

**“Our bodies do not exist to be beautiful, our bodies exist to be lived in”**  
The construction of fat acceptance, body positivity and body neutrality content both on  
Instagram and as formulated by young female professionals

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## ABSTRACT

*In societies nowadays, there exist a lot of pressure on both men and women to fit within a certain beauty ideal. Especially women are judged on the way they look, and these unattainable beauty ideals can lead to negative body image and body dissatisfaction. One main concept of these beauty ideals is the ‘thin-ideal’. Society celebrates ‘thin’ people, while ‘fat’ people experience discrimination based on their body size. However, different social movements try to increase the awareness of diverse bodies, in order to increase acceptance of diverse bodies. The three body acceptance movements that will be featured in this study are: fat acceptance, body positivity and body neutrality. The movements emphasize self-acceptance and raise awareness of diverse bodies by increasing the representation of these bodies in media. In recent years, these movements have gained popularity on social media platforms, such as Instagram. While the three movements share similar goals, it is argued that they all emphasize different aspects of diversity and self-acceptance. Due to social media, content-creators can construct their own meanings of the movements. Therefore, it is important to study how Instagram content of these movements is constructed. This is done through content analysis of 90 Instagram posts, 30 for each movement. The posts were located through hashtags. It is found that while there are overarching similarities, the movements all focus on a specific aspect more than others. In addition, since body neutrality is a recent movement, it is unclear how this movement’s content is perceived, especially compared with the other two movements. In order to study this, young female professionals were interviewed in order to study how they perceive this content. Both the interviews and the Instagram content were analyzed through thematic analysis. The interviews showed that the Instagram content helps young female professionals in defining the movements. Participants indicated that fat acceptance content predominantly focused on increasing awareness of ‘big’ bodies, by rejecting dieting or other negative reactions. Body positivity content included skin-related attributes such as stretch marks. Body neutrality content, participants indicated, focused mostly on mental health, and the emphasis of ‘functionality’. Participants also expressed criticism, especially towards fat acceptance and body positivity. For the former, health concerns were often mentioned, while the latter generated negative responses in terms of being used as a trend by brands and content-creators. Moreover, due to increased visibility of diverse content, participants recognized the importance of body acceptance, as increased awareness of diverse bodies and self-acceptance are argued to make people feel better about their own bodies.*

**KEYWORDS:** *Fat acceptance, Body positivity, Body neutrality, Instagram, Interviews*

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# 1. Introduction

Both traditional and social media exposure has been proven to be a key factor in body dissatisfaction issues and subsequent health issues (Holland & Tiggemann, 2016; Lazuka et al., 2020). Research indicates that social media platforms and some of their content enforce the idea of an ‘ideal’ body, which is generally ‘thin’ or ‘skinny’ (Brown & Tiggemann, 2020). Not having a body that looks like the ones that are pictured in the media often leads to body dissatisfaction (Lazuka et al., 2020). It is found that especially social media platforms that predominantly use pictures can lead to feelings of anxiety and body dissatisfaction, as it is argued that viewing pictures can be more harmful than reading text (Meier & Gray, 2014). As a social platform that revolves around the sharing of pictures, Instagram is therefore often related to body dissatisfaction (Brown & Tiggemann, 2020). In addition, Instagram and other social platforms are places where content-creators share ‘thinspiration’ content (Boepple & Thompson, 2016). This content features ‘thin’ and conventionally pretty women. Moreover, it is argued that people’s focus on being pretty is reflected in society (Mock, 2017). Being conventionally pretty, thus fitting within society’s beauty standards, has different advantages, often called ‘pretty privilege’ (Mock, 2017).

However, as a response to society’s unattainable ‘ideal’ bodies that are displayed in the media, and the related body dissatisfaction, different counter movements have emerged, especially on social media (Brown & Tiggemann, 2020), focusing on countering the dominant ideas regarding beauty and body size. Cohen et al. (2019) describe these dominant ideas as the thin-ideal, which is often unattainable and leads to unrealistic beauty standards. Moreover, features that are considered ‘flawed’ are left out of mainstream media, such as cellulite and stretch marks. The three movements that will be used in this study are the fat acceptance, body positivity and body neutrality movements. These movements all try to create awareness of diverse-sized bodies and other features. Moreover, these movements try to empower people of marginalized groups by promoting self-love and body acceptance (Cohen et al., 2019; Cohen et al., 2020). The movements all focus on different aspects of empowerment; however, they all try to promote self- acceptance. Therefore, these movements will be grouped together as body acceptance movements in this research. While the body positivity movement has been a popular topic for research (Lazuka et al., 2020; Brathwaithe & De Andrea, 2021), similar to the fat acceptance movement (McKinley, 2004; Afful & Ricciardelli, 2015; Casado-Marin & Gracia, 2020), body neutrality, on the other hand, is a recent movement and has not been researched extensively yet (Cohen et al., 2020).

The purpose of this research will be twofold; on the one hand, this research aims to increase academic understanding of the three body acceptance movements and their content on Instagram, which will be carried out through the analysis of Instagram posts. On the other hand, this research tries to gain a deeper understanding of how these three movements and their content are perceived by Instagram users, as it is crucial Instagram users connect with and understand the purpose of body acceptance content. Both purposes will serve to increase understanding of the three movements, and to

further develop clear meanings of the three movements. Therefore, the main question for this research is: **How are the fat acceptance, body neutrality and body positivity movements on Instagram constructed and perceived?** In order to answer this question, two sub questions were developed. The first sub question will relate to the construction of the body acceptance movements' content on Instagram: **How are Instagram users constructing the three body acceptance movements?** In order to answer this, Instagram posts of the three body acceptance movements will be analyzed. The content will be found on Instagram by using different hashtags, two for each corresponding movement. In total, 90 Instagram posts will be analyzed. The second sub question will focus on the perception of these movements; hence the following question was designed: **How are these three body acceptance movements on Instagram perceived by young female professionals in the Netherlands?** In order to answer this sub-question, interviews will be held with young female professionals in the Netherlands. This group was chosen for different reasons. First, young females are one of the biggest and most active groups on Instagram (Aslam, 2019). Second, while (female) students have been a popular group to research in studies regarding body image, body acceptance and social media (Brown & Tiggemann, 2020), young female professionals are often left out of these studies. It would be interesting to study this group in order to find out if their ideas regarding these movements differ from the ideas the younger generation might have on the body acceptance movements and their Instagram content, and how these ideas develop.

## 1.1 Relevance

### 1.1.1 Scientific relevance

As explained before, while two of the three body acceptance movements have been popular topics for research, body neutrality is a recent development, and little scientific research has been conducted on this movement. Thus, there is a gap in research related to body neutrality (Cohen et al., 2020). Moreover, body neutrality has not yet been clearly defined by scholars. This study will therefore serve to help understand how this movement is constructed and perceived. Besides, while the body positivity and fat acceptance movements have been defined by scholars, there exists some ambiguity in how these movements are portrayed on social media, and how the movements differ in that aspect, as the both movements share a similar goal, namely to counter society's thin-ideal and other unattainable beauty standards, by increasing awareness of diverse bodies. Moreover, both fat acceptance and body positivity are argued to have originated from the same feminist fat-resistance movement (Afful & Ricciardelli, 2015; Cohen et al., 2020). In addition, body neutrality content on social media has not been researched before, so it is unclear how body neutrality content on social media correlates or differs from body positivity and fat acceptance content. While the movements try to strengthen awareness of diverse bodies and encourage self-acceptance and acceptance of diverse bodies, each movement focuses on different aspects of diverse bodies and body-related attributes (Cohen et al., 2019; Casado-Marin & Gracia-Arnaiz, 2020). These differences can be found in content

of the movements. It is therefore important to look at this content, in order to understand how the movements differ from each other. Furthermore, little research has been done on the three body movements simultaneously, for instance in order to understand differences between them in the construction of diverse bodies. As the movements all try to raise awareness of diverse bodies, and encourage self-acceptance, it is important to understand how these movements differ from each other, and if Instagram users reflect this difference when posting Instagram content of these movements. It is therefore relevant to study Instagram posts of these movements, in order to deepen understanding of the movements, what they stand for, and how their content on social media relates to one another. Thus, it is relevant to study what the differences and similarities are between these movements and how they are constructed on Instagram.

### **1.1.2 Societal relevance**

As mentioned before, it is argued that the body acceptance movements can aid in bringing awareness of diverse bodies, and in turn, counter negative body image and encourage self-acceptance. The body positivity and fat acceptance movements on Instagram have been widely researched (McKinley, 2004; Cohen et al., 2020). Moreover, construction of the body positivity movement has been researched, either by studying captions on body positive content on Instagram (Tiggemann et al., 2020), or by conducting content analysis on body positivity posts on Instagram (Kelly & Daneshjoo, 2019). Perceptions of the body positivity movement have been researched (Cohen et al., 2019), as well as for fat acceptance content (Donaghue & Clemitshaw, 2012). However, no previous research has been conducted on the perceptions people have on the three body acceptance movements simultaneously, and its Instagram content. Body neutrality is a recent movement, and distinguishes itself from the other movements by focusing on functionality of the body, instead of on aesthetics (Cohen et al., 2020). Since body neutrality has a different approach to self-acceptance, it is important to study this movement, in order to understand how this difference is constructed on Instagram and perceived by young female professionals. By gaining deeper understanding in this movement, new ways to create awareness of diverse bodies and to encourage self-acceptance might be uncovered, which could aid more people in the acceptance of their own bodies, and in helping the movement achieve more awareness of diverse bodies.

## 2. Theory and previous research

As mentioned in the previous section, this study will discuss three movements related to body acceptance: the body positivity, body neutrality and fat acceptance movements. While the three movements are related to body acceptance and try to counter the one-dimensional ‘thin body ideal’ by showing more diverse bodies, they all differ in what they stand for. It is difficult to establish clear definitions for the three movements, as they overlap in different regards. Therefore, this study tries to build on the construction and perception of the movements, in order to gain understanding of the three body acceptance movements.

This chapter will first discuss literature related to the three body acceptance movements. It is important to understand the differences and similarities of these movements, in order to make clear distinctions between them. Besides, some critical notes regarding the movements will be discussed. Finally, it is important to note that the construction of the movements is heavily influenced by social media. This influences how users interact and understand these movements. Thus, the relation between the movements and social media will be explained.

### 2.1 Body acceptance movements

As explained before, the three body acceptance movements share some similarities, as they all try to promote diverse bodies and body sizes in order to increase awareness and representation (Cohen et al., 2020). However, there exists ambiguity in defining these movements. While literature has focused on the movements separately, such as on body positivity content online (Cohen et al., 2019), or fat acceptance content online (Casado-Marin & Gracia-Arnaiz, 2020), especially in combination with body image diversity in more traditional media as magazines (De Freitas et al., 2018), little research has been done on the movements together, in order to provide clear descriptions and differences between the movements. In addition, little research has been done on body neutrality, as it is a recent development, which contributes to the lack of understanding the differences between the three movements and the confusion that exists in defining the movements. Therefore, this section will give some background history and give an overview of the three movements, starting with the fat acceptance movement, the body positivity movement and lastly, the body neutrality movement.

It is important to note that, while body image concerns and body diversity are not limited to one specific gender, the three body acceptance movements that are the main topic of this research often emphasize the female body and body dissatisfaction among women. Literature in the past has often focused on women (Sastre, 2014), and it is found that online content from these movements consists of women, and is aimed at women (Tiggemann et al., 2020). Moreover, it is found that women often suffer from body image concerns and feel pressured to look a certain type of way and fit in a certain ‘ideal’ (McKinley, 2004). It is important to understand that focus of these movements, and thus this study, lie on women.

