The impact of advertisements: How female magazine readers in China perceive fashion

magazine advertisements and white skin

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Abstract

Most of the models in Chinese fashion magazine advertisements are Caucasian women today. White skin, as one of their Caucasian characteristics, is particularly emphasized. Millions of Chinese women are bombarded with the advertising's message of "having white skin is beautiful" every day. My research suggests that this kind of adverting depicts white skin as a beauty ideal; the prevalence of Caucasian models in whitening products' magazine advertisements constructs body-esteem, self-esteem, and purchase decision-making of Chinese women. The Social Judgment Theory is employed in this research as a theoretical framework. It is a way to explain when persuasive messages are most likely to succeed and how people make judgments about them. Understanding this phenomenon will ultimately provide insight into addressing the effects of the promotion of fashion magazine advertisements on Chinese women. It is further anticipated that future researchers will expand and improve the knowledge of the Chinese advertising market.

Keywords: white skin, body-esteem, self-esteem, Social Judgment Theory, magazine advertisements, impact of advertisements

Table of Contents

List of Tables	iv
Chapter 1 – Introduction	1
Chapter 2 – Literature Review	7
Body Image Issue and Media Effects on Body Image Perceptions	7
Advertising Effects and China's Advertising Industry	13
Beauty in Chinese Context	18
Theoretical Framework	20
Chapter 3 – Method	29
Study Procedure	29
Respondents	30
Measures	31
Chapter 4 – Survey Results	37
Chapter 5 – Discussion	51
Theoretical and Practical Implications	61
Limitations and Future Research	67
Chapter 6 – Conclusion	69
References	71
Appendix A: Questionnaire	89

List of Tables

1.1. Composite Means and Standard Deviations in Predicting Perception of Ads	39
2.1. Perception of Ads and Body-/Self-Esteem	42
2.2. Perception of Ads in Predicting Self-Esteem	43
2.3. Body-Esteem and Self-Esteem	44
3.1. Perception of Ads and Self-Esteem in Predicting Brand Attitudes	45
3.2. Perception of Ads and Self-Esteem in Predicting Purchase Intentions	46
4.1. Self-Presentation and Sensation-Seeking Level in predicting Perception of Ads	47
4.2. Self-Presentation and Sensation-Seeking Level in predicting Brand Attitudes	48
4.3. Self-Presentation and Sensation-Seeking Level in predicting Purchase Intentions	49
5.1. Demographic Factors in predicting Brand Attitudes and Purchase Intentions	50

Chapter 1 - Introduction

As an information dissemination tool and a visible carrier of communication, advertising exerts a strong influence on consumers' purchasing power. In particular fashion magazine advertisement impacts female readers' perception of physical attractiveness and their use of skin-whitening products. Physical attractiveness is emphasized in women's daily experiences under "cultural, societal, familial, and peer pressure to pursue physical beauty" (Zhang, 2012, p.445). Physical attractiveness is quite prominent due to its coverage and emphasis in media (Dillard, 2006). The increase in foreign advertisements and products in Chinese fashion magazines has impacted Chinese women's perceptions of attractiveness. One aspect of Western culture that has been introduced into China is body image. Caucasian features are seen as attractive in Asian countries. Being white is desirable in many Asian countries, including China. A relentless bombardment of magazine advertisement depicts white skin as a beauty ideal for Chinese women (Lah, 2011; Youn, 2013). China's mass media and advertisers cater to these phenomena and take advantage of the trend, so there is more demand for these products.

Chinese women's engagement with cosmetics has been shaped by both the specificities of local contexts and market imperatives of globalization. A new Chinese gender regime, where women desire and pursue a "beauty-based femininity" and a consumption-oriented lifestyle, was formed (Hopkins, 2007). Beauty and physical attractiveness are the "currency" and "gold standard" for women in the country, where a patriarchal belief system still dominates (Wolf,

1991). Xu and Feiner (2007) suggested that Chinese women today are expected to possess traditional Chinese virtues, such as being submissive and nurturing, along with physical beauty according to a Caucasian standard: "The attempts of Chinese women to refashion themselves in terms of Western beauty standards represents a transformation of the communist ideal of woman as producer into the neo-liberal image of woman as consumer" (Xu & Feiner, 2007, p. 310). Neo-liberalism, as an economic thought, actively advocates "overall Westernization". According to Chan (2016), women who have white skin and look like Westerners are more desired in society, which is attributed to a profound Western influence in the country.

Some scholars argue that the idea of beauty economy seems to become imitating model and pursuing life patterns of women in the spread of globalization and xenophilia within China (Luther, McMahan, & Shoop 2009; Nielson, Reel, Galli, Crookston, & Miyairi 2013; Sepúlvedal and Calado 2012). According to the National Bureau of Statistics of China (NBS), the retail sales of cosmetics reached 162.5 billion yuan (estimated 24.7 billion U.S. dollars). This growth has been around 13.3% since 2013 when China became one of the largest and fastest growing cosmetics markets in the world. Skin care and hair care products took up over half of the market share in 2012, and foreign cosmetics remained the mainstream in Chinese cosmetic market (Fung Business Intelligence Center, 2014). To illustrate this idea, it should be admitted that in the top-10 list of beauty and personal care brands that are popular in China, the majority are U.S. companies, and only Jahwa is Shanghai-based.

The popularity of foreign brands can be attributed to the fact that until 1978, China had been sealed off from the rest of the world. Since then, there have been tremendous changes in the country. An important change involves Chinese engagement with the world that results from the rise of the so-called "beauty economy" and transformations in the image of Chinese women. Beauty economy is a kind of economic activity centering on beautiful females who are seen as the creation of economy. Beauty contests are no longer "a symbol of bourgeois decadence" to the average Chinese resident (Watts, 2003, p. 15). The booming of beauty industries in China fuels the rapid growth of the local beauty industries and leads to social concerns about this new cultural focus on attractive physical appearance.

The previous study of Wang (2016) involving content analysis illuminates how magazine advertising constructs beauty ideal for readers across cultures. This study described what beauty advertisements were communicating to magazine readers, and how they persuaded the public. It compared advertisements found in the U.S. and Chinese versions of *VOGUE* magazine. The objective of the comparison was to identify how skin tone was encoded in both countries. A total amount of 145 advertisements of various skincare and makeup products were identified, and the study found a noticeable difference between the portrayals of women in two societies. The graphic content analysis of *Vogue China* published in the period between January to October 2016 suggested that only 3% of models were Asians, while 78.6% of models used for advertising different cosmetic products had the Caucasian appearance. The immense effect of the Caucasian beauty ideal was also confirmed by survey data. The analysis of women's responses suggested

that while 83% of respondents paid much attention to their appearance, 68% of them admitted they were not confident with it. Around 77% of respondents, who did not express confidence in their appearances, were dissatisfied with their skin tone, and another 75% at least once purchased a skin-whitening product. The study suggested that white skin was a standard of beauty before the international women's magazines expanded to the country.

The findings can be explained by the existence of "the exemplary female prototype in advertising" (Cortese, 1999). The advertisers are enthusiastic about promoting a "beauty ideal" (Greer, 1999). Many Western companies adopt the strategy of integrating globalization and localization to enter the Chinese market. Cosmetic companies targeting Chinese market tend to name their products, like "Blanc Expert", "White Perfect", and "Snow UV" (Bray, 2002). The debate between standardized and localized advertising strategies has been a popular topic in the field of global advertising. A group of standardized advertising advocators, including Levitt (1983), argues that consumers in different countries are likely to have similar tastes and references, and they may be exposed to Western cultural values through the availability of new media technologies. Thus, standardized advertising is considered as an effective approach to reach various consumer groups across different countries. In turn, Schein (1993) highlights the fact that a female body sells products, which reinforces the role of feminine beauty and youth in developing consumer capitalism in China.

Noteworthy, the majority of research studies on the images of women in advertising have been conducted in the United States and Europe (Baptista 2011; Ceulemans & Fauconnier 1979;

Hunter 2007; Tiggemann 2014). The literature is, thus, likely to reflect assumptions about women that are specific to Western culture (Frith, Shaw, & Cheng, 2005). These studies provide insights into the nature of Caucasian beauty ideal and its use as an instrument of cultural, economic, and political influence.

Taking into account the dominance of American and European research, this project intends to explore Chinese magazine readers' perception of beauty under the influence of fashion advertising. Understanding the construction of beauty standards and media uses among Chinese college women can bring research one step closer to media trends, and contribute knowledge to advertising research and practice in China. Social Judgment Theory is used as a theoretical framework. According to O'Keefe (1990), the main idea underlying Social Judgment Theory is how the judgmental processes and effects shape an individual's attitude. In turn, changes in perceptions occur when the person understands a message and compares its position to one's own (O'Keefe, 1990). Social Judgment Theory offers a perspective on how the magazine readers' attitudes regarding the white skin beauty ideal are shaped by advertisements and cultural context. The advertisement of skin-whitening cosmetic products falls into Chinese women's latitude of acceptance because the fair skin ideal has been in Chinese culture for centuries. Based on the concepts of the theory, the message falling into an individual's latitude of acceptance is likely to be assimilated by him/her. It is the main reason why Chinese women prefer skin-whitening products to other types of cosmetics.

In this project, a survey was employed to understand how a group of college women in China perceives fashion magazine advertisements. A group of 300 Chinese college students responded to questions aiming to examine the effect of fashion magazines' advertisement on their perceived self- and body-image. This study will contribute to the work of other researchers by analyzing a view of advertising in the Chinese context. The objective of the presented analysis is to empower women to be proud of the appearances that they have.

Chapter 2 - Literature Review

Body Image Issue and Media Effects on Body Image Perceptions

The Education Training Research Associates Resource Center (2001) defines body image as "the mental representation of your physical self at any given point in time" (p. 1). Body image is not only how a woman perceives her own physical appearance, but also how she believes her physical appearance is perceived by others. According to Borzekowski & Bayer (2005), body image involves internal representation of the woman's outer appearance that develops in both physical and perceptual dimensions.

Body image issue is becoming an urgent problem, and a series of evidence has shown that women suffer from body image dissatisfaction (Anderson-Fye, 2004; Becker, 2004; Jung, Forbes, & Lee, 2009). Negative body image can be understood as body dissatisfaction, a condition in which women extract no satisfaction from their actual physical appearances (Kovar, 2009). Longitudinal studies confirm that body dissatisfaction may cause "negative self-perception, negative emotional states, and unhealthy body-related behaviors" (Dittmar, 2009, p. 2). For instance, Becker (2004) found that overvaluation of thinness could stimulate youth to reshape their bodies and pursue a thinner body size. According to Baumeister et al. (2003), there is a need to challenge negative body-image that decreases global self-esteem - the evaluative component of self-knowledge. Generally, high self-esteem refers to favorable global evaluations of self, while low self-esteem results in unfavorable evaluations.

Body image has been communicated in all ages and to women across cultures. The images of dolls, for instance, Barbie, deliver the idea of a perfect body to young girls. The study conducted by Dittmar et al. (2006) proved that 5 to 8-year-old girls exposed to such perfect body images had low self-esteem, while their desire to be thin increased. The study of Anderson-Fye (2004) found that beauty was an important characteristic of women, and this characteristic was associated with increased risk of disorders among young women. To illustrate the validity of this assumption, it is suggested to consider the context of San Andre, where pageants are conducted and are used as a tool to promote specific beauty standards. On these pageants, women's physical appearances can be watched and evaluated. Moreover, 5 to 6-year-old girls have their own platforms to compete in beauty. It is suggested that watching these pageants has a profound impact on how women perceive their appearances. Although most women reported their ideal body size was "not too fat or too thin, just normal", the body size of beauty pageants winners appears to have reduced over time (Anderson-Fye, 2004, p. 567). The 8-year observations of various age groups of pageant participants allowed Anderson-Fye (2004) concluding that ideals of thinness shaped women's eating habits. Most participants in the study paid much attention to their body size (Anderson-Fye, 2004). The effect of ideal body promotions on women's eating habits was also confirmed by Bilukha and Utermohlen (2002). In the study of Bilukha and Utermohlen (2002), 616 urban Ukrainian women aged 18 to 60 reported body dissatisfaction and involvement in dieting practices due to internalization of the "body perfect" ideal portrayed in Western media.

Until recently, Asian women have not been a focal point of mainstream body image research. There is a common stereotypical belief that Asian women are naturally thin because of their eating habits and genetic predisposition (Kemp, 2014). Yet the existing research shows that Asian women demonstrate a stronger tendency to endorse the mainstream beauty standards, including (thinness, blond hair, blue-eyes, and fair-skin, and experience greater self-body dissatisfaction when compared to Black women in the United States (Evans & McConnell, 2003). According to a series of cross-cultural studies, Chinese college women and adolescents in Asia demonstrated higher levels of body image dissatisfaction than their American counterparts (Jung et al., 2009). A propensity for body image dissatisfaction was also found in young girls in China. Chen and Jackson (2012) pointed out that adolescents across the country reported weight concerns, dieting behaviors, body weight dissatisfaction, and eating disorders.

