

Body esteem and education: How does body esteem develop in children and young people and what can schools do to promote positive body esteem?

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1 Introduction to the research

This research builds on earlier work completed in association with a group of schools in the south-west of England and a local Educational Psychology Service during the summer of 2012. The aim of the 2012 research was to explore self-esteem in year 9 students. As part of the research the Self-Perception Profile for Children (Harter, 1985) was administered to 718 year 9 children across four secondary schools. During the presentation of the findings of this research at a self-esteem day for school staff, the attendees were particularly interested in the finding that appearance self-perception had the lowest mean score compared to the other self-perception domains (namely schoolwork, social, sport and behaviour). Despite this, appearance self-perception was the domain most strongly correlated with general self-perception ($r[616] = 0.712, p < 0.01$). It appeared that how the students felt about their appearance was the most important factor in predicting overall self-esteem, and yet this was the aspect of their self-perception that they scored as the lowest.

This finding led to discussions amongst the staff at the self-esteem day as to whether schools should be playing more of an active role in promoting positive appearance self-perception, with the aim of improving overall self-esteem. The results of the research were also presented at a county meeting of the Educational Psychology Service in September 2012, and the interest in the findings around appearance self-perception was similarly high. The educational psychologists present discussed how the profession might become involved in promoting appearance self-perception in schools.

As a result of this interest it was decided that further research would be useful to more fully understand how children and young people's feelings and beliefs about their appearance develop, and what schools can do to support children in developing positive feelings and beliefs about their own appearance.

As a response, the research reported here investigates body image in children and young people. Body image was chosen as a research topic due to it seeming to be a similar construct to appearance self-perception, however, body

image is not an easy construct to define, as definitions vary greatly and different terms are used by different researchers (Blood, 2005; Pruzinsky & Cash, 2002). Wykes and Gunter (2005) suggest that body image is a psychological construct encompassing self-perceptions, ideas and feelings about one's own physical appearance. For the purposes of the research reported here, it is accepted that a distinction should be made between perceptual and attitudinal body image, which are largely independent of one another (Gardner, 2002). This research focusses on attitudinal body image, which is argued to be made up of three components: an affective component, a cognitive component and a behavioural component (Krawczyk, Menzel, & Thompson, 2012). The construct of body esteem refers to self-evaluations made about one's own body and appearance (Mendelson, Mendelson, & White, 2001) and is therefore a way of conceptualising attitudinal body image.

The broad aim of the reported research was to provide schools with more information about how body esteem develops in children and young people and what factors support children and young people to develop positive body esteem. It is hoped that this information will be useful for schools in terms of planning how they might contribute towards preventing body dissatisfaction from occurring in children and young people. It is hoped that the reported research will also be a useful resource for educational psychologists interested in working with schools to promote positive body esteem.

The aims of the research are met through two interlinked studies. Study one focuses on the development of body esteem in children of different ages. Study one also examines the relationship between children and young people's ages and their levels of perceived pressure from parents, peers and the media, as well as the relationship between children and young people's ages and their levels of internalisation of societal standards of attractiveness and social comparison. Study one utilises quantitative data analysis.

Study two has a positive psychology focus, with children and young people from study one's sample with the highest levels of body esteem being selected for interview. This study replicates research reported by Frisén and Holmqvist (2010) and Holmqvist and Frisén (2012). Amongst the handful of studies that

have investigated positive body esteem, only these two studies have included adolescents as participants. However, both of these studies were conducted by the same research team in Sweden, therefore the purpose of study two was to investigate whether the findings of these studies would apply to children and young people in the United Kingdom. Study two utilises qualitative data analysis.

The results of the research suggest that prevention and intervention programmes should be implemented before children reach adolescence, and should be ecological in their approach, focussing on the environments and systems that children and young people are a part of as much as the individuals themselves. Study one in particular recognises the gendered nature of body esteem development and suggests avenues for further research to ensure that this is better understood. The focus on the development of positive body esteem in study two adds to the relatively scarce literature in this area. The exploration of the factors that have led to the development of positive body esteem enables future prevention and intervention efforts to be evidence based. The final section of this thesis discusses the implications of the research for educational psychologists working with schools interested in promoting positive body esteem.

2 Study one: The development of body esteem: Relationships between age and body esteem, perceived pressure, internalisation of societal standards of attractiveness and social comparison in children and young people aged 9- 14

2.1 Abstract

Study one investigates the relationship between the ages of children and young people in years 5-9 and their levels of body esteem, perceived pressure from family, friends and the media, internalisation of societal standards of attractiveness and social comparison. 169 participants aged 9-14 years completed four questionnaires: the Body Esteem Scale for Children, the Perceived Sociocultural Pressure Scale, the general internalisation subscale of the Sociocultural Attitudes Towards Appearance Scale-3 and the Physical Appearance Comparison Scale. Results indicated that relationships existed between the age of participants and their scores on these questionnaires, but only for girls. For girls, a significant negative correlation was found between age in months and scores on the Body Esteem Scale for Children, and a significant positive correlation was found between age in months and scores on the Perceived Sociocultural Pressure Scale, the general internalisation subscale of the Sociocultural Attitudes Towards Appearance Scale-3 and the Physical Appearance Comparison Scale. No relationship between age in months and scores on the questionnaires were found for boys. Boys also had significantly higher body esteem than girls and there were significant correlations between scores on the Perceived Sociocultural Pressure Scale, the general internalisation subscale of the Sociocultural Attitudes Towards Appearance Scale-3, the Physical Appearance Comparison Scale and the Body Esteem Scale for Children. Results are discussed with reference to the gender

differences, as well as the role of pressure, internalisation and social comparison in the development of body esteem in children and young people.

2.2 Introduction

2.2.1 Prevalence and consequences of body dissatisfaction in children and young people

As research into body image has expanded in the last 20 years, many researchers have become increasingly concerned about the high levels of body dissatisfaction reported by their participants. For example, Rumsey and Harcourt (2005) state that “Appearance-related concerns are reaching epidemic proportions in western society, with people increasingly preoccupied, and in many cases dissatisfied, with the way they look.” (p. 63). There is research evidence to support this assertion, with Diedrichs, Paraskeva, and New (2011) finding that 44.5% of men and 70.9% of women report having been on a diet to change their body shape.

Perhaps more concerning is the large amount of research that reports body dissatisfaction in children and young people, particularly in girls. For example, early research by Davies and Furnham (1986) found that although very few of the girls in their study (aged 11-18) were overweight when the authors referred to standard tables presented by Tanner and Whitehouse (1976), nearly half wished to lose weight. Button, Loan, Davies, and Sonuga-Barke (1997) found that 56% of girls aged 15-16 had at some point used some form of weight control strategy, and very recent research by Evans, Tovée, Boothroyd, and Drewett (2013) found that 65% of girls aged 7-11 identified a smaller ideal body than their own perceived body shape. Similar levels of body dissatisfaction have been reported in mixed sex samples, for example, research in Spain by Toro, Castro, Garcia, Perez, and Cuesta (1989) found that whereas only 0.9% of their sample of 1554 adolescents aged 12-19 were genuinely overweight, 26% considered themselves to be obese.

The consequences of body dissatisfaction are well reported in the literature. Perceived physical appearance is most highly and consistently associated with overall self-worth (Harter, 1999, 2003). Tiggemann (2005) investigated the direction of this relationship and found that when body dissatisfaction and self-esteem were both measured at two different time points, aspects of body dissatisfaction predicted self-esteem at time 2, when self-esteem at time 1 was controlled for, but self-esteem did not predict body dissatisfaction at time 2 when body dissatisfaction at time 1 was controlled for. This suggests that body dissatisfaction affects overall self-esteem, a finding that is not surprising when considering “If one dislikes the body one ‘lives in’, it’s difficult to be satisfied with ‘the self who lives there’.” (Cash, 1990, p.61).

There is also concern that body dissatisfaction can manifest in certain unhealthy behaviours in children and young people. For example, in girls, body dissatisfaction has been linked with disordered eating and dietary restraint (Allen, Byrne, McLean, & Davis, 2008; Attie & Brooks-Gunn, 1989; Davison, Markey, & Birch, 2003; Espinoza, Penelo, & Raich, 2010; Hill, Oliver, & Rogers, 1992). In a sample of 421 boys and girls aged 11-16, White and Halliwell (2010) also found that body dissatisfaction was associated with excessive exercise. Worryingly, these behaviours are associated with eating disorders, which are currently considered a significant public health concern due to the fact that of those seeking treatment, only around 50% will recover completely and 1 in 20 will die from their condition (Parliamentary Office of Science and Technology, 2007).

2.2.2 Prevention and intervention

Given the prevalence of body dissatisfaction in children and young people, and the reported consequences of this, it is clear why there are an increasing number of studies being published focussing on preventing body dissatisfaction in children and young people and building positive body esteem. However, in reviewing 13 published studies reporting prevention programmes designed to reduce body dissatisfaction and problem eating attitudes and behaviour in children aged 8-12, Holt and Ricciardelli (2008) found little evidence that these programmes prevented body dissatisfaction. Similarly, in reviewing studies

reporting prevention programmes designed to reduce body dissatisfaction in young people aged 12-18, Yager, Diedrichs, Ricciardelli, and Halliwell (2013) found that while seven of the programmes were effective in increasing body esteem immediately post-intervention, only 20% of the studies reported sustained effects at follow-up.

In terms of future efforts to prevent body dissatisfaction and promote positive body esteem, it is useful to consider the features of successful prevention programmes. Yager et al.'s (2013) review of secondary school programmes concludes that effective programmes tended to target younger adolescents aged 12-13, included some media literacy, self-esteem and peer focussed content and were multi-session, averaging 5.02 hours in programme length. The inclusion of media literacy and peer focussed content is interesting, as the focus on the individual when discussing prevention and intervention has been heavily criticised. For example, Frost (2001) states:

Not only does the psychiatric labelling of a small number of girls allow body-hatred difficulties to be seen as the statistically minor problem of a few 'sick' girls, the pathologisation of such difficulties also conveniently ignores the socially produced and socially experienced nature of body-hatred. (p. 25)

Instead it has been suggested that prevention programmes should be focussed on changing the environments in which individuals are situated, or at the very least, equipping individuals with the skills to cope in these environments (Levine & Smolak, 2002b). Piran, Levine, and Steiner-Adair (1999) have suggested an ecological approach, with prevention programmes occurring at the 'macro' level, targeting large societal values, institutions and policies, the 'meso' level focussing on specific institutions such as schools, or on the 'micro' level, for example, targeting families and individuals.

It does appear that prevention programmes that have targeted the environment in which individuals are situated have had some effect. One study that has reported encouraging results is an evaluation of the BodyThink programme by Richardson, Paxton, and Thomson (2009). In this study, the researchers found

that girls reported lower internalisation of the thin ideal after completing the program, while boys reported higher body satisfaction both post intervention and at a three month follow-up. A large proportion of this programme's content was around media literacy, as was the content of a programme reported by Espinoza, Penelo, and Raich (2013), which also found that boys and girls reported fewer body problems and higher body satisfaction than the control group 30 months post-intervention. Teaching children and young people to be critical of the media appears to buffer the impact of unhealthy media ideals around appearance. Furthermore, a recent evaluation of an intervention that aimed to promote positive body esteem in middle-school girls through intervention only with their mothers found that the intervention group perceived less pressure from their mothers to be thin after the intervention, and that this group showed a lower drive for thinness three months after the end of the intervention (Corning, Gondoli, Bucchianeri, & Salafia, 2010).

2.2.3 Body esteem and schools

It is argued that schools are appropriate sites for prevention programmes to take place, as schools are already learning environments and they offer the opportunity for sustained interaction between adults and children and young people (Yager et al., 2013). Indeed, a recent British parliamentary inquiry reported that lessons around body image should be made mandatory in primary and secondary schools in the UK (All Party Parliamentary Group on Body Image, 2012).

It is important to consider that school culture and norms may also have a direct impact on the body esteem of pupils as school culture plays a role in the communication of societal standards and ideals around appearance. Frost (2001) argues: "The institution in which young people of both sexes spend a highly significant part of their lives plays an important part in the circulation of available meanings and messages about what a young person can and should be," (p. 111). Rich and Evans (2008) describe their research with girls and young women, where they asked these individuals about their experiences of mainstream schooling. The findings of this research suggest that "body perfection codes" are constructed within the school setting, where meaning and

value are ascribed to body types and appearance. In the UK, the National Healthy Schools Programme was developed to tackle health related issues early, including obesity, however, this has been criticised for contributing to the construction of obesity as a 'problem' and for marginalising overweight children in schools (Curtis, 2008).

2.2.4 The optimal age for intervention

It is clear, therefore, that there is a need for further programmes to promote positive body esteem to be developed and their efficacy evaluated. Emerging evidence from the literature suggests that such programmes should be ecological in their approach and that schools are appropriate sites for prevention programmes to take place. In addition, school culture and norms need to be examined as part of prevention programmes. However, what is less certain is what the optimal age is for children and young people to participate in programmes designed to promote positive body esteem. Tiggemann (2002) suggests that media literacy should begin in childhood before cultural ideals about appearance are internalised. Similarly, Graber, Archibald, and Brooks-Gunn (1999) argue that prevention programmes should take place during middle childhood/early adolescence as puberty has been linked to body dissatisfaction, and for some girls, puberty begins as early as nine years old.

However, the research around the link between age and body esteem has reported mixed results. Most of the research reports increased body dissatisfaction with age. For example, Thelen, Powell, Lawrence, and Kuhnert (1992) found that fourth and sixth grade girls (aged 9-10 and 11-12) reported more concern with being or becoming overweight and a preference to be thinner than their current weight than second grade girls (aged 7-8). Similarly, Hahn-Smith and Smith (2001) worked with girls in grades 3-6 (aged 8-12) and found that girls with higher body esteem tended to be younger.

Several studies have found that body esteem declines further during adolescence. With all female samples, two cross-sectional studies (Davies & Furnham, 1986; Hill et al., 1992) and a longitudinal study (Byely, Archibald, Graber, & Brooks-Gunn, 2000) have reported that body dissatisfaction

increases during adolescence. Rosenblum and Lewis (1999) found that girls' body dissatisfaction scores increased from age 13-15, but there were no differences between ages 15-18. Studies with mixed sex samples have reported similar results, for example, Bucchianeri, Arikian, Hannan, Eisenberg, and Neumark-Sztainer (2013) found that in a large sample of adolescent boys and girls, body dissatisfaction increased over time. Similarly, Conner, Martin, and Silverdale (1996) compared boys and girls aged 11 to boys and girls aged 13 and 14 and found that the younger sample had higher body esteem. In addition, Lunde, Frisén, and Hwang (2007) found that girls and boys became significantly more dissatisfied from age 10 to 13.

Nevertheless, other research has reported no effect of age on body dissatisfaction or body esteem. For example, Xanthopoulos et al. (2011) found that body dissatisfaction was not related to age in fourth and sixth graders. Similarly, Tiggemann and Wilson-Barrett (1998) studied girls and boys aged 7-12 and found no effect of age on body dissatisfaction. One study has even reported a decrease in boys' weight concerns over time (Helfert & Warschburger, 2011).

One explanation given for the apparent increase in body dissatisfaction with age reported in the literature is that puberty tends to move girls' bodies away from the thin ideal currently prevalent in western society (Tiggemann, 2005). Rosenblum and Lewis (1999) use a similar argument to explain why boys in their study did not show increased body dissatisfaction with age, as they argue that puberty brings boys' bodies closer to the muscular ideal. However, research by Striegel-Moore et al. (2000) found that body dissatisfaction and drive for thinness increased with age in adolescent girls even when controlling for sexual maturity and adiposity. It is therefore clear that further research is necessary to explore the relationship between age and body esteem in order to discover what the optimal age is for children and young people to participate in programmes designed to promote positive body esteem.

2.2.5 Rationale and aim of study one

There is a clear need to design new programmes that aim to promote positive body esteem in schools. However, in order to maximise the effectiveness of such programmes, more research is necessary to discover the optimal age for children and young people to participate in such programmes. It may be that this varies in different cultural contexts, which highlights the need to carry out research on this with the population targeted for intervention before designing and implementing programmes. Certainly, researchers such as Irving (1999) are critical of the fact that “few programs have been developed with the needs of a specific community culture or context in mind” (p. 66).

Influences on body esteem reported in the literature include the influence of family, friends and the media. These influences are believed to be mediated through two processes: social comparison and internalisation of societal standards of attractiveness (see Appendix 1 for a review of the literature around these influences and processes). Study one therefore not only aims to examine the relationship between age and body esteem, but also aims to examine the relationship between age, the influence of family, friends and the media, levels of social comparison and internalisation of societal standards of attractiveness.

2.2.6 Research questions

The specific research questions for study one are as follows:

1. What is the effect of gender on levels of body esteem among children in the school federation?
2. What is the relationship between children's ages and their levels of body esteem in the school federation?
3. What is the relationship between children's ages and their levels of perceived influences of parents, peers and the media in the school federation?

4. What is the relationship between children's ages and their levels of internalisation of societal standards of attractiveness and social comparison in the school federation?
5. What is the relationship between the levels of perceived influences of parents, peers and the media and the levels of children's body esteem in the school federation?
6. What is the relationship between the levels of internalisation of societal standards of attractiveness and social comparison and the levels of children's body esteem in the school federation?

2.3 Method

2.3.1 Ontology, epistemology, methodology and research design

Mertens (2010) identifies four paradigms, which she defines as "ways of viewing the world" (p. 6). Study one is located in what Mertens refers to as the postpositivist paradigm, which is underpinned by a realist ontology. This is the view that there is one reality which can be discovered within a specified level of probability. It is hoped that the knowledge produced from study one will be objective and generalisable to a specific population. Study one is therefore guided by the belief that body esteem, participants' perceived influences from their family, friends and the media, as well as participants' levels of social comparison and internalisation of societal standards of attractiveness, are all real concepts and can be measured objectively.

The aim of study one is to examine the relationship between age and body esteem, as well as the relationship between age and the influence of family, friends and the media, and the relationship between age and levels of social comparison and internalisation of societal standards of attractiveness. As study one is interested in relationships, and is not attempting to infer a causal relationship between age and the other variables measured, study one will be correlational in its design.

2.3.2 Participants

The research took place in the south-west of England and was completed in association with a school federation and a local Educational Psychology Service. Appendix 2 outlines how schools were identified to be part of the research.

Six schools in total were part of the research: this included four primary schools (schools A-C and school F) and two secondary schools (schools D and E). 169 participants took part in study one and their ages ranged from 9 to 14 years. The number of participants from each school is shown in the table below:

Table 1

Number of Participants from Each School:

School	Number of Participants
School A	9
School B	12
School C	6
School D	72
School E	61
School F	9

71 males and 98 females took part in study one. All participants were in years 5-9. The number of participants from each year group is shown in the table below:

Table 2

Number of Participants in Each Year Group:

Year Group	Males	Females	Total Number of Participants
Year 5	12	10	22
Year 6	6	8	14
Year 7	24	28	52
Year 8	16	28	44
Year 9	13	24	37

Full parental consent was required before participants were able to take part in the research. Consent forms were sent out via schools (see Appendix 3 for the parental consent form for study one). Overall, the response rate was 17%. In order to improve the response rate, schools were asked to promote the research with parents. Nevertheless, some school staff articulated to the researcher that a few parents had specifically asked that their child not be part of the research. It was therefore decided that to ensure ethical principles were upheld and parents did not feel pressured to give consent, the research would be conducted with a relatively small sample of children and young people. The limitations of the research are explored further in the discussion section of this paper.

2.3.3 Measures

Please see Appendix 4 for an explanation of why the following measures were chosen.

2.3.3.1 The Body Esteem Scale for Children

The Body Esteem Scale for Children (Mendelson & White, 1982) is a 24 item questionnaire that measures children's affective evaluations of their own bodies and appearance (Mendelson et al., 2001). Example items include "I like what I

look like in pictures” and “Kids my own age like my looks” and participants are asked to respond via a ‘Yes-No’ format. A body esteem score is produced by totalling the number of responses reflecting high body esteem. 12 items are reverse scored; an example of such an item is “Most people have a nicer body than I do”. Higher scores indicate higher body esteem. Please see Appendix 5 for reliability and validity information for this measure.

2.3.3.2 The Perceived Sociocultural Pressure Scale

The Perceived Sociocultural Pressure Scale (Stice, Ziemba, Margolis, & Flick, 1996) is a 10 item questionnaire that measures the amount of perceived pressure from family, friends, dating partners and the media to have a thin body. There are also two items that measure perceived teasing from family members and other children at school. Example items include “I’ve felt pressure from my friends to lose weight” and “I’ve noticed a strong message from my friends to have a thin body”. Participants are asked to respond via a 5-point scale ranging from ‘None’ to ‘A lot’. Higher scores indicate greater amounts of perceived pressure and teasing. Please see Appendix 6 for reliability and validity information for this measure.

2.3.3.3 The general internalisation subscale of the Sociocultural Attitudes Towards Appearance Scale-3

The general internalisation subscale of the Sociocultural Attitudes Towards Appearance Scale-3 (Thompson, van den Berg, Roehrig, Guarda, & Heinberg, 2004) is a 9 item questionnaire that measures the degree of internalisation of societal standards of attractiveness. Example items include “I compare my body to the bodies of people who are on TV” and “I would like my body to look like the models who appear in magazines” and participants are asked to respond via a 5-point scale ranging from ‘Definitely disagree’ to ‘Definitely agree’. An internalisation score is produced by totalling the participants’ responses, with higher scores indicating greater amounts of internalisation of societal standards of attractiveness. Three items are reverse scored; an example of such an item is “I do not care if my body looks like the bodies of people who are on TV”. Please see Appendix 7 for reliability and validity information for this measure.

2.3.3.4 The Physical Appearance Comparison Scale

The Physical Appearance Comparison Scale (Thompson, Heinberg, & Tantleff, 1991) is a 5 item questionnaire that measures the amount of appearance related social comparison participants engage in. Example items include “At parties or other social events, I compare my physical appearance to the physical appearance of others” and “The best way for a person to know if they are overweight or underweight is to compare their figure to the figure of others”. Participants are asked to respond via a 5-point scale ranging from ‘Never’ to ‘Always’. An appearance related social comparison score is produced by totalling the participants’ responses, with higher scores indicating greater amounts of appearance related social comparison. One item is reversed scored: this item is “Comparing your “looks” to the “looks” of others is a bad way to determine if you are attractive or unattractive”. Please see Appendix 8 for reliability and validity information for this measure.

2.3.4 Procedure

Once schools taking part in the research had been identified (see Appendix 2 for a description of this process), the contact person in each school was asked via email to provide the researcher with the number of year 5 and 6 (primary schools) or year 7, 8 and 9 (secondary schools) children in the school. The researcher then sent this number of consent forms for study one (see Appendix 3) to each school. With the consent forms, schools were sent guidance for teachers explaining what they should say to children and young people when handing out the consent forms (see Appendix 9). In all of the schools, consent forms were sent to parents via the pupils and parents were asked to return the consent forms to their child’s school.

In order to administer the questionnaires, the researcher arranged a date to visit each school. So that the participants’ anonymity and confidentiality was protected, numerical codes were assigned to the participants. One school sent the consent forms that had been received back to the researcher before the visit to administer the questionnaires and two other schools gave the researcher a list of the children who would be taking part prior to the visit to administer the

questionnaires. In these schools, the researcher assigned codes to the participants before visiting the schools. In the other schools, the consent forms were given to the researcher during the visit to administer the questionnaires and codes were assigned to the participants as they were completing the questionnaires.

In all but one school, the researcher administered the questionnaires to the participants in small groups (ranging from 6-12 children). In these schools the pupils were told their codes as they were completing the questionnaires. In one school, the questionnaires were administered to all the students who had returned their consent forms in each year group at a time. This was achieved by setting up desks in the main school hall in an examination type format. For this school, the pupils' names and codes were printed on slips of paper and placed on each desk. These slips of paper were collected in with the completed questionnaires. In all schools, before pupils completed the questionnaires, the researcher introduced herself, explained the purpose of the research and explained the procedure for answering the questions for each questionnaire. Participants were reminded that they did not have to participate in the research and that they could choose to withdraw from the research at any time, following which their data would be withdrawn.

The questionnaires were given to the participants in one pack (see Appendix 10). When the participants had finished completing their questionnaires they were asked to return these to the researcher and were given a card thanking them for their participation, making them aware of the named person who they could speak to in school if they were worried and also providing the details of support organisations that they could contact if they had concerns in the future (see Appendix 11).

2.3.5 Ethical considerations

Ethical approval was gained from the University of Exeter before the research took place (see Appendix 12 for the certificate of ethical research approval that gives a full account of the ethical considerations).

2.3.6 Data analysis

Data was analysed using SPSS for Windows (version 19). Variables included each participant's code, age in months, gender, school, year group and their answers on each item of the questionnaires. Initially, items that were reverse scored were recoded. After this, a full score for each participant on each questionnaire was calculated. This created four new variables (a total score for each of the questionnaires). Please see Appendix 13 for a sample of the numerical raw data.

2.4 Results

2.4.1 Internal reliability for measures used

Internal reliability for the measures used was established by running reliability analyses in SPSS for each of the measures. The results of these reliability analyses are detailed in the table below:

Table 3

Results of Reliability Analyses for Each of the Measures Used:

Measure	Cronbach's Alpha
The Body Esteem Scale for Children	0.90
The Perceived Sociocultural Pressure Scale	0.80
The general internalisation subscale of the Sociocultural Attitudes Towards Appearance Scale-3	0.88
The Physical Appearance Comparison Scale	0.83

It is important to note that the alpha level reported for the Physical Appearance Comparison Scale was achieved following the decision not to include the reverse coded item (item 4) in the analysis. Further information about why this decision was made can be found in Appendix 8.

The results of study one are presented with reference to the specific research questions for study one, as presented in section 2.2.6.

2.4.2 What is the effect of gender on levels of body esteem among children in the school federation?

This question was explored first so that the researcher was able to make a decision as to whether to analyse the results of the boys and girls in the study separately or whether the data could be collapsed to form one dataset.

Examination of the box plot for the total scores on the Body Esteem Scale for Children revealed no outliers, and although a histogram suggested the data was negatively skewed, the skewness statistic was 0.75, which Dancey and Reidy (2004) state is an acceptable deviation from normality for the use of a parametric test (see Appendix 14 for the box plot, histogram and skewness statistic output from SPSS). An independent samples t-test was therefore used to explore whether girls' and boys' body esteem scores were significantly different.

The independent samples t-test revealed that boys (mean = 17.02, SD = 5.00) scored significantly higher ($t[129] = 2.67, p < 0.01$) than girls (mean = 14.41, SD = 6.09) on the Body Esteem Scale for Children (see Appendix 15 for the SPSS printout). It was therefore decided that girls' and boys' scores should be analysed separately for the duration of the data analysis.

2.4.3 Correlational analysis

The remainder of the research questions were answered via correlational analysis of the data. As it had already been established that there were no outliers in the body esteem scores, and normal distribution had been confirmed

(see above and Appendix 14), it was decided that it was appropriate to use parametric tests with this data.

Examination of the box plot for total scores on the general internalisation subscale of the Sociocultural Attitudes Towards Appearance Scale-3 revealed no outliers, and although a histogram suggested the data was positively skewed, the skewness statistic was 0.41, which Dancey and Reidy (2004) state is not suggestive of a deviation from normality that is too extreme for the use of a parametric test (see Appendix 16 for the box plot, histogram and skewness statistic output from SPSS).

In addition, examination of the box plot for total scores on the Physical Appearance Comparison Scale revealed no outliers, and although a histogram suggested the data was positively skewed, the skewness statistic was 0.74, which Dancey and Reidy (2004) state is not suggestive of a deviation from normality that is too extreme for the use of a parametric test (see Appendix 17 for the box plot, histogram and skewness statistic output from SPSS).

In line with the above, Pearson product-moment correlations were used to examine the relationships between age in months and body esteem, age in months and internalisation of societal standards of attractiveness, age in months and social comparison, internalisation of societal standards of attractiveness and body esteem, and social comparison and body esteem.

Examination of the box plot for total scores on the Perceived Sociocultural Pressure Scale revealed a number of outliers (see Appendix 18). These were adjusted so that they were one unit above the next highest score, in line with advice from Dancey and Reidy (2004). Even after this adjustment had been made, a histogram suggested that the data was positively skewed and the skewness statistic was 1.18 (see Appendix 19 for the histogram and skewness statistic output from SPSS). It was therefore decided that the data did not meet the assumptions for using a parametric test.

In line with the above, Spearman's rho correlations were therefore used to examine the relationships between age in months and perceived pressure from

parents, peers and the media and perceived pressure from parents, peers and the media and body esteem.

The table below shows the correlation coefficients for all correlations run, with these broken down by gender:

Table 4

Correlation Coefficients for All Correlations Run Broken Down by Gender:

Variables		Age in Months		Body Esteem		Perceived Pressure		Internalisation		Social Comparison	
		Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Age in Months	Boys	-	-	-0.116	-	0.136	-	-0.71	-	0.226	-
	Girls	-	-	-	-0.305**	-	0.333**	-	0.357**	-	0.358**
Body Esteem	Boys	-0.116	-	-	-	-0.644**	-	-0.544**	-	-0.358*	-
	Girls	-	-0.305**	-	-	-	-0.650**	-	-0.667**	-	-0.645**
Perceived Pressure	Boys	0.136	-	-0.644**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Girls	-	0.333**	-	-0.650**	-	-	-	-	-	-
Internalisation	Boys	-0.71	-	-0.544**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Girls	-	0.357**	-	-0.667**	-	-	-	-	-	-
Social Comparison	Boys	0.226	-	-0.358*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Girls	-	0.358**	-	-0.645**	-	-	-	-	-	-

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level

2.4.3.1 What is the relationship between children's ages and their levels of body esteem in the school federation?

For boys, there was no correlation between age in months and scores on the Body Esteem Scale for Children (see Appendix 20 for the SPSS printout). For girls however, a significant negative correlation was found between age in months and scores on the Body Esteem Scale for Children (see Appendix 21 for the SPSS printout). The bar charts below demonstrate how girls' mean body esteem scores fall from years 5-9, whereas there is no relationship between age and body esteem in boys:

Figure 1

Girls' Mean Body Esteem Scores in Each Year Group:

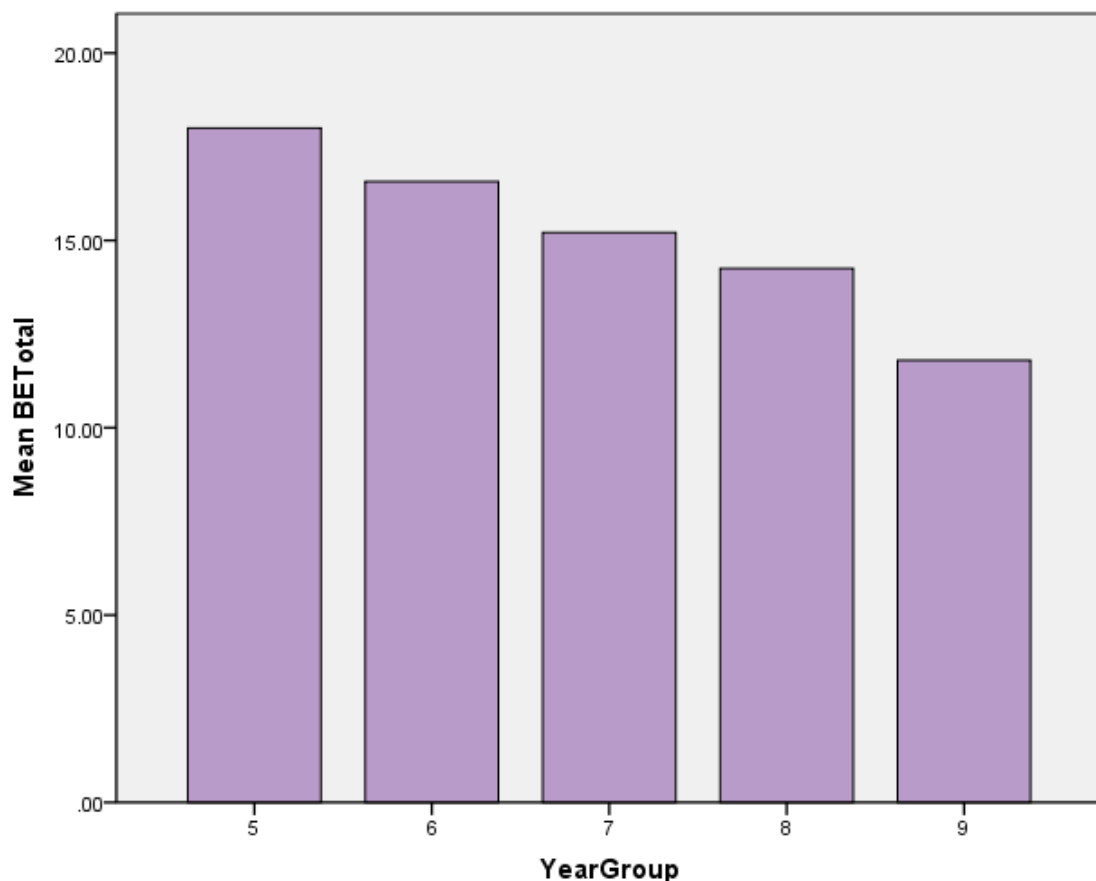
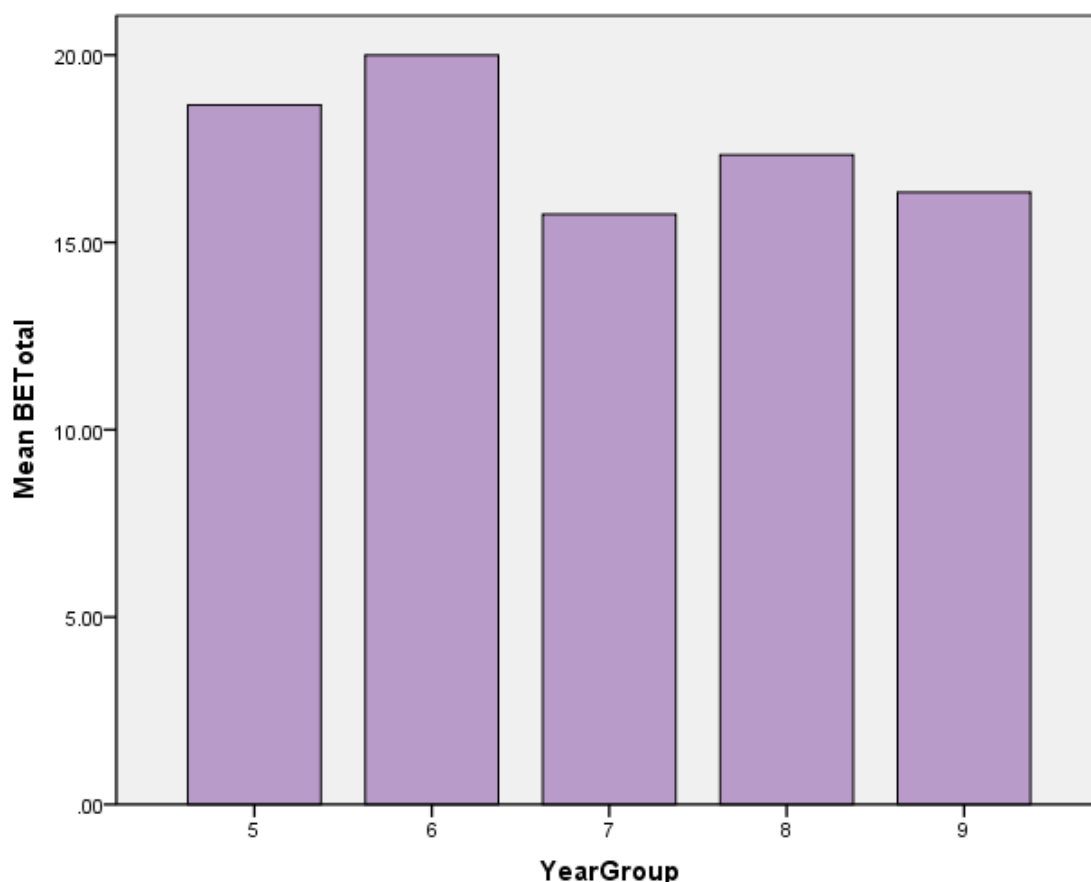


Figure 2

Boys' Mean Body Esteem Scores in Each Year Group:



2.4.3.2 What is the relationship between children's ages and their levels of perceived influences of parents, peers and the media in the school federation?

