The discussion of cosmetic surgery by Dutch female beauty & lifestyle YouTube influencers

A Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis

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ABSTRACT

Cosmetic surgery has become increasingly popular as a means to change appearances. Additionally, the 'thin ideal body' is highly valued in today's society. In this context, cosmetic surgery has increasingly been advertised as a solution for changing appearances according to society's "beauty ideal". Consumers increasingly use social media as a primary source for information regarding cosmetic procedures and providers. Thus, influencers' discussion of cosmetic surgery contributes to how easily consumers can access relevant information about cosmetic surgery. Existing literature extensively discusses the concepts of cosmetic surgery, social media, and influencer marketing. However, a study that focuses on the representation of cosmetic surgery by influencers on YouTube seemed missing. This study aimed to fill this gap by answering the following research question: how did Dutch female beauty and lifestyle influencers discuss cosmetic surgery on YouTube between 2016 and 2020? To answer the research question, this study executed a Multimodal Critical Discourse analysis (MCDA) on 11 YouTube videos from three Dutch female beauty and lifestyle influencers. MCDA revealed that influencers' discussion of cosmetic surgery on YouTube focused on three themes, namely: the normalization of cosmetic surgery, the medical aspects of cosmetic surgery, and before versus after cosmetic procedures. The results showed that influencers unconsciously normalized cosmetic surgery on YouTube, for instance, by emphasizing how many people do cosmetic surgery nowadays and compare it with going to the grocery store. Influencers used the human-interest frame (Entman,1991), in which they shared their personal experiences with cosmetic surgery, including discussing complications, side-effects, and benefits. Furthermore, influencers shared their opinion about cosmetic surgery, which echoes the core precepts of the neoliberal ideology in that everybody should do what they want with their body, regardless of what others think. The analysis revealed that influencers emphasized their long desire for cosmetic surgery due to insecurities, aesthetic conformity, and body dissatisfaction. However, after the cosmetic procedures, the influencers expressed their confidence in their appearance. The seeming disappearance of complications and side-effects and the suppression of long-term medical risks of cosmetic surgery followed by emphasizing the benefits and results promote cosmetic surgery as inviting to influencers' viewers. This study concluded that the representation of cosmetic surgery by influencers appears to make cosmetic procedures more transparent, which gives viewers the sense that they understand what the procedures entail. However, considering that influencers are no experts and often use filters, highlight certain parts, and remove some aspects from their videos, what seems to be a "true" representation of cosmetic surgery might be the opposite.

KEYWORDS: *Cosmetic surgery, influencers, YouTube, multimodal critical discourse analysis*

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1. Introduction

In 2008, 3.1 percent of people aged between 18 and 25 years used Botox or fillers. In 2018, this percentage increased to 8 percent. Cosmetic doctor Decates called this "remarkable because it is a vulnerable age group". Teenagers are easily influenced and manipulated through social media platforms such as Instagram and TikTok. (Quoted in Kappé & Nieuwenhuis, 2020, par. 2)

As the data from the above quote demonstrates, the popularity of cosmetic surgery has grown tremendously. Teenagers are increasingly exposed to images of the "ideal" body achieved by means of cosmetic procedures. Moreover, previous research has shown that young people's exposure to images of females who have undergone cosmetic procedures increases their desire for cosmetic surgery (Walker et al., 2019). Cosmetic surgery comprises medical procedures performed to change people's appearances to approximate what these people perceive as a desirable ideal (Sullivan, 2001).

Furthermore, consumers increasingly use social media as a primary source for information regarding cosmetic procedures and providers (Almarghoub et al., 2020). As shown in a study by Montemurro et al. (2015), 95% of the patients collected information from the internet about cosmetic procedures and providers before their consultation. Additionally, influencer culture is increasingly interwoven with practices of cosmetic surgery, contributing to an increase of influencers undergoing cosmetic procedures (Ward & Paskhover, 2019). Consequently, influencers increasingly discuss cosmetic surgery on social media, contributing to how easily consumers can access relevant information about cosmetic surgery on social media nowadays.

As explained by Ki and Kim (2019), influencers are defined as individuals who have knowledge and expertise on specific topics and have the power to influence the purchase decision of their followers. As influencers are considered experts in their field, they are often perceived as credible by consumers (Sudha & Sheena, 2017). Companies such as cosmetic providers increasingly use social media and influencer marketing to promote their products and services (Chandawarkar et al., 2018). Also related is the rising popularity of cosmetic procedures among the YouTube beauty community (Ward & Paskhover, 2019). Unlike traditional celebrities in the past, influencers are now more open about personal experiences with cosmetic surgery on social media (Rapp, 2016). This could be explained by the fact that influencers focus more on authenticity and transparency than traditional celebrities who keep their private lives more private (Van Driel & Dumitrica, 2020).

Furthermore, As Goodman (2017) argued, videos on YouTube about cosmetic surgery often highlight the mental, physical, and emotional benefits for cosmetic procedures while downplaying the risks which might create unrealistic expectations for viewers. Additionally, Castillo-Abdul et al. (2021) argued that beauty and lifestyle influencers are currently the most popular influencer sub-groups on YouTube who often focus their content on physical appearance. Hence, Castillo-Abdul et al. (2021) argue that the increasing popularity of beauty influencers on YouTube has contributed to

our current society in which the focus is on the "ideal" physical appearance as content from beauty influencers is increasingly focused on the need to look perfect. Additionally, influencers often use filters and apps to alter images closer to the "ideal" physical appearance (Castillo-Abdul et al., 2021).

Previous research related to cosmetic surgery mostly investigated public messages in traditional media, such as cosmetic surgery messages on television and in magazines (Kaminski et al., 2014). However, this study assumes that changes have occurred in visual and verbal properties within new media. As mentioned by Rajendran and Thesinghraja (2014), traditional media offers content for a larger audience, while new media offers the possibility for a more targeted distribution, accessible from anytime and anywhere. Therefore, Rajendran and Thesinghraja (2014) argue that content on social media is increasingly adapted to individuals' needs. Additionally, traditional media forced people to be passive audiences of one way mass communication while new media allows people to be prosumers (Rajendran & Thesinghraja, 2014). Thus, it is particularly relevant to examine public messages in new media related to cosmetic surgery as this content differentiates from content in traditional media.

Another study from Wen et al. (2015) examined cosmetic surgery videos on YouTube in general. However, research to date has lacked specific insights regarding influencers and the cosmetic surgery industry. The present study aims to fill this gap and to provide new insights into the representation of cosmetic surgery by examining how Dutch female beauty and lifestyle influencers discuss cosmetic surgery in their YouTube videos. Considering that consumers use the internet as a main source to collect information about cosmetic surgery, it is extremely relevant to examine the characteristics of the available online content. Therefore, the following research question has been formulated: *How did Dutch female beauty and lifestyle influencers discuss cosmetic surgery in their YouTube videos between 2016 and 2020?*

This study focuses on the Netherlands as previous research did not specifically examine cosmetic surgery messages by Dutch influencers. As mentioned, young people aged between 18 and 25 years who used Botox and lip fillers in the Netherlands increased. This vulnerable age group is easily influenced through social media. Considering that most influencers have this age group as target group, Dutch influencers' discussion of cosmetic surgery on YouTube could influence young people's desire for cosmetic surgery. Additionally, this study focuses on the time frame between 2016 and 2020 as it allows the researcher to examine if the perspectives of influencers towards cosmetic surgery changed overtime.

To address the research question, this study builds upon the theoretical framework which will be addressed in Chapter 2. This chapter elaborates on the normalization of cosmetic surgery, social media, and influencer marketing. Using a qualitative research design, this study performs a Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis (MCDA) of 11 YouTube videos by three Dutch female beauty and lifestyle influencers, namely: Monica Geuze, Jessie Maya, and Jill van Dooren. The fourth chapter presents the results of the analysis, which resulted in three themes, namely: the normalization of cosmetic surgery; the medical aspects of cosmetic surgery; and before versus after

cosmetic procedures. The results chapter further elaborates on these categories. Finally, the conclusion presents a summary of the study, followed by an answer to the research question and a discussion of the study's limitations and recommendations for future research.

2. Theoretical framework

This chapter will provide an overview of previous literature related to cosmetic surgery, social media, and influencer marketing. First, the normalization of cosmetic surgery will be examined in order to uncover how cosmetic surgery is constructed as 'normal' in everyday life. Second, social media and cosmetic surgery will be discussed in order to investigate how they are interrelated. This prepares the ground for discussing how cosmetic surgery is taken up on social media by influencers. Finally, an overview of the laws and restrictions concerning influencer marketing and cosmetic surgery promotion in the Netherlands will be provided.

2.1 Normalization of cosmetic surgery

Physical appearance is considered very important in today's society as it plays an essential role in an individual's identity (Walker et al., 2019). Moreover, we currently live in a society where the 'thin ideal body' is highly valued because it represents success, happiness, and being loved and admired by others (Yang et al., 2017). Correspondingly, when individuals are perceived as 'unattractive', it is often identified as a lack of success regarding popularity and romance (Yang et al., 2017). In this context, cosmetic surgery has increasingly been advertised by cosmetic providers and consumers as a solution for changing appearances according to society's "beauty ideal" (Menzel, 2011; Wen et al., 2014). If individuals are feeling more pressure to appear closer to society's "beauty ideal", they are more likely going to accept cosmetic surgery as a mean to achieve that ideal (Sarwer, 2019). Consequently, consumers increasingly opt for cosmetic surgery because they think that cosmetic surgery is the solution for their insecurities. However, cosmetic surgery advertisements have received a lot of backlash, mainly due to the influence it has on individuals.

Before diving deeper into the cosmetic surgery industry, it is crucial to investigate the concept of 'cosmetic surgery' and to provide a definition that will be used in this study. Although both plastic and cosmetic surgery are related to improving appearances, the overarching goals of these two procedures are different (American Board of Cosmetic Surgery, n.d.). Plastic or reconstructive surgery involves reconstructive procedures that are done to change facial and body imperfections as a result of birth disorders, traumas, or burns (American Board of Cosmetic Surgery, n.d.). Different types of plastic surgery procedures are, for instance: burn repair surgery, breast reconstruction, and congenital anomalies. On the contrary, cosmetic surgery or aesthetic surgery is often perceived as elective because cosmetic procedures are done to change areas of the body that function properly but are altered for a more desirable appearance (Khoo, 2009). A distinction is made between surgical and non-surgical procedures within cosmetic surgery, as non-surgical procedures involve procedures without cutting the skin or inserting instruments into the body. Examples of non-surgical procedures are, for instance: Botox and lip fillers. Examples of surgical procedures are, for instance: breast augmentation, facelift, and nose correction (American Board of Cosmetic Surgery, n.d.).

This study will further use the term cosmetic surgery and will only focus on cosmetic surgery, asking how it is discussed by YouTube influencers. Previous research suggests various factors that affect the normalization of practices such as cosmetic surgery. These factors are important to consider during this study as it possibly explains why influencers choose to undergo cosmetic surgery and how they discuss cosmetic surgery on YouTube. Additionally, these factors might give insights into how cosmetic surgery-related content from influencers can affect their viewers. The following section reviews this literature, outlining the social and ideological dynamics related to the normalization of cosmetic surgery. Additionally, several personality factors will be discussed that increases the likelihood of opting for cosmetic procedures.

2.1.1. Social dynamics that influence normalization

There has been an increase in demand for cosmetic procedures worldwide (Sarwer, 2019). This can be explained by three different social dynamics. First, technological advancements have resulted in safer cosmetic procedures with a shorter recovery time which is especially the case for non-surgical cosmetic procedures as those are often minimally invasive procedures (Sarwer, 2019).

Second, the media coverage and framing of cosmetic surgery is increasing and becoming more positive (Sun et al., 2020). Although advertisements for cosmetic surgery are bound by different regulations and laws in several countries, they are relatively widespread, e.g. on billboards, in magazines, on social media, and in television programs (Sun et al., 2020). Typically, these advertisements depict women who have had cosmetic surgery and became more confident about their appearances afterwards (Sarwer, 2019). However, advertisements for cosmetic surgery have received a lot of backlash, mainly due to the influence it has on individuals. Moreover, different media critics have argued that the desire of individuals to undergo cosmetic surgery relates to their media exposure (Slevec & Tiggermann, 2010; Walker et al., 2019; Wenn et al., 2015). For instance, Walker et al. (2019) examined the relationship between the exposure to images of female faces who had undergone successful facial cosmetic procedures and the desire for cosmetic surgery among women. The results from this study demonstrated that watching pictures of someone who has had cosmetic surgery positively affects the desire for cosmetic surgery (Walker et al., 2019). Although failed cosmetic procedures are increasingly reported by news media, no research was found on the effects of watching results of failed cosmetic procedures on individuals' desire for cosmetic surgery.

Additionally, the media coverage and positive framing of cosmetic surgery contribute to how easily consumers can access relevant information about cosmetic surgery through social media and the internet nowadays (Wen et al., 2014). Montemurro et al. (2015) argue that nowadays, information related to health is easily accessible through the internet. Consequently, consumers are more easily informed about cosmetic procedures, contributing to the increase in people undergoing cosmetic surgery. However, as anybody can publish cosmetic surgery-related content online, one could argue that the information is not always reliable.

Finally, the influencer culture is increasingly interwoven with cosmetic surgery practices, resulting in more influencers undergoing cosmetic procedures and more influencers discussing their experiences with cosmetic surgery online (Ward & Paskhover, 2019). This practice will be further elaborated on in Section 2.3.

2.1.2 Ideological dynamics that influence normalization

In recent decades, neoliberalism became a dominant ideology across the world (Harvey, 2005). Neoliberalism is of special interest for this study because of its core principle that every individual makes their own choices in order to fully utilize their life chances (Becker et al., 2021). Additionally, every individual is responsible for managing and minimizing all risks associated with their choices within a neoliberal society. In the context of cosmetic surgery, neoliberals argue that every individual is responsible for knowing the risks associated with cosmetic procedures (Leve et al., 2011). Since cosmetic surgery is about an individual's intervention to his or her own body, neoliberalism can help justify such interventions. Thus, neoliberal discourses may further strengthen the normalization of cosmetic procedures in today's society.

Originally, neoliberalism started as a political economic practice that believes that human well-being can best be achieved by offering individual freedom, individual responsibility, and individual skills within a society defined by a free market, including personal property rights (Pilkington, 2015). Thus, neoliberalism consists of three principles, namely: individualism, privatization, and decentralization (McGregor, 2001). As the neoliberal ideology is centered around individual responsibility, it also encourages individuals to seek happiness, personal growth, and fulfillment (Adams et al., 2019). Thus, in the context of cosmetic surgery, the neoliberal ideology is seen as advantageous because it argues that individuals should decide for cosmetic surgery themselves as it is a form of personal happiness.

Furthermore, in the early 1970s, welfare policies were blamed by the neoliberals as being the cause for individuals' lacking responsibility in terms of improving their own living conditions (Pendenza & Lammatina, 2019). Thus, the neoliberal principle of self-responsibility was introduced with the belief that the state's security prevented individuals from the chance to improve their own living conditions. From that moment on, neoliberal societies promoted the idea that individuals are responsible for their own destiny (Becker et al., 2021). Although the Enlightenment ideology already argued for individual liberty, the neoliberalist argued that individuals are expected to become entrepreneurs of their futures and have exclusive responsibility for their destiny, indicating that individuals should decide for cosmetic surgery themselves as it contributes to improving their own living conditions (Pendenza & Lamattina, 2019).

As already mentioned, cosmetic surgery is about making decisions about surgical interventions to enhance one's appearance. Peterson (1997) argued that neoliberalism encourages individuals to take responsibility for themselves and their choices through self-examination, self-care, and self-improvement. As cosmetic surgery is a form of bodily self-care, cosmetic procedures

are now seen as a practice conforming with the neoliberal ideology (Peterson, 1997). According to neoliberal principles, individuals are expected to take control over their own lives and bodies. This empowerment is frequently conveyed through consuming practices (Peterson, 1997). Additionally, neoliberals expect individuals to know about the risks and benefits associated with their decisions because of the self-responsibility principle. Thus, as mentioned, neoliberals argue that every individual is responsible for knowing the risks associated with cosmetic procedures.