### 2.1.1 Fat acceptance

The dominant views in society regarding body size often have a negative impact on ‘fat’ people, and these people are often victim of fat stigmatization and social discrimination (Casado-Marin & Gracia-Arnaiz, 2020). Lazuka et al. (2020) indicate that both Western and Asian societies alike consider the presence of ‘fatness’ the opposite of the ‘ideal’ body, as ‘thinness’ is considered part of the ‘ideal’ body, and is thus something that should be achieved. Different scholars argue that fat is a feminist and gendered issue, although their ideas differ as to why fat is a feminist issue. For instance, feminist scholar Kilbourne (2000) believes that fat is a feminist issue because the thought of becoming fat installs fear in many women, which results in body image issues and other health concerns (Saguy, 2012). Women fear being ‘fat’, because it influences all their other achievements (Donaghue & Clemitshaw, 2012). In other words, society believes that a woman can achieve so many things as long she is thin, as these women fit in the ‘thin-ideal’, while achievements of women who do not fit this ‘thin-ideal’ are generally ignored (Donaghue & Clemitshaw, 2012).

Additionally, Fikkan and Rothblum (2011) believe fat is a feminist issue because ‘fat’ women are subjects of bias and discrimination only because they are ‘fat’ women. The authors further explain the relation between fat and gender bias and explain that ‘fat’ women suffer from discrimination in ways that ‘thin’ women or ‘fat’ men would not encounter. Moreover, Fikkan and Rothblum (2011) add that fat is a feminist issue because women are held to different standards of thinness than men, and that the societal repercussions for being ‘fat’ are more severe for women than for men. Saguy (2012) calls this a “double standard” (p. 602). In addition, dominant societal ideas claim that with the absence of a ‘thin’ body, it would be impossible for women to be happy or successful (Donaghue & Clemitshaw, 2012). This societal focus on ‘thinness’ can result in different health issues and body dissatisfaction (Brown & Tiggemann, 2020), as mentioned above. Moreover, society’s idea regarding the lack of a ‘thin’ body may be perceived to indicate an unhealthy lifestyle and a lack of self-care (Afful & Ricciardelli, 2015).

In order to bring awareness to the bias and discrimination that ‘fat’ people and women in particular experience, the fat acceptance movement emerged from a feminist fat-resistance perspective (Webb et al., 2017). The movement tries to resist the current ‘thin-ideal’ and dominant notion of ‘thinness’ by advocating the celebration of diverse body sizes (Donaghue & Clemitshaw, 2012). The National Association to Advance Fat Acceptance was founded in 1969 in the United States (Afful & Ricciardelli, 2015), and acts as lobbyists for ‘fat’ individuals, in order to resist the devaluation people with ‘big’ or ‘fat’ bodies experience in society (Donaghue & Clemitshaw, 2012) and to challenge the ‘thin-ideal’ (Afful & Ricciardelli, 2015). While there is little consensus of the definition of fat acceptance, it can be argued that it is a consumer-based movement with members who challenge the dominant views in society regarding health and body size (Dickins et al., 2011). The authors indicate that members are also critical of society’s popular dieting culture.



Nowadays, the fat acceptance movement has found a presence in online media, such as blogs (Afful & Ricciardelli, 2015), which reinforces the movement and makes it more prominent with mainstream audiences (Casado-Marin & Gracia-Arnaiz, 2020). These online environments, often called ‘fatosphere’ (Casado-Marin & Gracia-Arnaiz, 2020) are found to be spaces for ‘fat’ individuals to cope with the discrimination they encounter by sharing motivational images and texts (Webb et al., 2017). Moreover, these online fat acceptance communities bring people of marginalized groups together, creating a sense of community and collective identity (Webb et al., 2017). It is argued that one important aspect of the fat acceptance movement online is to resist stigmatization and discrimination on body size and to reject the ‘thin-ideal’ by encouraging self-acceptance and empowerment (Dickins et al., 2011). Besides, Webb et al. (2017) argue that the fat acceptance movement also tries to increase the visibility of ‘fat’ bodies and to highlight a ‘larger-sized’ person’s physical appearance through sharing pictures of these individuals wearing revealing and fashionable, trendy clothing. These pictures are framed as a different way to self-empower ‘big’ people, because these individuals show their full bodies instead of covering their bodies up because they do not fit the dominant ‘thin-ideal’ (Afful & Ricciardelli, 2015). This trend can also be found among ‘plus-size’ models whose popularity increases in magazines, as well as on Instagram (Garel, 2020).

Nevertheless, the online fat acceptance movement has also been criticized for its views regarding ‘fat’ people, and the movement has been classified as being unhealthy (Marcus, 2016). However, according to Dickins et al. (2011), these so-called health concerns are implicit reactions of fat stigmatization. Johnston and Taylor (2008) add that while the fat acceptance movement provides resistance towards negative reactions and fat stigmatization, hate against ‘fat’ people is still apparent.

### **2.3.2 Body positivity**

Similar to the fat acceptance movement, the body positivity movement provides a response to the unrealistic, ‘thin’ body ideals that can be seen in the media (Cohen et al., 2019). According to the authors, body positivity emerged from the fat acceptance movement, which is rooted in feminism. While fat acceptance focuses on changing negative perceptions regarding ‘big’ people with high weight, body positivity tries to counter the dominant ‘thin-ideal’ and encourages the representation and acceptance of all bodies, no matter their size (Cwynar-Horta, 2016). Like fat acceptance, the body positivity movement is grouped together in a foundation. The Body Positive Foundation was established by feminists Connie Sobczak and Elizabeth Scott in the late 1990s (Stet, 2019), and this foundation aims to help people developing a positive relation with their bodies.

Although there is not clear definition of body positivity, some consensus exists on what is included in this movement. As mentioned above, Cwynar-Horta (2016) defines body positivity as a movement that tries to change the dominant views regarding society’s ‘thin-ideal’. This is done by creating awareness of diverse-sized bodies in the media, by increasing visibility of these bodies.

While body positivity has been a popular term since the 1990s, the movement has become increasingly prominent on social networking platforms, especially Instagram (Cohen et al., 2019). Content on these platforms often includes pictures of ‘fat’ women, or motivational texts. However, Cohen et al. (2019) found that body positivity content includes a range of body sizes, including underweight women. Additionally, Cohen et al. (2019) noticed that content was not limited to diverse body sizes, but also showed different body-related attributes such as cellulite and stretch marks, which are considered by society as ‘flaws’. To a lesser extent, the authors found that acne or body hair was also included in body positive content. Finally, body positive content is often accompanied with hashtags that celebrate diversity and self-acceptance (Cohen et al., 2019). Tiggemann et al. (2020) define body positive content similarly, although they argue that this content focuses on women with a ‘larger’ size, who do not fit in the dominant ‘beauty ideal’.

As described by Cohen et al. (2019), body positivity is increasing in popularity, especially on Instagram. Due to this popularity, brands and other organizations have started to commodify the movement, using this trend to their advantage in order to increase sales. Cwynar-Horta (2016) adds that especially body positivity suffers from commodity activism, as online body positive content has shifted its focus from creating awareness of diverse bodies to the promotion of products. In addition, content-creators use body positive content to promote themselves or advertised products. Cohen et al. (2019) claim that this commodification can be clearly found on Instagram, where a high number of body positive posts focus on commercialization by promoting either the content-creator or an advertised product. Brathwaite and De Andrea (2021) claim that this shift toward promotion and commodification can prevent the body positivity movement from achieving awareness and acceptance of diverse bodies, as the focus will shift towards promotion of products, instead of focusing on bringing awareness of diverse bodies.

Literature shows more critical notes on body positive content. Cohen et al. (2019) argue that while body positive content includes ‘big’ people, these featured people are still conventionally pretty to society’s standards, and are often White. Moreover, the content leaves out other marginalized groups, such as people from different ethnicities, or with disabilities. This is paradoxical, as body positivity stands for the acceptance of all bodies (Cwynar-Horta, 2016).

Furthermore, while body positivity has made it easier for people to share their experiences and to try and counter body dissatisfaction, Engeln and Imundo (2020) describe that content intended to encourage positive body image can have a reversed effect, as it can induce people to think of what they believe are their ‘flaws’ in their bodies. Engeln and Imundo (2020) describe that people with low self-esteem will not achieve more self-acceptance or body relation with their body when they encounter body positive content, because it does not reinforce their own ideas regarding their own body image. Moreover, Engeln and Imundo (2020) discuss the effectiveness of body positive content when paired with objectification theory (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997). As explained by Fredrickson and Roberts (1997), objectification theory relates to the idea that, due to constant sexual objectification

by others, women will see themselves as an object as well. As women have an objectified view of themselves, they will focus more on their physical appearance, and it is argued that this increased focus will lead to body surveillance and negative body image (Engeln & Imundo, 2020). In other words, the popularity of body positive content will lead to an increased focus of women on their physical appearance, which will lead to negative body image, instead of encouraging positive body image.

### **2.3.3 Body neutrality**

As body positivity generates some critical responses, especially since body positivity focuses on appearance (Cohen et al., 2020), it is argued that body neutrality could be a more useful movement. While there is little scientific research related to body neutrality, since it is a recent development (Perry et al., 2019), it is assumed that it was formed as a counter-movement to body positivity, as it provides a more realistic and attainable image of a person's body, since it focuses on functionality rather than the appearance of a body (Stet, 2019). While fat acceptance tries to increase the acceptance of 'higher-weighted' people and to counter fat stigmatization (Dickins et al., 2011), body positivity aims at changing society's dominant beauty ideals and increase acceptance of all bodies (Cohen et al., 2019). Body neutrality's goal, however, is that people place less importance on the value of beauty in general, which can be achieved by focusing on the function of the body, rather than what it looks like. Therefore, it is believed that with body neutrality, less pressure exists on loving your body for its looks (Stet, 2019). Body neutrality is often seen as a refreshing movement, in the sense that it does not encourage self-love, which is often preached in other body acceptance movements such as body positivity. As explained above, body positivity does not only encourage the depiction of diverse body types, it also encourages people to love themselves for who they are and what they look like, even if it does not fit the prevalent 'thin-ideal' (Cohen et al., 2020). Simultaneously, Cohen et al. (2020) argue that the focus on functionality might be hard to achieve, as it is complex to change a society where aesthetics are crucial, to one where aesthetics do not matter.

While body positivity can be seen as a movement that aims to try to love your own body and its imperfections, body neutrality sees the body as an organic object that needs to be healthy, in order to make sure the body can function properly (Perry et al., 2019). In other words, body neutrality concerns itself with making sure your body works properly. Emphasis should not be on seeing the body as something that should be aesthetically pleasing, since that is not the main purpose of a body (Perry et al., 2019). The authors argue that body neutrality can be a more functional concept in order to deal with body dissatisfaction, because it does not require the individual to love their body, but to just acknowledge it as a working object, therefore regarding it from a functional perspective (Thomas & Warren-Findlow, 2020). As explained above, body neutrality has risen to prominence recently. However, a similar movement, body functionality, has been discussed by different researchers (Mulgrew et al., 2018). Body functionality displays similarities with body neutrality, as it also puts

emphasis on the things a body can do, instead on what it looks like (Alleva et al., 2015). Moreover, it is argued that this focus may help people to be less focused on looks and normalize ‘normal’ bodies, which in turn can prevent self-objectification (Mulgrew et al., 2018).

## 2.2 Social movements online

As already indicated in the former section, it is crucial to note that the construction of the body acceptance movements is heavily influenced by social media. Social media influences how users interact and understand these movements. In this section, the relation between the movements and social media will be explained.

While social movements are not exclusive to recent years, the rapid development of the Internet, and social media in specific, has aided social movements to gain more visibility and a larger following (Leong et al., 2019). Social media is defined as Internet-based technologies that rely on user-generated content (Leong et al., 2019). Due to this content, different individuals can connect and interact with each other (Kaplan & Haenlein, 2010). Social media platforms have changed how social movements communicate with their followers, and how communities interact and engage with the social movements, giving a voice to the powerless (Leong et al., 2019).

