

Beauty is in the Mouth of the Beholder:
Advice Networks at Haverford College

Emily Orlansky

Haverford College

4/22/09

Table of Contents

Abstract	3
Introduction	3
Background Literature.....	6
<i>Two Step Flow of Communication</i>	6
<i>Social Networks</i>	13
<i>Word of Mouth Marketing (WOMM)</i>	16
Methodology/Data.....	20
<i>Descriptive Information</i>	20
<i>Interviews</i>	22
<i>Problems and Solutions of Methodology</i>	24
<i>Advantages and Disadvantages of Methodology</i>	25
<i>Data</i>	27
Findings	30
<i>Main Findings</i>	30
<i>Knowledge</i>	37
<i>Qualities of Influentials</i>	39
<i>Self Recognition of Influentials</i>	40
<i>Imitators</i>	41
<i>Transitionals</i>	43
Conclusion.....	45
Bibliography.....	49
Appendix	54
<i>Appendix A</i>	54
<i>Appendix B</i>	56

Appendix C 56

Abstract

My study investigates media and personal influence on the everyday use of beauty products. Previous research identifies two roles in the spread of ideas from media: the influential and the imitator. Using social network analysis, I traced a beauty advice network by interviewing 30 women at Haverford College to observe the formation of local network structures in space and the location of imitators and influentials in two different groups. I speculate that friendship can overcome this space barrier and create bridging ties. I also introduce a new role in advice networks, the “transitional,” who performs the dual function of influential and imitator. The practical and theoretical implications of the transitional for beauty advice are discussed.

Introduction

“Headbands over the bangs-Yes, this trend which has been around for quite a bit - is still pretty popular and a hot thing to wear. It's especially receiving love from celebs, as pictured above Carrie & Miley supporting the funky trend. So if you're wondering if these hippie headbands are still in, the answer is heck yes! It's time to go out and buy a funky headband now - so you too can pull off this look.”¹

As a beauty writer at *Glamour* magazine describes here, the newest fad in Hollywood is wearing a headband over your bangs. As celebrities like Carrie Underwood and Miley Cyrus readopt this hippie look, young girls from the ages of eight

¹ “Glamour Girl.” <http://www.glamourgirltips.com/2008/11/headband-over-bangs-trend.html> (April 10, 2009).

to 25 reproduce this style. This pop culture trend displays the power of mass media because women view the fad in the magazines, television, and internet and imitate the style regardless of how silly it may look.² Headbands over bangs are one of many beauty and fashion styles that start in the media and spreads to the masses.

Elihu Katz and Paul Lazarsfeld address this phenomenon of mass media and influence in their breakthrough research within the field of sociology. They observed two steps in the flow of media information, as opposed to the previously accepted notion that mass media directly affects its audience. The two step flow explains that media reaches individuals, known as opinion leaders (individuals who are more likely to influence other people in their environment), who then pass on the information to the rest of the population. This research sparked numerous studies within sociology that expanded on the concept of a two step flow of communication.

Two roles exist within this theory: the opinion leader and the follower. However, these terms became known as influential and imitator when the topic became more popular. These are two roles that individuals can play within their social networks; therefore, social network analysis is relevant to this study. In addition, advertising literature addresses the role of the influential within Word of Mouth Marketing (WOMM). This is a successful media technique that attempts to reach influentials with their advertisements so that buzz of their product expands quickly. In focusing on the roles of influentials and imitators, sociology and advertising researchers have overlooked

² Ibid.

a critical feature of this process: an individual can play both roles of influential and imitator, so I will refer to as a transitional. My analysis will trace the existence of the transitional in two beauty advice networks.

In my paper, I interview 30 women at Haverford College. I map out two beauty advice networks and display two main findings. First, I observe the formation of local network structures by space. For example, the most beauty advice ties in my network form between individuals that live together. There are exceptions, however, where beauty advice is exchanged between individuals who do not live together. This occurs because they are close friends. For my second main finding, I observe that friendship can penetrate this space barrier for beauty advice and create bridging ties between the small, local networks.

In addition to my two main findings, I observe multiple transitionals and speculate factors that contribute to this role. I identify two types of beauty knowledge: theoretical and practical. Theoretical knowledge is the ability to identify what styles are popular, and practical knowledge is having the skills to apply these looks. Theoretical knowledge is gained through interacting with beauty media, such as television, internet, or magazines. Transitionals have contact with beauty media, which is why imitators rely on them as an accurate source of theoretical beauty knowledge. However, transitionals do not use every form of media, so they turn to friends who use other media sources to receive the missing theoretical information. This process also occurs with practical knowledge. For example, transitionals have practical knowledge as a result of their

interest in the topic, but they do not know how to apply all of the beauty skills. Thus, imitators approach transitionals in the areas they have practical knowledge, and transitionals approach influentials when they do not know how to apply a beauty skill. Therefore, I speculate that the lack of theoretical or practical knowledge on all beauty subjects creates the transitional role.

I will proceed in the next section with the background literature where I examine two different fields and highlight literature on the two step flow of communication, social network analyses, and WOMM. In the next section I describe my methodology and data in a five-part explanation. The next section explains my two main findings and how my data supports these claims. I also describe my findings on influentials, imitators, and transitionals. Finally, the conclusion summarizes my analyses, acknowledges the limitations to my studies, and addresses how future research can expand on my study.

Background Literature

Two Step Flow of Communication

The literature I will address are studies on the two step flow of communication, social network analysis because it is helpful for my methodology, and Word of Mouth Marketing (WOMM) because my interest in the topic derives from its bigger implications in the world of marketing. In the sociological literature, the landmark theory on the topic of influentials began in the 1940s and 1950s with a series of studies culminating with the

two step flow of communication by Paul Lazarsfeld and Elihu Katz. These studies aimed to refute previously conceived notions about the topic, such as the hypodermic needle model which looked at advertising and propaganda during World War I and observed that information was transmitted directly from mass media to mass audiences. However, Lazarsfeld and Katz argued that individuals are more influenced by each other than they are by propaganda or media. They defined opinion leaders as “the individuals who were likely to influence other persons in their immediate environment.”³ They argued that “ideas often flow from radio and print to opinion leaders and from them to the less active sections of the population.”⁴ The theory was called the two step flow of communication and became the dominant model in the sociology of media.⁵

The first study to contribute to this theory is by Paul Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson, and Hazel Gaudet. They observed voting in the 1940 presidential campaign and examined voters who changed their minds during the election process. The research was collected from 12 to 15 local, trained interviewers who visited every fourth house in

³ Duncan J. Watts. 2004. “The ‘New’ Science of Networks.” *Annual Review Sociology* 30: 442.

⁴ Elihu Katz and Paul F. Lazarsfeld. 1955. Personal Influence: The Part Played by People in the Flow of Mass Communications. New York: Free Press: 32.

⁵ Duncan J. Watts. 2004. “The ‘New’ Science of Networks.” *Annual Review Sociology* 30: 441-442.

Erie County, Ohio. This method collected information from 3,000 people who were meant to represent the population of the county. From this sample, four different groups of 600 people were chosen by stratified sampling. Three of the groups acted as control groups and were each interviewed once in July, August, and October. However, the fourth group was interviewed once during each month from May to November; therefore, this group was under continual observation.⁶

Lazarsfeld, Berelson, and Gaudet used a panel method, which provides longitudinal data because information is collected over a period of time. The study used the tangible indicator of the voting decision, which could be easily recorded. They measured the opinion leaders by asking the following two questions: “Have you recently tried to convince anyone of your political ideas?” and “Has anyone recently asked you for your advice on a political question?” The design of the voting study used a random sample so the individuals could only speak for themselves and the opinion leaders were identified through self-designation.⁷

The first finding reported that personal contact discussions occurred more regularly and had more impact on a voter’s decision than mass media. Another finding observed that the opinion leaders were distributed across every level of society in terms

⁶ Paul K. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson, and Hazel Gaudet. 1968. The People’s Choice: How the Voters Make up his mind in a Presidential Campaign. New York: Columbia University Press, 3-5.

⁷ Ibid.

of occupation and class. In addition, the opinion leaders were similar to the people that they influence. The last finding of the voting study observed opinion leaders to be more exposed to mass media than other individuals.⁸

The next study that further developed the two step flow of communication was the Decatur study in 1945 to 1946 by Paul Lazarsfeld and Elihu Katz. The study took place in Decatur, Illinois and interviewed 800 women in four different areas of household marketing, fashion (dress and cosmetics), movies, and local public affairs. This study did not limit itself to only observing the opinion leaders, but rather examined the followers as well. In fact, in order to study the two roles, the methodology was innovative because the researchers not only interviewed individuals and then interviewed the people they go to for advice, but it also located individuals that they influenced.⁹

General findings from this studied revealed that the chain of influence was longer than just a dyadic relationship. Thus, opinion leaders had their own opinion leaders as well. The study also displayed that being an influential was not a trait that some individuals have and others do not, but rather individuals are opinion leaders at certain times and on certain subjects if the other individuals in the group authorize this role.¹⁰ This resonates with my study because I show how an individual can be both an imitator

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Elihu Katz and Paul F. Lazarsfeld. 1955. Personal Influence: The Part Played by People in the Flow of Mass Communications. New York: Free Press, 137-139.

