Girls' and Boys' Body Image Concerns

The main aim of this project was to broaden and deepen understanding of "normal" adolescent boys' and girls' body image concerns, in order to provide an appropriate basis for interventions aimed at promoting healthier diet and lifestyle. The project combined quantitative and qualitative methods. Data on nearly 5,000 adolescents, collected as part of a DoH-funded survey on smoking, were analysed to determine the effects of gender, age and pubescent status on body image concerns and related attitudes. This analysis was used to design a qualitative study, carried out in one of the schools that had participated in the earlier study. Adolescents in Year 8, 10 and 12 talked about their feelings concerning body parts, fatness, physical attractiveness, media and peer influences, and strategies for achieving the "ideal body" in both focus group discussions and individual interviews. One adolescent from each focus group was interviewed individually, in order to allow a systematic comparison of these two qualitative methods.

The major aims and objectives of the project did not change, but we were able to conduct an additional survey of 450 adolescents from the same school, which provided systematic and quantified evidence on the attributes preferred in men's and women's "ideal bodies".

First systematic analysis of adolescent body image concerns to focus explicitly on "normal" UK adolescents (i.e. those who do not suffer from an eating disorder) and on issues central to boys and young men.

* First systematic comparison of two qualitative methods - focus group discussion and individual interviews - showing that in an emotionally charged domain of adolescent psychology they complement each.

* Findings from the qualitative study show that research on body image needs to take account of the particular concerns of boys, the importance of the body and appearance for positive and negative identities in adolescence, and the role of peers and the media in the strategies that adolescents adopt to achieve the "ideal body".

* An additional survey with 450 adolescents which further examines the findings of the qualitative study on the key attributes adolescents ascribe to their "ideal man" and "ideal woman".

* Adolescents feel great pressure to conform to appearance norms in order to achieve a positive identity despite considerable knowledgeable about the dangers of excessive dieting, lack of exercise, and so on. Educational efforts need to address in particular girls' desire to be thin and the association of sports with a lack of femininity emphasising diversity in body shape and dynamic, activity-based aspects of appearance.

Summary of Research Results

Adolescence is a time of dramatic bodily changes, and body image is a highly salient aspect of adolescent identity. There is well-documented pressure on young people, particularly girls, to be slim, which may well be connected to an increase in eating disorders in recent years. Although substantial research has focused on girls' body image in the context of eating disorders, comparatively
little is known about the body image concerns of "normal" young girls, and
hardly anything at all about those of adolescent boys. We have addressed these
issues both quantitatively and qualitatively in three studies during our one-
year research project.

The quantitative results derive from a large-scale cross-sectional and
longitudinal survey of approximately 5,000 adolescents in East Sussex (funded by
the Department of Health). Pupils in Years 7 through 11 (11 to 16 years of age)
completed a questionnaire twice that contained measures of body image concerns.
The main findings were that girls were much more concerned with achieving a thin
body (which increased with age), whilst this was of little importance to boys.
Adolescents perceived themselves as less attractive, when they reported gaps
between aspects of their current identity and their ideal identity (e.g., in
terms being popular, cool and sexually attractive). This shows that "looking
good" is important to both girls and boys, that body image concerns need to be
investigated in the context of adolescent identity, and that there may be body
image concerns which are specific to boys.

The issues were investigated in a qualitative study, using focus group
discussion and individual interviews with one class each of Year 8, 10 and 12
pupils in a mixed comprehensive school, that had participated in the earlier
survey. In each class, pupils were asked to form friendship sets of no more than
five people to take part in focus group discussions (which closely matched
existing friendship networks). One adolescent from each focus group was first
interviewed individually, to allow a systematic comparison between interviews
and focus groups as qualitative methods. Adolescents were shown pictures of
well known and attractive media personalities and asked to choose words that might be
used to describe them. The question schedule focused on these main themes:
importance and meaning of "looking good" for boys and for girls, identities
associated with appearance (including thinness/fatness), strategies to achieve
the "ideal" body, and changes in body image concerns over time. Interviews and
group discussions were audio recorded, transcribed verbatim, and then analysed
using QSR NUD*IST.

The main findings showed that
* interviews and focus groups should be regarded as complementary qualitative
methods, because interviews yield more personal narratives (from the
adolescent's own perspective) while focus groups generate descriptions of the
adolescents' immediate social world
* the assumption that girls are less satisfied with their bodies than boys needs
to be treated with care because girls employ 'fat talk' in a non-literal sense
and boys are more reluctant to talk freely about their body image concerns
* being popular and avoiding social exclusion is a key motivation behind
adolescents' efforts to 'look good'. Making an effort with one's appearance is
intended to avoid negative identities, such as 'sad' (not fitting in), 'fat'
(being lazy) or 'boffin' (being more interested in schoolwork than popularity
with peers)
* boys use 'micky'taking' as an attention-seeking strategy, which is intended to
make them seem more socially desirable by comparing favourably with others,
while girls use 'fat-talk' to draw attention to their physical selves with the
hope of being contradicted (no, you're not fat)
* descriptions of male ideal bodies centre around several attributes - muscular,
handsome and smart - while slim seems to be the central key quality in female
ideal bodies

The third study investigated boys' and girls' own images of the "ideal man" and
the "ideal woman" in a survey of 450 adolescents in the same school. While
adolescents preferred an ideal of the opposite sex who was very attractive, the qualities which they considered attractive were highly gendered.

The main findings were
* thinness is preferred more in ideal women than ideal men, and even more so by boys than girls
* boys express a strong preference for a fuller body in their "ideal woman", who is supposed to combine quite different attributes: both thin and curvaceous
* both boys and girls prefer their ideal man to be much more muscular than their ideal woman
* long hair is rated as much more desirable in ideal women rather than ideal men

These findings, in combination with those of the first two studies, show clearly that body image is a central concern for adolescent identity. For girls, the ideal is still thinness, and the association between sports and lack of femininity may impede their participation. Health education needs to take account of body image concerns in the broader context of social influences (media and peers) and the role of 'looking good' in their social world. In particular, campaigns emphasising diversity in body shapes may be useful.

Full Report of Research Activities and Results

Background

There is little systematic knowledge about "normal" adolescents' own body image concerns, despite well-documented gender differences in body concerns linked to the thin, idealised body image of young women and the rising incidence of eating disorders. A search for quantitative studies on "normal" adolescent body image concerns yielded numerous citations, but the studies were primarily reports of research with all girl samples. Furthermore, when quantitative comparative studies have been undertaken, they have generally used measures that derived from, and were biased toward, the body image concerns of women. The studies were largely composed of investigations that examined self-perceptions of thinness/fatness, weight control, and dietary restraint.

Thinness is particularly salient in idealised body images of young women. In fact, evidence shows that the "ideal" female body image in the United States has been becoming lighter for at least the last thirty to forty years, with a corresponding increase in the salience of dieting as a means to achieve this ideal (Wiseman, Gray, Mosimann, & Ahrens, 1992).

An analysis undertaken with data from American undergraduates showed that young men and women evaluate themselves along both common and unique dimensions (Franzoi & Shields, 1984). Sexual/physical attractiveness centred on the face was important to both genders. Physical condition, in terms of stamina, energy level, agility, co-ordination, and general health, was also an important evaluative dimension for both genders. Evaluations associated with upper body strength (chest, biceps, arms, shoulder width, muscular strength) emerged as a separate dimension only among males. These findings are consistent with other work indicating that muscular mesomorphy functions as the ideal male body type (Mishkind, Rodin, Silberstein, & Striegel-Moore, 1986; Tucker, 1982). However, weight concern associated with satisfaction about figure, waist, buttocks, hips and thighs, emerged only for women.

These gender differences recur when individuals are asked to report their actual and ideal body sizes. Most women favour a build that is slimmer than they report themselves being (Fallon & Rozin, 1985; Tiggeman & Pennington, 1990). A study using pictorial stimulus materials found that girls as young as six and seven
years were significantly more likely to choose an "ideal" self-body figure that was thinner than their perceived self (Collins, 1991). Despite evidence that slimness is the ideal for women and to some extent men, a recent Department of Health report on the nation's health in the UK revealed that 16 per cent of adult women and 13 per cent of adult men are categorised as obese, and a further 32 per cent of women and 44 per cent of men are described as overweight.

The research described here was undertaken in order to gain a broader understanding of the complex domain of body image concerns by addressing two gaps in the previous research literature. Firstly, it examined the body image concerns of normal, healthy adolescents, whereas research to date has focused on issues surrounding slimness, dieting and eating disorders. Eating disorders, such as anorexia nervosa or bulimia nervosa are between 10 and 20 times more common among girls (e.g., Garner, 1992). Hence our knowledge of adolescents' body image concerns is partial, because it derives primarily from individuals with disturbed body images and then generally from girls. And, secondly, it explored the perspectives of both girls' and boys' using qualitative methods to ensure that concerns would be voiced beyond dimensions that set questionnaire items measure, particularly concerns which may be specific to boys.

In addition, the qualitative study used two different methods: traditional individual interviews and focus group discussions, which are relatively new in the area of health psychology (Morgan, 1993). Each adolescent interviewed individually also took part in a focus group, thus allowing for systematic comparison of the relative strengths and weaknesses of these two qualitative methods. These two studies were outlined in the original proposal, but it was possible to conduct an additional quantitative survey designed to delineate boys' and girls' concepts of the "ideal man" and the "ideal woman".

Objectives

The major aim of this project was to explore healthy adolescents' feelings and ideas about their ideal and their own bodies. These were investigated in three studies.

* In the first study, quantitative data from a Department of Health sponsored survey of approximately 5,000 11- to 16-year-olds in East Sussex were re-examined to achieve two objectives. The first was to determine the effects of gender, age and pubescent status on body image concerns. The second was to explore possible links between body image concerns and other issues analysed in the survey (including stress, coping strategies, participation in sports, and diverse dimensions of adolescent identity).

* The second, qualitative study used individual interviews and focus group discussions to encourage 12- to 16-year-old adolescents to talk fully and freely about their concerns relating to their bodies, appearance, ideal body images and related issues.

* In an additional survey, the concepts that adolescents had used in the qualitative research to describe ideal bodies for both genders were developed into a questionnaire, which was administered to 450 adolescents in the same school and in the same age groups as in study 2.

A further aim of the original proposal was a comparison of the information yielded by individual interviews and by focus group discussion. This aim was achieved by using a slightly modified design to that originally envisaged, and
the consequent savings allowed the further exploration of adolescents' descriptions of ideal bodies in a quantitative format (see section on Virements).

Methods

Study 1. Survey in East Sussex

Sample. Six schools were selected in order to achieve a representative sample of state school children in the county, including two country schools, three medium- to large-sized comprehensives, and a school located in a large council estate.

The survey questionnaire was administered twice, once in the Autumn term of 1994 and once in the Summer Term of 1995, to all pupils in Years 7 through 11 attending on the days of data collection.

4,771 pupils provided Autumn Term data, which is 88.7% of the total roll in the six schools. 53 per cent were boys and 47 per cent were girls.

3,542 pupils completed questionnaires in both Autumn and Summer Term that could be reliably matched, thus providing longitudinal data.

Questionnaire. The body image part of the questionnaire contained 18 statements. These were selected from a widely used eating disorders inventory (Garner, 1992) and more general measures of body attitudes (Ben-Tovim & Walker, 1991; Franzoi & Shields, 1984). Adolescents' responded on six-point rating scale, ranging from 0 (not at all true for me) to 5 (very true for me). Subsequent factor analysis showed that these statements represent two independent dimensions:

* concern with thinness (e.g., I think a lot about being)
* sense of physical attractiveness (e.g., I usually feel physically attractive).

Other issues investigated in the smoking survey of interest in terms of possible links with body image concerns were:

* amount of stress experienced from various sources
* coping strategies, categorised as problem-focused coping (attempts to find solutions to the difficulty) as opposed to emotion-focused coping (distracting oneself and avoiding difficulties) (see Dugan, Lloyd & Lucas, 1997, for details)
* importance attached to clothes
* level of participation in sports
* gender identity, measured in terms of endorsement of typically "masculine" (e.g., competent, self-confident) and typically "feminine" qualities (e.g., emotional, helpful to others), drawn from Evans, Turner, Ghee & Getz (1990)
* discrepancies between actual - how I am now - and ideal - how I would like to be - identity (drawing on Higgins, 1987) in terms of diverse attributes (e.g., sexually attractive, cool)

Study 2. Focus group discussions and individual interviews

Sample. The qualitative study was undertaken in a mixed comprehensive school in a small country town, that had taken part in the smoking survey. It thus provided the opportunity to check whether the pupils taking part in this study were similar to those in the large East Sussex sample, as well as to pupils from
their own school some eighteen months previously. Pupils completed the same body image questionnaire items as employed in study 1, and on most comparisons with the earlier sample, there were no significant differences. The only exception was that the boys in study 2 displayed a slightly greater concern with thinness than had boys in Years 8 and 10 in the East Sussex sample, and than had boys originally surveyed in their own school (possibly an indication of an increased tendency towards slimness also in male body ideals, Dittmar & Morse, 1997).

One class in each of Years 8, 10 and 12 participated in this second study, and pupils were asked to form friendship sets of no more than five people to take part in focus group discussions. One member from each focus group was also interviewed individually to allow for a systematic comparison between these two qualitative methods. Pupils were also free to decline to participate in a group and to be interviewed only individually. At a preliminary meeting, pupils completed a short questionnaire, listing their close friends in the class. The focus groups formed by the pupils closely matched the reported networks of reciprocated friendships in the class. There was also an interesting developmental trend: only the Year 12 chose mixed gender friendship groups, while the younger two Year groups formed exclusively single-sex groups. As expected, pupils who declined to participate in group discussions were found to be isolated in terms of lacking friendship networks. Whilst the original proposal emphasised the need to study these "social isolates", this could not be done as they failed to keep appointments for interviews.

