

Caroline Searing  
Senior Lecturer  
MSc Cosmetic Science

Caroline Searing is a member of the Cosmetic Science Research Group, London College of Fashion (LCF), part of University of the Arts London. She trained as a physiologist and initially had both clinical and research roles with the Ministry of Defence (Navy). She currently teaches biological sciences and higher education skills on the Integrated Master's course in Cosmetic Science at LCF. She has a long standing collaboration with Dr Hannah Zeilig, having worked previously on a study of the language of cosmetic advertising.

University of the Arts London  
London College of Fashion  
Fashion Business School  
20 John Prince's Street  
London W1G 0BJ, UK

[c.s.searing@fashion.arts.ac.uk](mailto:c.s.searing@fashion.arts.ac.uk)

Hannah Zeilig  
Senior Research Fellow  
London College of Fashion

Dr Zeilig is senior research fellow at the University of the Arts, London (UAL) and a visiting research fellow at the University of East Anglia. Hannah has a long-standing interest in the cultural representation of age and ageing, the role of the arts for dementia and the relationship between clothing and creativity for older women and men. Hannah worked on 'Fine Lines' in collaboration with Caroline Searing investigating the language of cosmetic advertising pre and post the introduction of Botox. Hannah and Caroline have most recently explored the role of make-up for older women in the project 'All Made Up'. Her work is characterized by a trans-disciplinary approach and she collaborates with a wide range of colleagues from clinicians to scientists and artists.

[h.zeilig@fashion.arts.ac.uk](mailto:h.zeilig@fashion.arts.ac.uk)

## **All made up: The role of make-up for women in later life**

### **Abstract**

This in-depth qualitative study examines the role played by facial cosmetics or make-up in the (re)creation and expression of self-image and identity for **six older, white women**. Although there has been increasing interest in notions of appearance management and body image creation as these relate to older women, there have been few studies that specifically investigate the role and function of make-up for this cohort. This study, albeit small-scale is nonetheless rich and illuminative. It is contextualized by a detailed literature review which provides important historical and contemporary background to the in-depth interviews, that were conducted with older women. The themes of ritual, self-presentation and change that emerge from our results characterize the relationship of these older women with their make-up. Make-up for our interviewees was used as a source of comfort and for personal enjoyment, as well as to look good, rather than to attract the male gaze or as a means to resist ageing. The older women at the centre of this study use make-up in ways that may be considered ritualized, and it was associated with the expression and performance of their identity. Make-up was thus found to be central to the creation of the women's self-image; all interviewees felt more confident about facing the world when made-up. Rather than being a mask behind which the women hide, for these women make-up is an essential part of who they are and a means of expressing their identities.

Key words: cosmetics, appearance management, identity, ritual, self-presentation, change, performance.

### **Introduction**

The ageing appearance, as this is conditioned by societal mores, is of increasing interest in both academia and within popular culture (Gilleard & Higgs, 2013; Twigg & Buse, 2013; Ward et al., 2014; Woodspring, 2016). Moreover, it has been suggested that contemporary consumer culture is helping older people to re-fashion their identity in later life (Gilleard, 1996). In the UK, in the twenty-first century, images and representations of older people are ubiquitous. From the fashion pages of newspapers to blogs such as *Advanced Age*, the sense that appearance matters for older people, especially women, is pervasive. The signs of a long life are evident on the exterior of the body in the form of wrinkles and grey hair, but there is a cultural imperative especially for women, not to be seen as old and there are increasing pressures to use a variety of interventions that postpone the visible signs of age for as long as

possible (Searing and Zeilig, 2017). However, with notable exceptions such as the study by Clarke & Bundon, (2009) there has been little investigation specifically into the role and function of make-up for older women, with scholars tending to concentrate on the role of clothing and fashion, and hairdressing in body image creation (Clarke et al., 2009; Twigg & Buse, 2013; Twigg, 2013; Ward et al., 2014; Lövgren, 2016). The aim of this study then, was to address this gap through an exploration of the reasons underlying the use of make-up amongst older women and to query the role of make-up in the maintenance and (re)creation of identity in later life. In addition, we were interested in women who were part of the baby boomer generation, a generation that it has been suggested is changing the nature of old age (Woodspring, 2016, 2018).

The transitions that are associated with ageing are not always easy, often involving a change in status and agency (Clarke, 2001) and for women this can also be linked with their altered physical appearance (Woodspring, 2016). As a result of this, women in particular, may use make-up as a means of hiding or disguising the physical changes associated with age. Gilleard and Higgs, (2013) note that for many, the fear of looking old is every bit as great as the fear of being old itself. They refer to ‘appearance management’, which describes the way in which appearance can be created and performed using cosmetics, self-care products, fashion and clothing all of which are used in order to style the appearance of the body and construct the persona which the person wishes society to see. However, make-up might also be used for sheer enjoyment at any age.

The article begins with a literature review comprising several sections including: historical perspectives, consideration of the role cosmetics play in appearance and the creation of self and identity, the gendered politics of cosmetics use, cosmetics as ritual and mask and finally an examination of the specific role that cosmetics play in the lives of older women. The

methodology of the study is then presented and findings from in-depth interviews with six older women are discussed.

*What is a cosmetic? historical and contemporary perspectives*

As noted by (Power, 2010:3) the term ‘cosmetics’ derives from the Greek word κόσμος (kosmos), the plural form of which meant adornment. This word conveys the idea of order as opposed to chaos, which in the Greek world view is linked to morality and to beauty.

There are references to cosmetics and make-up in ancient Greek and Latin medical texts (Stewart, 2015). Historically there has always been a tension about women’s use of cosmetics to enhance their appearance (Ribeiro, 2011), and make-up has always been subject to shifting meanings and status. In Roman times, and again in the eighteenth-century lip colour was reserved for prostitutes while in the mediaeval period lipstick was associated with Satan (Butler, 2000; Ogilvie et al., 2011). On the one hand, excessive use of make-up or artifice was condemned, while on the other women have always faced a moral injunction to maintain their looks and to avoid looking old by whatever means possible (Clarke & Griffin, 2007).

In contemporary times, the term “cosmetics” is a broad one but one with a very specific meaning: according to the EU regulation 1223/2009,

A “cosmetic product” is any substance or mixture intended to be placed in contact with the various external parts of the human body (epidermis, hair system, nails, lips and external genital organs) or with the teeth and the mucous membranes of the oral cavity with a view exclusively or mainly to cleaning them, perfuming them, changing their appearance and/or correcting body odours and/or protecting them or keeping them in good condition. (The European Parliament and the Council of the European Union, 2009).

