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PERCEPTION OF BEAUTY AND FASHIION AMONG YOUNG ADULT WOMEN IN THE CONTEXT OF CONSUMER CULTURE

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Abstract

In consumer culture, woman with her body has a particular place. Her body thus located in the centre of consumption, defined as 'missing', 'flawed' and 'insufficient'. She can remedy these deficiencies and reach ideal beauty standards through only buying commodities for her body. To reach this changing beauty and fashion perceptions, women are inclined to buy commodities that are imposed by consumer culture. To support this argument and reveal its underlying motives, 15 semi-structured interviews with British young adult women age group 18-24 were conducted. From this point of view, 'consumer culture affects the perception of British young adult women to reach the international beauty norms, and lead them to consumption for fashion' hypothesis analysed with feminist critical discourse method. Results show that British young adult women buy commodities to look different, attractive and charming. Subsequently, happiness, admirable, social approval and identity were the motivations for being fashionable.

Keywords: Consumer Culture, Fashion, Beauty, Young Adult Women, Body.

Introduction

This article is concerned with the relationship between female body, beauty and fashion within consumer culture. In consumer society, female body is formed as commodity, and placed at the centre of the consumption. In consumer society, female body, therefore, is a kind of investment according to capitalist ideology. Capitalist ideology bearers such as advertising, billboards, posters and TV fashion reality shows do not only show ideal body image, but also show how to reach and consume those images. From the perspective of these mass media, women are portrait to be tall, slim, young attractive and charming for social approval (Dittmar and Howard, 2004). Therefore women are forced to follow the fashion products, which are advertised commodities for beatification of her body. Consequently, body parts of woman (hair, eye, nose, lips, ear, neck, breast, arm, hand, nail, back, waist, belly, legs, feet, skin colour) are indispensable for the sustainability of capitalist system. Thus, beautification of her body never ends, because brand new fashion products of capitalist system should be consumed as soon as possible instead of out-of-fashion products.

Consumer culture of capitalist ideology in which famine body reshaped, firstly, portraits all problematic female body images and then to overcome these deficiencies it creates new commodities to preserve its continuity (Orbach, 1993: 17). Consumer culture via fashion, subdues the woman, and helps the reproduction of the system. Fashion, thus, has an important position in the consumer culture that carries capitalist ideology. Fashion is developed to encourage people to consume in parallel with the aim of the capitalist system (Wilson 2003: 14-49). Moreover, woman's relation with fashion and fashion industry reflects the status of woman in patriarchal capitalism (Sawchuk, 2001: 64). In his article, 'Feminism and Marxism', Marcuse (1974) states that commercialised sex in the capitalist system, which pushed woman into the second position, not only commodifies the female body, but also plays a vital role for performing exchange value on the female body. Because discourses of the capitalist system on femininity mostly include the production and consumption of fashion, make-up, garment and body (Cranny-Francis, Waring, Stavropoulos and Kirkby, 2003: 199). For this reason, the criteria of fashion never end. Always new products produced and the previous products soon after become out-of-fashion. However, the desirability of products by women forms the basement of fetishism in fashion (Buck-Morss, 1989: 119).

This research, therefore, indicates that how fashion industry affects the life of British young adult women. For this, 'consumer culture affects the perception of British young adult women to reach the international beauty norms and lead them to consumption for fashion' hypothesis analysed. For this, fashion themes are selected such as garment fashion, cosmetic surgery fashion, make-up fashion, diet fashion, and tattoo and piercing fashion. Voices of British young adult women are evaluated in each theme

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with the help of feminist critical discourse analysis. Results showed that British young adult women follow fashion to be more beautiful, to look attractive and young. Buying commodities is one of the way of hedonism, social approval, identity and fashionable. This work also proved the international beauty standards and body dissatisfaction from the voices of young adult women. Consequently, this paper revealed the relation between female body, fashion and beauty within consumer culture.

Methodology

This research is based on semi-structured interviews with fifteen British adult women who were selected with snowball sampling between the ages 18-24. The reason of taking age range is that between from 10 to 24 is called youth and young people aged 18 are treated as an adult by the law (UN, 2015; GOV.UK, 2015). Qualitative data collection with semi-structured interview is very important to reveal the compulsory fashion and beauty concept in the context of consumer culture through their voices. Their discourses about perception of beauty and fashion were analysed with Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis (FCDA).