Thus, the final sample consisted of 56 adolescents (16 in Year 8, 23 in Year 10 and 17 in Year 12), out of a possible total of 70 adolescents in the three classes who took part in this study. This number is lower than anticipated in the original proposal, based on an estimated average class size of about 30 pupils, rather than the 20-25 we encountered. While such a sample size would have posed a problem for a quantitative study, numbers were adequate for generating sufficient material for a qualitative investigation (e.g., Kline, Kline & Oken, 1992). The sample composition was balanced in terms of gender (53 per cent girls and 47 per cent boys), and the numbers from each year group were roughly equal. In total, 16 focus group discussions were carried out (5 in Years 8 and 12, and 6 in Year 10) and 18 individual interviews (6 in each year group). One member from each focus group was chosen randomly to be interviewed individually. The sequence of focus group discussion and interview was changed from that outlined in our original proposal, as the literature on focus group methodology (e.g., Morgan, 1993) suggests that group discussion can generate strong peer influence, which may then "contaminate" subsequent individual interviews. Thus, individual interviews took place before focus group discussions.

Question schedule. Both interviews and group discussions began with a few opening questions designed primarily to put the adolescents at ease. These were followed by the presentation of photographs of media personalities (e.g., fashion model Kate Moss, Paul Nichols from Eastenders) considered attractive by adolescents, and they were asked to pick from about 50 diverse words and phrases those that best describe the bodies in the pictures. The question schedule for both focus group discussions and individual interviews addressed the following main themes:

* the importance and meaning of "looking good" for boys and for girls (including attributes of "ideal" men and women, as well as views about their actual physical selves)
identities associated with appearance (e.g., popularity, response of peer group to an adolescent making an effort to "look good" as compared to not making an effort)
* strategies used to achieve good appearance and an "ideal body" (e.g., sports)
* the role of thinness and fatness for adolescent identity
* changes in body image concerns over time (e.g., before/after puberty, later in life)

Group discussions and interviews were audio-recorded and then transcribed verbatim. The transcriptions were analysed using QSR NUD*IST. Data analysis entails an initial identification of the main themes in adolescents' talk, the development of a coding system to mark chunks of text, and the repeated revision of the coding system until a satisfactory number and structure of main and subsidiary themes has been achieved. The final coding system contained six main categories:

1. Centrality of physical appearance as a concern
2. Physical attributes of the self, including
   - Body shape
   - Body parts
3. Changes in the physical self over time, especially concerning puberty, including
   - New looks
   - Voluntary vs. involuntary bodily changes
   - Changes to be expected in body image as people get older
4. Social and cultural context, including
   - Peer, parental, media and other influences on appearance
   - Appropriate behaviour in different contexts
   - Principal media figures
5. Evaluation on the basis of one's body, including
   - Judging personality by appearance
   - Comments about own body
   - Peer group membership and dynamics
   - Role of thinness/fatness
6. Strategies for achieving the "ideal" body
   - Improving physical appearance
   - Role of sports and physical activity
   - Dieting and weight loss
   - Making an effort with clothes, hair, etc.
   - Gender differences in strategies

In order to check reliability, sample extracts from a selected 40 percent subset of the transcripts were coded by both researchers independently. Both researchers coded 10 categories in these transcripts, which involved coding 732 speech turns. The number of matching coded speech turns was 528. Thus, inter-rater agreement was 72 per cent, which indicates good reliability given that differences between the two coders hardly occurred on coding categories, but mainly in terms of the amount of context to be coded with a particular category.

Study 3. Survey on male and female body image ideals

As an additional study, we developed a brief questionnaire based on the terms used by the adolescents to describe their ideal men and women and some additional attributes drawn from the research literature.
Sample. The same school involved in study 2 provided a further sample of 443 adolescents (178 in Year 8, 221 in Year 10 and 44 in Year 12, roughly half boys and half girls in each Year group). The number of Year 12 participants was lower than anticipated and may be due to the dispersed teaching patterns used for the sixth formers (meeting in small tutor groups, rather than classes).

Questionnaire. The questionnaire came in one of two forms: asking either about the "ideal man" or about the "ideal woman". Each adolescent completed one form of the questionnaire, both of which used an identical set of 75 attributes. Respondents indicated on a 3-point scale whether each attribute was one that they would definitely like their ideal (wo)man to have, would definitely not like their ideal (wo)man to have, or whether they did not care whether their ideal (wo)man had that attribute.

These attributes formed five scales, which all show reasonable levels of alpha reliability (>0.7):
* preference for thinness (e.g., slim, skinny)
* preference for a fuller body type (e.g., curvaceous, well-endowed)
* preference for 'muscular mesomorph' (e.g., muscular, strong)
* preference for short or long hair
* preference for attractiveness (e.g., gorgeous, sexy, attractive)

Adolescents were also asked to give their weight and height, from which a body mass index was calculated (Paxton et al., 1991). This enabled us to address the question of whether an individual's actual body size influences their preferences for qualities of ideal male and female bodies, in addition to their gender and age.

Results

Study 1. Survey

The two dimensions of body image we identified - concern with thinness and perceived attractiveness - were distinct and, more importantly, not related to each other for either boys or girls. Thus, wanting to be thinner was independent of how physically attractive adolescents felt, even for girls.

The longitudinal data allowed an assessment of changes in body image concerns over a six-month period through a multiple regression analysis, in which body image concerns at time 2 were entered as dependent variables and gender, school year, pubertal status, and body image concerns at time 1 were entered as predictors. The main finding was that body image concerns remain fairly stable. In other words, responses at times 1 and 2 were strongly correlated:

Concern with thinness   \( r=0.81 \)
Perceived attractiveness  \( r=0.62 \)

While body image concerns changed little over time, some strong cross-sectional differences emerged, particularly with respect to gender, as expected. The findings summarised here are based on time 1 responses.

By far the strongest factor influencing body image concerns was adolescent gender (\( \eta^2= .16 \)). Girls reported feeling only slightly less physically attractive than did boys (\( \eta^2=< .01 \)). In contrast, there was a large gap between boys and girls in concern with thinness (\( \eta^2= .15 \)). Girls were concerned about
having a thin body shape and avoiding weight gain, while this was of little importance to boys.

Figure 1. Concern with thinness and perceived attractiveness (scale range 0-5)

Moreover, the gender gap in concern with thinness widens with age. For girls, wanting to be thinner and avoiding weight gain increased steadily with year group. The ratings of boys remained low, and even decreased further in years 10 and 11.

Figure 2. Boys’ and Girls’ concern with thinness by school year

However, the mean ratings on the attractiveness scale that achieving physical attractiveness is as important to boys as it is to girls. This was further explored by correlating physical attractiveness with other issues examined in the survey.

Table 1. Correlations between perceived physical attractiveness and other variables

All
Girls only
Boys only
Importance attached to clothes
0.21
0.29
0.38
Participation in sports
0.17
0.25
0.28
Endorsement of “masculine” attributes
0.33
0.38
0.38
Want to be different than I am now
-0.35
-0.37
-0.39
Want to be more popular than I am now
-0.29
-0.33
-0.35
Want to be more sexually attractive than I am now
-0.41
-0.43
-0.44
Want to be less dull than I am now
-0.25
-0.28
-0.30
Want to be cooler than I am now
-0.19
-0.22
-0.24
Boys and girls reported feeling more physically attractive when they take care over the ways they dress, participate in sports and describe themselves with "masculine" attributes, such as confident or competitive. Both genders reported feeling less attractive physically, when they wanted to be different than they were, particularly when they wanted to be more popular, more sexually attractive, "cooler" and less dull.

The findings reported so far suggest strongly that body image concerns other than being thin may be important to boys, but these were neglected in the quantitative measures we used. These measures were derived from the current research literature, which focuses on eating-disordered girls. This conclusion is further supported by the finding that drive for thinness is associated with stress and emotion-focused (i.e. problem-avoidant) coping only for girls.

Table 2. Correlations between body image concerns and other issues

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>All</th>
<th>Girls only</th>
<th>Boys only</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stress (overall)</td>
<td>0.27</td>
<td>0.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stress (about me as person)</td>
<td>0.23</td>
<td>0.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emotion-focused coping</td>
<td>0.26</td>
<td>0.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Want to be healthier than I am</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>0.26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Girls who want to be thinner report more stress, particularly stress "about me as a person", and are more likely to cope with stress through emotion-focused strategies which avoid dealing with the underlying difficulty. Both boys and girls who want to be thinner also report wanting to be healthier than they are, and it seems likely that this link is produced by adolescents' concern with being overweight, rather than preoccupation with thinness.

These findings lead to two main conclusions. Firstly, body image concerns are embedded in a wider set of concerns with physical attractiveness, participation in social activities, adolescent identity, and popularity with one's peers. Secondly, boys' body image concerns need to be studied in their own right, without restricting their response options by imposing constructs developed in research on women and girls. Our second, qualitative study was developed to address these issues.

Study 2. Qualitative: Focus group discussions and individual interviews

Interviews versus focus groups
Broadly speaking, interviews and focus groups produced similar, rather than contradictory, material about body image concerns. However, demand characteristics are different when a pupil is speaking one-to-one with an adult, or talking as a member of an adolescent group, and this difference in setting influences the emphasis given to social factors. Interviews yielded more personal narratives, while focus groups generated descriptions of the adolescents' immediate social world.

For instance, the following quotation from an interview with a boy in Year 10 describes teasing (about aspects of an individual's body) largely from the victim's perspective:

M: Well, I dunno but like when I first came to school, because I'm quite new... When I first came it was about, it was last year some time... People like started taking the mick and stuff about ginger hair...

The dialogue reported below illustrates that the same boy described teasing as essentially a social group activity from a neutral or perpetrator's perspective when talking about it in his focus group:

Int: So what, girls don't want to get hurt?
M: They probably think "Ugh, she's playing football, she's a boy"
G: Especially if you get muddy and that. A girl wouldn't get all muddy. Like rugby - apart from Leanne whatever her name (Both laugh)
M: What, does she play rugby?
G: Yeah (both laughing)

This leads to the conclusion that social groups are highly significant in adolescent body image concerns, and that focus groups provide a useful methodology to map their social world through group interaction. Despite this considerable strength, the focus group methodology may not facilitate free discussion of very personal concerns, which seems one of the strengths of individual interviews with an adult. Thus, the two methods compliment each other, and qualitative research on adolescents for whom group memberships are often as important as their individual identity should consider using both in conjunction.

The substantive analysis of the qualitative material yielded five major themes: gender differences in satisfaction with own body, the function of appearance in adolescents' social worlds, their own theories about the importance of appearance, gender differences in body image and, finally, boys' and girls' images of the "ideal man" and "ideal woman".

Gender differences in body-satisfaction

At a surface level our findings appear to confirm previous research, as described in the review paper by Polivy, Herman and Pliner (1990), which concluded that girls are less satisfied than boys with their bodies. This issue was explored in the qualitative material, using the concepts of happiness and unhappiness. There is no doubt that adolescents perceived girls as being more unhappy than boys with their bodies, as shown in this excerpt from an interview with a girl in Year 12:

Int: Do you think people your age are generally happy with their bodies?
E: No...They're just, like, too self-conscious and they shouldn't worry about it.
Int: Mhm, boys and girls as conscious as each other?
E: Don't think boys worry that much, girls are always going on about how fat
they when they're skinny.

However, a source of this supposed difference, and a major methodological
problem in this domain, is boys' unwillingness or inability to speak about their
worries in a way comparable with that of girls. This is illustrated in this
excerpt from a Year 12 boys' focus group discussion:

Int: Do you think people your age are generally happy with their bodies?
R: No, probably not.
K: I think, well you don't hear people wandering around the corridors or
street going I really hate myself.
M: I hate my body.
K: They keep it to themselves, don't they?
A: Boys keep it to themselves, they all end up down the gym I think if they're
not happy.

In the absence of evidence of how boys do feel, it is often assumed that girls
are less happy with their bodies than are boys. In addition, girls often use
phrases such as 'I'm so fat' in a non-literal sense (see also Nichter &
Vuckovic, 1994; Parker et al., 1995). "Fat talk" is used to draw attention to
oneself without appearing vain or conceited, but such talk has been interpreted
as indicating that girls are unhappy with their bodies.

Functions of appearance in adolescents' social worlds

The pursuit of popularity or, for many, the avoidance of unpopularity, can be
seen as a key motivation behind adolescents' efforts with their appearance. For
boys as well as for girls, making an effort to look good is vital. Social
exclusion stems, at least in part, from not being seen to make such efforts.

It may be that early adolescence is a time when clear negative (excluded) social
identities emerge, and hence is a time when the recognition and avoidance of
such identities is increasingly important. Support for this interpretation of the
adolescent world is shown in adolescents' overwhelming concern to appear
'normal' and to fit in, as illustrated in this excerpt from a Year 10 individual
interview with a girl:

Int: [S]o what sort of other things do girls do, to make an effort?
S: They wear make-up. Try the latest hair fashions. Yeah, try to make
themselves look as nice as possible. If they've got any imperfections then they
try to hide them. But I don't think that's right, you just get caught up in it
and you don't think about it. But if you didn't do it then you'd stand out, most
of the time.
Int: Then you'd be hassled for it?
S: Yeah, you probably would. I would think that the boys would but maybe the
other girls would, yeah.
Int: Right, so it certainly pays to fit-in? And do what everyone else is
doing?
S: Yeah, yeah, you just do it a lot of the time you do it just to fit-in.
You don't do it so anyone thinks, 'Oh wow, look at her, doesn't she look nice
today'. You just do it to fit in.

Making an effort to look good is intended to avoid negative identities. We found
three prominent examples of such negative identities:
* 'Sad' - This was the major identity covering those who do not fit in. It implies that either the person is unwilling to fit in (in which case they are 'weird') or incapable of fitting in (in which case they might be 'poor' or 'weak').

* 'Fat' - This was not just a description of body shape, but a social identity which implied laziness, and consequently an identity which could not easily be changed, even if one became thinner.

* 'Boffin' - This was often reserved for the clever or intellectual adolescents in the class, who appeared to be more interested in schoolwork than popularity. This identity description was more often used for boys than girls.