Most of the existing studies on body image issue examine the influence of media on promoting unrealistic images of the perfect body ideal for young women (Bissell & Rask, 2010; Harrison, 2003; Lindner, 2004). Mass media are often held partially responsible for females' desire to be ultra-thin because of the messages selling the idea (Owen & Laurel-Seller, 2000). Many women, exposed to media messages, take for granted the fact that the body size of models is becoming smaller over time (Hendriks and Burgoon, 2003; Park, 2005). U.S. Department of Health and Human Service's Office on Women's Health (2000) mentions that media shapes the image of successful women being thin and having perfect bodies, and builds associations among

their appearances, thinness, and achievements. Mass media reinforces the idea that women's beauty is a priority comparing to other success attributes.

The comparison between the body image promoted by mass media and their own appearances could have potentially negative effects on women's perception of their actual body shape, which may lead to body dissatisfaction and body image disturbance (Thompson & Heinberg, 1999). Some researchers determine that nearly 50% of girls and undergraduate female students experience body dissatisfaction (Grabe et al, 2008). The study conducted by Engeln-Maddox (2005) suggested that college women in the United States tended to compare themselves to the images of models, which led to a decreasing satisfaction with their own physical appearances. Moreover, this comparison led a greater internalization of the thin ideal, which had a negative impact on the participants' perception of their own body image. In the study of Engeln-Maddox (2005), up to 82% of participants blamed themselves for incapacity of being thin when viewing models' images. The negative effect of striving to meet unrealistic ideals is emphasized by Hofschire & Greenberg (2002), according to whom women who try to imitate the ideal models in media are changing their eating behaviors and have a chance to increase the risk of disordered eating.

Advertising affects body image directly. Women are the main target audience for advertisements and are expected to identify themselves with the promoted ideal beauty. The extent of the influence exerted by advertisement was examined by Hayes and Tantleff-Dunn (2010). The experts found that during Saturday morning kid programming, 50% of TV

advertisements aimed at girls were related to physical beauty (Hayes & Tantleff-Dunn, 2010). Over 50% of the advertisements found in teen magazines use "sexualized beauty" to sell products (Trampe et al, 2011). According to Kilbourne (2015), the average American encounters 3,000 advertisements every day, and lots of these adverts are images of idealized female beauty. Models are always tall, slim, light-skinned, and digitally altered to ever-more unrealistic proportions.

In addition to content, images of female bodies send an idealized appearance message in magazine advertisements. Mainstream magazines and advertisements are the sources of promoting ideal beauty. Women are exposed to an average of 400 to 600 idealistic beauty advertisements daily (Dittrich, 2002). The extent of exposure is attributed to the popularity of fashion magazines among the designated audience. In the study of Thompson and Heinberg (1999), 83% of teenage girls reported reading fashion magazines for about 4.3 hours each week.

The effect of idealized appearance message on women's wellbeing and self-esteem can be hardly underestimated. The findings suggest one in four people is depressed about his/her body, and one-third of women are willing to sacrifice a year of their life to achieve the promoted ideals (Swinson, 2011). Noteworthy, almost half of all surveyed girls report that the pressure of beauty ideals is the worst part of being a woman (Swinson, 2011). According to Stice et al. (1994), women who read fashion magazines and view advertisements more often would have higher levels of stress, shame, and insecurity about themselves.

Advertisements emphasize the perfect body ideal as a standard for female beauty, and this ideal tends to a constant decrease. National Eating Disorders Association (2009) admits that "20 years ago, the average model weighed 8% less than the average woman, but today's models weigh 23% less." In fact, a normal, healthy woman, ages between 18 and 34 only has a 7% chance of being as thin as a commercial model, and a 1% chance of being as thin as a supermodel (Olds, 1999). The cited evidence suggests that the ideal female body presented in advertising is neither natural nor realistic (Smith, 2013, p. 4). Halliwell and Dittmar (2004) though admit that despite all the criticism, the power of the unrealistic body image in the advertising industry is unwavering.

Advertising promotes beauty ideal that is actually unattainable (Simons et al, 2011). The exposure to advertisements of physically attractive models negatively affects women's self-esteem, and this problem is particularly pronounced among college and adolescent women (Frisby, 2004). The study of Jung (2006) suggests images depicting thin and physically attractive models have a negative effect on college women's mood and self-esteem. Monro and Huon (2005) stated that focus on physically attractive images of models in advertisements heightened college women's shame and anxiety about their bodies. It is worth mentioning that the type of product advertisement has nothing to do with the high levels of body anxiety and shame since respondents automatically focused on models, rather than the products advertised.

Advertising Effects and China's Advertising Industry

Advertising is one of the most prevalent forms of persuasion in the world (Simons et al., 2011). The term "advertisement" was first used in the *London Gazette* in 1666. The first printed advertisement in America appeared in 1704. However, advertising profession emerged in 1841, shortly after the end of the colonial period (Hayko, 2010). In contemporary society, the nature of advertising is "a process of persuading a mass audience through the mass media to buy commercial products" (O'Sullivan, 1998, pp. 107). The mechanisms of persuasion are considered below.

Persuasion is the core mission of advertising. Persuasive effects of advertising are noticeable in how the product will improve consumers' lives, in either direct or indirect way, and consumers' reactions to the advertisements (Joshi & Hanssens, 2010). The function of advertising is to persuade consumers of the benefits of the proposed products. Due to advertising, products can be known to the public easily. Therefore, both consumption and demand for the product are increasing. Advertising can also affect public attitudes towards social events, like concerts and performances. For example, charities and social organizations use mass media advertisements to raise social donations and promote campaigns.

Other advertising outcomes include brand loyalty, as well as current and carryover effects (Bendixen, 1993). Bendixen (1993) discovered that brand loyalty reflects buying inclination and repeat purchasing of people from the same brand, rather than from other suppliers. The Advertising Research Foundation (ARF) proposed that long-term effect of the advertisements

may be even stronger than initially described by the Audience Measurement Conference in New York (Neff, 2014). Products characterized by a high consumer involvement are related to current effects. According to Bendixen (1993), advertising carryover effect is an influence on business marketing practice. The benefits of advertising are not perfectly consistent with advertising movements but rather spread over time. In this way, the changes may not be noticeable immediately.

Advertising effects are connected with marketing and economic benefits, too. The International Advertising Association (IAA) suggests that advertising's main contribution to social development involves competition between companies and subsequent emergence of new products. Thus, more consumers are willing to buy products that meet their needs or wants (International Advertising Association, 2015). In addition to promoting important social messages, advertising has a subsidy role "in business to consumer marketing and enabled companies to meet communication and other marketing objectives" (Poh & Adam, 2007). The general effectiveness of advertising in markets can be measured. According to Tellis (2009), the mean elasticity of sales or market share to advertising is 0.1%. Tellis (2009) further admits that advertising elasticity is the percentage change in the market. When advertising changes by 1%, market share changes by 0.1%.

Magazine advertisements play a major role in the industry. The Association of Magazine Media (2014) announced that "magazine media deliver powerful relationships that influence, inspire, and endure" (p. 1). Magazine Publishers of America (2014) admits that readership is in a

good position, since an average gross audience for magazine brands reached 1.50 billion, hitting the previous record of 1.37 billion readers. The report covers 151 magazine media brands from 34 companies, representing 95% of the readership universe (Magazine Publishers of America, 2014). According to Hall (1997), the growing readership emphasizes the effect of advertising on creating a beauty identity.

The advertising industry, that has reached its peak in the Western world, is a relatively recent phenomenon in China (Wang, 2003). Between the Communist takeover in 1949 and implementation of the open-door policy in 1979, advertising was viewed as "evil, deceptive, and reflective of capitalism" (Zhang & Gelb, 1996). Since the adoption of the open-door policy, remarkable changes have taken place in Chinese advertising industry, and advertising began to appear in a variety of media. By the 1990s, there were about 8,000 different periodicals that contained advertising (Luo, 1995). Stross (1990) noted that Chinese government advocated for advertising to achieve economic development.

Advertising stimulated the desire to consume, converted latent desire into buying behavior, helped expand sales, encouraged workers to work harder and produce more in order to earn the money to purchase advertised products (Stross, 1990). China experienced a rapid economic growth and increase in the gross domestic product (GDP). In addition, China's advertising has become the third largest advertising market in the world since 2004. It means that China's advertising industry was to compete with the United States and Japan. According to Cheng (2009), total expenditure for the industry rose by 40%. Today, billions of U.S. dollars are spent

on mass media advertising in China aimed at enticing the burgeoning middle class to consume various products, from cars to computers. While in 2005, Chinese advertising industry's value was \$4,857.7, it increased to \$6,982.4 million in 2009 (Advertising Industry Profile: China, 2010). The Statista Portal (2014) reveals that magazine advertising's expenditure was \$1,184 billion in 2012 and is projected to increase up to \$15.2 billion in 2017.

Television advertising has the largest audience, and will probably maintain its status of the primary business medium. In 2009, 97% of television coverage created the possibility of a dominated media investment in Chinese advertising and 63% share of total expenditure (Zhang, 2011). In the next two years, the total advertising expenditure of television in China increased by 9 to 10% (Zhang, 2011). According to Statista (2016), television advertising's expenditure in China increased from \$27,821 in 2008 to nearly \$46,498 in 2015. With roughly 40% of market spending, television remains the largest single advertising medium (Yeh & Zhang, 2013). According to Wang (2015), expenditures are increasing, which makes television media the most important advertising medium.

Fashion magazines contribute to the development of Chinese advertisement market. According to Scotton & Hachten (2010), "In the first half of 2006, total magazine advertising revenue in China was about U.S. \$450 million, while the total ad revenue of the top nine fashion magazines was about \$140 million, almost one-third of the magazine ad revenue of the whole industry" (p. 66). In 2010, total revenue of Chinese media industries was \$76.81 billion, while magazine share was 29.2% (Scotton & Hachten, 2010). Magazine advertising market was worth

\$17.7 billion at that time (Scotton & Hachten, 2010). Based on the report of the World Magazine Trends 2012/2013, magazine advertising continued to grow to about 17% in the first half of 2012 making magazines the best vehicle to generate engagement from readers. Magazine advertising expenditure in China grew from \$743 million in 2008 to \$1,184 million and slowly laid down to \$932 million in 2015 (Statista, 2016). As a result, advertising became one of China's fastest growing industries.

Magazine advertising in the Chinese context is fueled by luxury fashion. In 2011, China was ranked sixth on the world list for buying luxury brands. Many national advertising agencies had taken advantage of this potential and entered Chinese advertising market to pursue new opportunities (Zhang & Gelb, 1996). Duncan Edwards, with cooperates with 22 fashion magazines, including *ELLE* and *Harper's Bazaar*, told the reporter that "It was fairly common to find Chinese women who earn \$15,000 a year spending \$2,000 on one luxury item" (as cited in Haughney & Landreth, 2012, p. 1). Lena Yang, who oversees the work of nine beauty editions, including *ELLE* and *Marie Claire*, further added that "the typical reader of Hearst Magazines in China is a 29.5-year-old woman who is more likely to be single than married. She has an average income of about \$1,431 a month and spends \$938 a season on luxury watches, \$982 on handbags and shoes and \$1,066 on clothes" (as cited in Haughney & Landreth, 2012, p. 1). *Cosmopolitan* and *ELLE* now come out twice a month, while *Vogue* has added four extra issues per year in order to contain more pages of advertisements to attract female readers.

Beauty in Chinese Context

Although Burke (1756) defined the concept of beauty centuries ago, his words are relevant for present days: "we must conclude that beauty is, for the greater part, some quality in bodies, acting mechanically upon the human mind by the intervention of the senses" (p. 102). The women's study program at Bradley University developed The Body Project and examined how beauty standards have changed over time. The project illustrates an evolution from "the mature curvaceous body" to "the stick-thin, flat-chested figure." The evolution of female beauty ideals could be seen both in Western and Eastern worlds.

Beauty standards reflect the roles that people are expected to perform in a given society, and skin tone is a key element shaping beauty and attractiveness. Fair skin ideal was ingrained into Asian society before Western colonialism. Feminist beauty scholars believed beauty ideal was constructed historically and socially, rather than had a clear biological canon (Banner, 1983; Wolf, 1991). A fair complexion was historically valued in Asian societies, as it serves as a marker of class (Zhang, 2013). According to Zhang (2013), a similar perception was also noticeable in early European societies, where it developed in parallel with Asian fair skin worship. For women of color, American beauty ideal involves white skin (Riggs, 2012). Furthermore, Tate (2012) admits that such perception is noticeable across most ethnic groups, where mainstream beauty ideal is almost exclusively white.

