

# How Does Conformity Psychology Affect Online Consumption Behaviors in China?

## A Case Study of Singles' Day Shopping Festival

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### ABSTRACT

Nowadays, as the development of science and technology and the popularization of the Internet, more and more people buy commodities online on Singles' Day. There must be some reasons that why consumers pay so much attention to Singles' Day and it has such large sales. Therefore, this article aims to introduce the current phenomenon of the Singles Day then introduces three ways that Alibaba uses for Singles' Day which is celebrity endorsements, product comments and hungry marketing. And it focuses on the comparison of these three ways by using the theories and data in order to show the conformity psychology is a major factor influencing people to buy goods. However, there is research gap between the previous and current studies and no directly comparison between different marketing strategies. Thus, the combination of figures and theories will be used to infer the final conclusion. In addition, the suggestions would be given on both sides: the sellers and consumers. The conclusion shows the conformity psychology accounts for a proportion of determining and dominant whether people would like to buy goods.

**Keywords:** *Conformity Psychology, Consumer Behaviors, Online, Consumption.*

### 1. INTRODUCTION

With the development of science and technology, people are more inclined to buy products online than they did offline ten years ago. Compared with physical stores, now people prefer to download some shopping platforms like Taobao to buy products. Especially on Chinese Singles' Day, now more and more people tend to buy large quantities of goods or stock up some daily necessities.

The main reason that I choose this question is that I would like to know if conformity psychology plays a vital role in comparison of other psychological factors on Single's Day festival in Chinese modern society and if it is dominating the market. In March 1998, China's first successful online transaction marked the beginning of e-commerce. Thus, the market consumption is becoming more important for us to learn and explore. The research shows that nowadays people tend to buy a product which is endorsed by their idols or stars[1]. On

the other hand, it will be a very useful way to increase their profits and profile if the businesses use people's conformity psychology to sell products. But some undesirable factories may reduce their overhead and produce poor-quality goods in order to attain maximize profits. Since the influence of consumer conformity and its spread scope is broad, we should study and avoid some adverse influence in time.

Therefore, this dissertation is written about how conformity affects people's shopping spree on Singles' Day. In order to investigate this, I have divided a big question into several categories. Firstly, I would like to analyze the background of Chinese modern online phenomenon. I would like to know more about conformity psychology include the basic theory that relevant to my topic and introduce the definitions of three strategies that businesses rely on. In the discussion part, I would like to explore some marketing strategies in Singles' Day shopping festival. And I am going to give suggestions for the both consumers and businesses aspects based on the analyzed result of this project. To conclude, I want to use theories and data available and combine them with my ideas to figure out whether the

conformity psychology is the biggest part that involved in online consumption decision making.

## 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

### 2.1 Online shopping in China

The report of CNNIC shows that by March, 2020, the number of Internet users in China has reached 904 million, with an Internet penetration rate of 64.5%[2]. Because of the enhancement of living standard and income, almost everyone has the mobile phone to use the internet.

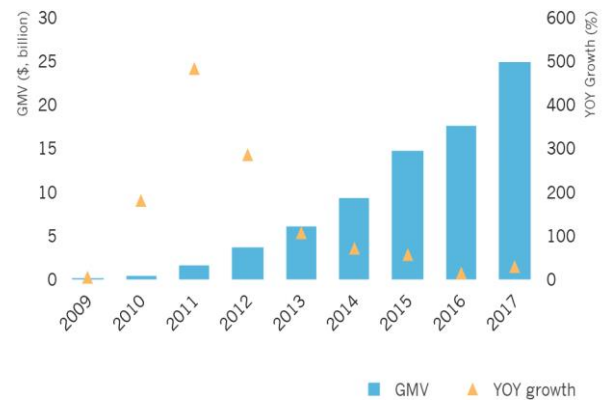
By March 2020, the number of online shopping users in China reached 710 million, up 16.4% from the end of 2018, accounting for 78.6% of the total number of Internet users. The research of Donthu shows that the reason why online consumers are more impulsive is that they face a stimulating environment with more convenient transactions and richer information[3].

More and more people are using the internet platform to shop, which is the fast delivery and convenient way to make people pay more attention to the online market.

