

COSMETIC SURGERY. A RIGHT TO HEALTH OR A LUXURY?

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Abstract:

De-a lungul timpului oamenii au luptat pentru a obține drepturi. Când se pune problema chirurgiei cosmetice, majoritatea tind să o asocieze mai degrabă cu lipsa de nevoie a acestora în rândul oamenilor, considerând-o mai degrabă un capriciu decât un drept. Studiul de față are ca scop sintetizarea informațiilor din literatură cu privire la chirurgia estetică (care sunt mecanismele care stau la baza alegerii de a apela la o astfel de procedură, care sunt sursele care influențează percepția corpului și această decizie, riscuri asociate, aspecte psihologice alăturate acestei decizii, surse de informații, precum și atitudinea comunității față de persoanele care apelează la chirurgia estetică), susținând că aceasta reprezintă un drept al omului. Cu toate acestea, studiul arată că este necesară adoptarea de legi care să protejeze pacienții de cazuri de malpraxis.

Cuvinte cheie: chirurgie cosmetică, drepturile omului, sănătate, legislație, aspecte psihologice

Résumé :

Les gens ont lutté au fil du temps pour obtenir des droits. Lorsque l'on évoque le sujet des chirurgie esthétique, la plupart ont tendance à les associer plutôt à un manque de leur besoin chez les gens, les considérant comme un caprice et non pas comme un droit. La présente étude vise à synthétiser les informations de la littérature sur la chirurgie esthétique (quels sont les mécanismes qui sous-tendent le choix de suivre ce type intervention, quelles sont les sources qui influencent la perception corporelle et cette décision, les risques associés, les aspects psychologiques qui accompagnent cette décision, les sources d'information ainsi que les attitudes de la communauté envers ceux qui ont recours à la chirurgie esthétique), en argumentant qu'ils représentent un droit humain. Cependant, l'étude révèle la nécessité de promulguer des lois pour protéger les patients contre les fautes professionnelles médicales.

Mots clés : chirurgie esthétique, droits de l'homme, santé, législation, aspects psychologiques

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Ever since the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the discrepancy between cultural values and the universality of those rights has sometimes made it difficult to effectively enforce human rights¹. When it comes to beauty, the idea that it should be a human right dates back to the 1950's, when a plastic surgeon named Ivo Pitanguy argued that this right is a vital one, his argument being that ugliness causes a lot psychological distress, so it should be considered a humanitarian issue.²

Cosmetic surgery is a form of biomedical practice aimed at preventing ageing and in which the subjective needs of patients are understood as appropriate indications for medical interventions as they may choose to follow not just one, but several procedures

In recent years, there has been a considerable increase in cosmetic surgery, with more and more people choosing to undergo such procedures for various reasons. According to the International Society of Aesthetic Plastic Surgery, in 2020, 10,129,158 surgical and 14,400,347 non-surgical cosmetic procedures were performed worldwide, as breast size dissatisfaction is present at 47.5% of the investigated women in a study across 40 nations and 61 research sites by Swami and Co³. The most common surgical procedure among women was breast augmentation, and in men it was blepharoplasty, while in non-surgical procedures, Botox injection was preferred in both cases. At the same time, 55,928 rhinoplasties were performed among young people (18 years or less)⁴.

The psychological mechanisms for taking the decision to have a plastic surgery can be explained through the model that mentions body image as the main determinant when people decide to perform cosmetic surgery⁵. At the same time, people resort to cosmetic surgery to pursue the phenomenon of positive ageing, which promotes the idea that people can challenge this natural ageing process by purchasing products and services that make them look younger⁶. A study showed how people who are dissatisfied with their own

¹ Krivenko, E. Y. (2015). Rethinking human rights and culture through female genital surgeries. *Hum. Rts. Q.*, 37, 107.

² Bhattacharya, S. (2016). Dr. Ivo Pitanguy: Strived for a 'human right to beauty'. *Indian Journal of Plastic Surgery*, 49(03), 300-301.

³ Swami, V., Tran, U. S., Barron, D., Afhami, R., Aimé, A., Almenara, C. A., ... & Voracek, M. (2020). The Breast Size Satisfaction Survey (BSSS): Breast size dissatisfaction and its antecedents and outcomes in women from 40 nations. *Body image*, 32, 199-217.