Fitting in or making an effort is a continuous process that yields self-confidence, but requires constant attention. This finding is consistent with and extends the work of Mishkind (1986), who has noted that stereotyping by physical appearance increases until young adulthood, and may decrease thereafter.

Adolescents' own developmental theory for the increasing importance attached to appearance

There was considerable talk about the onset of puberty and adolescents' consequent sudden interest in the good opinion of the opposite sex. A Year 12 girl in a focus group discussion put it succinctly:

"[B]ut then, sort of, when you're getting in your teenage years, when you go for the first and second year of school, don't you, then all of a sudden it's bang - make-up, clothes, appearances, boys, girls - it's all sexuality [laughter]"

Thus, adolescents attribute the increasing importance of appearance mainly to puberty, which was described as a time when a new, sexual identity is gained, and interactions with the opposite sex become more focused on sexuality.

Gender differences in attention-seeking strategies

The manner in which adolescents speak when seeking to draw attention to themselves reveals strong gender differences. Both 'micky-taking' (mostly by boys) and 'fat-talking' (by girls) were partially interpreted by the adolescents as attention-seeking behaviour, and usually employed in a gender appropriate manner. This attention-seeking talk is probably aimed at making the speaker more socially desirable, and to help them fit in. Comparison of the form of the two types of discourses suggests that micky-taking is 'other-directed', whereas fat-talking is 'self-directed'. By employing an 'other-directed' form of attention-seeking speech, boys try to make themselves seem more socially desirable by implying favourable comparison with others, as shown in this Year 10 individual interview:

And other times some people do it [take the micky] to try and make themselves look good in front of girls and stuff, they take the mick out of other kids to try and make it so they're like above them, you know what I mean?

Speakers using fat-talk, typically girls, seek to achieve social desirability by drawing attention to their physical selves. They employ a 'self-directed' form
of attention-seeking speech, as this excerpt from a Year 12 interview illustrates:

Int: Right so they say oh, I'm so fat' so somebody'll say 'no you're not?
E: No you're not, yeah.
Int: And then they'll feel better?
E: Yeah.
Int: So, do lots of your friends do that?
E: No, they'll just, they just say it and don't know whether it's to get a compliment but they just think they're fat when they're not.

Images of ideal women and men

An adult body was seen as the ideal body. Adolescents considered their own pubertal bodies unstable and incomplete, 'work-in-progress', as expressed by this Year 10 girl in an interview:

Int: What age do you think your body is at its best... say between nought and eighty?
K: Probably about when you're eighteen... something like that. Eighteen to twenty or something... Then you sort of, like, stopped developing and ... you've got all the right bits and bobs and everything.... and I don't know, you just, sort of, finish growing, and you're not old yet.

Showing the adolescents pictures of well-known media stars and asking them to pick from a set of about fifty words/phrases relating to appearance generated lively discussion, providing an insight into adolescents' ideals of what a body should look like. Cluster diagrams were developed from cross-referencing each descriptor with every other descriptor, showing which attributes were chosen most often and which attributes were used in conjunction with each other. This was done separately for boys talking about men, girls talking about men, boys talking about women, and girls talking about women.

There were three key attributes that adolescents of goth genders link in their descriptions of ideal men: muscular, handsome and smart. These attributes were applied to footballers, actors (such as Paul Nichols in Eastenders), pop stars (e.g., Peter Andre), as well as film stars (for instance, Arnold Schwarzenegger). Thus, the same set of qualities was applied to men who are popular in different spheres, but it needs to be emphasised that male ideals are centred around several, rather than a single, attribute.

In contrast, the central key attribute when adolescents described an ideal woman was singular: being slim. Although different in terms of the links made with supplied descriptors in many other ways, Pamela Anderson (fashion model), Gillian Anderson (film star 'Scully' from the X-files) and Louise Nurding (pop star) were all chosen because they were, first and foremost, slim. Thus, the attributes selected for ideal women appeared to lack diversity.

A further difference in cultural ideals of male and female attractiveness was only partially captured by the pictures and descriptors, but emerged in adolescents' talk. Men were seen as most attractive in action (e.g., sports) - dynamic, while women were rarely chosen and described as attractive for having dynamic qualities. They were seen as at their best when static (e.g., not participating in 'dirty' and rough sports, such as rugby).
In conclusion, there is no doubt that all adolescents, boys and girls, are concerned about their appearance. To fit in is to gain a positive social identity and the basis of self-confidence and power. Girls do it by dieting, shopping, taking care of their bodies and show that they have achieved the right look by fat talk, a subtle means of drawing attention to their accomplishments. Boys, on the other hand, don't talk. They do go to the gym. Finally, adolescents' ideal images are adult bodies, and the network of descriptors chosen for ideal women and men suggest that male ideals are centred around several focal qualities (smart and handsome, as well as muscular), whilst the female ideal remains one-dimensional: slim. However, adolescents had been talking about sport stars and icons of popular culture, which may have contributed to them reproducing cultural stereotypes about the "ideal man" and the "ideal woman", rather than revealing their own views. Therefore, we investigated adolescents' own views about ideal women and men in a third study, which we were able to conduct in addition to the research plan outlined in our original proposal.

Study 3. Survey on adolescents' "ideal man" and "ideal woman"

Adolescents' own body size had a small, but significant effect on their ideal images. Heavier adolescents were less likely to express a preference for thinness in their "ideal man" or "ideal woman". However, this impact is minor when compared with differences between male and female ideals, both in terms of the person rated (ideal "man" vs. ideal "woman") and the gender of the adolescent doing the rating.

The attractiveness scale assesses preference for sexual desirability without specific reference to body shape (e.g. sexy, gorgeous, handsome, beautiful, cute). The main finding was a strong preference for attractiveness in ideals of the opposite sex (eta2 for interaction = .141, p<.001). However, what is needed is a deeper understanding of what exactly attractiveness means to adolescents. Their mean ratings on the other four attribute dimensions of their ideal man and ideal woman can be used to unpack the meanings of attractiveness (ratings range from 1 definitely would not want my ideal (wo)man to be like this to 3 definitely would want my ideal (wo)man to be like this).

Figure 5. Boys' and girls' ratings of attributes for the "ideal man" and the "ideal woman"

Thinness is preferred more in ideal women than ideal men (eta2 = .089, p< .001). This difference is moderated slightly by respondent gender (eta2 = .014, p< .05), such that boys prefer thinness in an ideal woman even more than girls. Boys rating men, girls rating men, and girls rating women all have approximately the same preference means for a fuller body shape. Yet, boys express a significantly stronger preference for a fuller body in their "ideal woman" (eta2 for interaction = .092, p< .001). It seems that their "ideal woman" is supposed to combine quite different attributes: both thin and curvaceous.

There is a substantial difference between ideal men and women in terms of muscularity. Both boys and girls prefer their ideal man to be much more muscular than their ideal woman (eta2 = .203, p< .001). Thus, muscularity is a key attribute of the male body image ideal. Long hair is rated as much more desirable in ideal women rather than ideal men (eta2 = .424, p< .001), but there is a slight difference between boys and girls. Girls show a slightly stronger preference for short hair in both men and women (eta2 = .068, p< .001).
These findings, in combination which those of the first two studies, show clearly that body image is a central concern for adolescent identity. For girls, the ideal is still thinness, and the association between sports and lack of femininity may impede their participation. Health education needs to take account of body image concerns in the broader context of social influences (media and peers) and the role of 'looking good' in their social world. In particular, campaigns emphasising diversity in body shapes may be useful.

Activities

The already existing contact with the Brighton-based Trust for the Study of Adolescence (headed by Dr. John Coleman) has been maintained throughout the project.

We organised a symposium on "adolescent body image" for the annual national social psychology conference (see below), which entailed contacts and networking with two other UK researchers on body image (Drs. Bromnick & Malson), which we anticipate will continue.

Outputs

To date, the main outputs of the project include
* a poster presentation at the annual conference of the Association for Eating Disorders, held at Great Ormonde Street Hospital in London, attended by medical and health practitioners as well as health psychologists
* a conference paper summarising the main findings from the qualitative research, given in a symposium on "adolescent body image" organised by Drs. Lloyd and Dittmar for the Annual Conference of the British Psychological Society Social Psychology Section Conference
* an abstract for a conference paper on the socio-cultural context of the adolescent body that has been accepted for the Annual Conference of the British Sociological Association

Several journal articles are in various stages of preparation (see section on dissemination), but none are published as yet, which is unsurprising given the short duration of the project.

Impacts

The Body Shop International researcher was interested in the findings of the body image project (as well as related research) and is in contact with Dr. Dittmar about the possibility of future collaboration or joint research between the University of Sussex and the Body Shop.

The East Sussex School at which our qualitative research was carried out showed interest in the project, and was eager to co-operate in a larger-scale survey on "ideal bodies" at short notice.

Despite its short duration, the project has attracted considerable media interest. In particular
* a research summary appeared in the Times Higher Education Supplement
* an interview with the Daily Mail led to a full-page feature article on the project
* findings of the project were included in a BBC Three Counties Radio news programme on 25 Nov 1997

**Future Research Priorities**

The project has opened up a number of issues for further research, but in particular we would like to highlight the need for (a) further studies on adolescent boys' body concerns (specifically aimed at overcoming male reticence on these issues) and (b) studies which assess the likely impact on adolescents of different health education materials or approaches.

We plan to publish the four conference papers on "body image", presented at this year's British Psychological Society Social Psychology Section Conference, as a joint series of articles. We have written to the editor of the British Journal of Social Psychology, Prof. Russell Spears, who responded with interest in the research, and encouraged us to submit the papers individually, but regretted that he could not commit to publishing the papers as a series. We will approach the American Psychological Association journal Sex Roles with a similar proposition, before making a final decision about our publication strategy.

We are in the process of drafting at least one journal article on the research concerning adolescents' views about the central attributes of the "ideal man" and the "ideal woman. We plan to submit to a top-line American Psychological Association journal, either in social psychology (e.g., Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin) or health psychology (e.g., Health Psychology).


Some savings were made on expenditure, due to two factors. Firstly, the number of adolescents taking part in the qualitative studies was slightly smaller than anticipated (average class size was closer to 20 rather than 30 pupils; "social isolates" failed to attend scheduled interviews). Thus, fewer vouchers were needed than budgeted for. Secondly, some monies allocated for the two researchers' pension contributions were returned to the grant-holders. These unanticipated funds enabled us to carry out further work on one of the main findings from the qualitative research, that derived from boys' and girls' views about the "ideal body" for each sex. This took the form of a survey of 450 pupils, which assessed systematically their notions of ideal bodies for women and men. This is an important extension of the project, and the greater flexibility in virements between grant budget headings has therefore had great benefits for the current project.

No major difficulties were encountered during the project, but a number of minor obstacles - leading to some adjustments in the project - are worth mentioning. We had planned to interview "social isolates". Because appearance is linked to popularity, we intended to include adolescents who would not have a voice if only friendship groups are examined. Despite the researchers' best efforts, these interviews were not conducted. While the adolescents concerned had agreed in principle to take part in the study, and appointments were made for interview, they simply failed to turn up and continued to do so at successive
appointments. This behaviour could only be interpreted as "silent refusal", and confirms that isolates are concerned with remaining "invisible". Another slight adjustment was made by reversing the timing of the individual interviews and focus group discussions. Interviews preceded group discussion in order to avoid contamination from peer influence.

At the outset of the project, we were aware that male adolescents can be reticent about personal issues. However, we assumed that this difficulty would be overcome by using a young man as interviewer and focus group facilitator, who they would perceive as an adult, but still a young person not too distant in age. Despite his skills and efforts to prevent or ease boys feeling embarrassed talking about their bodies and related issues, they simply were not as open and forthcoming as the girls. This is a difficulty that cannot easily be overcome in future research, and it may therefore be advisable for a qualitative project which involves male adolescents to also include a research method that is not based on self-report (e.g., experimentation or observation).

Appendix

References


Garner (1992). The Eating Disorder Inventory. LEA.


Young, I. M. (1990b) (ed), Throwing Like a Girl, and Other Essays in Feminist Philosophy and Social Theory. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.


Identifying important dimensions of "normal" adolescents' body image concerns Lloyd, B. & Dittmar, H. Third London International Conference on Eating Disorders, British Journal of Hospital Medicine in association with Great Ormond Street Hospital for Children London approx. 10 April 1997
The children of this node index the participants' speech where they used each of the 'phrases' to describe a picture. Each node below this one indexes *all* the phrase-related speech wherein the participant(s) used the phrase in question.

Node created by sub-coding the Spatial/Difference node. As of this date two transcripts are not yet in NUDIST, and so should be added to this node when available. They are 8F2 and 10F2.

Node created partly by expanding a text-search for 'fight', but this was taking hours so I finished it off by sub-coding the Spatial/Difference node.

Node created by sub-coding the Spatial/Difference node. As of this date two transcripts are not yet in NUDIST, and so should be added to this node when available. They are 8F2 and 10F2.

Node created by sub-coding the Age/Best node. As of this date two transcripts are not yet in NUDIST, and so should be added to this node when available. They are 8F2 and 10F2.

Matrix search across node 700, words: This gives cross-references for each of the words used on the prompt-sheet during the interview. From this it should be possible to identify semantic clusters. Furthermore, intersecting this node (or restricting the search that produced it) should enable such semantic clusters to be identified - and compared - for (eg) girls/boys, years 8, 10, 12, ...

What your favourite piece of clothing?
What is it about these clothes that makes them your favourite? Are your favourite clothes the ones you feel most confident in, or do you have other clothes that you feel most confident in? Who usually buys your clothes? Whose money? etc

Node created by subcoding parent node: Fav.Clothes. Coding undertaken with two transcripts missing from database: 8f2 and 10f2.

3:40 pm, Jan 28, 1997.
Can you think of situations when 'looking good' is really important to you? Are there different reasons for looking good in these situations? eg: When I'm in the house just with my family it doesn't matter what I look like. But if I go out to a disco with a friend, then how I look is really important because there's lots of people there. cues: (from general to particular) Everyday in school; Everyday outside of school; Doing sports; PE classes; Swimming pool; On the beach on holiday; Parties; Youth clubs; Dancing and clubbing.

