

Beauty + Justice Podcast

EP2: + The Cost of Black Hair with Dr. Tamara Gilkes Borr

LISSAH JOHNSON

You're listening to the Beauty Plus Justice podcast where we talk with folks from a variety of fields about what it will take to create a more clean and equitable future of beauty for everyone. These conversations are led by Dr. Tamara James Todd, a trailblazer at Harvard TH Chan School of Public Health, and head of the Environmental Reproductive Justice Lab. And I'm your host, Lissah Johnson, a Ph.D. candidate at Harvard Chan.

Hey listeners, thanks for joining us for episode 2, all about the costs of Black hair. Now the Black hair market is a multibillion-dollar industry. But beyond buying the products, what are all of the visible and invisible costs of having Black hair in a society dominated by one definition of beauty?

TAMARA GILKES BORR

There are real social consequences to being perceived as less beautiful. A study in 2020 found that Black women with natural hair with curly hair were perceived as less professional and less competent than Black women with straight hair and White women with curly or straight hair.

LISSAH JOHNSON

That's Tamara Gilkes Borr our guest for today. She is the US policy correspondent at The Economist and wrote a really eye opening article with an accompanying video about some of the hidden costs of having and maintaining Black hair. Today on the podcast, she'll share some of her personal experiences and discuss the research and the social context that informed her article, titled "*I spent thousands on chemical hair straightening*": *the price of having black hair in a white world*. This is a really important conversation between Tamara and Tamarra, so let's get right into it.

TAMARRA JAMES-TODD

So again, I'm really grateful for your time and your willingness to be here. Today, so I'm just going to like jump in with, you know, I'm I'm delighted to welcome Tamara Gilkes Borr today on our podcast. And just to really have a great opportunity to have a conversation with her and the amazing work that she is doing in this space of beauty justice and so Tamara do you mind introducing yourself and telling our listeners a bit about who you are?

TAMARA GILKES BORR

Sure, my name is Tamara Gilkes Borr and I am the US policy correspondent at The Economist.

TAMARRA JAMES-TODD

Wonderful and Tamara we didn't get a chance to actually cross paths, despite the fact that we happen to be on the same video together and and when I saw the amazing work in in, you know, story that you produced, I just I thought it was terrific if we could get together.

LISSAH JOHNSON

As a quick note, for those who haven't seen it yet, the video accompanying The Economist article is called *the hidden cost of black hair* and we'll provide a link to it in the episode description, so check it out if you're interested.

TAMARRA JAMES-TODD

One of the questions I have is if you could tell me a bit about the story behind that work, that that that the Economist did and then perhaps even weave in a bit about your path to working with The Economist.

TAMARA GILKES BORR

So, when I first started working at The Economist, I was asked to write about Black hair and as I began to reflect on my experience about Black hair and obviously about my own hair, I realized that something that seemed so inconsequential to many people can have serious consequences for for many women, particularly women, on the margins of society. And growing up there were very few options for natural hair for maintaining natural hair. It was generally expected that you change your hair to conform to White beauty standards, and that meant you had to chemically process it or wear a weave or do something else to it. So, I can pause if you want to break in there 'cause that was a lot of me talking, or I could keep going.

TAMARRA JAMES-TODD

No, I mean that that's definitely my story. We're both I, you know, if it's okay, if you don't mind, I wear my hair naturally and I've been wearing my hair natural, you know, in its natural state since I was probably about 10 or 11 and so I don't, I I feel like each one of us has this story, but I so resonate with what you're saying right now, about kind of the just not having options and so yes, please do keep keep going.

TAMARA GILKES BORR

Yeah, exactly so I actually started straightening my hair chemically at around 11 years old in middle school and that was when I started to for me I started to you know worry more about boys and wanting to look pretty and started to pressure my parents to do something about my hair and at the time I was always wearing it in, you know 2 braids and I wanted to do more so, that's when we explored chemically processing my hair and my sister as well. She's two years younger. So, when we did that, I was really excited initially. But the first time I I went, my hair, the first time I went, the chemicals were really harsh and they ended up causing burns and eventually scabbing, and after years of doing this throughout middle school, we eventually decided to stop. My parents were not pleased with what was happening to our scalps and our hair was also falling out. So it wasn't, you know doing what I wanted to do I didn't feel like it looked good, it didn't look pretty. So then, we transitioned back to our natural hair in about high school and back then you didn't have what you have today with these YouTube bloggers talking about how to transition and all these things like jojoba oil and coconut oil and you know different combinations for conditioners and ways to become reacquainted with your natural hair. You didn't have that. So instead, I was just fighting it, pulling it back into buns and using a hot comb and curling irons to straighten it. And it just didn't look great. Uhm so, as I was writing this article, I started to really reflect on that and think, wow, I tried to transition to natural hair basically twice. Why was I successful most recently and not successful back then? And it really was because there was support out there through the Internet and also through the media and seeing more women out there. Women with power, women who were considered beautiful with natural hair that really encouraged me to move forward.

