Analyzing Fundamental Factorsof Indonesians' Skin Color Preference: A Qualitative Approachto Develop Research Framework

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L'Oreal research results shows that majority Indonesian women believe that they have dark complexion skin and expressed the desires to have brighter one. Support by the fact that whitening products' sales is growing significantly year to year; it is interesting to analyze the underlying factors that motivate individuals to pursue having brighter skin complexion. Researcher employed Zaltman Metaphor Elicitation Technique as qualitative method revealed that cultural values and some psychological factors have motivated individuals to pursue brighter skin complexion and generated a research framework for afurther quantitative analysis regarding the topic.

INTRODUCTION

As Indonesian per capita income has reached 3015 USD in year 2010-2011, the rise in consumption level followed. Consistent with the fact above, Nielsen reported 20% increase in beauty products consumption which consists of facial wash, moisturizing cream, anti-aging formula, and whitening cream. Especially for whitening products, the growth increases from 21.1% in 2010 to 28.4% in 2011 (Rahmawati, 2012). L'Oreal research results in 1997 shows that 85% women in five big cities in Indonesia believe that they have dark complexion skin and 55% expressed the desires to have brighter skin complexion.

From business perspective, the information above seems to predict the long lasting glory of whitening product market until recent reports unveiled the flare of counterfeit and even illegally-distributed whitening products targeted to proletarian consumers (low-end class). Those illegal products did not undergone quality assurance and safety control and found out to bring harmful and dangerous negative side-effects if it is applied regularly. Despite the limited purchasing power of the low-end consumers, they received substantial exposures related to beauty ideal which is often described as white and fine skinned either from mass-media or existing lifestyle valid in the nearby environment. Therefore, they demand inexpensive products that can both satisfy their aspirations as well as their financial conditionswhich is then fulfilled by those counterfeit products.

This consumer class generally consists of teenagers with the still dependent financial power and immature cognitive competence that are vulnerable to be misled by those exaggerating advertisements showing off the efficacy of those illegal products. We could then assume that they do not have the needed product knowledge before deciding to purchase and to buy whitening products. Besides, the budget limits

are often conflicting with their goals to have brighter skin color makes cheap but illegal and counterfeit products attractive for those low-end consumers. BPOM (the Indonesian government agency that oversee food and drug distributed in the market) found 66.720 packages of illegal cosmetics in two big cities (Jakarta and Makassar) until August 2012 (BPOM Temukan 99.869 Produk Makanan dan Kosmetik Ilegal, 2012). Many consumers fell victims from using illegal and counterfeit whitening products (i.e. reddish, irritate, burn, etc.) since they are containing clinically unproven dosage of chemical content. Therefore, the government through BPOM actively holds conference and seminar to communicate issues related to cosmetics (i.e. criteria to select safe cosmetics, the side-effects of the use of illegal whitening products, etc.) in order to increase people's awareness toward those dangerous product (Mari Selamatkan Wanita NTB dari Bahaya Krim Merkuri, 2012). However, those efforts apparently have not touched the subject matter yet since the demand for cheap but efficacious cosmetics still considerably high.

Social analysts have suggested that the fundamentals of the problem lie in the consumers' perception of beauty ideals. As the advertisement, mass media, and lifestyle continuously educating people to conform to the global standard of beauty ideals at every stages of their life, it seems convoluted to have unique definition of beauty ideals instead just tailgating the existing one. Thus, the role of parents and teachers became highly important to promote another version of beauty ideals (i.e. inner beauty, behavior, etc.) and to change the preliminary existing idea of beauty defined by advertisement or mass media (i.e. white and fine skin, long straight hair, etc.) (Wahai Guru Menengah, Selamatkan Wajah Siswimu, 2012). Government should take a wider step to regulate any evoking and irrational ads that can mislead the consumers. Thus, to arrive at this point, in depth understanding of the relevance skin whitening product for consumers is urgently needed.