¹⁰ Ibid, 66-68.

and influential in social networks, which depends on the time and subject like the article addresses.¹¹

These are the general findings from the four different topics covered in the interviews; however, I will look more closely at the fashion area as it is directly significant to my research. Personal Influence includes one chapter on fashion entitled “Fashion Leaders.” The chapter begins by recognizing that fashion is constantly changing and explained that, “About two-thirds of the women in our samples told us they had recently made some fashion change- in clothing or cosmetics and most of them said that personal influences had in some way entered into the making of their decisions.”¹² The first set of interviews consisted of 672 respondents and there were 33 follow-up interviews. The study first measured how important fashion was to the women by asking questions about whether they have changed their hair or clothes recently, bought a new dress, or if they feel it is important to be in style. The study found that being a fashion leader is highly correlated to being interested in fashion as there were twelve times more fashion leaders that had a high interest in fashion. Based on the data, Katz and Lazarsfeld observed that the number of fashion leaders declines as women enter each life cycle and age. This attributed not to the age of the fashion leader, but rather that

¹¹ Elihu Katz. 1957. “The Two-Step Flow of Communication: An Up-To-Date Report on an Hypothesis.” *The Public Opinion Quarterly* 21: 65-66.

¹² Elihu Katz and Paul F. Lazarsfeld. 1955. Personal Influence: The Part Played by People in the Flow of Mass Communications. New York: Free Press, 247.

advice-giving takes two people and finding older women to give advice to is what is more difficult. The study also found that outgoing women are more likely to have women approach them for fashion advice. In addition, Katz and Lazarsfeld recognize that social status is a factor that affects a fashion leader. Although it is rightfully assumed that glamorous women are fashion leaders, women are most likely fashion leaders if they give advice face to face. This means that the influential and imitator must be in similar social circles, thus social status is significant.¹³ In summary, the fashion chapter explains the importance of age, gregariousness, and social status which I take into account for my study.

Although innovative for its time, there were problems with the research and concept of the two step flow of communication. One weakness of the voting study is the methodology because the random sample forced the researchers to identify opinion leaders by self-designation. Another problem with the study is that it ignores several studies that display evidence of a direct flow of information from media to the masses, which is addressed in an article by Bruce Westley.¹⁴ This could strengthen the two step flow theory because Katz and Lazarsfeld could address the flaws of these other studies. The two step flow of communication also ignores the existence of different stages within the process of influence, such as awareness and interest which are important because

¹³ Ibid, 247-270.

¹⁴ Bruce Westley. 1971. "Communication and social change." *American Behavioral Scientist* 14:719-742.

these stages can activate different sources of information or ties. In addition, Katz and Lazarsfeld observe individuals giving their opinions but overlook the process of individuals sharing their opinions. Thus, instead of an asymmetrical relationship it can be mutual, which I take into account for my study. Another flaw in the theory is the use of the same measurement for different types of influence. For example, the voting study and Decatur study use the same methodology for measuring influence with politics and consumer products. However, I believe political and consumer influence are distinct processes and should be measured differently.¹⁵ Even though politicians now use marketers and branding strategies for their campaigns, there is a different technique in selling a person and selling a product; therefore, they must be measured differently.

Regardless of the flaws in the theory, the studies by Lazarsfeld, Berelson, Gaudet, and Katz created an innovative concept that set the foundation for other theories to expand. New studies were able to learn from the mistakes in the two-step flow of communication and develop the theory. An example of a theory that added onto the two step flow of communication is the Rovere study by Robert Merton in 1940.¹⁶ Although this took place before the Decatur study, it developed the ideas from the voting study as it began right after the voting study ended. The Rovere study interviewed 86 respondents

¹⁵ Gabriel Weimann. 1982. "On the Importance of Marginality: One More Step into the Two-Step Flow of Communication." *American Sociological Review* 47: 764-765.

¹⁶ Elihu Katz. 1957. "The Two-Step Flow of Communication: An Up-To-Date Report on an Hypothesis." *The Public Opinion Quarterly* 21: 65-66.

who were from a small town in New Jersey. The respondents were asked to identify the person they turn to for information on a variety of topics such as movies, politics, and consumer products, and if an individual was mentioned at least four times then they were interviewed and identified as an opinion leader. The Rovere study improved the Katz and Lazarsfeld study because Merton required the advice giver to be identified by four individuals; therefore, this guaranteed that the individual provided information and influence. The Rovere study successfully found the individuals who played a significant role in the flow of information from media; but, Merton did not explore the role of the follower because he chose to focus his research on the opinion leader.¹⁷

The Merton study expanded on the two step flow of communication, which was an innovative theory with flawed methodology and a hypothesis that was not directly supported by empirical data. Regardless, the two step flow of communication was an innovative concept in the field of sociology. Additionally, while studying opinion leaders and followers, researchers unintentionally tracked webs of social networks.

Social Networks

Social network analysis is a concept that borrows from mathematics, economics, and sociology. Mark S. Granovetter wrote a landmark piece of social network literature in 1973. In his article, Granovetter invented a new model that discovered the strength of

¹⁷ Ibid.

weak social ties. He observes the concept of social networks and weak and strong ties between individuals. The article argues that weak ties between individuals cause essential opportunities for an individual as it allows for integration into other communities. This occurs because each actor in a network with weak ties is more likely to have different information than other actors in the network, which is beneficial because it produces a variety of information. The strength of the weak tie is not the casual mechanism, rather the real mechanism is that weak ties are strong because they can reach actors in different networks and get more information.¹⁸ This is not necessarily attributed to strength of the tie but to the placement of the tie within the network. Thus, the tie does not have to be weak but must be a bridge.

An article that built on Granovetter's theory links influentials and social networks by displaying a network analysis of influentials' behavior.¹⁹ Jacqueline Brown and Peter Reingen created this analysis through observations on the strength of ties and homophily (communication between similar product consumers) at the micro level of nodes connected by ties and macro level of larger social webs. The study observed that weak ties created a bridging function allowing information to spread throughout different

¹⁸ Mark S. Granovetter. 1973. "The Strength of Weak Ties." *The American Journal of Sociology* 78: 1360-1380.

¹⁹ Jacqueline Johnson Brown and Peter Reingen. 1987. "Social Ties and Word-of-Mouth Referral Behavior." *The Journal of Consumer Research* 14: 350-362.

communities on the macro level. However, strong ties were important at the micro level as individuals with strong ties viewed each other as a reliable source.²⁰

While this article links social networks and influentials, there is also literature that connects social networks and consumption. For example, Paul DiMaggio displays that cultural practices of consumption are determined by social networks. DiMaggio also sees the consumption of cultural goods as a bridge to new networks while also maintaining current networks. He believes this occurs because purchasing cultural products facilitates the development of strangers becoming friends.²¹ In addition to realizing that social networks affect cultural tastes and consumption, Omar Lizardo hypothesizes that cultural tastes have an effect on social networks as well. Lizardo observes two types of culture: highbrow and popular. Highbrow culture emphasizes consumption for the purpose of achieving higher intellectual and moral values while popular culture aims for fun and pleasure. Thus, an example of highbrow culture is attending museums and operas, while popular culture is attending movies and night clubs. Lizardo's research displays that highbrow culture consumption increases strong-tie density, while it has no significant effect on weak ties. Whereas popular culture consumption does not increase strong-tie density and does affect weak tie density. Therefore, Lizardo's work believes that people should spend their time watching television shows such as "The Real World" as opposed

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Omar Lizardo. 2006. "How Cultural tastes Shape Personal Networks." *American Sociological Review* 71: 778-807.

to attending the opera because it allows individuals to bridge ties across networks. The study of social networks is useful especially for the methodology of my study, but I also need to look at the advertising literature to complete all background components affiliated with my topic.

