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A full-page background image of a woman with long brown hair, smiling and posing on a red carpet. She is wearing a floor-length, sleeveless, high-necked dress covered in silver sequins. Her right arm is raised, holding a small object. The carpet is red with white and gold stripes. In the background, other people and photographers are visible.

IS THE FASHION INDUSTRY TO BLAME FOR SOCIAL MEDIA ADDICTION?

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INTRODUCTION

AIM:

Explore ways in which the fashion industry may be to blame for the addictive consumption of social media.

OBJECTIVES:

Develop an understanding of what the addictive consumption of social media is and where it stems from.

Identify the various catalysts for excessive consumption.

Examine the fashion industry's participation and influence towards excessive consumption compared to other factors.

In recent years it has come to the attention of psychologists, and parents, that there is a growing issue of excessive social media usage amongst children and young adults (Richtel, 2023). Although the internet has opened doors to innovation and accessibility, the evolvement of social media has created a never ending stream of stimulation through content creation and viewing (Hashem, 2023). 61% of Generation Z and Millennials have agreed that they have an addiction to their devices (CivicScience, 2023). This is because they have experienced a childhood exposed to technological developments, and psychologists discovered that younger individuals have a higher risk to the impulse of temptation because their brain is still in development (Richtel, 2023). The symptoms and effects of an addiction causes negative feelings in the individual, which has a knock-on effect on their day-to-day life (Temple, 2023). With over 60% of the global population using social media (Dollarhide, 2023) it is important that this addiction is explored further, with highlights on the triggers and factors resulting in an addiction. A common effect of social media usage is comparison to those that are on their feed, such as influencers or friends with a desirable lifestyle (Tian et al, 2023).

It is thought that this is pushed by the fashion industry, with their high usage of models and influencers in their promotional materials, with lighting and angles perfected. This comparison can lead to imitation, which results in increased screen time and content creation in hopes of similar rewards/opportunities (Tian et al, 2023). So, is the fashion industry to blame for social media addiction?

In this paper the ways in which the fashion industry may be to blame for the addictive consumption of social media will be explored. The scale of the fashion industry will be identified through literature review using previous articles and statistics, as well as an understanding of the development of a social media addiction. Reasonings to the fashion industry's continuation to use elements of social media, and the various other factors towards addictive consumption will be further analysed. These factors include consumer behaviour and the responsibility of influencers, which will be identified through previous research papers, articles and viewer reactions to social media usage in fashion. This will support the overall findings with a holistic view of whether the fashion industry is to blame for the current issue of social media addiction.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Understanding the scale of the fashion industry.

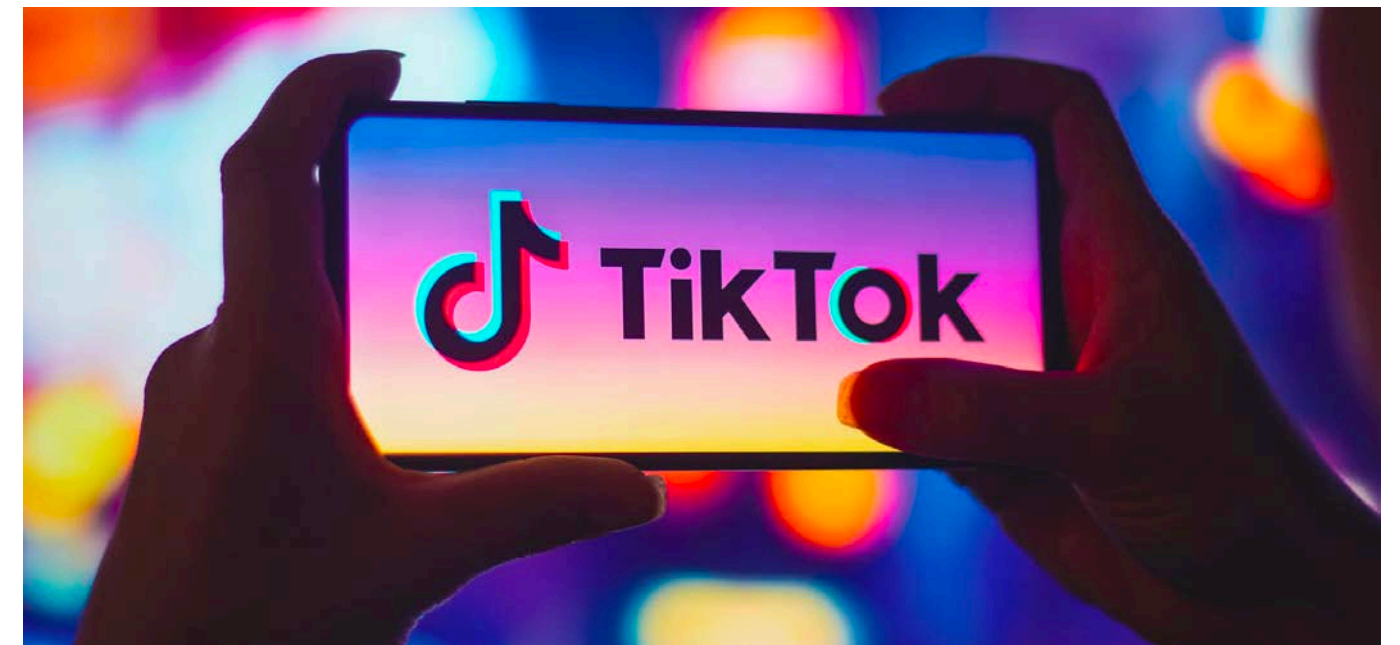
The fashion industry is a 1.7 trillion dollar industry, as of 2021, making it one of the biggest industries in the world. And it is predicted that by 2025 the spending on fashion goods will increase to 2.5 million dollars (Fashion United, 2023). This industry consists of multiple market segmentations, so it is consumed by a large range of individuals, each with their own preferences, needs and desires (Mahmoud, 2023). Ranging from Haute Couture, part of the luxury level with exclusive 'one of a kind' garments that are created by high luxury designers such as Chanel (Bala, 2020), to the mass market where the maximum potential of consumers are targeted with quick changing collections and affordable pieces (Mahmoud, 2023). The United States has the largest luxury sales (Jaggi, 2023), and in the past few years India has risen as an emerging market for luxury fashion, whereas China has decreased due to economic issues (Jaggi, 2023). China has the largest mass market sales with 40 billion apparel units bought in 2017 (Fashion United, 2023). This displays the quick-changing nature of the fashion industry where new markets, contenders and consumers are introduced every year. Similarly, the State of Fashion 2023 McKinsey report claimed that the fashion industry is becoming harder to predict due to economic, sustainable, and behavioural factors amongst consumers worldwide (Amed et al., 2022). Therefore, fashion brands are becoming highly competitive and are exploring new marketing strategies to maintain relevant amongst the high saturation of businesses (Larsen, 2022).