Asian cultures favor a fair or light complexion (Johansson, 1998). In China, white skin has always been a beauty criterion. The preference for white skin has more than 2,000 years of

history and dates back to the Han dynasty. White skin was considered a staple of the traditional beauty ideal in the Chinese context. In classical Chinese poems, the beautiful women's skin was often described as ice, snow, crystal, moonlight, or jade to indicate the qualities of whiteness, smoothness, and delicacy (Baumann, 2008; Frost, 1988). In most cases, light skin tone is described in terms of femininity, freshness, and fertility (Baumann, 2008; Frost, 1988). Throughout Chinese history, having fair-colored skin was associated with higher social class and status, while having dark or tanned skin was indicative of lower class and manual labor (Johansson, 1998). Even today, Chinese women associate fair skin with urban residency and probability of belonging to wealthy and privileged families (Zhang, 2013). Moreover, dark-skinned are likely to face difficulties and even discrimination in social and personal relationships (Zhang, 2013). Search giant Baidu suggests that in China, 70% of the number of online searches include a request for skin-whitening products and cosmetics (Kane, 2016). Modern Chinese beauty standards idealize white skin tone, while women's desire for physical attractiveness has become a powerful engine for the cosmetic industry. However, according to Morimoto & Chang (2009), the idealization of beauty standards puts western brands in front of a challenge, where they have to choose between standardized or localized advertising campaigns.

The increased prevalence of Caucasian models in Asian advertisements of beauty products "raises the possibility that beauty ideals are or are becoming global" (Li et al. 2008, p. 444). The findings suggest that in Asian countries, Western models and foreign languages appear more frequently in personal-care product advertisements (Neelankavil et al, 1995). According to

Tai (1998), the lion's share of these advertisements is from the United States and Europe. Western companies in China tend to feature Caucasian models in print advertisements, even though their products are targeting Chinese female consumers.

Westernization of the Chinese advertising industry can be seen as a primary factor shaping female beauty standards. Hua's (2013) book *Buying Beauty Cosmetic Surgery in China* confirms the existence of such trend, based ethnographic studies conducted in Beijing from August 2006 to July 2007. To collect research data, Hua (2013) interviewed 58 women who had undergone cosmetic surgery in their desire to have a Caucasian-like appearance. The findings obtained by Hua (2013) resonate with conclusions drawn by Weaver (2003). According to Weaver (2003), Asian women's perception of beauty, including the desire to have a European-like appearance, has made cosmetic surgery the main driving force of the Chinese beauty economy. Chyn, the founder of *Shanghai Pathways*, suggests that "Chinese beauty ideals basically come from the media, including TV shows and celebrity news. A lot of Chinese beauty ideals are quite Western. The main difference is that we like white skin" (as cited in Kane, 2016, p. 1). While applying theoretical frameworks, this project aims to identify why Western beauty standards have gained immense popularity in China.

Theoretical Framework

Social Judgment Theory is employed in this paper as a theoretical framework. The objective of this section is twofold. On the one hand, it aims to outline the key ideas underlying

Social Judgment Theory. On the other hand, the section explains how Social Judgment Theory applies to shaping Chinese women's perception of beauty standards.

Social Judgment Theory explains the mechanism of persuasion that is used in advertising to change an individual's attitude toward a particular product. According to the Social Judgment Theory, persuasion is constructed through judgmental processes and effects (O'Keefe, 1990). It means that an individual's predisposition to being persuaded is shaped by three major factors. Firstly, predisposition to being persuaded is shaped by the person's anchor point that is a person's most preferred position (O'Keefe, 1990). An example of the anchor point is when a Chinese woman wants to have a white skin color. It is widely believed in China that white skin is a most attractive physical feature in a woman since ancient times. Secondly, the predisposition to persuasion is the level of ego-involvement in the issue (O'Keefe, 1990). According to O'Keefe (1990), ego-involvement is the level of an individual's interest in a particular decision. In terms of the Social Judgment Theory, high level of ego-involvement reduces the likelihood of persuading an individual. An obvious fact is, a Chinese woman who is absolutely happy with her appearance is less likely to buy skin-whitening products when compared to the woman who seeks to improve her appearance. Based on the analysis of the factors shaping an individual's predisposition to being persuaded, the main task facing advertisers is to present a message that enters the alternative region and moves the individual away from his/her anchor point.

The third factor shaping an individual's predisposition to persuasion is shaped by an individual's judgment of the various alternatives (O'Keefe, 1990). In the Social Judgment

Theory, judgment of the various alternatives involves a spread across the latitudes of acceptance, non-commitment, and rejection. In this scheme, latitude acceptance involves positions that an individual is likely to accept, if he/she is provided a strong argument. When it comes to beauty, a Chinese woman is likely to persuaded by an ad that suggest her to have whiter skin tone, as she has a desire to achieve whiteness and attractiveness. Her anchor point here will be all about light-skinned beauty standards. The Caucasian models' appearances in the advertisements are undoubtedly in line with her awareness of beauty and deepen the inherent concept of whiteness. The closer the messages of advertisements are to a Chinese woman's anchor point, the more persuasive the messages of advertisements are. In turn, the latitude of non-commitment is located on both sides of the latitude of acceptance. It offers a range of nothing embraced or rejected; a Chinese woman may remain neutral in response the idea of all skin colors are beautiful. Note that the latitude of non-commitment also includes positions that an individual is likely to accept if he/she is provided an opportunity to learn more about them (O'Keefe, 1990). A Chinese female magazine reader can be led to the belief of white skin because advertisements are predominantly using white models to portray beauty. The impact of advertisements is subtle. Finally, the latitude of rejection involves positions that an individual will not accept, regardless of the message. A Chinese woman who wants to have light skin can hardly be persuaded by self-tanning commercial if she has the obsession with white skin and she believes in light-skinned beauty.

Taking into consideration the presented analysis, it is suggested that Social Judgment Theory applies to understand persuasion in advertising. Persuasion is typically defined as a "human communication that is designed to influence others by modifying their beliefs, values, or attitudes" (Simons, 1976, p. 21). Sherif and Sherif (1961) researched people's attitudes and factors changing them. The experts suggested that "a person's attitude on an issue may well influence the way he appraises relevant behavior and events" (Sherif & Sherif, 1961, p. 4). In terms of persuasion, an individual's attitude is shaped by the fact whether the message fits or does not fit into his/her idea of a particular product. Persuasion occurs if the message fits into the individual's map. For example, a Chinese woman buys skin-whitening products, if she believes that fair skin is beautiful.

A similar interpretation of persuasion is proposed by Perloff (2003), according to whom, "Social Judgment Theory emphasizes that people evaluate issues based on where they stand on the topic" (p. 58). In terms of this statement, advertisers are faced with a task to make an individual buy a particular product by shaping his/her attitude about it. From this perspective, the main task lies in the fact that a potential customer compares the message to his/her own opinion on the matter. The persuasive message is able to challenge the customer's anchor point.

In Social Judgment Theory, persuasiveness is measured by using a scale from -3 to 3, where customer's attitudes stand on 0 means indifference for them making a decision on the issue (Nguyen et al., 2007). Morrissey (2011) explains that the scale is used to measure an individual's latitude of acceptance. The area shows a range of possible positions on a given issue.

On both sides of the latitude of acceptance, there are two latitudes of non-commitment. When messages are inside the latitude of non-commitment, people' judgments of them are neither accepted nor rejected. Change of attitudes is most likely to happen in these areas, and messages will probably be persuasive. It is due to the fact that an individual is more open to a new idea, especially if it is close to his/her own belief. On the outside of the scale, there is the latitude of rejection area. The latitude of rejection area involves positions that are actively opposed. According to Morrissey (2011), messages lose persuasion, if people perceive them as objectionable.

Thus, Social Judgment Theory recognizes the mobility of customers' attitudes that are shaped by the messages received. Nguyen et al. (2007) designed a series of experiments to describe how receivers' positions can be modified. 56 carefully selected and arranged arguments about nuclear power energy were given to 57 participants of different ages and genders. All the participants were employees or students of the University of Aberdeen. At the beginning of the experiment, 50 of 57 participants were neutral about the nuclear energy issue. The results of the experiment demonstrated that clear-cut arguments, both for and against the use of nuclear energy, increased the efficacy of a persuasive transaction (Nguyen et al., 2007). Nguyen et al. (2007) further suggested that two-sided arguments delivered more convincing messages when compared to a one-sided story.

In another study, Morrissey (2011) suggested that a public radio station would benefit from identifying if its Millennial listeners had a universal judgment scale. Morrissey (2011)

divided Millennial participants into a quantitative sample and focus groups, each including 12 individuals. 164 Millennial radio listeners stated their points of latitudes of acceptance, non-commitment, and rejection. The result of survey claimed that 86.6% of the Millennial audience have listened to the radio station for years, and more than 85% of them had donated to it (Morrissey, 2011). The data obtained from the focus group suggested that the radio station "has been 83.75% effective in communicating key messages to Millennials, and slowly bringing those Millennials to accept and establish these key messages as attitudes" (Morrissey, 2011, p. 41). The findings retrieved by Morrissey (2011) suggest that the persuasiveness of a message is shaped by a range of factors, including the medium through which it is delivered.

Application of the Social Judgment Theory allows assuming that women's self-perception is shaped by the message that they receive from different sources, including advertisement. The analysis of previously conducted studies suggests that the use of Caucasian models in Chinese fashion advertising may sustain two tactics: 1) to publicize the ideal beauty of having white skin, and 2) the white skin criterion in selecting Chinese female models. The Social Judgment Theory is selected as a theoretical framework to further examine the advertising effects on the attitudes of female readers in China. The theory allows making assumptions about how Chinese women think. It is suggested that Chinese women believe in advertising of skin-whitening products, and purchase them because of their belief in the white skin ideal. In term of the Social Judgment Theory, this belief acts as their anchor point. A judgment occurs when Chinese women compare

messages retrieved from their traditional beauty standards and print advertisements. Such comparison acts as a point where the change of attitudes is likely to take place.

The judgment further spreads across three zones: latitudes of acceptance, latitudes of rejection, and non-commitment. Some women do not have faith in having white skin, so the message falls in their latitude of rejection. Other women do not have a definite opinion about a beautiful skin, so their position falls into non-commitment. Finally, there is a category of women who have positive feelings about the advertisement message. The message that these women receive is very close to their anchor point, having white skin is beautiful, so they are likely to be persuaded by it. In the described case, persuasion means assimilation. Assimilation occurs when the message is close to Chinese women's anchor point and they become more receptive to it. Thus, advertising motivates women to buy skin whitening products to achieve the beauty ideal. Otherwise, it brings contrast effect if Chinese women compare the message with other past ones and subsequently reject the new one.

The Social Judgment Theory further confirms a relationship between ego-involvement and buying skin whitening products featured in fashion magazines. Ego-involvement reflects women's perceptions of themselves and construction of their self-identity. In turn, weak ego-involvement makes women susceptible to advertisement messages. It means that women with strong ego-involvement are more satisfied with their appearances, and are less likely to buy skin whitening products when compared to women with low ego involvement seeking to meet public expectations.

When discussing the emergence of the white skin trend among Chinese women, Yon (2000) admits that "there is not neat correspondence between how one's body is read and how one desires it to be read" (p. 120). The beauty ideal generates a constant supply of whitening products. When the culture consumes what emerges from both traditional aesthetics and contemporary Western advertisements, a young girl is vulnerable to identity her physical appearance based on the skin shade and cultural practices perceived. Because of the cultural context and the impact of advertisements, there is more demand for whitening products and advertisements in the market. Identity in this condition is often incomplete.

Research Questions

To explore the relationships between the prevalence of Caucasian models in whitening products' magazine advertisements and construction of body-esteem, self-esteem, and decision-making of Chinese women, a number of research questions were proposed:

RQ1: How do Chinese women perceive advertisement images of Caucasian models in fashion magazines?

RQ2: What is the relationship between Chinese women's perception of magazine advertisements and their self-esteem?

RQ3: Do Chinese women's perception of magazine advertisements and their self-esteem influence Chinese women's brand attitudes and their likelihood to purchase them?

RQ4: Do Chinese women's individual self-presentation and sensation-seeking level influence their perception of advertisement and advertising effectiveness (brand attitudes and purchase intentions)?

Chapter 3 - Method

To assess the impact of magazine advertisements on Chines women's persuasion of white skin, an online survey was used in this research. It was adopted to analyze the relationship between advertisement's influence and perceived body-esteem of Chinese women.