For boys, there was no correlation between age in months and scores on the Perceived Sociocultural Pressure Scale (see Appendix 22 for the SPSS printout). For girls however, a significant positive correlation was found between age in months and scores on the Perceived Sociocultural Pressure Scale (see Appendix 23 for the SPSS printout). The bar charts below demonstrate how girls' mean pressure scores increase from years 5-9, whereas there is no relationship between age and perceived pressure in boys:

Figure 3

Girls' Mean Pressure Scores in Each Year Group:

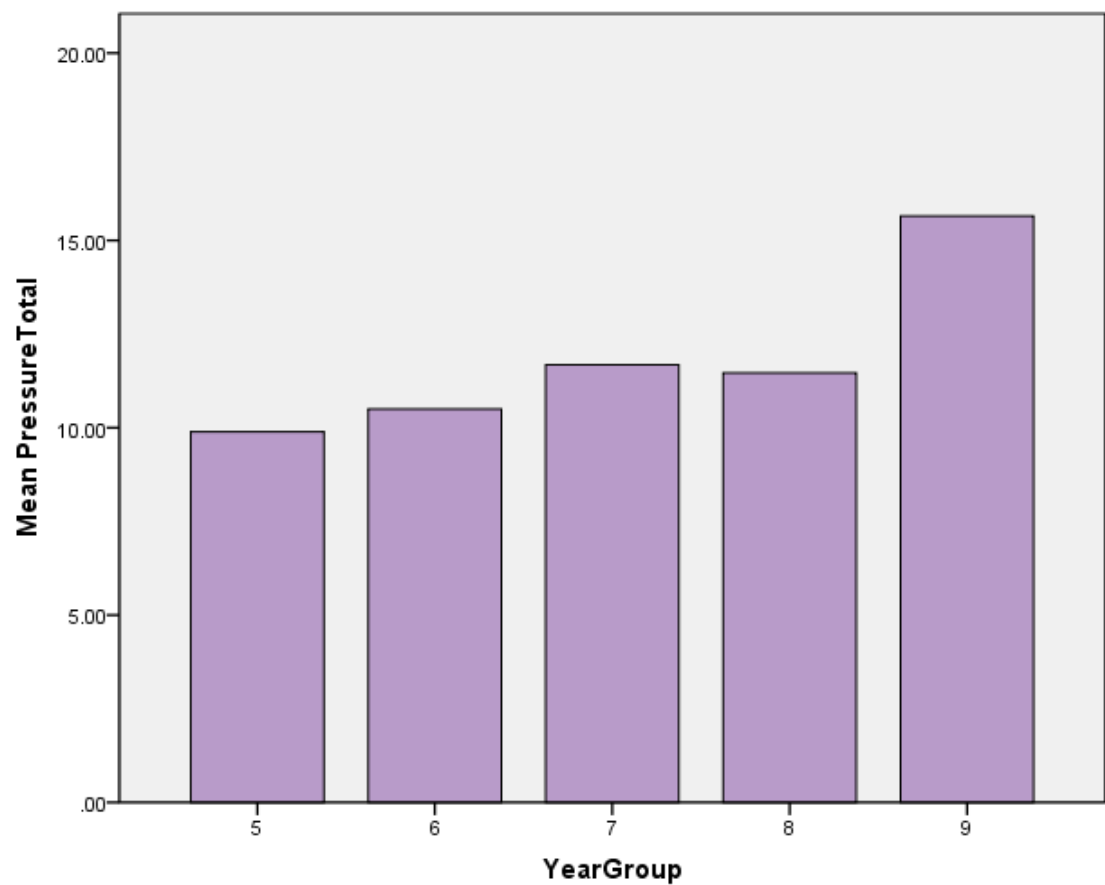
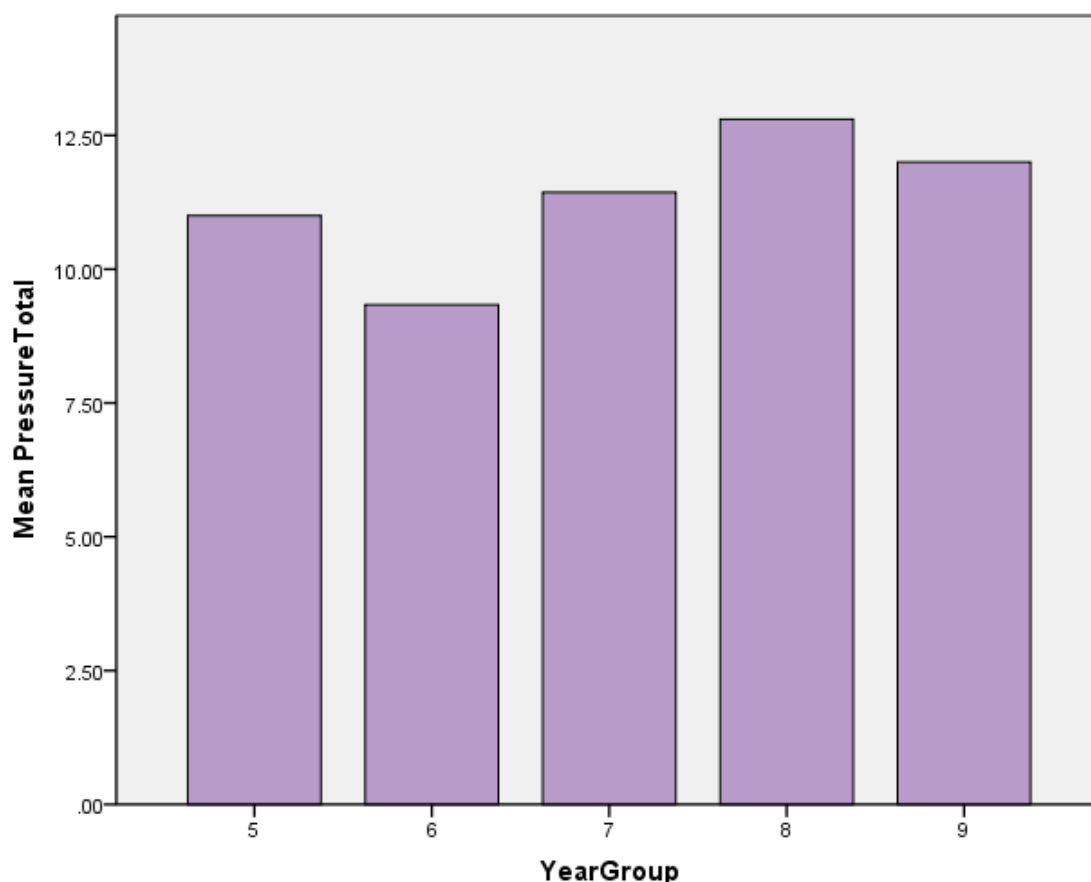


Figure 4

Boys' Mean Pressure Scores in Each Year Group:



2.4.3.3 What is the relationship between children's ages and their levels of internalisation of societal standards of attractiveness and social comparison in the school federation?

For boys, there was no correlation between age in months and scores on the general internalisation subscale of the Sociocultural Attitudes Towards Appearance Scale-3 (see Appendix 24 for the SPSS printout). For girls however, a significant positive correlation was found between age in months and scores on the general internalisation subscale of the Sociocultural Attitudes Towards Appearance Scale-3 (see Appendix 25 for the SPSS printout). The bar charts below demonstrate how girls' mean internalisation scores increase from years 5-9, whereas there is no relationship between age and internalisation in boys:

Figure 5

Girls' Mean Internalisation Scores in Each Year Group:

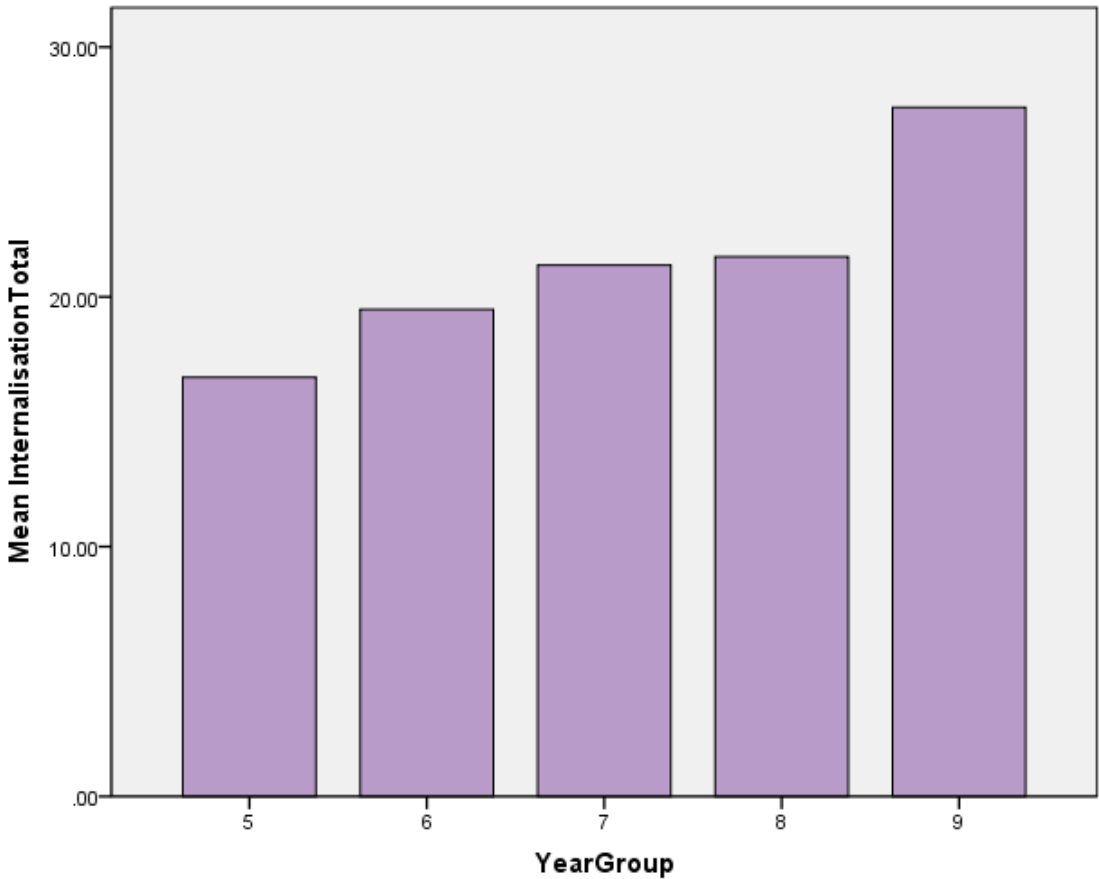
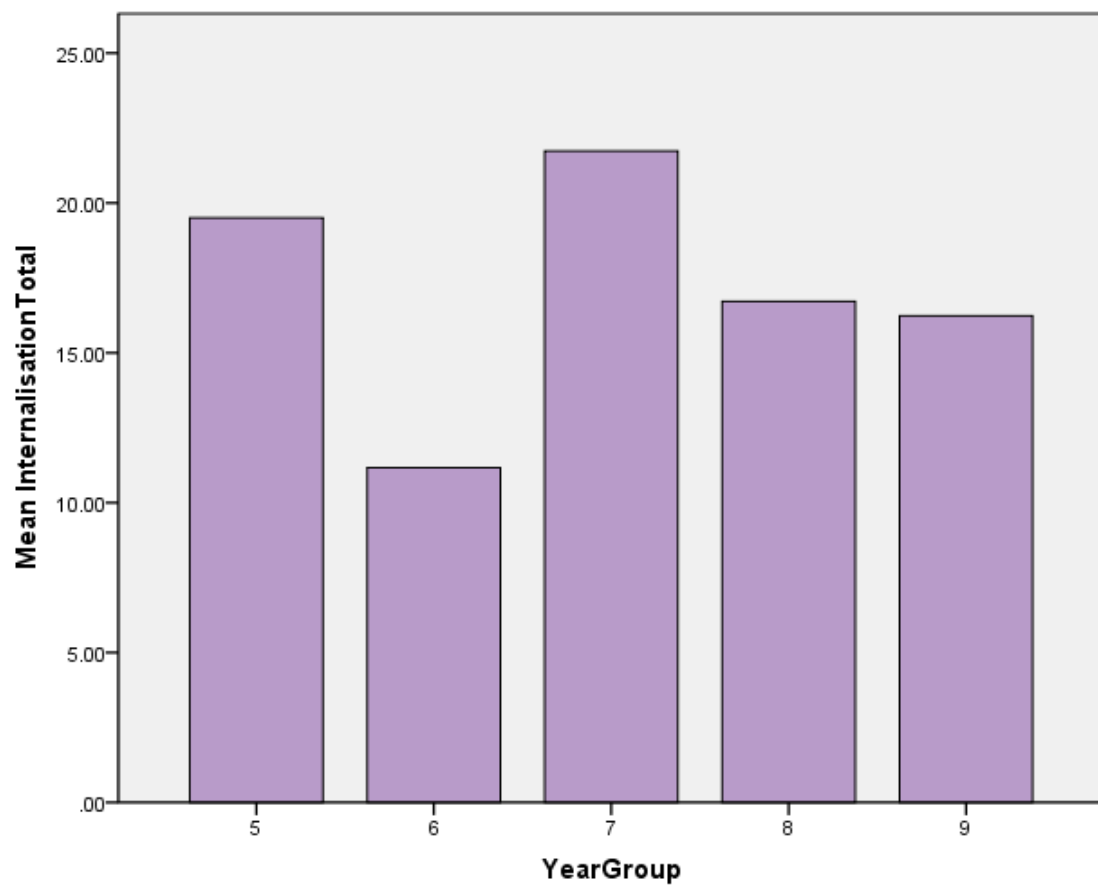


Figure 6

Boys' Mean Internalisation Scores in Each Year Group:



For boys, there was no correlation between age in months and scores on the Physical Appearance Comparison Scale (see Appendix 26 for the SPSS printout). For girls however, a significant positive correlation was found between age in months and scores on the Physical Appearance Comparison Scale (see Appendix 27 for the SPSS printout). The bar charts below demonstrate how girls' mean social comparison scores increase from years 5-9, whereas there is no relationship between age and social comparison in boys:

Figure 7

Girls' Mean Social Comparison Scores in Each Year Group:

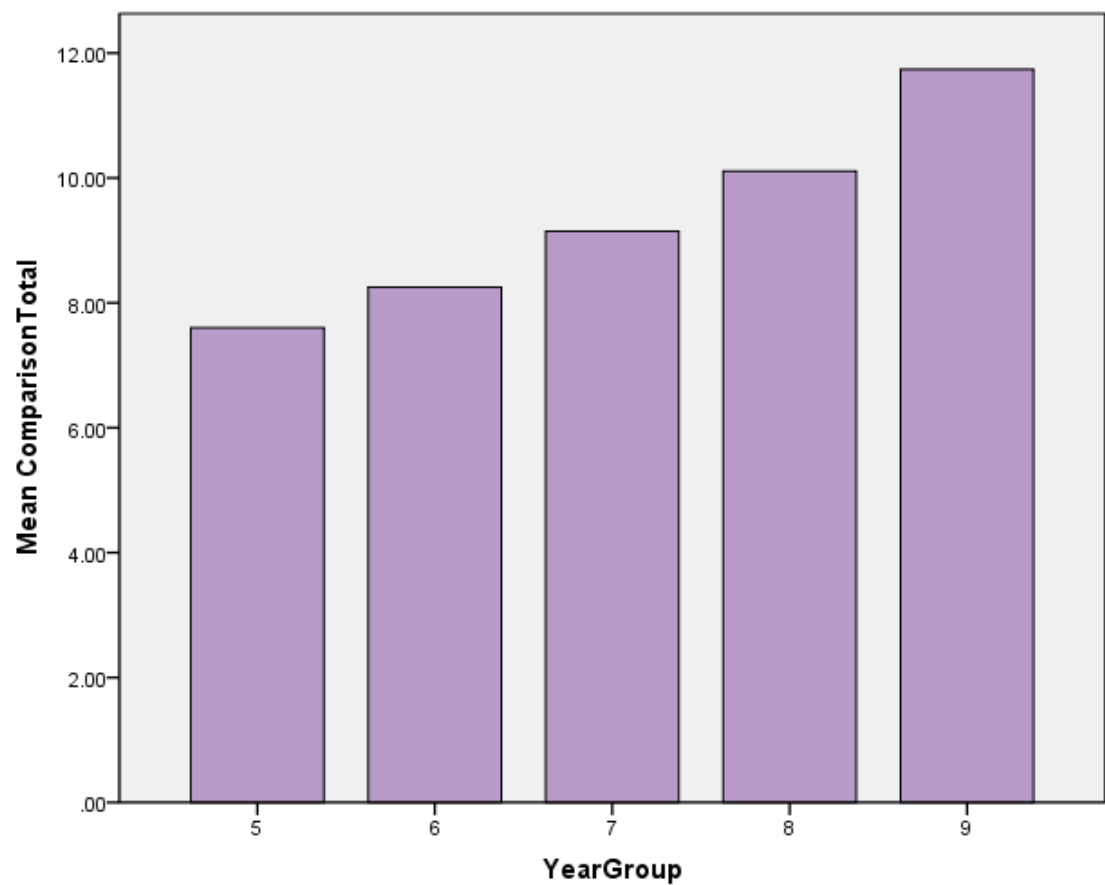
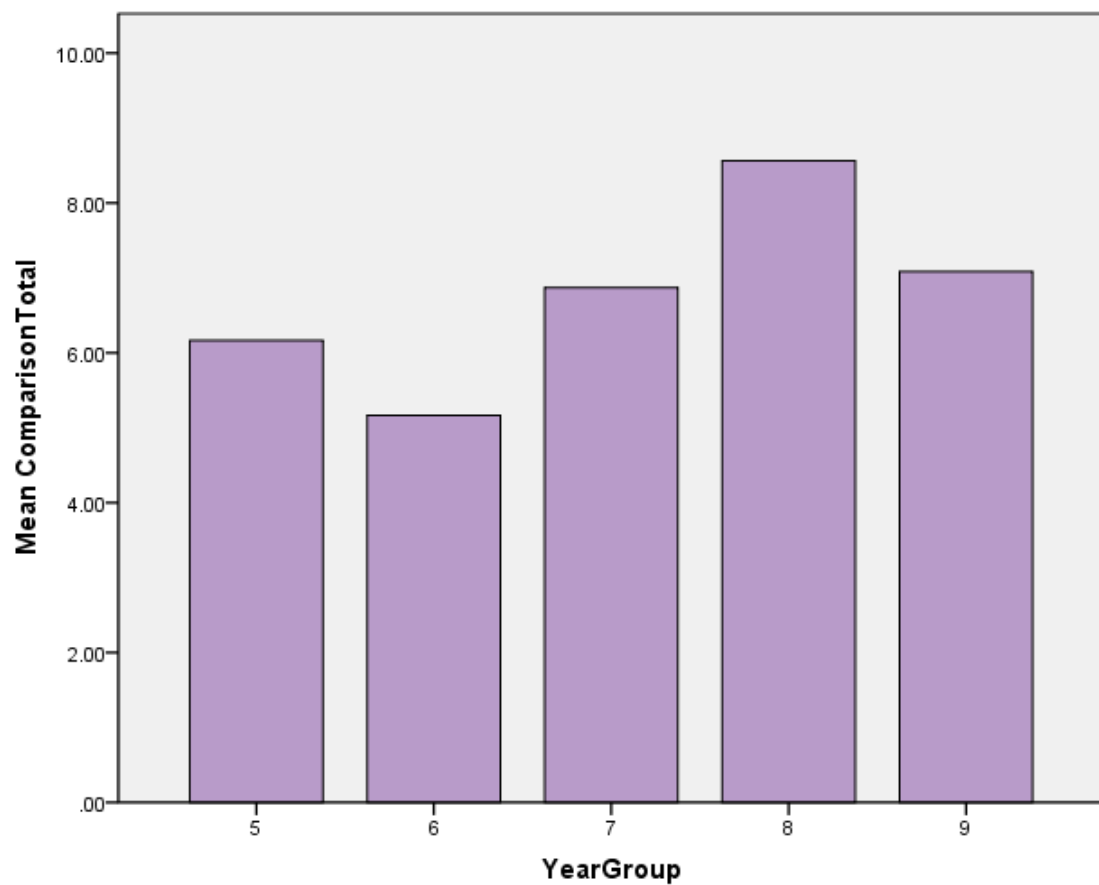


Figure 8

Boys' Mean Social Comparison Scores in Each Year Group:



2.4.3.4 What is the relationship between the levels of perceived influences of parents, peers and the media and the levels of children's body esteem in the school federation?

A significant negative correlation for both boys and girls was found between scores on the Perceived Sociocultural Pressure Scale and scores on the Body Esteem Scale for Children (see Appendices 28 and 29 for the SPSS printouts for boys and girls respectively).

2.4.3.5 What is the relationship between the levels of internalisation of societal standards of attractiveness and social comparison and the levels of children's body esteem in the school federation?

A significant negative correlation for both boys and girls was found between scores on the general internalisation subscale of the Sociocultural Attitudes Towards Appearance Scale-3 and scores on the Body Esteem Scale for Children (see Appendices 30 and 31 for the SPSS printouts for boys and girls respectively).

Additionally a significant negative correlation for both boys and girls was found between scores on the Physical Appearance Comparison Scale and scores on the Body Esteem Scale for Children (see Appendices 32 and 33 for the SPSS printouts for boys and girls respectively).

2.5 Discussion

2.5.1 Gender differences in body esteem

The results of study one suggest that in the current sample of children and young people, boys had significantly higher levels of body esteem than girls. This finding is consistent with the literature, with many studies reporting greater body dissatisfaction in girls compared to boys. Two studies using the Body Esteem Scale for Children (the body esteem measure used in the current study) have reported that boys score significantly higher than girls (Conner et al., 1996; Duncan, Al-Nakeeb, & Nevill, 2004). In addition, in samples of children and young people aged 10-19, girls have consistently been found to have greater body dissatisfaction than boys (Clifford, 1971; Gehrman, Hovell, Sallis, & Keating, 2006; Jones, Fries, & Danish, 2007; Martin et al., 2000; Papp, Urbán, Czeglédi, Babusa, & Túry, 2013; Richardson et al., 2009; White & Halliwell, 2010).

Gender differences have also been reported in younger children. For example, Collins (1991) studied 1118 preadolescent children and found that girls chose

thinner figures for their 'ideal self' than boys. In addition, Xanthopoulos et al. (2011) found that girls in grades 4-6 had higher body dissatisfaction than boys, and Thompson, Corwin, and Sargent (1997) found that girls in the fourth grade reported more body dissatisfaction than boys.

2.5.2 Relationship between age and body esteem, perceived pressure from family, friends and the media, internalisation of societal standards of attractiveness and social comparison

The results of study one suggest that in the current sample of children and young people, there are relationships between the ages of the children and young people and their body esteem, perceived pressure from family, friends and the media, internalisation of societal standards of attractiveness and social comparison. However, these relationships were only found in girls. The results of the current study suggest that as girls get older, their body esteem decreases and their levels of perceived pressure, internalisation and social comparison increase.

The findings of the current study are in line with other research that has reported increases in girls' body dissatisfaction as they move through adolescence. For example, early research by Davies and Furnham (1986) found that in a sample of 182 girls aged 11-18, 70% of 12 year olds said that their weight was just right compared to less than 35% of 16 and 18 year olds. In addition, a longitudinal study by Byely et al. (2000) found that body dissatisfaction increased over time in girls aged 10-14.

Nonetheless, the findings of the current study are also in contrast to those reported in other research. For example, Tiggemann and Wilson-Barrett (1998) found no relationship between age and body dissatisfaction in boys and girls aged 7-12, and Xanthopoulos et al. (2011) found that body dissatisfaction was not related to age in 1212 children in grades 4-6. The differences between these studies' results and the results of the current study may be due to the fact that the children in these studies were slightly younger than the children and young people who were part of the current study.

Some studies have reported that boys' body dissatisfaction decreases during adolescence, which is in contrast to the findings reported in the current study, as no relationship was found between boys' age and body esteem. For example, Rosenblum and Lewis (1999) found that girls' body dissatisfaction increased between ages 13-15, whereas boys' body dissatisfaction decreased. This decrease in boys' body dissatisfaction wasn't significant, but another study by Helfert and Warschburger (2011) has also reported a decrease in weight concerns of boys during adolescence.

It is therefore important to question why, in the current study, girls' body esteem appears to decline as they get older, whereas boys' body esteem appears to remain constant. One explanation is that maturation moves girls' bodies further from the thin-ideal as puberty causes their bodies to accumulate fat (Levine & Smolak, 2002a; Rosenblum & Lewis, 1999; Striegel-Moore, Silberstein, & Rodin, 1986). There is some research to support this hypothesis; for example, Robinson et al. (1996) studied 967 girls and not only found that older girls were more dissatisfied with their bodies, but also found that more pubertally advanced girls were also more dissatisfied.

Unfortunately, this explanation of the findings of the current research falls short on a number of points. Firstly, there is research that contradicts this explanation. For example, Striegel-Moore et al. (2000) found that body dissatisfaction and drive for thinness increased with age in girls even after controlling for sexual maturation and adiposity. Secondly, if this explanation were true for the current sample, we might expect boys' body esteem to increase with age, as puberty moves boys' bodies closer to the muscular ideal (Rosenblum & Lewis, 1999). However, no relationship was found between boys' ages and their body esteem in the current sample. Finally, as can be seen from Figure 1, which shows girls' mean body esteem scores for each year group, the biggest drop in mean body esteem score is from year 8 to year 9, yet this would be after most girls had experienced the early stages of puberty where fat is accumulated. The most recent research on age of menarche in girls reports that the average age of menarche in British girls is 12.7 years (Morris, Jones, Schoemaker, Ashworth, & Swerdlow, 2010), which means that by years 7-8,

most girls would have already been through the early stages of puberty where fat is accumulated. In order to explain the results of the current study, it is necessary to consider what changes for girls from year 9 onwards, when they are 13-14 years old.

One hypothesis might be that girls' decrease in body esteem is linked to the development of sexual awareness and sexual behaviour in boys and girls from year 9 onwards. Research with a large sample of boys and girls aged 11-12 years, and again at 12-13 years found that there was an increase in pre-coital behaviours such as hand holding and kissing (Waylen, Ness, McGovern, Wolke, & Low, 2010) during this age range. Interestingly, the researchers of this study found that although most of the participants reported enjoying their sexual experiences, girls were significantly more likely than boys to report regret. This leads to questions about whether, at this age, girls are experiencing sexual pressure and sexual harassment from boys.

Unfortunately, the research on sexual harassment in schools has been dominated by researchers from America; nevertheless, the American research suggests that sexual harassment is prevalent in schools. For example, Petersen and Hyde (2009) found that 38% of girls in the fifth grade (aged 10-11) had experienced sexual harassment, and this had increased to 65% of girls in the ninth grade (aged 14-15). European research from the Netherlands by Timmerman (2003) found that 18% of girls and boys aged 14-15 reported experiencing unwanted sexual attention, however, there was a significant gender difference, with one in four girls reporting experiencing this compared to one in ten boys.

If, as girls and boys become more sexually aware girls experience increased sexual harassment at school, they may begin to self-objectify. Indeed, research by Lindberg, Grabe, and Hyde (2007) found that peer sexual harassment increased adolescent girls' self-objectification, which in turn led to greater body shame. This provides one explanation for the finding that girls' body esteem decreases with age, especially so from years 8 to year 9, while boys' body esteem remains constant.

2.5.3 Relationship between body esteem and perceived pressure from family, friends and the media, internalisation of societal standards of attractiveness and social comparison

Another explanation for the finding that the body esteem of girls in the current sample decreases with age while boys' body esteem remains constant is that relationships were found between the ages of the children and young people and their perceived pressure from family, friends and the media, internalisation of societal standards of attractiveness and social comparison. However, these relationships were only found in girls. The results of the current study suggest that as girls get older, their levels of perceived pressure, internalisation and social comparison increase, whereas for boys, their levels of perceived pressure, internalisation and social comparison remain constant.

Relationships were also found between the body esteem of the children and young people and their perceived pressure from family, friends and the media, internalisation of societal standards of attractiveness and social comparison. In the current sample, the body esteem of both boys and girls decreases as they perceive more pressure, they internalise societal standards of attractiveness more and engage in more social comparison. This suggests that perceived pressure from family, friends and the media, internalisation of societal standards of attractiveness and social comparison are all important in the development of a young person's body esteem. It is therefore not surprising that the body esteem of girls appears to decrease with age, as girls experience an increase in perceived pressure, internalisation and social comparison as they move through adolescence, where for boys perceived pressure, internalisation and social comparison remain constant.

The findings of the current study shed new light on the development of body esteem in children and young people. A limitation of the current models of body esteem development such as the Tripartite Influence Model (Thompson, Heinberg, Altabe, & Tantleff-Dunn, 1999) is that they neglect to account for how influences might interact with each other. The Tripartite Influence Model suggests that three influences: parents, peers and the media are mediated by

two processes: social comparison and internalisation of the societal standards of attractiveness, however, there is likely to be a cumulative effect of multiple pressures (Paxton, 1999). It is therefore suggested that Bronfenbrenner's (1977) ecological systems model might be a better model to represent the development of body esteem. This model assumes that development takes place in the context of different systems, all of which influence the child. Bronfenbrenner described different environmental systems that can be arranged around each other, with the developing child in the middle. The level that contains the immediate settings that the child is part of is called the microsystem. Interactions between two or more microsystems take place at the next level up, called the mesosystem. Above this is the exosystem: this contains social structures that do not directly impact on the developing child, but may do so indirectly. Finally, these systems are all surrounded by the macrosystem. This represents the overarching values and beliefs of the sub-culture.

