BEAUTY IN THE AGE OF MARKETING

Bingqing Yin, Washburn University
Susie Pryor, Washburn University

ABSTRACT

Research has repeatedly demonstrated that beauty is positively related to a number of important outcomes including social and personal power, self-esteem, and preferential treatment from others (Bloch and Richins, 1992; cf. Adams, 1977; Goldman and Lewis, 1977). Moreover, studies consistently suggest that the use of physically attractive models results in positive effects (Berscheid and Walster, 1974; Bower, 2011; Buunk and Dijkstra, 2011; Landy and Sigall, 1974). Accordingly, advertisers utilize attractive models to promote a wide array of products ranging from cosmetics to electronics. Despite the emergence of physical attractiveness as a major component of consumer marketing, there is little cohesive theoretical development in this area. This oversight ignores a marketplace dominated by global marketing initiatives which cross nation-state and cultural boundaries. We have no coherent language system for the study of beauty, nor has there been a systematic attempt to develop a theory of beauty that is robust enough to be useful to marketing and advertising practitioners. The purpose of this paper is to contribute to that theoretical development. First, we refine terminology. Second, we review the marketing literature related to the subject area. Finally, we tentatively suggest how socio-cultural factors may affect consumer perceptions of beauty.

JEL: M31

KEYWORDS: marketing, beauty, consumer behavior, cross-cultural research

INTRODUCTION

Beauty, it is said, is in the eye of the beholder. It is, accordingly, subjective and both socially and culturally influenced. For marketers, this is a less than useful perspective, for beauty *sells*. A body of research suggests, for example, that physically attractive models used in advertising produce consumer expectations of accountability, dynamism and trustworthiness; therefore, marketers tend to use these models to enhance and strengthen the appeal of their advertisements and products (Atkin and Block 1983; Kamins and Gupta 1994). Physically attractive people are known to be perceived by consumers as friendly, warm, dominant, sociable, outgoing, responsive, and possessing both self-esteem and intelligence (Adams, 1977; Adams and Read, 1983; Berscheid and Walster, 1974; Bloch and Richins, 1992; Cann, Siegfried, and Pearce, 1981; Dion and Dion ,1987; Goldman and Lewis, 1977). Individuals favor and are favorably disposed towards physically attractive people (Caballero, Lumpkin and Madden, 1989). More broadly, research in other fields finds physical attractiveness both a determinant and moderator of various processes including heterosexual liking (Berscheid, Dion, Walster, and Walster, 1971; Walster, Aronson, Abrahams, and Rottman, 1966), individuals' perception and evaluation (Sigall and Landy, 1973; Sigall and Aronson, 1969; Sigall, Page, and Brown, 1971), persuasion effectiveness (Mills and Aronson, 1965) and attributions of personal characteristics and future success (Clifford *and* Walster, in press; Dion, Berscheid, and Walster, 1972; Miller, 1970). It is therefore not surprising that physical attractiveness has become a major component of consumer marketing, Beauty is power.

What *is* surprising is the lack of theoretical development in the field, and that becomes apparent when beauty is conceptualized not as an independent variable but as a marketing construct. Understanding consumers' perceptions of beauty, particularly in a complex, global marketplace, has become increasingly strategically important.

The pursuit of beauty is apparent throughout centuries and across cultures. Consumers, especially female consumers, use cosmetics, adornments, clothes, and even plastic surgery to increase and enhance their physical attractiveness (Bloch and Richins, 1992). In daily life, consumers are confronted with advertisements in which products -- varying from cosmetics and clothes to cars and television sets -- are promoted by attractive models and studies provide empirical support for the validity of this marketing approach (Berscheid and Walster, 1974; Belch, Belch and Villareal 1987; Bower 2001; Buunk and Dijkstra, 2011; Clifford and Walster,1973; Chaiken, 1979; Dion, Berscheid, and Walster, 1972; Horai, Naccari and Fatoullah, 1974; Joseph 1982; Landy and Sigall, 1974; Miller, 1970).

Taken as a whole, the literature offers substantial evidence that beauty is an important construct. The literature also suggests areas of general consensus. One, beauty is usefully employed in the promotion of products, both in mass advertising and at point of purchase. Two, consumer attributions related to beauty are multidimensional and favorable. Three, these two axioms hold true across the globe. From a theoretical viewpoint, the literature on beauty has made several key contributions. It has developed a set of important outcome variables. It has tested relationships in a variety of contexts and through a variety of methodological approaches and effectively established nomological validity that allows us to accept these results as robust. Some work has explored cultural differences in consumer perceptions of work, laying the foundations for future work in this area. Other work has established a broad understanding of the features which contribute to human physical beauty.

However, there is a relative paucity of work which sets out to provide a coherent theory of beauty. We lack, for example, a common language with which to work. The proliferation of inexact and variable usage of terms such as beauty, physical attractiveness, aesthetics, and other similar words confounds our task. The purpose of this paper is to begin to examine beauty as a complex marketing construct in order to provide the basis for theoretical development in this area. The paper is organized as follows. We begin the process of defining terms, each of which may present its own avenue for future theoretical development. These include beauty, attractiveness, and aesthetics. We then focus more narrowly on physical attractive and review findings in the literature, in order to suggest how the extant research might be assimilated to begin the process of construct development. Finally, we suggest how research may wish to undertake the task of exploring beauty in the age of marketing.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Defining Beauty, Attractiveness, and Aesthetics

Beauty is commonly considered a characteristic of individuals, objects, and places that is perceived pleasurably. It is studied in diverse fields such as sociology and anthropology (people and animals), art and aesthetics (objects), and tourism studies (places). It is a term which is unique and independent from other related terms, such as attractiveness and aesthetic.