2.1.3 Personality factors leading to cosmetic surgery

Walker et al. (2019) discuss three person-related factors that are able to predict people's desire for cosmetic procedures. First, Walker et al. (2019) argue that body dissatisfaction is a factor that increases the likelihood of opting for cosmetic procedures. Body dissatisfaction can be defined as individuals' negative thoughts about one's body (Walker et al., 2019). The tripartite model of influence from Thompson et al. (1999) could help explain how body dissatisfaction contributes to the likelihood of opting for cosmetic surgery as it discusses two potential causes for body dissatisfaction, namely: incorporating the social ideal body type and comparing appearances. To begin with, incorporating the social ideal body type refers to when a person accepts society's appearance standards and engages in behavior to meet the 'ideal' body (Walker et al., 2019). Especially social media have a big influence on societies' appearance ideals, particularly through messages focused on the "ideal" body (Sarwer, 2019). Perloff (2014) argued that the effects of these representations on social media are even more powerful than traditional media because every individual who has a mobile device can access social media at any time they want, which may result in the desire to change one's appearance. Additionally, social media allows us to alter images to approximate society's 'ideals' by using filters and programs which was impossible to do in traditional media.

Next in order, comparing appearances refers to when somebody evaluates and compares themselves to somebody else based on appearances (Thompson et al., 1999). In this situation, we talk about upward comparison because people compare themselves with someone they perceive as better than themselves. For instance, people often compare themselves with celebrities or influencers as they perceive the appearances of celebrities and influencers as desirable. Consequently, individuals feel insecure about their bodies as they do not meet society's 'ideals' (Thompson et al., 1999).

Although the Tripartite model of influence from Thompson et al. (1999) was initially established to examine body dissatisfaction related to eating disorders, the model also seems appropriate for examining factors that would potentially lead to decide for cosmetic surgery (Menzel et al., 2011). For instance, different studies suggested that individuals with higher body dissatisfaction have a more positive view of cosmetic surgery, which corresponds with the original model proposing that body dissatisfaction leads to eating disorders (Nerini et al., 2019; Sarwer, 2019; Slevec & Tiggemann 2010; Walker et al., 2019).

Second, inter-related with body dissatisfaction, (low) self-esteem has shown to be a factor that increases the likelihood of opting for cosmetic procedures; studies have shown that people with

lower self-esteem are more likely to want cosmetic surgery than people with higher self-esteem (Walker, 2019).

Third, Brown et al. (2007) reported that hearing about other people's experiences regarding cosmetic surgery increases the desire for cosmetic surgery. Thus, knowing people who have undergone cosmetic procedures has shown to play an significant role in the desire for cosmetic surgery (Brown et al., 2007).

Finally, as argued by Walker et al. (2019), the amount of time spent on social media and the amount of accounts followed was related to the desire for cosmetic surgery. Thus, people who spend a significant amount of hours on social media and followed many accounts were more likely choosing for cosmetic surgery.

2.2 Social media and cosmetic surgery

Social media are online platforms, such as Instagram, Facebook, YouTube, and Twitter, that enable users to create and share textual and visual content with friends and family (Kaplan & Haenlein, 2010). Social media has become an important aspect in individuals' daily life as using social media platforms has become a daily activity for many. As argued by different media critics, it has become evident that social media plays a major role in consumer's perceptions of cosmetic surgery and consumers' desire to undergo cosmetic surgery as the desire to undergo cosmetic surgery relates to individuals' media exposure and media use (Aldosari et al., 2019; Walker et al., 2019; Wen et al., 2015). Several studies examined how cosmetic surgery is presented in the media (Adams, 2009; Brooks, 2004; Fraser, 2003; Wen et al., 2015). Additionally, several studies argued that how cosmetic surgery is presented on social media plays a crucial role in forming consumers' attitudes towards cosmetic procedures (Sarwer, 2019; Sharp et al., 2014).

Cosmetic providers and influencers often frame cosmetic procedures on social media as an easy solution to change physical appearances while downplaying risks (Goodman, 2017). Nevertheless, differences exist in how different media frame cosmetic surgery. For instance, Fraser (2003) found that cosmetic surgery was increasingly framed as a tool for accomplishing individual success and happiness. Additionally, Adams (2009) also examined how the media frames cosmetic surgery and found that cosmetic surgery was positively presented as an ordinary consumer activity. Similarly, Adams (2009) found that the risks associated with cosmetic procedures were frequently downplayed in traditional media. More recently, Wen et al. (2015) concluded that approximately 60% of YouTube videos related to cosmetic surgery discuss the procedures by highlighting the benefits, whilst only 9% highlighted the risks. They argued that cosmetic providers often neutrally explained cosmetic procedures and promoted cosmetic procedures by ensuring its safety, while only a few highlighted the associated risks.

However, cosmetic surgery is not always framed by emphasizing its benefits. On the contrary, research by Sun et al. (2020) found that Chinese media portrayed cosmetic surgery through expressing their concerns about the safety and risks associated with cosmetic procedures. These

cross-cultural differences in media representations of cosmetic surgery may be caused by cultural differences, aesthetic tastes, and social systems (Sun et al., 2020). For instance, the Chinese media currently faces pressure from the government to follow specific political rules related to cosmetic surgery and advertising (Sun et al., 2020). Moreover, the Chinese central government has decided for stricter regulations for the cosmetic surgery industry due to an increase of violations recently. These violations included institutions offering illegal medical treatments, cosmetic surgery training, and cosmetic providers who post information online in cosmetic surgery-related advertisements that violated China's current laws and regulations (Xinhua, 2020). Hence, these developments could explain why the Chinese media negatively frames cosmetic surgery.

Furthermore, Sorice et al. (2017) demonstrated that Facebook, YouTube, and Instagram are the three most popular social media platforms for searching for information regarding cosmetic procedures. Initially established in 2005, YouTube is now the most popular free video-sharing platform in which users can watch, like, share, comment, and upload all sorts of videos (Gray et al., 2019). Consequently, YouTube has grown as one of the leading platforms with two billion users worldwide (Castillo-Abdul et al., 2021). The video-sharing platform also contains many videos about cosmetic surgery. Although this platform was purely established for entertainment purposes, it is now often used for educational purposes as well (Gray et al., 2019). Currently, any individual can post a video on YouTube, which means that videos about cosmetic surgery on this platform vary in quality and accuracy (Gray et al., 2019). This raises the question if the information provided on YouTube is trustworthy and if this platform should be used for educational purposes related to cosmetic surgery. For instance, Gray et al. (2019) examined the quality of cosmetic surgery-related YouTube videos using the 'Ensuring Quality Information for Patient instrument', which provides a grade for the quality of different sorts of information. The sample for this study consisted of 523 YouTube videos in total developed by physicians and patients. Their study found that the information available on YouTube from physicians provided the best quality information (Gray et al., 2019). However, their study also found that the quality of information available on YouTube from patients was low and frequently downplayed the associated risks and complications (Gray et al., 2019). Thus, using YouTube as primary source for examining how influencers discuss cosmetic surgery is particularly relevant for examining the quality of this information online as consumers increasingly use YouTube for information about cosmetic surgery (Montemurro et al., 2015).

2.2.1 Framing

Framing theory by Goffman (1974) is especially relevant for this study since it offers guidance for examining how the media, here the influencers, represents cosmetic surgery. Framing is the process whereby the media selects, presents, and emphasizes certain aspects of reality which the media decides are important (Goffman, 1974). Media frames can influence how people think about certain issues. Thus, the media could frame cosmetic procedures by highlighting benefits or risks, which affects consumers' perceptions of cosmetic surgery (Sun et al., 2020).

Another important author regarding framing is Entman (1993), who studied political communication and offered a detailed explanation of how the media provides individuals with tools for interpreting certain phenomena. Entman (1993) identified two factors that are essential for framing, namely: selection and salience. Entman (1993) argued that framing is the practice of selecting certain aspects and making them more salient in a text rather than explaining the whole story. Authors can make certain parts of text salient by repetition and placement (Entman, 1993). In the context of this study, selection and salience direct the researcher's attention to how influencers select certain aspects of their experience with cosmetic surgery and make them more salient.

Additionally, Entman (1991) outlined five frequently used approaches for framing news stories, namely: conflict, human interest, consequence, morality, and responsibility. First, a conflict frame refers to how frames can prioritize conflicts between certain groups (Entman, 1991). Second, human interest frames prioritize the personality and experiences of the subjects (Entman, 1991). Third, a consequence frame depicts (negative) consequences of the phenomenon in question. Fourth, morality frames refer to how authors prioritize moral judgment in their stories. Finally, a responsibility frame refers to how the author assigns the responsibility of a phenomenon to a particular person or group (Entman, 1991). Entman's approach of framing has important implications for the practice of cosmetic surgery. In the context of this study, the researcher expects to find the human interest frame, the consequence frame, and the responsibility frame as previous research has shown that beauty and lifestyle influencers often share both negative and positive personal experiences to establish a sense of trust (Rapp, 2016).

Furthermore, framing theory has been applied multiple times in studies related to (female) beauty and the body. These studies investigated different framing techniques used in advertisements related to beauty. For instance, Lenne et al. (2021) tested the effects of three different frames used in advertisements featuring idealized versus non-idealized models on participants' well-being. The three frames used by Lenne et al. (2021) were: a passive body frame (e.g., focused on appearance), an active body frame (e.g., focused on body functionality), and a subject frame (e.g., focused on personality). Their results showed that the effects of an active body frame and a subject frame were successful in achieving positive well-being with participants.

Moreover, Merianos et al. (2013) investigated the availability of different cosmetic procedures for women and examined which framing techniques were used to influence the decision-making process for cosmetic surgery. They concluded from their study that all cosmetic providers marketed their procedures to women using medical and therapeutic frames. Additionally, Merianos et al. (2013) argued that cosmetic providers seem to benefit from using medical terms to diagnose beauty and use therapeutic terms to ensure an increase in self-esteem. Although these framing techniques differ from those established by Entman (1993), the results from these studies are important to consider to examine what framing techniques influencers used on YouTube to discuss cosmetic surgery.

Furthermore, Wen et al. (2015) examined the portrayals of cosmetic surgery on YouTube and found three information sources that are often used in the media coverage of cosmetic surgery,

namely: 'typical consumers' (i.e., cosmetic surgery patients), 'celebrities' (i.e., influencers), and 'experts' (i.e., cosmetic surgeons). Wen et al. (2015) concluded that expert sources were mostly used in YouTube videos related to cosmetic surgery, which can be explained by the fact that experts are considered qualified and credible. Additionally, cosmetic providers often use YouTube as a platform to advertise their cosmetic procedures, which could explain why their content is prevalent on YouTube (Wen et al., 2015). However, typical consumers seemed to generate more viewer interest in the cosmetic procedures, measured by the number of comments that the videos received and the discussions it provoked in the comments (Wen et al., 2015). Wen et al. (2015) argue that this could be explained by the fact that typical consumers often tell their personal experiences with cosmetic surgery, which generates a feeling of trust and reliability. This also corresponds with the human interest frame by Entman (1991), meaning that authors prioritize personality and experiences of the subjects. In the context of this study, the researcher expects to find similar results in terms of the prevalent presence of typical consumers and the human interest frame by Entman (1991) in the YouTube videos as these videos are posted by beauty and lifestyle influencers who are generally known for sharing their personal experiences on YouTube (Forbes, 2016). Additionally, influencers often incorporate conversations with their cosmetic surgeons into their content, generating a sense of credibility and trust (Rapp, 2016; Sudha & Sheena, 2017).

2.3 Influencer marketing

Despite the fact that social media platforms such as YouTube, Instagram, Facebook, and TikTok are known for their user-generated content, the content is becoming increasingly professionalized (Van Driel & Dumitrica, 2021). One of the most popular user-generated content contributors are influencers. Past researchers used different terms for this phenomenon, such as: 'influencers', 'social influencers', 'social media influencers', and 'online influencers' (Forbes, 2016; Ki & Kim, 2019; Sudha & Sheena, 2017; Van Driel & Dumitrica, 2021). For the purpose of this study, the researcher will further use the term 'influencers' as this is the most commonly used term in society and literature. In today's society, influencers play a vital role in influencing the decision-making process of consumers (Sudha & Sheena, 2017). Influencers are considered as experts in their field and are therefore able to influence consumers' purchase intention. As argued by Rapp (2016) and Sudha and Sheena (2017), especially beauty and fashion influencers are considered as influential as they often treat their followers as friends and share products they like. Kay et al. (2020) argue that influencers have two goals when posting sponsored content on social media, namely to influence followers' purchase intentions and to increase followers' product knowledge. Additionally, influencers are considered as a form of entertainment as they provide amusement, enjoyment, and relaxation with their content related to their daily lives (Forbes, 2016). Increasingly, children and young adults prefer watching online content, especially YouTube, instead of television. YouTube offers the possibility to choose the content you want in contrast to television where they decide what is airing (Forbes, 2016).

Thus, people increasingly use platforms such as YouTube to watch content they like as a form of amusement.

YouTube influencers are defined as individuals who create and upload video content onto YouTube and have collected a large number of followers that frequently watch their content (Forbes, 2016). Several studies examined the power of YouTube influencers (Chu, 2009; Haryacha, 2014; Smith, 2014). For instance, Fidelman (2017) argued that the increasing popularity of influencer marketing is mainly due to the perceived credibility of YouTube influencers and their content. YouTube influencers are often perceived as highly influential because of their accessibility, relatability, and authenticity. Because followers often feel like they know YouTube influencers and see them as a friend, influencers are easily able to influence their perceptions and decisions (Sudha & Sheena, 2017). Additionally, Haryacha (2014) argued that teens from the United States are influenced more readily by YouTube influencers than other celebrities, highlighting the increased power of YouTube influencers. However, influencers are segmented according to different niches such as beauty, health and fitness, travel, lifestyle, gaming, and fashion, which also affects how influential they are.

Currently, one of the most popular influencers on YouTube are the so-called 'beauty gurus' (Castillo-Abdul et al., 2021). Beauty gurus are men or women who routinely upload YouTube videos about make-up, hairstyling techniques, and products (Rapp, 2016). Additionally, these type of influencers often involves their personal lives into their videos which establishes a sense of trust from their followers (Rapp, 2016). They often treat their followers as friends, sharing personal experiences about everyday life. Through this ongoing sharing of beauty tips in combination with the struggles of everyday life, a lot of beauty influencers have become very successful on YouTube (Rapp, 2016).

As content from beauty influencers on YouTube is often centered around physical appearance, their content solidifies the current societal system's focus on the 'ideal' appearance and body (Castillo-Abdul et al., 2021). YouTube videos from beauty influencers often focus on make-up, beauty enhancement products, clothing, and increasingly cosmetic surgery. Although there is a growing counter-movement online that is called body-positivity which embraces individuals of all sizes, videos from YouTube influencers are still edited with filters sometimes (Alfarraj et al., 2020). Correspondingly, influencers' practices are still adapted to the need to look closer to society's ideals (Castillo-Abdul et al., 2021). This topic makes it the obvious choice for this study to examine cosmetic surgery messages from beauty and lifestyle influencers on YouTube.

Furthermore, to understand the important role influencers have when influencing followers and their decisions for cosmetic surgery, the consumer's doppelganger effect is an important theory. The consumer's doppelganger effect explains the phenomenon in which people imitate others, including their consumption, because of the desire to look the same (Ruvio et al., 2013). Imitating consumption behavior is often an intentional behavior by individuals. This behavior is driven by the desire to look

or behave like another person. Consequently, consumers will monitor their role models to imitate their behavior and appearances (Ruvio et al., 2013).

Additionally, another important tool used to examine the effectiveness of influencers is source credibility. Source credibility is very important for influencers as a credible source can influence consumers' attitudes and behaviors (Lim et al., 2017). As mentioned before, one of the goals influencers have is increasing purchase intentions. Thus, being perceived as credible is extremely important for influencers to reach this goal. Within source credibility, expertise and trustworthiness are two interrelated variables (Lim et al., 2017). Studies have shown that influencers who are perceived as experts by consumers are more convincing and able to influence followers' buying decisions (Alfarraj et al., 2020). Moreover, trustworthiness refers to influencers' honesty, decency, and believability. Previous studies examined the effects of influencers' trustworthiness, credibility, and authenticity (Djafarova & Rushworth, 2017; Djafarova & Trofimenko, 2018; Lim et al., 2017; Sokolova & Kefi, 2018). These studies shed light on the most important communication strategies that influencers use to expand their group of followers, namely incorporating their personal lives into their social media content and interacting with followers.

