platforms that plainly demonstrate the colonial legacy of preference for light skin and Eurotypic features among Latina women who are considered the most desirable, even when they don’t necessarily represent the variety of phenotypes present in their countries. Rahier (1998) documented the harsh public reaction in Ecuador when Monica, a Black woman from the region of Esmeralda, was nominated to represent the country in the 1995 Miss Universe contest. For many, it was unthinkable that a Black woman could serve as the symbol of Ecuadorian beauty and femininity. When the pageant was held in Las Vegas, Monica revealed a change of look that included straightened hair and almond-colored contact lenses. Rahier perceived Monica’s physical modifications as a distancing from her Blackness in order to embrace western standards of beauty. Monica’s makeover employed practices that either she or her public relations team believed would make her more attractive and more likely to benefit from this “upgrade”. Such beauty practices, involving a preference for White beauty standards, are not just common in beauty pageants but have also been observed at play in the everyday lives of women of color.

Beauty practices directly aimed at changing skin color through bleaching methods have been observed in Jamaica as well as in Asian and African countries (Charles, 2003; Glenn, 2008). Colorism among Caribbean Blacks, particularly among Jamaicans, developed similarly to
the phenomenon in the U.S. during the period of European colonization and slavery. As in the American South, Jamaican slaves were divided between those who worked in the “great house” and those who worked in the fields. Those in the plantation manor were typically light-skinned and thus skin color became a main physical feature that impacted how Whites differentiated among Blacks and how Blacks drew differences among each other (Brathwaite 1978; Patterson 1969; Williams 1966). Also similarly to the U.S., although slavery has ended in Jamaica, skin color continues to be a significant influencing factor in the present day (Charles, 2011).

In Jamaica, the term “browning” is used to refer to individuals who would have been labeled mulattoes during the colonial period, that is, those individuals that were the product of miscegenation as evidenced by their brown skin (Charles, 2011). Light skin complexion has been identified as a key component in male-female relationships in Jamaica (Mohammed, 2000), with artifacts of popular culture, such as dancehall music, positioning “brownings” as the most sexually desirable females (Charles, 2011). Skin bleaching, a process that involves the use of homemade products or dermatological creams to reduce melanin in the skin (and thereby lighten its appearance), has been well documented in Jamaica (Charles, 2003a, 2003b, 2007). While skin bleachers provide various reasons for why they lighten their skin, such as their skin being too dark, to attract a partner, or to get ahead in life, some theorists understand the practice of skin bleaching in terms of self-hatred, as an ongoing form of mental slavery and an identity crisis among Blacks (Shepherd, 2000). However, after failing to find a relationship between low-self esteem and skin bleaching, Charles argued that such practices, like tanning among people with light complexions, may have been fueled by a desire for status rather than self-hatred (Charles, 2003a). Women’s use of cosmetics has provoked similar arguments; while some feminist writers criticize practices concerning women’s appearance because they objectify and promote the
subordination of women (Adkins, 1995; Bordo 1993), others understand cosmetics use as a pleasurable expression of their womanhood (Rubinstein, 1995). Yet others take a middle ground, explaining that women’s lived experiences include elements of both these extreme views of cosmetics use; women in fact experience some level of ambivalence around their engagement in beauty practices and are not simply “cultural dopes” who have somehow been tricked into them (Davis, 1995; Dellinger & Williams, 1997).

**Cosmetics**

Several authors have noted the ways in which women have used facial cosmetics to improve their appearance (Kay, 2005; Malkan, 2006; Marwick, 1988). There is evidence that human history has included the use of various forms of paints on the body and face in order to accentuate the decorated part and to manage impressions made on others (Hunt, Fate, & Dodds, 2011). Neanderthal man used body paint as decoration (Gunn, 1973), Egyptians used paint to accentuate and “protect” their eyes, the part of the body they believed was a mirror to one’s soul (Brown & Bobbi, 2008), Geishas in Japan coated their faces in white paint and molded their hair with warm wax, during the pre-Victorian era scented face powders served to display status among men and women, and, starting in the 1920s U.S., flappers and Hollywood actresses popularized makeup use among American women (Peiss, 2011). However, despite the extensive history of cosmetics use, women’s concerns about, and their temporary manipulations of, facial appearance have been under-studied in the social sciences.

Dellinger and Williams (1997) have argued that the lack of research on beauty practices can be attributed to the trivialization of the topic and its being deemed an unworthy subject of investigation. But the fact is that we live in our skin; it essentially functions as the interface between the world and ourselves. In this way, the alterations we make to our appearance, chosen
or coerced, speak volumes about our social and cultural values. The lack of attention dedicated to women’ facial beauty product use and related concerns is somewhat surprising given the level of interest in body issues. It is true that emphasis on the body is pronounced, as indicated by the finding that, in comparison to ads featuring women in Taiwan and Singapore, which focus on beauty products, advertising in the U.S. was more likely to be about clothing (Frith et al., 2005). Research focusing on women’s body concerns have turned up findings indicating that discrepancies between Latinas’ ideal and actual body shape is predictive of body dissatisfaction and drive for thinness scores (Gordon, Castro, Sitnikov, & Holm-Denoma, 2010). Additionally, Latinas endorse a preference for body types that are thinner than theirs and are consciously aware of the preference and pressure for thinness emphasized in American culture (Menon & Harter, 2012). Interestingly, similar research comparing outcomes for women of different races has often found that Black women are less susceptible to the thin American ideal, perhaps because they have an awareness that messages conveying that ideal are created by a White-Other and are not targeting or should not apply to them (Poran, 2002). For example, when Demarest and Allen (2000) explored discrepancies between which body shapes men and women find most attractive, African-American women had the lowest discrepancies, indicating that they had a more realistic sense of which shapes men found attractive. In that same study, Caucasian women had the most distorted views of men’s preferences, indicating that men would like much thinner shapes than they actually did. Unfortunately, most of these studies do not explore within group differences. Looking at variables such as skin color might yield different results among Latinas since darker-skinned Latinas may be more similar to Black women in their resistance to internalizing the Euro-typic beauty ideal. In a similar vein, it is expected that differences will be present among Latinas in their engagement with beauty practices based on differences in skin
color and acculturation. Despite the lack of reports regarding facial beauty practices, the findings in relation to women’s body concerns suggest that other areas of women’s interests and appearance concerns, such as makeup use, should also be granted attention.

Although it is accurate to acknowledge that in the United States, as in many other nations, the female body is objectified, women’s facial appearance is also subject to scrutiny. The beauty industry is a multi-billion dollar business with sales reports providing indicators of just how important facial appearance is. While the population of North and South America is similar, makeup sales in North America ($7.8 billion) were more than twice that of South America ($2.9 billion) in a 2001 report, with the United States coming up as the largest market in the world (Kumar, 2005). This difference in cosmetics purchasing reflects different economic climates; whereas in many developing countries cosmetics purchasing may be considered a luxury, in the more developed U.S., higher disposable income may facilitate the acquisition of these products. However, such high numbers also indicate that there is higher pressure for women to use cosmetics in this country.

The research available on this topic within the last three decades has turned up evidence that, generally, make-up usage has been associated with positive assessments of women. When compared to themselves when not wearing make-up, women wearing make-up are judged to be more attractive, feminine and sexy, healthier and more confident, and more likely to have prestigious jobs (Cox & Glick, 1986; Nash, Fieldman, Hussey, Lévêque, & Pineau, 2006). In Cash et al.’s 1989 study in which female participants were assessed across various measures before and after the application of facial cosmetics, results indicated that participants were more satisfied with their overall appearance after they applied cosmetics. Images of the women with and without make-up were then judged by a separate set of participants including a mixture of
men and women. The results also indicated that men rated the women as more attractive when they had cosmetics on. In his study on the influence of women’s cosmetics use on men’s courtship behavior, Gueguen (2008) found that women utilize makeup to increase their attractiveness, thereby prompting men to make contact with them. In his study, 2 female confederates attended a bar over a period of 20 days with either one wearing or not wearing make-up. Analysis showed that men approached the confederate wearing make-up within a shorter amount of time after she entered the bar and that the total number of men who approached during the hour was also higher for the make-up wearing female. Other studies have found that women are more likely to report engaging in behaviors that increase their attractiveness to men during times of the month when they are most fertile. They are more likely to wear revealing clothing, show more skin, and engage in higher appearance enhancing product use during high fertility days (Durante, Li, & Haselton, 2008; Haselton, Mortezaie, Pillsworth, Bleske-Rechek, & Frederick, 2007; Saad, Eba, & Sejean, 2009).

In a follow-up to his 2008 study on men’s attraction to make-up wearing women, Gueguen (2012) set out to determine whether a connection exists between women’s make-up use and their patterns of ovulation. He did in fact find that during fertile days, women spent significantly more time applying makeup, both via their self-report in a lab condition and also based on observation at a night club. So, this line of research suggests that from an evolutionary perspective, makeup can be understood as a cultural artifact that is used by females to send signals to potential mates. These signals are likely to operate in multiple ways; both directly through the manipulation of those facial characteristics associated with higher attractiveness and reproductive fitness and indirectly through the social meanings of makeup use. Although it would be difficult to record the exact styles of makeup that women wear in studies such as the
ones discussed above, it can be assumed that some of them may be very effective at manipulating the appearance of their features via the application of cosmetics. Proper application of certain products can emulate those characteristics described as most attractive in women: higher eyebrows can be achieved through the removal of excess hair and penciling in of a higher arch, larger appearing eyes can be achieved with the use of light colored shadows, eye liner and false eyelashes, and higher cheekbones can be achieved with the use of contouring and highlighting powders. Additionally, even in the case of women who do not purposely aim to emulate those characteristics, the simple use of visible face color cosmetics may alert men to a woman’s intentions (to attract) given shared social knowledge about makeup use, particularly in social situations.

**Cosmetics, Status and Sex Roles**

Make-up use among women has also been conceptualized as more than just another way to gain a reproductive advantage by increasing attractiveness to potential mates. In response to extremist views of women’s makeup use, Dellinger and Williams (1997) conducted a qualitative study where they interviewed professional women in order to better understand their oftentimes complex reasons for wearing makeup. The women’s understanding of why they used makeup in their work environments, as expected, revealed a mixture of motivations that included conforming to heterosexual, highly gendered roles as well as the fostering of a “women’s culture” (Lorber, 1994) in their work spaces. Most interestingly, for the few participants of color in this study, wearing makeup was reportedly experienced as necessary in order to gain respect because it was tied to appearing more professional.

The combination of these findings, along with theories of evolutionary psychologists, and the discovery that women’s life outcomes are strongly related to attractiveness seem to suggest
that beauty in women is a commodity that can be used as a resource or social capital. Some authors have even noted how factors that influence attractiveness literally increase women’s financial value; Philips (2004) has discussed the influence of light skin on dowry negotiations among females in Kerala, and Jacob, Gueguen, Boulbry, and Ardiccioni (2010) have found that female waitresses are more likely to receive better tips when wearing facial makeup. A problem for Latinas, and other women of color, in the United States, and in other nations that are highly racially stratified, may be that their “beauty capital”, and all the privileges that accompany it, may be lowered by virtue of their race or skin color. For these women, manipulating their perceived attractiveness may be especially important in granting them access to resources that would otherwise be off limits based on predominant racist and colorist perceptions of beauty. While biases in skin color may exist in the Latin American countries from which Latinas emigrate, the presence of similar beliefs in the U.S. with added media pressure to adopt certain beauty product use and practices may influence Latinas to engage in behaviors to a greater extent than women in their countries of origin might.

As previously discussed, research exploring the relationship between Marianismo and physical activity among Latinas (D’Alonzo, 2012) found that adherence to Marianista beliefs was related to passivity and inactivity. This might suggest that Latinas with higher degrees of femininity might be less likely to engage in status building behaviors, like cosmetics use is speculated to be. On the other hand, makeup use is popularly regarded as part of the feminine domain and research focusing on lesbians’ use of beauty products (Moore, 2006) suggests that women who identify as masculine avoid the use of products that would create a feminine appearance. However, this research confounds sex roles with sexual orientation, so the relationship between sex role orientation and cosmetics use remains unclear. In addition,
physical activity has historically been regarded as a masculine domain, with maleness being more often associated with sports activities. Beauty product use, while requiring activity, is a popularly accepted, and even encouraged, female behavior, which would most likely lead women who endorse feminine traits to also endorse behaviors that are stereotypically feminine. Since masculine women would also be expected to behave in ways that are consistent with their sex role orientation, beauty product use would be expected to have an inverse relationship with this trait.

**Research Questions and Hypotheses**

While Robinson (2011) and Charles (2011) are among the few who have explored Black perceptions of hair and color (racialized traits that are frequently associated with women’s beauty) few studies have looked at other ways in which women of color within the United States, specifically Latinas, manipulate their physical appearance to embrace or reject American standards of beauty. The use of cosmetics, in particular, has been largely unstudied and to my knowledge, no studies have looked at Latinas’ cosmetics use in relation to acculturation and skin color. Although acculturation, and skin color to a lesser extent, have been studied among Latinas, and have been found to significantly affect Latinas development of self (i.e. via educational attainment) in the U.S., the extent to which they influence behaviors of beauty practice is still unknown. Aside from the more drastic, and often considered dangerous, practices of skin bleaching and hair relaxing, more easily observed and commonplace beauty practices among women of color have been largely unstudied.

In this study, temporary and visible beauty practices considered more benign, such as temporary hair removal, hair dying, and the application of color cosmetics were measured. It was speculated, based on clinical and personal experiences and the limited literature, that such beauty
practices are one way in which Latinas, like many other women, gain social power through physical attractiveness. Although it was unclear if and how Latinas’ internalization of American beauty standards would impact their use of certain beauty products, it was hypothesized that such decisions would be also influenced by their level of acculturation. Those Latinas who are more acclimated to American notions of beauty and beauty practices would possibly be more likely to engage in these practices themselves whereas those who are less acculturated might adhere to more Marianista beliefs and practices, which would make them less proactive in pursuing status-building behaviors. It was also hypothesized that beauty practices take on different meanings and importance for darker-skinned Latinas who more frequently experience barriers in accessing beauty social capital because of the conflation between lightness and beauty. While it might be possible that darker-skinned Latinas would use more products in order to offset some of the negative consequences associated with having darker skin, it was also possible that, like Black women who reject the White thin beauty ideal, they may experience the facial beauty ideal as targeting lighter skinned Latinas and would therefore use less makeup. Additionally, although not the main focus of the study, it was suspected that sex role orientation would be found to have a significant relationship with the variables of interest; while beauty product use is typically considered to fall within the domain of womanhood and therefore femininity, no studies have actually confirmed that identifying as feminine is more highly correlated to beauty practice than identifying as masculine. The questions that were addressed are whether Latinas vary in their use of cosmetics and beauty services depending on their skin color, level of acculturation, and sex role orientation. The research questions and hypotheses were as follows:

**Hypothesis 1**

1. What is the relationship between level of U.S. acculturation, Native
Enculturation, and beauty practices among Latinas?

Hypothesis 1: It was expected that acculturation would be correlated to beauty practices among Latinas. Those Latinas with high U.S. acculturation scores were expected to have an internalized lighter-skinned, “made up” facial beauty ideal and to thus be more likely to emulate it through the use of cosmetics and related beauty services than Latinas with low U.S. acculturation scores. It was expected that native enculturation scores would be unrelated to beauty practices among Latinas.

Hypothesis 1a: It was expected that participants with high U.S. acculturation scores would be more likely to report high beauty product use scores when compared to participants with low U.S. acculturation scores.

Hypothesis 1b: It was expected that native enculturation scores would be unrelated to participant’s beauty product use scores.

Hypothesis 1c: It was expected that participants with high U.S. acculturation scores would be more likely to report high beauty product use motivation scores when compared to participants with low U.S. acculturation scores.

Hypothesis 1d: It was expected that native enculturation scores would be unrelated to participant’s beauty product use motivation scores.

Hypothesis 2

2. What is the relationship between skin color and beauty practices among Latinas?

Hypothesis 2: It was expected that skin color would be associated with beauty practices among Latinas. Latinas falling in the light skin color category would be more likely to be sensitive to the questioning of their ethnic identity and therefore possibly also
less likely to engage in certain behaviors, such as beauty product use, that would indicate a higher identification with American culture and therefore further highlight their distance from the Latino community. Similarly, Latinas falling in the dark skin color category would also be likely to endorse practices that highlight their Latino group membership and underplay associations to Blackness. However, since popular facial beauty images emphasize a relatively light beauty ideal, dark Latinas were expected to be less likely to emulate facial beauty practices associated with that ideal. As a result, it was expected that participants falling within the medium skin color category would be more likely to engage in higher use of beauty products and services than those participants with either light or dark skin shades.

Hypothesis 2a: It was expected that skin color would be associated with beauty product use scores, with participants in the medium skin color category reporting significantly higher use than either light or dark skin colored participants.

Hypothesis 2b: It was expected that skin color would be associated with beauty product use motivation scores, with participants in the medium skin color category reporting significantly higher use than either light or dark skin colored participants.

Hypothesis 3

3. What is the relationship between acculturation and enculturation and participants attributions of beauty in a facial ranking task among Latinas?

Hypothesis 3: It was hypothesized that those Latinas with high U.S. acculturation scores would have internalized certain beauty standards that would impact the attractiveness ratings they assign to a series of images of women with different skin tones and level of makeup use. Given previous findings that Latinas prefer medium skin tones,
it was expected that they would give the highest attractiveness ratings to images of medium skin-toned women who are wearing cosmetics, reflecting an internalization of the American ideal of a "put together" appearance, in comparison to participants with low U.S. acculturation scores.

Hypothesis 3a: It was expected that participants with high U.S. acculturation scores would be more likely to favorably judge images of medium skin-toned models who are wearing cosmetics when compared to participants with low U.S. acculturation scores.

Hypothesis 3b: It was expected that Native enculturation scores would be unrelated to participant’s facial attractiveness judgments of models images.

**Hypothesis 4**

4. What is the relationship between sex role and beauty practices among Latinas?

Hypothesis 4: It was hypothesized that sex role orientation would be related to beauty product use and motivation to use beauty products. Given the Latino cultural emphasis on separation between men and women’s roles and the body of information about beliefs around Machismo and Marianismo, it was anticipated that women who identify as feminine would be more likely to engage in behaviors and/or endorse more beliefs about the importance of behaviors related to beauty product use, a practice that has been largely relegated to the female domain. Conversely, women who identify as masculine, who endorse attitudes more frequently found among men, were expected to also reject or at least avoid engagement in behaviors and beliefs typically reserved for women only.
Hypothesis 4a: It was expected that Femininity would correlate positively with beauty product use.

Hypothesis 4c: It was expected that Masculinity would correlate negatively with beauty product use.

Hypothesis 4b: It was expected that Femininity would correlate positively with motivation to use beauty products.

Hypothesis 4d: It was expected that Masculinity would correlate negatively with motivation to use beauty products.
CHAPTER 3: METHODS

Overview

This study was conducted in two steps; first, original measures were piloted on a small sample in order to gauge their appropriateness for inclusion in the main study and, second, as needed altered versions of these measures were used in the main study, which also included additional previously validated instruments. Specifically, the pilot study was intended to test out the demographics questionnaire, a beauty practices questionnaire, a facial ranking task and a skin color measure. The development of these original measures, participant demographics and their response to instruments, as well as the rationale behind alterations to them will be discussed. A description of the instruments used in the main study will then follow, including their statistical properties and rationale for their inclusion, as well as discussion of the planned statistical analysis.

Pilot Study Method

Sample

Pilot study data was collected from 52 Latina participants via online advertisement; the study was advertised through email, postings on Craigslist (New York and New Jersey), and through various social media outlets, including Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram from accounts specifically created for the study. Subjects ranged in age from 19 to 49 ($M = 29.88$ years, $SD = 7.76$), hailed from 15 different states (with the majority residing in New York, 53.8%), and 80.8% reported that they were born in the U.S.. After the study was concluded, 2 participants who completed it were randomly selected to each receive an Amazon.com gift card valued at $50. Inclusion criteria were limited to Latinas over the age of 18 who were living in the mainland United States. All questionnaires were completed online, through PsychData.
Procedures

Latinas who chose to participate were presented with a detailed consent form and were asked to complete a demographic questionnaire, a skin color measure, a beauty practices questionnaire, a facial ranking task, and were then presented with the option of submitting contact information if they wished to be entered into the Amazon.com gift card lottery. All original pilot measures can be viewed in Appendix A. Measures were available in English and the median completion time was 29:09 minutes.

Measures

Demographics

Participants were provided with a 33-item demographics questionnaire (Appendix A), which asked them to provide basic information on age, country of birth, education, income, language preferences, relationship status, and sexual orientation. They were also asked about their parent’s countries of birth and level of education. Rather than being given response options, subjects were asked to fill-in their responses for 31 of the 33 items. There was also an additional optional item asking participants to elaborate on any issues or thoughts regarding the measure.