FCDA brings Critical Discourse Analysis and Feminist Studies together for searching patriarchy, gender, power, hegemony, class, social order and ideology through discourse (Sunderland, 2004; Lazar, 2007). Patriarchal capitalist systems' ideological discourse reconstructs the women as a sex object located in the second position. The significance of FCDA lies in how gender ideology gets produced and reproduced, negotiated, and disputed in representations of social practices, in social relationships between individuals, and in individual's social and private identities through texts and talk. Verbal and written language, semiotics, gestures, and actions in texts and talks are also included in the records of FCDA (Lazar, 2007: 151).

Discourse as language use in speech and text, is a form of social practise. It is shaped ideologically and historically by the situations, institutions and social structures, but it also shapes and frames them ideologically. Thus, discourse is reproduce unequal power relations between social classes, genders, and ethnic/cultural majorities and minorities (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 258). These unequal power relations are also gendered and explored by feminist discourse analysis (FCDA) which is sub-branch of critical discourse analysis (CDA) method. Many studies in CDA accept a critical feminist view of gender relations when an analysing discourses. The purpose of feminist critical discourse analysis is to reveal complex gendered hierarchies and hegemonic power relations that are discursively produced, continued, discussed, and challenged in speech and texts (Lazar, 2007). For this reasons, the main hypothesis (consumer culture affects the perception of young adult women to reach the international beauty standards and lead them to consumption) of the research was analysed according to FCDA. Interviews took place face-to-face. They were audio-recorded and transcribed. Analysis than addressed the main research question through their discourses. For this, themes were divided into five sections; garment fashion, cosmetic surgery fashion, make-up fashion, diet fashion, tattoo and piercing fashion. Each theme is discussed within the context of participants' fashion and perception of beauty through consumer culture.

Findings

Garment fashion

Garments are not only covers our body, but also reflect our statue, identity and wealth. Every new change on clothes, every added new or changed detail, has an intended purpose (Veblen, 2003: 11). For capitalist system this purpose is profit. Through the ideology of capitalist system that instils in female body to gain others appreciation, sympathy and respect becomes an important necessity in our life (Duhm, 2009: 64). In this respect, garments have an important role for the construction of identity (Crain, 2003: 12). Veblen (2003: 47-51) calls it 'conspicuous consumption'. If a person who presents conspicuous consumption becomes the only owner of a commodity, he/she can prove that consumption is a means of being different from others. He also states that conspicuous consumption is the evidence of wealth. Briefly, consumers reflect the wealth by showing and buying expensive goods. Thus, women are always forced to buy fashionable garments for their body parts by capitalist discourse and these discourses are spread via media. 21 year old A.K. stated as "I love garments. Mostly I follow fashion from magazines, advertisement and fashion models to be fashionable".

Clothes, jewellery, shoes, bags and hair; everything is aforethought for women. Therefore, women, directed by false consciousness, do not need to worry about what to wear when going to a place. When a woman goes to a wedding or engagement, work, cafe, dining or shopping, she prefers different dresses for each occasion and the dress chosen determines her hairstyle, jewellery and shoes. The shape, colour, pattern and size of the meta-indicator to be worn are all predetermined. In that case, the ideology, 'everything cannot be worn everywhere', constantly leads women to consumption. 23 years old D.L. explained it as:

I should have lots of clothes. Different clothes for different places. For example, different clothes, shoes, hair style, accessories for work, party, date, sports or wedding. That's why I waste my money for clothing.

Besides, trendy clothes are used to express class and social identity; messages of these clothes are essentially related to how women understand their gender identity, or how they are supposed to understand (Crain 2003: 30-31). Fashion is a woman, and vice versa. Women are expected to adhere to the fashion, because women are spectacle subjects of the capitalist system. 19 years old F.M. explained as "I liked to be looked at either by women or men after clothing. I feel more beautiful when people stare at me".

Sometimes garment fashion becomes a kind of competition between women. Competition between women has been made part of the beauty myth so that women will be separated from one another (Wolf, 2002: 14). Hooks (2000: 14) states that women had been socialized as females by patriarchal thinking to see themselves as subordinate to men and in competition with one another for patriarchal approval, to look upon each other with jealousy, fear, and hatred. That's why female union is not possible within patriarchal system. 18 years old F.H. explained why she buys garments for herself as "when I dress well and buy new clothes I feel different and more beautiful from the other girls".