A representation of how this model might explain the development of body esteem in children and adolescents can be found in Figure 9:

Figure 9

A Representation of the Development of Body Esteem Informed by Bronfenbrenner's (1977) Ecological Systems Theory:

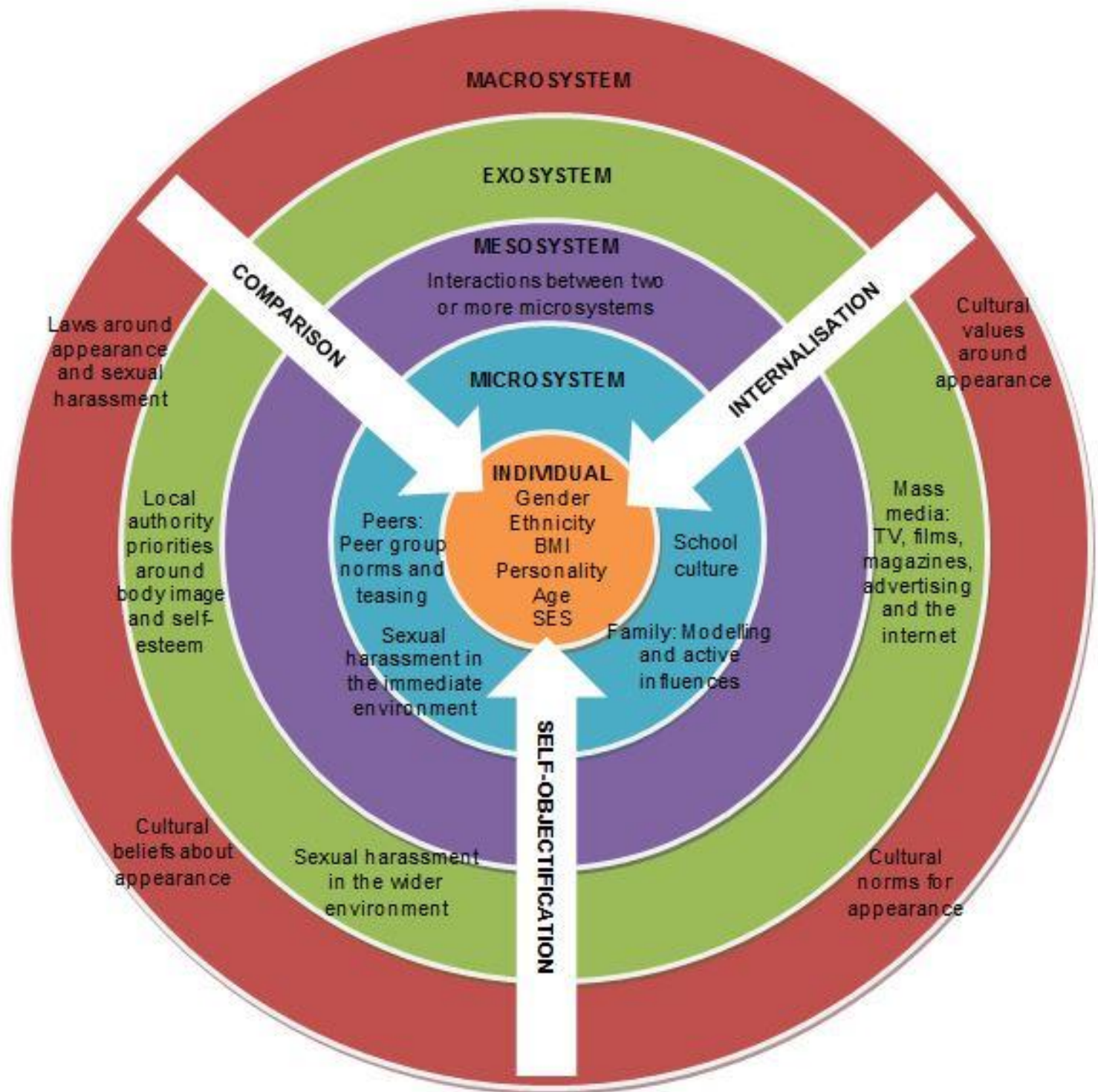


Figure 9 contains a reference to a further process not acknowledged by the Tripartite Influence Model: that of self-objectification. Although this process was not measured in study one, it is likely that this process is strongly related to internalisation of societal standards of attractiveness. For example, as standards are increasingly internalised, this is likely to lead to more stringent self-surveillance to ensure that one's appearance conforms to these standards, which is likely to lead to self-objectification. The relationship between these two processes and their relationship with body esteem is a potential area for further research.

2.5.4 Implications for prevention and intervention programmes in schools

The results of the current study have important implications in terms of how positive body esteem might be promoted in the population from which the current sample is drawn. Firstly, the results of the current study suggest that in the population studied, girls' body esteem is significantly lower than boys' body esteem, and previous research suggests that this difference in girls' and boys' body esteem emerges at a relatively young age. In terms of promoting positive body esteem in the current sample therefore, these findings suggest that efforts should be particularly focussed on girls and point towards prevention programmes being implemented prior to children reaching adolescence, before gender differences in body esteem have emerged.

The current study has also found that girls' body esteem decreases from ages 9-14, whereas boys' body esteem remains constant. This suggests that prevention programmes should be implemented early, during primary school, as girls' body esteem decreases even from year 5 to year 6. In terms of the content of such prevention programmes, girls should be educated about how to better manage perceived pressure from family, friends and the media, and the potential negative effect of internalising societal standards of attractiveness and engaging in excessive social comparison should be emphasised. However, a criticism of current prevention and intervention programmes is that they are too focussed on the individual, rather than being focussed on the environments in

which individuals are situated (Levine & Smolak, 2002b). It is therefore important that schools think ecosystemically when designing programmes designed to promote positive body esteem, and the model presented in Figure 5 might be used to guide this.

Finally, given the results of the current study, it is impossible to ignore the gendered nature of body esteem development in the current sample. Although there appears to be an urgent need to intervene with girls, schools should consider whether sexual harassment or the sexual behaviour of boys might explain the timing of the largest decrease in body esteem in girls, and whether this might point towards intervention with boys also, as well as potentially investigating the problem of sexual harassment in schools more systemically. Further research in this area is necessary so that schools are able to more fully understand the prevalence of sexual harassment in schools, how this changes with age and the effect of this on body esteem.

2.5.5 Limitations of the current study

The current study has a number of limitations, all of which should be taken into account when interpreting the results of the study.

Firstly, the response rate was low at 17%. This meant that the sample size was low, which again affects the generalisability of the results. Some school staff articulated to the researcher that one of the reasons for the poor response rate was that parents were asked to give full consent, and to return a signed consent form to their child's school to confirm this. It was therefore suggested that passive consent would have been more appropriate, where parents were only asked to return a form if they did not consent for their child to be part of the research. However, after being contacted by one school where a small number of parents had contacted the school to ask specifically that their child not be part of the research, the researcher took the decision to continue to insist on full parental consent, thus potentially reducing the generalisability of the results in order to ensure that no child or young person was part of the research without their parents knowing or consenting to this.

It is also interesting to reflect on how the sample changes in each year group. For example, as can be seen from Table 2, the number of boys and girls participating in years 5, 6 and 7 is fairly equal. However, in years 8 and 9, the number of boys participating falls sharply. It is unclear why this is, nevertheless one hypothesis might be that boys in these year groups feel less willing to reflect on their bodies and the pressures that they experience. It might be argued that the boys who did choose to participate in years 8 and 9 were boys who were more disposed towards positive body esteem, as they might feel more at ease reflecting on their bodies and the pressures that they experience. This may therefore be an explanation for the finding that there was no relationship between age and body esteem in the boys in the study.

The research is also cross-sectional, rather than longitudinal by design, so references to changes according to age should be interpreted with this in mind. Although longitudinal research would clearly give a more accurate picture of the changes in children and young people's body esteem over time, this was not realistic given the timescale that the research needed to be completed in.

Finally, it is important to note that most of the findings of the current study are correlational. The findings therefore only describe relationships and it is important that no conclusions about causation are drawn.

2.6 Conclusions

The results of the current study suggest that for the current sample, boys had significantly higher body esteem than girls. There were relationships between age and body esteem, perceived pressure from family, friends and the media, internalisation of societal standards of attractiveness, and social comparison, but only for girls. This suggests that from age 9-14 girls' body esteem decreases, whereas they perceive more pressure from family, friends and the media, internalise societal standards of attractiveness more and engage in more social comparison. For boys these variables remain constant. Although the changes in these variables occur steadily from years 5-9 for girls, there appears to be a larger decrease in body esteem from years 8-9. The discussion

section of this paper suggests that this is unlikely to be due to pubertal weight gain and instead may be due to emerging sexual awareness in girls and boys and possibly due to girls experiencing increased sexual harassment in schools. This hypothesis requires further study.

The results of the current study also suggest that for the current sample, there are relationships between body esteem and perceived pressure from family, friends and the media, internalisation of societal standards of attractiveness, and social comparison. These relationships existed for both boys and girls and suggest that these variables are important in the development of body esteem.

The results of the current study suggest that attempts to promote positive body esteem in the population from which the current sample is drawn should focus on girls and should educate girls about how to better manage perceived pressure from family, friends and the media, as well as the dangers of internalising societal standards of attractiveness and engaging in excessive social comparison. A representation of body esteem development informed by Bronfenbrenner's (1977) ecological systems model has been presented, which may be a useful tool for schools to consult when designing programmes that attempt to promote positive body esteem. Importantly, the results of the current study suggest that such programmes should be implemented early, preferably in year 5 or earlier, as decreases in body esteem were found for girls even from year 5 to year 6. Early intervention will allow for schools to have an impact on children and young people's body esteem before they reach pubertal age, thus being proactive in their attempts to reduce body dissatisfaction in children and young people.

3 Study two: “Everyone really looks good”: A qualitative study of children and young people with positive body esteem

3.1 Abstract

Study two has a positive psychology focus and is a qualitative study of children and young people with positive body esteem. 10 participants from the initial sample of 169 participants from study one with the highest levels of body esteem were selected for interview. The aim of the research was to discover what children with positive body esteem say about their own appearance, exercise, the influence of family, friends and school, and also about appearance ideals. Thematic analysis revealed that children and young people with positive body esteem have a sense of global satisfaction with their appearance but did not place great importance on appearance. Appearance was rarely discussed with significant others in their lives, although many participants described receiving compliments about their appearance. Where negative comments had been received, these were dismissed as jokes or not important. When asked about appearance ideals, the children and young people in the current study discussed controllable aspects of appearance such as clothes and hairstyles; however, they often rejected appearance ideals and instead defined beauty more widely. Finally, exercise and sport were an important part of these children and young people's lives, with a number of participants competing at a high level. Findings are discussed with particular reference to previous work with Swedish adolescents by Frisén and Holmqvist (2010) and Holmqvist and Frisén (2012).

3.2 Introduction

3.2.1 Prevalence and consequences of body dissatisfaction in children and young people

Researchers in the field of body image have reported that body dissatisfaction is prevalent amongst children and young people, particularly in western society. For example, early research by Davies and Furnham (1986) found that almost half of their female participants aged 11-18 expressed a desire to lose weight, despite very few participants being overweight. Button et al. (1997) found that 56% of girls aged 15-16 had at some point used some form of weight control strategy, and very recent research by Evans et al. (2013) found that 65% of girls aged 7-11 identified a smaller ideal body than their own perceived body shape. Although the above studies have included only females, similar levels of body dissatisfaction have been reported in mixed sex samples. For example, Toro, et al. (1989) found that 26% of their sample of 1554 adolescents considered themselves to be obese, despite the fact that only 0.9% were actually overweight when the authors referred to standard tables presented by Tanner and Whitehouse (1976).

There are also concerns about the consequences of body dissatisfaction in children and young people. Perceived physical appearance is most highly and consistently associated with overall self-worth (Harter, 1999; 2003). Tiggemann (2005) investigated the direction of this relationship in 242 adolescent girls and found that when body dissatisfaction and self-esteem were both measured at two different time points, aspects of body dissatisfaction predicted self-esteem at time 2, when self-esteem at time 1 was controlled for, but self-esteem did not predict body dissatisfaction at time 2 when body dissatisfaction at time 1 was controlled for. This suggests that body dissatisfaction is likely to contribute to low overall self-esteem.

Body dissatisfaction has also been linked with behaviours that are associated with eating disorders in children and young people. For example, in girls, body dissatisfaction has been linked with body disordered eating and dietary restraint

(Allen et al., 2008; Attie & Brooks-Gunn, 1989; Davison et al., 2003; Espinoza et al., 2010; Hill et al., 1992). In a sample of 421 boys and girls aged 11-16, White and Halliwell (2010) also found that body dissatisfaction was associated with excessive exercise. Eating disorders are currently considered a significant public health concern due to their poor treatment and high mortality rates (Parliamentary Office of Science and Technology, 2007). If it is suggested that body dissatisfaction contributes to behaviours associated with eating disorders, it is clear why there has been an increasing interest in discovering ways of preventing body dissatisfaction in children and young people.

3.2.2 Prevention and intervention

Although an increasing number of programmes have been developed designed to prevent body dissatisfaction in children and young people, the evidence for their effectiveness is limited. In reviewing 13 published studies reporting prevention programmes designed to reduce body dissatisfaction and problem eating attitudes and behaviour in children aged 8-12, Holt and Ricciardelli (2008) found little evidence that these programmes prevented body dissatisfaction. Similarly, in reviewing studies reporting prevention programmes designed to reduce body dissatisfaction in young people aged 12-18, Yager et al. (2013) found that while seven of the programmes were effective in increasing body esteem immediately post-intervention, only 20% of the studies reported sustained effects at follow-up (between three to six months later).

One criticism of prevention programmes is that they are too focussed on the individual, rather than being focussed on the environments in which individuals are situated (Levine & Smolak, 2002b). For example, Frost (2001) argues that labelling body dissatisfaction as a relatively minor problem of a few 'sick' girls pathologises the problem and ignores sociocultural influences that contribute to body dissatisfaction. Influences on body esteem reported in the literature include the influence of family, friends and the media. These influences are believed to be mediated through different processes including social comparison, internalisation of societal standards of attractiveness and self-objectification (see Appendix 1 for a review of the literature around these influences and processes). With the evidence for sociocultural influences taken

into account, it seems sensible that prevention programmes aim to mediate these influences. Piran et al. (1999) have suggested an ecological approach, with prevention programmes occurring at the 'macro' level, targeting large societal values, institutions and policies, the 'meso' level focussing on specific institutions such as schools, or on the 'micro' level, for example, targeting families and individuals.

3.2.3 Body esteem and schools

A recent parliamentary inquiry has called for body image lessons to be made mandatory in British primary and secondary schools (All Party Parliamentary Group on Body Image, 2012). Indeed, it would seem that schools are appropriate sites for prevention programmes to take place, as schools are already learning environments and they offer the opportunity for sustained interaction between adults and children and young people (Yager et al., 2013).

It is also important to consider that school culture and norms may have a direct impact on body esteem. For example, Frost (2001) argues: "The institution in which young people of both sexes spend a highly significant part of their lives plays an important part in the circulation of available meanings and messages about what a young person can and should be," (p. 111). Rich and Evans (2008) describe their research with girls and young women, where they asked these individuals about their experiences of mainstream schooling. The findings of this research suggest that "body perfection codes" are constructed within the school setting, where meaning and value are ascribed to body types and appearance. In the UK, the National Healthy Schools Programme has been criticised for marginalising overweight children and for contributing to the construction of obesity as a 'problem' (Curtis, 2008). In their research on masculinity, Frosh, Phoenix, and Pattman (2003) report that boys 'police' what is acceptable and unacceptable. The research by Rich and Evans suggests that children and people do the same about notions of attractiveness and body shape and size in the school setting.

3.2.4 Positive psychology and body esteem

It is clear, therefore, that there is a need for further programmes to promote positive body esteem to be developed and their efficacy evaluated. Emerging evidence from the literature suggests that such programmes should be ecological in their approach and that schools are appropriate sites for prevention programmes to take place. In addition, school culture and norms need to be examined as part of prevention programmes. However, what is less certain is exactly how positive body esteem can be promoted in schools. It could be argued that the reason for the limited effectiveness of current prevention and intervention programmes is that they have been developed out of a literature that has focussed on body dissatisfaction. As Tylka (2011) highlights, it should not be assumed that positive body esteem automatically equals the opposite of body dissatisfaction. Tylka also argues that understanding positive body esteem is crucial for prevention and intervention, and it could be argued that future prevention programmes should be developed with this understanding taken into account.

It is therefore time for what Cash and Pruzinsky (2002) term a “paradigm shift” in the focus of body esteem research, where positive body esteem is studied instead of body dissatisfaction. This is in line with the positive psychology movement, with proponents of this such as Seligman (2002) arguing that “Psychology is not just the study of disease, weakness, and damage; it also is the study of strength and virtue.” (p. 4). This is a new area in the field of the body image research literature, with only a handful of studies currently published that specifically investigate positive body esteem. Of these studies, only two (Frisén & Holmqvist, 2010; Holmqvist & Frisén, 2012) have included adolescents as participants.

Frisén and Holmqvist (2010) interviewed 30 boys and girls who had been identified as having positive body esteem by selecting the participants from a sample of participants from another study who had a highest level of body esteem. The participants’ body esteem scores were in the 97th percentile or above relative to the larger sample of participants. Frisén and Holmqvist aimed to discover how these participants expressed their feelings about their bodies,

how they reflected on exercise and how they perceived the influence of family and friends on their body esteem. The participants were interviewed by the researchers and several themes emerged. These included an acceptance of one's imperfections, taking a functional view of the body, exercise being a natural and important part of their lives, viewing exercise as joyful and health-promoting, assuming that others like their appearance and not giving importance to negative comments.

The same research team report a further study (Holmqvist & Frisén, 2012) where they interviewed the same group of participants, this time with the aim of investigating how these adolescents with positive body esteem talk about and reflect upon appearance ideals prevalent in western society. In this study, the themes that emerged from the interviews included a criticism of appearance ideals (defining them as unnatural and unrealistic), a criticism of how the media only portrays people consistent with appearance ideals and criticism of the media's use of appearance ideals for specific purposes, defining beauty more widely (including emphasising the importance of looking like oneself), emphasising the importance of personality over appearance and a recognition that the definition of beauty is subjective.

3.2.5 Rationale and aim of study two

The two studies by Frisén and Holmqvist (2010) and Holmqvist and Frisén (2012) add a great deal to the research literature and provide a new understanding of how positive body esteem develops in children and young people. The findings of these studies are crucial in terms of designing prevention programmes aiming to promote positive body esteem in children and young people. However, as both of these studies were conducted by the same research team in Sweden, it is not known whether the findings of these studies would apply to children and young people in the UK. This is important as researchers such as Irving (1999) suggest that programmes are more likely to be effective when they are developed with a specific context or community in mind. Therefore in order to design programmes to promote positive body esteem in schools in the south-west of England, research is first needed into

how positive body esteem develops in this population of children and young people.

The aim of study two is therefore to investigate the development of positive body esteem in children and young people in the south-west of England. The study is interested in whether the findings of Frisé and Holmqvist (2010) and Holmqvist and Frisé (2012) will be replicated in a sample of children in the south-west of England, and therefore study two will aim to replicate these two studies as closely as possible. However, as the aim of the study is primarily to inform prevention programmes that will be delivered in schools, the study will also investigate the role of schools in the development of positive body esteem in children and young people.

3.2.6 Research questions

The specific research questions for study two are as follows:

1. How do children in the school federation with positive body esteem talk about appearance ideals?
2. How do children in the school federation with positive body esteem say that they have learnt about appearance ideals?
3. How do children in the school federation with positive body esteem talk about their own appearance?
4. How important do children in the school federation with positive body esteem think their appearance is when it comes to how they think and feel about themselves?
5. What are children in the school federation with positive body esteem's views on exercise?
6. What do children in the school federation with positive body esteem say about the influence of their family on their body esteem?
7. What do children in the school federation with positive body esteem say about the influence of their friends on their body esteem?
8. What do children in the school federation with positive body esteem say about the influence of school on their body esteem?

3.3 Method

3.3.1 Ontology, epistemology, methodology and research design

Mertens (2010) identifies four paradigms, which she defines as “ways of viewing the world” (p. 6). Study one is located in what Mertens refers to as the pragmatic paradigm. This is the view that there is a single reality, but that all individuals have their own unique interpretation of that reality. Thus, as in study one, the researcher is assuming that body esteem is a real concept, however, in study two the aim is to discover how children and young people with positive body esteem discuss the development of this and the influences that have contributed to their positive body esteem. As the study is interested in these children and young people’s narratives, quantitative methodology would be inappropriate. It was therefore decided that qualitative methodology would be employed for study two. This also allows the researcher to replicate as closely as possible the research by Frisé and Holmqvist (2010) and Holmqvist and Frisé (2012). In line with these research studies, it was decided that interviews would be used to collect data. The process of conducting the interviews is described in more detail below, however, please see Appendix 34 for an account of the reasoning behind why interviews were chosen instead of focus groups, and why semi-structured interviews were chosen instead of structured or unstructured interviews.

3.3.2 Participants

The research took place in the south-west of England and was completed in association with a school federation and a local Educational Psychology Service. Appendix 2 outlines how schools were identified to be part of the research.

Study two was interested in children and young people with positive body esteem. Therefore the researcher selected those participants from study one with the highest levels of body esteem, as measured by the Body Esteem Scale

for Children (Mendelson & White, 1982). As the research aimed to replicate the research of Frisén and Holmqvist (2010) and Holmqvist and Frisén (2012) as closely as possible, the recruitment of participants for these studies was used as a guide to decide how many children and young people it would be appropriate to interview in the current study.

Frisén and Holmqvist (2010) and Holmqvist and Frisén (2012) selected 30 participants (15 girls and 15 boys) with the highest levels of body esteem out of an original sample of 874 participants. This meant their 30 participants had body esteem scores in the 3% of the overall sample. As study one had 169 participants, the top 3% would only have resulted in 5 participants being selected for interview, which the researcher didn't feel would yield enough data. A decision was therefore made to interview 5 girls and 5 boys, meaning the participants in the current study had body esteem scores in the top 6% of the sample of children and young people in study one.

The procedure for selecting the participants from the original sample from study one was as follows:

- The participants with a body esteem score of 24 (the maximum body esteem score) were selected first. One girl and one boy had this score.
- The participants with a body esteem score of 23 were selected next. One girl and one boy had a body esteem score of 23.
- The participants with a body esteem score of 22 were identified. Four girls and five boys had a body esteem score 22, yet only three more girls and boys were needed to make up the total of 10 participants. Therefore the boys and girls with a body esteem score of 22 were listed in alphabetical order and the top three boys and girls in each list were selected for participation.

This is very similar to the approach of Frisén and Holmqvist (2010) and Holmqvist and Frisén (2012), who created a descending list of the participants with the highest levels of body esteem from their original sample, with the participants with the highest level of body esteem contacted first. These authors

then continued down the list until they had met their predefined goal of recruiting 15 boys and 15 girls.

Full parental consent was required before participants were able to take part in the research. Consent forms were sent out via schools (see Appendix 35 for the parental consent form for study two). All parents who were contacted consented to their children being part of the research. The ages of the participants ranged from 9 years, 1 month to 13 years, 7 months. The mean age of the participants in the study can be found in the table below, which also includes the mean ages of the participants in the studies by Frisén and Holmqvist (2010) and Holmqvist and Frisén (2012) for comparison:

Table 5

Mean Ages of Participants in Current Study and studies by Frisén and Holmqvist (2010) and Holmqvist and Frisén (2012):

Study	Mean Age of Female Participants	Mean age of Male Participants
Current study	11 years, 7 months	12 years
Frisén and Holmqvist (2010)	13 years, 9 months	14 years, 1 month
Holmqvist and Frisén (2012)	13 years, 9 months	14 years, 1 month

3.3.3 Semi-structured interviews

An interview schedule was constructed by combining the interview schedules of the two studies by Frisén and Holmqvist (2010) and Holmqvist and Frisén (2012). As the researcher was also interested in the influence of school on children and young people's body esteem, questions were added to the interview schedule about teachers and school (see Appendix 36 for a copy of the interview schedule). The researcher also added notes on the interview schedule about how to introduce and end the interview and also some

clarification questions, as it was noted that the average age of the children in the current study was younger than the participants in Frisé and Holmqvist's and Holmqvist and Frisé's studies. This was because the children and young people in the initial sample from which these authors were recruiting from were slightly older than the sample of children and young people from which the participants were recruited for study two.

3.3.4 Procedure

Once the list of participants had been confirmed, the researcher contacted the schools of these children and young people via email and requested to interview these students. Attached to this email was the consent form for study two (please see Appendix 37 for an example of one of these emails and Appendix 35 for the parental consent form for study two). The consent forms were collected when the researcher visited the schools to conduct the interviews.

Interviews were conducted as per the interview schedule (see Appendix 36) and the researcher ensured that she had the participants' assent before conducting the interviews. Interviews were conducted in a quiet room at the participants' schools. After the interviews, participants were given the same card that they were given in study one, thanking them for their participation, making them aware of the named person who they could speak to in school if they were worried and also providing the details of support organisations that they could contact if they had concerns in the future (see Appendix 11).

The interviews were recorded using a dictaphone. The recordings were later transcribed by the researcher (see Appendix 38 for an extract of one of the interview transcripts).

3.3.5 Ethical considerations

Ethical approval was gained from the University of Exeter before the research took place (see Appendix 12 for the certificate of ethical research approval that gives a full account of the ethical considerations).

3.3.6 Data analysis

Data was analysed according to the principles of thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Braun and Clarke describe this as “a method for identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data” (p. 6). For an account of the reasons why this method of data analysis was chosen, please see Appendix 39.

The analysis strategy used was what Braun and Clarke (2006) refer to as an inductive approach, where the data is coded without trying to fit the data into a pre-existing coding frame. The themes were therefore drawn directly from the data and the researcher was not guided by the research questions.

Nevertheless, the findings section does contain references to the research questions. The researcher chose this analysis strategy so that the reported findings were as much as possible derived from what was actually discussed with the participants, rather than being led by the researcher.

The researcher’s notes from phases one to five of the thematic analysis process can be found in Appendix 40. Appendices 41-43 show how codes were arranged into themes, whilst a copy of the final thematic map can be found in Appendix 42.

3.4 Findings

The themes that were identified through the thematic analysis of the data are detailed in the table below. As can be seen from this table, a number of themes had sub-themes, and each theme is made up of a number of codes:

Table 6

Themes Identified Through the Thematic Analysis of the Data:

Themes	Sub-Themes	Codes
Own appearance		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Own view <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Body satisfaction ○ View of own appearance ○ Body dissatisfaction • Others' view <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Father ○ Friends ○ Siblings ○ Teachers ○ Mother
Importance of appearance	Importance of own appearance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Importance of opposite sex liking appearance
	Importance of appearance to others	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Teachers • Father • Mother • Siblings
Appearance talk	Receiving comments about own appearance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How comments make you feel • Compliments <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Mother ○ Father ○ Friends ○ Siblings ○ Teachers • Negative comments <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Lack of negative comments = appearance is ok ○ Not caring about what people think or say

Themes	Sub-Themes	Codes
Appearance talk continued	Discussing appearance with others	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Father • Siblings • Mother • Friends • Teachers
Appearance ideals	Placing value on controllable aspects of appearance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hairstyles • Clothes • Importance of being neat/clean/tidy/smart
	Rejection of appearance ideals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rejection of appearance ideals • Defining beauty more widely
Influences		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Family • Peers • Media • School • Celebrities
Exercise and sport		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Frequency ○ Reasons • Rejection of gender stereotypes

The following sections outline each of the themes and state where themes relate back to the research questions. For reference these can be found in section 3.2.6.

3.4.1 Theme one: Own appearance

Overall, the participants described their appearance positively, although the language they chose to do this was often modest, for example describing their appearance as “Fine”, “Ok” and “Normal”. This relates to research question 3.

When asked what others such as family members, friends and teachers thought about their appearance, the participants used similar language, describing family members, friends and teachers as thinking their appearance is “Fine” or “Good”. The phrase “They don’t mind” was also used a number of times. The participants appeared to assume that others like their appearance. This relates to research questions 6, 7 and 8.

A few participants did identify parts of their bodies that they were not happy with. However, many participants expressed that there was not any part of their body that they were dissatisfied with. When asked about whether there was any particular part of their body that they were satisfied with, participants tended to be reluctant to name a specific part, instead indicating more global body satisfaction:

I: Is there any part of your body that you’re particularly satisfied with?

D032 (Male): No, not particularly satisfied. I’m satisfied with all of it but none more than others.

I: so is there any part of your body that you’re particularly happy with?

E054 (Male): No, not really. Just, just happy with everything really.

3.4.2 Theme two: Importance of appearance

3.4.2.1 Sub-theme one: Importance of own appearance

This sub-theme relates to research question 4.

When asked how important their appearance was in terms of how they thought and felt about themselves, the participants' responses varied. Some participants expressed that it was not important at all:

I: thinking about your, sort of, appearance overall, um, how important is it in terms of how you feel about yourself?

D064 (Male): I don't, I couldn't really care less.

Whereas others participants suggested that their appearance was an important aspect of their overall self-esteem:

I: how important is your appearance in terms of how you think and how you feel about yourself?

D032 (Male): I think it's quite important so you feel good about yourself.

Other participants suggested that although it was important, it was not the most important thing, with one participant alluding to her view that personality is more important:

I: and how important would you say, um, your appearance is when it comes to how you think and how you feel about yourself?

E036 (Female): Um, I think, ah, I don't really know really, I'm just, not really sure.

I: Is it important to you?

E036: Um, it's, yeah, I suppose it's, it's like something that everybody, like, sees you as really.

I: Mmm.

E036: But, no, I think it's more, like, who you are in a person than your looks and stuff.

There was, nonetheless, a clear consensus from both the male and female participants that it was not important that members of the opposite sex like their appearance.

3.4.2.2 Sub-theme two: Important of appearance to others

Participants were asked how important they thought appearance was to their family members and their teachers, relating to research questions 6 and 8. Overall, participants expressed that appearance was important to these people, but not to a large extent. For example:

I: how important do you think your teacher's appearance is to them?

F006 (Male): I don't really know. I think she likes looking nice but she doesn't think, she doesn't, it's not, like, really really important to her.

Compared to fathers, siblings and teachers, participants appeared to suggest that appearance was more important to their mothers, with many participants commenting that they had observed their mothers putting makeup on and straightening or styling their hair. However, many participants suggested that their mothers put makeup on specifically when going out of the house, rather than when at home.

3.4.3 Theme three: Appearance talk

3.4.3.1 Sub-theme one: Receiving comments about own appearance

Many participants described receiving compliments about their appearance from a wide range of people, including their family members, their friends and their teachers. This relates to research questions 6, 7 and 8. The participants described feeling happy after receiving these comments. Despite this, some participants had received negative comments about their appearance, and these participants described dealing with these in two different ways.

Some participants described ignoring such comments:

I: And what do you think your brother and sister think about your appearance?

A007 (Female): Um, well they say stuff about my hair, but...

I: Mmm.

A007: I just ignore them cos I like the colour of my hair.

Other participants, particularly boys, dismissed such comments as jokes:

E054 (Male): quite a few friends, like, more the boys, we'll all, sort of, do comments about each other. But it doesn't mean anything. Like, at the time you're thinking, oh, do they really think about me like this? But then, you have, like, a day or so and you go back and then they, it's all banter so it's just jokes.

The participants also tended to assume that if they had not received any negative comments about their appearance, people must like their appearance:

F006 (Male): nobody says anything, like, bad things about it so I think people must feel alright with it.

3.4.3.2 Sub-theme two: Discussing appearance with others

This sub-theme relates to research questions 6, 7 and 8.

When asked about whether they discussed appearance with the people in their lives, including their family members, friends and teachers, very few participants described discussing appearance with other people. It appeared as if generally, appearance was not a regular topic of conversation for these children and young people.

Two participants did mention that teachers tend to comment on their appearance in terms of their school uniform:

D064 (Male): Well, they usually tell me to put my tie on in the mornings. And, like, tuck my shirt in and everything. But that's just to do with school.

I: do teachers in school ever talk about appearance?

E054 (Male): No, not really. Um, lots of them tell you to tuck your shirt in and be smart and stuff but not really, no.

3.4.4 Theme four: Appearance ideals

3.4.4.1 Sub-theme one: Placing value on controllable aspects of appearance

When asked about how people should look in order to look good, many of the participants expressed that it was important to look neat, clean, tidy or smart. In terms of appearance ideals, the participants tended to focus on controllable aspects of appearance, relating to research question 1.

For example, some participants suggested that in order for people to look good, they need to wear certain clothes:

I: how do you think boys should look to look good?

A007 (Female): Um, wear nice clothes, not, like, tracksuit bottoms, or, unless you're sporty then that's ok.

I: How do you think boys should look in order to look good?

F006 (Male): Just, I think they should just be casual for boys, like, just, like, just, that's what my friends and I wear really, just normal tops and shirts, t-shirts and shorts and trousers, just normal.

Other participants suggested that it was important to have certain hairstyles:

I: So what, sort of, ideals do you think there are for boys?

A001 (Male): Um, cool and, um, sometimes scruffy hair.

I: Scruffy hair? Ok. And what does cool mean?

A001: Um, like, um, cos a kid in our class called X, he has, he always has his hair swept over.

No participants talked about the importance of aspects of appearance that are more difficult to control, such as weight or facial features.

3.4.4.2 Sub-theme two: Rejection of appearance ideals

When asked about appearance ideals, many participants were able to describe these to me as they see them, but they then tended to make statements suggesting that they were actively rejecting these. This relates to research question 1. For example:

I: Try to think about a boy that looks good. Can you describe them to me?

A001 (Male): Um, spiky hair.

I: Yep.

A001: Um, X and X always, um, have their trousers down a bit so, um, you can see their pants.

I: So having your trousers a bit low and a bit baggy, yeah? Ok.

A001: But I don't do that.

I: No? How comes you don't do that?

A001: Um, because I don't like it.

Instead of conforming to appearance ideals, participants tended to define beauty and looking good more widely, with many participants strongly arguing the most important thing was to just be yourself:

I: How do you think girls should look like to look good?