Beauty Practices

Women’s beauty practices were assessed with a questionnaire specifically designed for this study, The Beauty Practice Questionnaire (Appendix A). This measure consisted of 16 questions that ask participants to consider their beauty product/service via both close-ended Likert-scale rated items, and open-ended items. Although in the past there was a distinction between cosmetics and paints, where cosmetics were invisible products intended to treat the skin and paints were colored substances meant to cover the skin, the term is now used to describe both (Peiss, 2011). Beauty industry reports tend to be even more inclusive, summarizing their
sales for skin care, hair care, makeup, fragrance, and personal hygiene under the category of "cosmetic, toiletry, and fragrance" sales (Kumar 2005). Most studies reviewed within the literature review were concerned with makeup, but this study is concerned with all products and practices that are used to enhance facial attractiveness, including some invisible products (like face moisturizer) and colored cosmetics (makeup). Participants were presented with a comprehensive list of cosmetic products (such as foundation and lipstick) and services (such as eyebrow hair removal) and were asked to indicate which products and services they had used within the previous 2 weeks as well as how frequently they’d done so (Never, Rarely, Sometimes, Almost Daily, or Daily). This list was comprised from product categories commonly used on online cosmetics retailers (Sephora and Ulta, for example), cosmetic review sites (i.e. MakeupAlley and Temptalia), as well as through in-person consultation with professional makeup artists at Sephora stores and M.A.C. counters. Respondents were also asked to indicate their degree of agreement (Not Applicable, True, Somewhat True, Somewhat False, and False) with statements about the importance of cosmetics/service use across various settings (i.e. work, school), their transformative beliefs around beauty services and practices (“I look more attractive when I wear beauty products/use beauty services”), as well as internal (“I use beauty products to express my femininity”) and external motivators (“I worry about what other people will think if I don’t wear beauty products/use beauty services”) for engaging in these practices/services. For the purposes of this study, quantitative data was used to obtain two scores: a Cosmetics Use score (score as the sum of all 26 product use inventory items), which has a potential range of 0 to 104, and a Cosmetics Use Motivation score (the sum of all 17 motivation inventory items), which can range between 0 and 68. As with all other pilot measures, an optional additional question asked participants for feedback regarding the questionnaire.
Facial Rankings

In order to assess the influence of cosmetics use and skin color on participant’s judgments of feminine facial attractiveness, they were twice presented with 4 different cards, each containing 6 different versions of the same face (light skin/no makeup, light skin/makeup, medium skin/no makeup, medium skin/makeup, dark skin/no makeup, dark skin/makeup) and were asked to rank the images on each card from the most attractive (1st place) to the least attractive (6th place) according to their own opinion first. After participants viewed and rated the 4 cards according to their opinion, they were presented with the cards again and asked to rank the images from the most to the least attractive, this time according to what they believed would be the opinion of the average member of American society. In this way data was obtained regarding participants’ own preferences as well as what they believe American beauty standards to be and whether these two views are in agreement.

The stimulus cards used in this task were created specifically for this study by capturing images of 4 female models’ faces, both wearing subtle makeup (foundation to even out skin tone, black eyeliner on upper lash line, black mascara on lashes, and Vaseline as lip gloss) and not wearing any cosmetics, and digitally altering the skin color. In order to achieve this, each image was first scaled and straightened so that each model's head was approximately the same size. The photo editor then worked closely with the researcher to develop a set of reference skin tones “Light,” “Medium,” and “Dark” on the first model, J. In order to create the standard Model J skin tone "Light" she used Photoshop's Levels, Curves, Color Balance, and Hue/Saturation/Lightness adjustment layers to match a sourced photograph of a model with the desired skin tone. Similar photographs were used to calibrate the layer adjustments for the "Medium" and "Dark" images. By creating each adjustment as a separate layer adjustment, very
precise color calibration and fine-tuning was made possible. When creating the "Medium" and "Dark" images, the photo editor employed a Color Fill layer (of a medium-brown color) set to the Multiply with a low opacity in order to darken the image without creating too much contrast or highlighting the redness of skin imperfections such as scars and acne. The Multiply layers were carefully balanced with the Curves and Levels adjustments to create a natural-looking darkened image. In order to preserve the brightness of the models' eyes, she created a copy of the original image with a layer mask revealing only the eyes; thus, the darker skin tones would not have dark-looking whites of the eyes. No adjustments were made to the cosmetics or acne or scars on the models' faces.

Once the reference skin tones were established, the other images were edited to match Model J's images for "Light," "Medium," and "Dark." The researcher and photo editor had several opportunities to view all 24 images (four models, cosmetics on/off, in "Light" / "Medium" / "Dark" tones) in a grid format. Seeing all the images arrayed at once allowed us to see minor discrepancies in the colors, and adjustments were made to coordinate the relative redness/greenness and lightness/darkness of every image to match as well as possible. These fine adjustments again were facilitated by the use of Photoshop's Layer Adjustments. Since the study was to be conducted on computer monitors, the images were resized and optimized for web viewing, to allow as much detail as possible while remaining accessible to a wide audience of participants. The image combinations were arranged in random order on each card, to avoid order effects. Finally, an optional item was added at the conclusion of the task in order to allow for participant feedback regarding the measure (Appendix A).
Skin Color Measure

Previous studies that have focused on subjects’ skin color have asked participants to self-report among a series of nominal categories (Telzer & Vazquez Garcia, 2009; Vázquez et al., 1997). However, the names (for example, fair versus White to dark brown versus Black) and the total number of categories vary from study to study. Because skin color names can be quite subjective, rather than asking subjects to pick which name best described their skin color out of several options, they were presented with a 10-number scale asking them to rate their skin color from 1 (darkest) to 10 (lightest). They were then presented with the same 10-point scale and asked to rate their desired skin color. Additional items asked participants to describe their skin color in their own words and also select from more narrow categories to describe it (light, medium, or dark). Finally, an additional optional item was also included in order to obtain feedback regarding subjects’ experience of the measure (Appendix A).

Pilot Study Analyses

1. Frequency statistics were obtained to describe the participant sample in terms of demographic and background variables, and to determine necessary changes to be implemented during main study phase.

2. Preliminary scale reliability analysis was conducted with the Beauty Preferences Questionnaire data and the Facial Ranking task in order to determine whether they should be altered for inclusion in main study.

3. Qualitative analysis of participant feedback on additional item for each measure were conducted in order to gauge appropriateness of use in main study with population of interest.
**Pilot Study Results**

**Demographics Questionnaire**

According to information provided by the PsychData website, 77 individuals began the pilot study, but 53 participants completed it. One subject’s data was deleted after several responses were deemed nonsense words that did not address the study questions. The final sample consisted of 52 Latinas who were residing in the mainland U.S. at the time of participation. Demographic data obtained for the study sample can be observed on Table 1. Means, standard deviations, skew, and kurtosis were analyzed and indicated that the data was normally distributed.

**Beauty Practices**

The Beauty Practice Questionnaire was created for this study in order to obtain information about subject’s motivation and actual use of beauty products. The mean cosmetics use score for the pilot sample was 47.29 with a standard deviation of 18.76 and the mean motivation score was 32.02 with a standard deviation of 11.39. Scores among this sample were found to be normally distributed. An initial reliability analysis of the cosmetics use scale and cosmetics use motivation scale within the Beauty Practices Questionnaire revealed high scale reliabilities (alpha coefficients) of .90 and .92, respectively. Individual items on the cosmetics use scale ranged from 0 to 4, with 4 representing daily use of a product. Cosmetics use motivation scales ranged between scores of 0 and 3, with 3 representing the strongest agreement with a statement. The descriptive statistics and an item-by-item reliability analysis for the two BPQ scales can be observed in Table 2 and Table 3.
Table 1

Pilot Study Summary of Demographic Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>29.88</td>
<td>7.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 – 49 (Range)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marital Status</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>53.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>38.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In a Domestic Partnership</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separated</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Level of Education Completed    |           |            |
| High School                     | 6         | 11.50      |
| Some College                    | 10        | 19.20      |
| College                         | 9         | 17.30      |
| Some Graduate School            | 2         | 3.80       |
| Master’s Degree                 | 21        | 40.30      |
| Advanced Degree                 | 2         | 3.80       |
| Other                           | 2         | 3.80       |

| Annual Income                   |           |            |
| 15K or Less                     | 14        | 26.90      |
| 15K – 30K                       | 13        | 25.00      |
| 30K – 45K                       | 7         | 13.40      |
| 45 – 60K                        | 9         | 17.30      |
| 60 – 75K                        | 3         | 5.70       |
| 75 – 90K                        | 2         | 3.80       |
| More than 90K                   | 4         | 7.60       |

| Country of Birth                |           |            |
| United States                   | 42        | 80.70      |
| Latin American Country          | 10        | 19.20      |

* N = 52
Table 2

Pilot Beauty Practices Questionnaire (BPQ) - Beauty Product Use Inventory Descriptive Statistics and Item Reliability Analysis Summary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>Range</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BPQ Use Score</td>
<td>47.29</td>
<td>18.76</td>
<td>5 – 85</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Product</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>Corrected Item-Total Correlation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Foundation primer</td>
<td>1.75</td>
<td>1.48</td>
<td>.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eyelid primer</td>
<td>1.25</td>
<td>1.36</td>
<td>.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mascara primer</td>
<td>2.71</td>
<td>1.42</td>
<td>.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foundation</td>
<td>2.25</td>
<td>1.51</td>
<td>.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concealer</td>
<td>2.06</td>
<td>1.74</td>
<td>.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Setting powder</td>
<td>2.50</td>
<td>1.46</td>
<td>.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blush</td>
<td>1.50</td>
<td>1.55</td>
<td>.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highlighter</td>
<td>1.65</td>
<td>1.49</td>
<td>.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bronzer</td>
<td>1.12</td>
<td>1.49</td>
<td>.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contour</td>
<td>2.15</td>
<td>1.30</td>
<td>.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eyeshadow</td>
<td>2.79</td>
<td>1.35</td>
<td>.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eyeliner</td>
<td>.92</td>
<td>1.31</td>
<td>.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mascara</td>
<td>3.04</td>
<td>1.14</td>
<td>.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eyebrow definer</td>
<td>1.63</td>
<td>1.67</td>
<td>.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lip liner</td>
<td>1.35</td>
<td>1.45</td>
<td>.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lipstick</td>
<td>2.17</td>
<td>1.38</td>
<td>.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lipgloss</td>
<td>2.37</td>
<td>1.40</td>
<td>.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Setting spray</td>
<td>.77</td>
<td>1.22</td>
<td>.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moisturizer</td>
<td>3.25</td>
<td>1.10</td>
<td>.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleanser</td>
<td>3.33</td>
<td>.96</td>
<td>.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toner</td>
<td>1.58</td>
<td>1.39</td>
<td>.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serums</td>
<td>1.02</td>
<td>1.16</td>
<td>.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facial oils</td>
<td>.85</td>
<td>1.07</td>
<td>.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exfoliator</td>
<td>1.77</td>
<td>1.02</td>
<td>.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skin lightener</td>
<td>.42</td>
<td>.98</td>
<td>.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masks</td>
<td>1.10</td>
<td>.93</td>
<td>.25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 52
Table 3

Pilot Beauty Practices Questionnaire - Beauty Product Use Motivation Inventory
Descriptive Statistics and Item Reliability Analysis Summary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>Range</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BPQ Motivation Score</td>
<td>32.02</td>
<td>11.39</td>
<td>8 – 51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>Corrected Item-Total Correlation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>It is important for me to wear beauty products to work</td>
<td>2.05</td>
<td>1.022</td>
<td>.721</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is important for me to wear beauty products to school</td>
<td>1.77</td>
<td>1.212</td>
<td>.737</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is important for me to wear beauty products when I spend time with friends</td>
<td>1.84</td>
<td>1.132</td>
<td>.740</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is important for me to wear beauty products when I spend time with family</td>
<td>1.21</td>
<td>1.146</td>
<td>.616</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is important for me to wear beauty products when I spend time with a romantic partner</td>
<td>1.81</td>
<td>1.075</td>
<td>.692</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is important for me to wear beauty products on special occasions</td>
<td>2.81</td>
<td>.394</td>
<td>.344</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I look more attractive when I wear beauty products</td>
<td>2.44</td>
<td>.666</td>
<td>.697</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel better about myself when I wear beauty products</td>
<td>2.33</td>
<td>.944</td>
<td>.696</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I enjoy using beauty products</td>
<td>2.51</td>
<td>.631</td>
<td>.452</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I believe that using beauty products is one way that I practice self-care</td>
<td>2.30</td>
<td>.860</td>
<td>.585</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I wear beauty products to highlight things I like about my face</td>
<td>2.28</td>
<td>1.008</td>
<td>.433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Using beauty products helps me feel connected to other women</td>
<td>1.44</td>
<td>1.053</td>
<td>.616</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I use beauty products to express my femininity</td>
<td>1.93</td>
<td>1.078</td>
<td>.684</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other people expect me to wear makeup</td>
<td>1.44</td>
<td>1.259</td>
<td>.593</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I worry about what other people will think if I don't wear beauty products</td>
<td>1.14</td>
<td>1.187</td>
<td>.664</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I would feel uncomfortable in social situations where I wasn't wearing beauty products</td>
<td>1.47</td>
<td>1.077</td>
<td>.693</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I wear beauty products to cover up things I don't like about my face</td>
<td>1.98</td>
<td>1.102</td>
<td>.492</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 52
Facial Ranking Task

The Facial Ranking Task was created for this study in order to explore the ways in which skin color and beauty product use interact to affect the subject’s perception of attractiveness among Latinas. It was also intended to assess how subjects expect skin color and beauty product use to affect other people’s perceptions of attractiveness among Latinas. Participants were presented with four stimulus cards, with each card presenting the same model under six skin color (light, medium and dark) and cosmetics (with makeup or without makeup) combinations. They were then asked to provide attractiveness rankings for the six combinations, first from their own point of view and then from an “average American’s” point of view. It was expected that there would be consistency across the rankings, with participant’s choices for all four stimulus cards following a similar pattern (i.e. if participant found combination ‘medium skin/with makeup’ the most attractive on card one, they would also be expected to demonstrate the same preference on card two, three, and four). A reliability analysis of the facial ranking task was conducted in order to determine whether this original measure should be used in the main study. The measure was found to be unreliable, with reliability coefficients ranging from .131 on participants 3rd most attractive rating to a reliability coefficient of .652 on what they believed would be other American’s 1st most attractive choice. Reliability coefficients for all rankings can be observed in Table 4.
Table 4

Pilot Facial Ranking Task – Response Reliability Values

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant Ratings</th>
<th>Alpha</th>
<th>“Others” Ratings</th>
<th>Alpha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>.328</td>
<td>1st</td>
<td>.652</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>.246</td>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>.620</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>.131</td>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>.276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th</td>
<td>.340</td>
<td>4th</td>
<td>.330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th</td>
<td>.377</td>
<td>5th</td>
<td>.621</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6th</td>
<td>.300</td>
<td>6th</td>
<td>.518</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 52

Skin Color Measure

The Skin Color measure was designed to assess client’s self-reported skin color as well as their degree of satisfaction with it. Participants were able to identify their actual skin color and their desired skin color on a number scale where 1 was the darkest option and 10 was the lightest skin tone. A paired-samples t-test was conducted to determine whether participant’s skin color preference was significantly different from their actual skin color. There was a significant difference between actual color (M = 6.56, SD = 1.47) and desired skin color (M = 5.92, SD = 1.48), t (51) = 3.27, p < .05. The mean difference between actual skin color and desired skin color was .64 with a 95% confidence interval ranging from .25 to 1.03. The eta squared statistic (.09) indicated a moderate effect size. Results indicate that participants’ desired skin color was significantly darker than their actual skin color. Descriptive and frequency statistics for this measure can be observed in Table 5.
### Table 5

**Pilot Skin Color Measure Descriptive Statistics and Frequency Summary**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Actual Skin Color</td>
<td>6.56</td>
<td>1.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desired Skin Color</td>
<td>5.92</td>
<td>1.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difference between Actual and Desired Skin Color</td>
<td>0.63</td>
<td>1.40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Actual Skin Color</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 (Darkest Option)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>19.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>34.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 (Lightest Option)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desired Skin Color</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 (Darkest Option)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>19.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>34.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 (Lightest Option)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difference between Actual and Desired Skin Color</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>38.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>23.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>17.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*N = 52*
Pilot Study Qualitative Results

Twenty subjects responded to the optional item requesting their feedback regarding their experience of the Demographic questionnaire. While most participants had no suggestions or reported that the questionnaire was relatively easy and straightforward, 7 of those who provided feedback raised issues with the open-ended questions regarding race and ethnic identity. Some examples of their responses included:

“I think the race question is tricky when it comes to Latinos. We're a mixed race so we come in different shades and our physical appearances range due to this mixing....”

“As a Latina, I consider my Race and Ethnicity to be Latina/Hispanic. I don't feel that I fall into any of the Race categories...”

“It’s important to understand that race is a social construct it does not provide a valid classification.”

On the optional feedback item of the beauty practices measure, 13 participants provided comments regarding their experience. Ten of those simply stated that the questionnaire was “clear”, “comprehensive”, and “understandable.” The other 3 subjects each gave a different suggestion regarding either the definitions of “regular” and “irregular” in the measure, beauty treatments that last over the 6-month window included in the measure and the performance of certain beauty services at home (which is included in the measure).

Although a thorough qualitative analysis of the open-ended item asking participants to elaborate their thoughts on beauty product/service use will be reserved for the main study, it was notable that it was the optional item that received the highest number of responses (35 total). This is important when using elicited text such as this one because as Charmaz (2006) has noted, qualitative data tends to be richer and more useful when respondents demonstrate an investment
in the questions posed. An overview of responses to this item also served to validate some of the structured questionnaire items regarding Latinas’ reasons for/against cosmetics use. For example, several women commented on what could be considered the more positive aspects of makeup use, including self-care, joy, and internal as well as external enhancement:

“I love makeup! …applying makeup gives you a chance to give yourself a different look every once in a while. It makes my life more interesting in a way and keeps me looking good and feeling good about myself.”

“I believe beauty products can not only enhance a woman's features but also enhance a woman's confidence.”

“[I] Enjoy learning about beauty products and like using them to enhance my beauty.”

“I enjoy beauty products and taking care of myself. Helps me feel put together.”

Others noted external pressures to wear makeup and expressed concern surrounding beauty product use:

“My mother always said NEVER leave home without fixing yourself up. I rarely remember seeing my mother without makeup. We got up and she was always ‘ready’ for the day. She would have been embarrassed to be caught without makeup and would never go out publicly without makeup. I would never go out publicly without makeup. I would feel ‘not ready’ for the day.”

“I think make up is sometimes overdone. I see women that are very pretty without make up but end up covering their faces with pounds of make up... advertisements emphasize that if it is not smooth clear skin then it should be corrected. I also think that industries target females when they are young, so they always think that covering their
"face is what you should do.”

“Beauty product use is tricky in the sense that our visions of beauty [are] shaped by the media at such an early age that it's hard to know what you want and what you think you want.”

In addition to the issues with establishing reliability within the Facial Ranking Task measure, some written participant feedback regarding the measure did, in fact, indicate problems with the quality of the stimulus images. These statements included:

“Some of the faces looked unnatural.”

“Some of the pictures were difficult to rank because they looked overly-photoshopped and not like a real person.”

“The lighting of the woman should be [of] more variety. There wasn't much in between skin tones.”

While feedback regarding the Skin Color Measure was either absent or positive, 7 subjects brought up some issues with the number scale used. They expressed concern regarding how subjective the use of numbers could be and suggested that colors should be used instead. Some of their comments included:

“...give participants set categories to describe their skin color.”

“I don't know if your "scale" is the same as mine.”

“...show examples of colors to go with the numbers in order to make it easier to judge, because it's tricky to make the comparison without any visual images.”

Pilot Study Discussion

The goal of creating limited response options for inclusion in the main study, rather than open ended fill-in questions, was facilitated by participant answers. Relationship status will now
include seven options ("single", "married", "divorced", "separated", "widowed", "in a domestic partnership", and "other") derived from those most frequently reported. Approximate annual income will be specified to include only the individual respondent and will include seven options (from "$15K or less" up to "more than $90K") since most respondents fell within this range.

Level of education will include 12 options (ranging from "less than elementary school" to "MD, PhD, or other advance degree") since many participants reported that their parents had not been educated beyond grade school. These new options will not only allow for ready analysis of the main study data, but should also significantly reduce response time since participants will no longer have to enter most of their responses manually. Changes to the demographic questionnaire produced a measure of 26 items, seven less than the original, with 13 of those questions including multiple answer response options (see Appendix B). Pilot demographic data can be observed in Table 1. The data presented represents only variables of interest and responses have been coded into the categories that will be used in the main study for organizational purposes.

Since suggestions for the beauty practices questionnaire were minimal and appeared no more than once, and since the overwhelming majority of respondents indicated no difficulty with the measure, it was determined that no changes would be made regarding definitions of scale answer options (i.e. "never" "irregularly" and "regularly") and that the 6-month time frame subjects are asked to consider when responding to beauty service related items will also remain intact. While the items targeting women’s beauty product preferences and their motivation for makeup use also remain unchanged for the main study, responses for several open-ended questions were analyzed in order to create multiple-choice options instead. Item number 10, which asks participants where they obtain beauty products now has eight options (including, "drugstores", "department stores", "natural goods stores", etc.). Item number 11, which
previously asked participants to write three words that best described the look they wanted to achieve when using beauty products or obtaining beauty services now includes 14 options (including “natural”, “powerful”, “feminine”, “healthy”, “sexy”, etc.), all based on descriptive words that were provided by at least 2 participants. Similarly, item number 14, which asked participants to describe the texture of their hair is now limited to 10 possible answer choices (including “curly”, “straight”, “smooth”, “frizzy”, etc.) that are based on replies provided repeatedly. One item, under-eye cream, was added to the first question (the cosmetics use inventory), which asks how often women have used certain products over the previous month because several women brought it up in the “other” item option. Lastly, magazines were added to item number 10, because several women brought them up as a factor that influences their selection of beauty products (Appendix B).

