Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group

Beauty before the Eyes of Beholders: The Cultural Encoding of Beauty Types in Magazine Advertising and Music Television

Author(s): Basil G. Englis, Michael R. Solomon and Richard D. Ashmore
Source: *Journal of Advertising*, Vol. 23, No. 2 (Jun., 1994), pp. 49-64
Published by: Taylor & Francis, Ltd.
Stable URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/4188927
Accessed: 20-03-2023 09:13 UTC

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at https://about.jstor.org/terms

JSTOR

Taylor & Francis, Ltd. is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Journal of Advertising*

This content downloaded from 193.255.133.5 on Mon, 20 Mar 2023 09:13:14 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

Beauty *Before* the Eyes of Beholders: The Cultural Encoding of Beauty Types in Magazine Advertising and Music Television

Basil G. Englis, Michael R. Solomon, and Richard D. Ashmore

Although researchers have conceptualized beauty as unidimensional, modern-day cultural definitions of beauty are multidimensional. This paper focuses on two forms of mass media that play an important role in transmitting information about multiple and diverse cultural ideals of beauty—fashion magazine advertising and music videos shown on music television. We examine the overall prevalence of different beauty ideals and how these are distributed across specific vehicles within *each medium. We also compare the emphasis placed on different ideals of beauty* across *these two communications media (print vs. television) and formats (advertising vs. entertainment). The implications of the findings for understanding the cultural construction of beauty ideals and for understanding how advertising and other mass media communications contribute to them are discussed. Several extensions of the present research are proposed.*

Basil Englis (Ph.D. Dartmouth) is Assistant Professor of Marketing in the School of Business at Rutgers University - New Brunswick.

Michael Solomon (Ph.D. University of North Carolina - Chapel Hill) is Associate Professor and Chairman of the Marketing Department in the School of Business at Rutgers University - New Brunswick.

Richard Ashmore (Ph.D. UCLA) is Professor of Psychology at Rutgers University - New Brunswick.

Journal of Advertising,
Volume XXIII, Number 2
June 1994

Introduction

Much as the Supreme Court Justice observed when asked just what constitutes pornography, people have trouble defining beauty, but they know it when they see it. And, they actively look for it. Consumers are constantly on the prowl to acquire the latest products and services that will help them to attain this elusive quality. To capitalize on this desire, marketers compete fiercely to position their products and to design mass media communications so as to embody current ideals of beauty (Bloch and Richins 1992). Indeed, one content analysis of network television commercials found that one out of every 3.8 messages was related to attractiveness (Downs and Harrison 1985).

Recent evidence supports the assertion that attractive people portrayed in advertising affect consumers' global perceptions of their own facial attractiveness (Richins 1991) and on body cathexis (Myers and Biocca 1992). However, researchers have done little to understand how ideals of beauty are culturally encoded, how these ideals are internalized by consumers, how these ideals are developmentally ingrained in children and adolescents by different mass media formats (e.g., entertainment vs. advertising), or how the ideals propagated in mass media affect consumers' acquisitions of products and services designed to attain these looks.

In other words, we know something about how important physical attractiveness is to consumers, but fairly little about how people define *what* is attractive. This paper briefly reviews literature on cultural definitions of beauty, with an emphasis on the argument that physical attractiveness is not a unidimensional construct as operationalized in most studies. It then summarizes recent research that has attempted to develop empirically a typology of "looks" that reflects how cultural gatekeepers cognitively organize beauty ideals. In this paper we present two empirical studies, which examine different media and formats: In one study, we measure the relative preponderance of qualitatively distinct "looks" in current fashion magazine advertising, and in a second study we examine the representation of these

This content downloaded from 193.255.133.5 on Mon, 20 Mar 2023 09:13:14 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

"looks" in a major vehicle of adolescent consumer socialization—contemporary music videos. Both media vehicles emphasize idealized images of beauty, and they relate these ideals to a wide range of consumption activities (e.g., Englis, Solomon and Olofsson 1993).

We begin with the premise that most people strive to attain a certain ideal of beauty currently prevalent in their culture. A beauty ideal is an overall "look" incorporating both physical features (e.g., "pouty" lips vs. thin lips, large breasts vs. small), and a variety of products, services, and activities. These can include clothing, cosmetics, hairstyling, tanning salons, leisure activities (e.g., aerobics, tennis, or weightlifting), and even plastic surgery (e.g., breast or lip implants or liposuction). Ideals of beauty often are summed up in a sort of cultural short-hand; one may talk about a "vamp," a "girl-next-door," or an "ice queen," or one may refer to specific women who have come to embody an ideal, such as Cher, Marilyn Monroe, or Princess Di.

The examples cited above all refer to evaluations of female beauty. In the study reported here we examine ideals of female beauty as represented in mass media vehicles of popular culture because (1) there is a long history of using "female beauty" to sell products to women as well as to men, and (2) rightly or wrongly—mass media consistently reinforce assumed linkages between women's appearance and their feelings of self-worth (e.g., Bloch and Richins 1992; Downs and Harrison 1985; Ruble 1983; Tan 1979). Thus, in the present work we examine ideals of female beauty; however, the proposed logic regarding the multidimensionality of beauty should apply to ideals of male attractiveness as well (see also Solomon, Ashmore and Longo 1992).

What is Beautiful May be Good, But it is Also Multidimensional

Since the pioneering work of Dion, Berscheid and Walster (1972) that empirically demonstrated the "what is beautiful is good" halo effect in person perception, social psychologists have been aware of what laypeople have long known: physical appearance matters (cf. Patzer 1985). Attractive people are better liked, and they are assumed to be more sociable, independent, and exciting (e.g., Brigham 1980), while less attractive people are assumed to be deviant and are often stigmatized (e.g., Jones, Hammond and Philips 1978; Unger, Hildebrand and Madare 1982; for a recent quantitative review, see Eagly, Ashmore, Makhijani and Longo 1991). Abundant research evidence also attests to the marketing consequences of employing attractive rather than unattractive spokespersons and models (cf. Baker and Churchill 1977; Belch, Belch and Villareal 1987; Caballero and Pride 1984; Courtney and Whipple 1983; Joseph 1982; Kahle and Homer 1985; Kamins 1990; McGuire 1985; Reid and Soley 1983).

The notion that beauty is a multidimensional construct replete with nuance rather than a simple bipolar continuum (i.e., attractive—unattractive) is most likely intuitive to many. Surprisingly, though, this assumption does not inform existing conceptualizations of attractiveness in either psychological or marketing research (cf. Ashmore et al. 1990). Studies in both domains almost exclusively use a single attractive-unattractive rating scale to assess beauty. Most of this work is intended to demonstrate that targets, preselected to be either highly attractive or highly unattractive, are perceived to have different attributes, to be treated differently by others, or to vary in terms of their interpersonal influence.

In addition to relying solely on a single attractive-unattractive continuum, the prototypic study utilizes systematic manipulation of specific facial or apparel features, while other stimulus aspects are controlled as closely as possible (e.g., Forsythe, Drake and Hogan 1985; Solomon and Douglas 1987). The modal methodology in social-psychological research on attractiveness focuses on purely facial attractiveness, often employing head-and-shoulders shots from yearbooks as stimuli (Eagly et al. 1991). Although such an approach is useful to study specific feature effects, its application to "the real world" is problematic. For example, while successful "supermodels" like Linda Evangelista, Cindy Crawford, and Iman are clustered together at the high end of the attractiveness dimension, they are clearly more different than similar in terms of physical features (e.g., voluptuous vs. athletic) and qualities personified (e.g., demure, exotic, sexy, or elegant).