A002 (Female): I think any person just needs to, they don't really need to do anything, they just need to, kind of, be themselves sort of thing.

I: So what do you think boys should look like in order to look good?

D064 (Male): Themselves, be themselves.

I: Yeah, ok. And what about girls then?

D064: Same. They've just gotta be themselves.

I: Yeah.

D064: If you try too hard you'll end up doing it, making you look worse...

I: Yeah.

D064: ...than if you just try to be yourself.

I: Yeah.

D064: You sort of, that opposite thing, if you try to hard you won't look good but if you don't try at all...

I: Yeah.

D064: ...it'll be, you'll look better and more natural and comfortable.

Other participants argued that there was no one way to look good, instead emphasising the importance of variation in terms of ways of looking good:

I: So how do you think girls should look like in order to look good then?

D074 (Female): Um, I think it's probably individual.

I: Yeah?

D074: Cos some people might look good without makeup but other people would be better to wear makeup.

I: So if you, in your head, thought of a girl that you thought looked good, do you think you could describe that person to me?

E036 (Female): Um, I'm not sure really. Just someone that, I suppose, feels good about themselves, I s'pose, like, I dunno...

I: Mmm.

E036: ...cos you can get, like, a slightly, like, bigger person or something that looks really pretty.

I: Yeah.

E036: And then you can get, um, like, just slim people that look really pretty.

I: Yeah.

E036: But then you can get, it's all different and stuff.

One participant described her view that ideas and opinions about beauty are subjective:

E036 (Female): Well, I suppose people have got, everybody's got an opinion on someone that is beautiful and stuff and you get, like, on the news and stuff, where people are saying, aww, this isn't, and they've got like a picture of someone and they're saying this is, like, beautiful, this woman...

I: Yeah.

E036: ...and stuff. And it's all like different people, it's just one person's opinion that says that.

I: Yeah.

E036: And she's, like, now recognised as the prettiest, like, person.

I: Yeah.

E036: But, um, there's like other people's opinions and stuff that probably people are prettier than her...

I: Yeah.

E036: ...in different countries and things and stuff.

3.4.5 Theme five: Influences

The participants identified a number of influences through which they have learnt about appearance ideals and which impact on their body esteem, relating to research question 2. Some participants discussed the importance of family and friends in terms of influencing their opinions about what looks good. However, these influences tended to be passive; participants described seeing what their family members and friends do and wear and being influenced by this, rather than their family or friends actively discussing appearance with them. This also relates to research questions 6 and 7.

The media and celebrity culture was also identified as a strong influence. One participant described celebrities as “role models” and a number of participants suggested that children and young people want to look like celebrities.

Advertising was identified as an important way in which the media transmit messages about appearance ideals. The makeup industry in particular was identified as placing pressure on girls to look a certain way, whereas for boys advertising that was identified included advertisements for expensive clothes, boxer shorts and perfume brands.

One participant expressed the view that the media is marginalising overweight people:

E054 (Male): I think, the, like, the media now is, like, pressuring people to look better forcing the, like, the overweight to go into, like, depression and stuff.

I: Mmm.

E054: Um, yeah I think, I think people are expected to look perfect now more than they were.

I: Mmm.

E054: Because of media.

The participants conveyed mixed views about how school influences their feelings about their appearance generally, relating to research question 8. Although they didn't tend to feel that this was something that they engaged in, some participants did describe how others might engage in appearance related social comparison:

E036 (Female): There's lots, not that, I wouldn't but, like, there's, I think there probably is a lot of people that feel like they have to look up to, they have to dress and be like other people...

However, other participants thought that the fact that there was such diversity in appearance at school was a good thing, as this helped them understand the importance of variety and difference.

3.4.6 Theme six: Exercise and sport

This theme relates to research question 5.

When questioned about their participation in exercise and sport, all participants described participating in some kind of exercise and sport and this was often at a high level such as representing their county or participating in national competitions. Sport and exercise were a normal and natural part of these children and young people's lives, with one participant stating "I do all the sports going"!

Reasons that were mentioned by the participants in terms of why they participate in exercise and sport included that it is enjoyable, it keeps you fit,

and for the social benefits that this brings. One participant described how participating in sport affects his overall self-esteem:

E054 (Male): I like to do sport because afterwards you feel really good about yourself, you've just broken a barrier or something. Um, yeah, it feels really good.

Two participants made comments that appeared to actively reject gender stereotypes in sport. One girl described her experience of deciding to take up football:

I: How do you feel about football?

E036 (Female): Um, yeah, I think it was definitely a new sport because you normally see it as a boys' sport.

I: Yeah.

E036: But, um, I think I started in Year 5 with, um, quite a lot of my other friends, and they were all doing it and stuff. And I suppose, when you're just, when it's just a girl, when you think of it as a girls' sport it feels more, like, it is a girls sport if you know what I mean.

Another participant, a boy, described his experience of participating in gymnastics:

E054 (Male): people still stereotypically think of gymnastics as girls' sport, you know.

I: Yeah.

E054: That's why, like, friends say it's gay and stuff.

I: Yeah.

E054: But, I just ignore it. It's not, like, the boys at our gym club are massive, like...

I: Yeah.

E054: ...they're huge.

3.5 Discussion

3.5.1 Discussion of themes and comparison with other research, including that of Frisé and Holmqvist (2010) and Holmqvist and Frisé (2012)

3.5.1.1 Own appearance

Overall, the participants expressed positive body esteem, which is evidence for the validity of the Body Esteem Scale for Children (Mendelson & White, 1982) as the participants were selected for interview on the basis of their high scores on this measure of body esteem. What was interesting, however, was the language that the participants used to describe their own appearance, with participants often using modest language such as “Fine”, “Ok” and “Normal”. This was something that was also noticed in the research of Frisé and Holmqvist (2010), however these authors suggested that this might be a phenomenon that was specific to Swedish adolescents, as they described an attitude rooted in Swedish culture referred to as Jante-law, where Swedish people are taught that they should not think of themselves as better than others. Nevertheless, the fact that the current research has found that this phenomenon is also present in a sample of children and young people from the UK suggests that this is perhaps something that is found in western cultures more generally. Certainly, vanity is often considered a negative attribute in western culture and this might perhaps be a reason why body dissatisfaction is so prevalent, as it could be argued that expressing positive body esteem is something that is not actively encouraged in western culture.

Another interesting finding was that participants expressed global body satisfaction, rather than satisfaction with particular parts of their bodies. Previous research has found a gender difference with respect to this, with men more often conceptualising their bodies as a holistic entity compared to women, who more often conceptualise their bodies compartmentally (Franzoi, Kessenich, & Sugrue, 1989; Halliwell & Dittmar, 2003). Franzoi et al. (1989) also found that when both women and men focussed on specific body parts,

they experienced more negative feelings. A gender difference was not found in the current study, with both boys and girls expressing global satisfaction with their bodies. This may be a reason for their positive body esteem, particularly in the girls in the study, as through focussing on their bodies as a whole they are protecting themselves from the negative emotions associated with evaluating their body parts individually.

3.5.1.2 Importance of appearance

Although the participants expressed mixed views on whether their appearance was important to them, it certainly appeared as if it was not the most important thing. The views of the participant who stated that personality is more important than appearance are echoed in the research of Holmqvist and Frisé (2012), many of whose participants expressed similar views.

The fact that the participants in the current study did not think that it was important for members of the opposite sex to like their appearance is an interesting finding, especially when considered in light of the possible explanation for gender differences in the results of study one. In explaining the results of study one, it was suggested that one reason that girls' body esteem declines as they get older is possibly because of the development of sexual behaviour and the possible sexual harassment that they experience. The fact that the girls in the current study state that it is not important that boys like their appearance suggest that they are not feeling under pressure to appear attractive to boys and it might be therefore argued that they are experiencing less sexual pressure, which might be a reason for their more positive body esteem.

Although participants noted that appearance was not insignificant to others in their lives, such as their family members and their teachers, they did not seem to express that appearance was of great importance to these people. Where appearance was described as important, the participants described other people (especially their mothers) changing controllable aspects of their appearance (such as putting makeup on or styling their hair). These findings are similar to those reported by Frisé and Holmqvist (2010), whose participants

also described their parents as only caring about controllable aspects of their appearance, rather than aspects that are more difficult to control, such as body shape and size.

3.5.1.3 Appearance talk

The fact that the participants in the current study reported receiving compliments from a number of people in their lives, including their family members, friends and teachers suggests that this is important in the development of positive body esteem. This was something that was also reported by the participants in Frisé and Holmqvist's (2010) study. The idea that teachers should compliment their pupils on their appearance is possibly an idea that teachers may feel uncomfortable with. Nevertheless, teachers in the UK have a duty to promote the welfare and safety of children in their care in the same way that a parent is responsible for their child, something that is legally referred to as 'in loco parentis'. It might be argued that this extends to promoting the emotional wellbeing of their students, and therefore acting as a parent would to their child. If it is considered appropriate for a parent to compliment their child about their appearance then perhaps teachers need not feel uncomfortable about doing this also.

Although some of the participants had received negative comments about their appearance, these comments were often ignored or dismissed as jokes. This is something that was also noticed by Frisé and Holmqvist (2010), and these researchers suggest that this is evidence that it is not the frequency of positive and negative comments that affects the development of children and young people's body esteem, but instead how these comments are interpreted and processed. As yet, it is not clear why children and young people with positive body esteem are able to dismiss negative comments as not important, nevertheless, as this is now the second time that this finding has been reported, this would be a pertinent area for further research.

The fact that the participants in the current study assumed that if they had not received any negative comments about their appearance, that people must like the way that they look was also a finding of Frisé and Holmqvist's (2010)

research. These researchers suggest that this might be a finding that was specific to their participants, however, the fact that this finding has been replicated in the current study suggests that this is something that applies to children and young people with positive body esteem more generally.

The fact that appearance was rarely discussed with other people in the lives of these children and young people was another interesting finding. Taken together with the finding discussed above that the participants' view was that appearance was of scarce importance to their family members and teachers, one gets a sense of these children and young people being surrounded by significant others in their lives who are not placing great emphasis on the importance of appearance, potentially buffering the effects of the media and cultural influences about the importance of appearance.

3.5.1.4 Appearance ideals

When asked about appearance ideals, the participants placed emphasis on the importance of controllable aspects of appearance, such as looking neat and tidy, wearing nice clothes and having certain hairstyles. This finding was different to the findings of research by Holmqvist and Frisén (2012), whose participants more often mentioned traditional appearance ideals such as the muscular ideal for boys, and the thin ideal for girls. It is uncertain why participants in the current study did not allude to these ideals but perhaps one reason is because the participants in the current study were younger than the participants in Holmqvist and Frisén's study, and therefore had not internalised appearance ideals to the same degree. Further research with older adolescents in the UK would be interesting to discover whether they also place value on more controllable aspects of appearance.

Nevertheless, the finding that the participants in the current study rejected appearance ideals and instead defined beauty more widely was something that was also found in the research by Holmqvist and Frisén (2012). This is an important finding that has clear implications for those seeking to design programmes aimed at promoting positive body esteem in children and young people.

3.5.1.5 Influences

The influences that the participants described provide further evidence for the representation of the development of body esteem informed by Bronfenbrenner's (1977) ecological systems theory presented in study one (see Figure 5), as influences appear to occur at different systemic levels.

One interesting finding was how aware the participants were of advertising in the media and how this might affect their body esteem. The participants in Holmqvist and Frisé's (2012) study were very critical of the media and it appears that an understanding of how the media might portray appearance ideals that are unrealistic or unnatural for a particular purpose may buffer the internalisation of such ideals. This has implications for programmes designed to promote positive body esteem and certainly one characteristic of successful prevention or intervention programmes in secondary schools is that they tend to have some media literacy content (Yager et al., 2013).

3.5.1.6 Exercise and sport

One of the more unexpected findings of the research was that all of the participants described participating in some form of exercise or sport, many at a high level. It might be suggested that this is a chance finding, yet this was something that was also reported in the research of Frisé and Holmqvist (2010). A meta-analysis of 121 studies investigating the link between exercise and body image found that overall, participation in exercise is associated with a positive body image (Hausenblas & Fallon, 2006) and Burgess, Grogan, and Burwitz (2006) found that a 6-week dance intervention successfully decreased body dissatisfaction in girls aged 13-14, although this finding was not sustained at follow up. It is perhaps the case therefore that the finding of the current research that children and young people with positive body esteem participate in exercise and sport should not come as such a surprise. The question that has not been answered in the research thus far however is why exercise is associated with positive body esteem.

It might be argued that children and young people who exercise are more likely to have bodies that conform to the thin and muscular ideals, and that this is why exercise is associated with positive body esteem. Nevertheless, the children and young people in the current study did not seem aware of these ideals, and therefore it is unlikely that this explains these findings in this case.

Another explanation might be that through exercising and playing sport, children and young people are able to construct a functional view of their bodies, rather than viewing their bodies as purely an aesthetic. Frost (2001) argues that during adolescence, girls learn that they are the objects of male gaze and that this leads to self-objectification. It may be the case that participation in exercise and sport prevent this process from happening, as girls learn that their bodies are not just something to be gazed at by boys and men.

One interesting finding was how two participants appeared to actively reject gender stereotypes in sport. Although this is not something that was noticed in the research of Frisén and Holmqvist (2010), they do include the following quotation from one of their participants, which appears to suggest that she is also rejecting gender stereotypes in sport:

Girls are expected to be a certain way and not be muscular. And you are not supposed to like sports a lot. So, in a way it's fun to be different, to like sports and all that and to be a bit muscular just because it's against what people expect you to be like. (p. 208)

It is unclear why this may be linked to more positive body esteem. One explanation is that children and young people with positive body esteem actively reject all pressure placed on them to conform to any stereotype, whether this is a stereotype related to appearance or gender. It may be that the social status benefits that arise from sports participation, as commented on by authors such as Chase and Machida (2011), give these young people the confidence to actively challenge and reject stereotypes. Nevertheless, all the hypotheses that suggest ways in which participation in exercise and sport may promote positive body esteem are tentative, and this area is therefore worthy of further research. It may be that qualitative research, focussing on how children and young people

who participate frequently in sport and exercise construct their views of their bodies would be a useful next step.

3.5.2 Implications for prevention and intervention programmes in schools

The results of the current study have important implications in terms of how positive body esteem might be promoted in the population from which the current sample is drawn. Influences that have led to the development of the participants' positive body esteem have occurred at different systemic levels, therefore an ecological approach seems a viable way forward for prevention and intervention programmes, perhaps using the representation of the development of body esteem informed by Bronfenbrenner's (1977) ecological systems theory presented in study one (see Figure 5).

The current research has shown that children and young people with positive body esteem rejected appearance ideals and instead defined beauty more widely. At the macrosystem level therefore, prevention and intervention programmes might have elements that encourage children to question their ideas about what constitutes 'attractiveness' and might educate them about how this is subjective and has changed over time.

The current research also found that children and young people with positive body esteem were aware of advertising in the media and how this might affect their body esteem. At the exosystem level therefore, prevention and intervention programmes should include elements of media literacy in order to educate children about how appearance ideals are transmitted in the media and what purposes these serve.

In addition, the current research found that children and young people with positive body esteem tended to report that significant people in their lives did not place great importance on appearance, and that children and young people with positive body esteem received compliments from significant people in their lives about their appearance. At the mesosystem level therefore, schools might

work in partnership with parents and families to educate them on how what they do and say may affect their child's body esteem. For example, schools might provide information about how to encourage emotional wellbeing, including positive body esteem, at parents' evenings (perhaps in the form of a leaflet for parents to take away). This information could also be available through the schools' websites. At the microsystem level, teachers might be provided with training to encourage them to think about how what they do and say may affect the body esteem of children in their class.

Finally, an interesting finding of the current study has been the fact that children and young people with positive body esteem tend to frequently participate in exercise and sport. As part of any prevention or intervention programme therefore, schools should consider to what extent they promote engagement in exercise and sport amongst children and young people, and how they ensure any barriers to this are removed. Schools should also consider how they are teaching Physical Education, ensuring that lessons are appropriately differentiated so that all children, not just those who are naturally talented in sport, can experience success in sport and exercise and develop a functional and positive view of their bodies.

3.5.3 Limitations of the current study

The current study has a number of limitations, all of which should be taken into account when interpreting the findings of the study.

Firstly, the sample of children and young people interviewed for the current study were drawn from the sample of children and young people who took part in study one. The response rate for study one was low at 17%, therefore it is not certain that the sample was representative of the population from which it was drawn. Consequently, it is not certain that the sample of children with positive body esteem in the current study are representative of other children and young people with positive body esteem in the population from which the sample was drawn. This limits the generalisability of the findings.

Secondly, the research was conducted by one female researcher, which has a number of implications. For example, all the interviews were conducted by this female researcher, which may have meant that the boys in the study were less likely to share their true thoughts and feelings. In actual fact, in one study specifically investigating men's body image, the participants who did express a preference for the gender of the interviewer actually preferred to have a female interviewer (Adams, Turner, & Bucks, 2005) and certainly the boys in the current study did not appear uncomfortable with being interviewed by a female. Nevertheless, it is worth considering that their responses may have been different if they were interviewed by a male interviewer.

The fact that the research was conducted by a single researcher also meant that this researcher completed all of the data analysis independently. It may have been beneficial to have at least one other person code all of the transcripts and generate themes and subthemes. After this, the two researchers could have worked together to produce a final list of themes and subthemes, which may have improved the reliability of the findings. Unfortunately, this is one of the drawbacks of working as a single researcher rather than as part of a research team. In addition, the fact that the research was conducted by a single researcher in a relatively short timescale meant that there was not time for the researcher to check her interpretations of what the participants discussed with the participants themselves, which again would have added to the reliability of the findings.

Finally, it is worth noting that the participants in the current study were younger than the participants in the studies by Frisén and Holmqvist (2010) and Holmqvist and Frisén (2012). This is unfortunate as the current study was aiming to replicate the studies of Frisén and Holmqvist and Holmqvist and Frisén as closely as possible to discover whether the findings of these studies would also apply to children from the south-west of England. Although some of the findings of these studies have been replicated in the current study, other findings have differed. It may be, however, that this is due to the fact that the participants in the current study are younger on average than the participants in the studies by Frisén and Holmqvist and Holmqvist and Frisén.

3.6 Conclusions

The findings of the current study suggest that children and young people with positive body esteem had global body satisfaction, although they still tended to use modest language to describe their own appearance. These children and young people did not place great importance on appearance and were not concerned about whether members of the opposite sex liked their appearance. Significant others in their lives also did not place great importance on appearance and appearance was rarely discussed, although children and young people with positive body esteem did tend to report that they had received compliments about their appearance. The findings of the current study suggest that when negative comments were received, these were dismissed as jokes or not important. When asked about appearance ideals, the children and young people in the current study discussed controllable aspects of appearance, however, they often rejected appearance ideals and instead defined beauty more widely. The participants in the current study identified a number of influences on their body esteem, including their family, friends, the media and school. Finally, the findings of the current research suggest that children and young people with positive body esteem frequently participated in exercise and sport.

The findings of the current study have important implications in terms of how positive body esteem might be promoted in schools. It has been suggested that prevention and intervention programmes are ecological in their approach and are informed by the findings of this research. One important area for consideration is the role of exercise and sport in the development of positive body esteem in children and young people, and this is not only something that schools should consider, but is also an interesting avenue for further research.

The current study has shown that the study of positive body esteem, or body satisfaction, has a great deal to offer in terms of understanding body dissatisfaction and how this might be prevented in children and young people. It is hoped that if researchers move towards an approach informed by positive psychology principles, prevention and intervention programmes will be

underpinned by research that has shown what factors contribute to positive body esteem. It is therefore anticipated that these programmes will be more effective in preventing body dissatisfaction in children and young people, and thus encouraging children and young people to develop respect for their bodies and satisfaction with their own appearance.

4 Implications of the research for educational psychologists

The research presented in this thesis has a number of implications for educational psychologists working with schools as they work with individual children and young people, but also more systemically.

When working with individual children and young people, it is hoped that educational psychologists will recognise the importance of body esteem and how this contributes to children and young people's overall self-esteem. As study one has shown that girls' body esteem declines during adolescence, particularly in year 9 in the current sample, educational psychologists should be aware of this and this may inform their hypotheses about what might be unpinning any difficulties a student is experiencing. The Body Esteem Scale for Children (Mendelson & White, 1982) has proven to be a reliable measure of body esteem in the current sample, and educational psychologists might consider using this tool when assessing body esteem in children and young people.

Although there are implications for educational psychologists working with children and young people individually, there are far greater implications for educational psychologists working systemically with schools. Educational psychologists should raise awareness of the importance of body esteem in schools and how this is related to pupils' overall self-esteem. For educational psychologists working with schools interested in promoting positive body esteem, the research presented as part of this thesis provides guidance in terms of when prevention and intervention programmes should be implemented and what should make up the content of such programmes.

Ideally, prevention and intervention programmes designed to promote positive body esteem should be ecological in their approach and should be implemented in primary schools. Educational psychologists might use the representation of the development of body esteem informed by Bronfenbrenner's (1977) ecological systems theory (see Figure 5) as a tool to inform programmes

designed in collaboration with schools. Educational psychologists should work with schools to affect change at as many different systemic levels as possible and should use the findings of this research highlight to schools areas in which they might think about developing, for example, media literacy teaching in school, information for parents about body esteem development, Physical Education curriculum and teaching.

Although the current research has provided some indications as to factors that help promote positive body esteem in schools, it is likely that programmes are likely to be more successful if they are developed with the needs of a particular community or context in mind (Irving, 1999). Educational psychologists working with schools interesting in promoting positive body esteem might therefore use the current research to support schools in identifying what they are currently doing already to promote positive body esteem and what they could do further to ensure greater impact. It is unlikely that one particular programme is going to be appropriate for all contexts so educational psychologists should work with schools to come up with tailor made programmes that ideally are ecological in their approach and begin early. In this way educational psychologists will ensure that the programmes that are developed are likely to be properly implemented by schools, and will have maximum impact on children and young people in terms of promoting the development of positive body esteem.

5 Appendices

Appendix 1: Literature review

The literature review is a distinct piece of work, which has already been marked by the University of Exeter. It is included here for completeness.

Literature Review: Body Image in Children and Adolescents

Body image is defined as a psychological construct encompassing self-perceptions, ideas and feelings about one's own physical appearance (Wykes & Gunter, 2005). Many researchers in this area have become increasingly worried about the pervasiveness of body image concerns in children and adolescents. For example, Rumsey and Harcourt (2005) state that "Appearance-related concerns are reaching epidemic proportions in Western society, with people increasingly preoccupied, and in many cases dissatisfied, with the way they look." (p. 63).

There is some evidence that supports the view that body image concerns are common amongst children and adolescents. An early study of British adolescents by Davies and Furnham (1986) found that although very few of their participants were overweight, nearly half expressed a desire to lose weight. A later study of British girls aged 15-16 by Button, Loan, Davies, and Sonuga-Barke (1997) found that 56% of the girls reported using some form of weight control strategy. It is therefore evident why the study of body image in children and adolescents is an important research area.

This review will focus on the research on the development of body image in children and adolescents and will examine the ways in which positive body image might be promoted. Specifically, the literature around individual and sociocultural factors relating to body image will be reviewed, and gaps in the current literature identified. From this, a new model of body image development in children and adolescents will be suggested.

Process of literature review

Literature for this review was initially sourced through reading relevant chapters of key texts in the research area. From reviewing the reference lists of these chapters, studies for the review were identified. In addition, the electronic database PsycINFO was searched using various combinations of the following terms: 'body image, appearance, children, adolescents and adolescence'. Finally, the journal 'Body Image' was accessed electronically and all issues since its first issue in 2004 were searched.

Various exclusion criteria were applied to ensure that the literature sourced for the review was relevant. These included: studies with primarily adult participants (unless they were asked retrospectively about their childhood or they were parents participating in a study regarding their children's body image), studies where all the participants were from cultures very different to Western culture e.g. studies of Chinese children and adolescents, studies focussing on clinical populations, such as participants with eating disorders, studies focussing on very specific populations, such as athletes or ballet dancers, and studies only concerned with weight based stigma or anti-fat attitudes.

Definition of body image

Both Blood (2005) and Pruzinsky and Cash (2002) argue that one issue for researchers in this area is that the construct of 'body image' is complex, with definitions varying by researcher. Researchers have tended to measure either self-perceptions or self-attitudes (Cash, 2004; Gardner, 2002; Thompson, Penner, & Altabe, 1990). In addition, four components of attitudinal body image have been identified, namely a global component, an affective component, a cognitive component, and a behavioural component (Krawczyk, Menzel, & Thompson, 2012; Thompson & van den Berg, 2002). This literature review accepts the definition of body image by Wykes and Gunter (2005) presented in the introduction.

Consequences of body image concerns

Studies have mostly focussed on the development of body image concerns. Body image concerns have been associated with disordered eating and dietary

restraint (Allen, Byrne, McLean, & Davis, 2008; Attie & Brooks-Gunn, 1989; Davison, Markey, & Birch, 2003; Espinoza, Penelo, & Raich, 2010; Hill, Oliver, & Rogers, 1992) as well as excessive exercise (White & Halliwell, 2010). As these behaviours are associated with eating disorders, considered a significant public health concern due to their difficulty to treat and high mortality rate (Parliamentary Office of Science and Technology, 2007), it is clear why research interest in body image concerns has been high.

In addition, Diedrichs and Halliwell (2012) speculate that body image concerns may have a negative impact on pupils' learning in school, as well as their ability to interact with their peers. However, Blood (2005) argues that experimental research into body image has many methodological flaws, and, as a result, researchers have created a moral panic around body image. For example, the participants in the study mentioned above by Hill et al. (1992) were all from a single-sex fee-paying independent school, and yet the authors of this study make generalisations from this limited sample.

Individual factors associated with body image

As a result of the concerns around body image, researchers have studied individual factors associated with body image in order to better understand its development. The evidence around these individual factors is reviewed in turn.

Age

There are concerns that children are becoming aware of appearance ideals at a much younger age than was previously thought. For example, a review of various studies found that children aged 4-11 reported high levels of body dissatisfaction (Rees, Oliver, Woodman, & Thomas, 2011). In terms of when these concerns develop, an American study found that compared with second-grade girls, fourth-grade girls and sixth-grade girls reported significantly more weight concerns, although this was not the case for boys (Thelen, Powell, Lawrence, & Kuhnert, 1992).

Studies of older children have also found differences according to age. For example, an early Spanish study found that participants in the 15-19 age group scored significantly higher on the Eating Attitudes Test than participants in the

12-14 age group (Toro, Castro, Garcia, Perez, & Cuesta, 1989), suggesting that older adolescents have more body image concerns than younger adolescents. Lunde, Frisén, and Hwang (2007) found that both girls' and boys' body dissatisfaction increased from age 10 to age 13, but girls' increases in body dissatisfaction were significantly larger than boys'. Rosenblum and Lewis (1999) also found body dissatisfaction increased in adolescence, although this was only the case for girls, and for boys, body dissatisfaction actually decreased.

However, other researchers have found no association between age and body image. For example, an early study of children aged 11-19 years found no association between body satisfaction and age (Clifford, 1971). A more recent study by Duncan, Al-Nakeeb, and Nevill (2004) found no differences in body esteem in children aged 11-14. Similarly, an American study of younger children (in fourth to sixth grade) found that body dissatisfaction was not related to age (Xanthopoulos et al., 2011).

One explanation for the increase in levels of body image concerns in adolescent girls is that the onset of puberty moves their bodies away from the 'thin ideal' that is prevalent in Western society (Levine & Smolak, 2002a). Rosenblum and Lewis (1999) argue that their results can be explained by the fact that for boys, puberty actually brings their bodies closer to the masculine ideal of a large and muscular body, whereas girls experience an increase in body mass index (BMI) during puberty due to fat accumulation.

Accordingly, a number of researchers have controlled for BMI when investigating the effect of age. For example, a recently published study found that when the increase in BMI during adolescence was controlled for, the increase in body dissatisfaction due to age became non-significant (Bucchianeri, Arikian, Hannan, Eisenberg, & Neumark-Sztainer, 2013). Similarly, Wardle and Marsland (1990) found that a trend for perceived fatness to increase in girls with age disappeared when BMI was controlled for. However, such an explanation does not account for studies that have found increased body image concerns in younger children.

BMI

As well studying the interaction between age, BMI and body image, researchers have studied BMI as factor in its own right. A consistent finding in the literature is that having a high BMI is associated with body image concerns. For example, having a high BMI has been found to be associated with greater body dissatisfaction (Robinson et al., 1996; Striegel-Moore et al., 2000; Wojtowicz & von Ranson, 2012; Xanthopoulos et al., 2011), eating attitude disturbances (Espinoza et al., 2010; Toro et al., 1989), body concerns and weight control behaviours (Lynch, Heil, Wagner, & Havens, 2007), and lower body esteem (Mendelson & White, 1982). In three of these studies (Lynch et al., 2007; Mendelson & White, 1982; Xanthopoulos et al., 2011), the effects were found regardless of gender. Additionally, overweight girls and boys have reported worrying more about their weight and their figure/physique (Wadden, Brown, Foster, & Linowitz, 1991).

The finding that both boys and girls with a high BMI appear to have body image concerns is somewhat at odds with the proposal that boys strive to achieve a 'muscular ideal'. If boys were striving to achieve a muscular ideal, it might therefore be expected that they would show increased body satisfaction with increasing BMI. One study that supports this hypothesis is reported by Shriver et al. (2013), who found that there was no difference in body esteem for normal weight and overweight boys, with lower body esteem only found in obese boys. This suggests that boys only worry about their bodies when they have a very high BMI, perhaps because having a slightly higher BMI is associated with the muscular ideal. It is likely that previous studies, such as the study by Mendelson and White (1982), which only investigated the correlation between BMI and body image, have overlooked this important finding, and as such this demonstrates a limitation of correlational analysis.

Gender

One of the most widely reported factors believed to affect body image is that of gender. Girls have consistently been found to have more body image concerns: for example, girls have been shown to have higher levels of body dissatisfaction (Clifford, 1971; Knauss, Paxton, & Alsaker, 2007; Xanthopoulos et al., 2011), lower levels of body esteem (Duncan et al., 2004; Shriver et al., 2013), more

eating attitude disturbances (Pliner, Chaiken, & Flett, 1990; Toro et al., 1989), more dieting and restrained eating (Thelen et al., 1992) and to select a thinner ideal body figure (Jones, Fries, & Danish, 2007; Tiggemann & Wilson-Barrett, 1998) compared to boys.

However, it has been argued that although the nature and developmental course of body image concerns may differ by gender, this does not mean that boys do not experience body image concerns (Smolak, 2004). Instead, authors such as Cohane and Pope (2001) argue that while girls strive to be thin, boys face increasing pressure to be muscular.

One reason that boys' body image concerns might have been masked in the literature is due to the way that body dissatisfaction has been measured. For example, researchers often measure body dissatisfaction by asking participants to select an ideal and current figure from figure drawings designed to illustrate different body weights. The discrepancy between ideal and current figure is then used to calculate body dissatisfaction. Using this technique, Collins (1991) found that while 42% of girls selected an ideal figure thinner than the picture they believed represented their current figure, only 30% of boys selected an ideal figure thinner than their perceived current figure, whereas 23% boys selected ideal figures that were actually heavier than their perceived current figure. It appears, therefore, that although boys may have similar levels of body image concerns to girls, these concerns vary, with some boys wishing to be thinner, whilst other boys wish to be larger, although those who wish to be larger may in fact desire to be more muscular. If the discrepancy scores are averaged amongst boys, the mean score is much more likely to be nearer to zero due to the variation in their body image concerns. This demonstrates a significant flaw with measuring body image in this way, and it is suggested that future research uses tools that are sensitive to detecting body image concerns in both boys and girls.

Ethnicity

Body image has also been found to vary according to ethnicity, although results in this area have been far from conclusive. Compared with black girls, white girls have been found to be more dissatisfied with their bodies (Striegel-Moore

et al., 2000), to be more likely to perceive themselves as overweight (Neff, Sargent, McKeown, Jackson, & Valois, 1997), to have a greater drive for thinness (Striegel-Moore et al., 2000), to engage in more unhealthy dieting practices (Neff et al., 1997) and to have more weight concerns (Thompson, Corwin, & Sargent, 1997). Black children have also tended to select larger ideal figures than white children and this is the case for both girls and boys (Collins, 1991; Jones et al., 2007; Thompson et al., 1997).

American research with other ethnic groups has reported more mixed results. For example, in a study comparing Caucasian, African American, Asian and Hispanic children, Asian children had the highest levels of body dissatisfaction and African American children had the lowest levels of body dissatisfaction (Xanthopoulos et al., 2011). However, Robinson et al. (1996) found that Hispanic girls were significantly more dissatisfied with their bodies than white girls, with Asian girls' body dissatisfaction not significantly different to either group. Conversely, Lynch et al. (2007) found that white girls were less likely to want to be larger and were more likely to be dissatisfied with their current body size and to engage in risky weight control behaviours compared to Hispanic or Native American girls.

British research has also reported mixed results. For example, Duncan et al. (2004) reported no significant differences in body esteem in white children and black children; nevertheless, they did find that Asian children had significantly lower levels of body esteem when compared to black children. Wardle and Marsland (1990) found that black boys were more satisfied with their size than white or Asian boys, and fewer black or Asian girls felt fat compared to white girls.

