

Understanding the Body Image Experiences of Older Men

Shweta Linga Reddy, Ph.D.

Assistant Professor, Fashion Merchandising

Texas Christian University

DEMT, P O Box 298630

Fort Worth, TX 76129-0001, USA.

Abstract

This study addresses the body image experiences of men. The main objective of this study was to understand how men evaluate their appearance, aging bodies and how they negotiate the changes in their appearance. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with men in the age range of 52 to 71 years to collect qualitative data. Narrative analysis was utilized to analyze the transcribed interviews. Given the challenges of aging, older individuals strive to maintain positive evaluation of their physical selves both in domain of appearance and health. The respondents in this study exhibit that health and appearance are equally important and most of them appear to deal with the aging process with a positive attitude.

Key words: Body image, body dissatisfaction, muscularity, aging, narrative analysis

Introduction

Body image is a multifaceted psychological experience of embodiment that includes one's physical appearance, body related self-perceptions and self-attitudes such as thoughts, beliefs, feelings and behaviors (Cash, 2004, p.1-2). McCabe and Ricciardelli (2004) observe that in the case of adult men the 'importance of appearance' relates not only to what one looks like, but also to their health, fitness and general wellbeing. Literature reveals that there is association between a man's body image and his sense of self (Mishkind, Rodin, Silberstein, & Striegel-Moore, 1986).

Prior studies have indicated that body image assessment in men relates to a desire for increased muscularity and reduced body fat (Nowell & Ricciardelli, 2008) which is different from women's desire for weight loss. Studies have shown that in comparison to men, women report a lower Body Mass Index (BMI) as the "ideal," and women are more likely than men to perceive themselves as overweight even if they are of normal weight (Crawford & Campbell, 1999; Kiefer, Leitner, Bauer & Rieder, 2000). However, men are more likely to consider themselves as normal weight even if they are overweight.

Body dissatisfaction (BD) is the negative outcome of an individual's evaluation of their body shape, weight or body parts (Presnell, Bearman & Stice, 2004). Thus, it is defined as an individual's dissatisfaction with his/her specific body attributes or overall appearance. McCabe & Ricciardelli(2004) point out that studies investigating BD have mostly focused on women and thereby have typically addressed the strategies used to lose weight, but questions regarding gaining weight or increasing muscles have not been assessed. Besides the studies investigating men's body image are limited to men in the age range of 18-21 years. In an attempt to understand older men's body image and body dissatisfaction experiences, the present study utilized qualitative methodology to gather rich data from men over the age of 50 years.

Literature Review

The following section presents a summary of literature reviewed in the area of adult male body dissatisfaction.

Muscularity

Prior studies (Grogan & Richards, 2002; McCreary, Saucier & Courtenay, 2005; Mishkind, Rodin, Silberstein & Striegel-Moore, 2001) have found that males desire a muscular physique and there is an association between muscularity and masculinity.

However, older males report having a lesser drive for muscularity (Nowell & Ricciardelli, 2008). Furthermore, two dominant themes that are evident from studies that have investigated body image concerns in men are: a desire for increased muscularity, and reduced body fat (Hildebrandt, Langenbucher & Schlundt, 2004; Nowell & Ricciardelli, 2008).

Body shape and weight

Studies investigating body image of men have reported that men are concerned with lack of muscle or being skinny or being fat. In fact, the number of men who desire to gain weight is approximately similar to the number of men who desire to lose weight (Drewnowski & Yee, 1987; Furnham, Badmin & Sneade, 2002). The nature of male body dissatisfaction is different from that of females because an underweight man is likely to be unhappy with his body, whereas an underweight woman is more likely to be satisfied with hers (Furnham, Badmin & Sneade, 2002). For example, in a study comparing gender differences, Demarest and Langer (1996) found that men have a more positive body shape perception than women regardless of their actual weight. However, in a study using college aged men and women, Muth and Cash (1997) found that unlike women who demonstrated higher levels of body dissatisfaction with higher levels of BMI, men demonstrated a curvilinear relationship between body dissatisfaction and weight, with those with high or low BMI demonstrating the highest levels of body dissatisfaction. This indicates that men who are overweight and men who are underweight are both dissatisfied with their bodies.