⁴ International Society of Aesthetic Plastic Surgery. ISAPS International Survey on Aesthetic/Cosmetic Procedures Performed in 2020. USA; 2020: 6-12. Available from: https://www.isaps.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/01/ISAPS-Global-Survey_2020.pdf

⁵ Sarwer, D. B., Wadden, T. A., Pertschuk, M. J., & Whitaker, L. A. (1998). Body image dissatisfaction and body dysmorphic disorder in 100 cosmetic surgery patients. *Plastic and Reconstructive Surgery*, 101(6), 1644-1649.

⁶ Faircloth, C. A. (Ed.). (2003). *Ageing bodies: Images and everyday experience*. Rowman Altamira.

body and have a high level of appearance investment tend to resort to cosmetic surgical procedures.⁷ Investment in appearance refers to the extent to which an individual's attention, thoughts, and actions focus on their appearance and define their sense of self⁸. According to a study⁹ the central motivation of people to undergo cosmetic surgeries is the hope that after performing them they will become more satisfied with their appearance and their psychosocial functioning will improve (positive body image, high self-esteem). Swami's study¹⁰ identifies negative body appreciation, increased media influence, and increased weight among those considering cosmetic surgery. Also, body appreciation of oneself is linked to the individuals' self-esteem, satisfaction with life and subjective happiness¹¹. On the opposite, a low level of body appreciation can lead to eating disorders, depression, lower level of life satisfaction and even suicidal thoughts, lower levels of functioning of the individual¹².

Why do people become dissatisfied with their own appearance and who influences their perception? The socio-cultural theory suggests that people learn beauty ideals in a social and cultural context¹³. Although perceptions of what attractiveness means are guided by innate preferences, such as symmetry, narrow waist, etc.¹⁴, the socio-cultural environment and pressure from peers can even

⁷ Sarwer, D. B., Cash, T. F., Magee, L., Williams, E. F., Thompson, J. K., Roehrig, M., ... & Romanofski, M. (2005). Female college students and cosmetic surgery: An investigation of experiences, attitudes, and body image. *Plastic and reconstructive surgery*, 115(3), 931-938.

⁸ Cash, T. F., Melnyk, S. E., & Hrabosky, J. I. (2004). The assessment of body image investment: An extensive revision of the Appearance Schemas Inventory. *international Journal of eating disorders*, 35(3), 305-316.

⁹ Von Soest, T., Kvaalem, I. L., Roald, H. E., & Skolleborg, K. C. (2009). The effects of cosmetic surgery on body image, self-esteem, and psychological problems. *Journal of plastic, reconstructive & Aesthetic Surgery*, 62(10), 1238-1244.

¹⁰ Swami, V. (2009). Body appreciation, media influence, and weight status predict consideration of cosmetic surgery among female undergraduates. *Body image*, 6(4), 315-317.

¹¹ Swami, V., Tudorel O., Goian, C., Barron, D., Vintila, M., (2017), Factor structure and psychometric properties of a Romanian translation of the Body appreciation scale-2, *Body Image*, 23, 61-68.

¹² Voracek, M., Loible, L.M., Swami, V., Vintila, M., Kolves, K., Sinniah, D., Pillai, S.K., Ponnusami, S., Sonneck, G., Furnham, A., Lester, A., (2009), The beliefs in the inheritance of risk factors for suicide scale (BIRFSS): a cross-cultural validation in Estonia, Malaysia, Romania, the United Kingdom and the United States, *Suicide and life-threatening behavior*, 38 (6), 688-698; Vintila, M., Todd, J., Goian, C., Tudorel, O., Barbat, C., Swami, V., (2020), The Romanian version of the Intuitive Eating Scale-2: assessment of its psychometric properties and gender invariance in Romanian adults, *Body Image* 35, 225-236; Swami, V., Todd, J., Goian, C., Tudorel, O., Barron, D., Vintila, M., (2021), Psychometric properties of a Romanian translation of the Functionality Appreciation Scale, *Body Image*, 37, 138-147.

¹³ Thompson, J. K., Heinberg, L. J., Altabe, M., & Tantleff-Dunn, S. (1999). *Exacting beauty: Theory, assessment, and treatment of body image disturbance*. American Psychological Association.

