

IS BEAUTY A JOY FOREVER? YOUNG WOMEN'S EMOTIONAL RESPONSES TO VARYING TYPES OF BEAUTIFUL ADVERTISING MODELS

By J. Robyn Goodman, Jon D. Morris, and John C. Sutherland

Numerous studies have explored the relationship between female beauty and positive effects for the woman, product, or ad; however, none has explored women's emotional responses to different beauty types. This study investigated college women's emotional responses to Solomon, Ashmore, and Longo's six beauty types. The survey results revealed that the original six beauty types were not supported. Instead, they combined into two independent dimensions: Sexual/Sensual (SS) and Classic Beauty/Cute/Girl-Next-Door (CCG). After testing emotional reactions to High CCG/Low SS, High SS/Low CCG, and Equal CCG/SS models, models with higher degrees of CCG produced significantly greater pleasure, arousal, and dominance.



Advertisers use beautiful women to attract attention to products because they believe the beautiful are credible, desirable, and aspirational.¹ Numerous studies have shown that beautiful people receive more positive responses.² They are seen more positively upon initial introduction,³ have greater social influence,⁴ are better liked,⁵ and are attributed with more positive characteristics such as kindness, strength, friendliness, and independence.⁶ Moreover, abundant evidence suggests beautiful people in ads produce positive effects for the ad and product.⁷

Yet how do advertisers define "beauty?" Research shows that society and media's current characteristics of beauty include thin body, big eyes, full lips, flawless skin, and high cheekbones.⁸ All these attributes are hallmarks of youth, and all except for thinness are considered cross-cultural qualities of beauty.⁹

Even so, advertising models' looks differ. They vary in their physical attributes and personified qualities such as elegance or sexiness.¹⁰ Thus, researchers have explored different beauty types and how these types are best paired with a particular brand, known as the Beauty Match-up Hypothesis.¹¹ However, these studies have not explored women's emotional responses to different beauty types in advertising. Given that "beauty...is transitory, indefinable, best understood in terms

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of emotion, and is ultimately subjective,"¹² the present study seeks to measure women's emotional responses to these beauty types to better understand women's feelings.

Theoretical Frameworks

Social comparison¹³ and social cognitive theory¹⁴ provide theoretical frameworks to explain the key processes and assumptions in emotional reactions to beauty type. That is, women compare and judge themselves by advertising models, which influences their feelings, and socialization likely influences women's emotional responses. According to social cognitive theory, most social behaviors are learned by watching others' behaviors and behavioral consequences, which direct future behavior.¹⁵ Because the media are major socializing agents, they emphasize beauty as the route to social acceptability, and they positively reward the beautiful,¹⁶ women will likely buy products to achieve that look.

According to social comparison theory, humans are driven to evaluate their attitudes, opinions, and abilities by comparing themselves to others. However, this drive for comparison has three separate motives—self-evaluation, self-enhancement, and self-improvement—and each determines the comparison's effect. Self-evaluation, which is an accurate assessment of one's abilities, value, or worth,¹⁷ is based on the direction of the comparisons. For most women, comparison with a model's physical appearance produces an upward comparison—comparison with someone higher on an attribute—and negative effect.¹⁸ Self-enhancement involves comparing oneself to someone who will protect, maintain, or enhance self-perception,¹⁹ while self-improvement involves learning how to better oneself or finding inspiration from another to improve an aspect of oneself.²⁰ Thus, it is likely that women will be more attracted to (i.e., be more aroused by) models who increase their self-enhancement and inspire self-improvement.

Literature Review

There is ample evidence that beautiful people are more persuasive and effective communicators.²¹ Studies show that people are more willing to accept persuasive messages from beautiful individuals²² whether the beautiful person is actually there,²³ shown photographically,²⁴ or on film,²⁵ and a model's beauty increases consumers' positive attitudes toward the product²⁶ and the actual purchase.²⁷ For example, Halliwell and Dittmar exposed women to thin, average-size, and no-model ads and found the models' perceived attractiveness positively impacted the ads' effectiveness,²⁸ while Kahle and Homer found a celebrity's attractiveness positively changed attitudes toward the product and buying intention.²⁹

Some studies have produced contradictory findings, however.³⁰ For example, Caballero and Pride found the use of highly attractive female sales representatives produced higher purchase rates than their low and medium attractive counterparts, yet there was no difference between the highly attractive representative and the no-model condition.³¹ Bower found that when comparison to HAMs (highly attractive models) pro-

duced enough negative effect, consumers negatively evaluated the HAM as spokesperson and the product argument.³²

Other studies have suggested that women compare their beauty to models in ads and that these comparisons can influence their self-perceptions of beauty and body image.³³ For example, Richins' focus group and survey data showed women compared themselves to models in clothing, cosmetics, and personal care ads; used models to judge their own physical flaws; envied the models' beauty; and wanted to look like the models in personal care and cosmetics ads.³⁴

Studies also show that comparison to HAMs produced body dissatisfaction and negative self-esteem.³⁵ Richins found exposure to HAMs in ads increased women's dissatisfaction with their facial and overall attractiveness but not with body shape.³⁶ Martin and Gentry³⁷ found that women exposed to self-evaluation ads had lowered self-perceptions of attractiveness and self-esteem, whereas self-improvement and self-enhancement ads increased self-perceptions of attractiveness and self-esteem.