A different characteristic of social movements on social media is that these movements rely on connective action instead of collective action, which is what social movements relied on when social media was not as widely used as it is now (Leong et al., 2019). According to Darwin and Miller (2020), successful movements in the past relied on collective action to engage with and inspire participants. Nowadays, due to social media, successful movements rely on connective action. Participants now use their intrinsic motivation to share something on social media related to a social movement, instead that the movement tries to inspire participants. According to Leong et al. (2019), connective action makes it possible for individuals to come together. Thus, it can be seen that social media has changed the dynamics between movements and participants. It can be argued that this dynamic can be found in body acceptance movements’ content on Instagram as well, as individual content-creators use user-generated content, such as pictures, to challenge dominant beauty standards, promote awareness of diverse bodies, and fight stigmatization of marginalized groups (Brathwaite & De Andrea, 2021).

However, scholars have found different ways in which Instagram content-creators try to persuade people, not just to bring awareness to the movements, but also to persuade them into buying products (Lazuka et al., 2020; Brathwaite & De Andrea, 2021). According to Brathwaite and De Andrea (2021), Instagram content-creators can use their body positive Instagram posts to promote their content on other online platforms or to promote an advertised product. This type of promotional content coincides with the commodification of body positivity movement, as described in the former section. Moreover, companies have recently begun to understand the impact body acceptance

messages can have on their sales (Lazuka et al., 2020), and use these movements as a trendy marketing tool (Lazuka et al., 2020).

### 3. Methodology

In this section, the research design will be explained. Since this study focuses on two different aspects of body acceptance movements, two different research methods are used. In order to answer the first research question, Instagram posts are researched, while in-depth interviews are held in order to answer the second research question. For the analysis of both datasets, thematic analysis is used. The steps taken in the research are explained in more detail below.

#### 3.1 Instagram posts

The purpose of this study is twofold; in order to answer the first research question, thematic analysis will be used to study 90 Instagram posts (30 for each movement) in order to find out how these different movements are constructed. It is relevant to study these different movements to investigate differences in how they are represented and constructed by Instagram users. The analysis of the sampled Instagram posts focused on the picture, caption and hashtags.

In order to locate posts that relate to the three movements, different hashtags were used. The hashtags #bodypositive and #bodypositivity were used to select ‘body positive’ posts on Instagram. In order to find posts related to ‘fat acceptance’, the following hashtags were used: #fatacceptance, #fatacceptancemovement. To locate Instagram posts with ‘body neutral’ content, the hashtags #bodyneutrality and #bodyneutral were used. These hashtags can also be found in Table 3.1.

Body acceptance movement	Corresponding hashtag 1	Corresponding hashtag 2
Body positivity movement	#bodypositive	#bodypositivity
Fat acceptance movement	#fatacceptance	#fatacceptancemovement
Body neutrality movement	#bodyneutrality	#bodyneutral

Table 3.1

It was decided to use these hashtags, as these hashtags give the most results on Instagram compared to more niche hashtags that are part of the movements. When conducting initial research, it was found that different hashtags were used frequently in body positive content (Coughlin, 2016). Coughlin (2016) states that the hashtags #effyourbeautystandards and #honormycurves are used most often in body positive content. However, when searching these hashtags on Instagram, it is found that #effyourbeautystandards generates 4.9 million results and #honormycurves 1.6 million results. On the contrary, the hashtags #bodypositive and #bodypositivity generate 16.2 million and 8.1 million results. Besides, these hashtags are ‘neutral’, as they only mention the movements, but do not express an opinion about said movements. For instance, #effyourbeautystandards, a hashtag used often with body positive content, has explicit political views (Caldeira & De Ridder, 2017). Thus, it was decided for the other movements to focus on ‘neutral’ hashtags as well. Posts were located by creating a new Instagram account and searching for the hashtags through Instagram’s search option in the ‘explore’ page. It was decided to make a new Instagram account to select the posts instead of doing this from

the researcher's personal account, since the new account is less influenced by algorithms or previous search items, it could generate different results (Lua, 2021).

The difficulty in the sampling for this study lies in the fact that body positivity is highly popular on Instagram. While the hashtags concerning body neutrality only generated 577.000 posts in total, body positive hashtags generated more than 3 million results. Therefore, it is also the hashtags corresponding to body positivity that include unrelated posts on Instagram, such as pictures of food or animals, as Instagram content-creators use these hashtags for greater visibility of their posts. It is therefore important to have clear selection criteria that take this into consideration for all hashtags, which are described below.

First, all posts must be in English, in order for the researcher to be able to read and understand the caption, as the caption often shows additional information that could be useful for the study. Second, duplicate posts were removed from the sample, in order to prevent content that combines different hashtags in one post, such as #bodypositivity and #fatacceptance. Third, as it is crucial that the posts correspond to the movements, pictures of humans and quotes are included, as these capture the essence of body acceptance and the three movements. Moreover, unrelated posts unrelated to diverse bodies and self-acceptance that were tagged with any of the former hashtags were removed from the sample as well. A post is deemed unsuitable for this research when it does not relate to the theme of body acceptance, which is to promote acceptance of all bodies, or the six separate hashtags corresponding to the three movements. For instance, posts that feature only animals were excluded, as they are unrelated to the three body acceptance movements studied. Similarly, pictures of food were not included in the sample, as it deviates from the self-acceptance subject matter. Food is often considered a bothersome topic, especially for women who suffer from body dissatisfaction as it is often accompanied with dieting or diet experiences (Meier & Gray, 2014). It can be seen as problematic as it encompasses the topics of dieting and body dissatisfaction (Tiggemann & Zaccardo, 2015), which is what the three body acceptance movements try to counter. Posts portraying food or food items were therefore not deemed suitable for this research. Besides, if a post used the hashtags #fitgirl, #fitspiration or #fitness in addition to the hashtags in Table 3.1, the post was excluded as well, as it is argued that these posts are more related to the online 'fitspiration' movement than the body acceptance movements. Moreover, 'fitspiration' content shares similarities with 'thinspiration' content (Boepple & Thompson, 2016), which counters the idea behind body acceptance. It is therefore argued that 'fitspiration' posts do not fit the main topic of this study, and were therefore not selected.

Then, for each hashtag, every fourth post was selected, as long as it fit the criteria. Posts were selected between April 19 and May 7, 2021. When a selected post did not fit the criteria, it was discarded, and the next post was selected instead. For each hashtag, 15 posts were selected, resulting in 30 posts per movement, and 90 posts in total. Both pictures and videos were selected for the sample.

### 3.1.1 Operationalizing body size

The three body acceptance movements discussed above all share the idea of creating more awareness and acceptance of diverse-sized bodies. Especially the fat acceptance and body positivity movements try to include ‘large’, ‘big’ and ‘plus-size’ bodies. However, it is unclear what constitutes a ‘large’, ‘big’ and ‘plus-size’ body, as this can be considered a subjective manner of describing body sizes. Therefore, it is crucial for this study to understand what ‘big’ or ‘plus-size’ bodies are, and how these can be classified as fair as possible. This is especially important in the analysis of Instagram posts, as it is important to understand how the researcher decided how to code each pictured body.

As the classification body size is a subjective manner, it is hard to operationalize, as it is hard to define what a ‘big’ or ‘thin’ body is. However, body size and its effect on body dissatisfaction, health and mental issues is a broadly studied topic. Therefore, different researchers have tried to operationalize body size. Ratanasiripong and Burkey (2011) examined actual body size in comparison to self-reported body size amongst college students. The researchers used height and weight to calculate each student’s body mass index (BMI). While BMI does not necessarily translate to body size, it can give an indication (Rothman, 2008), and it has therefore been criticized on several occasions; according to Rothman (2008), BMI is not always suitable to detect obesity or overweight bodies, as it can be inaccurate in measuring body fat. Thus, Rothman (2008) argues that BMI is not specific enough and can lead to misclassification of larger body sizes. As BMI is a controversial tool to study body size, several studies have tried to find other ways to categorize body size. Borland and Akram (2017) use the contour drawing rating scale by Thompson and Gray (1995). This scale consists of nine contoured drawings of women (and men), ranging from underweight to obese, as can be seen in Figure 3.1. However, the contour drawing scale has also received criticism as it does not portray bodies in a clear manner as bodies are drawn as contours. These contours could be unclear, making it more difficult for researchers to link bodies to a certain contour category.

As the contour drawing rating scale is deemed insufficient, De Freitas et al. (2018) use Stunkard figure rating scale (FRS) in their study to understand how fashion magazines depict diverse body size. The Stunkard figure rating scale consists of nine drawings of silhouettes, ranging from underweight to obese. Since FRS does not rely on contours, but uses more detailed drawings of bodies, the drawings are easier to see, as can be found in Figure 3.2. Cohen et al. (2019) argue that FRS is suitable to determine an individual’s relative size by an observer, and they use FRS in their study about body positive accounts on Instagram. The authors build upon Pulvers et al. (2013) study and use the corresponding FRS figure.

While the Stunkard figure rating scale is widely used, some researchers argue that it lacks realism as it makes use of drawings. Building upon the Stunkard FRS, Swami et al. (2008) developed the photographic figure rating scale (PFRS), which can be found in Figure 3.3, as it is believed that the line-drawn figures of FRS are limited, as they are deemed insufficient to find the differences between the drawings and real-life bodies. However, this scale is not often used by other scholars.



In conclusion, researchers have tried to operationalize and measure body sizes in different ways. While PFRS might make comparisons between real people on Instagram to real bodies in the PFRS table easier, it is not widely used. Stunkard's FRS, on the other hand, is a widely used method to operationalize body size. While it is often used for magazine models and advertisements, it is argued that it is suitable for Instagram posts as well, as it tries to assess a person's relative weight (Cohen et al., 2019). Moreover, taking into account Cohen's et al. (2019) use of FRS in a recent study that shares several similarities with the current study, it is decided to use their FRS framework, based on Pulvers et al. (2013), similar to Cohen et al. (2019).