Because influencers often incorporate their personal life into their social media content, they are often perceived as 'more real' (Rapp, 2016; Van Driel & Dumitrica, 2021). Additionally, influencers seem accessible as they often interact with followers which is in contrast to traditional celebrities who usually have a large impersonal following (Rapp, 2016). However, influencers also have to constantly take this authenticity into consideration when creating and posting content on social media (Van Driel & Dumitrica, 2021). For instance, to convey their authenticity and transparency, influencers often incorporate personal stories into content about products or services (Rapp, 2016). Additionally, influencers often only promote products that fit with the character of their online persona (Audrezet et al., 2020). However, paradoxically, authenticity then becomes carefully choreographed, turning into a strategic form of self-representation (Gaden & Dumitrica, 2014). This is important to consider as influencers increasingly collaborate with cosmetic providers for free cosmetic procedures, which could possibly affect how influencers discuss cosmetic surgery on YouTube (RTL Nieuws, 2020a).

Consequently, as brands are aware of the increasing power of influencers, a variety of brands are adopting influencer marketing to connect with their customers (Forbes, 2016). Influencer marketing can be defined as the practice of identifying individuals who have a certain influence on consumers and using them to promote products and services and drive a brand's message to reach the target audience (Ki & Kim, 2019; Sudha & Sheena, 2017). Influencer marketing has proved to be effective for expanding target groups and turning them into loyal customers. Moreover, influencer marketing helps to gain consumers' trust (Kay et al., 2020). Consequently, companies are progressively using influencers for the promotion of their products and services. This phenomenon is also increasingly seen in the field of cosmetic surgery; influencers are either paid or sponsored to share their experiences with cosmetic procedures on social media platforms such as YouTube (Chandawarkar et

al., 2018). When influencers collaborate on a sponsored basis, influencers receive free cosmetic procedures in return for social media content. However, when influencers start to collaborate with brands, companies, or cosmetic clinics, followers often perceive this as a loss of authenticity because they argue that influencers are posting content for money rather than for their followers (Audrezet et al., 2020).

2.3.1 Laws and restrictions with regard to influencer marketing and cosmetic surgery advertising in the Netherlands

Because of the increasing popularity of influencer marketing and cosmetic surgery, different laws and restrictions are established in the Netherlands with regards to advertising. As mentioned earlier, different studies concluded that the information available online about cosmetic surgery was often inaccurate (Gray et al., 2019). Consequently, in 2014, the Dutch Advertising Codes Foundation incorporated the "Reclamecode social media (advertising code social media)" into the Dutch advertising Codes (Stichting Reclame Code, 2019). Since social media and influencer marketing have developed quickly, this Code has been updated in 2019 under the new name: "Reclamecode social media & influencer marketing" (advertising code for social media & influencer marketing). This advertising Code requires influencers to be transparent about if a specific benefit (e.g., compensation in forms of money or free products) is offered for discussing or showing a brand or product on social media (Stichting Reclame Code, 2019). Additionally, consumers should be easily able to understand if they are seeing an advertisement or not. Advertisements spread via video sharing platforms such as YouTube should be accompanied by a text that clearly states that it is an advertisement. For sponsorships or product placement, this should be noted in the beginning or at the end of the video (Stichting Reclame Code, 2019).

Besides the laws and restrictions for influencer marketing, the Dutch Advertising Codes Foundation also established laws and restrictions concerning the promotion of cosmetic procedures. The "Code Medische Cosmetische Behandelingen uitgevoerd door Artsen (Code of medical cosmetic treatments performed by physicians) forbids the promotion of cosmetic procedures if the advertisements do not enhance the use of cosmetic procedures in a rational manner (Stichting Reclame Code, n.d.). Therefore, it is prohibited to include or suggest any form of time pressure or the hold promotional campaigns that involve an obligation to purchase or to undergo a certain treatment. Thus, cosmetic clinics are allowed to offer gifts or free cosmetic procedures to influencers if influencers are not obligated to buy or to be treated (Stichting Reclame Code, n.d.). Additionally, it is prohibited to target advertisements for cosmetic surgery to children under the age of 18 years and advertisements should provide an objective representation of the procedures and should not mislead consumers (Stichting Reclame Code, n.d.). This includes that advertisements should not imply that any treatment is without risk and should not guarantee any result. Images may be used if they present an accurate representation and do not give the impression that a particular body shape or physical feature is preferred (Stichting reclame code, n.d.).

Consumers, companies, and organizations have the opportunity to file a complaint on the website of the Dutch Advertising Codes Foundation when they think that an advertisement is against the Dutch Advertising Codes, which means that advertisements are only checked by the Dutch Advertising Codes Foundation when they receive a complaint. When they receive a complaint, the Dutch Advertising Code Committee accesses the complaint on the basis of the advertising Code and determines whether the rules have been violated (Stichting Reclame Code, n.d.). If the committee approves the complaint, the committee does a recommendation to the advertiser to adjust or withdraw the advertisement. Thus, the Dutch Advertising Codes Foundation do not impose fines when rules are not complied with. However, in some cases, the committee can decide to send the judgement to news media to publish it online (Stichting Reclame Code, n.d.). For the purpose of this study, it is important to consider these laws as they may affect how Dutch influencers discuss cosmetic surgery on YouTube as they are bound to different rules and regulations in the Netherlands.

3. Method

To answer the research question '*How did Dutch female beauty and lifestyle influencers discuss cosmetic surgery on YouTube between 2016 and 2020?*, this study performed a MCDA of Dutch YouTube influencers' discussion of cosmetic surgery. The first section of this chapter will highlight the data collection process with an explanation and justification of the selection process, including the inclusion criteria. The second section will clarify why MCDA was chosen for this study. Additionally, this section provides an explanation of what MCDA entails and how it was used for this study. The third section describes how the data was analyzed using the tools for MCDA outlined by Machin and Mayr (2012). Finally, this chapter will discuss the reflexivity of the researcher in this study.

3.1 Data Collection

As the research question indicates, this study focused on YouTube videos from Dutch female beauty and lifestyle influencers between 2016 and 2020. To collect the data for this study, purposive sampling was used. Purposive sampling is a type of nonprobability sampling in which the data is selected based on the researcher's judgment about which data was most 'useful' and 'representative' for the study (Babbie, 2017). To determine which influencers would be most 'representative' and 'useful', the following five inclusion criteria were adopted: the video should be uploaded by a Dutch female beauty and lifestyle influencer, the influencer should be a macro-influencer, the main focus of the video should be about cosmetic surgery, the video should be uploaded between 2016 and 2020, and the influencers should have uploaded two or more videos about cosmetic surgery between 2016 and 2020. These inclusion criteria will be further explained in the following section.

3.1.1 Inclusion criteria

As already discussed, this study adopted five inclusion criteria, which will be further elaborated on in this section. First, the YouTube videos should be uploaded by Dutch female beauty and lifestyle influencers. Beauty influencers are known for their expertise on the topics of skincare, hair products, and make-up (Rapp, 2016). They have gathered a large audience who trusts their advice and product recommendations regarding skincare, hair, and make-up (Rapp, 2016). Lifestyle influencers are defined as influencers who are dedicated to post a variety of content, such as vlogs, related to their personal daily life (Mediakix, n.d.). This study focused on Dutch female beauty and lifestyle influencers because of the popularity of cosmetic surgery among women (Linge, 2019). Furthermore, as Castillo-Abdul et al. (2021) argued, beauty and lifestyle influencers are currently one of the most popular influencer sub-groups of the platform. Additionally, a study from Ward and Paskhover (2019) explored the cosmetic procedure mentions within YouTube videos and showed that cosmetic surgery was presented within eight of the ten most popular beauty YouTube influencers. Thus, this study from Ward and Paskhover (2019) confirms that cosmetic procedures are

popular among the beauty YouTube community. Importantly, there is no previous research that specifically focused on examining cosmetic surgery messages by Dutch influencers. This is interesting to examine because, as mentioned in the introduction, the percentage of young people aged between 18 and 25 years who used Botox and fillers in the Netherlands increased. This vulnerable age group is easily influenced by social media and influencers. Considering that most influencers have a target group between 15 and 24 years (Root, 2016), Dutch influencers' discussion of cosmetic surgery on YouTube could influence young people's desire for cosmetic surgery.

The second inclusion criteria was that this study only included macro-influencers in the sample, meaning that the influencer should have at least a hundred thousand subscribers on her YouTube channel (Kay et al., 2020). As indicated by Forbes (2016), the number of followers can determine how influential influencers will be. Thus, having at least 100.000 subscribers was an important inclusion criterion for this study.

Third, the main focus of the YouTube video should be cosmetic surgery in order to be included in the sample. This also meant that the title of the YouTube video should indicate that the video is about cosmetic surgery. However, if the main focus of the YouTube video was about cosmetic surgery but the video also shortly discussed other topics than cosmetic surgery, only the discussions related to cosmetic procedures were included for the purpose of this thesis.

Fourth, the YouTube video should be uploaded between 2016 and 2020 because this study was interested in seeing if influencers changed their perspective of cosmetic surgery within a time frame of four years. The researcher expected to find a shift in opinion regarding cosmetic surgery from the influencers as a counter-movement is going on in which younger people are removing their lip fillers (RTL Nieuws, 2020b). As mentioned in the introduction, Botox and lip fillers are increasingly popular in the Netherlands. Cosmetic doctor Decates argued that cosmetic procedures sometimes go wrong in which the lip fillers closes the blood vessel, resulting in people removing their lip fillers (RTL Nieuws, 2020b). Thus, because of this counter-movement, it is interesting to examine if influencers' perceptions of cosmetic surgery changed within four years. The specific time frame between 2016 and 2020 was chosen because it is most recent and wide enough to examine if the perspectives of influencers changed. Additionally, according to previous research, in 2016 a large increase was seen in which 390.000 cosmetic procedures were performed (RTL Nieuws, 2020a). As this research started in 2020, the time frame between 2016 and 2020 seemed the logical choice.

Finally, to determine if influencers' opinions about cosmetic surgery changed between 2016 and 2020, the fifth inclusion criteria for this study was that the influencers should have uploaded two or more videos in different moments in time between the time period of 2016 and 2020, as this would give more information regarding this hypothetical shift in opinion.

3.1.2 Collecting the sample

To establish the sample, the researcher first identified influencers who meet the above-described criteria. The collection process started by identifying Dutch female beauty and lifestyle influencers

with at least 100.000 subscribers on YouTube. Different websites online provide lists of popular Dutch female influencers, such as Girlscene, DeMedia100, and Influencer DNA. These lists were used to identify Dutch influencers who identify themselves as beauty and lifestyle influencers and have at least 100.000 subscribers. Additionally, the researcher watched different YouTube videos from these influencers to see what the main focus of their videos was to make sure that their videos were focused on beauty and lifestyle. As mentioned, beauty includes all aspects of skincare, hair, and make-up and lifestyle includes aspects of influencers' daily lives.

As the main focus of this study is cosmetic surgery, the second step was to determine which of these influencers have had cosmetic surgery. Since the researcher already followed many Dutch female beauty and lifestyle influencers on social media before writing this thesis, the researcher already had knowledge about which Dutch female influencers have had cosmetic surgery in the past. Additionally, many Dutch female influencers have openly discussed their procedures in the media (Grazia, 2018; Grazia, 2019; RTL Boulevard, 2018). This knowledge was used as main starting point for selecting the influencers for the sample.

Hereafter, the sampling process consisted of typing different search terms in the YouTube search bar together with the name of the Dutch female influencers to find out if these influencers uploaded YouTube videos related to cosmetic surgery. To decide the exact search terms, the researcher identified the most popular cosmetic procedures done in the Netherlands. According to different websites, the following procedures are most popular in the Netherlands: breast augmentation, eyelid correction, nose correction, facelift, Botox, breast reduction, and fillers (Trending, 2021; Rodenburg, 2020). Additionally, as mentioned, the researcher already knew about influencers' cosmetic procedures. Thus, the researcher used the following search terms in combination with the names of the influencers in the YouTube search bar: 'borst vergroting', 'ooglidcorrectie', neus correctie', 'facelift', 'Botox', 'borst verkleining', and 'fillers'. This video search led to different videos from Dutch female influencers about cosmetic surgery, sorted on relevance according to the "relevance" filter on YouTube.

Some videos or influencers were excluded from the sample because they did not meet all inclusion criteria mentioned above. For instance, NikkieTutorials is a Dutch beauty-related YouTube influencer with more than 13 million subscribers. She uploaded a YouTube video about her experience with lip fillers. However, this video was not included in the sample because she only posted one video related to cosmetic surgery. Additionally, the YouTube video was uploaded in 2015, meaning that it did not fall between the time frame of 2016 and 2020.

As the YouTube videos from influencers do not fall under the category of private information, the researcher was aware that informed consent from the influencers was not required to collect the YouTube videos and use them for this study. As the YouTube videos include influencers and cosmetic doctors who are talking to the camera, the researchers assumes that they are aware of being recorded and gave permission to publish the video on YouTube (Berger, 2012). Additionally, with regard to medical consultations and information, as the videos are published by the patients

themselves (i.e., the influencers), the researcher knows that they gave permission to publish this online. However, copyright was the only important thing to consider during this study (Berger, 2012). Although influencers own the copyright to their videos, researchers using these videos is qualified as legal because the original work is transformed into transcriptions. Thus, the nature of the research question made the choice for YouTube videos as source of data an appropriate choice. The data for this study was stored privately and will be deleted after this study is finished.

3.1.3 The sample

As multiple YouTube influencers met the criteria mentioned earlier, the researcher had to exclude several influencers from this study because of the limited time frame for conducting this study. Additionally, as this study was also interested in examining if the perceptions of influencers about cosmetic surgery changed over four years, the number of influencers which could be included in the sample was limited. The final sample consisted of 11 YouTube videos, uploaded by three Dutch female beauty and lifestyle influencers (see Figure 1), with a total of 109 minutes (a complete list of the analyzed YouTube videos can be found in appendix B). The 11 YouTube videos comprise all videos in which these three influencers speak about cosmetic surgery within the time frame of 2016 and 2020.

Influencer	Number of subscribers
Monica Geuze	539.000
Jessie Maya	340.000
Jill van Dooren	355.000

Figure 1: List of influencers included in the sample

First, Monica Geuze is a Dutch female beauty and lifestyle influencer and has 539.000 subscribers on YouTube (Geuze, 2021). She is one of the most popular vloggers in the Netherlands as she posts videos about her daily life on YouTube every week. Monica Geuze is one of the Dutch influencers who has always been transparent about what cosmetic procedures she had done, including: breast augmentation, lip fillers, and Botox (RTL Boulevard, 2018). Second, Jessie Maya is one of the most famous Dutch transgender YouTube influencers. She has 340.000 subscribers on YouTube and mostly posts videos about fashion and beauty (Maya, 2021). Jessie Maya has openly discussed her transgender process on YouTube, including her breast augmentation, nose correction, lip fillers, Botox, facial feminization surgery, and cheek fillers (Maya, 2021). Including a transgender influencer in the sample may show differences in narratives as some procedures are more reconstructive than cosmetic for transgenders, which could provide this study with an interesting point of comparison. Additionally, cosmetic procedures help transgenders to deal with the discrepancy between their personal gender identity and physical appearance which possibly affect

transgender influencers' perception of cosmetic surgery. Finally, Jill van Dooren is a Dutch influencer who posts vlogs on YouTube about her daily life. Her YouTube channel has 356.000 subscribers (Van Dooren, 2021). Jill van Dooren has discussed having a nose correction and lip fillers on YouTube.

3.2 Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis

First, it is important to clarify why a qualitative approach was chosen for this study. Qualitative research is best suited for studying 'how' and 'why' questions (Babbie, 2017). Additionally, as a qualitative approach is flexible and iterative, a qualitative approach allowed the researcher to adjust certain elements during the study (Boeije, 2010). This was important as the researcher gained new knowledge during collecting literature and analyzing the data which benefitted this study. Thus, qualitative research enabled the researcher to gain an in-depth understanding of how cosmetic surgery is constructed on YouTube by Dutch female beauty and lifestyle influencers (Babbie, 2017). To analyze the discussion of cosmetic surgery by Dutch female beauty and lifestyle influencers on YouTube, MCDA was selected as research method.

