WHEN EAST MEETS WEST IN COSMOPOLITAN:

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Ning Pan
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This thesis entitled

WHEN EAST MEETS WEST IN COSMOPOLITAN:

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NING PAN

has been approved for
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and the College of Communication by

Joseph Bernt
Professor of Journalism

Anne Cooper-Chen
Professor of Journalism

Kathy Krendl
Dean, College of Communication
The study analyzes changes before and after the Hearst takeover of one of the best selling women’s magazines – *Shishang* – in China. The study finds changes in gender of cover models, sexually explicit poses of cover models, sexually explicit exposures of cover models, mention of various aspects of sex, range of topics, use of pronoun references and frequent wordings on the covers between the pre-Hearst and the post-Hearst editions of *Shishang-Cosmopolitan*. Striking changes in four areas – gender, sexual poses, skin exposure of the cover models, and mentions of sex and sexual relationships move the post-Hearst *Shishang-Cosmopolitan* closer to the style and editorial philosophy of the U.S. edition of *Cosmopolitan* than to the pre-Hearst *Shishang*.
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To Mom and Dad

For helping me climb mountains,
sharing what's important,
and dreaming with me along the way,
I'm so very lucky to have you as my parents.
# Table of Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defining Cultural Imperialism</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arguing Against the Concept of Cultural Imperialism</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Understanding the Globalization</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Hearst Corp.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corporate Overview</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Target Readers and Market of Women Readers</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic and International Exploration</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cosmopolitan</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Birth of Cosmopolitan</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cosmopolitan Message Goes International</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shishang</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Birth of Shishang</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shishang's International Exploration</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shishang's Localization Policy</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China’s Economic Growth</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measures of Growth</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changes after the Economic Growth</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magazine Markets in China</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 2: Related Studies</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hofstede Indices</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Global and Local</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advertising and Gender Studies of Asia</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women’s Magazines</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Covers of Magazines</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research Questions</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 3: Methodology</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 4: Results</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overview</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Answers to Research Questions</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 5: Discussion and Conclusion</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# List of Tables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Race of Cover Models of <em>Shishang</em> and <em>Shishang-Cosmopolitan</em>, 1993-2003</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Gender of Cover Models of <em>Shishang</em>, <em>Shishang-Cosmopolitan</em> and <em>U.S. Cosmopolitan</em>, 1993-2003</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Hand Positions of Cover Models of <em>Shishang</em>, <em>Shishang-Cosmopolitan</em> and <em>U.S. Cosmopolitan</em>, 1993-2003</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Other Hand Positions of Cover Models of <em>Shishang</em>, <em>Shishang-Cosmopolitan</em> and <em>U.S. Cosmopolitan</em>, 1993-2003</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Skin Exposure of Cover Models of <em>Shishang</em>, <em>Shishang-Cosmopolitan</em> and <em>U.S. Cosmopolitan</em>, 1993-2003</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Mention of Sex/Sexuality on the Covers of <em>Shishang</em>, <em>Shishang-Cosmopolitan</em> and <em>U.S. Cosmopolitan</em>, 1993-2003</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Range of Topics on the Covers of <em>Shishang</em>, <em>Shishang-Cosmopolitan</em> and <em>U.S. Cosmopolitan</em>, 1993-2003</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Pronoun References on the Covers of <em>Shishang</em>, <em>Shishang-Cosmopolitan</em> and <em>U.S. Cosmopolitan</em>, 1993-2003</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Frequent Wording on the Cover of <em>Shishang</em>, <em>Shishang-Cosmopolitan</em> and <em>U.S. Cosmopolitan</em>, 1993-2003</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Recent years have seen American popular culture sweeping across the rest of the world. In Europe, American movies take more than 50 percent of the French, Italian, Dutch, and Danish markets, 60 percent of the German markets, and 80 percent of the British markets (Hachten & Scotton, 2002, p.85). In China, Starbucks opens inside the Forbidden City, McDonald’s restaurants dot the main streets, and Western singers have a huge number of fans in every major city; from Titanic to The Lord of the Rings, Hollywood blockbusters sweep the box offices from the coastal cities to the center regions. Even children are addicted to the cartoon world of Mickey Mouse, Donald Duck, and Tom and Jerry (Hachten & Scotton, 2002, p.85).

This transnational cultural flow was driven by varied forces, such as “worldwide deregulation and privatization trends, technological change, market integration, and the fall of communism” (Gershon, 2002, p. 53). This cultural flow increases as media corporations, such as broadcast systems, newspapers, and magazines, increase their pace of internationalization or globalization (Hachten & Scotton, 2002, p.74). Transnational media corporations, through mergers, acquisitions, or strategic alliances, increase their market share as well as developing new products (Gershon, 2002). Licensing agreements, as one type of strategic alliance (Chan-Olmsted. 1998; Gershon, 2002), was the approach that the Hearst Corp. took to launch its Chinese edition from the former Chinese magazine Shishang, which gave birth to the object of this study – Shishang-Cosmopolitan.
Defining Cultural Imperialism

This cultural flow leads to a debate on its function in the preservation of local culture and values. As Schiller contends, the current cultural flow, or cultural imperialism (CI) could jeopardize the cultural identity of the host country (Stevenson, 2002). Then, developing countries who are on the receiving end of the cross-culture flow will lose their cultural identities or be held back in their development (Rosenberg, 2000, p. 5-6). Rosenberg also argues that the cultures, such as “the Nuer, the Tiv, the Algerian peasant, the Maya, the ancient Greek, the Balinese, the Chinese,” will easily lose their identities, because of the huge difference between their cultural practices and Western modernity (Rosenberg, 2000, pp. 5-6). The loss of cultural identity will lead to a homogeneous world where all its citizens have the same social values, tastes, and expectations (Golding, 1997, p. 163).

McQuail calls for a reconsideration of the concept of cultural imperialism. According to McQuail, the concept, as originally formulated, implies “a deliberate attempt to dominate, invade or subvert the ‘cultural space’ of others and suggests a degree of coercion in the relationship” (McQuail, 2000, p.221). CI assumed that Western values such as individualism and materialism are transmitted through this cultural and ideological action. From McQuail’s perspective, current cross-cultural flow is more unplanned than deliberate and planned: from the social aspect, cross-cultural flow is an outcome of the current changes in political, cultural, and technological fields; from the market aspect, cross-cultural flow is based on
local media firms’ demand to import the foreign cultural products; from the communication aspect, cross-cultural flow is at the request of the local audience for popular culture (McQuail, 2000, p.223).

**Arguing Against the Concept of Cultural Imperialism**

Elasmar and Hunter disproved Schiller’s CI claims by studying the effect of transnational TV programs. They did a meta-analysis of articles that applied theories of cultivation, cultural imperialism, socialization, and social learning. Findings show that the effects of foreign TV programs on audiences in local markets are rare (Elasmar & Hunter, 1997). Meanwhile, Straubhaar cites the growth of national and local television production as weakening the theory of CI: “Cultural capital encompasses language, national references in humor, national or region/local ethnic types, national or regional/local historical references, local or national political references, national or regional stars, and familiar scenery and locales” (Elasmar, 2003).

**Understanding Globalization**

A challenge for the world in the new millennium is the ability to incorporate and understand the global in the local and the local in the global (Golding, 1997, p.174). In order to specify the two directions of the global in the local and the local in the global, Ritzer created two new words to describe them. “Grobalization” can be defined as the “interpenetration of the global and the local resulting in unique outcomes in different geographic areas” (Ritzer,
2003, p73). Capitalism, Americanization, and McDonaldization will prevail as the three outcomes of “grobalization” (Ritzer, 2003, p78-79).

The assumption of “glocalization,” a word coined to represent heterogeneity and adaptations on a local scale, is that individuals and local groups have the power to adapt and innovate; social changes are more rational; and media provide information in an assisting rather than coercive way (Ritzer, 2003, p77). The direction of globalization relies on the degree of integration between the global and the local. Pieterse also supports Golding’s argument, stating that cultural hybridity rather than imperialism is fast becoming routine. Pieterse describes “Thai boxing by Moroccan girls in Amsterdam, Asian rap in London, Irish bagels, Chinese tacos…” – a fascinating cultural hybridity – “we are all mixing cultural elements and traces across places and identities” (Pieterse, 2004, p.109).

The Hearst Corp.

Corporate Overview

The Hearst Corp., 117 years old, is one of the largest diversified communication companies in the world. It publishes 18 magazines, including Cosmopolitan, Esquire, and O. Oprah Magazine; and 26 newspapers, including the Houston Chronicle and San Francisco Chronicle. It also operates eight cable entertainment channels and syndication services, including ESPN, A&E, and Lifetime, and four interactive media including Circles and iVillage (Hearst, 2004).
In 1995, the Hearst Corp. was ranked 11th of the top 100 media companies worldwide, with a total revenue of $2.3 billion, including $1.2 billion from magazines, $770 million from newspapers and $292 million from broadcasting (Advertising Age, 2004). The Hearst Corp. dropped to 14th of the top 50 leading media companies in 2001, with a total revenue of $4 billion, including $2 billion from magazines, $1.3 billion from newspapers, and $643 million from broadcasting (Top 50, 2004).

**Target Readers and Market of Women Readers**

The Hearst Corp. has a long history of serving women readers. In 2002, about 45 percent of all American women, or 48.2 million, read Hearst magazines. By comparison, Time Inc.’s monthly magazines reached 39 percent of women; home-and-family focused Meredith publications, home of Better Homes and Gardens, Ladies’ Home Journal and Country Home, reached 36 percent of women; and Conde Nast Publications, with Vogue, Glamour, and other magazines, reached 34.5 percent (Ganzi, 2003, p. 1).

A recent study shows that more women than men use the Internet. Adult women (over 18) comprise 40.9 percent of all online users, up from previous years, while men (over 18) comprise 39.8 percent, down from 45.7 percent in 1999 (Ganzi, 2003, p. 1). Further studies find that women spend more time on online shopping, banking, and sending e-greeting cards (Women surfing, 2004).

Recent data also indicate that women are financially powerful. Women’s personal expenditures amount to $2 trillion per year in the United
States (Women and finance, 2004). Fifty-six percent of women are in charge of their families’ daily finances (Women and finance, 2004). The amount of money passing through women’s hands between 2010 and 2015 is estimated to be $12.5 trillion (Women and finance, 2004). Furthermore, the ratio of women investors has increased. Now, 50 percent of new and potential shareholders are women. Among all the investors who have more than $50,000 in mutual funds and stocks, 35 percent are women (Women and finance, 2004).

**Domestic and International Exploration**

The Hearst Corp. continues to expand its domestic magazine market. In 2003, it bought *Seventeen (Seventeen, 2004)*, the nation’s largest-circulation teen-girl magazine; launched the women-oriented *Lifetime* magazine, based on the Lifetime cable channel; and launched *Town & Country TRAVEL* magazine (*Town & Country TRAVEL, 2004*).

The international market is another corporate focus for Hearst. In 2003, Hearst Magazine International published 135 international editions in more than 100 countries, led by *Cosmopolitan* with 50 editions worldwide (Hearst Magazine International, 2004). Revenue increased 59.7 percent in 2003, driven particularly by performances in China, Australia and Russia, and a very strong growth in advertising revenue for *Cosmopolitan* (Performances in China, 2004). Meanwhile, subscriptions through the Internet boomed in 2003, adding 675,000 to the total, including 120,000 for *Cosmopolitan* (Internet signing, 2004).
“China is becoming a very important market for our company,” says George Green, president of Hearst Magazines International (Performances in China, 2004). China’s large population of 1.3 billion and eagerness for Western capital and technology investment draw Hearst Corp.’s attention eastward, especially with Hearst Corp.’s flagship – *Cosmopolitan*.