The main objective of this research is to understand Indonesian consumers' perceived personal relevance of having brighter skin tone. Despite the proliferation of over-the-counter whitening products claimed to be effective in brightening skin and the large number of skin clinics in Indonesian market that confirming people's preference toward brighter skin, there are not so many studies conducted in this area. Of those few researches mostly are explorative researches that unlike this research, utilizing print-ads as research object which in turn merely uncover marketer's perspective instead of consumer's insights. Understanding consumers' insight will help to uncover what motivate consumers to pursue for brighter skin complexion and what factors lies behind. The outcomes would be an established research framework useful for further quantitatively analyzing the topic. Researchers will employ qualitative approaches to achieve those objectives.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The skin color bias has been becoming a major concern in the marketing research for a long time. Skin color bias which is defined as the tendency to perceive or behave toward members of a racial category based on the lightness or darkness of their skin (Maddox and Gray2002) had been found to significantly affect consumers' evaluation of advertisement (Watson, 2010; Thornton, 2010; Engelland, 2010).

Previous researches have seen this topic through various perspectives such as psychological, sociology, semiotic, cultural and marketing separately. In this research we will try to investigate high involved consumers' perceived personal relevance based on those perspectives altogether. We expect that the six perspectives mentioned above will take part in forming consumers' mental model related to their meaning representation attached to white skin. Besides, we will utilize those perspectives as guidelines to generate whatever attitudes, emotions and feelings, symbols, actions, goals, personal values, images, memories of past consumption events, consumption visions of anticipated experiences, and representations of sensory experiences addressed to white skinned people that induce skin color bias.

Motivation

There are definitely some factors that motivate someone to purchase and use whitening products. Someone who feels energized or activated toward an end is considered as motivated (Ryan and Deci,

2000). Thus, to be motivated is to be moved to do something. In this context, researcher intends to uncover what motivates women to have brighter skin complexion. People are varies not only in the level of motivation but also in the orientation of motivation. Orientation of motivation concerns the underlying attitudes and goals that give rise to action—that is, it concerns the why of actions (Ryan and Deci, 2000). There must be some outcomes that women wish to accomplish by having white skin. It is expected that external motivations that motivate women to pursue brighter skin. *Extrinsic motivation* is a construct that pertains whenever an activity is done in order to attain some separable outcome (Ryan and Deci, 2000). By acquiring deeper understanding in what motivate women, researcher wish to confirm the factors that have been playing significant roles in shaping consumers' mindset related to having brighter complexion skin, whether it is the advertisement, mass media, environment, or its country's own culture.

Cultural Perspective

The word beauty seems to be global but the standard of beauty turns to be different across cultures (Fallon, 1990). For example, the emerging trend for brown tanned skin in the US while skin tone preference has changed from yellow complexion to white complexion in Indonesia. However, according to a study of the Human Relations Area Files more than 20 years ago, of 312 different cultures, 51 used skin color as a criterion of beauty, and all but four prefer lighter skin (Van den Berge and Frost, 1986). In Asia per se white complexion skin is more preferred due to some kinds of belief that brighter skin not merely affects the women's beauty but also affects marital prospects, social status, and earning potential. Beauty ideal of white skin predates colonialism and the introduction of western notions of beauty (Wagatsuma, 1967). During the colonial era, and arguably before and after as well, rather than a homogenizing blending of skin color, there has instead been an attempt to distinguish the dark other as "primitive" and inferior, thereby supporting the mission of the light skinned colonialist to conquer and control the natives of Africa, America, Australia, New Zealand, and Polynesia (Torgovnick, 1990). This "light at the top" phenomenon spread across time and nations, as everything related to western are regarded as modern and desirable (Kinmonth, 1981) at the present. It is also reinforced by the mass media such as movie and advertisement which in fact, are dominated by western.

Talking about culture, it seems to be very useful to define the culture dimensions to clarify the discussion topic. Culture is defined as an integrated system of learned, shared ideas (thoughts, ideals, and attitudes), behaviors (actions), and material artifacts (objects) characteristic of a group (Jordan, 2010). This research will refer to Hofstede's cultural dimensions as the fundamental assumption. Hofstede classified culture into four dimensions: Power Distance, Individuality, Masculinity, and Uncertainty Avoidance. According to Hofstede's classification, Indonesia scored high in power distance, low in individualism (collectivism), low in masculinity (femininity), and low medium uncertainty avoidance as shown in the table below.