It is not surprising that body image varies in children and adolescents from different ethnic and cultural backgrounds, as attitudes towards appearance and what is considered attractive also vary according to cultural norms (Grogan, 1999). It has been hypothesised that ethnic minority children who identify more with Western ideals around beauty may experience more dissatisfaction (Grogan, 1999; Nasser & Katzman, 1999). This is a promising area for future research.

Socioeconomic status

Researchers have also been interested in whether socioeconomic status is related to body image. Wardle and Marsland (1990) reported that girls of a higher socioeconomic status were more likely to feel fat and report dissatisfaction with specific parts of their body such as their hips and thighs. However, in this study the researchers decided on the socioeconomic status of participants according to which school they attended, and merely asked the headteachers of each school what the general background of the pupils attending the school was. This is hardly a reliable measure of socioeconomic status as this doesn't account for the fact that amongst a school population, the socioeconomic status of pupils is likely to be mixed. In addition, the finding that girls of a higher socioeconomic status were more likely to report feeling fat was non-significant.

Other researchers have used parental education level as a proxy for socioeconomic status. Striegel-Moore et al. (2000) found that girls whose parents had four or more years of college education reported less drive for thinness, and girls whose parents were educated to the level of high school or less reported greater bulimic symptoms than girls whose parents had experienced some college education. This suggests that children and adolescents of a lower socioeconomic status are more at risk of body image concerns. However, Robinson et al. (1996) found no association between parental education level and body dissatisfaction.

The results of these studies are mixed and depend on how socioeconomic status is measured. In the future, researchers should aim to use more consistent and reliable measures of socioeconomic status, such as overall household income, in order for more robust conclusions to be drawn. Postcode profiling, using a website such as www.checkmyarea.com, might be another way in which researchers could measure socioeconomic status.

Personality factors

Personality traits have also been studied in relation to body image; however, this research has been much more limited compared to other individual factors. It might be hypothesised that perfectionism would be associated with body

image concerns, nevertheless, in a longitudinal study of 10th and 11th grade girls Wojtowicz and von Ranson (2012) found elevated levels of perfectionism did not predict increases in body dissatisfaction over one year.

A limitation of this study is that although it was a longitudinal study, data were collected when the girls were already in the middle of adolescence, and the girls were studied for a fairly short period of time. It would be better to measure personality factors emerging in childhood and discover whether these were later related to body image. A study that did just this is reported by Martin et al. (2000). In this study, the researchers found that girls who demonstrated a higher drive for thinness showed higher levels of negative emotionality from 3 to 4 years old. However, no associations were found between early temperament and future body image concerns in boys.

Criticism of the focus on the individual

Although the study of how individual factors such as age, BMI, gender, ethnicity, socioeconomic status and personality factors has yielded some interesting results, some authors have criticised the focus on the individual. For example, Frost (2001) argues:

Not only does the psychiatric labelling of a small number of girls allow body-hatred difficulties to be seen as the statistically minor problem of a few 'sick' girls, the pathologisation of such difficulties also conveniently ignores the socially produced and socially experienced nature of body-hatred. (p. 25)

Irving (1999) suggests that this focus on the individual is likely to be because traditional clinical psychology is inclined to intervene at an individual level. However, in order for programmes aimed at promoting positive body image to be successful, sociocultural factors must also be examined.

Sociocultural influences associated with body image

Cultural ideals

It has been argued that body image is dependent on cultural ideals and how a person views his or her body in relation to these ideals (Jackson, 2002). One pervasive cultural ideal in Western society is that of the thin ideal, although other factors that are synonymous with beauty include youth, flawless skin and symmetrical features. However, being thin in particular is highly valued in Western society (Ricciardelli & McCabe, 2001) and is associated with happiness and success (Grogan, 1999).

There is evidence that children and adolescents are aware of this ideal and strive to achieve it. For example, Ahern, Bennett, Kelly, & Hetherington (2011) found that young women aged 16-18 in their focus group reported that the ideal body is thin. In a review of studies involving younger children, Rees et al. (2011) found that children almost always described being overweight as undesirable. Various models have been suggested to explain how sociocultural influences affect body image. One model, the Tripartite Influence Model (Thompson, Heinberg, Altabe, & Tantleff-Dunn, 1999) suggests that three influences: parents, peers and the media are mediated by two processes: social comparison and internalisation of the societal standards of attractiveness. Two studies (Keery, van den Berg, & Thompson, 2004; Shroff & Thompson, 2006) have found that the basic tenets of this model were supported with samples comprising adolescent girls. The research around the influences on the development of body image identified in this model will now be reviewed, along with the research around the processes hypothesised to mediate their effect.

Parental influence

In a review of the literature, Rodgers and Chabrol (2009) conclude that parents are an important source of influence on the development of body image in their children. Rodgers and Chabrol discuss two modes of influence in their paper: the modelling theory, which suggests that children's body image and eating habits are modelled by their parents, and active influences, such as appearance-based criticism or encouragement to lose weight.

There is some evidence that parental attitudes about their own bodies and their related behaviours affect their children's body image. For example, Pike and Rodin (1991) found that mothers of daughters with disordered eating had a longer dieting history and were more eating disordered compared to mothers whose daughters had normal eating habits. Daughters of mothers with higher body dissatisfaction have also been found to have similarly high levels of body dissatisfaction themselves (Hahn-Smith & Smith, 2001). Byely, Archibald, Graber, and Brooks-Gunn (2000) found that mother's dieting and body image did not predict their daughters' dieting and body satisfaction, however, the sample for this study was very limited, with all participants being recruited from private girls' schools in the New York City area.

Active influences, such as appearance-based criticism or encouragement to lose weight from parents, have also been studied. For example, Vincent and McCabe (2000) found that direct influences from both mothers and fathers predicted body image in adolescent girls and boys. In a study asking women and men to report retrospectively on parental teasing experienced during their childhood, Schwartz, Phares, Tantleff-Dunn, and Thompson (1999) found that frequency of teasing and feedback was significantly correlated with body satisfaction in women, but not in men. However, it could be argued that asking adults to comment on the frequency of feedback and teasing from their parents during their childhood is not an accurate measure of parental influence.

Other studies have found no association between parental active influences and body image in children and adolescents. For example, Hardit and Hannum (2012) found that parental criticism was not related to body satisfaction. In another study, Helfert and Warschburger (2011) found that parental encouragement to control weight predicted body dissatisfaction in both girls and boys; however, parental teasing did not appear to have an effect. The authors argue that this may have been because parental teasing was less common than encouraging messages.

Despite the mixed results regarding active influences, parents undoubtedly play a role in communicating cultural ideals to their children. It is therefore important that future programmes designed to promote positive body image recognise the

significant role that parents play in the development of children and adolescents' body image.

The influence of peers

Peers have also been found to have an influence on the development of body image in children and adolescents. This is illustrated in a study by Vincent and McCabe (2000), who found that peer discussions about weight loss and encouragement to lose weight by peers predicted body image in both girls and boys.

Some authors suggest that girls' friendship groups may exacerbate body image concerns. There is some evidence that validates these claims. In an Australian study involving semi-structured interviews of adolescent girls, Wertheim, Paxton, Schutz, and Muir (1997) found that many girls agreed that dieting attempts by their friends made them feel that they should also be dieting. Another study by Paxton, Schutz, Wertheim, and Muir (1999) found that girls in friendship cliques were similar in terms of their body image concerns, dietary restraint and use of extreme weight-loss behaviours.

Paxton et al. (1999) suggest that the above results can be explained in one of two ways. Either friends are having a direct influence on each other's body image, or girls who have similar levels of body image concerns are seeking each other out and are more likely to become friends. In support of the former, it has been argued that restricted eating might be a way of children and adolescents trying to gain approval from their peers (Ricciardelli & Mellor, 2012). Certainly, in Wertheim et al.'s (1997) study, girls reported dieting to fit in with their friends.

Another aspect of peer influence that has been studied is appearance related teasing, and this has been found to lead to lower body esteem in both boys and girls (Lunde, Frisén, & Hwang, 2006, 2007). Peer victimisation at age 10 has also been found to be related to body shame at age 18, although this effect was stronger for girls than boys (Lunde & Frisén, 2011). In a meta-analysis of 57 studies, Menzel et al. (2010) found moderate effect sizes for the association between appearance and weight related teasing for body dissatisfaction, dietary

restraint and bulimic behaviours. Conversely, Helfert and Warschburger (2011) found no evidence of an impact of teasing by peers on weight concerns in girls and boys, although social exclusion did predict weight concerns in boys.

Research has found that teasing by friends is less likely to be perceived as hurtful as teasing by classmates (Jones, Newman, & Bautista, 2005). This is likely to be because friends are more capable of delivering teases that are playful rather than unkind in nature, and are better able to know which topics would be perceived as hurtful (Keltner, Capps, Kring, Young, & Heerey, 2001). Jones et al.'s (2005) research also found that girls are more likely to be negatively affected by teasing, which may go some way in explaining the gender effects on body image concerns noted previously.

Media influence

Due to the unrealistic, and in some cases biologically unachievable, ideals presented in the media, it has been suggested that the media is partly responsible for the development of body image concerns (Halliwell & Diedrichs, 2012). There is some research evidence to support this contention. For example, when interviewing adolescent girls, Wertheim et al. (1997) found that the media was often reported as a reason for the development of body image concerns. In another Australian study, Tiggemann, Gardiner, and Slater (2000) found that when asked why women and girls want to be thinner, adolescent girls most frequently blamed the influence of the media. However, it is important to note that all of the participants in this study were from Catholic schools; therefore the researchers' ability to generalise from these results is limited. Nevertheless, a British study of adolescent girls and boys found that media influence was a significant predictor of excessive exercise in both girls and boys (Goodwin, Haycraft, & Meyer, 2011).

The messages about weight and attractiveness transmitted via television programmes is of particular concern. Anschutz, Spruijt-Metz, Van Strien, and Engels (2011) examined the effect of watching thin ideal focussed television programmes on the body dissatisfaction of girls aged 9-12 years, and found that watching thin ideal focussed television programmes led to increased body dissatisfaction, but only in girls aged 11-12 years. In a longitudinal study of

adolescent boys and girls, Schooler and Trinh (2011) found no effect of television watching on boys' body satisfaction, however, girls who watched television frequently and indiscriminately showed the greatest drop in body satisfaction. In addition, Bell, Lawton, and Dittmar (2007) found that girls who watched music videos showed greater body dissatisfaction after exposure than girls who either listened to three songs or learned a list of words.

Television commercials and advertising have also been shown to influence the development of body image. For example, Hargreaves and Tiggemann (2004) found that body dissatisfaction increased in girls who watched television commercials containing images of the thin ideal, compared to girls who watched non-appearance-related television commercials. However, this was not the case for boys. Frost (2001) is particularly critical of advertising, arguing that its sole purpose is to construct the body as 'the enemy' that needs to be controlled. Certainly, an analysis of the content of two magazines aimed at teenage girls, dating from 1956 up to 2005, found that content relating to dieting and exercise increased in frequency during this time (Luff & Gray, 2009).

Schools

One limitation of the Tripartite Influence Model (Thompson et al., 1999) is that it does not acknowledge the role of schools in the development of children and adolescents's body image. Although it accepts the important influence of peers, school culture and norms also play a role in the communication of societal standards and ideals. Frost (2001) argues: "The institution in which young people of both sexes spend a highly significant part of their lives plays an important part in the circulation of available meanings and messages about what a young person can and should be," (p. 111).

Rich and Evans (2008) describe their research with girls and young women, where they asked these individuals about their experiences of mainstream schooling. The findings of this research suggest that "body perfection codes" are constructed within the school setting, where meaning and value are ascribed to body types and appearance. In addition, Smolak (1999) maintains that many girls report feeling sexually harassed at school, yet many schools do not have policies for dealing with this. Such feelings of sexual harassment may

lead to girls participating in self-surveillance, which may later develop into body image concerns

Given the limited evidence of the role that schools play in the development of body image in children and adolescents, it appears that this is a promising area for future research. Moreover, researchers might consider how schools could be included in programmes designed to promote positive body image in children and adolescents.

Processes mediating the effect of sociocultural influences

Social comparison

One mechanism through which sociocultural influences are claimed to have an effect on the development of body image is through social comparison.

Festinger (1954) argued that we are driven to evaluate ourselves and that we do this by comparing ourselves to others. Festinger also suggested that we are driven to engage in behaviours that reduce discrepancies between ourselves and those whom we compare ourselves with. This then explains how images of airbrushed models in the media might influence the behaviour of children and adolescents, as they compare themselves with these unrealistic images and engage in extreme behaviours such as dieting or excessive exercise in order to reduce the discrepancies between themselves and these images.

This process is believed to emerge during middle childhood (Harter, 1999; Slavin, 2003) and social comparisons are likely to be made with a number of role models, including parents, peers and those presented in the media (Wykes & Gunter, 2005). In Wertheim et al.'s (1997) interviews with adolescent girls, social comparison emerged as a strong theme, with girls most often reporting comparing themselves to friends, followed by models on television.

Internalisation of societal standards of attractiveness

As has already been discussed, in Western society a preference for a thin and attractive body has become the norm (Wykes & Gunter, 2005). Research has found that the thin ideal is already present in primary school children, and that this remains stable into adulthood (Brown & Slaughter, 2011).

Knauss et al. (2007) found that girls internalised media body ideals to a greater degree than boys and that the extent of internalisation predicted the degree of body dissatisfaction experienced. In addition, Snapp (2009) found that girls who had a lower internalisation of thinness had higher athletic competence and higher body satisfaction ratings for weight than girls who highly internalised the thin ideal. A recent study by Evans, Tovée, Boothroyd, and Drewett (2013) found that internalisation of the thin ideal predicted disordered eating attitudes.

One study (Wojtowicz & von Ranson, 2012) found that thin ideal internalisation was not a significant risk factor for increases in body dissatisfaction over a one year period, however, the researchers acknowledge that they modified a previously reliable thin ideal internalisation measure to make it briefer, and that this may have affected their results. In this study, the authors warn future researchers not to assume that the reliability and validity of a full length measure will automatically transfer to a shortened version of that measure.

Self-objectification

One process that the Tripartite Influence Model (Thompson et al., 1999) doesn't include is self-objectification. Frost (2001) argues that during puberty, adolescent girls learn that they are the objects of male gaze, and this leads to constant self-surveillance. This explains the higher levels of body dissatisfaction found in girls, but also explains why boys are also beginning to display body image concerns, as men's bodies are becoming increasingly objectified in the media (Fawcner, 2012). Authors such as Blood (2005) have criticised psychological research for encouraging the objectification of the body, reducing the body to something to be 'studied'. Further exploration of children and adolescents's experiences of self-objectification would be a fruitful area for future research, although researchers should be cautious of using methods that encourage children and adolescents to objectify their bodies.

A new model for the development of body image

A limitation of the Tripartite Influence Model is that it neglects to account for how influences might interact with each other, as there is likely to be a cumulative effect of multiple pressures (Paxton, 1999). Furthermore, the Tripartite Influence Model fails to account for how individual factors may affect the development of

body image, and does not acknowledge the role of schools in the development of children and adolescents's body image.

It is therefore suggested that Bronfenbrenner's (1977) ecological systems model might be a better model to represent the development of body image. This model assumes that development takes place in the context of different systems, all of which influence the child. Bronfenbrenner described different environmental systems that can be arranged around each other, with the developing child in the middle. The level that contains the immediate settings that the child is part of is called the microsystem. Interactions between two or more microsystems take place at the next level up, called the mesosystem. Above this is the exosystem: this contains social structures that do not directly impact on the developing child, but may do so indirectly. Finally, these systems are all surrounded by the macrosystem. This represents the overarching values and beliefs of the sub-culture.

As the ecological systems model (Bronfenbrenner, 1977) also acknowledges the influence of the child on its environmental context, this model would better account for the individual factors that have been found to affect the development of body image. This model also accounts for the influence of schools. A representation of how this model might explain the development of body image in children and adolescents can be found below:



Figure 1: A representation of the development of body image informed by Bronfenbrenner's (1977) ecological systems theory.

Prevention and intervention

Given the prevalence and consequences of body image concerns in children and adolescents, including disordered eating and dietary restraint (Allen et al., 2008; Attie & Brooks-Gunn, 1989; Davison et al., 2003; Espinoza et al., 2010; Hill et al., 1992), excessive exercise (White & Halliwell, 2010) and a possible negative impact on pupils' learning (Diedrichs & Halliwell, 2012), the need for programmes to be developed to promote positive body image is pressing (Rumsey & Harcourt, 2012). However, in reviewing 13 published studies reporting prevention programmes designed to reduce body image concerns and problem eating attitudes and behaviour in children, Holt and Ricciardelli (2008) found little evidence that these programmes prevented body image concerns.

Levine and Smolak (2002b) state that prevention programmes in schools only tend to show short-term effects. Although studies of various prevention or intervention programmes including a circuit training intervention (Duncan, Al-Nakeeb, & Nevill, 2009) the "Healthy Schools-Healthy Kids" programme (McVey, Tweed, & Blackmore, 2007), and an aerobic dance intervention (Burgess, Grogan, & Burwitz, 2006) have demonstrated positive effects on body image, in all of these studies, the effects were not sustained. For other prevention/interventions, effects have only been found in certain groups of students. For example, an evaluation of an internet based prevention programme found that positive effects were moderated by pubertal status (Cousineau et al., 2010).

One study that has reported encouraging results is an evaluation of the BodyThink program by Richardson, Paxton, and Thomson (2009). In this study, the researchers found that girls reported lower internalisation of the thin ideal after completing the program, while boys reported higher body satisfaction both post intervention and at a three month follow-up. One unique aspect of this program was that a large proportion of its content was around media literacy. Furthermore, a recent evaluation of an intervention that aimed to promote positive body image in middle-school girls through intervention only with their mothers found that the intervention group perceived less pressure from their mothers to be thin after the intervention, and that this group showed a lower

drive for thinness three months after the end of the intervention (Corning, Gondoli, Bucchianeri, & Salafia, 2010).

In view of the above, I would argue that a new approach to the prevention of body image concerns is needed, where aspects of the environment are taken into account alongside individual factors. A criticism of prevention and intervention programmes is that they are too focussed on the individual, rather than being focussed on the environments in which individuals are situated (Levine & Smolak, 2002b). Researchers are instead encouraged to think more ecosystemically when designing prevention programmes.

It has been suggested that the school setting provides a valuable opportunity to engage children and adolescents in programmes designed to promote positive body image (Diedrichs & Halliwell, 2012). One way that both Levine and Smolak (2002b) and O'Dea and Maloney (2000) have suggested that schools might promote positive body image is through using the World Health Organisation's (2000) Health Promoting Schools Framework, which focuses on three levels of intervention: the school curriculum, the school ethos, environment and organisation and school-community partnerships. However, I would argue that schools are ideally placed to affect influences beyond the school environment. For example, schools might reach out to parents. Additionally, schools might teach media literacy or engage children and adolescents in media activism (Levine, Piran, & Stoddard, 1999).

Conclusion

Given the increasing concerns around body image in children and adolescents, it is clear that the importance of body image as a research topic should not be underestimated. This review has demonstrated that body image develops in children and adolescents as a result of both individual and sociocultural factors, yet current models of body image development such as the Tripartite Influence Model (Thompson et al, 1999) have ignored the contribution that individual factors make and neglect to account for how influences might interact. Additionally, such models have disregarded the fundamental role that schools play in the development of body image in children and adolescents. This review has also considered the evidence around programmes designed to promote

positive body image in children and adolescents. It is concluded that the evidence for the effectiveness of these intervention programmes is so far limited.

Further research is therefore needed in order to support the development of new programmes that promote positive body image in children and adolescents, and to review the effectiveness of such programmes. In order to decide when it is most useful to implement these programmes, researchers first need to investigate the role of age and how this is related to the development of body image concerns. Once it is clear at what age body image concerns tend to emerge, programmes designed to promote positive body image in children and young people could be developed. In order to ensure these programmes successfully acknowledge both individual and sociocultural factors, such programmes might be based on the new model of body image development, informed by Bronfenbrenner's (1977) ecological systems theory, presented in this review.

It is argued that schools are ideally placed to affect change in different systems of which children are a part. Given their knowledge of psychology and experience of using systemic approaches, educational psychologists (EPs) would be well placed to support schools in developing and delivering programmes designed to promote positive body image in children and adolescents. EPs might then work with schools to review the effectiveness of such programmes.

It is hoped that if these recommendations are acted upon, the seemingly pervasive body image concerns of children and adolescents may be contained, leading to children and adolescents adopting appropriate eating and exercise habits and being able to achieve in their learning.

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Appendix 2: Process by which schools were identified to be part of the research

Schools in the school federation were initially contacted via an email by the school federation director in October 2012. A copy of this email is shown below:

Dear All

In the last academic year, in response to a request from the Federation Secondary schools that linked to a project emerging at Exeter University, the Federation supported an extended piece of work exploring issues around young people's self-esteem and the impact on their ability to be effective and achieving learners.

The outcomes of the project undertaken by a team of Education Psychology Doctoral Students were really interested and the group reported their findings at the Federation SEAL conference in July. It was evident to all that the project had implications for all our learners and one of the Exeter students became particularly interested in working with KS2 pupils to turn her initial work into her doctoral thesis. She is now formulating her research proposals which will be then put through various rigorous checks including an ethics committee and is looking for expressions of interest from Federation schools (KS2) who might be willing to allow her to work with them in the spring term 2013.

There would be an opportunity to receive a full briefing on the project if you are interested in supporting this work and disruption to pupil learning, impact on teacher time etc. would be minimal whilst providing an invaluable chance to get some insight into this complex and hugely influential aspect of your pupils' lives.

If you would like to participate in the project and support this student, please e mail [redacted] Area Senior Educational Psychologist [redacted] I am sure [redacted] would be happy to talk to you in more details about how these projects run and answer any questions you may have. I do hope that some of the schools who attended the SEAL conference and were struck by the potential of the information being generated will want to be involved in this piece of research and share the outcomes with us all.

Best wishes

[redacted]

Federation Director [redacted]

[redacted]

This email was followed by an email from the Senior Educational Psychologist for the area in November 2012. A copy of this email is shown below:

Dear All

You will recall the email below sent out by [REDACTED] about a month ago.

Currently for this Key Stage 2 project we have expressions of interest from:

[REDACTED] and [REDACTED] from outside of the [REDACTED] Federation).

As this is quite a unique opportunity to participate in a research project of this kind, I would just like to give you a final opportunity to consider if your school would wish to participate. The outcomes of the project will undoubtedly have an impact on how schools consider and address the impact of self esteem on learning and achievement.

Please do contact me as soon as possible with expressions of interest.

With very best wishes

[REDACTED]

Area Senior Educational Psychologist

At this time, nine schools were identified where staff had indicated via email that they would like to be part of the research. The researcher sent an email to all of these schools in December 2012 to thank them for their interest and to explain that the research was currently at the planning stage, and that they would be contacted further once ethical approval had been granted from the University of Exeter.

The researcher received ethical approval from the University of Exeter in June 2013, and it was therefore at this time that the original nine schools were contacted again. A copy of the email sent to schools at this time is shown below:

Dear all,

Firstly, sorry it has been so long since I have last contacted you regarding the research project that I hope to complete in [REDACTED] schools over the coming months. You may remember I sent you an email back in December about this. Since that time I have had to make a number of revisions to my original plan in order to gain ethical consent from the university. The committee are rightly very vigorous so I have had to ensure everything has been thought through!

Nevertheless, I have finally received ethical consent so I am keen to get started! I do realise this is a bit of an odd time of year to be contacting you, but hopefully we can start to get the ball rolling before the holidays. Given that it may take some time to arrange a session where I discuss the project with you, I have instead decided to produce an information sheet about the project, which is attached to this email. Please take the time to read this and decide if you would still like to participate. You are welcome to contact me with any questions you might have - I check my email regularly and if you would like to speak over the telephone you are welcome to call on the number below. If I am not in the office do leave a message with my admin team indicating when it would be best for me to call you back and I will endeavour to do this.

If, having read the information sheet, you are happy for your school to participate, let me know and I will arrange for consent forms to be sent.

Kind regards,

Lucy Drage.

Lucy Drage

Trainee Educational Psychologist

Attached to this email was an information sheet for schools. This is shown below:



GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

SCHOOL INFORMATION SHEET

During the last academic year, in response to a request from the [REDACTED] Federation secondary schools, a group of Educational Psychology doctoral students from the University of Exeter carried out a piece of research in collaboration with the [REDACTED] Educational Psychology Service. This research explored issues around young people's self-esteem and the impact on their ability to be effective and achieving learners. The project highlighted in particular the impact of pupil's body esteem on their overall self-esteem and there is now scope to extend this original piece of research further.

A consistent finding in the self-esteem literature is that perceived physical appearance is most highly and consistently correlated with overall self-worth. Despite this, little is known about the development of body esteem in children and young people. My research aims to rectify this, and will have a particular focus on the role of schools in promoting positive body esteem. One unique aspect will be the study of children and young people with positive body esteem so that we can learn from their experiences in order to better support those children and young people who may be experiencing body esteem concerns.

The project will run in two stages. The first stage will aim to examine the development of body esteem in children of different ages. Stage two will involve the researcher interviewing a number of children who have been identified as having positive body esteem, in order to learn more about their experiences.

Please take time to read the following information carefully and decide whether or not you would like your school to take part in this research.

What will the children be asked to do if our school decides to take part?

For stage one of the project, the children will be asked to complete a pack of questionnaires, which should take them no longer than 30 minutes to complete. This should take place during the school day and the researcher will visit the school to aid with the administration of the questionnaires. The children selected for stage two of the project will be interviewed by the researcher for no longer than one hour, and these interviews will again be conducted during the school day.

What else will our school be asked to do?

For stage one, schools will be asked to send information sheets and consent forms to parents of all pupils in Years 5-9 (depending on which of these year groups you have in your school). Parents will be requested to sign the consent form and return it to the school if they are happy for their child to participate. A deadline for parents to return the form to their child's school will be given, and after this date has passed, schools will be asked to return the consent forms to the researcher via a stamped addressed envelope. After this, the researcher will send a list of the children who will be participating in study one to the school and schools will be asked to send the researcher demographic data, including each child's gender, date of birth, year group, and class/tutor group.

Once the children for stage two of the research have been selected by the researcher, schools will be asked to send a further information sheet and consent form to the parents of these children. Parents will be requested to sign the consent form and return it to the school if they are happy for their child to participate in study two. The researcher will liaise with school staff about whether consent forms have been returned and will collect these as part of the school visit to conduct the interviews.

How is confidentiality maintained?

All data provided will be treated as confidential, unless the researcher becomes concerned for the safety of a student, in which case the researcher will share their concerns with the member of staff responsible for safeguarding. Identifying information (e.g. the children's names) will **not** be used and codes will be given once consent forms have been received.

Criminal records check

Please note, the researcher has undergone a Disclosure and Barring Service check, previously known as a Criminal Records Bureau (CRB) check through both the University of Exeter and [REDACTED] Council.

From the original list of nine schools, three schools indicated that they were still interested in being part of the research. At this time, the four secondary schools that took part in the research in the summer of 2012 were also contacted, as the scope of the research had been extended to include young people in Key Stage 3. Two of these schools indicated that they would like to be part of the research.

After the initial data collection for study one, it was felt that there were not enough Key Stage 2 participants, so in September 2013, the six schools that had not responded to the email sent in June 2013 were emailed again, in order to remind them that there was still time to be part of the research. A copy of the email sent to schools at this time is shown below:

Dear all,

Hope you are well and the Autumn term has got off on a good foot for you all.

As I am aware I emailed you all at a bit of a funny time last year, towards the end of the school year, I thought I'd just remind you that I am still collecting data for the research project I'm completing on body esteem as part of my doctoral thesis. I've so far worked with five schools in the area and the results are looking very interesting. However, I'm still keen to work with more Year 5 and 6 children so if you would like to take part, do let me know. I need to finish my initial data collection fairly soon so that I can move on to the second stage of the project, so if you think you might be interested I'd love to hear from you. In case you've forgotten what this is all about (I know you're all very busy!) I've reattached the information sheet about the research for you. If you do have any questions, feel free to email me or alternatively I'll be in the office all day Tuesday, Wednesday afternoon and Friday afternoon this week so you are welcome to telephone then.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Kind regards,

Lucy Drage.

Lucy Drage

Trainee Educational Psychologist

One further school was recruited at this time.

Appendix 3: Parental consent form for study one



GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

PARENT INFORMATION SHEET – STUDY 1

Dear parents/guardians,

During the last academic year, in response to a request from the [REDACTED] Federation secondary schools, a group of Educational Psychology doctoral students from the University of Exeter carried out a piece of research in collaboration with the [REDACTED] Educational Psychology Service. This research explored issues around young people's self-esteem and the impact on their ability to be effective and achieving learners. The project highlighted in particular the impact of pupil's body esteem on their overall self-esteem and there is now scope to extend this original piece of research further.

You have been sent this form because your child's school is interested in being part of this extended piece of research. The project will run in two stages. The first stage will aim to examine the development of body esteem in children of different ages.

Please take time to read the following information carefully and decide whether or not you are happy for your child to participate.

What will my child be asked to do if he/she takes part?

Your child will be asked to complete a pack of questionnaires, which should take them no longer than 30 minutes to complete.

Where will the research be conducted?

The research will be carried out in your child's school.

What happens to the data collected?

The data will be analysed by the researcher and your child will not be identifiable as part of this.

How is confidentiality maintained?

All data provided will be treated as confidential, unless the researcher becomes concerned for the safety of a student, in which case the researcher will share their concerns with the member of staff at your child's school responsible for safeguarding. Identifying information (e.g. your child's name) will **not** be used and codes will be given once consent forms have been received.

Does my child have to take part?

Participation is voluntary and once you have read all the information you can make a decision. If you and your child decide to take part and then later change your mind, either before or during the study, you can withdraw your consent, without giving your reasons, and, if you wish, your child's data will be destroyed. You can withdraw your consent by either contacting the researcher, or by contacting your child's school.

Criminal records check

Please note, the researcher has undergone a Disclosure and Barring Service check, previously known as a Criminal Records Bureau (CRB) check through both the University of Exeter and [REDACTED] Council.

If you have any questions relating to this project, please contact the researcher, Lucy Drage (ld315@exeter.ac.uk). If you are happy for your child to take part, please complete the attached consent form and return it to your child's school no later than INSERT DATE. Please retain the information sheet for your records.

If, at any point, your child wishes to discuss any issues raised by the participation in this research, either they or you are welcome to contact INSERT NAMED CONTACT at your child's school. The following support organisations may also be able to provide useful information:

Childline
www.childline.org.uk
0800 1111

BEAT
<http://www.b-eat.co.uk/get-help/online-community/young-people/>
0845 634 7650



GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

PARENTAL CONSENT FORM – STUDY 1

I understand that:

there is no compulsion for my daughter/son to participate in this research project and, if s/he does choose to participate, s/he may at any stage withdraw their participation*

I have the right to refuse permission for the publication of any information about my daughter/son.

any information which my daughter/son gives will be used solely for the purposes of this research project, which may include publications or academic conference or seminar presentations.

if applicable, the information, which my daughter/son gives, may be shared between any of the other researcher(s) participating in this project in an anonymised form.

all information my daughter/son gives will be treated as confidential, unless the researcher becomes concerned for the safety of a student, in which case the researcher will share their concerns with the member of staff responsible for safeguarding.

the researcher(s) will make every effort to preserve my daughter's/son's anonymity.

*When research takes place in a school, the right to withdraw from the research does **not** usually mean that pupils or students may withdraw from lessons in which the research takes place.

Your signature will certify that you have been fully informed about the aims and purposes of the project and that you give your consent for your child to participate.

Signature of parent/guardian..... Date.....

Printed name of parent/guardian.....

Child's name.....

Child's school.....

Data Protection Act: The University of Exeter is a data collector and is registered with the Office of the Data Protection Commissioner as required to do under the Data Protection Act 1998. The information you provide will be used for research purposes and will be processed in accordance with the University's registration and current data protection legislation. Data will be confidential to the researcher(s) and will not be disclosed to any unauthorised third parties without further agreement by the participant. Reports based on the data will be in anonymised form.

Appendix 4: An explanation of why the measures used in study one were chosen

A number of considerations were taken into account when choosing the measures for study one, and work by Thompson (2004), outlining how to ensure accurate measurement of body image concepts was particularly useful in this regard. The following points were especially important:

a) Specificity about what was being measured

The research was interested in the development of attitudinal body image. Techniques designed to measure perceptual body image (usually aimed at measuring a person's ability to accurately estimate their own body shape or size), such as the technique developed by Ruff and Barrios (1986) where participants are asked to adjust the width of a projected light beam to estimate the size of various body parts, were therefore rejected.

