Korean fashion media, beauty ideals, and colorism: Examining the prominence of whiteness between 2013 and 2017 in CÃ©cic magazine

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Korean fashion media, beauty ideals, and colorism: Examining the prominence of whiteness between 2013 and 2017 in Cécì magazine

by

Eunji Choi

A thesis submitted to the graduate faculty
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Program of Study Committee:
Kelly L. Reddy-Best, Major Professor
Sara Marcketti
Ran Li

The student author, whose presentation of the scholarship herein was approved by the program of study committee, is solely responsible for the content of this thesis. The Graduate College will ensure this thesis is globally accessible and will not permit alterations after a degree is conferred.

Iowa State University

Ames, Iowa

2018

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this research was to critically examine fashion magazines targeting Korean women to examine to what degree White or European beauty ideals permeate Korean cultural outlets. To analyze beauty ideal representations in these fashion magazines, I used the content analysis method and examined issues of Céci, the most popular and widely circulated fashion magazine published in Korea, from 2013 to 2017. Each individual pictured in the magazine was coded in five categories: race, skin tone, hairstyle, hair color, and facial characteristics. Descriptive statistics, Pearson’s chi-square, and independent samples t-tests were used to analyze the data. Overall, the magazines presented significantly more White or European beauty ideals.
CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

While walking on the streets of Seoul, I have seen numerous plastic surgery businesses. Reflecting on this observation stimulated my curiosity, and I began searching for plastic surgery centers located in the Gangnam district of Seoul. Shockingly, there are about 355 plastic surgery centers within 15 square miles. After further research, I found that in 2002, Korean women spent about 5.5 billion USD on cosmetics, 500 million USD on plastic surgery, and 1 billion USD on dieting (SERI, 2002, as cited in Kim & Chung, 2009, p. 231). In 2007, about 41% of teenagers desired to have plastic surgery with their interest in plastic surgery rooted in the desire for White or European facial shapes and appearances (Kim & Chung, 2009). This idealization of Whiteness by Koreans is the underlying motivation for this study.

As a Korean woman, I have been surrounded by images of White people in my day-to-day life. I rarely see women like myself in leading roles in movies, on fashion runways, or even in popular fashion magazines. The aesthetic ideal that I see includes thin, White women. This idea is confirmed when reading current fashion industry news, which reported that, although it has improved slightly in recent years, fashion runway shows have been mostly devoid of racial diversity (Saltzman, 2017). These beauty ideals, or the desired appearance and aesthetic of a culture at a particular time period, propagate the globalization of beauty ideals. Many scholars, including Isa and Kramer (2003), emphasized that the homogenization of beauty standards is more prevalent in Asian cultures.

Although some research has been done on the globalization of beauty across Asian cultures, there has been little research into the role of media in this process. Therefore, the purpose of this research is to examine fashion magazines targeted specifically to Korean
women to examine how much, or if, White or European beauty ideals permeate Korean cultural outlets. Thus, the following research questions guide this study.

**Research Questions**

1. Is a Korean fashion magazine, *Céci*, permeated by European or White beauty ideals?
   a. What races are represented in *Céci*, and have there been any changes over time?
   b. Do Korean individuals have hairstyles that more closely resemble White or European beauty ideals, and have there been any changes over time?
   c. Do Korean individuals have hair colors that more closely resemble White or European beauty ideals, and have there been any changes over time?
   d. Do Korean individuals have facial characteristics that more closely resemble White or European beauty ideals, and have there been any changes over time?
   e. How are Korean individuals' skin tones represented in Korean fashion magazines, and have there been any changes over time?

**Definition of Terms**

1. Beauty ideal: the aspects of appearance that individuals, communities, or cultures strive to emulate, which are fluid and change across time.
2. Ethnicity: culturally determined characteristics of individuals or communities, which are learned behaviors, practices, or ways of being. Examples include Italian American, Chinese American, and Kenyan.
3. Fashion: the prevailing ideas, aesthetics, and styles of a particular time and place.
4. Race: the biological or genetic basis for the characterization of individuals, which includes distinctions based on physical features such as skin color, hair texture, and facial features. Examples include Black, White, Asian, and Native American.
5. White and/or European: individuals who belong to the White race, who themselves or their ancestors descended from a European region. However, there are individuals who appear White or who would be identified as or be classified in the White race who do not originate from European regions.

6. Model: individual who wears clothes or related items for various brands or companies in numerous outlets, such as fashion runway shows, magazine advertisements, and commercials.

7. People of color (POC): individuals who identify within a race that has a darker or non-White skin color, including Black, African American, Asian, Native Pacific Islander, Native American, and Latino/a/x. I recognize that saying non-White places POC in an “other” category as is problematic, yet I have used the term non-White here for ease of descriptors.

8. Western: characteristics typically associated with North American or European cultures or aesthetics.

9. Eastern: characteristics typically associated with Asian cultures or aesthetics.

10. Black: individuals where total or part of their ancestry roots back to racial groups of African who are Black. I will utilize the term Black in place of African American, yet when referencing other scholar’s work, I will use the term they have used.

11. African American: Black Americans where total or part of their ancestry roots back to racial groups of Africans who are Black.
CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Beauty Ideals

Beauty ideals are difficult to define because definitions and interpretations differ from one individual, culture, time period, and context to the next. According to Saltzberg and Chrisler (1997), “beauty cannot be quantified or objectively measured; it is the result of the judgment of others” (p. 306). Yet the importance of beauty ideals cannot be understated. Lennon, Johnson, and Rudd (2017) explained that the attractiveness and physical attributes of a person are the critical factors in determining the perceptions of beauty and have significant implications for how individuals are perceived by others, how individuals behave toward others, and how individuals perceive themselves. Beauty ideals, or what Lennon et al. (2017) refer to as the cultural aesthetic ideal, are based on aspects of one’s appearance, such as the size and shape of the body and the physical characteristics of the face. In addition to facial attractiveness, beauty ideals also include grooming behaviors (Cash & Cash, 1982; Cash, Rissi, & Chapman, 1985; Solomon & Schopler, 1982).