Aging

Davison and McCabe (2005) observe that with regards to understanding adult body image, there is a developmental shift in one's body image during later years of an adult life. Men and women over 50 years of age tend to negatively evaluate their own appearance and perceive their appearance as important as did the younger participants; however, the difference between the older and younger respondents is that older individuals report less concern about others evaluating their bodies, and they are less likely to compare their appearance with that of others. Also older males report lower body dissatisfaction in comparison to younger men (Nowell & Ricciardelli, 2008).

Social pressures

Mishkind, Rodin, Silberstein and Striegel-Moore (2001) posit that men experience significant pressure from a range of social factors to achieve a muscular ideal. Comparing their current bodies to the ideal muscular body, men report dissatisfaction with their chests, stomachs and shoulders. Studies (Ata, Ludden, & Lally, 2007; Grogan & Richards, 2002) show both family and peers have a significant role in the development of an individual's body image. Positive comments from mothers and criticism from fathers are associated with adolescent boys' attitudes towards body image, exercise and eating (Vincent & McCabe, 2000); although among college aged men parental feedback does not influence body dissatisfaction (McCabe & Ricciardelli, 2004). However, teasing or negative commentary is associated with body dissatisfaction among college aged men (Davison & McCabe, 2005; Vartanian, Giant & Passino, 2001). Furthermore, grown men appear to be more selective in the feedback they seek. For example, men appear to be less likely to compare themselves with images in the media that they perceive to be unattainable and are more likely to compare themselves with targets that are realistic and attainable (Arbour & Ginis, 2006).

Other factors

Prior studies indicate higher body dissatisfaction is associated with low self-esteem (Cohane & Pope, 2001; Olivardia, Pope, Borowiecki & Cohane, 2004) and higher drive for muscularity or concerns pertaining to muscle (McCreary & Sasse, 2000; Olivardia, Pope, Borowiecki & Cohane, 2004) in young adult men. Furthermore among males, studies have found that body dissatisfaction is associated with unhealthy psychological outcomes, including increased depression and negative affect (Presnell, Bearman & Stice, 2004; Ricciardelli, McCabe, Lillis & Thomas, 2006). Men appear to be less inclined than women to report holding negative attitudes toward their bodies (Davison & McCabe, 2005), but do report a strong motivation to improve the appearance of their bodies (Davison, 2002).

Thus in order to obtain a more in-depth understanding of the body image and body dissatisfaction experience among adult men, it is important to focus on the attitudes, feelings and behavior towards the topic of “appearance” and the significance of physical changes accompanying the aging body.

Method

Sample

The respondents were contacted through the center established by the university to promote aging relevant research. Respondents of this study had previously volunteered to complete a survey for the researchers in which they had given permission to the researchers to contact them via email for interviews. The respondents were contacted subsequently to establish a place, time and date to meet for the one on one interview. Among the 8 male respondents, 7 described their ethnicity as White/ Caucasian American and 1 described himself as Asian. Table 1 provides a description of the male respondents.

Table 1: *Demographics of the respondents*

	Respondent (proxy name)	Age	Race	Education
1	Aaron	67	White /Caucasian	Associate degree
2	Jeff	62	White /Caucasian	More than master's level
3	Ben	71	White /Caucasian	Bachelor's degree
4	Chad	61	White /Caucasian	More than master's level
5	Dave	64	White /Caucasian	Bachelor's degree
6	Greg	60	White /Caucasian	Bachelor's degree
7	Nick	52	Asian	More than master's level
8	Sam	55	White /Caucasian	Bachelor's degree

Data collection

The qualitative research design was selected for its utility in capturing the variation in how individuals feel, think, and act in the domain of appearance across life in order to determine the influence of age on individual perception and behavior toward appearance. The interviews were conducted with all 8 respondents at the university's library in a study room. Prior permission was taken from the respondents to tape record the interviews. The phenomenon of BD in men was investigated using the semi-structured interview technique, where an interview schedule was utilized to provide guidance to the researcher but also allowed for the individual respondents to tell their stories freely.