TAMARRA JAMES-TODD

I think that's really powerful, and it says so much about the importance of representation and seeing ourselves and seeing others share their stories about this. It's like my daughter who's now nine, but at the time she was three. And she used to say, she kind of created this language like we have out hair and other people have down hair which I thought was an interesting way to describe it. But for a 3-year-old that you know and she really didn't want to go out the house one day we were headed to daycare I was going to drop her off she, she says basically I don't like my out hair I I want down hair and I'm not beautiful. For us of course it meant okay redo the books, redo everything. Gotta find the the the places and spaces where she can connect and see, uhm, beauty represented in in how our hair looks and what that means. I you you mentioned beauty and growing up, how would you say beauty was defined? And then what was it like to kind of experience or find beauty in in the way that we look with our as she would call it—out hair.

TAMARA GILKES BORR

Yeah, I think I actually might start with the second-half of that so while your daughter was mentioning that she didn't feel pretty. I do want to acknowledge the importance of her even realizing that she has out hair versus down hair because I was an embarrassingly years old like embarrassingly old when I realized like wow, my hair just doesn't do that. And if I keep fighting it, it's not going to look right and and realizing that I have to work with the fact that my hair defies gravity, and in fact that's kind of cool.

TAMARRA JAMES-TODD

It's amazing when she said that I was like you're right.

TAMARA GILKES BORR

And it's yeah, I just, I remember when, for me one of the YouTube you know vloggers maybe realize that where it's like our hair goes out you can't fight it to go down and I was like yes, I have been fighting my hair for so long. So that was like the first beauty hurdle of like OK, it is just it's gonna go out and I have to be OK with that. It takes up space and and that for me was a was a huge win. Also, realizing that typical hairstyles that are acceptable or typical among White people just is not going to work and like again, embarrassingly old when I realized that I think last year I realized wow when I pulled my hair up on my like “bad hair days” into a bun I'm getting headaches and migraines and I wasn't associating that with my hair being pulled up until my mother-in-law asked me, does that give you a headache? Is that why you get your migraines? I thought no no no and realized yes, I'm fighting even in the down, you know when I'm wearing it pulled back, it is for me like really, really causing a lot of tension. I have a lot of hair a lot, it's very thick, so I stopped doing that and now I have to wear or I choose to wear a more like an Afro puff at the top of my head on days when I want my hair out of out of my face. So, I I just I think I want to acknowledge that while your daughter is actually going through something that that as a mother, you probably had a bit of a freak out.

TAMARRA JAMES-TODD

Yes indeed.

TAMARA GILKES BORR

She had that realization. It's one major step and I think a lot of people don't realize like we're that unacquainted with our hair like we don't understand it and and just many of us are going through this process of just like trying to understand what is our hair. What does it really do? How does it really act? and embracing it at the same time, and and that's complicated.

TAMARRA JAMES-TODD

Absolutely, absolutely. And I definitely know what you're talking about and I think many of our listeners may even know what you're talking about when you say, you know Tamara, I need to work, I still need to work on this, not pulling my hair back, but that the concept that connection that you made between how you were styling your hair and your health and and so this this idea, these kind of hidden concepts not just in the context of like health, but you know what you've been doing, which is really digging into the kind of the economics of it. And I'm just wondering if you could say a bit more about you know what you learned as you worked on this story? Really, you know, acknowledging I mean, I think few people know how much the you know this industry is worth the Black hair industry and you know if you could kind of just walk us through a bit of that.