Word of Mouth Marketing (WOMM)

The research on influentials and social networks are significant topics in sociology but have also made important contributions to the study of Word of Mouth Marketing (WOMM). WOMM is the act of consumers discussing products with other consumers. This technique existed since the beginning of advertising, but within the past ten years it has become extremely popular as advertisers figure out how to promote this activity to their advantage. There are multiple different types of WOMM, such as product seeding (placing the product in the hands of the influential consumers), referral programs (creating tools for satisfied customers to discuss products), brand blogging (creating blogs for consumers) and buzz marketing (the use of entertainment and news to promote discussion of a product). However, advertisers cannot fake WOMM as it is considered unethical and has backlash that gives a bad reputation to a company. Yet, when used correctly, it is a successful advertising tool. Examples of ethical WOMM strategies are “encouraging communication, giving people something to talk about, creating communities and connecting people, working with influential communities,

creating evangelist or advocate programs, researching and listening to customer feedback, engaging in transparent conversation, and co-creation and information sharing.”²²

Advertising literature also conducted numerous studies on the influential in order to understand WOMM and capitalize on this process. Research from books such as Anatomy of Buzz²³ and The Influentials²⁴ shows that WOMM has become even more popular because Americans are more likely to turn to friends, family, and experts than the media for information on consumer products. This trend could be explained by the public’s increased skepticism towards media as people are aware that advertisers could trick them with misleading or convincing creative advertisements. For example, although not surprising because people seek medical or health advice from trusted sources, Roper Reports shows that 61% of Americans seeking information on ways to improve their health turn to people and only 19% consider advertising to be the best source.²⁵

The popularity of the internet has also broadened the possibilities for WOMM. Consumers are now able to research products and create online relationships with similar people. The creation of the internet is also significant because it is a contributing factor to

²² “Word of Mouth Marketing Association.” <<http://womma.org>> (November 5, 2008).

²³ Emanuel Rosen. 2000. The Anatomy of Buzz: How to Create Word-of-Mouth Marketing. New York: Doubleday.

²⁴ Ed Keller and Jon Berry. 2003. The Influentials. New York: The Free Press: 1-20.

²⁵ Ibid

the proliferation of media. Even though a handful of these media forms are owned by only a few media conglomerates, Americans now have more television shows, magazines, and internet sites to choose from. This is very different from the past when television could capture a huge share of the audience and make brands. Seth Godin, an author and entrepreneur, argues in Permission Marketing²⁶ that the internet has changed the world of advertising because the old techniques will no longer work. Instead businesses must use the new technologies to build relationships with the consumers' permission. Emanuel Rosen, an author who used to be the Vice President of Niles Software (the makers of EndNote), adds onto this argument in Anatomy of Buzz,²⁷ and speculates that advertisers need to build these relationships with the "hubs" who spread the information to their social networks. The "hubs" or influentials have been closely studied in consumer research. Media results shows that an influential is an extremely confident person who has achieved material success. They also join numerous groups in their community and are known to be activists. They are typically educated, married, homeowners who are consumers that try new products.

Sociologists saw the process of WOMM as a two step flow from media to influencers and then influencers to the masses, but advertising literature observes the process differently. The information, however, usually enters a group of people, such as

²⁶ Seth Godin. 1999. Permission Marketing. New York: Simon and Schuster.

²⁷ Emanuel Rosen. 2000. The Anatomy of Buzz: How to Create Word-of-Mouth Marketing. New York: Doubleday.

a book club, where it is analyzed, discussed, and compounded with other sources of information. Influentials use many more sources than the normal American. Their daily activities include reading magazines, books, newspapers, websites, and watching television (although they value the printed word more than television). Influentials are also experiencing the age of autonomy, which has created a self-reliant mind-set in Americans. A large component of the age of autonomy and self-reliance movement is learning. Influentials are learning about different topics and sharing this information with others. Advertising and consumption literature has studied the specific characteristics that form an influential, but it does not address the imitator role.

The background literature that I have outlined sets the stage for my research. While the literature recognizes the existence of an influential and imitator, the studies neglect to address a transition between influential and imitator. I speculate that an individual has the ability to take on both roles of influential and imitator and I refer to them as transitionals. In my study, I will look at transitionals within beauty advice networks because the cosmetics industry had a significant impact on the social construction of gender in America. Although the use of cosmetics had negative connotations towards womanhood in the beginning, marketing strategies transformed makeup into an essential part of the female identity.²⁸ Currently, beauty products are positively associated with women because their use creates assumptions of good health

²⁸ Kathy Peiss. 1990. "Making Faces: The Cosmetic Industry and the Cultural Construction of Gender, 1890-1930." *Genders* 7: 143-169.

and success in the workplace.²⁹ Thus, beauty products are an important element of our society that I use to trace advice networks.

Methodology/Data

Descriptive Information

I collected my data from Haverford College, which is a private liberal arts institution established in 1833. The college is founded on Quaker values and known for its innovative Honor Code, which contains social components as well as academic. Originally an all-male college, Haverford became coed in 1980, but retains its historical bi-college relationship with neighboring, all-female Bryn Mawr College. Haverford is located in Haverford, Pennsylvania, and is a prestigious college with an acceptance rate of 27 percent. The college currently has 1169 students enrolled with 621 women and 548 men. 86 percent of students originally come from outside the state of Pennsylvania so students are removed from old friends and more dependent on networks at college.³⁰

The college provides housing for students for all four years, and 99 percent of students live on campus. The housing options on campus are either apartments with

²⁹ Kirsten Dellinger and Christine L. Williams. 1997. "Makeup at Work: Negotiating Appearance Rules in the Workplace." *Gender and Society* 11: 151-177.

³⁰ "Haverford College." < <http://www.haverford.edu/>> (February 1, 2009).

kitchens and living rooms, or dormitories with a common room in each hall and co-ed bathrooms. Upper-classmen live in all freshmen housing options. While some upper-classmen end up in freshmen housing as a result of a bad housing lottery number, others are a part of the freshmen orientation program known as customs. The orientation week for freshmen at Haverford College is known as customs week and includes small group discussions and numerous lectures from a variety of students, faculty, and staff. The customs groups are an important aspect of Haverford College because they display the popularity of student-run activities on campus and set up an immediate support system. This information is relevant to my study because two of the subgroups within my networks are customs groups.

Freshmen either live in the apartments, Barclay Hall, or Gummere Hall. Barclay Hall is located at number 19 on the map in Appendix C and has three-person suites with a single person in each room and large double person rooms. Gummere Hall, number nine on the map in Appendix C, includes four-person suites on each hall with two coed bathrooms. The apartments are located at number 11 on the map in Appendix C, and each apartment contains two bedrooms, a living room, kitchen, and bathroom.

Another significant characteristic of Haverford College is athletics. The college is a member of the Centennial Conference and supports 21 Division III teams. Athletics plays an important role in student life because 40 percent of the students play a varsity sport, which does not include the numerous options for club sports on campus. To promote student-athlete life, the college does not schedule classes between the hours of 4

p.m. and 7 p.m. so that teams are able to practice without missing class time. This is relevant because two of the subgroups in my study are female athletic teams.

Interviews

In order to study the process of influence with beauty products, I decided to only interview women. I define the term beauty products as any item that enhances the look of hair, the face, or the body, such as makeup, hair products, and body lotion. Even though men do use shampoo and lotion, I decided that women would be more beneficial to my study as they discuss beauty products more regularly. In addition, women form closer ties with neighbors compared to men³¹, and beauty products are applied at home. The study of influentials with fashion in Personal Influence³² also focused on only women because “of the many hundreds of women who credited some recent fashion decision they had made at least partly to the advice of some other individual, only 13 named men, and of those, 11 were husbands.”³³ Thus, I interviewed 30 Haverford women in order to determine influentials and imitators and the transition between the two

³¹ G. Moore. 1990. “Structural Determinants of Men’s and Women’s Personal Networks.” *American Sociological Review* 55: 729.

³² Elihu Katz and Paul F. Lazarsfeld. 1955. Personal Influence: The Part Played by People in the Flow of Mass Communications. New York: Free Press, 247-248.

³³ Ibid, 258.

roles. In my study, I define an influential as an individual who influences others and is known as a knowledgeable source of information on a specific topic. An imitator is an individual that seeks advice from an influential. Even though a questionnaire is more common in social network analysis,³⁴ I used interviews because I could clarify in information and ask additional questions on the spot that might be helpful.

The length of the interviews was between 10 to 20 minutes and it was conducted either in the interviewee's room or in a common space, such as the campus center at Haverford College. The questions included information about the respondents' childhood and then progressed into questions about their beauty routines. In order to measure if someone was an influential, I ended the interviews by asking who they go to for beauty advice and who comes to them for beauty advice on product recommendations or assistances with specific styles, such as an "up-do" hairstyle. These questions not only gave me more respondents to incorporate in my study, but they also enabled me to identify who people go to for beauty advice in that particular network, which is how I measured the influential in each network. I did not use self-designation to identify the influential like the voting study. I only considered a respondent an influential if another person identifies that they receive advice from them. I identified a respondent as an imitator if they go to someone for beauty advice within the network I traced. I define a

³⁴ Peter V. Marsden. 1990. "Network Data and Measurement." *Annual Review Sociology* 16: 441.

transitional as a respondent who goes to someone for advice, and has someone come to them for advice. I will define these roles more technically in my findings section.