Culture is translated into various aspects of life in very subtle ways. Indonesia is high in the score of power distance, which means that individuals in the society are not equal. As previously mentioned before, western imperialist tried to create classification based on the skin color during their colonization era and this effort seemed to be strengthened in Indonesia since it is socially acceptable that power is distributed unequally (de Mooij, 2010). Based on previous survey result, in the high power distance culture physically attractive women are more valued by men (de Mooij, 2010). Thus, people are well-groomed, in particular when going out in the streets since the position in the social hierarchy is defined by the clothes they wear, shoes, posture, and make up. Along with media's inclination to project what is beautiful based on white skinned Caucasian's beauty standard, Indonesian people are expected to accept this classification and pursue brighter skin to achieve higher social status. Thus, they are assumed to feel the relevance of whitening product in their life.

Indonesia is scored low in individualism, in other word, it has a collectivism culture. The fundamental issue addressed by this dimension is the degree of interdependence a society maintains among its members. There is high preference for a strongly defined social framework in which individuals are expected to conform to the ideals of the society and the in-groups to which they belong. As the proliferation of skin clinic and whitening product in Indonesia confirming that Indonesian society

accepted that whiter skin represents beauty, it is expected that people are striving to pursue whiter skin due to the need to conform to the ideal of the society.

FIGURE 1
HOFSTEDE'S CULTURAL DIMENSION SCORE FOR INDONESIA
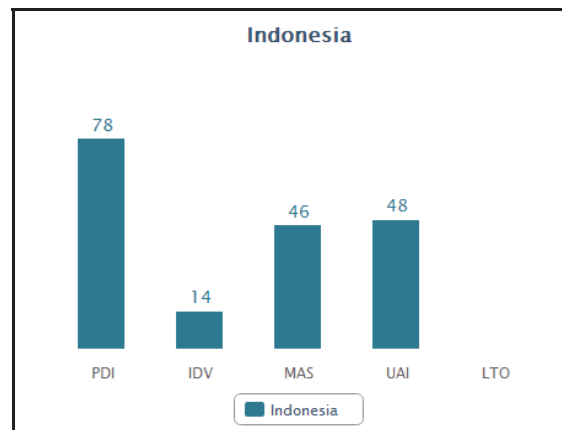
The next culture dimension to be discussed is masculinity dimension in which Indonesia scored low (femininity culture). The fundamental issue in this dimension is what motivates people, wanting to be the best (masculine) or liking what you do (feminine). One of important aspects represent this culture is in the role differentiation in this case as exemplified by de Mooij (2010) in term of appearance, in masculine culture men must be real men while women should accentuate femininity. In this case women are preferable by having smooth fine white skin. However, despite the proliferation of whitening products, Indonesia is scored low in masculinity. Thus, it is expected that masculinity aspect doesn't stand behind the relevance of whitening product to Indonesian women.

Uncertainty avoidance, as the last cultural dimension to be discussed, is defined as the extent to which people feel threatened by uncertainty and ambiguity and try to avoid these situations. Uncertainty avoidance dimension affects various aspects of life, namely in the importance of personal appearance. For example, Japanese with high uncertainty avoidance are very much concerned about how nicely they are dressed and judged people by clothes while Chinese with low uncertainty avoidance are not (de Mooij, 2010). As having white complexion skin is regarded as beautiful (Redmond, 2003), it can be concluded that white skin supports someone's appearance. Thus, it is expected that Indonesians with relatively moderate uncertainty avoidance, will have preference to white skinned women. However, this culture dimension only moderately influences the preference of white skinned women.

Self-Esteem

From the psychological perspective, we will focus on personal self-esteem. Based on Neff and Vonk (2009) over the years psychologists have offered many different definitions of self-esteem (Swann, 2007; Chang-Schneider, 2007; McClarty, 2007) and described its various subtypes such as domain specific self-esteem (Harter 1999), contingent self-esteem (Crocker et al., 2003), stable self-esteem (Kernis, 2005), and so on. Current understandings of global self-esteem are largely consistent with early formulations proposed by William James (1890/1983), who defined self-esteem as the degree to which the self is judged to be competent in life domains deemed important, and Charles Horton Cooley (1902/1964), who argued that self-esteem stems not only from self-evaluations but also the perceived evaluations of others.