Other studies have looked at how exposure to attractive models negatively affects mood. Cattarin et al. found that exposure to attractive media models created feelings of anger, anxiety, and depression,³⁸ and Stice and Shaw found that ultra-thin models in ads and magazines produced depression, guilt, shame, and insecurity.³⁹

Several studies have tested HAM credibility with product categories. Some have found that HAMs are seen as more credible and produce stronger positive reactions to ads, model, and product when the product relates to attractiveness.⁴⁰ For example, Kamins found that exposure to a HAM (Tom Selleck) produced more positive attitudes toward the ad when the HAM was associated with an attractiveness-related product, but there was no difference with non-attractiveness-related products.⁴¹ Bower and Landreth found that people saw HAMs as having greater expertise for a beauty-enhancing product than non-attractive models and consumers gave the product better evaluations; however, for problem-solving products, there was no difference between the models' expertise or for the product's evaluation.⁴²

Similarly, other studies have focused on the beauty match-up hypothesis, "which specifies that perceivers distinguish multiple types of good looks, and ...certain beauty ideals are more appropriately paired with specific products than with others."⁴³ To test their hypothesis, the authors had eighteen fashion and beauty editors look at, divide, and label photographs by the model's "look," yielding six psychologically distinct beauty types: Classic Beauty/Feminine, Sensual/Exotic, Sex-Kitten, Trendy, Cute, and Girl-Next-Door.⁴⁴ Next, they had the editors rate the congruence between each model's look and specific perfume brands and magazines. Chanel and Classic Beauty/Feminine, Estee Lauder's White Linen and Girl-Next-Door, and *Cosmopolitan* and Sex-Kitten all had strong, clear match-ups.

Continuing Solomon, Ashmore, and Longo's work,⁴⁵ Englis, Solomon, and Ashmore content analyzed different beauty types in magazines⁴⁶ and found Trendy, Classic Beauty/Feminine, and Exotic/

Sensual were the most common beauty types, yet individual differences did exist. The most frequent models in *Vogue* and *Glamour* were equally divided between Exotic and Trendy. *Cosmopolitan*, *Mademoiselle*, and *Self* most commonly used Classic Beauty/Feminine models, but *Cosmopolitan* and *Mademoiselle* used more Sensual/Exotic models whereas *Self* used more Girl-Next-Door models.

Emotions and Advertising

Research has shown the existence of two paradigms—cognitive and emotional—to explain consumer responses to advertising. The cognitive paradigm focuses on learned cues, whereas the emotional paradigm focuses on affective responses. Advertising studies have found affect is a better predictor of behavioral intentions than cognition.⁴⁷ Moreover, emotional responses may last longer in memory than the cognitive responses.⁴⁸ While cognition is necessary, cognition's value is helping an individual recognize cues that will have emotional impacts.

Reactions to the advertising stimuli that are not cognitive⁴⁹ focus on the emotional component such as elation and pleasure and have been shown to contribute to how consumers feel about the ad and the brand.⁵⁰ Emotional response also has been shown to be a mediator of ad content on attitudes toward the brand.⁵¹ For example, a content analysis of ads, dividing them into six groups (emotional, threatening, mundane, sexy, cerebral, and personal), revealed a link between content factors and emotional dimensions. The results showed that three dimensions of emotions—pleasure, arousal, and dominance⁵²—are clear mediators of ad content.⁵³

Furthermore, attitude toward the ad does not account for all of the emotions generated during ad exposure and does not completely mediate the effect of emotional responses on brand attitude.⁵⁴ When prior experience is forced or habitual, emotions are more predictive of behavior than attitudes. This suggests that there is a direct, unmediated link between emotions and behavior.⁵⁵

Hypotheses

Given that we learn by watching others, the media are one of the main sources for learning about beauty, and studies show consumers use advertising models as a guide for what is beautiful,⁵⁶ we hypothesize that:

H1: Women will categorize advertising models into the same six categories (i.e., Classic Beauty, Cute, Girl-Next-Door, Trendy, Sensual/Exotic, and Sex Kitten) that the fashion and beauty editors did in the original Solomon, Ashmore, and Longo study.⁵⁷

Researchers have found that women compare themselves to advertising models, and these comparisons often produce negative emotions such as body dissatisfaction, anxiety, and depression.⁵⁸ Moreover, people associate hypersexual women with negative characteristics such as incompetence and promiscuity.⁵⁹ Therefore,

H2: Beauty types clearly associated with sexiness (i.e., Sex Kitten and Sensual/Erotic) will produce less pleasurable feelings than beauty types that are not associated with sexiness (i.e., Classic Beauty/Feminine, Cute, Girl-Next-Door, and Trendy).