Understanding social media.

Social media is the term used for a variety of platforms that enable the ability to share information and content to other users, and over 60% of the global population use social media (Dollarhide, 2023). These platforms range from apps and websites online, and are used by the everyday person as well as businesses (McKinsey, 2023). The most commonly used platforms worldwide include Instagram, Facebook, YouTube, WhatsApp and recently popular TikTok according to a recent Statista survey (Dixon, 2023). And at an average global rate there are seven users per second joining a new social media platform (McKinsey, 2023), further displaying the increasing popularity. There are positives to the usage of social media such as connecting with family and friends, as well as networking and researching products to purchase (Hashem, 2023).

In the United States a survey was carried out to understand opinions on internet usage, with 25% saying it is good, 30% saying it is bad, and 36% believing that it is neither good nor bad (Dixon, 2022). From this it is evident that there are mixed feelings about the impacts of social media upon users, largely due to the positive connectivity it allows but also several possibilities of developing negative health issues, including addiction (Richtel, 2023).



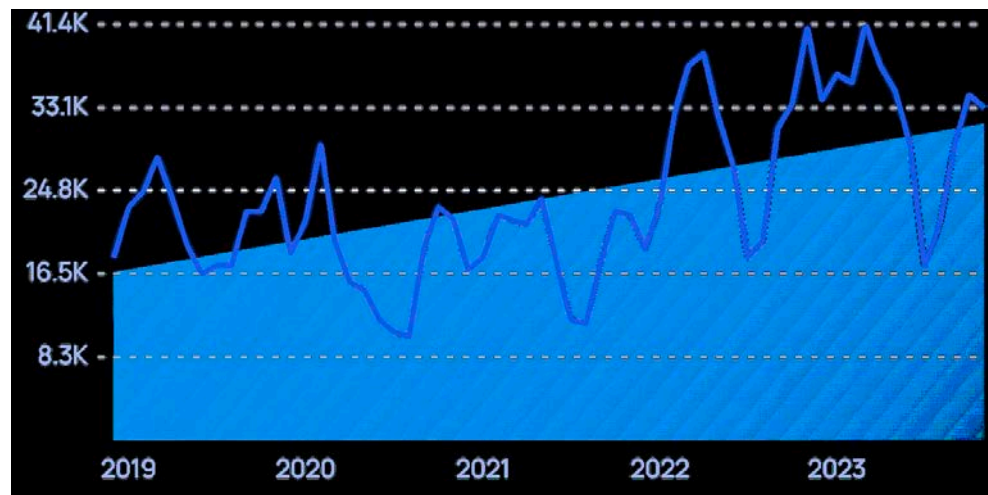
Defining Addiction.

The NHS UK defines addiction as the inability to have control over the impulse of doing, taking or using something which could lead to the point of harm both physically and mentally (NHS, 2021). Therefore it is important to look further into addiction and how social media users may be experiencing this. When an individual has an addiction there is a chronic dysfunction of the brain system, which results in a craving for a substance or behaviour that releases a “high” in a physical or psychological form. Individuals begin to seek this feeling repeatedly, creating an addiction (Tyler, 2018).

Addiction to social media.

Although it is commonly thought to be related to drugs and alcohol, there is actually the possibility to be addicted to the internet and social media (NHS, 2021). The understanding of social media addiction has developed over the past ten years, beginning with a study into ‘gaming addiction’ in 2013 by The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, which then was named an ‘internet addiction’ after multiple more studies (Richtel, 2023). The signs to be able to identify this addiction includes: repetitive urges to open social media apps, a constant thought about social media, usage to avoid personal problems, and the feeling of restlessness due to not logging on (Hilliard, 2023). Lucy Allan posted a video about

her social media addiction onto her YouTube channel, stating that “I felt like my brain was rotting, I felt awful about it” and continued to explain that she would feel guilty about spending so much time online, which she would then solve through a dopamine rush by going back online (Allen, 2023). This shows the simple yet harmful repetitive cycle that users develop. It has been found that in America 5-10% of individuals are within the criteria of a social media addiction diagnosis (Hilliard, 2023). Experts have further looked into this and have stated that the reason it is difficult to avoid is because of the way in which our neurological impulses and wiring react to the content displayed, and it is generally difficult to turn off a stream of information and content (Richtel, 2023).