Research conducted by Makkar and Strube (1995), personal self-esteem has significant moderating effect in the black women's self-perception. Other studies on social comparison indicates that people with high self-esteem are more likely view their selves favorably compared to others than those with low self-esteem (Wood and Taylor, 1991). High self-esteem is also related to the perception of uniqueness,

suggesting that a potentially threatening comparison to a beauty ideal may be viewed as less relevant. In other words, self-esteem may play a powerful role in self-perceptions of attractiveness by providing a general protection against comparison to an unrealistic beauty standard. As our research purpose is to gain insight related to consumers' perceived personal relevance of whitening product, self-esteem framework will be used as guidance in probing the respondents.

Actual and Ideal Self-concept

Self-concept has been defined as the totality of the individual's thoughts and feelings having reference to themselves as subjects as well as objects (Malhotra, 1988: 7). Another definition of self-concept refers to Graeff (1996) who defined self-concept as a person's perception of his own abilities, limitations, appearance, and characteristics, including his own personality. According to Rogers (1951: 501), the concept of self is composed of such elements as the perceptions of one's characteristics and abilities; the percepts and concepts of the self in relation to others and to the environment; the value qualities which are perceived as associated with experiences and objects; and goals and ideals which are perceived as having positive or negative valence. Self-concept literature has referred to the self in a multidimensional manner (e.g. Hughes, 1976; Malhotra, 1988; Sirgy, 1982). Such findings have allowed researchers to examine the role of multiple self-concepts in consumer behavior (e.g. Graeff, 1997; Ibrahim and Najjar, 2008; Kang, 2004; Malar et al., 2011; Malhotra, 1988).

Due to the multifaceted nature of self-concept, two aspects of self-image (actual and ideal) were examined in the current study. Actual self is the way in which a person sees himself now. Ideal self is the way in which a person would like to see himself. Social self is the way in which a person believes others see him. The treatment of the self-concept through multiple dimensions has allowed researchers to expand the role and importance of such self-images in consumer behavior. It is found in the previous research that skin complexion conveys different images or meaning in the eyes of individuals from different culture. As those images could represent either ideal or actual self-concepts, it is relevant to incorporate self-concept theory in analyzing the data. It is researcher's interest to know what images Indonesians attached to white skin complexion and whether they pursue to have brighter skin complexion in order to achieve their ideal self-concept despite their actual self-concept.

Semiotics

Semiotics analysis has been used in some research to understand the meaning people attached to skin whiteness as research conducted by Li, Eric P.H. et al. (2008) that utilized content analysis and semiotics analysis altogether to explore the notion of white skin in four Asian societies. Wagatsumasurveyed (1967) that Japanese men valued white skin as a significant element in judging the beauty of Japanese women and associated it with femininity, chastity, purity, moral, virtue, and motherhood. The term of '*mochi-hada*' (skin like pounded rice) had sexual connotation for Japanese men. In China, the idiom "one white covers-up three ugliness" still has currency. Most of the portraits of goddess and Budha have white skin. In Korean culture, related to *Shamanism,* a person with white skin is respected and has been told that they look noble. In the old *Koryo* dynasty (918-1392), children washed their faces with peach flower water to make their skin clean, white, and transparent, and girls before marriage were desperate to have white skin. Even for men, the skin complexion of a noble man was almost always expressed as being like pale jade (Jeon, 1987 in Li et al., 2008). In India culture, black is a symbol of underprivileged people and is associated with "dark", "dirty", "wrong", "hell", and "unfairness" while white skin is always associated with positive messages in Indian and Hindu culture. It is taken as a sign of "beauty", "purity", "cleanliness", and "happiness" and is symbol of power and privilege (Arif, 2004).

In line with other four countries, Hong Kong people regard skin tone difference as an essential categorizing mechanism alongside other social stratifying agents such as class, gender, and age. In this respect, the group's opinions reinforced the myth of skin whiteness with their almost 'instinctual' preference for a pale complexion and its associated social connotations, be it in positive admiration or damning stigmatization (Leong, 2006). In sum, "whiteness" is an important sign in presenting a constructing beauty in many non-white cultures. Also, whiteness is associated with perception of gender,

virtue, and cultural identity. Desires for "whiteness", under this chain of associations, is pursued for mixed reasons by women in everyday life (Li and Eric, 2008). Therefore, one the objectives of this research are to explore meanings related to white skin in Indonesians context.