Problems and Solutions of Methodology

I begin my study by interviewing the freshmen women in two customs groups. I randomly chose apartment 26 and a group on the second floor of Barclay. I hoped that by interviewing the two customs groups, I would receive the names of their friends from clubs or sports and would be able to create a full web of influence. However, I came across multiple problems in this beginning stage. First, I emailed all the women in the customs group on the second floor of Barclay and only one student responded. This means that I was unable to analyze that customs group, but I had better luck with apartment 26 because I conducted interviews with all eight women in that group.

I encountered another problem after I interviewed all the women in apartment 26. I anticipated that the women in this group would have friends outside of their customs group with whom they discussed beauty products, but this was not the case. The majority of the freshmen women in apartment 26 only had individual friends that were not a part of another network that I could interview and analyze. In addition to this problem, the respondents who did belong to other networks did not discuss beauty products with these women. For example, one respondent belonged to the Women of Color club, but explained that she only discussed beauty products with the women in her customs group. To resolve this problem, I decided to interview a women's sports team at Haverford, as

opposed to a customs group. I speculate that sports teams discuss beauty products because they spend time together traveling during the season and getting ready in the locker room- a space that they share while they apply beauty products, thus promoting discussion.

I chose the Haverford field hockey team because of a personal connection to the captains. As a result of being friendly with the senior captains, they emailed the team first so that I was assured that the girls would respond and I wouldn't encounter the same problem I did with the Barclay second floor customs group. Unfortunately, I was unable to interview the entire team because players were abroad. Regardless, when I interviewed a subset of the Field Hockey team I was guaranteed that they had a separate group of friends with whom they discussed beauty products. I was guaranteed this because the entire team did not live together. Women often discuss beauty products with roommates because they talk about this topic while using the products at home. I was looking for women who discussed beauty products with more than one group of friends so that I could trace a large network with multiple subgroups.

Advantages and Disadvantages of Methodology

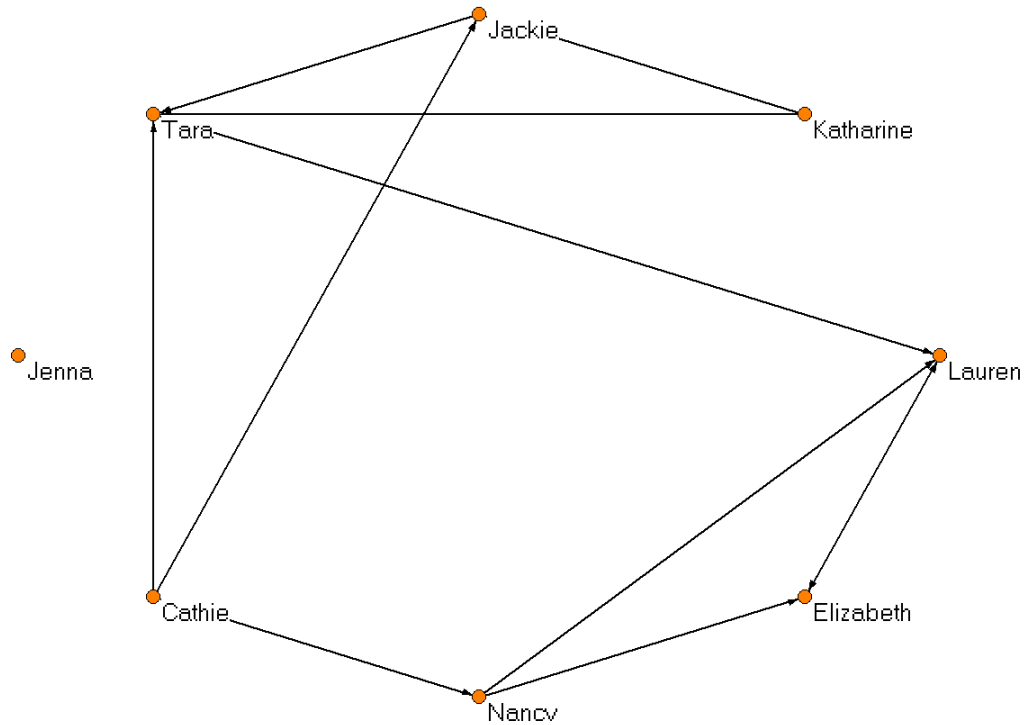
Although I encountered problems, there are advantages of my methodology. Even though the use of questionnaires in social network analysis is more common,³⁵ the interviews allowed me to clarify questions and pose further inquiries on the spot during

³⁵ Ibid.

the interview. Another positive aspect of my methodology is that by interviewing 30 Haverford women, I was able to trace two beauty advice networks. There are also, however, disadvantages of my methodology. For example, I interviewed women from Haverford College, which is a school that does not have many students who wear makeup or make a lot of effort with their appearance. By looking at a large university with a sorority, I could have found more information. Another problem with my study is that I did not take a random sample of Haverford students. Instead, I selected one network and worked out from there. This is a problem because I could find completely different results if I looked at another sports team at Haverford or even another school. Regardless, I collected significant data.

Data

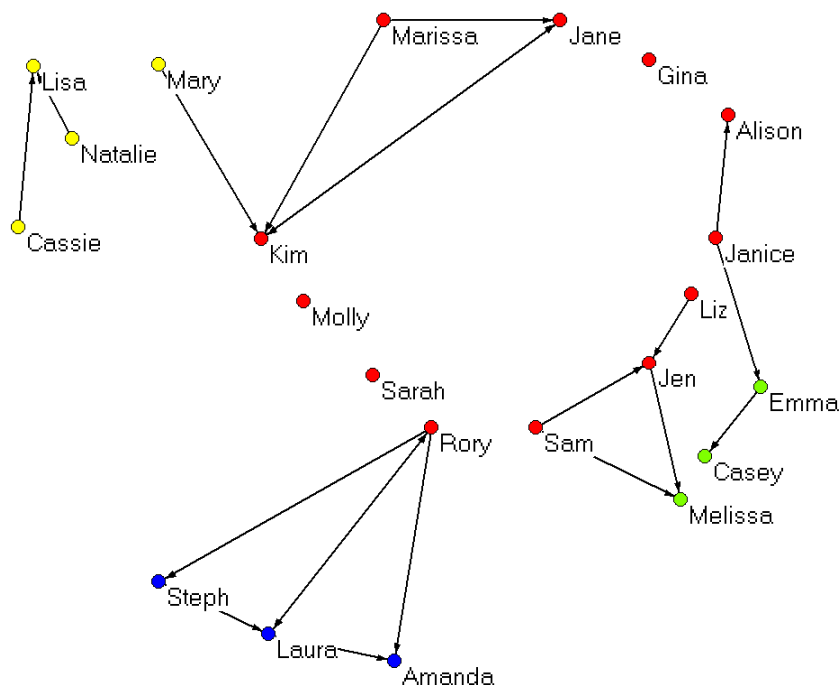
Graph #1:



My data consists of two networks. Both networks are directed graphs because they represent directional relations of beauty advice. Each respondent in the networks is a node and the arrows represent the direction of advice seeking for beauty advice. Several lines have an arrow on both ends, which means the tie is bidirectional so they both seek beauty advice from each other. The first network is the customs group of apartment 26, which consists of eight nodes and is depicted above in graph #1. Nancy, Elizabeth, Lauren, and Jenna live in one suite and Tara, Katharine, Jackie, and Cathie live in another suite in the same apartment. The network contains 12 ties and has a density of .21, which is the proportion of present ties to the maximum possible ties in the graph.

Jenna is a true isolate, which are nodes that cannot be reached by any nodes, because when asked who she goes to for beauty advice she said no one and nobody goes to her for beauty advice. There is also a bidirectional tie between Tara and Lauren and Lauren and Elizabeth.

Graph #2:



The next network is depicted in graph #2 and displays a network with four subgroups. First, I interviewed a subset of the field hockey team, represented as nodes colored yellow. This subgroup contains only 7 ties and has a density of .05. Jen and Sam are the only nodes in this subgroup that are roommates, and they also used to live with Liz their sophomore year. Also, the graph contains numerous isolates, but they are not

true isolates because they did give a name of a person whom they seek beauty advice. They are only considered isolates in this network because their influentials were not interviewed due to time constraints. For example, Gina, Molly, and Sarah chose their roommates as people they go to for beauty advice, but their roommates are not on the field hockey team. When I interviewed the field hockey team each individual gave me the names of people they go to for beauty advice. The majority of these names were not on the team and I chose to trace three of the networks outside of the field hockey team.

During the interview with Rory, she said she goes to her roommates for beauty advice, so I interviewed a subset of her customs group. Rory is a freshman and lives in apartment 46, which is represented in the nodes colored purple on the graph. This subgroup has 8 ties with a density of .67 and contains numerous bidirectional ties. Although Rory, Amanda, Steph, and Laura all live in apartment 46, Amanda, Steph, and Laura are located in one suite on the second floor and Rory lives on the first floor of the apartment in another suite.