The Cultural Relativity of Beauty

Although some social scientists have proposed the existence of innate reactions to selected aspects of appearance (Berry and McArthur 1985; Cunningham 1981), the cultural relativity of beauty norms, as well as their fluidity over time, suggests that answers to the question "What is beautiful?" are culturally constituted as a result of common socialization experiences (Banner 1983). If so, these standards are, at

This content downloaded from 193.255.133.5 on Mon, 20 Mar 2023 09:13:14 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

least to some degree, taught via mass media vehicles of popular culture. Thus, a crucial question is: How do these standards come to be represented (or encoded) in these media? Although beyond the scope of the present paper, we recognize that the processes underlying the cultural construction of male, as compared to female, beauty ideals may differ (e.g., Wolf 1991). However, this does not obviate the basic argument that ideals of both male and female beauty are cultural constructions.

"Looks" and Brand Personalities

Advertisers often strive to communicate a "look," impression, or feeling by creating a visual *gestalt.* For example, set decorators select props, while stylists orchestrate a model's clothing, hair style, cosmetics, and so on to convey a certain "look." An advertisement's execution is effective to the extent that the product (say, a bottle of single-malt scotch), the setting (e.g., a fancy house), and the "look" of the model (e.g., an elegant beauty) convey a congruent set of meanings to the audience. When successful, such advertisements create a gestalt in which the product (e.g., The Glenlivet) is a *natural* and *necessary* component of the whole (e.g., Jim Beam Bourbon would appear out of place). These examples emphasize the need for a gestalt operationalization of beauty types (not just a pretty face) and their cultural significance as a prerequisite to fully understanding the roles played by ideals of beauty in marketing (Domzal and Kernan 1993; Vacker and Key 1993).

Indeed, as noted by McCracken (1989) in his discussion of cultural meaning transfer, research based on an assumption of single source effects (e.g., is the celebrity credible or attractive?) cannot account for the successes and failures of specific celebrities who are linked with particular products. There is ample evidence that some product categories are incompatible with certain celebrity types (e.g., Friedman and Friedman 1979; also McCracken 1989). The simple communications models guiding past work cannot account for the exceptions.

We argue that this is due to the traditional focus on "decomposing" beauty into its constituent elements instead of seeking to understand beauty as a culturally defined gestalt that is multicategorical. As McCracken observed, traditional approaches "...can tell us only that a celebrity is attractive, not what attractiveness is" (McCracken 1989, p. 312) or what it means. Thus, for example, Vanna White, a current beauty who might do well in a commercial for lingerie, might prove ineffectual as a model in the hypothetical Scotch advertisement described above.

Cultural Gatekeepers

Since an advertising campaign's success hinges on consumer acceptance, a large body of research naturally focuses on how people decode advertising stimuli. As noted by Solomon (1989), however, this focus tends to overlook the fact that many gatekeepers cast preliminary, yet crucial, ballots that shape a product's image well before the consumer is given the opportunity to cast a vote. These gatekeepers thereby play a crucial role in shaping audience perceptions. Research on the transmission of symbolic and aesthetic imagery in popular culture must redress the lack of attention to those agents responsible for the encoding of consumption-relevant imagery.

Fashion and beauty editors, film directors, and other creatives play pivotal roles in the encoding process. By virtue of their aesthetic decisions involving casting, wardrobe and props, makeup, and so on, these individuals help to define and sanction ideals of beauty (Solomon, Ashmore and Longo 1992). The particular looks chosen by cultural gatekeepers reflect their own implicit theories of beauty, as well as their beliefs about which types of beauty will appeal to the intended audience. The construct, implicit theory of beauty, refers to experts' beliefs (not necessarily conscious or explicitly verbalized) about the various types of good looks, what physical features "define" each type, how the types are related to one another, and the non-physical personal qualities that are assumed to "go with" each type. Gatekeepers' theories, in turn, are important because (1) they influence the selection of beauty types thought to appeal to a mass audience, and (2) they guide these gatekeepers in their choices of individuals (i.e., fashion models or actors) who are judged to embody these ideals in both advertising and editorial formats.

Thus, cultural representations of beauty often result from the stereotypes held by media gatekeepers, as when casting directors intuitively select a "Natassia Kinski-like, full-lipped look" for a champagne ad or a "fresh-faced, girl-next-door" look for a new teen hair product. The personal intuition or taste of cultural gatekeepers appears to be based upon a common *Zeitgeist* regarding what artifacts and lifestyles are associated with a particular "type" of person, and of the physical appearance and personal attributes of that type (Solomon and Greenberg 1993). Although the gatekeepers involved in this selection process may

This content downloaded from 193.255.133.5 on Mon, 20 Mar 2023 09:13:14 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

not necessarily be aware of the common threads of symbolism each uses to weave his or her social tapestry, their choices reverberate throughout popular culture.

The different looks systematically cast in various mass media vehicles become icons of beauty, which then act as powerful role models for consumers to emulate. The individuals who personify these looks may also become associated with a distinctive style, as exemplified by James Dean and his black-leather jacket and blue jeans, Don Johnson's tee-shirt and sports jacket look made popular by "Miami Vice," or Madonna's legitimation of lingerie as outerwear. Considering the referent power wielded by celebrities, it is reasonable to assume that consumers wishing to emulate such a cultural icon may use this information as input to an idealized self-image—how they would "ideally like to be, look, act" (Olofsson 1992; see also Campbell's [1987] treatment of consumers' idealized self-images). The idealized media images of attractive people can be regarded as prototypes that are used by audiences to evaluate their own looks (e.g., Richins 1991) and to guide their own consumption activities.

Evolving and Diverse Ideals

Periods of history have tended to be characterized by one specific ideal of beauty. As noted by the historian Lois Banner (1983), American history from 1800 to the 1960s can be characterized by a succession of dominant singular ideals of beauty. For example, in sharp contrast to today's emphasis on health and vigor, in the mid-1800s it was fashionable to appear very pale and delicate (ill by today's standards). The poet Keats described the ideal woman of that time as "a milk white lamb that bleats for man's protection."

And, this ideal evolved over time—into the voluptuous, lusty woman epitomized by Lillian Russell, the athletic Gibson Girl of the 1890s, and then the small, boyish flapper of the 1920s exemplified by Mary Pickford and Clara Bow. In more recent times, we have experienced the buxom Marilyn Monroe ideal of the 1950s, and then its antithesis in the emaciated, flat-chested look of the 1960s. To appreciate how widely ideals of beauty can fluctuate in Western society, one need only contrast the plumpness of the nudes painted by Titian, Raphael, and Rubens to the stick figure exemplified by the eponymous Twiggy.

Although it may have been possible historically to identify a popular figure who personified beauty (e.g., Grace Kelley, Marilyn Monroe), we are now confronted with multiple ideals of beauty reflecting the proliferation of lifestyles, cultures, and ethnic groups that comprise American culture. Reflecting this cultural diversity, media vehicles have become increasingly fragmented. For example, the broadcast television environment of the 1950s through the 1970s has increasingly given way to narrow-casting to more and more highly segmented audiences. Similarly, a designer who once singlemindedly followed the lead of Parisian *haute couture* might now be equally influenced by innovations observed on the streets of Greenwich Village or on college campuses (as in the current "grunge" style), or the boutiques of London, Tokyo or Brazil.

American culture once primarily prized the "Nordic classic beauty," as epitomized in recent years by Cybil Shepherd or Candice Bergen. But the increased globalization and diversification of the society in which we live, and the popular culture in which we are immersed, are creating more ways to be beautiful. Western standards are evolving to include more ethnically diverse templates, reflecting a mix of African, Asian, and Hispanic beauties. According to one account of this evolution:

> For years, modeling was synonymous with classic good looks, but now the fashion industry has embraced a more offbeat notion of beauty. Exaggerated features—large lips, say, or a not-quite-perfect nose—are welcome. Short-haired brunettes and boyish blondes have challenged the Christie Brinkley genre of tousled girl next door. And overtly ethnic girls—Puerto Rican, Oriental—are stirring up the modeling melting pot. (Salholz 1985, p. 74)

In the following sections, we consider the representation of multiple types of beauty in two mass media vehicles of popular culture. We examine music television (music videos) and fashion magazines (product advertisements)—both media are replete with images of beauty, both appeal primarily to 18- to 34-year old men and women, and both are important consumer socializing agents (e.g., Brown et al. 1986 for MTV and Silverstein et al. 1986 for fashion magazines). We provide a descriptive analysis of the selections of cultural gatekeepers and how these choices covary with specific media and cultural genres. We then discuss the ramifications of these analyses and the general role of cultural gatekeepers on the ideals of beauty that different audiences are exposed to, and to which they may aspire.