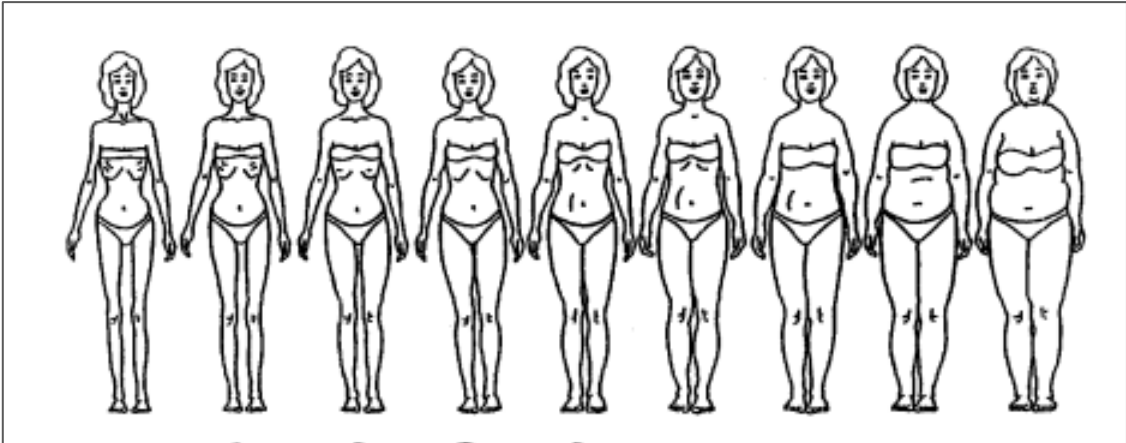


Figure 3.1 – Contour drawing scale by Thompson and Gray (1995)

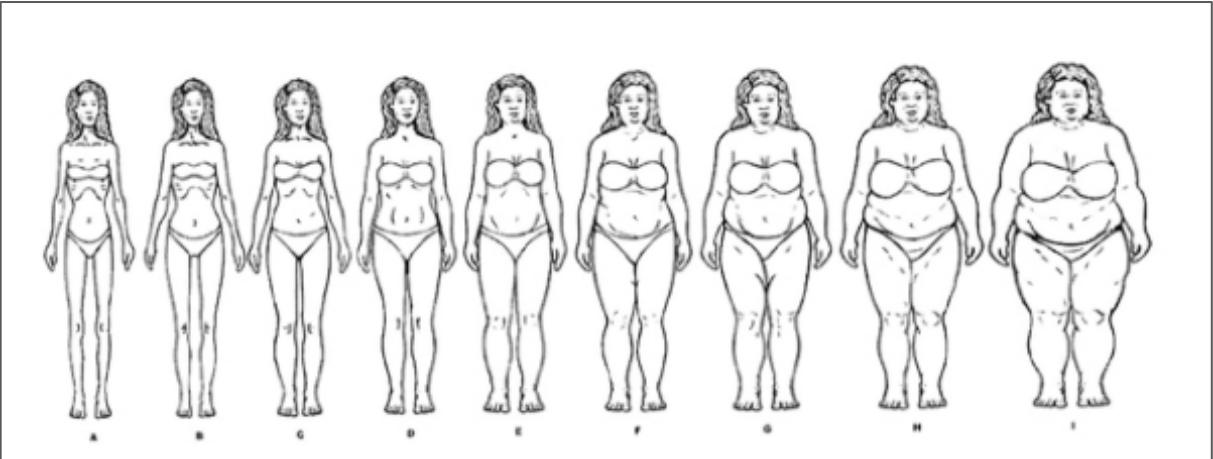


Figure 3.2 – Stunkard figure rating scale, as developed by Pulvers et al. (2013)

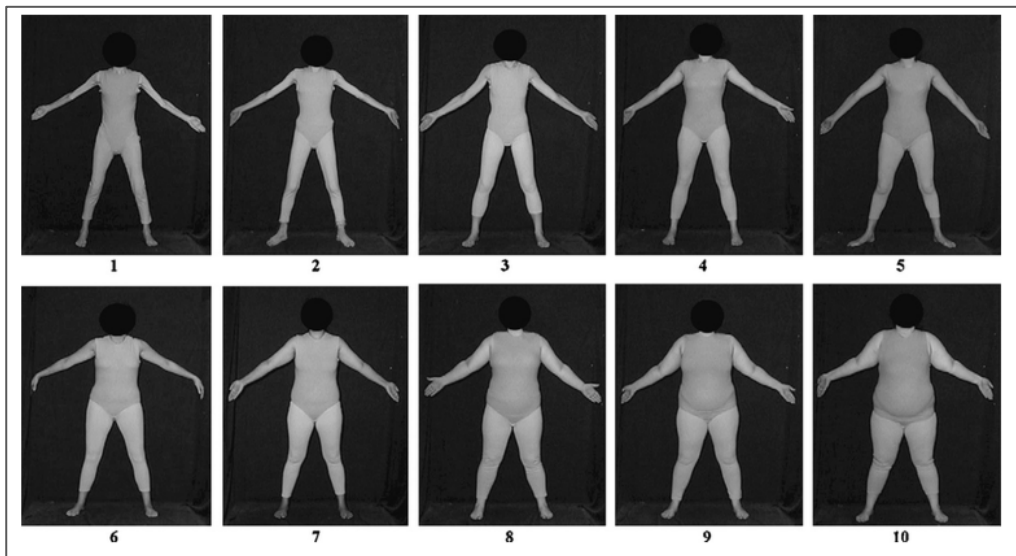


Figure 3.3 – Photographic figure rating scale by Swami et al. (2008)

### 3.2 In-depth interviews

In order to answer the second sub question, in-depth interviews were held. It was decided to conduct interviews instead of focus groups, as body image and body dissatisfaction can be considered a sensitive topic. Focus groups might make participants uncomfortable to speak up about their ideas of body image and the ‘ideal’ body. Interviews are a suitable research method as the aim for this part of the study is to gain in-depth knowledge and understanding of how participants perceive these movements on Instagram. Johnson (2011) claims that in-depth interviews serve to find the underlying meanings individuals give to particular issues, which they often do not question or which may involve different viewpoints. In this study, interviews can thus serve to gain deeper understanding of individuals’ ideas regarding the body acceptance movements.

As the topic of this study can be considered sensitive, it is important to be cautious when asking questions regarding this topic to participants (Broom et al., 2009). This will be ensured by not steering the interview towards questions regarding participants’ own body image and level of self-acceptance, as these are sensitive topics. Moreover, the role of the researcher is important in order to ensure meaningful data gathering. The researcher should be mindful of the differences in power between the participant and the researcher (Broom et al., 2009). Therefore, the researcher should be reflexive of oneself and take into account her own beliefs. As a young female that uses Instagram, I fit the sample population, and I might have some ideas on body acceptance of my own. However, it is important to make sure that these ideas do not hinder the interview by not pushing my personal opinion onto the participants (Broom et al., 2009). This will be ensured by giving participants time to come up with answers, ensuring that there are no wrong answers, and by not expressing personal opinions.

The selected sample consisted of eight young female professionals, between the ages of 18 and 35 living in the Netherlands. This group was selected due to several reasons. First, women are often considered to have body dissatisfaction issues or other issues related to an ‘ideal’ body image (Lazuka et al., 2020). Participants will be between 18 and 35 years old, as this is the largest group with an active Instagram account (Aslam, 2019). Moreover, different studies show that young women are more susceptible to body image issues (Holland & Tiggemann, 2016), and in addition, Instagram content regarding this topic is more aimed at women, especially as body dissatisfaction is still often considered a women’s issue (Kelly & Daneshjoo, 2019).

Moreover, while female students are a popular researched group for body acceptance movements, young female professionals are less researched. It is therefore meaningful to study this group. Finally, body acceptance movements such as body positivity are popular in the West (Ando et al., 2021), so it is expected that these are also popular among young women in the Netherlands.

Since questions will cover the body acceptance movements on Instagram, it is vital that the participants use Instagram. A non-probability sampling method of purposive sampling was used to select participants, as participants should fit a set of criteria in order to be eligible for research (Sarstedt et al., 2018). Furthermore, snowball sampling was used by asking participants after the interview to introduce other potential participants. An implication of purposive and snowball sampling is that the participants might be homogeneous in terms of their age, location and Instagram usage, which could lead to similar results. However, their knowledge of the body acceptance movements ranged, as participants were specifically selected for their knowledge on the body acceptance movements.

### **3.2.1 Participants’ profile**

As indicated above, participants with similar characteristics, such as age, demographic, nationality and use of Instagram were selected. However, maximal variation was ensured finding participants whose knowledge of body acceptance and the three movements varied. In order to figure out if potential participants were suitable for this study in terms of knowledge of the body acceptance movements, an inventory was made before the interview by the researcher. This was done by asking participants who seemed suitable for the study about their knowledge of the three movements, if they had heard of these movements before, and if they already followed Instagram accounts related to these movements, before making an interview appointment with them. This inventory was made in order to gain insights in which participants had extensive knowledge of the movements, and which participants had little knowledge. This was important in order to find participants with different levels of knowledge, thus having maximal variation between participants. In this section, a short overview of the participants will be given. The participants were given pseudonyms to ensure their anonymity.

In Table 3.2, an overview of participants is given, with their pseudonym, age, profession, nationality and their familiarity with the three movements. For the familiarity with the topic, three

categories were created. Participants who had little to no knowledge of the movements, and expressed little interest in the movements, were assigned to the category ‘minimal knowledge’. Participants who had heard of most of the movements and had some idea what they entailed were assigned to the category ‘Some knowledge’. Participants with extensive knowledge of the movements who also followed some movements on social media were assigned to the category ‘Extensive knowledge’.

Name participant (pseudonym)	Age	Profession	Nationality	Familiarity with topic
Annabel	29	Self-employed communication advisor	Dutch	Some knowledge
Myrthe	28	Musician (currently in-between-jobs)	Dutch	Extensive knowledge
Frederique	27	Designer at a large Dutch variety store-chain	Dutch	Extensive knowledge
Laura	29	Mental health coach	Dutch	Extensive knowledge
Sophie	30	Technical officer at a large engineering and logistics company	Dutch	Some knowledge
Manon	30	Supply chain officer at multinational	Dutch	Some knowledge
Zoë	31	Communication officer at large Dutch online store-chain	Dutch	Minimal knowledge
Naomi	31	General practitioner	Dutch	Minimal knowledge

Table 3.2

### 3.2.2 Use of stimuli

As not all participants were familiar with the movements, especially body neutrality, and what kind of images are often used on Instagram for each movement, different stimuli were used during the interview. The majority of participants was familiar with fat acceptance and body positivity, but had little knowledge of body neutrality and had not encountered body neutrality content before. In order to make the movement understandable for participants, a short description of body neutrality was given, which focused on the notion that body neutrality focuses on functionality, instead of aesthetics. This definition has influenced some responses, especially those of participants who had little knowledge of this movement. However, it is argued that this was needed, in order to continue with the interview and discuss body neutrality. Moreover, in order to help participants understand what kind of content relates to body neutrality, two Instagram posts that were found with the hashtag #bodyneutrality were shown to participants, which can be found in Figure 3.4 and 3.5. These images were chosen as they convey the message of body neutrality. Furthermore, when talking about body size, and what type of

body constitutes a 'big' or 'plus-size' body, the researcher showed two Instagram pictures of artist Lizzo, which can be seen in Figures 3.6 and 3.7, and asked participants for their thoughts regarding her body size, since Lizzo is regarded as an iconic figure for both fat acceptance and body positivity (Senyonga & Luna, 2021). By showing them Lizzo's posts, participants found it easier to define 'plus-size' or 'big' bodies. Naturally, this may have influenced responses.

Furthermore, participants were free to look through their Instagram feed and to search through the hashtags in Table 3.1 in order to form an opinion about the movements and its content.

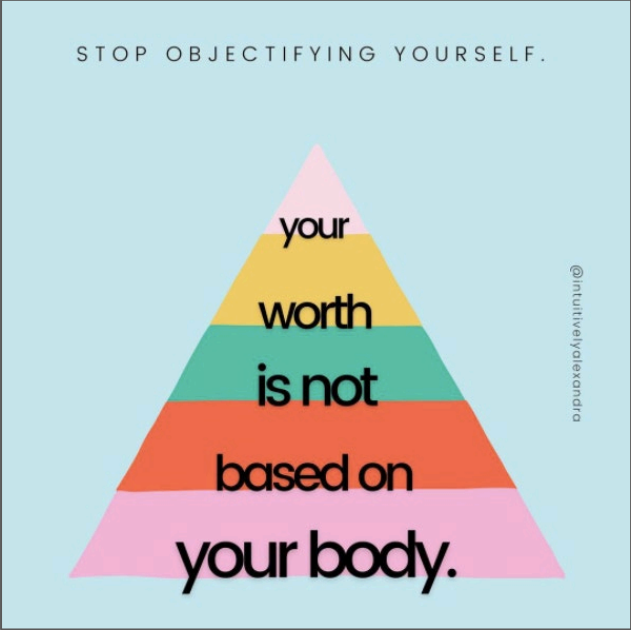


Figure 3.4 – example of body neutrality post on Instagram



Figure 3.5 – example of body neutrality post on



Figure 3.6 – image, uploaded by Lizzo @lizzobeating



Figure 3.7 – image, uploaded by Lizzo @lizzobeating



### 3.3.3 Data collection

A semi-structured interview guide was developed prior to the interviews, which contained possible questions for participants, as well as the stimulus materials. The interviews contained questions that were developed to gain deeper understanding in participants' thoughts and ideas regarding the three movements in general, and their content on Instagram. The interview schedule was meant as a guide, meaning that while some core questions were asked, there was room for new questions or discussions, which often emerged during the interview. The interview guide can be found in Appendix A. During the interviews, participants could look through their Instagram feed, and search the hashtags in question, in order to find posts within the movements, and discuss their ideas regarding these posts. In addition, stimulus materials were used in order to aid the participant when discussing body neutrality and 'large' body sizes.