### 2.2 Singles' Day shopping Festival

Online shopping festival has become a major festival for consumers to participate in shopping activities, and it is gradually accepted by consumers at home and abroad, while the shopping behavior of consumers in online shopping festival has also become a research hot spot[4]. Singles' Day is one of the most popular shopping carnival which originated from the 1990s as an anti-Valentine's Day by a group of Chinese college students; however, Alibaba began to use it to promote discounts at retailers on Taobao mall (Tmall) e-commerce platforms. At that time, the number of merchants and promotion efforts involved were limited, but the turnover far exceeded the expected effect. Therefore, November 11 became the fixed date for Tmall to hold large-scale promotion activities. Singles' Day has become an annual event in China's e-commerce industry and is gradually influencing the international e-commerce industry. In 2015, Alibaba CEO Zhang Yong said in the live link of the gala that Tmall's Singles' Day gala brought millions of interactive volume to Tmall. During the gala, the number of newly registered users of Tmall client was more than 20 times that of normal ones. This directly helped the number of visitors to mobile Taobao on the "Single's Day" exceed the peak last year, reaching 130 million[5]. As of March 2018, mobile Taobao ranked first in the category with a market penetration rate of 55.8%. Moreover, the e-commerce matrix of Alibaba app is wide, and among

the top ten market penetration rate, four apps belong to Alibaba [6]. The sales volume on the day of "Singles' Day" in 2018 reached \$30.8 billion, more than 4,000 times of the sales volume of "Singles' Day" in 2009, and more than the sales volume of Alibaba in the whole quarter of 2018[7]. On November 11, 2019, Alibaba's Tmall Singles' Day started, and the turnover exceeded 1 billion in 14 seconds. Then turnover exceeded 10 billion yuan in one minute and 36 seconds and the total sales on Singles' Day reached 268 billion[8]. And the China's online retail sales totaled 10.6 trillion yuan in 2019 with the average 28.4 billion every day[9], which Singles' Day occupied exceed 2% of the turnover of a whole year. Thus, it can be seen that the annual sales volume of the Singles' Day shopping festival is breaking records every year, and the trend of online shopping increase is becoming more and more obvious.



**Figure 1** 2009-2017 the Singles' Day GMV

### 2.3 Conformity psychology

A scholar named Wilkie[10] defined conformity in 1994: 'In order to get the recognition of group members and meet the expectations of the group, consumers show a similar purchase intention to most members and adopt similar behaviors.'

Conformity refers to the phenomenon that individual ideas and behaviors change to the direction consistent with the majority due to the direct or implied guidance or pressure of the group[11]. Asch proved the existence of conformity in the experiment of judging the length of lines, indicating the influence of group norms or adoption of majority opinion on individuals[12]. So according to these definitions, we can see most of the people value the opinions of those around them and try to look consistent with the actions of those around them. It makes people seem irrational. For those people, they want to keep up with the trend and when a lot of people buy the same thing, they will feel a sense of crisis. For instance, persons like to buy the products that there are high sales on the online platforms such as Taobao, which is the conformity

psychology on shopping. Psychologically, this behavior is known as the 'Bandwagon Effect'.

According to the research of social psychology, there are two main reasons for conformity: one is informational conformity, the other is normative conformity[13]. Informational conformity motivation refers to an individual's willingness to listen to others in order to form a correct interpretation of reality. Some social media influencers like bloggers or Internet celebrities will introduce the useful features of the product. In this way, through the promotion of social networking platforms, more and more people will be attracted by the introduced functions, leading to the conformity buying mentality of viewers. Normative conformity motivation means that an individual listens to the opinions of others in order to meet the expectations of others or groups, with the purpose of obtaining rewards or avoiding punishment[14]. It is considered that the factors influencing conformity behavior can be divided into four characteristics: personal characteristics, group characteristics, brand characteristics and work or situation characteristics[15]. The personal reason is a subjective factor, such as the different education received in the growth process, or influenced by the family and friends around, will determine a certain extent that the persons are easy to be influenced by others and have their own opinions. Those who are not sure of themselves tending to be influenced by others, and their conformity behavior increased to the level of self-doubt. Then the group characteristics are a form of culture that is generally sought after or enjoyed by the masses. When people don't know much about the situation, they usually observe the behavior of others first, which also explains why people follow the current trend of shopping online. As for brand, it is a tool for consumers to identify product quality. For example, the rich people tend to buy luxury goods with high price and low performance just because the brand is well-known and they want to gain attention on others. The last one is situation characteristics, as mentioned above, too much media exposure on social media or televisions can make a strong sense of impression on people, leading to a product boom and people flocking to buy it.