When I interviewed Sam and Jen on the field hockey team, they both discussed Melissa, a friend in their apartment, as a knowledgeable source of beauty information. Thus, I expanded this network by interviewing a subset of the women who live in apartment 19, which is an apartment with all seniors and depicted in nodes colored green. Casey, Emma, and Melissa are roommates in one suite and Sam and Jen are roommates in another suite on the same hall. There are four total ties in this subgroup and the density is .2.

Finally, Kim mentioned that she discusses beauty products with her friends outside of the field hockey team, such as Mary who is on the lacrosse team. From this tie, I interviewed a subset of the women's lacrosse team, which is illustrated with blue nodes on the graph. This subgroup contains 2 ties with a density of .17. Cassie and Lisa live in the same dorm, which can explain their tie. Now that I have described my data, I will explain my findings.

Findings

Main Findings

By tracking the beauty advice networks, I observe two main findings. The first is the recognition of space as a mechanism for beauty advice ties. My study asked respondents who they go to for beauty advice and why, and the majority of respondents chose individuals with whom they live. These are the people they are with when they shop for beauty products and get ready in the mornings. Thus, they buy and use beauty products in the same place, which promotes discussions and advice exchange. Though not as important as space, time is also a significant factor for the transfer of beauty advice. Emma put it nicely when she mentioned her roommate as the person she goes to for advice. She said, "Casey and I spend a lot of time talking about beauty products because we are roommates, so we are going through similar routines at similar times." The majority of roommates start their morning beauty routine or get ready for parties at the same time. When roommates have similar schedules, they use beauty products at the

same time and place. This combination allows for information to flow more frequently, which increases the chance for beauty advice.

Although the majority of respondents explained that they go to their roommates for beauty advice, there were exceptions. The ties between individuals who do not live together can be explained by friendship. If two respondents are close friends, they do not need to share the same space in order to give beauty advice. Thus, friendship can overcome the space barrier and become a bridging tie between the small local networks formed by space. I will now look more closely at the networks to display how my data supports these findings.

Hierarchy Chart:

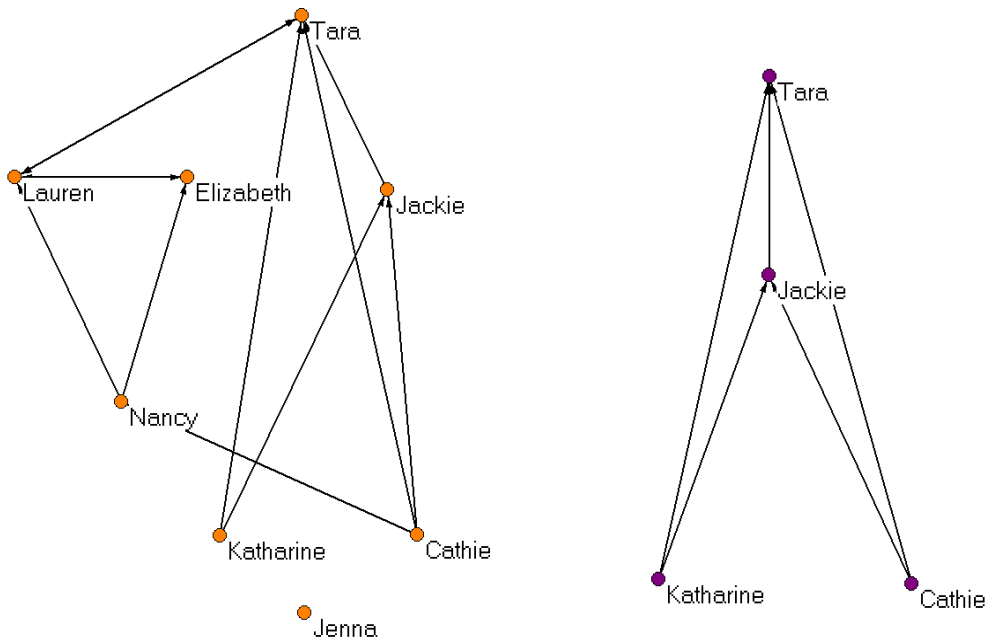
Pure Influentials: Indegrees>1, Outdegrees<1
Indegrees>Outdegrees
Indegrees=Outdegrees
Indegrees<Outdegrees
Pure Imitators: Indegrees=0, Outdegrees>1
Isolates: Indegrees=0, Outdegrees=0

In order to observe these findings in my data, I organized the subgroups into hierarchy graphs. These graphs were determined by both the number of indegrees and outdegrees, which is the number of ties terminating at a node and originating at a node. Chart #1 displays how I determined the hierarchy graphs. At the bottom of the hierarchy are nodes that are isolates, which means they have zero indegrees and outdegrees. The next level includes nodes that have zero indegrees and at least one outdegree. I

considered nodes with more indegrees than outdegrees higher in the hierarchy because indegrees show that the individual is an influential. At the top of the hierarchy graphs are pure influentials. I define an influential as a node with at least one indegree. Thus, if a node receives beauty advice from any other node, it is considered an influential, which is similar to the definition in the voting study. However, a pure influential has numerous indegrees and only a few outdegrees.

In the hierarchy graphs, I considered bidirectional ties as half a tie because they illustrate a mutual relationship with advice-seeking. The studies for the two step flow of communication ignore the existence of mutual ties in their research; however, I believe this is not advice-seeking but rather advice-sharing. For example, when I asked Steph why Laura goes to her for beauty advice, she explained, “Well, Laura and I live together so it’s easier because we are getting dressed at the same time, but actually it is more like we are sharing ideas.” Especially with roommates, it is more likely that bidirectional ties display a sharing process as opposed to advice-seeking. Many times girls will ask a friend how something looks, even if she does not view her as the most reliable source, because she is close and convenient. Thus, bidirectional ties cannot always be considered advice-seeking.

Graph #3:



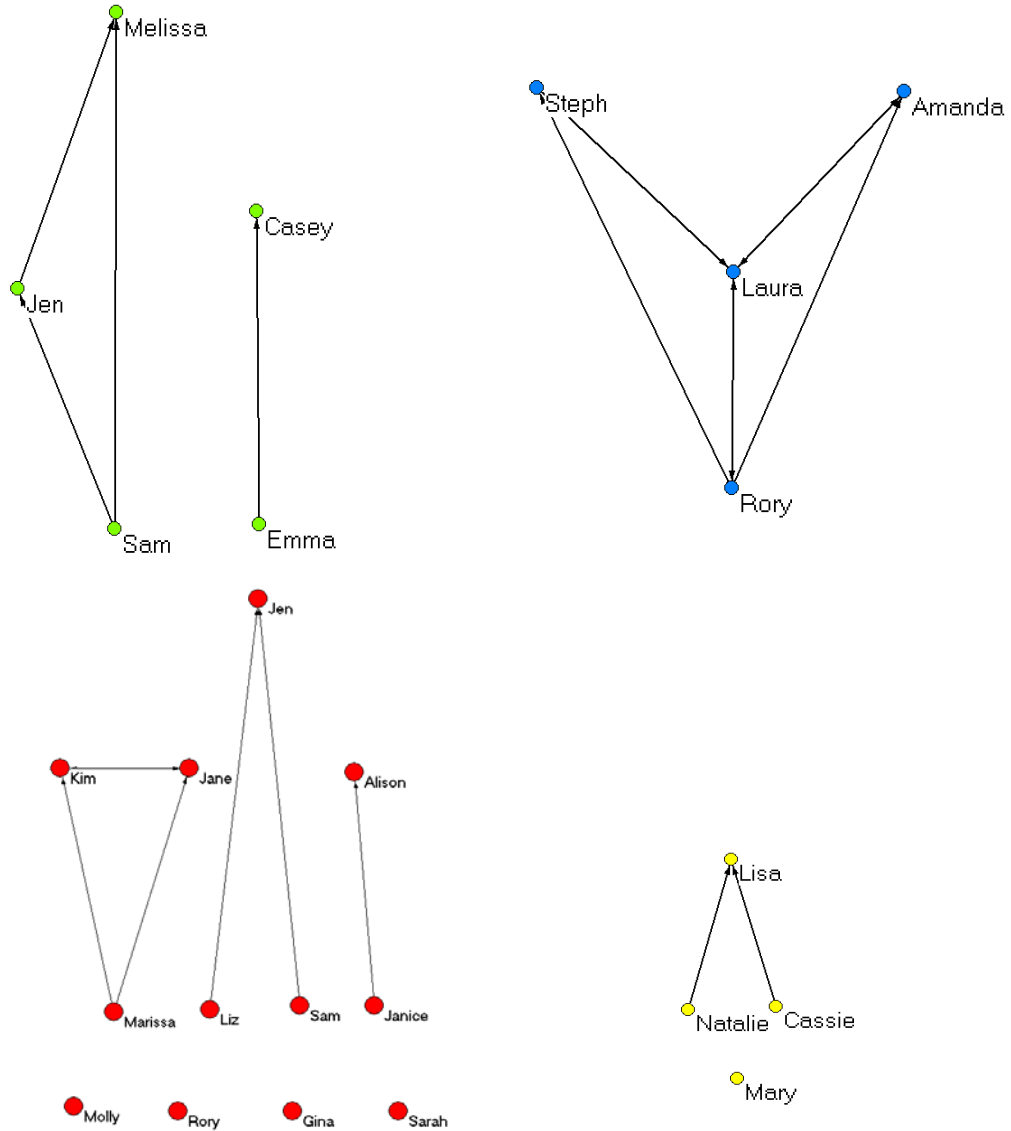
The network graph I will focus on more closely to demonstrate my findings is the hierarchy of apartment 26 on the left in graph #3. The graph illustrates Jenna at the bottom because she is an isolate, and then Katharine and Cathie at the next level because they have zero indegrees. These nodes are pure imitators because they only go to people for beauty advice and nobody comes to them. Tara is at the top of this hierarchy because she has 3.5 indegrees. Her half-indegree comes from a bidirectional tie with Lauren. In this network, other than Jenna who is an isolate, Elizabeth and Nancy are the only nodes that do not go to Tara. This can be explained by space. Although they are all in the same apartment building, Nancy and Elizabeth are in a different apartment than Tara. Thus, Elizabeth and Nancy do not have a tie with Tara because they do not share living space