It is speculated that the lack of reliability in the Facial Ranking Task may be due to various factors, including an excessive number of rankings requested from subjects (48 in total), variability in image/color quality as a result of computer monitors, and differences in the model’s facial features that contribute additional variability. Based on these poor reliability coefficients, it was determined that the facial ranking task would have to be excluded from the main study. Such a measure would most likely have to be implemented in a study that included in-person administration to ensure that all participants are viewing the same stimulus images and would require additional exploration of the relationship between racialized facial features and perceptions of attractiveness.

Participant responses regarding the quality of the stimulus images were entirely unexpected given that participants viewed the stimulus images on monitors whose quality and brightness settings could not be controlled for. While some participants noted that the images
they viewed appeared unnatural to them, it is expected that making any additional alterations to
the actual pictures would not improve reliability, since they would most likely appear unnatural
to other participants viewing from different monitors. Three other participants noted some issues
with viewing the stimuli on their monitors due to the size (too large) or placement (too close) of
the images. Again, these issues can be attributed to the participant’s monitors, which were most
likely smaller than the standard 13-inch screen the images were edited for. Although screens
larger than 13 inches should have presented no viewing problems with regard to the picture size,
it appears that smaller ones required that subjects scroll down to view all the faces and prevented
them from seeing all 6 images on one card at once. Two additional comments also expressed
some confusion regarding the instructions for rating the images. These additional difficulties
with the task provided further evidence that it should be removed from the main study and that a
measure of this kind requires additional development and in-person presentation to study
participants.

Regarding the Skin Color Measure, although the use of color swatches recommended by
some participants would in fact be ideal, for example in a lab setting, it would not be considered
useful with an online study given the variability in monitors. As previously discussed in regard to
the facial ranking task, participants’ experiences of viewing color images on a computer screen
are not uniform and cannot be controlled for. It would be likely that depending on the quality and
brightness settings of a given monitor, participants would see colors quite differently. Therefore,
instead of including color swatches of different skin tones in the updated skin color measure,
descriptor color names will be provided instead. This approach is more commonly used across
studies examining skin color (Telzer & Vazquez Garcia, 2009; Vázquez et al., 1997), although
there has not been one well-established color name scale used. As a result, the new skin color
measure was reduced to a 9-point scale in order to facilitate statistical analysis with the establishment of a middle color (medium tan) and four other colors on either side of the spectrum (lightest, very fair, fair, light tan, dark tan, brown, dark brown, darkest). Participants will also be asked the same two follow-up questions as in the original measure, including how they would change their skin color if they were able to do so and will indicate whether they believe they fall into a light, medium, or dark color category. These two items will help ascertain participant’s degree of satisfaction with their skin color and how well their perception of their own skin color aligns with the scale created for the measure.

In addition, 13 items where added in order to obtain information regarding participant’s facial preferences. This change was made after some consideration of participant’s response to the facial ranking task. The images presented in that measure attempted to control for skin color and makeup use, but they could not control for other differences between the pictures, namely the model’s facial features. While skin color is considered a main marker of Latino ethnicity, it is widely recognized that facial features are also often used as identifiers (Arce, Murguia, & Frisbie, 1987; Vázquez et al., 1997). For this reason, it was considered appropriate to also obtain data regarding subject’s facial beauty preferences; the Skin Color Measure will be converted into the Facial Beauty Preference questionnaire. New questions will ask about participants face shape; eye color, shape and size; nose size; and lip size. Participants are asked to both identify their perception of these features on their face and also to endorse the ways they would alter these (Appendix B). In addition to responses to the modified facial ranking task, it is expected that responses to this updated measure will serve to gauge women’s degree of satisfaction with their own features and provide information about what beauty ideals Latinas aspire to, in addition to skin color or cosmetics use. Based on the changes to this measure, and given the
exclusion of the facial ranking task from the main study phase, Hypothesis 3 was altered. Instead of exploring the relationship between enculturation and acculturation and participants’ attributions of beauty in the facial ranking task, as was originally intended, the relationship between acculturation and enculturation and facial beauty preferences was analyzed instead:

Alternative hypothesis 3: It was expected that acculturation and enculturation would be correlated with participants’ skin dissatisfaction and total facial beauty preference dissatisfaction scores. It was hypothesized that those Latinas with high acculturation scores would have internalized certain beauty standards that will impact their degree of contentment with their own skin color as well as their facial features. As a result, it was expected that U.S. acculturation scores would be positively correlated with skin color dissatisfaction as well as overall facial beauty preference dissatisfaction. It was expected that Native enculturation scores would not be correlated with participants’ skin color or total facial beauty preference dissatisfaction scores.

Hypothesis 3a: It was expected that high U.S. acculturation would be positively correlated to participant’s skin color dissatisfaction scores.

Hypothesis 3b: It was expected that native enculturation would be unrelated to participant’s skin color dissatisfaction scores.

Hypothesis 3c: It was expected that high U.S. acculturation would be positively correlated to participant’s facial beauty preference dissatisfaction scores.

Hypothesis 3d: It was expected that native enculturation would be unrelated to participant’s facial beauty preference dissatisfaction scores.
Main Study Sample

Data was collected from 202 Latina participants via online advertisements: the study was advertised through email, postings on Craigslist (New York and New Jersey), and through various social media outlets, including Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram from accounts specifically created for the study. Subjects ranged in age from 18 to 62 ($M = 29.23$ years, $SD = 8.4$), hailed from 31 different states, with the majority being from New York ($n = 52, 25.7\%$), Texas ($n = 34, 16.8\%$), and California ($n = 15.3\%$), and $80.69\% (n = 163)$ were born in the U.S.. Four of the women who completed the study were entered to win one of four Amazon gift cards valued at $50, $100, $150, and $200. Inclusion criteria were limited to Latinas over the age of 18 who were residents of the mainland United States. Participants completed questionnaires online, through the PsychData website.

Procedures

All online advertisements contained links that led participants to the study website where interested individuals were presented with a detailed consent form explaining the purpose of the study, the minimal risk involved, their anticipated time commitment, and the possibility of being entered into a gift card lottery upon completion of all questionnaires. Participants completed a total of seven measures, including the revised four from the pilot study and three additional ones intended to assess acculturation, sex roles, and psychological distress. All original measures can be viewed in Appendix B. Measures were available in English and the median completion time was 31.42 minutes.
Measures

Demographics

Participants were presented with a 26 item demographic questionnaire created specifically for this study and edited based on pilot study participant feedback. Subjects were asked to provide basic information on age, country of birth, education, income, marital/relationship status, and sexual orientation.

Acculturation

The Abbreviated Multidimensional Acculturation Scale (AMAS; Zea, Asner-Self, Birman, & Buki, 2003) is a 42-item self-report measure of acculturation in both the native culture (21 items) and U.S. culture (21 items) that can be used with any ethnic group. The AMAS measures three domains: cultural competence, language competence, and identity. Cultural competence includes knowledge about the culture and the ability to function in it. Items on this scale include familiarity with national heroes, TV shows, pop culture, and politicians. Language competence assesses how well the reporter speaks a given language in different situations, such as school, work, with friends, on the phone, and in general. The total 42 items are rated on a 4-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree, or not at all) to 4 (strongly agree, or extremely well), with a higher score representing a higher level of acculturation or enculturation. All domains are measured for both the culture of origin (enculturation) and mainstream/“U.S. American” culture (acculturation), allowing for an examination of acculturative status as a bidimensional construct. Although the initial validation was accomplished with Latino and Latina samples, Zea et al. (2003) developed the AMAS-ZABB for use with diverse ethnic groups. Sample items include “I feel that I am a part of U.S./Native culture,” (identity) “How well do you know popular American newspapers and
magazines?” (cultural competence) and “How well do you speak English with strangers?” (language). The AMAS-ZABB showed adequate convergent and discriminant validity in relation to the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM; Phinney, 1992) and adequate concurrent validity with the length of residence in the United States (Zea et al., 2003).

**Sex Roles**

The short form of the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI Short Form; Bem, 1981) is a modified version of the original Bem Sex Role inventory (BSRI; Bem, 1974). It is a two-dimensional (Masculinity/Femininity and Instrumentality/Expressiveness), 30-item self-report questionnaire comprised of 10 masculine traits, 10 feminine traits, and 10 neutral items. Respondents are asked to indicate the extent to which a given item describes them using a 7-point Likert scale that ranges from 1 (never or almost never true) to 7 (always or almost always true). Based on responses, subjects can be assigned to one of four categories: Feminine (high femininity, low masculinity), Masculine (high masculinity, low femininity), Androgynous (high femininity, high masculinity), and Undifferentiated (low masculinity, low femininity). However, for the purposes of this study, Masculine and Feminine dimension scores will be used as this has been recommended for research purposes (Payne, 1985; Johnson et al. 2006; Sprock, Crosby, & Nielsen 2001). Internal consistency for the BSRI-SF has been found to be superior to the original measure ($\alpha_{Fem} = .84 - .87$, $\alpha_{Masc} = .84 - .86$) and test-retest reliability coefficients for the long form have also been excellent (Bem, 1981b: $r = .90$ for Masculinity and Femininity).

**Beauty Practices**

Women’s beauty practices were assessed with the Beauty Practices Questionnaire (BPQ), a measure designed specifically for this study that was piloted with a small sample of Latinas (see above). Based on responses and feedback from the pilot study participants, this measure
consisted of 16 questions that ask respondents to consider their beauty product use via both close-ended Likert scale rated items, and open-ended items that were scored using qualitative analysis. Participants were presented with a comprehensive 27 item list of cosmetic products as well as other services and asked to indicate which ones they have used within the previous 2 weeks as well as how frequently they’ve done so (0 = Never, 1 = Rarely, 2 = Sometimes, 3 = Almost Daily, 4 = Daily). The BPQ also presented subjects with a cosmetics use motivation inventory, a series of 17 statements about reasons for using cosmetics and asked how strongly they agree with each one (Not Applicable = NA, True = 3, Somewhat true = 2, Somewhat False = 1, and False = 0). In addition, they were asked a series of questions about the role of cosmetics and other beauty services in their lives (i.e. about how much time they dedicate to application, starting age of regular use, factors that influence their use, etc.). For the purposes of this study, quantitative data was used to obtain two scores for analysis: a Cosmetics Use score (the sum of all 27 product use inventory items), which has a potential range of 0 to 108, and a Cosmetics Use Motivation score (the sum of all 17 motivation inventory items), which can range between 0 and 68. Additionally, written responses to the final open-ended item asking participants to elaborate on their thoughts about beauty product use will allow for a qualitative analysis of the relationship between cosmetics use and other study variables (see Appendix C).

**Facial Beauty Preferences**

The Facial Beauty Preference measure consists of 18 items aimed at gathering information about subjects’ satisfaction with their skin color and facial features. Based on data obtained as part of the pilot study (see above), main study participants were asked about various aspects of their facial appearance, beginning with a 9-point scale that asked them to identify their actual skin color. Participants could indicate whether they believed their color to be: “lightest” (-
4 numerical value), “very fair”, “fair”, “light tan”, “tan” (0 numerical value), “dark tan”, “brown”, “dark brown”, “darkest” (+4 numerical value). In order to assess their degree of satisfaction/dissatisfaction with their skin color, they were also asked to indicate where on the same scale they would like their skin color to fall if they could change it. Similarly, participants were presented with 13 questions asking them to identify their face shape, eye color/size/shape, nose, and lips, since these features are sometimes used to differentiate between individuals belonging to certain racial/ethnic categories (Arce et al., 1987; Vázquez et al., 1997), and they were asked how they would alter these features if it were possible. In this manner data about if and how subjects would alter specific facial features and a total score of the number of features that would be altered was obtained in order to assess their overall degree of satisfaction with their appearance. For the purposes of this study, three pieces of information from the Facial Beauty Preferences Measure were analyzed: participant’s self-identified skin color category (subjects selecting the three lightest color names were categorized as ‘Light’, those selecting the middle three color names were categorized as ‘Medium’ and those selecting the darkest three color names were categorized as ‘Dark’), skin color dissatisfaction scores (calculated as self-identified skin color minus ideal skin color), and facial beauty preference dissatisfaction scores (calculated as the sum of all items participant’s would alter if they could) (see Appendix B).

Psychological Functioning

The Brief Symptom Inventory (BSI; Derogatis & Melisaratos, 1983) is a 53-item self-report measure of mental health symptoms. Respondents rate items on a 5-point scale of distress regarding a particular symptom ranging from “not at all” to “extremely.” The BSI comprises nine different symptom dimensions: somatization, obsessive–compulsive, interpersonal sensitivity, depression, anxiety, hostility, phobic anxiety, paranoid ideation, and psychoticism.
Three global index scores can also be calculated: the Positive Symptom Total, which reflects the number of reported symptoms, the Positive Symptom Distress Index, which measures the intensity of symptoms, and the Global Severity Index, which is a score computed as a combination of the number of symptoms and their severity, thus measuring overall psychological distress level. This measure was used to eliminate participants demonstrating a degree of distress one or more standard deviations above the clinical significance score for outpatient female samples.

Given the density of the study, Table 6 displays the independent variables, dependent variables and potential moderators.

Table 6

Summary of Independent Variables, Potential Moderators and Dependent Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent variables</th>
<th>Potential Moderators</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>U.S. American Acculturation</td>
<td>Age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native Enculturation</td>
<td>Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skin color</td>
<td>Income</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Femininity</td>
<td>Marital status</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masculinity</td>
<td>U.S. born status</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dependent Variables

Cosmetics use score  
Cosmetics use motivation score  
Facial beauty preference skin color dissatisfaction scores  
Facial beauty preference total dissatisfaction score

Statistical Analyses

1. Descriptive analyses (i.e. mean and standard deviation) were conducted to describe the participant sample in terms of demographic and background variables, and to examine the range of scores on dependent and independent variables.
2. Preliminary analyses were completed in order to determine whether there were any significant associations between demographic variables and the outcome variables, indicating the need for covariates during the hypothesis-testing phase.

3. Reliability analysis was conducted with the Beauty Practices Questionnaire inventory data in order to determine whether it should be altered for inclusion in future studies.

4. In order to test the relationship between acculturation and enculturation and beauty product use among Latinas (hypothesis 1a and 1b), a linear regression model in which acculturation and enculturation are entered simultaneously was used. The criterion variable was participant beauty product use. Using assumptions of a small to medium effect size ($f^2 = .08$) for the interaction effect, power of .80 and alpha = .05, the power analysis suggested that a sample size of 100 would be adequate. In order to test the relationship between acculturation and enculturation and beauty product use motivation among Latinas (Hypotheses 1c and 1d), a second linear regression model in which acculturation and enculturation are entered simultaneously was used. The criterion variable was beauty product use motivation. Using assumptions of a small to medium effect size ($f^2 = .08$) for the interaction effect, power of .80 and alpha = .05, the power analysis suggested that a sample size of 100 would be adequate.

5. A three-group analysis of variance was used in order to test the relationship between skin color and beauty product use (Hypothesis 2a). Skin color was the three-group independent variable and beauty product use was the dependent variable. Using assumptions of a small to medium effect size ($f = .15$) for the effect, power of .80 and alpha = .05, the power analysis suggested that a sample size of 144 would be adequate. A second three-group analysis of variance was used in order to test the relationship between
skin color and beauty product use motivation (Hypothesis 2b). Skin color was the three-group independent variable and beauty product use motivation was the dependent variable. Using assumptions of a small to medium effect size (f = .15) for the effect, power of .80 and alpha = .05, the power analysis suggested that a sample size of 144 would be adequate.

6. In order to test the relationship between acculturation and enculturation and skin color dissatisfaction among Latinas (Alternative hypothesis 3a and 3b), a linear regression model in which acculturation and enculturation are entered simultaneously was used. The criterion variable was participant skin color dissatisfaction. Using assumptions of a small to medium effect size (f² = .08) for the interaction effect, power of .80 and alpha = .05, the power analysis suggested that a sample size of 100 would be adequate. A second linear regression was used in order to test the relationship between acculturation and enculturation and facial feature dissatisfaction among Latinas (Alternative hypothesis 3c and 3d). Acculturation and enculturation were entered simultaneously. The criterion variable was participant facial feature dissatisfaction. Using assumptions of a small to medium effect size (f² = .08) for the interaction effect, power of .80 and alpha = .05, the power analysis suggested that a sample size of 100 would be adequate.

7. In order to test the relationship between masculinity and femininity and beauty product use (Hypotheses 4a and 4b), a Pearson correlational analysis in which sex role dimension scores were the predictor variable and beauty product use was the criterion variable were used. Using assumptions of a small to medium effect size (r = .2) for the effect of sex role orientation, power of .80 and alpha = .05, the power analysis suggested that a sample size of 98 would be adequate. In order to test the relationship between masculinity and
femininity and beauty product use motivation (Hypotheses 4c and 4d), a Pearson
correlational analysis in which sex role dimension scores were the predictor variable and
beauty product use motivation was the criterion variable was used. Using assumptions of
a small to medium effect size ($r = .2$) for the effect of sex role orientation, power of .80
and alpha = .05, the power analysis suggested that a sample size of 98 would be adequate.

8. Finally, qualitative analysis using a grounded theory approach was used to code
participant’s additional written responses regarding their thoughts and experiences with
beauty product use and services on the Beauty Practices Inventory in order to gain a
deeper understanding.
CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

Main Study Summary Statistics

According to information provided by the PsychData website, 355 individuals began the study, but only 286 completed all of the questionnaires. Data from 5 participants was removed because they indicated that they were currently living in Puerto Rico. Although Puerto Rico is part of the U.S., the fact that it is comprised of a predominantly Latino population would likely mean that respondents answers to several measures (e.g. acculturation) would take on a different meaning than for Latinas residing in the mainland U.S. As a result participants currently residing there did not meet criteria for inclusion. Once participant responses to the Brief Symptom Inventory were scored, another 78 subject’s data was removed because their psychological distress scores exceeded the cutoff point. Finally, 1 subject’s data was removed because she indicated that she grew up in a Latino neighborhood and identified with Latino culture, but was Caucasian and had no Latino ancestors. The final sample consisted of 202 Latinas who were residing in the mainland U.S. at the time of participation. Demographic data obtained for the study sample can be observed in Table 7. Means, standard deviations, skew, and kurtosis were analyzed and indicated that the data was normally distributed.
Table 7

Summary of Demographic Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>29.23</td>
<td>8.40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marital Status</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>56.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>25.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In a Domestic Partnership</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>11.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separated</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Level of Education Completed   |           |            |
| High School                     |           |            |
| Some College                    | 4         | 2.00       |
| College                         | 29        | 14.40      |
| Some Graduate School            | 54        | 26.70      |
| Master’s Degree                 | 21        | 10.40      |
| Advanced Degree                 | 59        | 29.20      |
| Other                           | 28        | 13.90      |
|                                 | 7         | 3.50       |

| Annual Income                   |           |            |
| 15K or Less                     | 61        | 30.20      |
| 14K – 30K                       | 33        | 16.30      |
| 30K – 45K                       | 32        | 15.80      |
| 45 – 60K                        | 31        | 15.30      |
| 60 – 75K                        | 20        | 9.90       |
| 75 – 90K                        | 10        | 5.00       |
| More than 90K                   | 15        | 7.40       |

| Country of Birth                |           |            |
| United States                   | 153       | 75.70      |
| Latin American Country          | 49        | 24.30      |

N = 202
Preliminary Analyses

Preliminary analyses of the relationship between demographic variables (age, education, income, marital status and U.S. born status) and the dependent variables (Cosmetics Use, Cosmetics use Motivation, Facial Beauty Preference Skin Color Dissatisfaction and Facial Beauty Preference Total Dissatisfaction Score) were also conducted in order to determine whether participant background variables should be included as covariates in the hypothesis tests.

Age

Four Pearson’s Correlations were conducted in order to determine whether participant age was related to the four dependent variables. Results showed that participant age ($M = 29.23, SD = 8.40$) was not significantly related to Cosmetics Use ($r = .13, p = .06$), Cosmetics use Motivation ($r = -.03, p = .67$), Facial Beauty Preference Skin Color Dissatisfaction ($r = -.11, p = .13$) or Facial Beauty Preference Total Dissatisfaction Score ($r = -.05, p = .46$). As a result, age will not be used as a covariate to test hypotheses. Results are displayed on Table 8.

Education

Four Pearson’s correlations were conducted in order to determine whether participant educational attainment was related to the four dependent variables. Results showed that participant education (High School, $N = 4, 2.00\%$; Some College, $N = 29, 14.40\%$; College, $N = 54, 26.70\%$; Master’s Degree, $N = 59, 29.20\%$; Some Graduate School, $N = 21, 10.40\%$; Advanced Degree, $N = 28, 13.90\%$; Other, $N = 7, 3.9\%$) was not significantly related to Cosmetics Use ($r = -.10, p = .16$), Cosmetics use Motivation ($r = -.07, p = .33$), Facial Beauty Preference Skin Color Dissatisfaction ($r = -.08, p = .25$) or Facial Beauty Preference Total Dissatisfaction Score ($r = -.05, p = .46$).
Dissatisfaction Score \( (r = -.13, p = .07) \). As a result, education will not be used as a covariate to test hypotheses. Results are displayed in Table 8.