Academics are in favor of the paradigmatic shift towards a multimodal discourse approach as they argue that meaning can be constructed in multiple semiotic ways within texts and images (Machin & Mayr, 2012). This contradicts the traditional view from Critical Discourse Analysis of how meaning was only assigned to language (Machin & Mayr, 2012). Drawing upon this paradigmatic shift, this thesis used a multimodal approach to analyze the YouTube videos as visuals are extremely important to understand how Dutch female beauty and lifestyle influencers discuss cosmetic surgery on a visual based platform. Machin (2013) argues that discourses illustrate some sort of knowledge about what is happening in certain social practices and why certain things happen. In this sense, discourses are able to distribute certain ways of thinking about cosmetic surgery that are deliberated as common sense in society. Thus, MCDA helped to understand how Dutch female influencers construct or reproduce certain discourses about cosmetic surgery through language and visuals.

Furthermore, MCDA is interested in examining how meaning is created through both language and visual features such as (moving) images, color, and layout (Machin, 2013). The method helps to describe all the choices made by an author, here the influencer, and eventually reveals these choices through a detailed process guided by particular tools (Machin & Mayr, 2012). Moreover, MCDA is interested in examining how certain elements in images, such as objects and settings, are able to indicate discourses that might be impossible to indicate with studying languages and texts (Machin & Mayr, 2012). What makes MCDA important is the fact that images can be used to say things that authors cannot express through language (Machin & Mayr, 2012). For instance, images and visuals can depict facial expressions, objects, and environments which can reinforce discourses which were impossible to reinforce with language. Thus, adopting MCDA helped the researcher to place the meanings of visuals next to those found in the accompanying spoken languages. MCDA was particularly relevant as research method for this study because of its critical aspect, which is central

to MCDA according to Machin and Mayr (2012). This crucial aspect of MCDA includes denaturalizing common sense, aiming for an in-depth understanding of certain phenomena, and revealing power relations (Machin & Mayr, 2012). This critical aspect is useful in the context of this study's interest in revealing how Dutch influencers use language and visuals to explain and legitimate cosmetic surgery to their followers as it helps gain an in-depth understanding of 'how' and 'why' they discuss certain aspects. Additionally, it helps reveal power relations between the influencers, cosmetic surgeons, and their followers.

Finally, MCDA believes that images and language both shape and are shaped by society. Therefore, MCDA is not only interested in the visual semiotic choices themselves but also in the way they contribute to the communication of power relations (Machin & Mayr, 2012). This study was not only interested in examining what influencers say about cosmetic surgery but also how they are doing this through language and visuals on YouTube. As MCDA believes that power is communicated and exercised through discourse, by adopting MCDA as research method, this thesis gained an in-depth understanding of how power relations between Dutch female influencers and their viewers as well as between influencers and cosmetic doctors are exercised in the discourse of cosmetic surgery. For instance, influencers have a social-formative power over their viewers as they have the power to influence their decision making processes and their perceptions of cosmetic surgery (Lim et al., 2017). Similarly, cosmetic surgeons seem to have a social-formative power over influencers because of how they execute their expertise.

3.3 Processing and analysis of data

Once the sample was collected, the first step was to watch the selected YouTube videos carefully and transcribe them verbatim. The researcher used the transcription function of YouTube as a starting point to transcribe all sampled YouTube videos in Microsoft Word and corrected any mistakes in this automatically generated transcript, if necessary. As most YouTube videos were vlogs, some parts of the videos were not relevant for this study. Thus, as mentioned above, the researcher decided only to transcribe the relevant parts of the YouTube videos related to cosmetic surgery.

Since this study adopted MCDA, it was essential to note down the most important non-verbal aspects, such as facial expressions, together with the verbal aspects. Thus, the transcriptions consisted of a visual section and an audio section. In order to be able to organize all data, the analysis was executed in the qualitative analysis software ATLAS.ti. This software helped the researcher with structuring the data and visualize the complex relations between the data. An example of an analysis executed in ATLAS.ti can be found in appendix C.

Furthermore, MCDA has several focus points which were relevant for this study. Machin and Mayr (2012) make a distinction between tools for studying lexical choices and studying visual choices. As this study focused on examining both verbal and visual content, the next phase involved analyzing the spoken and visual languages using all lexical and visual tools provided by Machin and

Mayr (2012). The researcher began with analyzing the spoken languages within the YouTube videos using the five lexical tools provided by Machin and Mayr (2012), namely: word connotations and lexical choices, overlexicalization, suppression, and structural oppositions.

First, the researcher analyzed the specific words that were used by influencers and cosmetic surgeons. Here, the researcher focused on how influencers and cosmetic surgeons used informal and formal words. For instance, the analysis showed that influencers often used informal word choices, indicated by swearing or the use of slang. Additionally, the analysis showed that cosmetic surgeons often used formal lexical choices, indicated by medical and scientific terms. Analyzing the word connotations helped the researcher to identify the meanings of using formal and informal words. Thus, the researcher found that cosmetic surgeons' use of formal words (i.e., medical and scientific terms) indicates expertise and influencers' use of informal words (i.e., swearing and slang) contributes to their credibility and relatability.

Second, the researcher paid attention to overlexicalization, which means the overemphasis of certain words (Machin & Mayr, 2012). During the analysis, the researcher found that the influencers emphasized certain elements of cosmetic surgery during the YouTube videos. Words such as 'super', 'heel erg' [extremely], 'bizar', and 'mega' indicated that influencers or cosmetic surgeons emphasized certain aspects of cosmetic surgery. Thus, similar to overlexicalization, emphasis was used in this study to indicate the topics where the emphasis was prominent and what the influencers and cosmetic surgeons found most important to mention.

Third, the researcher analyzed the absences of certain words in texts, which Machin and Mayr (2012) define as suppression. During the analysis, the researcher found that suppression was often used in the forms of pauses (e.g., dus… ik weet het niet [so… I don't know]). Additionally, the researcher had certain expectations about what would be discussed because of its importance in cosmetic surgery. However, sometimes influencers did not discuss these aspects which is a form of suppression. For instance, as influencers are aware of their power to influence viewers, the researcher expected that influencers would discuss that viewers have to carefully think about the decision for cosmetic surgery. However, only Jill van Dooren mentioned during her YouTube videos that she thought about the decision for a long time and that her viewers should do the same. Here, the researcher paid attention to why influencers chose to suppress certain elements in the YouTube videos.

Finally, the researcher paid attention to structural oppositions, which means that authors (here, the influencers) use opposing concepts or words (Machin & Mayr, 2012). During the analysis, the researcher found that the influencers often used structural oppositions in their YouTube videos about cosmetic surgery. The structural oppositions were indicated by contrasting words such as: 'maar' [but] and 'aan de andere kant' [on the other side].

Hereafter, the researcher analyzed the visual choices within the YouTube videos using the three visual tools provided Machin and Mayr (2012), namely: attributes, settings, and salience. First, attributes focus on the ideas and values communicated through objects (Machin & Mayr, 2012).

Here, the researcher focused on how certain objects, such as a doctors' coat, doctors' gloves, and medical instruments, create meaning within the YouTube videos. Second, settings focus on how a setting is used to communicate a certain idea (Machin & Mayr, 2012). For instance, the analysis showed that the conversations between influencers and cosmetic doctors often took place in medical environments, indicated by certain objects in the room. The fact that these conversations took place in medical environments indicates expertise and authority. Finally, salience focuses on the different aspects made to stand out and to draw people's attention (Machin & Mayr, 2012). Machin and Mayr (2012) provide seven ways in which salience can be achieved, namely: Cultural symbols (i.e., objects or symbols that carry cultural meaning), size (i.e., how certain elements are ranked of importance varying between biggest to smallest), color (i.e., how certain striking colors are used), tone (i.e., how brightness is used to center the attention around), focus (i.e., how certain composition levels are used to focus on specific aspects), foregrounding (i.e., how certain elements are placed in the front to create importance), and overlapping (i.e., how certain elements are placed in front of others to create importance).

After reading and analyzing the data and paying attention to the tools outlined above, several patterns emerged. The researcher grouped the subsequent findings along 3 main themes, based on the topics discussed by the influencers during the YouTube videos, namely: the normalization of cosmetic surgery, the medical aspects of cosmetic surgery, and before versus after cosmetic procedures. These themes will be extensively discussed in the next chapter.

3.4 Reflexivity

For the purpose of this study, it was extremely important to be reflexive about the actions taken as a researcher during the research. As mentioned before, qualitative studies are subject to personal perceptions and attitudes of researchers, which could lead to undesirable biases (Boeije, 2010). Additionally, the topic of this study (e.g., cosmetic surgery) is a topic that is still sensitive in the Netherlands and people have different opinions about the topic. However, the researcher ensured transparency during the research process by including a detailed description of the selected method, data collection, analysis process, and the theoretical framework. Additionally, during discussing the results of the analysis, multiple examples were provided. The researcher's purpose here was to ensure complete transparency and provide an understanding in terms of how the data is interpreted. Additionally, the goal of the researcher was to create awareness of how influencers discuss cosmetic surgery on YouTube.

To ensure validity, the researcher continuously focused on analytical induction, where the researcher repeatedly compared the findings from the analysis with previous research and theories found in the theoretical framework. Additionally, the researcher specifically paid attention to findings that deviated from initial expectations formed by literature and previous research.

3.5 Conclusion

In summary, MCDA was applied to analyze 11 YouTube videos from three different Dutch female beauty and lifestyle influencers, namely: Monica Geuze, Jessie Maya, and Jill van Dooren. The influencers and YouTube videos were carefully selected using inclusion criteria explicitly designed for this study. The 11 YouTube videos were transcribed verbatim by the researcher and analyzed in the qualitative analysis software ATLAS.ti using the tools provided by Machin and Mayr (2012). Eventually, the analysis resulted in the coding scheme in Appendix A. The results from the MCDA analysis of these YouTube videos will be outlined and discussed in depth in Chapter 4.

4. Results

This chapter presents the results of the MCDA of 11 YouTube videos from three Dutch influencers. The results of the analysis are outlined and discussed to understand how Dutch female beauty and lifestyle influencers discuss cosmetic surgery on YouTube between 2016 and 2020. This chapter is divided into three sections, corresponding with the three themes that emerged during the analysis. First, the normalization of cosmetic surgery on YouTube by Dutch female influencers is explored. Second, this chapter elaborates on the discussion of the medical aspects of cosmetic surgery. Finally, the "before versus after cosmetic procedures" theme will be discussed in which influencers discuss several aspects happening before and after their cosmetic procedures.

4.1 Normalization of cosmetic surgery

The analysis has shown that the influencers unconsciously normalized cosmetic surgery in their YouTube videos, indicated by several happenings. The discussion of cosmetic surgery in the YouTube videos took place in informal settings, such as at influencers' homes or in their cars. As mentioned, to convey their authenticity and transparency, beauty and lifestyle influencers often incorporate their personal lives into their YouTube videos which establishes a sense of trust from their followers (Rapp, 2016). Related to this, all three influencers discussed and showed their own experiences with cosmetic surgery which also contributes to influencers' authenticity and gives the impression that viewers can trust them (Wen et al., 2015). Correspondingly, Entman (1991) argued that the human interest frame is one of the five frequently used approaches for framing. The influencers used the human interest frame for sharing their personal experiences regarding cosmetic procedures with their viewers on YouTube. The purpose of using this frame is to make their viewers feel connected to them and to give viewers the idea that they can relate to them. This finding is particularly relevant as Wen et al. (2014) argued that using a human interest frame is positively associated with favorable views of cosmetic surgery. Thus, influencers sharing personal experiences with cosmetic surgery influences viewers' perceptions of cosmetic surgery and contributes to the normalization of cosmetic surgery.

Furthermore, all three influencers mostly used informal lexical choices, indicated by slang or swearing (Machin & Mayr, 2012). For instance, Monica Geuze used informal words such as: "oh my god" and "facking". Jessie Maya often used informal words such as: "fucking", "oh my god", "bitch", and "drama queen". Additionally, Jill van Dooren used informal words such as: "bakkes", "tierelier" and "what the fuck". These informal word choices were used by influencers when speaking about the cosmetic procedures, when they expressed their nervousness or excitement about the procedures, and when they were speaking about the results of the cosmetic procedures. As mentioned by Van Driel and Dumitrica (2021), influencers are often perceived as more real because they are recognized as 'regular people' by consumers. Thus, it was not surprising that influencers use

informal language in their YouTube videos since it contributes to their credibility (Van Driel & Dumitrica, 2021).

Related to the normalization of cosmetic surgery, influencers depicted cosmetic surgery in a favorable light by mainly emphasizing the benefits, positive results, and satisfaction with the results afterward. This finding was not surprising, given that previous studies reported that the media coverage of cosmetic surgery is becoming more positive (Sun et al., 2020). Additionally, Monica Geuze argued that cosmetic surgery is 'normal' nowadays because 'everybody' does it, she said: "voor mijn gevoel doet letterlijk iedereen het, vooral in Amsterdam speelt het heel erg hoor. Dat iedereen echt soort van bijna in zijn tussenuur of in zijn werk pauze even naar de kliniek gaat om zijn of haar lippen op te spuiten" [I feel like literally everybody does it, especially in Amsterdam. I feel like everybody goes to the cosmetic clinic in their lunch break to have lip fillers]. As Brown et al. (2007) reported, hearing about other people's experiences of cosmetic surgery increases the desire for cosmetic surgery. Additionally, the extent to which cosmetic procedures are socially accepted influences the decision for cosmetic surgery (Brown et al., 2007). Thus, Monica Geuze emphasizing that "everybody does it" might have contributed to her decision for cosmetic surgery as it indicates that cosmetic surgery is socially accepted. Moreover, this emphasis could influence her viewers' decision for cosmetic surgery as her viewers hear about Monica Geuze's experience with lip fillers.

Correspondingly, Jessie Maya compared her nose correction with going to the supermarket: "Voor mij was deze operatie een soort van even naar de supermarkt gaan en ik heb een nieuwe neus. Zo simpel was het deze keer" [This operation was like going to the supermarket for me. It felt like I went to the supermarket and got a new nose. It was that easy this time]. Here, Jessie Maya constructs cosmetic surgery as an ordinary consumer activity by comparing her nose correction to going to the supermarket, which underscores its normalization. Thus, it seems as if Jessie Maya promotes cosmetic surgery as an easy means to change appearances. However, what should be considered here is the fact that Jessie Maya already had undergone different cosmetic procedures before her nose correction. This is a possible explanation for why Jessie Maya perceives cosmetic surgery as 'normal' and how she experiences the procedures.

Furthermore, the influencers argued that there is more openness about cosmetic surgery, which contributes to the normalization of cosmetic surgery as well. Jessie Maya argued: "Mensen durven het gewoon te delen en mensen durven meer open te zijn. Mensen durven meer te zeggen van: Nou ja ik laat mijn lippen opvullen omdat ik dat persoonlijk heel mooi vind" [People are not afraid to share something anymore and people are more open. People now dare to say: yes, I have lip fillers because I personally like it]. Similarly, Jessie Maya mentioned: "Ik denk dat zoveel procent van de filmsterren waar je vroeger fan van was, allemaal al lip fillers hadden maar dat werd niet besproken" [I think that a certain percentage of the movie stars you used to be fan of already had lip fillers but they have not openly discussed it]. In the past, celebrities tried to hide the fact that they have had cosmetic surgery (Rapp, 2016). Currently, this seems to be changing since consumers, influencers, and celebrities are more willing to share their personal experiences with cosmetic surgery on social

media. This could be explained by the fact that influencers focus more on authenticity and transparency than traditional celebrities who keep their private lives more private (Rapp, 2016). As influencers are often known for their relatability, it is important to share their personal experiences with products and services. Additionally, while traditional celebrities have gained their followings because followers admire their talents, influencers gained their followings because of their expertise in a specific niche. This study focused on beauty and lifestyle influencers who's content is often centered around physical appearance, which includes having cosmetic surgery.