Due to the Covid-19 pandemic it was decided, together with participants, to conduct interviews via Zoom, an online video call tool. Interviews were recorded between April 8th and May 8th, 2021. Zoom automatically records both an audio and video file, so if participants only wanted to disclose their voice, they were offered the option to turn their cameras off. Fortunately, no participants voiced any discomfort in turning their cameras on, which was helpful during the interview process, as it is easier to interview participants when having (online) face-to-face contact, as this can help the interviewer to understand non-verbal cues. Nevertheless, video files were removed immediately after completion of the interview, and only the audio files were saved. A few days prior to the appointment, participants were sent the informed consent form. Before the interviews, participants were reminded of this form of their rights during the interview. The informed consent form can be found in Appendix B.

The interviews lasted between 35 minutes and 1 hour and 15 minutes. The researcher, with the help of online transcribing tool Amberscript.com, transcribed each interview. The transcriptions of the interviews can be found in Appendix C.

### 3.3 Data analysis

The interviews and the Instagram posts will be analyzed by conducting thematic analysis, as thematic analysis is a useful approach to discover key patterns in the Instagram posts and interviews (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Thematic analysis offers an accessible form of analysis, as little prior theoretical knowledge is needed (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This is especially useful for this study, as little research is done on the three movements simultaneously, and on body neutrality specifically. In other words, there is little theory to base the findings on, especially regarding body neutrality. However, some previous research has been conducted, and thus analysis will be a combination of inductive and deductive, letting codes and main themes emerge both from the data and based on previous research.

Thematic analysis is a systematic way of conducting research, as Braun and Clarke (2006) have developed different steps that the researcher should take. The first step is data immersion. Here, the

researcher familiarizes themselves with the data. This was done by looking through popular body acceptance Instagram accounts such as @Iweigh and @bodyposipanda to gain a deeper understanding in the data. Furthermore, preliminary research on the Instagram hashtags was done, in order to determine which hashtags would be most suitable for the study. As explained before, it was found that different hashtags correspond to the three movements, and a deliberate decision was made as to what hashtags should be included in this study. Moreover, for the interviews, participants were asked beforehand about their knowledge of the three body acceptance movements, and to which extent they already followed these movements on Instagram.

Secondly, initial codes were developed, based on the main findings that emerged from the data. The data was analyzed using online analysis tool Atlas.ti. Atlas.ti is a qualitative analysis tool, which makes it possible to select relevant pieces of the data, and assign them a specific code. First, different codes were created, which later were grouped together in a theme. For the Instagram posts, the use of different body sizes in the content stood out, and these body sizes were grouped in one code. This was also reflected in existing literature, as Cohen et al. (2019) discuss that diverse body sizes are featured in body acceptance content. Moreover, body attributes that are normally left out of mainstream media, such as cellulite, stretch marks and stomach rolls were also included, since they appeared often in the data, and are pointed out in different literature as well (Tiggemann et al., 2020). Literature regarding fat acceptance explores that online content will try to counter fat phobia and discrimination (Casado-Marin & Gracia-Arnaiz, 2020), and this emerged from the data as well. Moreover, Darwin and Miller (2020) argue that the movements lack diversity in terms of ethnicity and disabilities, and this emerged from the data as well. For interviews, however, other codes emerged. Participants discussed how body acceptance content on Instagram could be used as a trend by brands, and argued against this strategic use of the movements. While this was not entirely found in literature, Cwynar-Horta (2016) argues that movements could become commoditized.

Thirdly, codes were grouped together, focusing on their similarity or overarching theme. By doing this, larger key patterns or themes were created. For Instagram content, the themes of body attributes, body size and ethnicity were grouped together under Diversity, as all three codes describe the degree of diversity in Instagram posts. Other codes with similar characteristics were grouped together to create the main theme that tried to define the movements. Codes that emerged from the interviews were grouped in a similar way.

In the last step, the researcher revised the themes that were created. Each theme was given a definition that will aid in answering the research questions. The themes and sub codes were then visualized in a thematic map, which also include the definition of each theme. This thematic map can be found in Appendix D.



## 4. Results and discussion

In this section, the analyzed results will be discussed. As indicated before, this study follows a dual-path method and therefore, the main aim of this chapter is to discuss the similarities and differences that emerge from the different sources of data. As both the Instagram content and the interviews cover similar topics, the themes will sometimes overlap. First, the themes that emerged from the Instagram posts will be analyzed, followed by the themes that were identified during the interviews. It is chosen to write the analysis in this order, to uncover if the themes that emerged from the Instagram posts correspond to participants' ideas regarding the movements and their content on Instagram, and to stress the connections between Instagram posts and interviews.

### 4.1 Themes emerging from Instagram

As mentioned before, posts from all three body acceptance movements were analyzed, and several codes were found when analyzing the Instagram posts. By grouping these smaller codes together, two main themes were identified, which are discussed below. The main themes are: **Constructing the movements' content** and **Diversity**.

#### 4.1.1 Constructing the movements' content

As can be seen in the thematic map in appendix B, the main theme **Constructing the movements' content** consists of several sub themes, which make it clearer to make distinctions between the three body acceptance movements. To be as straightforward as possible, the sub themes are divided according to the three body acceptance movements. It can be found that the sub theme **Fat acceptance** consists of the codes 'references to feminist movement', 'challenging dieting ideas' and 'references to fat phobia and discrimination'. The second sub theme **Body neutrality** consists of the main codes 'references to mental health and eating disorders', 'references to changing life roles' and 'references to functionality'. Finally, the sub theme **Body positivity** consists of the codes 'references to the feminist movement', 'broader content' and 'promotional content'. It can thus be found that the content of the three different movements differ, even though they all try to create more awareness and representation of diverse bodies by promoting self-acceptance (Afful & Riccardelli, 2015; Cohen et al., 2020). While trying to promote the awareness and visibility of diverse bodies, the content of the three movements also tries to challenge existing ideas regarding body size and body acceptance, however, the three movements emphasize different aspects. First, fat acceptance content will be discussed, followed by body positivity content and body neutrality content.

##### 4.1.1.1 Fat acceptance

As explained above, content related to **Fat acceptance** focuses on the notions of feminism, dieting, fat phobia and discrimination, and it hereby distinguishes itself from the content of other movements. Hence, it can be argued that these topics are relevant to construct fat acceptance content. 'References to feminism' were often found in the fat acceptance posts. One post, which can be seen in

Figures 1 and 2, used an illustration to explain the origins of the fat acceptance movement and used scholarly references in the caption to educate and inform users:



Figure 1

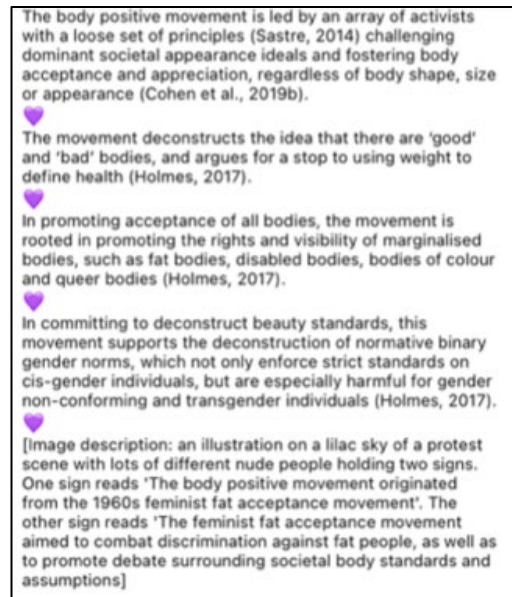


Figure 2

It is understandable that fat acceptance content makes references to feminism, as Afful and Ricciardelli (2015) discuss that the fat acceptance movement originated from the feminist movement and tries to counter existing ideas surrounding 'fat' bodies. It is interesting to note that while this post was found using #fatacceptancemovement, the author also makes references to body positivity by mentioning this movement in the artwork, the caption and additional hashtags. This could indicate that body positivity and fat acceptance are interrelated. This is expected, as both movements look at the acceptance of diverse bodies from a feminist perspective and try to empower women as these are often the groups that suffer most from the existing beauty ideals. Indeed, body positive content on Instagram was also found to make references to feminism, as can be seen in Figure 3:

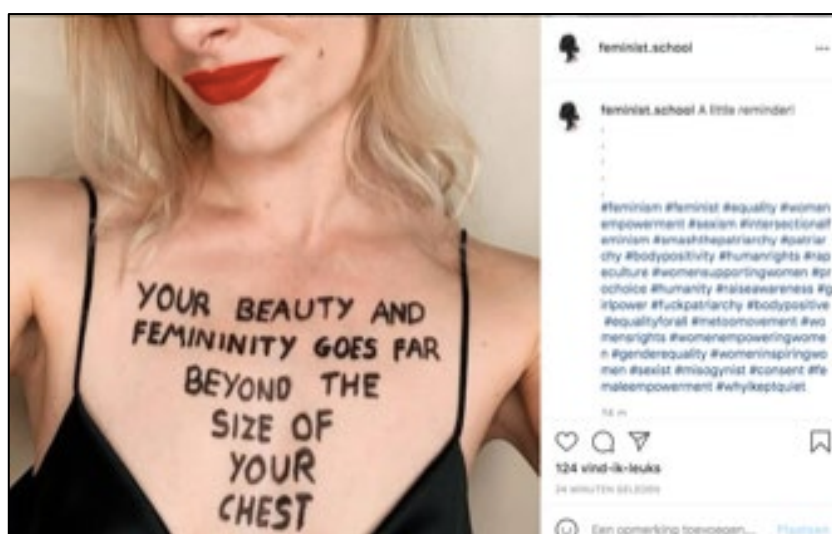


Figure 3

Figure 3, however, does not use references and its main goal is to remind women of the dominant beauty ideals that exist in society. The picture shows a woman with a text painted on her chest: “Your beauty and femininity goes far beyond the size of your chest”. Next, the post features the following hashtags: #womensrights, #womenempoweringwomen, #fuckpatriarchy, and #equalityforall, amongst others. Figure 3 engages with feminism in a different way than the fat acceptance post discussed before, as seen in Figure 1 and 2. While the latter emphasized the role of feminism on the two movements, the former focused on beauty ideals and how they relate to a women’s femininity, by encouraging women they are not less feminine or beautiful if they have a small chest. It could be argued that this post looks at beauty ideals that are dominant in society and tries to challenge these ideals by ensuring women are not less if they do not conform to these ideas. Thus, there exist different ways of relating the body acceptance movements to feminism.