Beauty is colloquially defined as “attractiveness” in advertising and marketing research, and has been measured on a continuum from attractive to unattractive (Langmeyer and shank 1994). Arguably, beauty is, however, more than a simple judgment of attractiveness. Beauty is psychologically complex and reflects multiple dimensions which provide for the inclusion of facets of beauty that are described by consumers in varied terms, such as cute, elegant, sexy, etc. (Solomon, Ashmore and Longo, 1992). This multiplex conceptualization makes the continuum approach problematic. Physical attractiveness generally includes the individual’s analysis of specific characteristics including facial image, body proportion and shape and skin tone (Langmeyer and Shank 1994). For practical purposes, a common categorization in the field of advertising assessing physical attractiveness across six interrelated psycho-logical distinctions or differentiations including (1) Classic Beauty/ Feminine, (2) Sensual/Exotic, (3) Sex-Kitten, (4) Trendy,

(5) Cute, and (6) Girl-Next-Door" (Solomon, Ashmore and Longo 1992).Physical attractiveness, then, is a term related to, but unique from, beauty.

The term aesthetics concerns the nature of beauty, creation, and appreciation of beauty. Parsing the term aesthetics from that of beauty may be particularly theoretically important in marketing from a global perspective. It is common to allude to, for example, the Western aesthetic, the Islamic aesthetic, or the post-modern aesthetic.

Material Adornments Use and Tattoos

Throughout centuries and across cultures, people have used adornments in their pursuit of beauty (Bloch and Richins, 1992), and people adorn their bodies in various ways by covering fashionable or desirable parts graciously to achieve beauty or for aesthetic effect (Scott,n.d.). Empirical studies have shown that adornment usage, which is positively related to physical beauty, enhances attractiveness and perceptions of femininity (Cash, 1988; Cash and Cash 1982; Graham and Jouhar, 1981; Guthrie, Kim and Jung, 2006; Hoult 1954; Hamid 1972). Moreover, adornment usage affects self –esteem and social power (Adams and Read, 1983).
Adornments such as nail items, tattoos, hair styles, jewels, shoes and other grooming and beauty enhancing products have flooded the beauty market. Hundreds of millions of dollars are spent every year by companies to persuade customers to remain fashionable in order to fulfill their desire of both of material level of self-satisfaction and physical level of attractiveness. In addition to financial expenditures, consumers – particularly women -- are willing to suffer physical pain to fit a certain type of social expectation of beauty (Bloch and Richins, 1992). For example, women wear uncomfortable high heels to fit the social standard of beauty and enhance feelings of confidence and attractiveness (Solmon and Schopler, 1982).

As one of the major components in the pursuit of beauty, clothing presents an individual's image. Fashion appeal is a non-verbal communication (Vanderholf 1988) that presents an individual's personality (Behlingand Williams, 1991), through which the observer can assume the wearer's emotional, educational, moral, economic and social status (Faiola and Pullen, 1982). Appeal acts as an adaptive function (Creekmore, 1974) that can help improve an individual's self-image.

Tattoos serve as a special and unique way to express beauty and have been favored by people from different regions and cultures (Busch, 1995; Bell, 1999). Historically, tattoos have been associated with criminals, those of lower socioeconomic status, "freaks", sailors and exotic "savages" (Govenar, 2000; Orend and Gagné, 2009). In the 1960s and 1970s, the popularity of tattoos increased. These period became known as the "Tattoo Renaissance" due to the efforts of a number of respected and skilled artists (Rubin, 1988; Vail, 2000). Today in western society, the tattoo has become a widespread phenomenon with nearly 15% of Americans from all walks of life using tattoos for self-expression (Armstrong, 1991; Sever, 2003; Orend and Gagné, 2009). People get tattoos for many different reasons, but the common theme is to be exotic, unique and special (Armstrong, 1991; Armstrong, Owen, Roberts and Koch, 2002).

Cosmetics Use

Consumers, typically women, use cosmetic products to enhance their appearance and create a "positive declaration of the self," and "inscribe attributes to [one's] personality" (Craik, 1993) and promote self-esteem (Creekmore, 1974). The application of make-up allows consumers to quickly and temporarily change their appearance. Commonly used cosmetics such as eyeliner, mascara, foundation, eye shadow and blush serve as a quick, easy and means to improve facial attractiveness and hence strengthen self-confidence (Miller and Cox, 1982). Improving physical attractiveness is one of the main reasons women apply cosmetics (Guthrie, Kim and Jung, 2006). According to research, women wearing make-up express

a more positive body and self-image and show more confidence than women not wearing make-up (Cash and Cash, 1982). Certain cultural and social standards of beauty and the perceived rewards for being physical attractive have pressured more and more women to apply cosmetics to change their appearance in order to conform to idealized social and cultural beauty standards and expectations (Kelson, Kearney-Cooke, and Lansky, 1990). With the promise that cosmetics present an ideal image, women believe that cosmetics will transform them and lift their self-confidence to a higher level (Bloch and Richins, 1992). For example, using cosmetics such as foundation or concealer can help women conceal blemishes, using eyeliner and eye shadow can give eyes more definition, using lip gloss can enhance the color of lips to make them look fuller and more sensuous. Researchers have found out that women who identify with more traditional roles are more likely to apply cosmetics to achieve beauty (Forbes, Jung and Haas, n.d.), cosmetic usage is positively correlated with facial satisfaction (Cash and Cash, 1982), and that females who wear make-up have more overall appearance satisfaction, believe that they receive more attention than they would otherwise receive, and are also more likely to overestimate their attractiveness when wearing make-up and underestimate their attractiveness when they do not apply make-up (Cash, Dawson, Davis and Bowen, 1989).