A definition which has been retained in the new UK cosmetic regulations now that the UK has left the European Union. Although cosmetics may include, ‘creams, dyes, grooming products, lotions, make-up, powders, perfumes and soaps [...]’(Gilleard and Higgs, 2013:117) this study

focuses on 'colour cosmetics'. Collectively these colour cosmetics are often referred to as 'make-up'.

In the 21st century, make-up use is widespread by both men and women. However, although the modern male market for make-up is increasing, (15% of UK males under the age of 45 having bought make-up in 2016 (Goody, 2017), in the main, the majority of make-up purchases are made by women. Overall the colour cosmetic market was worth 1.84 £bn in 2016 (Khanom, 2017).

*Appearance, Self and Identity: the role of cosmetics*

According to Lennon et al., (2017:235), identity can be thought of as 'an organized set of characteristics that express the various aspects of who you are (i.e. your self)'. Your identity and your self are interrelated and influence one other but the self can be considered to be the inner, more stable and essential being that is peculiar to a particular individual. Identity, on the other hand, relates to external indicators of self that may be actively constructed, changed and altered. Appearance, together with appearance management, are core aspects of the construction of identity, and the rituals associated with the purchase and application of cosmetics are an integral part of this. Clarke and Korotchenko, (2011) explore the extent to which ageing women engage in diverse forms of appearance management, while Zukin & Maguire, (2004) propose that we form and express our identities through consumption; that we create our "selves" via acquisition of consumer products such as clothing and make-up. Rudd explores the consumption of cosmetic products among women (Rudd, 1997) and suggests that there is strong evidence that the purchase and use of cosmetics become ritualized acts in the lives of the individuals and serve to enhance personal identity construction and to give women a greater sense of cultural power and social agency in today's world.

### *Gender: the politics of cosmetics*

Identity for older women and their attendant use of make-up must also be understood within a gendered, political context: one in which women remain unequal, are encouraged to focus on and manage their looks within a neoliberal climate of consumption. The notion of gendered performativity was discussed by Butler, (1990) and this is also useful when considering make-up and its use by women at all stages of their lives. After all, the wearing of make-up presupposes an element of performance that is gender based.

Due to the persistent and pervasive cultural imperative for women not to appear old, older women often have a conflicted relationship between their sense of self and their ageing body (Hofmeier et al., 2016). The loss of perceived physical attractiveness that comes with advancing age, a process which is not linear (Mendelson, 2013) and which is accelerated with the transition through the perimenopause and the menopause itself, together with likely deterioration in health can lead women to become unsure how they are supposed to dress and to behave. As noted by Greer, (2018:3) ‘A grown woman should not have to masquerade as a girl to remain in the land of the living’. An ageing body may thus be perceived as both a mask that ‘conceals the essential identity of the person beneath’ (Featherstone & Hepworth, 1991:379) and a prison of the self, both of which will influence the construction of identity for older and old women.

Clarke and Griffin examined the ways in which women learned from their mothers how ‘to do gender’ (Clarke & Griffin, 2007a:701). These scholars discuss the ways the ways in which women perceive, manage and present their bodies using socially-constructed ideals of beauty and femininity. One of the key findings is the important influence that mothers have on daughters’ own experience of identity construction. They also highlight the powerful influence

of the social context within which a woman's body image is acquired which shapes both experience and perception of the body.

The invisibility of older women in contemporary society as their roles within the family and the workplace are eroded has been widely remarked on in research and throughout the media (Furman, 1997; Segal, 2014; Hofmeier et al., 2016; Busch, 2019). This is however challenged by Woodspring, (2018) who describes older women's invisibility as a 'cultural myth' and asserts that the supposed invisibility of older women is far from universal. The extent to which the use of facial cosmetics may be used by older women as an act of resistance - to counter the putative invisibility of ageing, is of interest in this study.

#### *Cosmetics as ritual and as a mask*

McCabe et al., (2017:5) studied, in detail, the significance of the ritualized application of make-up; emphasising that rituals are key mediators between embodied practices, feelings and social discourses. The respondents in their study stated that their morning make-up routines played an important role in making them feel prepared for the day: '[...] Women prepare themselves in rituals both internally and externally for changing social contexts with fresh makeup applications'.

Negrin, (2008) has suggested that make-up can be used as a means of creating a mask behind which the true self can be concealed. This echoes scholarship that discusses the 'mask of ageing' (Featherstone and Hepworth, 1991). However, rather than emphasising the extent to which ageing itself is a mask, here cosmetics are considered a disguise that older women use in an agential, purposeful fashion to conceal their ageing. Similarly, Robertson et al., (2008) propose that cosmetics are utilized primarily as a psycho-physical 'mask' in order to promote

a desired image. However, this view is contested by others, including Thevoz (1984) and Constable (2000) cited in Negrin, (2008) who are of the opinion that make-up, far from being a mask, is being used as a means of expressing a true self. Whether make-up use is associated with its mask like qualities or is alternatively a form of self-expression, in both cases it has links with the performance of identities and may be understood as a form of communication. Other scholars have suggested that being oneself always involves a performance of some description, an idea drawn from the work of Goffman, (1959) and echoing Butler's scholarship (1990) mentioned above.

### *Cosmetics and the older woman*

There was a huge expansion of the cosmetics market in the late twentieth century with technical advances in manufacture and the development of a wide range of products specifically designed to help slow or reduce the signs of ageing.

As noted by Greer, (2018:6) 'Sooner or later the middle-aged woman becomes aware of a change in the attitude of other people towards her. She can no longer trade on her appearance, something she has done unconsciously all her life'. Whilst not all women trade on their appearance, it is true that for many women, in a variety of societal roles, how they look is very important and the prospect of losing their youth and looks is a source of anxiety reinforced by cultural mores.