Solomon, Ashmore, and Longo (1992) completed a study that examined different types of beauty ideals and offered various definitions for them. They defined eight beauty types: classic beauty—“perfect physical, especially facial, features”; cute—“child-like features and/or attire”; sex-kitten or sensual—“sexual looks, but the former is more overt and youthful”; girl-next-door—“denoting a natural, unmade-up appearance and simple attire”; exotic—“non-Caucasian”; feminine—“a soft and/or romantic look”; and trendy—“an off-beat look, perhaps flawed or asymmetrical, in contrast to a classic beauty type” (Solomon et al., 1992, p. 25). However, within these definitions, there is no clarity as to when an individual might be classified within each category.
Even though Saltzberg and Chrisler (1997) noted that beauty cannot be quantified, Lennon et al. (2017) discussed specific ways individuals are deemed attractive when analyzing the face. One way individuals are deemed attractive is by analyzing how sexually dimorphic they are, or examining the “characteristics of physical features that distinguish men from women” (Saltzberg & Chrisler, 1997, p. 129). In one study, when individuals had more feminine features such as higher cheekbones and were female or had more masculine features such as stronger jawlines and were male, they were often rated as more attractive (Cunningham, 1986). A second impact on perceptions of facial attractiveness includes how average the face appears. Finally, if the face is more symmetrical, it will be rated as more attractive. All of these aspects—how sexually dimorphic they are, their averageness, and their symmetricalness—affect the extent to which an individual is thought to meet the beauty ideal, regardless of his or her race (Lennon et al., 2017).

If an individual is viewed as meeting the cultural beauty ideal—or, in other words, is considered attractive—this can have significant positive implications. For example, there is a significant amount of research that highlights how more attractive people who are spokespeople or models in various media outlets, such as advertising or promotions, will be more likely to sell products than those who are considered unattractive (Baker & Churchill, 1977; Belch, Belch, & Villareal, 1987; Bloch & Richins, 1992; Caballero & Pride, 1984; Courtney & Whipple, 1983; Kahle & Homer, 1985; Reid & Soley, 1983; Solomon et al., 1992). Physically attractive individuals also receive more positive feedback (Jackson, Hunter, & Hodge, 1995). In one of the seminal studies on the impacts of attractiveness, participants in the study rated images of individuals who were attractive, average, and unattractive, and they more often rated the attractive people as more competent, happier,
more desirable, and having a better life (Dion, Berscheid, & Walster, 1972). While the discussion of overall beauty ideals or standards is important to highlight, looking at beauty ideals within a given race can also be of significance to understand how individuals of different races consider beauty ideals and standards.

**History of Korean Beauty Ideals: Influence of the United States**

Prior to the nineteenth century, there were almost no channels of trade between the West and East. Furthermore, an interest in beauty, including changing one’s hairstyle (such as perming, cutting, or dyeing), was limited to the upper class in Korea until the mid-19th century. However, civilians started to have an interest in changing their hair styles after the industrial revolution in the 19th century. In the 1920s, when the first hair salons and hair designers appeared, Korean female students and more modern women started to wear a bobbed hairstyle for the first time. In the 1930s, getting a perm on the bobbed hair was the trend, which was due to the introduction of Western perming technology in Korea (Lee, 2008).

From the 1920s to the end of World War II, both Japanese men and women began to have a strong desire to appear more Western in regard to clothing, hair, and appearance, all of which was viewed as more modern and desirable (Kato, 1965; Kinmonth, 1981; Wagatsuma, 1967). During World War II, Western women largely changed their hairstyles to long and curly. These kinds of permed hairstyles were restricted in Korea under Japanese imperialism but had an influence on Koreans following the country gaining independence in 1945. The mid-1940s was when Korean hairstyles significantly changed due to Korea’s liberation from Japanese colonialism. Korea, oppressed by Japanese colonial rule for 35 years, went through much turmoil during the liberation period, which produced the tragedy
of national division. As North Korean forces attacked South Korea, the Korean War broke out on June 25, 1950, and the United Nations Peacemaking Forces (the UN forces) were sent to rescue South Korea as directed by the members of the United Nations, led by the United States. Western civilization flooded into South Korea as food, medicine, and other types of aid were supplied from the United States and UN forces and as the soldiers’ wives entered South Korea. The beauty culture, including permed hair, red lipstick, and red nail polish, brought by the wives of UN forces directly influenced Korean beauty culture, resulting in these practices being adopted by Korean women (Kim, 2005; Maeng, 2004).

Additionally, hair bleaching was first introduced in Korea by Western culture in the 1950s, allowing women to have blond hair (Kim, 2005; Maeng, 2004). At that time, there were new advances made with regard to hair-dyeing technology. Beauticians could now bleach, shampoo, and apply permanent hair dyes; this was largely impossible before. These advances in technology increased hair dyeing for Korean women. Blond, silver, red, and blue dyes were now hair color options for Korean women (Kim, 2003).

**Diversity of Beauty Ideals in Race Before the Media Age**

According to Yan and Kim (2014), every race had created its own unique standard of beauty and attractiveness based on traditional viewpoints before the media age, but the increase in globalization of beauty resulted in widespread knowledge. For example, an oversized body, which has an implied meaning of fecundity, used to be the ideal body in Korean (Han, 2003), Hispanic (Cunningham, Roberts, Barbee, Druen, & Wu, 1995), Chinese, and Japanese cultures (Han, 2003; Jung & Forbes, 2006). However, most Western cultures define ideal feminine beauty as a thin, tall, toned body; high cheekbones (Cunningham et al., 1995); with blond hair (Yan & Kim, 2014). However, not all individuals
who might be considered part of Western culture pursue a standard beauty ideal. For
example, individuals who are part of the Black community have their own unique beauty
standards. For African American women, breast size is not a significant factor for
attractiveness, whereas it is for White and Hispanic women (Grabe & Hyde, 2006; Lennon et
al., 2017).

Research has shown that beauty ideals for African American women focus on
physical features and emphasize internal characteristics such as being unique and creative
and having style, attitude, pride, and confidence; the beauty ideals also include a wide variety
of body sizes outside of the thin ideal (Collins, 1991; Lennon et al., 2017; Parker, Nichter,
Vuckovic, Sims, & Ritenbaugh, 1995). Although Black women may emphasize
characteristics of beauty outside of physical characteristics, the effects of the permeating
White or European beauty ideals, such as light skin, straightened hair, a thin nose, and light-
colored eyes, can have damaging effects on Black women (Bryant, 2013). Many researchers
found that Black women have started to consider White characteristics to be beauty ideals,
supplanting their own (Kim & Chung, 2009; Patton, 2006). It is these White beauty ideals
that often permeate our culture and society.

Globalizing the Beauty Ideal via Media

It has been argued that media outlets have accelerated globalization and hence have
integrated numerous cultures (Frith, Cheng & Shaw, 2004; Giddens, 1990). In recent years,
much scholarly work has been done on how the media has affected the globalization of
socialization, perpetuating certain global beauty standards such as thinness and
institutionalizing such conventions as photographic poses” (p. 54). Additionally, images of
women who have an ideal appearance have been reproduced and reinforced throughout media (Lee, 2000), which is playing an ever-greater role in perpetuating the beauty standard (Bryant, 2013). A significant amount of literature has examined the representation of women in media across different races (Arima, 2003; Biswas, Olsen, & Carlet, 1992; Cooper-Chen, 1995; Sengupta, 1995; Wiles & Tjernlund, 1991).