3:54 pm, Jan 28, 1997.
Talk about pictures of males.
Pick out a picture of someone who looks really good (or attractive). [− if asked, then concerned with those found attractive rather than those 'fancied' ]

[Note picture chosen]What is it about the way they look that you like? (What does the way they look say about them?)

3:54 pm, Jan 28, 1997.
[Hand out words / phrases sheet and pens] Now select / circle some words and a phrase about the picture you've picked out. What words and phrase did you circle? Please explain.

Think about TV stars, film stars, sports people, music stars, comedy stars, computer games characters. [Pause] Who do you think looks really good? [− if asked 'attractive' or 'I fancy', then not 'who do you fancy?'] What is it about these people that makes them look so good? cues: Use the sheet of words and phrases to help you describe what it is about these people that makes them look good.

Divided by gender below

Can you think of a famous person who looks really awful? [TV, film, etc, or picture] What is it about this person that makes them look so awful?

5:01 pm, Jun 12, 1997.

Node initially created using text search for 'confident', etc. Then contextualised by jumping to source and manually spreading indexing.

Poverty and richness - (not) having the money to buy ... Accounts of money contributing to making an effort with appearance. Such efforts using money as contributing to popularity. Lack of money being seen as an (il)legitimate excuse for making less of an effort.

Assumed gender: from question: Treated differently? The relevant text following the asking of the question 'is someone who's really attractive treated differently to ...', showing whether the interviewee(s) assumed the interviewer was referring particularly to males or females.

1:46 pm, Jul 8, 1997.
Not sure about the usefulness of this node: Fit and Healthy might appear to be nearly similies, but looking at the text coded here (mostly as a result of use of the word 'fit'), there are significant differences in their meaning. Best use of this node perhaps by excluding from it all text coded at 'Words' and 'Phrases'.

Assertions that looking good is (not) important8:53 am, Jul 11, 1997. Importance of looks versus personality8:54 am, Jul 11, 1997. Accounts of people's changes in looks, personality, etc as they've got older / looking back.

8:54 am, Jul 11, 1997.
The qualities, opportunities and challenges associated with adulthood. (Views of their futures?)
8:55 am, Jul 11, 1997.
Accounts of people (self or others) being influenced in the way they look. Divide such accounts according to who influences them and what form the influence takes.

8:57 am, Jul 11, 1997.
Pulling together all accounts of people behaving appropriately to their gender

8:58 am, Jul 11, 1997.
Pulling together all accounts of people behaving not appropriately to their gender.

8:58 am, Jul 11, 1997.
What can I admit to knowing about and therefore what can I talk about? Who can I represent? Self? Friends? Opp sex?

8:59 am, Jul 11, 1997.
'Judging people is wrong' 9:00 am, Jul 11, 1997. 'Judging people doesn't work' - 'you can't go from appearances'

9:01 am, Jul 11, 1997.
'We all judge people sometimes' - 'It's just human nature to go by first impressions'

9:02 am, Jul 11, 1997.
Comments about own body 9:03 am, Jul 11, 1997.· Fitting-in, looking normal, conformity 9:03 am, Jul 11, 1997.· Standing out, asserting individuality, defining significant difference.

Standing out by choice: · voluntary - wearing a bright shirt, etc

Standing out other than by choice: · biological - involuntary - got a big nose, ginger hair, etc

Talk within female social group shaping and maintaining identity by reference to "I'm so fat" - either actually happening amongst group there and then, or reports of it happening at other times.

Many of the responses mentioned relationships of assessment. For example, "it's about how people feel about their bodies", "how people perceive me" and "what you think of other people".

Ideals were mentioned and a general recognition of outside influences. For example, "what your perfect woman would be", "what you think the ideal body is" and "the way people want you to look".

Often, the responses stated simply that they thought that we were going to be talking with them about puberty. This understanding of body image seems related to a biological given and yet indicates a recognition of bodily changes which characterise their adolescent status and perhaps their experience.
Responses include; "it's about bodies in general and growth" and "I thought it was going to be like changes in teenagers".

This was a common theme in the answers. For example, "it's the way you show yourself to other people", "it's about appearance and how people dress" and "it's about clothes and the way you make yourself look".

• Assessment -eg mental arguments or not looking in mirror (to help confidence and therefore feel that you look good)

• What's behind such improvements? (Achievement of good appearance is a result of)

9:14 am, Jul 11, 1997. • Fake. Inappropriateness of effort in form or degree. eg, plastic surgery.

Where people talk about how they make themselves feel better about their appearance, or avoid feeling worse about it. Such strategies can be divided along a continuum, with active efforts to change the body shape at the one end, and efforts to change the way the person feels about their body at the other end.

reported attitudes during physical activities - examples: • 'go-for-it'. distracted, self conscious, aware of audience. defensive - avoiding having the mickey taken disinterested. hesitant. possessive. other

• Stated reasons for doing physical activity, examples: • fun. good at it. to improve appearance. to improve fitness, strength, etc. have to

Pull together all talk where people assert gender differences

Assertions that there are no differences in particular situations 9:28 am, Jul 11, 1997. The relationship between external looks on the one hand, and internal feelings and states of mind on the other.

Themes developed inductively from the data, that should reflect how the adolescents themselves feel about the subject.

These are grouped according to a schema developed from the adolescents' answers to the question (put to them at the end of each interview): 'What did you think this interview was going to be about?'

The 'taken-for-granted' starting point. The body as fact, as having physical features.

From 'definitions' question in interview:
The most frequent response given was "it's about the way you look". This reply although not immediately obvious, perhaps points to an assumption about a bodily given. Other answers which support this interpretation include; "the general look of my body, as to whether I'm muscley or not..." and "it's if you are fat or thin".

All talk about puberty, including formal interview question, and contextualised word searches for 'puberty' and 'develop'

4:09 pm, Jan 28, 1997.
Do you think that people your age feel differently about their bodies after reaching puberty? (If confused, define puberty: voice breaking / periods) How do they feel different? Different for boys and girls?

Includes formal question about very good looking people being treated differently. Also contextualised search for 'popular'.

Thinking of people in your year, do you think that someone who's very good looking is treated differently than someone who is just average looking? Is a very good looking boy / girl treated differently than a boy / girl who is just average looking? What sort of differences are there? (Popular? - who with? more real friends? Attention? - from same/opp sex? good thing?)

The labels you get as a result of (non)efforts to improve appearance. Balance of making effort, but not too much.

· Natural. Born with good looks. The idea of looking natural, or even contriving a 'natural' look.

· Work / effort - moral - hard work achieves results. Not working is lazy.

Includes coding on the formal interview question on effort.

4:00 pm, Jan 28, 1997.
Does everybody your age make an effort with their appearance? (boys and girls?) Do you think that some people make more of an effort than others? Why? What sorts of things do people do? For example: Maybe people who make an effort with their appearance feel better about themselves? Do you think that people your age should make an effort with their appearance?

12:42 pm, Jan 9, 1997.
This branch pulls together all the speech of those children who were pre/post pubescent at the time that the initial questionnaire was handed out (week beginning 6 January 1996).

The nodes in this part of the tree index the speech of individual interviewees, whether in individual interviews or in group settings. The rule for including contextual text units is as follows: Each individual's speech turn is indexed, plus one speech turn either side of it. This means that individual interviews
are indexed complete (since their are only two speakers). The material indexed from group interviews is in the form: speaker1: INDIVIDUAL: speaker2:
If just the interviewees' speech alone is wanted, then check node (2:Each Interviewee)

The nodes in this part of the tree index the speech of individual interviewees, whether in individual interviews or in group settings. The _only_ speech indexed here is that of the interviewees themselves. If some context is wanted, check node (1:Each Interviewee).

Codes all the speech (but only the speech) of those participants with the relevant sibling. Clearly some participants will be coded at more than one sub-node in this section of the tree, so that care is needed in using these for analysis. Since we didn't begin to ask about sibling status until well into the project, the information is lacking for some participants, especially the younger age groups.

Do you think people judge you because of the way you look?   cues: People your age; Adults? What do people see in the way you look that they judge you by?
Think of an example. eg: I used to have dreadlocks, and when I was walking down the street people used to react to me really strongly. But since I've had my dreadlocks cut off, I've found that people react differently towards me. Do you think that you judge other people by the way they look? How?

Thinking about the way people look, what do you think the girls in your school go for in boys? Is it more the clothes that a boy wears, or the body underneath?

Thinking about the way people look, what do you think the girls in your school go for in boys? Is it more the clothes that a boy wears, or the body underneath?

Thinking of people in your year, do you think that someone who's very good looking is treated differently than someone who is just average looking? Is a very good looking boy / girl treated differently than a boy / girl who is just average looking? What sort of differences are there? (Popular? - who with? more real friends? Attention? - from same/opp sex? good thing?)

4:00 pm, Jan 28, 1997.
Does everybody your age make an effort with their appearance? (boys and girls?) Do you think that some people make more of an effort than others? Why? What sorts of things do people do? For example: Maybe people who make an effort with their appearance feel better about themselves? Do you think that people your age should make an effort with their appearance?

4:02 pm, Jan 28, 1997.
Suppose that someone your age is unhappy about a certain aspect of themselves, say their weight or their legs or how strong they are or something. Suppose they changed that bit of themselves somehow. Do you think it would make a difference to their lives? How?
4:02 pm, Jan 28, 1997.
Do you look in a mirror every day? Are there days when you don't like looking in the mirror? Are you ever surprised by what you see in the mirror? For example, sometimes I'm feeling ok with myself, but then I look in the mirror and I think, "oh god I look really awful today". Usually it doesn't matter, but sometimes it can make me a bit self-conscious about going out. (If having trouble here, try it with 'photographs' - Are you ever surprised by what you look like in photos?) How does seeing yourself in the mirror affect your mood?

4:03 pm, Jan 28, 1997.
Do you have attractive days and unattractive days, or do you always feel the same way about yourself? What is it for you that makes it an unattractive or an attractive day? cues: hair, friends' reactions, spots, parents' comments, paleness, mirror image.

4:03 pm, Jan 28, 1997.
Do you think that the way you see yourself in photographs is the same as the way other people see you in photographs? For example; I always think my skin looks really bad in photos, but other people seem to think my skin looks quite healthy in photos.

4:06 pm, Jan 28, 1997.
Do / Did boys and girls do different sports in this school? [Get to 'yes' by: positing another school where this happens positing another time when it happened] Is it a matter of choice, or are boys and girls not allowed to do certain sports? Talk about rules against boys and girls doing the same sports: Who makes the rules? (teachers, school, parents)? Who agrees with the rules? (teachers, parents, pupils, you)? Why are the rules there? If you made the rules, would they be the same? If there was choice, would equal numbers of boys and girls do football / netball? Why? Talk about choice where boys and girls choose to do different sports: Why do you think more girls than boys choose to do [sport]? Is there anything about [sport] that makes it so that more girls than boys choose to do it?

4:08 pm, Jan 28, 1997.
Do you think that boys and girls run / walk / dance / fight / etc differently? Describe how they are different. eg: Think about when there's a fight outside school between girls. Do they fight differently than boys do? It's a bit of a stereotype, that boys fight by punching and girls fight by scratching and biting. Do you think it's really like that? (Do boys and girls often / always conform to the stereotype?)

4:08 pm, Jan 28, 1997.
What age do you think that your body is at its best? What happens after this age? Why is your body not at its best before this age?

5:09 pm, Jan 30, 1997.
Do you think people your age are generally happy with their bodies?

4:09 pm, Jan 28, 1997.
Do you think that people your age feel differently about their bodies after reaching puberty? (If confused, define puberty: voice breaking / periods) How do they feel different? Different for boys and girls?
This research project that we're doing is about 'body image': what do you think of when you hear the phrase 'body image'?  [Yes/No questions:] Is body image about: shape? size? confidence? personality? weight? posture? smell?

4:10 pm, Jan 28, 1997.
Do you think there's anything about 'body image' that we could have talked about but didn't?

4:10 pm, Jan 28, 1997.
Debriefing: The main part of the interview is over, but just before you go I'd find it very useful to here what you thought about the interview. Do you think it went ok? Were there any questions that were too difficult to answer? Were there any questionnaires that were too embarrassing? Were there any questions that were too difficult to understand?

2:00 pm, Jan 7, 1997.
people in group 8f1 are: 8Katherine*, 8Alexa, 8Anne and 8Jane (absent for intro and group forming session). This group was the quiet one and did what asked with little fuss and quickly.Days available: Any lunchtimes

Interview with group including Jane. Didn't go too well. Lots of silences and not much offered. Dropped a verbal clanger early on which may have contributed to unwillingness to talk. Jane quite a disruptive influence. Whispering aside alot with Kath and sitting sullenly and looking bored. Anne the most enthusiastic, Alexa the most self conscious with drapes of hair in face and Katherine not so helpful this time, or responsible, and easily distracted/ing next to Jane.Tried to get Jane to talk more and participate more but felt she probably just felt picked on.

********************************************************************************
Pictures chosen:
Katherine- 42, Paul Nichols
Jane- 31, Naomi Cambell
Alexa- 8, Peter Andre
Anne- 9, Keanu Reeves
********************************************************************************

The children of this node index those instances of a participant's 'words' choice that include the specific word corresponding to the node title. For example, the node (700 1), Graceful, indexes all instances where the word 'graceful' was chosen to describe a picture, along with all the other words that were also chosen by that participant in that interview to describe that picture. It was generated using the command file 'words'.

4:00 pm, Jan 28, 1997.
Does everybody your age make an effort with their appearance? (boys and girls?) Do you think that some people make more of an effort than others? Why? What sorts of things do people do? For example: Maybe people who make an effort with their appearance feel better about themselves? Do you think that people your age should make an effort with their appearance?