This content downloaded from 193.255.133.5 on Mon, 20 Mar 2023 09:13:14 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

A Typology of "Looks:" Two Empirical Extensions

A recent study published in this *Journal* empirically identified a typology of "looks" in a population of fashion and beauty editors by identifying the cognitive dimensions and semantic labels they used to distinguish among different beauty types (Solomon et al. 1992). This effort yielded the following six categories: Feminine/Classic Beauty, Sensual/Exotic, Cute, Girl-Next-Door, Sex Kitten, and Trendy. A description of each category is provided in Appendix A (see Solomon et al. 1992 for details concerning the derivation of these six "types").

To extend this research, we examine two different mass media vehicles — fashion magazines and music television. These media vehicles are similar in that they target a young adult audience, and both present images of beauty in conjunction with a great deal of consumption imagery (see Englis, Solomon and Olofsson 1993 for their analysis of consumption imagery in music television). Both media seek to portray current trends—music television as a "cutting edge" vehicle for popular music and fashion magazines for clothing, make-up, hairstyles and so on.

These media differ in important ways as well. Fashion magazines represent a traditional print medium that is directly concerned with beauty and which is an important media vehicle for advertisers who seek to link their products to a particular beauty ideal. In contrast, music television is an electronic medium that is non-traditional in terms of its structure and content (e.g., Fry and Fry 1986; Kaplan 1987). Music television represents a hybridization of several entertainment and commercial forms of communication (e.g., Englis 1990; Solomon and Englis 1994). Although music videos transmit a great deal of consumption imagery, the overt goal of music television is to provide a visual backdrop to music rather than to promote the adoption of specific beauty product or styles (see also Englis et al. 1993).

Although specific predictions regarding the associations between types of beauty and media vehicle were not possible, several general hypotheses follow from our approach and these served as guides for our empirical work. (1) There will be a variety of looks portrayed. Beauty before the eyes of beholders is not uniform; instead, there are multiple types of good looks encoded in both print and electronic media, in ads, and in program content. (2) There will not be a uniform distribution of beauty ideals. Summing over types of media and outlet/genre within medium, certain looks will be more in evidence than others. (Each era has its dominant varieties of good looks, even as diversity is present [Banner 1983].) (3) There will be differential association of beauty types with particular magazines and specific musical genres. This is a logical extension of both the general idea that media (including advertising) present *gestalt* packages and the more specific notion of matching, as in the beauty match-up hypoethesis (Solomon et al. 1992) and the celebrity match-up hypothesis (McCracken 1989) of which it is an extention.

Study I: Distribution of "Looks" in Contemporary Fashion Magazine Advertising

Fashion magazines have a long history in the United States (Banner 1983) and they are widely read. These magazines essentially provide prescriptions for becoming more beautiful—through artful use of make-up, exercise, clothing selection, and so on. And, fashion magazines target distinct taste cultures—compare, for example, the sophisticated, *haute couture* emphasis in *Vogue* with the deep cleavage look of *Cosmopolitan* cover girls. Audiences cull through these magazines for tips, examples, and perhaps prototypes of beauty which they may use as benchmarks for evaluating themselves (e.g., Richins 1991). Thus, fashion magazines are a potent means of socializing young consumers about beauty and fashion and for advertising beauty- and fashion-related products.

Method

Overview. Advertisements from current, major American fashion magazines (each screened for readership in excess of one million 18- to 34-year-olds) were content analyzed in order to determine the relative frequency and distribution of different types of beauty as portrayed in popular media. The coding of model "looks" was performed by three female undergraduate students. These coders had been previously trained on a separate set of 25 advertisements and were competent in their ability to use the beauty categories identified by the Solomon et al. (1992) study of fashion magazine editors. The criteria used to define each type of beauty are presented in Appendix A. The coders rated each ad independently, and we used a criterion of two agreements of three judges to assign a model to a beauty category. Of the 195 models coded, two of three judges agreed 86.7% of the time-

This content downloaded from 193.255.133.5 on Mon, 20 Mar 2023 09:13:14 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

Table 1
Look prevalence as a function of magazine[a]

	Beauty Type					
Magazine	Exotic	Trendy	Classic	Girl-Next-Door	Sex Kitten	Cute
Cosmopolitan	5 (19.2)[b]	4 (15.4)	10 (38.5)	4 (15.4)	2 (7.7)	1 (3.9)
Glamour	11 (30.6)	10 (27.8)	7 (19.4)	6 (16.7)	2 (5.6)	0 (0.0)
Mademoiselle	6 (18.8)	7 (21.9)	11 (34.4)	2 (6.3)	4 (12.5)	2 (6.3)
Self	0 (0.0)	1 (9.1)	6 (54.6)	3 (27.3)	1 (9.1)	0 (0.0)
Seventeen	3 (12.0)	10 (40.0)	1 (4.0)	6 (24.0)	3 (12.0)	2 (8.0)
Vogue	17 (31.5)	16 (29.6)	11 (20.4)	4 (7.4)	5 (9.3)	1 (1.9)
Men's Magazines[c]	3 (27.3)	3 (27.3)	0 (0.0)	2 (18.2)	3 (27.3)	0 (0.0)
TOTAL[d]	45 (23.1)	51 (26.2)	46 (23.6)	27 (13.9)	20 (10.3)	6 (3.1)

[a] The overall analysis yielded χ^2 (30) = 43.4, $p < .05$. A chi-square value was also computed on the first three columns of this table, since there were so many empty and low-frequency cells in the right-most three columns. This effect was also significant (χ^2 (18) = 33.9, $p < .05$).
[b] Raw scores, with row percentages listed in parentheses.
[c] The men's magazines were grouped together owing to the large number of empty (zero frequency) cells. These three magazines together account for only 5.6% of the ads coded.
[d] Scores represent column totals, with the percentage of the total number of advertisements listed in parentheses.

all disagreements were resolved by the coders.

Stimuli. Advertisements were cut from the March 1992 issues of the following six women's fashion magazines: *Cosmopolitan, Glamour, Mademoiselle, Self, Seventeen,* and *Vogue.* According to Simmons 1992 data, all of these magazines appeal to a young, primarily female, audience (median reader ages ranged from 28.8 to 35.7 years and median household incomes ranged from $34,155.00 to $43,634.00). For comparison purposes, ads portraying *female models* were also taken from three men's magazines: *Esquire, GQ,* and *Playboy* (median reader ages ranged from 27.9 to 35.7 years and household incomes ranged from $35,499.00 to $46,969.00). This procedure yielded 195 usable ads (n.b. ads used to "train" coders were not part of this sample). On each ad, any product or magazine identification cues were obscured by white tape.

Results and Discussion

The first question to be addressed by the analysis is "How are the beauty types distributed?" A Chi-Square analysis ($\chi^2(5) = 48.29$, $p < .05$) indicated that the six types of beauty are not evenly represented *across* the magazines sampled. As shown in Table 1 (bottom row), Trendy (26.2%), Classic Beauty/Feminine (23.6%), and Exotic/ Sensual (23.1%) were the most prevalent looks overall. These results accord well with the perceptions of industry experts, who report that women with Classic Beauty/Feminine and Sensual/ Exotic looks are generally the best type of fashion model (Solomon et al. 1992). It also makes sense that the Trendy look would be prevalent in media vehicles whose purpose is to present current fashion "trends" and to present new and updated looks and styles to readers.