As it is understood that buying garment is one way of being different from other women and way of being happy. Consumer tries to reach the satisfaction through the purchase. People exhibit their bodies and clothes walking on the street. Therefore, clothes are the most important part of the self-presentation in public sphere (Crain, 2003: 314). For this reason, women obey the rules of fashion for not to be excluded. To be a real member of consumer society, being informed about fashion is the duty of everybody to know about yearly, monthly and seasonal basis changing fashion of garments, objects and automobiles. However, fashion has a deep oppressive characteristic and its punishment and reward system consists of social success and exclusion (Baudrillard, 1998: 101).

In this case, commodification of female body serves for exchange value. This exchange value gathers the idea of perfect body, pleasure and hedonism on its own, because beauty is not more than interchange signs (Baudrillard, 1998: 133). Commodities have use value as well as exchange value, but objects have only use value (Dickenson, 2007: 28-29). If a female body owns exchange value, it is called commodification of female body. Scheper-Hughes and Wacquant (2002: 2) state that concept of commodification means that body shows the economic exchange marks.

The top position reached by the commodity is its sign in the semiological meaning. In here, the differentiation power since the beginning owned by commodity is directly determined by sign/exchange value of it. To have the perfect form of the commodity, it needs to accept its hegemony as a code. At this stage, exchange value has the same value with sign/exchange value. In the magical value triangle (sign value, exchange value, sign/exchange value), humanity seems a commodity trying to increase its value (Baudrillard, 2009a: 143-148). For example, fashion comes to rescue the woman who does not know, or cannot think to buy which commodities to increase her value. The value triangle created through the fashion constitutes a world, in which a reasonable, motivated and positive human cannot escape to take part, in the sense of surplus value. Hence, the value process has an imaginary structure, because deficiency is made up and desires are carried out in it (Baudrillard, 2009a: 148-150).

Cosmetic Surgery Fashion

Some writers call cosmetic surgery as normalising, designing, masking, sculpturing, whittling, removing deficient or smoothing surplus parts. The essence of the matter; cosmetic surgery, which is used for the injured body parts of the soldiers during World War I and World War II, is no longer indispensable for women. Previously, fashion had a limited area such as hair, make-up, garments, but now it has extensive area. This area of cosmetic surgery includes body-building, liposuction, abdominoplasti, rhytidectomy, and hair transplantation (Cranny-Francis et al., 2003: 201-202). Fatness, for instance, was part of beauty in some ages, however, in the consumer society compulsory beauty is thinness. According to logic of signs, consumers can only be slim. Furthermore, beauty that models uplift fashion will be skinny and fleshless (Baudrillard, 1998: 140-141). That's why women who take an example of fashion models try to be slim just like them.

Cosmetic surgery is one of the topics, on which feminist theorists discuss. These debates have many reasons. One of them is that beauty industry gets its profit from 'interpellation' for women. The only bench mark of cosmetic surgical industry is 'before-and-after' pictures. The before-and-after picture illustrates the improvement of a person's appearance and removes the signs of ageing. It mirrors the abjection of the body subjected to surgery as an aesthetic object by emphasising the difference from the perfect body (Covino, 2004: 4-6). Another debate that feminists criticize is about cosmetic surgery industries' creation of 'false consciousness'. Cosmetic surgery industries' idea of 'false consciousness' shows old age, sagging skin, wrinkles and fat as defective or improper body. This false consciousness and pressure makes women to hate their body or unhappy if they do not have ideal body figures or proper body image. Discourse of cosmetic surgery helps unhappy women to become happy and have social identity via correction of their body by removing sagging skin, wrinkles and fat.

Another reason that women want to have cosmetic surgery is mass media (Markey and Markey, 2010). There are lots of perfect body images on media such as advertising, magazines, shows and newspapers. Standardized international beauty norms created by cosmetic surgery industry interpellate women who do not abide by those norms. Ideal body image on mass media is slim, sunburnt, sexy, charming and attractive. At the same time mass media symbolize women having these body images is the first choice of men. In this context, media impresses the idea that perfect body image is the first basic aim of being a woman. 22 years old H.Y. stated:

When I watch T.V. I see the girls very pretty, nice and slim. I feel like I have to look like them. Because if you are that much pretty people especially men will desire you more.