One of the features of the media age is that a universal beauty and appearance norm based on the White ideal is transmitted and globalized via media content (Kim, 2010; Yan & Kim, 2014). Numerous studies have attempted to find and identify a homogeneous cultural trend pursuing the White beauty standard in different ethnicities and races, such as African American, Hispanic, and Asian (Cunningham et al., 1995; Griffin, Viswananth, & Schwartz, 1994; Yan & Kim, 2014). Several studies have found a high agreement across cultures in beauty standards for facial features for different races, meaning that similar criteria are used in these judgments (Cunningham et al., 1995; Jones, 1996; Yan & Kim, 2014). According to Yan and Kim’s (2014) research, mainstream magazines such as Vogue and Elle, which presented mostly White standards of beauty, form the meaning of ideal beauty and affect individuals who view this beauty ideal. They also identified a homogenized ideal of beauty in different races and ethnicities. Essential to the notion of the globalization of beauty ideals is that the Western beauty standard is diffused via media and is potentially indoctrinating a prejudice about non-Western-appearing people so that they are regarded as not beautiful or attractive.

**Representation of Facial Feature Ideals in Fashion Media**

Surprisingly, the media, especially magazines, has united and globalized the ideal of facial attractiveness in various races. There is a growing body of evidence about high cross-
cultural agreement in beauty ideals based on facial features in different ethnicities and races (Cunningham et al., 1995; Jones, 1996; Kim & Chung, 2009). According to Eisenthal, Dror, and Ruppin (2006), “If different people can agree on which faces are attractive and which are not when judging faces of varying ethnic background, then . . . people everywhere are using similar criteria in their judgments” (p. 120). According to Rainwater-McClure, Reed, and Kramer (2003), South Korean women have had a significant amount of plastic surgery to approximate White or European facial characteristics during the past decades. The authors explained that the beauty ideals Korean women strive to achieve include altering their eyelids to have a double eyelid as opposed to a single eyelid. Branigan (2001) reported that other facial characteristics, such as size and shape of the nose, also have had a large amount of reconstructive cosmetic surgery to achieve a more ideal by inserting implants into the bridge to give a more defined, less flattened silhouette. These notions of ideal beauty characteristics that embody the White aesthetic are internalized and sought after by undergoing plastic surgery on the face. This phenomenon that Korean women desire to change their facial arrangement to the White or European look is often noted, but it is rarely studied in the literature that examines these representations in fashion media outlets.

Representations of Skin Tone Ideals in Fashion Media

The preference for Whiteness or White beauty ideals also directly relates to skin color and affects all POC, including Asian cultures such as Koreans (Isa & Kramer, 2003 Jeon, 1987). To achieve this preference for lighter skin, skin-lightening creams are often used (Jeon, 1987). These preferences for lighter-colored skin then influence the pages of fashion magazines. Skin-tone ideals have been propagated through media such as global fashion magazines, and researchers have paid relatively little attention to the representation of skin
tone in fashion magazines in contrast to the scholarship on the representation of different races such as Black versus White or Asian.

Some studies have been conducted on issues of colorism, or discrimination based on skin color related to Black people, where there is better treatment for light skin as opposed to dark skin (Hunter, 2005). Colorism has permeated our society in numerous ways since slavery, when Black people who had lighter skin did more indoor work, whereas a lot of darker-skinned Black people worked outside in the fields (Russell, Wilson, & Hall, 1992). Keen (1996) touched upon the skin tones of POC and identified that Ebony, one of the magazines targeting African Americans, used more light-skinned models than dark-skinned ones. Researchers have examined a lack of diversity in skin color in some fashion magazines. From 1993 to 1997, the percentage of African American models in Vogue was lower than 10%, and only half of them were darker skinned (Mayo, Mayo, & Mahdi, 2005).

Un fortunately, there are few studies on ideals of skin tone for South Koreans or Asians overall. However, literature outside of the analysis of media has identified that there are hierarchies in skin tone within Asian and other races; there is a preference for light-colored skin (Ashikari, 2005; Karan, 2008; Prasetyaningsih, 2007).

Li, Min, Belk, Kimura, and Bahl (2008) conducted one of the few studies examining the skin color of Asians in fashion magazines. They examined six magazines in the year 2005. This study did not use a well-defined skin-color scale, and it used vaguely defined categories from what they described as the “standardized color wheel and involved fourteen possible categories ranging from soft ivory to cocoa” (Li et al., 2008, p. 446). Based on this scale, they reported a majority of lighter skin colors or “soft ivory, classic ivory, and natural ivory” (Li et al., 2008, p. 447).
Representations of Hair Type Ideals in Fashion Media

Another aspect of colorism, alongside skin tone, includes beauty ideals related to hair texture and type. Ideals that permeate society include a preference for straightened hair texture for Black women, which again shows how African American women try to fit into the dominant (White or European) beauty standards after slavery (Byrd & Tharps, 2001). Additionally, Robinson (2011) wrote on the topic of colorism and hair and stated that “good hair does not need straightening” (p. 368). This notion of hair not needing to be straightened highlights that Black individuals’ natural hair does not conform to the White beauty ideal.

Issues of colorism related to hair texture also exist in fashion magazines and textbooks. In the African American magazine Ebony, a majority of African American models have limited Afrocentric features, including natural hairstyles (Keenan, 1996; Leslie, 1995).

Only one study researched hairstyles in Korean magazines. Song and Yoo (2012) examined the hairstyles of models on the cover pages of Korean women’s magazines between 2006 and 2010. The authors categorized the hairstyles into the following: short, graduation, solid form combination, semi-long, long-layer, ponytail, and up-style. They also coded the hair styles into overall aesthetics, which were divided into four categories: modern, romantic, natural, and elegance. All of the categories in their study were developed based upon the following prior studies: Yoo (2007), Song (2008), Kim (2004), and Kim (2011). The researchers found that the most dominant hairstyles were long-layer and up-style, and hairstyles were mostly in the natural aesthetic from 2006 to 2010. Then, from 2009 onward, there were also wavier styles within the long-layer and natural hair shapes and aesthetics. Song and Yoo did not mention why people may prefer wavy hairstyles rather than straight ones, although I suspect that this preference is related to hair hierarchies and preferences for
White or European beauty ideals tracing back to the time following the Korean War. While there appears to be no definitive evidence that the beauty ideals in Korean fashion magazines are becoming, it is clear that the beauty ideals of facial features, skin color, and even hair type are found within the magazines.