¹⁴ Swami, V., & Furnham, A. (2007). *The psychology of physical attraction*. Routledge.

influence perceptions of attractiveness¹⁵. These aspects can be explained by The Tripartite Influence Model¹⁵ which argues that beauty ideals are strengthened and transmitted by three sociocultural influences: colleagues, parents, and the media. We assume that if a person internalizes beauty ideals regarding physical appearance (those presented by the media or reinforced by parents) they can engage in comparing their aspects with those of other people (colleagues), and this can lead to problems with body image, the person having a low level of body satisfaction¹⁵.

The studies of Sharp, Tiggemann & Mattiske (2014)¹⁶ and Menzel et al (2011)¹⁷ show how women report an increased pressure from social media and close social groups (friends), where there are more discussions about comparisons based on physical appearance, so they are more likely to consider having cosmetic surgery as a future option for changing their appearance. From this perspective, the pressure from others to change your physical appearance, as well as frequent comparisons with others, increase concern about perceived defects in one's body image¹⁸. Concerns regarding body image are prevalent in many groups, with significant consequences for mental and physical health, especially increased risk of developing eating disorders, depression, and obesity¹⁹.

Perloff's transactional model²⁰ shows how social media has a high impact on body image disorders. It presupposes the existence of vulnerability factors (low self-esteem, depression, internalization of the ideal cultural image model) through which people end up looking for certain gratifications in the online environment, spending as much time as possible in this environment, often becoming addicted to using the smartphone and being on the internet²¹. Through mediating factors such as social comparison in the online environment, the individual reports a high level of body dissatisfaction or other aspects that

¹⁵ Cafri, G., Yamamiya, Y., Brannick, M., & Thompson, J. K. (2005). The influence of sociocultural factors on body image: A meta-analysis. *Clinical Psychology: science and practice*, 12(4), 421.

¹⁶ Sharp, G., Tiggemann, M., & Mattiske, J. (2014). The role of media and peer influences in Australian women's attitudes towards cosmetic surgery. *Body Image*, 11(4), 482-487.

¹⁷ Menzel, J. E., Sperry, S. L., Small, B., Thompson, J. K., Sarwer, D. B., & Cash, T. F. (2011). Internalization of appearance ideals and cosmetic surgery attitudes: A test of the tripartite influence model of body image. *Sex Roles*, 65(7), 469-477.

¹⁸ Jackson, T., & Chen, H. (2015). Predictors of cosmetic surgery consideration among young Chinese women and men. *Sex Roles*, 73(5), 214-230.

¹⁹ Gillen, M. M., & Markey, C. N. (2015). Body image and mental health. *Encyclopedia of mental health*, 2, 187-92.

²⁰ Perloff, R. M. (2014). Social media effects on young women's body image concerns: Theoretical perspectives and an agenda for research. *Sex roles*, 71(11), 363-377.

²¹ Vintila, M., Tudorel, O., Goian, C., Barbat, C., (2018), Determining the structure of smartphone addiction scale§ a bifactor model analysis, *Current Psychology*, 1-8.

negatively impact them and wants to reshape their body²². Some authors²² show how social networks (e.g. Facebook, Instagram, Snapchat) and photo editing applications can induce users a high commitment to self-appearance and self-image presented to others, by using social comparison and posting comments on the social content of friends in the online environment, an aspect which can lead to a notable association between the use of social media and the desire to follow a cosmetic surgery. At the same time, there is a wide range of features for editing a photo, including some tools that allow users to make general changes to the image (e.g., lighting) and changes related to body image (e.g., reshaping the features of the face, body, etc.)²⁴ Also, a study conducted on adolescents²³ leads to the fact that the common practice of Instagram users to change their physical appearance in the images they post can have negative consequences, especially for girls who engage in the process of social comparison. The fact that they considered that photos presented on Instagram illustrated a vision representative of the surrounding reality, failing to realize the remodelling to which the bodies of the people in the pictures were subjected²⁵ reinforces the concern to study how using editing applications amplifies the desire to follow cosmetic surgery. At the same time, face editing applications play a specific role in people's decision to follow cosmetic surgery, one of the most important reasons why they use these tools is social media²⁴. Sun's study²⁵ supports these findings, suggesting that the use of photo editing applications poses a risk to young women's body image concerns, considering cosmetic surgery. Research²⁶ shows that editing photos before uploading them on social networks is associated with a lower level of self-image satisfaction, positive attitudes towards cosmetic procedures, higher intentions to take part in a facial cosmetic procedure, and a greater discrepancy between real and expected body image.