*Cosmopolitan*

**The Birth of *Cosmopolitan***

As the Hearst Corp.’s flagship publication, *Cosmopolitan* targeted women readers when Helen Gurley Brown was at the helm in the mid-1960s – a decade marked by the rise of feminism; women demonstrated against their role as housewives and protested against such forms of discrimination as lower pay and fewer promotions (Women’s movement, 2004). In that decade, women began to realize their abilities fully and to change their roles by seeking political and academic achievement (Friedan, 1963, p.348). Women emerging from identities as housewives into career women sought support and advice on their new roles. To meet the demands of the liberated women, Helen Gurley Brown changed the editorial philosophy of *Cosmopolitan* and transmitted the message to women readers: "Live big, go for it, be the best you can be in every area of your life" (Brown’s editorial policy, 2004). “I totally changed the format,” Brown, the first editor of the new *Cosmopolitan*, said. “It was no longer a general magazine covering subjects that appealed almost equally to men and women. It was a magazine for a
woman who still was traditional in many ways, but didn’t want to get her identity from other people. She wanted to achieve on her own” (Brown’s quotes, 2004).

**Cosmopolitan’s Message Goes International**

Highlighting the editorial policy to be “fun, fearless, female,” *Cosmopolitan* targets young women with ambition, a good educational background, and full-time work (Fun, fearless and female, 2004). Domestic statistics show that *Cosmopolitan* enjoyed great popularity among young women, with the circulation reaching 2,963,351 in the United States in 2001 (Best-selling, 2004).

*Cosmopolitan* has established itself as the authority for young women, offering advice on life, body, emotions and relationships. *Cosmopolitan* heavily covers relationships, careers, personal growth, personality quizzes, and female sexuality. It also updates trends on fashion, beauty care, fitness, and health secrets.

With its international expansion, *Cosmopolitan* is published in 25 languages and reaches millions of women readers in Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Chile, China, Colombia, the Czech Republic, and other nations. (*Cosmopolitan’s* international edition, 2004). As one example of *Cosmopolitan’s* success, its Chinese edition published a 500-page issue for August 2002 – the largest consumer magazine ever published in China (Chinese super-thick, 2004).
**Shishang**

**The Birth of Shishang**

*Shishang* was founded in 1993 by the National Travel Bureau and the Chinese Travel Association. The National Travel Bureau gave the magazine a mandate to “keep separate accounting, assume sole responsibility for profits and losses, self-accumulate, and self-develop” (*Shishang* 1, 2004). This policy enabled the magazine to be run like a company, and gave Hong Wu and Jiang Liu, both greenhorns in running media, the power of a CEO in charge of *Shishang*’s personnel, finance, and editorial content (*Shishang* 2, 2004).

**Shishang’s International Exploration**

*Shishang*’s initial goal was to become a top-ranking travel and consumer magazine. The founders of the magazine, who saw that many international products were eager to get into the Chinese market, solicited advertisements from these foreign companies (*Shishang* 3, 2004). In order to sell the ads to major international advertisers, the founders analyzed readers’ gender, age, educational background, and annual income; compiled that information into tables; and claimed that *Shishang*’s readers were the ideal potential consumers of their products (*Shishang* 3, 2004).

*Shishang*’s founders also explored the need for cooperation with foreign media. As Hong Wu writes, “After half a year, we realized that the self-accumulation from hundreds of thousands of yuan is too slow. The
photographs we shoot are old-fashioned; models don’t have the feelings before the camera, and the photographer has no idea of fashion. There is something that we cannot develop all by ourselves” (Shishang 3, 2004). Meanwhile, its background in the travel field disposed Shishang favorably to the idea of cooperation; the Great Wall Restaurant, for example, set up a joint venture with Hilton-Sheraton (Great Wall Restaurant, 2004).

In the mid-1990s, Shishang contacted publishers in Hong Kong, Switzerland, Japan, France, Italy, and the United States about potential cooperation. The contact with Vogue ended when Vogue wanted sole ownership rather than a joint venture. The contact with Marie Claire ended without further progress. In August, 1998, with the help of the International Data Group (IDG), Shishang finally set its eyes on the world-renowned women’s magazine, Cosmopolitan, and purchased a license from Hearst Corp. to publish Cosmopolitan in mainland China. From then on, Shishang had merged itself into the family of Cosmopolitan International Editions (Shishang 4, 2004).

In the following years, licensing agreements mushroomed to elevate Shishang into the Shishang Magazine Group (SMG). In 1999, Shishang cooperated with Esquire. In 2001, the Hearst Corp. agreed to license the publication of Harper’s Bazaar in mainland China to the Shishang group. In 2001, National Geographic Traveler signed a pact with the Shishang group to launch the Chinese edition (Shishang 4, 2004).
By 2002, SMG published the following magazines in mainland China: *Shishang* (Cosmopolitan), *Esquire*, *Trendshome*, *Trendshealth for Women*, *Bazaar*, *Traveler*, *CosmoGIRL!*, *Good Housekeeping*, *Trendshealth for Men*, *Shishang Time*, *Autostyle*, and *Cultural Geography* (*Shishang* 4, 2004). Nearly half of these magazines are mainstays of the Hearst Corp.

SMG clearly targets readers. *Cosmo-GIRL!* targets young girls aged between 18 and 22 years of age. *Cosmopolitan* targets career women between 25 and 28. *Bazaar* and *Cosmo-health* target women around 30 years of age. *Good Housekeeping* targets women around 35 years of age. SMG also has several men’s magazines focusing on fashion, health, car, furniture, and travel (*Shishang* 4, 2004).

**Shishang's Localization Policy**

The new *Shishang*, or Chinese *Cosmopolitan*, puts localization into its editorial policy, in accordance with the National News and Periodical Publishing Bureau’s policy requiring no more than 50 percent foreign content in local magazines (*Shishang* 5, 2004). *Shishang* cites three reasons for localization. First, political: local regulations and censorship rule out the possibility of publishing everything that foreign magazines do in their own countries. Furthermore, some foreign magazines censor themselves to steer clear of controversy. For example, *Newsweek Select*, a monthly magazine launched in Hong Kong featuring articles from the U.S. *Newsweek*, said it would avoid hard news and politics, and focus on leisure-oriented content for Chinese readers (*China Daily* 1, 2004). Second, audience: purely translated
material is not particularly interesting to Chinese readers, because local people have channels to get world information other than foreign magazines. They are seeking content that is relevant to their lives in China (China Daily 2, 2004). Third, ethical: according to Zhang, chair of the Chinese Periodicals Association, local magazines that are licensing the foreign names and contents have a historical responsibility to take advantage of the foreign brands and to build Chinese brands (Zhang, 2004).

SMG is a success. All of its magazines are among the top 10 in circulation and advertisement volume in their fields. For example, Cosmopolitan had a circulation of 300,000 in 2002; and data released from Chinese Advertisement showed that the total advertising revenue of Cosmopolitan is No. 1 among Chinese magazines (Shishang 6, 2004).

Another indication of SMG’s success is a 30-year cooperation contract offered by the Hearst Corp. SMG’s president said it would have been very hard for the Hearst Corp. to find a partner as good as Shishang. “In China, readers accepted Shishang, not Cosmopolitan” (Shishang 3, 2004).

**China’s Economic Growth**

The 1999 National Population Census showed that China has 1.26 billion people. Among them, 640 million, or 51 percent of total population, are male, and 620 million are female. China's urban population is 390 million, which equals 31 percent of the total population; the rural population is 870
million, which equals 69 percent of the total (National Statistics Bureau of China 1, 2004).

Measures of Growth

Data from China’s National Bureau of Statistics show that GDP was 11.7 trillion yuan in 2003 ($1.4 trillion, or $1,090 per person) (National Statistics Bureau of China 2, 2004). The lifestyle in China’s big cities is changing rapidly. Chinese usually use four key factors to evaluate their living standards, as reported in 2002 by the official newspaper – People’s Daily:

Clothes: In 2001, the percentage of income spent on clothes went down from 2000, with a considerable improvement in spending on name-brand clothes that are more in fashion. The tailor shops are fading out, while shopping malls and fashion stores have become frequent destinations. Statistics show that the average spending on ready-made clothes was 364 yuan in 2001, more than seven times that of 1989; the average spending on cloth and clothing material (to make one’s own clothes) was 21 yuan, dropping 26.8 percent from expenditures in 1989 (Changes in lifestyle, 2004).

Food: The amount of money that urban residents spent on purchasing food more than doubled to 2,014 yuan in 2001 compared with that in 1989. However, the Engel Index, which measures the percentage of money spent on food out of the total spending, has dropped from 54.5 percent in 1989 to 37.9 percent in 2001. The food consuming style has changed from simply wanting a full meal to having a more diversified, nutritious meal (Changes in lifestyle, 2004).
Shelter: Housing has also improved in recent years. Data show that urban residents had an average dwelling area of 14.1 square meters per person in 2001, up 53.3 percent since 1989. The ratio of urban residents who live in fewer than four square meters per person dropped from 5.7 percent of the total population to 0.8 percent of the total (Changes in lifestyle, 2004).

Transportation and telecommunication: The expenditures of urban residents on transportation and telecommunication reached 457 yuan per person in 2001, which is more than 21 times that of 1989. The percentage of income spent on transportation and telecommunication also rose from 1.7 percent of the total in 1989 to 8.6 percent in 2001 (Changes in lifestyle, 2004).

As support for life style changes, a survey conducted in Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou, and seven other big cities showed urban residents rated their life satisfaction as 3.28, between average and satisfactory (People satisfied, 2004).

Changes after Economic Growth

With the strong economic growth nationwide, however, the gap between the rich and the poor has widened in recent years. A survey carried out by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences used the Gini Index to measure the equality of income in 2002. The Gini Index means that if 10 percent of the population holds 10 percent of the wealth, the distribution is balanced. In other words, the higher the Gini Index is, the greater the inequality of wealth. The results of the survey showed that China has a wider income gap between urban and rural residents than in the past, with the
average income of urban residents almost triple that of people from rural areas in 2002. The top 5 percent of the population, most of them from urban areas, receives nearly 20 percent of the total domestic income. Five to 10 percent of the whole population, most of them from rural areas, belongs to the lowest income group (Urban-rural gap, 2004).

Another social group that has a great impact on the society is the emerging numbers of white-collar workers, according to Tianding Wang (2004), director of the Journalism Department of Lanzhou University. Wang states that these professionals, between 25 and 35, mostly college graduates, are not big money earners compared with China’s new rich; however, they are young, are highly competent, and have both the ambition and the potential to achieve. This growing group is the targeted readership of modern magazines such as Shishang, and their emergence requires Shishang to reform to meet their needs. Besides the rise of the white-collar group, an even larger group of people who admire these professionals and copy their lifestyle constitutes another important part of the readership for magazines like Shishang (Wang, 2004).

China’s change in social structures also affected the spiritual life of people. Moving from an agricultural toward an industrial society, China has experienced separation and regrouping among industries and social levels. These changes in social structures have great impact in the value systems, and result in a conflict between the market economy and the traditional culture, according to Lihua Zhang, a professor at the International Problems
Research Institution of Tsinghua University. First, officialdom is replaced by “techdom.” Young people compete for college majors such as computer science, electrical engineering, automation, biochemistry, economics, law, and communication. Parents are willing to pay high tuition for children to go to foreign colleges and universities. Meanwhile, to be a government official is no longer the single aim of young people; more and more seek a workplace where they can learn technology and expect to become a professional (Zhang, 2004). Second, the worship of money brings temptation and confusion to people. Once, the luxury hotels only accommodated high-ranking officials; now, they are open to anyone who can afford the price. Deng Xiaoping, chief designer of China’s opening-up policy, encouraged capitalism with his famous quotation: “Whether a black cat (capitalism) or a white cat (socialism), it is a good cat as long as it catches rats (money).” Therefore, people began to be crazed for money – which could not be blatantly sought in the past – and made millionaires idols to admire rather than targets to attack (Zhang, 2004). In addition, the market economy gives people more chances to choose their own life style. People can choose their work, house, car, domestic and international travel, entertainment, shopping, and investment. Moreover, Chinese people have more channels to voice their opinions, and their admiration for their leaders is fading gradually as people become more critical about their choices (Zhang, 2004).
Magazine Markets in China

These critical readers have helped the magazine market boom in recent years. The Xinhua News Agency reports China has seen considerable growth in book and periodical publishing. In 2001, China published 150,000 different book and periodical titles, 28.7 percent higher than in 1997. The number of magazines rose 12.3 percent since 1997, to 8,889 in 2001 (Books and periodicals, 2004).