On the other hand, the Girl-Next-Door, Sex Kitten, and Cute looks are infrequently represented in fashion magazines. It may be that these types of looks are currently perceived as too often incongruent with the particular products advertised. The extremely low overall prevalence of Cute models, however, also suggests that we may be in an era where Cute is simply not an acceptable good look for female models (n.b. even in *Seventeen* magazine). Since the present sample represents a time and genre "snapshot," it may be that these looks would be more prevalent in another genre of magazine (e.g., shelter or sports magazines) or in other media. And, in the future, a look such as Cute may regain its popularity—perhaps due to its congruence with youthful innocence, or perhaps as the "anti-cute," grunge look loses its current cachet.

In addition to determining the overall frequency with which different beauty types are portrayed in advertisements, we may learn more about how beauty ideals are disseminated if we look at the magazines

This content downloaded from 193.255.133.5 on Mon, 20 Mar 2023 09:13:14 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

in which certain types of beauty are more likely to appear. As shown in Table 1, the chi-square analysis indicated that the distributions of beauty types are contingent upon magazine — $\chi^2(30) = 43.4$, $p < .05$ (owing to a large number of empty cells, the three men's magazines were grouped together).

Several interesting patterns emerge among the six women's magazines. Sensual/Exotic (*Glamour* 30.6% and *Vogue* 31.5%) and Trendy looks (*Glamour* 27.8% and *Vogue* 29.6%) are equally prevalent in *Glamour* and *Vogue*. Both magazines place great emphasis on *haute couture* and cutting edge trends. In contrast to several of the other magazines (e.g., *Self* or *Cosmopolitan*), these are less "diluted" by non-fashion material such as features on health, fitness, or lifestyle.

In contrast, the Classic Beauty/Feminine look is the most prevalent in *Cosmopolitan* (38.5%), *Mademoiselle* (34.4%), and *Self* (54.6%). This emphasis on a "traditional" type of female beauty is consistent with the mass market appeal of all three magazines. Yet, *Cosmopolitan* and *Mademoiselle* place greater emphasis on fashion information than does *Self*. This is reflected in the finding that while *Cosmopolitan* and *Mademoiselle* show Sensual/Exotic (*Cosmopolitan* [19.2%], *Mademoiselle* [18.8%]) and Trendy (*Cosmopolitan* [15.4%], *Mademoiselle* [21.9%]) as their next most prevalent looks, for *Self* the Girl-Next-Door look (27.3%) follows Classic Beauty/Feminine in frequency.

The editorial and commercial content of *Self* and *Seventeen* clearly targets the youngest readers, and both are notable in their emphasis on the "Girl-Next-Door" look—27.3% of the ads in *Self* and 24% of the ads in *Seventeen*. *Self* is more lifestyle-oriented and features a greater diversity of subject matter. Its most prevalent look is a Classic Beauty (54.6% of all ads). *Seventeen* is more fashion- and style-oriented than *Self*, and its emphasis on the Trendy look (40% of ads) is consistent with this editorial focus. The ambivalence expressed by female adolescents regarding their own self-images is nicely paralleled by this magazine's joint emphasis on the Girl-Next-Door (24%) and Trendy looks. Both are "young" looks, but while the Girl-Next-Door is outdoorsy, casual, and active, Trendy is provocative and challenging, as well as tousled and sexy (see Appendix A).

Two principal conclusions can be drawn from these data. First, it is clear that the ads appearing in currently popular fashion magazines tend to highlight a select subset of beauty ideals. This may reflect something about the current historical epoch and its values, or it may be linked to current beliefs among gatekeepers of fashion magazines regarding beauty. Future work is needed to examine other magazine contexts (e.g., shelter magazines) to determine whether these findings represent a pervasive cultural valuation of certain looks or whether certain looks are tied to specific editorial content. Regardless of whether the emphasis is historically or editorially driven, it is clear that women are being "told" that some types of beauty are more highly valued than others. Another interesting question for future research is the extent to which the different audiences of these magazines incorporate these images into idealized images of how they themselves desire to look. Although analysis of the specific market impact of these variations is beyond the scope of the present paper, these findings draw our attention to the need to compare the choices of gatekeepers with the idealized images that audience members are *themselves* striving to achieve.

Study II: Distribution of "Looks" in Music Television

Music television (MTV and VH-1) targets audiences between the ages of twelve and thirty-four, with a median age of twenty-three. Forty percent of the MTV audience is between the ages of 18 and 24, and 31.6% is 25 to 34; 80% of the MTV audience is 12-34 years old while 67% of VH-1 viewers are 12-34 (MTV, private communication 1991; see also Paskowski 1985). Viewers report that they typically watch between half an hour and two hours a day (Sun and Lull 1986), and that they watch music television in part to learn about current trends (e.g., Brown et al. 1986).

The sharp stylistic differences among musical genres and the association of pop celebrities with various products and consumption activities render music television an important consumer socializing agent during adolescence (Englis et al. 1993). As with types of beauty, even a casual perusal of the universe of adolescent music suggests that this cultural environment is not monolithic; it is segmented into a number of distinct subcultures, each of which presents a powerfully integrated image to its fans. For example, the heavy, metal-studded leather outfits and black torn tee shirts worn by heavy metal bands seem to "fit" the harsh lyrics of the songs, as well as the instrument smashing that often occurs during live concerts (e.g., Hansen and Hansen 1991). These images are in sharp contrast to the upbeat romantic themes often portrayed in dance (or club) music. Performers such as Paula Abdul or Mariah Carey present a "soft" image

This content downloaded from 193.255.133.5 on Mon, 20 Mar 2023 09:13:14 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

Table 2
Musical genres and associated artists and music television programs[a]

Genre	Some Top Artists	Music Television Program
Dance/Club Music	Madonna C+C Music Factory Janet Jackson	Club MTV
Soft Rock/Top 40	Phil Collins Mariah Carey George Michael	MTV Most Wanted Top 20 Countdown
Hard Rock/ Heavy Metal	Bon Jovi Megadeath Guns N' Roses	Headbanger's Ball
Classic Rock	The Who Led Zeppelin The Eagles	VH-1
Rap	MC Hammer Vanilla Ice Bel Biv Devoe	Yo! MTV Raps
Alternative/ New Wave	The Cure R.E.M. Depeche Mode	120 Minutes

[a] Genre categories, artists, and MTV programs were determined on the basis of consultations with industry experts and interviews with music fans. Videos were assigned to genre on the basis of the program in which they appeared (see Englis et al. 1993 for the derivation of these categories and their association with consumption imagery).

including gossamer wind-blown fabrics, beach scenes, and openly loving, affectionate interactions. Similarly, casting directors for music videos may attempt to fit particular looks with different music genres. So, for example, the multi-cultural focus of Rap music may lend itself to an Exotic look, while Alternative/New Wave music may "demand" a Trendy look. To the extent that the creatives involved in casting music videos select models they perceive to be congruent with a genre, we should expect the "looks" portrayed to be consistent with the (assumed) appearance gestalt associated with that genre.

Method

Overview. In this study we focused on the associations between musical genre and the types of beauty portrayed in music videos. Because music videos are far more complex than print advertisements and they often portray interactions among the characters, in addition to type of good looks of depicted females, we coded features of the social context of each video (coding criteria are shown in Appendix B). Further, the overall affective tone, or mood, of each video was also coded using the following emotions: joy, affection, desire, sadness, anger, conflict, contempt, and fear. Two female undergraduate coders were trained to code beauty types using the same procedure as in Study 1 (these were different coders from those used in Study 1). The coders rated each video independently and *ad lib*, and then they reviewed those videos in which there was disagreement together in order to resolve any differences in model selection, beauty type, and other content codes. In no case were the coders unable to agree on the looks or other content categories.