²² Chen, J., Ishii, M., Bater, K. L., Darrach, H., Liao, D., Huynh, P. P., ... & Ishii, L. E. (2019). Association between the use of social media and photograph editing applications, self-esteem, and cosmetic surgery acceptance. *JAMA facial plastic surgery*, 21(5), 361-367.

²³ Kleemans, M., Daalmans, S., Carbaat, I., & Anschutz, D. (2018). Picture perfect: The direct effect of manipulated Instagram photos on body image in adolescent girls. *Media Psychology*, 21(1), 93-110.

²⁴ Othman, S., Lyons, T., Cohn, J. E., Shokri, T., & Bloom, J. D. (2021). The influence of photo editing applications on patients seeking facial plastic surgery services. *Aesthetic surgery journal*, 41(3), NP101-NP110.

²⁵ Sun, Q. (2021). Selfie editing and consideration of cosmetic surgery among young Chinese women: The role of self-objectification and facial dissatisfaction. *Sex Roles*, 84(11), 670-679.

²⁶ Beos, N., Kemps, E., & Prichard, I. (2021). Photo manipulation as a predictor of facial dissatisfaction and cosmetic procedure attitudes. *Body Image*, 39, 194-201.

Some authors²⁷ show how exposure to messages coming from social media is consistently related to a low level of body satisfaction. Those who constantly use social networks which promote images of people who have managed to lose weight, want to conform to the beauty ideal²⁸. This leads to a higher intention to engage in extreme weight-loss behaviours that harm the body³⁰. At the same time, exposure to images that promote a slim physique on social networks can lead to weight dissatisfaction, the urge to resort to any means to have a physique according to the internalized, concerns about body image, and a lack of psychological well-being among adolescents²⁹. Women who reported a high level of body monitoring, body shame, and who engaged in unhealthy weight management behaviours had a higher level of interest in pursuing cosmetic surgery³⁰. Also, the drive for muscularity is present and documented in several studies³¹. The messages conveyed by the media are undoubtedly more convincing than ever in dictating the importance of physical appearance³² so that those who used social networks fifteen minutes before bedtime and fifteen minutes after waking up had higher intentions to choose cosmetic surgery³³. Those exposed to television messages presenting certain plastic surgeries have much higher intentions to resort to such interventions than those who did not watch these programs.³⁴

It is fact that media has such a high impact on our lives, influencing us more or less directly to model ourselves on what is culturally promoted, to

²⁷ Grabe, S., Ward, L. M., & Hyde, J. S. (2008). The role of the media in body image concerns among women: a meta-analysis of experimental and correlational studies. *Psychological bulletin*, 134(3), 460.

²⁸ Lewallen, J., & Behm-Morawitz, E. (2016). Pinterest or thinterest?: Social comparison and body image on social media. *Social media + society*, 2(1), 2056305116640559.

²⁹ Meier, E. P., & Gray, J. (2014). Facebook photo activity associated with body image disturbance in adolescent girls. *Cyberpsychology, Behavior, and Social Networking*, 17(4), 199-206; Marengo, D., Longobardi, C., Fabris, M. A., & Settanni, M. (2018). Highly-visual social media and internalizing symptoms in adolescence: The mediating role of body image concerns. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 82, 63-69.

³⁰ Gillen, M. M., & Markey, C. H. (2021). Body image, weight management behavior, and women's interest in cosmetic surgery. *Psychology, Health & Medicine*, 26(5), 621-630.

³¹ Swami, V., Vintila, M., Tudorel, O., Goian, C., Barron, D., (2018), Factor structure and psychometric properties of a Romaina translation of the drive for muscularity scale (DMS) in university men, *Body Image*, 25, 48-55.

³² Walker, C. E., Krumhuber, E. G., Dayan, S., & Furnham, A. (2021). Effects of social media use on desire for cosmetic surgery among young women. *Current Psychology*, 40(7), 3355-3364.

³³ Al-Yahya, T., AlOnayzan, A. H., AlAbdullah, Z. A., Alali, K. M., & Althabit, F. M. The impact of social media engagement on body image and increased popularity toward seeking cosmetic surgery. *surgery*, 20, 21.