Analysis

Interviews were transcribed verbatim and eventually sorted to retrieve only appearance related aspects from the interviewees' accounts. Each transcribed interview was examined independently by the researcher in order to sort only the appearance relevant narratives. A qualitative research technique known as ‘narrative inquiry’ was used to conduct this study. Bell (2002) posits that people make sense of their lives or experiences according to the narratives available to them. The use of narratives in research offers an opportunity to all groups of people (even the marginalized groups) to participate in knowledge construction. Although narratives are shaped by lifelong personal experiences, they are often interpreted in the light of new knowledge. The narrative not only provides the researcher with an opportunity to understand the individual's experiences and beliefs, but most importantly the assumptions people make when trying to make sense of their lives (Bell, 2002). This insight into the assumptions people make is the most crucial aspect of using narratives as a rich source of data because they provide a deeper understanding of other's experience.

Thematic analysis of the narratives was the most appropriate approach for this study. In narrative analysis ‘the story or the narrative’ is the object of investigation with a goal to understand how the respondents make sense of the events and experiences in their lives (Reissman, 1993).

The foremost step in the analysis of the data entailed an inductive approach allowing themes to emerge and concepts to develop from the stories (Polkinghorne, 1995) across all the 8 transcribed interviews. The three step process involved in analyzing the qualitative data allowed the researcher to examine each respondent's interview independently, followed by identifying relevant themes across all interviews and eventually identifying recurring themes across all interviews.

Results

A careful analysis of each of the transcripts was performed in order to separate the narratives into themes. Particular attention was paid to similarities and differences in the narratives presented by each respondent. The following section presents the themes that emerged from analysis of qualitative data collected from men, and each theme is supported by narratives from the respondents. These narratives are presented here under theme headings, with all respondents referenced by pseudonyms to preserve anonymity.

Body dissatisfaction

The respondents were willing to talk about their dissatisfaction with aspects of their appearance. Respondents of this study mentioned lack of height, muscle, weight, and loss of firmness of skin, loss of hair, shape of nose as causes of dissatisfaction. From the interviews it emerges that one of the more common causes of body dissatisfaction was lack of height and lack of weight.

Ben (aged 71): I always regretted not being taller and I envy tall people. What bugs me is losing hair. I know I am going to eventually lose all my hair, and that bugs me.

Jeff (aged 62): I weigh the same and I wear the same clothes size as wore in college but because I spent great deal of time out in the sun I have smile wrinkles. So if I had to do something all over again I would have used sunscreen but in the [19]50s and [19]60s there was no sunscreen, they hadn't even thought about it! I would have taken good care of my skin so I wouldn't have as many wrinkles. Other than that, I am pretty comfortable with myself.

Dave (aged 64): There were things about my appearance that bothered me as I was growing up. I didn't like the shape of my nose. I didn't like the fact that I wasn't tall. I was short and squatty like a fireplug. I wanted to be six feet tall...I wasn't and I am not.

Greg (aged 60): There are things about me that bother me...part of the genes from my mother's side is the loss of hair. Starting at the age of 16-17, I starting losing hair and I looked a lot older like 25 or something. So for me it was a big thing and I spoke to my parents. They told me that 'one thing you could do is wear a hair piece and I got one when I was 21 years'. Suddenly I looked into the mirror and I looked my age...it did things for me. I wore a hair piece for 30 years! But even now when I see men with full hair I notice because all my life that was one thing that was important. Also when I was young I was very very thin and I was tall. 6ft tall but only weighed 140 pounds and was very thin. One of my nick names was spider because I had very thin arms and legs and long body so I was bothered by that.

Nick (aged 62): When I started out my career, I was really young and trying to get jobs. In the interviews, I would tell people that I graduated and they would ask what high school and I would have to say 'no no grad school!' [laughs]. It was kind of difficult. I am into toxicology and I deal with decisions that can affect a lot of people... it was kind of difficult that appearance of maturity. Because they needed [to see] a kind of maturity that goes into these decisions and they do not see it in a person that looks so young. So that was kind difficult and trying to make myself look like this older person did not feel right and it all felt kind of silly.