At the turn of the millennium, the magazine market in China witnessed changes. Research done by Zenithmedia, a market research company in China, found various changes. First, finance, fashion, and automobile magazines mushroomed, catering specifically to CEOs or targeting specifically male or female readers. Second, the magazines operate in a socialist-governed, capitalist-run environment. Formerly just tools to voice the government’s policies and rules, some magazines now seek private investors, after the government cut their funding and left them financially stranded. This policy change has led to the co-existence of capital-funded magazines with socialist policies. What remains the same is that the majority of Chinese magazines rely on subscriptions as the main source for profits. Among the 8,889 different magazines published in 2001, around 5,300 have fewer than 10,000 subscribers. Many of these small-scale magazines have few advertisements and rely on subscription revenues. Some famous magazines with more than one million subscribers rely on subscription revenue, too. For
example, *Duzhe (Readers)* gets 180 million yuan from subscriptions, out of its 200 million yuan revenue total; the revenue from advertisements is only 10 percent (Zenithmedia, 2004).

In 2003, an announcement helped foreign magazines enter the Chinese market. As *China Daily* reported, Communist Party members were no longer required to “subscribe to many of the turgid, grey newspapers, magazines, and journals published by ministries and municipalities,” according to new rules of Beijing’s General Administration of Press and Publications. With the lifting of this rule, more than 1,000 periodicals and newspapers are expected to close, and thousands more need to find new sources of funding (Foreign magazines, 2004).

There has been a recent rush of foreign media licensing Chinese editions. The International Data Group (IDG) acts as the go-between among the foreign corporations and local media firms. More than 50 foreign magazines now have Chinese-language editions, and a dozen more are expected in the coming year (Foreign magazines, 2004).

**Purpose**

The primary purpose of the study was to analyze changes before and after the Hearst takeover of one of the best selling women’s magazines – *Shishang* – in China. The study compared the post-Hearst *Shishang-Cosmopolitan* to the U.S. edition of *Cosmopolitan* to examine which aspects of the post-Hearst *Shishang-Cosmopolitan* are closer to the U.S. edition of
Cosmopolitan. Also, the study examined which cultural aspects persist from the pre-Hearst Shishang to the post-Hearst Shishang-Cosmopolitan despite globalization and modernization.

Changes in the magazine sector reflect changes in every field. In recent years, China has witnessed great changes not only in economic indices but also in its value systems (Zhang, 2004). The researcher noticed that changes also occurred to women reflected in both their dress and attitudes as a combined result of increased economic affluence and modernization. Women’s magazines, as one of the popular media bridges between the West and the East, have provided women with advice and information that they care about. In this study, the author analyzed the change of the Chinese Shishang magazine to Shishang-Cosmopolitan under Hearst, and both magazines’ representations of women’s images, values, agendas, and social roles in the past decade.
CHAPTER 2: RELATED STUDIES

Hofstede Indices

Hofstede designed a scale of individualism to analyze whether the society values individual achievement or collective, interpersonal relationships. The higher a country/region ranks on the scale of individualism, the more people value the self and privacy; the lower the individualism ranking is, the higher the degree of placing the group above the self (Hofstede, 2001, p.209). Findings show that the United States is No. 1 in the Individualism index ranking that studies 50 countries and three regions, having a score of 91. Taiwan ranks No. 44 with a score of 17. This gap shows the preference for individualism in the West and collectivism in the East, represented respectively by the United States and Taiwan (Hofstede, 2001, p. 215).

Another Hofstede scale will be useful in the analysis of women’s magazines. His masculinity (MAS) scale measures the degree of gender differentiation in a society. The higher the MAS scores, the higher the degree of gender differentiation; the lower the MAS scores, the lower the level of gender differentiation (Hofstede, 2001, p. 279). The United States shows a similarity in the MAS with Hong Kong and Taiwan. The United States is at No. 15 in the Masculinity Index, with a score of 62; Hong Kong is No. 18/19, with a score of 57; and Taiwan ranked No. 32/33, with a score of 45. Higher than 50 MAS scores show that women and men hold different roles in these countries and regions (Hofstede, 2001, p. 286).
Hofstede also used the Uncertainty Avoidance Index (UAI) to measure the level of tolerance for uncertainty and ambiguity within the society. The higher the UAI ranking is, the lower the country’s tolerance for uncertainty and risk; the lower the UAI ranking is, the higher is the degree of the society to tolerate a variety of opinions, deal with "surprises," and take risks (Hofstede, 2001, p. 279). Again, the United States differs from Taiwan in the UAI. The United States is at No. 43 in the Uncertainty Avoidance Index, with a score of 46; Taiwan positions itself No. 26, with a score of 69. Scores of UAI show that the United States has a capacity for uncertainty and risks (Hofstede, 2001, p. 286).

**Global and Local**

Gershon analyzes the development of transnational media corporations; he supports the cultural proximity idea of Straubhaar (Gershon, 2004).

Gershon (2002) said the following:

The geopolitical and cultural walls that once separated the nations of the earth are no longer sustainable. The resulting globalization of media activity has posed, and will continue to pose, a unique dilemma for many of today's host nations. On the one hand are the clear benefits of international free trade and the specific advantages that a TNMC offers, including jobs, investment capital, technology resources, and tax revenue. On the other are the problems associated with media imports,
including cultural trespass, challenges to political sovereignty, and privacy invasion. (p. 70)

Gershon also noticed that “the host nations have a right and a responsibility to exercise appropriate controls when corporate behavior or product quality is deemed harmful or hazardous” (Gershon, 2002, p. 70).

Elasmar and Hunter used meta-analytic procedures to examine the effects of transnational television programs. The results of their studies revealed weak correlations between exposure to foreign television and viewers’ knowledge, attitudes, beliefs, values, and behaviors (Elasmar & Hunter, 1997, p.62).

Support for Elasmar came from Chang’s analysis of Western media organizations’ program schedules in Asia. Chang found the Western media corporations cooperated with local companies to produce “country-specific programs” as a localization strategy in Asia (Chang, 2001). Chang’s study concluded that globalization is no longer a one-way process from West to East, but has evolved into a “two-way push and pull process in which local concerns have to be taken into consideration in these broadcasters’ programming” (Chang, 2001).

Advertising and Gender Studies of Asia

Many scholars have carried out advertising and gender studies on Asian magazines. Cooper-Chen, Leung and Cho (1995) found there are almost no Asian women over 50 in East Asian magazine advertising. Frith
found Western models outnumber Asian models in print advertisements in Singapore and Taiwan (Frith, et al., 2004). Western models also dominate the clothing category and pose more often than Asian models as the stereotypical image of seductive beauty (Frith, et al., 2004). However, some scholars have stated that this study and its findings/statistics are misleading, as Cooper-Chen has suggested (Cooper-Chen, personal communication, 2004).

Goffman (1979) studied gender roles in advertising and tried to find relationships between the postures and gestures of male and female models and the daily behaviors of men and women. Goffman’s study of nonverbal behaviors is a useful guide in the cross-cultural comparison of concepts of femininity. Goffman’s behavior marker devices, including hands, head postures, and body positioning and placement, have been used by some scholars including Sato (1998).

Sato applied Goffman’s nonverbal analysis to research comparing girls’ and women’s magazines. Sato found that *Cosmopolitan* emphasized presenting physical femininity on the cover, with a frequent display of cleavage and a curvy body line amounting to 38 percent in *Cosmopolitan* in the United States (Sato, 1998, p.33). In examining the interaction between women’s magazines with their readers, Sato thought the representations of femininity contributed to the shaping of readers’ conceptions of femininity; from another side, the representations themselves are products of market research aimed at meeting women readers’ changing values and demands for new conceptions of femininity (Sato, 1998, p.22). Furthermore, Sato
designed 46 behavior markers based on Goffman’s nonverbal behavior markers, which included body positioning, leaning posture, self touching, feminine touch, hair touching, and touching a small object, hands in their pockets, oversized clothing, lower body in action, touching one’s own clothes. Sato’s behavior markers are useful as research that compared cross-cultural concepts of femininity in women’s magazines (Sato, 1998).

**Women’s Magazines**

U.S. women’s magazines have a long history of trying to understand their readers. In the post-World War II era, the women’s magazine industry used demographics to classify readers and to predict their consumption patterns (Gough-Yates, 2003, p.2). Starting in the late 1950s, the women’s magazine industry shifted away from demographics, classified women readers by their motivations and attitudes, and constructed a diverse “women’s market” (Winship, 1987, p.46). *Cosmopolitan* was one example of the success of women’s magazine’s efforts to identify the needs and motivations of women consumers. By the late 1970s, motivational research was replaced by “lifestyle segmentations” produced through qualitative research techniques (Gough-Yates, 2003, p.2). In the following decade, lifestyle research was a crucial part of women’s magazines’ techniques for targeting readers, and helped women’s magazines shape the new image of women. In the 1990s, women’s magazines shifted their representation of femininity to a woman’s sexual confidence and independence, when they
found the new middle-class call for “pleasure as a duty, self-expression, bodily expression and natural sexuality” (Gough-Yates, 2003, p. 140-143). Rumors abounded that the circulation boom of some women’s magazines such as Company and Marie Claire had a cause-effect relationship with how frequently editors put the word “sex” in cover lines (Mistry, 1992). However, one fact was indisputable, which was that the sex-focused topics started to permeate in women’s magazines (Gough-Yates, 2003, p. 139).

Advertising has been a central part of the business of women’s magazines since the 1890s (Gough-Yates, 2003, p. 56). Winship stated that since no magazine can make a profit on its cover price alone, women’s magazines began to woo the advertisers and help them to sell products to the readers for revenue (Winship, 1987, p. 38). Meanwhile, the advertising industry saw a broad pattern of economic change from the 1980s toward globalization, which demanded new ways of representing their business activities to their clients. To meet this demand, they needed to understand the interests of the clients, and find ways to capture their hearts, minds, and wallets (Gough-Yates, 2003, p. 57-64). Furthermore, to sell their products globally, the advertising industry needed particular recognition of the local character of global markets, which women’s magazines’ international exploration offered a chance to reach (Nixon, 1996, p. 79-83).

O’Reilly analyzed the psychology of British women, and concluded that “acute and subtle” ways were crucial in approaching women consumers, to take advantage of women’s wishes to be “modern and active, intelligent and
discriminating, independent and confident” and develop these wishes into “fresh attitudes to products and advertisements” (O’Reilly, 1983).

Women’s magazines were compelled to respond, when faced with advertisers’ desire for media environments that would fit their products into women’s lifestyles, aspirations and attitudes. In this relationship between the magazines and the advertisers, information about the products advertised was convincingly translated into a magazine format (Gough-Yates, 2003, p. 79-96). In detail, as Reid has suggested, the most usual techniques women’s magazines used to attract advertisers was the “advertorial,” which mixed “the advertised product into magazine editorial with the hopes that the sales pitch would be read as the objective comment of a trusted friend” (Reid, 1992). Reid also found that the most popular advertorial techniques included the celebrity interview, food recipes and the travel section. In the last decade, women’s magazines updated their images by remixing their editorial focuses. The result of the update was a boom in the editorial focuses on women’s sexual confidence and independence. This shift to female sexual confidence and independence caused another round of media commentary and academic debate on commercialism versus ethics in the magazine industry, and the relationships between magazine content and the lives of women readers (Gough-Yates, 2003, p. 136-137).