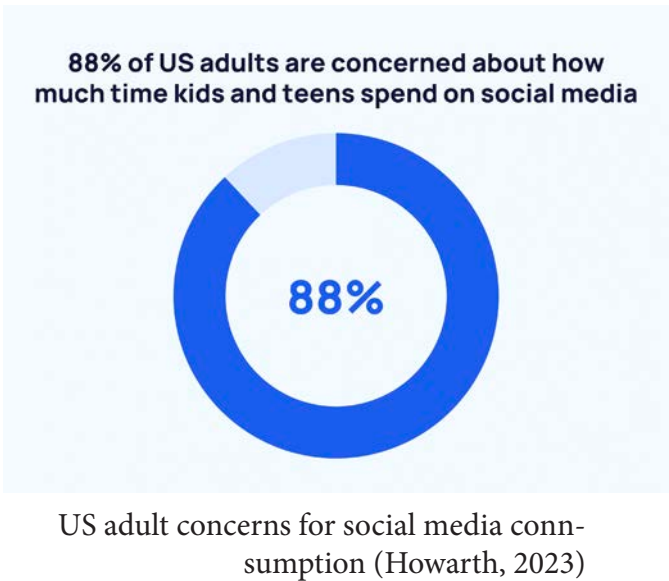


Number of searches for 'social media addiction'. (Howarth, 2023)

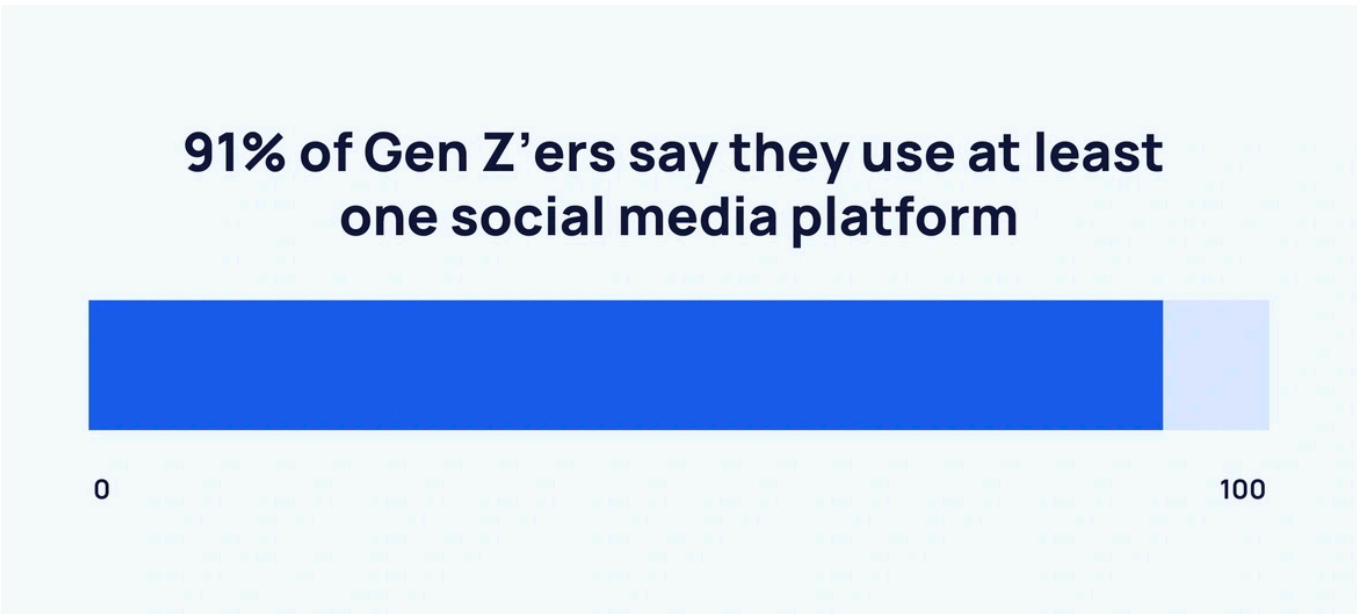
Identifying who is vulnerable to a social media addiction.

Dr. Tamara Pringsheim has also looked into this phenomenon and has stated that “Adolescence is a period of rapid social and emotional development”, suggesting that younger audiences are more likely to develop an addiction to social media (Napoli et al., 2023). This is a similar finding that David Greenfield, a psychologist and founder of the Center for Internet and Technology Addiction in West Hartford, Con., found in his studies. He clarified that within young people the regions of the brain that resist temptations are not as developed as they are in adults, so it is harder to control impulse (Richtel, 2023).

This explains the inability to avoid engaging with content for a longer period of time, expanding screen time and creating a habit of exposure to excessive stimulation. In line with this, Generation Z and Millennials have agreed that they have an addiction to their devices, with 61% stating this to CivicScience (2023). These two generations have grown up with internet and technology developments, and have experienced multiple eras of social media including the beginning of bloggers and YouTube ‘vloggers’ in 2005 (Hosch, 2023).



US adult concerns for social media consumption (Howarth, 2023)



Percentage of Gen Z in US using social media (Howarth, 2023)

Explaining the effects of a social media addiction.