METHODOLOGY

Since the preference to white-skinned people is fueled by the meaning that people attribute to the lightness or darkness of others' complexion that is not always cognitive essentially, we propose the exploitation of ZMET (Zaltman Metaphor Elicitation Technique) which utilize the metaphor and conventional laddering to create and to understand the content and the structure of consumers' mental map. Fundamentally, by using ZMET we will understand the cognitive structures or mental model that underlies consumer's feeling of involvement with white complexion skin which is revealed through consumers' perceived personal relevance of products or services (Christensen and Olson, 2002). This mental model will organize and guide consumers' thinking, their emotional reactions, and their overt behavior regarding the products or brand.

Cognitive structures or mental model is defined as interpreted meanings of a product or brand. As consumers acquire new knowledge and interrelate it with existing knowledge in memory, they are assumed to form cognitive structures in memory. In this research, the term mental model is preferred over cognitive structures because cognitive structure implies that all representations are cognitive. However, mental model includes other meaning representations such as attitude, feelings and emotions, symbols, actions, goals, personal values, images, memories of past consumption events, consumptions visions of anticipated experiences, and representation of sensory experience such as touch, taste, and smell.

There will be 10 respondents in Yogyakarta selected to conduct ZMET who are highly involved and highly concern with having white skin complexion. The reason why we choose highly involved respondents is because high involvement often (but not always) correlates with high product knowledge and expertise (Christensen and Olsen, 2001). Besides, highly involved respondents are likely to have rather elaborate and complex mental models surrounding the white skin related concept and will provide researcher with a rich source of meaning from which to draw for elaborating the meaning of white complexion skin for Indonesian respondents. To evaluate respondents' level of involvement, all respondents were asked about the activities they performed to get brighter skin complexion. The more intensive their attempts, the higher degree of involvement it is expected from individuals. Although this evaluation is deemed subjective compared to Personal Involvement Inventory (PII) of Zaichowsky commonly used in this research method. This preference is due to high-context culture characteristic belong to Indonesians that may inhibit respondents to express their ideas and values in a direct manner, such as answering question items in PII. Therefore, personal approach and friends of friend' recommendation were used to select respondents in this research. However, we did utilize PII of Zaichowsky before getting into the ZMET process to confirm the potential respondents' high involvement in pursuing for brighter skin complexion.

Approximately one week prior to the interview, each participant will be contacted and asked to collect eight to ten photographs or pictures from any resources that represent what the importance or the meaning of having white complexion skin. Thus, the participants have full authority and control of the stimuli that will be used in the next guided conversation (Zaltman and Coulter, 1995). Respondents will participate in the depth interview that will be conducted by three interviewers who were trained in the ZMET methodology and experienced with conducting ZMET interviews that last 1,5 up to 2 hourseach. The interviews follow closely to several steps in the ZMET method as described by Zaltman (1997). The interviewer began by asking the respondent to choose their first picture and explain how the image represents his or her feeling about having white complexion skin. To ensure understanding, the interviewers also use reflexive interviewing techniques such as restating informants' comments and summarizing to ensure comprehensiveness (Athos and Gabarro, 1978). Once the informant's meaning is well understood, the interviewer uses laddering probes to see how the ideas expressed are linked to other self-relevant consequences and concepts. Then these super ordinate ideas are explored to assure

understanding. This process continues until the most super ordinate value or goal states are identified and detailed for that picture. This probing and questioning process is repeated until all the respondents' pictures are explored. In this way the ZMET interview "fleshes out" and details the meaning of important components in the mental model or meaning structure, all in the voice of the respondent.

Transcripts of the interview were produced for the data analysis. The process included recording participants' metaphorical expressions, developing thematic categories, abstracting thematic categories to conceptual metaphor, and identifying deep metaphor (Coulter et al., 2001). It is mainly based on narrative analysis of the stories contained in the interview transcripts (Riessman, 1993; Stern, 1995). The content of the qualitative data can be conceptually analyzed on the basis of theories previously discussed in this paper. It may be linked theoretically to earlier research relevant to research topic (Flick, 1998; Ryan and Bernard, 2000).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

By analyzing the transcripts derived from interviews, using the data analysis method described earlier, the current research reach several key finding as explained below.