A long tradition of research on women’s magazines’ values saw academic attention shift from the earlier obsession with the positive and negative images of femininity to the role that women’s magazines play in
shaping and maintaining feminine identities (Gough-Yates, 2003, p.9). Ferguson contended that women’s magazine set a “feminine agenda” to define the female condition and priorities, which were, as many women’s magazines implied, to find a man (Ferguson, 1983, p. 187). Gough-Yates understood women’s magazines as a “monolithic meaning-producer,” which used messages and signs to tell readers about femininity in order to “promote and legitimate dominant interest” (Gough-Yates, 2003, p. 7-8). Gough-Yates also stated that women's magazines offered unreal and often distorted images of women, which worked to estrange and separate women from each other as well as from their true selves (Gough-Yates, 2003, p. 7-8). Anderson and Mosbacher criticized the untruthfulness of the content of contemporary women’s magazines and thought this distortion offered to readers a depressing portrait of modern woman (Anderson and Mosbacher, 1997, p. 18). Gough-Yates (2003, p. 111) cited industry observers’ claims that it was impossible to find an image of women’s real lives in the pages of *Cosmopolitan*.

The sexual explicitness of female and male models has increased in magazine advertising (Reichert, et al., 1999). A study funded by the Kaiser Family Foundation found that, from 1986 to 1996, the number of articles on sexual topics in women’s magazines grew considerably (“Broaden sexual health coverage in magazines,” 1998). Comments from women’s magazine insiders indicated *Cosmopolitan* used more expressive and individual-looking models on the covers, and its cover lines were found to be “all-important in
terms of impulse purchases of magazines at news stands, were given more punch and spice” (Campaign, 1987).

Studies of Japanese women’s magazines found that women were portrayed in the traditional role of being subservient, passive, and more involved at home, while men were linked to work (Hio, 1991). Studies of Japanese women’s magazines found similarities with their Western counterparts in content (fashion, gourmet food, travel, and romance) as well as in size and visual design (Waller, 2002). Other findings showed that women’s magazines in Japan frequently tell their readers what to do and what not to do, and frequently use “you” and “desirable” (Waller, 2002). Previous studies on Cosmopolitan found that the U.S. version of Cosmopolitan was a model for the Japanese edition; however, a difference remained concerning where the cultural and moral expectations stand (Hio, 1991).

Covers of Magazines

Johnson and Prijatel (1999), both professors of magazine journalism, revisited extensive research and noted the importance of the cover to a magazine in their recent book on magazine publishing.

Johnson and Prijatel (1999) said the following:

The cover is the most important editorial and design page in a magazine. The cover, as the magazine’s face, creates that all-important first impression. It also provides both continuity through format recognition and change through intriguing cover
lines from issue to issue. Editors, art directors, publishers, and circulation directors spend hours trying to select the perfect cover for each issue—one that sells out at the newsstands and creates a media buzz. (p. 240)

Their study provides inspiration for this study of covers to analyze the change of a magazine after an ownership and title change.

**Research Questions**

Based on previous research, this research will explore the following research questions:

**RQ1 A:** Does the use of Western versus Chinese models on the covers of *Shishang-Cosmopolitan* change with the ownership and title change of *Shishang-Cosmopolitan? B:* Is the post-Hearst *Shishang-Cosmopolitan* use of Western and Chinese cover models closer to use in the U.S. edition than the pre-Hearst *Shishang*?

**RQ2 A:** Does the gender of cover models change with the ownership and title change of *Shishang-Cosmopolitan? B:* Is the post-Hearst *Shishang-Cosmopolitan* use of male and female cover models closer to use in the U.S. edition than the pre-Hearst *Shishang*?

**RQ3 A:** Does the sexual explicitness of poses of the cover models change with the ownership and title change of *Shishang-Cosmopolitan? B:* Is the post-Hearst *Shishang-Cosmopolitan* use of sexual explicitness of poses by cover models closer to use in the U.S. edition than the pre-Hearst *Shishang*?
**RQ4 A**: Does the sexual explicitness of exposure of the cover models change with the ownership and title change of *Shishang-Cosmopolitan*? **B**: Is the post-Hearst *Shishang-Cosmopolitan* use of sexual explicitness of exposure by cover models closer to use in the U.S. edition than the pre-Hearst *Shishang*?

**RQ5 A**: Does the mention of various aspects of sex, sexuality, or sexual relationship in the cover lines change with the ownership and title change of *Shishang-Cosmopolitan*? **B**: Is the post-Hearst *Shishang-Cosmopolitan* mention of various aspects of sex, sexuality, or sexual relationships in the cover lines closer to use in the U.S. edition than the pre-Hearst *Shishang*?

**RQ6 A**: Does the range of topics mentioned in the cover lines change with the ownership and title change of *Shishang-Cosmopolitan*? **B**: Is the post-Hearst *Shishang-Cosmopolitan* range of topics closer to use in the U.S. edition than the pre-Hearst *Shishang*?

**RQ7 A**: Does the use of the pronoun references to the reader – “you/your,” “I/my/mine,” “he/his/him,” “she/her” – in the cover lines change with the ownership and title change of *Shishang-Cosmopolitan*? **B**: Is the post-Hearst *Shishang-Cosmopolitan* use of such pronoun usage in cover lines closer to use in the U.S. edition than the pre-Hearst *Shishang*?

**RQ8 A**: Does the frequent wording in the cover lines change with the ownership and title change of *Shishang-Cosmopolitan*? **B**: Is the post-Hearst *Shishang-Cosmopolitan* use of wording in the cover lines closer to use in the U.S. edition than the pre-Hearst *Shishang*?
CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

Content analysis, a systematic, objective, and quantitative method to measure variables in the analysis of communication (Wimmer & Dominick, 2000), was performed on each cover of Shishang-Cosmopolitan 1993-2003 and the U.S. editions 1998-2003. In detail, 49 issues of the pre-Hearst Shishang (1993-May, 1998), 61 issues of post-Hearst Shishang-Cosmopolitan (June, 1998-April, 2003), and 60 issues of the U.S. edition of Cosmopolitan (1998-2003) were coded in this study. The issue published in June 1998 was coded as the first post-Hearst Shishang-Cosmopolitan, based on the fact that for the first time the English title of Cosmopolitan appeared on the magazine cover together with the Chinese title Shishang. All issues before the title change were coded as the pre-Hearst editions.

Gough-Yates (2003) commented on a cover’s importance by stating that the image and lines on the cover brought together many elements of the story of women’s magazines (Gough-Yates, 2003, p. 1). Media insiders found Cosmopolitan added more punch and spice in its cover lines and targeted customers’ impulse purchases of magazines at news stands (Campaign, 1987).

This study focused on comparing and contrasting the U.S. edition of Cosmopolitan (owned by Hearst Corp.) with the Chinese edition of Cosmopolitan (in the post-Hearst period) to find in what ways the two editions share characteristics. The covers of both editions of Cosmopolitan from 1998 to 2003 (the latest issue) were coded for the content of cover photographs.
and cover lines. The “global perspective” was noted by Hachten and Scotton (2002); Golding (1997) saw the cultural flow from West to East through export of media products leading to a homogeneous world dominated by Western values, tastes, and social expectations.

The study also focused on comparing and contrasting *Shishang* (1993-1998 pre-Hearst period) with the Chinese edition of *Cosmopolitan* (1998-2003 post-Hearst period) to find in what ways the local edition remained the same. Covers of the Chinese magazine 1993-2003 were coded for content of cover photographs and cover lines to measure change and continuity. The “local perspective” was supported by Elasmar and Hunter (1997), as well as Chang (2001), who stated that transnational television products had weak influence on local audience and these transnational television companies made the effort to produce a “country-specific program” as a localization strategy.

The study designed a coding sheet to test *Shishang-Cosmopolitan* with both “global” and “local” perspectives. The study coded elements of the cover photographs such as Western/Asian, gender, exposure of parts of the body, and pose. These categories are intended to analyze the image of a *Shishang-Cosmopolitan* cover model and the way the model expressed the tone of the magazine. These categories were also coded to test the theory of dependency, which stated a local willingness to absorb Western cultural values through the export of media products by the transnational media corporations (Gershon, 1993, p. 16). In addition, the coding of the exposures and poses of cover models in these magazines was performed to extend
Reichert’s (1999) study that the sexual explicitness of models increased in advertising, as well as Sato’s (1998) portrayal of a *Cosmopolitan* cover girl – with a display of cleavage and a curvy body line.

Another emphasis of the coding is on the cover lines. All cover lines were coded into categories according to different topics, such as: sex/relationships, love, men, celebrity, body/face, fashion/clothes/makeup, career/job, family/marriage, date/single, women’s behavior and psychology, money/investment, and others (See Appendix 2). These topics included the most popular topics in the U.S. edition, and the analysis of the frequencies of these topics was intended to define the editorial formula and content orientation of the magazine. Coding these topics of the cover lines tested how the fact that women’s magazines set a “feminine agenda,” as Ferguson (1983) stated, functioned in both Chinese and U.S. markets. Coding these topics also led to an understanding of Gershon’s concept of local audiences “emulating Western lifestyle”; when the transnational media corporations explored their worldwide media markets, they were “unlikely to impose professional (or moral) restraints on the production of creative works regardless of whether such efforts are obscene, violent, or result in the invasion of privacy” (Gershon, 1993, p. 17).

The wording of the cover lines was also coded. “How/should/must” together with “secrets/tricks/ways” are powerful words that sell magazines (J.Brady, personal communication, 2003). Words such as “hot/sexy/naked” were coded to measure the frequency of the once-taboo expression in the
conservative Chinese culture. Words such as “perfect/amazing” were coded to measure the frequency of the selling method that the U.S. edition and the Chinese editions employ. Coding the frequency of these words tested the Gough-Yates' (2003) statement that women’s magazines from the 1990s have shifted their femininity representation to a woman’s sexual confidence and independence. Furthermore, the study coded the frequency of words such as “crime/victim” and “game/gamble/addiction.” The measure of frequency of crime/victim was used to test a combined effect of a subservient and passive role women played (Hio, 1991), and the preference for violent expressions of media products (Gerbner, 1988, p.15-16). Coding “game/gamble/addiction” measured the society’s willingness to plunge into uncertainty and take risks, based on Hofstede’s Uncertainty Avoidance Index (UAI). As the UAI showed, the United States and Taiwan both had a middle-level score, with Taiwan (69) higher than the United States (46). According to Hofstede (2001), citizens of the United States much more than Taiwan were capable of uncertainty and willing to take risks. Taiwan was not as tolerant of surprises, uncertainties and risks as the United States.

The last item included in the coding was the use of pronoun references. The frequencies of using singular pronouns such as “you/your(s),” “I/my/mine,” “he/his/him” and “she/her(s)” were coded to test the Hofstede (2001) Individualism (IDV) index in both editions. Similar to the UAI, Hofstede did not have mainland China in the IDV rankings. As a reference, Taiwan and the United States ranked as No. 44 and No. 1 respectively in the IDV Index,
demonstrating a big difference in the cultures’ individualism versus collectivism. The East had the tradition of encouraging collectivism, which resulted in not using many singular pronouns in order to prevent focusing on the individual. This study tried to apply Hofstede’s IDV into the case of mainland China, analyzing whether there were pronoun reference changes before and after the ownership and title change of the *Shishang*. The including of “he/his/him” and “she/her(s)” not only made the coding of pronoun references thorough, but also tested how much the magazine cared about the women’s significant others, their female friends and competitors.

One master’s student in linguistics and a Ph.D student in electrical engineering served as coders to test intercoder reliability of the coding instrument for this study. To establish intercoder reliability, 10 percent of the covers of the U.S. edition and Chinese editions (1993-2003) were coded. Both coders were Chinese natives, one from the north of China and the other from the south. The overall inter-coder reliability for the study was 93.4 percent, with individual variables ranging from a low of 92.0 percent agreement for “topics” of cover lines to a high of 100 percent agreement for “position of hands” in the cover photographs.
CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

Overview

The study found that changes occurred in gender of cover models, sexually explicit poses of cover models, sexually explicit exposures of cover models, mention of various aspects of sex, range of topics, use of pronoun references and frequent wordings on the covers between the pre-Hearst and the post-Hearst editions of Shishang-Cosmopolitan. Very small change occurred in the dominance of Western models used on the covers before and after the ownership and title change, while a few covers began to see Chinese models after the changeover. Regarding similarities, the post-Hearst Shishang-Cosmopolitan was closer to the U.S. edition of Cosmopolitan in gender use of cover models, sexually explicit poses of cover models, sexually explicit exposure of cover models, various mentioning of sex and sexual relationship, and frequent wordings on the covers; mixed results were found in the range of topics, frequent wording, and the use of pronoun references in the cover lines.