Cosmetic brands adopt commonly understood and culturally embedded beauty standard to express to targeted groups' desirable images of beauty (Guthrie, Kim and Jung, 2006.). The influence of these brands and their advertising has been felt globally. For example, before 1910, women in Japan presented a traditional image of covering their face with lead-based white powder, but after 1910, western style transparent white and skin-toned powder become more commonly used (Peiss, 2002). . Increasingly, consumers choose brands in order to reflect social status as well as desired facial image (Wood, 2004). Accordingly, brand managers are advised to relate brand personality to women's' cosmetic purchase behaviors and perceptions of facial image to identify different marketing strategies (Jamal and Goode, 2001).

Facial Image: Facial Proportion, Facial Symmetry and Cultural Facial Preference

Perception of facial beauty are affected by generic, social, cultural and environments factors (Naini, Moss and Gill, 2005). Culturally, socially, and historically subjective, issues related to facial beauty have fascinated scholars for centuries (Rhodes, Proffitt, Crady and Sumich, 1998; Gunes and Piccardi, 2006). Facial beauty may be viewed as a combination of certain qualities which generate a sense of pleasure (Naini, Moss and Gill, 2005). Overall, facial symmetry, facial proportion and facial expression are the significant characteristics in the determination of facial beauty.

Regardless of variables such as race, age and sex, a universal standard of human physical beauty is thought exist, which can be simply expressed as ideal facial proportion (Gunes* and Piccardi, 2006; Farkas et al., 1985; Farkas, 1994; Jefferson, 2004; Landau, 1989; Langlois and Roggman, 1990; Larrabee, 1997). The Divine Proportion (Jefferson, 2004), Golden Proportions (Borissavlievitch, 1985; Huntley, 1970) or the Facial Thirds (Farkas, 1994; Farkas et al., 1985; Farkas and Kolar, 1987) have been widely accepted as ideal facial proportion measurements. Faces with the ideal facial proportions are not just physically attractive but also biologically healthy (; Rhodes etc. 2001; Simposon, 1999).

Researchers have noted that the level of symmetry is one of the fundamental factors that affect human face attractiveness (Gangestad, Thornhill and Yeo, 1994; Thornhill R and Gangestad, 1993). Evolutionary biologists have proposed symmetry as a sign of health and high genetic quality that may be adaptive (Palmer and Strobeck, 1986; Parsons, 1990; Thornhill and Moller, 1997; Watson and Thornhill, 1994). Moreover, facial symmetry is theorized to be a signal of mate quality (Ridley, 1992; Swaddle and Cuthill, 1995; Watson and Thornhill, 1994). Studies by Rhodes et al. (1998) report that by increasing the symmetric level of individual faces, the attractiveness of these faces can be increased and that by reducing the symmetric level, facial attractiveness can be decreased. However, some other related studies have

shown that normal levels of asymmetric faces are more attractive than perfectly symmetric versions of the same faces (Kowner, 1996; Langlois, 1994). For example, research by Knowner and Langlois suggests that the average face is more attractive than the *perfectly* symmetric one, which comes to the conclusion that people prefer symmetric faces (perfectly symmetric excluded) than average faces.

Facial symmetry is only one factor important to facial attractiveness (Rhodes et al. 1998). Psychologists and medical scientists have proposed that there is a timeless, ideal beauty based on facial proportion (Gunes* and Piccardi, 2006; Naini, Moss and Gill, 2005). In addition, different cultures hold their own perception of attractive facial image. For example, the ideal face image of beauty in Asian women's perception is a tiny face with large eyes and prominent nose (Kaw 1991). An eyelid without cease and a flat nose indicate "sleepiness," "dullness," and "passivity" (Kaw 1991 p79).

Research demonstrates the extent to which Asian women tend to change their facial features through cosmetic surgery (Turner 1987; Rosenthal 1991; Kaw 1991, Kristof 1991) in order to acquire "symbolic capital" (Bourdieu 1984; Kaw 1991). More and more Asian women seek cosmetic surgery for double eyelids to get wider and bigger eyes and nose bridges for higher and smarter nose to avoid the stereotype oriental look and negative traits in their culture in order to be exotic and outstanding (Millard 1964; McCurdy 1990; Kaw 1991). Many Asian women submit to cosmetic surgeries to align themselves with social expectations and to escape from the racial prejudice correlated with Asian stereotyped facial beauty (Kaw 1991).

Skin Tone

Skin color may be described usefully through four color variants including white, yellow (or carotene), brown (or melanin), red (also sometimes referred to as melanin) (Frisby, 2006). Increases in melanin darken skin tone. Culturally differences exist with respect to how skin color is viewed. In Asia, fair skin is central to understandings of physical beauty and is correlated with a woman's social status, job prospects, and earnings potential (Ashikari 2003b; Goon and Craven 2003; Leslie 2004; Li, Min, Belk, Kimura and Bahl 2008). White skin, especially in south Asia, is considered both noble and aristocratic (Bray, 2002). The saying "one white covers up three ugliness" has passed from one generation after another, and women strive to achieve flawless milky skin to match the Asian beauty standard (Bray, 2002). Skin whitening, traceable to colonialism, (Goon and Craven 2003; Li, Min, Belk, Kimura and Bahl 2008) and views regarding western beauty and nobility (Wagatsum 1967) fuse traditional Asian cultural values with Western aesthetics (Li, Min, Belk, Kimura and Bahl 2008). The ideal of white skin is the interaction of western-centrism and Asian ideologies represented by Confucianism (Russell 1996). Since whiteness remains a significant element, women in Asia use various methods to brighten, whiten and lighten their yellow-toned or dark skin such as skin whitening or skin bleach cream, pearl powder, or skin whitening drugs (Bray, 2002; Jeon 1987).