### Income

Four Pearson’s correlations were conducted in order to determine whether participant income was related to the four dependent variables. Results showed that participant income (15K or less, \( n = 61, 30.20\% \); 15K to 30K, \( n = 33, 16.30\% \); 30K to 45K, \( n = 32, 15.80\% \); 45K to 60K, \( n = 31, 15.30\% \); 60K to 75K, \( n = 20, 9.90\% \); More than 90K, \( n = 15, 7.40\% \)) was not significantly related to Cosmetics Use \( (r = .10, p = .15) \), Cosmetics use Motivation \( (r = .09, p = .23) \), Facial Beauty Preference Skin Color Dissatisfaction \( (r = -.05, p = .46) \) or Facial Beauty Preference Total Dissatisfaction Score \( (r = -.07, p = .31) \). As a result, income will not be used as a covariate to test hypotheses. Results are displayed in Table 8.

### Table 8

**Pearson’s Correlations Between Age, Education, Income and Dependent Variables**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dependent variable</th>
<th>Age ( r(p) )</th>
<th>Education ( r(p) )</th>
<th>Income ( r(p) )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cosmetics Use Score</td>
<td>.13 (.06)</td>
<td>-.10 (.16)</td>
<td>.10 (.15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cosmetics Use Motivation Score</td>
<td>-.03 (.67)</td>
<td>-.07 (.33)</td>
<td>.09 (.23)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facial Beauty Preference Skin color Dissatisfaction Score</td>
<td>-.11 (.13)</td>
<td>-.08 (.25)</td>
<td>-.05 (.46)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facial Beauty Preference Total Dissatisfaction Score</td>
<td>-.05 (.46)</td>
<td>-.13 (.07)</td>
<td>-.07 (.31)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\( N = 202, *p < .05. **p < .01 \)
Marital Status

Four Analyses of Variance (ANOVA’s) were conducted in order to determine whether participant marital status was related to the four dependent variables. Results showed that participant marital status was not significantly related to Cosmetics Use, Cosmetics use Motivation or Facial Beauty Preference Total Dissatisfaction Score. However, as can be observed in Table 9, marital status (Single, \( n = 115, 56.93\% \); Domestic Partnership, \( n = 24, 11.88\% \); Married, \( n = 51, 25.25\% \); Separated/Divorced, \( n = 6, 2.97\% \); Widowed, \( n = 2, .99\% \); Other, \( n = 4, 1.98\% \)) was found to be significantly related to Facial Beauty Preference Skin Color Dissatisfaction scores (\( F[5, 196] = 2.76, p = .03 \)). Post hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test indicated that the mean score for married women (\( M = -.92, SD = .89 \)) was significantly different than the mean score for single women (\( M = -.32, SD = .97 \)). However, there were no significant differences between women who were in a domestic partnership, separated/divorced, widowed or other and any other group. As a result, ‘married’ status will be used as a covariate to test hypotheses. In addition, two independent samples \( t \)-tests were conducted to determine whether there were any significant differences between single and married Latinas’ self-rated actual skin color and their desired skin color. No significant differences were found between single (\( M = -.79, SD = 1.08 \)) and married (\( M = -1.14, SD = 1.167; t(164) = 1.86, p = .065, \) two-tailed) women’s self-reported skin color. No significant differences were found between single (\( M = -0.47, SD = 1.095 \)) and married (\( M = -0.22, SD = .966; t(164) = -1.43, p = .16, \) two-tailed) women’s desired skin color either. ANOVA results are displayed in Table 9.
Table 9

ANOVA: Difference in Dependent Variables Based on Marital Status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Single (n = 115)</th>
<th>Domestic Partnership (n = 24)</th>
<th>Married (n = 51)</th>
<th>Separated/Divorced (n = 6)</th>
<th>Widowed (n = 2)</th>
<th>Other (n = 4)</th>
<th>F(5, 196)</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cosmetics Use</td>
<td>40.63 (19.84)</td>
<td>41.83 (17.74)</td>
<td>43.63 (19.67)</td>
<td>52.17 (11.89)</td>
<td>58.50 (20.56)</td>
<td>37.75 (20.56)</td>
<td>0.82</td>
<td>.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cosmetics Use Motivation</td>
<td>27.05 (11.69)</td>
<td>27.05 (11.69)</td>
<td>29.57 (11.87)</td>
<td>25.67 (.821)</td>
<td>29.50 (17.68)</td>
<td>31.50 (10.66)</td>
<td>0.46</td>
<td>.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facial Beauty Preference Skin Color Dissatisfaction</td>
<td>-0.32 (.97)</td>
<td>-0.33 (1.17)</td>
<td>0.92 (.89)</td>
<td>-0.67 (1.37)</td>
<td>0.75 (2.06)</td>
<td>0.75 (2.06)</td>
<td>2.64</td>
<td>.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facial Beauty Preference Total Dissatisfaction</td>
<td>2.85 (1.72)</td>
<td>2.38 (1.61)</td>
<td>3.10 (1.77)</td>
<td>2.50 (2.07)</td>
<td>3.75 (1.89)</td>
<td>3.75 (1.89)</td>
<td>1.44</td>
<td>.21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 202, * p < .05, ** p < .01
U.S. Born Status

Four independent samples t-tests were conducted in order to determine whether participant U.S. born status was related to the four dependent variables. Results showed that there was no significant difference in Cosmetics Use scores between participants who were U.S born ($M = 41.65, SD = 19.72$) and those who were not U.S. born ($M = 43.06, SD = 19.49; t(200) = .44, p = .66$, two-tailed). There was no significant difference in Cosmetics Use Motivation scores between participants who were U.S born ($M = 28.40, SD = 11.34$) and those who were not U.S. born ($M = 26.22, SD = 11.97; t(200) = -1.15, p = .25$, two-tailed). There was no significant difference in Facial Beauty Preference Skin Color Dissatisfaction scores between participants who were U.S born ($M = -0.50, SD = .99$) and those who were not U.S. born ($M = -0.49, SD = 1.19; t(200) = .08, p = .94$, two-tailed). There was also no significant difference in Facial Beauty Preference Total Dissatisfaction Scores between participants who were U.S born ($M = 3.01, SD = 1.72$) and those who were not U.S. born ($M = 2.49, SD = 1.73; t(200) = -1.85, p = .07$, two-tailed). As a result, U.S. born status will not be used as a covariate to test hypotheses. Results are displayed in Table 10.
Participants Scores on Measures

The Abbreviated Multidimensional Acculturation Scale - ZABB

The Abbreviated Multidimensional Acculturation Measure assessed participant’s acculturation (the extent to which they have adapted to American culture) and enculturation (how much of their culture of origin they have retained). Coefficient alphas for the six subscales provided by this measure ranged from .90 to .97, and were .93 for Native Enculturation and .88 for U.S. American Acculturation, indicating highly reliable AMAS-ZABB scores among this sample. The mean U.S. American Acculturation score for this sample was 3.47 with a standard
deviation of .37, while the mean Native Culture Enculturation score was 3.12 with a standard deviation of .50. Scores among this sample were normally distributed.

**The Bem Sex Role Inventory – Short Form**

The scores for the Bem Sex Role Inventory – Short Form have a possible range of scores from 1 to 7, with high scores indicating a high adherence to sex-typed characteristics and low scores indicating low adherence. Among the study sample, coefficient alphas of .82 for Masculinity and .86 for Femininity indicated that scores were reliable. The mean Femininity score was 5.69 with a standard deviation of .80 and the median Masculinity score was 5.10 with a standard deviation of .84. Scores among this sample were normally distributed.

**The Beauty Practices Questionnaire**

The Beauty Practices Questionnaire was created for this study in order to assess participants’ product use and motivation to use beauty products. Although the product use and motivation scales were found to have high reliability in the pilot study (see above), they were re-analyzed in the main study since one item (under-eye cream) was added to the product inventory and the sample size was much larger. Coefficient alphas were calculated and suggested that the Cosmetics Use (.91) and Motivation scale (.90) were highly reliable. The mean cosmetics use score for the sample was 42.00 with a standard deviation of 19.62 and the mean motivation score was 27.87 with a standard deviation of 11.51. Individual items on the cosmetics use scale ranged from 0 to 4, with 4 representing daily use of a product. Cosmetics use motivation scales ranged between scores of 0 and 3, with 3 representing the strongest agreement with a statement. Scores among this sample were normally distributed. The descriptive and reliability statistics for all
items included in this measure can be observed in Table 11 and Table 12 and the frequency statistics for the additional items from the questionnaire can be observed in Table 13.

**Table 11**

*Beauty Practices Questionnaire (BPQ) - Beauty Product Use Inventory Descriptive Statistics and Item Reliability Analysis Summary*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Product</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>Corrected Item-Tot Correlation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Foundation primer</td>
<td>1.36</td>
<td>1.45</td>
<td>.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eyelid primer</td>
<td>1.08</td>
<td>1.37</td>
<td>.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mascara primer</td>
<td>.55</td>
<td>1.11</td>
<td>.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foundation</td>
<td>2.44</td>
<td>1.51</td>
<td>.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concealer</td>
<td>1.93</td>
<td>1.51</td>
<td>.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Setting powder</td>
<td>1.72</td>
<td>1.69</td>
<td>.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blush</td>
<td>2.43</td>
<td>1.48</td>
<td>.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highlighter</td>
<td>.84</td>
<td>1.21</td>
<td>.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bronzer</td>
<td>1.24</td>
<td>1.32</td>
<td>.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contour</td>
<td>.67</td>
<td>1.17</td>
<td>.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eyeshadow</td>
<td>2.07</td>
<td>1.30</td>
<td>.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eyeliner</td>
<td>2.64</td>
<td>1.24</td>
<td>.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mascara</td>
<td>2.81</td>
<td>1.29</td>
<td>.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eyebrow definer</td>
<td>1.40</td>
<td>1.52</td>
<td>.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lip liner</td>
<td>.92</td>
<td>1.23</td>
<td>.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lipstick</td>
<td>1.84</td>
<td>1.34</td>
<td>.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lipgloss</td>
<td>2.01</td>
<td>1.34</td>
<td>.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Setting spray</td>
<td>.43</td>
<td>.94</td>
<td>.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moisturizer</td>
<td>3.18</td>
<td>1.24</td>
<td>.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eye cream</td>
<td>1.43</td>
<td>1.50</td>
<td>.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleanser</td>
<td>2.91</td>
<td>1.41</td>
<td>.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toner</td>
<td>1.28</td>
<td>1.52</td>
<td>.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serums</td>
<td>1.10</td>
<td>1.39</td>
<td>.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facial oils</td>
<td>.82</td>
<td>1.28</td>
<td>.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exfoliator</td>
<td>1.70</td>
<td>1.39</td>
<td>.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skin lightener</td>
<td>.31</td>
<td>.84</td>
<td>.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masks</td>
<td>.89</td>
<td>.99</td>
<td>.47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*N* = 202
Table 12

Beauty Practices Questionnaire - Beauty Product Use Motivation Inventory Descriptive Statistics and Item Reliability Analysis Summary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>Corrected Item-Total Correlation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>It is important for me to wear beauty products to work</td>
<td>1.60</td>
<td>1.20</td>
<td>.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is important for me to wear beauty products to school</td>
<td>1.44</td>
<td>1.19</td>
<td>.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is important for me to wear beauty products when I spend time with friends</td>
<td>1.46</td>
<td>1.14</td>
<td>.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is important for me to wear beauty products when I spend time with family</td>
<td>.99</td>
<td>1.05</td>
<td>.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is important for me to wear beauty products when I spend time with a romantic partner</td>
<td>1.38</td>
<td>1.13</td>
<td>.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is important for me to wear beauty products on special occasions</td>
<td>2.57</td>
<td>.76</td>
<td>.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I look more attractive when I wear beauty products</td>
<td>2.20</td>
<td>.81</td>
<td>.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel better about myself when I wear beauty products</td>
<td>2.12</td>
<td>.93</td>
<td>.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I enjoy using beauty products</td>
<td>2.33</td>
<td>1.15</td>
<td>.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I believe that using beauty products is one way that I practice self-care</td>
<td>1.99</td>
<td>1.28</td>
<td>.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I wear beauty products to highlight things I like about my face</td>
<td>2.04</td>
<td>1.50</td>
<td>.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Using beauty products helps me feel connected to other women</td>
<td>.81</td>
<td>2.06</td>
<td>.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I use beauty products to express my femininity</td>
<td>1.58</td>
<td>1.70</td>
<td>.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other people expect me to wear makeup</td>
<td>.92</td>
<td>1.62</td>
<td>.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I worry about what other people will think if I don't wear beauty products</td>
<td>.87</td>
<td>1.63</td>
<td>.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I would feel uncomfortable in social situations where I wasn't wearing beauty products</td>
<td>1.33</td>
<td>1.59</td>
<td>.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I wear beauty products to cover up things I don't like about my face</td>
<td>1.38</td>
<td>1.57</td>
<td>.58</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 202
Table 13

Beauty Practices Questionnaire (BPQ) – Additional Questions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Standard Deviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age at which you began using beauty products:</td>
<td>14.98 years</td>
<td>3.92</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Who taught you how to use beauty products:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female relative</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>38.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>18.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Combination of relative and non-relatives</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>19.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>21.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No one</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Average time spent applying beauty products daily:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No time</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than 5 minutes</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>27.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-10 minutes</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>41.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-20 minutes</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>16.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-30 minutes</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-40 minutes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-50 minutes</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Where do you purchase:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drugstore</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>72.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beauty supply store</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>20.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent Beauty Brand store</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>26.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed beauty brand store</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>54.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department store</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>30.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luxury department store</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>13.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural goods store</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>10.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>11.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Influences:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Television</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>24.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magazines</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>33.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internet</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>33.70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5. Desired “look” when using beauty products:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Look</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Natural</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>70.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attractive</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>37.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pretty</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>31.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Powerful</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glowing</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>21.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminine</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>16.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Healthy</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>29.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chic</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Put together</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>40.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>36.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unique</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexy</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>14.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confident</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>33.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6. Reasons why you do not wear cosmetics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I don’t like using them</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I don’t know how to use them</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel that they don’t suit me</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I don’t have time to apply them</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Using them goes against my beliefs</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5.90</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ N = 202 \]

**Skin Color and Facial Beauty Preferences**

The Skin Color and Facial Beauty Preferences measure was designed to assess client’s self-reported skin color as well as information about their degree of satisfaction with several of their facial features. The total number of facial features participants could express dissatisfaction with ranged from 0 to 8 and the mean score for this sample was 2.89 with a standard deviation of 1.74. Scores among this sample were normally distributed. The items assessing actual skin color and desired skin color presented subjects with a nominal nine color scale; in order to analyze
these values, the color names where coded with number values, with -4 representing the lightest option, 0 representing the mid color, and 4 representing the darkest shade. A paired-samples t-test was conducted to determine whether participant’s skin color preference was significantly different from their actual skin color. There was a significant difference between actual color ($M = -0.90$, $SD = 1.15$) and desired skin color ($M = -0.41$, $SD = 1.12$), $t (201) = -6.75$, $p < .05$. The mean difference between actual skin color and desired skin color was -0.50 with a 95% confidence interval ranging from -0.64 to -0.35. The eta squared statistic (.18) indicated a large effect size. Results indicate that participants’ desired skin color was significantly darker than their actual skin color. In addition, subjects were categorized into one of three skin color categories: ‘Light’ participants were those who selected a skin color name with numerical values of -4, -3 and -2, ‘Medium’ participants were those who selected skin color names with values of -1, 0 or +1 and ‘Dark’ participants were those who selected skin color names with values of +2, +3 or +4. In order to test Hypothesis 3, skin color was used as a categorical variable instead of a continuous one because it reduced the likelihood of self-report bias; while participants could slightly misjudge their skin color, it was unlikely that they would wildly miscalculate it, making categories that encapsulate three colors close in proximity more likely to capture their broad skin color. Frequency statistics for each item of this measure can be observed in Table 14. Descriptive statistics for this and all other measures included in the main study are presented on Table 15.
Table 14

Skin Color and Facial Beauty Preferences Frequency Summary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Actual Skin Color</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-4 (Lightest option)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-2</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>24.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-1</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>35.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>26.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 (Darkest option)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desired Skin Color</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-4 (Lightest option)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-2</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>8.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-1</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>31.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>43.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>8.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 (Darkest option)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difference Between Actual and Desired Skin Color</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-2</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>11.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-1</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>33.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>42.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Self Skin Color Category
   Light   73   36.10
   Medium 122   60.40
   Dark    7    3.50

Preferences – Would Change:
   Skin Color   116   57.40
   Face Shape   100   49.50
   Eye Color    114   56.40
   Eye Shape    49    24.30
   Eye Size     43    21.30
   Nose Size    64    31.70
   Lip Size     67    33.20
   Something Else 30   14.90

\( N = 202 \)

**Table 15**

*Descriptive Statistics Of Independent and Dependent Variables*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>( M )</th>
<th>( SD )</th>
<th>Range</th>
<th>Skewness</th>
<th>Kurtosis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AMAS – U.S. Acculturation Score</td>
<td>3.47</td>
<td>.37</td>
<td>2.40 – 4.00</td>
<td>-.55</td>
<td>-.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AMAS – Native Culture Enculturation Score</td>
<td>3.12</td>
<td>.50</td>
<td>1.78 – 4.00</td>
<td>-.50</td>
<td>-.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BSRI – SF Feminine</td>
<td>5.69</td>
<td>.80</td>
<td>3.30 – 7.00</td>
<td>-.43</td>
<td>-.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BRSI – SF Masculine</td>
<td>5.10</td>
<td>.84</td>
<td>2.90 – 7.00</td>
<td>-.06</td>
<td>-.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BPQ Cosmetics Use Score</td>
<td>42.00</td>
<td>19.62</td>
<td>6.00 – 94.00</td>
<td>.55</td>
<td>-.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BPQ Cosmetics Use Motivation Score</td>
<td>27.87</td>
<td>11.51</td>
<td>.00 – 51.00</td>
<td>-.15</td>
<td>-.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skin Color Dissatisfaction Score</td>
<td>-.50</td>
<td>1.04</td>
<td>-4.00 – 4.00</td>
<td>.55</td>
<td>3.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facial Beauty Preferences Dissatisfaction Score</td>
<td>2.89</td>
<td>1.74</td>
<td>.00 – 8.00</td>
<td>.24</td>
<td>-.63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\( N = 202 \)
Relationship Among Variables

Two-tailed Pearson correlations were computed in order to explore the relationships between all independent and dependent variables of interest (see Table 16). In addition to those relationships that will be discussed within the hypothesis testing section, several not hypothesized relationships were found. Higher levels of masculinity on the BSRI-SF were related to lower skin color dissatisfaction scores on the facial beauty preferences measure, \( r (202) = -0.140, p < .05 \). Higher cosmetics use scores were related to higher cosmetics use motivation scores on the BPQ, \( r (202) = 0.522, p < .05 \), as were higher cosmetics use motivation scores to higher overall facial beauty preferences dissatisfaction scores, \( r (202) = 0.312, p < .01 \).

Table 16

Intercorrelation of Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. AMAS U.S.-American Culture Score</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. AMAS Native Culture Enculturation Score</td>
<td>0.035</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. BSRI-SF Femininity Score</td>
<td>0.039</td>
<td>0.035</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. BSRI-SF Masculinity Score</td>
<td>-0.022</td>
<td>0.099</td>
<td>0.274**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. BPQ Cosmetics Use Score</td>
<td>0.105</td>
<td>0.198**</td>
<td>0.086</td>
<td>0.199**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. BPQ Cosmetics Use Motivation Score</td>
<td>0.091</td>
<td>-0.037</td>
<td>0.011</td>
<td>-0.009</td>
<td>0.522*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Skin Color Dissatisfaction Score</td>
<td>0.083</td>
<td>-0.036</td>
<td>-0.103</td>
<td>-0.140*</td>
<td>0.077</td>
<td>0.101</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Facial Beauty Preferences Dissatisfaction Score</td>
<td>0.013</td>
<td>-0.082</td>
<td>-0.010</td>
<td>0.009</td>
<td>0.129</td>
<td>0.312**</td>
<td>-0.046</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\( N = 202, *p < .05 \). \( **p < .01 \)
Tests of Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1

Hypothesis 1 predicted that Latinas with high AMAS U.S.-American acculturation scores would be more likely to report higher cosmetics use scores and higher cosmetics use motivation scores. AMAS Native enculturation scores were expected to be unrelated to cosmetics use or cosmetics use motivation scores.