Answers to Research Questions

RQ1 A: Does the use of Western versus Chinese models on the covers of Shishang-Cosmopolitan change with the ownership and title change of Shishang-Cosmopolitan? B: Is the post-Hearst Shishang-Cosmopolitan use of Western and Chinese cover models closer to use in the U.S. edition than the pre-Hearst Shishang?
The answer to the research question 1 A & B is that very small changes occurred. Chinese models appeared on the covers after the ownership and title change, but Western models still dominated the covers. The small difference did not bring the post-Hearst edition any closer to the U.S. edition than was the pre-Hearst edition.

**Table 1: Race of Cover Models of Shishang and Shishang-Cosmopolitan, 1993-2003**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Pre-Hearst Shishang N=49</th>
<th>Post-Hearst Shishang-Cosmopolitan N=61</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Caucasian/Black</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian (Chinese)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* This table did not include cover models in the U.S. edition because they were all Westerners.

As Table 1 shows, 100 percent of the cover models were Caucasian/Black in the pre-Hearst Shishang; but on the covers of the post-Hearst Shishang-Cosmopolitan, 93 percent of the models were Caucasian/Black and 7 percent were Chinese. Western models’ dominance was found in both Shishang and Shishang-Cosmopolitan, and Chinese models began to appear onto the covers in the post-Hearst period. The difference was very small in the use of cover models before and after Hearst’s takeover, and did not bring the post-Hearst edition closer to the U.S. edition than was the pre-Hearst edition.

**RQ2 A: Does the gender of cover models change with the ownership and title change of Shishang-Cosmopolitan? B: Is the post-Hearst...**
Shishang-Cosmopolitan use of male and female cover models closer to use in the U.S. edition than the pre-Hearst Shishang?

The answer to both parts of research question 2 is: yes, the gender of cover models changes with the ownership and title change, and the gender of cover models employed in the post-Hearst edition is closer to that of the U.S. covers than to that of the pre-Hearst covers.

Table 2: Gender of Cover Models of Shishang, Shishang-Cosmopolitan and U.S. Cosmopolitan, 1993-2003

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As Table 2 indicates, 53 percent female and 47 percent male models were found on the pre-Hearst covers; but in the post-Hearst Shishang-Cosmopolitan, 100 percent of the cover models were female. As the U.S. edition of Cosmopolitan used all female models on the covers, the post-Hearst Shishang-Cosmopolitan was closer to the U.S. edition in the gender of cover models employed.

RQ3 A: Does the sexual explicitness of poses of the cover models change with the ownership and title change of Shishang-Cosmopolitan?  
B: Is the post-Hearst Shishang-Cosmopolitan use of sexual explicitness
of poses by cover models closer to the use in the U.S. edition than the
pre-Hearst Shishang?

The answer to both parts of research question 3 is: yes, and the
change brings the post-Hearst edition closer to the U.S. edition than to the
pre-Hearst edition.

Results presented in Tables 3 and 4 combined indicate the change of
poses of the cover models between the pre-Hearst Shishang and the post-
Hearst Shishang-Cosmopolitan. Sexually explicit poses were rarely seen in
the pre-Hearst Shishang. Putting a hand on a hip occurred in 2 percent of the
covers, as was the case for placing a hand on a thigh; and placing a hand on
a breast or waist never occurred on the covers of the pre-Hearst Shishang.

Table 3: Hand Positions of Cover Models of Shishang, Shishang-
Cosmopolitan and U.S. Cosmopolitan, 1993-2003

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place to Put Hands</th>
<th>Pre-Hearst Shishang</th>
<th>Post-Hearst Shishang-Cosmopolitan</th>
<th>U.S. Edition of Cosmopolitan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hip</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thigh</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waist</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breast</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The places to put hands were multiple choices in each cover. The frequency here represents the
occurrences of a specific pose in 100 issues of the magazine covers.

As indicated in Table 4, nearly all cover models in the pre-Hearst
Shishang did not present sexually explicit poses (See Appendix 3). In fact,
26.5 percent of the covers in the pre-Hearst Shishang did not contain the
hands of a model. Putting a hand on clothes or on small things, such as
glasses, purse, cup, or stick and on a belt occurred 16.3 percent respectively
of the pre-Hearst covers. When models put their hands on the body, they
chose to place their hands by their sides in 6.1 percent of the cases; a hand
on head, chin, knee or arm each received 4.1 percent as poses on the covers;
and a hand on a neck or nose each received 2 percent of the cases.
Meanwhile, holding a fist in the air occurred in 2 percent of the covers of the
pre-Hearst Shishang.

Quite different poses were found in the post-Hearst Shishang-
Cosmopolitan, where sexually explicit poses were widely used on covers
(See Appendix 4). Putting a hand on a hip was the most frequent pose of all,
occurring 49.1 percent of the time. Putting a hand on a thigh occurred on 27.9
percent of the post-Hearst covers. Putting a hand on the waist occurred on
11.5 percent of these covers. Putting a hand on a breast appeared on 3.3
percent of the post-Hearst covers. Non-sexually explicit poses on these
covers, such as putting a hand on clothes (11.5 percent), or by the model’s
side (6.6 percent), were each respectively higher than the frequency of
putting a hand on the breast. Putting a hand on the arm, shoulder, or belt
each appeared on 1.6 percent of these covers, the same frequency as hands-
touching and no-hand-on-cover photographs at all.
Table 4: Other Hand Positions of Cover Models of *Shishang*, *Shishang-Cosmopolitan* and U.S. *Cosmopolitan*, 1993-2003

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Pre-Hearst Shishang</th>
<th>Post-Hearst Shishang-Cosmopolitan</th>
<th>U.S. edition of Cosmopolitan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothes</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small Things</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belt</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Side</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chin</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knee</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arms</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neck</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nose</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fist in the Air</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Touching hands</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoulder</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The places to put hands were multiple choices in each cover. The frequency here represents the occurrences of a specific pose in 100 issues of the magazine covers. The total percentage does not match that in Table 3 because of rounding in calculating percentage of each item. The last line of table 3, “other,” is explained in table 4.

Information in Tables 3 and 4 also indicated the use of poses by cover models for post-Hearst *Shishang-Cosmopolitan* was closer to the use for the U.S. edition than to the use for the pre-Hearst *Shishang*. The use of a hand
on a hip, waist, and breast occurred on 49.1, 11.5 and 3.3 percent of the post-Hearst covers, respectively. Very similarly, these poses occurred on 43.3, 11.7 and 5 percent, respectively, of the covers of the U.S. edition (See Appendix 5).

**RQ4 A: Does the sexual explicitness of exposure of the cover models change with the ownership and title change of Shishang-Cosmopolitan?**

**B: Is the post-Hearst Shishang-Cosmopolitan use of sexual explicitness of exposure by cover models closer to use in the U.S. edition than the pre-Hearst Shishang?**

The answer to both parts of research question 4 is: yes, and the change makes the post-Hearst edition closer to the U.S. edition than the pre-Hearst edition.

Results presented in Tables 5 indicated change of the sexually explicit exposure of the cover models between the pre-Hearst Shishang and the post-Hearst Shishang-Cosmopolitan. Cover models exposing an arm, breast, or shoulder occurred on 6.1, 2 and 4.1 percent of the covers of the pre-Hearst Shishang, respectively; however, exposing these parts of body occurred on 93.4, 90.2 and 86.9 percent of the covers of the post-Hearst Shishang-Cosmopolitan. Exposure of the abdomen, a thigh or waist never occurred on the covers of the pre-Hearst Shishang. In the post-Hearst Shishang-Cosmopolitan, exposure of the abdomen, a thigh or waist occurred on 36.1, 37.7 and 9.8 percent of the covers, respectively. Meanwhile, 73.5 percent of
cover models in the pre-Hearst *Shishang* did not expose the body below the face at all (See Appendix 3).

**Table 5: Skin Exposure of Cover Models of Shishang, Shishang-Cosmopolitan and U.S. Cosmopolitan, 1993-2003**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arm</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breast</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoulder (incl. neck)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abdomen</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thigh</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waist</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neck (only)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foot</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Exposure</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The exposure parts were multiple choices in each cover.

In the post-Hearst *Shishang-Cosmopolitan*, cover models without sexually explicit exposures no longer appeared on the covers; most cover models in the post-Hearst covers exposed two or more sexually explicit body parts at one time (See Appendix 4). Furthermore, studying the exposed parts of the body of the cover models in the pre-Hearst *Shishang*, researchers found 14.3 percent displayed the neck, 6.1 percent the arm and 4.1 percent the shoulder (these parts of the body appeared at least twice in all covers of the pre-Hearst *Shishang*). However, the parts of body exposed in the post-Hearst *Shishang-Cosmopolitan* were as follows: the arm, 93.4 percent; the
breast, 90.2 percent; the shoulder, 86.9 percent; the thigh, 37.7 percent; the abdomen, 36.1 percent; and the waist, 9.8 percent.

Results presented in Table 5 also demonstrated that the use of the sexually explicit exposure of cover models in the post-Hearst *Shishang-Cosmopolitan* was closer to the use in the U.S. edition (See Appendix 5) than to the use in the pre-Hearst *Shishang*. Exposure of an arm, shoulder, abdomen, or thigh by the cover models of the post-Hearst *Shishang-Cosmopolitan* occurred on 93.4, 86.9, 36.1 and 37.7 percent of the covers, respectively; very similar to the occurrence of 95.0, 80.0, 38.3 and 31.7 percent on the covers of the U.S. edition. Cover models that exposed a breast occurred on 90.2 percent of the covers of the post-Hearst *Shishang-Cosmopolitan*, a little higher than the breast exposure percentage of cover models in the U.S. edition of *Cosmopolitan*, which occurred on 81.7 percent of the covers.

**RQ5 A:** Does the mention of various aspects of sex, sexuality, or sexual relationships in the cover lines change with the ownership and title change of *Shishang-Cosmopolitan*? **B:** Is the post-Hearst *Shishang-Cosmopolitan* mention of various aspects of sex, sexuality, or sexual relationships in the cover lines closer to the use in the U.S. edition than the pre-Hearst *Shishang*?
The answer to both parts of research question 5 is: yes, the mention of sex, sexuality or sexual relationships changes. After all these changes, the post-Hearst edition is closer to the U.S. edition than to the pre-Hearst edition.

Table 6: Mention of Sex/Sexuality on the Covers of Shishang, Shishang-Cosmopolitan and U.S. Cosmopolitan, 1993-2003

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mention of Sex/Sexuality</th>
<th>Pre-Hearst Shishang</th>
<th>Post-Hearst Shishang-Cosmopolitan</th>
<th>U.S. edition of Cosmopolitan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Topic: Sex/Relationship</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4.1%</td>
<td>27.9%</td>
<td>121.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hot/Sexy/Naked</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10.2%</td>
<td>88.5%</td>
<td>260.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bed/bedside</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>51.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The mention of various aspects of sex, sexuality and sexual relationship were multiple choices in each cover. The frequency here represents the number of mention of sex/sexuality in 100 issues of the magazine covers.

Results presented in Table 6 indicated increase in mentions of sex, sexuality, or sexual relationships between the pre-Hearst Shishang and the post-Hearst Shishang-Cosmopolitan. Topics on sex or sexual relationships occurred on 4.1 percent of the covers of the pre-Hearst Shishang; after the ownership and title change, numbers of topics on sex or sexual relationships rose to 27.9 percent of the covers of the post-Hearst Shishang-Cosmopolitan. Mention of sex, sexuality, or sexual relationships through wording such as hot/sexy/naked occurred on 10.2 percent of the covers of the pre-Hearst Shishang; after the Hearst takeover, the use of these words occurred on 88.5 percent of the covers.