Skin color bias, especially within the African American community, reflects the difficulty, disadvantage and pain of dark-skinned women (Thurman, 1929; Thomas and Keith, 2001). In African American communities, skin color plays a significant role in class and social status determinations (Thurman, 1929). Research suggests that dark-skinned women are considered on the bottom rungs of the social ladder, least marriageable, with the least education and career opportunities (Parrish, 1994; Warner, Junker and Adams, 1941). The physical attractiveness stereotype "what is beautiful is good" (Dion, Bersheid and Walster, 1972) creates a "Halo" effect to light-skinned women (Thomas and Keith, 2001). Attractive women are perceived to have lighter skin tones than unattractive women, and a darker-skinned woman may feel herself unattractive and think herself unsuccessful no matter how intelligent and inventive she is (Russell, Wilson and Hall, 1992). African Americans have been conditioned to believe in conformity to a beauty standard that equates light skin with an easier and more rewarding life (Bond and Cash, 1992; Gatewood, 1998).

Interestingly, western Caucasians may seek *darker* skin tones. While suntanned skin was once the hallmark of the working-class, farmers and outdoor laborers, and a tanned skin viewed as unattractive and undesirable (Mahler, Beckerley and Vogel, 2010), this aesthetic was entirely reversed due to the efforts of the French designer, CoCo Chanel. American culture quickly adopted Chanel's portrayal of tanned skin as not merely aesthetically pleasing and trendy (Berkeley, Wellness Letter, 1998) but also come to equate it with good health, wealth, and prestige (Bellafante, 2001).

Body Image: Body Shape, Body Proportion and Weight

Studies consistently demonstrate that individuals compare their own levels of attractiveness with those of fashion models (Irving, 1990; Martin and Kennedy, 1993; Richins, 1991). Stereotypes indicate that women's values are judged by their physical attractiveness and the ideal image of attractiveness is considered as a "creditable source" (D'Alessandro and Chitty, 2011) for women. Several researchers over the years have reported that attractive body image, which can generally be represented by body shape, body proportion and weight, is a significant variable when comes to the general standards and judgment of beauty and effectiveness of advertisements (D'Alessandro and Chitty, 2011; Bogin and Varela-Silva, 2010; Westover and Randle, 2009; Puhl and Boland, 2001). Attractive body image is seen as an indicator of interpersonal, material, and career success (Sullivan, 1993).

Singh (1993a) suggests that body fat distribution may be presented by waist-to-hip ratio (WHR.). An indicator of health, youth and fertility usually lies between 0.67 and 0.80 for healthy and reproductively capable women and is correlated with women's physical attractiveness (DeRidder, Bruning, Zonderland, Singh, 1993a, b, 1994; Singh and Luis, 1995; Thijssen, Bon frer, Blankenstein, Huisveld and Erich, 1990; Streeter and McBurney, 2002). Singh (1993a) contends further that the smaller the WHR ratio is, the more attractive the woman will be considered. Further studies have found that both men and women find women with 0.7 WHR as most attractive (Furnham, Lavancy, and McClelland, 2001; Furnham, Tan, and McManus, 1997; Henss, 1995, 2000; Singh, 1993a, 1993b, 1994a, 1994b, 1994c, 1994d, 1995; Singh and Luis, 1994; Singh and Young, 1995).

Highly attractive underweight model images are pervasive (Joseph, 1982; Westover and Randle, 2009). Both in western and eastern cultures, thinness as the ideal woman beauty standard has been stressed in media representations of beauty (Seid, 1994; Wifley and Rodin, 1995). Dalley and Gomez (1980) mentioned in their studies that Slimness has been found to be related to elegance, self-control, social attractiveness, and youth (Dailey and Gomez 1980). Media pressure, socio-cultural pressure, self-dissatisfaction pressure and male preference pressure have delivered the clear message to woman that being thin is perceived more attractive than average weight or overweight (Brownell 1991; Fallon and Rozin 1985; Franzoi and Herzog 1987; Mazur, 1986; Rozin and Fallon 1988; Silverstein, Peterson and Perdue 1986; Spillman and Everington 1989; Stice, Schupak-Neuberg, Westover and Randle, 2009). (Exceptions exist, of course. In Uganda, for example, heavier body shapes are overwhelmingly preferred.) Large numbers of women reify standards of beauty established via media images, striving for reductions in body mass (Borchert and Heinberg, 1996; Butler and Ryckman, 1993; Monteath and McCabe, 1997; Solomon, Ashmore and Longo, 1992). Eating disorders, cosmetic surgery and depression caused by self-dissatisfaction reported negative results of these consumer responses to media presentations of beauty (Singh, 1994b).

THE PATH FORWARD

We argue from the outset of this article that for beauty to be a manageable and measurable feature of marketing and advertising in a global economy, it must be made theoretically meaningful, less subjective, and social and cultural factors accounted for. Admittedly, this poses challenges as the fashion industry is

continually reinventing itself, product shelf lives are shortening, and beauty itself is malleable and evolving.

While the beauty industry as a whole tends to be economically resilient, many firms are having difficulties understanding the global consumer and effectively capitalizing on growth opportunities. The *Wall Street Journal* (Karp, 2011) recently reported, for example, that the American cosmetics firm, Avon, draws nearly two-thirds of its business from rapidly expanding emerging markets. Despite this growth, Avon has had difficulties with a broad range of issues including inventory management, supply chain management, demand models, labor, and consumer preferences.