The effects of a social media addiction amongst teenagers and young adults are concerning, with issues in both their mental and physical health that then lead to difficulties in everyday life (Temple, 2023). The ability to easily share and view opinions, experiences and events online is causing feelings of exclusion (Jabeen et al., 2023). This has led to a habit of overspending because of the fear of missing out (FOMO), with 48% of millennials spending money they don't necessarily have to stay 'on trend' (Solomon and Mrad, 2022). Followed by agitation and anxiety with a constant seeking for relief by logging online (Alutaybi et al., 2020). Fuelling this is the quickly changing micro-trends that are becoming harder to keep up with, alongside the goals of imitation with differentiation to feel a sense of individuality (Divita, 2019). "Consumers don't want more choices, they want more confidence in the choices presented" said Professor Scott Galloway when discussing the features of TikTok (Napoli et al., 2023). The ability of data capture has allowed social media apps to personalise content for every user to ensure that they enjoy what they are seeing (Richtel, 2023). Although this creates an initial positive experience it also causes comparison, due to an illusion of everybody owning items or living a lifestyle that the user desires (Tian et al., 2023). In 2021 it was found that 57% of US teen girls were experiencing feelings of sadness and hopelessness due to social media exposure, which was a rise of 36% from 2011 (Napoli et al., 2023). This growing issue of desiring what is presented to users online,

with comparison and seeking validation, is further causing health issues (Tian et al., 2023). A study by the University of Pittsburgh concluded that those who spend an increased time online are at 2.2 times the risk of eating and body image issues, compared to those who spend less time online (Hilliard, 2023). Leslie Coutterand, a model, explained this further in a personal TedX speech in 2018. She claimed that the motivation behind her social media addiction was the enjoyment of portraying a different persona, as it gained her: engagement, money and validation. She named this a 'dream conditioning', which began because of the easy accessibility to social media, with a quick introduction to fulfilment of dopamine and self-esteem (TedX Talks, 2018).



The fashion industry's usage of social media.

By 2035 Gen Z will make up 40% of the global fashion market (Larsen, 2022), and with a high saturation of businesses, fashion brands are turning to new marketing strategies to differentiate from their competitors (Amed et al., 2022). This has opened the opportunity to enter digital marketing, as it is evident that this is where majority of consumers are located (Larsen, 2022).

Influencer marketing, a collaboration between a brand and influencer, is a strategy that brands are adopting into their marketing mix (Matthew, 2018). With the job of an influencer consisting of frequently uploading content related to a category such as fashion and gaming, a personal branding is formed (Martineau, 2019). It is a highly accessible career to attempt, so therefore the influencer marketing economy values at \$21.1 billion (McKinsey, 2023) and fifty million people claim they are part of the creator economy (Napoli et al., 2023). Because of this there are labels used to identify influencers to support brand decisions. Starting from a 'nano influencer' who has less than ten thousand followers, to 'mega influencers' who have over one million followers (Duel, 2021). It is important for brands to choose someone to represent their values appropriately, so the size of following may be less important compared to the influencer's reputation (McKinsey, 2023). An example of this is Pretty Little Thing working with multiple nano to mid influencers at a 10-20% commission to maintain a trendy and accessible image with relatability (Gandola, 2022).

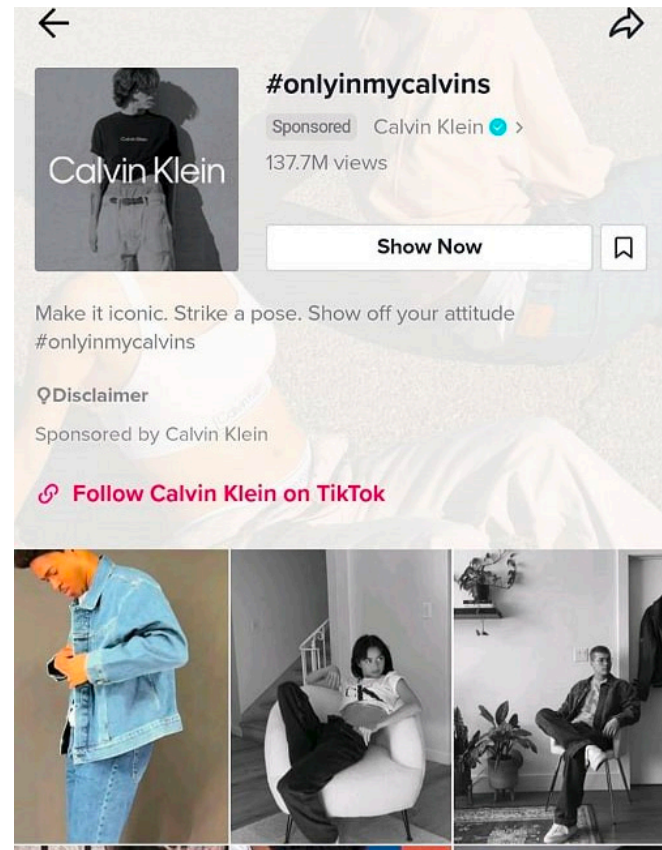


Emma Chamberlain and Levi's
(Levi's, 2023)



Dixie D'Amelio with Valentino Beauty
(Valentino Beauty, 2023)

Another way in which fashion brands utilise social media is through User Generated Content (UGC). This is a style of promotional content that is created by individuals without a brand paying for it, and sometimes without prompting it (Santos, 2022). There are multiple forms of this content such as reviews, blogs, and social media posts. And the current popular UGC that users create and seek out are unboxing and try-on videos, which acts as a word-of-mouth advertising (Duke, 2023). Fashion brands recognise these consumer trends and occasionally interact and repost UGC. For example, Calvin Klein previously created a landing page on their website to display UGC created by their consumers, to have examples of their products being worn by a diverse range of bodies and styling (Beveridge, 2022). Hash-tags are commonly encouraged, especially when hosting competitions and giveaways, to easily identify brand related UGC. However, there is the potential of a hashtag losing its meaning if there is a large number of related content trending (Beveridge, 2023).