#### **2.4 Theories for conformity behavior**

Oxford Language defines marketing as the action or business of promoting and selling products or services, including market research and advertising[16]. Therefore, many scholars have developed variable theories based on the conformity psychology.

#### **2.5 Opinion leadership**

Opinion leaders have long been used in marketing to assist firms introduce new products or to raise

awareness in a target market[17]. Their influence upon other consumers has been recognized by their inclusion in some models of the consumer decision making process. Opinion leaders have also been defined as a type of interpersonal communication that have an influential position in the flow of information and influence in personal networks[18]. There have been several hundred studies that have attempted to define opinion leadership in terms of demographic, psychographic and socio-economic variables, media exposure, social positions and personality traits[19]. In marketing management, marketing by means of group publicity and advertising is actually to use people's conformity to induce consumption behavior. Fiske argues that "fans are excessive readers whose input into the text is active, passionate, fanatical and participatory"[20]. Recent debate has focused on measuring the influence of opinion leaders on opinion seekers, or those people who are searching for information to either raise their awareness about a product or who are seeking an opinion on a product they may wish to purchase. This is where opinion leadership is thought to have its greatest influence on consumers[21].

#### **2.6 The word of mouth**

The research from Amst defines that the word of mouth is a kind of informal information exchange and communication behavior, and the communication behavior is able to provide a sensory information communicators and recipients, organization, brand of product and service of a kind of communication, communicator and here are for the benefit of business[22]. After that, more and more researchers began to pay attention to the impact of word of mouth on consumers' purchasing decisions, and gradually expanded the connotation of word of mouth. Academia no longer confines the concept of word of mouth to informal oral communication between consumers, but believes that word of mouth is the feedback and recommendation after consumers make purchasing decisions, and such communication information can either positively express consumers' satisfaction or negatively express consumers' complaints[23]. The uncertainty, complexity and diversity of network information, as well as the variability of network environment, make users unable to judge the information about merchants through their own feelings. Merchants and potential consumers can obtain the basic and feedback information related to the product or service experience through the word of mouth of a business which is a good way to help them judge and make decisions.

**2.7 The law of scarcity**

In western economics, the scarcity theory is a market law that describes the relationship between supply and demand. For those within the purchasing power of consumers, commodity scarcity will lead to consumers snapping up commodities. This law enables many famous enterprises to win in the fierce market competition. From the perspective of social psychology, product scarcity information mainly influences customers' purchase from the following two aspects. Firstly, consumers often regard the opportunity and possibility of buying a product as a standard to evaluate the value of the product[24]. Secondly, according to the psychological reactance theory proposed by Brehm, when the product is scarce and the consumer's purchase freedom is limited and threatened, once the consumer cannot bear the loss of purchase freedom, he will have a stronger desire and impulse to possess the product than before[25]. Degraba introduced the 'buy' theory that for a product, the unknown consumers than a thorough understanding of products consumers expect value of the product has more business, more hope to sell the products to the vendor for don't know much about the product of consumers, and vendors by controlling the production to make some consumers will not buy their products, prompting consumers to know about the product of the few cases to buy its products[26]. So the ultimate purpose of it is to maintain the corporate brand image and improve the added value of commodities.

**3.DISCUSSION**

Undoubtedly, the former 'Singles' Day' has been transformed into today's shopping carnival. It even has become the leading trend of new consumption under the new economic normality. Behind this grand shopping carnival, is it the rational choice of consumers or is it the conformity behavior of consumers at work? How does the online retailer Alibaba marketing advertisements increase social attribute identity and product information judgment of consumers, thereby inspiring them to buy commodities? As the world's biggest shopping event, Chinese 'Singles' Day' in recent years has surpassed Black Friday as the world's biggest shopping event, so whether psychological factors play a role here or not? Which factor affects online consumption most?

Therefore, in the discussion part, the basic theories about the application of conformity in the Singles' Day marketing will be first analyzed. Then the data onto consumers are used to evaluate which application takes a largest account for online shopping to show the conformity psychology is the main factor that determines the people's consumption behaviors. Finally, some practical suggestions based on the above

analysis of conformity will be given to consumers and online retailers.

**3.1 Chinese online giant Alibaba: conformity in Singles' Day marketing**

The Tmall Singles' Day reached a peak of 544,000 transactions per second in 2019, a new record and 1,360 times more than the first Single's Day in 2009. The peak of Single's Day 2018 was 480,000 pens per second. Official figures show Tmall hit a peak of 544,000 transactions per second in 2019, a new record and 1,360 times more than the first Single's Day 2009[27]. The study shows that once individuals integrate into the group, their thoughts and emotions will gradually tend to one direction, which is manifested as the individual's obvious conformity behavior in the group. Therefore, Le Pen calls it "the unity law of group spirit"[28].