Information in Table 6 also indicated that the post-Hearst Shishang-Cosmopolitan was closer the U.S. edition with the increase in the use of such
sex-oriented cover lines. The post-Hearst edition saw the topic of sex and sexual relationships used nearly seven times more frequently than before the title change. Also, the post-Hearst edition saw the use of wording such as “hot/Johnny/naked” almost eight times more than the use of the same wording before the title change. However, Eastern language taboos still resisted the Western culture. For example, the post-Hearst *Shishang-Cosmopolitan* saw no use of wording related to “bed/bedside.” The same zero was found in the cover lines of the pre-Hearst edition. However, the U.S. edition of *Cosmopolitan* used wording related to “bed/bedside” with a frequency of 51.7 percent, which was positioned No. 7 on the most frequent wordings’ list on the covers of the U.S. edition.

**RQ6 A: Does the range of topics mentioned in the cover lines change with the ownership and title change of *Shishang-Cosmopolitan*? B: Is the post-Hearst *Shishang-Cosmopolitan* range of topics closer to that in use in the U.S. edition than the pre-Hearst *Shishang*?**

The answer to both A and B of research question 6 is yes, the frequent topics on the covers change with the ownership and title change; in the use of most topics, a mixed result is found in the use of some topics, and closer to the pre-Hearst edition in the use of some other topics.
Table 7: Range of Topics on the Covers of *Shishang, Shishang-Cosmopolitan* and U.S. *Cosmopolitan*, 1993-2003

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topics</th>
<th>Pre-Hearst Shishang</th>
<th>Post-Hearst Shishang-Cosmopolitan</th>
<th>U.S. edition of Cosmopolitan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fashion/clothes/makeup</td>
<td>47; 95.9%</td>
<td>73; 119.7%</td>
<td>57; 95.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women’s behavior and psychology</td>
<td>32; 65.3%</td>
<td>60; 98.4%</td>
<td>83; 138.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Celebrity</td>
<td>31; 63.3%</td>
<td>120; 196.7%</td>
<td>45; 75.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign brands profiles</td>
<td>29; 59.2%</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>25; 51.0%</td>
<td>49; 80.3%</td>
<td>107; 178.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career/job</td>
<td>25; 51.0%</td>
<td>28; 45.9%</td>
<td>4; 6.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travel abroad</td>
<td>18; 36.7%</td>
<td>1; 1.6%</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family.marriage</td>
<td>16; 32.7%</td>
<td>25; 41.0%</td>
<td>9; 15.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Body/face</td>
<td>13; 26.5%</td>
<td>35; 57.4%</td>
<td>34; 56.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love</td>
<td>10; 20.4%</td>
<td>34; 55.7%</td>
<td>13; 21.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Money/investment</td>
<td>9; 18.4%</td>
<td>11; 18.0%</td>
<td>6; 10.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cars</td>
<td>9; 18.4%</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic travel</td>
<td>8; 16.3%</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States introduction</td>
<td>7; 14.3%</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City introduction</td>
<td>6; 12.2%</td>
<td>2; 3.3%</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports</td>
<td>5; 10.2%</td>
<td>2; 3.3%</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music/movies</td>
<td>5; 10.2%</td>
<td>1; 1.6%</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single/dating</td>
<td>4; 8.2%</td>
<td>21; 34.4%</td>
<td>36; 60.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fun</td>
<td>4; 8.2%</td>
<td>5; 8.2%</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eat</td>
<td>3; 6.1%</td>
<td>1; 1.6%</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book</td>
<td>3; 6.1%</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pet</td>
<td>2; 4.1%</td>
<td>2; 3.3%</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex/sexual relationships</td>
<td>2; 4.1%</td>
<td>17; 27.9%</td>
<td>73; 121.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humankind</td>
<td>2; 4.1%</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewelry</td>
<td>2; 4.1%</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law</td>
<td>2; 4.1%</td>
<td>1; 1.6%</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cell phone</td>
<td>2; 4.1%</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIDS (illness)</td>
<td>1; 2.0%</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Art</td>
<td>1; 2.0%</td>
<td>1; 1.6%</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
<td>5; 8.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
<td>3; 5.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The frequency here represents the number of a specific topic in 100 issues of the magazine covers.
Information in Table 7 indicates the change of the most frequent topics and the range of topics in cover lines between the pre-Hearst Shishang and the post-Hearst Shishang-Cosmopolitan. Topics related to singles, dating, sex and sexual relationships appeared frequently in the cover lines in the post-Hearst Shishang-Cosmopolitan. Topics related to single/dating occurred on 34.4 percent of the covers, and were ranked ninth on the most frequent topics list of the covers of the post-Hearst Shishang-Cosmopolitan. Topics related to sex/sexual relationships occurred on 27.9 percent of the covers, and were ranked tenth on the most frequent topics list of the covers of the post-Hearst Shishang-Cosmopolitan. However, neither topic appeared frequently on the covers of the pre-Hearst Shishang. Topics related to sex/sexual relationships occurred on 4.1 percent of the covers of the pre-Hearst Shishang, less than one sixth of the number of the same topic on the post-Hearst covers; and topics on singles/dating occurred on 8.2 percent of the pre-Hearst covers, nearly one fourth of the number of the same topic on the post-Hearst covers. Meanwhile, topics on foreign brands, travel abroad, cars and domestic travel, ranking respectively No. 4, 6, 10, and 11 on the most frequent topic list of the covers of the pre-Hearst Shishang, occurred on 59.2, 36.7, 18.4 and 16.3 percent of the pre-Hearst covers. After the change of title and ownership, topics on foreign brand, domestic travel, and cars disappeared completely, and the occurrence of the topic on travel abroad dropped to 1.6 percent on the covers of the post-Hearst Shishang-Cosmopolitan. Furthermore, the range of topics was found broader in the pre-Hearst Shishang than in the
post-Hearst *Shishang-Cosmopolitan*. The cover lines of the pre-Hearst *Shishang* focused on 29 different topics, including United States, city, sports, movies and music; while the topics in cover lines of the post-Hearst *Shishang-Cosmopolitan* narrowed down to 20 topics, and a majority of topics in the post-Hearst edition was concentrated on 11 topics.

Results presented in Table 7 also showed that the post-Hearst *Shishang-Cosmopolitan* range of topics was closer to that of the U.S. edition than in the pre-Hearst *Shishang* in some occasions, based on their sharing all of the most frequent topics and narrower range of topics compared to the pre-Hearst edition. Frequent topics in the pre-Hearst *Shishang*, such as foreign brands, cars, and domestic travel, disappeared after the ownership and title change. However, on some topics such as men, career/job, and family/marriage, the post-Hearst edition is closer to the pre-Hearst edition rather than the U.S. edition of *Cosmopolitan*.

**RQ7 A:** Does the use of pronoun references to the reader – “you/your,” “I/my/mine,” “he/his/him,” “she/her” – in the cover lines change with the ownership and title change of *Shishang-Cosmopolitan*? **B:** Is the post-Hearst *Shishang-Cosmopolitan* pronoun usage in cover lines closer to use in the U.S. edition than the pre-Hearst *Shishang*?

The answer to research question 7 A is yes, but to 7 B is a mixed answer; the use of pronoun references “I/my/mine” in the post-Hearst edition
is closer to the U.S. edition while the use of the rest individual pronoun references is closer to the pre-Hearst edition.

**Table 8: Pronoun References on the Covers of Shishang, Shishang-Cosmopolitan and U.S. Cosmopolitan, 1993-2003**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>You/your</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>69.4%</td>
<td>72.1%</td>
<td>405.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I/my/mine</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>28.6%</td>
<td>95.1%</td>
<td>138.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He/his/him</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.0%</td>
<td>23.0%</td>
<td>273.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>She/her</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.1%</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
<td>40.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The frequency here represents the number of pronoun references in 100 issues of the magazine covers.

Results presented in Table 8 indicate that the use of pronoun references on the covers changed between the pre-Hearst Shishang and the post-Hearst Shishang-Cosmopolitan. Generally speaking, the use of pronoun references increased, led by the use of “I/my/mine” jumping from 28.6 percent of the covers of the pre-Hearst Shishang to 95.1 percent of the covers of the post-Hearst Shishang-Cosmopolitan, and the use of “he/his/him” jumped from 2 percent on the covers of the former edition to the 23 percent of the latter edition.

Information in Table 8 also showed the use of “I/my/mine” more than tripled after the changeover, indicating a strong increase of sense of individual in the cover lines, while all other pronoun references still lagged behind the use on the covers of the U.S. edition of Cosmopolitan.
RQ8 A: Does the frequent wording in the cover lines change with the ownership and title change of Shishang-Cosmopolitan? B: Is the post-Hearst Shishang-Cosmopolitan use of wording in the cover lines closer to use in the U.S. edition than the pre-Hearst Shishang?

The answer to both A and B of research question 8 is yes, the frequent wordings in cover lines change with the ownership and title change; in most wordings, the change is closer to the U.S. edition than the pre-Hearst edition, but in a few wordings, the post-Hearst edition is closer to the pre-Hearst edition.

Table 9: Frequent Wording on the Cover of Shishang, Shishang-Cosmopolitan and U.S. Cosmopolitan, 1993-2003

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wording</th>
<th>Pre-Hearst Shishang</th>
<th>Post-Hearst Shishang-Cosmopolitan</th>
<th>U.S. edition of Cosmopolitan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Numbers</td>
<td>58; 118.4%</td>
<td>77; 126.2%</td>
<td>150; 250.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No/not</td>
<td>38; 77.6%</td>
<td>11; 18.0%</td>
<td>20; 33.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love/kiss</td>
<td>20; 40.8%</td>
<td>77; 126.2%</td>
<td>58; 96.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfect/amazing</td>
<td>14; 28.6%</td>
<td>52; 85.2%</td>
<td>63; 105.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Country names</td>
<td>12; 24.5%</td>
<td>4; 6.6%</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Money/rich</td>
<td>11; 22.4%</td>
<td>4; 6.6%</td>
<td>5; 8.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secrets/ways/tricks</td>
<td>10; 20.4%</td>
<td>24; 39.3%</td>
<td>115; 191.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boss</td>
<td>9; 18.4%</td>
<td>1; 1.6%</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hot/sexy/naked</td>
<td>5; 10.2%</td>
<td>54; 88.5%</td>
<td>156; 260.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How/should/must</td>
<td>2; 4.1%</td>
<td>28; 45.9%</td>
<td>63; 105.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime/victim</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
<td>44; 72.1%</td>
<td>46; 76.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Game/gamble/addiction</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
<td>29; 47.5%</td>
<td>18; 30.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bed/bedside</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
<td>0; 0</td>
<td>31; 51.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The frequency here represents the occurrences of pronoun references in 100 issues of the magazine covers.
Information in Table 9 answered research question 8 concerning the change of wording of cover lines between the pre-Hearst *Shishang* and the post-Hearst *Shishang-Cosmopolitan*. As Table 9 indicated, changes were found in the comparison and contrast between the pre-Hearst and post-Hearst editions. The use of “love/kiss/date” almost tripled from 40.8 percent in cover lines of pre-Hearst *Shishang* to 126.2 percent in cover lines of the post-Hearst *Shishang-Cosmopolitan*. The use of “perfect/amazing” more than doubled from occurring on 28.6 percent of the pre-Hearst covers to occurring on 72.1 percent of the post-Hearst covers. The use of “secrets/tricks/ways” occurred on 20.4 percent of the covers of the pre-Hearst edition; after the ownership and title change, the use of these words nearly doubled with an occurrence on 39.3 percent of the covers of the post-Hearst edition. Changes also occurred in the range of frequent wordings between the two editions.