Given the negative associations with sexiness,⁶⁰ women are likely not attracted to images that are associated with negative characteristics when comparing for self-enhancement or self-improvement purposes. Therefore,

H3: Beauty types associated with sexiness (i.e., Sex Kitten and Sensual/Erotic) will produce less arousal than beauty types that are not associated with sexiness (i.e., Classic Beauty/Feminine, Cute, Girl-Next-Door, and Trendy).

Researchers have found associations between power (i.e., dominance) and self-image and between physical appearance and power.⁶¹ Given sexiness's negative characteristics and general beauty's positive characteristics,⁶² it is likely that high sexiness creates negative self-image for most women, whereas more modest appearance creates positive self-image. With this positive self-image likely comes a feeling of power. Moreover, research has found women implicitly associate sex with submission.⁶³ Therefore,

H4: Beauty types associated with sexiness (i.e., Sex Kitten and Sensual/Erotic) will produce less dominance than beauty types that are not associated with sexiness (i.e., Classic Beauty/Feminine, Cute, Girl-Next-Door, and Trendy).

Study Design. The hypotheses were explored using surveys. Photographs were gathered from 2003 and 2004 *Vogue*, *Cosmopolitan*, *In Style*, and *Allure* magazines. The researchers used the criteria set forth by Solomon, Ashmore, and Longo⁶⁴ for selecting photographs, including only above-the-waist or full-body shots, no visible product logos or brand names, all models pictured alone (no other people or animals), no color photographs, only clothes models, and only highly reproducible photos.⁶⁵

Seven photographs were chosen for each of Solomon, Ashmore, and Longo's⁶⁶ six beauty types. The definitions, largely based on the Solomon, Ashmore, and Longo study,⁶⁷ are in Table 1. Because the original study was conducted fifteen years ago and these definitions may have changed over time, the researchers discussed whether each definition still held up. Most of the definitions were broad and fit; however, one category, Exotic, was problematic. The original study defined Exotic as women of color. In the early 1990s, women of color were pre-

Method

TABLE 1

*Descriptions of Solomon, Ashmore, and Longo's Beauty Types*⁹⁹

Beauty Type	Description
Classic Beauty/Feminine	Perfect, symmetrical physical features; soft, romantic look; classic or classy attire; soft makeup
Sensual/Exotic	Symmetrical facial features; sexual look but still classy and more understated in its sexuality
Sex Kitten	Overtly sexual with a sexual look and attire
Cute	Child-like or youthful physical features and attire; these women tend to look like fresh-faced teenagers
Girl-Next-Door	Natural appearance (doesn't look like they're wearing makeup), simple attire, athletic looking, tend to look a little older than Cute women
Trendy	Offbeat look and attire, perhaps flawed or asymmetrical in contrast to the Classic beauty ¹⁰⁰

sented as "exotic" in most magazines and were rarely seen. Therefore, the study conceptualized the Sensual/Exotic category as just Sensual and used few women of color in the sample to alleviate this problem.

The researchers chose the models together based on the definitions set forth, and only used models that all three agreed upon as being a clear example of the category. As they were choosing models, the researchers felt that the categories were not mutually exclusive so the first hypothesis addresses this.

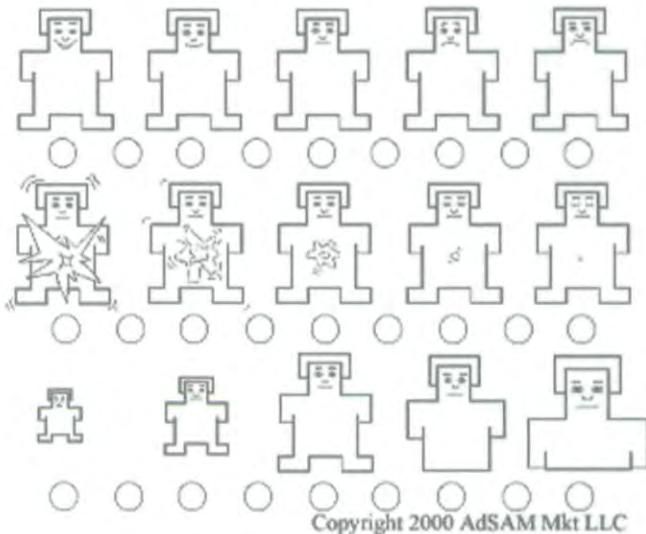
Participants. The researchers recruited 258 female undergraduates, ages 18-26, enrolled in introductory communication courses⁶⁸ at a large Southeastern university. Seventy-two percent were Caucasian, 18% Hispanic, 8% African American, and 2% Asian.