with her. The relationship between Elizabeth, Nancy, and Tara displays the importance of space in the process of beauty advice because the living situation in this network correlates with the beauty ties. However, there is still a tie between Lauren and Tara even though they do not live in the same apartment building. This can be explained by their friendship. During their interviews, they both explained that they go to each other for beauty advice because they are very close friends. Cathie and Nancy are also an example of close friends that have a beauty advice tie even though they are not in the same apartment. Thus, friendship penetrates the space barrier and bridges a tie between the two small local apartment networks within the larger network. Another interesting phenomenon is how one person goes to numerous people for beauty advice. Although my data does not address how this trend occurs, I speculate that this takes place because people turn to multiple friends for different kinds of beauty advice. For example, Cathie has three outdegrees which could possibly represent the sources of three different kinds of beauty knowledge. She might seek advice from one friend for hair, one for skincare, and another for makeup. While I did not inquire further, future research could address this trend.

I will now look more closely at one apartment in this subgroup. The network on the right in graph #3 depicts the hierarchy of one apartment in building 26. The image depicts how this apartment is an ideal example of influentials, transitionals, and imitators. Tara is at the top with three indegrees from all the other actors in this small, local network. Jackie is a transitional because she goes to Tara for beauty advice, but Katharine and Cathie come to her for advice. Lastly, Katharine and Cathie are imitators

because they only receive advice and do not give beauty advice. This smaller network is an excellent example of how space creates beauty advice ties.

Graph #4



The next graph displays the hierarchy graphs of the four subgroups within the second network. Although the apartment 26 network displays my findings, these hierarchy graphs also help to support my claims. First, the majority of the ties in these subgroups are between roommates. Examples of respondents who chose their roommates as beauty advisors are Cassie and Lisa; Sam and Jen; Emma and Casey; and Laura, Amanda, and Steph. Similar to the findings in apartment 26, space is significant for explaining the existence of ties, but space also helps to explain the absence of a tie. For example, Melissa is at the top of the hierarchy of apartment 19 with two indegrees and zero outdegrees. Casey and Emma live in the same suite with Melissa but they do not go to Melissa for beauty advice. This occurs because Casey and Emma are in the same suite as Melissa, but they are not in the same room. Casey and Emma have a double across from Melissa who has a single, which could explain why they did not choose Melissa as a person they go to for beauty advice. In the case of Melissa, Casey, and Emma, space can explain both the presence and absence of a beauty advice tie.

The four subgroups also display the role of friendship in bridging the small networks. Jen and Sam live in the same apartment building as Melissa and chose her as the person they go to for beauty advice. However, Jen and Melissa are located in a different suite on the same hall. Even though they are separated by space, they chose Melissa because of their close friendship with her. Both Jen and Sam explained in their interviews that they have been close friends with Melissa throughout college. Another example of friendship bridging ties occurs on the field hockey team. Even though Marissa does not live with Jane and Kim, she is close friends with them as a result of

being teammates and goes to them for beauty advice. Similar to apartment 26, the second network also demonstrates how friendship ties can break the space barriers and bridge the small, local networks together.

Knowledge

While space and friendship are important mechanisms, knowledge is a significant factor in the process of exchanging beauty advice. My study recognizes the existence of two different types of knowledge: theoretical and practical. Theoretical knowledge is the understanding of what looks are popular, and practical knowledge is having the ability to apply the trends. Individuals are influential because people believe they know how to use products. When asked why Jen goes to Melissa for beauty advice she explained, “I go to Melissa for hair stuff because she has crazy curly hair and so do I, and she knows how to make it work.” Jen recognizes Melissa’s knowledge on hair through seeing her hair look nice even though it is a difficult, curly texture. She also seeks advice from Melissa because they have similar hair. Thus, when respondents have beauty problems, they seek advice from individuals who have similar problems and have come up with solutions.

Influentials find solutions to their beauty problems and gain theoretical knowledge by looking to the media. Influentials are seeking the answers to their beauty questions through the media with television, magazines, and the internet, which is recognized in both sociological and advertising literature. For example, Jen, the

influential at the top of the hierarchy in the field hockey subgroup, explained that she regularly reads beauty/fashion magazines, such as *In Style*, *Self*, *Glamour*, *Shape*, and *Cosmopolitan*. All of these magazines include beauty sections with tips on what products to use and how to use them. Tara, the influential at the top of the hierarchy in apartment 26, did not read magazines regularly, but did explain that she watches television shows that give beauty advice, such as *What Not to Wear*, *Shear Genius*, and *Project Runway*.

While print and television are media sources for gaining beauty knowledge, it is more difficult to receive answers to specific beauty questions. This means that influentials are also using the internet. Both Melissa and Lisa are influentials at the top of the hierarchy graphs in their networks who explained how they use the website youtube.com to gain answers to their beauty questions. Youtube.com is a website where people can post and share videos on any topic. Melissa described how she first used youtube.com when she needed advice on how to cut her bangs. She then glanced at the section on the page that says “Related videos” and started browsing. She now uses youtube.com to answer all of her hair questions. Some of the videos are posted by random people while other videos come from magazines, such as *In Style*’s “How to do smokey eyes (a dramatic evening makeup look)” video. There are also posts from everyday people using makeup from a specific company, such as L’Oreal’s smokey eye kit. While the *In Style* youtube video was posted by the magazine, the L’Oreal “smokey eye” video was posted by an everyday person using the product.

Lisa, the influential of the women's lacrosse team, uses youtube.com to figure out how to do different makeup looks, such as smokey eyes. Under each youtube.com video, the website illustrates how many views each video received. There is a beauty video for cutting bangs that has 253,000 views and a smokey eye video that has 1.9 million views. This means that youtube.com clearly serves as an outlet that women use to find answers to their beauty questions. In my study, the influentials were the individuals who seek out these spaces because they are independent and good with technology.

Qualities of Influentials

Jen, Tara, Melissa, Steph, and Amanda are all influentials at the top of the hierarchy in their subgroups. My findings look more closely at the influentials at the top of the hierarchies because they are more pure influentials as they have fewer outdegrees and the most number of indegrees in their network according to my scaling. By looking at the pure influentials, I will now address the similarities and differences between them. When asked where they buy their beauty products, there was a variety of answers from the influentials. Melissa, Steph, and Lisa gave the name of pharmacies, while Jen, Amanda, and Tara gave the name of pharmacies and more expensive department stores. Therefore, the influentials do not have to be wearing expensive brands to be viewed as knowledgeable on the subject. When asked why people come to them for beauty advice, Lisa, Steph, and Tara explained that it is because of proximity. Melissa said that Emma comes to her because Emma doesn't have that much experience with makeup and Jen comes to her because they have similar hair textures. Jen said, "I have basic style and

makeup, but I do it with confidence so it seems like someone could emulate it easily. Also, in terms of field hockey I am a captain and viewed as an older-sister figure.” The data shows that there are numerous differences among influentials, which can be explained by the various reasons why someone seeks beauty advice from an individual. This can be displayed in the answers of why people go to them for beauty advice, which are proximity, similarities in hairstyle, age, and confidence.

Although there were numerous differences, there were two similarities between all the influentials in my study, and those are budget and length of beauty routine. The six pure influentials all said that their monthly budget on beauty products is 100 to 200 dollars. Therefore, even though they are buying their products at pharmacies, they are buying numerous products, which display their interest in beauty. Another similarity between the influentials was that they all spent 20-40 minutes a day on their beauty routine, which includes hair and makeup. This again emphasizes their dedication to beauty and shows that they invest a lot of time into their beauty routine. Katz and Lazarsfeld also observed this finding in Personal Influence. They found that fashion leaders are interested in the topic, which my results display as well.