Influence of peers, parental, opposite gender and others

When one's appearance is validated by others, it influences and motivates one to engage in activities that maintain or improve their appearance. This idea can be attributed to Cooley (1964) who suggested that the responses and evaluations of others are essential to how we perceive ourselves. From the responses gathered from all men it was clear that their attitude and behavior towards appearance were influenced by feedback from parents, wives and strangers:

Aaron (aged 67): My mother was much more concerned with my appearance than I was. She would make more than suggestions. She was the one who bought the clothes.

Greg (aged 60): Mother and my family were very judgmental. My family saw appearance to be important because my mother was very beautiful and that contributed to her caring so much about appearance. But to me there were so many things I didn't like about my appearance...my hair...like being too skinny...or too thin and that...when I got my hair piece I kind felt happy about everything else about me and I am sure that kind of showed to the world that you are secure and happy with your appearance.

Chad (aged 61): My wife tries to help. If I was left to my own devices...nah! She helps me, like in more formal occasions so that I would avoid or dress inappropriately.

Dave (aged 64): My wife always looks very very nice. It is very very important to her. She spends a lot of time doing her make-up or getting her hair done. Clothing is very important to her and that is fine.

She wants that and needs that and that's fine. Actually I don't feel like I have to dress up as well. The only time I feel like I need to dress up as good as she is when we are going to a social function and it requires me to dress up.

Sam (aged 55): I used to have long hair and I used to be tanned as I used to surf. I knew I used to look pretty good based on how people responded and told me.

Two respondents recollected the importance their mothers placed on appearance. Contrary to Ricciardelli, McCabe and Banfield's (2000) findings that feedback from mothers was viewed as having a positive impact on boys' body image. The narratives from this sample suggest that some of the men do not particularly perceive their mothers' emphasis on appearance as having a positive impact.

However, as one grows older it is possible that individual may not necessarily be as influenced by other's expectations or evaluation of one's appearance. In support of Davison and McCabe's (2005) reasoning that older males are less dissatisfied with their appearance and more accepting of different body shapes because they are less concerned about dating, Aaron (aged 67) responds, *"In terms of that other gender...I think probably that I had more concerns about my appearance [when I was younger] and now I don't have any concerns at all! You know I don't want to look bad but I don't worry about it."*

Weight and muscle

Prior findings (Swami et al., 2007) have shown that women associate a male muscular build with male physical attractiveness. Besides, studies have also demonstrated the importance of being muscular among adolescent boys and men (Fisher, Dunn & Thompson, 2002; McCreary & Sasse, 2002). Thus, it is not surprising that the narratives of three men suggested that increasing weight and building muscle are important aspects of improving male appearance. The respondents of this study recollected their younger years in order to speak about activities they engaged in to improve their appearance:

Ben (aged 71): When I was younger I used to lift weights to be muscular and I still lift weights.

Greg (aged 60): I remember working very hard to gain weight and it wasn't until I got into college when I was 17-18 years that I started bulking up and got some muscle and was better proportioned.

Sam (aged 55): I tried different diets to increase weight. I went to a doctor and tried some remedies suggested by the doctor. I am still conscious about my weight but I accept it as these are inevitable things that accompany age.

According to Paul Williams of the Ernest Orlando Lawrence Berkeley National Laboratory (Berkeley Lab), physiological changes that accompany aging contribute to weight gain, when controlling for other factors such as activity level, diet and genetics (Kahn, 1997). Drawing attention to middle-aged men and their concerns regarding weight gain in the waist, one of the respondents Dave (aged 64) presents his position, *"I don't like to see men with potbelly. I work very hard to control my intake of calorie so I don't develop a potbelly."*

Appearance Investment

Appearance investment is the attention to appearance indicating the psychological importance of one's own appearance (Cash & Pruzinsky, 1994; 2002).

The respondents of this study provide an understanding of men's approach to investing in appearance enhancing activities. The responses demonstrate that men consciously engaged in activities to improve their appearance like using color that would be suitable to their skin color or color that would add a dash of color to their overall attire.