Procedure. Test One's goal was to determine if women classified models' beauty into the same six beauty types that fashion and industry professionals did. One hundred thirty-one subjects were given packets containing models' photographs and space below to mark responses using a 5-point Likert scale, ranging from "completely agree" to "completely disagree" to rate each photograph on each of the six pre-established dimensions of beauty.⁶⁹ Subjects were asked to evaluate the model *as pictured* (ignoring anything else they may know about the model).⁷⁰

There were three different versions of the questionnaire, each version containing one-third of the models, and each questionnaire had at least two photographs of each of the six beauty types. Subjects were randomly assigned to a questionnaire.

For Test Two, 127 new female subjects were given one of three different versions of a questionnaire, each version containing one-third of

FIGURE 1
The AdSAM® Visual Scale



the models—the same models that were used in Test One. The subjects used AdSAM® to give their emotional responses to each of the photographs. AdSAM® uses a visual scale to determine three emotional responses—pleasure, dominance, and arousal (PAD). The scale features a pictorial representation of a gender- and culture-free human figure for the three dimensions of emotion. Respondents are asked to choose the manikin in each of the three rows (representing the three dimensions of emotion, PAD) that best represents how they feel. The pleasure dimension ranges from an extremely positive feeling to an extremely negative feeling. The arousal dimension ranges from a state of sluggishness or disinterest to a state of excitement. The dominance dimension ranges from submissiveness and not in control to powerful and in control. Results are translated into a PAD score for each item tested and then graphed on a scale of pleasure and arousal.⁷¹

AdSAM® has been tested in many different studies and proven both reliable and valid. It has been used to assess responses to television advertising,⁷² pre-production vs. post-production advertising,⁷³ and political messages,⁷⁴ as well as to compare responses to marketing communications across cultures.⁷⁵ Furthermore, AdSAM® was specifically developed to measure emotional response to marketing communications stimuli.⁷⁶ Although some studies have used lists of the emotions that consumers experience when they encounter ads,⁷⁷ it is difficult to create an exhaustive list of the full spectrum of emotions that ads can generate. Rather than looking at specific emotions, finding the underlying dimensions of emotion is more efficient and can produce the specific feelings in the end.

TABLE 2

Varimax Rotated Component Matrix Factor Loadings for Each of the 42 Models

Model is...	Factor 1	Factor 2
Classic/Feminine	.788	.176
Cute	.774	-.236
Girl-next-Door	.705	-.432
Trendy	.513	.413
Sex Kitten	-.050	.862
Sensual/Exotic	-.062	.879

Results

Dimensions of Beauty. To test the first hypothesis, a factor analysis was conducted for each model using different rotations, including Varimax, to check for mutually exclusive underlying dimensions of the six types of beauty. We also factored all models' ratings across their beauty ratings as one data set using different rotations, including Varimax. Among the various solutions to these factor analyses, a two-factor Varimax solution best fit the data. The factor analysis of all models across all ratings is presented in Table 2. The solution explained 65.8% of the variance with Factor 1 accounting for 36.8% and Factor 2 accounting for 29.0%. These results typify what we found among all the different factor analyses: Classic Beauty/Feminine (.788), Cute (.774) and Girl-Next-Door (.705) factored together while Sensual/Exotic (.879) and Sex Kitten (.862) factored together. The different factor results provided strong evidence that the six types of beauty suggested by the literature could be captured in two underlying and independent dimensions: Classic Beauty/Cute/Girl-Next-Door (CCG) and Sexual/Sensual (SS).

Because the beauty types did not match Solomon, Ashmore, and Longo's⁷⁸ original groupings, the researchers tested to see how each new type of beauty fell along a continuum of strongest to weakest examples using a General Linear Model Repeated Measures test. Because the pattern of emotional response across models by factor was consistent, we chose two exemplars, or "pure" types, of models for three points along the continuum: High SS/Low CCG, Middle models (equal CCG and SS), and Low SS/High CCG. These exemplars were chosen in order to maximize the differences or similarities between mean scores on the two factors and to have the most similar type of shot (i.e., close-up) possible for the models.