**Impact of Beauty Ideal Imagery on Individuals and Communities**

Viewing beauty ideals leads to individuals internalizing these aesthetics, which can affect their own sense of self. According to Brainthwaite (2002), “The potency of imagery from the point of view of communication and persuasion is that it has the capacity to transcend the boundary between the outside world and what is happening inside us” (p. 165). Vandenbosch and Eggermont (2012) refer to this process as the “internalization of beauty ideals” (p. 871), which is how much people think about and compare themselves and their appearance to the perpetuated norm or idealized image. A related term, “self-objectification,” can then result, where individuals value appearance attributes of themselves more than nonappearance attributes such as intelligence (Noll & Fredrickson, 1998). People engage in self-objectification as well as complete a self-evaluation.

The term “self-evaluation” is when people compare themselves to others in relation to the beauty standard (Irving, 1990). During self-evaluation, women use images of models from media, such as movies, television, and magazines, when examining themselves. When people feel as though they do not have similarities with those whom they are comparing themselves, it results in negative self-evaluations (Festinger, 1954; Gruder, 1971; Radloff, 1966). According to Irving (1990), viewing models with unrealistic physical attractiveness makes women viewers evaluate themselves negatively. This social comparing phenomenon is also called “contrast effect,” which has been studied for several decades (Cash, Cash, &
Butters, 1983; Kenrick & Gutierres, 1980; Melamed & Moss, 1975; Weaver, Masland, & Zillman, 1984). The images in media are powerful in that they affect viewers’ responses emotionally (Kätsyri, Ravaja, & Salminen, 2012; McManis, Bradley, Berg, Cuthbert, & Lang, 2001).
CHAPTER 3. METHOD

Based on the review of the literature, it is evident that beauty ideals have significant implications for how people from different cultures and races are represented in various outlets that perpetuate beauty ideals. While numerous studies have analyzed representations in American or European fashion outlets, there is little research on Korean fashion magazines, and no research has been conducted on fashion magazines published for and targeted to Koreans.

Content Analysis

To analyze beauty ideal representations in fashion magazines, I used the content analysis method. The content analysis method is a method that may be used with either qualitative or quantitative data and in an inductive or deductive way. When using content analysis, the aim was to build a model to describe the phenomenon in a conceptual form. Both inductive and deductive analysis processes are represented as three main phases: preparation, organizing and reporting. The preparation phase is similar in both approaches. The concepts are derived from the data in inductive content analysis. Deductive content analysis is used when the structure of analysis is operationalized on the basis of previous knowledge. (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008, p. 107)

In this study, I used a deductive approach in the content analysis method.

Sample

I examined issues of the most widely read and distributed Korean fashion magazine, Céci. Céci has been published since 1994. It targets young teens up to women in their early 30s and has a circulation of 100,000 (JTBC Plus Corp., n.d.). Céci was also the magazine
studied by Jung and Lee (2009), who analyzed magazines read by Korean women. The authors surveyed 60 undergraduates at a university in Seoul, South Korea, who identified *Céci* as the most popular magazine. According to the Korean Statistical Information Service (2017), the most recent available data indicate that there were 4,508,465 Korean women between the ages of 15 to 29 living in South Korea in 2016, which helps put the circulation rate of *Céci* into context. While there are numerous fashion magazines such as *Vogue* and *Harper’s Bazaar* that are read in South Korea, this study will focus on a magazine published specifically for Koreans by a Korean publishing company. I examined all of the images within the magazine including editorials, profile photos, and advertisements, and images on the covers for the months of January, March, June, September, and December from 2013 to 2017, resulting in analysis of 25 magazines.

Individuals pictured in the magazine were coded as a single unit. Images analyzed included both color and black-and-white photographs. To be included in the sample, individuals must have had at least three-quarters of their face visible. They were included if their eyes, nose, mouth, lips, and chin were visible. Individuals whose faces were too small or blurry were not included in the analysis.

**Coding Categories**

Each individual was coded in five categories: race, facial characteristics, skin tone, hairstyle, and hair color. Table 1 outlines the categories, codes, and code definitions for race, hairstyle, and facial characteristics. The coding categories were guided largely by the conceptual framework of colorism. Colorism, as previously described in the literature review, refers to within-race discrimination where there is preferential treatment by POC who have more White characteristics, such as lighter skin (Hunter, 2005). All of the coding was based
upon the “face value” of the image in that I recognize that some of the women could have been altered through a program such as Photoshop and given for example lighter color skin or a larger eyes.

To code race, the following categories were used: Black, Asian, White, other POC, and indistinguishable, which were developed and described in Reddy-Best, Kane, Harmon, and Gagliardi’s (2018) study. Individuals’ facial characteristics were coded as: Korean appearing, White or European appearing, Black appearing, or indistinguishable. Coding definitions for these categories were developed by looking at cosmetic surgery websites, because they use language to describe how individuals can alter their faces to achieve a more desired ideal within each race (“Mine Plastic Surgery,” n.d.; “The Line Beauty Antiaging Plastic Surgery,” 2012; “TL Plastic Surgery,” 2016). These websites were found through a Google search of the key term “cosmetic surgery.” Skin tone was analyzed using the NIS Skin Color Scale. On the scale, 1 is the lightest color and 10 is the darkest color (Massey & Martin, 2003). I sought permission to re-print an image of the scale my thesis; however, the authors did not respond to my inquiry.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Code definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Race</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>Dark-colored skin, larger facial features (lips and nose), and/or Black hair style (i.e., natural, dreadlocks, braided, and bald)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>Eye is narrow, single eyelid, less exposed and darker iris, straight and dark hair, and/or flatter bridge on nose with round tip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>White or light skin color, visible crease in eyes, and/or pupil almost entirely visible</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other person of color</td>
<td>Cannot determine race, but they are distinguishably a person of color (i.e., darker skin)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indistinguishable</td>
<td>Cannot distinguish race</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hairstyle: Straight</td>
<td>![Straight Hair Image](Image of straight, n.d.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Straight</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>![Curly Hair Image](Image of curly, n.d.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Curly</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No hair</td>
<td>No hair is visible, or it is under a hat or scarf.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tied hair</td>
<td>Hair was tied in a ponytail or in an updo hairstyle.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facial characteristics:</td>
<td>Asian appearing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Narrow eye, single eyelid, less exposed iris, darker iris, flatter forehead, thin lip, nose with a flatter bridge and/or a round tip</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>White or European appearing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Visible crease in the eyes, a pupil that is mostly visible, lighter-colored iris, visible bridge on nose, rounder forehead, and/or moderate to thick-sized lip</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Black appearing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A large or protruding lip and a large, round nose tip</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Indistinguishable</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not able to be distinguished</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note.* Images in table are allowed to be reprinted under the Creative Commons license.

(Image of curly, n.d., Image of straight, n.d.)
Hairstyle was coded into several categories (see Table 3.1). These categories include straight, curly, no hair, or tied hair. These coding categories were developed based on categories developed in Song and Yoo’s (2012) study in addition to my own preliminary analysis of Korean fashion magazines and the hairstyles represented. To clearly define the hair color range from light to dark, the hair color was coded using the hair color scale (see Figure 3.1). Koreans naturally have hair colors that range from 8 to 10 on this scale. In addition to the colors on this scale, hair color was also coded into “other color” and “no color.” Other color referred to colors such as purple, blue, or pink. No color was used when the individual had no hair visible in the image. There were no black-and-white images in the magazines.