The Make-up In-depth Consumer Report (NPD Group Inc, 2008) reported that, as a woman ages, there is a shift in her make-up usage and buying habits. They noted the major shift occurs in the 35-44 age group when women begin to use colour more on their face and lips and less on their eyes. Concern about ageing becomes important as the age of 40 is approached and

there is more attention placed on cosmetics with anti-ageing claims. Twigg and Majima, (2014) found that during the period 1961-2011 older women became more involved than the young in the purchase of cosmetics. They interpret their findings as indicating that older women are more engaged in the management of their appearance. It is no wonder then, that the anti-ageing cosmetic market is booming with the market in women's facial skincare valued at £1.15 bn in 2017 (Mintel, 2018) and forecast to grow to a possible £1.49 bn by 2023. Indeed, Mintel, (2015) suggest that the key demographic for the use of anti-ageing cosmetics is women over 55, this is unsurprising given the ageing of global populations.

The literature reviewed reveals the enduring appeal of facial cosmetics and some of the ways in which cosmetics are intimately associated with gender, appearance and identity. The boom in the anti-ageing market (Searing and Zeilig, 2017) is driven by the demographic transition and is particularly targeted at the increasing proportion of older women who dominate society. Nonetheless, there is little understanding about the role of make-up for older women or indeed how this cohort relate to make-up as they age. This small-scale study goes some way towards redressing this imbalance.

## **Methods<sup>i</sup>**

This was a two stage qualitative study. Stage one involved a focus group with five older women and its subsequent analysis in order to inform stage two. Stage two comprized six in-depth interviews, together with detailed timelines completed by the women who were interviewed.

The focus group in stage one had no fixed format and the discussion was allowed to be free ranging. Focus groups are particularly effective for generating information on collective views, and the meanings that lie behind those views (Bryman, 2016). The data gathered was

unstructured and often strayed beyond the bounds of the planned detailed study. The objective of this stage one focus group was thus to develop ideas collaboratively with the older women in order to guide the design of the interview schedule. This is in keeping with participatory research (Morgan, 2002) which includes the voices of those with lived experience within qualitative data collection methods.

### *Stage one focus group*

Five women aged between 61-74 years participated in the focus group, they were invited to take part via LCF / UAL networks. The focus group involved discussion which was prompted by sharing vintage make-up objects from the LCF archives. Together participants explored views on the role of make-up and some of the ways in which it may affect their sense of identity in later life. The focus group discussion was recorded electronically, transcribed and subjected to thematic analysis as described by Braun and Clarke, (2006). This involves a six-phase process including familiarisation with the data, coding, thematic search, naming and defining themes, and writing up. Inductive coding was used to identify latent themes within the data. This is a realist method rather than a more theoretically based method of data analysis. Both investigators coded the data independently, using Atlas.ti qualitative data analysis software (Scientific Software Development GmbH, 2017) and an initial set of codes was created. Any differences in coding were discussed and a consensus reached. Following an iterative process of re-reading the transcript, these codes were merged and refined to generate three main areas for further exploration with our study participants. These were, identity, the pragmatics of make-up use and make-up in relation to self-expression.

### *Stage two interviews*

Interviews took place with a homogeneous group of six older, white women, ranging in age from 62 to 75 years. As with the focus group participants, they were identified via networks established at LCF. The six participants who were interviewed were not part of the focus group

but shared similar social characteristics with them. The interviews comprized open questions (Bryman, 2016) connected with identity, self expression and the pragmatics of make-up use.

Demographic data was also collected. A question about social class was originally included, but was considered intrusive by some participants who declined to answer. In line with ethical guidelines, this data has been omitted. Three of the interviews took place face to face in the participants' own homes, whilst the other three were conducted remotely due to the constraints imposed by the COVID-19 pandemic lockdown.

We chose our informants according to the principle introduced by Hennion, (2007) who affirmed that in terms of understanding experiences one must ask the enthusiast (Almila and Zeilig, 2021) Therefore, we asked older women who are enthusiastic about make-up. While our sample is obviously limited, the interview data we collected during long interviews is rich and illuminative. We use it here to make some points relevant and interesting for fashion scholarship, rather than to claim any wider representative significance.

During the face to face interviews, individual items of make-up were used as material prompts. The researchers also accompanied the participants to the space where they kept and applied their make-up. Details such as lighting, position of mirrors, storage of make-up and any other points of interest such as seasonal variations were noted.

This type of interview is often called a 'wardrobe interview' and is commonly used in studies of individuals and dress (Klepp and Bjerck, 2014; Lövgren, 2014; Woodward, 2009; Twigg 2019). In addition, each participant was asked to make a timeline of their make-up use throughout their life, detailing both products used in a particular decade together with the brand if recalled. Each interview lasted between one and two hours. The remote interviews (which all took place on the phone and were audio-recorded) used the same schedule and followed a

similar format, and although items of make-up were not accessible each respondent sent the researchers photographs of their make-up and the spaces where they applied this. It is noteworthy that the remote interviewing was able to generate a sense of trust and cooperation from the participants and in each case, was followed up with email / text correspondence.

The transcribed recordings of the interviews were again read by both investigators independently and an initial coding process undertaken, following Braun and Clarke, (2006). As with the focus group, any differences in coding were discussed and a consensus reached. A large number of initial codes were created, and through an iterative process of reading and re-reading the transcripts, this large number of codes was collated and merged into a smaller number of code families which were then used to identify potential themes. Atlas.ti qualitative data analysis software was used throughout.

## **Results**

### *Participants*

Details (anonymized names) of the six participants are given in the table below.

Table 1 to be placed here.

### *Codes and Themes*

The themes obtained from the analysis of the interview data were combined with the themes from the preliminary study. The themes thus obtained are in many ways interdependent and there is overlap between them. They are illustrated in Figure 1, and discussed in more detail below.

Figure 1 to be placed here

## *Ritual*

All our participants can be described as participating in ritualized behaviour in relation to their application of make-up. Specific features of this ritual related to the space where the make-up was applied, the products utilized and included the women's loyalty to particular brands, the order of application of the different products, and the time set aside for this process.

There is an element of continuity to be found in these women's experiences with make-up. All had begun using cosmetics in their teenage years and had continued to do so throughout their adult lives refining their usage into something that enhances their appearance rather than makes a statement as it might have done in their youth. Judith commented 'I am no longer putting make-up on to make an impact or to make a statement, I'm just being me'. Over time several of the women had developed strong brand loyalties which had persisted into later life.