Emotional Responses to Beauty. H2 predicted that models associated with sexiness would produce the least amount of pleasure. Indeed, the Pleasure scores for High CCG/Low SS examples were the highest (C1 M = 7.56; C7 M = 7.05). While C1, a High CCG/Low SS example, had a

TABLE 3
The Best Examples on the Beauty Continuum

Group	Model	Sexual/ Sensual Mean Score	Classic Beauty Mean Score	Sexual/ Sensual Rank (N= 42)	Classic Beauty Rank (N= 42)
High Classic Beauty/Cute/ Girl-Next-Door and Low Sexual/Sensual	C7	.64	2.26	33	3
	C1	.35	2.34	36	1
Middle Sexual- Sensual/ Middle Classic Beauty/Cute/ Girl-Next-Door	SE5	1.13	1.46	20	19
	CF7	1.12	1.40	21	21
High Sexual/Sensual and Low Classic Beauty/Cute/ Girl-Next-Door	SE2	2.01	.79	2	31
	SK1	2.27	1.03	4	34

Pleasure score significantly higher than the other High CCG/Low SS example, both High CCG/Low SS examples generated Pleasure scores significantly greater than both the High SS/Low CCG and the Middle models ($F = 29.65$, $df = 5$, $p < .001$). Moreover, the Pleasure scores for the Middle models (SE5 $M = 4.67$; CF7 $M = 4.39$) and the High SS/Low CCG (SE2 $M = 4.95$; SK1 $M = 5.00$) were not significantly different from each other; these responses ranged from slight displeasure to a degree of ambivalence. The hypothesis was partially supported.

H3 predicted that women would be more aroused (i.e., more interested) by models who were less sexy. The arousal scores for the High CCG/Low SS models (C1 $M = 5.62$; C7 $M = 5.00$) were significantly higher than the Middle models (SE5 $M = 3.59$; CF7 $M = 3.39$) and the High SS/Low CCG (SE2 $M = 3.87$; SK1 $M = 4.51$), suggesting that greater arousal was generated by models who were the least sexy ($F = 10.101$, $df = 5$, $p < .001$). However, the differences were not as large as with the Pleasure scores, and the High CCG/Low SS means were not as high as they were with Pleasure, indicating that respondents were only somewhat aroused. Again, the models with equal amounts of sex appeal and wholesome beauty were the least arousing, although not significantly different from High SS models. This hypothesis, then, was partially supported.

H4 stated that beauty types associated with sexiness (i.e., Sex Kitten and Sensual/Erotic) will produce less feeling of dominance than beauty types that are not associated with sexiness (i.e., Classic Beauty/Feminine, Cute, Girl-Next-Door, and Trendy). The High SS/

TABLE 4
Models' Scores

Models' Pleasure Scores

Model Type	Pleasure Scores	Mean	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval	
				Lower Bound	Upper Bound
High Classic Beauty / Cute/Girl-Next-Door and Low Sexual/Sensual	Model C1	7.564 ¹	.232	7.095	8.033
	Model C7	7.051 ²	.208	6.631	7.472
Middle Sexual-Sensual/ Middle Classic Beauty / Cute/Girl-Next-Door	Model Se5	4.667 ³	.253	4.155	5.178
	Model Cf7	4.385 ³	.264	3.850	4.919
High Sexual/Sensual and Low Classic Beauty / Cute/Girl-Next-Door	Model Sk1	5.000 ³	.296	4.400	5.600
	Model Se2	4.949 ³	.241	4.461	5.436
	Grand Mean	5.603	.107	5.385	5.820

¹C1's Pleasure mean was significantly greater than all other Pleasure means.

²C7's Pleasure mean was greater than all other Pleasure means and significantly less than C1's Pleasure mean.

³The Pleasure means for SE5, CF7, SE2 and SK1 were significantly less than the C1 and C7 Pleasure means but not significantly different from each other.

Models' Arousal Scores

Model Type	Arousal	Mean	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval	
				Lower Bound	Upper Bound
High Classic Beauty / Cute/Girl-Next-Door and Low Sexual/Sensual	Model C7	5.000 ⁴	.318	4.356	5.644
	Model C1	5.615 ⁴	.271	5.066	6.165
Middle Sexual-Sensual/ Middle Classic Beauty / Cute/Girl-Next-Door	Model Se5	3.590 ⁵	.338	2.905	4.274
	Model Cf7	3.385 ⁵	.264	2.850	3.919
High Sexual/Sensual and Low Classic Beauty / Cute/Girl-Next-Door	Model Sk1	4.513 ⁵	.320	3.865	5.161
	Model Se2	3.872 ⁵	.278	3.309	4.434
	Grand Mean	4.329	.165	3.995	4.663

⁴The Arousal means for C1 and C7 were not significantly different from each other. Both were significantly greater than all other Arousal means.

⁵The Arousal means for SE5, CF7, SE2 and SK1 were significantly less than the C1 and C7 Pleasure means but not significantly different from each other.