A linear regression was used to test the relationship between acculturation and enculturation and cosmetics use. Acculturation and Enculturation scores were entered together to determine their effect on the dependent variable. Together these variables explained 4.9% of the variability ($R=.221, F[2,199] = 5.10, p = .007$). Hypothesis 1a was unsupported since, individually, U.S.-American acculturation did not significantly predict cosmetics use ($\beta = .10, p = .158$), with acculturation explaining only 1% of the variability in cosmetics use. However, Hypothesis 1b was contradicted since Native enculturation did exhibit a statistically significant, although modest relationship to cosmetics use ($\beta = .19, p = .005$), with enculturation explaining 3.61% of the variability in cosmetics use. Table 17 presents the relevant data. Hypothesis 1a and 1b were not supported by this data and, in fact, the reverse relationships from those hypothesized were found.
Table 17

*Linear Regression Analysis Predicting Cosmetics Use to Acculturation and Enculturation*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Coefficients</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B</td>
<td>SEB</td>
<td>β</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>Semipartial r</td>
<td>r&lt;sub&gt;sp&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>.56</td>
<td>14.94</td>
<td>.38</td>
<td>.970</td>
<td></td>
<td>.10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AMAS-U.S. American Acculturation Score</td>
<td>5.14</td>
<td>3.63</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>1.42</td>
<td>.158</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AMAS-Native Culture Enculturation Score</td>
<td>7.60</td>
<td>2.70</td>
<td>.19</td>
<td>2.81</td>
<td>.005</td>
<td>.19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note.* $R^2 = .05$, $F(2, 199) = 5.10$, $p = .007$

*N = 202*

A second linear regression was performed to test the relationship between acculturation and enculturation and cosmetics use motivation score. Acculturation and Enculturation scores were entered together to determine their effect on the dependent variable. Together these variables explained only 1.0% of the variability ($R = .099$, $F[2, 199] = 0.99$, $p = .37$), showing no significant relationship. Hypothesis 1c was unsupported since, individually, U.S.-American acculturation ($β = .09$, $p = .19$) did not exhibit a statistically significant relationship to cosmetics use motivation scores, explaining only 0.81% of the variability in motivation. Hypothesis 1d was substantiated since Native enculturation ($β = -.04$, $p = .572$) did not exhibit a statistically significant relationship to cosmetics use motivation scores, explaining only 0.16% of the variability. These findings only support Hypothesis 1d. Table 18 presents the relevant data.
Table 18

*Linear Regression Analysis Predicting Cosmetics Use to Acculturation and Enculturation*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>SEB</th>
<th>β</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>Semipartia r</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>20.89</td>
<td>8.94</td>
<td>2.34</td>
<td>.020</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AMAS-U.S. American Acculturation Score</td>
<td>2.83</td>
<td>2.17</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td>1.31</td>
<td>.193</td>
<td>.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AMAA-Native Culture Enculturation Score</td>
<td>-.91</td>
<td>1.61</td>
<td>-.04</td>
<td>-.57</td>
<td>.572</td>
<td>-.04</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note.* $R^2 = .01, F(2, 199) = 0.99, p = .374$

$N = 202$

**Hypothesis 2**

Hypothesis 2 predicted that skin color would be a strong predictor of beauty practices among Latinas. It was expected that participants with medium skin tones would be more likely to engage in higher use of beauty products than those participants with either light or dark skin shades. It is also expected that Latinas with medium skin color will obtain higher cosmetics use motivation scores.

A one-way between-subjects analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted to determine whether there were differences in cosmetics use scores based on self-rated skin color (Hypothesis 2a). No significant differences were found ($F[2, 199] = 1.55, p = .21$). As can be observed in Table 19, the effect size, as measured by eta squared, was very small, with only 1.5% of the variability in cosmetics use score being explained by skin color. These findings do not support Hypothesis 2a.
Table 19

ANOVA: Differences Between Skin Color Groups on Cosmetics Use Scores

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>SS</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>MS</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>ηp²</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Self-Rated SS Between-</td>
<td>1188.51</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>594.26</td>
<td>1.55</td>
<td>.214</td>
<td>.015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-Rated Skin Effects</td>
<td>Error</td>
<td>76216.48</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>383.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4333649.00</td>
<td>202</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 202, *p < .05. **p < .01

A second one-way between-subjects analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted to determine whether there were differences in cosmetics use motivation scores based on self-rated skin color (Hypothesis 2b). No significant differences were found ($F[2, 199] = 0.86, p = .43$). As can be observed in Table 20, the effect size, as measured by eta squared, was very small, with only 0.9% of the variability in cosmetics use score being explained by skin color. This finding also failed to support Hypothesis 2b.

Table 20

ANOVA: Differences Between Skin Color Groups on Cosmetics Use Motivation Scores

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>SS</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>MS</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>ηp²</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Self-Rated SS Between-</td>
<td>226.83</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>113.42</td>
<td>.86</td>
<td>.427</td>
<td>.009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-Rated Skin Effects</td>
<td>Error</td>
<td>26389.82</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>132.61</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>183532.65</td>
<td>202</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 202, *p < .05. **p < .01
Alternative Hypothesis 3

The alternative Hypothesis 3, which was created after the pilot study phase, predicted that Latinas’ AMAS U.S.-American acculturation scores would be related to skin color dissatisfaction scores and facial beauty preference dissatisfaction scores on the Facial Beauty Preferences measure. It was expected that Native enculturation scores would not be related with participants’ beauty preference dissatisfaction scores.

A linear regression was used to test the relationship between acculturation and enculturation and skin color dissatisfaction. Based on preliminary analysis, married status was controlled for. Acculturation and Enculturation scores were entered together to determine their effect on the dependent variable. Together these variables explained 7.0% of the variability ($R = .265$, $F [3,198] = 5.00, p = .002$). Hypothesis 3a was unsupported since, individually, U.S.-American acculturation did not significantly predict skin color dissatisfaction ($\beta = .11, p = .101$), with acculturation explaining only 1.28% of the variability in skin color dissatisfaction. However, Hypothesis 3b was supported since Native enculturation did not exhibit a statistically significant relationship to skin color dissatisfaction ($\beta = -.07, p = .624$), with enculturation explaining 0.12% of the variability in skin color dissatisfaction. Table 21 presents the relevant data. While Hypothesis 3a was not supported by this data, Hypothesis 3b was.
Table 21

*Linear Regression Analysis Predicting Facial Beauty Preferences Skin Color Dissatisfaction Scores to Acculturation and Enculturation While Controlling for Married Status*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Step</th>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>SEB</th>
<th>β</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>Semipartial $r_{sp}$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>-.35</td>
<td>-.08</td>
<td>-4.25</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>-.57</td>
<td>.16</td>
<td>-.24</td>
<td>-3.47</td>
<td>.001</td>
<td>-.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>-1.22</td>
<td>.79</td>
<td>-1.55</td>
<td>.122</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>-.60</td>
<td>.17</td>
<td>-.25</td>
<td>-3.64</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>-.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>AMAS-U.S. American Acculturation Score</td>
<td>-.32</td>
<td>.19</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>1.65</td>
<td>.101</td>
<td>.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>AMAS-Native Culture Enculturation Score</td>
<td>-.07</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>-.49</td>
<td>.624</td>
<td>-.03</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$^{1} R^2 = .06, F(1, 200) = 12.05, p = .001$

$^{2} R^2 = .07, F(3, 198) = 5.00, p = .002$

$N = 202$

To test whether a significant relationship between acculturation and enculturation scores and facial beauty preference dissatisfaction existed, a linear regression was completed.

Acculturation and Enculturation scores were entered together to determine their effect on the dependent variable. Together these variables explained less than 1.0% of the variability ($R = .084, F [2,199] = .70, p = .496$). Hypothesis 3a was unsupported since, individually, U.S.-American acculturation did not significantly predict skin color dissatisfaction ($β = .02, p = .821$), with acculturation explaining only .03% of the variability in skin color dissatisfaction. However, Hypothesis 3b was supported since Native enculturation did not exhibit a statistically significant
relationship to skin color dissatisfaction ($\beta = -.08, p = .243$), with enculturation explaining 0.69% of the variability in skin color dissatisfaction. These results failed to support Alternative Hypothesis 3c but did support Hypothesis 3d. Results can be viewed in Table 22.

**Table 22**

*Linear Regression Analysis Predicting Total Facial Beauty Preference Dissatisfaction Scores to Acculturation and Enculturation*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Step</th>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>SEB</th>
<th>$\beta$</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>Semipartial $r_{sp}$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>3.52</td>
<td>1.35</td>
<td>2.61</td>
<td>.010</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>AMAS-U.S. American Acculturation Score</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>.33</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>.23</td>
<td>.821</td>
<td>.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>AMAS-Native Culture Enculturation Score</td>
<td>-.29</td>
<td>.24</td>
<td>-.08</td>
<td>-1.17</td>
<td>.243</td>
<td>-.08</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$^1 R^2 = .01, F(2, 199) = .71, p = .496$

$N = 202$

**Hypothesis 4**

Hypothesis 4 predicted that scores on the Femininity dimension of the BSRI-SF would be positively correlated with cosmetics use and cosmetics use motivation. It was also expected that scores on the Masculinity dimension would be negatively related to cosmetics use scores and cosmetics use motivation scores.

To test whether a significant relationship between Femininity and beauty product use existed at the .05 significance level, a correlational analysis was completed. Analysis of the Pearson correlational analysis (2-tailed) failed to support Hypothesis 4a since Femininity scores
were not significantly correlated with facial beauty product use $r (202) = .09, p = .05$, with femininity scores explaining only 0.81% of the variability in cosmetics use. Hypothesis 4b was also unsupported and was in fact contradicted since a 2-tailed Pearson correlational analysis indicated that Masculinity scores were significantly, albeit modestly, positively correlated with beauty product use $r (202) = .20, p = .01$, with masculinity scores explaining 4% of the variability in cosmetics use. Hypothesis 4a and 4b were unsupported by the findings.

To test whether a significant relationship between Femininity and beauty product use motivation existed at the .05 significance level, a correlational analysis was completed. Analysis of the Pearson correlational analysis (2-tailed) did not support Hypothesis 4c since Femininity scores were not significantly correlated with facial beauty product use motivation $r (202) = .01, p = .05$, with femininity explaining only 0.01% of the variability in motivation. However, Hypothesis 4d was supported since a 2-tailed Pearson correlational analysis indicated that Masculinity scores were not significantly correlated with beauty product use motivation $r (202) = -.01, p = .05$, with masculinity explaining only 0.01% of the variability in motivation. Hypothesis 4c was unsupported, while Hypothesis 4d was substantiated by the findings. Results can be viewed on Table 16.

**Qualitative Analysis**

The final item on the beauty practices questionnaire asked participants to elaborate upon their thoughts about beauty product use. Although the response rate for this item was high for the pilot study (35 out of 52; 67.31%), it was much lower for the main study (46 out of 202; 22.77%) potentially limiting the qualitative data’s ability to clarify or elaborate upon the quantitative results. However, as detailed in the methods section, participants’ written responses were coded using a grounded theory approach. Each response was coded using phrases, or a string of words,
that more succinctly captured the participant’s narrative, producing a total of over 100 lower-order codes. These codes were then analyzed to determine whether they could be organized within higher order codes, or overarching themes. Appendix C displays all the codes obtained from participant responses. The following summary reports on the 10 discernible themes obtained.

**External Influence**

Most of the responses provided indicated that external factors exert influence over women’s decision to use cosmetics. Respondents indicated that they receive encouragement or even pressure from society, from media, from other women, from their extended social circles and also from relatives and loved ones to use cosmetics. Within their comments, there was an awareness that they are being observed and evaluated by other people and that they felt the need to work on their appearance in order to receive approval and/or avoid criticism. While they noted pervasive social messages about how women are supposed to present themselves, some were also specific in identifying the ways in which social tools like the internet are used to perpetuate these expectations. Though social media was mainly conceptualized as helpful in teaching women about beauty product use, it was evident that websites like Youtube and Pinterest are being used to propagate information about the importance of women’s looks, providing them with guidelines about the right way to apply cosmetics.

Participants also noted that cosmetics use falls within the domain of women and went on further to notice that it is sometimes other women’s opinions, compliments or negative feedback, which influences their decision to use makeup. Women also appear to expect that knowledge and pressure about cosmetics will be passed down by other women, particularly within their own families. Several responses focused on the role of subjects’ mothers in influencing their decision
to use makeup or in helping them feel liberated enough to not use it. In addition to the impact of other women, some subjects also noted their desire be attractive for their partner and their use of cosmetics to achieve this goal. One response focused on the subject’s experience of opposing pressures from her female relatives, who insist that she use makeup more often, and her partner, who prefers that she not do so. In this example, the emphasis was on the conflict created by other people’s preferences regarding her appearance.

Though most participants did not go on to provide responses elaborating on the potential interaction between ethnicity and cosmetics use for themselves, one did indicate that she used cosmetics to switch from one cultural style to another, specifically in order to gain acceptance by Latina in-group members. In her observations, beauty standards are specific to ethnic groups, although in her experience playing with these standards only is not conducive to being accepted by that ethnic group. Finally, one of the only participants that discussed the lack of pressure to use cosmetics in her life also indicated an awareness that she was fortunate to belong to a community that did not have these expectations, highlighting that her situation is the exception rather than the rule. Another subject referenced her desire to reduce her cosmetics use as well as her lack of “courage and confidence” to do so, pointing to how difficult it is for women to oppose widely endorsed standards of beauty.

**Judgment**

Some of the participants provided responses in which they expressed judgment values surrounding cosmetics use. While half of them indicated that they either approved of or took no issue with women’s use of makeup, the other half expressed judgments indicating that other women should use makeup or that they don’t know how to use makeup correctly. Given the responses discussed above, where participants indicated an awareness that other women’s
opinions influence their makeup use, it then comes as no surprise that some women do in fact feel entitled to make assessments, grant their permission and form critical opinions of other women’s use or need for cosmetics.

**Dependence**

Several participant responses spoke to the dependence that women can develop toward their beauty routines. Their responses spoke to the sense of obligation to look a certain way that can develop once women get into the habit of using cosmetics. They noted that they became accustomed to their appearance with cosmetics on and they either look tired without makeup or feel exposed without it. One participant noted that makeup has become a necessity for her, while another indicated that she feels “trapped” by the need to use it. Given the amount of reinforcement, pressure, and judgment that respondents in the study reported, it is only surprising that more women did not mention their feelings of reliance on cosmetics.

**Pleasure**

Not all responses regarding women’s relationship to cosmetics had a negative connotation. In fact, some of the responses indicated that women also experienced their makeup use as fun, pleasurable, and playful. These women noted that they could derive joy from using beauty products and that they used it as a way to express their creativity and to “switch things up.” In this way, it seemed that these comments spoke to how cosmetics can be used to break with monotony and try something different in a temporary way. Rather than being something serious or forced upon them by external forces, these women appeared to refer to makeup as a game or a medium through which they could choose to express themselves however they wished.
Confidence

Many of the responses provided created some connection between the use of cosmetics and feelings of confidence or a readiness to face the world. Makeup was considered to increase self-acceptance, self-love, positive feelings toward self, and provides an immediate “boost.” These kinds of comments tap in to the transformative power of cosmetics, not just in the way they can literally alter the wearer’s appearance, but also in the way they change one’s internal experience. Women noted that the confidence obtained through cosmetics use allowed them to feel more powerful, for some especially so in situations where they might normally feel uncomfortable (i.e. when meeting new people), and even served as a form of “war paint.” These kinds of comments also indicated that cosmetics helped respondents to feel prepared or even protected in some ways, so that they could go into their worlds with fewer feelings of apprehension or doubt.

External Appearance

In addition to the comments regarding the internal changes facilitated by cosmetics, women also noted the external ones. Most of these comments either focused on the ways in which makeup can enhance or improve their appearance, or more directly on the way in which they feel that they are made more attractive by it. This group of Latinas commented on the ways in which makeup is useful in amplifying, highlighting, or bringing out their best facial features. In this way makeup is a tool that women can employ to make favorable alterations to their appearance. Some noted that they used makeup to create a healthier (e.g. more “sun-kissed”) appearance, while others noted that their use of cosmetics shifted over time to address the changes associated with aging. Several women plainly stated that they looked more attractive with makeup and less so without it.
Imperfections

Many responses also indicated that cosmetics were used as a tool to minimize, hide or conceal imperfections and flaws. These flaws ranged from tired appearance to skin issues. These skin issues ranged from blemishes and redness to specific conditions such as acne, hyperpigmentation, rosacea, and vitiligo. Though most responses related to these skin concerns did not go on to elaborate respondents’ feelings regarding the need to cover or hide them, some did indicate a sense of pressure to use cosmetics for these purposes while others stated that cosmetics helped them to feel comfortable despite these problems. Some of the women’s statements also provided judgments opposing this kind of use, indicating that other women shouldn’t hide their flaws.

Natural versus Excessive

Some participant responses were focused on the different kinds of looks women can achieve with cosmetics use. For the most part, they indicated a preference for a natural look over intense ones that could appear excessive. These women indicated that using too many products or simply ones that are too noticeable can create a false appearance. They expressed their concern that makeup is sometimes used as a mask and that some women look unrecognizable with it. They seemed to favor an application of makeup that was minimal and appears to be related to the idea that cosmetics should enhance facial features, as has been previously discussed.

Situational Use

Responses also focused on limiting the use of cosmetics to specific situations or altering it depending on the setting they were planning to be in. Several women indicated that their makeup use varied depending on the season and that cosmetics were used to replicate their
appearance in warmer weather, creating a “glow”, for example. Other’s indicated that makeup was reserved for special occasions, so that they typically opted to use none in their day-to-day lives. However, several responses repeatedly brought up the importance of makeup use in their work setting. Their comments indicated that makeup helped to create a professional look and that it increased their chances of being taken seriously at their jobs. Although beauty products were not seen as a necessity in their personal lives, for some women it seemed that using makeup at work was perceived as essential.

**Limitations**

The final set of codes obtained from participant responses focused on women’s comments regarding the limitations of beauty product use. Several responses reflected a belief that makeup cannot promote or create true health, confidence and beauty, but can only provide a temporary semblance of these qualities. The comments implied that the impermanence of what cosmetics can create is insufficient and lacking and some comments went on to suggest ways (for example, sleep and diet) in which these qualities could be more genuinely obtained. Other women noted practical limitations that prevent them from using cosmetics. They noted that makeup can be uncomfortable, requires maintenance, and can interfere with daily activities. Others noted that makeup use requires time, skill, and money, all things that simply don’t feel worth the tradeoff for some women.
CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

Overview

Beauty practices have infrequently been the subject of empirical study, perhaps because they are considered superficial and, therefore, unimportant. This lack of research reflects a failure to recognize the importance of external experience within the field of clinical psychology. While internal experience is valuable, it is undeniable that we are physical beings who interact with the world with our external selves, including our bodies and the adornments we add to it. Some might argue that the neglect of this particular subject matter can be linked to the general devaluing of ornamentation, which is usually associated to the feminine (Negrin, 2006). Although it is not unheard of for men to use cosmetics, both presently and historically (Hunt, Fate, & Dodds, 2011; Malkan 2006), the use of makeup is generally recognized and accepted as a female practice. While makeup is used for a variety of reasons (i.e. theatrical), women’s daily use of beauty products is typically intended to increase physical attractiveness. Women are, by and large, the identified targets of marketing campaigns for skin care products and color cosmetics and are lured into consuming these goods with promises of a youthful and beautiful appearance. Given the positive associations with beauty (Dion & Dion, 1987; Eagly et al., 1991), it is not surprising that women, a group historically oppressed by patriarchal, sexist culture would seek to tap into the privileges granted by attractiveness, even if doing so contributes to the perpetuation of women’s objectification (Craig, 2006). Studies that have looked into women’s beauty product use have found that older women use cosmetics to manage work-based ageism as well as to attract and maintain romantic partners (Clarke & Griffin, 2008) while younger women’s cosmetics use varies according to social context (Cox & Glick, 1986; Stuart & Donaghue, 2012). However, the limited number of studies that have focused on beauty product
consumption have consisted of samples of women who are predominantly White. While it may ultimately be helpful to conduct studies comparing racial groups in the U.S., this study sought to expand the literature on beauty product use exclusively among Latinas as a starting point. Although Latin American countries share many historical and cultural aspects, Latino identity is complex and Latinas are a heterogeneous group varying across many factors. As a result, before beginning to draw comparisons across racial groups, it seems imperative that knowledge of how this particular group of women navigates U.S. American society be increased.

According to Census Bureau estimates (2012), Latinos are expected to constitute about 30% of the U.S. population by the year 2060. Given what a significant portion of the population Latinas will make up, it seems important to develop a better understanding of their experiences and behaviors within the context of U.S. culture. The areas of acculturation, skin color, and sex roles have been studied in relation to various outcomes for Latinas, such as education, income, and health behaviors, respectively. However, their impact on Latinas’ beauty practices has not been explored. Based on the benefits granted to people who are considered attractive and women who wear cosmetics, studying the influence of these factors on makeup use among Latinas was expected to reveal information about if and how this group taps into a form of privilege that might offset some of the disadvantages associated with their double minority status.

This discussion will explore quantitative and qualitative findings. First, quantitative findings will then be discussed, highlighting the outcomes of hypothesis tests and limitations of the study that may have contributed to the outcomes. Relationships that were not hypothesized will then be reviewed as well. Original measures created specifically for this study will then be discussed, with emphasis on changes created after the pilot study, the reliability of the revised measure and also suggestions for future research using these or similar tools. Qualitative findings
obtained through the original Beauty Practice Questionnaire will also be discussed in relation to the study’s main goal, which was to obtain information about Latina’s beauty products use; their relationship to beauty practice and themes speaking to both positive and negative aspects impacting their choice to use or not use makeup. Finally, general implications of the study and suggestions for future research based on the findings will be detailed.