· Natural. Born with good looks. The idea of looking natural, or even contriving a 'natural' look.
Three types of interviews were planned: Firstly individual interviews, then interviews with each individual plus their friendship group (as chosen by themselves), along with social isolate interviews with those without a chosen friendship group. Each of the interviews followed basically the same schedule:

Basic Interview Schedule:

Have magazine pictures already spread over table. (pictures of famous or in some way striking people / bodies cut from magazines) Opening remarks

• Thank you for agreeing to help us by coming to this session this afternoon. The session will probably last about fifty minutes.

• My name's Helen, and my job during these sessions is to get us talking about body image concerns. Now I hope that what I mean by body image will become clearer as we go through the session, but to start with you could say that it's about the way people look and the way people feel about the way they look.

• Our project is based at the University of Sussex - I'll be happy to talk more afterwards about the background to the research if you're interested.

• I am going to record our session on tape if that's ok with you. The reason I need to tape it is that I'd never be able to write down or remember all you'll have to say, and I don't want to miss anything.

• I'd like to emphasise two points before we actually start:

1. This session is completely confidential. None of what we say today will ever be heard by anyone except me and the other researcher on the project.

2. It's important for you to know that there are no right or wrong answers. If you disagree with something that I've said, then tell me so.

[figures in bold] planned elapsed time by this point. Speed up or slow down accordingly.

0. Opening questions:

What is your favourite piece of clothing? What is it about these clothes that makes them your favourite? Are your favourite clothes the ones you feel most confident in, or do you have other clothes that you feel most confident in? Who usually buys your clothes? Whose money? etc

1. Introductory questions:

Can you think of situations when 'looking good' is really important to you? Are there different reasons for looking good in these situations? eg: When I'm in the house just with my family it doesn't matter what I look like. But if I go out to a disco with a friend, then how I look is really important because there's lots of people there. Cues: (from general to particular) Everyday in school; Everyday outside of school; Doing sports; PE classes; Swimming pool; On the beach on holiday; Parties; Youth clubs; Dancing and clubbing.

[15 mins]

2. Transitional questions: cultural ideals

Pick out a picture of someone who looks really good (or attractive). [– if asked, then concerned with those found attractive rather than those 'fancied']
[Note picture chosen] What is it about the way they look that you like? (What does the way they look say about them?) [Hand out words/ phrases sheet and pen] Now select / circle some words and a phrase about the picture you've picked out. What words and phrase did you circle? Please explain.

Think about TV stars, film stars, sports people, music stars, comedy stars, computer games characters. [Pause] Who do you think looks really good? [- if asked 'attractive' or 'I fancy', then not 'who do you fancy?'] What is it about these people that makes them look so good? cues: Use the sheet of words and phrases to help you describe what it is about these people that makes them look good.

Think of a man / woman, [ie person of opposite sex to person initially mentioned] What is it about these people that makes them look so good? cues: Use the sheet of words and phrases to help you describe what it is about these people that makes them look good.

Can you think of a famous person who looks really awful? [TV, film, etc, or picture] What is it about this person that makes them look so awful?

3. Key questions:
Body inferences, morality, responsibility, control, functions of bodies
Do you think people judge you because of the way you look? cues: People your age; Adults? What do people see in the way you look that they judge you by? Think of an example. eg: I used to have dreadlocks, and when I was walking down the street people used to react to me really strongly. But since I've had my dreadlocks cut off, I've found that people react differently towards me. Do you think that you judge other people by the way they look? How? Thinking about the way people look, what do you think the boys in your school go for in girls? Is it more the clothes that a girl wears, or the body underneath?

[30 mins]

Thinking of people in your year, do you think that someone who's very good looking is treated differently than someone who is just average looking? Is a very good looking boy / girl treated differently than a boy / girl who is just average looking? What sort of differences are there? (Popular? - who with? more real friends? Attention? - from same/opp sex? good thing?)

Does everybody your age make an effort with their appearance? (boys and girls?) Do you think that some people make more of an effort than others? Why? What sorts of things do people do? For example: Maybe people who make an effort with their appearance feel better about themselves? Do you think that people your age should make an effort with their appearance?

Suppose that someone your age is unhappy about a certain aspect of themselves, say their weight or their legs or how strong they are or something. Suppose they changed that bit of themselves somehow. Do you think it would make a difference to their lives? How?

Do you look in a mirror every day? Are there days when you don't like looking in the mirror? Are you ever surprised by what you see in the mirror? For example, sometimes I'm feeling ok with myself, but then I look in the mirror and I think, "oh god I look really awful today". Usually it doesn't matter, but sometimes it can make me a bit self-conscious about going out. (If having trouble here, try it with 'photographs' - Are you ever surprised by what you look like in photos?) How does seeing yourself in the mirror affect your mood?
Do you have attractive days and unattractive days, or do you always feel the same way about yourself? What is it for you that makes it an unattractive or an attractive day? Cues: hair, friends' reactions, spots, parents' comments, paleness, mirror image.

Do you think that the way you see yourself in photographs is the same as the way other people see you in photographs? For example; I always think my skin looks really bad in photos, but other people seem to think my skin looks quite healthy in photos.

Body in space, movement, occupation of space

Do / Did boys and girls do different sports in this school? [Get to 'yes' by: positing another school where this happens positing another time when it happened] Is it a matter of choice, or are boys and girls not allowed to do certain sports? Talk about rules against boys and girls doing the same sports: Who makes the rules? (teachers, school, parents)? Who agrees with the rules? (teachers, parents, pupils, you)? Why are the rules there? Talk about choice where boys and girls choose to do different sports: Why do you think more girls than boys choose to do [sport]? Is there anything about [sport] that makes it so that more girls than boys choose to do it?

If you see someone from the back, or in the dark, do you think that you can usually tell if they are a boy or a girl just by the way they move?

Do you think that boys and girls run / walk / dance / fight / etc differently? Describe how they are different. Eg: Think about when there's a fight outside school between girls. Do they fight differently than boys do? It's a bit of a stereotype, that boys fight by punching and girls fight by scratching and biting. Do you think it's really like that? (Do boys and girls often / always conform to the stereotype?)

Body, development and ageing

What age do you think that your body is at its best? What happens after this age? Why is your body not at its best before this age? Do you think that people your age are generally happy with their bodies?

Do you think that people your age feel differently about their bodies after reaching puberty? (If confused, define puberty: voice breaking / periods) How do they feel different? Different for boys and girls?

[45 mins]

4. Additional material
Go back to anything interesting that came up

5. Further questions
We've talked about where physical appearance is important. We've thought about the way we see other people and other people see us. We've talked about how the way you look changes as you get older.

This research project that we're doing is about 'body image': what do you think of when you hear the phrase 'body image'? [Yes/No questions:] Is body image about: smell? looks? shape? size? confidence? personality? weight? posture?
Do you think there's anything about 'body image' that we could have talked about but didn't?

Thank you very much for all your ideas and opinions; this session has been very useful.

Debriefing: The main part of the interview is over, but just before you go I'd find it very useful to here what you thought about the interview. Do you think it went ok? Were there any questions that were too difficult to answer? Were there any questionnaires that were too embarrassing? Were there any questions that were too difficult to understand?

One (or one time two) from each group were interviewed first, before the group interviews. The code 'rep' stands for 'representative', although this is something of a misnomer since the interviewees were in no way taken to be representatives of their group. It was planned to interview social isolates separately. They were defined initially as those who did not get into a group at the introductory session. However, analysis of the questionnaire returns (upon which the kids were asked to note their close friends) showed that some who had no reciprocated friendships still got into groups at the introductory sessions. These were subsequently treated as social isolates too.1:28 pm, Jan 28, 1997. Indexes the transcripts according to our prior theory, as shown in the question schema used for the interviews. The questions used during the interview are given in the memo for the appropriate node. The whole interview schedule is given in the memo for node (1 1) - Interviews. Since these act as definitions for each node, few actual definitions show up in the definition fields in this subtree.

4:13 pm, Jan 16, 1997. Alan E, year 10. Interview to be arranged. According to the questionnaires, Alan has only two reciprocated friendships, with Mary and Petra. None with any boys. Since he didn't join with any of the girl's groups either, we assume he is a social isolate.

4:37 pm, Mar 24, 1997. Alan did not respond to any invitations to the interview, did not return a parental consent form, and did not turn up at the interview (despite several reminders, one of which was this morning). He IS in school. I think we can assume that he does not want to take part.

10:19 am, Mar 5, 1997. Interview with Soibhan. although Soibhan (and Sheila) got into a group with others at the introductory session, analysis of the questionnaires showed that in fact she was not friends with any members of the group, nor indeed of the PSE class sample. Hence we assume she is a social isolate with that class sample. Did not turn up despite numerous reminders, etc. Assume she doesn't want to take part.

10:19 am, Mar 5, 1997. Interview with Sheila. although Sheila (and Soibhan) got into a group with others at the introductory session, analysis of the questionnaires showed that in fact she was not friends with any members of the group, nor indeed of the PSE class sample. Hence we assume she is a social isolate with that class sample. Did not turn up despite numerous reminders. Assume she doesn't want to take part.

4:11 pm, Aug 22, 1997. This node indexes the inter-coder reliability sample test, done on the Themes/Presentation subtree. The two researchers coded this subtree independently, and the coding compared by finding the ratio of the
2:06 pm, Jan 7, 1997. Explanation of group headings. First number = year group, ie, year 8, 10, or 12. Second number = group id. Third letter = gender of group members, ie - group consisted of all females (f), all males (m), or was a mixed group (x). For example; 81f = year 8 and the first group in a year 8 tutor group and all groups members female. * = member of group who is doing the single group rep interview as well.

2:06 pm, Jan 7, 1997. Explanation of group headings. First number = year group, ie, year 8, 10, or 12. Second number = group id. Third letter = gender of group members, ie - group consisted of all females (f), all males (m), or was a mixed group (x). For example; 81f = year 8 and the first group in a year 8 tutor group and all groups members female. * = member of group who is doing the single group rep interview as well.

10:05 am, Jan 15, 1997.
Group 10m3 consists of: Tony John Leslie *Robert The group can do any lunchtimes except Tuesdays.

3:59 pm, Feb 24, 1997. A very difficult group interview - they seemed very reluctant to say anything in front of each other, except perhaps Leslie, although he had the advantage of having heard the questions before. John and Robert were especially quiet, John giving a good impression of a caged animal throughout much of the session. They did not want to make fools of themselves, and it was obvious that what was said in the group would be repeated as material for ridicule if anything unguarded was said. There will be a lot of me on the tape. This interview was done again around the low coffee table, which was perhaps not enough of a barrier between people. Try using the larger, higher tables next time.

Seating plan:
Robert       John
           x
Tony
Int       x
Leslie

Opp sex: Robert: Claudia ad 27, John: Louise 17, Tony: Louise 17, Leslie: Pamela Anderson 21


3:26 pm, Mar 3, 1997. (In fact Charles Hyland turned up instead of Gary - Gary will take Charles's place in group 10m5.) Charles dominated the discussion, and certain deference seemed to be given to his opinions. George spoke up, but Damian and (especially) Llewellyn were very quiet. Llewellyn seemed to be exhibiting all the discomfort associated with being in the presence on one's 'social superiors' - head down, eyes averted, very quiet, reluctant to offer an opinion until...
others had. Damian on the other hand seemed just embarrassed by the subject matter. Charles seemed to enjoy offering slightly nonconformist views, as if he was exhibiting his 'social superiority' by daring others to challenge his opinions - however this was a subtle impression and I may be misreading the situation. Despite this the discussion was reasonably good.

Seating plan:

```
   George   Damian
     x----------------x
     |                 |
Llewellyn   |                 | Me
     |                 |
     x----------------x
     |                 |
   Me       Charles
```

Pictures chosen: First choice: Llewellyn: Claudia 27, George: b/w cutie 30, Damian: f.boxer 26, Charles: Pam Anderson 21
Opposite sex: Llewellyn: Cantona 37, George: Man on right-hand side of Manga picture 12, Damian: Ruud Gullit 38, Charles: Arnie 4
Awful: Agreed on Charles Evans 2

10:08 am, Jan 15, 1997. Group 10m5 consists of (though see below): Jez, Matthew, Charles/Gary*. The group can do any lunchtimes Initially I chose Jez for the individual interview, but he really didn't want to do it (I suspect because it wasn't masculine enough, or somesuch nonsense). He nominated Chris, and Matthew agreed. Chris seemed happy to agree, but it was not a very random choice. This mirrored what happened in the analogous 'hard' group 8m6 in year 8, where James was nominated by the initially chosen Keith. However in this case I suspect Chris was able to to the interview because of his perceived superior social status (richer, more 'adult' social skills), whereas with Jamie in 8m6 the opposite was the case. Matthew had glandular fever for much of the term.

In fact Charles swapped with Gary, and Jez didn't turn up, so that this group interview was with just Gary and Matthew. Is Matthew the person referred to in other groups as the person in the class who doesn't make an effort with his appearance?? Check. The two of them were very giggly, especially at the start. Matthew seemed rather embarrassed and it took some time before he was willing to say anything substantial. Gary was less reluctant (having heard the questions before), although even he was less forthcoming than at the single interview. Matthew's speech was very indistinct, and I had to ask him to repeat what he said several times because I didn't hear. Whether much of what he said has been captured adequately on tape is yet to be established. In general the two of them were embarrassed by most of the discussion.

Seating plan:

```
  x  Matthew  x
    |         |
    |         |
    Me------Gary
```

Pictures chosen: Initial: Matthew - Naomi Campbell 31, Gary - Pamela Anderson 21
Opp sex: Matthew - Peter Andre 8, Gary - Arny 4
Awful: Matthew - David Bowie 7, Gary - 25
10:13 am, Jan 15, 1997. Group 10m6 consists of: Keith, Anthony, Rees, Dominic. The group can do any lunchtimes except Wednesdays.

3:24 pm, Mar 10, 1997. There were GCSE orals taking place in the meeting room until 1.20, and again from 2.30, so the setting up was rushed. The interview, strangely, wasn't, although they were the best talking group so far. Keith is ethnically Chinese (though speaking perfect English, and certainly British). Anthony had a brace on his teeth. This was the 'best' group so far: They interacted well and genuinely discussed tings amongst themselves I think at times. Dominic was noticeably the quietest. Rees probably spoke the most, although that may have been because he was opposite me and I inadvertently favoured him with eye contact. Keith and Anthony contributed a lot as well. I got the feeling that they were happy that there was little social hierarchy within the group, and hence they could all speak fairly freely.