The response revealed that while some men may not agree with the use of cosmetic procedures to improve one's appearance, others are comfortable with the idea of using cosmetic treatment to mask the effects of aging.

Aaron (aged 67): I remember while I lived in Alaska...I got my color done (based on the skin color), it was very popular then. The red and blue characterizes one kind of skin tone and yellow characterizes another. The people who invented all this, talk about spring summer fall and winter colors and I am a 'winter'. I learnt about the color wheel that artists use and now I can walk into a store and know what I need to avoid that and what I need to choose. So I have that kind of awareness, knowing what will probably work for me.

Dave (aged 64): I like colors and I very much enjoy colors. If I am going to wear a tie I want a tie with a tad bit of color. For a while it was because I like colors but then I also get a lot of compliments and it feels good to get compliment from people that I supervise and they like my tie.

Greg (aged 60): I think if I was suddenly back in the single world and I wanted to be able to meet other women then I would probably do things. I would continue to do exercise and maintain fitness because it makes me feel so good besides the appearance. I would probably do a facelift and I might get a new hair piece.

Jeff (aged 62): I would be curious enough to try some of these [procedures]. I am all for vanity and you want to look the best that you can. Frankly, if botox [treatment] lasted a life time than just 5 to 6 months, sure I would do that. I have smile lines with all the years being in the sun.

Dave (aged 64): I am not going to take a chance and have someone suck out fat or have liposuction to take my belly off. Considering the way I look...I am happy. I am not going to change my hair. I have thought about this and I am not going to try any intrusive kind of procedure because I am not sure if I am will be happy if I did change it and so I am going to just be happy with the way things are.

Aging

Aging is an inevitable aspect of our reality and a dominant signifier of old age is the appearance of the body (Öberg & Tornstam, 1999). From the respondents' account a dominant 'not looking old' theme emerged. While some respondents took pride in looking younger than what was largely expected from individuals of their age, other respondents felt disappointed by others perception of them as 'old man'. However, for some individuals it might be a relief to look their age as 'looking mature' might have more value in certain professions.

Based on the data, it was interesting to find that respondents who had utilized strategies to look older when they were young men (by increasing muscle, diet to increase weight and wearing loose clothes to conceal their thin body), were the same men who enjoyed the benefit of looking younger in their later years. Therefore, the data suggests that the causes of body dissatisfaction among adolescent versus older men are different and thus, generalization made based on studies using younger populations are erroneous.

Ben (aged 71): Appearance is important because you do not want to look like how your grandparent or parent looked like when they were old and I don't want to look like that. I look younger and dress younger. My youngest daughter told me that she felt lucky that her father looked younger than other fathers. Last week I went to ski and I told the lady there that I was 71. She asked me for my identification. I wanted to ask her if people lie about being old [laughs].

Jeff (aged 62): People whom I have known take my aging in stride. Sometimes people I don't know very well are surprised at knowing how old I am...because I have been told that I don't look as old as I am. Most people think I am 10 or 15 years younger than my age and I feel good about that.

Dave (aged 64): Like someone would say 'gosh you really look good for somebody as old as you'...Some people would say gosh you don't look 64 years old...and of course that makes me feel good. I do strive to maintain my appearance and being healthy...being physically fit and physically healthy because those things are really important to me. My dad had told me years ago that if you don't have your health you don't have anything.

Ben (aged 71): I always looked younger than my age and when I was applying for jobs, I had to explain my age because people always thought I was younger.

Chad (aged 61): I have entertained the thought that if I ever want to look younger I would shave off my beard.

Nick (aged 62): I finally started looking older when I started to get grey. Then people seemed to think I was older and had more respect for my decisions or my thinking process. Although, I don't think my decisions changed all that much.

Greg (aged 60): I get that feeling that young people think 'hey he is a really old person' and he can be discounted and that is a sad thing. I get the feeling that now especially that I am seen as an old man. Some ways it bothers me because early on in life I thought I was attractive and you get messages that you are an attractive person. That doesn't happen anymore and I miss it. I think I will always care about my appearance but you realize that you can't be as attractive as you were 20 -30 years ago. It's too bad but you just do with what you can and that is why you work out. At least I can feel good about neck down about my appearance. You live with what you have.