Time emerged as an essential feature connected to the ritual use of make-up and here refers to the time (of day) during which a woman applies her make-up. Each of the women had a clearly defined daily routine for applying their make-up with a time in the morning when it is first applied. Clare commented '[...] after my shower. I would not even be seen going to the local dump [...] without my foundation and my eye pencil' while Clare stated that she would '[...] put my underwear on and then I put my dressing gown on and make my face up in my dressing gown'. For three of the respondents the time used to apply make-up was variously described as 'time alone' or 'precious time' while one respondent described it as 'essential time, not special', commenting that she 'didn't like anybody around me when I'm doing it, either' refusing even to allow her husband into the room while she was applying her make-up. Sally's comment about 'my little make-up sanctuary' also gives an indication of the importance of this ritual and time to her.

Indeed, another aspect of the ritual use of make-up was the space in which it was applied. For each of the six women, the application of make-up was always undertaken in the same place in their bedrooms: a comforting and very personal space. Clare described her dressing table in great detail and clearly had a strong emotional attachment to it and the time spent sitting in front of it. 'It's a very pretty dressing table, with a particularly lovely shield shaped mirror [...] it's a special place' she commented.

### *Change*

Change here is polysemous and refers to changes in make-up usage over the life course connected with personal circumstances such as finances, the ageing process and changing fashions and cultural context.

In all cases, there were changes in the types of make-up worn at different times with some evidence of the influence of fashion. This information was derived from the detailed timelines completed by all the participants as part of the interview process. However, there was also some resistance expressed to the notion of following fashion unthinkingly. For instance, Janet notes that she was influenced by fashion but only to some extent 'We're talking about the late sixties, the quite heavy eyeliner was in fashion then, but I never liked that on myself'.

When asked how their use of make-up had changed since the 1960s and their youth, the women identified that whereas in youth make-up had been used to make a statement, in later life its use is more refined. The aim is to give a subtle effect, make-up was no longer being used to make an impact. Experimentation is no longer their aim, as Clare reflected, 'I think I've found what makes me look best'. 'I've developed the way to use it subtly' commented Judith.

Change in make-up use due to changes in personal circumstances was identified by several respondents. Clare moved to the United States in the mid-sixties and found the hot climate of California incompatible with false eyelashes and heavy make-up. She comments that this was probably when she developed the simpler make-up routine that she now maintains. Financial constraints were also mentioned as a reason for change with Janet commenting that she had reduced her make-up use when she was at home with small children and not earning, but returned to it when she returned to work 'I would have tried a few other things over the years, but probably did get to a point when I had children where it was something that was decent and affordable [Boots No 7]'. Sally also commented on switching to cheaper brands following retirement from paid work: 'One thing I've started doing is using cheaper make-up. I used to buy very, very expensive make and I don't any more'. Sue also reflected on the problem of loyalty to luxury brands, 'they're all very expensive makes [...] and I suppose as you get older and you sort of don't have the same income, you know, it's difficult to keep up with them [...] when you're using it every day'.

All of the respondents acknowledged that they are ageing and that this has affected their appearance, and this appeared to be accepted if not exactly welcomed. Helena commented "[...] your face, it does change. I mean, seriously' and when guiding us through her make-up bag Helena made specific reference to a particular product '[...] that's the one I use for my wrinkles', while Clare commented 'I'm wrinkled and you know I've got the odd sunspot and things but I'm happy with that. I don't need to disguise any aging'. However, there was no other mention by interviewees about using specifically anti-ageing cosmetics. On the contrary, Janet stated 'I'm not buying loads of special products to make me look younger', However, in contrast Sally reflected on her use of make-up 'I think it makes you look younger. I think it raises your confidence. And it makes you look better in my opinion'. Meanwhile, Helena agreed that wearing make-up as opposed to not wearing any makes her appear younger 'I feel

it makes me look younger than if I didn't have any make-up on at all. Well hopefully. That's my perception of it [...]'. Thus, although the women do not explicitly use anti-ageing cosmetics, they do associate the use of make-up with a younger appearance.

Along with acknowledgement of the changes associated with the ageing face goes acknowledgement of changes in make-up use and application. This might be in the form of inclusion of additional products such as concealer or blusher, or changes in the pragmatics of make-up application. One key change related to the deterioration of eyesight with advancing age which now necessitated the use of magnifying mirrors and good light for the application of make-up. As noted by Helena: 'Because of the light, and the summer and winter differ, which is really odd. In the summer, I can put my make-up on in the bedroom. In the winter, because the sun's changed directions, [...] I can't see.' Sally specifically mentions using a magnifying mirror now, and Judith describes a small mirror with an additional stick on magnifying section.

Comments were also made about several other changes as a result of advancing age, including the loss of eyebrows, either naturally or due to over plucking, the loss of eyelashes with age through loss of natural colour and the range of products specifically designed for these features. The need to include some colour in the form of a fake tan or inclusion of a blusher or bronzer into the routine to compensate for the loss of colour from the complexion with age due to a reduction in melanin production in the skin was mentioned by all respondents. Sally, Sue and Judith specifically mentioned use of blusher or bronzer in the winter 'to give me a little bit of colour on my cheeks' and Helena admitted to wearing fake tan to compensate for her pale complexion.

Our interviewees observed how badly or inappropriately applied make-up can make you appear older. 'Personally, lipstick enhances the ravaging of age [...] my lips are very thin and quite lined, or above them is [...] so if I were to wear lipstick that would just draw attention to them'

commented Judith. This was echoed by Sue who said '[...] as you get older, if you're not careful, the lipstick runs into your tiny little creases around your mouth'.

It was interesting that many of the respondents used cosmetic products which included an SPF (sun protection factor) ranging from 15-30+. As some 90% of facial ageing is the result of sun exposure, products containing an SPF might be considered to be anti-ageing products but our respondents are not purchasing them with this in mind.

### *Identity (grooming and self-presentation)*

All respondents felt strongly that their make-up is important in helping them to create the identity that they wish others to see. Make-up has a role in the conscious and explicit self-presentation of these older women.

'I don't like going out without make-up on at all. I just don't like [...], don't feel comfortable without it. I'd say the make-up [...] the finished result [...] it's like painting a picture every day' stated Sally who agreed that the version with make-up on was the real person. Janet agreed that she would put her make-up on '[...] In the morning, to face the day' and that 'It's all part of the complete picture to me'.

Helena went further, explaining 'Well it's quite precious to me. I mean, I think people think that I spend so much time getting myself ready, but that's me and I will never change [...]' She went on to add 'Yeah, I'm creating the face I want for myself, really. I think that's it'.