Self-Recognition of Influentials

In the voting study, researchers measured the influential by asking if people ask them for advice, which means that influentials were defined based on their self-recognition. Even though my study defined influentials differently, all of the influentials in my study were aware that they do give beauty advice to people. I know this because I

asked them, who comes to them for beauty advice if anyone, and they all gave me several names. However, the names that the influentials gave me for the people that come to them for beauty advice did not always match the imitators' responses. For example, Melissa said that Emma comes to her for beauty advice, but Emma only gave me Casey's name when asked who she goes to for beauty advice. I speculate two explanations for this phenomenon. One reason could be that Emma does not consider Melissa a reliable source of beauty information, even though she does approach her with beauty questions. Another explanation could be that Emma did not think of Melissa's name, even though she does think of her as an influential. Regardless of these few inconsistencies of matching responses, it is clear that the influentials are aware of their power to influence on some level because they all recognized that people come to them for beauty advice.

Imitators

The two step flow of communication studies did not address the accuracy of the self-recognition with influentials, and they also focus more on influentials instead of imitators. Although an imitator is technically any node that has an outdegree, which is a tie that originates from a node, I observe pure imitators as nodes that have outdegrees and zero indegrees. This means that the imitators are seeking beauty advice from an individual, but nobody comes to them for beauty advice. In my network, examples of imitators are Cathie and Katharine from apartment 26, Janice, Liz, and Marissa from the

field hockey team, Sam from the field hockey team and apartment 19, and Cassie and Natalie from the women's lacrosse team.

These respondents had similar answers to certain questions in my interview. For example, all of them explained that their beauty routine is very simple. They either do not wear makeup, or just put it on when their friends do it for them. This behavior shows that they do not have an interest in beauty unless their friends are involved. I am also able to conclude that some of the pure imitators in my study are not interested in the topic of beauty products because they responded that they do not read any information on beauty products in the media. However, there were exceptions such as Sam, who explained that she reads beauty/fashion magazines regularly and watches television shows that give beauty/fashion advice. Regardless, two similarities between imitators are that they do not spend a lot of money on beauty products, and they recognize that they are imitators. Janice and Katharine both explained that nobody comes to them for beauty advice, while Cassie and Natalie said that sometimes the girls they live with will ask if something looks good. Natalie said, "People ask me more for reassurance than what should I wear kind of thing." This means that she is aware that girls come to her with questions more out of convenience; therefore, she is aware of her imitator status.

Janice, Katharine, Natalie, Marissa, Sam, Liz, and Cassie are all the pure imitators and have many similar characteristics when it comes to beauty products, but the most significant similarity is their lack of interest and knowledge on the subject. These respondents made it clear that they do not talk about beauty products, but when they do

have beauty questions, why do they go to friends and not youtube.com? First, these imitators rarely have beauty questions. However, when they do, they need their friends to apply the look for them. This means that they not only need theoretical knowledge of what is currently popular, but they also need practical knowledge of how to apply the look. For example, Cassie told me that Lisa will put makeup on her when there is a big party. Therefore, Cassie could go on youtube.com and figure out what she needs to do, but she does not even have the basic beauty skills to apply these youtube lessons. Cassie also might prefer to have the encouragement and reassurance of her friend when trying something new. She needs a friend to apply it for her, so she gets her beauty advice and application in one process. Also, a lot of people do not rely on the internet as an everyday resource so they do not think of such technologies when they need beauty advice. Instead, they think of asking a friend.

Transitionals

While the role of imitators is rarely addressed in the literature, the transitional has never been examined. I define an influential as anyone who was chosen by someone as a person they go to for beauty advice. An imitator is anyone who goes to someone for beauty advice. With my definitions, a transitional is a node that has at least one indegree and one outdegree. However, because I defined the bidirectional ties as .5, if a node only has one indegree, and it is bidirectional, then they cannot play both roles because their number of indegrees is less than one. For example, Rory in apartment 46 has 2.5 outdegrees and .5 indegrees; this means that she cannot be considered a transitional. Yet

Laura in apartment 46 has three bidirectional ties worth .5 that add up to 1.5, so she can play both roles.

Regardless of my scaling, there still exist numerous nodes that are transitionals, such as Jackie, Elizabeth, Emma, Lauren, Jen, and Laura. Jen is a special case because she is the pure influential in one group and an imitator in another subgroup, as opposed to playing both roles within one network. Through my study, I conclude that there are factors that contribute to this ability to take on both roles, which I will examine through my six examples. Unlike the imitators, these respondents explained that they have an interest in beauty. They are spending a significant amount of time getting ready in the morning, and they spend 50-150 dollars on beauty products each month.

One factor that affects the transitionals' ability to be both imitators and influentials is their relationship with the media. For example, Jen is an avid magazine reader, but she does not use the internet as a source for beauty information. Therefore, she is able to extract beauty information from magazines that allows her to play an influential role on the field hockey team. She cannot, however, answer all questions with magazines, so she gains beauty information from internet enthusiasts such as Melissa. Melissa aids Jen's influential status because Jen now knows what to do with her hair and makeup. She uses Melissa's advice which makes her look composed and influences people to approach her for beauty advice. Lauren also reads magazines regularly to get the newest looks, but she is unable to get all her beauty information there so she goes to Elizabeth and Tara for advice.

Another important factor is the transitional's realm of knowledge. As I discussed with the imitators, there is a difference between theoretical knowledge and practical knowledge. Theoretical knowledge is knowing what looks are popular, and practical knowledge is how to apply the popular looks. These transitionals have both theoretical knowledge and practical knowledge. They are utilizing beauty media like the internet, magazines, or television so they know which styles are popular. In addition, these women have an interest in beauty products, which means that they have practical knowledge and can apply basic looks. However, they do not have practical knowledge when it comes to every aspect of beauty. For example, Jen knows how to apply makeup looks but she is not able to do her own hair. This is where she approaches Melissa to apply the hair looks for her. The transitionals have theoretical knowledge and different realms of practical knowledge; they approach their friends for help in the areas of beauty in which they have less expertise on applying the look.

Conclusion

I traced two beauty advice networks at Haverford College by collecting data from 30 women. There are two main findings from my data regarding space and friendship. The first is the significance of space on the formation of beauty ties. Space is a mechanism that not only explains the existence of ties, but also helps to explain the absence of beauty advice ties in my network. This means that my beauty advice networks are local networks structured by space. Nevertheless, there are ties that penetrate this space barrier which can be explained by friendship. When two individuals

are friends, they will give each other beauty advice regardless of their proximity. This means that friendship overcomes these space barriers and bridges ties between the local networks.

In addition, my study is innovative to the field because it acknowledges that an individual can be both an influential and an imitator. I observe this transition through multiple respondents and find factors that contribute to the transitional role, such as media. Media is significant because transitionals have an interest in beauty and have contact with beauty media. However, they do not use every form of media, so they go to their friends for missing information. Another factor is their realm of knowledge. The transitionals have theoretical knowledge and practical knowledge, but they are not experts in every area of beauty, so they turn to friends for practical knowledge in the areas where they lack expertise.

This research is important because it addresses transitionals, which is a concept that has never been studied. My study confirms the two step flow of communication because it shows that influentials gain their knowledge from the media and then spread this information to their friends. The study is also significant because it gives us further insight into WOMM from the advertising perspective. With this knowledge, marketers can target the influentials so that their products can be spread throughout the network with techniques such as product seeding. Another interesting observation from my study is how college women are using youtube.com as a source for beauty information.

Advertisers should use this forum to place “how-to” videos using their products so that they can reach the internet-savvy influentials.

My study has made numerous contributions to the field of sociology, but it has limitations. I interviewed 30 women from a small, liberal arts college. This is a small sample, so I am unable to generalize my findings to the entire population. As mentioned previously in the Methodology/Data section, my sample was from a prestigious college that focuses more on academics as opposed to a social scene. A large university known for partying would have different data and also more examples because more women discuss beauty. I also only looked at women because I was observing beauty advice-seeking, which made it difficult to look at men. Although the exclusive interviewing of women fits my study, it makes it difficult to apply my findings to other topics such as music and politics because men use media differently and can influence each other in different ways than women. In addition, my study cannot transcend age groups. Other age groups could have different relationships with media because they do not rely on the internet as much as this generation. Another limitation I faced was my inability to explain certain trends in my data that went beyond my methodology. For example, Cathie was a node that chose three people that she goes to for beauty advice. It would be interesting to observe why Cathie goes to three different people for advice on the same topic.

Although my study has numerous limitations, it has made contributions to the field by observing the existence of a transitional in beauty advice networks. I believe this

research has set the stage for future research on the topic. For example, researchers can study the phenomenon of individuals going to multiple people for advice on the same topic, or they can look into the accuracy of self-recognition with influentials. In addition, new research will be able to look at a larger population and observe other factors that contribute to the role of transitionals.