Seating plan:

```
  x Rees  Keith
   |
Anthony   x
   |
  Me  Dominic
```

Pictures chosen: Initial choice: Anthony - Louise 17, Rees - Leopardskin blonde 19, Keith - Pamela Anderson 21, Dominic - Cantona 37
Opp sex: Anthony - Trainspotting 3, Rees - Suited/tanned man 40, Keith - Cantona 37, Dominic - Pamela Anderson 21
Awful: Anthony - Chris Evans 2, Rees - Peter Andre 8, Keith - Arsonist 1, Dominic - David Bowie 7

12:58 pm, Jan 21, 1997. 12F1 Group members: Jemma*, Christine, Sue, Anita. For the group interview they can all do Fridays.

5:48 pm, Mar 25, 1997. Interview went very well, all chatted between selves etc. Christine especially vocal and confident although flamboyantly displayed nervousness. Sue and Anita more shy of selves though Sue the less so (looked like mad woman in lewes chocolate shop). Jemma quietly confident. All friendly and helpful. One awkward bit where I probed about anorexia...Anita had suffered it the previous year although said she was over it.

Pictures chosen: Sue - 37, Cantona, Anita - 8, Peter Andre, Christine - 36, boxer, Jemma - 9, Keanu Reeves

12:59 pm, Jan 21, 1997. 12X2 Group members: Andy, Tim, Harriet, Annie*, Katie, Graham. For the group interview, they cannot do Mondays or Tuesdays.

11:04 am, Mar 26, 1997. Interview went OK. Neil did the talking and I sat in the corner silently encouraging what the girls said. Tim didn't turn up. Katie very vocal, Harriet also, Annie I thought much quieter than the other two, perhaps cause already done it with me, perhaps just the less vocal in the group. Graham needed Neil's encouragement to speak and give his opinion, Andy, painfully self conscious needed alot of prodding. Good exchanges between each other. Generally a question was asked, Katie made a response, Harriet joined in, Graham would be asked what he thought, Annie would say a few words and then Andy would eventually say something (stupid and laddish) which would get Katie and Harriet responding to. On a few questions it was very much girls vs boys. Neil's notes: Good atmosphere. Andy probably thought being picked on, and thought Harriet had some views that the others would think odd or disagreeable. (What
does Neil mean...?) Felt should allow the girls vs boys to run. Felt girls
dominated discussion and had to intervene to get boys to contribute. On the
sports question felt reverse happened.

***********************************************************************

Pictures chosen (1st choices): Annie 28 Calvin Klein woman (Kate Moss?),
Graham 31 Naomi Campbell, Andy 38 Chelsea Manager, Katie 9 Keanu Reeves,
Harriet 3 Ewan McGregor. 2nd choices: Annie 42 Paul Nichols, Graham 42 Paul
Nichols, Andy 33 Woman with blond hair and blue paisley top, Katie 19 Gwyneth
Paltrow, Harriet 21 Pamala Anderson

***********************************************************************

1:02 pm, Jan 21, 1997. 12X3 Group members: Naomi*, Tammy, Roland. For the group
interview, they cannot do Thursdasy or Fridays.

5:33 pm, Mar 25, 1997. Interview went well. Me a bit dozy and tired and clumsy
questions, but they were chatty and at ease and talked well on all the subjects.
Roland and Tammy both articulate, Naomi a bit quieter than I imagined from
single interview with her. Roland needed bit of help to say his stuff but once
got space very clear in views and not shy.  Neil sat at the table too but didn't
speak much as arranged.

***********************************************************************

Pictures chosen: Initial choice: Tammy: 33 Gwyneth Paltrow, Naomi: 8 Peter
Andre, Roland: 17 Louise
Other sex: Tammy: 42 Paul Nichols, Naomi: 30 Cutie b/w model, Roland: 4 Arnold
Schwarzenegger

***********************************************************************

1:03 pm, Jan 21, 1997. 12M4 Group members: Donald, Alec, Ross*, Kevin, Max,
Dexter. For the group interview they can only do Mondays and Wednesdays.

2:56 pm, Apr 21, 1997. In the event only Kevin, Ross, Alec and Max turned up.
Max said next to nothing. Ross and Kevin were the most talkative. I felt the
group went quite well, apart from being pushed for time toward the end. The
group even occasionally functioned as a true focus group, with a relevant
discussion underway between the participants, with little or no input from me!

Seating plan (around large table):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Max</th>
<th>Alec</th>
<th>Ross</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Vacant)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Kevin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Vacant)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Me</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

***********************************************************************

Pictures chosen: Initial: Max - Arnold Scwazzenegger 4, Alec - Claudia /
Charlie 27, Ross - Ruud Gullit 38, Kevin - Arsonist 1
Opp sex: Max - Naomi Campbell 31, Alec - Bond (Connery) 10, Ross - Louise 17,
Kevin - Calvin Klein ad (Kate Moss) 28
Awful: Michael Jackson 11, Computer woman 32, Gothic Anorexic 34

***********************************************************************

1:05 pm, Jan 21, 1997. 12X5 Group members: Emily*, Jackson, Carol, Siobhan,
Sheila. For the group interview they can only do Thursday lunchtimes.

11:19 am, Apr 29, 1997. Separated off Siobhan and Sheila who didn't have any
friends (and so were reclassified as 'social isolates'). Jackson didn't turn
up to the interview. Interview went OK. Emily more relaxed with friend and
looked to her alot for affirmation (I think). Carol freindlier and less
awkward than Emily, but a bit quiet and serious in places. For eg at bit about
prettier people being more popular.

***********************************************************************
Having just tidied up transcription noticed that my questioning technique on this day was crap. I kept saying so you mean this...and summarising what they just said wrongly...so no wonder Carol got a bit pissed off in places.

2:39 pm, Jan 7, 1997. Interview with Katherine (from group 8f1). Tuesday 14th January. 3:51 pm, Jan 14, 1997. Katherine arrived 15 minutes late as class held back from lunch, so whole interview was somewhat rushed (extra q's adding to pilots length). Good rapport with Katherine. She was very talkative and open about discussing herself. Had to keep moving her on and rushing her through questions. Seemed to be fairly mature and articulate for age, mentioned brother at university. Sat at quieter table of girls in class when initially met and introduced self to group.

Disturbing backgound noise all interview, interrupted by several teachers.

2:40 pm, Jan 7, 1997. Interview with Helen (from group 8f2). Wednesday 15th January. 4:29 pm, Jan 15, 1997. Helen seemed very shy and fairly uncomfortable throughout the interview. A rapport of sorts was loosely established. Seemed much shyer than when had initially volunteered from group of friends.

Many interruptions from teachers at beginning of interviews.

2:41 pm, Jan 7, 1997. Interview with Vanessa (from group 8f3). Wednesday 22nd January. 4:17 pm, Jan 22, 1997. Vanessa turned up to be interviewed in place of Veronica who was apparently playing hockey that lunch time. I cannot remember if Vanessa volunteered to be the group representative before or not, although she seemed willing enough to be interviewed when she came in. Interview I thought went ok, but there was not such a rapport as had been with other interviewees. Vanessa appeared to me to look and sound (voice) very young for her age and perhaps also I thought her answers were a little 'young' as compared to some of her other class mates? Also a bit annoyed with own interview stance which seemed to me to be on the patronising side and I think I had a distracting smirk on my face for alot of the interview.

2:44 pm, Jan 7, 1997. Interview with Egbert from group 8m4. Monday 13th January. Egbert took longest over the questionnaire and may have problems with written work?? Turned up on Monday 13th, but didn't have parental consent so had to rearrange the interview for Thursday 30th jan 1.30pm.

3:32 pm, Jan 30, 1997. Using Deputy Head's office; Meeting Room being redecorated. didn't get into the office (because it was occupied) until gone half past one, and Egbert appeared very soon after that. I asked him to spread the pictures out whilst I set things up. I forgot to reassure him that it was OK being in Dep Head's office this time, and that he should relax. Egbert was very nervous and non-comittal at first, his voice so quiet that I had to move the microphone nearer to him (which
in itself must have made him more nervous!). He was especially non-committal over the 'Media ideal' questions. He warmed up a bit later on, although he was never comfortable and kept lapsing into silence. The interview was very rushed toward the end.

Pictures chosen: Attractive: Baywatch 120, Tall blonde model in black 133, Opp sex: Man at C&A 130. Awful: Marylin doll face 121

**************************************

2:45 pm, Jan 7, 1997. Interview with Stuart from group 8m5. Thursday 16th January. 4:05 pm, Jan 16, 1997. The Meeting Room was again far too hot, with bright sunshine streaming in, only partially blocked by the curtains. The interview took place at 1.30. Until 1.30, and whilst I was setting up, there was a pupil who had been told to sit in the meeting room. He was obviously upset.

******************************

Picture chosen: 112 - Big black singer (Alexander O'Neal??) in funky suit.

Stuart thought he was a little late - he had just escaped a detention, which he postponed until tomorrow to do the interview - perhaps a bit naughty in class? Lookwise, he was about average build, with a few spots and just getting a hairy top lip. He was well-spoken and anxious to please during the interview, perhaps rather nervous. However he was happy to talk quite frankly, and said at the end that this was because he knew the session was confidential. I surmised that he was a generally happy boy, quite sporty, and perhaps with something of a mischievous strak. He noted that the other two in his group (Martin and Milo) were clever, and *therefore* less concerned with their appearance. He looked forward with interest to the group session to hear what they would have to say.

I had to rush the last quarter of an hour (from the 'if you see someone in the dark from from behind...' question). No interruptions because of notice on the door.

2:45 pm, Jan 7, 1997. Interview with James from group 8m6. Thursday 23rd January. James is smaller than the others and seemed to be the object of some mick-taking, although able to hold his own to some extent 4:00 pm, Jan 23, 1997. James didn't turn up for the interview today; asking after him, Teacher noted that this was not untypical of him, and that he was known as something of a naughty boy. I went to his afternoon registration to rearrange the interview for Mon 3rd Feb (in Teacher's teaching room). When I got there he was being told off for something else! I guess we'll be lucky to get an interview out of James.

3:19 pm, Feb 3, 1997. I'll revise my opinion of James after this interview. Interview was in RE3 - a classroom immediately above James's registration classroom. James did not appear tense about talking in a classroom environment, and altogether gave the impression of being a confident, perceptive, intelligent and sharp boy. He has a strong Geordie accent (and supports Newcastle FC), which together with his small stature leads to some mick-taking. I suspect he makes up for these 'problems' by being naughty, sharp and streetwise, which he is. The interview was massively rushed as James had another meeting to go to during the lunch hour, so I only got a half hour of his time. As it was I over-ran, making him late for his meeting, but he was patient and didn't try to rush off, and even added that he thought we should have talked more about puberty and its effects on body image concerns. I suspect he is right.

Pictures chosen: Initial boring looking: Model at C&A 130, Good: Peter Beardsley 136, female: Gina G 118, Awful: captain Kirk 108


Interview went very well. Although nervous at first, Suzie gave long and thoughtful answers with little prompting. I also though my interview technique
was better, ie I interrupted less and put 'less woods into my informants mouth'. Suzie was quiet a beautiful looking girl although she did not seem to think so. She said she thought herself overweight and admired the 'baywatch' type figure.  

Pictures chosen: 141, Antonio dimples hunk who she didn't know but thought he may be an actor; 110, Brad Pitt and knew it was him; 120, bay watch women; 136, picked him because he was a footballer, but said didn't know it was Peter Beardsley and wouldn't have picked him if she had known.

12:10 pm, Feb 11, 1997.  Kate. Year 10 Eventually met with Kate after she forgot the first appointment and then lots of difficulties arranging another. She had been in hospital the day before and still said she felt faint and a bit woozy from the drugs. She came in especially for the interview. Several of questions seemed to be quite emotionally stressful for Kate. I hadn't realised that from the perspective of a person who thought they were ugly many of the questions seemed to be rubbing salt in a wound. Kate's distress seemed to be about having been very overweight (14 stone) a few years before.

Pictures chose: 109 Moulder man; 132 C&A girls; and 134 Black woman Tyra

10:19 am, Jan 15, 1997. Interview with Leslie (from group 10m3), Monday 20th Jan 1.30pm.

5:47 pm, Jan 20, 1997. Fortunately I arrived early (enough time to wander into Greenbridge town centre to buy some orange juice and a street map). Also enough time to discover that the school had arranged another meeting at lunchtime in the Meeting Room, nd that our interview had been re-routed to Teacher's office, just down the hall. Several disadvantages were anticipated: 1. A teacher's office is not neutral territory, whether or not Leslie has been here before for other, more 'school-oriented' reasons. He may well feel uncomfortable. 2. There was no low 'coffee table' on which to spread the magazine pictures. I made do with a third easy chair, though this gave much less space than did the table in the Meeting Room. Perhaps Leslie was encouraged to / discouraged from rummaging around by this? 3. Also had to use the easy chair for the mic, putting it right in Leslie' s sight-line and maybe making him more aware of it's presence than otherwise. 4. The room appeared much less soundproof than the Meeting Room, and much of the time there were pupils chatting outside. This may have made Leslie feel that his comments could be overheard; he may even have been right. 5. Teacher has an 'open-door' policy generally, so I anticipated (and was proved correct) that we would be interrupted. Two interruptions - even teachers can't read notices on doors it seems! Teacher's office was, however, much less unbearably hot than the Meeting Room, and he did take the phone off the hook for me.

Pictures chosen: Attractive bodies: Baywatch 120, Gina G 118, Of other sex: Rugby player 138, Antonio 141, Stubbled pretty boy 142.