Result 1.Cultural Perspective

According to Hofstede's Cultural dimensions, Indonesia is categorized as having large power distance in which powerful members of a society accept and expect that power is distributed unequally (de Mooij, 2010). In large power distance cultures, one's social status must be clear so that others can show proper respect. In large power distance cultures, people are well-groomed, in particular when going out in the streets as your position in the social hierarchy is defined by the clothes you wear, your shoes, your posture, and your make up (de Mooij, 2010). As other appearance related attributes, skin complexion serves that purpose. White skin complexion is associated with high social and economy status and *vice versa*. The rationality behind is that higher social and economy status allows people to travel around by car and prevent them from sunlight exposure thus they are more likely to have brighter skin complexion than lower level one. In recent days, higher social and economy people are pursuing brighter skin complexion by having skin treatment and medication by routinely attending the beauty clinics that (normally) costs a lot of money. It makes the sense that white skin complexion only affordable for them. Therefore, people expect that white skin complexion belongs to higher social and economy level.

Indonesia scored moderate in masculinity dimension. Masculinity dimension is manifested through the need of togetherness, modesty, and the need to be stand out. As generally Indonesians have yellow to brown (dark but not black) skin complexion, apparently there is a need to pursue brighter skin complexion as people perceive white skin color better than darker one. Respondents also explicitly stated that by having brighter skin color, they will receive privilege from others (i.e. from friends at school, from others in a random situation, etc.). However, they declined to have western-look white skin instead they prefer the Asian-look white skin. It can be inferred that although they need to appear better than others, it is within the range of congruity they perceived as Asians. Korean and Indonesian artists instead of western ones were mentioned to be their role model. Another important aspect of masculinity dimension is the role differentiation: small in feminine societies, large in masculinity societies (de Mooij, 2010). In high masculinity dimension country, males can who take female jobs will be regarded as sissy. Similarly in this research, Indonesian females perceive that white skin complexion to the optimum level is compatible for females while to a certain level can be pursued by males. As they associate white-skin with some feminine characteristics such as beauty, sexy, feminine, and gentle, males whose white skin color as bright as female or even brighter are assumed to be not "a real man". Thus, they suggested males not to have similar level of skin complexion with females in order to maintain the masculine characteristics yet it is still preferable to have brighter skin tone than average other Indonesian males.

Those two aforementioned dimensions are closely related to the individuality dimension. Indonesia scored low in individuality dimension which means that Indonesians belong to collectivity culture in which people give priority to relationship with people than to the task, they identify themselves based on

the social system to which they belong, and avoiding loss of face is important. Therefore it is plausible that parents (especially mother), boyfriend, and friends influenced their attitude and behavior in pursuing brighter skin color. Mothers play significant role in initiating the idea of taking routine treatment as well as recommend certain brands of beauty clinics or dermatologists. Besides, mothers also provide the fund needed to attend the beauty clinic and get proper medication to have brighter skin complexion. Friends and boyfriends were found to shape opinion regarding white skin complexion. They share information amongst them about the beauty clinics and the efficacy of the products they use in actualizing the dream skin color. In addition, boyfriends were found to provide supports in term of motivating and financial support to their spouse. As Indonesia belongs to collectivist culture, there is a strong need to fulfill social demand and expectations. Therefore, people pursue brighter skin complexion to please others and satisfy others' expectation.

Results 2. Motivation

In line with the aforementioned conjecture, this research found that people expressed some reluctant engaging in the process due to its complicated procedures, time limitation, and expensive costs. As intrinsic motivation is defined as the doing of an activity for its inherent satisfactions rather than for some separable consequences (Ryan and Deci, 2000) we can conclude here that Indonesians are not intrinsically motivated to pursue brighter skin complexion. Indonesians view having brighter skin as an instrument to achieve other outcomes or terminal values such as self-confident, success in career as well as in love life, acceptance and admiration from others. They associate white skin complexion with several positive associations such as beauty, cleanliness, feminine characteristics, and high social and economy status. Therefore by having brighter skin, they feel more confidence in communicating and making relationship with others as well as performing any job assignments. As they believe that self-confident is important in order to achieve success, thus having brighter skin complexion is believed to be one of the success factors. Besides, it is expected that white-skinned people get more privilege than darker one in society (e.g. others tend to behave more nicely in front of white skinned people, interviewer tend to value white skinned interviewee higher than darker skinned one, colleagues and friends tend to treat more friendly and favorably).