TAMARA GILKES BORR

Yeah, sure, so I can start with what I realized were the social costs. In terms of the social costs, uhm, you know, I think when it comes to hair, people can say that it's all frivolous, right? Oh, it's just your hair stop, stop worrying about it, and particularly you know when I was getting my PhD in academia, the last thing you know you're supposed to be thinking about something frivolous like your hair and makeup right, focus on the real things. But there are real social consequences to being perceived as less beautiful, a study in 2020 found that Black women with natural hair with curly hair were perceived as less professional and less competent than Black women with straight hair and White women with curly or straight hair. That that matters when you get that feedback at your job that you're just not meeting the culture or you're not you're not impressing clients or whatever whatever it is. That can be intertwined with how they expect you to look, right, so that has a real impact on your on your ability to make money and move up in your career. And we know that many people have been have been fired or reprimanded for having natural hair. The military only recently started allowing Black women to wear their hair in natural styles, styles that are natural to women with Black hair. So there there are real social costs to this.

TAMARRA JAMES-TODD

Absolutely, and I think people don't take this into consideration because it to your point earlier like it does come across as like, oh, that's superficial, it's frivolous. This doesn't actually matter, and yet you know the research out there does show that it matters. It matters about how people perceive us and and and certainly you know we we spend a bit of time in the in the health costs, but I think that kind of social consequence and. And I'm curious, you know it's it's not something that's just kind of in the kind of business space kind of so impactful of our economic mobility but also to your point about social mobility and being able to kind of navigate that. So, I I really, you know, appreciate that, and so to that end, because it can have both social implications for like you know, the ability to be connected and fit

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into the culture as you, you know, say that, but also the economic impacts you know people wanting to be able to navigate into leadership positions and in other spaces. What are people willing to do what are people willing to pay to be able to kind of if you will fit in to belong.

TAMARA GILKES BORR

Yes, so let's put it out there all women spend a lot of money to fit in and to have their appearance meet, meet social standards, or to rephrase that many women spend lots of money working to fit into society and looking beautiful because there is a higher social cost for women to be perceived as less attractive than there is for men, so let's put it out there that this is something that impacts all women. But on top of that layer. Let's talk about intersectionality—on top of that layer, Black women spend 9 times as much money or they buy, Black women buy nine times more products than White women do. And a lot of that is because there's a higher, less attainable bar for Black women to reach to get to those White beauty standards, to have that hair that cascades over your shoulders and is long and goes down to your waist and all those things that we see, all those things that we see on music videos and movies etc.

LISSAH JOHNSON

Let's talk about this, so Black women buy 9 times more products compared to White women. And as Tamara points out, this isn't just about individual personal behaviors. Unattainable beauty standards influence not only how Black women wear their hair and how they're treated, but also has very real financial consequence.

TAMARRA JAMES-TODD

What does that translate into dollars like what, you know, how much is this industry as far as kind of you know from a monetary perspective, the Black hair industry worth?

TAMARA GILKES BORR

So, the Black hair industry is worth a lot, in 2017, it generated \$2.5 billion in revenue. And you have to also think about the fact that women make less money than men, and on top of that, Black women make less money than White women do, and they're spending so much more money to show up and go to work, to have their hair be appropriate for work for that job, it's really mind boggling and kind of twisted when you really think about it.

LISSAH JOHNSON

We see that maintaining her to meet a certain standard is not just about being beautiful or desirable, but it's also about what someone worthy of being a full member of this society looks like. Not only does this place a greater economic burden on Black women who are already at an economic disadvantage compared to our White counterparts, but this comes with many other significant social, health, and time costs. So, is there any hope for changing things? Where are we already seeing cultural and regulatory change? We'll get into that in the next part of the conversation.

TAMARRA JAMES-TODD

I think you bring up such an important point. We were looking at some recent data that suggests that the number of the the kind of percentage and also just dollars spent on hair relaxers has been declining. Although there seems to be some sort of kind of rise again that is occurring. And I'm just curious, what do you think we can do to 'cause I think that that's perhaps in lockstep with the natural hair movement, so part of what we were talking about at the beginning around this about you know when we were growing up there really wasn't any information out there about how to wear your hair naturally and all of that but as the the percentage and the dollars spent on here relaxers has decreased at least to some extent, over time there's been more out there in social media, more out there, you know, even product wise, that at least purports itself to be for natural hair. So, there's this movement happening and I'm just wondering, you know, one, what can we do to kind of further that movement, which I think in some ways is embracing you know our being able to wear our hair as it is, but if there's also other thoughts you might have about what's going on with that movement, that would be great.