Thus, these participants considered make-up an important factor in the creation of their identity. As Clare put it 'It's important definitely. I mean, even when I had to do two weeks of quarantine because of COVID-19 I still put on my basic [...] the foundation, the blusher and eye pencil. Nobody was coming here, nobody was allowed and I wasn't going anywhere, but I still put it on [...]'.

Linked to this is the role that make-up is known to play in both self-expression and increasing self-esteem and self-confidence. 'I don't like going out without make-up [...] I just don't [...] feel comfortable' commented Sally, noting that being made up made her feel better and more confident. This is a sentiment that is echoed by other respondents. Judith made the clear statement 'my make-up is my confidence. Always has been. If I was to be out without make-up on I wouldn't be confident'.

Helena summed her feelings up with the comment 'I just put my make-up on to please me, I don't do it to please anybody else. It's to please me. And if you call that vain I'm probably pretty vain'.

When asked what they thought the role of make-up was in their lives, Sue commented that wearing make-up made her feel better, made her feel groomed, while Judith commented 'I think it's important that you look as though you take care of yourself because I think people tend to judge you'. Here grooming can be taken to mean the conscious processes of make-up application involved in the presentation of oneself to the world. This may differ depending on whether this is everyday presentation or additional effort is being made for a special occasion. Judith commented that 'if I was going out on a date, I would take special care over my appearance. And that includes not just make-up [...] it would include your eyebrows'. Clare also commented that she had got lazy about her eyebrows but that if she were going out she would make sure to enhance her eyebrows 'I've got quite a lot of eyebrow, but it's now just completely faded to [...] it's there, but I suppose it's white, like my hair, actually.'

The respondents were asked about influences affecting their use of make-up as a factor connected with identity creation. The main influence for these women seems to have been maternal, although friends were also mentioned. Somewhat surprisingly no mention was made by any of the respondents of any influence from celebrities other than the fashion models of the 60s. Twiggy and Jean Shrimpton were mentioned specifically. In addition, Clare describes

going to the Joan Price Salon in London and receiving professional advice regarding choosing and applying make-up.

## **Discussion**

The results clearly indicate that make-up is a fundamental part of the lives of our six participants. In addition, it is evident that the role of make-up changes over a woman's life-course as their life circumstances changed. Much has been written about the requirement for women to conform to appearance and make-up norms and standards (Kwan and Trautner, 2009) and this is particularly likely to be true for women wishing to create an appropriate impression in the workplace. Dellinger and Williams's 1997 study explored what wearing make-up meant to women in their specific work contexts. They concluded that a key reason for the use of make-up by working women was in order to gain professional standing: that appropriate use of make-up is strongly associated with credibility in the workplace. All six of our respondents worked for many years in a variety of occupations ranging through social work and teaching to retail, ballgown hire and the beauty industry, and indeed some are still working. Each of the women associated a well-groomed appearance with being well regarded within the workplace. Work life had therefore been an important influence in these women's use of make-up.

This small group of women were specifically chosen for the study because they were all active enthusiasts for make-up. It is accepted that not all older women remain engaged with make-up in their later years, if they were ever interested in it at all. Some may reduce their make-up usage once the need to present or conform to a particular identity is removed with retirement from the workplace (Darden & Worden, 1994), while others, including our participants, maintain their make-up usage into later life.

In addition to creating a work identity, use of make-up may also be associated with enjoyment

and pleasure. Hirschman and Holbrook, (1982) make the point that consumers may seek out pleasurable products and experiences and the world of cosmetics may be representing a means for affluent, older women such as those in our study to purchase something that represents an escape into an ideal world of beauty, pleasure and wellbeing. Although due to ethical considerations, the question about social class was removed from the interview schedule, it is important to note that social class is increasingly understood as something that is fluid or dynamic and can change over a lifespan (Taylor Phillips, Martin & Belmi, 2020). Our interview data revealed that this was also true for the women in this study, all of whom were financially secure but came from varied backgrounds.

Many of our interviewees made comments about items they had bought over the years but which they rarely used. Kapferer, (2012) noted that individuals often buy things that they do not actually need, whether it is a product or service, at what might be considered an unreasonably high price, and they do this to pamper or reward themselves. The women's daily routines involved familiar products, often associated with luxury brands, and this may indeed be providing an element of pleasure and comfort and self-care. This contrasts with a recent Korean study about 'new seniors' (or baby boomers), (Baek, 2020), which found that these older people were wearing make-up as an obligation rather than for enjoyment. They were considering it 'The thing to do' as suggested by Clarke and Bundon, (2009).

There have been noticeable changes in the ways that cosmetic products have been marketed to women over the years and Radner, (1989) makes the comment that one of the most important changes has been a move away from the domestically oriented woman to a woman who seeks to please herself rather than to please men. These views are echoed by Ribeiro, (2011) who, in a detailed historical discussion, stresses that women have never solely seen themselves as "victims" of 'male-fabricated judgements of appearance' because they themselves are

centrally involved in establishing ideals of beauty: ‘women choose their clothes and their make-up, not with men in mind, but themselves’ (p. 329). This echoes our findings that the selection and purchase of cosmetic products is indeed an enjoyable experience for the women in our study.

We were intrigued by the role of ritual. The repetitive nature of daily make-up application is discussed by Radner (1989:304) who quotes Freedman (1985) ‘[...] the process takes on more importance than the end product’ and that ‘these rituals prove satisfying through mere repetition.’ Ritual may refer to ‘a practice undertaken at regular intervals with a specific procedure standardized for each individual’ (Rudd, 1997:59). A ritual is distinguished from a routine as being a practice with underlying meaning. Rook and Levy, (1983) note that ritual phenomena pervade daily living and may range from elaborate public occasions that mark significant events such as weddings or funerals to every day ritual behaviour, such as that involved in personal grooming. Grooming in this context may be taken to mean a variety of procedures applied to the body and thus relates to ‘appearance management’ as described by Gilleard and Higgs, (2013) and discussed in the introduction. Thus, an individual’s grooming behaviour may consist of a series of complex behaviours relating to their personal hygiene, attractiveness of appearance, social role preparation and acceptability, something which Rudd, (1997) considers to be ritualized behaviour.