In romantic life, Indonesian women perceive Asian men generally prefer white-skinned women more than the darker one and therefore they strive to fulfill the presumed-expectation perceived to be more attractive in the eyes of Asian men, thus easily engage in a romantic relationship. Asian men are found to provide financial support as well as time and efforts to facilitate their girlfriends in the attempts to achieve brighter skin color such as spending time to accompany their girlfriend during the treatment process, providing fund to buy whitening products, and explicitly encourage their girlfriend to get beauty treatment. Men who do not explicitly state their preference toward white-skinned women are found to express positive attitude toward brighter skin color than darker one. In conclusion, there is a tendency that Indonesians women extrinsically motivated to pursue brighter skin color to please their partners.

According to Self-Determination Theory (SDT), extrinsic motivation can vary greatly in the degree to which it is autonomous. The higher the degree of autonomous, the more personal endorsement and feeling of choice involved in performing certain activities (Ryan and Deci, 2000). Therefore, people whose high-degree of autonomous value and self-regulated the activities and thus they do not need external pressure to carry out the activity. The process in which individuals taking in a value or regulation, and integration by more fully transform the regulation into their own so that it will emanate from their sense of self is called internalization. Thought of as a continuum, the concept of internalization describes how one's motivation for behavior can range from a motivation or unwillingness, to passive compliance, to active personal commitment. With increasing internalization (and its associated sense of personal commitment) come greater persistence, more positive self-perceptions, and better quality of engagement.

Apparently in Indonesia, individuals who mentioned external motives in pursuing brighter skin have realized the positive values of having brighter skin complexion. None of the respondents stated their objection or reluctance to undergo the process for having brighter skin. They do admit that people tend to evaluate positively toward bright-skinned, including their personal opinions.

Results 3.Ideal and Actual Self-concept

At times a consumer may wish to express his ideal self-image through a purchase decision when he is uncomfortable with his actual self-image or if his actual self-image is negatively portrayed (Landon, 1974). Besides, evaluating a given object is highly affected by whether or not it is likely to enhance one's self-image toward an ideal state. There is the human tendency to aspire toward upgrading oneself to an ideal state (Hong and Zinkhan, 1995: 73) and, therefore, consumers will show preference for certain objects which exhibit a stronger congruency to their ideal self-image.

It is found out that respondents in this research expressed their negative attitude toward dark skin color although generally accepting that their natural skin color (as Indonesian) is not as bright as local artists or Korean celebrities. In addition, they explicitly stated that having brighter skin complexion allows them to feel more positive sense about themselves and indirectly generate self-confident as they associate white-skinned individuals with several positive characteristics, especially for women (i.e. feminine, beauty, high social and economy status, clean and fresh).

On the other hand, Indonesians hold the beliefs that Asians especially Indonesians prefer brighter/white skinned person rather than darker one and associate brighter skin color with several positive images and *vice versa*. Thus, by having bright skin color tend to fulfill the existing gap between ideal self and social-self. Social-self is defined as the way in which a person believes others see him. Therefore, as people believe that other individuals see him/her not in the way he/she wants, he/she will utilize certain instruments to help him/her to enhance the social-self that they perceive to be seen by others. In this study, white skin complexion performs as an instrument that helps individuals to enhance their images in the eyes of others.