Stimuli. We used a 24-hour time sample of music

This content downloaded from 193.255.133.5 on Mon, 20 Mar 2023 09:13:14 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

Table 3
Look prevalence as a function of musical genre[a]

	Genre					
Beauty Type	Classic	Dance	Metal	New Wave	Rap	Top 40
Exotic	5 (31.25)[b]	12 (63.2)	5 (62.5)	3 (37.5)	17 (73.9)	15 (68.2)
Trendy	4 (25.0)	7 (36.8)	2 (25.0)	5 (62.5)	5 (21.7)	3 (13.6)
Classic	7 (43.75)	0 (0.0)	1 (12.5)	0 (0.0)	1 (4.4)	4 (18.2)
Girl-Next-Door	2	0	1	0	2	1
Sex Kitten	2	0	4	0	0	0
Cute	0	0	0	3	1	1
TOTAL[c]	20 (17.7)	20 (17.7)	13 (11.5)	11 (9.7)	26 (23.0)	24 (21.2)

[a] The overall analysis yielded χ^2 (10) = 26.3, $p < .05$). A chi-square value was computed on the first three rows of this table, since there were too many empty cells in the bottom three rows.
[b] Raw scores, with column percentages listed in parentheses. Percentages were computed using only the first three rows.
[c] The distribution of women shown in full-face close-ups was non-rectangular (χ^2 (5) = 76.86, $p < .05$).

videos, taking four hours from each of the six genres described in the Table 2. This sample yielded 267 videos that were then used as the sample for coding female beauty categories. In order for a video to be coded for "look," a female had to appear in a full-face frontal view, and her face had to occupy at least one-quarter of the total screen area for a minimum of 15 seconds. Since our emphasis is on the choices made by cultural gatekeepers (casting directors), none of the musicians was coded. The first woman to appear in a video who met these criteria was coded for each video. Of the 267 videos, 113 contained codeable scenes.

Results and Discussion

The overall distribution of featured females was not independent of musical genre ($\chi^2(10) = 26.3$, $p < .05$). Visual close-ups of women were more prevalent in Soft Rock/Top 40 (21.2%) and Rap (23.0%) videos, followed by Dance/Club (17.7%) and Classic (17.7%). Hard Rock/Heavy Metal (11.5%) and Alternative/New Wave (9.7%) contained the lowest frequency of close-ups of women.

As in our analysis of print advertisements, the overall distribution of beauty types was not uniform across genre ($\chi^2(5) = 85.90$, $p < .05$). In music videos generally, the greatest emphasis is placed on the Sensual/Exotic look (50.5% of coded videos). In a similar pattern as found in Study 1, Trendy (23.0%) and Classic Beauty/Feminine (11.5%) were the next most prevalent looks. Again, Cute was least popular (4.4%), and little different in overall frequency than Girl-Next-Door (5.3%) or Sex Kitten looks (5.3%).

Even more than in print advertisements, music television presents a stereotyped image of beauty in its heavy emphasis on a single look—Sensual/Exotic Beauty. The finding that Sensual/Exotic beauty is more prevalent here than in Study 1 coupled with a lower frequency for the Classic Beauty/Feminine look makes sense given the media we examined. Mass circulation fashion magazines are largely mainstream, traditional media vehicles, whereas music television is "non-mainstream" and more overtly sexual (e.g., Kaplan 1987). The low overall frequency of Girl-Next-Door, Sex Kitten, and Cute looks across these quite different media suggests that these looks may not represent current dominant ideals of beauty in American culture.

Our next analysis examined the relative prevalence of the looks as a function of musical genre. As shown in Table 3, there was a significant relationship between musical genre and look ($\chi^2(10) = 26.3$, $p < .05$). Alternative/New Wave videos emphasize the Trendy look (62.5%), while Rap (73.9%), Soft Rock/Top 40 (68.2%), and Dance/Club (63.2%) contain higher proportions of the Sensual/Exotic look. The Classic Rock genre showed the highest frequency of Classic/Feminine beauty (43.75%).

The "face" validity of the fit between genre and type of beauty is quite striking. Alternative/New Wave music, which emphasizes musical innovation, is asso-

This content downloaded from 193.255.133.5 on Mon, 20 Mar 2023 09:13:14 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

Table 4
Forms of social interaction as a function of genre.

	Genre					
Social Interaction[a,b]	Classic	Dance	Metal	New Wave	Rap	Top 40
Celebration[c]	67.5	96.0	51.5	31.4	66.7	53.9
Friendship[c]	62.5	96.0	33.3	45.7	75.8	69.2
Intimacy	15.0	4.0	9.1	2.9	12.1	15.4
Eroticism[c]	25.0	92.0	18.2	8.6	42.4	38.5
Isolation[c]	52.5	8.0	24.2	45.7	9.1	38.5
Conflict[c]	12.5	0.0	30.3	17.1	45.5	26.9
Violence[c]	17.5	0.0	36.4	34.3	51.5	23.1

[a] The forms of social interaction are defined in Appendix B. The categories are not mutually exclusive; each video could be coded into for multiple categories.
[b] Values are percentages of each genre portraying each form of social interaction.
[c] Indicates a significantly non-rectangular distribution across genre ($p < .05$).

ciated with the Trendy look. Just as a "trendy" type exemplifies a cutting-edge look for fashion editors, it seems to carry a similar connotation for those casting music videos. In contrast, Classic Rock radio stations, VH-1, and the bands (e.g., "The Grateful Dead") frequently emphasize their links to the roots of Rock & Roll. It is striking that the women chosen to appear in these videos also represent a Classic Beauty/Feminine look.

As noted in Appendix A, the Sensual/Exotic look is a combination of a sexually attractive look and ethnicity, or distance from a white, Anglo-Saxon norm. It is not surprising that Rap and Dance videos, given the multicultural focus of these genres, should emphasize this exotic form of beauty. Similarly, the focus on male-oriented sexuality often found in Heavy Metal videos (Hansen and Hansen 1991; Zillmann and Mundorf 1987) is consistent with a visual emphasis on the Sensual/Exotic look (also note the relative prevalence of the Sex Kitten look in this genre).

Music television presents images of beauty in a rich and varied context, and so to further explore the complex imagery found in this medium, we examined the affective tone and social context of each video. The coding of social context and affective tone was performed by the same two coders, but these features were coded separately from the coding of looks. Each coder viewed the videos on multiple occassions. As before, initial coding was conducted independently and any differences were resolved by the coders.

Although Dance, Heavy Metal, and Rap genres all emphasize the Sensual/Exotic look, the forms of social interaction prevalent in each are quite different. So, when the Sensual/Exotic look appears in Dance videos (over 60% of which present this look - see Table 3), the social interactions portrayed are friendly, erotic, and celebratory—almost never conflictual or violent (see Table 4). Similarly, the affective tone of these videos is characterized by either desire or joy (see Table 5). In sharp contrast, this same Sensual/Exotic look is more likely to appear in the context of conflictual or violent social interactions in Heavy Metal videos (Table 4). And, the predominant emotions are also negative—anger, contempt, and feeling of conflict (Table 5). The Trendy look prevalent in Rap and Alternative videos is presented in a more bipolar social context—at times a great deal of isolation or conflict and violence, and at times suffused with themes of friendship and celebration. And, the affective tone is also bipolar—joy and affection, as well as sadness, fear and anger, contempt, and conflict.