Table 4 cont. next page

Table 4 cont.

Models' Dominance Scores

Model Type	Dominance	Mean	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval	
				Lower Bound	Upper Bound
High Classic Beauty/ Cute/Girl-Next-Door and Low Sexual/Sensual	Model C7	6.231 ^a	.290	5.643	6.819
	Model C1	5.872 ⁷	.265	5.335	6.409
Middle Sexual-Sensual/ Middle Classic Beauty/ Cute/Girl-Next-Door	Model Se5	6.308 ^a	.297	5.707	6.908
	Model Cf7	6.026 ⁷	.323	5.371	6.680
High Sexual/Sensual and Low Classic Beauty/ Cute/Girl-Next-Door	Model Se2	5.128 ⁷	.290	4.542	5.715
	Model Sk1	5.000 ⁷	.320	4.352	5.648
	Grand Mean	5.761	.142	5.474	6.047

^aThe Dominance means for C1, C7, SE5 and CF7 were not significantly different from each other. Their means were significantly greater than the Dominance means for SE2 and SK1.

⁷The Dominance means for SE2 and SK1 were significantly less than the other models but not significantly different from each other.

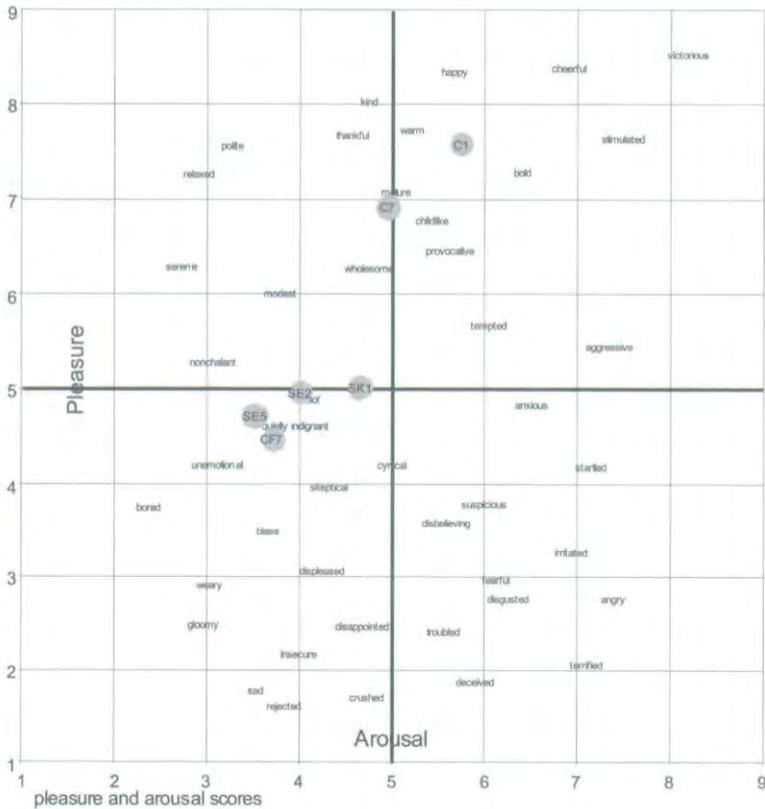
Low CCG models (SE2 $M = 5.13$; SK1 $M = 5.00$) produced significantly less dominance than the scores for the High CCG/Low SS (C1 $M = 5.87$; C7 $M = 6.23$) and the Middle example models (SE5 $M = 6.31$; CF7 $M = 6.02$) ($F = 3.83$, $df = 5$, $p = .003$), but the High CCG/Low SS and the Middle example models were not significantly different from each other. These results show that the respondents felt a moderate degree of dominance when viewing Middle and High CCG/Low SS models, but High SS/Low CCG models made the women feel less empowered. Thus, this hypothesis was partially supported.

Figure 2 shows the means graphed on a scale of pleasure and arousal. The mean for the strongest model for CCG resides in the upper right-hand quadrant (the most positive) near adjectives such as bold, warm, and mature. Meanwhile, the mean for the strongest SS model resides in the lower left-hand quadrant (the most negative) near adjectives such as skeptical, blasé, and unemotional.

From the AdSAM® Emotion Groups, we were able to categorize groups of respondents with similar emotional reactions and determine their feelings using the AdSAM® Prominent Emotions Index. Although the respondents do not see or rate according to these groups or adjectives, the ratings for these groups and emotions are in the AdSAM® database and are matched to the respondents' scores. AdSAM® Emotion Groups' adjectives indicate the feelings the respondents are emoting after seeing the model.