TAMARA GILKES BORR

Yeah, so I think it's really important to acknowledge that while the natural hair movement is gaining steam and it's much larger than any of us can remember it. The problem is certainly not solved. It certainly isn't like Hallelujah, we are all able to just walk outside now with their hair natural and everything good and grand. We still need to go pretty far for women to feel comfortable doing whatever they want with their hair, including wearing their hair naturally. I think the first thing is definitely legislation. We know with many social issues that legislation is often the first thing that happens, and then social acceptance follows. So, I think that with Black hair that is definitely necessary. We've seen that with other issues with civil rights for African Americans, with gay marriage, et cetera. So, legislation is the first one of the first steps that has to happen. But I also think that we can't downplay the importance of media. I know personally for me, watching the Black women on Black-ish has been really inspiring. They do really cool things I would never think to do with my hair, and I like to try it. And you know it was unsuccessful often, but it's it's something that to see the the you know, uh, a beautiful you know, college student walking around on campus with her hair in these beautiful styles and then the mom is a doctor and she's going to the you know, she's uh, you know there's all it's not real, but you know it's it's so nice to to see that, and it gives you ideas and we don't have a lot of we don't have a track record for seeing what, uhm, natural hair can be. It's often a certain type of woman, often the lighter skinned woman, maybe, mixed race who can "get away with it". And you don't see women with tighter curls, you don't see darker skinned women etc. wearing their hair naturally. So, when you do see that on TV and with the increase in representation among models and and other forms of media, you know we're not there yet we still have a light skinned bias, we still have a White woman bias, but we are certainly making progress and that's super important. And then I also think that one thing that's that's really important is just women like us. Black women who are in positions of power or in, you know, front forward facing careers, uhm to climb the ladder while wearing her natural hair and it can be really scary. I remember when I was starting out, I was afraid to take that risk and be an intern or you know be lower level and have my hair be a hot mess. Luckily now I have this job at The Economist. My natural hair is accepted in this role, I'm financially stable, there's less risk to you know, being the person who goes to work with a new type of hairstyle today, just like hey everybody, you're gonna get used to the Afro puff on my head today. Um, that's just the way it's going to go, and I think that we can have a role that a

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bigger role than we realize, so I think all those things need to happen in order to help with the movement and help it be successful.

TAMARRA JAMES-TODD

I think you bring up such a an important point and I and I have a separate question, but I want to kind of You know, push a little bit further into this, so for the the person who gets up in the morning doesn't have the flexibility or the the social acceptance, professional acceptance in the workspace, and has heard these statistics around you know what is in the hair products maybe being harmful to them and and having health impacts, but also is very clearly aware of the potential social and professional implications of going to work in in their natural, you know, with their natural hair. What what, what would you say to that person? How would you like, you know, advise them or counsel them, encourage them you know? Or is there a space of encouragement for them given the potential economic impact on their lives?

TAMARA GILKES BORR

Yeah, that is such a difficult question. I think there's, I do want to say I guess the positive thing first, I do think that if you had asked me when I first started at The Economist, are they going to accept natural hair and are they going to ask you to write a piece about this social costs of Black hair. I never would have thought that would be part of my job, so there's definitely more realization about these issues more but acceptance than I perceived, and while I at the at this point in my life would not have changed my natural hair for the role, I interviewed with my hair in the way it was, I I do think there's more acceptance now than then we realized, um, but that being said I'm living in Washington, DC, um, I realize that not everybody, even in DC, will feel that they can do that, but elsewhere as well. And it's a calculus that Black women have done, probably for centuries. Right? Just what am I willing? It's such a sad, I don't want to say calculus, that's not the right, but it's just sad math problem I guess I'll say, but it does feel like calculus because it's high stakes, it's confusing, and nobody wants to do it.

TAMARRA JAMES-TODD

Oh, that's true.

TAMARA GILKES BORR

Which is what calculus was for me. But I.

TAMARRA JAMES-TODD

OK, that's how it was for many, many people.