**Acculturation and Enculturation**

A main goal of the study was to clarify the relationship between Latinas acculturation (adherence to U.S. American culture) and enculturation (adherence to culture of origin) and their beauty product use and motivation to use beauty products. While U.S. American acculturation scores were unrelated to the dependent variables (cosmetics use and cosmetics use motivation scores), native enculturation scores were showed a small but significant relationship with actual product use. As native enculturation increased, so did beauty product use.

Based on existing research focusing on the emphasis placed on physical attractiveness within U.S. American culture (Poran, 2002), it was expected that as Latina’s U.S. acculturation increased so would their adherence to those standards via cosmetics use and motivation to use. It was expected that as Latinas internalize values around the importance of being attractive, they would engage in behaviors marketed as responsible for increasing this quality. The surprising findings that U.S. acculturation was unrelated to these variables, while native enculturation was related to product use suggests that the emphasis on attractiveness among the Latinas sampled in this study may be more present within their cultures of origin than was originally believed. As some research has noted (Gulbas, 2013; Rahier, 1998), Eurotypic notions of beauty have infiltrated the beliefs and practices of women in Latin American countries and may exert more pressure to conform to these ideals than U.S. American culture does. Although there is little
market research exploring the difference in beauty trends between the U.S. and Latin American countries, some research has provided evidence that Eurotypic facial ideals pervade aesthetic preferences. For example, Gulbas (2013) has written about the influence of Eurotypic beauty ideals in relation to rhinoplasty practice in Venezuela, noting that even medical texts devalue the mestizo nose calling it’s structure “problematic and flimsy” (pg. 332). She explains that arguments aimed to pathologize this Mestizo feature are not based in science but are used to create arguments in favor of using surgery to create the idealized European nose (i.e. slimmer, straight, smaller, etc.). While beauty product use and motivation to use were not surprisingly correlated to one another, it was curious that Latinas enculturation was related to beauty product use but not to motivation to use products. This indicates that while beliefs about the power of beauty product use may be similar within U.S. culture and Latin American cultures, there is more pressure within Latin American cultures for women to act on these beliefs.

One reason for why the hypothesis that acculturation would be related to beauty product use and motivation was not supported may have to do with the fact that the sample of Latinas was considered as a whole instead of separated into different groups based on the geographic location of their country of ancestry. Although all of the subjects identified as Latinas by virtue of responding to a study advertised for this group and, as a result, may have many shared experiences, there may also be important within group differences among participants being influenced by the culture of different Latin American countries that were not fully captured. For example, women from Mexico, Dominican Republic, and Argentina might vary in their beauty ideals and willingness to engage in physically altering behaviors, such as makeup use, as a result of differences across various factors. For example, it is unclear how Marianismo (Collier, 1986) affects women’s behavioral expressions of femininity; some countries may exert pressure on
Latinas to embody beauty ideals in order to be in compliance with Marianista beliefs, whereas others might be more conservative, requiring women to wear little or no makeup as a way to demonstrate piousness. Some Latin American countries may have lower access to media that portrays and markets Eurotypic beauty ideals than other countries do, decreasing the likelihood that the culture promotes the replication of those ideals through cosmetics use. However, comparisons based on nationality, as has been recommended by some researchers (Espino & Franz, 2002; Newby & Dowling, 2007), would require a significantly larger sample size and special recruitment efforts to target women from different Latin American countries. Similarly, separating groups of Latinas into geographic regions, such as Central America, South America, and the Caribbean, would also require a larger number of respondents and might still miss individual differences between countries. In addition, creating sub-groups would be complicated for women, like some who participated in this study, who have mixed ancestry because their parents or grandparents came from different Latin American nations. It appears then that in order to fully understand the different cultural differences that impact cosmetics use, more research on the area should be conducted not only among Latinas living in the U.S. but also among Latinas living in Latin American countries.

**Sex Roles**

The study also sought to explore the relationship between Latina’s sex roles and actual cosmetics use as well as motivation to use beauty products. Judith Butler (2002, 2011) has written extensively about the ways in which people perform their gender. She assumes that gender identity, as opposed to an individual’s biological sex, is not something people are born with but is instead taught and expressed in culturally learned ways. As a result the way in which people experience and express their gender can vary depending on the cultural norms present
within the context in which they live. This may mean that part of what Latinas must negotiate within the U.S. includes the expression of their bi-culturally informed gender identification. As previously mentioned, cosmetics are considered a largely feminine domain, however no research has demonstrated that femininity, measured empirically, is actually positively related to beauty product use. While it was expected that femininity scores obtained using the Bem Sex Role Inventory – Short Form (Bem, 1981a) would be related to actual cosmetics use and motivation to use, the data indicated that it was masculinity scores that were correlated with actual beauty product use. The modest but significant finding ($r = .199, p = .01$) indicated that as masculinity scores increased, so did beauty product use.

While the mean femininity and masculinity scores on the BSRI-SF were comparable among the study sample, it was curious to find that it was only identification with more stereotypically male attributes that was associated with beauty product use. Qualitative research exploring gender expression among Black lesbian women (Moore, 2006) has indicated that the use of cosmetics is one way in which these women create sex role distinctions that parallel those observed in heterosexual pairings, with lesbians who wear makeup and dress in ways that are in line with a stereotypically female presentation usually attracting women who present themselves in more stereotypically masculine ways (i.e. wearing men’s clothing and using no cosmetics). However, that study did not measure participant’s internal sense of their gender so it is possible that these women’s performance of gender speaks only to how they wish to be perceived and the kind of partner they are interested in attracting and less so to the degree to which they actually adhere to feminine and masculine personality traits. Since sexual minorities were not strongly represented in the study sample (bisexual identification = 4.5%, lesbian identification = 2.5%), future studies seeking to clarify the relationship between sexual orientation, sex role orientation
and beauty product use would have to emphasize recruitment of Latinas who are also sexual minorities.

The constructs of Marianismo and Machismo in Latin American countries can be compared to notions of Femininity and Masculinity in the U.S., with each set contrasting stereotypically female traits to male ones. Although the BSRI-SF has been identified as a reliable measure to use with Latino populations (de Leon, 1993) others researchers believe it is most appropriate to use qualitative approaches that directly assess Marianista beliefs (D’Alonzo, 2012), since such approaches might capture cultural aspects of gender that are not accounted for among measures of Femininity and Masculinity. D’Alonzo (2012) looked at health outcomes among Latinas and found that those who adhere to Marianista beliefs were less proactive about exercising, so that Latina femininity appears to involve passivity. American notions don’t appear to differ significantly in this regard, with masculinity being associated with action and femininity being associated with passivity and gentleness. For example, when studying a predominantly White undergraduate sample, Shifren, Bauserman and Carter (1993) found that subjects who were classified as masculine were more likely to report positive health related behaviors, such as exercise, when compared to feminine or androgynous individuals. Whether conscious or unconscious, if part of the motivation for women to use cosmetics is bolstering status via pretty privilege, makeup use could then be conceptualized as a behavior that is in line with masculinity; while on the surface makeup use is seen as feminine (i.e. pleasing to others by feeding into the social gaze), it could also be viewed as a proactive way for women to promote themselves (the kind of behavior more often expected from men). Given how rigid gender notions within Latino culture can be, it would also make sense for women who violate these notions by internally identifying with masculine traits to compensate by creating a more feminine external appearance
through makeup use. However, in order to clarify the similarities and differences between U.S. American and Latin American notions of gender and their relationship to women’s beauty product use, it will be necessary for future studies to use measures that both tap into Marianista/Machista and Feminine/Masculine traits within the U.S. and also within Latin American countries.

**Skin Color**

Theorists who have focused on perceptions of beauty within the colonized world, have noted the tendency for Blackness and Whiteness to be pitted against one another, with Whiteness being hailed as what is ideal and beautiful while Blackness is devalued (R. Hall, 1995; R. E. Hall, 2011; Thompson & Keith, 2001). Though Latinos have historically resisted racial categorization as a result of their mixed Native-American, Black, and White-European ancestry (Vaquera & Kao, 2006), Latin American societies are stratified by skin color, presumably priming Latinos to conform to the highly racialized society of the U.S. (Bonilla-Silva, 2004; Frank, Akresh, & Lu, 2010). This could mean that medium-skin toned Latinas who may want to distance themselves from the stigma associated with being Black, may internalize and seek to replicate the Eurocentric beauty standards they are continuously exposed to within the U.S. White Latinas who have access to White privilege may not be as motivated to tap into another form of privilege and Black Latinas may not do so either as a result of the perception that they are too far from the White ideal. Based on these assumptions, it was expected that medium skin-toned Latinas would report higher product use and higher product use motivation scores than those Latinas classified as light or dark-skinned. This hypothesis was unsupported; no significant differences in beauty product use or beauty product use motivation scores were observed between differently skin colored participant groups.
One of the main limitations of this study was the reliance on self-report measures. Although skin color is considered an “objective” way in which people’s race is identified, perceptions of skin color observations can be affected by other racial identifiers, such as facial features or hair texture (Vázquez et al., 1997). Skin color identification has been challenging for many studies as a result of observer bias and is complicated in studies that use self-report because participant color identifications cannot be confirmed. This is not to say that Latinas in this study may have been deliberately deceptive about their color, but that there’s much variation in the way skin color is identified and the scale provided in this case might have been interpreted differently across participants. Some Latinas who provided written feedback regarding the skin color measure in the pilot study pointed out this issue, which is why the measure was adjusted to include color names instead of just numbered points on a scale from darkest to lightest. However, the change may have not have been sufficient. For example, Latinas from an Argentinian background might interpret color differently from a participant with a Dominican background, given their home countries differing histories of European immigration and racial mixing. It would be possible that ‘medium-tan’ skin color would take on different meanings to two such participants. In addition, the internalized racism, colorism, and general distancing from Blackness which has been observed within many Latin American countries (Guimarães, 2012; Quiros & Dawson, 2013; Rahier, 1998) may have influenced participants ability, either consciously or unconsciously, to accurately self-identify on the darker skin color names within the scaled used. In order to address this problem in future studies, it would be preferable to measure skin color in person, either getting multiple ratings to reduce the possibility of observer bias, using skin color swatching systems (Pantone, 2015).
Another limitation of the study was the low number participants self-identifying within the dark skin color range. While seventy-three subjects self-identified within the light category, and one-hundred-and-twenty-two self-identified as medium toned, only seven subjects self-identified as dark. The lack of difference between light and medium skin-toned Latinas indicates that, contrary to the assumptions made in regard to these groups, they both share a similar degree of motivation to alter their appearance via cosmetic product use. Hence, the pressure to behave in ways that satisfy the social gaze (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997) and potentially tap into a kind of pretty privilege may affect these women very similarly. However, while the low number of dark-skinned participants may be related to issues with self-report, it might also speak to dark Latinas interest in beauty product use, or the lack thereof. The study was clearly advertised as Latina and beauty product use focused on various kinds of social media platforms that were presumably accessible to women from many different backgrounds. However, the self-selection of Latinas who identified as light and medium skin toned might reflect these two group’s greater interest in the topic. While Latinas could participate whether they engaged in beauty product use or not, it is probably less likely that subjects who did not have an interest would respond. While using undergraduate subject pools, as was initially considered for this study, might increase the participation of subjects who vary in product use and motivation scores because of the somewhat compulsory nature of their participation, given what we already know about the lower educational attainment among darker Latinas (Arce et al., 1987), relying on college populations may not produce significantly better sample sizes. In order to obtain a clearer answer to the question of difference in cosmetics use and motivation among differently colored Latinas, future research should make special efforts to recruit Latinas with dark skin color.
Facial Beauty Preferences

To date, no research has been conducted on Latinas’ facial beauty preferences. Research on body image has found that Latinas, in comparison with other racial minority groups, show higher body dissatisfaction and express a preference for a thinner body ideal than Black women (Gordon et al., 2010), thus resembling White women in their preferences. However, these studies speak to racial groups in general, without looking more closely at within-group differences. As a result, this study also sought to provide information about Latinas’ facial beauty preferences (skin color dissatisfaction and overall facial feature dissatisfaction) and to provide information about how these preferences vary depending on participants’ U.S. American acculturation and Native enculturation.

While the original hypothesis regarding Latinas’ attractiveness rating scores of images presenting models with different cosmetics use and skin color combinations could not be examined (see discussion above), facial beauty preferences were instead explored with another self-report measure designed specifically for this study. Using this facial beauty preference measure, the relationship between acculturation and enculturation and participants’ skin color dissatisfaction and overall facial feature dissatisfaction could be explored. The hypothesis that U.S. American acculturation would be related to skin color dissatisfaction as well as to overall facial feature dissatisfaction was unsupported by the data. Despite the notable findings that Latinas’ desired skin color was significantly different from their actual skin color, with the desired skin color being darker than actual color, and that most subjects (57.43%) would change their skin color, while many would change other features such as eye color (56.44%) and face shape (49.51%), these results suggest that exposure to and internalization of U.S. American culture is not a factor influencing Latina’s facial beauty preferences. However, as expected,
native enculturation scores were unrelated to both skin color dissatisfaction and to overall facial feature dissatisfaction. Neither acculturation nor enculturation explained the differences in participants skin color and facial feature preferences.

It may be the case that other factors, such as ethnic identification, might better account for skin color and facial feature preferences among Latinas. Ethnic identity refers to an individual’s sense that they belong to their ethnic group (Phinney & Ong, 2007b). Among Latinas who identify strongly with their ethnic group, the intensity of this identification might produce differences in their skin color and facial beauty preferences. For example, highly Latino identified light skinned Latina’s who are able to “pass” for White may express a desire for darker skin in order to be more easily identifiable as part of their ethnic group. Similarly, dark Latinas may express a desire for lighter skin or different facial features in order to avoid being confused for African-American or any other Black, non-Latino ethnic group. The fact that the desired skin color mean among the study sample fell within the medium skin color range is indicative of Latinas’ preference for a skin color that would most clearly identify them as members of their ethnic group. However, given how small the sample of dark Latinas was, it would be important for that group to be better represented in future research exploring the role of ethnic identification in facial beauty preferences and dissatisfaction. Exploring this area further would be important given recent research findings indicating that ethnic identification is a protective factor that can mitigate the psychological impact of discrimination among Latinos (Ai, Aisenberg, Weiss, & Salazar, 2014; Umaña-Taylor, Tynes, Toomey, Williams, & Mitchell, 2015). Contrary to what was previously discussed, it may be the case that instead of leading Latinas to desire a medium ‘Latina identifiable’ skin color, having a strong Latina identification
may instead be related with higher skin color satisfaction, regardless of actual skin color, since it is suspected that it is the avoidance of stigma (discrimination) that influences desired color.

Interestingly, married status was found to covary with skin color dissatisfaction. Although being married only accounted for 6.2% of the variability is dissatisfaction scores, it is noteworthy that married participants were significantly different from single ones in that, as a group, their desired skin color differed significantly from their self-reported actual skin color. While most women who participated appeared to exhibit self-criticism, based on dissatisfaction scores, married women appeared to be the most critical of this feature. This tendency would make sense from an objectification theory perspective (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997), since it is those women who internalize the social gaze who would most likely be “rewarded” with marriage, an institution which has long been considered to perpetuate patriarchal beliefs. Despite the significant difference between married and single women in skin color dissatisfaction, all group means indicated a desire for darker skin among the sample. In addition, though married women reported slightly lighter skin in comparison to single women, the groups were not found to be significantly different and, when the group averages were placed within the skin color categories (light, medium and dark), both groups fell within the medium skin range. Although the overall sample’s reported actual skin color ($M = -.90, SD = 1.15$) was found to be significantly lighter than their desired skin color ($M = -.41, SD = 1.12$) the difference represents only half a skin color shade as presented on the 9-point scale subjects used as a reference. In terms of the skin color categories used in this study, both the actual and desired overall means would fall within the medium skin color, which encompassed those subjects between -1 and +1.

In relation to marital status, it should also be noted that the sample was not representative of the general population since they were much less likely to have been or currently be married.
While 25.25% of the study participants indicated that they were married and 28.70% (including those who indicated that they are currently married) indicated that they had been married at least once, 55.60% of Latinas surveyed as part of the 2010 Census indicated that they were married and 71.30% indicated that they had been married at least once. Although this could be related to married women having a lower interest in cosmetics and thereby choosing not to participate in a study focusing on the topic, it is suspected that it is related most to the high education status of participants in the group. Although educational attainment was found to be unrelated to the dependent variables, the sample was much more educated than the general population. While recent Census (2014) statistics indicate that approximately 59% of Latinas have an educational attainment of high school or less, almost 95% of the Latinas who participated in this study reported that they had, at a minimum, completed some college. As previously discussed, this elevated number of high academic achieving subjects and low number of dark-skinned participants, supports previous research findings (Arce et al., 1987) which note a disparity in educational attainment among darker Latinas. Previous research looking at education and marital status among Latinas has found that Latinas who delay marriage are more likely to obtain a higher degree of education (Cardoza, 1991). Education may also be related to Latinas’ increased awareness of socio-political issues, which might inhibit them from providing responses that are considered to be politically incorrect. Expressing a desire for lighter skin might be considered taboo for women who are aware of colorism within the Latino community. In order to address this potential problem, future research might focus on developing tasks that tap into participant’s implicit beliefs around skin color and facial feature preferences, similar to the way in which the Implicit Association Test (Greenwald, Banaji, & Nosek, 1998) has been used to study attitudes related to race.
Additional Quantitative Findings

In addition to the hypothesis tests, examinations of the associations between the study constructs of beauty product use, beauty product use motivation, skin color dissatisfaction, total facial feature dissatisfaction scores, femininity, masculinity, U.S. American acculturation and native enculturation produced several noteworthy, though not surprising findings. Beauty product use was strongly and positively related to beauty product use motivation ($r = .52, p = .05$). It would be expected that participants who expressed a higher degree of agreement with statements containing reasons to use beauty products would also behave in a manner consistent with their beliefs. Beauty product use motivation scores were also found to be positively correlated ($r = .31, p = .005$) with facial beauty preference dissatisfaction scores. The moderately sized relationship between these two variables implies that as agreement with reasons in favor of cosmetics use increases, so does women’s dissatisfaction with their overall facial appearance. Causality cannot be determined based on this correlation, so additional research would be necessary to clarify whether Latinas are more likely to agree with reasons to use makeup because they are not pleased with their facial appearance or whether they are less pleased with their appearance as a result of their learned beliefs around makeup use. Finally, the modest, but significant, negative correlation between masculinity scores and skin color dissatisfaction ($r = -.14, p = .05$) indicates that as masculinity increases, Latinas’ dissatisfaction with their skin color decreases. This finding supports previous research connecting masculinity with more positive psychological outcomes (Long & Martinez, 1994; Sanfilipo, 1994).

Original Measures

Several original measures were created to study beauty practices and preferences among Latinas. The Beauty Practice Questionnaire (BPQ) was the main instrument used to obtain the
outcome scores related to beauty product use and beauty product use motivation, both of which were at the center of the hypothesis tests. This measure was initially piloted with a small sample of Latinas to establish its reliability and to obtain qualitative feedback necessary for revisions of the measure (For a full discussion of the pilot study results, see page 53). Based on the results of the pilot study, a minimally altered BPQ was included in the main study and was then subjected to the same analysis with a larger sample size. Again, the measure was found to contain high scale reliabilities and an item-by-item analysis yielded satisfactory values. Though only the cosmetics use and motivation to use scores were utilized in the main study analyses, the additional quantitative and qualitative data obtained with the measure provide interesting findings that should inform future research.

Participant responses on the open-ended item of the BPQ were coded using a grounded theory approach, which resulted in ten discernible themes. The theme brought up most frequently was that of external influence, with women discussing the perceived pressure they experience from people in their lives and from society at large to use beauty products. The themes of dependence, judgment, external appearance, imperfections and situational use also bore some relationship to awareness of social pressure to use makeup in that comments reflected an internalization of judgments surrounding makeup use, a belief that makeup increased perceived attractiveness, and that particular social situations called for makeup use more than others. On the other hand, the themes of pleasure and confidence reflect positive aspects of beauty product use with women noting the ways in which makeup use can be an enjoyable, self-enhancing experience. These qualitative findings appear to support theorists who emphasize the mixed feelings women have about their beauty product use (Stuart & Donaghue, 2012). The women who participated in this study certainly are not ‘cultural dopes’ (Bordo, 1993), but instead seem
to be keenly aware of the forces influencing their decision to use makeup. Despite the rich data gathered through this item on the BPQ, however, most responses did not explicitly address Latina-specific concerns regarding beauty product use. Ideally, future research would include in-person interviews since writing may not be a preferred method of communication for participants and also eliminates the possibility of follow-up questions to obtain important additional details. The large decrease in response rate to the additional BPQ item from the pilot study (67.31%) to the main study (22.77%) reflects the importance of conducting in-person interviews or focus groups, since it seems that the longer online study reduced subjects’ motivation to elaborate on the last item.