From the theories introduced In Literature Review, there are three major ways that are often used in online product marketing. Applications that Alibaba uses to promote their sales on Single's Day by using conformity psychology of consumers are analyzed as follows.

**3.1.1 Use celebrities to endorse their products.**

Web celebrity live broadcast with goods promotes a new economic growth point, "web celebrity economy". The emergence of web celebrity has promoted the development of the entertainment market to a large extent. All kinds of web celebrity have become the objects sought after by users. Alibaba will hold a party on Singles' Day and invite a variety of celebrities to participate in the celebration. All people accept the encouragement of consumption concept in the entertainment atmosphere, and participate in the carnival of consumption under the guidance of stars. Taobao Tmall promotes its brand values through online and offline advertising, media publicity and other activities. The Single's Day will be integrated into the consumer's life, imperceptibly affect consumers, so that the Singles' Day is an integral part of our lives.



**Figure 2** Tmall celebration

### 3.1.2 Display and increase the praise comments

In order to make people more vulnerable to the influence of conformity psychology in Alibaba, this approach is used to increase commodity information judgment. It enhances the interaction between users and businesses, which is more conducive to consumers' purchase of goods and increases user stickiness. Apart from the introduction of the goods by the owners and other customers, the quantity sold in the specific period can influence decision-making process[29]. At that time, consumers will show the tendency of conformity in many purchase decisions. In the early stage of the Singles' Day, many businesses have to brush their bills to improve their credit evaluation and trading volume. Experts who recommended the products are also useful for selling them. These recommendations are highly targeted, and usually recommend consumers to be positive. Finally with the huge promotion impetus of Tmall, after several years of continuous efforts and attempts, today's "Singles' Day" has changed from a simple promotion activity of Tmall mall to a shopping carnival for all e-commerce and consumers.



Figure 3 Display praise comment

### 3.1.3 Adopt hungry marketing strategy

During the Singles' Day, e-commerce websites are creating a tense atmosphere, using marketing methods such as "if you miss today, you will never get a better price than today" and "flash sale". At the same time, it also sets the critical price of goods, which causes visual errors to customers. During the Singles' Day, merchants limit the time, the so-called special preferential policies and even the sales quantity of products, with the purpose of creating the illusion of panic buying and prompting consumers to pay at midnight, hit the settlement network and grab orders. All the producers and sellers did the same thing within two months, that is, the price was increased by 50%, the price was reduced by 30%, but the price was actually increased.



Figure 4 Hungry marketing' slogan

### 3.2 Conformity significantly affects Chinese purchase online decision-making

Considering about the cultural background of China, the conformity psychology should be deeply rooted in modern Chinese society, because China is a society that attaches great importance of the social background and the reaction against others in communication or contact. Chinese people's lives depend on the lives of others and the lives of the social groups to which they belong. The formation of the conformity effect is closely related to the traditional feudal thought of "the mean" for thousands of years in China. In ancient China, the doctrine of the mean has always been respected, which still has great influence in modern society. Due to the words and deeds of the elders, the hearts of young children have been branded with the mark of conformity, and over time, the psychology of conformity has been formed. Therefore, this is the historical condition of conformity.

With such a huge online consumer group, the trend of people's purchase is bound to affect the market and cause people's conformity psychology which also establishes the solid and bigger foundation of Chinese online consumer market. The research of Xu shows that the social influence in Alibaba's "Singles' Day" shopping activity is the main factor affecting consumers' conformity psychology[30]. Similarly, when consumers are faced with a large amount of product information, they will think that their own information is insufficient, and the social influence will significantly influence consumers to imitate others to make shopping decisions[31]. Studies have shown that 51.3% of Chinese teenagers' willingness to consume is easily influenced by the opinions of the majority of the group[32].