Leslie seemed very shy and diffident, always playing with his collar or his sleeves or his cuffs. Very hard work to coax long answers out of him, he seemed to give up on answers when they got too long or involved. Preferred me to lean back and give him space (then he would talk a little more) rather than to lean forward. Preferred prompt was simple eye contact, seemed to find this reassuring and occasionally even continued an answer! I suspect much of his diffidence was due to the enforced location of the interview, since he claimed to be less shy than his friends! He seemed fairly concerned to assert his heterosexuality in this potentially threatening situation, answering about women's (f) bodies when
asked gender neutrally about bodies: viewing the 'body' object as the object of desire and hence essentially F. (cf Charles, yr10)

10:22 am, Jan 15, 1997. Interview with Charles, from group 10m5, Friday 17th Jan, 1.30pm. Charles was initially representing 10m4, with Jez and Matthew, but swapped later with Gary, so that Charles became part of group 10m5.

In choosing the initial 10m4: Initially I chose Jez for the individual interview, but he really didn't want to do it (I suspect because it wasn't masculine enough, or somesuch nonsense). He nominated Charles, and Matthew agreed. Charles seemed happy to agree, but it was not a very random choice. This mirrored what happened in the analogous 'hard' group 8m6 in year 8, where James was nominated by the initially chosen Keith. Charles seemed a fairly genial and friendly chap, and from the questionnaires he appears widely popular (though 'he thinks he's clever')

Rainy day. Got to the interview with exactly the right amount of time to spare, though I may have drunk too much coffee in the morning. I remembered that his friends think Charles 'thinks he is clever', and made a note to try and not form judgements on this basis! Charles explained that the person I originally picked to do the interview (Jez) was very shy about this sort of thing, and that it was no surprise to Charles that he asked not to do it. I suspect Charles was glad to have an opportunity to show how mature he is...

***********************************

Pictures chosen: Baywatch 120, Scully 109, Other sex: Ryan Giggs 137, Awful: Homeless person 102, Muscleman advert 101
***********************************

Charles is a confident young man, who seems to have made efforts to become cool and popular, though he still sometimes hangs round with his previous friendship group (as is shown in the class friendship network). He seemed aloof at the start of the interview, and it remained hard work getting him to deviate from short, expected answers. However, toward the end he began to seem happier to talk for longer about each point. He seemed fairly concerned to assert his heterosexuality in this potentially threatening situation, answering about women's (f) bodies when asked gender neutrally about bodies: viewing the 'body' object as the object of desire and hence essentially F. (cf Liam yr10)

10:21 am, Jan 15, 1997. Interview with Gary (from group 10m5). Monday 27th Jan 1.30pm 12:58 pm, Jan 28, 1997. Couldn't remember anything about Gary before the interview. Gary is a lively, if rather fidgety, chap. He was an excellent informant, appearing to understand the aim of virtually all of our questions, and appearing happy to talk at some length about relevant aspects of life at his age. Both reflective and observant. Why can't all interviewees be like Gary. I was so interested in what he had to say that I forgot to turn the tape over, and missed a minute or so toward the end of the session. The missing portion covered roughly the following: Leanne, she's a big girl who does a lot of sport and punches boys. The other girls don;t do much sport, even walking rather than running on cross-country runs. The other girls seem to prefer to diet rather than do sport in order to get slim. Gary doesn't know why this might be the case.

*****************************

Pictures chosen: Baywatch 120, Silver C&A fashion model, Scully 109, Other sex: Muscleman advert 101
*****************************

2:16 pm, Jan 7, 1997. Group 8f2 members: Petra, Helen* and Enya. These three sat at a table of 7 but seemed to happily split into their smaller threesome. Days available: Not Friday lunchtime
5:23 pm, Mar 25, 1997. Group interview, Petra didn't turn up and apparently
often didn't turn up to things supposed to. Enya very articulate and was more
friendly than I had expected. She was a bit hostile when I first met her. Both
discussed well together, seemed to take my request for dialogue seriously. A
very good interview I thought and not predictably answered.

Pictures chosen: Helen - 14, Rugged man, Enya - Paul Nichols

10:26 am, Jan 15, 1997. Interview with Dominic from group 10m6, Friday 24th
Jan, 1.30pm. From the questionnaires it seems that Dominic is widely popular,
though ' a bit boring'.

Day: Sunny, spring-like Me: Hung over, slight headache, and a little short
tempered. Dominic: Tried not to let his 'friends'' comments influence me, but
Dominic is, indeed, rather boring. He was very non-expressive, although one or
two (and only one or two) of the things he said were interesting. Like Leslie
(10M3) he seemed reluctant to commit himself to an opinion, perhaps for fear of
having to justify it, and hence having to talk about an uncertain self.

Pictures chosen: Silver top C&A models, James Bond (Timothy Dalton?)

12:55 pm, Jan 28, 1997. Found out later that Dominic's mother works as a
receptionist and admin person for the School. I seem to remember that people
whose parents worked for the school were more likely to be conformist;- being
under pressure not to show their parents up? - never being able to truly be away
from the pressures of home? - always being seen to be non-independent (having
parent visible)

5:01 pm, Feb 6, 1997. Interview with Ross, from 12m4. Thur 6 Feb  My first
interview with year 12. In a funny mood before the start (a bit neurotic?) - but
it didn't seem to last. The interview was in the Meeting Romm, which (newly
decorated) smelt of fresh paint, and had no curtains up. The school seemed
strangely quiet. We did the interview on the corner of the main table, rather
than on the low coffee table, and this seemed to work better, perhaps because
there was a symbolic barrier between us. the interview was very long - well
over an hour. Ross seemed happy to talk much more than the younger boys, and
said that he was happy to stay for more than an hour if necessary. Sometimes he
seemed to have trouble putting into words things that he obviously felt would be
valuable contributions.  He seemed a reasonably aware observer of peer social
life, though perhaps a little patronising of the more sociable people his age.
Definately saw current his and his peers' concerns as being of a passing phase,
and seemed to look forward a little to their passing.

Pictures chosen: Male: Kenneth Branagh 107, Bradd Pitt 110, Female: Silver top
models 132, (Awful: chose stars without pictures - Spice Girls, Jarvis Cocker,
Tommy Lee - Pamela Anderson's husband.)

12:27 pm, Feb 11, 1997. Interview with Joanna. Year 12. Went OK but Joanna was
a bit indecisive and non committal about everything, perhaps also a bit aloof
too. We didn't really achieve a rapport together (do in most interviews). I
was a bit manic as in the middle of distributing BT questionnaires.

Pictures chosen:109, Scully woman from x files;125, fit looking tanned runner
woman and mentioned Brad Pitt later, so perhaps would have chosen him if found
his picture.
4:12 pm, Feb 21, 1997. Interview with Annie on Tuesday 18th Feb. I was in a good mood, perhaps a bit over friendly and got the giggles at the end, then got quite embarrassed. Annie mentioned having a 'professional rugby playing' boyfriend. I imagine Annie is 'popular' / 'high status'.

************************************************************************

Pictures chose: 142, pretty boy: 115, muscley dancers; 135 young woman kicking off a toilet seat.

************************************************************************

4:24 pm, Feb 21, 1997. Interview with Naomi on 21st Feb. Interview went OK. Not set up in time. This Ok as made it more informal. Naomi friendly and happy to do interview but tended to give short answers to all questions. Sometimes a bit defensive when probed for more(?).

************************************************************************

Pictures chosen: 141, hansom wet man; 132, clock house girls; 109, Scully and Moulder from the x-files.

************************************************************************

10:18 am, Feb 28, 1997. Interview with Emily, year 12 rep. Interview went OK. I got into room late and had to set up while she was there. Emily was acutely embarrassed / self conscious / uncomfortable(?) throughout whole interview. She gave very short answers to everything and rarely elaborated, (interview only lasted about half an hour). Reminded me of Blob / Karen in the sense that her eyes betrayed extreme self consciousness and nervousness but tried to appear very casual. Also fairly 'tom boyish' like Karen.

************************************************************************

Pictures chosen: 118, Gina G; 143, Burt Lancaster (but I don't think she knew it was he); 124, pretty boy in blue jacket.

************************************************************************

4:13 pm, Mar 18, 1997. Additional interview with a year 12 boy, to make up deficiency in numbers -otherwise we would only have one individual interview with a year 12 boy. Interview with Roland from 12x3 (Tammy, Naomi) Roland was a confident chap, although he became either hot or embarrassed toward the end of the interview (he went very red). He was aware of and content with his body and psych. confidence, and saw it as a function of getting older and more mature. I thought we got on quite well, and that a good rapport was established between us. I suspect he thought I was closer in age to him than I really am. I think he had fairly strong preconceptions about the subject of the session: body language and the body as a means of expressing confidence. A typical boy?!

************************************************************************

Pictures chosen: f: baywatch 120 m: bond 111

************************************************************************

2:23 pm, Jan 7, 1997. Group 8f3 members: Veronica*, Sarah, Susan and Vanessa. These four seemed to happily split into four from the larger group of seven friends around their table. These four seemed the nosiest of all the girls in the tutor group and spent the longest filling out the questionnaires and chatting. Three out of the four wanted to volunteer to do the single interview. Veronica who was choosen was also nominated by a friend across the table as being in some way the most appropriate one to speak from the group. Days available: Only Thursdays (Vanessa actually did the rep interview instead of Veronica)

10:33 am, Feb 28, 1997. Me a bit nervous as this was my first focus group since the pilots. Was a bit apprehensive if I could get them to talk between themselves. Actually had the opposite problem as they all talked between themselves, over the top of each other and sometimes seemed to forget I was there. Also went off on tangents quite alot. An interesting group of friends; all seemed to be quite strong 'characters' and occasionally asserted a point to the others. Veronica was tall and sunny and reminded me a bit of Joy (Neil's sister) and was said to be 'sporty'. Sarah was tall but rounder, a bit
adolescent spotty looking and always held back her opinion to questions while the others all asserted theirs, the least confident of the group I thought. Susan small and round with glasses and some very 'grown up' ways of saying things. Things like "if boys call me fat then I just tell them it is only because they can't think of anything more interesting to say" Vanessa, the youngest looking and sounding (voice quality very young) and only one not got periods. Her voice was often drowned out by others, but stuck to her own opinions quite firmly when pressed, eg Peter Andre is nice. Time a problem had to keep interrupting and moving the conversation on.

*******************************************************************

Pictures chosen: Veronica - 28 Calvin Klein woman, Sarah - 9 Keanu Reeves, Susan - 42 Paul Nichols, Vanessa - Peter Andre
*******************************************************************

2:31 pm, Jan 7, 1997. Group 8m4 Consists of Albert, Egbert*, Simon and Charlie. A reasonably quiet bunch. Egbert took longest over the questionnaire and may have problems with written work?? Days available: Not Tuesdays NB: Initial interview did not record, extensive notes are written up at the end of this memo. We decided that it would be best if the interview was repeated, even though the boys would have heard all the questions before.

2:53 pm, Apr 14, 1997. Repeated interview with 8m4. Egbert, Simon and Albert. Charlie was absent from school. I had a shocking sore throat There was a great deal of noise from the corridor outside the Meetings Room, pupils queueing to collect sweatshirts I think. Also teachers occasionally emerging to shout at them to keep the noise down. The noise level was such as to interrupt the interview on several occasions, and will undoubtedly make the tape very difficult to transcribe.

Seating plan:
(Mics on left arm of vacant chair and Simon's chair. second mic moved toward end of interview to table edge between Simon and Egbert.)

<table>
<thead>
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<td>(vacant)</td>
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<td>Egbert</td>
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Simon was very quiet, Albert was a bit boring and repetitive, and Egbert was obviously relishing his status, with Charlie not being there. I think Simon gets picked on quite a lot - he wears glasses, has a brace on his teeth, and tears come to his eyes easily.

*******************************************************************

Pictures chosen: Initial: Albert - Naomi Campbell 31, Simon - CK ad, man 28, Egbert - Tanned suited man 40
Opp sex: Albert - Naked sprinter 15, Simon - Female boxer 26, Egbert - Naomi Campbell 31
Awful: Albert - Michael Jackson 11, Simon - Gothic anorexic 34, Egbert - Gothic anorexic 34
*******************************************************************

4:24 pm, Feb 17, 1997. Initial Interview day: The tape didn't record, probably my fault, since I've tested it since and the machine works. Bloody disaster. What follows is what I can remember of the interview. General comments: Charlie was the dominating influence, I tried to keep him from dominating the conversation too much but he wouldn't stop talking. However there were probably enough contributions from the others to have made the session worthwhile. Egbert, whom I interviewed a couple of weeks back, appeared happy enough to do the whole thing again. Simon was the quietest of the four, perhaps because he
wore glasses which made him more aware of his looks than the others? The interview was very rushed; the cultural ideals questions taking far too long.

Favourite clothes: Mostly jeans, although Simon cited his football kit. It was mostly their mothers who bought the clothes (especially the expensive ones), although they usually went with their mothers to make sure that the clothes bought for them were ok. Charlie’s mother sometimes borrowed clothes off him, so she had an incentive to buy decent stuff!

Situations: Three types of answer: Egbert stuck to his 'parties' response from our earlier interview. Charlie mentioned going down town with his mates and going to a resteraunt, and Albert mentioned formal occasions such as weddings. These situations varied in why it was important to look good, from it being imposed on them (formal occaisions), to doing it for yourself or to impress people you don't know. Agreed that first impressions were very important.

Cultural ideals: Initial choices: Albert chose Peter Andree (8), Egbert chose Cyndi Crawford (16), Charlie also chose Cyndi Crawford (16), Simon chose Mel Gibson (5)

Words for Cyndi Crawford (16) were (*-cited by both Egbert and Charlie): Attractive, beautiful*, impressive*, exotic*, natural*, gorgeous, laid back. Phrases: I admire this person for the way they look This person looks really good because they have style. Words for Mel Gibson (5) were: Smart, well dressed, confident, neat, laid back Phrase: I admire this person for what they do Words for Peter Andree (8) were: fashionably dressed, smart, muscular, cool, funky, laid back. Phrase: This person looks really good because they have style. when asked to pick someone of the opposite sex, they chose: Egbert: Smart well-dressed tanned man (40) ('well dressed', 'smart'), Charlie: Paul (Sugar picture) (42) ('laid back'), Simon: Madonna / Evita (20) ('elegant'), Albert: Leopardskin blonde (19) ('lively')

When asked to pick someone who looked awful Charlie chose Bowie (7) who they all said was old and wrinkled and had a fag hanging out of his mouth. They all also agreed that (39) looked awful due to his bad clothes, and (24) was fat, and that was why he was in the gym (Egbert).