CONCLUSION

This article seeks to establish beauty as a complex, meaningful, and relevant marketing construct in order to provide the basis for further theoretical development. It is by no means a comprehensive examination of the construct of beauty, nor is it intended to be a critique or presentation of media representations. We approached our survey of the literature by systematically examining key research journals in the area of marketing, searching on the terms beauty, aesthetics, and attractiveness. When these searches netted relevant articles in related disciplines, we incorporated external ideas.

The literature suggests that beauty is a multidimensional construct and includes attributes such as material adornments and cosmetics use, facial and body image, and skin tone. Moreover, each of these is potentially mediated by culture, gender, and age.

This work is designed to be suggestive of the breadth and depth of knowledge needed in the field of marketing to develop a theory of beauty useful to practitioners. It suggests, for example, the types of variables that interplay with the construct of beauty. It also suggests the variable nature of the construct. It acknowledges that social and cultural factors contribute to perceptions and beliefs about beauty. Finally, it attempts to hint at the magnitude of importance of understanding beauty. Such an understanding will contribute to the field by assisting advertisers, consumers, and consumer advocates.

The paucity of work on beauty as a marketing construct makes possible a dizzying array of research avenues and approaches. Additional foundational work should be pursued that identifies clear domains for investigation. While in this article, we identify several key terms and the general areas previously investigated, a great deal more may be done to provide research clarity. In addition, our own review suggests several very specific broad areas of investigation, including beauty as power and beauty as capital. Finally, researchers may wish to undertake cross-cultural and gender studies of beauty.

REFERENCES

Abraham P. B. and Dijkstra, P. (2011). "Does Attractiveness Sell? Women's Attitude Toward a Product as a Function of Model Attractiveness, Gender Priming, and Social Comparison Orientation." *Psychology and Marketing,* vol. 28(9), September, p.958–973

Adams, G. R. (1977). "Physical attractiveness research: Toward a developmental social psychology of beauty." *Human Development, vol.*20(4), p.217-239.

Adams, G. R., and Read, D. (1983). "Personality and social influence styles of attractive and unattractive college women." *Journal of Psychology,* vol.114 (2), July, p.151-157.

Armstrong, M.L., Owen, D.C., Roberts, A.E., and Koch, J.R. (2002). "College students and tattoos: The influence of image, identity, friends, and family." *Journal of Psychosocial Nursing* vol.40 (10), October, p.1-8.

Armstrong, Myrna L. (1991). "Career-oriented women with tattoos." *Image: Journal of Nursing Scholarship* vol.23 (4), December, p. 215-20.

Ashikari, Mikiko (2003). "Urban Middle-Class Japanese Women and Their White Faces: Gender, Ideology, and Representation," *Ethos*, vol.31 (1), March, p.3-37.

Beausoleil, N. (1992). "Makeup in everyday life: An inquiry into the practices of urban American women of diverse backgrounds." In N. Sault (Ed.), *Many mirrors: Body image and social relations*, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, p.33-57.

Behling U. D. and Williams. A. E. (1991). "Influence of dress on perception of intelligence and expectations of scholastic achievement." *Clothing and Textile Research Journal*, vol.9 (4), June, p.1 - 7.

Belch, George E., Michael A. Belch, and Angelina Villareal (1987). "Effects of advertising communications: Review of research." *Research in Marketing*, Jagdish Sheth, ed., New York. JAI Press, Vol.9, p. 59-117.

Bell, Shannon. (1999). "Tattooed: A participant observer's exploration of meaning." *Journal of American Culture* vol.22 (2), July, p.53-58.

Bellafante, G. (2001). "Tan is the new black." New York Times Magazine, August, p. 13.

Berscheid, E., and Walster, E. (1974). " Physical attractiveness." In L. Berkowitz (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology*, vol.7, p. 157-215.

Berscheid, E., Dion, K., Walster, E., and Walster, G. W. (1971). "Physical attractiveness and dating choice: A test of the matching hypothesis." *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology,* vol.7 (2), March, p.173-179.

Bjerke, R., and Polegato, R. (2006). "How well advertising images of health and beauty travel across cultures? A self-concept perspective." *Psychology and Marketing*, vol.23 (10), October, p.865–884.

Bloch, Peter H., and Marsha L. Richins (1992). "You look 'mahvelous': The pursuit of beauty and the marketing concept." *Psychology and Marketing*, vol.9 (1), February, 3-15.

Bogin, Barry * and Maria Inês Varela-Silva (2010). "Leg length, body proportion, and health: A review with a note on .eauty," *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, vol.7 (3), March, p.1047-1075.

Bond, S., and T. F. Cash. (1992). "Black beauty: Skin color and body images among African-American college women." *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, vol.22 (11), June, 874-88.

Borchert, J., and Heinberg, L.(1996). "Gender schema and gender role discrepancy as correlates of body image," *Journal of Psychology*, vol.130(5),September, p.547–559.

Bower, Amanda B. (2001). "Highly attractive models in advertising and the women who loathe them: The implications of negative affect for spokesperson effectiveness." *Journal of Advertising*, vol.30 (3), September, p.51-63.

Brownell, K. (1991). "Dieting and the search for the perfect body: where physiology and the culture collide." *Behavior Therapy*, vol. 22(1), November, p.1–12.

Busch, Akiko. (1995). "My decorated self," *Print*, vol. 49 (1), January/February, p. 112.

Butler, C., and Ryckman, R. (1993) "Perceived and ideal physiques in male and female university students," *Journal of Social Psychology*, vol.133 (5), October, p.751–752.

Caballero, M.J.; Lumpkin, J. R.; Madden, C.S. (1989). "Using physical attractiveness as an advertising tool: an empirical test of the attraction phenomenon." *Journal of Advertising Research*, vol.29 (4), p. 16-22.