The rituals associated with cosmetic use are also discussed by Power, (2010). All six of our subjects had a clearly defined ritual for their make-up application. Specific mention was made that they considered it a private and special time which they did not like to share or to be interrupted. This point is also noted by Radner, (1989), and by Beausoleil, (1994) who studied the practice of women carrying out their make-up application in a private room in the home, and makes the distinction between “backstage” where the make-up is applied and “frontstage”

where the completed persona is viewed. This echoes Goffman's 1959 work 'The presentation of Self in Every Day Life' which draws on dramaturgical principles to illustrate the way in which an individual presents her/himself. None of our respondents would allow anyone access to their "backstage", preferring to view their make-up application as a private and personal event.

Thus, the ritual application of make-up and its consequent role in constructing personal identity in which features are enhanced or disguised can be considered an act of self-empowerment (Rudd, 1997). Beausoleil, (1994) similarly reflects that the women in her study were using make-up to create and invoke the self: they were using make-up to reflect on and elaborate who they are.

As noted in the literature review, identity also involves elements of performance or re-creation. This effect was also seen with our study with all six of our interviewees commenting on feeling better and more confident and more able to face the world when made up. For all the women interviewed, make-up was important as a means of 'getting ready to face the day' and was thus connected with performance. One even commented that she didn't feel herself without her make-up; that the real self was the one wearing make-up.

Our interviews reveal that there is both continuity and change in the use of facial cosmetics across these women's lives. Each woman has a personal story about their relationship with their make-up usually beginning in their teenage years and continuing through to retirement and the present day. Clarke and Bundon, (2009) highlight that there are also changes in the reasons for which make-up is worn throughout the lifespan: from rebellion in youth to maintenance of an attractive and respectable appearance in later life. It is noteworthy that none of our respondents could recall trying to copy looks from pop or film stars of the day. Rather, peer and maternal influences seem to have been the most important factors shaping

their early make-up use. Other scholars have also emphasized the way in which women learn from their mothers how “to do gender” and the important role of peer influence in determining make-up choices and application (Beausoleil, 1994; Clarke and Griffin, 2007b).

The extent to which our interviewees’ make-up use was affected by ageing was evident, if not always overtly mentioned. None of the make-up used by the women in this study, was explicitly anti-ageing with the exception of one user who includes an anti-wrinkle moisturiser in her routine. However, on closer inspection, all respondents had elements of anti-ageing in their make-up routine. This ranged from the use of mascara to redefine greying eyelashes and the use of foundation and concealer to cover up flaws to a very complex and complete make-up routine including designated anti-wrinkle products. It is well known that intrinsic ageing of melanocytes in the skin results in paler skin (Bilder, 2016) so the inclusion of ‘a bit of colour’ with tinted moisturiser and blusher/bronzer and the use of self-tan could also be considered indirect responses to the effects of ageing. Make-up is known to modify skin homogeneity or evenness (Russell et al., 2019). Greater skin homogeneity, or a more even complexion, can be obtained through the use of products such as foundation and concealer and has been positively associated with attractiveness and perceived health but negatively associated with age (Fink et al., 2006). Thus, though they denied specifically using make-up to make them look younger, they were, possibly subconsciously, altering their make-up products to take into account the skin changes associated with age. Moreover, all agreed that the use of make-up made them both look and feel “better” rather than “younger”. Similarly, (Mair et al., 2015) found that the women in their study were more concerned with looking good than with looking young. All of our respondents feel that over time that they have developed a make-up palette and routine of application that is aimed at making them look at their best rather than as a defence or to disguise the ageing process. In all the interviews the women expressed confidence

about their use of cosmetics and their purpose. Janet observed that she has come to realize what suits her and uses that rather than following fashion, that she is 'happy in her own skin'. Helena stated that 'I stick with colours that I think suit my eyes'. Clare was quite clear on this point: 'No, that's not the role of the make-up, not to hide aging, definitely'.

All of the women interviewed described how they had noted changes with their eyesight with age as well as the expected grey hairs and wrinkles. One commented on the changes she had noted in her face as she had got older. Most commented they now needed a magnifying mirror in order to be able to apply their make-up. The importance of good, natural light was also highlighted. Thus, though ageing changes are noted, they have not altered the relationship with make-up, rather the women have altered the pragmatics of application to allow them to continue with their daily ritual, and thus their identity creation.

### **Strengths and limitations of the study**

The data set for this study is small at six participants, and the study would have been strengthened by the inclusion of additional data. Even in the absence of this, the authors feel that the depth of the interviews, the rigour of the analysis and the extensive contextualisation provided by the literature review mean that useful insights are revealed regarding the ways in which the older women in this small sample are using make-up. These insights can further (as outlined in the discussion) be extrapolated to understanding notions of ageing beauty, embodied practices in later life and the role of cosmetics in (re)creating identity for older women. Our findings are illuminative rather than definitive and it is possible that a larger study would be more in line with the findings of Baek, (2020).

Nonetheless, this study extends the work done by Clarke and Bundon, (2009) by examining all types of facial cosmetic rather than exclusively lipstick. Drawing on focus group and interview

data from a group of older women that investigates their use of make-up from a multiplicity of angles, 'All Made up' contributes to a wider understanding of notions of ageing beauty, 'appearance management' and identity in later life.

## **Conclusion**

There was agreement among our participants that society does require them to make an effort to preserve their looks. However, the application of make-up was a comforting and enjoyable ritual for these women that is connected with self-care and wellbeing. For all the women, the application and wearing of make-up provided a sense of 'completeness' related to the creation and expression of their identities. Most notably, none is ready to be consigned to the status of invisibility which, as Woodspring (2016), has outlined, is perhaps a cultural myth.

Rather than being a mask behind which they can hide, for these women make-up is a means of expressing their identity. It is interesting here to note the comment by Sally that the older she is getting, the more she feels like not putting it on but, she concedes, "*it's a necessary thing that I have to do*".

## **References**

- Almila, A.-M. and Zeilig, H. (2021), 'In older men's wardrobes: Creative tales of Affect, Style and Constraint.', *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body & Culture*.  
<https://tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/1362704X.2021.1936402>
- Baek, K. J. (2020), 'The perception of makeup for the elderly and the makeup behavior of new seniors', *Journal of Consumer Behaviour*, 19:2, pp. 160–170. doi: 10.1002/cb.1801.
- Beausoleil, N. (1994), 'Makeup in everyday life: An inquiry into the practices of urban American women of diverse backgrounds', in Sault, N. L. (ed.) *Many mirrors : body image and social relations*. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, pp. 33–57.
- Bilder, G. E. (2016), *Human biological aging: From macromolecules to organ systems*. Hoboken, New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Braun, V. and Clarke, V. (2006), 'Using thematic analysis in psychology', *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3:2, pp. 77–101. doi: 10.1191/1478088706qp063oa.