Correspondingly, influencers emphasized that they are open and transparent about cosmetic surgery. All three influencers have filmed the actual procedures, which showed the medical sides of having non-surgical cosmetic procedures such as lip fillers and cheek fillers. Although the videos from Jill van Dooren and Jessie Maya about their nose corrections did not show the actual surgery's, they did show the consultations, the admission before the procedure, and the moment when they woke up from their anesthesia. The fact that the influencers emphasized their transparency relates to source credibility according to Lim et al. (2017). For instance, Jessie Maya mentioned: "Daarom maak ik deze video's, ik ben gewoon heel erg open met dit soort dingen" [That is the reason why I make these videos, I am really open about these things]. In this statement, Jessie Maya tries to emphasize that she is transparent about the cosmetic procedures she has done, which contributes to her credibility. Lim et al. (2017) argued that influencers who are considered credible are more effective in influencing the decision-making process of their followers as they trust influencers' opinions about products and services. Thus, influencers consciously try to convey their transparency and reliability towards their viewers as this contributes to their effectiveness in influencing viewers' decision-making process. Audrezet et al. (2020) argued that this is especially relevant when influencers collaborate with brands as their primary goal is then to influence their followers' buying decisions. The analysis showed that Jill van Dooren collaborated with Velthuis Clinic for her nose correction which could explain why Jill van Dooren emphasized her openness about her experience with cosmetic surgery at Velthuis Clinic.

Additionally, Jessie Maya argued that the more we talk about cosmetic surgery, the more it will be socially accepted. The analysis revealed that Jessie Maya finds it important that cosmetic surgery is socially accepted and that she wanted to contribute to that acceptance with her own transparency about cosmetic surgery. Here, the transgender angle is important again as this statement from Jessie Maya shows that there is still a taboo among gender diversity and cosmetic surgery that she is trying to break. Thus, Jessie Maya argues that more openness about cosmetic surgery by influencers on social media will contribute to the increasing normalization of cosmetic surgery.

Furthermore, since cosmetic surgery is about an individual's intervention to someone's body, neoliberalism can help justify such interventions. The analysis has shown that all three influencers expressed their similar opinions about cosmetic surgery related to the neoliberal ideology. For instance, Monica Geuze said: "Mijn mening hierover is gewoon dat je echt allemaal lekker moet doen wat je zelf wil" [My opinion about this is that everybody should do what they want].

Additionally, Monica Geuze mentioned: "Wat ik mooi vind aan de tijd waarin we nu leven is dat als je iets aan jezelf wil veranderen, dan kan je dat gewoon doen" [What I like about the time we currently live in is that, if you want to change something about your appearance, you can do that]. Similarly, Jessie Maya said:

> "Als je het kan betalen en je kan een goede arts vinden, waarom zou je het niet laten veranderen? Als jij er gelukkig van wordt, als jij vervolgens in de spiegel kijkt en je wordt er zelfverzekerder door en je kijkt er positiever naar… ik denk dan waarom zou je dat misschien kleine dingetje dan niet gewoon moeten veranderen?" [Why wouldn't you change something about your appearance it if you can pay for it and if you can find a good doctor? If it makes you happier and if you look in the mirror and feel more confident... why wouldn't you change something small like that?].

Additionally, Jill van Dooren mentioned: "Ik vind sowieso dat iedereen lekker zelf moet weten wat hij doet met zijn lijf, of je je lippen wil laten opspuiten of Botox in je hoofd wil laten spuiten. Je moet het allemaal lekker zelf weten, leven en laten leven denk ik altijd" [I feel like everybody should do what they want with their body. You have to do what you want, I always say live and let live].

As shown in the quotes above, all three influencers expressed their opinion about cosmetic surgery. Remarkable is that all three influencers share similar opinions and these opinions are related to the neoliberal ideology. As mentioned in the theoretical framework, individualism, privatization, and decentralization are the three principles of neoliberalism (McGregor, 2001). Furthermore, neoliberalism encourages people to seek their own happiness, personal growth, and fulfillment (Adams et al., 2019). This self-responsibility relates to all three influencers' opinions about cosmetic surgery as they all argue that every individual should do what they want regarding their body as long as it makes them happy and confident. However, this needs to be analyzed with a critical side note as cosmetic surgery is often presented as a solution for insecurities. Nonetheless, it is not proven that every individual becomes happy and confident after cosmetic procedures. Thus, it is questionable if cosmetic surgery directly leads to happiness and confidence and if it is ethical to promote cosmetic surgery in that way.

Additionally, the neoliberal ideology argues that every individual has the responsibility to manage and minimize risks associated with their choices (Leve et al., 2011). Correspondingly, Jill van Dooren emphasized that her viewers should carefully think about the decision for cosmetic surgery. She argued: "Lees je goed in, check bijvoorbeeld al mijn vlogs van het hele proces. Weet wat je te wachten staat en denk er drie dubbel en dwars over na want het is niet zomaar een operatie [Read about it, check my vlogs about the process for example. Know what to expect and think about it carefully because it is not just a simple operation]. Here, Jill van Dooren used the responsibility frame outlined by Entman (1991), meaning that she transfers the responsibility for the decision for cosmetic surgery to her viewers. Especially because Jill van Dooren argued that she is not

recommending anyone to do cosmetic surgery, using the responsibility frame from Entman (1991) shifts the responsibility to her viewers instead of herself. A possible explanation for Jill van Dooren emphasizing viewers' own responsibility is that influencers are increasingly accused of pushing their viewers (especially younger viewers) into cosmetic surgery because of their collaborations with cosmetic clinics (WNL, 2020). Thus, as Jill van Dooren mentioned that she collaborated with Velthuis Clinic for her nose correction, she possibly tried to prevent negative comments.

In contrast with Jill van Dooren emphasizing that everybody should carefully think about the decision for cosmetic surgery, Monica Geuze and Jessie Maya mentioned their last-minute decision for lip-fillers. Monica Geuze said: "Ik heb echt vandaag besloten dat ik het weer ga doen" [I decided today that I want to do it again], one day before her lip fillers. Correspondingly, Jessie Maya said: "kunnen we mijn lippen ook even doen nu? [can we also do my lips now?]. Both quotes indicate that the influencers decided last minute that they wanted lip fillers as if it is not a big deal. The researcher did not expect to find that Monica Geuze and Jessie Maya could receive lip-fillers last minute, considering the mandatory cooling-down period from cosmetic clinics. Depending on the intensity of the procedure, the cooling-down period varies between at least one week until one day (Nederlandse Vereniging voor Plastische Chirurgie, 2020). However, the analysis has shown that Monica Geuze and Jessie Maya decided for lip fillers on the same day, which means that the cooling-down period did not apply.

Finally, related to the normalization of cosmetic surgery, Monica Geuze and Jessie Maya mentioned that lip fillers were not urgent for them. They argued that they chose to have lip fillers because they are pretty. Although they argued that lip fillers are unnecessary, they have chosen to undergo the procedure anyway. For instance, Monica Geuze said: "Ik doe het puur omdat ik het echt mooier vind. Ik word niet dood ongelukkig als ik het niet doe. Als iemand nu tegen mij zegt: Jij mag nooit meer je lippen opspuiten, ja prima, ook goed" [I am doing this purely because I think it is pretty. I will not become unhappy if I would not do it. If somebody would say to me now: you can never do lip fillers again, that would be fine too]. Similarly, Jessie Maya said: "Ik vind ook niet dat ik het nodig heb maar ik vind wel dat het mezelf mooier maakt" [I do not think I need it but I do think it makes me prettier]. This comment from Jessie Maya indicates a structural opposition as she argues that she does not need cosmetic surgery. However, she also argues that it makes her prettier, which is why she chose cosmetic surgery. These justifications for cosmetic surgery are related to the neoliberal ideology as it encourages individuals to seek personal happiness, personal growth, and fulfillment (Adams et al., 2019). The neoliberal society promotes the idea that individuals are responsible for their own happiness and their actions should be helping themselves (Pendenza & Lammatina, 2019). It could be concluded that Jessie Maya and Monica Geuze opted for cosmetic surgery as it contributes to their personal happiness. Influencers emphasizing that cosmetic surgery is unnecessary for them and doing it anyway contribute to the normalization of cosmetic surgery because it underscores cosmetic surgery as an ordinary consumer activity to enhance their beauty.

4.2 Medical aspects of cosmetic surgery

The analysis has shown that influencers often discussed the medical aspects of cosmetic procedures. The researcher expected this finding as it is important to discuss because of the medical nature of cosmetic surgery. Not surprisingly, the YouTube videos from the influencers focused on the cosmetic procedures that they underwent. The emphasis on the cosmetic procedures was mostly informative, where the influencers discussed and visually showed what the procedures entailed. For instance, the video from Monica Geuze showed her process of getting lip fillers. She filmed the whole procedure from the start to the end, showing how the cosmetic doctor applied anesthetic cream on her lips, how the cosmetic doctor injected the lip fillers, and the side effects (e.g., swelling, fainting, and bruises) afterward. Moreover, four years later, Monica Geuze published a video about the removal of her lip fillers. Similarly, Jessie Maya shows her process of getting cheek fillers and Botox, where she also showed how the fillers and Botox were injected. Additionally, the two videos from Jessie Maya about her nose correction highlighted the consultation and the moments before and right after the procedure without showing the actual surgery. Similarly, Jill van Dooren showed her process of getting a nose correction, from showing the intake, right before and after the procedure, and the results from one year after the procedure. Same as Jessie Maya, Jill van Dooren did not show the actual surgery in her YouTube videos. This representation of cosmetic surgery by influencers on YouTube appears to make cosmetic procedures more transparent, which gives viewers the sense that they understand what the procedures entail. Additionally, this representation contributes to how easily consumers can access relevant information about cosmetic surgery through social media (Montemurro et al., 2015). However, what should be considered is that influencers often edit their YouTube videos, using filters, highlighting certain parts and removing certain elements. Therefore, what seems to be a 'true' representation, could be the opposite.

Furthermore, influencers took on an educational role for their viewers on YouTube. For instance, Jessie Maya argued: "Botox is om spieren plat te leggen zodat je geen rimpels meer ziet. Zoals Botox laat je in je voorhoofd spuiten tegen rimpels. Als je Botox in je lippen spuit, kan je je lippen niet meer bewegen" [Botox is to flatten muscles so that wrinkles are not visible anymore. For instance, Botox is to inject into your forehead to prevent wrinkles. If you inject Botox into your lips, you can no longer move your lips]. The way Jessie Maya informs and educates her viewers establishes a sense of trust and expertise. As mentioned, studies have shown that influencers who are perceived as experts by consumers are more convincing and able to influence their followers (Alfarraj et al., 2020). Thus, this could influence Jessie Maya's viewers' decision for cosmetic surgery. However, these influencers are actually no experts in the field of cosmetic surgery. Consequently, consumers who watch influencers' videos for information about cosmetic surgery are possibly provided with inaccurate information. As mentioned, a previous study from Grey et al. (2019) found that the quality of information on YouTube about cosmetic surgery from patients was low while the information from physicians provided the best quality information. Therefore, one could argue that influencers

should not serve as 'experts' and should not be the source of information for consumers who consider cosmetic surgery as their information is not always completely reliable.

Moreover, influencers were honest about negative complications and side-effects of the cosmetic procedures. For instance, Monica Geuze discussed in her video that she fainted after her lip fillers. Similarly, Jill van Dooren showed in her video that she almost fainted after the cosmetic doctor removed her stitches. Although Monica Geuze and Jessie Maya did not mention if their fainting was a direct complication from the procedures or their nervousness, fainting was indicated as complication because it shows that influencers also highlight the negative aspects of their experience with cosmetic surgery. Furthermore, Jessie Maya dedicated a whole YouTube video to the fact that she could not look angry anymore after she had Botox. Other often mentioned and showed complications and side-effects were: bruises, swelling, redness, dizziness, and feeling tired due to the anesthesia. The discussion of complications and side-effects corresponds with the frequently used consequences frame outlined by Entman (1991), in which often negative consequences are depicted.

However, how the influencers discussed their complications, especially regarding pain during and after the cosmetic procedures, was interesting since structural oppositions were often found during the analysis. The analysis showed that influencers were contradicting themselves when speaking about complications. For instance, Jessie Maya mentioned: "Met lip fillers word je zeg maar verdoofd met verdovende crème dus je voelt eigenlijk… je voelt wel wat want er gaat uiteraard gewoon een naald in je lippen en je lippen zijn zo gevoelig. Maar omdat het verdoofd is, heb je geen pijn ofzo" [Your lips will get numbed with anesthesia creme so you actually feel… you obviously feel something because a needle is injected in your lips and your lips are very sensitive. But because it is numbed, you do not experience any pain or something]. Additionally, she said: "Ik voel eigenlijk bij mijn lippen gewoon bijna niks en dat weet ik dus ik weet dat het vervelend is. Maar als je naar buiten loopt, ben je de pijn in principe alweer vergeten" [I actually do not feel anything in my lips, so I know it is annoying. But when you walk outside, you already forgot the pain], indicating that she does not feel any pain because of the numbing. In another video about her experience with Botox, Jessie Maya said: "Als ik nu de volgende keer ga, zal het echt niks voorstellen en dan denk ik gewoon van oh nou de lippen doen het meeste pijn" [When I go next time, it will be a piece of cake and I will think oh lip fillers hurt the most]. Here, Jessie Maya first says that she does not experience pain from lip fillers. However, she also explicitly mentioned that you forget the pain as soon as you walk outside. Additionally, Jessie Maya said in another YouTube video that lip fillers are most painful. This statement indicates that Jessie Maya is trying to suppress the fact that she experienced pain from her Botox and lip fillers. What could have possibly influenced how Jessie Maya experienced the pain is how many cosmetic procedures she already had. Since Jessie Maya already had lip fillers, Botox, and breast augmentation before, this statement could indicate that she is used to pain related to non-surgical cosmetic procedures.

Correspondingly, after discussing their complications, influencers emphasized after the procedures that they showed temporary results. This finding was indicated by structural oppositions

as well as influencers were trying to suppress the complications by telling that the side-effects eventually would disappear. For instance, Jessie Maya posted a YouTube video about the results of her nose correction two weeks after the procedure. She showed the results of her nose after two weeks and said: "Het vooraanzicht is dus nog steeds niet hoe het gaat zijn omdat dit nog volledig is opgezwollen, dit is nog heel hard maar dit gaat dus nog heel iets in" [The front view is not yet how it is going to be because it is completely swollen. This is really hard, but it is going to settle]. Moreover, Jill van Dooren showed the results of her nose correction after the cosmetic doctor removed the bandage after a week and she mentioned: "Bij de voorkant is hij hier dan nog een beetje gezwollen zeg maar en dit slankt straks ook allemaal in. Maar moet je nagaan dat dit nog niet eens het resultaat is. Het wordt alleen nog maar mooier en ik ben echt al zo ontzettend blij met dit resultaat" [The front is still a bit swollen but that will settle down. But you have to realize that this is not the end result yet. It is only going to get better and I am so happy with the results already]. Correspondingly, Monica Geuze said the following after getting back from the cosmetic clinic for lip fillers: "Het is nog opgezwollen door de verdoving maar ik ben echt heel erg tevreden" [It is still swollen due to the anesthesia, but I am really happy already]. Here, Jessie Maya, Jill van Dooren, and Monica Geuze suppress the fact that their noses and lips are swollen by telling that they were temporary results. Additionally, the influencers emphasized that they were already happy with the results while their noses and lips were still swollen.

The fact that influencers were honest about negative complications and side-effects contradicts the findings from Goodman (2017), who argued that cosmetic surgery videos on YouTube often highlight the benefits of procedures while downplaying the risks. However, although influencers were honest about negative complications and side effects, the analysis has shown that influencers have not revealed long-term medical risks associated with cosmetic procedures. Influencers' honest portrayal of negative complications and side-effects could be connected to current social systems and laws and regulations in the Netherlands. For instance, the Dutch "Code Medische Cosmetische Behandelingen uitgevoerd door Artsen" [Code of medical cosmetic treatments performed by physicians] obligates that all forms of promotion for cosmetic surgery should not imply that any treatment is without risks and should provide an accurate representation of the procedures. This could explain why influencers discussed the negative complications they experienced and showed the medical aspects of the cosmetic procedures. However, as discussed before, influencers aim to be as transparent as possible as it contributes to their credibility, which could also explain why they are talking about the complications and side-effects associated with the cosmetic procedures.

Furthermore, the analysis showed that the YouTube videos from all three influencers often focused on the cosmetic doctors, executing a form of expertise. This finding was expected since Wen et al. (2015) concluded from their study that 'experts' (such as cosmetic doctors) mainly were used as sources in YouTube videos related to cosmetic surgery. All three influencers explicitly mentioned the names of the cosmetic doctors and cosmetic clinics where they underwent cosmetic surgery. Although Monica Geuze and Jessie Maya did not say anything about a collaboration with the

cosmetic clinic, Jill van Dooren mentioned that she received a discount for her nose correction in exchange for documenting her experience for YouTube. The fact that Jill van Dooren received a discount for her cosmetic procedure could explain why Jill van Dooren positively mentioned the cosmetic clinic and doctor multiple times.