Only In My Calvins TikTok challenge (Tran, 2023)

#MYCALVINS

Share your looks using #MYCALVINS on social media for a chance to be featured.



My Calvins page on the Calvin Klein website (Growave, 2023)

METHODOLOGY

Although the link between fashion and excessive social media usage is clear, there is still a lack of clarification as to whether the fashion industry is to blame for the addiction to social media. To look further into this, past articles and research related to the motives of fashion marketers, and the current consumer behaviour trends will be explored. This will only include relation to Generation Z and Millennials because these are the generations identified to be currently affected the most by social media addiction. There will then be a further analysis of reaction from viewers when exposed to collaborations between social media and fashion, using articles and comments uploaded to social platforms that display their opinions. This will form a holistic view of multiple factors and opinions to what creates a social media addiction, rather than the fashion industry alone.

FINDINGS

Reasons for the usage of social media marketing in fashion.

Social media marketing is a popular strategy amongst marketers for improving a brand's image and customer relationships, with success measurements positively growing (DW Shift, 2020). An example of this is that it allows brands to reach a much larger audience due to popular platforms being accessible worldwide, with the ability for users to quickly share content with friends and followers (Durante, 2021). Therefore there is a higher possibility of having a trending campaign or product online rather than through word-of-mouth in person, and at a much cheaper cost (Samuel, 2017). Although it is evident that social media is an extremely used network, WGSN has recognised in multiple reports and studies that a current Gen Z and Millennial trend of seeking real life experiences has continuously grown since the end of the COVID-19 pandemic.

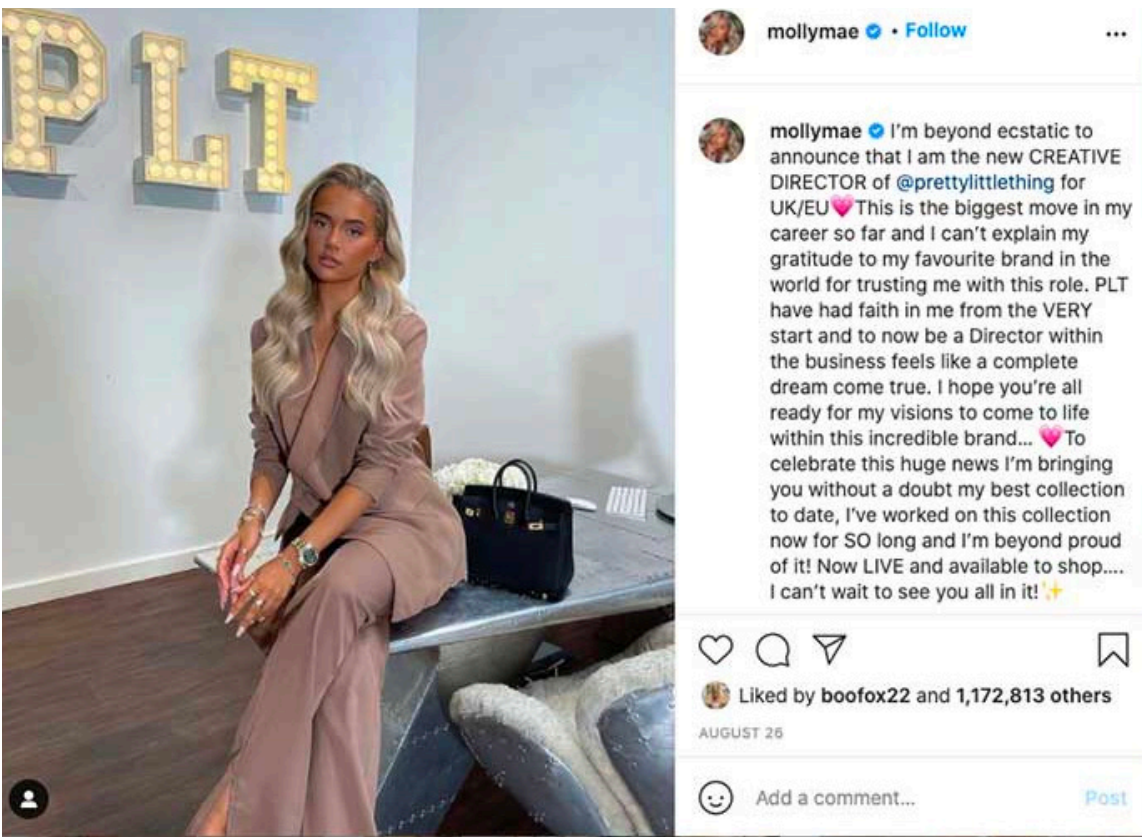
They have found that there is now a digital fatigue, which has increased the consumer want of real-life interactions (WGSN Insider, 2023). Marketers are utilising tactics to continue to prompt social media content and exposure, such as UGC, by creating 'Instagrammable' aesthetics at events and store locations. This was looked into by Sarah Owen in a WGSN project, 'The Gen Z equation', stating that retail stores are amplifying their online recognition by enhancing their aesthetics through lighting and aroma. A chosen Gen Z individual shared, "My friends and I go to cafes with Instagrammable interiors and take pictures" (Owen, N.D). So it is seen that the behaviour of wanting to share desirable content online (UGC) whilst experiencing physical events is triggered by businesses.