- Bryman, A. (2016), *Social Research Methods*. 5th Ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Busch, A. (2019), *The invisibility of older women*, *The Atlantic*. Available at: <https://www.theatlantic.com/entertainment/archive/2019/02/akiko-busch-mrs-dalloway-shows-aging-has-benefits/583480/> (Accessed: 19 September 2019).
- Butler, H. (2000), 'Cosmetics through the ages', in Butler, H. (ed.) *Poucher's Perfumes, Cosmetics and Soaps*. 10th edn. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, pp. 13–63.
- Butler, J. (1990), *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York: Routledge.
- Clarke, L. H. and Bundon, A. (2009), 'From "The thing to do" to "defying the ravages of age": Older women reflect on the use of lipstick', *Journal of women & aging*, 21:3, pp. 198–212. doi: 10.1080/08952840903054757.
- Clarke, L. H. and Griffin, M. (2007a), 'Becoming and being gendered through the body : older women, their mothers and body image', *Ageing and Society*, 27, pp. 701–718. doi: 10.1017/S0144686X0700623X.
- Clarke, L. H. and Griffin, M. (2007b), 'The body natural and the body unnatural: Beauty work and aging', *Journal of Aging Studies*, 21:3, pp. 187–201. doi: 10.1016/j.jaging.2006.11.001.
- Clarke, L. H., Griffin, M. and Maliha, K. (2009), 'Bat wings, bunions, and turkey wattles: body transgressions and older women's strategic clothing choices', *Ageing and Society*, 29:5, pp. 709–726. doi: 10.1017/S0144686X08008283.
- Clarke, L. H. and Korotchenko, A. (2011), 'Aging and the Body: A Review.', *Canadian Journal on Aging = La revue canadienne du vieillissement*, 30:3, pp. 495–510. doi: 10.1017/S0714980811000274.
- Darden, D. K. and Worden, S. K. (1994), Using cosmetics: The social construction of a consumer object. *Sociological Spectrum*, 14:3, pp. 273-292. Doi:10.1080/12732173.1994.9982068
- Dellinger, K. and Williams, C. L. (1997), 'Makeup at work: Negotiating Appearance Rules in the Workplace', *Gender & Society*, 11:2, pp. 151–177. doi: 10.1177/089124397011002002.
- Featherstone, M. and Hepworth, M. (1991), 'The Mask of Ageing and the Postmodern Lifecourse.', in M. Featherstone, Hepworth, M. Turner, B. S. (ed.) *The Body, Social Process and Cultural Theory*. London: SAGE Publications, pp. 371–389.
- Fink, B., Grammer, K. and Matts, P. J. (2006), 'Visible skin color distribution plays a role in the perception of age, attractiveness, and health in female faces', *Evolution and Human Behavior*, 27:6, pp. 433–442. doi: 10.1016/j.evolhumbehav.2006.08.007.
- Furman, F. K. (1997), *Facing the Mirror: Older Women and Beauty shop culture*. New York and London: Routledge.
- Gilleard, C. (1996), 'Consumption and Identity in Later Life: Toward a Cultural Gerontology', *Ageing and Society*, 16, pp. 489–498. doi: 10.1017/S0144686X00003640.
- Gilleard, C. and Higgs, P. (2013), *Ageing, Corporeality and Embodiment*. London: Anthem Press.
- Goffman, E. (1959), *The presentation of self in every day life*. London: Penguin Books.
- Goody, A. (2017), *Male beauty gains momentum*. Mintel Report. 20 January 2017. Available online from <https://reports-mintel->

[com.arts.idm.oclc.org/display/812335/?fromSearch=%3Ffreetext%3Dmale%2520beauty%2520gains%2520momentum](http://com.arts.idm.oclc.org/display/812335/?fromSearch=%3Ffreetext%3Dmale%2520beauty%2520gains%2520momentum). Accessed 6 June 2017.

Greer, G. (2018), *The Change: Women, Ageing and the Menopause*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc.

Hennion, A. (2007), 'Those things that hold us together: Taste and sociology.', *Cultural Sociology*, 1:1, pp. 97–114. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1177/1749975507073923>.

Hirschman, E. C. and Holbrook, M. B. (1982), 'Hedonic Consumption: Emerging Concepts, Methods', *Journal of Marketing*, 46:3, pp. 92–101.

Hofmeier, S. M. *et al.* (2016), 'Body image, aging and identity in women over 50: The Gender and Body Image (GABI) study', *Journal of Women & Aging*, 29:1, pp. 3–14. doi: 10.1080/08952841.2015.1065140.

Kapferer, J.-N. (2012), 'Abundant rarity: The key to luxury growth', *Business Horizons*, 55:5, pp. 453–462. doi: 10.1016/j.bushor.2012.04.002.

Khanom, R. (2017), *Colour Cosmetics - UK - May 2017 - Market Research Report*. Available at: <http://academic.mintel.com.arts.idm.oclc.org/display/793445/#> (Accessed: 1 March 2018).

Klepp, I. G. and Bjerck, M. (2014), 'A methodological approach to the materiality of clothing: Wardrobe studies', *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 17:4, pp. 373–386. doi: 10.1080/13645579.2012.737148.

Kwan, S. and Trautner, M. N. (2009), 'Beauty Work: Individual and Institutional Rewards, the Reproduction of Gender, and Questions of Agency', *Sociology Compass*, 31:10, pp. 49–71. doi: 10.1111/j.1751-9020.2008.00179.x.

Lennon, S. J., Johnson, K. K. P. and Rudd, N. A. (2017), *Social Psychology of Dress*. New York: Bloomsbury.

Lövgren, K. (2014), 'Fun as a resource in old women's deliberations about style and dress', in Soderberg, E. and Nyhlén, S. (eds) *Walking beside: Challenging the role of emotions in normalization*. Sundsvall: Mid Sweden University, pp. 158–175. Available at: <http://dro.deakin.edu.au/eserv/DU:30069547/pease-thepolitics-2014.pdf#page=158>.

Lövgren, K. (2016), 'Comfortable and leisurely: Old women on style and dress', *Journal of Women & Aging*, 28, pp. 372–385. doi: 10.1080/08952841.2015.1018029.