Moreover, cultural symbols such as white doctors' coats, doctors' gloves, scrubs, treatment tables, and other medical instruments were often shown in the YouTube videos, which gives the impression of a medical environment. Showing these cultural symbols in a medical environment indicates expertise. Additionally, the cosmetic doctors often used formal word choices by using jargon. This was expected since Merianos et al. (2013) concluded from their study that cosmetic doctors often used medical and therapeutic terms when speaking to clients. The use of medical terms (e.g., collageen [collagen], natuurlijke elasticiteit [natural elasticity], and hemodynamically stable) indicates a level of authority and expertise from the cosmetic doctors. For instance, the cosmetic doctor in the YouTube video from Jessie Maya started to explain the procedure of cheek fillers. He said: "We gebruiken een product dat vulling geeft maar ook collageen stimuleert. Collageen is een soort van product dat de natuurlijke elasticiteit van de huid voorstelt. Dus dat staat gelijk aan meer volume" [We use a product that gives padding but also stimulates the collagen. Collagen is a product that represents the natural elasticity of the skin. So that is equal to more volume]. Here, the cosmetic doctor used medical terms to connote a specialist knowledge and a level of authority. Moreover, all these elements together convey that the cosmetic doctor is trustworthy because he has expertise in the field of cosmetic surgery. Additionally, a power relation between the cosmetic doctor and influencer is transmitted in this situation because the cosmetic doctors used medical terms and cultural symbols to show a level of authority and expertise towards the influencers.

Furthermore, the analysis showed that the cosmetic doctors often were steering influencers towards more cosmetic surgery, such as in Monica Geuzes' situation where the cosmetic doctors said: "En dan gaan we toch even de onderkant doen, want ik vind dat toch wel mooi. Je hebt het totaal niet nodig, daar hebben we het over gehad. Maar je vind het leuk om net iets meer te hebben toch?" [And now we will do the bottom because I like that. You do not need that at all; we discussed that. But you like to have a bit more, right?]. Here, the cosmetic doctor is steering Monica Geuze into more lip fillers into her lower lip which was initially not the plan. The fact that the cosmetic doctors were steering influencers towards a specific direction indicates a level of authority from them.

Finally, the analysis showed that the cosmetic doctors tried to reassure the influencers, counterbalancing the nervousness expressed by influencers. For instance, the cosmetic doctor from Jessie Maya said to her during her consultation for a nose correction: "Ik heb nog nooit een neus moeten omkeren die te veel gedraaid was, dus don't worry that's not going to happen" [I have never had to turn a nose back before so don't worry that's not going to happen]. Here, it seems as if the cosmetic doctor reassures Jessie Maya to do a nose correction. Correspondingly, the cosmetic doctor in the video from Jill van Dooren argued: "dit is heel normaal Jill, daar hoef je je geen zorgen over te maken. Het is gewoon even de spanning" [This is very normal Jill, you do not have to worry about it.

It is just the tension] after she said she felt like she would faint. These statements, in which the cosmetic doctors reassure the influencers, indicate that the cosmetic doctors are reliable and have expertise.

4.3 Before versus after cosmetic procedures

The before versus after cosmetic procedures theme highlights how the influencers discuss several aspects that were happening before and after their cosmetic procedures. First, all three influencers seemed to justify their decision for cosmetic surgery to their viewers. Influencers emphasized their long desire for cosmetic surgery due to insecurities, aesthetic conformity, and body dissatisfaction. For instance, Jessie Maya said: "Ik zei echt al vanaf dat ik in groep acht zat, ik ga mijn lippen laten opspuiten" [I already said from the eighth grade that I was going to have lip fillers in the future]. Moreover, Jill van Dooren said: "Ik was jarenlang onzeker over mijn neus. Toen ik jong was, praatte ik al over een neus correctie" [I was insecure about my nose for years. I already spoke about a nose correction when I was younger]. These influencers emphasized their long insecurities and body dissatisfaction as a justification for cosmetic surgery. These findings were not surprising since Walker et al. (2019) argued that physical appearance plays a significant role in today's society and body dissatisfaction is one of the motivating factors for cosmetic surgery. Moreover, content from beauty and lifestyle influencers is often centered around physical appearance, which could be a possible amplifier of influencers' insecurities (Castillo-Abdul et al., 2021). Additionally, according to the tripartite model of influence from Thompson et al. (1999), incorporating the social 'ideal' body type could be a potential reason for deciding for cosmetic surgery.

Additionally, what stood out was the fact that structural oppositions were often found during the discussion of influencers' perceptions of their appearance. For instance, Monica Geuze said: "Ik ben super blij met hoe ik er uit zie maar tuurlijk heeft iedereen altijd zijn dingen aan te merken" [I am super happy with my appearance but of course everybody has something they are not happy with]. In this statement, Monica Geuze argues that she is happy with her appearance while indicating that she has improvement points, just like anybody else. This could indicate that Monica Geuze is insecure about certain parts of her body, which motivated her to have cosmetic surgery. Thus, this could also be a justification for her decision for cosmetic surgery. Additionally, she assumes that everybody has something about their body they are not happy with, which could enforce viewers insecurities and desire for cosmetic surgery.

However, although influencers expressed their insecurities before the procedures, influencers expressed their confidence about their appearance after the cosmetic procedures. For instance, Jill van Dooren said: "Ik voel mij een stuk zelfverzekerder. Ik ben helemaal niet meer bezig met mijn neus waarin ik een jaar geleden alleen maar bezig was met mijn neus" [I feel a lot more confident. I am not worried about my nose anymore while I was a year ago]. Additionally, Jessie Maya expressed her confidence about her appearance after her nose correction by saying: "Een kleine subtiele verandering voor mij persoonlijk heeft heel veel verschil gemaakt aangezien het mij een stuk

vrouwelijker maakt" [A small subtle change has made a huge difference for me personally as it made me a lot more feminine]. As mentioned before, the transgender angle is important here as Jessie Maya argues that the nose correction made her a lot more feminine which corresponds with female transgenders' main goal to alleviate masculinized facial characteristics. Thus, corresponding to Menzel's (2011) findings, the analysis confirms that Jessie Maya and Jill van Dooren present cosmetic surgery as a solution for their insecurities as they argued that they became confident about their appearance after the procedure. These findings also correspond with the findings from Fraser (2003) who found that cosmetic surgery is increasingly framed as a tool for accomplishing individual success and happiness. However, this is in contrast to Monica Geuze who removed her lip fillers after four years because of complications.

Furthermore, Monica Geuze and Jessie Maya discussed their expectations regarding negative responses from their viewers. For instance, Monica Geuze mentioned: "Ik weet dat ik hier waarschijnlijk echt heel veel negatieve reacties over ga krijgen" [I know that I will probably receive a lot of negative responses about this], indicating that she expects negative responses about her decision to get lip fillers. Additionally, Jessie Maya argued: "Ergens ben ik best wel zenuwachtig over de reactie van jullie die ik ga krijgen als ik de operatie heb gedaan die ik over twee dagen ga doen" [I am nervous about the responses I will receive from you when I have done the operation that will take place in two days]. Both quotes show that Monica Geuze and Jessie Maya expect negative responses regarding their decision for cosmetic surgery which shows that these responses matter to them. Moreover, these findings might reveal the stereotypes that still exist within society as it comes to having cosmetic surgery. The analysis has also shown structural oppositions related to their expectations for negative responses. For instance, Jessie Maya said: "Ik ben best wel bang voor de reactie van jullie en ik laat mij niet beïnvloeden door wat jullie vinden of jullie het erg vinden of slecht vinden of dat ik het niet moet doen. Maar ik kijk wel op tegen heel veel negativiteit" [I am afraid for the responses I will receive from you, but I won't let your responses influence my decision whether you thing it is good or bad or if I should do it or not. But I am afraid for a lot of negativity]. So, Jessie Maya indicates that she is afraid for the negative responses she will receive. However, she continues by saying she will not change her decision based on other people's opinions, which relates to the neoliberal ideology as well. Moreover, it indicates that, although viewers' opinions will not influence her, the responses matter to her.

After the cosmetic procedures, influencers highlighted the benefits and expressed their happiness with the end results. This finding was expected as Goodman (2017) argued that cosmetic surgery videos on YouTube mostly highlight the benefits of the procedures. Correspondingly, Wen et al. (2015) argued that influencers frequently used the benefit-focused frames in their YouTube videos about cosmetic surgery. Corresponding with the study from Goodman (2017), the benefits mentioned by the influencers are divided into mental, emotional, and physical benefits. For instance, Jessie Maya said: "Het heeft mijn gezicht een stuk vrouwelijker gemaakt en dat is wat ik wilde" [It has made my face a lot more feminine, which is what I wanted] after she had her nose correction,

indicating that she is happy with the results. This benefit mentioned by Jessie Maya refers to a physical benefit as it relates to improving physical appearances by means of cosmetic surgery. However, as Jessie Maya is a transgender woman, this benefit goes beyond simply improving physical appearances. Jessie Maya argued that it made her face more feminine which could also be defined as an emotional benefit because female transgenders' goal is often to alleviate masculinized facial characteristics into a shape more commonly identified as feminine. Thus, nose corrections are typically used by female transgenders to reach this goal as typically male noses are bigger and wider than female noses. As Jessie Maya argued that it made her face more feminine, one could argue that this procedure contributed to her emotional health.

Additionally, Jill van Dooren mostly mentioned mental benefits after her nose correction. She said: "Ik voel mij een stuk zelfverzekerder. Eerst wilde ik niet gefotografeerd worden van een bepaalde hoek want ik dacht: Oh zullen mensen mij wel zien in plaats van mijn neus" [I feel a lot more confident. Usually, I didn't want to take pictures from certain angles because I thought people would see my nose instead of me]. Finally, the cosmetic doctor in the video from Jill van Dooren said: "Mensen die niet weten dat je geopereerd bent, die zullen het ook niet zien" [People who don't know you have had cosmetic surgery will not see it either], indicating a mental benefit. This seeming disappearance of complications and side-effects in the YouTube videos followed by emphasizing the benefits and results promotes cosmetic surgery as inviting to influencers' viewers.

Furthermore, Jessie Maya and Jill van Dooren used before and after photos of themselves. For instance, Jill van Dooren used pictures taken at the cosmetic clinic from before and after the procedure. Additionally, Jessie Maya showed a picture of herself before her transition to a woman to show how her lips were before her lip fillers. Interesting here is the fact that Jill van Dooren used photos from the clinic to show the results of the cosmetic procedure while Jessie Maya used a picture from Snapchat with a filter taken after the procedure. Here, it could be argued that Jessie Maya glamorized her after photo by using a Snapchat filter. Aldosari et al. (2019) found that before and after photos from patients influenced other people's decisions for cosmetic surgery. Thus, using before and after photos in YouTube videos might contribute to the promotion of cosmetic surgery.

Moreover, influencers expressed their satisfaction with the cosmetic doctors and clinics. Here, it seemed as if the influencers promoted the cosmetic doctors and clinics in their YouTube videos. For instance, Jill van Dooren said: "Ik heb van Velthuis kliniek een korting gekregen voor mijn behandeling. Dat is gewoon echt super fijn en ik ben heel erg blij met Bart als Chirurg. Ik kan hem 24/7 appen en het was ook gewoon een hele vriendelijke en lieve man" [I received a discount for my procedure from Velthuis Clinic. That was super nice and I am super happy with Bart as my cosmetic doctor. I can text him 24/7 and he was a very sweet and friendly man]. This indicates that Jill van Dooren collaborated with Velthuis Clinic in which she received a discount for her nose correction in exchange for documenting the process of her cosmetic procedure on YouTube. Her collaboration with Velthuis Clinic could explain why Jill van Dooren explicitly emphasized her satisfaction with the cosmetic surgeon and the cosmetic clinic. However, this collaboration with Velthuis Clinic could

influence Jill's authenticity, as viewers might think that she is posting (positive) videos on YouTube for the discount rather than for her viewers (Audrezet et al., 2020). Additionally, this situation is linked to a broader concern mentioned earlier; influencers increasingly promote cosmetic surgery to their younger viewers. Although the "Code of medical cosmetic treatments performed by physicians" allows cosmetic clinics to offer gifts or free cosmetic procedures to influencers if influencers are not obligated to buy or be treated, it possibly encourages influencers' (younger) viewers to undergo cosmetic surgery. Therefore, one could ask if it is ethical for influencers to collaborate with cosmetic clinics.

Correspondingly, influencers emphasized that the results from their cosmetic procedures were visible immediately. For instance, Jill van Dooren was sitting in her car after her procedure and said: "Ik zie wel al resultaat, ik zie nu al dat mijn neus kleiner is" [I already see results, I can see that my nose is smaller already] while here nose was still bandaged. Moreover, the cosmetic doctor said to Jessie Maya after she woke up from her nose correction: "Het ziet er nu al echt heel mooi uit. Het is een mooi neusje en je bent niet blauw niks" [It already looks great. It is a pretty nose and you do not have any bruises]. Here, it could also be argued that the influencers and cosmetic doctors depicted cosmetic surgery as an quick and effective solution for changing appearances and feeling confident about one's body again.

Similarly, satisfaction and happiness were also conveyed by influencers right after the procedures. This was mentioned multiple times by all three influencers. For instance, Monica Geuze was sitting in her car after getting lip fillers and mentioned: "ik ben echt heel erg tevreden" [I am really happy allready]. Moreover, Jessie Maya said in her YouTube video after the cosmetic doctor removed the bandage: "Als ik zelf in de spiegel kijk, ben ik gewoon heel erg blij, ben ik heel erg gelukkig" [When I look in the mirror, I am really happy]. This statement from Jessie Maya also indicates an emotional benefit as she feels happy about her appearance when looking in the mirror.

The analysis showed that Jessie Maya and Jill van Dooren were still happy with the results over a longer period. For instance, one year after her procedure, Jill van Dooren argued: "Nou je kunt het misschien al van mijn gezicht aflezen maar ik ben er mega tevreden mee. Als je mij zou vragen wat de beste beslissing ooit is geweest in mijn leven, dan zeg ik uit huis gaan en mijn neus corrigeren" [You may already be able to read it on my face but I am really happy with the results. If you would ask me what was the best decision of my life, I would say: Moving out and having a nose correction]. However, contrasting with Jill van Dooren and Jessie Maya, Monica Geuze talked about the removal of her lip fillers. Four years after the procedure, Monica Geuze made a YouTube video about removing her lip fillers, explaining:

> "Ik heb hier al een tijdje geleden voor gekeken of ik dit wilde doen, en dat is de lip fillers uit mijn lippen halen. Het lijkt of het soort van is gaan ophopen een beetje en uhm, ja het is gewoon niet zoals ik zou willen dat het eruit zou zien" [I already looked into this a while ago

if I wanted to do it, and that is removing my lip fillers. It seems like if the fillers have started to pile up a bit uhm, yeah it is just not the way I wish it would look].

In her statement, Monica Geuze explains why she decided to remove her lip fillers, indicating a complication from her lip fillers which eventually led to her dissatisfaction with the results. Although she did not completely show the procedure of removing the lip fillers, she showed the bruises on her lips afterward.

Finally, Monica Geuze mentioned the following:

"Ik heb het gedaan bij Doctors at soap. En ik vond het heel fijn ze was heel duidelijk. Eigenlijk heb je in Nederland de regel dat ze onder de 21 vaak dit soort dingen niet doen. Er zullen vast wel plekken zijn waar je het dus wel kan doen. Maar uhm, in deze toko vonden ze echt dat je er echt zeker van moet zijn. Dus eigenlijk het liefste zouden ze onder de 25 niet behandelen en ik ben natuurlijk 21 dus had ze wel echt zoiets van goh eigenlijk doe ik het liever niet maar ja als je het echt wilt" [I did it at Doctors At Soap and I really liked it and she was really clear. In fact, you have the rule in the Netherlands were they often do not treat under the age of 21. Obviously there are places where you can do it but.. uhm, in this place they feel like you should really be sure about the decision. So actually they prefer not to treat people under the age of 25 and I am 21 so she was really like gosh I actually prefer not to do it but if you really want it].