Cann, A., Siegfried, W. D., and Pearce, L. (1981). "Forced attention to specific applicant qualifications: Impact on physical attractiveness and sex of applicant biases." *Personnel Psychology,* vol.34 (1), March. 65-75.

Cash, T.F., Dawson, K., Davis, P. and Bowen, M. (1989). "Effects of cosmetics use on the physical attractiveness and body image of American college women." *Journal of Social Psychology*, vol.129 (3),June, p.349-55.

Chaiken, S. (1979) "Communicator Physical Attractiveness and Persuasion," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, vol.37 (8), August, p.1387-97.

Clifford, M. M., and Walster, E. (1973) "The Effect of Physical Attractiveness on Teacher Expectation," *Sociology of Education*, vol.46 (2), spring, 248-58.

Cohn, L., and Adler,N. (1992) "Female and male perceptions of ideal body shapes:Distorted views among Caucasian college students," *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 16, 69–79.
Cosm.etic Science, vol.16 (1), March, p.1-14.

Craik, J. (1993) "The Face of Fashion: Cultural Studies in Fashion," Routledge, London.

Creekmore, A.M. (1974) "Clothing related to body satisfaction and perceived peer self," *Research Report* No. 239, Technical Bulletin, Agricultural Experiment Station, Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI.

DeRidder, C. M., Bruning, P. F., Zonderland, M. L., Thijssen. J. H. H., Bonfrer, J. M. G., Blankenstein, M. A., Huisveld, J. A. and Erich, W. B. M. (1990) "Body Fat Mass, Body Fat Distribution and Plasma Hormones in Early Puberty in Females," *Journal of Clinical and Endocrinological Metabolism,*vol.70(4), April,p.888-893.

Dion, *K.* L., and Dion, K. K. (1987) "Belief in A Just World and Physical Attractiveness Stereotyping," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology***,** vol.52 (4), April, 775-780.

Dion, K., E. Berscheid, and E. Walster (1972) "What is Beautiful Is Good," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology,* vol.24 (3), December, p.285-90.

Fallon, A. and Rozin, P. (1985) "Sex differences in perceptions of desirable body shape," *Journal of Abnormal Psychology,* vol.94 (1), February, p.102–105.

Forbes, G., Jung, J. and Haas, K. (2006) "Benevolent Sexism and Cosmetic Use: A Replication with Three College and One Adult Sample," *The Journal of Social Psychology*, vol.146 (5), p.635.

Franzoi, S. and Herzog, M. (1987) "Judging Physical Attractiveness: What Body Aspects Do We Use," *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* vol.13 (1), March, p.19–33.

Furnham, A., Lavancy, M., and McClelland, A. (2001) "Waist to hip ratio and facial attractiveness: a pilot study," *Personality and Individual Differences*, vol.30 (3), February, p.491–502.

Furnham, A., Tan, T. and McManus, C. (1997) "Waist-to-hip ratio and preferences for body shape: a replication and extension," *Personality and Individual* Differences, vol.22 (4), March, p.539–49.

Furnham, A., & Lim, A.-N. (1997) "Cross-cultural differences in the perception of male and female body shapes as a function of exercise," *Journal of Social Behavior & Personality*, Vol. 12(4), December, 1997, p.1037-1053.

Gatewood, W. B. (1988) "Aristocrat of Color: South and North and Ehe Black Elite*," Journal of Southern History*, vol.54 (1), Feburary, p.3-19.

Thompson, S.M.and Keith.M.V.(2001). "The Black, The Berry, Gender, Skin Tone, Self-Esteem, and Self-Efficacy," *Gender and Society*, 15 (3), June, p.336-357.

Goldman, W, and Lewis, P. (1977). "Beautiful is good: Evidence that the physically attractive are more socially skillful." *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology,* vol.13 (2)*,* March, p.125-130.

Goon, Patricia and Allison Craven (2003) "Whose debt? Globalization and white facing in Asia." *Intersections: Gender, History and Culture in the Asian Context*, August, Accessed November 20, 2011 at: http:// wwwsshe.murdoch.edu.au/intersections/issue9/ gooncraven.html

Govenar, Alan. (1982). "The changing image of tattooing in American culture." *Journal of American Culture*, vol.5 (1), Spring, p.30-37.

Graham, J. A., and Jouhar, A. J. (1981). "The effects of cosmetics on person perception." *International Journal of Cosmetic Science*, vol. 3(5), October, p.199-210.

Greif, J., Hewitt, W., and Armstrong, M.L. (1999). "Tattooing and body piercing: Body art practices among college students." *Clinical Nursing Research* vol.8 (4), November, p.368-385.

Gründl, M.; Eisenmann-Klein, M.; Prantl, L. (2009). "Quantifying female bodily attractiveness by a statistical analysis of body measurements." *Plast. Reconstr Surg*., vol.123 (3), March, p.1064-1071.

Gunes, Hatice and Piccardi, Massimo (2006. "Assessing facial beauty through proportion analysis by image processing and supervised learning." *International Journal of Human-Compuetr Studies*, vol.64 (12), December, p.1184-1199.

Guthrie, Michelle, Kim, Hye-shin and Jung Jaehee (2006). "The effects of facial image and cosmetic usage on perceptions of brand personality." *Journal of fashion marketing and management,* vol.12 (2), May, p.164-181.

Hamid, P. N. (1972). "Some effects of dress cues on observational accuracy, a perceptual estimate and impression formation." *Journal of Social Psychology,* vol.86 (2), April, p.279-289.