A research paper by Marcelo L.B Santos suggested that UGC should be re-defined as a strong communicational practice of the digital age (Santos, 2020), meaning that it is a highly important aspect for society to understand online. They found this conclusion by extensively analysing a large number of literature reviews defining UGC and the importance of its presence online (Santos, 2020). To follow this, A Cloudinary (2020) study on UGC found that 70% of Gen Z and 78% of millennials preferred online content to support their purchasing decisions due to the authenticity amongst advertisement, and the ability to easily communicate their opinions (Businesswire, 2020).

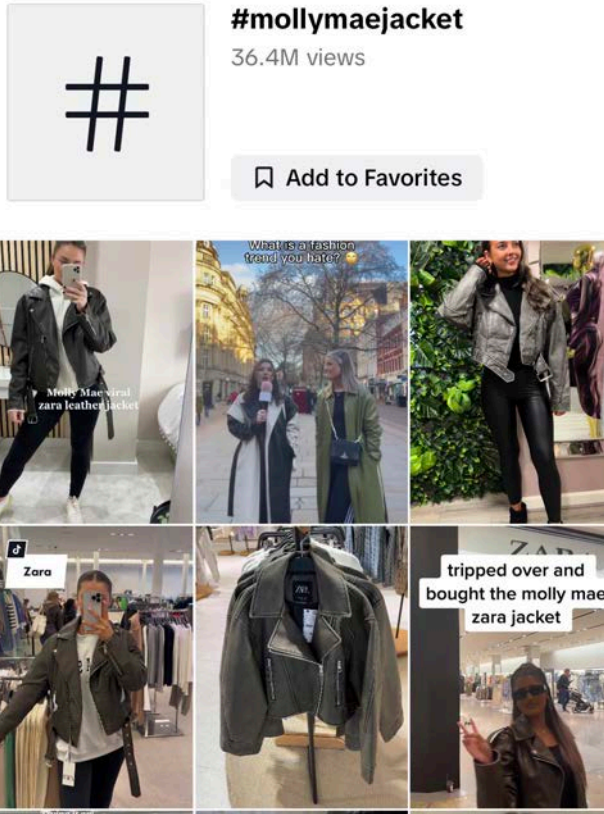
Therefore it is evident that fashion brands are navigating new consumer behaviours to maintain online relevance, because of an existing preference for online advertisement (UGC). This means that, essentially, marketers are simply adapting to the demands of consumers, to ensure brand success amongst competition.

The analysis of influencer content on multiple platforms is a highly useful tool for brands, especially those within the mass market sector. This is because they are known to create and solidify trends due to their constant presence online (DW Shift, 2020). PrettyLittleThing are a fast fashion brand that have fast paced releases of similar items worn by popular influencers online. They have stated that they often

utilise influencers as their promotional aspect and inspiration, as they believe they represent their audience well (Gandola, 2022). Love Island winner Molly Mae was the creative director of the brand from 2018 to 2023, which was controversial to most. PLT’s marketing director Nicki Capstick told Drapers that she believed Molly Mae was a great choice for creative director as she knew what their customers wanted and reflected their brand values (Lavey, 2021). However, there were negative opinions amongst the public which caused a negative outlook towards both the influencer and brand (Glynn, 2023). The majority of complaints surrounded the unethical practices from PLT (ITV, 2021) and the unfair decision of an influencer, with no experience in the fashion industry, to be given an important role within a fashion brand (Lawrence, 2022). Molly Mae then claimed she had worked hard for the position and that everybody has ‘the same 24 hours in the day’ (Savin, 2022), which fuelled more frustration. However, she has since recovered her image from this, as her engagement has excelled with a current Instagram following of 7.8 million and a variety of trends forming from her content. For example, the viral ‘Molly Mae jacket’, which was a biker jacket from Zara. It had sold out multiple times and was being re-sold for higher prices in Autumn 2023 (Shufflebotham, 2023). This further suggests that online viewers determine the success of marketing choices, as well as the success of an influencer.



Molly Mae’s PrettyLittleThing announcement on Instagram. (Riley&Thomas, N.D)



‘Molly mae jacket’ hashtag on TikTok (2023)

So what you’re saying is, I don’t need any qualifications. I just need to demand a directorship. Alright. I’ll try that and see how it goes....IN REAL LIFE!

2021-12-29 Reply 2074

Creative director of a fast fashion brand, congrats hun

2021-12-28 Reply 1842

Comments under a TikTok featuring Molly Mae discussing her Creative Director role at PLT (Steven Bartlett, 2021)

Wishful Identification.