Sam (aged 55): Yes, I would try these measures [cosmetic procedures] if I knew they did not have any side effects.

One respondent was interested in the use of a cosmetic procedure as the skin on the eyelid had started to weight over and hamper his vision. As revealed by Dave (aged 64), "*I would like to get the loose skin over my eye lids removed because it's hindering my sight...my vision!*" This draws attention to the use of statistics by researchers and the assumption made regarding the increasing use of cosmetic procedures among older men and women. Hence data provided by American Society of Plastic Surgeons (ASPS, 2012) indicate a rise in the use of cosmetic procedure may not separately categorize procedures that were performed with an objective of enabling older adults with improved vision and mobility.

Health over appearance

According to Halliwell and Dittmar (2003) men tended to focus on functionality. From the responses of the eight interviewees, it is clear that all respondents made effort to keep themselves physically active to maintain their overall health and physical fitness. 7 out of 8 respondents claimed to have an active lifestyle and considered health of foremost importance.

Aaron (aged 67): Every day I ride my bicycle from 8 -9 miles to anywhere up to 20 miles a day. Gardening is new for me...I volunteer at the co-op for gardening. I never go to the gym...those kinds of organized activity, the industrialization of exercise [shaking head with disagreement]. You know it has to be useful like riding the bike and I get my exercise. I avoid most junk food; I haven't eaten at a McDonalds in 15-20 years.

Jeff (aged 62): I do racket sport and for 45 years I ran. I had a hip replacement and then it stopped two years ago. I hike and I work out 5 days a week. It's a good habit and you feel guilty if you don't... so that keeps me challenged. I see people who let go of themselves and it makes me sad that people give up after a certain age. But I am going to go kicking into old age.

Ben (aged 71): I lift weight and hike 50 miles a week. It is not as much about appearance as it is about health.

Chad (aged 61): I would rather be outdoors. I like hiking and biking and gardening.

Dave (aged 64): I have always enjoyed the outdoors. I am a hiker and a backpacker. I mountain climb, I climb rocks, I parachute, I scuba dive, I ski. I like activity sports and I like things that cause an adrenaline rush because I like the excitement!

Greg (aged 60): I am very active physically. Physical fitness is very important to me. I work out either at a fitness center or the gym like 3 days a week, I ride my bicycle. Being slim is important to be as attractive as I can be. Given my genetics and age I do the best I can.

Nick (aged 62): I am fairly active in my church community. I like to play badminton, not that I can beat people half my age but it is just fun. I used to bike a lot earlier and then I wrecked my back. But I still get out and I got my bike fixed and am hoping to get out more.

Discussion and conclusion

These findings are in line with previous studies (Hildebrandt, Langenbucher & Schlundt, 2004; Nowell & Ricciardelli, 2008).

In the case of men, body dissatisfaction is associated with the desire to gain muscle weight accompanied with loss of body fat. Though the findings diverge from Halliwell and Dittmar's (2003) study that has suggested men tend to focus on functionality rather than the display. The findings from this study suggest that young men (in early adulthood) are likely to invest in appearance in order to look good but for men in their middle age and beyond functionality of body may become more salient than appearance. While younger men focus on improving appearance to gain social capital, older men focus more on fitness and health. The findings of this study indicate that the desire to have a healthy body may not necessarily negate the aspiration to look good. Looking good and feeling good emerge as two aspects of physical assessment among this sample of men.

Concurring with Adams, Turner and Bucks (2005), findings of the present study demonstrate that societal pressure influences BD experience of men. The findings of this study demonstrate that verbal or non-verbal feedback received from family members, and even strangers can influence one's appearance relevant beliefs, attitudes and behaviors. Furthermore, concurring with Franzoi (1995), this study supports the idea that shifting of emphasis from attractiveness to health may involve a movement away from a 'body as object' perspective to a 'body as a process'.