Study Procedure

Data to answer the research questions was collected through the online survey. The online survey was a fast way to reach and engage with the target group, whose participants were in mainland China. The selected approach was intended to maximize and optimize probabilistic selection, and compensate for the lack of relevant resources. Sojump was used to send survey forms to the participants' email. Sojump is a paid professional survey site in China. It provides online, self-designed questionnaires for users from all age groups and walks of life. These features make Sojump applicable to the target participants.

The survey was selected for data collection due to a number of benefits, including convenience, quick responses, and high response rate. One of the easiest methodologies is to find suitable respondents in a demographic selection via survey research, which usually takes less than 10 minutes. Survey involves easy administration and exploration of attitudes and opinions of the target group (Fowler, 2008). According to Fowler (2008), it is important to have a large number of people to participate in the survey, since a sufficient number of participants leads to the high representativeness of the target population and authentic results.

This research examined how Chinese college women's perception of beauty and body image is modified by fashion magazine advertising (see Appendix A). A structured undisguised self-report questionnaire was used to collect data from participants. Questions pertained to the participants' attitude towards advertisements, self-esteem, and body-esteem. A small sample size (n = 20) was used for pre-testing the survey questionnaire. The survey was designed in Chinese and further translated into English. The translation was independently checked and edited by a professional translator. The survey was constructed in Qualtrics and was distributed via email to the participants.

Respondents

For this research, a sample of 300 Chinese female college students, from at least 5 different universities across mainland China, were recruited and surveyed. The respondents were between ages 18 and 28, and selected via Sojump convenience sampling. The lack of available sampling frames preconditioned the identified criteria. The respondents received survey forms containing the same questions and rate models. Participation in the survey was voluntary and anonymous.

This research targeted female college students in China as fashion magazines claim a combined readership of both highly educated career women and young female college students. From 2003 to 2013, the average circulation volume of magazines in China amounted to around 168 million copies per issue (Statista, 2016). The majority of popular magazines' readership is composed of young women, ages between 20 and 35, who are well-educated, have a stable

income, and are interested in fashion trends (Wu, 2006). These readers pay close attention to fashion trends, so magazines play a crucial role in promoting their consumption (Liu, 2012). Moreover, fashion magazines have a profound impact on college women's eating habits. College women are presumed to be at a high risk of eating disorders, and up to 25% of women in college are thought to be at risk of developing an eating disorder. According to Winzelberg et al. (2000), more women in this age group report body dissatisfaction and low self-esteem.

Measures

RQ1 was measured by the Affective Reactions to Print Advertisements Scale (Oh, 2005), the Advertising Believability Scale (Beltramini, 1982; Obermiller & Spangenberg, 1998), and the Advertisement Involvement Scale (Zaichkowsky, 1986). The original response format of the Affective Reactions to Print Apparel Advertisements Scale (ARPAA) consisted of 28 items, 10 positively worded items ("merry, energetic, vigorous, warmhearted, etc.") and 18 negatively worded items ("ashamed, disdainful, loathing, embarrassed, etc."), to describe the audience's positive or negative attitudes towards advertisements. To sum all the scores of positively worded items and divide by 10, the result revealed an average level of Chinese women's positive attitude. The higher score reflected a more positive attitude. All the scores in the negatively worded items were reversed before adding up and dividing by 18; therefore, the result indicated an average level of Chinese women's attitude and a lower score reflected a more negative attitude. The Advertising Attitudes Scale used 4 groups of words, 8 items (unfavorable-favorable; negative-positive; dislike-like; bad-good) to identify respondents' attitudes. The semantic

differential format of this scale was adapted from Beltramini (1982) with statements (e.g. "Advertising is a reliable source of information about the quality and performance of products"), while the Likert format was adapted from Obermiller and Spangenberg (1998) with anchors of "believable-unbelievable". The respondents rated the believability of the advertisements on the scale, and the average value was determined by adding up all the scores in these groups and dividing by 4. The Advertising Involvement Scale asks the respondents to rate their level of involvement with advertising on a 10 bi-polar semantic differential scale. The average value here was calculated in the same method with The Advertising Attitudes Scale. Higher scores of results indicated higher levels of trust and involvement in processing incoming advertising messages.

To test the reliability of all three Likert-type scales, the reliability analysis was applied to assess the internal consistency of the questionnaire. ARPAA consisted of 28 items ($\alpha = 0.85$), the Advertising Believability Scale consisted of 8 items ($\alpha = 0.81$), and the Advertisement Involvement Scale consisted of 15 items ($\alpha = 0.84$). Since all the alpha coefficients were higher than 0.70, the reliability of RQ1 scales was acceptable in the research situation.

The Body-Esteem Scale for Adolescents and Adults (Franzoi & Shields, 1984; Mendelson, Mendelson & White, 2001) and the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (Hylands, et al., 2013) were used to measure RQ2. The original version of the Body-Esteem Scale for Adolescents and Adults (BESAA) was developed by Mendelson et al. (2001), and examined general feelings about appearance and evaluations attributed to other people. Since white skin

was a factor of physical appearance, BESAA explored how Chinese women's body-esteem and self-esteem were related to their perception of fashion magazine advertisements. The scale comprises 3 subscale scores in Appearance (e.g. nose, lips, and waist), Weight and Attribution, and BE-Appearance was the only subscale that consistently predicted self-esteem. The respondents indicated their scores on BESAA on a 5-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree), with a higher score indicating stronger body-esteem. The Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSES) contained items that were self-evaluation statements (e.g. "I feel that I am a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others") for respondents to indicate their level of agreement on the same scale with BESAA. All the items in both two scales were calculated by Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient to measure the relationships between the numerical variables. Additionally, a simple linear regression was used to predict the value of Chinese women's self-esteem based on the value of their perception of fashion magazine advertisements. BESAA was found to be highly reliable (20 items; $\alpha = 0.89$), so was RSES (10 items; $\alpha = 0.88$).

For RQ3, Brand Attitudes Scale (Holbrook & Batra, 1987) and Product Purchase Intention Scale (Kim, Haley, & Koo, 2009; Kim & Sung, 2014) were applied and measured by linear regression. The Brand Attitudes Scale uses 4 groups of words (unfavorable-favorable; negative-positive; dislike-like; bad-good) to identify the respondents' attitudes. The brands that displayed the sample advertisements in the survey were randomly selected to reflect beauty brands in general and collect the participants' objective response. In the Product Purchase

Intention Scale, perceived value made an antecedent for the intention to purchase: "I will purchase the product", "I will use the product", and "I will recommend the product". Each item had a calculated score for statistics; higher scores of each item reflected higher preferences for brands and purchase behavior. Chinese women's perception of fashion magazine advertisements and their self-esteem were used as the independent variables in each linear regression to predict the dependent variable ("brand attitudes" and "purchase intentions"). The Cronbach's alphas for the 8 attitude items and 3 intentional items were 0.82 and 0.78, respectively.

The Perfectionistic Self-Presentation Scale (Hewitt, et al., 2011) and Sensation Seeking Scale (Chen, et al., 2012) were measuring RQ4. The Perfectionistic Self-Presentation Scale (PSPS) assesses the need to appear perfect, and the need to avoid displaying imperfections and disclosing imperfections to others with statements like "I try hard to look perfect around other people". The Sensation Seeking Scale is a 7-item scale (e.g. "to pursue new stimulus and excitement, I can go against rules and regulations"), and it would have relations with pursuing white skin among female Chinese magazine readers; a sensation seeker probably dares to accept new information and catch up the latest fashion, includes the trends of beauty. Same with RQ3, items in these two scales were calculated by simple linear regression. The alpha coefficient for these 18 items in PSPS was 0.77 and for these 7 items in the Sensation Seeking Scale was 0.75; both reached conventional standards for scale's reliability.

Demographic Factors

The respondents also completed a demographic questionnaire, including items such as age, education background, and income level (see Appendix A). The demographic factors contribute to the development of perceptions or the level of effect that advertising has on the viewers. The nature of the topic influenced the decision to use female respondents only for the study considering their views on matters related to beauty and the use of beauty products. In relation to the age of the respondents, the study focused on those within the age groups of 18 to 28. Some of the respondents reported to be older than this age but with the majority ranging within the 26 years to 30 ranges, four counting for the age group between the ages of 31 to 35 while 36 to 40 were two. The oldest participant was one that was 55 years of age.

The level of education also contributed to the effective management of the research questions provided. The highest number of the respondents had obtained a Bachelor degree followed by those with Masters, those with a High school education others and Doctor and above. These included 155, 46, 30, 10, and 4 respondents respectively. Consideration of the cities that the respondents hailed from revealed most the cities represented included Wuhan, Beijing, Shanghai, Chengdu and Xia'men. These represented some of the major cities in China in which fashion took center stage. The level of education played a role in consumer decisions and behavior.

In addition to the above, the most widely read fashion magazines among Chinese female readers during the March 2017 survey were *Harper's BAZAAR* (77.36%), *VOGUE* (49.06%),

ELLE (41.52%), Marie Claire (32.08%), SELF (28.30%), L'OFFICIEL (28.30%), and GRAZIA (22.64%). And the frequency of reading magazines each month of them was ranked high to low: 47.17% of the respondents stated that they read fashion magazine one to two time(s) per month, 24.53% read magazines three to four times, 13.21% read magazines more than five times, and 15.09% read magazines less than once. Various factors of demographic nature have played a role in the research.

Chapter 4 – Survey Results

Sample Overview

The researcher distributed 300 copies of the online survey documents and the sample was found to include 100% Chinese female. The respondents' age ranged from 18 to 28 (M age = 19.77, SD age = 3.79). The sample was highly educated with 73.58% of Bachelors, 20.75% of Masters, 3.77% of Doctors and above, 1.89% of Post Doctor, and none of the high school or equivalent. In consideration of the income levels, the respondents' income distribution was relatively close; 33.96% of them were earning 4,501 to 9,000 RMB monthly, 32.08% were earning 9,001 to 35,000 RMB monthly, and 22.64% were earning 1,501 to 4,500 RMB per month.

In response to the question regarding Chinese women's attitudes towards the images of Caucasian models in the sample advertisements and the beauty standard of white skin, 86% of the respondents in the survey agreed that having white skin and physical attractiveness could be synonymous. 85% of them were desiring lighter colored skin to improve their appearances. 85% believed that they perceived beauty ideals from the advertisements, and 83% recognized the models featured in the advertisements as the representation of beauty. Because of the portrayal of white skin in mass media, 64% of the respondents claimed that they did not accept the statement of "all skin shades are beautiful". 70% of the respondents preferred Caucasian models to Asian models expressly. In general, Chinese women perceived ideal whiteness from fashion magazine advertisements and the models.

In these overall trends, the use of journals in examining the subject increased the level of confidence that the research gained. Considering the research involved the primary data collection techniques, the researcher was exposed to content that would affect the reliability and quality of results. All variables in the procedure and the data analysis were conducted using IBM SPSS statistics 19.0. The results are separately discussed below.

RQ1: How do Chinese women perceive advertisement images of Caucasian models in fashion magazines?

RQ1 proposed the Chinese magazine readers' perception of beauty under the influence of fashion advertising. When Chinese women under exposure to advertisement images of Caucasian models with white skin in fashion magazines, they perceived their skin tone as the aesthetic standard of the majority. In this research, the respondents rated their attitudes towards the fashion magazine advertisements and the scores reflected their level of perception of advertising. Only the affective reactions to print advertisements were divided into two group of items (10 positively worded attitudes and 18 negatively worded attitudes) and the mean values were calculated separately.

The results were summarized in Table 1.1. The sample (n = 300) as a whole showed that there were more respondents with a positive attitude (M = 3.88, SD = 0.77) than those with a negative attitude (M = 2.13, SD = 1.03); affective reactions of Chinese women were more associated with a positive response. On a 1 through 5 Likert-type scale, a score of 3.88 would be high; therefore, the results revealed a strong significant trending in the predicted direction. In

predicting their perception of fashion magazine advertisements, the respondents also rated their attitudes to advertising believability (M = 3.97, SD = 1.40). The result inferred the level of trust in Chinese women was very high. And the average degree of advertisement involvement was 3.02 (SD = 1.33). It reflected that Chinese women were somewhat favorable to advertising information. Chinese women's attitudes on the advertisement images of Caucasian models in fashion magazines were confirmed and measured by these mean scores. The scores implied that Chinese women generally recognized the credibility of advertisements and believed in the messages promoted by advertisements.

To answer RQ1, Chinese women had an overall positive attitude towards fashion magazine advertisements. When Chinese women's reaction to advertisement images were mostly positive, their attention was captured, and they were persuaded by the advertising messages in the informational content.

Table 1.1. Composite Means and Standard Deviations for Variables in Predicting Perception of Ads (N = 300)

Scales	Pos	<u>itive</u>	Nega	ative_	<u>T</u>	<u>`otal</u>
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Affective Reactions to Print Ads	3.88	0.77	2.13	1.03		
Advertising Believability					3.97	1.40
Advertisement Involvement					3.02	1.33

RQ2: What is the relationship between Chinese women's perception of magazine advertisements and their self-esteem?