![Hair color scale](image)

*Figure 3.1* Hair color scale (adapted from Madison Reed Inc., 2018).

**Coding Reliability**

To maintain consistency in data collection, the coding guide in Table 1 and Figures 1 and 2 were continually referenced during the coding process. Before coding of the entire sample began, two coders checked inter-coder reliability until an agreement of at least 80% was reached for all coding categories. If coders disagreed more than 20% of the time, the codebook was reworked until the agreement reached 80% or higher, which is the recommended benchmark according to Neuendorf (2002). No new codes emerged during the
data collection process. The coders analyzed 20% of the individuals pictured in the selected issues. This resulted in 98.4% agreement, well above the recommended 80% threshold. Each coding category also resulted in a high inter-coder reliability agreement: race (99.7%), skin color (100%), hair type (99.8%), hair color (97.6%), and facial features (94.8%). Based on the high agreement rates in the initial analysis, no coding categories were changed, and no further inter-coder reliability check was needed.

**Validity**

Validity was ensured by using two previously developed coding categories, codes, and code definitions. The NIS Skin Color Scale was developed and validated by Massey and Martin (2003). The codes for race were previously developed and published by Reddy-Best et al. (2017). The codes for hair and facial characteristics were developed during preliminary coding and with the assistance of previous literature, including Song and Yoo’s (2012) work for hair and plastic surgery websites for facial characteristics. Neuman (2011) explained that developing codes during the coding process is an acceptable and valid means to develop coding categories.

**Analysis and Interpretation**

Descriptive statistics were used to analyze the coded data by implementing IBM SPSS 20.0 (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) software. To answer RQ 1a (What races are represented in Céci, and have there been any changes over time?), I used descriptive statistics, including frequencies and percentages, for each race. Frequency analyses were also conducted to answer RQ 1b (Do Korean individuals have hairstyles that more closely resemble White or European beauty ideals, and have there been any changes over time?) and RQ 1d (Do Korean individuals have facial characteristics that more closely resemble White or European beauty ideals, and have there been any changes over time?).
which examined the association between the Asian race and hair types and facial features, respectively. For RQ 1c (Do Korean individuals have hair colors that more closely resemble White or European beauty ideals, and have there been any changes over time?), I ran the independent samples $t$-test, which is the most appropriate function to compare the means, or the averages of two sets of data that are no dependent on each other. I also implemented independent samples $t$-tests to examine RQ 1e (How are Korean individuals’ skin tones represented in Korean fashion magazines, and have there been any changes over time?) to compare White individuals’ skin tones and Asian individuals’ skin tones. A series of follow-up tests was conducted where I compared proportions, using the normal approximation method and $z$ statistics with $p$-value for two population proportions, based on results of the statistics. Following statistical analysis, the results were interpreted in relation to the literature with a focus on issues related to colorism.
CHAPTER 4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Results and Discussions

RQ 1a What races are represented in Korean fashion magazines, and have there been any changes over time?

In total, I analyzed 25 magazines. In these magazines, I analyzed 2,224 women. Regarding race, the women were mostly Asian (75.2%, n = 1,673) individuals, followed by White (24.4%, n = 543), other POC (<1%, n = 5), Black (<1%, n = 3), and indistinguishable (0.0%, n = 0 [see Figure 4.1]). Therefore, based on the results, the Korean fashion magazines did not use more White individuals than Asian ones.

Figure 4.1 Percentage of individuals represented in each race.
To answer whether there were any changes over time in the portion of race, I analyzed frequencies and percentages of Asian and White individuals, which resulted in mostly Asian individuals in all of the years. The results show that the percentage of Asian individuals in 2017 decreased by 4.6% in comparison to 2013. See Table 4.1 for frequencies and percentages of Asian and White individuals for each year.

Table 4.1

*Frequencies and Percentages of Asian and White Individuals Represented in Each Year*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Asian</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>411 (72.4%)</td>
<td>157 (27.6%)</td>
<td>568 (100.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>463 (78.3%)</td>
<td>128 (21.7%)</td>
<td>591 (100.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2015</td>
<td>394 (82.9%)</td>
<td>81 (17.1%)</td>
<td>475 (100.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2016</td>
<td>270 (70.5%)</td>
<td>113 (29.5%)</td>
<td>383 (100.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2017</td>
<td>135 (67.8%)</td>
<td>64 (32.2%)</td>
<td>199 (100.0%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To determine whether there were significant changes over time, the follow-up comparison test was implemented based on the earliest year (2013) and the latest year (2017) in the collected data. Because the total number of Asian individuals is different in each year, I conducted further analysis with z statistics and p-value for two population proportions to investigate if there were significantly different proportions of Asian individuals between 2013 and 2017. Given that the z score is 1.23 and p-value is 0.2187, the result is not significant, even though there was a slight difference of percentages of races.

According to Kim (2010), the current media age is permeated by a universal beauty and appearance norm centered around Whiteness. However, my results were based strictly on
analysis of only race, highlight that the White beauty ideal has not permeated the magazine Céci. Of note is that mostly Asian women were pictured. In contrast to previous studies analyzing race, such as Yan and Kim (2014), who found in magazines such as Vogue, Elle, Glamour, and Cosmopolitan that there were more White individuals than other races, I found mostly Asian individuals. The finding of having mostly Asian individuals is largely not surprising. Céci is a magazine created by a Korean publisher that targets Korean women. It has a large circulation rate in Korea and was identified by previous scholars (Jung & Lee, 2009) as the most popular fashion magazine among Korean women. Therefore, this provides evidence that the publishers, when looking one-dimensionally at race, have not been significantly influenced by White beauty ideals. However, it is important to highlight that the next highest race that was represented throughout the 25 magazines was White women, followed by largely no other women of color. This centers Whiteness as important in relation to other women of color and highlights how White beauty ideals have, in some way, permeated the beauty ideals in this particular magazine (Kim, 2010; Yan & Kim, 2014) in many ways, as White people were represented more frequently than other POC (Black, etc.).

In the remaining analysis, I only examined results for White and Asian individuals because the overall research question was whether Korean fashion magazines are permeated by European or White beauty ideals. Although other races were represented in the data, including Black and other POC, these categories had few people (<1%); therefore, they were not included in the remainder of the analysis. The remaining research questions looked further into the ways White beauty ideals might permeate fashion media, such as in hairstyle (Song & Yoo, 2012), hair color, facial characteristics (Rainwater-McClure et al., 2003), and
skin tone (Ashikari, 2005; Karan, 2008; Prasetyaningsih, 2007), as outlined in previous research.