Heike I. M. Mahler, Shiloh E. Beckerley and Michelle T. Vogel (2010). "Effects of Media Images on Attitudes Toward Tanning." *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, vol. 32(2), April, p.118-127.

Henss, R. (1995). "Waist-to-hip ratio and attractiveness. Replication and extension." *Personality and Individual Differences*, 19(4), October, 479–88.

Henss, R. (2000). "WHR and female attractiveness. Evidence from photographic stimuli and methodological considerations." *Personality and Individual Differences*, vol.28 (3), March, p.501–513.

Horai, JoAnn; N. Naccari; and E. Fatoullah. (1974). "The Effects of Expertise and Physical Attractiveness Upon Opinion Agreement and Liking." *Sociometry*, vol.37 (4), December, p.601-606.

Hoult, T. F. (1954). "Experimental measurement of clothing as a factor in some social ratings of selected American men." *American Sociological Review,* vol.19 (3), June, p.324-328.

Jamal, A. and Goode, M.M.H. (2001). "Consumers and brands: A study of the impact of self-image congruence on brand preference and satisfaction." *Marketing Intelligence and Planning*, vol.19 (7), December, p.482-92.

Jeon, Wankil (1987). *The cultural history of make-up in Korea*. Seoul, Korea: Yeolhwadang [in Korean].

Joseph, W. Benoy (1982). "The credibility of physically attractive communicators: A review." *Journal of Advertising*, vol.11(3), p.15-24.

Kahle, L., and Homer, P. (1985). "Physical attractiveness of the celebrity endorser." *Journal of Consumer Research.*, Vol.11(4),March, p.954–961.

Karp, Hannah. (2011). "Avon's investments fall short." *Wall Street Journal*, [New York, N.Y] 08 Dec 2011: B.1.

Kelson, T. R., Kearney-Cooke, A., and Lansky, L. M. (1990). "Body-image and body Beautification among Female College Students." *Perceptual and Motor Skills*, vol.71 (1), August, p.281-289.

Kowner, R. (1996). "Facial asymmetry and attractiveness judgment in developmental perspective.," *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Human Perception and Performance*, vol.22 (3), June, p.662-675.

Landy, David, and H. Sigall (1974). "Beauty is talent: Task evaluation as a function of the performer's physical attractiveness." *Journal of Personality and Social* Psychology, vol.29 (2), March, p.299-304.

Langmeyer, Lynn and Shank, Mattew (1994). "Managing beauty-products and people." *Journal of Product and Brand Management*, vol.3 (3),September, p.27-38.

Leslie, Deepak (2004). "A darker side of fair." Watertown, MA, *Documentary Educational Resources.*

Mazur, A. (1986). "U.S. Trends in feminine beauty and overadaptation." *Journal of Sex Research*, vol.22 (3), August, p.281-303.

Miller, A. G. (1970). "Role of attractiveness in impression formation," *Psychonomic Science*, vol.19 (4), p.241-243.

Miller, L. C., and Cox, C. L. (1982). "For appearances' sake: Public self-consciousness and makeup." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 8, 748-751.

Miller. H.L. and W. Rivenbark (1970). "Sexual differences in physical attractiveness as a determinant of heterosexual liking." *Psychological Reports*, vol.27 (3), December, p.701-702.
.
Mills, J., and Aronson, E. (1965). "Opinion change as a function of the communicator's attractiveness and desire to influence." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology,* vol. 1(2), February, p.173-177.

Monteath, S., and McCabe, M. (1997). "The influence of societal factors on female body image." *Journal of Social Psychology*, vol.137 (6), December, p.708–727.

Orend, Angela and Gagné, Patricia(2009). "Corporate logo tattoos and the commodification of the body." *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography,* vol. 38 (4), August, p.493-517.

Peiss, Kathy (2002). "Educating the eye of the beholder-American cosmetic abroad." *The MIT Press on behalf of American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, Daedalus, vol. 131(4), September, 101-109.

Puhl, M. R. and Boland, J. F. (1996). "Predicting female physical attractiveness." *Psychology, Evolution and Gender*, vol.3 (1), April, p.27-46.

Reiderdan, J.,and Koff, E. (1997). "Weight-related aspects of body image, and depression in early adolescent girls." *Adolescence*, vol.32, Fall, p.615–624.

Rhodes, G. , Proffitt, F., Grady, M. J. and Sumich, A. (1998). "Facial symmetry and the perception of beauty." *Psychonomic Bulletin and Review*, vol.5(4), p.659-669.

Rhodes, G., Yoshikawa, S., Clark, A., Lee, K., McKay, R. and Akamatsu, S. (2001). "Attractiveness of facial averageness and symmetry in non-Western cultures: In search of biologically based standards of beauty." *Perception*, vol.30(5), December,p.611-625.

Rozin, P. and Fallon, A. (1988) "Body image, attitudes to weight, and misperceptions of figure preferences of the opposite sex: a comparison of men and women in two generations," *Journal of Abnormal Psychology* vol.97 (3), August, p.342–345.

Rubin, Arnold. (1988). "The tattoo renaissance," *Advances in Consumer Research*, vol.25, p. 461-467.

Russell, K., Midge W., and Ronald H. (1992). *The color complex: The politics of skin color among African Americans*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.Seid, R.P. (1994) "Too close to the bone: the historical context for women's obsession with slenderness," in P. Fallon, M.A. Katzman and S.C. Wooley (eds), *Feminist Perspectives on Eating Disorders*, New York: Guildford Press.

Sever, Joy Marie. (2003) "A third of Americans with tattoos say they make them feel more sexy." T*he Harris Poll*. Accessed November 25, 2011 at: www.harrisinteractive.com

Sigall, H., and Landy, D. (1973). "Radiating beauty: The effects of having a physically attractive partner on person perception." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology,* vol. 28(2), November, p.218-224.