RQ2 was to examine the relationship between Chinese women's perception of magazine advertisements and their self-esteem. The study assumed that Chinese female magazine readers

who were persuaded by the images of Caucasian models more likely to have low self-esteem; they found their own skin color for not being beautiful enough. Among young women, body-esteem was a main predictor of self-esteem and closely related to women's general feelings about appearance. Thus, a Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient was conducted to assess the effects of the independent variable ("perception of magazine advertisements") on the dependent variables ("body-esteem" and "self-esteem") for Chinese women. It is worth mentioning that BESAA - Appearance was the subscale that employed to predict self-esteem with RSES.

Table 2.1 was presented the results of the relationship between Chinese women's perception of magazine advertisements and their body- and self-esteem. The results revealed a strong, positive correlation between perception of magazine advertisements and body-esteem (r = 0.42, p < 0.01) and a weak, negative correlation between perception of magazine advertisements and self-esteem (r = -0.02, p < 0.01). To be more specific, there was a strong, positive correlation between affective reactions to advertisements and Chinese women's body-esteem (r = 0.45, p < 0.01). Increases in Chinese women' reactions to advertisements including Caucasian models were correlated with increases in Chinese women's body-esteem. There was a moderate, negative correlation between advertising believability and body-esteem (r = -0.43, p < 0.01). When the score Chinese women's believability to advertisements increased, their body-esteem score decreased. Another moderate, positive correlation was appeared between

advertisement involvement and body-esteem (r = 0.40, p < 0.01). Increases in Chinese women' advertisement involvement score were correlated with increases in their body-esteem score.

On the other hand, the overall effect between Chinese women's perception of magazine advertisements and self-esteem was weak. Both the correlations of the affective reactions to advertisements and self-esteem (r = 0.04, p < 0.01), and the advertising believability and self-esteem (r = 0.10, p < 0.01) were weak and positive. As Chinese women' reactions to advertisements were more positive and their trustiness in advertisements increases, the level of their self-esteem was getting higher. And there was a weak, negative correlation between the advertisement involvement and self-esteem (r = -0.12, p < 0.01). The increasing amount of Chinese women's involvements in advertisements decreased the score of their self-esteem. Comparatively, the values of r here were very different from the body-esteem's results. The relationships between Chinese women's perception of fashion magazine advertisements and their self-esteem reflected that Chinese women's self-esteem level might not be directly related to their body image or the concept of physical attractiveness.

Table 2.1.

Pearson's Correlations between Chinese Women's Perception of Ads and Body-Esteem / Self-Esteem (N=300)

	Perception of Ads			
	ARPA - Total	AB-Total	AI - Total	r - Total
Body-Esteem	0.45**	-0.43**	0.40**	0.42**
Self-Esteem	0.04**	0.10**	-0.12**	-0.02**

Note: ARPA - Total = Total score on the Affective Reactions to Print Advertisements Scale, AB - Total = Total score on the Advertising Believability Scale, AI - Total = Total score on Advertisement Involvement Scale

In addition, a simple linear regression was conducted to measure if the advertisement images of Caucasian models in fashion magazines significantly predicted the respondents' self-esteem. The regression analysis was calculated to predict self-esteem score based on the perception of magazine advertisements and the images of Caucasian models (see Table 2.2). The higher the total scores of the predictor variables of perception of magazine advertisements, the stronger the advertising effect on Chinese women's self-esteem level. Within the predictor variables, the believability of the advertisements significantly predicted self-esteem score the most (b = -0.53, p < 0.001). However, the relationship was negative: an increase in advertising believability score was associated with a decrease in self-esteem score. The significant regression variance was found, with an adjusted $R^2 = 0.76$, F(8,292) = 20.52, p < 0.001. The score of R^2 indicated 76% of the total variation in the dependent variable ("self-esteem") can be explained by the independent variable ("advertising believability"). In this research, 76% could be explained which was very large. The advertisement involvement explained a significant proportion of variance in self-esteem score (adjusted $R^2 = 0.33$, F(16, 284) = 12.72, p < 0.001) and significantly predicted the dependent variable (b = 0.27, p < 0.001). An increase in advertising involvement score was associated with an increase in self-esteem score. The affective reactions to fashion magazine advertisements predicting self-esteem score was neither predictive nor significant.

To answer RQ2, Chinese women's perception of magazine advertisements was moderately related to their body-esteem, but it only had a weak, negative influence on their self-esteem. The images of Caucasian models in fashion magazines have proven effective at predicting Chinese women' self-esteem.

Table 2.2.

Summary Simple Linear Regression Analysis of Perception of Ads in Predicting Self-Esteem Scores (N=300)

Self-Esteem			
Predictor Variables of Perception of Ads	β	p	R^2
Affective Reactions to Print Advertisements	0.08	ns*	0.11
Advertising Believability	-0.53	0.000	0.76
Advertisement Involvement	0.27	0.000	0.33

Since body-esteem was at variances with self-esteem in the above research results, a Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient was conducted to measure the relation between body-esteem and self-esteem. The result showed that Chinese women's body-esteem and self-esteem were correlated positively and weakly, but not perfectly so (r = 0.14, p < 0.001). Their body-esteem level was partially involving the level of self-esteem.

Table 2.3. Pearson's Correlation between Chinese Women's Body-Esteem and Self-Esteem (N=300)

	<u>Self-Esteem</u>		
	r	p	
Body-Esteem	0.14	0.00	

RQ3: Do Chinese women's perception of magazine advertisements and their self-esteem influence Chinese women's brand attitudes and their likelihood to purchase them?

This research question asked if Chinese women's perception of advertisement images of Caucasian models in fashion magazines and their self-esteem influenced Chinese women's brand attitudes and their purchase intentions. Simple linear regression was used to examine the extent to each independent variable ("perception of magazine advertisements" and "self-esteem") predicted each dependent variable ("brand attitudes" and "purchase intentions"), separately. In advertising messages perception, advertising believability played the major role. This perceived believability in advertising was used to mainly reflect the perception of magazine advertisements in a consistent way with RQ1 and RQ2.

The measured results were summarized below. Table 3.1 was presented the results of Chinese women's perception of magazine advertisements significantly predicted their brand attitudes (b = 0.82, p < 0.001). The strength of the relationship was positive and very strong. The greater the perception of magazine advertisements score, the stronger the brand attitudes. Self-esteem score significantly predicted their brand attitudes (b = -0.66, p < 0.001). The strong, negative relationship reflected the lower the self-esteem score, the stronger the brand attitudes.

The total variance in predictor variables explained brand attitudes score was 59% (adjusted $R^2 = 0.59$, F(14, 286) = 32.72, p < 0.001) and the one explained purchase intentions score was 21% (adjusted $R^2 = 0.21$, F(15, 285) = 18.05, p < 0.001).

Table 3.1.

Summary Simple Linear Regression Analysis of Perception of Ads and Self-Esteem in Predicting Brand Attitudes Score (N=300)

Brand Attitudes

Predictor Variables	β	p	R^2
Perception of Ads	0.82	0.00	0.59
Self-Esteem	-0.66	0.00	0.21

Table 3.2 was presented the results in predicting Chinese women's purchase intentions. There was a strong, positive relationship between Chinese women's perception of magazine advertisements and their purchase intentions (b = 0.77, p < 0.001). The more Chinese women perceived fashion magazine advertisements, the stronger their purchase intentions. Self-esteem score was a statistically significant predictor applied to purchase intentions (b = -0.71, p < 0.001). This strong, negative relationship reflected that the lower the self-esteem level of Chinese women, the stronger their purchase intentions. There was a significant effect on the two predictor variables and purchase intentions as well. There was a significant effect between Chinese women's self-esteem and brand attitudes (an adjusted $R^2 = 0.46$, F(15, 285) = 28.16, p < 0.001). There was another significant effect on self-esteem and purchase intentions. The total variance was 19% with an adjusted $R^2 = 0.19$, F(14, 286) = 28.16, p < 0.001.

To answer RQ3, Chinese women's perception of magazine advertisements and their self-esteem strongly influenced their brand attitudes and their purchase intentions. The results

analysis indicated that Chinese women who paid more attention to fashion magazine advertisements and put themselves down would have more positive feelings towards advertising brands and dedication to consumer behavior.

Table 3.2.

Summary Simple Linear Regression Analysis of Perception of Ads and Self-Esteem in Predicting Purchase Intentions Score (N=300)

Purchase Intentions

Predictor Variables	β	p	R^2	
Perception of Ads	0.77	0.00	0.46	
Self-Esteem	-0.71	0.00	0.19	

RQ4: Do Chinese women's individual self-presentation and sensation-seeking level influence their perception of advertisement and advertising effectiveness (brand attitudes and purchase intentions)?

RQ4 asked whether Chinese women's individual self-presentation and sensation-seeking level has a certain impact on their decision making in brand attitudes and purchase intentions. This research assumed that when the individual self-presentation and sensation-seeking level went down, Chinese women would be more inclined to agree with the advertisements and went to achieve ideal beauty by using skin-whitening products. A simple linear regression was employed to calculate Chinese women's perception of magazine advertisements and advertising effectiveness based on their individual self-presentation and sensation-seeking level. To be consistent with RQ3, the advertising believability was applied to measure Chinese women's perception of magazine advertisements.

The assumptions of simple linear regression were tested and summarized below. In Table 4.1, both self-presentation (b = 0.13, p < 0.05) and sensation-seeking (b = 0.001, p < 0.001) were significantly associated with Chinese women's perception of magazine advertisements. The associations were positive yet very weak. The increasing level of Chinese women's individual self-presentation and sensation-seeking increases the perception of magazine advertisements. Chinese women's self-presentation level predicted their perception of magazine advertisements with an adjusted $R^2 = 0.22$, F(20, 280) = 12.61, p < 0.001 and the sensation-seeking level predicted the perception of magazine advertisements with an adjusted $R^2 = 0.19$, F(21, 279) = 6.03, p < 0.001.

Table 4.1. Summary Simple Linear Regression Analysis of Self-Presentation and Sensation-Seeking Level in predicting Perception of Ads (N=300)

Perception of Ads				
Predictor Variables	β	p	R^2	
Self-Presentation	0.130	0.02	0.22	
Sensation-Seeking	0.001	0.00	0.19	

As seen in Table 4.2, the self-presentation significantly predicted brand attitudes score (b = 0.38, p < 0.001). There was a moderate, negative relationship which meant each positive change in self-presentation score was expected to result in a positive change in brand attitudes score. There was a significant association was indicated by the score of individual self-presentation in predicting brand attitudes score with an adjusted $R^2 = 0.31$, F(20, 280) = 8.55, p < 0.001. But the sensation-seeking level did not significantly predict their brand attitudes

with the value of beta coefficient equal to 0. There was no relationship between Chinese women's sensation-seeking level and brand attitudes.

Table 4.2. Summary Simple Linear Regression Analysis of Self-Presentation and Sensation-Seeking Level in predicting Brand Attitudes Scores (N=300)

β	p	R^2
0.38	0.000	0.31
0.00	ns*	0.06
	β 0.38 0.00	

In Table 4.3, the analysis of the results showed that Chinese women's self-presentation significantly predicted purchase intentions (b = 0.25, p < 0.001) with an adjusted $R^2 = 0.25$, F (20, 280) =8.30, p < 0.001. There was a weak, positive relationship that for each unit increased in the score of self-presentation, the score of purchase intentions increased. The sensation-seeking level was a statistically significant predictor for purchase intentions score and the value of beta coefficient was positive and very low (b = 0.07, p < 0.001) with an adjusted $R^2 = 0.14$, F (21, 279) =7.11, p < 0.001. It meant increases in the score of sensation-seeking was correlated with increases in the score of purchase intentions.

To answer RQ4, it was confirmed that Chinese women's individual self-presentation and sensation-seeking level had an overall weak influence on their perception of magazine advertisement and advertising effectiveness. The need for ideal whiteness motivated Chinese

women's self-presentation and sensation-seeking attitudes toward advertising brands and purchase intentions.

Table 4.3. Summary Simple Linear Regression Analysis of Self-Presentation and Sensation-Seeking Level in predicting Purchase Intentions Scores (N=300)

Purchase Intentions			
Predictor Variables	$oldsymbol{eta}$	p	R^2
Self-Presentation	0.25	0.000	0.25
Sensation-Seeking	0.07	0.000	0.14
* ns = non-significant			

To detect whether the respondents' demographic factors were the actual explanatory factors in predicting their brand attitudes and purchase intentions, a multiple regression was run to predict the brand effectiveness from age, education, and income level.