Besides, a topic that was often included in fat acceptance content, but almost never in the content of the other two movements, was references to the existing diet culture in society. Therefore, it seems that dieting is mainly an issue that is covered in fat acceptance content and can therefore be used to define fat acceptance content. The dissatisfaction with the diet culture was mostly expressed through hashtags such as #antidietsculture, #riotsnotdiets and #dietcultureisracist. However, some content made more explicit remarks towards dieting, as can be seen in Figure 4:

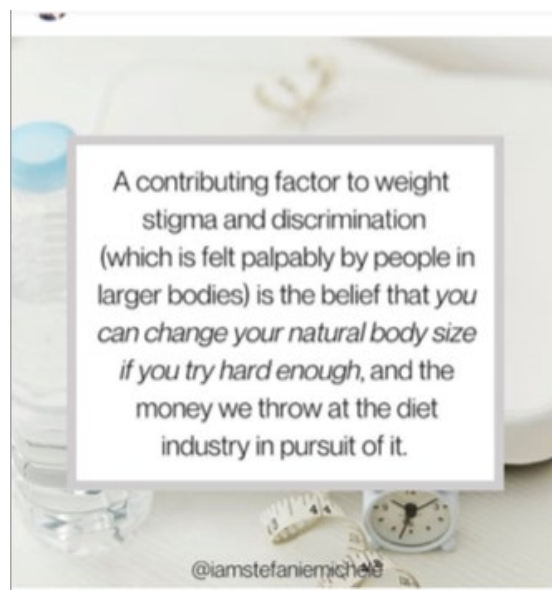


Figure 4

Here, the author confronts the diet industry and names it a contributing factor towards discrimination of ‘bigger’ people. Moreover, the author further explains this issue in the content, and gives examples of diet culture in daily life, indicating that it is a large issue and something ‘big’ people deal with daily. In this post, diet culture was often linked to the unrealistic ideas emerging from society to look a certain way, and the bias, stigmatization and discrimination people experience if they do not fit within these ideas regarding appearance, which corresponds with what Casado-Marin and Gracia-Arnaiz

(2020) and Dickins et al. (2011) discuss regarding ‘fat’ stigmatization and discrimination. While it can be understood that some users try to educate people about the diet industry, other users make more personal references towards their experiences with diet culture, who use the caption as a motivation, not just for herself, but for others as well, to be “free from diet culture” and to celebrate your life and body, no matter how ‘big’ it is. Moreover, resisting diet culture is framed as a positive occasion that should be celebrated, which is expressed with the celebration of no diet day.

Furthermore, different fat acceptance posts covered the issue of fat phobia, which is present in modern-day society and which, is argued, is expressed through hurtful stereotypes (Dickins et al., 2011). Fat phobia is often concealed as a health concern. This health concern, however, is often a way to mask discrimination against people with ‘big’ bodies (Dickins et al., 2011). This idea is often reflected in the Instagram content, as it can be found that different people share their experiences with fat phobia on Instagram. One post, which can be found in Figure 5 and 6, explains these stereotypes in the caption: “Most people are of the belief that one “chooses” to be fat, that being fat is a result of not caring about their own health.” This caption shows the stereotypes ‘big’ people often encounter, which are often expressed implicitly, hidden as health concerns. In regards to fat phobia and hurtful stereotypes, Instagram posts are often used as a way to educate people from outside the fat acceptance community, with texts as: “Why is mocking and harassing someone who lives in a larger body acceptable when we know that doing the same in regards of race, gender, sexual orientation, ethnicity etc. is definitely not acceptable?”, which can be found in Figure 5:

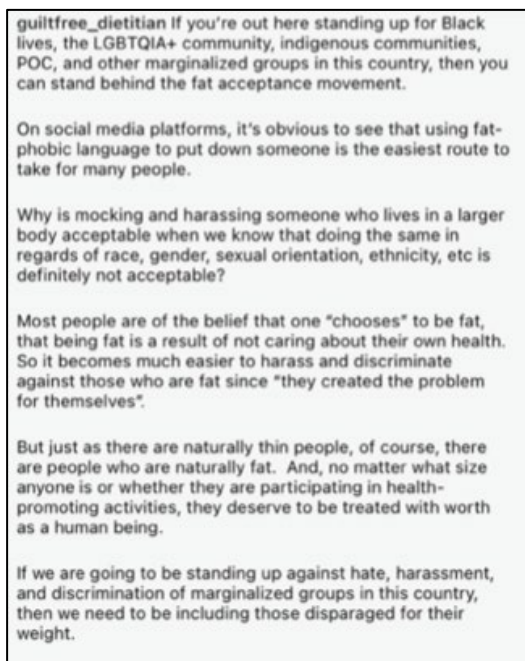


Figure 5

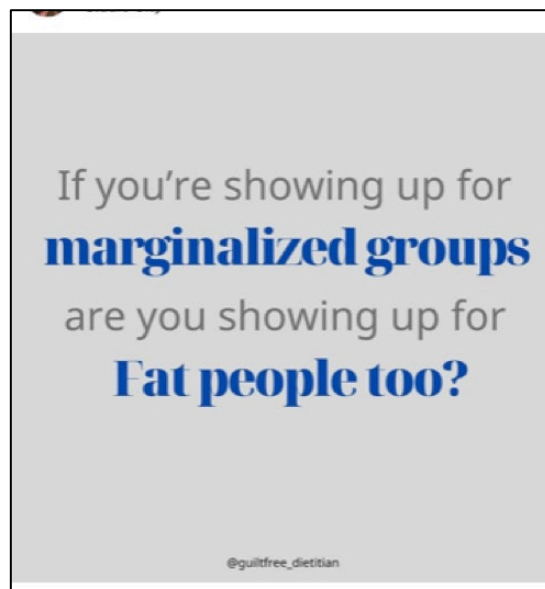


Figure 6

This quote indicates that stigma and discrimination surrounding body size is often compared to discrimination against race, gender or ethnicity, and that body size is also a mark of discrimination, as is skin color.

While all three body acceptance movements try to challenge existing beauty ideals and dominant ideas about society's beauty standards, it can be indicated that it is in majority the fat acceptance movement content that challenges fat phobia, discrimination and stereotypes, which is in line with what Dickins et al. (2011) found in their research regarding fat phobia and how people with 'larger' sizes try to counter that.

#### *4.1.1.2 Body neutrality*

The second sub theme **Body neutrality** consists of the codes 'references to mental health and eating disorders', 'references to changing life roles' and 'references to functionality'. These themes will be discussed, as they give an idea what body neutrality content on Instagram looks like, and thus give an indication how body neutrality is constructed.

One apparent topic in body neutrality content is the mention of 'mental health'. As mentioned before, negative body image and body dissatisfaction can lead to mental health issues. Negative body image and body dissatisfaction is often caused by the unrealistic beauty standards in Western society (Lazuka et al., 2020). Thus, it is an issue that is interrelated to body acceptance, as these unattainable beauty standards are hard to attain, which can result in body dissatisfaction and health issues. While all movements try to counter these unrealistic beauty ideals and included posts discussing mental health, especially by the use of hashtags, body neutrality content tries to do so by emphasizing on mental health issues, in particular eating disorders, and was the one movement that discussed mental health more extensively, and did not rely on just hashtags. In the data, the majority of posts discussing mental health were body neutral posts; eight body neutral posts related to mental health could be found. Figure 8 and Figure 9 are examples of a woman talking about her personal experience with eating disorders. It could be argued that by focusing on eating disorders through a body neutral or functional perspective, it could be helpful for the people recovering from it. This could explain why majority of posts discussing mental health and eating disorders are found in body neutral posts. It is interesting to note that while these posts used hashtags such as #mentalhealthmatters, #eatingdisorderawareness and #anorexiarecovery, as well as mentioned mental health in the caption, the picture did not refer to mental health. As can be seen, the picture in Figure 8 portrays a woman of 'bigger' size, but does not refer to mental health issues. It is in the caption, however, where these women discuss mental health, often through sharing personal experiences, as can be seen in Figure 9. Sometimes, these personal stories were accompanied by messages to raise awareness of mental health, where a woman describes her personal experience with mental health and reminds users of mental health awareness month.





Figure 8

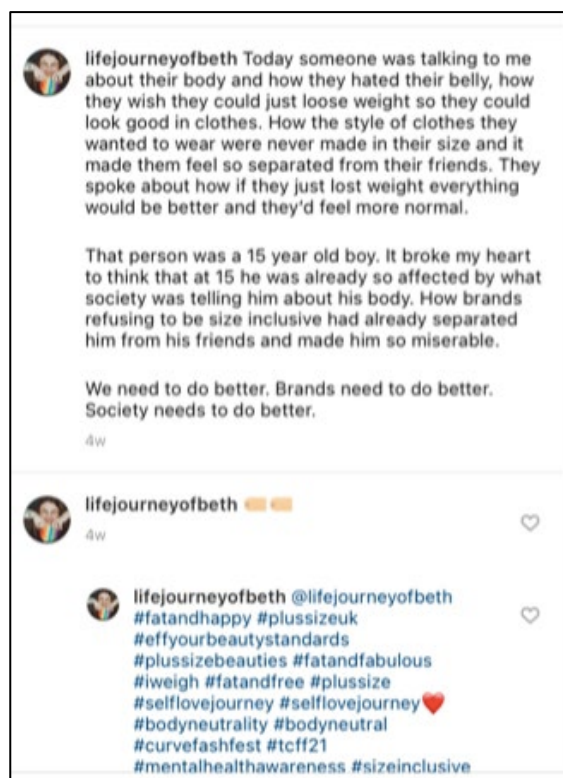


Figure 9

By posting this, the user tries to bring awareness to the stigmatized topic. Besides bringing awareness to health issues and sharing personal experiences regarding mental health, it can be found that posts covering these heavy topics are accompanied with humor, for instance through a short sentence in the caption. This might contribute to the open communication about these topics. It could be argued that, by using humor, these heavy topics can be discussed in a non-harmful way.

In addition, it is noted that body neutral content made references to ‘changing life roles’, specifically through motherhood. This could be seen in content featuring stretch marks. These marks were often linked to changing roles in life, especially motherhood. Emphasis was put on the changing body during and after pregnancy, and how powerful these women feel now that they are accepting their changed bodies with stretch marks. One user in specific used the words “tiger stripes” to refer to her stretch marks. In addition, stretch marks also appeared in illustrations, where stretch marks were highlighted, or drawn with glitter, as can be seen in Figure 10:



Figure 10

Lastly, it was noted that body neutrality content puts an emphasis on ‘functionality’. This could be found in five body neutral posts. While this is 16.7% of total body neutral posts, it is important to note that this emphasis on functionality was only found in body neutral posts, thus indicating the connection between the functionality approach and body neutrality (Cohen et al., 2020). References to functionality in the posts were found in the captions: “Your body’s purpose is not to be beautiful. Your body’s purpose is to let you live”, as can be seen in Figure 12, and “Our bodies are just homes for our souls. If you’re struggling to love your body, focus more attention on the real you, your soul.”, and “Separating your body’s appearance from our worthiness is a key factor in your journey”. These captions all separate the appearance of a person with the person’s inside. This corresponds with Thomas and Warren-Findlow (2020), who argue that body neutrality tries to diminish the attention on aesthetics and tries to emphasize the real role of a body, based on how the body functions (Mulgrew et al., 2018). Thus, it can be said that body neutrality content focuses less on aesthetics of the body than the other movements.