³⁴ Markey, C. N., & Markey, P. M. (2010). A correlational and experimental examination of reality television viewing and interest in cosmetic surgery. *Body image*, 7(2), 165-171.

align with the standards imposed by society. If social networks and what they promote, create a high discrepancy between real and ideal body image, there is a possibility of dissatisfaction with one's physical appearance, mood swings, unhappiness, and desire to change the body features, but resorting to cosmetic surgery can be a rather risky step, because a single intervention will not be enough to be satisfied, as one will find more and more defects that they would like to change. On the other hand, time spent in nature without gadgets can significantly improve body appreciation³⁵.

So, given the fact that media is one of the most virulent sources that conveys socio-cultural messages about how females should look, primarily through magazines, advertisements, movies, and more and more often through social networks³⁶, it is important to investigate which sources of information are preferred by young adults so that they can later be taught about credible and least credible sources. Promoting a more positive self-esteem and instilling in people an attitude that goes against the messages about the ideals of beauty conveyed in media can help patients make more educated decisions about cosmetic surgery and its effects on self-perception³⁷. This would help not only when it comes to cosmetic surgery and the decision to follow one, but also when it comes to information on other topics such as those mentioned above. One aspect worth considering when one decides to undergo a cosmetic surgery is to be informed about it. As in many other areas, there are specialists and doctors with whom young people can discuss about credible sources, how to choose the right type of procedure, how to avoid contact with non-professionals. However, they prefer to inform themselves on their own, in most cases on the Internet, as in the case of sexual health³⁸, mental health³⁹, general health⁴⁰, sometimes finding inaccurate information.

³⁵ Swami, V., Khatib, NAM, Vidal-Mollon, J., Vintila, M., Barron, D., Goian, C., Mayoral, Ol., Toh, EKL, Tudorel, O., Vazirani, S., Zahari, HS, (2020), Visits to natural environments improve state body appreciation; evidence from Malaysia, Romania and Spain, *Ecopsychology*, vol 12, no 1, 24-35.

³⁶ Fardouly, J., & Vartanian, L. R. (2015). Negative comparisons about one's appearance mediate the relationship between Facebook usage and body image concerns. *Body image*, 12, 82-88.

³⁷ Swami, V. (2009). Body appreciation, media influence, and weight status predict consideration of cosmetic surgery among female undergraduates. *Body image*, 6(4), 315-317.

³⁸ Buhi, E. R., Daley, E. M., Fuhrmann, H. J., & Smith, S. A. (2009). An observational study of how young people search for online sexual health information. *Journal of American college health*, 58(2), 101-111.

³⁹ Horgan, A., & Sweeney, J. (2010). Young students' use of the Internet for mental health information and support. *Journal of psychiatric and mental health nursing*, 17(2), 117-123.

⁴⁰ Gray, N. J., Klein, J. D., Noyce, P. R., Sesselberg, T. S., & Cantrill, J. A. (2005). Health information-seeking behaviour in adolescence: the place of the internet. *Social science & medicine*, 60(7), 1467-1478.

It is understandable that society is in a constant state of emancipation and that different people want to improve their physical appearance in order to feel better about their own body, but this decision must be well informed and documented, because sometimes people who embody beauty models in the online environment describe only the positive side of cosmetic surgery, not the negative aspects and risks that may arise when performing these procedures.

However, what is more widely circulated in the media are the positive aspects of cosmetic surgery, the negative ones being largely ignored and this can lead to a decision being only half informed by ignoring the risks that arise with performing such a procedure⁴¹. In this regard, an intervention based on media literacy through which people learn to critically analyse the information they receive from social media leads to a decrease in women's favourable attitude towards cosmetic surgery and body dissatisfaction, as well as increasing self-esteem.⁴² Thus, it is important to know the negative aspects of cosmetic surgery such as those found by Borah, Rankin & Wey (1999)⁴³, in whose study a number of psychological problems were identified among respondents after surgery (depression, anxiety, disappointment, sleep disorders and post-traumatic stress disorder). Also, Brinton, Lubin, Burich, Colton, Hoover (2001)⁴⁴ identified higher risks of suicide among women who underwent cosmetic surgery than among the general population. Serious documentation on performing such interventions minimise the risks, which can later lead to devastating results, serious health complications, rising health costs, issues that subsequently affect the psychological well-being of patients⁴⁵.