There is some indication that the nature of body image concerns reported by men changes throughout adulthood. Such changes are likely to be connected to the physiological changes accompanied by increase in chronological age. Besides one's evaluation of the physical body might undergo a change with time and increase in age. From the narratives of the respondents in this study, it appears that as individuals grow older their body is perceived more as a vehicle that allows one to remain active and engage in physical activities. Also it can be understood that as one grows older the physical body is appreciated not just for its appearance sake but for its functionality. This underlines the body image concerns in relation to aging, and this deserves further investigation utilizing a diverse adult samples.

Furthermore, when interpreting the results of this study, it is important to consider that the findings of the present study cannot be generalized as the sample was non-representative, consisting of a small sample of men within a limited age-range. Also the respondents were predominantly white and often highly educated. Moreover, participants were men who chose to discuss the topic of appearance and/or body dissatisfaction (BD). Thus, these respondents may have systematically differed from other men who were invited but did not take part in this study.

References

- Adams, G., Turner, H., & Bucks, R. (2005). The experience of body dissatisfaction in men. *Body Image*, 2(3), 271-283.
- American Society of Plastic Surgeons. (2012). *Plastic Surgery Statistics Report*. Retrieved on April 28, 2013, from <http://www.plasticsurgery.org/Documents/news-resources/statistics/2012-Plastic-Surgery-Statistics/full-plastic-surgery-statistics-report.pdf>
- Ata, R. N., Ludden, A. B., & Lally, M. M. (2007). The effects of gender and family, friend, and media influences on eating behaviors and body image during adolescence. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 36(8), 1024-1037.
- Arbour, K. P., & Martin Ginis, K. A. (2006). Effects of exposure to muscular and hypermuscular media images on young men's muscularity dissatisfaction and body dissatisfaction. *Body Image*, 3(2), 153-161.
- Bell, J. S. (2002) *Narrative inquiry: More than just telling stories*. *TESOL Quarterly*, 36(2), 207-213.
- Cash, T. F. (2004). Body image: Past, present, and future. *Body Image*, 1(1), 1-5.
- Cash, T. & Pruzinsky, T. (Eds.). (1990). *Body Images: Development, Deviance and Change*. London: The Guilford Press.
- Cash, T. & Pruzinsky, T. (Eds.). (2002) *Body Image: A Handbook of Theory, Research and Clinical Practice*. London: The Guilford Press.
- Cooley, C. H. (1964). *Human Nature and The Social Order*. New York, NY: Schocken Books.
- Crawford, D., & Campbell, K. (1999). Lay definitions of ideal weight and overweight. *International journal of obesity and related metabolic disorders*. *Journal of the International Association for the Study of Obesity*, 23(7), 738.
- Davison, T. E. (2002). *Body image and psychological, social, and sexual functioning*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Deakin University, Melbourne, Victoria, Australia.
- Davison, T. E., & McCabe, M. P. (2005). Relationships between men's and women's body image and their psychological, social, and sexual functioning. *Sex roles*, 52(7), 463-475.
- Demarest, J., & Langer, E. (1996). Perception of body shape by underweight, average, and overweight men and women. *Perceptual and motor skills*, 83(2), 569-570.