TAMARA GILKES BORR

Like I gotta go to college, I gotta do this, but I don't want to. But I I think it's something that you know it you can't tell anybody what to what to do. I have friends that are professional women that I think could wear their hair natural and have made the decision because maybe they have a strong Instagram following or they you know they have their appearance matters a lot more for their job or they're worried about their partner or about themselves and just how they feel they don't they have not gone natural or have gone back to straightening their hair chemically or wear a weave. And it it can't be this

suggestion that Black women have to do one thing, right, we're constantly being told what we have to do I want it to be an option I there's no reason that I should have felt compelled to straighten my hair to become an intern where I was making \$10.00 an hour. And and feeling like I had no other option. I just want to get to a place where we aren't constantly making those mental leaps, those mental judgments waking up in the morning and having to add an hour to our routine that everybody else gets to sleep in or spend that time with their kids or whatever it is they're doing, um, that's more I I think of of where I want this movement to go so, I don't have a good answer for the person who feels that they must do it I just hope that to the rest of us who can and are empowered to we can help it so that in a decade or so, hopefully less they're no longer doing that calculus.

TAMARRA JAMES-TODD

I mean, I, I think that is the answer. I think the beauty is and what I shared with the three-year old who was throwing the temper tantrum about not wanting out hair wanting down hair was that you have options. We get to have hair that defies gravity and we get to wear it straight if we want to like you know and to be able to, you know, think about the weaves, the braids that you know all the things in between, and to know that you have options that you're not forced to do something just to belong or to, you know, get that job or whatever else there might be. I think that answer is powerful, uhm choice, having choice. So, so my last you know my my question is this to get to that point where we have choice, uh, part of that is being able to have the the the options of kind of safer products too so I think this in some ways, this uptick that we're starting to see a little bit in the, you know people deciding I'm going to start using hair relaxers again. Uhm, partly stems from the lack of products that work to actually, you know, work with our natural hair and it's naturally curly and beautiful state. But also, products that don't contain ingredients that are harmful to us that aren't overly fragranced and other things and and yet one of the pushbacks that I hear oftentimes is that Black women, Black people in general will not be able to afford "natural" or safer or products. What do you think it will take for companies for the marketplace to make space and create safer products that do not have harmful ingredients for us.

TAMARA GILKES BORR

So, I do think that you know what's unfortunate about the realization that, uhm, natural hair and the natural hair movement is lucrative is that you're seeing these big businesses without the goal of providing safe natural products entering the market, crowding the market, confusing the market in my opinion. But I do worry when I hear about women going back to being natural, it took me a decade to get my hair the way I wanted, and I don't don't expect people to like go 10 years with their hair looking a mess, but I also spent most of my life with my hair looking a mess.

TAMARRA JAMES-TODD

I am sure that's not true!

TAMARA GILKES BORR

So I felt like you know well, it's just you know, continuation of the trend here, you know, but I I do think that there has to be some patience and that's frustrating, uhm, I do worry that the natural market being being considered lucrative and becoming interesting to big business is causing more people to "try to go natural" fail and then and then give up because those products were never meant or designed for their

hair and I would just say that for anybody who's feeling that way, that they should find the the bloggers that are focusing on on the natural products or going to the early early bloggers and trying that process themselves and before they truly give up. But again, it's about choice if you're going back because you want to, that's one thing, if you're going back because you feel like you have to I'd say just just hold on for a little bit longer. You'll find it. You'll figure it out. There's so many people out there with all kinds of textures, all kinds of curls that look beautiful. Uhm, so just just hang on and another thing is if you feel like you're going natural and your hair is not looking right, ask yourself what do you mean by is not looking right?

TAMARRA JAMES-TODD

Yes.

TAMARA GILKES BORR

Are you trying to get your hair to look like you know, uhm, are you trying to make it look like one of the light skinned models like really loose curls and your hair is just not like that. Like find people who have your hair texture and ask yourself what makes their hair look beautiful and you'll probably if you're worried because it looks too big or it looks too dry or it looks too chunky or whatever you think it is, 'cause I've gone through all those thoughts in my head. Ask yourself why do I feel that way and and I think you'll be surprised I've had days where I went outside and thought to myself oh, this is the day I'm testing myself let's see how how people respond to this, and I've gotten the most compliments, I had someone in San Francisco like stop their car, a young girl, a teenager and she was like I love your hair and I was, I thought I had the craziest day.