The results were summarized in Table 5.1. Chinese women's perception of magazine advertisements significantly predicted their brand attitudes (b = 0.63, p < 0.001) and purchase intentions (b = 0.61, p < 0.001) with an adjusted $R^2 = 0.32$, F(13, 276) = 12.39, p < 0.001. Both were strong, positive relationships. There were other strong, negative relationships; Chinese women's self-esteem statistically significantly predicted the brand attitudes (b = -0.57, p < 0.001) and the purchase intentions (b = -0.53, p = 0.01) with an adjusted $R^2 = 0.21$, F(14, 275) = 12.02, p < 0.001. Since the values of beta coefficient for both Chinese women's perception of magazine advertisements and their self-esteem were still significant in predicting the brand attitudes and

purchase intentions after the analysis, the demographic variables do not affect the brand effectiveness.

However, the demographic variables were also associated with Chinese women's brand attitudes and purchase intentions. Among the results, the respondents' income level influenced their brand attitudes (b = 0.27, p < 0.001) and purchase intentions (b = 0.32, p < 0.001) the most. Both the moderate, positive relationships showed that the income abilities of Chinese women indicated to their possibility to purchase fashion magazines and beauty products. The respondents' education level had a weak, negative relationship with their brand attitudes (b = -0.14, p < 0.001). Higher levels of education somehow decreased their brand attitudes. And the weak, negative relationship between the respondents' age and their purchase intentions (b = -0.12, p < 0.001) indicated a decrease in their possibilities of purchase behavior.

Table 5.1.

Summary Hieratical Linear Regression Analysis Controlling Demographic Factors in predicting Brand Attitudes and Purchase Intention Scores (N=300)

	Brand A	<u>ttitudes</u>	Purchase	Intentions
Predictor Variables	$oldsymbol{eta}$	R^2	β	R^2
Age	0.09**		-0.12**	
Education	-0.14**		0.15*	
Income Level	0.27**		0.32**	
Perception of Ads	0.63**		0.61**	
Self-esteem	-0.57**		-0.53**	
		0.32**		0.21**
* $p < 0.05$				
** <i>p</i> < 0.001				

Chapter 5 – Discussion

The analysis of the survey results reveals that female magazine readers across mainland China perceive fashion magazine advertisements and white skin. The women who participated in the research gave their judgments on the following topics: (a) representations of white skin in fashion magazine advertisements, (b) pursuit of ideal beauty among Chinese women, and (c) the impact of magazine advertising. The Social Judgment Theory can be utilized to analyze and comprehend the impact that fashion magazine advertisements had on the Chinese women. Moreover, it can also contribute to the provision of a more contextual understanding of the Chinese advertising industry.

The persuasive information from fashion magazine advertisements is assimilated by Chinese women. Due to the interest of beauty and fashion, these female readers who read either digital or print version of fashion magazines look at the advertisements inside. Most respondents in the research have positive reactions while reading the magazine advertisements. In the judgmental system of the Social Judgment Theory, this is where assimilation occurs. The purpose of advertising is completely aligned with Chinese women's interests. The respondents do not consider the advertising is relevant to their real lives; however, they strongly agree that advertisements provide them with essential information. Most of the respondents believe in the messages of magazine advertisements and describe the images as well informative and accurate. Based on the results, the respondents who read 2 or more fashion magazines per month regard the models featured in magazine advertisements as the idealized appearance. When this kind of

perception is established among the readership, almost 93% of respondents in the survey agree that current advertising portrays the ideal beauty and promotes skin-whitening products to them.

The analysis of the survey demonstrates the relationship between Chinese women's perception to such advertisements and their perceived body- and self-image. Specifically, the impact of advertisements on body-esteem is different from the impact of advertisements on self-esteem. Chinese women's perception of magazine advertisements has a moderate, positive relationship with their body-esteem, and their body-esteem increases proportionally to the amount of increased perception of magazine advertisements. In theory, the positive reactions to the advertising content make Chinese women become more engaged by the persuasive advertisements. The message of ideal whiteness in fashion magazine advertisements is closely linked to their own beliefs; hence, they are more likely to be persuaded. The use of Caucasian models in print advertisements is very likely to serve the beauty interests of Chinese women. The positive association between Chinese women's perception of magazine advertisements and their body-esteem highlights how the images of Caucasian models influence their attitudes. There is a possibility that Chinese women compare themselves to the model characters in the advertisements.

These advertisements for skin-whitening products make Chinese women feel their current attractiveness levels are different from their idealization. According to the survey, the researcher conducted on March 30, 2017, 98% of the respondents believe their appearance is very important, and 85% of the respondents are perceived to desire a lighter skin tone. In addition, they try hard

to be considered more physically attractive, as having white skin is perceived as an essential element of beauty. The possibility is presented that high rates of exposure to fashion magazine advertisements are likely to reduce Chinese women's perception of body image supporting the earlier research findings related to the dissatisfaction of Chinese adolescents' body image (Chen & Jackson, 2012). Young women who are under the perceived pressure of appearance and comparisons from mass media would be more dissatisfied with their bodies (Chen & Jackson, 2012). The impact of print advertising supports the study by Cortese (1999) that models with physical attractiveness are becoming the norm in advertising and this thereby leads the audience to aspire to a similar idealized beauty. The images of Caucasian models in advertisements capture the attention of female magazine readers to persuade. "Women are constantly held to this unrealistic standard of beauty (Cortese, 1999, p.59)." Beauty in print advertisements effects Chinese women's body-esteem in a certain way. This kind of advertising effectiveness can be used to verify that advertising somewhat shapes Chinese women's perception of beauty and exacerbates their body image concerns.

As predicted, body image plays a major role in self-esteem by affecting attitudes and feelings about women's physical appearance. The results show that Chinese women's perception of magazine advertisements has a weak, negative relationship with their self-esteem. The high level of trust and involvement in fashion magazine advertisements increases the likelihood of persuading Chinese women; however, their self-esteem is inversely related to their perception measures. Although no significant relationship is found between the reactions of the women to

fashion magazine advertisements and their self-esteem, the advertisements still influence how Chinese women think about themselves and value their physical appearance. In terms of the Social Judgment Theory, self-esteem is one of the important ego factors in ego-involvement. The level of ego-involvement defines the level of an individual's attitudes. The low level of self-esteem makes up the low level of ego-involvement, and vice versa. The low level of ego-involvement means there is a large range of the latitude of acceptance; people with a large latitude of acceptance are more easily persuaded and willing to change their current attitude. With an increase in advertising believability, Chinese women's level of ego-involvement decreases. The more they believe in the ideal beauty of white skin within the advertising context, the lower their self-confidence.

It can be deduced that the promotion of white skin by beauty-related media is related to negative effects experienced by Chinese women. After viewing the advertisements featuring Caucasian models and skin-whitening products, the respondents tend to evaluate themselves a little bit less positively. This is supported by a study conducted by Harrison and Cantor (1997), who suggest that frequent use of fashion magazines lead to the poor body image of females. Chinese women experience pressure from these advertisements to look so-called perfect and intern suffer from low self-esteem.

The standards of female beauty based on traditional Chinese practices may additionally have a significant influence on Chinese women's body- and self-esteem. The research reveals that most of the respondents (94%) are highly familiar with the phrases such as "beautiful white

skin", "snow white", and "white perfect" seen in print advertisements. This conforms to previously conducted studies by Bray (2002) stating that advertising media promotes white skin to the female Chinese audience. Predictably, more than half of the respondents consider skin tone to be an important factor in the judgment of beauty and generally do not believe in the idea that all skin tones are beautiful. In Chinese content, women are perceived white skin in terms of "purity, femininity, chastity, righteousness, and motherhood" (Li et al. 2008, p. 445). Chinese women strive to have white skin and this obsession with whiteness is derived from both the advertisement images and inherent thinking. The findings are consistent with previous researches on Chinese preference for white complexions (Baumann, 2008; Frost, 1988; Johansson, 1998; Zhang, 2013). The beauty standard of having white skin has become strongly widespread due to mass media in modern Chinese society.

Overall, the influence of fashion magazine advertisements on Chinese women's self-esteem level furthered the previous study by Stice et al. (1994) that women who read fashion magazines and view ads more often would have higher levels of stress, shame, and insecurity about themselves. The results of my study reveal that the advertising's effects on Chinese women's body-esteem are stronger than the effects on their self-esteem. Chinese women's body-esteem is nearly non-relevant to self-esteem. The positive, weak relationship between their body-esteem and self-esteem indicates that a high level of self-esteem in Chinese women can be attributed to their level of confidence linked to their personalities and accomplishments, and not simply to their perfect body image.

The analysis of the survey results supports the idea that Chinese women's perception of magazine advertisements strongly influences their brand attitudes. It is reported that Chinese women's perception of magazine advertisements has a strong, positive relationship with their brand attitudes. The high level of perception of magazine advertisements among Chinese women relates to the high level of favor in advertising brands. This is observed by the 85% of respondents in this research who have a good impression on the brands which is derived from their positive attitude towards brand advertisements. By applying the Social Judgment Theory, Chinese women's perception of fashion magazine advertisements offers them a reasonable amount of consideration to the brands with the impact of advertising. Chinese women compare the persuasive messages of fashion magazine advertisements with their current attitudes, and they would be increasingly fond of the advertising brands as their attitudes change in the judgmental process. For those who already have a preference for fashion magazine advertisements, the advertising brands are similar to their anchor point attitude in their judgment. For those who may at first be unfamiliar with the brand, a positive attitude may be developed with increased knowledge of the brand from print advertisements and the position of the message then shifts away from their anchor point. The positive attitudes towards fashion magazine advertisements positively influence Chinese women's brand attitudes.

The follow-up analysis demonstrates that Chinese women's self-esteem is associated with their brand attitudes. It is found that there is a strong relationship between Chinese women who are dissatisfied with their appearance to that of their self-esteem level and brand attitudes. This is a significantly negative relationship, whereby their low self-esteem level causes an increased change in their attitude towards certain brands, hence their brand attitude changes. This, however, has not been subject to previous research. In the Social Judgment Theory, the persuasive messages are targeting the latitude of acceptance in people, since it is more likely to succeed in advertising if the point of the message is closely linked to the individual's point of view. Chinese women with low self-esteem, who believe they are not beautiful enough, often compare their personal attributes to those of the subjects in the advertising brands. These advertising brands' portrayal of whiteness is linked to an inferior beauty belief of many Chinese women. With the vast representation of Caucasian models in advertising images, the beauty of having white skin has become idealistic, in turn promoting the latitude of acceptance and assimilated by Chinese women.

Chinese women's perception of magazine advertisements strongly influences their decision-making processes in various purchases. The increased desire in purchasing beauty products is in response to the increased perception of magazine advertisements. The more trust the respondents have in the magazine advertisements, the higher the likelihood will be of them purchasing the advertised skin-whitening products. The positive perception of white skin portrayed in advertisements cause many Chinese women to actively pursue this physical form of attractiveness. It is not surprising that once the respondents are aware of the skin-whitening advertisements, many are inclined to purchase these products for use. More than 83% of the respondents admit to purchasing products which have a whitening effect. Currently, advertising

influences Chinese women's brand loyalty and beauty-related purchasing behavior which extends on the previous study by Bendixen (1993). These products promising a lighter skin tone are widely and readily available in the Chinese market of beauty products. According to Pan (2013), around 80% of beauty products that are sold in Chinese pharmacies and grocery stores contain chemicals that not only protect the skin from the sun but also physically lighten the skin tone.

Chinese women's self-esteem has a direct effect on their beauty purchases. There is a strong, negative relationship between their self-esteem and the intention to purchase the advertising products. A decreased level of self-esteem is linked to an increased intention to purchase. Furthermore, body dissatisfaction stimulates a Chinese women's desire to improve the appearance of their skin tone. Theoretically, Chinese women with low self-esteem are less ego-involved and have a wider latitude of acceptance. As such, the advertising products appear to be closely related to their interests, and as a result, they are more easily persuaded. In order to draw closer to the ideal beauty promoted in fashion magazines, the respondents with low self-esteem are more likely to purchase skin-whitening products.

This research finds that there is a weak, yet positive relationship between Chinese women's self-presentation and their perception of fashion magazine advertisements. An increased level of self-presentation increases the perception of magazine advertisements. Self-presentation is the view that one needs to look perfect around others, as such, the level of self-presentation is representative of a women's desire to perfect their self-image in the Chinese

context of beauty. Approximately 84% of the respondents have confirmed that they try their best to look perfect around others. The results suggest that the Social Judgment Theory may provide a form of self-persuasion for female magazine readers in China. The ideal beauty portrayed in fashion magazine advertisements is based on Chinese preference for lighter complexions, and having white skin becomes a focus of self-presentation amongst women. They assimilate that which is commonly promoted in advertising, that being white is both attractive and beautiful.