- Drewnowski, A., & Yee, D. K. (1987). Men and body image: Are males satisfied with their body weight?. *Psychosomatic Medicine*, 49(6), 626-634.
- Franzoi, S. L. (1995). The body-as-object versus the body-as-process: Gender differences and gender considerations. *Sex Roles*, 33(5), 417-437.
- Fisher, E., Dunn, M., & Thompson, J. K. (2002). Social comparison and body image: An investigation of body comparison processes using multidimensional scaling. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, 21, 566-579.
- Furnham, A., Badmin, N. & Sneade, I. (2002). Body image dissatisfaction: Gender differences in eating attitudes, self-esteem, and reasons for exercise. *The Journal of Psychology*, 136(6), 581-596.
- Grogan, S., & Richards, H. (2002). Body image focus groups with boys and men. *Men and Masculinities*, 4(3), 219-232.
- Halliwell, E., & Dittmar, H. (2003). A qualitative investigation of women's and men's body image concerns and their attitudes toward aging. *Sex Roles*, 49(11-12), 675-684.
- Hildebrandt, T., Langenbacher, J., & Schlundt, G. D. (2004). Muscularity concerns among men: Development of attitudinal and perceptual measures. *Body Image*, 1, 169-181
- Kahn, J. (1997, 25 April). Middle-age weight gain: Men unlikely to outrun it. Retrieved from <http://www.lbl.gov/Science-Articles/Archive/spare-tire.html>
- Leitner, B., Bauer, R., & Rieder, A. (2000). Body weight: The male and female perception. *Sozial-und Präventivmedizin*, 45(6), 274-278.
- McCabe, M. P., & Ricciardelli, L. A. (2004). Body image dissatisfaction among males across the lifespan: a review of past literature. *Journal of Psychosomatic Research*, 56(6), 675-685.
- McCabe, M., & Ricciardelli, L. (2001). Parent, peer and media influences on body image and strategies to both increase and decrease body size among adolescent boys and girls. *Adolescence*, 36(142), 225-240.
- McCreary, D. R., & Sasse, D. K. (2002). Gender differences in high school students' dieting behavior and their correlates. *International Journal of Men's Health*, 1, 195-213.
- McCreary, D. R., Saucier, D. M., & Courtenay, W. H. (2005). The drive for muscularity and masculinity: Testing the associations among gender-role traits, behaviors, attitudes, and conflict. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 6(2), 83-94.
- Mishkind, M. E., Rodin, J., Silberstein, L. R., & Striegel-Moore, R. H. (1986). The embodiment of masculinity: Cultural, psychological and behavioral dimensions. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 29, 545-562.
- Mishkind, M. E., Rodin, J., Silberstein, L. R., & Striegel-Moore, R. H. (2001). The embodiment of masculinity. *The American Body in Context: An Anthology*, Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 103-121.
- Muth, J. L. & Cash, T. F. (1997). Body-image attitudes: What difference does gender make. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 2(16), 1438-1452.
- Nowell, C. & Ricciardelli, A. L. (2008). Appearance-based comments, body dissatisfaction and drive for muscularity in males. *Body Image*, 5, 337-345.
- Öberg P. & Tornstam, L. (1999). Body images among men and women of different ages. *Ageing and Society*, 19, 629-644.
- Olivardia, R., Pope, H. G., Borowiecki, J. J., & Cohane, G. H. (2004). Biceps and body image: The relationship between muscularity and self-esteem, depression, and eating disorder symptoms. *Psychology of Men and Masculinity*, 5, 112-120.
- Polkinghorne D.E. (1995). Narrative configuration in qualitative analysis. In J. A. Hatch & R. Wisniewski (Eds.), *Life History and Narrative* (pp. 5-23), London: The Falmer Press.
- Presnell, K., Bearman, S. K., & Stice, E. (2004). Risk factors for body dissatisfaction in adolescent boys and girls: A prospective study. *International Journal of Eating Disorders*, 36(4), 389-401.
- Reissman, C. K. (1993). *Narrative Analysis*. London: Sage Publications.
- Ricciardelli, L. A., McCabe, M. P., & Banfield, S. (2000). Body image and body change methods in adolescent boys: Role of parents, friends and the media. *Journal of Psychosomatic Research*, 49(3), 189-197.
- Ricciardelli, L. A., McCabe, M. P., Lillis, J., & Thomas, K. (2006). A longitudinal investigation of the development of weight and muscle concerns among preadolescent boys. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 35(2), 168-178.
- Swami, V., Smith, J., Tsiokris, A., Georgiades, C., Sangareau, Y., Tovée, M. J., & Furnham, A. (2007). Male physical attractiveness in Britain and Greece: A cross-cultural study. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, 147(1), 15-26.
- Vincent, M. A., & McCabe, M. P. (2000). Gender differences among adolescents in family, and peer influences on body dissatisfaction, weight loss, and binge eating behaviors. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 29(2), 205-221.
- Vartanian, R. L., Giant, C. L., & Passino, R. M. (2001). Ally McBeal vs Arnold Schwarzenegger: Comparing mass media, interpersonal feedback and gender as predictors of satisfaction with body thinness and muscularity. *Social Behaviour and Personality*, 29, 711-724.