Cover lines in the pre-Hearst *Shishang* saw wordings, such as “no/not,” “country names,” “money/rich” and “boss,” ranked No. 2, 5, 6 and 8 in the most frequent wording list, occurring on 77.6, 24.5, 22.4 and 18.4 percent, respectively, of the pre-Hearst covers. After the ownership and title change, the use of “no/not” dropped to 18 percent, “country names” and “money/rich” dropped to 6.6 percent each, and “boss” dropped to 1.6 percent. Contrasted to the sharp decrease in use of “no/not,” “country names,” “money/rich,” and “boss,” the post-Hearst *Shishang-Cosmopolitan* saw an evident increase in use of wording such as “hot/sexy/naked,” “crime/victim,” “gamble/game/addiction,” and “how/should/must.”
“hot/sexy/naked” rocketed from occurring on 10.2 percent of the covers of the pre-Hearst edition to 88.5 percent on the pre-Hearst cover.

“How/should/must” jumped from occurring on 4.1 percent of the covers before the changeover to 45.9 percent on the post-Hearst covers. “Crime/victim” and “gamble/game/addiction,” which never appeared on the covers before the changeover, occurred on 72.1 percent and 47.5 percent, respectively, on the post-Hearst covers.

Information in Table 9 also showed the post-Hearst Shishang-Cosmopolitan use of wording was closer to the U.S. edition in most instances. In the post-Hearst Shishang-Cosmopolitan, 85.2 percent of covers used “perfect/amazing” words, much closer to the average use of 105 percent on covers of the U.S. editions than to the 28.6 percent use on the pre-Hearst covers. Similarly, 72.1 percent covers used “crime/victim” words in the post-Hearst Shishang-Cosmopolitan, very close to the average use of 76.7 percent on covers of the U.S. edition; while the pre-Hearst editions used none of of “crime/victim” words. The use of “love/kiss/dating” and “game/gamble/addiction” in cover lines of the post-Hearst Shishang-Cosmopolitan even outnumbered their use in cover lines of the U.S. edition. The post-Hearst Shishang-Cosmopolitan covers used an average of 126.2 “love/kiss/dating” and 47.5 “game/gamble/addiction,” while the U.S. edition, used an average of 96.7 “love/kiss/dating” and 30 “game/gamble/addiction” on the covers. Far behind the frequency of the use of these words in the post-Hearst edition, the pre-Hearst Shishang used an average of 40.8
“love/kiss/dating” on the covers; none of the pre-Hearst covers used any “game/gamble/addiction” words.
CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Summary

As stated in the earlier chapters, the primary purpose of this study was to assess which aspects of the pre-Hearst Shishang the post-Hearst Shishang-Cosmopolitan retained, and which aspects of the post-Hearst Shishang-Cosmopolitan were closer to the U.S. edition of Cosmopolitan.

Overall, in answering the eight research questions (RQs) asked in this study, the researcher found striking changes in four areas – gender, sexual poses, skin exposure of the cover models, and mentions of sex and sexual relationships – after the title changed from Shishang to Shishang-Cosmopolitan. These changes moved the post-Hearst Shishang-Cosmopolitan toward the style and editorial philosophy of the U.S. edition of Cosmopolitan.

Results of the study also found change in the range of topics, frequent wording on the covers, and the use of pronoun references in the cover lines – after the changeover. However mixed answers were found concerning whether the post-Hearst edition was closer to the U.S. edition in these categories. In the use of some topics, wording, and pronoun references, the post-Hearst edition stood closer to the U.S. edition; while in the use of some other topics, wording, and pronoun references, the post-Hearst edition was closer to the pre-Hearst edition.

Results also found a decreased use of Western cover models on the covers of the post-Hearst Shishang-Cosmopolitan, which showed the post-
Hearst *Shishang-Cosmopolitan* may have intended to make the magazine local.

**Relation to Previous Research**

**Western vs. Chinese Cover Models**

Frith’s (2004) previous studies, which found Western models outnumbered Asian models in print advertisements in Singapore and Taiwan, were supported by the results of this study. The Western models’ dominance was most evident in both editions before and after the title change. In detail, the pre-Hearst *Shishang* saw 100 percent of Western models on the covers coded; 93 percent Western models versus seven percent Chinese models were found on the covers of the post-Hearst *Shishang-Cosmopolitan*. Although the Western models’ dominance were found on covers of both the pre-Hearst and post-Hearst editions, the post-Hearst *Shishang-Cosmopolitan* was found stepping back a little bit by starting to use Chinese models on the covers. The finding that the post-Hearst *Shishang-Cosmopolitan* used fewer Western cover models than the pre-Hearst *Shishang* indicated the magazine’s intention to demonstrate more local character and meet local interests.

The analysis of the cover models also found different expectations to cover models in the U.S. edition or Chinese edition. Among the cover models in the U.S. edition, some of them were well known, and some of them were unknown to most people, which suggested fame might be not a prior
requirement for cover models in the U.S. edition. However, the Asian faces appeared on the covers of the Chinese edition were all famous entertainers of China. The different expectation of cover models in the two editions of *Cosmopolitan* reflected the celebrity-orientation of Chinese magazines, which would be further echoed in the popularity of topics on celebrities.

**Poses and Exposures**

Reichert's (1999) previous study, which found the sexual explicitness of models had increased in advertising in American magazines, was supported by the results of this study. This study proved that not only the advertising sections experienced an increase of sexual explicitness, but also the covers; and not only the American magazines saw increase of sexual explicitness, but also the Chinese magazines – cover models exposed far more explicitly in the post-Hearst *Shishang-Cosmopolitan* than in the pre-Hearst *Shishang*.

The change in sexually explicit exposures was most evident between the pre-Hearst and the post-Hearst editions. In the pre-Hearst *Shishang*, 73.5 percent of the cover models did not expose any part of the body below the face at all; in the post-Hearst *Shishang-Cosmopolitan*, 100 percent of the cover models exposed at least one of the following parts of the body: arm, breast, shoulder, abdomen, thigh, or waist. The post-Hearst edition exposed more sexually explicit parts of the body of the cover models and exposed them much more often than the pre-Hearst edition, which kept the traditional Eastern culture of dressing in loose and concealing clothes.
The findings of this study also echoed Sato’s (1998) research, which compared girls’ magazines with women’s magazines in Japan and the United States. Sato found that *Cosmopolitan* emphasized presenting physical femininity on the photographs, with a frequency of displaying cleavage and a curvy body line in 38 percent of *Cosmopolitan* models in the edition. This study supported Sato’s findings. The current study found more cleavage exposure on the covers of the U.S. edition of *Cosmopolitan* than in Sato’s study of all photographs, with an 81.7 percent exposure of the breast; the exposure of the breast on the covers of Chinese edition *Cosmopolitan* was even higher, with a 90.2 percent of frequency.

Hand positions – one of Goffman’s (1979) behavior marker devices – helped this study to analyze the cross-cultural concepts of femininity. Sato’s (1998) use of Goffman’s behavior markers such as self touching, touching a small object and touching one’s own clothes were also applied in this study and contributed to code non-sexually explicit poses that fell into the “other” coding category. The poses of cover models in the post-Hearst Shishang-*Cosmopolitan* were closer to the U.S. edition than to the pre-Hearst Shishang. The pre-Hearst Shishang hardly had any cover models putting a hand on hip, thigh, waist or breast. This majority of non-sexually explicit poses changed with the ownership and title change from pre-Hearst Shishang to the post-Hearst Shishang-*Cosmopolitan*. With Hearst’s influence, one sees a hand on the hip, on the thigh, on the waist, and on the breast; while the most frequent
poses in the pre-Hearst edition, such as putting a hand on clothes and putting a hand by the side, dropped.

Topics, Wording, and Culture

The findings of this study supported Gershon’s (1993) conclusion that transnational media corporations may exert a homogenizing power over ideas and culture, reflected through the similarities of the range of topics and wordings of the cover lines between the post-Hearst Shishang-Cosmopolitan and the U.S. edition of Cosmopolitan. The transnational homogenizing power over ideas and culture was highlighted by the mushrooming of mentions of sex, sexual relationships and the use of words such as “hot/sexy/naked” in the post-Hearst Shishang-Cosmopolitan.

The homogenizing power also showed its influence in the range of topics. Topics related to foreign brands, travel abroad, and cars, which were listed as the top 10 most frequent topics in the cover lines of the pre-Hearst Shishang, disappeared from the cover lines of the post-Hearst edition. The disappearance of topics such as foreign brands profile and travel abroad might indicate a decreased interest in the world and more interest in the individual, through such topics as career/job and family/marriage.

The post-Hearst Shishang-Cosmopolitan saw two new topics, which were singles/dating and sex/relationships, rising. These data supported the previous study funded by the Kaiser Family Foundation from 1986 to 1996, which found that sexual topics in women’s magazines grew considerably. Meanwhile, the frequency of topics on women’s behavior and psychology as
well as men’s increased evidently from the pre-Hearst Shishang to the post-Hearst Shishang, and this increase narrowed the gap with the U. S. edition. Selling words such as “perfect/amazing” rocketed after the changeover, much closer to the frequency used in the U.S. edition. Selling words such as “how/should/must” also rose in the post-Hearst edition.

The post-Hearst Shishang-Cosmopolitan saw a sharp increase in the topics on celebrities, which was nearly three times the use in the cover lines of the U.S. edition. The popularity of the topics on celebrities supported Reid’s (1992) finding that women’s magazines use “celebrity interviews” as the most frequent “advertorial technique” to attract advertisers.

Fashion/clothes/makeup positioned very high in the frequent topics list of all three editions, especially in the post-Hearst edition, outnumbering the use in the U.S. edition by more than 20 percent. Shishang-Cosmopolitan also saw many topics on love, which was more than double the use in the covers of the U.S. editions. The increase in both categories showed a trend toward a more appearance-conscious, rich-in-emotion femininity after the changeover.

Crime was not a frequent topic in all three editions analyzed in this study; however, the use of the wordings related to crime and victim in the cover lines in two of the three editions was very frequent, with the post-Hearst Shishang-Cosmopolitan demonstrating a great degree of similarity with the U.S. edition of Cosmopolitan. The post-Hearst Shishang-Cosmopolitan used the wording of “crime/victim” in the cover lines with a similarly high frequency
as the use in the U.S. edition; in contrast, wordings such as “crime/victim” were rarely seen in the pre-Hearst Shishang.

The study also found that strength of the local cultures (Chang, 2001). Topics on family/marriage appeared more frequently after the changeover, enlarging the gap with the low frequency in the cover lines of the U.S. edition. Use of selling words such as “secrets/tricks/ways” saw a strong increase in the post-Hearst Shishang-Cosmopolitan, while still keeping great distance from the frequency that the U.S. edition used. Compared with a few appearances on the covers of the U.S. Cosmopolitan, the topics related to career/job appeared frequently in both editions before and after the title change, showing an editorial room or local market interested in selling career/job to Chinese readers. Besides topics, phrases with obvious sexual explicitness were treated as a cultural taboo in China in both periods.

Western culture encountered strong resistance here. For example, wording such as “bed/bedside” was the seventh most frequent wording in the covers of the U.S. editions; however, both the pre-Hearst Shishang and the post-Hearst Shishang-Cosmopolitan saw none of these phrases on the covers.

Pronoun References

The results of this study also paralleled the U.S. and Taiwan scores in Hofstede’s Individualism index. Among all the 50 countries and three regions analyzed by Hofstede, the U.S. was positioned first with a score of 91, which represented U.S. society as valuing self-achievement and individualism. Taiwan, which shares cultural ties with mainland China, ranked No. 44 in
Hofstede’s Individualism index, with a score of 17, which represented Taiwan as a society that values a high degree of collective relationships among people (Hofstede, 2001, p. 209). This study analyzed the use of all the singular pronouns – such as “you,” “I,” “he,” and “she” – and found very high frequency of their use in the cover lines of the U.S. edition. The study found an increase in the use of “I/my/mine,” a major indicator of the individualism among all these singular pronouns, which might suggest a burgeoning trend toward individualism in China. The study also found the use of the pronoun references such as “you/your(s),” “he/his/him,” and “she/her(s)” was still closer to the use of these pronouns on the covers of the U.S. edition. These singular pronouns were used as a tool to measure the frequency of mentioning the individual, thus to test the degree of individualism of both societies. This huge gap in the use of these singular pronoun references between the post-Hearst Shishang-Cosmopolitan and the U.S. edition of Cosmopolitan echoed the different rankings of U.S. and Taiwan in the Hofstede’s Individual index, and suggested China is a mixed society that blends the collectivism of the East and the individualism of the West.