Mair, C., Wade, G. and Tamburic, S. (2015), 'Older women want to look good despite media pressure to look young', *International Journal of Aging and Society*, 5:1, pp. 1–10.

McCabe, M., de Waal Malefyt, T. and Fabri, A. (2017), 'Women, makeup, and authenticity: Negotiating embodiment and discourses of beauty', *Journal of Consumer Culture*, OnlineFirs. doi: 10.1177/1469540517736558.

Mendelson, B. (2013), *In Your Face: The True History of Plastic Surgery: The Hidden History of Plastic Surgery and Why Looks Matter*. Richmond, Victoria: Hardie Grant Books.

Mintel (2015), *Anti-Ageing Beauty - UK - October 2015: Purchasing Anti-Ageing Products*. Available at: <http://academic.mintel.com.arts.idm.oclc.org/display/751439/?highlight#hit1> (Accessed: 1 May 2019).

Mintel (2018), *Women's Facial Skincare - UK - July 2018*. Available at: <http://academic.mintel.com.arts.idm.oclc.org/display/859285/> (Accessed: 1 May 2019).

Morgan, D. L. (2002), 'Focus group interviewing', in Gubrium, J. F. and Holstein, J. A. (eds) *Handbook of interviewing research: Context & Method*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE

- Publications, Inc, pp. 141–159. doi: <https://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781412973588.n10>.
- Negrin, L. (2008), *Appearance and Identity: Fashioning the body in Postmodernity*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- NPD Group Inc (2008), *The makeup in-depth Consumer Report*.
- Ogilvie, M. *et al.* (2011), ‘Lipstick: More than a Fashion Trend’, *Research Journal of Social Science and Management*, 1:6, pp. 117–128. Available at: <http://ro.ecu.edu.au/ecuworks2011/107> (Accessed: 25 May 2017).
- Power, C. (2010), ‘Cosmetics, Identity and Consciousness’, *Journal of consciousness studies*, 17:7–8, pp. 1–22. Available at: <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/263156865> (Accessed: 1 March 2019).
- Radner, H. (1989), “‘This time’s for me’”: Making up and feminine practice’, *Cultural Studies*, 3:3, pp. 301–322. doi: 10.1080/09502388900490211.
- Ribeiro, A. (2011), *Facing beauty: painted women and cosmetic art*. New Haven, Conn.; London: Yale University Press.
- Robertson, J., Fieldman, G. and Hussey, T. (2008), ‘Who wears cosmetics? Individual differences and their relationship with cosmetic usage’, *Individual Differences Research*, 6:1, pp. 38–56.
- Rook, D. W. and Levy, S. J. (1983), ‘Psychosocial Themes in Consumer Grooming Rituals’, *Advances in consumer research*, 10, pp. 329–333.
- Rudd, N. A. (1997), ‘Cosmetics consumption and use among women: Ritualized activities that construct and transform the self’, *Journal of Ritual Studies*, 11:2, pp. 59–77.
- Russell, R. *et al.* (2019), ‘Differential effects of makeup on perceived age’, *British Journal of Psychology*, 110:1, pp. 87–100. doi: 10.1111/bjop.12337.
- Scientific Software Development GmbH (2017), ‘ATLAS.ti’. Available at: <https://atlasti.com/product/v7-windows/>.
- Searing, C. and Zeilig, H. (2017), ‘Fine Lines: cosmetic advertising and the perception of ageing female beauty’, *International Journal of Ageing and Later Life*, 11:1, pp. 7–36. doi: 10.3384/ijal.1652-8670.16-290.
- Segal, L. (2014), *Out of Time: The Pleasures and Perils of Ageing*. London: Verso.
- Stewart, S. (2015), “‘Gleaming and deadly white’”: Toxic cosmetics in the Roman World’, in Wexler, P. (ed.) *History of Toxicology and Environmental Health: Toxicology in Antiquity, Volume II*. London: Academic Press, pp. 79–88.
- Taylor Phillips, L., Martin, S. R. and Belmi, P. (2020), Social class transitions: Three guiding questions for moving the study of class to a dynamic perspective. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*.e12560. doi:10.1111/spc3.12560
- The European Parliament and the Council of the European Union (2009), *Regulation (EC) No 1223/2009 of the European Parliament and council of 30 November 2009 on cosmetic products*, *Official Journal of the European Union*. Available at: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2009:342:0059:0209:EN:PDF> (Accessed: 12 March 2018).
- Twigg, J. (2013), *Fashion and Age: Dress, the Body and Later Life*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Twigg, J. (2019), Why clothes matter: The role of dress in everyday lives of older people. In:

Katz, S. ed. *Ageing in Everyday Life: Materialities and Embodiments*. Bristol: Policy Press

Twigg, J. and Buse, C. E. (2013), 'Dress, dementia and the embodiment of identity', *Dementia*, 12:3, pp. 326–336. doi: 10.1177/1471301213476504.

Twigg, J. and Majima, S. (2014), 'Consumption and the constitution of age: Expenditure patterns on clothing, hair and cosmetics among post-war "baby boomers"', *Journal of Aging Studies*, 30, pp. 23–32. doi: 10.1016/j.jaging.2014.03.003.

Ward, R., Campbell, S. and Keady, J. (2014), "'Once I had money in my pocket, I was every colour under the sun": Using "appearance biographies" to explore the meanings of appearance for people with dementia', *Journal of Aging Studies*, 30, pp. 64–72. doi: 10.1016/j.jaging.2014.03.006.

Woodspring, N. (2016), *Baby boomers: Time and ageing bodies*. Bristol: Policy Press.

Woodspring, N. (2018), *Baby boomers, age, and beauty*. Bingley: Emerald Publishing.

Woodward, S. (2007), *Why women wear what they wear*. Oxford: Berg Publishers

Zukin, S. and Maguire, J. S. (2004), 'Consumers and Consumption', *Annual Review of Sociology*, 30, pp. 173–197. Available at: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/29737690.pdf> (Accessed: 7 March 2019).

---

### **Ethical considerations and Informed consent**

The study was approved by University of the Arts London's Research Ethics Sub-Committee. All participants in the focus group and the six individual interviewees gave informed consent before participating, specifically giving their permission for the focus group and interviews to be recorded. All personal details were treated as confidential and all responses fully anonymized. The data reproduced in Table 1 is with the permission of the participants.