Chinese women's self-presentation level has a moderate, positive relationship with the brand effectiveness, which is constructed partially through advertising. Higher levels of self-presentation in Chinese women lead to higher brand preferences and purchase intentions. Chinese women with a high level of self-presentation believe that the advertising brands and the products can help them to present themselves successfully in front of other people. When Chinese women became more ego-involved, they also became increasingly involved in brand effectiveness. Alternatively, Chinese women with a low level of self-presentation may not directly be influenced by the brands or the products themselves, but rather by the brand connection that can only be established through the impact of advertising.

It is found that there is an association between a Chinese women's sensation-seeking level and their perception of advertisement and advertising effectiveness. According to the survey results, the level of sensation-seeking is only related to a woman's purchase intentions. The level of sensation-seeking has a weak, positive relationship with Chinese women's purchase behavior. The higher levels of sensation-seeking in Chinese women are associated with higher

preferences of purchase intentions. The results support that sensation seeking reflects the need for change, as such Chinese women with a high sensation to purchase are more likely to seek out and purchase products which are unfamiliar and possibly risky. The sensation-seeking level is not involved in the perception of fashion magazine advertisements or the brand attitudes. There is, therefore, no relationship between a Chinese women's sensation-seeking level, their perception of fashion magazine advertisements, or their brand attitudes. Chinese women who are in search of a new product are unlikely to change their attitude towards these known advertisements. According to the concept of contrast effect, it is possible that the incoming messages are located far from Chinese women's anchor point and it is harder for them to be persuaded. Based on these findings, it can be deduced that the influence of sensation-seeking behavior is limited.

Additionally, the influenced the success of the research considering some of the demographic factors of the respondents prove a factor in determining their brand attitudes and purchase abilities. The moderate, positive relationship between Chinese women's income level and their purchase intentions provide that the high-income earners are able to afford purchasing fashion magazines and beauty products from advertising brands monthly. The a weak, negative relationship between Chinese women's education level and their brand attitudes reflected a higher level of education reduces the possibility of changing attitudes toward magazine advertising brands. And the weak, negative relationship between the respondents' age and their

purchase intentions reduces the possibility of buying products in print advertisements. The older adolescents may have less shopping passion than the younger adolescents.

Theoretical and Practical Implications

The pursuit of white skin among Chinese women can be explained by the Social Judgment Theory. The theory serves as a theoretical way to explain when persuasive messages of the fashion magazine advertisements are more likely to succeed and how Chinese women make decisions regarding the incoming messages. In general, Chinese women make decisions based on their feelings to the advertising messages, which may change based on a variety of circumstances. The closer the advertising messages are to the anchor point of Chinese women being persuaded, the easier it is to convince them.

Chinese women's perception of magazine advertisements and white skin is a form of assimilation in the judgmental process. The anchor point held on the standards of beauty is white skin, as many Chinese women find that Caucasian whiteness portrayed in fashion magazine advertisements is acceptable. This form of persuasion is linked to their personal beliefs of white skin being superior, and it, therefore, falls into their latitude of acceptance. Based on the concept of assimilation, the desire of Chinese women to have white skin is driven by their perception of fashion magazine advertisements and the images of Caucasian models.

In the Social Judgment Theory, the focus of the advertising messages is a decisive factor in the persuasion of Chinese women. The key to successful persuasion is to make sure that Chinese women's judgment on fashion magazine advertisements falls into the latitude of

acceptance, and therefore the advertising messages can be accepted and assimilated. The research finds that advertising impacts upon a Chinese woman's satisfaction of her body image, which refers to both her body- and self-esteem. The increasing awareness of magazine advertisements decreases a woman's satisfaction with her body image. The more Chinese women observe the attractive images of Caucasian models and idealized whiteness, the worse they feel about themselves; and self-esteem is a main component of ego-involvement in this theory. A low level of self-esteem is linked to a low level of ego-involvement, which causes an increase in the latitude of acceptance. Chinese women's level of ego-involvement decreases when they are subject to an increase in their awareness to advertisements. Those with a lower level of skin tone satisfaction are more easily persuaded by various advertising messages.

Chinese women's exposure to fashion magazine advertisements, self-esteem level, individual self-presentation level, and sensation-seeking level all have the ability to influence their potential future purchases. High exposure to fashion magazine advertisements causes Chinese women's reactions to advertising brands and beauty-related products to be more positively influenced. High levels of sensation-seeking influence a Chinese women's willingness to buy new brand products. Low levels of self-esteem in Chinese women increases their preferences to a variety of brands and their purchase intentions. Based on the above, the persuasive messages of fashion magazine advertisements complement Chinese women's pre-existing attitudes. Therefore, the way in which Chinese women respond to these messages falls within the latitude of acceptance.

On the other hand, the unsuccessful persuasion of an advertisement could cause Chinese women to disagree with the advertising content and hold onto these negative feelings. This failed persuasion occurs when Chinese women's feelings towards advertising messages fall within the latitude of rejection. These findings show that Chinese women's sensation-seeking level does not lead to a change in their perception of fashion magazine advertisements or their attitude towards various brands. It can, therefore, be deduced that the persuasion of advertisements is seldom successful if there is a conflict of interest between the advertising messages and a Chinese woman's anchor point.

The Social Judgment Theory fits into Chinese culture because of the historical popularity of white skin. The previous studies by Baumann (2008), Frost (1988), and Johansson (1998) suggest that white skin has always been a standard form of female beauty in China, which existed beyond globalization. In order for advertising messages in China to be persuasive, it must cater for the demand in the Chinese market and the content must be of pleasurable interest to the reader. Keane and Spurgeon (2004) attempt to explain this, by highlighting the fact that international advertisers are often reluctant in cooperating with local media to create new content. The international advertisers instead, choose to use Caucasian models in their print advertisements. These images of Caucasian models thus represent the ideal white skin and thereby promote skin-whitening products to Chinese female magazine readers. The increased use of Caucasian models in advertisements increases the possibility of Chinese women buying various skin-whitening products.

The research also confirms that a successful advertising model always looks at supply and demand. Sometimes the advertisers create artificial needs in order to change the way of audience's lives and make them believe they need more of the products. But in Chinese beauty context, the customer needs have spawned supply in the advertising market. The purpose of beauty advertisements is aimed to make the customers want to be like the models, develop their brand loyalty, and purchase the advertising products. To achieve the goal and maximum the impact of advertisements, the advertisers in China focus on the demand of Chinese women. The demand comes from Chinese women's anchor point, which is white skin. Based on the Social Judgment Theory, it is easier to convince someone who already believes in the similar beauty concepts. Once they perceive the Caucasian whiteness in the print advertisements featured Caucasian models, Chinese women are persuaded that skin-whitening products becoming such a necessity to improve their physical attractiveness. Without the anchor point of white skin, the fashion magazine advertisements and the images of Caucasian models can hardly draw in female readers. It will be unsuccessful to persuade the people with a large latitude of rejection.

There is currently very little research done on using the Social Judgment Theory to evaluate Chinese women's perception of fashion magazine advertisements and white skin. The results of this research will contribute to a different perception of a women's body image and the cultural implications of low self-esteem. These findings will ultimately contribute to that of the Social Judgment Theory.

The following practical implications are built on the importance of balancing the impacts of advertisements. The practice of beauty advertisements has always been controversial. According to Zayer and Colman (2015), the adaptation debate of advertising has been an issue for years. To promote more creative advertisements and meet needs of the market, the advertisers' considerations must be reconciled with their wants. The results of this research indicate the negative influence of advertising on women's body image. Chinese women who view these fashion magazine advertisements are reported worse feelings about their own appearances. Indeed, the perception of magazine advertisements and the low level of body-esteem in Chinese women stimulate their brand attitudes and intention to purchase advertising beauty products. The advertisers must deal with the issue of the negative impact of advertising. In order to reduce the negative effects of advertising, focusing on beauty products themselves in advertising context looks more positive and friendly, rather than the performance of unrealistic beauty ideals and social values of having white skin.

To affect highly targeted consumer niche, it would likely be more economical if the brands were more localized culturally and open-minded to the use of Asian models. The current use of Caucasian models in fashion magazine advertisements can be explained by the dominance of foreign brands in the beauty-related market. These findings are similar to those of Fung Business Intelligence Center (2014), who interprets the Chinese advertising industry to conform to the globalization of advertising, with the exception of cultural differences. The constant exposure of Chinese women to such unrealistic beauty standards through these fashion magazine

advertisements lowers their body-esteem. The promoting of the unrealistic ideal in advertisements has been regarded as unethical practices. On the contrary, setting a beauty goal that can be achieved on beauty will improve the audience's satisfaction and self-confidence. The use of lighter-skinned Asian models in advertising will likely be more effective in the persuasion of Chinese women, than the use of Caucasians. Based on the concepts of the Social Judgment Theory, the assimilation in communication with the target audience is highly significant. The perceived whiteness of Asian models is closely related to the belief held by Chinese women, and an Asian model's physical appearance is similar to theirs. Therefore, Asian models are able to promote a more realistic body image for Chinese women.

From another point of view, it is necessary to fill the beauty market vacancies and attract potential customers who do not have an anchor point of white skin. The needs of skin-whitening products reflect a fact that many women in China do not have fair skin tone. Although a fair complexion is historically valued in China, these women with different skin shades prove that beauty is variable. It is suggested that Chinese advertisers could target this type of female customers with a diversity of standards related to the ideal beauty. Chinese women's feelings about their physical attractiveness will continue to be shaped by the media portrayal of beauty. Both cultural values and Chinese women's attitudes have possibilities to change. Fowler (2012) found that "over the passage of time and the opening up of various cultures to outside influences, culture can change... [Y]oung Chinese consumers may be an indicator there will be a tendency that the fabric of the culture is in a process of change. As such, advertisers should reexamine or,

at least, be cautious of relying on the past cultural research to reach the audiences through advertising (pp. 132-133)." And according to the Social Judgment Theory, the fashion magazine advertisements can influence and persuade audience; the new messages are able to change a Chinese woman's anchor attitude towards the beautiful white skin. New advertisements allow brands to make Chinese women feel more confident and embrace their own bodies, instead of perpetuating low body-esteem. The advertisers in China will be better off in serving their customers well and further improve upon the impact of advertising.

Limitations and Future Research

There are several limitations to the research. First of all, the researcher was limited to the scope of the research project. The researcher was limited to a specific area, and this therefore impacted upon the availability of resources. This limitation may have disadvantaged the researcher, but it also allowed the researcher to remain objective.

Secondly, time limitation. Considering the views of female magazine readers on aspects of beauty, it is evident that given additional time the researcher would have generated increasingly applicable data for the study. The time effect reduced the ability of the researcher to focus on additional elements that could possibly have added to the value of the study. This time limit also impacted upon literature searches that could have revealed case studies among other content that could further contribute positively to the research.

Thirdly, there is no direct support of whether respondents' preference for white skin is historical. Having white skin is a primary importance of beauty amongst Chinese women. It is

necessary for future researchers to examine respondents' feelings and thoughts on the cultural ideals of white skin. It is therefore suggested that in-depth interviews and surveys be conducted to test Chinese women's perceptions of the culture's beauty standards in order to validate the hypothesis.

The fourth limitation is that of media types. This research only looks at print fashion magazines, but the advertising industry is currently being transformed by social media. For instance, *Weibo* (Chinese version of *Twitter*) and *WeChat* (a mobile application) are two large areas for online advertisements. More social media platforms may offer future researches improved methods of investigating the attitudes of consumers.

The sampling bias is also a limitation of this research. The convenience sampling of Sojump is convenient but not accurately representative of the entire population. The degree of representativeness cannot be ensured. It is necessary to obtain a representative sample for future researches. Random selection sampling is highly recommended.

Despite the above limitations, the researcher was able to produce reliable results that would contribute to the growing literature on ideal beauty. This is based on the influence and perceptions developed by advertisements in fashion magazines, which are regularly encountered by the majority of the female population in China.

Chapter 6 – Conclusion

This research has revealed the impact of magazine advertisements on female readers in China, and their associated perceptions regarding white skin and their general beauty. The study has incorporated the questionnaire approach, which enabled the general feelings of the respondents to be assessed. In so doing, common trends were identified and analyzed, in order to interpret the effects of various advertisements on the participant's beauty and fashion decisions.

The research allowed for in-depth analyses of the perception of Chinese female magazine readers to white skin. Based on the Social Judgment Theory, the average Chinese woman believes that white skin represents beauty, and as such they are more easily persuaded with the use of Caucasian models in fashion magazine advertisements. An individual's level of self-esteem is negatively impacted by the persuasive messages that having white skin is beautiful. This thereby increases the likelihood of them purchasing various skin whitening products. The lower a Chinese woman's self-esteem regarding her physical attractiveness, the more vulnerable she is to persuasion. The research further suggests that there is a link between a Chinese woman's self-presentation and degree of sensation-seeking to that of their perception of advertisements and hence its effectiveness. The concept of the idealized white skin in China has constructed a model of its cultural context; it has created an economic market and has proven the impact advertisements have on the purchasing of various products.