This analysis suggests that the encoding of beauty types into specific genres of popular music is a systematic process, i.e., the strong relationships between genre and the types of female beauty that predominate reflect the systematic choices of gatekeepers. This provides insight into the evolving cultural significance of particular looks. The meaning of a particular look may relate to the way in which it is contextualized by cultural gatekeepers. Moreover, the same look may carry different connative meaning for different audiences. For example, a Sensual/Exotic look may evoke positive memories and feelings

This content downloaded from 193.255.133.5 on Mon, 20 Mar 2023 09:13:14 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

Table 5
Overall emotional tone of music videos as a function of genre

	Genre					
Emotion[a]	Classic	Dance	Metal	New Wave	Rap	Top 40
Joy[b]	82.5	96.0	21.2	62.9	60.6	34.6
Affection[b]	42.5	32.0	6.1	11.4	30.3	34.6
Desire[b]	57.5	92.0	18.2	20.0	51.5	53.9
Sadness[b]	45.0	12.0	6.1	34.3	21.2	46.2
Anger[b]	10.0	8.0	51.5	22.9	48.5	30.8
Conflict[b]	30.0	8.0	78.8	34.3	72.7	50.0
Contempt[b]	2.5	8.0	48.5	20.0	54.6	7.7
Fear[b]	7.5	4.0	12.1	0.0	36.4	11.5

[a] Values are percentages of each genre characterized by each emotion. The categories are not mutually exclusive; each video could be coded into for multiple categories.
[b] Indicates a significantly non-rectangular distribution across genre ($p < .05$).

for fans of dance music, but may be associated with more ambivalent feelings for rap fans, and might carry negative associations for fans of Heavy Metal.

General Discussion

Our examination of two different mass media vehicles supports the argument that a multiplicity of beauty ideals, each with its attendant aesthetic and consumption associations, exists in contemporary American popular culture. The strong and consistent associations among distinct beauty types and other contextual cues in two different communications formats underscores the integral role played by advertising creatives, video directors, and other cultural gatekeepers in shaping the media environment. This "collective" effect highlights the need for greater recognition of (and research on) the relationships between what may appear on the surface to be the simple "intuitive" selections of models and settings by creatives and the strategic objectives of their clients. Different beauty types appear disproportionately across subcultural genres, and their prevalence varies systematically with other aspects of the genre, such as the products advertised and the social experiences and feelings of the characters.

Moreover, we find that certain ideals of female beauty are more prevalent than others in both of the media formats examined. The prevailing *Zeitgeist* is largely composed of ideals that represent the sensual/exotic, trendy, and classic/feminine forms of beauty. Conversely, at this point in time our culture appears to undervalue the forms of female beauty represented by the girl-next-door, sex kitten, and cute looks.

This pattern may represent an attempt by gatekeepers, who (especially in the fashion magazine industry) are increasingly likely to be women themselves (Solomon et al. 1992), to depict female ideals that are sophisticated, innovative, as well as aesthetically pleasing, while avoiding "traditional" feminine imagery that is vapid or threatens to be patronizing, sexist, or stereotypical. Identification of gatekeepers' priorities is important because (1) they likely reflect deeper cultural values regarding sex-role identity, (2) they can serve as a benchmark that can be tracked longitudinally as a surrogate measure for shifts in cultural values, and (3) the encoding of these images has ramifications for consumer behavior, insofar as decoders incorporate these ideals as input during the self-construction process.

Limitations of the Research

The two studies reported here represent snapshots of only two—albeit quite different—media formats. These arenas are of course bounded by space and time. The work needs to be expanded to include larger, longitudinal samples taken across a broader array of media vehicles, genres, and programming formats. The results are not intended to generalize to dominant beauty ideals that may be present in, say, European consumer culture, much less in non-Western cultures. The distribution obtained is strictly

This content downloaded from 193.255.133.5 on Mon, 20 Mar 2023 09:13:14 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

confined to America in the early 1990s and is sure to shift with the winds of fashion.

Furthermore, it is quite likely that a different distribution of looks would be obtained in other media formats having different audiences and goals. Indeed, preliminary analysis of similar data obtained from shelter magazines indicates a predominance of softer, more conventional looks such as the girl-next-door look.

Future Research

These cautionary notes highlight the need for future research to propose *a priori* hypotheses concerning media vehicles in which the dominant portrayals of beauty may differ. For example, just as rap music emphasizes a sensual/exotic form of beauty, Disney movies may emphasize girl-next-door or cute looks. It is important to consider how diverse media vehicles present targeted images of beauty that are designed to resonate with the ideals of the intended audience, and to assess the accuracy of gatekeepers in anticipating the aesthetic priorities of these receivers.

There is a clear need to extend this work to other media vehicles that differ both in editorial/commercial content *and* in their target audiences (e.g., highly divergent ethnic, lifestyle, or demographic groups) in order to deepen our understanding of how these looks acquire meaning and are thereby "positioned" culturally. Although analyses of media content can shed light on the choices of media gatekeepers, we also need to examine audience perceptions. What do these looks "mean" to the intended targets of these media as well as to other, non-target, audiences? If these idealized images of beauty are used by advertisers to "position" products, then understanding what these looks signify to the audience is critical to ad planning and execution (see Englis and Solomon 1994 for a discussion of the potential divergence of gatekeeper and audience perceptions).

Though one would seem to be on safe ground in hypothesizing that consumers are likely to skew their purchase decisions toward those products that will allow them to attain the goal of resembling admired beauty ideals, the less apparent role of appearance-related products that are *to be avoided* may be equally as important. Although perceived correspondence to the ideal self is surely an important force in self assessment, appraisals of appearance may also be framed in terms of perceived distance away from an undesired self-image—what one *does not* want to be (Ogilvie 1987). For example, for a woman who desires to achieve a girl-next-door look, sensual/exotic or sex-kitten looks may be viewed as anti-ideals. Moreover, the components of these looks—jewelry, make-up, hairstyles, and even non-beauty products such as cars and liquor that are routinely matched up with these looks by advertisers—would become negatively valued products.

Current practice is to intuitively select exemplars that maximize physical attractiveness on a global level. The potential ability of products and styles linked to prototypic beauty ideals to serve as both approach and avoidance mechanisms underscores the strategic importance to advertisers of identifying the specific look that represents the ideal for a particular target market. Marketing communications should then emphasize this look and avoid associating the target product(s) with anti-ideals. Competitors who choose to engage in negative comparative advertising, on the other hand, may find it expedient to invoke an anti-ideal when depicting rival products.

In order to elucidate these and related issues, advertising researchers need to begin to fill in the reader/decoder side of the equation: For example, do the beauty types aspired to by the audience of a given genre correspond to those that dominate the genre? How do different audience segments self-select vis à vis the media they choose to provide them with beauty ideal guidelines? Can individual differences variables, such as self-consciousness or need for approval, be incorporated to strengthen our ability to predict which consumers are most likely to emulate the choices made by cultural gatekeepers (e.g., Martin and Kennedy 1993)?

Additional research is also needed to better understand how the looks chosen by cultural gatekeepers affect consumption patterns. For example, when Kim Basinger began to appear a few years ago sporting puffy, prominent lips (known in the modeling trade as "liver lips"), this incited a wave of women to also receive collagen injections in order to achieve this look (Gross 1989). Similarly, the more recent trend toward the use of very thin, waifish models on *haute couture* runways or in product advertisements may well stimulate new demand in the weight-loss industry. On the darker side, the ascendance of an ideal that incorporates a marked deviation from physiological norms may yield dysfunctional behaviors ranging from foot-binding and corset-tying to anorexia and bulimia.

Finally, there is no reason to assume that the multiplicity of beauty ideals is a uniquely female phenomenon. Examples of male "hunks" ranging from

This content downloaded from 193.255.133.5 on Mon, 20 Mar 2023 09:13:14 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

Arnold Schwarzenegger to Luke Perry, or from Tom Cruise to Prince, belie the notion that there is a single ideal of masculine good looks. The empirical mapping and strategic implications of this uncharted domain awaits further research. But, whether male or female, definitions of attractiveness clearly are culturally constructed—and significantly influenced by creatives in the communications industry. They are determined by a complex web of physical features, products, and activities—a look is more than just the sum of its parts.