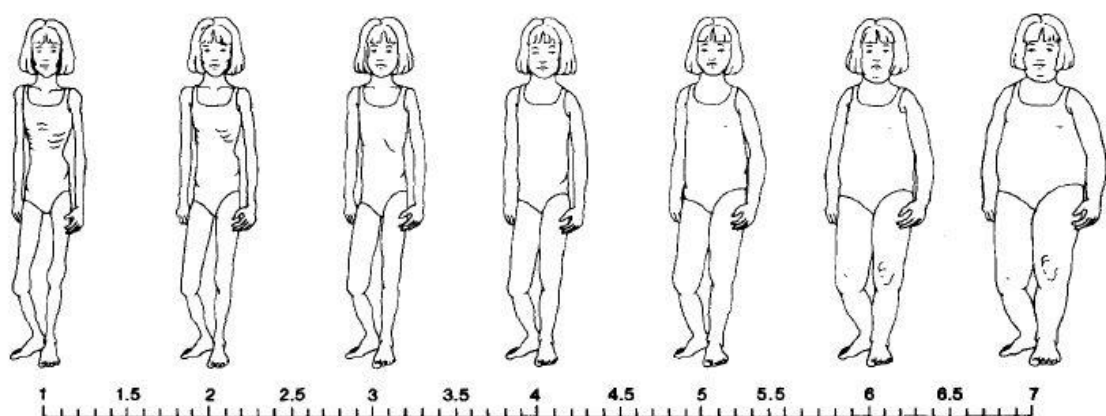
It was decided early in the research that the construct of body esteem, which refers to self-evaluations made about one's own body and appearance (Mendelson et al., 2001), was a useful way of conceptualising attitudinal body image, and therefore it was important that measures were chosen that specifically determined body esteem. For this reason, measures commonly used in the literature such as the Eating Attitudes Test (Garner & Garfinkel, 1979), the Dutch Eating Behaviour Questionnaire (van Strien, Frijters, Bergers, & Defares, 1986) and the Eating Disorders Inventory (Garner, Olmstead, & Polivy, 1983) were rejected as these measure behaviour as well as attitudes, and were designed to aid with the diagnosis of eating disorders.

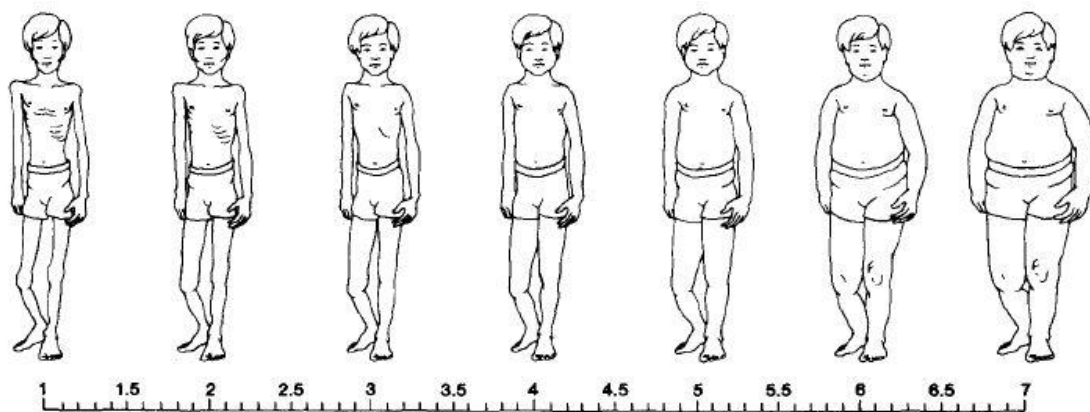
It was also important to be specific about what was being measured for other constructs. For example, the Social Comparison Questionnaire (Schutz, Paxton, & Wertheim, 2002) was rejected as it measured general social comparison as well as appearance related social comparison.

b) Ensuring the measures were appropriate for the current sample

Although there were many measures of body image available, few specifically measured body esteem and had been previously used with children and young people in the UK. A number of measures that did appear to measure body esteem were rejected because of the fact that they hadn't been previously used with children in the UK, including the body image scale from the Self-Image Questionnaire for Young Adolescents (Petersen, Schulenberg, Abramowitz, Offer, & Jarcho, 1984), the appearance evaluation subscale of the Multidimensional Body-Self Relations Questionnaire (Brown, Cash, & Mikulka, 1990), The Body Esteem Scale for Adolescents and Adults (Mendelson et al., 2001), and the Body Satisfaction Scale (Slade, Dewey, Newton, Brodie, & Kiemle, 1990).

Other measures were rejected because although they had been used in the UK, they had not been previously used with children and young people of the same age as those in the current sample, for example, the Body Attitudes Questionnaire (Ben-Tovim & Walker, 1991) and the Body Satisfaction Visual Analogue Scale (Durkin & Paxton, 2002). It was important for the researcher to choose instruments that were appropriate for all of the participants in the study (aged 9-14). For this reason, children's version of body satisfaction drawings, first adapted from adult drawings by Collins (1991) were rejected as they weren't considered appropriate for use with older children, as these drawings do not show more pubertally advanced children and it may have therefore been difficult for the older participants to identify with such drawings. These drawings can be found below:





Although there were fewer instruments reported in the literature that measured sociocultural pressures, internalisation and appearance comparison, the same conditions were applied when searching for appropriate measures for these constructs. For example, the adolescent version of the Sociocultural Internalisation of Appearance Questionnaire (Keery, Shroff, Thompson, Wertheim, & Smolak, 2004) and the Ideal Body Stereotype Scale – Revised (Stice & Agras, 1998) were rejected as measures of internalisation because they had not been used in the UK.

c) Ethical issues

It was important for the researcher to uphold ethical standards in the research. It was felt that as the participants would be as young as nine years old, measures asking participants to evaluate specific body parts would be inappropriate and might even have the potential to cause psychological harm. For this reason, measures focussing on specific body parts including the Body-Cathexis Scale (Mintz & Betz, 1986) and the Lerner Body Image Scale (Lerner, Karabenick, & Stuart, 1973) were rejected despite the fact that some of these measures had been used in the UK with children and young people of the same age as those in study one.

It was also considered important to choose measures that were as brief as possible, so that the completing the questionnaires wasn't especially tiresome for the participants. For this reason, it was decided that the research was interested in sociocultural pressure as one variable, rather than administering different questionnaires for each aspect of pressure (parents, peers and the

media) separately. A measure of sociocultural influences, the Tripartite Influence Scale (Keery, van den Berg, & Thompson, 2004) was rejected because this contained 48 items.

d) Ensuring the measures had established reliability and validity

Finally, it was important that measures had established reliability and validity. Thompson (2004) suggests that measures have a Cronbach's alpha level above 0.70 and that reliability and validity are also determined for the current sample. Please see Appendices 4-7 for reliability and validity information for the current sample.

The table below shows the measures that were chosen after the above points had been taken into consideration and the reasons why these measures were chosen:

Measure	Construct Being Measured	Reasons Why This Measure Was Chosen
Body Esteem Scale for Children	Body esteem	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Measures overall body esteem (not just feelings about weight but also about overall appearance) and has a simple ‘yes-no’ response format. • Has been used in previous research (Conner, Martin, Silverdale, & Grogan, 1996; Duncan, Al-Nakeeb, & Nevill, 2004, 2009; Hill, Oliver, & Rogers, 1992) with children and young people in the UK. • Has been used with children aged 7 (Mendelson & White, 1982) up to young people aged 15 (Hill et al., 1992). • Does not focus on specific body parts. • Established reliability and validity (see Appendix 5).
Perceived Sociocultural Pressure Scale	Levels of perceived influences of parents, peers and the media	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • One measure that measures perceived pressure from parents, peers and the media. • Has been used in previous research (Goodwin, Haycraft, & Meyer, 2011) with children and young people in the UK. • Has been used with children aged 13 (Goodwin et al., 2011) up to young people aged 18 (Snapp 2009) (this measure was purposefully adapted to ensure its appropriateness for use with younger children). • Brief (8 items). • Established reliability and validity (see Appendix 6).

Measure	Construct Being Measured	Reasons Why This Measure Was Chosen
General internalisation subscale of the Sociocultural Attitudes Towards Appearance Scale-3	Internalisation of societal standards of attractiveness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Has been used in previous research (Bird, Halliwell, Diedrichs, & Harcourt, 2013; Evans, Tovée, Boothroyd, & Drewett, 2013) with children and young people in the UK. • Has been used with children aged 7 (Evans et al., 2013) up to young people aged 16 (Knauss, Paxton, & Alsaker, 2007). • Brief (9 items). • Established reliability and validity (see Appendix 7).
Physical Appearance Comparison Scale	Appearance related social comparison	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Focusses solely on appearance related social comparison rather than more general social comparison. • Has been used in previous research (Bird et al., 2013) with children and young people in the UK. • Has been used with children aged 10 (Bird et al., 2013; Shroff & Thompson, 2006) up to young people aged 18 (Hargreaves & Tiggemann, 2004). • Brief (5 items). • Established reliability and validity (see Appendix 8).

Appendix 5: Reliability and validity information for the Body Esteem Scale for Children

The items have good face validity and split half reliability has been reported as 0.85, indicating good reliability (Mendelson & White, 1982). Additionally, Mendelson and White (1982) found that scores on the Body Esteem Scale for Children were significantly correlated with the Physical Appearance and Attributes Subscale of the Piers-Harris Children's Self-Concept Scale (Piers & Harris, 1964), suggesting the Body Esteem Scale for Children has construct validity. In one study using this scale with children aged 11-14, Cronbach's alpha was reported to be 0.90 (Conner et al., 1996). Cronbach's alpha for the current sample was also 0.90:

Reliability Statistics		
Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	N of Items
.896	.891	24

Appendix 6: Reliability and validity information for the Perceived Sociocultural Pressure Scale

Stice et al. (1996) have reported Cronbach's alpha to be 0.87 and a pilot study revealed 2 week test-retest coefficients to be 0.93, indicating good reliability. Other studies have reported Cronbach's alpha to be 0.83 (Stice & Agras, 1998) and 0.86 (Snapp, 2009). This scale has been used with children aged from 13 (Goodwin et al., 2011) up to 18 (Snapp, 2009; Stice & Agras, 1998). As this scale was to be used with children slightly younger than this in the present study, a decision was made to adapt this scale slightly to ensure its appropriateness for use with younger children. This is in line with advice from Thompson (2004), who argues that measures should be thoughtfully adapted to suit the purposes of the research. The two items referring to 'dating partners' were therefore removed from the scale for the present study. Cronbach's alpha for the adapted measure for the current sample was 0.80:

Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	N of Items
.804	.802	8

Appendix 7: Reliability and validity information for the general internalisation subscale of the Sociocultural Attitudes Towards Appearance Scale-3

Thompson et al. (2004) have reported Cronbach's alpha for this scale to be 0.96 and 0.92 with two separate samples, indicating good reliability. Other studies have reported Cronbach's alpha to be 0.87 (Papp et al., 2013) and 0.95 (McLean, Paxton, & Wertheim, 2013). Cronbach's alpha for the current sample was 0.88:

Reliability Statistics		
Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	N of Items
.878	.885	9

Appendix 8: Reliability and validity information for the Physical Appearance Comparison Scale

One study using this measure has reported Cronbach's alpha for this scale to be 0.84 for girls and 0.79 for boys (Hargreaves & Tiggemann, 2004) and another study reported Cronbach's alpha to be 0.89 (McLean et al., 2013). This indicates that this scale is a reliable measure of appearance related social comparison.

Cronbach's alpha for this scale for the current sample was only 0.59, which is not an acceptable level to indicate that this scale was a reliable measure of appearance related social comparison for the current sample. Further examination of the scale items revealed that if the reverse coded item (item 4) was deleted, Cronbach's alpha would be 0.83:

Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	N of Items
.585	.637	5

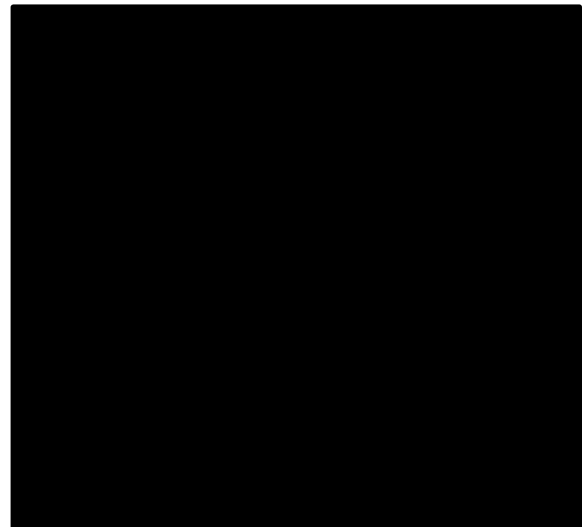
Item-Total Statistics

	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Squared Multiple Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
Comparison1	9.68	8.488	.704	.672	.323
Comparison2	10.18	11.284	.368	.243	.524
Comparison3	9.38	9.065	.511	.462	.428
Comparison4	8.65	14.888	-.210	.066	.833
Comparison5	9.92	8.171	.688	.718	.315

This suggests that for this particular scale, participants had difficulty with the reverse coded item. Other studies have also noted that this item has affected the overall reliability of this scale; for example, Keery et al., (2004) found that this item was negatively correlated with the item total, and Richardson et al. (2009) also found that this item had a very low item total correlation. In both of

these studies, the researchers took the decision to not include this item in their analysis. In line with this, and to ensure reliability in the current sample, item 4 of the Physical Appearance Comparison Scale was not included in the analysis.

Appendix 9: Guidance for teachers when handing out the parental consent forms



Thursday 10th October 2013

Dear teachers,

Thank you for being part of the research project exploring the development of body esteem in children and young people.

When handing out the consent forms for students to take home to their parents, I would be grateful if you could cover the following points:

- This form is to get their parent's permission for them to take part in some research.
- The research is about how children and young people feel about themselves and the way they look.
- If they decide to take part, they will be asked to fill in some questionnaires but it won't be like a test – an adult will be there to help if they don't understand.
- They don't have to take part.
- If they decide to take part and then change their mind, that's ok; they just need to tell their teacher or their parent.
- If they want to take part they need to make sure their parent returns the consent form to school by Friday 8th November.

This is just to ensure that the students know a bit about the research and know that their participation is voluntary.

Many thanks for all of your help!

Lucy Drage

Year 3 Trainee Educational Psychologist

██████████ Educational Psychology Service and the University of Exeter

Appendix 10: Questionnaires

Your code _____

Thank you for being part of this project, which aims to find out more about how children and young people feel about themselves and the way they look.

You will be asked how you feel about some different sentences.

For the first set of sentences, **please circle either yes or no** to show whether you agree or disagree with each sentence:

I like what I look like in pictures.	YES	NO
Kids my own age like my looks.	YES	NO
I'm pretty happy about the way I look.	YES	NO
Most people have a nicer body than I do.	YES	NO
My weight makes me unhappy.	YES	NO
I like what I see when I look in the mirror.	YES	NO
I wish I were thinner.	YES	NO
There are lots of things I'd change about my looks if I could.	YES	NO
I'm proud of my body.	YES	NO
I really like what I weigh.	YES	NO
I wish I looked better.	YES	NO
I often feel ashamed of how I look.	YES	NO
Other people make fun of the way I look.	YES	NO
I think I have a good body.	YES	NO
I'm looking as nice as I'd like to.	YES	NO
It's pretty tough to look like me.	YES	NO
I wish I were fatter.	YES	NO
I often wish I looked like someone else.	YES	NO
My classmates would like to look like me.	YES	NO
I have a high opinion about the way I look.	YES	NO
My looks upset me.	YES	NO
I'm as nice looking as most people.	YES	NO
My parents like my looks.	YES	NO
I worry about the way I look.	YES	NO

For the next set of sentences, **please circle the number** that comes closest to how you feel:

	None		Some		A lot
I've felt pressure from my friends to lose weight.	1	2	3	4	5
I've noticed a strong message from my friends to have a thin body.	1	2	3	4	5
I've felt pressure from my family to lose weight.	1	2	3	4	5
I've noticed a strong message from my family to have a thin body.	1	2	3	4	5
I've felt pressure from the media (e.g. TV, magazines) to lose weight.	1	2	3	4	5
I've noticed a strong pressure from the media to have a thin body.	1	2	3	4	5
Family members tease me about my weight or body shape.	1	2	3	4	5
Kids at school tease me about my weight or body shape.	1	2	3	4	5

For the next set of sentences, **please circle the number** that shows how much you agree or disagree with each sentence:

	Definitely disagree	Mostly disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Mostly agree	Definitely agree
I <u>do not</u> care if my body looks like the body of people who are on TV.	1	2	3	4	5
I compare my body to the bodies of people who are on TV.	1	2	3	4	5
I would like my body to look like the models who appear in magazines.	1	2	3	4	5
I compare my appearance to the appearance of TV and movie stars.	1	2	3	4	5
I would like my body to look like the people who are in movies.	1	2	3	4	5
I <u>do not</u> compare my body to the bodies of people who appear in magazines.	1	2	3	4	5
I wish I looked like the models in music videos.	1	2	3	4	5
I compare my appearance to the appearance of people in magazines.	1	2	3	4	5
I <u>do not</u> try to look like the people on TV.	1	2	3	4	5

For the last set of sentences, **please circle the number** that comes closest to how you feel:


	Never	Seldom	Sometimes	Often	Always
At parties or other social events, I compare my physical appearance to the physical appearance of others.	1	2	3	4	5
The best way for a person to know if they are overweight or underweight is to compare their figure to the figure of others.	1	2	3	4	5
At parties or other social events, I compare how I am dressed to how other people are dressed.	1	2	3	4	5
Comparing your "looks" to the "looks" of others is a bad way to determine if you are attractive or unattractive.	1	2	3	4	5
In social situations, I sometimes compare my figure to the figures of other people.	1	2	3	4	5

Thank you for all of your help!

Appendix 11: Thank you cards

Thank you for all of your help with this project!



If you want to talk to somebody in school about your feelings about yourself or the way you look you can speak to your class teacher or 

You can also contact the following charities for information or support:

Childline
www.childline.org.uk
0800 1111



BEAT
<http://www.b-eat.co.uk/get-help/online-community/young-people/>
0845 634 7650

Appendix 12: Ethics form

STUDENT HIGHER-LEVEL RESEARCH
DISSERTATION/THESIS



Graduate School of Education

Certificate of ethical research approval

DISSERTATION/THESIS

To activate this certificate you need to first sign it yourself, and then have it signed by your supervisor and finally by the Chair of the School's Ethics Committee.

For further information on ethical educational research access the guidelines on the BERA web site: <http://www.bera.ac.uk/publications/guidelines/> and view the School's statement on the GSE student access on-line documents.

READ THIS FORM CAREFULLY AND THEN COMPLETE IT ON YOUR COMPUTER (the form will expand to contain the text you enter). **DO NOT COMPLETE BY HAND.**

Your name: Lucy Drage

Your student no: 610038673

Return address for this certificate: 23, Church Hill, Brislington, Bristol. BS4 4LT.

Degree/Programme of study: Doctorate in Educational, Child and Community Psychology

Project supervisor(s): Andrew Richards, Margie Tunbridge

Your email address: ld315@exeter.ac.uk

Tel: 07793 059434

I hereby certify that I will abide by the details given overleaf and that I undertake in my dissertation / thesis (delete whichever is inappropriate) to respect the dignity and privacy of those participating in this research.

I confirm that if my research should change radically, I will complete a further form.

Signed: Lucy Drage Date: 19.5.13

NB: For Masters dissertations, which are marked blind, this first page must **not be included** in your work. It can be kept for your records.

Chair of the School's Ethics Committee
Updated: April 2011

Certificate of ethical research approval

DISSERTATION/THESIS

Your student no: 610038673

Title of your project:

Body esteem and education: How does body esteem develop in children and young people and what can schools do to promote positive body esteem?

Brief description of your research project:

The proposed research has arisen out of a group research project completed in association with a school federation and a local authority educational psychology service last year. As part of this project, the Self-Perception Profile for Children (Harter, 1985) was administered to Year 9 children across four secondary schools in the school federation. The results of the project were presented to staff from schools in the school federation at a self-esteem day. There was particular interest in the finding that appearance self-perception had the lowest mean score compared to the other self-perception domains, yet appearance self-perception was the domain most strongly correlated with general self-perception ($r[616] = 0.712, p < 0.01$).

A consistent finding in the self-esteem literature is that perceived physical appearance is most highly and consistently correlated with overall self-worth (Harter, 1999). Despite this, in a review of the body image literature, Smolak (2004) acknowledges that little is known about the development of body image in children and young people.

Body image has been defined as a psychological construct encompassing self-perceptions, ideas and feelings about one's own physical appearance (Wykes & Gunter, 2005). Many researchers in this area have become increasingly worried about the development of body image concerns. For example, Rumsey and Harcourt (2005) state that "Appearance-related concerns are reaching epidemic proportions in western society, with people increasingly preoccupied, and in many cases dissatisfied, with the way they look." (p. 63). Factors in the literature that have been found to be associated with body image include age, body mass index, gender, ethnicity, socioeconomic status and personality factors. However, sociocultural influences have also been found to affect body image, including cultural ideals, parents, peers and the media. Various processes through which these influences exert their effect have been suggested, including social comparison, internalisation of societal standards of attractiveness and self-objectification.

In reviewing 13 published studies reporting prevention programmes designed to reduce body image concerns and problem eating attitudes and behaviour in children, Holt and Ricciardelli (2008) found little evidence that these programmes prevented body image concerns. I would argue that this is because these programs have been too focussed on the individual, and have neglected to account for the systems of which children and young people are a part. In a review of the literature, I have suggested that a new model, informed by Bronfenbrenner's (1977) ecological systems theory, would better explain body image development and that prevention programs might be more successful if such a model was used as a theoretical underpinning.

Another criticism of the body image literature is that research has been too focussed on the development of body image concerns, and researchers have neglected to study the factors that contribute to positive body image (Frisén & Holmqvist, 2010; Holmqvist & Frisén, 2012). The positive psychology movement suggests that psychologists should not simply study disordered thinking and mental illness, but should instead consider people's strengths and resilience. Despite the obvious advantages of studying positive body image in terms of informing preventative approaches, the body image literature is almost entirely focussed on body image concerns (Holmqvist & Frisén, 2012).

Amongst the handful of studies that have investigated positive body image, only two (Frisén & Holmqvist, 2010; Holmqvist & Frisén, 2012) have included adolescents as participants. However, both of these studies were conducted by the same research team in Sweden, therefore it is unknown whether the findings of these studies would apply to children and young people in the United Kingdom.

Gardner (2002) suggests that with reference to body image, researchers have typically measured either perceptions of the body or attitudes towards the body. Body esteem is a way of conceptualising attitudinal body image, as this refers to self-evaluations made about one's own body and appearance (Mendelson, Mendelson, & White, 2001). It is felt that body esteem would be a useful way of conceptualising body image for the proposed research.

The proposed research will take place in two parts and will follow on from research carried out with the school federation and the local authority educational psychology service. The aim of study one will be to investigate the development of body esteem in children of different ages, as well as to investigate the factors associated with body esteem and the influences on body esteem. The specific research questions for study one will be as follows:

1. What is the effect of gender on levels of body esteem among children in the school federation?
2. What is the relationship between children's ages and their levels of body esteem in the school federation?
3. What is the relationship between children's ages and their levels of perceived influences of parents, peers and the media in the school federation?
4. What is the relationship between children's ages and their levels of internalisation of societal standards of attractiveness and social comparison in the school federation?
5. What is the relationship between the levels of perceived influences of parents, peers and the media and the levels of children's body esteem in the school federation?
6. What is the relationship between the levels of internalisation of societal standards of attractiveness and social comparison and the levels of children's body esteem in the school federation?

The aim of study two will be to investigate the development of positive body esteem in children and young people. The study is interested in whether the findings of Frisén and Holmqvist (2010) and Holmqvist and Frisén (2012) will be replicated in a sample of children in the south-west of England. The specific research questions for study two will be as follows:

1. How do children in the school federation with positive body esteem talk about appearance ideals?
2. How do children in the school federation with positive body esteem say that they have learnt about appearance ideals?
3. How do children in the school federation with positive body esteem talk about their own appearance?
4. How important do children in the school federation with positive body esteem think their appearance is when it comes to how they think and feel about themselves?
5. What are children in the school federation with positive body esteem's views on exercise?
6. What do children in the school federation with positive body esteem say about the influence of their family on their body esteem?
7. What do children in the school federation with positive body esteem say about the influence of their friends on their body esteem?
8. What do children in the school federation with positive body esteem say about the influence of school on their body esteem?

For study one, data will be collected via the administration of questionnaires to children in Years 5-9 of the schools that volunteer to take part in the research. Schools will be asked to provide demographic data, including each child's gender, date of birth, school, year group, and class/tutor group.

For study two, data will be collected by selecting children to be interviewed who have the highest levels of body esteem as measured in study one. 10 boys and 10 girls will be interviewed.

Give details of the participants in this research (giving ages of any children and/or young people involved):

For study one, participants will be recruited via an opportunity sample of schools who have expressed an interest in being involved with the research. After schools have been identified, consent forms will be sent to parents of all pupils in Years 5-9 in each school. The ages of the children involved in the research will therefore range from age 9 to age 14.

For study two, children who have the highest levels of body esteem as measured in study one will be selected for interview. In order to investigate positive body esteem in both boys and girls, 10 boys and 10 girls will be interviewed. Two lists of all the children who have taken part in study one will be created, one for girls and one for boys, organised according to body esteem score. The parents of the children with the highest level of body esteem will be initially contacted in order to seek their consent for their child to be involved in study two. If a parent denies their consent, the parents of the next child on the list will be contacted. This process will continue until 10 boys and 10 girls have been recruited to take part in study two. The ages of the children involved in study two will again range from age 9 to age 14.

Give details (with special reference to any children or those with special needs) regarding the ethical issues of:

- a) **informed consent:** (Where children in schools are involved this includes both headteachers and parents). **Copy(ies) of your consent form(s) you will be using must accompany this document.** A blank consent form can be downloaded from the GSE student access on-line documents.

Participants and their parents will be fully informed of the aims of the research, and informed consent from parents will be sought, as well as assent from the children and young people participating in the research.

For study one, consent forms will be sent to parents of all pupils in Years 5-9 in each participating school and parents will be asked to sign and return this form to indicate their consent for their child to participate in study one. Consent forms will contain information about study one and provide contact details of the researcher for parents to ask questions about the research if they wish. Parents will also be informed that they can choose to withdraw their child from the research at any time by either contacting the researcher or their child's school, and that if they so wish, their child's data will be destroyed. Parents will be requested to sign the consent form and return it to their child's school if they are happy for their child to participate in study one. A deadline for parents to return the form to their child's school will be given, and after this date has passed, schools will be asked to return the consent forms to the researcher via a stamped addressed envelope.

At the time of distributing the consent forms, teachers at each school will also give information about study one to pupils. Pupils will be informed that they do not have to participate in the research, and if they do not want to participate in the research they should speak to their class teacher/form tutor or parent. Pupils will be informed that they are able to withdraw from the research at any time and that if they so wish, their data will be destroyed. Before the questionnaires are administered, pupils will once again be reminded that they do not have to participate in the research if they do not wish.

Children to participate in study two will be selected as described above. Once the children with the highest levels of body esteem have been identified, a further consent form will be sent to the parents of these children via the child's school. Parents will be asked to sign and return this form

to indicate their consent for their child to participate in study two. Consent forms will contain information about study two and provide contact details of the researcher for parents to ask questions about the research if they wish. Parents will also be informed that they can choose to withdraw their child from the research at any time by either contacting the researcher or their child's school, and that if they so wish, their child's data will be destroyed. Parents will be requested to sign the consent form and return it to their child's school if they are happy for their child to participate in study two. A deadline for parents to return the form to their child's school will be given, and after this date has passed, it will be assumed that the parent does not consent to their child participating in study two, and the parents of the next child on the list will be contacted.

Before the researcher conducts any of the interviews, information about study two will be given to the child and they will be informed that they do not have to participate in the research if they do not wish. Children will be informed that they are able to withdraw from the research at any time and that if they so wish, their data will be destroyed. They will be informed that if they wish to withdraw from the research after the interview has taken place, that they should speak to their class teacher/form tutor or parent, who will contact the researcher.

b) anonymity and confidentiality:

Once the consent forms for study one have been received, the researcher will assign numerical codes to the participants. Whilst the children complete the questionnaires, the researcher will tell each child their numerical code, which they will be asked to write on the front of their questionnaire pack.

Data gathered will be considered confidential unless the researcher becomes concerned for the safety of a student, in which case the researcher will share their concerns with the member of staff at the school responsible for safeguarding. The use of numerical codes will ensure anonymity. Hard data (i.e. questionnaires and transcripts) will be stored securely in a locked cabinet at the researcher's home. Electronic data will be saved on the researcher's password protected hard drive at the psychology service where she is based. The list that links the participants' numerical codes with their names will be securely stored at the researcher's home in a separate locked cabinet to the locked cabinet that contains the hard research data. When this list is taken into schools, the researcher will ensure that she keeps this on her person at all times.

Give details of the methods to be used for data collection and analysis and how you would ensure they do not cause any harm, detriment or unreasonable stress:

The questionnaires that will be administered to the children in study one include the Body Esteem Scale for Children (Mendelson & White, 1982), the Perceived Sociocultural Pressure Scale (Stice, Ziemba, Margolis, & Flick, 1996), the general internalisation subscale from the Sociocultural Attitudes Towards Appearance Scale-3 (Thompson, van den Berg, Roehrig, Guarda, & Heinberg, 2004) and the Physical Appearance Comparison Scale (Thompson, Heinberg, & Tantleff, 1991). All of these measures have been used with children and young people in previous research, and have been chosen for their brevity.

The questionnaires will either be administered in whole class or tutor groups with the class teacher/form tutor present, or, if large numbers of children in a class/form group have not returned their consent forms, the questionnaires will be administered in small groups. Before the questionnaires are administered, the researcher will explain the procedure for answering the questions for each questionnaire. Prior to data collection, schools will be asked to identify pupils with special educational needs, who may find it difficult to complete the questionnaires without assistance, and arrangements for these pupils will be discussed with the researcher, to enable such pupils to participate.

For study two the researcher will visit schools to carry out the interviews with the children selected for this. Schools will be requested to provide a quiet space in which these interviews can take place. The researcher will use an interview schedule, which will consist of the two interview schedules used by Frisén and Holmqvist (2010) and Holmqvist and Frisén (2012). The main topics that will be covered

by the interview will include appearance ideals, the children's views of their own appearance, the children's views of exercise, and family/friend influences on body esteem. In a novel addition to the interview schedules used by Frisén and Holmqvist (2010) and Holmqvist and Frisén (2012), children will also be asked about how school influences their body esteem.

It is acknowledged that the proposed research carries an elevated level of risk for two reasons. Firstly, the research involves children and young people, which, the BPS (2010) and BERA (2011) argue automatically elevates the level of risk in research. However, the researcher will be a Trainee Educational Psychologist, who has many years of experience working with children and young people, and the researcher will be working in schools, alongside adults who know the children and young people well.

The second reason that the proposed research carries an elevated level of risk is because the development of body esteem is considered a sensitive topic by a number of authors. For this reason, ensuring that assent is gained from the children and young people involved in this research, not merely relying on their parents' consent, is crucial, as is the constant monitoring of children and young people for signs that the research is causing distress. Schools and parents will be provided with the researcher's contact details and will be encouraged to contact the researcher if they are concerned about any child involved in the research. The researcher will ensure that any concerns are raised with her research supervisors as a matter of urgency.

Each school will also be asked to provide a named person in the school that the children and young people can speak to if they wish to discuss any issues that have been raised by the questionnaires or the interviews. This person's name will be communicated to the children and young people involved in the research by giving them a card after they have completed the questionnaires. Those children and young people who take part in the interviews will be given the same card after the interviews. This card will also have information about external support organisations: Childline and the young people section of the BEAT website, as well as the telephone number of the BEAT youth helpline. The same information will be communicated to the children and young people's parents via the information sheet for both study one and study two. In this way, any risk of harm to participants as a result of the research topic will be minimised.

It is important to note that although the proposed research does carry an elevated level of risk, the potential benefits of this research in terms of better understanding the development of body esteem, and informing how best schools can promote positive body esteem, are great. Given the high rates of body dissatisfaction reported in children and adolescents (Cohane & Pope, 2001; Levine & Smolak, 2002) and the devastating effects of eating disorders (Parliamentary Office of Science and Technology, 2007), I would argue that the potential benefits of this research far outweigh the potential risks.

Give details of any other ethical issues which may arise from this project (e.g. secure storage of videos/recorded interviews/photos/completed questionnaires or special arrangements made for participants with special needs etc.):

Hard data (i.e. questionnaires and transcripts) will be stored securely in a locked cabinet at the researcher's home. Electronic data will be saved on the researcher's password protected hard drive at the psychology service where she is based. The interviews with children and young people for study two will be recorded using a Dictaphone, and the participants will be made aware of this. Audio data will be downloaded from the recording device at the earliest possible opportunity, and will then be deleted immediately from this recording device. As soon as possible after the interview, the audio recording will be transcribed and the audio recording will be deleted.

Arrangements for any students with special educational needs, who would like to participate in the research, will be discussed with schools on a case by case basis. No child or young person will be excluded from the research because of their special educational needs, and the researcher will endeavour to do everything in her power to ensure that participation in the research is equally accessible to all.

Give details of any exceptional factors, which may raise ethical issues (e.g. potential political or ideological conflicts which may pose danger or harm to participants):

There are no exceptional factors that raise ethical issues.

This form should now be printed out, signed by you on the first page and sent to your supervisor to sign. Your supervisor will forward this document to the School's Research Support Office for the Chair of the School's Ethics Committee to countersign. A unique approval reference will be added and this certificate will be returned to you to be included at the back of your dissertation/thesis.

NB: You should not start the fieldwork part of the project until you have the signature of your supervisor.

This project has been approved for the period:

15 June 2013 until: 31 August 2014

By (above mentioned supervisor's signature).....

[Signature] Date: 26 June 2013

NB. To Supervisor: Please ensure that ethical issues are addressed annually in your report and if any changes in the research occur a further form is completed.

GSE unique approval reference:.....D.12.13.37...

Signed:.....