Women who cannot accept these deficiencies begin to hate themselves. In that case, cosmetic surgery industry comes to rescue of women who do not like themselves. Cosmetic surgery not only makes women more beautiful, but also gives a new identity through their bodies (Davis, 1995: 74-163). Thus, the beauty industry provides its profit by making its costumers believe that their bodies are less odd than the bodies others have. Their discourse promise firmer skin and renewed body instead of wrinkles, obesity and droopy skin (Covino, 2004: 4-6).

British young adult women were asked which parts of their body needs cosmetic surgery. 21 years old S.N. answers as "I want rhinoplasty. I think I will be more beautiful and attractive with cosmetic surgery". 24 years old H.M. states that "abdominoplasty will be good for me. I have wear dark clothes to hide my tummy tuck. But after cosmetic surgery I will feel confident".

24 years old D.N. explained the reasons why she wants to have cosmetic surgery as "my lips are thin, I do not like it. I want lip augmentation for attractive lips. Lips are the sexiest part that everybody can see". According to her discourse, she likes to be attractive. Being attractive means attracting all gazes upon her, becoming a spectacular object. Appearance, beauty and perfect body are located at the centre of the identity formation process of most of the women and young girls. They are taught to use their bodies to attract the others' attention and to be evaluated as a spectacular object. 21 year old F.B. does not like her body because "my height is 1.55. I always wanted to be taller. If I had chance I would have a cosmetic surgery for my height". Research participant stated that she wants to be taller. In that case, cosmetic surgery industry comes to rescue of women who do not like themselves.

Make-up fashion

Make-up cosmetics having key role for the feature of femininity are indispensable for women. Make-up cosmetics bring femininity and women together. There are lots of reasons why women make-up. One of them is that women make-up for hiding aging signs such as wrinkles and blurs. For example Beauvoir (1976) states that women hide their age through make-up against naturalness. Make-up as a kind of pressure on woman destroys naturalness, creates false beauty, commodifies her and exposes her to male gaze. Another writer Jean Baudrillard in his book 'Seduction' (2009b: 94) states that female body is bombarded by the capitalist ideology to prostitute her femininity in consumer culture, and to subject her body to the reproduction of capital. With femininity women are alienated to themselves. Signs have important position here. Strength of signs lies in their appearance and disappearance. For example, cosmetics are a means of eroding the pure beauty of the face, hiding the eyes behind more attractive eyes, effacing the lips behind more flourishing lips. Women are conscious of this change with make-up. In front of their mirrors, they must erase themselves in order to apply their make-up. After make-up, they transform themselves into a pure appearance 'denuded of meaning'.

Feminists like Stannard (1971), Lakoff and Scherr (1984), Brownmiller (1984), and Freedman (1986) criticize the idea of beautification. According to their argument, beautification is unnecessary, time wasting and costly, and eventually leads to self-dislike and an emotion of insufficiency with the developing awareness that ideal beauty was unreachable. Without make-up she may think that she is less attractive and less famine (Negrin, 2008: 56). Doane (1990: 49-50) and Rivière (1990: 94) share the same idea that womanliness is a kind of masking/camouflage, which can be worn or removed. According to them, being feminine (exaggerated make-up, décolleté dresses) is a kind of challenge to the patriarchal system that supresses woman among male rivals in a society, and is a means of protecting herself from the rage of masculinity. However, this overestimation of womanliness exposes the false nature of gender constructions (Negrin, 2008: 62).

Nowadays there are lots of make-up cosmetic products to commodify female body. These products are prerequisite for women to show themselves prettier, younger, and more attractive. Under the name of fashion, given beauty promises to women merely intend to discipline of female body. 22 years old M.L. emphasised why she buys make-up cosmetic products as "make-up is the sign of well-groomed lady. I am so either. I mostly buy eyeliner, eye shadow, rimmel, eye enhancer and lipsticks according to my skin colour".

18 years old R.M. stated that "I look attractive and beautiful with make-up. That's why I buy them". Another research participant 22 year old H.Y. stated that the reason of buying make-up cosmetics as "I have pale skin. I look healthier with make-up".