Bibliography

2008. "BabyCenter: New Word of Mouth Research Finds Moms Buzzing About Brands." *Women's Health Weekly*: 406.
- Beck, Jonathan. 2007. "The sales effect of word of mouth: a model for creative goods and estimates for novels." Springer Science + Business Media B.V.
- Brown, Jacqueline Johnson and Peter Reingen. 1987. "Social Ties and Word-of-Mouth Referral Behavior." *The Journal of Consumer Research* 14: 350-362.
- Budgean, Shelly and Dawn H. Currie. 1995. "From Feminism to Postfeminism; Women's Liberation in Fashion Magazines." *Women's Studies International Forum* 18: 173-186.
- Creamer, Matthew. 2006. "Word of Mouth gaining respect of Marketers." *Advertising Age*: 3-4.
- , 2005. "Study: Go Traditional to influence influencers." *Advertising Age* 7: 8.
- Dellinger, Kirsten and Christine L. Williams. 1997. "Makeup at Work: Negotiating Appearance Rules in the Workplace." *Gender and Society* 11: 151-177.
- Ebenkamp, Becky. 2008. "The Post-Soccer Mom." *Brandweek* 23: 22-26.

1999. "Generation Y." *Businessweek*: cover story.
2008. Garrett, Alexander. "Crash Course in...Word-of-Mouth Marketing." *Management Today*: 24.
- "Generational Differences in Online Activities." 2009. <
<http://www.pewinternet.org/Reports/2009/Generations-Online-in-2009/Generational-Differences-in-Online-Activities/5-Video-downloads-are-now-enjoyed-more-equally-by-young-and-old.aspx?r=1>> (March 2, 2009).
- "Glamour Girl." <<http://www.glamourgirltips.com/2008/11/headband-over-bangstrend.html>> (April 10, 2009).
- Godin, Seth. 1999. Permission Marketing. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Granovetter, Mark S. 1973. "The Strength of Weak Ties." *The American Journal of Sociology* 78: 1360-1380.
- "Haverford College." < <http://www.haverford.edu/>> (February 1, 2009).
- "Haverford College Campus Map."
<<http://www.haverford.edu/hcweb/campusmap2.htm>> (April 10, 2009).
- Horrigan, John. "Expert Opinions." 2007.

- <<http://www.pewinternet.org/Commentary/2007/November/Expert-Opinions.aspx>> (April 15, 2009).
- Katz, Elihu and Paul F. Lazarsfeld. 1955. Personal Influence: The Part Played by People in the Flow of Mass Communications. New York: Free Press.
- , 1957. "The Two-Step Flow of Communication: An Up-To-Date Report on an Hypothesis." *The Public Opinion Quarterly* 21: 61-78.
- , 1987. "Communications Research since Lazarsfeld." *The Public Opinion Quarterly* 51: S25-S45.
- Keller, Ed. 2006. "Word-of-Mouth: the real action is offline." *Advertising Age*: 20.
- Keller, Ed and Jon Berry. 2003. The Influentials. New York: The Free Press.
- Kvale, Steinar and Svend Brinkmann. 2009. Interviews: Learning the Craft of Qualitative Research Interviewing. Los Angeles: Sage Publication Inc.
- Labre, Magdala Peixoto and Kim Walsh-Childers. 2003. "Friendly Advice? Beauty Messages in Web Sites of Teen Magazines." *Mass Communication & Society* 6: 379-396.
- Lazarsfeld, Paul K., Bernard Berelson, and Hazel Gaudet. 1968. The People's Choice:

- How the Voters Make up his mind in a Presidential Campaign. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Lizardo, Omar. 2006. "How Cultural tastes Shape Personal Networks." *American Sociological Review* 71: 778-807.
- Marsden, Peter V. 1990. "Network Data and Measurement." *Annual Review Sociology* 16: 435-463.
- McFarland, Daniel and Heili Pals. 2005. "Motives and Contexts of Identity Change: A Case for Network Effects." *Social Psychology Quarterly* 68: 289-315.
- McPherson, Miller, Lynn Smith-Lovin, and James M. Cook. 2001. "Birds of a Feather: Homophily in Social Networks." *Annual Review of Sociology* 27: 415-444.
- Moore, G. 1990. "Structural Determinants of Men's and Women's Personal Networks." *American Sociological Review* 55: 726-735.
- Peiss, Kathy. 1990. "Making Faces: The Cosmetic Industry and the Cultural Construction of Gender, 1890-1930." *Genders* 7: 143-169.
- Rosen, Emanuel. 2000. The Anatomy of Buzz: How to Create Word-of-Mouth Marketing. New York: Doubleday.
- Tarde, Gabriel. 1903. The Laws of Imitation. New York: Henry Holt and Company.

- Warren, Carol A. B. and Tracy X. Karner. 2005. Discovering Qualitative Methods: Field Research, Interviews, and Analysis. Los Angeles: Roxbury Publishing Company.
- Wasserman, Stanley and Katherine Faust. 1994. Social Network Analysis: Methods and Applications. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Watts, Duncan J. 2007. "Influentials, Networks, and Public Opinion Formation." *Journal of Consumer Research* 34: 441-458.
- Watts, Duncan J. 2004. "The 'New' Science of Networks." *Annual Review Sociology* 30: 243-270.
- Weimann, Gabriel. 1982. "On the Importance of Marginality: One More Step into the Two-Step Flow of Communication." *American Sociological Review* 47: 764-773.
- Wejnert, Barbara. 2002. "Integrating Models of Diffusion of Innovations: A Conceptual Framework." *Annual Review of Sociology* 28: 297-326.
- Westley, Bruce. 1971. "Communication and social change." *American Behavioral Scientist* 14: 719-742.
- "Word of Mouth Marketing Association." <<http://womma.org>> (November 5, 2008).

Appendix

Appendix A

Interview Template:

My study: My study is about college students and their beauty products and I really think you could help me. Do you mind if I tape record this interview? It is just for me to have. If at any point you feel uncomfortable, feel free to turn it off.

Date/Time:

Location:

Name:

Age:

Gender:

Dorm:

Clubs:

Sports:

Race:

1. Where have you spent the majority of your childhood?
2. Are you from a big city or a small town?
3. Do you have a car on campus?
4. About how much money do you spend a month on beauty products?
5. What activities do you do in your leisure time?
6. Do you have more than one group of friends at college? How many?
7. How did you meet these friends? Customs? Sports? Classes? Clubs?
8. How has your group of college friends changed since you have been here?
9. Which group of friends, if any, are you with when you go shopping for beauty products?

10. Do you talk about beauty products with all of your different groups of friends? If not, then with which groups?
11. If you got to parties, who do you get ready with when you go to parties?
12. Would you say your self-esteem is higher in some groups of friends in college than others? If so, which groups?
13. Have you done any of the following in the past year:
 - a. Worked for a company that sells beauty products
 - b. Read fashion/beauty magazines on a regular basis
 - c. Watch television shows giving beauty/fashion advice ex. What not to wear, Shear Genius, or Project Runway
14. Who among your group of college friends do you think has the best style(in each group)?
15. What is your beauty routine? Do you wear makeup every day? What do you do with your hair when you get out of the shower? How long does it take?
16. Have you adopted a new look in terms of hair or makeup since you have been at college?
17. Did your friends play any role in this change?
18. If so, why did you change these things? When did you change these things?
19. Have any of your friends adopted a new look in terms of hair or makeup since you have been at college? If so, which group of friends is this individual in?
20. Did you play any role in this change?
21. Where do you buy your products? Who are you with? Which group of friends are these people in?
22. Among your close college friends, who are the people you give beauty advice to? Which group of friends are these friends in? ex. Sports team, Customs group, or Club.

23. If so, where do you get this information? Online? Magazines? From other friends?

24. Among your close college friends, who do you go to for beauty advice? Which group of friends are these friends in? ex. Sports team, Customs group, or Club.

Please give me the names of your friends in each group of friends. Ex. Sports Team: Laura Smith, Sarah Johnson, and Katie Goldstein.

Appendix B

Density Chart:

This chart illustrates the number of ties within each subgroup. Apartment 26 has the most ties while the Women's Lacrosse team has the least number of ties. The chart also displays the density in the subgroups. Density is the proportion of present ties to the maximum possible ties in the graph. Apartment 46 has the highest density and the field hockey team has the lowest density.

	Density	Number of Ties
Apartment 26	.21	12
Field Hockey	.05	7
Apartment 19	.2	4
Apartment 46	.67	8
Women's Lacrosse	.17	2

Appendix C

This is a map of Haverford College. The apartments are number 11 on the map. Number nine is Gummere Hall and Barclay hall is located at number 19.



36

³⁶ “Haverford College Campus Map.”

<<http://www.haverford.edu/hcweb/campusmap2.htm>> (April 10, 2009).