This quote indicates that the cosmetic clinic Doctors at Soap execute cosmetic procedures for people under 25. Although all cosmetic procedures are legally allowed for people above 18 years in the Netherlands, Monica Geuze explains that this clinic prefers not to perform cosmetic procedures for people under the age of 25. However, Monica Geuze argued that they perform cosmetic procedures for people under 25 if patients are really sure about their decision. Thus, this statement gives the impression that Monica Geuze is promoting cosmetic surgery and the cosmetic clinic in specific as a place where younger people can go to who want cosmetic surgery as they treat everybody who 'really wants it'. Nevertheless, one could argue that it is questionable how cosmetic clinics can 'know' how people are really sure about their decision for cosmetic surgery, especially when speaking about younger people who are increasingly influenced by knowing others who have undergone cosmetic procedures (Brown et al., 2007).

5. Conclusion

This chapter presents an overall conclusion to this thesis that answers the research question. Moreover, the limitations and recommendations for future research will be discussed. Although existing literature extensively discusses the topics of cosmetic surgery, social media, and influencer marketing, literature was still lacking on a combination of all three topics. Therefore, this study aimed to fill the gap related to the representation of cosmetic surgery by influencers on YouTube. By conducting a Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis, the following research question was aimed to answer: *How did Dutch female beauty and lifestyle influencers discuss cosmetic surgery on YouTube between 2016 and 2020?* To answer the research question, this study examined a total of 11 YouTube videos from three different Dutch female beauty and lifestyle influencers.

The analysis of the YouTube videos resulted in several important findings and three dominant themes, namely: the normalization of cosmetic surgery, the medical aspect of cosmetic surgery, and before versus after cosmetic procedures. Essential to present first is an overview of what the influencers have done regarding cosmetic surgery, as this influenced how they discussed the topic on YouTube. While Jill van Dooren only has done lip fillers and a nose correction, Monica Geuze has done lip fillers, Botox, and breast augmentation. Jessie Maya, a transgender influencer, was most familiar with cosmetic surgery as she has done breast augmentation, nose correction, lip fillers, Botox, facial feminization surgery, and cheek fillers. Including a transgender perspective in this study has proved to be valuable as the results demonstrated different narratives between the influencers which provided an interesting point of comparison.

What can be concluded from the analysis is that the influencers unconsciously normalized cosmetic surgery. Monica Geuze and Jessie Maya extensively discussed the normality of cosmetic surgery by emphasizing that 'everybody does it in their lunch break' and comparing cosmetic surgery to going to the supermarket. This finding could be explained by the fact that they were already familiar with cosmetic surgery due to previous procedures. Additionally, influencers emphasized that there is more openness about cosmetic surgery online, which underscores its normality nowadays. In the past, celebrities seemed to hide the fact that they have had cosmetic surgery, which appears to change as influencers increasingly use social media to share their personal experiences with cosmetic surgery. This development contributes to the increasing normalization and acceptance of cosmetic surgery. Correspondingly, the analysis revealed that Jessie Maya finds it important that cosmetic surgery is socially accepted which she tries to achieve with her openness about cosmetic surgery on YouTube. This findings underscores why it was valuable to include a transgender angle as they still deal with taboos.

Furthermore, the analysis has shown that the influencers generally discussed cosmetic surgery in a favorable light. However, while all three influencers focused on the positive results of cosmetic procedures at the time when these procedures were performed, this satisfaction changed for one influencer. Although Monica Geuze expressed her satisfaction with the results from her lip fillers

right after the procedure, she removed her lip fillers after four years because of medical complications. Therefore, taking a wider time frame to examine if the perceptions of influencers about cosmetic surgery changed overtime proved to be valuable, as the researcher was able to capture this change in perception. However, this change in perception was only applicable for Monica Geuze as Jill van Dooren and Jessie Maya were still satisfied with the results of their cosmetic procedures after a longer period.

Additionally, contributing to the normalization of cosmetic surgery, influencers expressed their opinions about cosmetic surgery. The analysis has shown that all three influencers' opinions were similar to each other and related to the neoliberal ideology, which could be summed up as everybody should do what they want with their body, regardless of what others think. Related to the neoliberal ideology as well, Jill van Dooren emphasized that everybody should carefully think about the decision of having cosmetic surgery. This contrasts with Monica Geuze and Jessie Maya, who argued that they decided on lip fillers last minute and said that the lip fillers were not urgent for them. This difference can be explained by the number of cosmetic procedures they had done and the type of cosmetic procedures they talked about since Jill van Dooren was talking about a surgical procedure (i.e., nose correction) while Jessie Maya and Monica Geuze spoke about a non-surgical procedure (i.e., lip fillers).

Influencers also demonstrated the expert position of medical doctors in their YouTube videos while also positioning themselves as authentic experts who show the medical aspects of cosmetic surgery and their experiences with cosmetic surgery. Using a human interest frame contributes to influencers' authenticity as viewers experience this as more credible. As anticipated in the context of the theoretical framework, the use of a human interest frame was expected as previous research proved that influencers often share their personal experiences on YouTube (Forbes, 2016). Consequently, consumers may take this information into account when deciding for cosmetic surgery and interpret what they see and hear in these videos as factual, while the opposite might be true.

Moreover, the analysis showed that influencers were honest about complications and side-effects, which was not expected since previous research argued that risks were often downplayed in YouTube videos about cosmetic surgery (Wen et al. (2015). However, as expected, influencers' short discussion of the consequences and side-effects was followed by discussing the mental, emotional, and physical benefits of cosmetic surgery.

Furthermore, the YouTube videos often focused on cosmetic doctors. This was expected since previous studies argued that experts as sources of information were primarily used in YouTube videos about cosmetic surgery (Wen et al., 2015). Additionally, the analysis has proved that the conversations with cosmetic doctors and the procedures took place in medical environments and the cosmetic doctors used medical terms which indicated expertise, trust, and authority. Moreover, influencers seemed to promote the cosmetic doctors and clinics, which was specifically the case for Jill van Dooren who collaborated with Velthuis Clinic for her nose correction. This collaboration could have influenced Jill van Dooren's positivity about the clinic and doctor in her videos.

Influencers also discussed their expectations regarding negative responses. The analysis has shown that all three influencers seemed to justify their decision for cosmetic surgery to their viewers. Influencers emphasized their long desire for cosmetic surgery due to insecurities, aesthetic conformity, and body dissatisfaction. This finding was interesting given that these influencers expressed their neoliberalist opinion related to a female empowerment discourse indicating that it is nobody's business what they do and that everybody should do what they want with their body regardless of what others think. Thus, one could ask why these influencers engage in the effort to explain or justify their decision for cosmetic surgery. However, after the cosmetic procedures, the influencers expressed their confidence in their appearance. Especially Jill van Dooren and Jessie Maya indicated that they became more confident about their appearance after a while, which shows that they promoted cosmetic surgery as a tool to improve physical and mental health.

Finally, what can be concluded from the analysis is that the seeming disappearance of complications and side-effects and the suppression of long-term medical risks by Jessie Maya and Jill van Dooren followed by emphasizing the benefits and results promotes cosmetic surgery as inviting to their viewers. Although Monica Geuze expressed her satisfaction with the results direct after the procedure, she also truly highlighted and extensively discussed long-term complications of having lip fillers. Additionally, the representation of cosmetic surgery by influencers on YouTube appears to make cosmetic procedures more transparent, which gives viewers the sense that they understand what the procedures entail. However, considering that influencers are no experts and often use filters, highlight certain parts, and remove some aspects from their videos, what seems to be a "true" representation of cosmetic surgery might be the opposite.

5.1 Limitations and recommendations for future research

This study provided a deeper understanding of how Dutch influencers discuss cosmetic surgery on YouTube. However, this study had several limitations that need to be acknowledged. To begin with, this study is conducted by one researcher. Thus, the results of the analysis are based on one perspective guided by previous studies and literature, which is a limitation of this study. Future research could incorporate a second researcher to ensure that certain nuances are not missed. Second, this study solely focused on Dutch influencers. As mentioned before, representations of cosmetic surgery in the media differs per culture and country (Sun et al., 2020).. Thus, future research could compare influencers from different countries to examine the difference in representations of cosmetic surgery by influencers. Third, this study merely focused on the discussion of cosmetic surgery on YouTube. However, cosmetic surgery is increasingly promoted on Instagram by influencers (Alexander, 2019), which prepares the ground for future research to examine cosmetic surgery related content on Instagram. Finally, this study merely focuses on female influencers. Considering that cosmetic surgery among men is rising (Heritage, 2020), future research could also incorporate male influencers to compare the representation of cosmetic surgery by male and female influencers.

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Main theme	Sub theme	Definition
Normalization	Informal setting	The influencers discuss their experiences with cosmetic surgery in informal settings such as at their homes or in their cars
	Informal lexical choices	The influencers use informal lexical choices in their YouTube videos, such as using swearing words or slang
	Openness about cosmetic surgery	The influencers highlight that people are more open about the fact that they have had cosmetic surgery in general. Additionally, influencers emphasize that they are transparent about their decision for cosmetic surgery
	Neoliberalist opinion	The influencers share their personal opinions about cosmetic surgery in which they argue that everybody should do with their body wat they want, regardless of what other people think
	Procedure is not urgent	The influencers highlight the fact that their cosmetic procedures were not necessary
Medical aspects	Informative description of procedure	The influencers discuss and visually show what the cosmetic procedures entail, including the medical aspects of the procedures
	Complications	The influencers discuss negative complications from the cosmetic procedures, such as: dizziness, bruises, swelling, redness, and feeling tired due to anesthesia
	Cosmetic doctors	The videos from the influencers are centered around cosmetic doctors, indicated by objects such as white doctors' coats, doctors' gloves, and scrubs.
Before versus after cosmetic procedures	Justifying decisions	The influencers seemed to justify their decision for cosmetic surgery to their viewers. Influencers emphasize their long desire for cosmetic surgery due to insecurities, aesthetic conformity, and body dissatisfaction.
	Expectations regarding	The influencers express their expectations regarding

	negative responses	negative responses about their decision for cosmetic surgery
	Benefits	The influencers extensively highlight the mental, emotional, and physical benefits they experienced from their cosmetic procedures
	Before/after photos	The influencers visually showed before and after photos from their lips to show the results from their lip fillers
	Immediate results	The influencers highlight the fact that the results from their cosmetic procedures were immediately visible
	(un)satisfied with results	The influencers highlight their satisfaction or dissatisfaction after a longer period of their cosmetic procedures

Appendix B: List of analyzed YouTube videos

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  S2fV9YnjmiCExNasC_&index=5

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  from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ApFLgYGmxBE&list=PLhOF9Cl030Mm_t-
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  https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PwukPyFOgw4&list=PLhOF9Cl030Mm_t-
  S2fV9YnjmiCExNasC_&index=15

Maya, J. (2018, December 29). *DIT IS MIJN NIEUWE NEUS! \ JessieMaya* [video]. Retieved from
  https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VG0rLKBnwGI

Appendix C: Example of ATLAS.ti analysis

The following table presents the video transcript (Time, Visuals, Audio) alongside the ATLAS.ti coding.

Codes (right margin):
- informal setting: bedroom
- before photo
- informal setting: bedroom
- justifying the decision for cos…
- long desire for cosmetic surg…
- informative
- informative
- promoting cosmetic surgeon
- formal setting: medical enviro…
- expressing nervousness
- informative
- informal setting: bedroom
- benefit
- satisfied with result
- justifying the decision for cos…
- formal setting: medical enviro…
- expressing nervousness
- structural opposition
- promoting cosmetic surgeon
- doctor wears white doctors c…
- formal setting: medical enviro…
- showing consultation
- promoting cosmetic surgeon
- expressing nervousness

Speaker / Time	Image	Scene description	Transcript	Codes
Jessie 03:18 03:47			Hij heeft heel erg naar mijn gezicht gekeken. Tekeningetjes gemaakt van mijn gezicht en zo. En daar had hij punten aan gestippeld wat bij mijn gezicht nou vrouwelijker zou maken. Hij had ook zoiets van jij hebt best wel een bobbeltje hier we kunnen het hier ook ietsjes naar boven halen om dat iets rechter te maken. Toen zei ik: nee nee nee dat wil ik allemaal door een operatie laten doen dus geen rare fillers ik wil gewoon cheek fillers, lip fillers en dat is het meer wil ik ook niet. En dan heb ik in mijn voorhoofd een beetje botox maar voorderest vind ik dat eventjes genoeg voor mij ik ben 21 dat is al best wel veel voor mij, dus ik zei van nee nee ik wil zeg maar gewoon alleen cheek fillers en lip fillers en ik hoop dat we mijn gezicht daarmee vrouwelijker kunnen maken.	informal setting: bedroom; informative; doctor is steering; structural opposition
Doctor 03:47 03:51			Welkom welkom, dus wat is het plan van vandaag?	formal setting: medical enviro…; showing consultation
Jessie 03:51 03:53		Jessie is sitting in the doctors' office	De jukbeenderen opvullen en de lippen.	
Doctor 03:53 04:30		Jessie is sitting in the doctors' office	De jukbeenderen en de lippen. Dus wat gaan we precies doen. We gebruiken een product dat vulling geeft maar ook collageen stimuleert. Collageen is een beetje het product dat de natuurlijke elasticiteit van de huid voorstelt. Dus dat staat gelijk aan meer volume. Dus we gaan jou mooie vrouwelijke jukbeenderen geven door ze iets naar achteren en iets hoger te leggen dan de mannelijke jukbeenderen. Dus we gaan kleine bodempjes maken en dan gaan we die inmasseren dat we mooi de vrouwelijke lijnen er in krijgen.	doctor shows expertise; formal lexical choice
Jessie 04:30 05:19			Dus hij legt ook aan mij uit dat zeg maar mannelijke oogkassen zijn wat meer droopy naar beneden en vrouwelijke lopen wat meer zo omhoog. We kunnen hier zo wat meer prikjes zetten om het allemaal wat ronder te laten ogen en dan vullen we het hier wat op waardoor het allemaal gewoon wat ronder en vrouwelijker wordt. En dan krijg je sowieso, als je het ziet, dat is iets heel erg vrouwelijk dus daarom wou ik het ook heel graag. Kijk, lippen doe ik al twee jaar, lippen ken ik, ik weet het gevoel van lippen, ik ken het dat er een naaldje in gaat. Het is niet fijn jongens, ik krijg ook heel vaak de vraag van; doet het pijn? Voel je er iets van? Kijk er gaat een naald in je lippen dus ja je voelt het als de naald in je lippen gaat alleen je krijgt verdovende crèmes. Elk persoon die lip fillers gaat gebruiken, gebruikt denk ik weer een andere crème. Diana heeft er zelf eentje laten ontwerpen, zelf eentje laten maken die heel sterk is dus ik voel eigenlijk bij mijn lippen gewoon bijna niks en dat weet ik dus ik weet dat het vervelend is. Maar als je naar buiten loopt ben je de pijn in principe alweer vergeten.	focus on results; informal setting: bedroom; informative; benefit; justifying the decision for cos…; structural opposition; unpleasant feeling; structural opposition
Doctor 05:19 05:27			We gaan nu gewoon even alles ontsmetten en alles proper maken en dan gaan we de crème voor de verdoving smeren.	doctors gloves; formal setting: medical enviro…; showing procedure; doctor shows expertise; informative
Doctor 05:27 05:30			Mag je goed comfortabel achterover liggen.	doctors gloves; formal setting: medical enviro…; showing procedure
Jessie 05:30 05:32		Jessie is laying in the treatment chair	Oh god	expressing nervousness
05:32 05:56				doctors gloves; formal setting: medical enviro…; showing procedure
Jessie 05:56 06:41		Jessie is sitting in her bedroom	Jongens, jullie willen niet weten hoe freaking zenuwachtig ik was voor cheek fillers. Het was gewoon omdat ik hou niet van naalden, ik haat naalden. Je hoeft niet met een naald bij mij in de buurt te komen of ik krijg gewoon, ik word heel ongemakkelijke ervan. Ik vind het heel onprettig naalden, ik haat gewoon, ik haat haat haat naalden. Hij pakte ook een andere spuit want wat ze in je cheek spuiten is niet hetzelfde als in je lippen spuiten. Dat dacht ik, ik denk wat ze zeg maar hier in spuiten om op te vullen is ook hier dat is gewoon hetzelfde spul. Maar dat is dus helemaal niet hetzelfde spul. Het is een veel grotere spuit. Kijk lip fillers is gewoon een heel klein spuitje. En ik zag ook echt een naald en die was ook veel groter en toen dacht ik echt oh my god dit gaat zo veel pijn doen oh my god fuck fuck fuck fuck. Nou gaan we beginnen en ik dacht echt van oh nee ik voel het al ik voel het al. Gewoon drama Queen eerste klas natuurlijk weer	expressing nervousness; informal lexical choice; structural opposition; informative; informal lexical choice; informal lexical choice
Doctor 06:41 06:45		Jessie is laying in the treatment chair with anesthetic cream on her lips	Oké we gaan het doen.	
Jessie 06:45 06:53		Jessie is laying in the treatment chair with anesthetic cream on her lips	Oké. Meer gewoon dat ik bang ben wat, hoe het gaat voelen. Omdat die naald ook veel dikker lijkt en dan heb ik zoiets van ohhh nee.	expressing nervousness