References

Ashmore, Richard D., Michael R. Solomon, and Laura C. Longo (1990), "Thinking About Physical Attractiveness: A Single Psychological Dimension or Multiple Content-Specific Continua?" paper presented at the meetings of the American Psychological Association, Boston, MA.

Baker, Michael J. and Gilbert A. Churchill, Jr. (1977), "The Impact of Physically Attractive Models on Advertising Evaluations," *Journal of Marketing Research*, 14 (November), 538-555.

Banner, Lois W. (1983), *American Beauty*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Belch, George E., Michael A. Belch, and Angelina Villareal (1987), "Effects of Advertising Communications: Review of Research," in *Research in Marketing*, 9, Jagdish Sheth, ed. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, Inc.

Berry, Diane S. and Leslie Zebrowitz McArthur (1985), "Some Components and Consequences of a Baby-Face," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 48 (February), 312-323.

Bloch, Peter H. and Marsha L. Richins (1992), "You Look 'Mahvelous': The Pursuit of Beauty and the Marketing Concept," *Psychology & Marketing*, 9 (January), 3-15.

Brigham, J. C. (1980), "Limiting Conditions of the 'Physical Attractiveness Stereotype': Attributions about Divorce," *Journal of Research in Personality*, 14, 365-375.

Brown, Jane, D., Kenneth Campbell and Lynn Fischer (1986), "American Adolescents and Music Videos: Why Do They Watch?" *Gazette*, 37, 19-32.

Caballero, Marjorie J. and William M. Pride (1984), "Selected Effects of Salesperson Sex and Attractiveness in Direct Mail Advertisements," *Journal of Marketing*, 48 (January), 94-100.

Campbell, Colin (1987), *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Courtney, Alice E. and Thomas W. Whipple (1983), *Sex Stereotyping Advertising*, Lexington, MA: Lexington Books.

Cunningham, Michael R. (1981), "Sociobiology as a Supplementary Paradigm for Social Psychology Research," in *Review of Personality and Social Psychology*, 2, Ladd Wheeler, ed., Beverly Hills: Sage.

Dion, Karen K., Ellen Berscheid and Elaine Walster (1972), "What is Beautiful is Good," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 34, 285-290.

Domzal, Teresa J. and Jerome B. Kernan (1993), "Variations on the Pursuit of Beauty: Toward a Corporal Theory of the Body," *Psychology & Marketing, 10* (November/December), 495-512.

Downs, A.C. and S.K. Harrison (1985), "Embarrassing Age Spots or Just Plain Ugly? Physical Attractiveness Stereotyping as an Instrument of Sexism on American Television Commercials," *Sex Roles, 13* (1/2), 9-19.

Eagly, Alice H., Richard D. Ashmore, Mona G. Makhijani, and Laura C. Longo (1991), "What is Beautiful is Food, But ... : A Meta-Analytic Review of Research on the Physical Attractiveness Stereotype," *Psychological Bulletin*, 110 (1), 109-128.

Englis, Basil G. (1990), "Music Television and Its Influences on Consumers, Consumer Culture, and the Transmission of Consumption Messages," in *Advances in Consumer Research*, 18, Rebecca H. Holman and Michael R. Solomon, eds., Provo, UT: Association for Consumer Research, 111-114.

———— and Michael R. Solomon (1994), "Where Perception Meets Reality: The Social Construction of Lifestyles," in Lynn Kahle and Larry Chiagurus (eds.), *Values, Lifestyles, and Psychographics*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, in press.

————, ————, and Anna Olofsson (1993), "Consumption Imagery in Music Television: A Bi-Cultural Perspective," *Journal of Advertising*, 22 (December), 21-24.

Forsythe, Sandra M., Mary Frances Drake, and Jane N. Hogan (1985), "Influences of Clothing Attributes on the Perception of Personal Characteristics," in M. R. Solomon, ed., *The Psychology of Fashion*, Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 267-278.

Friedman, Hershey H. and Linda Friedman (1979), "Endorser Effectiveness by Product Type," *Journal of Advertising Research*, 19 (October), 63-71.

Gross, Michael (1989), "Those Lips, Those Eyebrows: New Face of 1989," *New York*, February, 13, 24.

Jones, W. H., R. Hannson, and A. L. Phillips (1978), "Physical Attractiveness and Judgments of Psychotherapy," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 105, 79-84.

Joseph, W. Benoy (1982), "The Credibility of Physically Attractive Communicators: A Review," *Journal of Advertising*, 11(3), 15-24.

Kahle, Lynn R. and Pamela M. Homer (1985), "Physical Attractiveness of the Celebrity Endorser: A Social Adaptation Perspective," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 11 (March), 954-961.

Kamins, Michael A. (1990), "An Investigation into the 'Match-Up' Hypothesis in Celebrity Advertising: When Beauty May be Only Skin Deep," *Journal of Advertising*, 19 (1), 4-13.

Kaplan, E. Ann (1987). *Rocking Around the Clock: Music Television, Postmodernism, and Consumer Culture*, New York: Methuen.

Martin, Mary C. and Patricia F. Kennedy (1993), "Advertising and Social Comparison: Consequences for Female Preadolescents and Adolescents," *Psychology & Marketing, 10* (November/December), 513-530.

McCracken, Grant (1989), "Who is the Celebrity Endorser? Cultural Foundations of the Endorsement Process," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 16 (December), 310-321.

McGuire, William J. (1985), "Attitudes and Attitude Change," in *The Handbook of Social Psychology*, 2, 3rd ed., Gordon Lindzey and Elliot Aronson, eds., New York: Random House.

Myers, Philip N., Jr. and Frank A. Biocca (1992), "The Elastic Body Image: The Effect of Television Advertising and Programming on Body Image Distortions in Young Women," *Journal of Communication*, 42 (Summer), 108-133.

Olofsson, Anna (1992), "Consumption and the Construction of Self," *Proceedings of the Conference on Consumption in History*, Umeå, Sweden: Umeå University Press.

Paskowski, Marianne (1985), "Everybody Wants Their MTV," *Journal of Marketing and Media Decisions*, Spring, 66.

Patzer, Gordon L. (1985), *The Physical Attractiveness Phenomena*, New York: Plenum.

Reid, Leonard N. and Lawrence C. Soley (1983), "Decorative Models and the Readership of Magazine Ads," *Journal of Advertising Research*, 23 (2), 27-32.

This content downloaded from 193.255.133.5 on Mon, 20 Mar 2023 09:13:14 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

Richins, Marsha L. (1991), "Social Comparison and the Idealized Images of Advertising," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 18 (June), 71-83.

Ruble, Diane N. (1983), "The Development of Social-Comparison Processes and Their Role in Achievement-Related Self-Socialization," in *Social Cognition and Social Development: A Socio-Cultural Perspective*, E. Tory Higgins, Diane N. Ruble, and William W. Hartup, eds., Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 134-157.

Salholz, Eloise (1985), "More Than a Pretty Face," *Newsweek*, January 14, 74-76.

Silverstein, Bert, Lauren Perdue, B. Peterson, and E. Kelly (1986), "The Role of the Mass Media in Promoting a Thin Standard of Bodily Attractiveness for Women," *Sex Roles*, 14 (9/10), 519-532.

Solomon, Michael R. (1989), "Building Up and Breaking Down: The Impact of Cultural Sorting on Symbolic Consumption," in *Research in Consumer Behavior*, Vol. 3., E. C. Hirschman, ed. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, 325-351.

———— and Susan P. Douglas (1987), "Diversity in Product Symbolism: The Case of Female Executive Clothing," *Psychology & Marketing*, 4 (Fall), 189-212.

———— and Basil G. Englis (1993),"Reality Engineering: Blurring the Boundaries Between Commercial Signification and Popular Culture," *Journal of Current Issues and Research in Advertising*, in press.