According to the in-depth Research and Investment Prospect Forecast Report of China's Network Broadcast Industry from 2016 to 2020 released by China Investment Information Network, in 2015, there were nearly 200 network broadcast platforms, the number of netizens watching live broadcast was as high as 200 million, and the economic scale of network broadcast

hours was about 9 billion yuan[33]. It can be seen that the promotion scope and influence of live streaming platforms are wide. Schlosser's study analyzed the content of reviews using an experiment on online reviews, and the results showed that consumers' willingness to use online reviews to truly reflect their personal needs and experiences could be more helpful to potential consumers' purchasing decisions[34]. Kumar and Benbasat's study of Amazon.com found that online reviews significantly increased consumers' perception of the site's sociability and usefulness[35]. According to the survey conducted by CNNIC, 85.3% of consumers said they would check the product evaluation before purchase in most cases. Among them, people aged 25-35 with higher education and great potential consumption power pay more attention to commodity evaluation. According to the survey data of CNNIC, only 3.29% of the respondents insisted on their original purchase decision without being influenced by their existing opinions, and more than 90% of the respondents were influenced by different shopping evaluations[36]. Hungry marketing strategy does work well for online businesses to make quick money by taking advantage of people's conformity psychology. The concept stunt of limited edition can create hot topics with high attention and improve the degree of discussion. Then, for the first time, it was open for purchase but still limited. It has always been necessary to make an appointment to buy the new product of Xiaomi in advance, and the desire to buy it has been aroused again, thus forms a strong conformity psychology. Finally, after the interlocking steps of the previous several steps, all 100,000 of the limited number of mobile phones sold out just one minute and 30 seconds later on Singles' Day, and 148,000 users clicked to buy them in the first second of release[37]. However, hungry marketing has its own limitations. Zhang Yan pointed out that brand and quality are the two major prerequisites for enterprises to carry out hungry marketing to publicize products, and commodities or services with certain brand influence and good quality can obtain stable market profits through the use of this marketing method[38].

### ***3.3 Celebrity endorsement promotes conformity in online shopping most***

Among the three main marketing strategies analysed above, I would argue that celebrity endorsement is the most efficient way to promote conformity for online consumption behaviour. In May 2020, the China Employment Training and Technical Guidance Center (CTRTC) issued a notice on the Publication of new Occupational Information, proposing to add 10 new occupations. A new profession of "live streaming salesman" has also been added. It can be seen that the emerging consumption mode of live broadcast shopping has been welcomed by people and taken seriously by

the country. A study shows that among the 236 Weibo samples during Singles' Day, 'Tmall' appeared 150 times, 'red envelope' appeared 96 times, 'star' appeared 21 times, '50% off' appeared 12 times, 'discount' appeared 4 times, 'flash sales' appeared 3 times, 'super value' appeared 2 times, and 'promotion' appeared 0 times[39]. This shows that apart from the abstract words inherent in Tmall itself, one of the focuses of Tmall marketing is to attract the attention and participation of consumers by mentioning 'stars', which tends to show the biggest demand of consumers. Among them, the terms like 'flash sales' show the strategy of hungry marketing. So it proves that businesses pay less attention to hungry marketing. For the hungry marketing, it is a short-term strategy, while branding is a long-term strategy. Delay sales is a way of hungry marketing, but there is a study showing that delay strategy has no significant effect on customer behavior intention[40]. There are many disadvantages of hungry marketing. First, it will damage the credibility image of enterprises. Hungry marketing is essentially a deliberate manipulation of market supplies and demand by enterprises, which is contrary to modern marketing concepts. Secondly, it will consume consumers' brand loyalty. The reason why hungry marketing can continue to work is that consumers have recognition and loyalty to the brand, but more are helpless and endure, which will slowly consume their loyalty to the brand. When consumers have more choices, they will leave, and the side effects of this strategy will be concentrated[41]. Thus the celebrity endorsement is the way which is the main embodiment of following the conformity psychology to buy goods.

In addition, favorable comments did not become a more attractive incentive for netizens to choose a product, with only 18.35% of respondents preferring to buy a product because of favorable comments[42]. In the face of diversified e-commerce platforms and online commodities, netizens still maintain a rational shopping attitude and do not follow the trend to pursue well-received commodities. Alipay company released the Internet trust environment survey report shows that: 75% of Internet users to online trade to think the most value is the seller's qualification and integrity, 73% of Internet users must consider before online trading business credit, the merchants of Internet users are more willing to work with high integrity do the deal. For consumers, making fake praises reviews by merchants will seriously affect their shopping experience, and false praise will ultimately cause them to suffer losses[43].