NPGrens

Date:.....

5/6/13

Chair of the School's Ethics Committee

This form is available from: <http://education.exeter.ac.uk/students/>

Chair of the School's Ethics Committee
Updated: April 2011

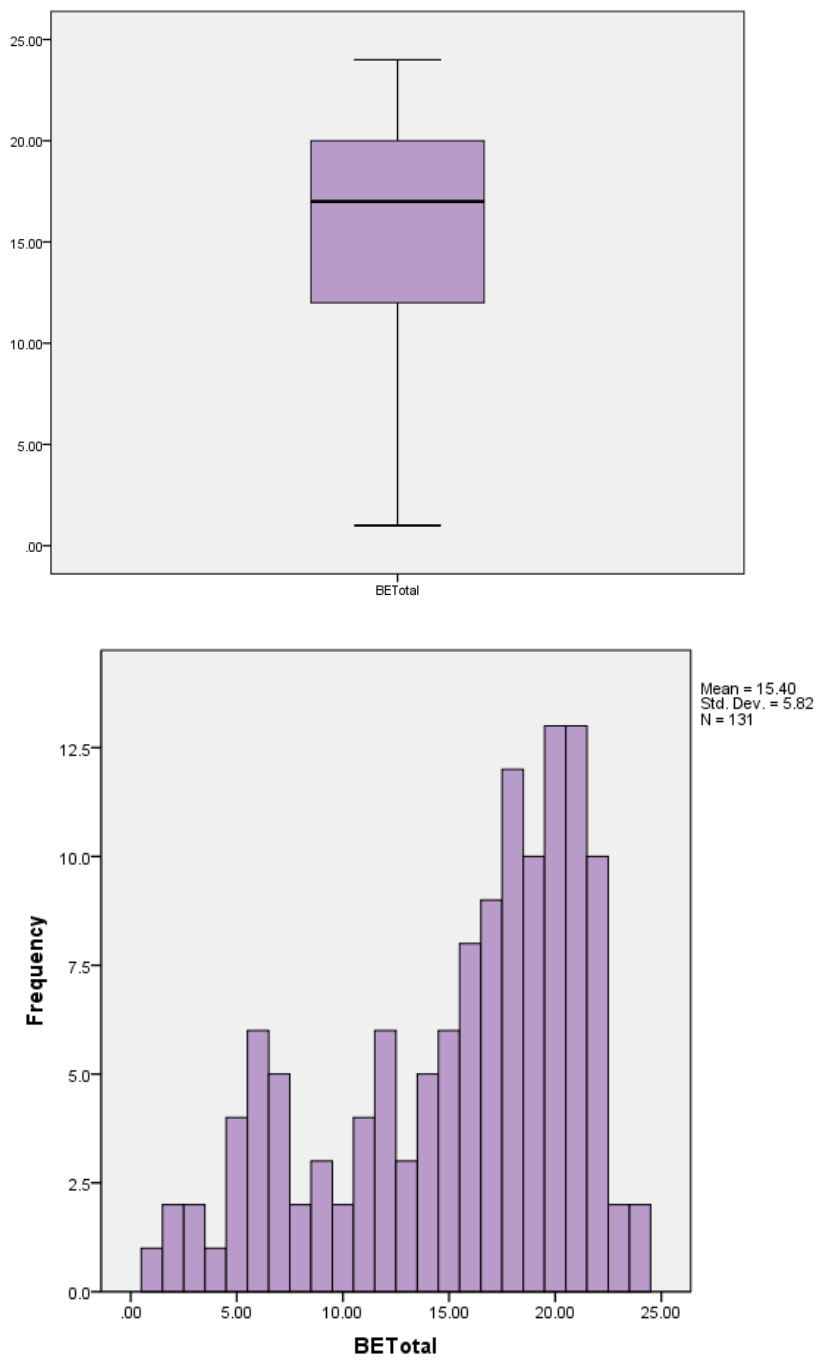
Appendix 13: Sample numerical raw data

	Code	School	Age	Gender	YearGroup	BE1	BE2	BE3	BE4	BE5	BE6	BE7	BE8	BE9	BE10	BE11	BE12	BE13	BE14
28	D019	4	140	1	7	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
29	D020	4	133	1	7	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
30	D021	4	138	1	7	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
31	D022	4	138	1	7	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	9	1	1
32	D023	4	137	1	7	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
33	D024	4	140	1	7	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	1
34	D025	4	133	2	7	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
35	D026	4	142	2	7	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
36	D027	4	141	2	7	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1
37	D028	4	140	2	7	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
38	D029	4	154	1	8	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
39	D030	4	146	2	8	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
40	D031	4	151	1	8	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	1
41	D032	4	156	1	8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
42	D033	4	146	2	8	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
43	D034	4	155	2	8	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
44	D035	4	153	2	8	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
45	D036	4	156	2	8	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
46	D037	4	146	2	8	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
47	D039	4	148	1	8	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
48	D040	4	147	1	8	0	1	9	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
49	D041	4	149	2	8	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
50	D042	4	149	2	8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
51	D043	4	148	1	8	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
52	D044	4	147	2	8	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
53	D045	4	149	2	8	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
54	D046	4	156	1	8	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
55	D047	4	151	2	8	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1
56	D048	4	154	2	8	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
57	D049	4	151	2	8	1	0	9	0	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
58	D050	4	155	2	8	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
59	D051	4	156	2	8	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
60	D052	4	146	2	8	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
61	D055	4	145	2	8	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
62	D057	4	158	2	9	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0

	BE15	BE16	BE17	BE18	BE19	BE20	BE21	BE22	BE23	BE24	Pressure1	Pressure2	Pressure3	Pressure4	Pressure5	Pressure6	Pressure7	Pressure8	Internalisation 1
28	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	5	3
29	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	2
30	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	2	1	1	1	3	2	1	1	4
31	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3
32	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
33	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1
34	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	5
35	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	1	4	4	2	2	4	2	3
36	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	1
37	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	3
38	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	5
39	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	3	1	5	2	2	1	1	3
40	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
41	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2
42	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	4	4	2	1	4
43	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	2	1	1	3
44	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	3
45	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	2	1	2	1	2	1	1	2	4
46	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	1	1	1	1	2
47	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	2	2	4	3	2	3	3	1	5
48	9	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	2	1	3	1	3	2	3	2	3
49	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	3
50	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	1
51	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	3	3	5	5	5	3	3	1	4
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55	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
56	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
57	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	3	1	2	1	1	1	1	2	2
58	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	2
59	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3
60	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	2	1	5	4	2	2	3
61	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	2	3	2	2	2	2	1	1	2
62	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	3	2	1	1	4	4	1	1	4

	Internalisation	Internalisation	Internalisation	Internalisation	Internalisation	Internalisation	Internalisation	Internalisation	Comparison1	Comparison2	Comparison3	Comparison4	Comparison5	BETotal	PressureTotal	InternalisationTotal
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9								
28	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	7.00	14.00	27.00
29	1	1	3	1	5	1	2	1	1	1	2	5	1	20.00	10.00	17.00
30	1	2	1	3	5	2	1	4	1	1	2	5	1	18.00	12.00	23.00
31	1	4	3	4	3	4	1	4	1	1	1	5	1	.	8.00	27.00
32	5	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	2	20.00	8.00	16.00
33	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	5	1	19.00	9.00	9.00
34	1	1	1	1	5	1	1	5	3	1	1	5	1	21.00	8.00	21.00
35	3	3	3	3	4	4	2	3	3	3	1	3	3	5.00	22.00	28.00
36	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	3	2	1	1	17.00	10.00	11.00
37	2	2	2	3	2	3	2	3	3	1	3	5	2	19.00	10.00	22.00
38	1	2	1	2	5	2	1	5	3	2	2	5	2	21.00	9.00	24.00
39	5	5	5	5	2	5	5	1	3	4	2	1	5	9.00	16.00	36.00
40	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	19.00	8.00	10.00
41	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	3	1	1	3	1	24.00	8.00	12.00
42	4	4	2	3	4	4	4	4	5	2	4	4	5	6.00	15.00	33.00
43	2	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	3	4	3	11.00	11.00	25.00
44	4	2	4	3	4	2	3	3	3	2	4	1	3	17.00	10.00	28.00
45	2	5	3	3	1	4	3	5	4	4	4	4	5	7.00	12.00	30.00
46	2	1	2	1	2	1	1	2	2	1	3	3	2	18.00	11.00	14.00
47	3	2	2	4	4	2	3	4	4	4	4	2	4	10.00	20.00	29.00
48	1	3	2	3	5	3	2	5	1	3	3	4	1	.	17.00	27.00
49	1	2	2	2	4	3	2	3	3	2	2	3	2	20.00	10.00	22.00
50	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	3	5	1	21.00	10.00	9.00
51	3	5	3	1	1	1	3	3	4	1	3	5	3	15.00	28.00	24.00
52	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	3	1	3	5	1	18.00	8.00	11.00
53	4	5	3	3	4	4	5	4	2	1	5	3	1	16.00	16.00	35.00
54	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	5	1	18.00	8.00	10.00
55	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	5	3	1	3	1	2	14.00	8.00	15.00
56	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	19.00	10.00	9.00
57	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	5	2	1	3	4	1	.	12.00	16.00
58	3	2	2	2	4	2	2	4	2	1	3	1	2	12.00	11.00	23.00
59	2	3	2	2	4	2	3	4	3	2	3	4	2	19.00	8.00	25.00
60	3	3	2	3	3	4	3	3	4	2	4	3	4	8.00	18.00	27.00
61	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	2	1	2	4	2	12.00	15.00	19.00
62	4	2	3	2	2	2	4	3	3	1	4	1	4	12.00	17.00	26.00

Appendix 14: Box plot, histogram and skewness statistic for scores on the Body Esteem Scale for Children



Descriptive Statistics							
	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation	Skewness	
	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Std. Error
BETotal	131	1.00	24.00	15.4046	5.82010	-.747	.212
Valid N (listwise)	131						

Appendix 15: SPSS printout for the independent samples t-test investigating differences between girls' and boys' mean scores on the Body Esteem Scale for Children

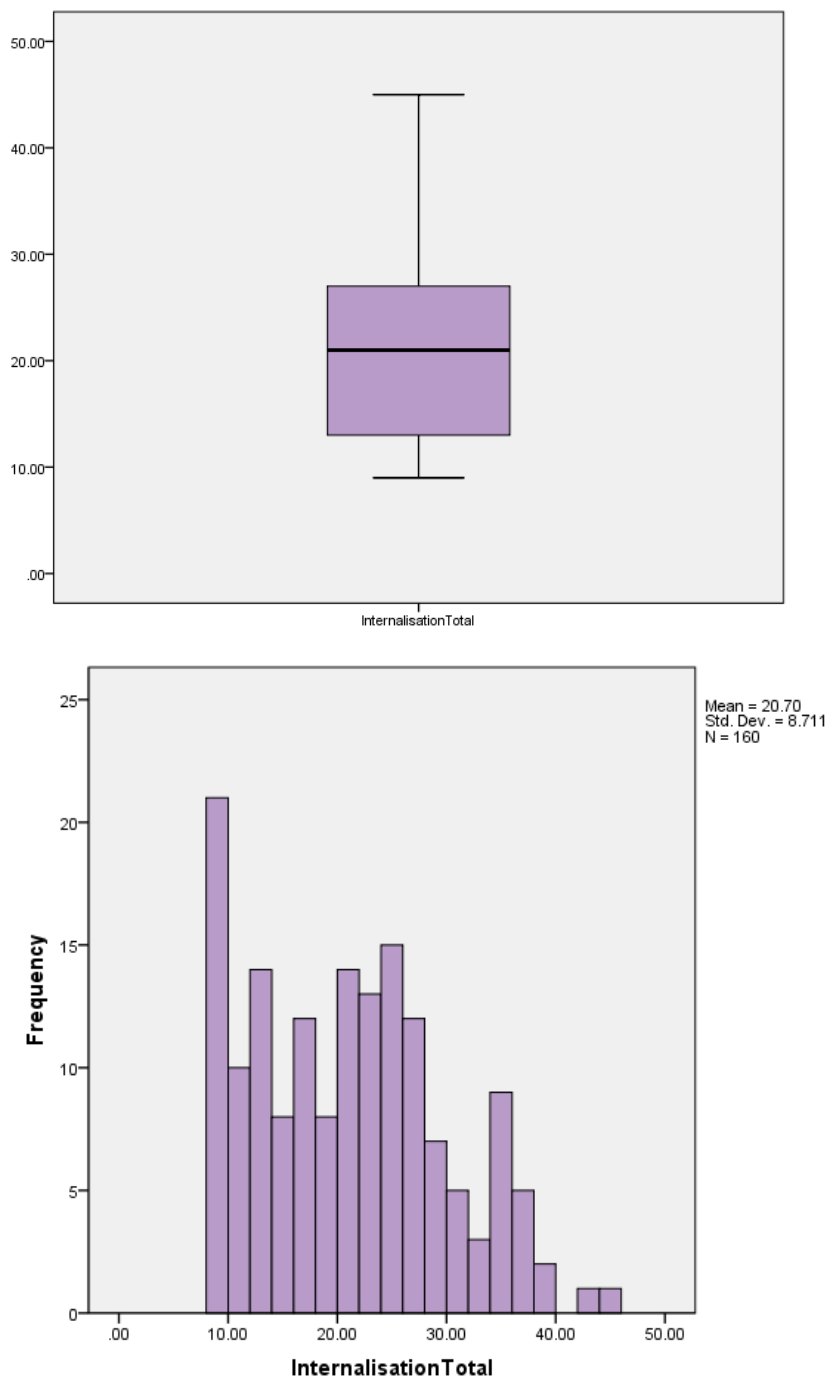
Group Statistics

	Gender	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
BETotal	Male	50	17.0200	4.99996	.70710
	Female	81	14.4074	6.09052	.67672

Independent Samples Test

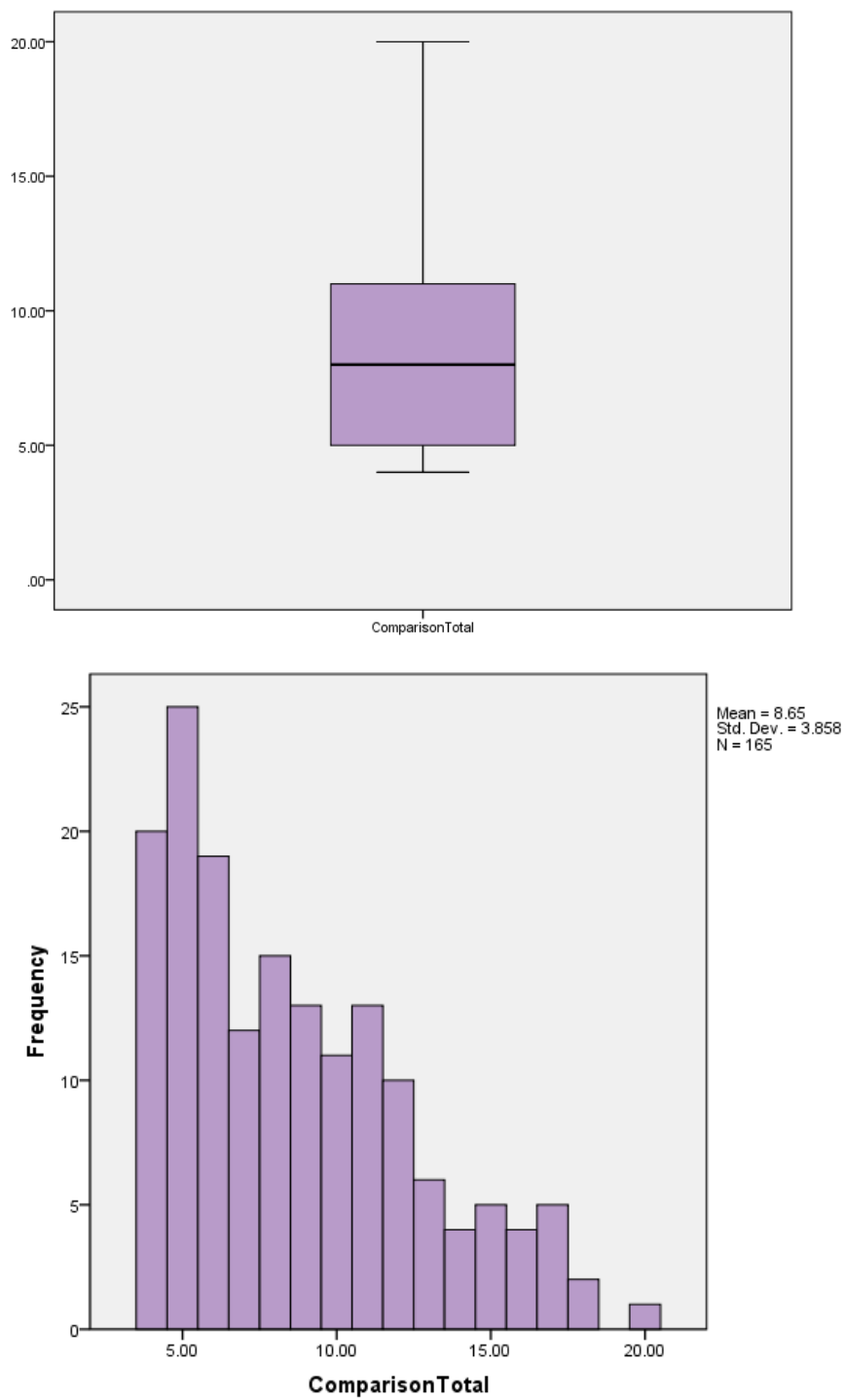
		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
BETotal	Equal variances assumed	6.533	.012	2.548	129	.012	2.61259	1.02530	.58401	4.64118
	Equal variances not assumed			2.669	118.816	.009	2.61259	.97875	.67454	4.55064

Appendix 16: Box plot, histogram and skewness statistic for scores on the general internalisation subscale of the Sociocultural Attitudes Towards Appearance Scale-3



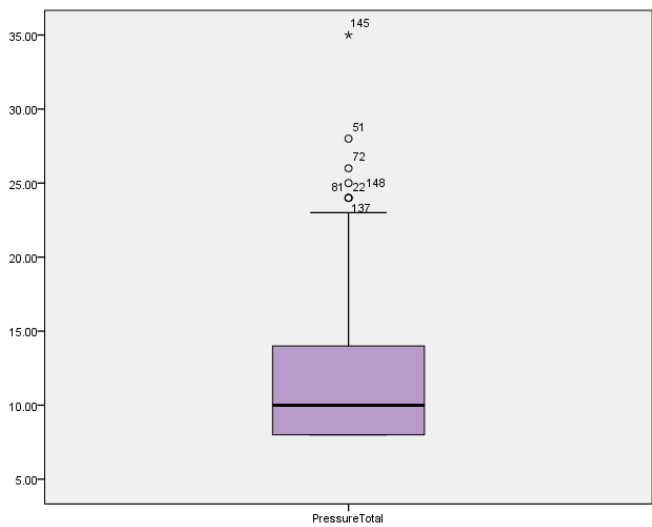
Descriptive Statistics							
	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation	Skewness	
	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Std. Error
InternalisationTotal	160	9.00	45.00	20.7000	8.71116	.411	.192
Valid N (listwise)	160						

Appendix 17: Box plot, histogram and skewness statistic for scores on the Physical Appearance Comparison Scale

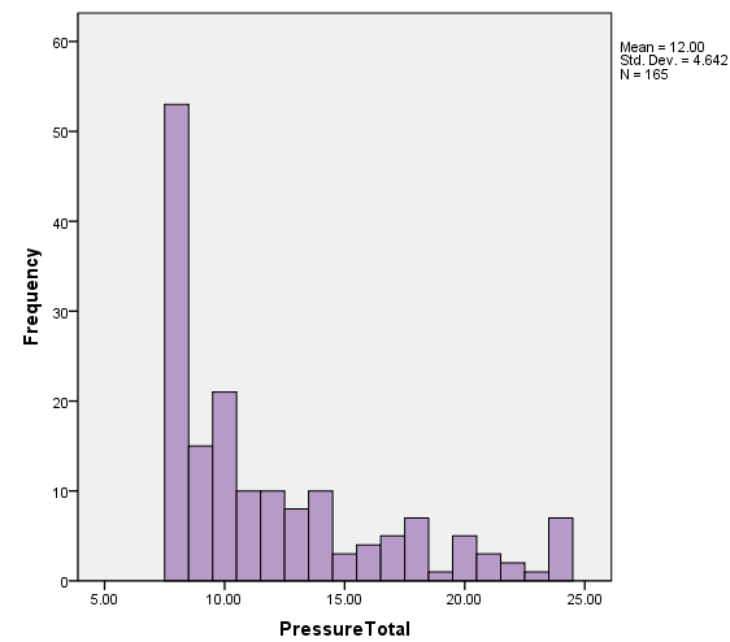


Descriptive Statistics							
	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation	Skewness	
	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Std. Error
ComparisonTotal	165	4.00	20.00	8.6485	3.85848	.744	.189
Valid N (listwise)	165						

Appendix 18: Box plot for scores on the Perceived Sociocultural Pressure Scale



Appendix 19: Histogram and skewness statistic for scores on the Perceived Sociocultural Pressure Scale



Descriptive Statistics

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation	Skewness	
	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Std. Error
PressureTotal	165	8.00	24.00	12.0000	4.64207	1.179	.189
Valid N (listwise)	165						

Appendix 20: SPSS printout for the Pearson product-moment correlation between boys' age in months and their scores on the Body Esteem Scale for Children

Correlations			
		Age	BETotal
Age	Pearson Correlation	1	-.116
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.421
	N	71	50
BETotal	Pearson Correlation	-.116	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.421	
	N	50	50

Appendix 21: SPSS printout for the Pearson product-moment correlation between girls' age in months and their scores on the Body Esteem Scale for Children

Correlations			
		Age	BETotal
Age	Pearson Correlation	1	-.305**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.006
	N	98	81
BETotal	Pearson Correlation	-.305**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.006	
	N	81	81

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Appendix 22: SPSS printout for the Spearman's rho correlation between boys' age in months and their scores on the Perceived Sociocultural Pressure Scale

Correlations			Age	PressureTotal
Spearman's rho	Age	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	.136
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.264
		N	71	69
	PressureTotal	Correlation Coefficient	.136	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.264	.
		N	69	69

Appendix 23: SPSS printout for the Spearman's rho correlation between girls' age in months and their scores on the Perceived Sociocultural Pressure Scale

Correlations			Age	PressureTotal
Spearman's rho	Age	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	.333**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.001
		N	98	96
	PressureTotal	Correlation Coefficient	.333**	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.001	.
		N	96	96

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Appendix 24: SPSS printout for the Pearson product-moment correlation between boys' age in months and their scores on the general internalisation subscale of the Sociocultural Attitudes Towards Appearance Scale-3

Correlations			
		Age	InternalisationTotal
Age	Pearson Correlation	1	-.071
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.575
	N	71	65
InternalisationTotal	Pearson Correlation	-.071	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.575	
	N	65	65

Appendix 25: SPSS printout for the Pearson product-moment correlation between girls' age in months and their scores on the general internalisation subscale of the Sociocultural Attitudes Towards Appearance Scale-3

Correlations			
		Age	InternalisationTotal
Age	Pearson Correlation	1	.357**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
	N	98	95
InternalisationTotal	Pearson Correlation	.357**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
	N	95	95

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Appendix 26: SPSS printout for the Pearson product-moment correlation between boys' age in months and their scores on the Physical Appearance Comparison Scale

Correlations			
		Age	ComparisonTotal
Age	Pearson Correlation	1	.226
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.062
	N	71	69
ComparisonTotal	Pearson Correlation	.226	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.062	
	N	69	69

Appendix 27: SPSS printout for the Pearson product-moment correlation between girls' age in months and their scores on the Physical Appearance Comparison Scale

Correlations			
		Age	ComparisonTotal
Age	Pearson Correlation	1	.358**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
	N	98	96
ComparisonTotal	Pearson Correlation	.358**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
	N	96	96

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Appendix 28: SPSS printout for the Spearman's rho correlation between boys' scores on the Perceived Sociocultural Pressure Scale and the Body Esteem Scale for Children

Correlations			BETotal	PressureTotal
Spearman's rho	BETotal	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	-.644**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.000
		N	50	49
	PressureTotal	Correlation Coefficient	-.644**	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.
		N	49	69

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Appendix 29: SPSS printout for the Spearman's rho correlation between girls' scores on the Perceived Sociocultural Pressure Scale and the Body Esteem Scale for Children

Correlations			BETotal	PressureTotal
Spearman's rho	BETotal	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	-.650**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.000
		N	81	80
	PressureTotal	Correlation Coefficient	-.650**	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.
		N	80	96

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Appendix 30: SPSS printout for the Pearson product-moment correlation between boys' scores on the general internalisation subscale of the Sociocultural Attitudes Towards Appearance Scale-3 and the Body Esteem Scale for Children

Correlations		InternalisationT otal	BETotal
InternalisationTotal	Pearson Correlation	1	-.544**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
	N	65	46
BETotal	Pearson Correlation	-.544**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
	N	46	50

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Appendix 31: SPSS printout for the Pearson product-moment correlation between girls' scores on the general internalisation subscale of the Sociocultural Attitudes Towards Appearance Scale-3 and the Body Esteem Scale for Children

Correlations		InternalisationT otal	BETotal
InternalisationTotal	Pearson Correlation	1	-.667**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
	N	95	81
BETotal	Pearson Correlation	-.667**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
	N	81	81

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Appendix 32: SPSS printout for the Pearson product-moment correlation between boys' scores on the Physical Appearance Comparison Scale and the Body Esteem Scale for Children

Correlations			
		BETotal	ComparisonTotal
BETotal	Pearson Correlation	1	-.358 [*]
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.013
	N	50	48
ComparisonTotal	Pearson Correlation	-.358 [*]	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.013	
	N	48	69

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Appendix 33: SPSS printout for the Pearson product-moment correlation between girls' scores on the Physical Appearance Comparison Scale and the Body Esteem Scale for Children

Correlations			
		BETotal	ComparisonTotal
BETotal	Pearson Correlation	1	-.645 ^{**}
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
	N	81	79
ComparisonTotal	Pearson Correlation	-.645 ^{**}	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
	N	79	96

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Appendix 34: Rationale for using interviews instead of focus groups and rationale for using semi-structured interviews

There were a number of reasons that interviews were chosen over focus groups.

Firstly, one of the aims of study two was to replicate as closely as possible the research of Frisé and Holmqvist (2010) and Holmqvist and Frisé (2012). In both of these studies the researchers chose to use semi-structured interviews.

Secondly, it could be argued that body esteem is a sensitive topic, and that participants may have felt uncomfortable discussing their thoughts and feelings about appearance in front of their peers.

Thirdly, focus groups would have been practically very difficult to arrange, as the participants were all from different schools, therefore the researcher would have needed to negotiate a time that was convenient for all of the participants, and for some of the participants, attending the focus group would have involved having to travel to another school. In addition, the researcher had no previous experience of running focus groups, and as Robson (2002) comments, "Facilitating the group process requires considerable expertise." (p. 285).

With all the above points taken into account, it was decided that interviews would be the most appropriate way of collecting data for study two. Semi-structured interviews were chosen over unstructured or structured interviews because the researcher wanted to follow the interview schedule as used by Frisé and Holmqvist (2010) and Holmqvist and Frisé (2012), however, the researcher wanted the opportunity to allow for some flexibility within this. For example, the researcher wanted to have the opportunity to ask clarification questions if the participants indicated that they didn't understand any of the language used in the initial questions. The researcher also wanted the opportunity to be flexible about what order the questions were asked, and to ask further questions not on the interview schedule if this felt appropriate.

Appendix 35: Parental consent form for study two



GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

PARENT INFORMATION SHEET – STUDY 2

Dear parents/guardians,

During the last academic year, in response to a request from the [REDACTED] Federation secondary schools, a group of Educational Psychology doctoral students from the University of Exeter carried out a piece of research in collaboration with the [REDACTED] Educational Psychology Service. This research explored issues around young people's self-esteem and the impact on their ability to be effective and achieving learners. The project highlighted in particular the impact of pupil's body esteem on their overall self-esteem and there has been scope to extend this original piece of research further.

You have been sent this form because your child has been part of this extended piece of research. The first stage of this research examined the development of body esteem in children of different ages. Stage two will involve the researcher interviewing a number of children who have been selected for this purpose.

Please take time to read the following information carefully and decide whether or not you are happy for your child to participate.

What will my child be asked to do if he/she takes part?

Your child will be interviewed by the researcher for no longer than one hour. They will be asked questions about appearance ideals, their views of their own appearance, their views of exercise, and family/friend influences on body esteem. Your child will also be asked about the influence of school on their body esteem.

Where will the research be conducted?

The research will be carried out in your child's school and the interview will take place in a quiet space.

What happens to the data collected?

The data will be analysed by the researcher and your child will not be identifiable as part of this.

How is confidentiality maintained?

All data provided will be treated as confidential, unless the researcher becomes concerned for the safety of a student, in which case the researcher will share their concerns with the member of staff at your child's school responsible for safeguarding. Identifying information (e.g. your child's name) will **not** be used as your child's code from study one will be used instead. The interview will be audio recorded. As soon as possible after the interview, the audio recording will be transcribed and the audio recording will be deleted.

Does my child have to take part?

Participation is voluntary and once you have read all the information you can make a decision. If you and your child decide to take part and then later change your mind, either before or during the study, you can withdraw your consent, without giving your reasons, and, if you wish, your child's data will be destroyed. You can withdraw your consent by either contacting the researcher, or by contacting your child's school.

Criminal records check

Please note, the researcher has undergone a Disclosure and Barring Service check, previously known as a Criminal Records Bureau (CRB) check through both the University of Exeter and [REDACTED] County Council.

If you have any questions relating to this project, please contact the researcher, Lucy Drage (ld315@exeter.ac.uk). If you are happy for your child to take part, please complete the attached consent form and return it to your child's school no later than INSERT DATE. Please retain the information sheet for your records.

If, at any point, your child wishes to discuss any issues raised by the participation in this research, either they or you are welcome to contact INSERT NAMED CONTACT at your child's school. The following support organisations may also be able to provide useful information:

Childline
www.childline.org.uk
0800 1111

BEAT
<http://www.b-eat.co.uk/get-help/online-community/young-people/>
0845 634 7650



GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

PARENTAL CONSENT FORM – STUDY 2

I understand that:

there is no compulsion for my daughter/son to participate in this research project and, if s/he does choose to participate, s/he may at any stage withdraw their participation*

I have the right to refuse permission for the publication of any information about my daughter/son.

any information which my daughter/son gives will be used solely for the purposes of this research project, which may include publications or academic conference or seminar presentations.

if applicable, the information, which my daughter/son gives, may be shared between any of the other researcher(s) participating in this project in an anonymised form.

all information my daughter/son gives will be treated as confidential, unless the researcher becomes concerned for the safety of a student, in which case the researcher will share their concerns with the member of staff responsible for safeguarding.

the researcher(s) will make every effort to preserve my daughter's/son's anonymity.

*When research takes place in a school, the right to withdraw from the research does **not** usually mean that pupils or students may withdraw from lessons in which the research takes place.

You signature will certify that you have been fully informed about the aims and purposes of the project and that you give your consent for your child to participate.

Signature of parent/guardian..... Date.....

Printed name of parent/guardian.....

Child's name.....

Child's school.....

Data Protection Act: The University of Exeter is a data collector and is registered with the Office of the Data Protection Commissioner as required to do under the Data Protection Act 1998. The information you provide will be used for research purposes and will be processed in accordance with the University's registration and current data protection legislation. Data will be confidential to the researcher(s) and will not be disclosed to any unauthorised third parties without further agreement by the participant. Reports based on the data will be in anonymised form.

Appendix 36: Interview schedule for study two

Purpose of interview/Assent/Confidentiality

My name is Lucy (you've met me once before) – I am a psychologist – part of my work is to carry out some research with children and young people.

I am interested in how children feel about the way that they look – you may remember I came to your school a few months ago and you completed some questionnaires for me.

The results of the questionnaires were really interesting and I've decided to find out more by interviewing some children to find out all about how they feel about the way they look.

I'm going to ask you some questions about your views about way you look, about exercise, about your family, friends and school and how they influence how you feel about the way you look, and also about appearance ideals.

Are you happy to take part in the interview today?

If at any time you want to stop the interview, or there are questions you don't want to answer, just let me know.

I am recording you today but later I will type the interview up and delete the recording. Also when I type up the interview I won't use your name, I will use the code I gave you when you completed the questionnaires, so what you say to me will be anonymous.

I won't tell anybody who knows you about what you've said to me today, unless I am worried about you or another person and I think you or another person might be at risk of harm. If that happens I will tell (named contact at school). But I'll tell you if I'm going to do that.

Do you have any questions? If you think of any questions as we go through you can ask them then or at the end.

Child's own appearance

What do you think about your appearance?

If child is unsure about the word appearance – clarify this as 'the way you or other people look' and continue to use this language throughout.

Is there any part of your body that you are particularly satisfied with?

Is there any part of your body that you are particularly happy with?

Is there any part of your body that you like?

Is there any part of your body that you are particularly dissatisfied with?

Is there any part of your body that you are less satisfied with?

Is there any part of your body that you are not happy with?

Is there any part of your body that you don't like?

How important is your appearance when it comes to how you feel and think about yourself?

Exercise

Do you exercise?

What type of exercise do you do?

How often?

Why do you exercise?

Why do you not exercise?