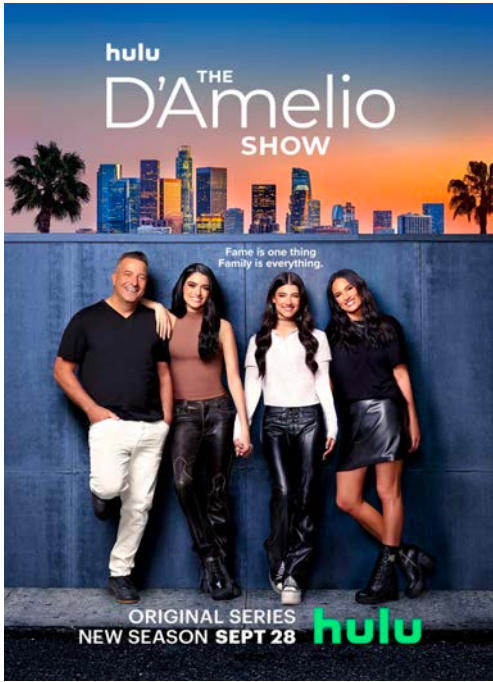
Following on from viewer behaviours and support, the unpredictable rewards of social media increases the number of content creators due to a perception that there’s a likely possibility of overnight virality (Law, 2023). McKinsey & Company (2023) carried out a survey in 2019 that resulted in 54% of Generation Z and Millennials stating that they would become influencers if they were given the chance. A research paper by Shiyun Tian, and others, explored Gen Z comparison behaviours including the idea of wishful identification. This is a need to imitate and engage with an idol, either to have self-improvement or to be validated the same way as an idol (Tian et al, 2023). It can be thought that this leads to an excessive usage of social media, as they are inclined to keep up to date with their idol, and to maintain their imitation. Likely effects from this would be impulsively checking engagement and experiencing negative feelings if they are not validated the way they hoped (Iberdrola, 2023).

An example of who this idol could be is Charli D’Amelio, who essentially went viral from a TikTok dancing video in 2019, which led her to earn \$17.5 million from branding and endorsement deals in 2021 (Forbes, 2023).

Examples of her past opportunities include Dancing With the Stars (Aniftos, 2022), a Hollister collaboration collection (Hollister, 2023), and a reality TV show named ‘The D’Amelio Show’ that is filmed inside her family’s L.A. mansion (Bowenbank, 2021). These examples suggest that not only the fashion industry uses influencers to a promotional advantage. However, as Charli started making more money with her virality there were signs of envy from viewers.



Charli D’Amelio on Dancing With the Stars. (Eccles, 2022)



The D’Amelio Show advertisement. (Hollywood Outbreak, 2022)

Tian’s research touched upon the envy that viewers develop towards successful influencers. The upward social comparison theory, discovered by Festinger in 1954 (Cherry, 2022), is often found when influencers share content around their glamorous lifestyle. The viewers then see the influencer as superior to them, creating negative feelings of jealousy and anxiety. This is because the viewer believes they can not eliminate the differences between them and the influencer, making the chances of relatability slim (Tian et al, 2023).

	Upward Comparison	Downward Comparison
Positive Effects	Hope, Inspiration	Gratitude
Negative Effects	Dissatisfaction, Envy	Scorn

Festinger’s theory of social comparison. (Halldorsson, 2023)

Addison Rae, who went viral around the same time as Charli for dancing videos, has also experienced quick virality that led to massive opportunities which pushed a negative reaction from viewers. A strong example of this is the 2021 and 2022 Met Gala that Addison attended, which resulted in an upset from enthusiasts because they believed influencers should not be able to attend the event due to it being traditionally known as highly exclusive (Durney, 2021). Amongst the negative comments were opinions that Addison, and other influencers who attended, don’t have a true interest in fashion. This resulted in an agreement that for the 2023 Met Gala there would be a limited number of influencers invited who were interested in fashion, such as Liza Koshy and Emma Chamberlain (Espada, 2023).



Addison Rae at the 2022 Met Gala. (Garcia, 2022)

Overall, an individual posting content, unknown, is seen as relatable so they gain attraction from other users. The increased attention then develops them into an influencer with changes to their lifestyle and content, such as PR gifts and magazine features, making them less relatable and liked by the average viewer due to upward comparison. Further proving that viewers control what is applaudable when fashion experiments with influencers.

Reactions to fashion in social media.

Fashion enthusiasts, Arvin and Che, expressed in a YouTube video their opinions around social media usage in fashion. Although they recognised the positives of the ability to network and connect with other creatives, and display work to a larger audience, they also listed negatives that they believe to be distracting the artistry of fashion from the viewer. Arvin said “A lot of people are in it to become famous.. I feel like the main focus should always be your craft” when discussing the increase of fashion influencers online. He is implying that most influencers follow mainstream trends to reach a mainstream audience. Che said “When you search ‘fashion’ on YouTube it’s just a bunch of people that are working off trends”, further enhancing Arvin’s opinion (Arvin and Che, 2021). They displayed an empathy towards those who are highly skilled in fashion, but are unable to be recognised due to those with a high social media following filling the roles that they weren’t initially aiming to fulfil. This relates to the reaction of Molly Mae becoming creative director of PLT.

Although fashion enthusiasts are aware of the unrealistic standards that social media marketing is creating for others, there is still a large percentage of viewers that react differently and develop traits of an addiction to social media and clothing consumption. ByRolands (2023) in his YouTube video titled “Living With a Social Media Addiction” stated that the over saturation of influencer promotion created the need to buy more clothing to have a wider range of outfits and to maintain on trend.

This eventually caused him to seek validation online through multiple posts of different outfits, which is an overwhelming overload of emotions.