FIGURE 2
AdSAM® Pleasure and Arousal Perceptual Map

AdSAM® Perceptual Map



Overall, the three groups of respondents were quite different in the distribution of scores by AdSAM® Emotion Groups. After viewing High CCG models, 67% of the respondents were Interested and Excited or Warmly Accepting and only 15% felt Ambivalent⁷⁹ or Reserved/Reluctant. For the High SS/Low CCG group, 63% felt Ambivalent or Reserved/Reluctant and 15% felt totally Uninterested in or Unaccepting after viewing those models. For the Middle models (SE5 & CF7), 35% of the respondents felt Interested Excited or Warmly Accepting, while 44% were Ambivalent or Reserved/Reluctant.

In looking at individual models' AdSAM® Emotion Groups rather than groups of models, the highest CCG model, C1, had the highest PAD scores ($P = 7.56$, $A = 5.62$, $D = 5.87$). In addition, more than three fourths (76%) of the respondents fell into Warmly Accepting or Interested/Excited groups, meaning they felt Appreciative, Joyful,

Cheerful, Impressed, Exuberant, and Thankful when they viewed C1.

Unlike the top-rated CCG Model, the highest SS model, SK1, had low PAD ratings (Pleasure 5.00, Arousal 4.50, Dominance 5.00). For this model, 74% of the respondents fell into three Emotion Groups—Ambivalent, Reserved, and Uninterested. The Prominent Emotions Index[®] showed that a majority of these women felt: Sensitive, Haughty, Uninterested, Unexcited, Gloomy, and Sad.

This study sought to measure women's emotional responses to varying types of beautiful female models. After conducting basic frequency and factor analyses, this study's findings both supported and refuted the Solomon, Ashmore, and Longo⁸⁰ study. The frequency analyses showed that the dimensions existed, yet the dimensions were not as pure as in the original study. Five of the six categories of beauty clearly combined into two types of beauty—Sexual/Sensual (formerly Sexual/Exotic and Sex Kitten) and Classic Beauty/Cute/Girl-Next-Door (formerly Cute, Classic Beauty, Girl-Next-Door). This finding is significant because it indicates a difference in opinions between industry creatives who choose the models for fashion magazines and the audience who views them. Thus when a company chooses a model to represent their product, the company may get better results if it uses the viewers' categorizations.

Furthermore, the factor analysis showed that Trendy often loaded on both factors indicating that it was hard for the respondents to distinguish this beauty type from the others. Therefore, it seems that this category was not clearly defined for the women in this study. The women's definition did not necessarily include the idea of an "offbeat" look, which was quintessential to the professionals' definitions. In looking at photos of the highest rated Trendy models, the women viewed Trendy as someone who wore hair, makeup, and clothes that were similar to their own style, implying that these women define themselves as Trendy.

This study also found that CCG and SS were not mutually exclusive dimensions of beauty. Thus, this study discovered that Solomon, Ashmore, and Longo's⁸¹ major limitation was in looking at beauty types as mutually exclusive. For example, their study defined all women of color as Exotic regardless of facial features, pose, or clothing. Our findings suggest that audiences see beauty as multidimensional with each woman possessing varying degrees of CCG and SS. In fact, Gutherie explicates two categories of beauty in his analysis of beauty's biology that are akin to this study's CCG and SS types.⁸² The first type, personified by Goldie Hawn and Calista Flockhart, has infantile qualities that make her "look like [an] adorable needy waif."⁸³ The other type features a more mature, sexual look personified by Raquel Welch and Nicollette Sheridan. These women have an hourglass figure with full busts and round hips that "signal both eroticism and maternal security."⁸⁴ In general, multidimensional beauty may be beneficial to compa-

Discussion

nies because it will help them to create advertisements that feature precisely the image they wish to portray.

Regarding emotional reactions to the two beauty types, high CCG models had significantly greater pleasure and arousal than high SS models. Greater degrees of sexiness and sensuality tended to produce ambivalence or a slightly negative reaction. These findings suggest, surprisingly, that although the respondents felt a model resided strongly in the SS category, women had very little to no pleasure or arousal when viewing her. This finding has several implications. First, it might indicate that women are programmed to label certain beauty types as "sexy" even though this beauty type bores them.

Second, there is a clear difference between how these respondents view attractiveness and sexiness with the former being positive and the latter negative. A possible explanation for these differences is that the definition of sexy has altered over time. Today's women may see sexiness as hypersexual and associate hypersexuality with negative characteristics, making SS images unappealing.⁸⁵ This finding may further suggest that women are tired of being objectified and sexualized in advertisements, indicating a potential backlash when using SS images for products targeted to women, particularly if the product has no obvious tie or need to use sexual imagery.