Why did you stop exercising?

Influence of family/friends/school

Do you talk to your mother about appearance?

How important do you think your mother's appearance is to her?

What do you think your mother thinks about your appearance?

How do you notice that she feels that way?

Can you give an example of something that your mother has said about your appearance (positive or negative)?

Repeat above questions for father/siblings.

What do you think your friends think about your appearance?

Have you received any comments about your appearance from your friends?
Have your friends said anything about the way you look?

How did those comments make you feel?

How important is it to you that boys/girls like your appearance?

Do your teachers talk about appearance?

How important do you think your class teacher's/form tutor's appearance is to him/her?

What do you think your class teacher/form tutor thinks about your appearance?

How do you notice that he/she feels that way?

Can you give an example of something that your class teacher/form tutor has said about your appearance (positive or negative)?

How does school make you feel about your appearance?

Appearance ideals

What kind of appearance ideals do you think there are for boys/girls?

If child is unsure about the notion of appearance ideals – clarify this as 'ideas in society of how boys/girls should look like'.

Ask about the child's own sex first and then the opposite sex.

What do you think about the appearance ideals?

How do you think boys/girls should look like in order to look good?

Ask about the child's own sex first and then the opposite sex.

Try to think of a boy/girl that you think looks good. Could you describe that person?

Ask about the child's own sex first and then the opposite sex.

From where do you think you have picked up the appearance ideals?

How come you know about these ideals?

What do you think is the most important source in conveying the ideals?

Who/what sends the message most strongly?

Close

Thank you for answering my questions today, your answers were really interesting.

Do you have any questions?

Appendix 37: Example email to a school to arrange interviews

Dear [REDACTED]

Thank you for allowing me to visit [REDACTED] I enjoyed meeting the children I worked with and they were all very polite and welcoming ☺

For the second part of the research I will be interviewing children and young people who have been identified as having particularly positive body esteem. From your school the following children have been identified as having positive body esteem:

[REDACTED]

I would really like to visit your school again to interview these students. I have attached a further consent form to be sent to their parent/s – please would you mind printing this off and sending it to their parent/s? If possible I'd really like to interview them before the Christmas holidays. I could visit again on Monday 9th December if this would be a convenient time?

Many thanks for your continued support,

Lucy.

Lucy Drage

Trainee Educational Psychologist

[REDACTED]

Appendix 38: Interview transcript extract

I: Yeah, yeah, ok, ok. What about teachers, do teachers in school ever talk about appearance?

P: No, not really. Um, lots of them tell you to tuck your shirt in and be smart and stuff but not really, no.

I: Mmm, mmm. So mostly around uniform and that sort of thing.

P: Yeah.

I: Ok.

P: How you dress.

I: And, yeah. And, and you, your form tutor, you've got a form tutor is that right?

P: Yeah, she's...

I: Yeah? Yeah? What do you think, um, how do you think they feel about their own appearance?

P: I dunno, Miss X, we have two tutors so one of them is a dance teacher and they're always, sort of, in dance clothes.

I: Yeah.

P: Um, so, sort of, trainers, baggy, sort of, t-shirts and stuff.

I: Yeah.

P: Um, so I don't think she, she's overly care, caring about what, how people think. I think she's just caring about if she's dressed for dance, cos she always has her hair tied back, in, it looks silly but it's sensible for dance.

I: Yeah.

P: Um, and I, yeah. Um, but I think, uh, our other tutor, who's an English teacher, um, she has quite pride in her appearance, she's always wearing pretty clothes and stuff.

I: Mmm.

P: Um, yeah.

I: Mmm, ok. And how do you think they feel about your appearance?

P: I don't know, I don't really speak to them about my appearance. I think they're fine with it.

I: Yeah.

P: Yeah.

I: Ok. And how do you know that they're fine?

P: I dunno, I, I just, they just don't say anything about it so, I guess that people would say something if they had a problem with it. It's like one of our, one of the kids in our, um, tutor group, um, he doesn't, he, like, forgets to wear a blazer, so Miss is always telling him to put his blazer on, um, and tuck his shirt in. So I think they care about your uniform appearance but I don't think they really mind about how you look yourself.

I: Yeah.

P: I think they're supporting, I think all teachers support if you're happy with how you look, stick with it, sort of thing.

I: Yeah, ok. And do you think that that's true?

P: Yeah, I think, I think you should, if you're happy then stick with it.

I: Yeah. Ok, that's interesting. And, kind of, overall then, thinking about school overall, how does school make you feel about your appearance overall?

P: I, I don't know. I'm not really changed by school to look better.

I: Mmm.

P: No, I think, no, I dunno. I don't think school's pressurised me to change anything.

Appendix 39: An explanation of why Braun and Clarke's (2006) thematic analysis was chosen as the method of data analysis

There were a number of reasons why the form of thematic analysis reported by Braun and Clarke (2006) was chosen as the method of data analysis for study two.

Firstly, this method was chosen because of its theoretical freedom, that is, unlike other forms of qualitative data analysis such as interpretative phenomenological analysis and grounded theory, this method is not tied to a particular theoretical or epistemological position. This was important as study two was located in the pragmatic paradigm (Mertens, 2010) and a method was needed that would best answer the research questions, rather than being guided by a particular theoretical position.

Since the publication of Braun and Clarke's (2006) method for conducting thematic analysis, this method is now widely used in psychological research. In their article, Braun and Clarke argue that prior to the publication of their method, there was no clear agreement of what thematic analysis was and how researchers might go about doing it. This meant that how qualitative researchers went about analysing their data was therefore sometimes unclear. It was felt important for this thesis that the methods of data analysis were explicit and could be easily understood by the reader. This was another reason why Braun and Clarke's method was chosen, as this method has a clear set of stages that a researcher must work through, and the researcher is encouraged to make notes during all of these stages so that the decisions that they have made are clear.

One other reason that this method of thematic analysis was chosen was because this method was used for the data analysis in the studies by Frisé and Holmqvist (2010) and Holmqvist and Frisé (2012). As study two was designed to be as close a replication of these studies as possible, it was felt that it would be important to use the same method of data analysis.

Appendix 40: Researcher's notes from phases one to five of the thematic analysis process

Interview data thematic analysis

Phase 1

Initial themes/codes/ideas about the data after conducting the interviews and transcribing:

- The importance of sport/exercise - exercise seemed to be a normal part of these children and young people's experiences. Many were playing competitive sport, some at a high level. Does this allow them to experience their bodies as something other than an aesthetic? i.e. functional, something to be proud of, something that helps them to achieve? How can we replicate this in children who aren't naturally talented in sport? Does differentiation play a part? i.e. How well differentiated are school PE lessons?
- The rejection of appearance ideals - many children and young people knew what these were but actively rejected them, instead arguing the importance of everybody being unique and comfortable with their own appearance. Many struggled to define a good looking boy/girl perhaps for this reason?
- The importance of compliments - many children and young people had been on the receiving end of positive comments and this seemed to aid

the development of positive body esteem.

- The lack of negative comments - and linked to this - the assumption that people like your appearance unless they say otherwise.
- The dismissal of negative comments - as jokes, banter or not important.
- A feeling of appearance as 'fine' rather than 'brilliant' - possibly to fit with socially acceptable norms (is it socially acceptable to think of yourself as good looking? Link to vanity here? Is part of the reason that body dissatisfaction is so prevalent in our culture because of the negative connotations of vanity?)
- Global body satisfaction rather than satisfaction with particular parts of the body.

Originally the intention was to analyse boys' and girls' data separately. The data has now been conylated for the following reasons:

- There seemed to be little difference between the boys' and girls' narratives during the interview/transcription process.
- Due to the small number of participants, analysing the data separately may make it more difficult for codes/themes to be identified.

Initial ideas for codes emerging from the reading / re-reading process / including tallies of the number of data extracts that might be coded under each code - colour coding shows whether codes are just male / female codes - Blue = male - Pink = female - this ensures codes are not gender specific:

^{or 'normal'}
 Appearance as 'fine' ^{or 'not perfect'} } View of own appearance
 Lack of negative comments - ^{or 'not perfect'}
 assumption appearance is ok
 Global satisfaction rather than one specific part
 Lack of body dissatisfaction
 Appearance being ^{or importance of appearance} somewhat but not overly important
 Difference between looking 'nice' and going OTT
 Participation in exercise
 Frequency / length of exercise
 Using technology to exercise
 Reasons for exercise
 Discussing appearance with mother
 Mother's importance of appearance
 Mother's view of child's appearance
 Non-verbal behaviour of mother

Compliments from mother III II
 Discussing appearance with III III
 father
 Gendered comment about III III III I
 appearance.
 Father's importance of III III
 appearance.
 Father's view of child's III II
 appearance.
 Non-verbal behaviour of I
 father
 Discussing appearance with III II
 siblings
 Siblings' importance of appearance III III III
 Siblings' view of child's III II
 appearance
 Friends' view of child's III III
 appearance.
 No comments from friends III I
 about appearance.
 Importance of opposite sex III III III
 liking appearance
 Discussing appearance with III III III
 teacher
 Teacher's importance of III III III
 appearance
 Teacher's view of child's III I
 appearance.
 Compliments from teacher III III
 Influence of school generally III III III
 Looking good as ^{or importance of} ~~you~~ are III III III III III } Defining beauty broadly;
 Hairstyle III III III II } Or everybody looks ^{cannot}

Influence of family III
 Not caring about people's comments IIII
 Negative comments IIII
 Satisfaction with one part of body IIII
 Dissatisfaction with one part of body III
 Compliments from father IIII
 Compliments from siblings IIII
 Compliments from friends IIII
 Changing appearance / clothes for a particular reason IIII
 Consequences of looking good IIII
 Importance of clothes III
 Rejection of appearance ideals or other people? IIII
 Influence of peers IIII
 Influence of the media IIII
 Non-verbal behaviour of friends I
 How comments make the child feel IIII
 Importance of not being scruffy / being neat, clean, tidy etc. IIII
 Agreement with appearance ideals III
 Proud of body II
 Lack of social comparison or rejection of IIII
 Gendered comments about sport IIII
 Influence of going to secondary school I
 Rejection of gender stereotypes RE sport

Importance of 'fitting in' ||
Non-verbal behaviour of :
siblings
Beauty as subjective ||
Non-verbal behaviour of teacher |
Influence of celebrities ||||
Teachers' comments about uniform ||

Phase 2

List of codes used for coding / derived from initial ideas for codes in Phase 1
N.B. Some initial ideas have been rejected, some have been combined, others have been renamed. As codes have been developed, certain themes have started to become apparent so codes are listed here under certain themes.

Views about appearance:

- View of own appearance
- Lack of negative comments: appearance is ok
- Body satisfaction
- Body dissatisfaction
- Importance of appearance
- Distinction between caring and going OTT.
- Gendered comments about appearance
- Defining beauty / looking good widely:
- Hairstyles
- Not caring about what people think /

people's comments.

- Negative comments.
- Changing appearance / clothes for a particular reason.
- Consequences of looking good.
- Importance of clothes.
- Rejection of appearance ideals.
- How comments make you feel.
- Importance of being neat / clean / tidy / smart.
- Agreement with appearance ideals.

Exercise / sport

- Participation in exercise / sport.
- Frequency of participation.
- Reasons for participation.
- Rejection of gender stereotypes in sport.

Influence of family

- Discussing appearance with mother.
- Mother's importance of appearance.
- Mother's view of child's appearance.
- Compliments from mother.
- Discussing appearance with father.
- Father's importance of appearance.
- Father's view of child's appearance.
- Non-verbal behaviour in family.
- Discussing appearance with siblings.
- Siblings' importance of appearance.
- Siblings' view of child's appearance.
- Compliments from father.

- Compliments from siblings
- Influence of family

Influence of peers

- Friends' view of child's appearance.
- Not discussing appearance with friends / no comments
- Compliments from friends
- Importance of opposite sex liking appearance.
- Influence of peers.

Influence of school

- Discussing appearance with teachers
- Teachers' importance of appearance.
- Teachers' view of child's appearance.
- Compliments from teachers
- Influence of school generally.

Influence of the media

- Influence of the media.
- Influence of celebrities.

Phase 3

At this stage the codes were initially reviewed in NVivo to determine the number of references and sources for each code. One code was discarded at this stage as it was only referred to once by one source, and therefore it was considered not to be a true pattern.

in the data / Agreement with appearance ideals).

To generate themes I tried to put the themes that had seemed to emerge out of my mind - instead writing all my codes on scraps of paper and sticking them on my wall so that I could physically sort them into themes. From this process nine themes were identified:

- Comments
- Exercise / sport
- Influence of peers
- Wider cultural influences
- Influence of school
- Views / opinions about appearance
- Appearance ideals
- Own appearance
- Influence of family

This theme was thought to have three sub-themes:

- a) Influence of mother
- b) Influence of father
- c) Influence of siblings

Phase 4

Having completed Level One of this phase (reviewing my themes at the level of the coded data extracts) it became clear some of my themes were not themes as there wasn't internal homogeneity. I therefore decided to look at my codes again to see if there was another way of sorting them into themes. From this eight themes were identified:

- Exercise / sport
- Importance of appearance
- Appearance ideals
- Own appearance:
 - Own view
 - Others' view
- Influences
- Discussing appearance
- Opinions about appearance
- Comments:
 - Compliments
 - Negative comments

At this point one code was excluded from the analysis as it didn't appear to fit under any of these new themes (Non-verbal behaviour of family members).

After completing Level One of this phase, it became clear that one theme (Opinions about appearance) did not have internal homogeneity, so this theme was discarded. One code (Distinction between caring about appearance but not going OTT) was discarded because it didn't fit in any themes. Two themes (Comments and Discussing appearance) were merged to form a new theme: Appearance talk.

A candidate thematic map was drawn up and I then applied this to the entire data set (Level Two of this phase). I was pleased to discover that this thematic map seemed to accurately reflect the meanings evident in the data set as a whole.

Phase 5

In order to name and define my themes I went back to the coded data extracts for each theme and re-read them.

My goals for Phase 5 were:

- To formally name my themes
- To identify any sub-themes.

- To write a sentence or two for each theme to define it.

These goals were achieved as below:

<u>Theme</u>	<u>Sub-themes</u>	<u>Definition</u>
Own appearance.		Participants describe themselves positively but using low key language e.g. 'ok' or 'fine'. Participant use similar language to describe how others feel about their appearance; nevertheless, the assumption is that other people like their appearance. Participants express global satisfaction with their appearance.
Importance of appearance	Importance of own appearance. Importance of appearance	Participants differ in terms of the value they place on appearance, however there is a

to others.

consensus

that it is not important for the opposite sex to like one's appearance.

In terms of the importance of appearance to other people, appearance is recognised as important, but not overly so.

Appearance
talk

Receiving
comments
about own
appearance

Discussing
appearance
with others

Participants describe receiving compliment from a number of different sources. When negative comments are received, participants ignore these. Participants assume that if people haven't said anything negative about their appearance then they must like it. Participants rarely discuss appearance

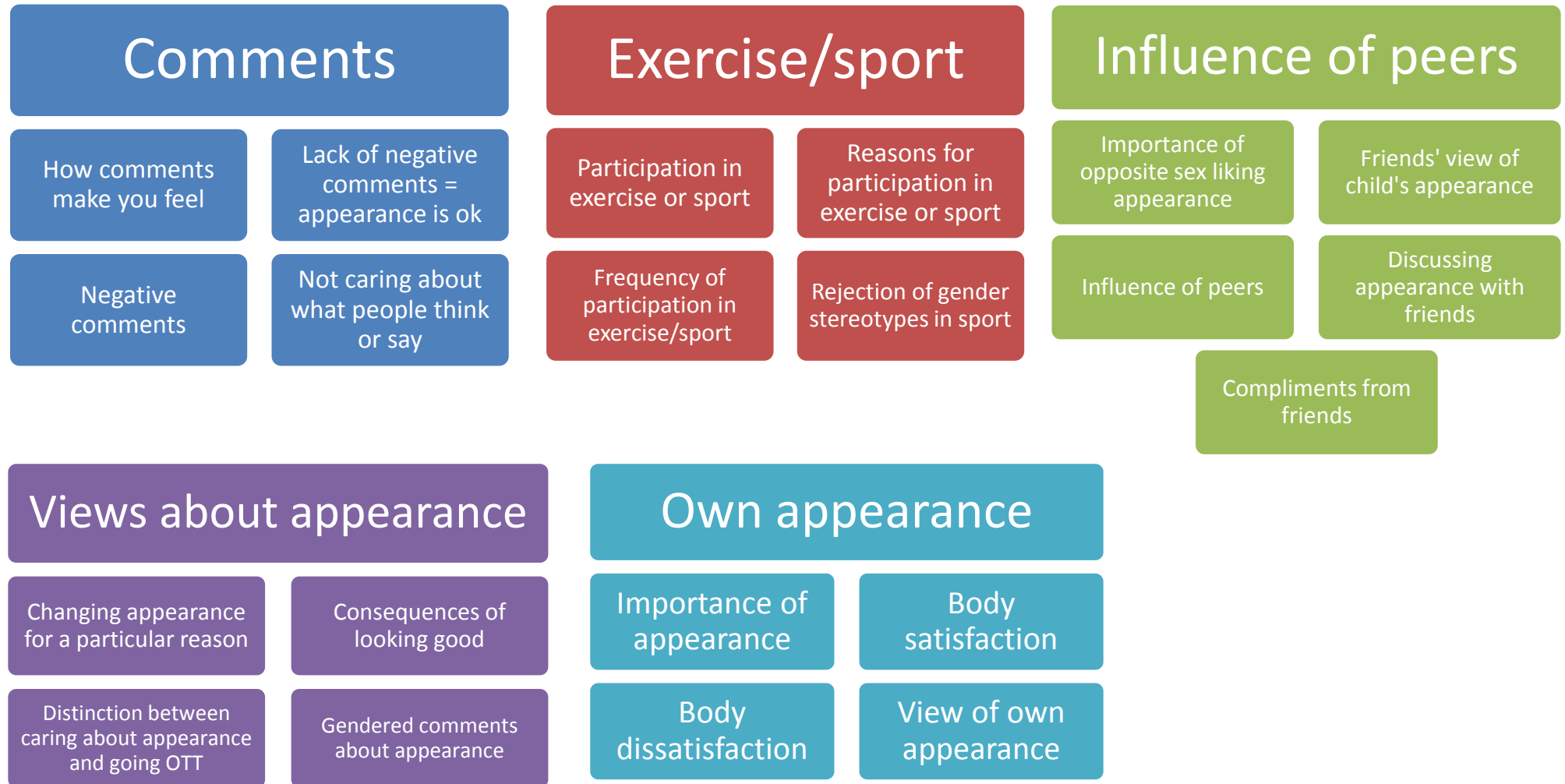
		with other.
Appearance ideals	Placing value on controllable aspects of appearance Rejection of appearance ideals	Participants place value on looking clean and tidy, having nice clothes and having particular hairstyle Many participants actively reject appearance ideals and instead chose to define beauty more widely.
Influences		Participants identify a number of influences on the development of their understanding and feelings about appearance, including family, peers, the media, celebrities and school.
Exercise and sport		Participants take part in lots of exercise and sport, often at a high

level. Reasons for participating in exercise and sport are because it keeps you fit, the social benefits it makes you feel proud and it is fun. Some participants actively reject gender stereotypes in sport.

Appendix 41: Codes before sorting

Compliments from teachers	Frequency of participation in exercise/sport	Importance of appearance to mother	Influence of celebrities
Importance of appearance to father	Discussing appearance with teachers	Consequences of looking good	Influence of peers
Negative comments	Reasons for participation in exercise or sport	Importance of being neat, clean, tidy, smart	Importance of appearance
Defining beauty widely	Lack of negative comments = appearance is ok	View of own appearance	Siblings' view of child's appearance
Non-verbal behaviour of family members	Importance of clothes	Compliments from friends	Influence of the media
Rejection of appearance ideals	Teachers' view of child's appearance	Rejection of gender stereotypes in sport	Participation in exercise or sport
Mother's view of child's appearance	Not caring about what people think or say	Importance of appearance to teachers	How comments make you feel
Discussing appearance with siblings	Compliments from father	Discussing appearance with friends	Discussing appearance with father
Influence of school generally	Influence of family	Importance of opposite sex liking appearance	Importance of appearance to siblings
Hairstyles	Discussing appearance with mother	Changing appearance for a particular reason	Compliments from siblings
Gendered comments about appearance	Body dissatisfaction	Friends' view of child's appearance	Body satisfaction
Father's view of child's appearance	Distinction between caring about appearance but not going OTT	Compliments from mother	

Appendix 42: Codes sorted into initial themes



Influence of school

Teachers' view of child's appearance

Discussing appearance with teachers

Compliments from teachers

Influence of school generally

Importance of appearance to teachers

Appearance ideals

Rejection of appearance ideals

Importance of being neat, clean, tidy, smart

Hairstyles

Importance of clothes

Defining beauty widely

Influence of family

Non-verbal behaviour of family members

Influence of father

Influence of mother

Influence of siblings

Father's view of child's appearance

Compliments from father

Compliments from mother

Discussing appearance with mother

Discussing appearance with siblings

Compliments from siblings

Importance of appearance to father

Discussing appearance with father

Mother's view of child's appearance

Importance of appearance to mother

Importance of appearance to siblings

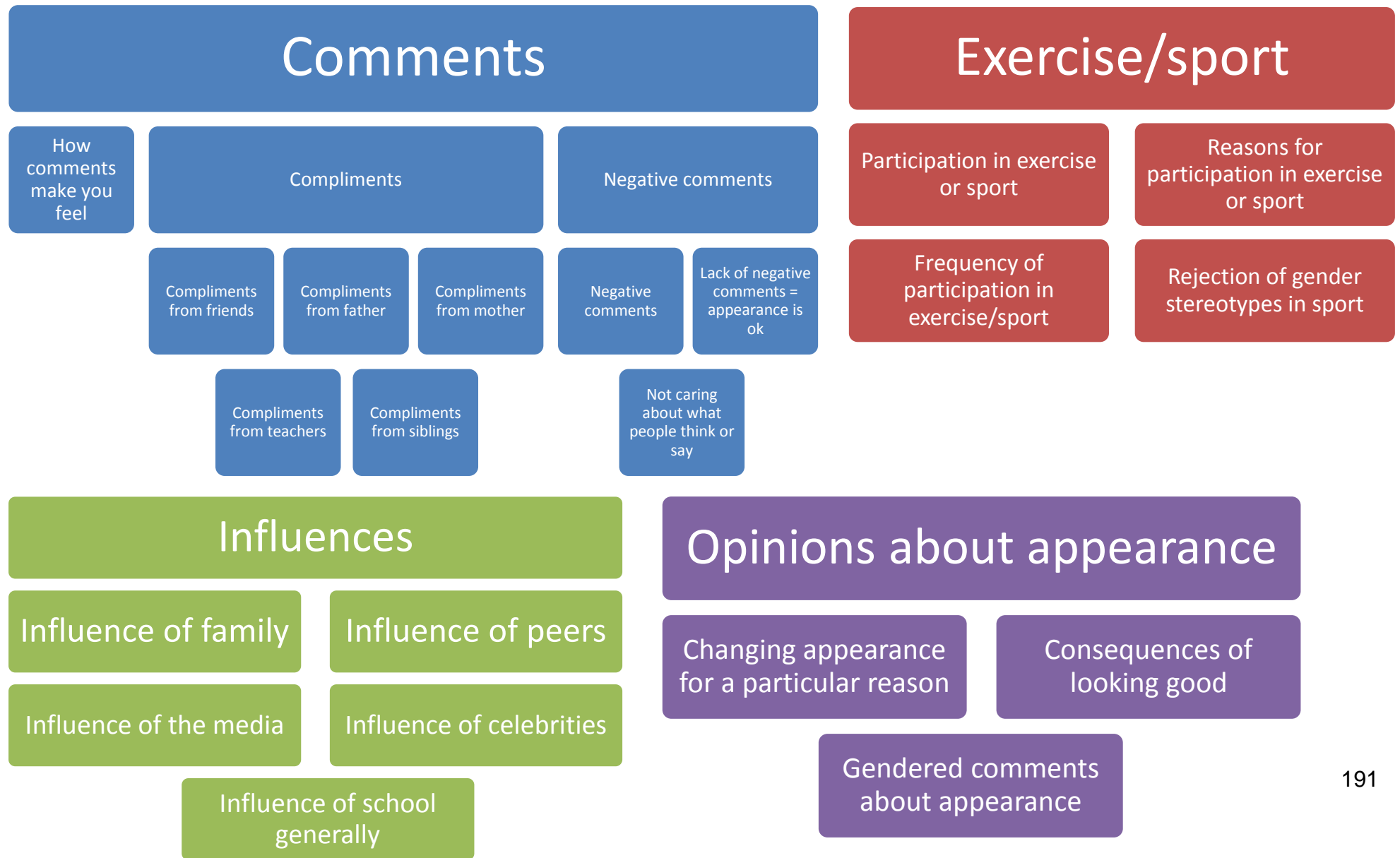
Siblings' view of child's appearance

Wider cultural influences

Influence of the media

Influence of celebrities

Appendix 43: Subsequent sorting of codes into themes



Own appearance

Others' view

Father's view
of child's
appearance

Friends' view
of child's
appearance

Siblings' view
of child's
appearance

Mother's view
of child's
appearance

Teachers' view
of child's
appearance

Own view

Body
satisfaction

View of own
appearance

Body
dissatisfaction

Appearance ideals

Hairstyles

Importance of
clothes

Defining beauty widely

Importance of being
neat, clean, tidy, smart

Rejection of appearance
ideals

Importance of appearance

Importance of
appearance

Importance of
appearance to mother

Distinction between
caring about appearance
but not going OTT

Importance of
appearance to father

Importance of
appearance to siblings

Importance of
appearance to teachers

Importance of opposite
sex liking appearance

Discussing appearance

Discussing appearance
with father

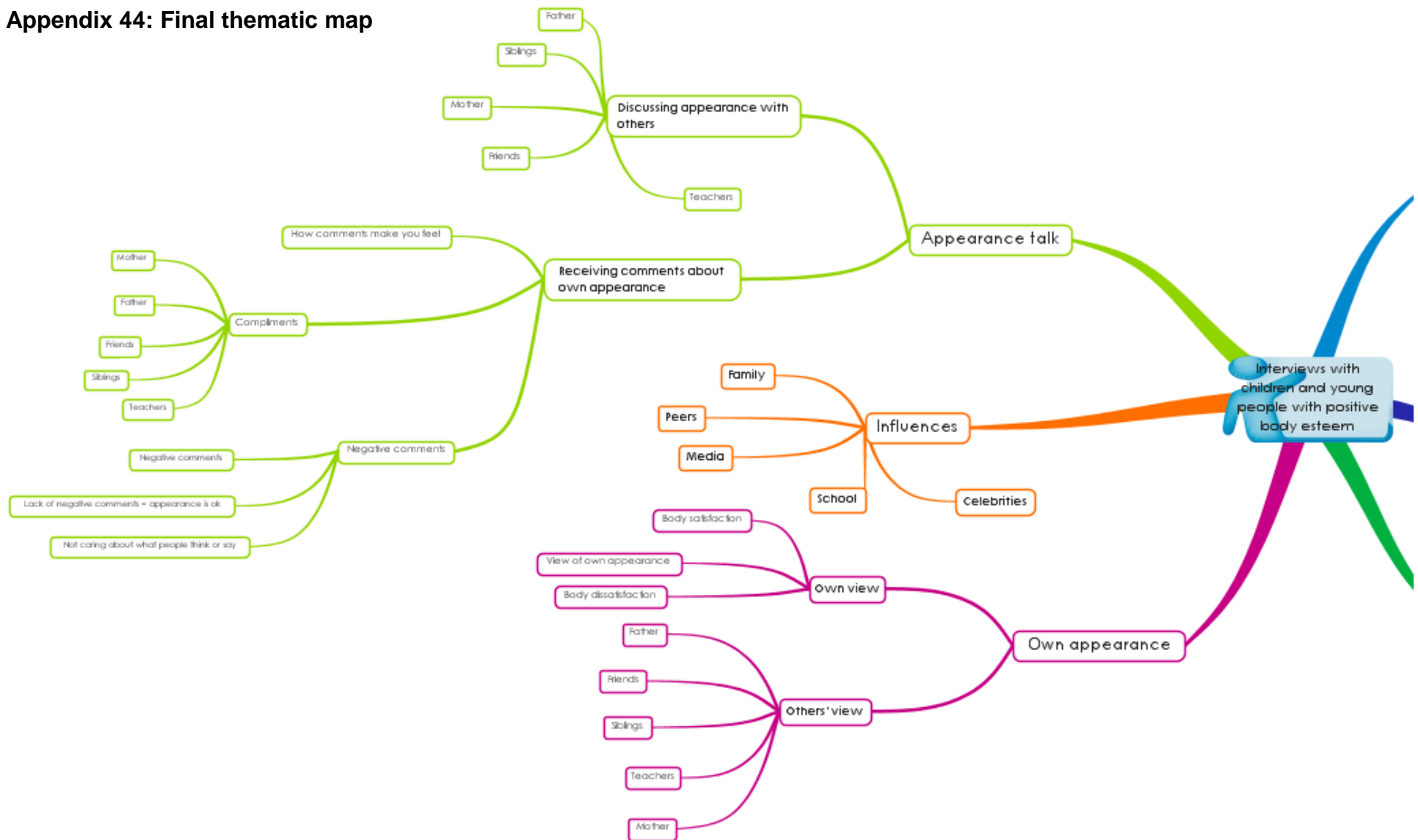
Discussing appearance
with siblings

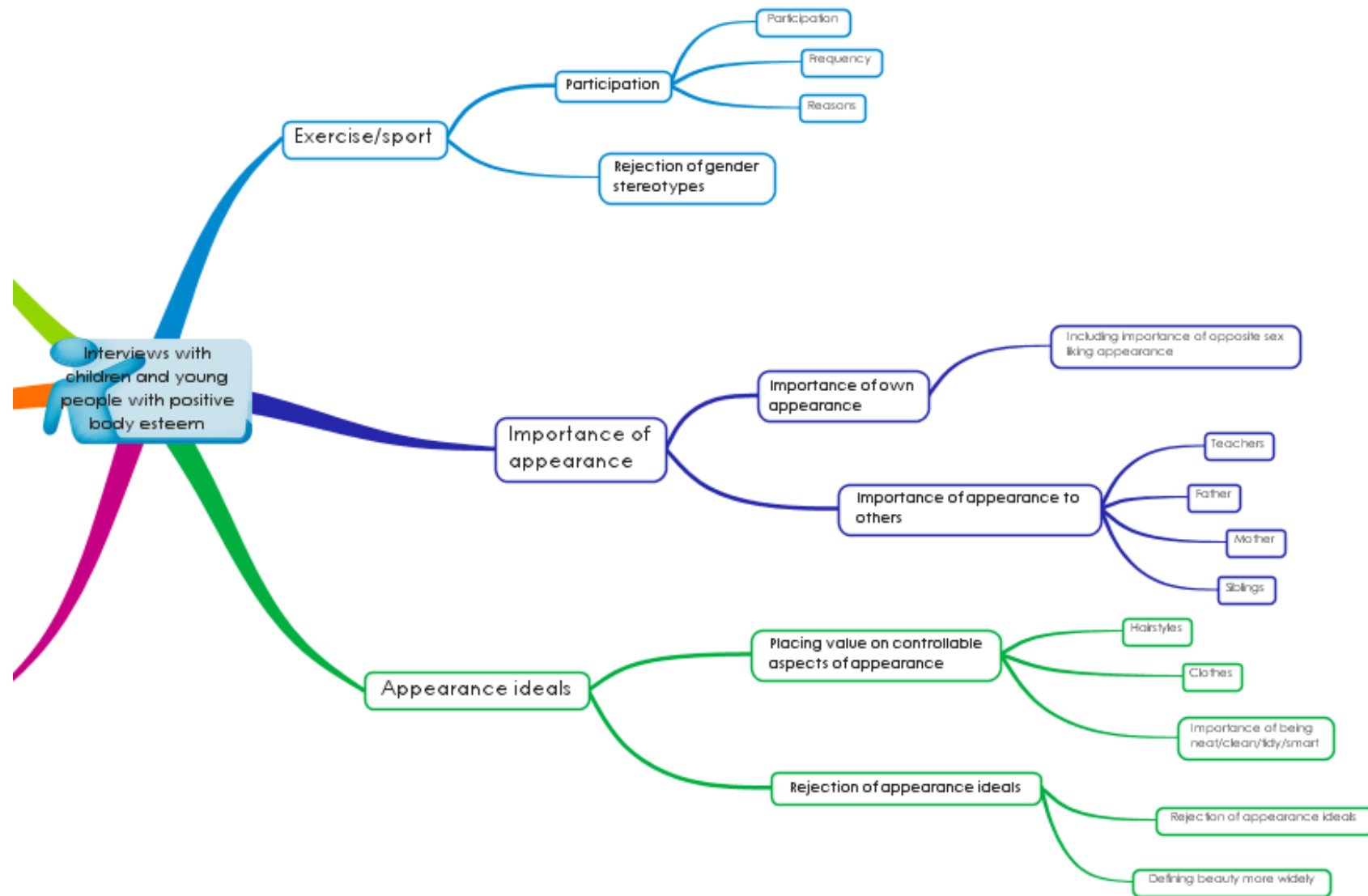
Discussing appearance
with friends

Discussing appearance
with mother

Discussing appearance
with teachers

Appendix 44: Final thematic map





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