Figure 11

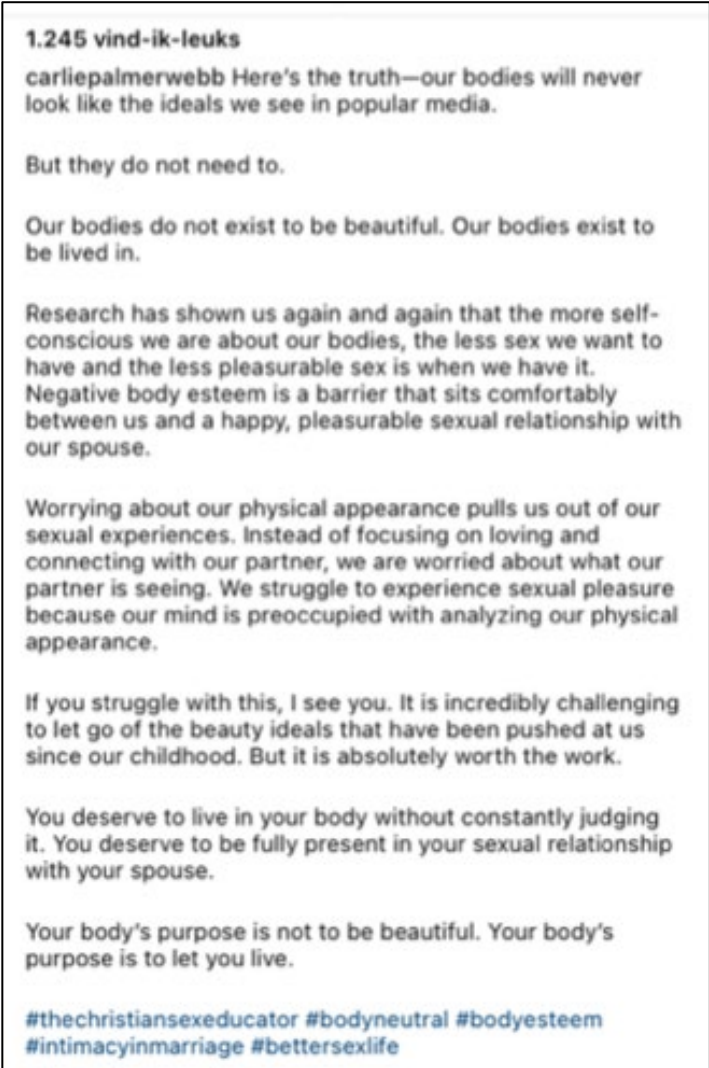


Figure 12

#### *4.1.1.3 Body positivity*

This section will cover body positive content on Instagram, which often makes references to the topics ‘feminism’ and ‘promotion’. Moreover, it is found that body positive content is broader in terms of body sizes. While the latter topic will be discussed in this section, it will also be covered in the following section, which discusses diversity.

As explained before, it is not only fat acceptance content that makes references towards the feminist movement, but body positive content as well, although in lesser extent. In addition, it could be argued that body positive content that mentions feminism is different from fat acceptance content referring to feminism. It could be argued that body positive content uses feminism in order to create awareness or to empower diverse bodies, while fat acceptance content tries to educate people about the movement’s history, which emerged from a feminist fat-resistant perspective (Afful & Ricciardelli, 2015). However, since little body positive content was found mentioning feminism, it is important to remain critical in what these differences might mean in terms of constructing the movements.

Furthermore, it was found that body positivity content was often used as advertisement, collaboration or self-promotion post. While the other two movements emphasize the use of Instagram to educate, inform users and bring awareness, body positive content stands out in this regard, as it is used to not only promote oneself, but especially to promote products, specifically clothing items. The content-creator promotes an online shopping brand and provides a discount code for followers, and frames this promotion in a body positive message, talking about her own insecurities regarding body size and reminding users that every body is beautiful.

Other pictures do not include pictures of the content-creator, but a meme-like picture about bloating that could be interpreted in a fun way, without being too serious. In the caption, the user shares some tips to get rid of bloating, and engages in self-promotion by referring to their website. Besides, it is interesting to note that the content-creator uses hashtags related to dieting, such as #onlinedietitian. This is clearly different from fat acceptance content, where dieting and diet culture is rejected. It seems that dieting is not as negatively framed in body positive content as in fat acceptance content.

While it is found that the movements and their content differ, as described above, they also overlap in different ways. First, a lot of hashtags for the different movements were used in the same post. This was especially the case for body neutrality content. Fifteen body neutrality posts and five fat acceptance posts made references to body positivity using hashtags such as #bodypositivity. Body positivity posts, on the contrary, did not make references to the other movements through hashtags. The use of hashtags for different movements might indicate that the movements overlap, or that people don’t know the difference between the movements or see them as similar to each other. On the other hand, it could also mean that the content-creator tries to gain as much visibility as possible, using different popular hashtags.



Finally, only one post, as seen in Figure 13, tried to explain the difference between body neutrality and body positivity, and why body positivity is not always useful, as it is argued it puts too much emphasis on “feeling positive about your body”. This post was found through #bodyneutral. It can be argued that because body neutrality is a recent development, body neutral content-creators try to educate and inform Instagram users. Moreover, this post argued why body neutrality would be a better and more inclusive movement compared to body positivity. While the message of “feeling positive about your body” is not what body positivity originally stands for (Darwin & Miller, 2020), this phrase is often used to define body positivity in popular media (Stet, 2019), and also one of the reasons why some people claim that body neutrality would be more realistic, as it sends a more attainable idea regarding self-acceptance (Cohen et al., 2020).

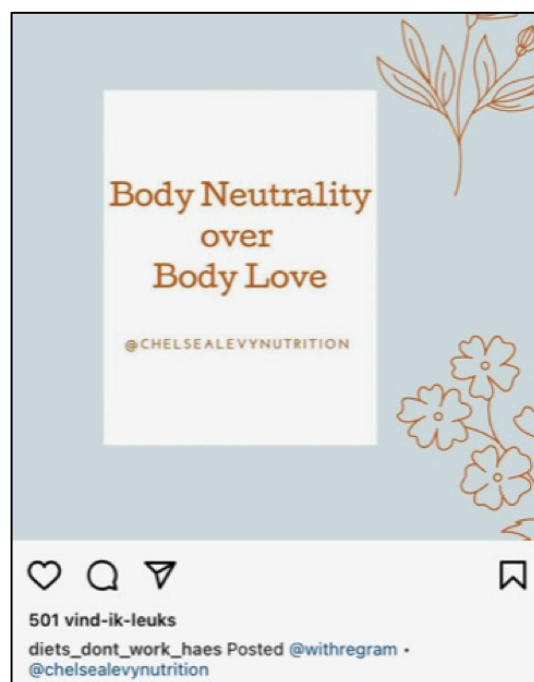


Figure 13

#### 4.1.2 Diversity

As the three body acceptance movements try to raise awareness and representation of diverse bodies by making these diverse bodies and attributes more visible, it was expected that the studied Instagram content would be diverse as well. As found by Cohen et al. (2019), body acceptance content should be diverse in terms of body size, ethnicity and gender, as these are marginalized groups that are often overlooked in general media, and suffer from discrimination and stereotyping (Dickins et al., 2011). In the data, several sub themes were found for the main theme **Diversity**, namely: ‘body size’, ‘body attributes’, and ‘ethnicities’. ‘Body size’ relates to the diversity that is found in the content in terms of body size, which were operationalized according to Stunkard figure rating scale. The sub theme ‘body attributes’ relates to bodily properties that are often left out in mainstream media, such as stomach rolls, cellulite and stretch marks, as well as disabilities. Finally, the third sub theme ‘ethnicities’ includes the different ethnicities that are portrayed in the body acceptance content. It is

found that content of the three movements all portray diverse bodies, however, the content of the different movements portray diversity differently. Thus, in this section, emphasis will lie on distinguishing the differences in terms of diversity between the three movements.

#### *4.1.2.1 Body size*

As stated by Tiggemann et al. (2020), the body acceptance movements try to create awareness of different-sized bodies by making diverse bodies more visible. It is argued that especially the fat acceptance movement tries to counter the negative associations society makes regarding people with 'big' bodies, in order to diminish discrimination and fat phobia (Dickins et al., 2011). By posting pictures of people with diverse body size, the visibility of this marginalized group will increase, which can aid in countering these negative associations, as more visibility will make people aware of the existence of diverse bodies (Lazuka et al., 2020). Thus, it is understandable that especially fat acceptance posts picture people with a 'bigger' body size, as operationalized by Stunkard figure rating scale. Fat acceptance content featured women with sizes 7 to 9 on the Stunkard scale, with an average of 8. It can be said that the fat acceptance movement is committed to creating awareness and representation of bigger bodies (Afful & Ricciardelli, 2015), which is also reflected in the use of 'bigger' bodies compared to the other two movements. Body positivity and body neutrality posts also include women with smaller sizes on the FRS scale. For both body positive and body neutral content, sizes ranged from 2 to 8, with an average of size 4. This is expected, as it is argued that fat acceptance movement emphasizes the acceptance of 'fat' bodies (Dickins et al., 2011), while the other two movements try to counter negative body image and try to boost self-acceptance for bodies who do not fit society's unattainable beauty standards in a broader context. In other words, these movements do not just represent 'bigger' bodies, but especially include women with 'average' body size who show characteristics that are considered 'flaws' by society, such as cellulite for instance (Cohen et al., 2019).

On the other hand, it could also be questioned if body positive content on Instagram is still advocating for body positivity for marginalized sized bodies, such as bodies from Stunkard size 7 and up, as nowadays, the majority of analyzed body positive posts (59%) feature women with Stunkard sizes 2 to 4. These 'smaller' body sizes are already represented in mainstream media and fit the dominant beauty ideal (Donaghue & Clemitshaw, 2012), and it could be argued if these sizes should receive additional representation through body positivity content, since these bodies seem to already be accepted in today's society, and thus might not need this additional representation. Moreover, since body positivity tries to create awareness of 'bigger' bodies that are not represented in the media (Tiggemann et al., 2020), it could be argued that these 'smaller' bodies do not fit the original message of body positivity. However, body positive content did include pictures of skin attributes that are considered 'flaws' in society, such as stretch marks, and it could be argued that these 'flaws' need representation, in order to change the negative implications they have in society. In this case, it could

be argued that content including ‘smaller’ size could still belong to body positivity, as it tries to raise awareness of these ‘flaws’ (Cwynar-Horta, 2016).

#### *4.1.2.2 Body attributes*

The main theme **body attributes** relates to what body features are portrayed in the Instagram posts. ‘Body attributes’ include any bodily properties that are often left out of mainstream media because they are considered ‘flaws’ (Cwynar-Horta, 2016). In the data, it was found that most of the posts across three movements featured the attributes stomach rolls, cellulite and stretch marks.

The most featured attribute was stomach rolls, which was featured in 35.6% of all posts. Stomach rolls were mostly present in body neutral content (42.8%), followed by fat acceptance (38.1%) and body positive content (19.1%). Cellulite was only found in body neutral (58.3%) and fat acceptance content (41.7%). Stretch marks, on the contrary, were mostly found in body positive content (62.5%), while only one fat acceptance post featured stretch marks. The popular use of these attributes corresponds with Cohen et al. (2019), who indicated that the movements want to counter the dominant beauty ideal, by creating awareness of different bodies and thus different body attributes that are normally not shown in the media. It is striking that body positive content especially features stretch marks, while barely featuring stomach rolls and cellulite. This could be linked to the fact that most body positive posts feature women with ‘smaller’ sizes, who, due to their smaller size, often do not have cellulite or stomach rolls. As the two other movements feature women with ‘bigger’ sizes it is expected that their content also features cellulite and stomach rolls. Again, this raises the question if body positive content still complements the movement, as it seems that the content does not fully represent what the movement stands for. As defined by Tiggemann et al. (2020) body positivity tries to create awareness of ‘bigger’ bodies and body attributes that are often left out of mainstream media because they do not fit the dominant beauty ideal. The analyzed body positive content, however, shows little ‘big’ bodies and little body attributes. It could thus be argued that body positive content conforms to society’s dominant beauty ideal and diminishes the original message (Cwynar-Horta, 2016).

Other features that are generally not considered to be part of the beauty ideal, such as body hair or birthmarks, were not represented as often as the before-mentioned body attributes. They did appear, however, mostly in illustrations on Instagram. It could be argued that, since these features are not part of the accepted beauty ideal, using illustrations might lead to less extreme reactions than a picture might have. However, it could also be argued that body hair is generally not considered part of the body acceptance movements. While hair growth is not part of the beauty ideal, it is not surprising it is not featured as the movements are framed as groups that generally try to bring awareness to diverse bodies and body sizes (Cohen et al., 2019). Additionally, only one post featured obvious birthmarks, as seen in Figure 14. This user used hashtags as #skinpositivity, #skininclusive and #bareyourbirthmark to refer to other movements online. This post was found through #bodypositivity.