The additional quantitative data gathered with the BPQ also provided interesting information. While the beauty products used most regularly were foundation, blush, eyeshadow, eyeliner, mascara, lipgloss, moisturizer and cleanser, the least used were skin-lightening products. This finding is consistent with marketing research noting the popularity of bleaching products in non-American countries (Chia, Chay, Cheong, Cheong, & Lee, 2012; Glenn, 2008). However, given the preference toward darker skin endorsed by the mostly light and medium skin-toned study sample (see below for further discussion), it would be important to explore differences in bleaching product use (and skin color satisfaction) when darker skinned Latinas constitute a larger portion of a sample. Since colorism is prevalent within Latin American countries (Fortes De Leff, 2002; R. E. Hall, 2011) and among Latinos in the U.S. (Hersch, 2011; Morales, 2008; Quiros & Dawson, 2013), it is possible that darker Latinas may engage in skin bleaching in order to distance themselves from the stigma associated with darkness, similarly to what has been observed among Jamaicans in the Caribbean (Charles, 2003, 2007, 2011).
The mean age of makeup use among the participants was 14.98 years, indicating that makeup use for Latinas in the U.S. may be part of an adolescent ritual as has been found with girls in France (Gentina, Palan, & Fosse-Gomez, 2012). Female relatives were the most likely to have taught participants how to use makeup (38.10%) and all makeup use teachers, regardless of their relationship to participants, were identified as women. When asked about influences to use makeup, participants indicated more often that friends and family were influential (63.40%), even more so than media (television 24.30%; magazines 33.70%; internet 33.70%). Evidently, based on all of these findings, Dellinger and William’s (1997) assertion that makeup is a women’s culture is accurate among this group of Latinas. However, sex and gender, or sex roles, is a different issue (as was discussed above).

Based on participant’s responses during the pilot study, they were presented with a limited number of items to select from in the main study in order to indicate their goal “look” when using cosmetics. Interestingly, the item most often chosen was ‘natural’ (70.30%), followed by ‘put together’ (40.60%), ‘attractive’ (37.60%) and ‘professional’ (36.10%). Based on these percentages, it’s not too surprising then that a main theme found in the open-ended response item was natural versus excessive, with Latinas noting that they use makeup to look like a subtly improved version of themselves, and expressing the criticism of makeup use that it overdone or leaves women looking unrecognizable. The desire for a natural look is interesting though because it may mean that women don’t want their makeup use to be detected by others, it seems important that they look ‘better’ while not looking false, giving the impression that they have not used makeup at all. Could this desire for a natural appearance be related to negative associations to more obvious makeup use? If makeup use facilitates access to pretty privilege, it may be the case that women whose use looks subtle, more natural, are more likely to be
considered truly beautiful and therefore more likely to be granted to benefits of this privilege. Women who make their makeup use more obvious may be more easily identified as imitators of beauty, not truly possessing it and thereby less likely to be rewarded. Studying differences in makeup use to achieve a certain look will be important in future research, not only in relation to racial-ethnic identity, but also in relation to class and even professional affiliation. As Craig (2006) notes in her paper on Black women’s beauty practice, beauty related beliefs and behaviors are impacted by women’s intersecting identities and may be best studied within the complicated context of their lived experiences rather than through the slices that can be grasped within quantitative studies such as this one.

A few of the study participants brought up a theme around limitations of beauty product use. Their comments were either more critical of the illusions created through beauty product use or discussed the reasons why they don’t personally use beauty products regularly. One of the items on the closed-ended items on the BPQ sought to explore the reasons for why subjects don’t use makeup and results indicated that the most often selected response was a lack of time (6.9%). However, the low number of participants who endorsed this item and brought up the limitations of beauty product use in their elaborated response speaks to the absence of Latinas who do not use beauty product use in this study. While the study focused on beauty product use, it was advertised to all Latinas not only those who use cosmetics, so it was surprising that few Latinas who don’t use them chose to participate. Future studies in this are should recruit women who can speak to the reasons for why they don’t, or are even opposed to, beauty product use since understanding their experiences would enrich this conversation.

The Skin Color and Facial Beauty Preferences measure was created after the Facial Ranking Task was found to be an unreliable tool to gauge participant’s preferences during the
pilot study. Several issues related to this measure should be noted and considered in future research. Firstly, as anticipated, skin color was challenging to measure as a result of the online, self-report aspect of this study. To date, no measure of skin color has been used consistently across studies; researchers have generally developed their own scales for participants to reference (Gómez, 2000; Santana, Almeida-Filho, Roberts, & Cooper, 2007). This approach makes it difficult to understand whether studies are referencing the same skin color groups when they discuss ‘light’, ‘medium’, or ‘dark.’ Ideally, future studies, especially ones that can be conducted in person, will include more objective measures of color. Some approaches to improving these kinds of measures will be discussed below.

Measuring participants’ facial features presented similar difficulties as those related to skin color, but was facilitated by the ability to present them with some images (i.e. different eye shapes) that they could select from and presenting them with options to either reduce or enlarge the size of other features (i.e. lip and nose size). This data was used to obtain a dissatisfaction score that was calculated adding up the number of features participants would change. For the purposes of this study it was not necessary to explore how participants would alter their features, but that data is available for future research. Given the role that features other than skin color may play in identifying an individual’s race or ethnicity (Montalvo & Codina, 2001; Vazquez, Garcia-Vazquez, Bauman, & Sierra, 1997), exploring how and why Latinas would manipulate these features may be important. One additional finding was subjects’ desire to change ‘something else’ (14.85%) aside from the features listed in the measure. Since most of the women who elaborated on this indicated that they wished to change their cheekbones, adding this feature to future measures, as well as options for how participants would manipulate them, would be important. Given that evolutionary psychologists have found that neonatal central
facial features (large eyes, small nose, large lips) and mature peripheral facial features (prominent cheekbones) are considered most attractive among women (Baudouin & Tiberghien, 2004; Fink & Penton-Voak, 2002; Jones & Hill, 1993), participants desire to manipulate this latter feature as well is not surprising.

**Additional Limitations**

Although the present study obtained much information about the little studied area of cosmetics use, there were several limitations in addition to those already discussed that should be considered when interpreting the findings. Firstly, the reliance on self-report measures brings up the possibility of reporter bias. This limitation has been discussed in relation to the measures of skin color and facial beauty preferences, but also applies to the other measures included in the study. Relying on self-report opens up the possibility for subjects to provide responses that are influenced by skewed perceptions or an awareness, either conscious or unconscious, that certain kinds of responses are not politically correct or undesirable. The online administration of measures contributed to these complications because researcher observations could not be obtained, eliminating the possibility of verifying self-reports. Also, while the BPQ was found to be a reliable instrument that can quantify cosmetics use and motivation, it cannot completely capture information regarding Latinas beauty product use. For example, it is unlikely that the question about why masculinity is related to beauty product use can be definitively answered through a closed-ended self-report measure. Such questions require approaches that can capture the complexity of women’s experiences (i.e. considering the intersections between various factors contributing to their social location, such as age, class, gender, religion, race, etc.).

Additionally, the sample of participants who completed the study is not representative of the general population of Latinas in the U.S. across several factors. Study participants were, as a
whole, more educated than most Latinas in the U.S. and were also less likely to be married than most Latinas in the U.S.. While the combination of these factors is in line with research noting a relationship between educational attainment and delayed marriage among Latinas (Cardoza, 1991) and while the data obtained remains valuable, these demographic characteristics makes it impossible to assert that the findings of this study can be generalized to the average Latina in this country. In order to gain a better understanding of the relationship between cosmetics use and the factors of interest (acculturation, skin color and gender roles) among Latinas, samples that are more representative of this group must be studied.

**Implications of Findings and Future Directions**

While this study attempted to draw a variety of Latinas, most (45.5%) participants indicated that they learned about the study online on Facebook. Observations of the amount of ‘shares’ of Facebook appear to indicate that it was Latinas in education-related groups to which the principal investigator belongs (i.e. ‘Latinas Completing Doctoral Degrees’) were the ones who passed along the study information most often while very few subjects indicated that they learned about the study on sites more likely to reach the general population of Latinas, such as Craigslist (11.5%) or Twitter (10.1%). Given the links between higher education and high unmarried status (Cardoza, 1991) as well as higher education and lighter skin color among Latinas (Arce et al., 1987), future research emphasizing the recruitment of women with more diversity in educational attainment should also mean that samples will include numbers of Latinas whose marital status and skin color are more representative of Latinas in the U.S. In addition, Latinas with little or no interest in beauty practice should also be specifically targeted for participation since developing an understanding about why women do not engage in certain behaviors is as important as understanding why the do. Confirming the findings that native
enculturation and masculinity are related to beauty product use among a more representative sample will be important, as well as determining whether the non-significant findings relating to U.S. American acculturation and skin color still stand.

Based on the findings and limitations of this study, many new research questions regarding women’s beauty practice have also been generated. Just as exploring the role of Marianista beliefs on beauty practice may be helpful, it would also be worthwhile to explore how other personality factors contribute to this behavior. For example, studies that explore locus of control orientation often differentiate between individuals who believe that they have a sense of mastery over their environment (internally oriented) and those who believe outcomes in their life are largely out of their control (externally oriented). Among Latino college students, having an internal locus of control orientation has been found to be positively associated with academic persistence and task involvement (Strage, 1999). If beauty product use is at least partially related to accessing a form of privilege, women with a higher internal locus of control might be likely to engage in more product use or report higher product use motivation than women with a high external locus of control. Explicitly exploring the relationship between experiences of colorism and beauty product use as a strategy to mitigate these experiences may also be helpful. However, since no colorism scales have been developed for use specifically with Latinas, creating such a measure of modifying existing ones (Harvey, Banks, & Tennial, 2014) would be necessary.

Because the present study was quite comprehensive, not all possible relationships among the data were of interest. For example, the Brief Symptom Inventory (Derogatis & Melisaratos, 1983) was used in order to exclude participants with psychological distress levels that surpass the clinical cut-off. However, exploring whether psychological distress had any association with skin color, beauty preferences, and beauty practices, among other variables, might inform theory and
research in this area. In addition, the BPQ contained questions about Latinas beauty practices related to their hair, another important marker of race. This data was not the focus of this study, but given growing research on the importance of hair among Black women (Craig, 2006), it may be a valuable area to pursue among Latinas as well.

Breaking down research on beauty product use and motivation into smaller sections (i.e. focusing on Latinas from only one country of origin, those working within one professional field or those who identify as lesbian, etc.) might also clarify how separate factors affect their behavior. However, engaging participants in in-depth conversations through focus groups or one-on-one interviews may provide key data. Although the response rate for the open-ended item on the BPQ was low in the main study, and many responses were brief, it was evident that the Latinas who responded are aware of the assortment of feelings, both positive and negative, they have in regard to their cosmetics use. Creating spaces where they can expand their thoughts and ideas more fully would allow for the generation of new research questions and clarify which directions this conversation should follow. Expanding the research to include women of other races and ethnicities would also be indicated; determining whether women from different groups, with differing levels of access to privilege, vary in regard to their beauty practices may also be helpful in identifying influential factors that were not considered as part of this study and would allow for a greater understanding of the significance of beauty to women in this country.
APPENDIX A. Pilot Study Measures
Pilot Demographic Information

The following questionnaire will ask you for some background information. Please answer ALL questions in the blank space following each item.

1. Age
2. City AND State of Residence
3. Primary Language
4. Secondary Language
5. Gender
   Female
   Male
6. Race
7. ethnicity
8. Sexual orientation
   Heterosexual
   Homosexual
   Lesbian
   Bisexual
   Other
9. Relationship status
10. Level of education (highest grade completed)
11. Approximate annual income
12. Primary occupation (i.e. teacher, student, doctor, sales clerk, janitor, unemployed, retired, unknown)
13. Secondary occupation (if applicable)
14. Country of birth
15. If you were not born in the U.S., at what age did you immigrate to the U.S.?
16. Mother’s country of birth
17. Mother’s current age
18. If your Mother was not born in the U.S., at what age did she immigrate to the U.S.?
19. Mother’s race
20. Mother’s Ethnicity
21. Mother’s primary language
22. Mother’s secondary language
23. Mother’s level of education (highest grade completed)
24. Father’s country of birth
25. Father’s current age
26. If your Father was not born in the U.S., at what age did he immigrate to the U.S.?
27. Father’s race
28. Father’s ethnicity
29. Father’s primary language
30. Father’s secondary language
31. Father’s level of education (highest grade completed)
32. If both of your parents were born in the U.S., please clarify which of your Latino ancestors was the most recent to immigrate to the U.S. and from what country (i.e. maternal great-grandmother from Dominican Republic, paternal grandmother from Peru, paternal grandfather from Argentina, etc.)

33. Have you ever viewed pictures of yourself on the computer/electronic device you are using to complete this study?

34. In the space provided below, please provide any feedback you think might be helpful regarding this measure (i.e. were some questions difficult to answer or unclear? Do you have suggestions for how this measure could be improved?)

______________________________________________________________________________
______________________________________________________________________________
______________________________________________________________________________
Pilot Beauty Practices Questionnaire

1. In the space provided, please indicate how frequently you have used each of the following products on your face in the past month using the following rating scale:

    | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
    |---|---|---|---|---|
    | Never | Rarely | Sometimes | Almost daily | Daily |

    _____ Moisturizer
    _____ Cleanser
    _____ Toner
    _____ Serums
    _____ Facial Oils
    _____ Exfoliator
    _____ Skin lighteners
    _____ Masks
    _____ Foundation primer
    _____ Eyelid primer
    _____ Foundation (liquid, powder, cream, tinted moisturizer, BB creams etc.)
    _____ Concealer
    _____ Setting powder (pressed or loose)
    _____ Blush
    _____ Highlighter
    _____ Bronzer
    _____ Contour
    _____ Eyeshadow (powder, cream, etc.)
    _____ Eyeliner (pencil, liquid, gel, etc.)
    _____ Mascara primer
    _____ Mascara
    _____ Eyebrow definer (pencil, powder, etc.)
    _____ Lip liner (liquid, gel, pencil, etc.)
    _____ Lipstick
    _____ Lip gloss
    _____ Makeup setting spray

2. When selecting a foundation shade for your face which of these statements is most true for you:

    _____ I pick a shade that is much darker than my natural skin color
    _____ I pick a shade that is a little bit darker than my natural skin color
    _____ I pick a shade that matches my natural skin color
    _____ I pick a shade that is a little bit lighter than my natural skin color
    _____ I pick a shade that is much lighter than my natural skin color
3. In the space provided, please indicate how frequently you have used the following beauty services within the past 3 months using the following rating scale:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Never</td>
<td>Regularly</td>
<td>Irregularly</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Facial or other facial skin treatments (laser etc.)
- Facial skin lightening
- Facial tanning
- Facial hair removal (waving, threading, plucking, laser, etc.)
- Eyelash extensions
- Facial hair bleaching
- Other (specify)

4. Have you ever had facial cosmetic tattooing? (specify type, i.e. eyebrows, lip liner, etc.)
- Yes (specify)
- No

5. How old were you if/when you began using beauty products/services?
- Not applicable
- (Age)

6. Who, if anyone, taught you which products/services to use/how to use them? (clarify relationship and gender: i.e., mother, male friend, female cousin, female online beauty guru etc.)

7. On average, how much time do you spend applying cosmetics every day? (check off only one answer)
- No time
- No more than 5 minutes
- Between 5-10 minutes
- Between 10-20 minutes
- Between 20-30 minutes
- Between 30-40 minutes
- Between 40-50 minutes
- Between 50-60 minutes
- More than 60 minutes
- Not applicable

8. Where do you typically obtain your beauty products? (i.e not applicable to me, drugstore – Rite Aid, Sephora, department store – Macy’s, I make them myself etc.).
9. In the space provided, please indicate how true the following statements are for you using the following rating scale:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1 Not applicable</th>
<th>2 True</th>
<th>3 Somewhat true</th>
<th>4 Somewhat false</th>
<th>5 False</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I look more attractive when I wear beauty products</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I feel better about myself when I wear beauty products</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>It is important for me to wear beauty products to work</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>It is important for me to wear beauty products to school</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>It is important for me to wear beauty products when I spend time with friends</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>It is important for me to wear beauty products when I spend time with family</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>It is important for me to wear beauty products when I spend time with a romantic partner</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>It is important for me to wear beauty products on special occasions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I enjoy using beauty products</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I believe that using beauty products is one way that I practice self-care</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Using beauty products helps me feel connected to other women</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I use beauty products to express my femininity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Other people expect me to wear makeup</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I worry about what other people will think if I don’t wear beauty products</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I would feel uncomfortable in social situations where I wasn’t wearing beauty products</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I wear beauty products to cover up things I don’t like about my face</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I wear beauty products to highlight things I like about my face</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10. When purchasing new beauty products, which factors, if any, influence your selection of products? (select all that apply)

- Television programing and/or Television advertisements
- Online bloggers/vloggers and/or advertisements
- Friends and/or family
- Colleagues and/or classmates
- Store sales representatives
- Other (specify)

11. Write 3 words or phrases that best represent the “look” you want to achieve when wearing beauty products or obtaining beauty services. (i.e. attractive, natural, glamorous, unique, “heroine-chic”, colorful, put together, fair, glowing, etc.)
12. If you do NOT wear cosmetics, please select all of the reasons why you choose not to:
   ____ I don’t like using beauty products
   ____ I don’t know how to use beauty products
   ____ I feel that beauty products don’t suit me
   ____ I don’t have the time to apply beauty products
   ____ Using beauty products goes against my beliefs. (Please explain further)
   ____ Other (explain)

13. What is your hair length?
   ____ Very short
   ____ Short
   ____ Medium
   ____ Long
   ____ Very Long

14. How would you describe your natural hair type? (i.e. smooth and curly, coarse and straight, very coarse and kinky, etc.).

15. In the space provided, please indicate how often have you used the following hair related services within the past 6 months (you can have performed these on yourself of paid to receive them) using the following scale:

   1   2          3
   Never  Regularly  Irregularly

   ____ Coloring hair to a lighter shade
   ____ Coloring hair to a darker shade
   ____ Permanent hair straightening
   ____ Permanent hair curling
   ____ Temporary hair straightening
   ____ Temporary hair curling
   ____ Short-term hair extensions (i.e. daily removable clip in’s)
   ____ Long-term hair extensions (i.e. glued, weave)

16. Whether you use beauty products/services or not, please take a few minutes to describe your thoughts about beauty product/service use. You can elaborate your thoughts on any of the questions previously asked or add anything related that comes to mind.
17. In the space provided below, please provide any feedback you think might be helpful regarding this measure (i.e. were some questions difficult to answer or unclear? Do you have suggestions for how this measure could be improved?)

______________________________________________________________________________
______________________________________________________________________________
______________________________________________________________________________
Pilot Facial Ranking Task

Participants will be presented with this task 8 times (Twice for each set of photographs). The photographs will be randomly arranged on the screen and will include: 1. light skin/no makeup, 2. light skin/makeup, 3. medium skin/no makeup, 4. medium skin/makeup, 5. dark skin/no makeup, 6. dark skin/makeup.

**Instructions:** In this task you will be presented with 6 images of a woman’s face at a time. Each image will be slightly different from the others. First you will be asked to rank the attractiveness of the faces according to your opinion. You will then be presented with the same set of images and asked to rank their attractiveness from the point of view of someone else.

**Image set 1:**

**Instructions:** Please take a moment to look at the following images. Then, in the space provided below, please rank the attractiveness of the faces from the most attractive (score of 1) to the least attractive (score of 6).

From **YOUR** point of view, please rank the attractiveness of these faces from most attractive (1) to the least attractive (6). Use the letter that corresponds to the face to indicate your selections.

1._____
2._____
3._____
4._____
5._____
6._____
Please take a moment to look at the following images. Imagine what the faces in these images would look like to most other people in United States society. Then, in the space provided below, please rank the attractiveness of the faces from the most attractive (1) to the least attractive (6) from that perspective.

From the point of view of most OTHER people in United States society, please rank the attractiveness of these faces from most attractive (score of 1) to the least attractive (score of 6). Use the letter that corresponds to the face to indicate your selections.

1._____
2._____
3._____
4._____
5._____
6._____

Image set 1:
**Instructions:** Please take a moment to look at the following images. Then, in the space provided below, please rank the attractiveness of the faces from the most attractive (score of 1) to the least attractive (score of 6).

From **YOUR** point of view, please rank the attractiveness of these faces from most attractive (1) to the least attractive (6). Use the letter that corresponds to the face to indicate your selections.

1.____
2.____
3.____
4.____
5.____
6.____
Image set 2:

Please take a moment to look at the following images. Imagine what the faces in these images would look like to most other people in United States society. Then, in the space provided below, please rank the attractiveness of the faces from the most attractive (1) to the least attractive (6) from that perspective.

From the point of view of most OTHER people in United States society, please rank the attractiveness of these faces from most attractive (score of 1) to the least attractive (score of 6). Use the letter that corresponds to the face to indicate your selections.

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____
6. _____
**Image set 3:**

**Instructions:** Please take a moment to look at the following images. Then, in the space provided below, please rank the attractiveness of the faces from the most attractive (score of 1) to the least attractive (score of 6).

From **YOUR** point of view, please rank the attractiveness of these faces from most attractive (1) to the least attractive (6). Use the letter that corresponds to the face to indicate your selections.

1. ______
2. ______
3. ______
4. ______
5. ______
6. ______
Image set 3:

Please take a moment to look at the following images. Imagine what the faces in these images would look like to most other people in United States society. Then, in the space provided below, please rank the attractiveness of the faces from the most attractive (1) to the least attractive (6) from that perspective.

From the point of view of most OTHER people in United States society, please rank the attractiveness of these faces from most attractive (score of 1) to the least attractive (score of 6). Use the letter that corresponds to the face to indicate your selections.

1._____  
2._____  
3._____  
4._____  
5._____  
6._____
Image set 4:

Instructions: Please take a moment to look at the following images. Then, in the space provided below, please rank the attractiveness of the faces from the most attractive (score of 1) to the least attractive (score of 6).