**RQ 1b Do Korean individuals have hairstyles that more closely resemble White or European beauty ideals, and have there been any changes over time?**

I analyzed hairstyles within the Asian race using frequencies, and the results indicated that curly hair (38.7%, n = 648) was seen more often than straight hair (32.9%, n = 550), tied hair (27.6%, n = 462), and no hair (0.8%, n = 13). See Figure 4.2 for frequencies and percentages of hairstyles for Asian individuals.

*Figure 4.2* Percentage of Asian individuals represented in each hairstyle.
Because frequency analysis does not give a p-value, I ran a series of follow-up tests comparing proportions within Asian individuals. In this analysis, I dropped tied hair and no hair, because these two categories do not relate to White or European-specific beauty ideals, meaning that having tied hair or no hair does not reflect the White or European beauty ideal. Naturally, Asian women have straight hair, not curly hair; therefore, these two categories were included within this analysis. Then, we performed binomial tests to determine whether there were significantly different proportions between Asian individuals in the two hairstyle categories—curly and straight. We identified the null test proportion at .50 to represent an even distribution across hairstyle categories, and p-values reported are for the two-sided test. Results indicated a significantly greater proportion in curly hair (54.1%, n = 648) than straight hair (46.0%, n = 550), provided that the corresponding z-value is 2.80 and the corresponding p-value is 0.005.

I conducted a comparison of frequencies and percentages of curly and straight hair by year to identify any changes of hairstyles in Asian individuals over time. The results indicate that the percentage of curly hair in 2017 slightly decreased (2.1%) compared to 2013. In further analysis with z statistics and p-value for the two population proportions, the result show that there are no significant differences for curly hairstyles between 2013 and 2017 (z = 0.412; p = 0.6818) and straight hairstyle (z = -0.412; p = 0.6818). See Table 4.2 for frequencies and percentages of curly and straight hairstyles.
Table 4.2

*Frequencies and Percentages of Asian Individuals’ Hairstyles (Curly and Straight) by Year*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Curly hair</th>
<th>Straight hair</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>169 (50.9%)</td>
<td>163 (49.1%)</td>
<td>332 (100.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>164 (43.7%)</td>
<td>211 (56.3%)</td>
<td>375 (100.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2015</td>
<td>153 (47.5%)</td>
<td>169 (52.5%)</td>
<td>394 (100.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2016</td>
<td>103 (42.6%)</td>
<td>139 (57.4%)</td>
<td>270 (100.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2017</td>
<td>59 (48.8%)</td>
<td>62 (51.2%)</td>
<td>135 (100.0%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In RQ 1b, I began to analyze instances of colorism. Colorism refers to discrimination based on within-race preferences (Hunter, 2005). Whereas racism refers to between-race hierarchies, colorism looks at how White beauty ideals permeate within races and then how this results in preferential treatment of individuals who appear more White based upon their physical or social characteristics (Russell et al., 1992). There has been much research on Black women and the intersection of hairstyles and colorism dating back to the time of slavery (Byrd & Tharps, 2001; Keenan, 1996; Leslie, 1995; Robinson, 2011). Little research has been conducted on instances of colorism and how it affects Korean women. In one of the few studies on Asian hairstyles, Song and Yoo (2012) found when analyzing *Vogue Korea* between 2006 and 2010 that most individuals pictured had long, wavy hair. Wavy hair is an example of the perpetuation of White beauty ideals, and is completely unnatural for Korean women. The findings confirm Song and Yoo’s (2012) results in that most individuals had curly hair in *Céci* as opposed to straight hair, which is most natural for Korean women.

Keenan (1996) and Leslie (1995) examined colorism in relation to hairstyles of African American individuals in African American–targeted fashion or lifestyle magazines, including *Essence* and *Ebony*. They found most models had limited Afrocentric features,
such as natural hairstyles, whereas most models had straight hair. The analysis of more recent magazines targeting and are produced for Korean women extends this idea that White beauty ideals in relation to hairstyle also permeate Korean culture and media outlets, which is similar to the experiences of other POC.

Beginning in the mid-20th century following liberation from Japanese colonialism, Korean women began experiencing influence from Americans and their beauty ideals. As Western civilization began providing aid to South Korea during and following the Korean War (1950–1953), the wives of American and UN soldiers entered the country with their permed and curly hair. These styles were previously restricted in Korea under Japanese imperialism, which had lasted from 1910 to 1945 (Kim, 2005; Maeng, 2004). The importance of these dates in relation to this study is that these Western or White beauty ideals still permeate popular Korean media outlets almost 70 years later, which highlights the long-standing systems of hierarchy in relation to colorism and hairstyles. This finding centers natural Asian hairstyles as largely inferior to White hairstyles.

**RQ 1c Do Korean individuals have hair colors that more closely resemble White or European beauty ideals, and have there been any changes over time?**

I performed the independent samples t-test on the hair color, which resulted in a significant p-value (t = 12.304, p < .001). The average hair color of individuals was assessed using the hair color scale in Figure 3.1, and the hair color was significantly darker for Korean individuals ($M = 6.49, SD = 2.279$) than for White individuals ($M = 5.02, SD = 2.466$).

Next, in the analysis, I grouped hair colors 1 to 3 into a single category titled “lightest,” 4 to 7 in a category titled “medium,” and finally 8 to 10 in a category titled “darkest.” Lightest resembles hair that is difficult to achieve for Asian individuals. Medium
is only slightly dyed and resembles hair colors that are more easily achieved by Korean women through hair-dyeing techniques. Darkest includes the most common and natural colors for Korean women. Based on the findings, most of the Asian individuals were in the medium category (63.9%, n = 1,004), followed by darkest (30.8%, n = 484) and lightest (5.3%, n = 84). The results highlight that the majority of Asian (63.9%) and White (56.0%) individuals have medium-colored hair (see Figure 4.3).

![Figure 4.3](image.png) Percentage of individuals represented in each hair color category for Asian and White individuals.
Given that the lightest category (1 to 3) yielded only 5.3% \((n = 84)\) of the sample, dropping this category from further analysis is warranted. Therefore, I performed follow-up binomial tests to determine whether there were significantly different proportions between the medium and darkest hair color ranges for Asian individuals. We identified the null test proportion at .50 to represent an even distribution across hair color group, and p-values reported are for the two-sided test. The results show a significantly greater proportion of Asian individuals in the medium category \((67.5\%, \ n = 1004)\) than in the darkest category \((32.5\%, \ n = 484)\), according to the corresponding z-value \((13.45)\), and the corresponding p-value is less than \(.00001\).