Sigall, H., Page, R., and Brwon,A.C. (1971). "Effort expenditure as a function of evaluation and evaluator attractiveness." *Representative Research in Social Psychology*, vol.2, p.19-25.

Silverstein, B., Perdue, L., Peterson, B. and Kelly, E. (1986). "The role of the mass media in promoting a thin standard of bodily attractiveness for women." *Sex Roles* 14(9/10), p.519–532.

Silverstein, B., Peterson, B. and Perdue, L. (1986). "Some correlates of the thin standard of bodily attractiveness for women." *International Journal of Eating Disorders* vol. 5(5), July, p.895–905.

Simon, H., Berkowitz, N., and Moyer, R. (1970). "Similarity, credibility, and attitude change: A review and a theory." *Psychological Bulletin*, vol.73 (1), January, p.1–16.

Singh, Devendra (1993a). "Adaptive significance of female physical attractiveness: Role of the waist-to-hip ratio." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, vol. 65(2), August, p.293-307.

Singh, Devendra (1993b). "Body shape and women's attractiveness: the critical role of waist–hip ratio." *Human Nature*, vol.4 (3), p.297–321.

Singh, Devendra (1994a). "Is thin really beautiful and good? Relationship between WHR and female attractiveness." *Personality and Individual Differences*, vol. 16(1), January, p.123–132.

Singh, Devendra (1994b). "Ideal female body shape: Role of body weight and WHR." *International Journal of Eating Disorders,* vol. 16(3), November, p.283–288.

Singh, Devendra (1994c). "WHR and judgments of attractiveness and healthiness by male and female physicians." *International Journal of Obesity*, vol. 18(11), November, p.731–737.

Singh, Devendra (1994d). "Body fat distribution and perception of desirable female body shape by young Black men and women." *International Journal of Eating Disorders*, vol.16 (3), November, p.289–294.

Singh, Devendra (1995). "Female health, attractiveness and desirability for relationships: Role of breast asymmetry and WHR.." *Ethology and Sociobiology*, vol. 16(6), November, p.465–481.

Singh, D., and Luis, S. (1995). "Ethnic and gender consensus for the effect of WHR on judgment of women's attractiveness." *Human Nature*, vol.6 (1), p. 51–65.

Singh, D., and Young, R. (1995). "Body weight, WHR, breasts and hips: Role in judgments of female attractiveness and desirability for relationships." *Ethology and Sociobiology*, vol.16(6), November, p.483–507.

Solomon, M. R., and Schopler, J. (1982). "Self-consciousness and clothing." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin,* vol. 8(3), September, p.508-514.

Solomon, M.R., Ashmore, R.D. and Longo, L.C. (1992). "The beauty match-up hypothesis: Congruence between types of beauty and product images in advertising." *Journal of Advertising*, 21, p.23-34.

Spillman, D. and Everington, C. (1989). "Somatotypes revisited: Have the media changed our perception of the female body image?" *Psychological Reports,* vol.64 (3), June, p.887–890.

Stice, E., Schupak-Neuberg, E., Shaw, H. and Stein, R. (1994). "Relation of media exposure to eating disorder symptomology: An examination of mediating mechanisms." *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, vol. 103(4), November, p.836–840.

Streeter, A. Sybil and Mcburney, H. Donald (2003). "Waist-hip ratio and attractiveness, New Evidence and a critique of 'A Critical Test'." *Evolution and Human Behavior,* vol. 24(2), March, p. 88-98.

Striegel-Moore, R.H., McAvay, G., and Rodin, J. (1986). "Psychological and behavioral correlates of feeling fat in women," *International Journal of Eating Disorders*, vol. 5(5), July, p.937-947.

Sullivan, Deborah (1993). "Cosmetic surgery: Market dynamics and medicalization." *Research in the Sociology of Health Care*, vol. 10, p.97–115.

Thornhill R. and Gangestad S. (1993). "Human facial beauty: averageness, symmetry and parasite resistance." *Human Nature,* vol. 4(3), September, p.237-269.

Thurman, Wallace (1929). *The blacker the berry: A novel of Negro life*. New York: Macmillan.

Vail, Donald Angus (2000). *The tattoos we deserve: Producing culture and constructing elitism*. PhD diss., Univ. of Connecticut.

Vandroff, Marqil (1988). *Clothing concept and construction*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall. Inc.

Wagatsuma, Hiroshi (1967). "The social perception of skin color in Japan." *Daedalus*, vol. 96 (2), May, p.407-443.

Walster, E., Aronson, V., Aberahams, D., and Rottman, L. (1966). "The importance of physical attractiveness in dating behavior." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology,* vol. 4(5), November, p.508-516.

Warer, W. L., Junkera, B. H., and . Adams, W. A. (1941). *Color and human nature*. Washington,DC: American Council on Education.

Wiley, D.E. and Rodin, J. (1995). "Cultural influences on eating disorders." in K.D. Brownwell and C.G. Fairburn (eds) *Eating and obesity: A comprehensive* h*andbook*. New York: Guildord Press, p.78–82.

Wood, M. Lisa (2004). "Dimensions of brand purchasing behaviour: consumers in the 18-24 age group." *Journal of Consumer Behaviour*, vol. 4 (1), September, p.9-24.

BIOGRAPHY

Bingqing Yin is a graduate student at Washburn University. Her research interests include cross-cultural perceptions of beauty and consumer behavior. Email: susie.pryor@washburn.edu

Susie Pryor is an assistant professor of marketing. Her research interests include social capital and co-production. Email: mirandayin2011@gmail.com