Time	Speaker	Scene description	Transcript (Dutch)

06:53 07:26			
Doctor 07:26		Jessie is laying in the treatment chair and the doctor is injecting the fillers (see 6:53-07:26)	Gaat het?
Jessie 07:28		Jessie is laying in the treatment chair and the doctor is injecting the fillers (see 6:53-07:26)	Nee ja prima hoor. Het kraakt alleen heel raar.
Doctor 07:30 07:32		Jessie is laying in the treatment chair and the doctor is injecting the fillers (see 6:53-07:26)	Dat is de huid
Jessie 07:32 07:42		Jessie is laying in the treatment chair and the doctor is injecting the fillers (see 6:53-07:26)	Oh dit voelt zo kut. Oh mijn god. Sorry ik mag niet te veel praten.

| Jessie 07:42 08:40 | | Jessie is sitting in her bedroom | Toen ik met Koen Kardashian ging opnemen toen had hij net voordat kwam ook cheek fillers laten zetten voor de eerste keer en hij zei al van het is zo raar want je hoort het kraken. Je hoort het kraken en toen dacht ik al kraken? Je lippen hoor of voel je ook niet kraken? Hoezo hoor je het kraken? Dus ik zat er nog steeds mee in mijn hoofd van hoezo voel je het kraken? Dat is raar dat klopt niet. Hij begon aan die kant en ik lag zo en ik dacht ogen dicht. En hij deed die naald erin en ik voelde, zeg maar ik voelde het niet helemaal verdoofd was door die crème maar daar was ik echt super blij mee omdat ik dacht van oh oké dit valt wel mee. Maar hij moet zeg maar die naald er heel langzaam in doen en het is, als je niet van naalden houd is het echt de crinch om het te horen. Maar de naald ging er heel langzaam en in inderdaad die naald ging erin en je hoort je hoorde het soort van *maakt kraakgeluiden*. Alsof je huid gewoon brak ofzo alsof je huid en je vlees wat hierzo zit alsof dat breekt. Nou het was zo, echt de meest rare ervaring die ik ooit heb gehad. |

| Jessie 08:40 08:42 | | | Dat was zoo raar. |

| Doctor 08:42 08:59 | | | Dat was een kant. Nu waar je moet opletten met HDS zwel je harder dan met gewone fillers. Dus de volgende drie dagen gaat dat harder gezwollen zijn dan je gewend bent. |

Jessie 08:59 09:00		See 08:42-08:59	Oké
Doctor 09:00 09:15		See 08:42-08:59	Je hoeft je geen zorgen te maken, we zullen je straks een ijs pack meegeven sowieso. Maar dat is allemaal normaal. Maak je daar geen zorgen over. Nu zeker belangrijk twee uur hier niet aankomen en twee uur niet schminken. Geen make up op doen.
Jessie 09:15 09:40		See 08:42-08:59	Het is zo raar ik voelde zeg maar, ik voelde totaal niet dat die naald erin ging. Alleen je hoort het kraken en je hebt het gevoel dat die naald gewoon tegen je bot aan zit. Het was zo raar. Maar ik heb niet het idee dat ik dacht van oh dat doet pijn, kut ik wil niet. Een hele rare ervaring. En nu masseert je gewoon de bobbels eruit. Ofzo.
Doctor 09:40 09:45		See 08:42-08:59	nee die bobbels gaan er een beetje in blijven maar ik zorg dat het later gewoon allemaal gelijk verdeeld is

| Jessie 09:45 12:15 | | Jessie is sitting in her bedroom | En toen was het inderdaad zeg maar helemaal er in en dan gaat hij dus het spul er in spuiten. En het was dus een heel ander spul, een veel dikker spul. Hij had aan mij uitgelegd van lip fillers blijven ongeveer naja max 8 maanden zitten nou ja ik moet om de drie maanden anders is het gewoon dan kijk ik in de spiegel en dan denk ik haha waar zijn mijn lippen. Niet dat ik obsessed ben of verslaafd ben maar dat komt omdat mijn lichaam het sneller afbouwt omdat na 3 maanden al ik gewoon opnieuw mijn lippen laten doen omdat ze dan een stuk kleiner zijn. Misschien omdat ik ook laser en daardoor kan het ook zeg maar iets minder worden dus misschien dat het daar ook aan ligt dat ik het om de drie maanden moet doen. Maar dat blijft dus ongeveer 8 maanden zitten en cheek fillers omdat het ander spul is en het was, ja hij was het aan het uitleggen en het supportte ook weer iets. Diana Gabriels heeft er ook een video over opgenomen die is wat meer informeel over het product en alles, ik heb wel een beetje gevlogd maar ik weet niet of alles er op staat. Het is zeg maar een bepaald spul en dat stimuleerde ook het huppelepup waardoor het dus langer blijft zitten en weet ik veel wat hij was het aan het uitleggen en ik zat van ja leuk die naald gaat straks in mijn wang ja leuk haha. En hij zei van ja dit blijft een jaar tot ander half jaar zitten en toen dacht ik echt dat is freaking lang. En ik dacht al van, dat gaat mij sowieso niet zo lang gebeuren. Het is dus geen hyaluron zuur dus het breekt niet langzaam, het lichaam breekt het niet langzaam hand af maar het trekt wel langzaam hand weg. En dus ik vroeg ook gewoon van oh ga je dat dan ook in mijn lippen doen aan gezien het een nieuw, ik dacht dat is gewoon nieuw, ga je dat dan ook in mijn lippen doen? Hij zegt nee, dat wil je niet in je lippen doen omdat het veel stugger spul is dat is veel harder want je lippen moeten zeg maar heel flexibel en dit hoeft niet flexibel te zijn. Kijk je lacht en, maar dit hoeft niet super flexibel te zijn. Hij spoot het eerste beetje eruit en dat zag ik ook ik keek zo achter me en het was echt een soort van draadje het was super raar. Hij zette dus die naald er in en hij spuit en het was veel dikker spul dus hij zei ja je voelt een beetje die druk. Nou een beetje druk? Het voelde gewoon alsof zo iemand tegen mijn hoofd aan het duwen was en dat ik heel erg aan het tegen drukken was zo voelde het. Terwijl ik gewoon lag. Echt het was, eerst het gekraak en toen die enorme druk. Echt het was een van de raarste ervaringen die ik ooit heb gehad. Het deed totaal geen pijn. Ik had er totaal geen last van. Alleen zeg maar op sommige plekjes werkt de verdovende crème beter dan op andere plekjes. Dus zeg maar hier voelde ik het prikje wel in gaan maar het was niet dat ik dacht van auw. Het was echt nog minder pijnlijk dan mijn lippen zeg maar. Als je je lippen gewend bent, dan is dit zeg maar letterlijk a piece of cake. Het enige wat dus raar is, is dat het kraakt en dat je die druk hebt maar voorderest voel je er totaal niks van. Je kan in principe gewoon gaan liggen slapen en dan is het er in een keer in. |

Speaker/Time	Visual	Transcript	Codes
Doctor 12:15 12:40		Oké de andere kant nu.	4:16 doctor wears white doctors c... / doctors gloves / focus on injection / formal setting: medical enviro... / showing procedure
Jessie 12:40 12:41		Was dat het?	4:17 doctors gloves / formal setting: medical enviro... / showing procedure
Doctor 12:41 12:43	See 12:40-12:41	Dat was de andere kant	
Jessie 12:42 13:00	See 12:40-12:41	Mijn god. Ik zat zo gespannen.	4:.. informal lexical choice — 4:.. expressing nervousness
Jessie 13:00 14:05	Jessie is sitting in her bedroom	En toen was de andere kant ook, en het was, het was meer gewoon ik kem het niet dus daarom was ik heel zenuwachtig. Als ik nu de volgende keer ga zal het echt niks voorstellen en dan denk ik gewoon van oh nou de lippen doen het meest pijn, kom maar op weet je wel. En ik kom daar altijd binnen ik wil zo veel ik wil het zo groot. Ik had ook allemaal plaatjes natuurlijk weer. En een plaatje meenemen is eigenlijk niet realistisch want je kan nooit krijgen wat een persoon op een plaatje heeft. Ik kan wel een plaatje met kim Kardashian bij een plastische chirurg naar binnen lopen maar dan zeggen ze ja leuk maar he Kim Kardashian heeft een ander gezicht dan jij dus dat kan niet. Snap je wat ik bedoel? Dus ik had wel een plaatje meegenomen van zo groot wil ik ongeveer mijn cheeks en zus en zo. En toen zei hij ook van; dat is er groot en ik ga er niet zo heel veel in doen want sowieso altijd, ook de eerste keer dat ik mijn lippen deed, deed hij ook echt 0,3 dat ik echt dacht van... nou ik ga er niet heel veel in doen. Ik ga gewoon een aantal spuitjes zetten en volgende dag gaat het heel erg opwellen je lippen ook. Nou de volgende dag, als je mijn vlogs terug kijkt van lip fillers, dan zag je zelfs de eerste avond al dat ik gewoon leek op Katherine Duck. Dus toen zei die als je het morgen mooi vind je jukbeenderen, dan moet er sowieso bij. En ik had al ergens in mijn achterhoofd zitten van; ik wil sowieso meer want ik wou ook gewoon 1 mm in mijn lippen en dat heeft hij ook niet gedaan hij had veel minder gedaan.	4:.. normalizing cosmetic surgery / structural opposition — 4:61 ik k... ideal body image
			4:.. unsatisfied with result
Jessie 14:05 14:48		Morgen is het heel erg opgezwollen, als je het dan mooi vind, dan moet je sowieso nog een keer en dan ga ik gewoon bij spuiten tot het op die grootte is. En dus inderdaad de volgende dag, ik heb er ook vlogs over gemaakt. Ik had in de eerste instantie van cheek fillers had ik veel meer van verwacht. Ik weet niet of ik zeg maar bij mezelf gewoon een heel erg groot verschil zag. Als ik mijn vlogs terug zie dan denk ik wel echt van wow daar is echt heel veel veranderd. Maar het raar je wend zo snel aan als je een verandering aan je gezicht heb gedaan, als je lip fillers hebt of als je cheek fillers heb ofzo je wend er heel snel aan. Dus ik dacht bij mezelf zou ik echt zulke ballon jukbeenderen zou hebben maar het viel heel erg mee. Het was gewoon heel subtiel en ik dacht van oh ik hou er wel van. Het was gewoon van ik dacht van oh ik hou er wel van. Het was gewoon van ik dacht van oh ik hou er wel van nep maar een beetje bij.	4:18 focus on results / informal setting: bedroom — 4:63 structural opposition / 4:38 structural opposition
			4:.. unsatisfied with result
			4:.. normalizing cosmetic surgery
			4:.. unsatisfied with result
Jessie 14:48 16:33		Dit is dus nu na de twee weken de jukbeenderen en zeg maar hier kan je echt nog die bolling nog zien. De volgende dag maakte ik dus deze foto en ik was er zo blij mee ik dacht echt oh my god dit is zo mooi. Toen had ik meteen geapt van ik vind het nu heel erg mooi er moet sowieso meer bij. En hij was echt zo van het ziet er echt heel mooi uit en ik was heel blij. Ik persoonlijk ben blij dat ik de keus genomen heb om cheek fillers te nemen. Ik vind dat mijn gezicht er een stuk vrouwelijker heeft gemaakt. Ik vind dat het heel veel heeft gedaan voor mijn gezicht. En nee, even een disclaimer, je hoeft niet cheek fillers of whatever te nemen als je transgender bent. Dit is gewoon mijn proces persoonlijk, mijn ervaring en waarom ik dingen doe en waarom ik dingen wil. Ik ben altijd extra, ik vind nep niet erg ik hou er wel van. Het is altijd een gevoelig onderwerp fillers en alles want je bent een voorbeeldrol je snapt wat ik bedoel. Het is gewoon een heel lastig en gevoelig onderwerp. Dus ik wil altijd zeggen van jongens dit ben ik, ik vind dingen mooi, ik wil dingen, ik hou wel van nep weetje, het mag van mij allemaal wel wat groter en nepper ik ben daar gewoon van. Ik weet dat heel veel mensen en heel veel kijkers daar niet van zijn dus neem het niet als een voorbeeld als je bijvoorbeeld ook transgender bent en je kijkt dit en denkt van; oh maar ik moet cheek fillers want dat is vrouwelijker en dat heeft Jessie ook. Totaal niet. Weet je, doe gewoon letterlijk wat je zelf wil en wat je zelf mooi vind en fijn vind. Dit is gewoon mijn ervaring en ik deel mijn ervaringen en ik wil gewoon elk kleine stapje met jullie delen. Daarom maak ik deze video's en ook gewoon omdat ik het super leuk vind om te delen. Ik ben gewoon heel open met dit soort dingen dus he, zeg maar please vat het niet verkeerd op. Please, reageer niet van je bent een voorbeeld hoor dit kan niet. Want he, ik ben mezelf en ik uit mezelf.	4:19 focus on results / informal setting: bedroom
			4:.. satisfied with result
			4:.. justifying the decision for cos... — 4:.. justifying the decision for cos...
			4:.. after photo / focus on results / informal setting: bedroom
			4:.. expectations regarding respo...
			4:.. neoliberal context: responsibl...
			4:.. more openness about cosmeti...
			4:.. expectations regarding respo...
Jessie 16:33 17:13	Jessie is sitting in her bedroom	Ik heb een afspraak voor begin januari, net voordat ik naar LA ga. Dus ik dacht, net eventjes nog voordat ik naar LA ga, even LA cheeken en lips, dus dan ga ik nog een keer en dan gaat hij het nog een keer bijvullen. Ik dacht dan hoop ik dat ik het daarna goed vind, want ik heb altijd een soort van ideaal beeld in mijn hoofd en het is niet dat ik dan door sla. Weet je, dat heel veel mensen denken van oh je slaat door veel te veel veel te veel. Maar ik heb ook met mijn lippen, ik heb een soort van ideaal beeld in mijn hoofd. Mijn lippen heb ik eigenlijk nog nooit bepaald zonder dat het opgezwollen was zeg maar. Als het opgezwollen was dan dacht ik zeg maar oh ja dit is mooi dit wil ik. En dan langzaam aan ging het weer niet opgezwollen en dan dacht ik echt hmm het moet nou al weer bij gevuld worden. Ik weet echt de rem en ik heb ook een vriend die echt wel heel erg op de rem drukt dus don't worry about that.	4:.. expectations regarding respo... — 4:.. ideal body image
Jessie 17:13 17:51	Jessie is sitting in her bedroom	Maar dit is dus een beetje mijn ervaring met cheek fillers en nou ja lip fillers dat kennen jullie al daar heb ik al vaker video's over gemaakt. Ik was heel zenuwachtig, ik vond het heel erg spannend maar ik ben uiteindelijk heel erg blij dat ik het heb gedaan en ik vind het ook heel mooi eruit zien. En vooral als ik ook mijn make up doe, zeg maar ik heb veel minder contour nodig om zo echt cheeks te krijgen. Dus ik ben er heel erg blij mee. Dus dat was de video. Ik hoop dat jullie de video leuk vonden. Het was gewoon even een soort van, ja even gewoon weer een zit en praat video daar hou ik van om mijn verhaal en mijn ervaringen te delen met jullie. Ik hoop dat je de video leuk vond, zo ja geef even een duimpje omhoog. Heel erg bedankt voor het kijken en tot in de volgende video doeg.	4:.. expressing nervousness / satisfied with result — 4:.. benefit
17:51 18:23	Time lapse of the lip filler procedure	Nog even een kleine timelaps van de lip fillers! <3	4:21 doctor wears white doctors c... / doctors gloves / focus on injection / formal setting: medical enviro... / showing procedure