It can be argued that influencers need to be more transparent with their viewers about their experiences, as it is evident that alongside the fashion industry they also have an impact on the development of a social media addiction. An example of this is mega influencer Eva Gutowski (mylifeaseva) who uploaded a video to TikTok explaining that she has a ‘hoarding’ room in her home due to the large number of packages she receives from brands. She gave advice to other influencers to only work with and share their address with brands that they genuinely would like to work with, to reduce overconsumption and issues of hoarding (Gutowski, 2023). A strong comment example under this video is “Love this refreshing perspective on the insanity of overconsumption. Glad I’m not the only one that feels sick watching rich people unpack more rich things”. This comment was the top ranking comment with over eleven thousand likes, advocating the majority of opinions. This is a contrasting reaction compared to Molly Mae and Addison Rae’s because it is a more realistic and authentic appearance from an influencer, which is also a current consumer preference, as discussed before. However, there were also a few comments expressing desire to be able to relate to Eva’s situation, following on from the theory of wishful identification and the impression of success. This makes it difficult to pinpoint a direct cause of addiction, as there is a large scale to how viewers react to influencer content depending on who they are as an individual and what they consider desirable.

love this refreshing perspective on the INSANITY of overconsumption. glad I’m not the only 1 that feels sick watching rich ppl unpack more rich things

12-4 Reply 

 11.6K 

So umm how can one get free stuff?

12-4 Reply 

 247

I get that, but then us normal people need to make excel sheets with our budgets and even getting an iPhone requires saving money

12-4 Reply

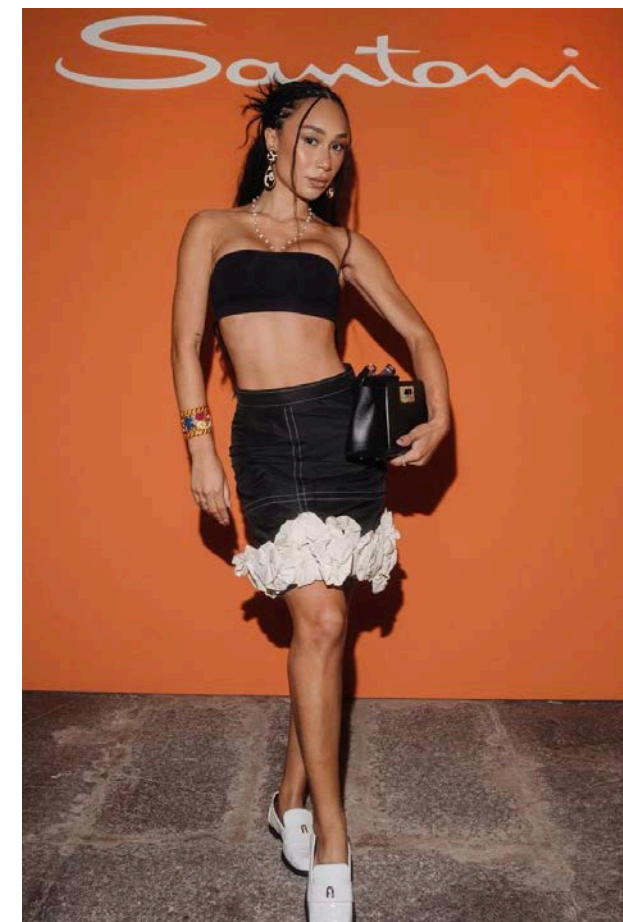
 118 

Comment examples under Eva Gutowski’s TikTok post about PR gifting. (Gutowski, 2023).

You are so real for this!! Thank you for posting about this. Overconsumption PR for influencers is crazy!!

12-4 Reply 

 735 



Eva at a Santoni event (mylifeaseva, 2023)



Eva at a Moschino event (mylifeaseva, 2023)

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, it is found that the fashion industry is not to blame for the growing number of addictions to social media, instead it is a catalyst. This is because it is evident that fashion marketers are following the current trends and demands of consumers to maintain competitive in a highly saturated industry. And these trends consist of the customer preference for online content sharing, which is then prompted by marketers. However, it can be argued that the fashion industry's involvement evolves into a harmful cycle because either a negative or positive reaction is formed by the viewer, which determines the continued rate of social media consumption. There is also the argument that there are multiple other factors fuelling addiction such as: other industries using social media marketing to remain competitive in a saturated environment, wishful identification, and the rose-tinted content created by influencers. This concludes that alongside the fashion industry there are other catalysts towards social media addiction.

These factors were further looked into in this paper using articles and previous research to discuss on a wider scale the reactions to social media marketing in fashion, with both similarities and differences in viewer opinions. The findings have shown that fashion enthusiasts are aware of the commercialised glamour of influencers, whereas the average Gen Z and Millennial users are under an illusion of unpredictable rewards and successful opportunities following from content virality.

This then leads to an idolisation and increased awareness to online validation, which are identified symptoms of a social media addiction. Viewers reacted negatively to Addison Rae and Molly Mae having exclusive opportunities, but shared praise towards Eva Gutowski for sharing an insight into PR waste. This displayed clearly the social comparison theory, and the idea that viewers are unhappy when they can no longer relate to the influencer. Therefore, it could be suggested that fashion brands and influencers should produce content that is more transparent or relatable, as it would benefit their success as well as the health of viewers.

The findings in this paper could've been expanded if primary research, such as interviews or questionnaires, were carried out amongst a study group of Gen Z and Millennials. A much broader understanding of opinions and reasonings behind an individual's personal consumption of social media would've been made clear by this, as well as more clarification to the potential triggers that lead to an increased consumption.

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