Article 35 of the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights⁴⁶ states that everyone has the right to health care, seeking to ensure a high level of protection of human health. Thus, in view of the above, people have the right to choose to undergo cosmetic surgery to ensure their physical integrity (the situation of mutilated victims or those who want to rebuild certain parts of their body after suffering a certain disease; such as breast cancer) and mental integrity (previous studies show that dissatisfaction with one's own body can lead to depression, anxiety, and other disorders). The right to physical and mental integrity is upheld in

⁴¹ Gilmartin, J. (2011). Contemporary cosmetic surgery: The potential risks and relevance for practice. *Journal of clinical nursing*, 20(13-14), 1801-1809.

⁴² Khazir, Z., Dehdari, T., Majdabad, M. M., & Tehrani, S. P. (2016). Psychological aspects of cosmetic surgery among females: A media literacy training intervention. *Global journal of health science*, 8(2), 35.

⁴³ Borah, G., Rankin, M., & Wey, P. (1999). Psychological complications in 281 plastic surgery practices. *Plastic and Reconstructive Surgery*, 104(5), 1241-1246.

⁴⁴ Brinton, L. A., Lubin, J. H., Burich, M. C., Colton, T., & Hoover, R. N. (2001). Mortality among augmentation mammoplasty patients. *Epidemiology*, 321-326.

⁴⁵ Gilmartin (2011), op. cit.

⁴⁶ <http://www.europeana.ro/comunitar/cetatenia/carta%20drepturilor%20fundamentale.html>

Article 3.1 of the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights. A downside to cosmetic surgery is that there is no specific legal framework strictly targeted for people who want to undergo cosmetic surgery for non-medical reasons the laws dealing mainly with general aspects. However, no surgery should be made before a medical and psychological check-up (see cases of dysmorphic disorder).

Even if people have the right to undergo a cosmetic surgery, the attitudes towards it are still dominated by discrimination and disapproval of those who resort to such interventions. Those who benefited from cosmetic surgery felt judged and were exposed to negative stereotypes⁴⁷. Haiken (1997)⁴⁸ mentions such stereotypes, namely that cosmetic surgery patients are considered vain, narcissistic or psychologically maladapted, their decision being condemnable from a moral point of view⁴⁹. Also, respondents had a negative attitude towards cosmetic surgeries, disapproving them and (to the extent that they mentioned that the likelihood of having such surgery in the future is low), considering those who follow such procedures as being psychologically maladapted, materialistic and perfectionist.⁵⁰

Some researchers⁵¹ analysed the attitude of students towards cosmetic surgery in three different states (Hong Kong, Japan and the United States), and the attitude was one of non-acceptance, the attributes that were offered to people who benefit from cosmetic surgery were negative and participants were less willing to have social relationships with them. Another study⁵², reveals the stigmatizing experiences of women in Australia who underwent cosmetic surgery (they internalized the stigma, manifesting it as shame and guilt for resorting to such solutions instead of diets or exercise)

Thus, in view of the above, the choice of pursuing a surgery for the purpose of beauty is a right and not a luxury. However, it is recommended to create a legal framework, with clear laws on this issue. States should adopt regulations protecting such patients in case of malpractice. It should be noted that there are certain surgeons in training who test innovative procedures on patients, exposing

⁴⁷ Saxena, P. (2013). Trading and managing stigma: Women's accounts of breast implant surgery. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 42(3), 347-377.

⁴⁸ Haiken, E. (1997). *Venus Envy: A History of Cosmetic Surgery*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press

⁴⁹ Davis, K. (1997). Cosmetic surgery as feminist utopia?. *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 4(1), 23-37; Davis, K. (2003). *Dubious equalities and embodied differences: Cultural studies on cosmetic surgery*. Rowman & Littlefield.

⁵⁰ Delinsky, S. S. (2005). Cosmetic Surgery: A Common and Accepted Form of Self-Improvement? 1. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 35(10), 2012-2028.

⁵¹ Tam, K. P., Ng, H. K. S., Kim, Y. H., Yeung, V. W. L., & Cheung, F. Y. L. (2012). Attitudes toward cosmetic surgery patients: the role of culture and social contact. *The Journal of social psychology*, 152(4), 458-479.

⁵² Bonell, S., Austen, E., Sharp, G., & Griffiths, S. (2022). Australian women's lived experiences of stigmatization after cosmetic surgery: A qualitative investigation. *Stigma and Health*.

them to even more risks. Most patients have fairly modest incomes, and without specific laws it will be difficult for them to get justice if the procedure fails.

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