The final implication relates to social comparison. Given that several researchers have found negative effects when people make upward comparisons⁸⁶ and High SS images produced little to no pleasure and empowerment as well as feelings of ambivalence, apathy, and sadness, the women may have been making upward comparisons. Moreover, it is more likely that they used High SS women as sources of self-evaluation because SS models produced feelings more related to how one might assess their value and abilities. The SS models' lack of arousal may be explained by women attempting to avoid images that make them feel inadequate, which is related to comparison for self-enhancement, and being uninterested in hypersexual images because of those negative associations with hypersexuality.⁸⁷

Conversely, High CCG images produced pleasure, arousal, and feelings of dominance. Given that upward comparisons produce negative affect,⁸⁸ these women did not make upward comparisons for self-evaluative purposes. Instead, High CCG models seem to activate self-enhancement and self-improvement comparisons. Given the negative characteristics associated with hypersexuality,⁸⁹ Martin and Gentry's finding⁹⁰ that self-improvement and self-evaluation comparisons produced positive feelings regarding oneself, and these images' ability to produce pleasurable feelings, the images seem to protect, maintain, and enhance women's self-perceptions.

This attraction and pleasure toward High CCG models, moreover, may be explained through social cognitive theory, which states that we watch and learn about behaviors and behavioral consequences from others.⁹¹ Thus, if women see High SS models as being objectified and associated with negative characteristics and High CCG models experience the opposite,⁹² it makes sense for women to aspire to be and compare them-

selves to a High CCG model. Yet some may argue that the respondents may have had more negative emotional responses toward the SS models because they felt jealous of the model and unable to achieve the look. However, the models chosen for the CCG category exhibited nearly the same body types as the SS models and, arguably, the same beauty potential. The main differences between the strongest SS and CCG models were clothing, body position, and expression.

Although the data generally show that higher levels of CCG are more arousing, one of the High SS/Low CCG examples had a similar arousal mean as the High CCG/Low SS examples. In looking at the models in question, this seemingly incongruent finding may be a function of the particular model's clothing and fame. This model is the only one pictured partially clothed (she's in a bra), and she is a well-known Victoria's Secret model. Women know that many men desire Victoria's Secret models⁹³ so they may be paying more attention to her for symbolic modeling purposes.⁹⁴ Thus, they're attempting to emulate her to be more desirable to men.

In addition, it is curious that models with equal amounts of sex appeal and classic beauty (i.e., Middle models) were slightly albeit not significantly less pleasurable and less arousing than High SS models. This finding may be because the respondents feel that a woman cannot be both sexy and classically beautiful; therefore, when presented with a woman with equal amounts of both, they feel confused, resulting in cognitive dissonance that produces displeasure.⁹⁵

Although pleasure and arousal were significantly greater for High CCG/Low SS, for dominance both High CCG/Low SS and the Middle models produced significantly greater feelings of empowerment than High SS/Low CCG models did. Thus, women felt vulnerable when viewing High SS women. This finding is not surprising. Researchers have found that women implicitly associate sex with submission;⁹⁶ therefore, it makes sense that SS models would produce less dominant feelings in women.

Based on this research, some advertisers may have been misled in using sexy models to attract women. It may be a common misconception that women are attracted to products endorsed by sexy models because they somehow desire to be like them and therefore purchase the product. Indeed, this study seems to show the fallacy in the age-old adage that "sex sells." While previous research suggests that a woman is more likely to purchase a product if she is unhappy with her own body and desires to be more like the endorser,⁹⁷ this study shows that the SS model often does not work. Advertisers should consider using more models in the CCG category to appeal to women, as CCG is more emotionally defining for the women in this study. Presumably these women desired to be more like the CCG models, and in turn, would purchase the products more readily than they would a product endorsed by a more overtly sexual model.

However, these results need to be taken in context. Previous research also shows that for a model to be credible, she must have strong match-up with the product, so for sexier brand images, sexier models

are still more likely to be appropriate. Although research shows emotional responses are more predictive of behavior,⁹⁸ emotions are not the sole dictator of behavior, making these results only one piece of the advertising-related behavior puzzle.

Although this study looked at advertising, its findings may be useful for the magazine industry given its use of beautiful cover models to sell magazines. Magazines targeted to 18- to 26-year-old women may want to use more CCG images to attract women's attention, assuming CCG models match the magazine's image.

Despite this study's significance, there were limitations, including age and education. The models used were not in identical poses or clothing, creating potential bias; however, this practice was similar to the original Solomon, Ashmore, and Longo study. Furthermore, some reactions to the models may be driven more by respondents' knowledge of the models' personal life, which should be tested in the future. Other studies could look to see if there is a different reaction to the beauty types in an advertisement compared to editorial matter. Because quantitative research aggregates its subjects, moreover, future research should conduct focus groups to find individual differences in response to the images and discover what audience characteristics trigger different emotional responses.

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