Judge: They all agreed that people their own age judge peers much more than adults judge people their age. Charlie gave an example of a girl who gets the same bus as him who gets the mickey taken for being broader than average. They were aware of many reasons why this micky-taking and judging might go on: just joining in a group, needing to show off in front of someone (maybe a girl or maybe some mates), group solidarity, etc. Things that warranted micky-taking were spots, being too tall or short, too fat, glasses (Simon), messy hair... Charlie noted that one very small boy in their year always took the micky out of him if he had something out of the ordinary in the way he looked, and relied on his bigger friends to intervene ("leave him alone he's only little") if Charlie had a go. Simon noted that this same character never said anything to him during football, where his larger friends were in another set.

Boy that girls go for (Clothes or body)?, Agreed that it was body. Muscular, but average. They thought that the girls' view of the best bodies would be those that did not stand out as unconventional. Treated different? Agreed that attractive person would have more people hanging around them, to gain benefit from being associated with a good looking person.
Effort? General agreement that everybody made an effort, even though some were more successful than others. Agreed that people who made an effort probably felt better in themselves, but said that that didn't mean that people should make an effort; they were very strong in their assertion that it was a matter of individual choice. Girls in yr8 tended not to diet they thought, and they thought that dieting was unhealthy at their age because their bodies were not yet able to cope with it. Charlie cited the example of an older girl (yr11) who dieted because she thought she looked fat, and now she was anorexic (Charlie used the word 'anorexic'), and had legs as thin as twigs (Charlie demonstrated). Boys do weights - both Charlie and Albert do weights, and both of them have brothers who do weights. Egbert doesn't, but may do later - see his interview. However, they were aware that doing excessive weights could damage their bodies because they have not yet matured.

Change aspect? It definitely would make a difference, because people would stop taking the micky out of the person and thereby that person would feel more confident in themselves.

Mirror All mentioned unruly hair. Claimed that what they saw wouldn't make a huge difference to their mood, although Simon seemed to demur slightly, and quietly.

Good and bad days? Yes, they all did have good and bad days, mainly due to the comments of others (which were obviously related to whether they had spots or bad hair that day). However, it was people's (siblings', peers') comments that made it a bad day.

Photos? Albert cited the allegorical situation with one's voice, that it never appears to others (eg on a recording) as it does to self. Simon noted that this was true is the visual on video. In this way they all agreed that photographic representation was different to how they saw themselves.

Sports They all thought that in theory boys and girls should be able to choose which sport to do, but then told stories about how girls wrecked their football matches. Apparently they just stand around chatting and if the ball comes their way they just boot it somewhere. The boys reckon the girls were both incompetent at football (because they hadn't played it as much as the boys) and didn't take it seriously. The girls do apparently take 'their own' sports (eg hockey, netball) seriously, and woe betide any boy that messes about in their sports. Their was some feeling of injustice, and Charlie noted that in terms of the inter-sex semi-physical banter of the classroom, the girls give as good as they get.

Difference? They didn't think they could tell a boy from a girl just by they way they moved. But then they agreed that girls run differently, with girls having their feet closer together (in lateral direction), and boys being looser, with their feet wider apart. No time to follow this up.

Age: Best: All but Charlie said 20-25, with wrinkles and sagging happening after this, and the necessity to go to a gym to keep fit. Before 20 they were still maturing and getting bigger. Charlie had an interesting response, noting that he couldn't tell whether his body would be at its best in the future, and saying that it was at its best when he was 8-9, before puberty, and before it became an issue, when people didn't notice what sort of body others had.
Happy? Agreed that people their age generally felt slightly dissatisfied with some aspect of their bodies. Charlie said that perhaps 9/20 people were dissatisfied.

Puberty? Agreed that you did feel differently (running out of time now)

2:33 pm, Jan 7, 1997. Group 8m5 Consists of: Martin, Milo and Stuart*. Unremarkable bunch on first impression. Stuart gave back piece of paper with time of interview on it - may well forget to turn up. Days available: Not Monday, Tuesday or Wednesday. Prefer Thursday rather than Friday.

3:41 pm, Feb 20, 1997. Group interview - Martin was a bit late, having just done Tech as opposed to German as the other two. Martin was a dull and bullish boy, dominating the other two (who appeared tolerant but aware of the situation) by merely talking all the time, rarely about anything interesting. I found myself looking toward Milo and Stuart to encourage them to talk more, with only limited success. We were very rushed, even having omitted several questions, mostly due to Martin droning on.

Seating plan (around the low coffee table):

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    Martin       Int         Milo
               _____________
               |            |
               |            |
               |___________|
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Pictures chosen: Initially asked: Martin: Peter Andree 8, Stuart: Schwarzenegger 4, Milo: Tanned smartsuit 40
Opp sex: Martin: Louise 17, Stuart: Blonde cocked head b/w 30, Milo: Blonde woman 33
Awful: Martin: Chris Evans 2, Stuart: Posy androgenous goth 41, Milo: Cantona 37

2:35 pm, Jan 7, 1997. Group 8m6 Consists of Colin, Keith, James*, Giles and Jeremy. A boisterous bunch, louder and more disruptive than the other boys. James is smaller than the others and seemed to be the object of some mick-taking, although able to hold his own to some extent. Keith (physically the biggest) was unable to be the 'volunteer' individual interviewee for the group because he was on indefinite lunchtime detention for not doing his homework - the rebel. Unlikely to turn up for the group interview. Days available: Not Mondays.

3:24 pm, Feb 3, 1997. having a lot of trouble getting parental consent forms back from this group. Teacher suggested that this may be because they don't want to do the interview, but James in an individual interview today said that it was just because they couldn't be bothered; asked him to encourage them. Richard added to this group - absent at introductory session.

10:41 am, Mar 7, 1997. First stab at focus group with this lot yesterday. Giles turned up, and Richard (though without parental consent). Sent Giles away again after 1/4 hour, telling him that I'd rearrange the interview (24th April). He thought more of the group would turn up (though not Keith or Jeremy). Reminders and more parental consent letters gone out today.

2:57 pm, Apr 24, 1997. After many more reminders, this was the final try. None turned up. We will have to assess the significance of this at some point.
9:59 am, Jan 15, 1997. Group 10f1 consists of: Meena (who had not handed her questionnaire back by 15th Jan), Catherine, Suzie*, Delia, Letitia  They could do any lunchtime except Fridays

10:33 am, Jan 15, 1997. Very rushed for time during initial address and individ and group recruitment. Higher numbers of boys in class (10f:15m). All girls sitting at edge of room, boys at front and in middle, girls side and back. Interpretations many. Possibly this group of girls the more studious and mature than other group of girls. Sat fairly quietly and seemed more conservatively dressed than other group. Their registration teacher, mentioned to us afterwards that Meena (only Asian / person of colour in class) was from a fairly strict (Muslim/sikh?) background but tried hard to still fit in with all activities and fashion. Also mentioned that Catherine was often mistaken for a boy. Had no curves, a boyish hair cut, ran marathons but despite looks was integrated with girls.

5:40 pm, Mar 25, 1997. Interview went OK. Group hardly talked together with Meena doing alot of verbal work and Suzie helping out. Letitia a little sullen and shy, Delia and Catherine very shy. Meena very friendly and responsible for group interview. Had to coax them alot and Suzie obviously a bit bored by end. Rushed a beginning as French orals going on and the examiner quite rude to me. Had to rush through questions to make sure out early.

Pictures chosen: Suzie - 5, Mel Gibson, Letitia - 9 Keanu Reeves, Delia - 38, Chelsa Manager, Catherine - 36, boxer, Meena - 42, Paul Nichols

10:02 am, Jan 15, 1997. Group 10f2 consists of: Sophie, Marie, Mary, Kate*, Penny. The group can do any lunchtimes except Wednesdays or Fridays 11:00 am, Jan 15, 1997. Very rushed contact (10 minutes). All girls in this group sat at back of class, three on one table, two on the other in a line. Seemed to be the 'harder' group of girls. Looked more dressey in hair and clothes than other group. Had a slightly aggressive/sullen/defensive attitude towards me. Spoke in a 'harder' accent.

12:05 pm, Mar 26, 1997. Interview went well despite forgot to come first date and then nearly didn't come for this one. Just out of hospital and said still feeling woozy and faint on drugs. Me a bit rushed, Teacher suddenly phoned and said yes it's on...also room got not curtains to shut against distractions. Despite me saying she should go if she didn't feel up to it she warmed up well to questions and seemed to enjoy most of it. Some of questions however seemed quite painful to her as she felt that she was fat and not good looking. So questions such as do very good looking people get treated differently to others was met with depression and hurt that I was rubbing it in a bit. This reaction different to most other people...mostly people seem quite eager to admit yes the really good looking ones have all the fun and I'm not one of them but I feel OK about this and am cynical rather than sour or sad etc. Kate seemed resigned to being thought non beautiful and it was inapproprite to keep on about it. Very quiet voice.

Pictures chosen: 109 Moulder, 132 C&A girls, 134 Tyra

3:07 pm, Apr 22, 1997. I felt OK before interview although a bit nervous as expected this to be the 'hard' group. Went well although felt a bit distracted and unable to ask penetrating questions when they started babbling. No Penny. Group quite relaxed and Kate and Mary very vocal...sometimes too much so and kept repeating selves and hard to butt in and stop them. Marie (Mary Ann) didn't speak up but tended to talk to one side. Sophie not so much shy as
finding it hard to be heard over Mary and Kate. Group not as hard as expected...and K,M and M possibly hard but Sophie very girly. Tape recorder cut out at one point.

Pictures chosen: Sophie 38 Chelsea Manager, Mary 17 Louise, Marie 37 Cantona, Kate 42 Paul Nichols

WIPE OFF FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEW WHEN DUPLICATING TAPE. REARRANGED ANOTHER INTERVIEW FOR A WEEK LATER!

WHAT REMEMBER FROM FIRST FOCUS GROUP (memory according to one day later...)
LOOKING GOOD: going out most important for all not school.
AWFUL: Pamela Anderson and an Italian sounding name.
JUDGING: Mary talked about men with creases in trousers and short hair being taken for being gay...being thought of a gay man came up a few times with Mary.
BODY-CLOTHES: Most emphatic group to all agree on body as most important.
VERY GOOD LOOKING: Yes treated differently, boys same as girls, also about reputation (family's reputation as hard and cool Kate) also who popular personality wize and who go out with.
EFFORT: Yes everyone, but also some people stigmatized who look crap but have tried (Sophie?)
CHANGE: Yes make a difference, increased confidence etc weight eg.
DAYS: Everyone yes except Kate again (No)
SPORTS: Mary a footballer, only girl with boys last year but they didn't tackle her (NOT ALLOWED TO?). None wanted to play rugby, boys are stronger (FACT Kate). Prefer what better at. Girl knew did play rugby but at Uckfield not allowed to, this crap.
DIFFERENCES: Running - no, Dance - Yes, boys good at breakdancing. But if form group to go to club most boys in class wouldn't dance except one and maybe another. Many girls would dance some wouldn't.
BODY AT BEST: Kate - baby, Marie - child, Mary and Sophie 18-20. 40-45 wrinkles and sag etc, developing teenagehood gets in way.
HAPPY WITH BODY: Girls less than boys. Weight problem for girls and talk alot about it, penis size a worry for boys and do talk a bit about it but not as much.
PUBERTY: fairlt silent
SIBLINGS: all had.
DEBRIEFING: expected more personal stuff (Mary and Sophie).

3:54 pm, May 6, 1997. Group Interview No 2. Sophie, Marie and Mary but no Kate or Penny.Went OK although seemed a bit boring for them, me a bit casual and initially flustered from forgetting to bring a tape! (Unfortunate no Kate as no comparison between methods...in first interview had seemed to say similar things although less depressed about herself with her friends around). Sophie and Marie talked more for not having Kate around, Mary very vocal again. Felt said fairly similar stuff to what said before but slightly more condensed.

Pictures chosen: Sophie - 42, Paul Nichols, female 2nd choice 17 Louise, Marie - 37, Cantorar, 20 Madonna, Mary - 36 Prince Naseem, 27 Claudia Shaffer

2:06 pm, Jan 7, 1997.Explanation of group headings. First number = year group ie, year 8, 10, or 12. Second number = group id. Third letter = gender of group members, ie - group constistted of all females (f), all males (m), or was a mixed group (x). For example; 81f = year 8 and the first group in a year 8 tutor group and all groups members female. * = member of group who is doing the single group rep interview as well

3:59 pm, Feb 24, 1997. A very difficult group interview – they seemed very reluctant to say anything in front of each other, except perhaps Leslie, although he had the advantage of having heard the questions before. John and Robert were especially quiet, John giving a good impression of a caged animal throughout much of the session. They did not want to make fools of themselves, and it was obvious that what was said in the group would be repeated as material for ridicule if anything unguarded was said. There will be a lot of me on the tape.
Eraser

He will erase your past to protect your future.
David Bowie enjoys being considered a rule-breaker. Maybe that's why he's attracted to the original rebel without a cause - actor James Dean, killed in a car crash in 1955.

"He epitomised the very thing that's so campily respectable today - the male hustler," says Bowie, who, now married to model Iman, once, like his hero, slept with other men. "He had quite a sordid little reputation."

He liked to break the rules

David Bowie finds Jimmy Dean's legend intriguing
... König and hilarious...

you don't expect... ssic: humour, energy a fast pace!"

... is faithful, evilishly funny. "inner"

“Gwyneth Palt... Cheerfully the most beguiled young ge... Gwyneth Palt..."
Calvin Klein

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