Research participants were asked what kind of make-up cosmetics they buy mostly. 21 year old F.B. stated:

I mostly buy mascara, eyeliner, eyeshadow, false lashes, palette, rimmel, eye enhancer, eyebrow pencil, eye cream, tweezers, concealer, foundation, eyelash curler, brightener, night cream, lipsticks, lip balm, lip cream, lip pencil, lip shimmer, lip plumper and lip liners.

24 years old H.M. mostly buys "creams, lotion, gel, mineral, masks for my face and mousse, foam, spray, milk for my hair".

It is understood from the voices of young adult women that make-up products are the way of being attractive, sexy and well-groomed. There are lots of products ready for consumption. Thus, capitalist ideology for disciplining of female body predetermines how to make-up before going to wedding, work, sport, party or daily life. Now make-up is precondition of beauty, because 'men act and women appear' (Berger, 1972). Thus, women are also being taught to perceive their body as a commodity. Today people are fascinated with an instinct enforcing them to buy better, more and especially newer things. It has become a point of consumption. He/she has become hungry for consumption. To buy and consume new things has become an irrational and obligatory purpose. Because as a result, he/she has used, consumed, and taken pleasure of the commodity he/she bought. Buying the latest thing is a primary dream for everyone, and to take pleasure of it has become the second one (Fromm, 2008: 131).

Diet Fashion

Women unsatisfied with their body show the course of action as diet. When the reason of diet is asked to women, mostly answers are a slimmer appearance, self-esteem and self-respect (Grogan, 1999: 42). Because physical appearance becomes most important commodity in the postmodern society. Newspapers, advertising, internet, magazines continuously recall how to reach ideal body with drugs, sport and cosmetic surgery (Negrin, 2008: 9). Slimness is mostly makes social pressure on women rather than men (Grogan, 1998: 13). Due to the psychological pressure of ideal weight women are always expected to be on diet. To take the control of their appearance, to reach happiness and to have an identity are stimulated what to eat and what to not eat. Even they go further get the disease of anorexia and bulimia. Nevertheless still no awful cautions effort to prevent females who believe their worth, beauty, and basic value will be determined by whether they are thin. Mass media shows images of reed-thin and dyed-blonde women as a norm. Another reason that women want to be reed-thin is consumer culture. Fashion industry clothes are mostly designed for reed-thin adolescent female bodies. That's why women -no matter what their ages are- want to be slim and evaluate 'flesh as problematic' (Hooks, 2000: 35).

The last reason of diet is that it increases the social status of women through physical appearance in consumer culture. Garment fashion, fitness TV shows, exercise equipment for home, diets and cosmetic surgery, all serve for the perfection of body (Finkelstein, 1991: 2). Women who want to be like Barbie dolls should learn how to control their eating orders. Even media discourse always reminds how to be and how to look like fashion models. Diet as the way to control the inner of the body, and cosmetic surgery for the outer of the body is necessary for woman to attract the attention of men. Research participants were asked about have they ever been on diet. They all said they are careful about eating and nine of them said they are always on diet. 22 years old M.L. said:

Of course I want to lose weight. I always feel I am fat. The reason is that clothes are always for more slim girls. Clothes are forcing us to look thinner. 21 year old F.B. stated that "Gaining weight makes me unhappy and I feel ugly. I am always on diet". 24 years old H.M. stated the reason of being on diet as "I have to control my weight. Because my body parts are not in proportion with each other. I have big breasts. To have female figure I have to be on diet". Research participants were asked about which ways help them to lose weight. 22 years old N.K. said that "If I gain weight I prefer diet pills. It is easier for me". 18 years old R.M. stated the situation as "actually I eat whatever I want but I do exercise to shape my body".

From the voices of research participants it is understood that they hide their body parts illustrated as defective and deficient reminding them that they are overweight, and have big breasts and large hips. Therefore, they are encouraged to look like a super model having weight under twenty per cent of normal by media. For instance, the body mass index of famous model Kate Moss is highly low compared to a normal woman, however her body is demonstrated as the ideal body (Dittmar, 2007: 13-14).