In relation with actual and ideal self-concept, another concept of self is proposed in this research that is self-esteem. As Indonesia belongs to collectivistic culture, the concept of self is different from its individualistic counterparts. According to collectivistic model of the self, persons are fundamentally interdependent with one another. The self can't be separated from others and the surrounding social context. Members of collectivistic cultures conceive of the self as part of the group to which they belong. As explained before, having brighter skin complexion is expected to allow individuals to fulfill social demands (i.e. friends, mother, and boyfriend) and gain respect as well as dignity. Researchers concluded that self-esteem represents individuals' perceived ability to enhance actual self to accomplish intended ideal- self as well as social-self. High self-esteem individuals will not see the needs to perform such self-enhancement activities since they believe that they could already meet the ideal self and social self. On the contrary, low self-esteem individuals will tend to perform such self-enhancement activities to help them to fulfill the perceived gap exists between actual self and ideal self or social self. In this research, it is found that respondents pursue brighter skin complexion when they see the gap between actual self and ideal-self, and they see this activity as self-enhancement activity or an instrument. As they perceive high self-esteem due to the fulfillment of the perceived existing gap, they see this activity as maintenance of this balance state.

Results 4. Semiotics

Indonesians associate white skin complexion with various positive images such as beauty, clean, soft and gentle, freshness, sweet, as well as natural perfumed fragrance. However, beauty and clean were two most common images mentioned by respondents. For women, white skin complexion is deemed as one characteristic of beauty in addition to soft and gentle. While for men, cleanliness is apparently to be the ideal image they want to convey publicly by having brighter skin tone. As no negative associations mentioned by respondents in the interview, it is hypothesized that Indonesians hold positive attitude toward having white skin complexion and thus performing activities to pursue brighter skin.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In conclusion, pursuing brighter skin complexion has been bounded immensely to cultural, social and

also personal values hold by Indonesians. They believe that being white-skinned can serve personal goals as well as social expectation. Supported by the fact that Indonesia belongs to collectivist and high power distance culture, their beliefs are easily reinforced to real actions by intensive advertisement, campaign, and low-cost promotion. However, being white-skinned individuals not only acts as instrument to achieve several related ideal images and achievement but also acts as terminal goal due to its positive associations. We proposed a research model to be tested in further research. The model includes variables such as personal values and beliefs as independent variables as well as extrinsic motivation as the dependent variable and self-esteem as moderator variable.

FIGURE 2
PROPOSED RESEARCH FRAMEWORK
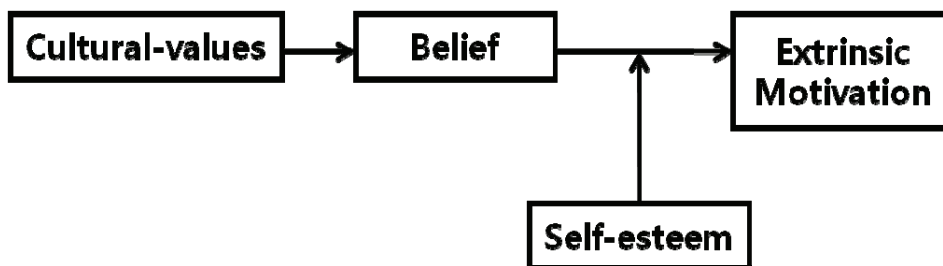
Culturally caused consumer value differences which also caused consumer behavior differences (Erdem, 1999; Oumlil, 1999; Tuncalp, 1999), therefore people from different countries are expected to hold different culturally caused consumer values and it leads to different behaviors. This proposition statement is also supported by Henry (1976) as he found that values implicit in a culture may affect consumption motives and the choice of what is or is not valued.

In addition, the degree of self-esteem will affect individuals' motivation to pursue brighter skin. As individuals perceive that there is a gap between ideal or social self and actual self (lower self-esteem), the more their effort to eliminate the gap by performing certain activities to get their skin color brighter. Cultural values were found to promote individuals' beliefs to become motivations in order to perform activities related to brightening one's skin color. Beliefs and cultural values variables here are country specific, thus it is expected that the research framework can be used in different cultural background. On the other hand, self-esteem is individual specific thus this model is expected to describe individual differences well.

Further researches are recommended to test this model thoroughly across different cultures. Understanding the underlying cognitive factors of individuals will allow policy maker as well as advertiser to design campaign that promotes their interest at best. Advertiser can reinforce potential consumer to direct purchase by addressing cultural and psychological issues mentioned above. While policy makers, as they gain the understanding of this issues, they will be able to insert the findings in creating counter attempts, such as social campaign and embedding self-esteem enhancement in the education system.

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