To examine whether there were any changes over time in the hair color of Asian individuals, I analyzed frequencies and percentages of the lightest, medium, and darkest hair color groups. The results show that there were increasing percentages of the lightest and medium hair color groups and a decrease in the darkest hair color group in 2017 in comparison to 2013. See Table 4.3 for frequencies and percentages of Asian individuals’ hair color groups by year.

Table 4.3

*Frequencies and Percentages of Asian Individuals’ Hair Color Groups by Year*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Lightest</th>
<th>Medium</th>
<th>Darkest</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>16 (4.1%)</td>
<td>206 (53.4%)</td>
<td>164 (42.5%)</td>
<td>386 (100.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>28 (6.2%)</td>
<td>306 (67.8%)</td>
<td>117 (25.9%)</td>
<td>451 (100.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2015</td>
<td>17 (4.5%)</td>
<td>245 (65.3%)</td>
<td>113 (30.1%)</td>
<td>375 (100.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2016</td>
<td>14 (5.7%)</td>
<td>175 (70.9%)</td>
<td>58 (23.5%)</td>
<td>247 (100.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2017</td>
<td>9 (8.0%)</td>
<td>72 (63.7%)</td>
<td>32 (28.3%)</td>
<td>113 (100.0%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
To compare 2013 and 2017 of each hair color category, I implemented further analysis with z statistics and p-value for the two population proportions. The result show that there are no significant differences for the lightest color group when comparing 2013 and 2017 (z = -1.771; p = 0.07672). Otherwise, the medium color group resulted in significant differences between the two years (z= -2.076; p = 0.03752), and the darkest color group also indicated a significant difference (z = 2.914; p = 0.00362).

Looking at the representation of hair color also answers questions in relation to colorism, or the preference for White beauty ideals. There has been no research examining hair color of Korean women within the literature, making this study a unique contribution to the field. While hair colors in this study were largely not represented in the lightest color range, they were more significantly represented in the medium color range. Furthermore, when looking at the yearly breakdown, hair became lighter: there were more women in the lightest and medium color categories in 2017 than in 2013, whereas the number of women in the darkest hair color range decreased from 2013 to 2017. This is not surprising in that dyeing black Asian hair to blond is difficult. Again, while mostly Asian women were represented in Céci, looking more closely at issues of colorism reveals that the long-standing preference for White beauty ideals is still relevant after the first introduction of hair-dyeing technology in Korea in the 1950s, almost 70 years ago (Kim, 2003).

**RQ 1d Do Korean individuals have facial characteristics that more closely resemble White or European beauty ideals, and have there been any changes over time?**

I analyzed frequencies and percentages of facial features of Asian individuals, which resulted in most Asian individuals having White-appearing facial features (73.3%, n = 1,084), whereas only 26.7% (n = 589) of Asian individuals had Asian-appearing facial
features. I also ran frequencies of facial features by year to examine whether there were any changes over time. The results indicated that the percentage of Asian individuals who had White-appearing facial features in 2017 increased by 14.4% in comparison to 2013. See Table 4.4 for frequencies and percentages of Asian individuals’ facial features by year.

Table 4.4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Asian appearing</th>
<th>White appearing</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>169 (41.1%)</td>
<td>242 (58.9%)</td>
<td>411 (100.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>193 (41.7%)</td>
<td>270 (58.3%)</td>
<td>463 (100.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2015</td>
<td>113 (28.7%)</td>
<td>281 (71.3%)</td>
<td>394 (100.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2016</td>
<td>78 (28.9%)</td>
<td>192 (71.1%)</td>
<td>270 (100.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2017</td>
<td>36 (26.7%)</td>
<td>99 (73.3%)</td>
<td>135 (100.0%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In comparison analysis with z statistics and p-value for 2013 and 2017, significant differences were found when comparing proportions where the p-value for the z statistics is <.005. Given that the z score is −3.00 and the p-value is 0.0027, the proportion of White-appearing Asian individuals in 2017 (73.3%) is significantly more than the proportion of Asian individuals who have White-appearing facial features in 2013 (58.9%), while the proportion of Asian-appearing individuals in 2017 (26.7%) is significantly less than 2013 (41.1%)(z = 3.00; p = 0.0027).

Although the results are significant, in that there are more Asian women with White-appearing facial features in 2017 than in 2013, it is important to highlight that in all years well over 50% of the women in the sample had White-appearing facial features. Rainwater-McClure et al., (2003) reported that Korean women have had a significant amount of plastic
surgery. These surgeries largely included eyelid reshaping and transformation. Asian women have what is called a single eyelid, whereas White or European individuals have a double eyelid. Plastic surgeries desired and frequently completed by Korean and other East Asian individuals also include manipulation of the nose to create a more defined bridge, because Korean women have a flatter nose (Branigan, 2001). The desire for and completion of plastic surgeries to appear more White, such as having a double eyelid and higher nose bridge, are reflected in all of the years analyzed in Céci. Of note is that in the most recent magazine (2017), these expressions of White beauty standards are more prevalent than ever.

**RQ 1e How are Korean individuals’ skin tones represented in Korean fashion magazines, and have there been any changes over time?**

I performed the independent sample t-test, which resulted in a p-value that was not significant ($t = .823, p = .411$). I assessed the average skin color of individuals using the NIS Skin Color Scale, which revealed that Korean individuals ($M = 2.14, SD = .850$) had similar skin colors to White individuals ($M = 2.10, SD = .872$). When I compared frequencies and percentages of skin color between Asian and White individuals, they had almost the same percentages in each color category. The majority of skin colors for both races were mostly represented in Category 2 on the NIS Skin Color Scale, and the remaining individuals were represented in Categories 1 or 3, which all represent the lightest skin colors on the scale. See Figure 4.4 for the percentages of skin color for White and Asian individuals. Given that no race yielded more than 1% (Asian, $n = 5$; White, $n = 4$) in Categories 5 to 10, dropping these categories from the scale is warranted; therefore, the data are not represented in Figure 4.4.
I also ran frequencies of skin tones by year to examine whether there were any changes over time. The results indicate that the percentage of darker skin tones (Categories 3 and 4) in 2017 increased in comparison to 2013. See Table 4.5 for frequencies and percentages of Asian model’s skin tones by year. There sample size was too small to due further analysis with the z statistic.
Table 4.5

*Frequencies and Percentages of Asian Individuals’ Skin Tone Groups by Year*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>76 (18.5%)</td>
<td>224 (54.5%)</td>
<td>100 (24.3%)</td>
<td>11 (2.7%)</td>
<td>411 (100.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>119 (26.3%)</td>
<td>181 (40.0%)</td>
<td>124 (27.4%)</td>
<td>29 (6.4%)</td>
<td>453 (100.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2015</td>
<td>115 (29.9%)</td>
<td>160 (41.6%)</td>
<td>94 (24.4%)</td>
<td>16 (4.2%)</td>
<td>385 (100.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2016</td>
<td>54 (21.1%)</td>
<td>122 (47.7%)</td>
<td>61 (23.8%)</td>
<td>19 (7.4%)</td>
<td>256 (100.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2017</td>
<td>17 (13.6%)</td>
<td>62 (49.6%)</td>
<td>37 (29.6%)</td>
<td>9 (7.2%)</td>
<td>125 (100.0%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These findings indicate that Korean individuals have skin tones that were somewhat permeated by European or White beauty ideals. Asian women were mostly in the lightest skin-color range, yet Korean women’s skin colors are naturally in the lighter range, from 2 to 4. However, when looking at the yearly breakdown for each skin color, the results show that skin colors get darker from 2013 to 2017 in that there were more women represented in Categories 3 and 4.