———— and Lawrence Greenberg (1993), "Setting the Stage: Collective Selection in the Stylistic Content of Commercials," *Journal of Advertising*, 22 (March), 11-24.

————, Richard D. Ashmore, and Laura Longo (1992), "The Beauty Match-Up Hypothesis: Congruence Between Types of Beauty and Product Images in Advertising," *Journal of Advertising*, 21 (4), 23-34.

Sun, Se-Wen and James Lull (1986), "The Adolescent Audience for Music Videos and Why They Watch," *Journal of Communication*, 36 (Winter), 115-125.

Tan, Amy S. (1979), "TV Beauty Ads and Role Expectations of Adolescent Female Viewers," *Journalism Quarterly*, 56, 283-288.

Unger, R. K., M. Hilderbrand, and T. Madar (1982), "Physical Attractiveness and Assumptions about Social Deviance: Some Sex-by-Sex Comparisons," *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 8, 293-301.

Vacker, Barry and Wayne R. Key (1993), "Beauty *and* the Beholder: The Pursuit of Beauty Through Commodities," *Psychology & Marketing*, 10 (November/ December), 471-494.

Wolf, Naomi (1991), *The Beauty Myth: How Images of Beauty are Used Against Women*, New York: Wm. Morrow.

Zillmann, Dolf and Norbert Mundorf (1987), "Image Effects in the Appreciation of Video Rock," *Communication Research*, 14 (3), 316-334.

Zinkhan, George M. and Jae W. Hong (1991), "Self Concept and Advertising Effectiveness: A Conceptual Model of Congruency, Conspicuousness, and Response Mode," in *Advances in Consumer Research*, 18, Rebecca H. Holman and Michael R. Solomon, eds., Provo, UT: Association for Consumer Research, 348-354.

Appendix A
Summary of Procedure and Beauty Categories from Solomon, Ashmore, and Longo (1992)

A set of photographs of models employed by major agencies was assembled and presented to a sample of editors at major fashion and beauty magazines who make decisions regarding the suitability of different models and looks. The participants were asked to sort the models' photographs into piles on the basis of similarity of looks. Neither the specific content dimensions for appraising similarity nor the number or size of categories to be used were supplied by the researchers.

After sorting the photos, each expert was then asked to select the single photograph from each pile she had created that best exemplified that pile. For each photo selected, she was asked to supply a name or label that best summarized the look depicted. Each of these exemplars (and indirectly the sorting pile each represented) was then rated on a series of scales consisting of adjectival descriptors of looks, a global rating of the model in question, and the appropriateness of the model for a set of perfumes and magazines (see Solomon, Ashmore, and Longo 1992 for details).

The sorting task data were later subjected to a multidimensional scaling analysis. To interpret the multidimensional scaling configurations, linear multiple correlations (rs) were calculated for each of the 19 properties on which the exemplar photographs (and indirectly, the photographs in each associated pile) were rated.

Evidence was found for six relatively distinct types of beauty involving eight "looks properties": (1) Classic Beauty, (2) Feminine, (3) Sensual, (4) Exotic, (5) Cute, (6) Girl-Next-Door, (7) Sex Kitten, and (8) Trendy. Examination of the model photographs that best exemplified these dimensions led to the following system for categorizing types of female beauty.

continued . . .

This content downloaded from 193.255.133.5 on Mon, 20 Mar 2023 09:13:14 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

Models coded into the first four categories (Classic Beauty, Feminine, Sensual, and Exotic) share many characteristics, yet each beauty type is somewhat distinct. Models representing these four types of good looks are all "pretty" ("pretty" is the fashion experts' shorthand for having symmetric facial features), and they are not quirky or imperfect in facial or bodily features (given each model's own ethnic standard). Models reflecting all four of these types of beauty also appear calm and at ease; they are "serene." In addition, they also appear elegant without having to be dressed in fancy clothes. Furthermore, models coded into these four categories look directly at the camera without forcing an attitude or emotion on the viewer (such as "I'm tough"). They look comfortable, not awkward (i.e., they do not look posed, like mannequins), and they appear to be interesting, alert, and intelligent people.

If a model had all of the above characteristics, she was coded into the Classic Beauty, Feminine, Sensual, or Exotic categories, depending on which properties were most emphasized or apparent in her appearance. Some specific looks properties are summarized below:

(1) Classic Beauty: Blonde/light hair, WASPish appearance. Although most observers (at least within Euro-American culture) probably associate the notion of classic good looks with blonde hair and Nordic facial features, fashion experts do not currently view Aryan features as a prerequisite for Classic Beauty. However, when a model has a classic look, Nordic features, and other elements of her appearance (to be described below) are less emphasized, she was coded into the Classic Beauty category.

(2) Feminine: Soft image, feminine apparel. Classic Beauty and Feminine looks are slightly older than an average fashion model and they are not heavily accessorized. If accessorized, their accouterments appear as part of a gestalt (i.e., not as "tacked on" or unintegrated "extras"). Solomon et al. (1992) found Classic Beauty and Feminine to be closely associated in experts' implicit theories of beauty; consequently, these were treated as a single category in the present research.

(3) Sensual: Sexually attractive in a classy, understated way.

(4) Exotic: Ethnic looking—ethnicity is further from the white European norm. For expert perceivers, the Sensual and Exotic types of beauty were closely associated in the scaling solution and hence were treated as a single category.

(5) Cute: Models coded into the Cute category contained the following characteristics: Casual attire, youthful appearance, movement, and an interesting combination of awkwardness and naturalness. That is, a cute model may appear as though she has fallen out of a pose and was caught off guard. This awkwardness may signal youthfulness, which seems to be a crucial component of Cute. Cute models also tend to be shorter and wear a smaller dress size than do other models.

(6) Girl-Next-Door: This category contains models that are outdoorsy, casual, and active. The most central part of this look is athleticism. Although the Cute and Girl-Next-Door looks are similar, they diverge in two ways: The Girl-Next-Door appears less awkward and is more likely to be wearing a bathing suit. In contrast with the Sex Kitten (described next), however, the Girl-Next-Door wearing a bathing suit looks more like a swimmer than like someone in a swimsuit contest of a beauty pageant.

(7) Sex Kitten: Sex Kittens are usually wearing sexy attire (e.g., bathing suit, lingerie, revealing, or tight clothes). In addition, they do not look directly at the camera, and they do not appear as intelligent or personable as do the first six types of beauty. Furthermore, they do not appear "natural" because they are often in uncomfortable poses (e.g., the "cheesecake" pose in which the arms are raised with the hands on the back of the head, the chest is thrust forward and the back is arched).

(8) Trendy: The Trendy category contains two distinct types of models, both of which may have clothing that contrasts and/or clashes. The first type wears current and faddish clothes and displays a lot of oversized accessories. The other type appears ethnically non-white, and her attire and pose are provocative and challenging, as well as tousled and sexy.

This content downloaded from 193.255.133.5 on Mon, 20 Mar 2023 09:13:14 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms

Appendix B
Social Interaction Categories

Each music video could be coded for multiple social interaction forms.

Celebration
Activities and/or settings that stimulate a happy or joyful reaction for participants—e.g., audiences at a rock concert, party scenes, dancing.

Friendship
Togetherness of a nonsexual character, camaraderie and companionship.

Intimacy
Depiction of relationship more intimate than friendship—dating and/or courtship, embraces, kisses, etc.

Eroticism
Behaviors and/or settings that are sexually explicit or provocative and sexually suggestive.

Isolation
Physical and/or emotional separation from others or desertion by another.

Conflict
Action involving disagreement and/or argument and/or a personal dilemma.

Violence
Physical aggression against people or objects, or use of weapons or criminal acts.

This content downloaded from 193.255.133.5 on Mon, 20 Mar 2023 09:13:14 UTC
All use subject to https://about.jstor.org/terms