From YOUR point of view, please rank the attractiveness of these faces from most attractive (1) to the least attractive (6). Use the letter that corresponds to the face to indicate your selections.

1._____
2._____
3._____
4._____
5._____
6._____

Image set 4:

Please take a moment to look at the following images. Imagine what the faces in these images would look like to most other people in United States society. Then, in the space provided below, please rank the attractiveness of the faces from the most attractive (1) to the least attractive (6) from that perspective.

From the point of view of most OTHER people in United States society, please rank the attractiveness of these faces from most attractive (score of 1) to the least attractive (score of 6). Use the letter that corresponds to the face to indicate your selections.

1._____
2._____
3._____
4._____
5._____
6._____

In the space provided below, please provide any feedback you think might be helpful regarding this measure (i.e. were some aspects of it difficult to respond to? Do you have suggestions for how this measure could be improved?)

________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
Pilot Skin Color Self-Report Measure

1. Using the following rating scale, please report where your skin color would be most likely to fall.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Darkest</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>Lightest</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. If you could change your skin color, where on this scale would you like your skin color to fall?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Darkest</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>Lightest</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. Using less than five words, how would you describe your skin color? (i.e. Light, fair, tan, deep tan, very dark, etc.) _____________________________________________

4. If you had to select your skin color from just these options, which one would it be?

Light  Medium  Dark

5. In the space provided below, please provide any feedback you think might be helpful regarding this measure (i.e. were some questions difficult to answer or unclear? Do you have suggestions for how this measure could be improved?)

______________________________________________________________________________
______________________________________________________________________________
______________________________________________________________________________
APPENDIX B. Main Study Measures

Main Study Demographic Information

The following questionnaire will ask you for some background information. Please answer ALL questions in the blank space following each item.

1. Age
2. City **AND** State of Residence
3. Primary Language Spoken
   - English
   - Spanish
   - English and Spanish Equally
   - Other (please specify)
   - None
4. Secondary Language
   - English
   - Spanish
   - English and Spanish Equally
   - Other (please specify)
   - None
5. Gender
   - Female
   - Male
   - Transgender female-to-male
   - Transgender male-to-female
   - Other
6. Sexual orientation
   - Heterosexual
   - Homosexual
   - Lesbian
   - Bisexual
   - Other
7. Relationship status
   - Single
   - Married
   - Divorced
   - Separated
   - Widowed
   - In a domestic partnership
   - Other (please specify)
8. Level of education (highest grade completed)
   - Less than elementary school
   - Elementary school
   - Some middle school
   - Middle school
Some high school
High school
Some college
College
Some graduate school
Masters degree
MD, PhD, or other advanced degree
Other (please specify)

9. Approximate annual income
   $15,000.00 or less
   $15,000.01 - $30,000.00
   $30,000.01 - $45,000.00
   $45,000.01 – $60,000.00
   $60,000.01 – $75,000.00
   $75,000.01 - $90,000.00
   More than $90,000.01

10. Primary occupation (i.e. teacher, student, doctor, sales clerk, janitor, unemployed, retired, unknown)

11. Secondary occupation (if applicable)

12. Country of birth

13. If you were not born in the U.S., at what age did you immigrate to the U.S.?

14. Mother’s country of birth

15. Mother’s current age

16. If your Mother was not born in the U.S., at what age did she immigrate to the U.S.?

17. Mother’s primary language
   English
   Spanish
   English and Spanish Equally
   Other (please specify)
   None

18. Mother’s secondary language
   English
   Spanish
   English and Spanish Equally
   Other (please specify)
   None

19. Mother’s level of education (highest grade completed)
   Less than elementary school
   Elementary school
   Some middle school
   Middle school
   Some high school
   High school
   Some college
   College
   Some graduate school
Masters degree
MD, PhD, or other advanced degree
Other (please specify)
20. Father’s country of birth
21. Father’s current age
22. If your Father was not born in the U.S., at what age did he immigrate to the U.S.?
23. Father’s primary language
   English
   Spanish
   English and Spanish Equally
   Other (please specify)
   None
24. Father’s secondary language
   English
   Spanish
   English and Spanish Equally
   Other (please specify)
   None
25. Father’s level of education (highest grade completed)
   Less than elementary school
   Elementary school
   Some middle school
   Middle school
   Some high school
   High school
   Some college
   College
   Some graduate school
   Masters degree
   MD, PhD, or other advanced degree
   Other (please specify)
26. If both of your parents were born in the U.S., please clarify which of your Latino ancestors was the most recent to immigrate to the U.S. and from what country (i.e. maternal great-grandmother from Dominican Republic, paternal grandmother from Peru, paternal grandfather from Argentina, etc.)
Main Study Beauty Practices Questionnaire

1. In the space provided, please indicate how frequently you have used each of the following products on your face in the past month using the following rating scale:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rating Scale</th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Rarely</th>
<th>Sometimes</th>
<th>Almost daily</th>
<th>Daily</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>⬜</td>
<td>⬜</td>
<td>⬜</td>
<td>⬜</td>
<td>⬜</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>⬜</td>
<td>⬜</td>
<td>⬜</td>
<td>⬜</td>
<td>⬜</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>⬜</td>
<td>⬜</td>
<td>⬜</td>
<td>⬜</td>
<td>⬜</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>⬜</td>
<td>⬜</td>
<td>⬜</td>
<td>⬜</td>
<td>⬜</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>⬜</td>
<td>⬜</td>
<td>⬜</td>
<td>⬜</td>
<td>⬜</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Moisturizer
- Under-eye Cream
- Cleanser
- Toner
- Serums
- Facial Oils
- Exfoliator
- Skin lighteners
- Masks
- Foundation primer
- Eyelid primer
- Foundation (liquid, powder, cream, tinted moisturizer, BB creams etc.)
- Concealer
- Setting powder (pressed or loose)
- Blush
- Highlighter
- Bronzer
- Contour
- Eyeshadow (powder, cream, etc.)
- Eyeliner (pencil, liquid, gel, etc.)
- Mascara primer
- Mascara
- Eyebrow definer (pencil, powder, etc.)
- Lip liner (liquid, gel, pencil, etc.)
- Lipstick
- Lip gloss
- Makeup setting spray

2. When selecting a foundation shade for your face which of these statements is most true for you:

- ⬜ I pick a shade that is much darker than my natural skin color
- ⬜ I pick a shade that is a little bit darker than my natural skin color
- ⬜ I pick a shade that matches my natural skin color
- ⬜ I pick a shade that is a little bit lighter than my natural skin color
- ⬜ I pick a shade that is much lighter than my natural skin color
3. In the space provided, please indicate how frequently you have used the following beauty services within the past 3 months using the following rating scale:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Never</td>
<td>Regularly</td>
<td>Irregularly</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- ___Facial or other facial skin treatments (laser etc.)
- ___Facial skin lightening
- ___Facial tanning
- ___Facial hair removal (waving, threading, plucking, laser, etc.)
- ___Eyelash extensions
- ___Facial hair bleaching
- ___Other (specify)

4. Have you ever had facial cosmetic tattooing? (specify type, i.e. eyebrows, lip liner, etc.)
   - Yes (specify)_________________________
   - No

5. How old were you if/when you began using beauty products/services?
   - ___Not applicable
   - ___(Age)

6. Who, if anyone, taught you which products/services to use/how to use them? (clarify relationship and gender: i.e., mother, male friend, female cousin, female online beauty guru etc.)__________________________

7. On average, how much time do you spend applying cosmetics every day? (check off only one answer)
   - ___No time
   - ___No more than 5 minutes
   - ___Between 5-10 minutes
   - ___Between 10-20 minute
   - ___Between 20-30 minutes
   - ___Between 30-40 minutes
   - ___Between 40-50 minutes
   - ___Between 50-60 minutes
   - ___More than 60 minutes
   - ___Not applicable

8. Where do you typically obtain your beauty products? (i.e not applicable to me, drugstore – Rite Aid, Sephora, department store – Macy’s, I make them myself etc.).
9. In the space provided, please indicate how true the following statements are for you using the following rating scale:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
<td>True</td>
<td>Somewhat true</td>
<td>Somewhat false</td>
<td>False</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

_____ I look more attractive when I wear beauty products
_____ I feel better about myself when I wear beauty products
_____ It is important for me to wear beauty products to work
_____ It is important for me to wear beauty products to school
_____ It is important for me to wear beauty products when I spend time with friends
_____ It is important for me to wear beauty products when I spend time with family
_____ It is important for me to wear beauty products when I spend time with a romantic partner
_____ It is important for me to wear beauty products on special occasions
_____ I enjoy using beauty products
_____ I believe that using beauty products is one way that I practice self-care
_____ Using beauty products helps me feel connected to other women
_____ I use beauty products to express my femininity
_____ Other people expect me to wear makeup
_____ I worry about what other people will think if I don’t wear beauty products
_____ I would feel uncomfortable in social situations where I wasn’t wearing beauty products
_____ I wear beauty products to cover up things I don’t like about my face
_____ I wear beauty products to highlight things I like about my face

10. When purchasing new beauty products, which factors, if any, influence your selection of products? (select all that apply)
_____ Television programing and/or Television advertisements
_____ Magazines
_____ Online bloggers/vloggers and/or advertisements
_____ Friends and/or family
_____ Colleagues and/or classmates
_____ Store sales representatives
_____ Other (specify)
11. Select up to 3 of the following words which best represent the “look” you want to achieve when wearing beauty products or obtaining beauty services:
   _____Natural
   _____Attractive
   _____Pretty
   _____Powerful
   _____Glowing
   _____Feminine
   _____Healthy
   _____Chic
   _____Put together
   _____Professional
   _____Unique
   _____Sexy
   _____Confident
   _____Other (specify)___________________________

12. If you do NOT wear cosmetics, please select all of the reasons why you choose not to:
   _____I don’t like using beauty products
   _____I don’t know how to use beauty products
   _____I feel that beauty products don’t suit me
   _____I don’t have the time to apply beauty products
   _____Using beauty products goes against my beliefs. (Please explain further)________________
   _____Other (explain)___________________________

13. What is your hair length?
   _____Very short
   _____Short
   _____Medium
   _____Long
   _____Very Long

14. Please select all of the words that best describe your natural hair texture:
   _____Curly
   _____Wavy
   _____Straight
   _____Fine
   _____Thick
   _____Smooth
   _____Coarse
   _____Kinky
   _____Frizzy
   _____Other (please specify)___________________________
15. In the space provided, please indicate how often have you used the following hair related services within the past 6 months (you can have performed these on yourself or paid to receive them) using the following scale:

1 2 3
Never Regularly Irregularly

____ Coloring hair to a lighter shade
____ Coloring hair to a darker shade
____ Permanent hair straightening
____ Permanent hair curling
____ Temporary hair straightening
____ Temporary hair curling
____ Short-term hair extensions (i.e. daily removable clip in’s)
____ Long-term hair extensions (i.e. glued, weave)

16. Whether you use beauty products/services or not, please take a few minutes to describe your thoughts about beauty product/service use. You can elaborate your thoughts on any of the questions previously asked or add anything related that comes to mind.

______________________________________________________________________________

______________________________________________________________________________
Main Study Skin Color and Facial Feature Self-Report Measure

1. Using the following rating scale, please report where your skin color would be most likely to fall.

   1  Lightest
   2  Very light
   3  Light
   4  Light tan
   5  Medium tan
   6  Dark tan
   7  Brown
   8  Dark brown
   9  Darkest

2. If you could change your skin color, where on this scale would you like your skin color to fall?

   1  Lightest
   2  Very light
   3  Light
   4  Light tan
   5  Medium tan
   6  Dark tan
   7  Brown
   8  Dark brown
   9  Darkest

3. Using less than five words, how would you describe your skin color? (i.e. Light, fair, tan, deep tan, very dark, etc.)

4. If you had to select your skin color from just these options, which one would it be?

   Light  Medium  Dark

5. Name of a well-known or public figure whose skin tone is similar to yours:
6. What is your face shape?

- Oblong
- Rectangle
- Round
- Square
- Inverted Triangle
- Heart
- Diamond
- Triangle
- Oval

7. If you could change your face shape, which shape would you change it to?

- Oblong
- Rectangle
- Round
- Square
- Inverted Triangle
- Heart
- Diamond
- Triangle
- Oval
8. What color are your eyes?
Brown
Green
Blue
Hazel
Gray

9. If you could change your eye color, what color would you change it to?
Brown
Green
Blue
Hazel
Gray

10. What shape are your eyes?
11. If you could change your eye shape, what would you change it to?

12. What is your eye size?
   Very large
   Large
   Average
   Small
   Very small

13. If you could change your eye size, what would you change it to?
   Very large
   Large
   Average
   Small
   Very small

14. What is your nose size?
   Very large
   Large
   Average
   Small
   Very small
15. If you could change your nose size, what would you change it to?
   Very large
   Large
   Average
   Small
   Very small

16. What size are your lips?
   Very full
   Full
   Average
   Thin
   Very thin

17. If you could change your lip size, what would you change them to?
   Very full
   Full
   Average
   Thin
   Very thin

18. Is there any other part of your face that you would like to change? If so, please explain what you’d like to change and how you would like to change it.
APPENDIX C. Main Study Qualitative Codes

Influences
Consider self lucky to belong to a community that does not expect women to use cosmetics
Wishes she possessed “courage and confidence to go all natural”
Awareness of others’ preferences regarding her appearance
Dislikes the pressure placed on women’s appearance
Women are told they must wear a “mask” to be accepted
Women are pressured by their social circle
Beauty products are “pushed” on women to be more attractive to society
others note negative differences in her appearance when she does not wear makeup
Others encouragement via complements makes it more likely that use will continue regularly
Enjoys receiving compliments on her makeup application
Media influence to use cosmetics
Women are pressured by media
Relied on the Internet to learn about cosmetics
Pinterest has corrected her cosmetics application technique
Youtube tutorial are helpful in teaching women
Beauty ideals vary depending on ethnic group
Cosmetics allow her to switch from one cultural style to another
Despite using cosmetics to emulate culture-specific ideals, there were limits to being accepted by
in-group members
Other women influence cosmetics use
Use is influenced by how other women will judge appearance across settings
Women in family have not taught her
Conflicting messages regarding the need for cosmetics from important people in her life
Faces criticism from mom for not “putting [her] face on”
Mother served as an example to not use cosmetics
Mother emphasized self-love without use of cosmetics
Desire to be attractive for romantic partner
Pressure to use cosmetics to be attractive to partner

Judgments
Makeup is good in moderation
All females can benefit from using cosmetics sometimes
Some females require cosmetics every day
Nothing wrong with wearing makeup
Some women do not know how to use cosmetics properly
No harm in using makeup if it is beneficial in some way

Dependence on cosmetics
Developed a reliance on makeup since starting to wear it regularly
Feels exposed without makeup
Habituated to her appearance with cosmetics
Appears tired without cosmetics
Feels trapped in beauty routines
On “off days” makeup is a necessity

**Pleasure**
Enjoys using beauty products and services
Cosmetics are fun
Cosmetics allow for creativity
Cosmetics are a fun way to “switch things up”
Cosmetics should be used for fun or to try new things
Pleasure from “playing” with makeup for special occasions

**Confidence**
Her confidence and self-acceptance increases with makeup application,
Cosmetics boost self-love and creates a sense of power
Makeup increases good feelings about herself
Cosmetics help her feel more confident around strangers
“War paint” or costume when more confidence is needed
“Done up” to confront uncomfortable situations
Increases confidence
Perks up with makeup
Feels confident when friends inquire about how she creates her appearance
Makeup creates confidence
Quick confidence boost

**Enhancement**
Cosmetics amplify natural beauty
Cosmetics are tools to “enhance and highlight”
Cosmetics should enhance not completely alter someone’s appearance.
Uses cosmetics to enhance her natural features
Cosmetics help enhance facial features
Enhance natural beauty
Cosmetics can be used to bring out the best facial qualities
Cosmetics can he used to highlight special features
Makeup can emphasize aspects that people like about themselves

**Cover imperfections**
Cosmetics “minimize” imperfections
Accepts that no one is perfect which is why cosmetics use is permissible
Cosmetics conceal tired appearance
Cosmetics conceal effects of certain lifestyle choices (i.e. poor sleep)
Cosmetics should not be used to hide
Cosmetics should not be used to cover flaws

**Skin issues**
Skin problems since adolescence
Pressure to cover facial acne with cosmetics
Hyperpigmentation issues are not fully addressed with cosmetics
Cosmetics are a tool to address skin issues in order to feel more comfortable
Rosacea – cosmetics aid in giving skin a more natural
Use cosmetics to create a less reddened facial appearance
Avoids exposing skin to any potential damage
Sensitive skin and rosacea
Attempts to maintain the “integrity” of skin
Vitiligo – uses cosmetics to even out skin tone
Uses cosmetics to “mask” a range of skin issues (blemishes, irritation, allergies, etc.).
Cosmetics promote healthier skin
Cosmetics to cover skin damage from acne

**Healthy appearance**
Cosmetics create a healthier more bronzed appearance in winter
Cosmetics promote healthy skin, face, and hair
Cosmetics promote healthy skin and hair

**Aging**
Attempts to reduce aging
Interests in cosmetics shifter with age
Older skin requires different cosmetics

**Physical attractiveness**
Cosmetics increase feelings of attractiveness
Increases attractiveness
Awareness that cosmetics increase her attractiveness
Makeup use is a positive thing because it brings out her potential beauty
Feels less attractive without makeup
In the past she felt that she needed makeup to be attractive
Used beauty products to look better
Appreciates that some women look beautiful with makeup

**Natural versus excessive**
Unaccustomed to wearing cosmetics so it feels “fake” when she does
Cosmetics are used to create a “natural look”
Notices that other women go “overboard” and become “unrecognizable” because of their cosmetics use
Feels she looks better with minimal cosmetics
“Intense looks” should be reserved for special occasions
Prefers minimal makeup
Prefers a natural, minimal cosmetics look
Finds natural to be beautiful
Cosmetics are not a “mask” to her

**Use is situational**
Cosmetics use is dependent on the situation
Use is more likely if she will be in upscale public spaces
Cosmetics use varies according to season
When skin is naturally tanned cosmetics use is lower
Skin appeared different when she lived in a different climate zone
Uses cosmetics to replicate skins appearance in warmer weather (to “glow.”)
At times no cosmetics are preferable
Outside of work cosmetics are only a special occasion product
Makeup use is reserved for special social and professional occasions

Work/Professional
Entering the professional workforce led to interest in beauty products
Creates professional appearance
Cosmetics contribute to a “more professional look”
Cosmetics use is limited to the professional setting in which she works
Makeup makes her look “more professional”
“Looks matter” in work environment
Western beauty norms must be followed to be taken seriously at work
Outside of work makeup is not necessary
Cosmetics help model professionalism
Worked in setting (sports bar) where attractiveness was advantageous

Sense of readiness/prepared
Cosmetics prepare her to be productive and “tackle the world”
Cosmetics help her feel “put together”
Cosmetics allow her to present herself in a “put together” manner

Limitations of cosmetics
Cosmetics cannot be relied upon to help her feel at her best consistently
Only self-care practices such as sleep and a good diet can create true health
Cosmetics can’t address skin issues and tiredness directly they only conceal them
Confidence in ones natural skin is what creates beauty
Cosmetics are not necessary to be beautiful
Comfort is prioritized over appearance
Cosmetics up-keep over the day is not worthwhile
Notes that cosmetics are not always functional and can interfere with daily activities
Regular cosmetics use requires patience
Using beauty products takes time
Notes that some women don’t know how to properly apply cosmetics
Cosmetics are expensive
Prioritizes other expenses before cosmetics
Cosmetic product purchasing is dependent on available expendable income
REFERENCES


Barker, G., & Lowenstein, I. (1997). Where the boys are: Attitudes related to masculinity, fatherhood, and violence toward women among low-income adolescent and young adult males in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Youth and Society, 29, 166-196.


Bar-Tal, D., & Saxe, L. (1976). Perceptions of similarly and dissimilarly attractive couples and
http://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.33.6.772


http://doi.org/10.1037/0022-006X.45.2.196


Bacon.


http://doi.org/10.1007/BF00288887


http://doi.org/10.1007/s12119-011-9107-0


http://doi.org/10.2501/IJA-31-1-189-211


http://doi.org/10.1525/ae.1986.13.1.02a00060

http://doi.org/10.1037/0012-1649.43.1.261


http://doi.org/10.1080/003777319709517498

http://doi.org/10.1177/1043659611433872


http://doi.org/10.1007/BF01545028

Routledge.


http://doi.org/10.1177/0146167208323103


http://doi.org/10.1111/1540-6237.00104


http://doi.org/10.1177/0003122410372216


http://doi.org/10.1007/BF01547717


http://doi.org/10.1016/j.yhbeh.2006.07.007


http://doi.org/10.1177/0891243202016002003


http://doi.org/10.1177/074355489272003


http://doi.org/10.1023/A:1020683720636


Rehabilitation Counseling, 36(2), 20–24.


http://doi.org/10.1007/BF00289433


http://doi.org/10.1177/0739986311427695


http://doi.org/10.1177/0959353511424362


tables. Retrieved on July 31, 2015 at
http://www.census.gov/hhes/socdemo/education/data/cps/2014/tables.html


http://doi.org/10.2307/1389781