Previous scholars indicated that the preference for lighter skin permeates all POC (Ashikari, 2005; Charles, 2010; Karan, 2008; Prasetyaningsih, 2007). This preference for lighter skin was evident on the pages of previous fashion magazines where most Black individuals were represented in lighter skin tones (Mayo et al., 2005), and Korean women had the palest ivory skin (Li et al., 2008). Findings from this study confirm that there is still a preference for lighter skin color among Asian women as represented in Cécì, although they did not have the most representation in the lightest or palest skin color. Category 1 would largely be achieved through skin-bleaching practices, yet some Asian women might have natural skin tones in Categories 2 and 3. Had most Korean individuals been represented in Category 1, I could confidently say that colorism related to skin color was clearly evident in
the magazines, but based upon the findings, there might only be moderate issues of colorism related to skin color.

**Results and Impact of Beauty Ideal Imagery**

Media imagery has significant power and influence on viewers (Kätsyri et al., 2012; McManis et al., 2001). Past studies inform us that women engage in social comparison by analyzing imagery in the media and making judgments of their own bodies and selves. This comparison can result in negative self-evaluations when the comparing factors are not similar (Festinger, 1954; Gruder, 1971; Radloff, 1966). In this study, I first analyzed how many individuals from each race were represented in Céci. Because it is a fashion magazine that is published by Korean individuals for Korean women, it might appear that Asian women would respond positively and have positive self-evaluations to this because they would see a representation of themselves. However, when looking more closely and analyzing from a perspective that considers colorism, or the within-race differences or hierarchies of preferences for Whiteness, I found that in all categories, including hair color, hairstyle, skin color, and facial features, there was always a prevalence of White or European features. Therefore, when Korean women view these images of Asian women who are more White-appearing in all of these categories than Asian-appearing, it could result in negative self-evaluations.
CHAPTER 5. CONCLUSION

Summary and Conclusion

In conclusion, there were more Asian women pictured than any other race throughout the years in Céci. However, following Asian women, White women had the next highest representation, whereas other races were largely not pictured at all. These representations of women were analyzed from within the advertisements, editorials, or other related content. Of note is that the White women pictured were not, for example, only American actresses, but were depicted throughout the magazines in the different imagery. When analyzing for issues related to colorism, I found that much of the imagery was permeated by White or European beauty ideals. For example, most of the Asian individuals had curly hair and hair that was dyed a medium brown color, which are both unnatural colors for Asian women. The Asian individuals also had mostly White-appearing facial features and similar skin tones to the White individuals.

When looking over the time period in question, from 2013 to 2017, I found some significant differences in that there were more individuals with dyed brown hair and fewer individuals with the natural Korean hair color of black in 2017, meaning that issues of colorism were increasing. In the time period under study, there were also significantly more Asian individuals with White-appearing facial features in 2017 as compared to 2013. In contrast to these findings, the Asian individuals’ skin colors did get significantly darker, in that more individuals pictured were of the darker skin color of Category 4. Overall, in looking at this short time period, some issues of colorism increased while others did not. However, it is important to highlight that these issues of colorism permeated the imagery throughout the 5 years.
Japan colonized Korea from 1910 to 1945, and during this time, Japanese men and women were largely influenced by White or European beauty ideals in that they thought them to be modern and desirable (Kinmonth, 1981; Wagatsuma, 1967). Following liberation from Japan, the value placed upon Whiteness and appearing White began to influence Korean individuals at that time (Kim, 2005; Maeng, 2004). Over 70 years later, this influence of a preference for and an importance placed upon appearing more White still permeates Korean culture, in this case, one of the most widely circulated fashion magazines, Céci.

**Limitations**

The study is limited by several factors. First, I only analyzed four variables of attractiveness. There are many more characteristics that can be analyzed. Additionally, the context of each image was not analyzed. Previous scholars had analyzed context of images and then interpreted the images contextually. Only analyzing Céci is also a limitation because there are many more magazines available for analysis; however, the magazine chosen is readily available for viewing online and has a high readership. The study is also limited to magazines between 2013 and 2017. Analyzing more magazines over time would shed light on how the representation of beauty ideals has changed and would indicate any improvements or setbacks with regard to beauty ideals. Lastly, in the content analysis method, the research only analyzes the question about what is present. It does not analyze why the images or context are present on the pages. The content analysis method does also shed light on how these images affect individuals who view them, which would add significant depth to the study. Interviewing or surveying Korean women about their experiences and perceptions of Céci may shed light on how these images could have potentially negative or positive effects on them.
Implications to Future Research

Future researchers could conduct similar analyses of other fashion magazines that target Korean women but are more global in perspective such as Vogue Korea. These comparisons could shed light on differences between the two types of magazines and whether one has more evidence of colorism. Analysis of colorism in magazines would also be warranted in other countries with predominantly POC, such as Latino/as or Southeast Indian people. A large-scale study analyzing multiple magazines and years in different countries could shed light on how much colorism has affected the media, which might provide a strong case to push for more diversity and acceptance of natural appearances for POC.

Implications for the Industry

The fashion industry as a whole is largely responsible as the gatekeeper for which images we see in media. Magazine publishers, advertisers, marketing agents, and all other professionals who are responsible for approving and promoting imagery in various fashion media outlets need to consider these findings. Do they consider issues of colorism when choosing or approving fashion individuals? Do they understand the effects that repeatedly viewing imagery can have on an individual? While fashion media is only one socialization agent in the process of teaching women about what is beautiful, these imageries have a powerful role that could make a positive change on the self-perception of POC. Because viewing media can have significant negative effects, training in these effects could be useful to inform these industry professionals so that they can be informed of the implications of their choices in individuals. Educators in fashion departments should also consider these findings when teaching about the various parts of the fashion industry. For example, many programs offer courses that teach about the social/psychological aspects of dress. Information
from this study can be incorporated into this course. Also, many fashion programs have student-run magazines. These findings can be shared with the students involved with the various magazines so that way they are aware and can make conscious choices about representation within their publications.
REFERENCES