Tattoo and piercing fashion

Tattoo and piercing have long history due to the special meaning in cultures, traditions and customs (Rubin 1988). Practising tattoo or piercing were used to distinguish tribes, classes, religious or ethnic groups from others (Gathercole, 1988; Gilbert, 2001). However, nowadays, tattoo and piercing are popular fashion

practising among all social groups (Craik, 1994). As a result, tattoo and piercing as a part of consumer culture give a message that contains an idea of freedom, breaking away from the conventionalism, being different, having an identity, conspicuousness, revolt, power and self-trust to its owners (Holland, 2004). According to Salecl (2001: 32) since individuals want to find the reality on their body, engraving a tattoo onto body or piercing, is a kind of protest against to the ideology which changes everything very quickly. However, all the research participants have tattoo on different parts of their body. They mentioned the motivation for tattoo:

I like tattoo. I feel different from others (N.K., 22)

All my friends have tattoo. I also wanted to have one. I graved my loved one on my skin (H.M., 19) I feel free with tattoo. I feel like I do not obey the rules of the world (K.A., 24).

It is just like a tradition. All the members of my family have one. I also have (F.B., 21).

"I think tattoo is fashion. I also wanted to have some. I have on my arms, shoulders" (D.N., 24).

Research participants who has piercing mentioned the reasons:

I only have nose piercing. I think I look cute and attractive with it (R.M.,18).

The reason for navel piercing is decorating my body. I become happy when friends ask about it and people look at it when I cloth décolleté (A.K., 21).

It is certain that they have a psychological satisfaction on the people have. On the other hand with the rising popularity of body engraving tattoo and piercing became the commodities of fashion industry. Research participants expressed the acquisition of tattoo and piercing such as for beautification, being different, fashion, attractive, freedom and happiness.

Conclusion

It is concluded from this research that British young adult women having different ages from 18 to 24 are affected by consumer culture to reach the beauty norms. To reach the beauty norms they need to be fashionable. Fashion comes to rescue the woman who does not know, or cannot think to buy which commodities to increase her value. Commodities of garment and make-up fashion are always ready in the consumer culture for their use. From the voices of research participants it is concluded that fashion products are 'commodity-fetishism' for them. Some participants mentioned that they want to buy every fashionable products. Thus, commodities are "objet petit a" -the object cause of desire (fantasy object) for them. However, a desire which is never fulfilled. Because there is always a lack that can never be attainable (Zizek, 1992: 6).

All the research participants mentioned the body parts that need cosmetic surgery. They want to be tall, slim, female body shape and young. The reason is cosmetic surgery industry through advertising, internet, blogs and magazines indicates international beauty norms. In that, women are expected to be only stylish, attractive and beautiful. This is the same in the case of diet. Some participants mentioned they are always on diet, some said they control their eating habits to look slimmer. For younger and beautiful body shape, consumer culture products such as fitness TV shows, cereals, diet pills, cosmetic surgery and exercise equipment for home are always ready for women.

On the other hand, all fifteen participants had tattoo, nine of them had ear piercing, one had navel piercing and one had nose piercing. From their voices; being different, happiness, fashionable, decoration and memories were the motivations for the acquisition of tattoos and body piercings. Although they wanted to be unique and special with their tattoo and piercing, unwittingly all look similar in the consumer society.

In sum, when the discourses of young adult women are analysed with the FCDA; garment fashion, cosmetic surgery fashion, make-up fashion, diet fashion, tattoo and piercing fashion are the part of consumer culture to shape female body. Female body is very important for consumer culture's profit. In that, bodies are defined as 'missing', 'flawed' and 'insufficient'. They might only remedy these deficiencies by buying commodities of consumer culture. Consumption is the only way of happiness and self-presentation. Being fashionable and having socially approved, commodities are the only ways of happiness created by the consumer culture. Therefore, consumption moves away from the meaning of waste, consume and squander, instead it loads its consumer values such as statue, hedonism, respect and identity. Consumption by research participants is not a phenomenon having only use value of commodity. Furthermore, its signs carry the use value and exchange value on the same commodity. These commodity-signs in the context of fashion, find the meaning of consume in their bodies. So, in this article every part of the female body is handled as a commodity and evaluated from the point of fashion.

This study focused on the perception of beauty and fashion among only British young adult women, so the sample only included British women. More research should be done for better understanding the relationship between consumer culture and perception of beauty and fashion with different samples from other nations and different age groups. Additionally, future research should focus on psychological motivations for being fashionable.

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