TAMARRA JAMES-TODD

I I love that I love that, and that's invaluable and important in that the idea that we have to get reacquainted with our natural selves, that's really what you know at least try, if it doesn't work, at least you have options but but don't feel like you have to give up and really asking yourself what are you trying to like what's your you know goal because if that goal is, you know, not really a realistic, reasonable goal and all textures are beautiful, so, like being being able to to know that and see representation of that. The other the other question I was going to consider asking was kind of pressing a little bit more about the, you know, as as you were doing, the hidden costs of black hair, so you were doing that story if there were any kind of interesting things that you were surprised by with, you know from that.

TAMARA GILKES BORR

I didn't realize until I published the article and the video is that a lot of people, first of all, that a lot of Black women felt seen when they read the piece and saw the video and felt that that their story had not been told in that way or with the nuances that are necessary and I think that that excites me about this podcast and some other things we've seen coming coming through. Just an acknowledgement of the difficulties and also the beauty and everything in between in Black hair. And I didn't realize how many of my non-Black colleagues did not know and were interested and excited and shocked and glad that they finally got a glimpse into this and I think that while we can talk about what Black women need to do to embrace their natural hair, there's obviously somebody on the other end of that other Black women,

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Black men, non-Black people that make us feel that we have to wear our hair in a certain way having more awareness and and bring about more awareness from the Black women who want to take that time and have the bandwidth to take that time and enjoy it for some strange reason to share this with the public and don't view it as taxing all time I I do think there's value in and and you would mean other people sharing this perspective so that we can move forward and we can have more social acceptance.

TAMARRA JAMES-TODD

Sharing these stories and and they're not just stories, these are people's truths, this is the reality of what is happening for people, that by sharing those realities, we have moments where people get to have the mirror and so those of us who you know identify as being, you know, Black individuals who have have you know curly hair we've really tried to navigate life in a in a in a world that does not find this as beautiful even though it is absolutely gorgeous and so but then also, because those stories haven't ever been shown or told that people, not knowing, not having awareness and so not having an opportunity to kind of look through the window and see what this you know, what are the experiences of others and what does that mean. And last question, promise promise promise, how would you define beauty? What is beauty to you?

TAMARA GILKES BORR

Oh yeah. So as somebody who really looks a lot at society and I'm I view myself as a sociologist I think of it in two ways I think there's one way that we often think of beauty as the individual side of and then there's the societal side. On the individual side we often think of feeling pretty, we often focus on self-acceptance. You need to feel good about your your body. You need to feel good about your hair. How do you get yourself there? But then there's the perception that I think is often less acknowledged and that's how society views you and sometimes the problem is the mismatch. Right, we often focus on the mismatch. Oh, she's so much prettier than she realizes she has body dysmorphia, but we don't talk about the other way, which I think a lot of times Black women experience, which is like I feel good with myself, but nobody else seems to think so and that I think is really an important dynamic of the Black female experience that we don't talk about where you know you might be in your community, you might have Black men looking at you and saying you're beautiful, but then you step out of that space and and you don't feel beautiful anymore. And that tension and that that that so that to me is really important when you think about beauty, is thinking both about what's happening on the inside, but also what's happening with society.

TAMARRA JAMES-TODD

Well may may that be may that mismatch be less as we move forward 'cause I know I know so many times we say it doesn't matter what other people think, but what other people think does impact us and particularly around this concept of beauty. So, thank you so much. I really appreciate your time and your willingness to chat with me today.

TAMARA GILKES BORR

Well, thank you, I really appreciate the time as well and this has been a really fun conversation and I'm I'm looking forward to hearing how all this comes together.

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LISSAH JOHNSON

Tamara highlighted the dominant perspectives about hair and beauty, and they're often reduced to something superficial or frivolous. But for Black women and others who don't fit into the Eurocentric ideals of beauty, there's so much more at stake. And for many Black women, this conversation is very personal. For those of you who deeply resonated with our conversation today, we hope you feel seen and empowered wherever you are in your hair journey. And if this conversation was new for you, we invite you to sit with this new perspective, and we'd also love to hear what stood out to you. So, use the #beautyplusjusticepodcast, all spelled out, on any social media platform to become a part of our conversation. Thank you so much for listening today, be well, and be sure to join us for the next episode when we'll talk about some of the chemicals of concern found in Black hair care products and the way forward with Dr. Robin Dodson from the Silent Spring Institute. This episode was produced and edited by Marissa Chan, Lissah Johnson, and Felicia Heykoop with assistance from Ilkania Chowdhury-Paulino. We received funding from the Environmental Defense Fund.