### ***3.4 Suggestions for consumers and online retailers based on conformity psychology***

Surely, with conformity psychology customers could have the access to know and choose products

efficiently, some of which are in high quality and indeed suitable for their needs. However, if consumers are too irrational to follow blindly, those products will then have no real practical effect of them, and will only be thrown in the corner as ornaments. If some businessmen use their acquaintances to carry friends, even though the partners pretend to buy, this would create the illusion that the goods are convenient and the buyers are numerous. The consumers only feel cheated after buying, but they have no way to return the goods. So that it may cause wastes and the order for the market will be damaged. Therefore, consumers need to be independent and have good judgment. It is difficult for consumers to make a reasonable judgment due to the flood of relevant information on the market, so we must strengthen the education and training of consumers. The main purpose of consumer education and training are to cultivate rational and independent consumers. Rationality requires consumers to distinguish various kinds of information under different conditions, and to choose consumer goods that they really need and can bring satisfaction to themselves; self-reliance requires consumers to think independently and make their own judgment on relevant information, which is not easy to be influenced by others.

On the other hand, conformity in online consumption can promote the number of sales and economic development, such as the Singles' Day mentioned above, which makes a great contribution to the circulation of goods and money. This provides the society with more job opportunities such as online celebrity and online shop owners. Meanwhile, it would create more profits for businesses, which also helps them develop newer products and drives the development of social trends.

However, there are still some ways that the businesses should do under the circumstances of conformity psychology. They need to pay attention to the content itself, create brand effect the strong development of the brand can bring lasting influence over the enterprise. For example, Armani, Estee Lauder, Chanel and other Big European and American brands have a strong influence in China and even in the world. Because of their good brand effect, most users will take advantage of their social circle to spread. And the most important thing is that put an end to the false propaganda, guide rational consumption of the live webcast with cargo, many web celebrity and businesses in order to get a lot of economic benefits, often use false slogan for a wide range of publicity, such as the vast majority of web celebrity when live will exaggerate the utility of a product, but the product itself is not so powerful. Many businesses and web celebrity won a windfall in the false advertising, and this kind of false advertising were more likely to lead to impulse spending, this is not a good thing for consumers[44].

In addition, a consumption environment with positive consumption culture and rich and colorful consumption items is needed. The cultivation of rational and independent consumers is inseparable from a consumption environment with positive consumption culture and rich and colorful consumption items. Consumption culture is a very important part of social culture. It is the crystallization of the outstanding achievements of human beings in the field of consumption, the intrinsic essence of consumption and the important content of social civilization. Of course, the online businesses must create such a consumption environment with a positive consumption culture, at the same time, create more consumer goods and services that is conducive to people's physical and mental health, so that consumers can have more choices of personalized consumption. Also, relevant departments should strengthen supervision over the online consumer market, crack down on the sale of counterfeit and shoddy products, and promote the healthy and orderly development of the online consumer market.

Finally, protect the rights and interests of consumers and stabilize their expectations. A person's choice is related to his expectation and only when he has stable and long-term expectation can his behavior tend to be rational. The government should formulate detailed consumer protection laws and regulations to protect consumer sovereignty from infringement and it is more important to facilitate consumer complaints and prosecutions, give consumers completely relevant information, and reduce the cost of consumer complaints and prosecution, especially the cost of information and time. Only in this way can the consumers have stable and long-term expectations and make their behavior more rational.

#### **4. CONCLUSION**

Humans are genetically insecure animals, and we reduce our risk by following the crowd and keeping ourselves safe. Conformity psychology occupies the main area on the exchange market and it leads more people to buy goods and enjoy services. Singles' Day is a typical example of conformity psychology and the behavior is not just a facet of modern living. China has a larger population density and more traditional culture backgrounds or social behaviors, so conformity is more obvious than other countries. Instead it became from deep, old, psychological drives where conformity plays an essential role and it is simply switched on by modern life.

During Singles' Day, the conformity psychology has been used wisely by Alibaba. To be specific, celebrity endorsement, product reviews and hungry marketing all are the classic manifestations of conformity. From the analysis, celebrity endorsements can be the most readily accepted way and aroused consumers' desire to buy,

compared with hunger marketing and browsing product reviews, proving that the conformity psychology is one of the main factors influencing the consumption on Singles' Day shopping festival. Thus, both consumers and online retailers need to take the advantage of conformity knowledge to guide them to make proper decisions in online context. Therefore, to improve the way we make decisions and reduce the number of irrational decisions we may make in the future is the most vital things we can be beneficial to the learning of conformity psychology.

## **AUTHORS' CONTRIBUTIONS**

This paper is independently completed by Zixuan Zhang.

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