**Model for the Chinese Edition**

The previous studies found that the U.S. edition of Cosmopolitan was a model for the Japanese edition, and that differences remained in terms of the cultural and moral expectations. This study found that the U.S. edition of Cosmopolitan was a model for the Chinese edition as well, and differences were also found between the two editions where cultural roots such as
language taboos and collectivism versus individualism affected the content and expressions of the magazine. Similarities were found even before the changeover. Numbers such as “6 signs you’re really meant for each other” (see Appendix: Cover Samples), is widely and frequently used in all three editions. Topics on fashion/clothes/makeup, celebrity, and love appear frequent on all three editions; however, with the post-Hearst edition peaks in the use of these topics among all three editions. After the changeover, Western influence from the ownership and title change can be evidently observed with the Chinese edition. The post-Hearst Shishang-Cosmopolitan saw a face-lifting change from the gender of cover models to the poses and exposure of cover models. The same cover pictures were found to be used in both editions with several examples: the cover photograph of August 1998 U.S. edition was also used in the September 1998 Chinese edition, and the cover photograph of December 1999 U.S. edition was used again in the January 2000 Chinese edition. Besides these visual style changes, Western influences on Chinese edition’s editorial philosophy could hardly be ignored, ranging from setting topic agendas to using the same selling words. As Helen Gurley Brown stated herself, her magazine was to empower women readers to “live big, go for it, be the best you can be in every area of your life” (Brown’s editorial policy, 2004). This editorial philosophy was proved successful by using positive words like “perfect/amazing” and making themselves sound authoritative through commanding words such as “how/must/should.” After the Hearst takeover, this editorial philosophy of
empowering women readers demonstrated overwhelming strength in the Chinese edition, cutting the use of wording such as "no/not" – mark of the style of forbidding – and replacing them with a frequent use of positive wording such as "perfect/amazing." The post-Hearst edition also employed a much more frequent use of “how/must/should,” following the editorial formula offered by Hearst Magazine Enterprises president John Mack Carter together with other two media consultants, who noted that solutions were better sold than problems (Johnson & Prijatel, 1999, p. 240).

**Implications of the Study**

This study was carried out to provide a snapshot of the changes of one of the best-selling women’s magazines in China after it joined the international editions’ group of a transnational media corporation. The case of the ownership and title change from *Shishang* to *Shishang-Cosmopolitan* after the Hearst takeover had several implications.

First, by comparison between the five years of the pre-Hearst period with the five years of the post-Hearst period, this research offered an opportunity to analyze the magazine’s balancing strategy between global (represented by the U.S. edition) and local (represented by the pre-Hearst edition) influences. To understand this balance accurately, one should not see the two strengths from global and local as half and half influences; but rather should be seen as global influences being stronger in some aspects.
and local influences being stronger in other aspects in order to achieve an
editorial formula for market success.

Secondly, as a window onto the current society, the changes on the
magazine covers after the changeover reflected the social changes of values,
status, social perspective and expectations among Chinese women.
Ferguson (1993) contended that women’s magazines set a “feminine agenda”
to define the female condition and priorities. This study examined the
“feminine agenda” in the Shishang-Cosmopolitan, and provided a pilot study
for future research on the feminine agenda setting of Chinese magazines.

Thirdly, based on the findings and results of the study, China saw
sexually exposed and posed cover models and wording in cover lines and
topics regarding sex and sexual relationships on the magazine covers after
the ownership and title change. This permeation of sex into the Chinese
magazines’ covers provided evidence of the importing of foreign cultural
products with Western values and lifestyles. Parental guidance of magazine
contents on Western values and lifestyle would benefit Chinese youngsters to
understand the foreign culture while carrying on their own traditional culture.
Although markets determine temporary commercial success, China – as a
nation with an ancient history and a system of traditional values – would
benefit in the long run through considering and handling the current
widespread Western values presented in magazines such as Shishang-
Cosmopolitan.
Limitations

This study had several limitations. From a methodological aspect, the study adopted the quantitative method of content analysis, which enabled the study to compare and contrast these magazines. However, the study set out to compare the similarities and contrast the differences of these magazines, not for measuring a cause-effect relationship between the three magazines, while treating the influences before and after the changeover as possible factors which contributed to the change. This study did not include other possible factors, such as readers’ demand for change, China’s policy changes, or the editor’s personal style. Meanwhile, the design of the coding sheet, the operational definition of the coding categories and working with both languages, although carefully handled, left room for possibly different interpretations in coding certain photographs and cover lines. Different understandings of whether baring the whole arms was sexually explicit, for example, was noticed between West and East. Pronoun references, although they may be a measurement of individualism, have not been proven to have a direct relation to individualism, as a force within a culture; in fact, the approach is quite new as a coding category.

Suggestions for Future Research

Studies focused not only on covers but also on all the content of women’s magazines would be suggested for future research. This study used the title and ownership change of one magazine as a window through which
to analyze the influence of Western magazines on Chinese magazines.

Further study could be done in the sectors of broadcasting, newspapers or the Internet to testify to the cultural flow from West to East and the resistance of Eastern culture to this flow. In addition, men’s magazines could be studied in the future and the readership surveys could be conducted. To yield a more accurate and comprehensive understanding of the current phenomenon, future research could examine other possible factors such as governmental policy, audience demand and editor’s personal preferences.
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APPENDIX 1:

Codebook of Operational Definitions

Shoulder: when a model is dressed in a tank top with spaghetti straps, or any completely sleeveless garment, she exposes the whole neck and shoulder till the middle of the upper arm.

Breast: when a model is dressed in a low cut garment, she exposes the cleavage or contour of the breasts.

Arm: when a model is dressed in a sleeveless garment, she exposes the entire arm from the shoulder to the fingers.

Abdomen: when a model is dressed in a midriff shirt, she exposes some part of her stomach, including the belly button.

Waist: when a model is dressed in clothing that reveals the bare contours of her waist on both sides of her body, she is coded as exposing her waist.

Thigh: when a model is dressed in a garment that exposes the bare contours of a large part of the thigh from the hip to the knee.

Sex/sexual relationship: when details of physical intimacy between two people are related explicitly in a cover line, this cover line is coded within the topic of sex/sexual relationship.

Love: when words connoting a strong emotional or romantic attachment are used in a cover line, this cover line is coded within the topic of love.

Men: when words describing the male gender are used in a cover line, this cover line is coded within the topic of men.

Celebrity: when specific names of famous people or places, such as “Hollywood,” appeared in a cover line, this cover line is coded within the topic of celebrity.

Body/face: when words specifically describing the appearance of the body, skin or face are used in a cover line, this cover line is coded within the topic of body/face.

Fashion/clothes/makeup: when words specifically referencing the latest and most popular trends in fashion and cosmetic products are used in a cover line, this cover line is coded within the topic of fashion/clothes/makeup.
Family/marriage: when words connoting children or family relationships are used in a cover line, this cover line is coded within the topic of family/marriage.

Single/dating: when words connoting advice or suggestions about dating or the status of being single are used in a cover line, this cover line is coded within the topic of single/dating.

Career/job: when words connoting professional career development or working environment are used in a cover line, this cover line is coded within the topic of career/job.

Women’s behavior and psychology: when words promoting self-improvement, mental health or impartial advice, such as a horoscope, are used in a cover line, this cover line is coded within the topic of women’s behavior and psychology.

Money/investment: when words that refer to advice on finances are used in a cover line, this cover line is coded within the topic of money/investment.

Fun: when words that refer to idea of fun, such as parties (no dating or sexual relationships included) and toys, are used in a cover line, this cover line is coded within the topic of fun.

Eat: when words that refer to ideas for where to eat, or what dish a certain restaurant is famous for, are used in a cover line, this cover line is coded with the topic of eat.
### APPENDIX 2:

#### Coding Sheet

1. **Edition**
   - 1=U.S. Edition
   - 2=Chinese Edition

2. **Date (MMYY)**

3. **Cover Photo**
   - **Age**
     - 1=20-40 years old
     - 2=above 40
   - **Gender**
     - 1=Female
     - 2=Male
     - 2=Asian
   - **Race**
     - 1=Caucasian/Black (Chinese)
     - 3=Others

**Skin Exposure (multiple choice)**
   - 1=expose shoulder(s)
   - 2=expose breast(s)
   - 3=expose arm(s)
   - 4=expose abdomen
   - 5=expose waist
   - 6=expose thigh(s)
   - 7=expose other parts of the body (Specify)
   - 8=None of the Above

**Hands' Position (multiple choice)**
   - 1=put hand on hip
   - 2=put hand on waist
   - 3=put hand on thigh
   - 4=put hand on breast
   - 5=put hand on other places (Specify)

4. **Cover Stories**
   - **Topics (multiple choice)**
     - 1=sex/relationship
     - 2=love
     - 3=men
     - 4=celebrity
     - 5=body/face
     - 6=fashion/clothes/makeup
     - 7=family/marriage
     - 8=single/dating
     - 9=career/job
     - 10=women's behavior and psycho
11=money/investment
12=others

**Wording (multiple choice)**
1=numbers
2=hot/sexy/naked
3=love/kiss/date
4=bed/bedside
5=perfect/amazing
6=crime/victim
7=game/gamble/addiction
8=how/should/must
9=secrets/tricks/ways
10=others (strong impression wording)

**Pronouns (multiple choice)**
1=you/your
2=I/my/mine
3=he/his/him
4=she/hers/her
多一份爱心 你给谁
——漂亮伴侣专辑
毛阿敏坦露心曲
金尼亚——世界男装的“珠峰”
雷达表，戴出你的风采
出国其实很 容易
出境旅游实用指南
特别推荐，时尚先生
時尚

ESCADA
宽容你的形体
替上司“作主”的时候
那英·王姬·杭天琪
带着妈妈去旅游
内附时尚婚礼专辑
美丽不打折扣
本刊明年不涨价

时尚话题
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封面

时尚大师
重塑好莱坞美女

爱上了你的缺点！

20个让他乖乖听你的话

与亲密的人相处

2000年你的生活将有什么改变？

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DARING COUPLES ONLY
MAKE SEX HOTTER
We Know You're Always Game to Push the Passion Envelope. These Bold Tricks Will Help You Do It.
6 Signs You're Really Meant for Each Other

The O.C.'s Mischa Barton
Everything You Want to Know About Her

INSIDE HIS DIRTY MIND
Sex Wishes All Men Keep From Women

Confessions Bonus
Hilarious Tales of Shameless Guys, Sinful Girls, and Couples Nabbed Mid-Nooky

The Gut Feeling You Should Never Ignore

"Was Abducted and Stuffed into a Trunk"

Mouthwatering Male Bodies
CAUTION: May induce Uncontrollable Fantasizing
2002's Hottest Sex News
- The Best Expert Secrets
- Amazing Discoveries
- The Toy Women Can't Keep Their Hands Off

5 Games You Should Play in a Relationship

Rip-Out Section for Guys
Turn Him Into a Perfect Lover
Hand This Over and Prepare to Have Your World Rocked

Sexy Party Clothes
(Guaranteed to Jingle His Bells)

Halle Berry
Her Most Honest Interview Ever

Make Him Ache For You
Shoot to the Top of His To-Do List With Our Saucy Tricks

Celeb Hissy Fits
We've Got the Dirt on Hollywood's High-Maintenance Divas (They Oughta Be Spanked!)

The Surprising Reason You Get Sooo Wiped Out