Understanding this phenomenon will ultimately provide insight into addressing the effects of the promotion of fashion magazine advertisements on Chinese women. This proposed study

could be considered in light of possibly influencing future advertisements. It is further anticipated that future researchers will expand and improve the knowledge of the Chinese advertising market.

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Appendix A: Questionnaire

Q1: Do you read/subscribe to fashion magazines?
□Yes
□No
Q2: Which of the following fashion magazine do you read/subscribe to?
□VOGUE □Harper's BAZAAR □ELLE □Mare Claire □COSMOPOLITAN □SELF
L'OFFICIEL FIGARO GRAZIA Femina OK! Lady
Q3: Please list all the other fashion magazines that you have read:
Q4: How often do you read/look at fashion magazines (digital version & paper version) in a
month?
Less than once a month
1 - 2 time(s) a month
3 - 4 times a month
5+ times a month
Q5: How many fashion magazines do you read/look at in a month?

$\Box 4$
<u></u>
Q6: Do you read/look at the fashion advertisements in magazines?
□Yes
\square No
Q7: You feel fashion advertisements are (Please select all that apply to you):
Informative
Useless
True to Life
Unreal/Artificial
Credible
Unreliable
Other
Q8: Is your appearance important to you?
□Yes
□No
Q9: Are you comfortable/confident with your current skin shade?
□Yes
No
Q10: Do you have any experience on purchasing products which have an effect of whitening?

□Yes
□No
Q11: How relevant are the following factors to you when reading/looking at the fashion
advertisements in magazines?
(Please check 1 = Very Irrelevant, 5 = Very relevant)
Product Function
Brand
Model(s)
☐Ad Style
Other
Q12: DIRECTIONS: Please rate your attitudes towards fashion magazine advertisements.
1 Strongly Disagree
2 Somewhat Disagree
3 Neutral
4 Somewhat Agree
5 Strongly Agree

Having white skin is an essential element to be physically attractive.	1	2	3	4	5
If I were given an option, I would change my skin color into a lighter	1	2	3	4	5
shade to be more attractive.					
Current advertisements are portraying beauty ideal to women.	1	2	3	4	5
I don't think skin shade matters in beauty judgment. All shades are	1	2	3	4	5
beautiful.					
Current fashion advertisements are using Caucasian/West models.	1	2	3	4	5
A lot of current advertisements are promoting skin-whitening	1	2	3	4	5
products.					
I always compare my body image with models or celebrities featured	1	2	3	4	5
in fashion magazine advertisements.					
I regard the models and celebrities featured in magazine	1	2	3	4	5
advertisement as the beauty ideal.					
I feel models of advertisements are very attractive.	1	2	3	4	5
Models of advertisements do influence my decision making more on	1	2	3	4	5
purchasing new products.					
I think the advertising that have a Caucasian/West model is much	1	2	3	4	5
more likely to draw my attention than those with Asian models.					
I prefer to look at the advertising which having an Asian model more	1	2	3	4	5
than a Caucasian/West model.					
I don't care much about models of advertisements. I would focus	1	2	3	4	5
products themselves.					

DIRECTIONS: Please view the following fashion magazine advertisements and answer the question.



(Sample 1: Estee Lauder New CyberWhite HD Advanced spot-Correcting Collection)



(Sample 2: 2N Tranexamic Acid Instant Oxygen Whitening Essence)



(Sample 3: Lancôme New BLANC EXPERT GN-White essence)



(Sample 4: Maybelline New York Whitestay UV Foundation)

Q13: Are you familiar with fashion advertisements like the ones below which contain key words
and functions such as "beautiful white skin", "snow white" and "white perfect"?
□Yes
□No

Q14: **DIRECTIONS:** Please rate the sample fashion magazine advertisements above.

Attitudes (Holbrook & Batra	, 1987)	
Bad	1 2 3 4 5	Good
Negative	1 2 3 4 5	Positive
Dislike	1 2 3 4 5	Like
Unfavorable	1 2 3 4 5	Favorable

Q15: **DIRECTIONS:** Please rate your attitudes towards the fashion magazine advertisements above.

- 1 Strongly Disagree
- 2 Somewhat Disagree
- 3 Neutral
- 4 Somewhat Agree
- 5 Strongly Agree

Purchase Intention (Kim, Haley, & Koo, 2009; Kim & Sung, 2014)					
I will purchase the product in the sample advertisements.	1	2	3	4	5
I will use the product in the sample advertisements.	1	2	3	4	5
I will recommend the product in the sample advertisements.	1	2	3	4	5

Q16: **DIRECTIONS:** Please rate your attitudes towards the fashion magazine advertisements above.

- 1 Strongly Disagree
- 2 Somewhat Disagree
- 3 Neutral
- 4 Somewhat Agree
- 5 Strongly Agree

Affective reactions to print apparel advertisements Scale (Oh, 2005)	l				
Merry	1	2	3	4	5
Energetic	1	2	3	4	5
Vigorous	1	2	3	4	5
Warmhearted	1	2	3	4	5
Sentimental	1	2	3	4	5

Warm	1	2	3	4	5
Bored	1	2	3	4	5
Dull	1	2	3	4	5
Humiliated	1	2	3	4	5
Distasteful	1	2	3	4	5
Offended	1	2	3	4	5
Insulted	1	2	3	4	5
Tense	1	2	3	4	5
Awkward	1	2	3	4	5
Annoyed	1	2	3	4	5
Uneasy	1	2	3	4	5
Ashamed	1	2	3	4	5
Disdainful	1	2	3	4	5
Loathing	1	2	3	4	5
Embarrassed	1	2	3	4	5
Irritated	1	2	3	4	5
Alienated	1	2	3	4	5
Contemptuous	1	2	3	4	5
Dejected	1	2	3	4	5

Disgusted	1	2	3	4	5
Erotic	1	2	3	4	5
Sexy	1	2	3	4	5
Sensual	1	2	3	4	5

Q17: **DIRECTIONS:** Please rate your attitudes towards the fashion magazine advertisements above.

- 1 Strongly Disagree
- 2 Somewhat Disagree
- 3 Neutral
- 4 Somewhat Agree
- 5 Strongly Agree

Advertising believability scale (Beltramini,1982; Obermiller & Spangenberg, 1998)						
We can depend on getting the truth in in the sample advertisements.	1	2	3	4	5	
The sample advertisements' aim is to inform the consumer.	1	2	3	4	5	
The sample advertisements are informative.	1	2	3	4	5	
The sample advertisements are reliable sources of information about	1	2	3	4	5	
the quality and performance of products.						

The sample advertisements are truth well told.	1	2	3	4	5
I've been accurately informed after viewing the sample	1	2	3	4	5
advertisements.					
The sample advertisements provide consumers with essential	1	2	3	4	5
information.					
In general, advertisements present a trust picture of the product being	1	2	3	4	5
advertised.					

Q18: **DIRECTIONS:** Please rate the fashion magazine advertisements above.

Advertisement involvement (2	Zaichkowsky, 1986)	
Unimportant*	12345	Important
Of no concern	12345	Of concern to me
Irrelevant	12345	Relevant
Means nothing to me*	12345	Means a lot to me
Useless	1 2 3 4 5	Useful
Worthless*	12345	Valuable
Trivial	12345	Fundamental
Not beneficial*	12345	Beneficial
Doesn't matter*	12345	Matters to me

Uninterested	1 2 3 4 5	Interested
Insignificant*	1 2 3 4 5	Significant
Superfluous*	1 2 3 4 5	Vital
Boring	1 2 3 4 5	Interesting
Unexciting	1 2 3 4 5	Exciting
Unappealing*	1 2 3 4 5	Appealing

Q19: **DIRECTIONS:** Please read each item and indicate how you feel about this part or function of your own body using the following scale:

- 1 = Have strong negative feelings
- 2 = Have moderate negative feelings
- 3 = Have no feeling one way or the other
- 4 = Have moderate positive feelings
- 5 = Have strong positive feelings

The Body-Esteem Scale for Adolescents and Adults (Fi	ranzoi & Shields, 1984;
Mendelson, Mendelson & White, 2001)	
body scent	1 2 3 4 5

appetite	1 2 3 4 5
nose	1 2 3 4 5
physical stamina	1 2 3 4 5
reflexes	1 2 3 4 5
lips	1 2 3 4 5
muscular strength	1 2 3 4 5
waist	1 2 3 4 5
energy level	1 2 3 4 5
thighs	1 2 3 4 5
ears	1 2 3 4 5
biceps	1 2 3 4 5
chin	1 2 3 4 5
body build	1 2 3 4 5
physical coordination	1 2 3 4 5
buttocks	1 2 3 4 5
agility	1 2 3 4 5
width of shoulders	1 2 3 4 5
arms	1 2 3 4 5
chest or breasts	1 2 3 4 5

Q20: **DIRECTIONS:** Please rate your attitudes towards the fashion magazine advertisements above.

- 1 Strongly Disagree
- 2 Somewhat Disagree
- 3 Neutral
- 4 Somewhat Agree
- 5 Strongly Agree

The Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (Hylands, et al., 2013)					
I feel that I am a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with	1	2	3	4	5
others.					
I feel that I have a number of good qualities.	1	2	3	4	5
All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.	1	2	3	4	5
I am able to do things as well as most other people.	1	2	3	4	5
I feel I do not have much to be proud of.	1	2	3	4	5
I take a positive attitude toward myself.	1	2	3	4	5
On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.	1	2	3	4	5
I wish I could have more respect for myself.	1	2	3	4	5

I certainly feel useless at times.	1	2	3	4	5
At times I think I am no good at all.	1	2	3	4	5

Q21: **DIRECTIONS:** Please rate your attitudes towards the fashion magazine advertisements above.

- 1 Strongly Disagree
- 2 Somewhat Disagree
- 3 Neutral
- 4 Somewhat Agree
- 5 Strongly Agree

The Perfectionistic Self-Presentation Scale (Hewitt, et al., 2011)					
I always have to look perfect.	1	2	3	4	5
I try hard to look perfect around other people.	1	2	3	4	5
I like trying to look perfect to other people.	1	2	3	4	5
It is important to act perfectly around other people.	1	2	3	4	5
I always have to look as good as I can.	1	2	3	4	5
I have to look like I always do things perfectly.	1	2	3	4	5
I have to look perfect when I am around others.	1	2	3	4	5

If I seem perfect, other people will like me more.	1	2	3	4	5
Mistakes are worse when others see me make them.	1	2	3	4	5
I feel bad about myself when I make mistakes in front of other people.	1	2	3	4	5
I want others to know about it when I do something well.	1	2	3	4	5
I think a lot about mistakes that I have made in front of other people.	1	2	3	4	5
It would be bad if I made a fool of myself in front of other people.	1	2	3	4	5
I do not want my friends to see even one of my bad points.	1	2	3	4	5
I should fix my own problems rather than telling them to other people.	1	2	3	4	5
I should always keep my problems secret.	1	2	3	4	5
I never let others know how hard I work on things.	1	2	3	4	5
I do not let other people know when I fail at something.	1	2	3	4	5

Q22: **DIRECTIONS:** Please rate your attitudes towards the fashion magazine advertisements above.

- 1 Strongly Disagree
- 2 Somewhat Disagree
- 3 Neutral
- 4 Somewhat Agree
- 5 Strongly Agree

Sensation seeking (Chen, et al., 2012)					
I am interested in almost everything that is new.	1	2	3	4	5
I always like to do things that no one else has done before.	1	2	3	4	5
I get restless if I do the same thing for a long time.	1	2	3	4	5
I would love to socialize with adventurous people.	1	2	3	4	5
Take adventures always makes me happy.	1	2	3	4	5
I would do anything as long as it exciting and stimulating.	1	2	3	4	5
To pursue new stimulus and excitement, I can go against rules and	1	2	3	4	5
regulations.					
I am interested in almost everything that is new.	1	2	3	4	5

Demographic Information

Q23: AGE:
Q24: GENDER
Female
Male
Q25: EDUCATION LEVEL (highest degree obtained)
High school or equivalent

Bachelor
Master
Doctor and above
Post doctor
Other
Q26: MONTHLY INCOME LEVEL ($$1 = 4.55 , before tax)
□¥0 - 1,500
□¥1,501 - 4,500
□¥4,501 - 9,000
□¥9,000 - 35,000
□¥35,001 - 55,000
□¥55,001 - 80,000
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Q27: Which city do you currently live in?
Q28: If you are a university student, which university do you currently attend?