Figure 14

Body neutrality and fat acceptance content did not feature any posts featuring acne or birthmarks. It can thus be argued that body positivity content is broader and features different topics, as it not just focuses on body size stretch marks, but focuses on birthmarks and hair growth as well, nevertheless to a lesser extent. However, it is important to take into consideration that social media relies on user-generated content, and that the content-creator is free to choose hashtags that they think are most relevant. In addition, body positivity is the most well-known movement (Cohen et al., 2019), which could also play a role in this difference, as content-creators might believe that different features, such as hair growth or birthmarks, belong to body positivity (Khan, 2020).

While the three body acceptance movements try to create awareness of diverse bodies, Cohen et al. (2019) argue that content is often not diverse enough in terms of gender. Content showed that only two pictures featured men. Moreover, Cohen et al. (2019) argue that content lacks disabled people. The authors argue that it is important to include these people as well, as they lack representation in mainstream media. The analyzed content shows that few people with disabilities are featured, which coincides with Cohen's et al. (2019) statements. Only one post, found through #bodyneutral, featured a woman with a prosthetic leg, and used the hashtags #limblossawareness and #disabledwoman. It is interesting to note that this post was considered body neutral. While body neutrality is a recent movement, it is defined as a movement that focuses on the functionality of the body (Cohen et al., 2020). The disabled woman in the picture can use her body in the same way as an able-bodied person, emphasizing the role of functionality. One illustration featured a drawing of a woman in a wheelchair. This illustration was found through fat acceptance and was the only image in this movement that featured a type of disability. It could therefore be said that it seems the fat acceptance movement focuses on 'big', 'fat' and 'plus-size' bodies, and the discrimination and stigma surrounding these people, instead of on people with disabilities, and the stigma they battle.

#### 4.1.2.3 Ethnicities

Cohen et al. (2019) criticize body acceptance movements, and in particular body positivity, for a lack of diversity regarding ethnicities. In the analyzed posts that featured pictures or illustrations, 49 posts portrayed white women. Nevertheless, people with other ethnicities were featured as well, especially Black women. Black women or women with ethnicities other than white could be found in 19 posts of all three movements. In addition, Black women were represented with illustrations, or with hashtags, such as #BlackGirlMagic, #blackwomanhealing, and #FatWomenOfColor. Especially the last hashtag is interesting, as it indicates that these people are part of two marginalized groups, being of color and being 'fat', as being 'fat' is also considered marginalized as they suffer from discrimination (Casado-Marin & Gracia-Arnaiz, 2020). Fat acceptance content focused on women with 'larger' sizes (Afful & Ricciardelli, 2015), in combination with ethnicity, and emphasized the discrimination and bias these women experience, which is unsurprising, as literature indicates that this is the focal point of fat acceptance (Dickins et al., 2011). A different post, which was found using #fatacceptance, captured a Black, 'fat' woman. In the caption, after discussing her personal experience with being a member of two marginalized communities, the woman combines her own experience as a Black and 'fat' woman with campaigning against white privilege, which is also prevalent in society's beauty standards (Afful & Ricciardelli, 2015).

Both fat acceptance and body neutral content featured little colored women, while body positivity showed more diversity in this regard. In body positive content, only one person was found who identified as Latina, and no Asian people were featured, with exception of one illustration, which highlighted one Asian-looking woman. Research shows that Asian women notably suffer from negative body image due to the unattainable Western beauty ideals that have risen in popularity in Asia (Ando et al., 2021). Body positive content in Asia has remained limited, making it unclear how popular this movement is in Asia (Ando et al., 2021). This could explain why little Asian women are featured in the content, and why they are unaccounted for in fat acceptance content (Ando et al., 2021).

## 4.2 Themes emerging from interviews

After analyzing the interviews, two primary themes emerged: **Defining the movements** and **Recognition**. The first theme, **Defining the movements**, consists of three sub themes: 'Defining big bodies', 'Similarities between the movements' and 'Critical remarks'. The second theme, **Recognition** will focus on participants' awareness on the movements, while also making the connection to societal pressure participants feel to fit within society's beauty standards. Besides discussing the primary themes that emerged from the interviews, this section will also focus on the similarities found between these themes and the themes that emerged from the Instagram posts, which were discussed in the former section.

### 4.2.1 Defining the movements

For the theme **Defining the movements**, the following sub themes were established. The first sub theme: 'Defining 'big' bodies' will give in-depth understanding on how participants perceive and understand 'big', 'fat' and 'plus-size' bodies. The second sub theme: 'Similarities between the movements' focuses on participants' ideas regarding the three movements and its Instagram content. Participants express that the movements seem similar and seem to be perceived in similar ways. Besides, participants find it hard to distinguish between the movements' content, as the content shares characteristics, which is in line with the findings from Instagram content. This overlap was particularly found with body attributes, as participants expressed that the movements all featured similar body attributes. Simultaneously, the extensive use of these similar body attributes led to participants being critical about the movements and its content. Hence, the second sub theme will also cover criticism regarding the movements.

#### 4.2.1.1 Defining 'big' bodies

This section will focus on how participants define 'big' or 'fat' bodies. It is noted that participants expressed discomfort in saying the word 'fat'. Participants often chose to use the word 'big', 'curvy' or 'plus-size' instead of 'fat'. When asked why she did not feel comfortable saying the word fat, Sophie answered: "I don't like saying the word 'fat'. Because I think sometimes it's going to hurt somebody, and I don't want to hurt someone." When asked why it would hurt to call someone fat, Sophie answered: "Maybe the person is very insecure about her own body. So when someone... If someone says you're fat then It will...hurt you more..." This could relate to the negative associations the word 'fat' has in contemporary society. As described by Dickins et al. (2011), 'fat' is often linked to 'laziness' or 'lack of self-control'. In this example, it can be seen that 'fat' indeed has negative connotations, because Sophie did not want to hurt or offend people by using the word 'fat', while the fat acceptance movement tries to remove the negative connotations of the word 'fat', and tries to encourage people to use the word 'fat' as a neutral word (Casado-Marin & Gracia-Arnaiz, 2020). It can be argued that this is not yet achieved, as participants express discomfort in using the word 'fat'. When discussing 'big' bodies, participants were unsure about when 'big' bodies belonged to fat acceptance. Some participants believed fat acceptance related more to 'plus-size' models and artists such as Lizzo. However, Senyonga and Luna (2021) indicate that Lizzo can be a forerunner for both fat acceptance and body positivity, indicating the interrelatedness between both movements.

Moreover, participants had different ideas about when 'big' bodies belonged to fat acceptance. Some participants believed fat acceptance related more to 'plus-size' models and artists such as Lizzo were often considered to be part of fat acceptance. While Laura stated: "Fat acceptance is also of course... I mean, I also have fat, and for example my legs are also big. So in that sense, that might also be fat acceptance... In the way of, it is normal to have fat. So then I think that fat acceptance can be for everybody, actually... That it is normal to have fat, and that your belly protects your organs and stuff like that...". While Laura included people with different amounts of fat in the definition of fat

acceptance, other participants thought of more extreme bodies in terms of size. Manon said: “For me personally, I think fat acceptance covers the more extreme side of ‘big bodies’”. This distinction shows the difficulty in defining fat acceptance, who it is meant for and who is included. As described by Casado-Marin and Gracia-Arnaiz (2020), fat acceptance content emphasizes ‘fat’ bodies, while Donaghue and Clemitshaw (2012) find that people on different sides of the fat spectrum engage with fat acceptance content, such as people who are ‘thin’ now but have been ‘fat’ in the past or people that are not ‘thin’, but not ‘fat’ either. Thus, it remains unclear if there is a cut-off point for fat acceptance and who is included.

In addition, Manon expressed that it was a positive development to include people from ‘bigger’ sizes. However, she expressed she still has some negative associations with these bodies, such as health concerns, and thought it would be a good development if content would reflect on this, and express the downsides of having a ‘big’ body. This duality is interesting, as she thinks it is a good development to represent ‘larger-sized’ people, she also connects ‘big’ bodies with health concerns, which is common by fat acceptance critics (Donaghue & Clemitshaw, 2012). Moreover, the authors express that the assumption that fat is unhealthy is still widely shared in society. Besides, Dickins et al. (2011) express that showing ‘fat’ generates fat stigma. Additionally, fat acceptance was the movement that generated the most extreme reactions. These reactions were often excused if people were ‘big’ or ‘fat’ because of sickness or other health issues, as expressed by Laura. “You don’t know the reasons behind why someone is bigger, so you should not judge”. While the fat acceptance movement tries to counter judgment of ‘big’ bodies, the movement tries to do so by empowering ‘big’ individuals through encouraging an unapologetic lifestyle (Webb et al., 2017). In other words, the fat acceptance movement empowers all ‘big’ individuals and does not make a distinction if the person is ‘big’ due to sickness. However, participants use this as a rationalization to accept ‘big’ bodies.

Furthermore, participants were asked to define ‘plus-size’, since this was a word they often used instead of ‘fat’. Laura described ‘plus-sized bodies’ in the following way: “I think it’s... like a bigger person, a little bit more curvy”. When asked if ‘plus-size’ meant ‘curvy’, she said: “I think more curvy, indeed. When you look at normal models, they are all quite thin. And then, ‘plus-size’, is just a little bit bigger and curvy.” However, Laura also showed some discontent with the term ‘plus-size’. While she also said ‘plus-size’ includes ‘bigger women’, she also said: “But those plus-size models then... I think that most people have an average weight, and I don’t think that is big.” and: “So I saw a clip of someone who was size 38 [Dutch size] or something, and that she was told like: ‘oh, maybe you can become a plus-size model’. Then I really thought like: size 38 is really not plus-size!! That is just normal!!” This shows the difficulty in defining ‘plus-size’. While most participants included the terms ‘curvy’ or ‘big’, there exist different ideas of how ‘curvy’ or ‘big’ someone should be in order to be ‘plus-size’, as it is a subjective topic. Sophie, for instance, characterized both influencer Vivian Hoorn and artist Lizzo as being ‘plus-size’, and Lizzo being curvier than the former.



Laura and Manon, on the other hand, connected Vivian Hoorn's content to body positive. This reflects the difficulty participants had in making distinctions when constructing fat acceptance and body positive content on Instagram.

#### *4.2.1.2 Similarities between the movements*

Since the movements try to create awareness of diverse bodies and try to empower people who do not fit in society's beauty ideals, it is not surprising that content of these movements overlaps in certain ways, according to participants. Myrthe says that while "you see a difference in the content, it is coming from the same intention," namely, to create awareness of diverse bodies. Literature distinguishes differences between the movements, for instance, fat acceptance focuses more on 'fat' bodies (Casado-Marin & Gracia-Arnaiz, 2020), whereas body positivity, which emerged from feminist-grounded fat acceptance, focuses on encouraging positive body image and rejecting the thin-ideal (Cohen et al., 2019). However, all movements contribute to awareness of diversity and diverse-sized bodies, as explained by Sophie: "I think it will contribute to the awareness about different bodies" and: "I think it's good that more... that you are more aware that there are a lot of different bodies... And that nothing is the best body. So, yeah, that you have to accept how you are."

Laura said that "Most of the time... the people who stand for body positivity, also stand for fat acceptance", indicating that the movements share similarities and share the same goal, which is to counter the unattainable societal beauty standards by creating awareness and representation of diverse bodies. While literature indicates that the movements differ in some regards, participants emphasized the little differences these movements had in their opinion, and how the movements related to each other. Sometimes fat acceptance and body neutrality were considered subgroups of body positivity, or as something that could be reached through body positivity. Frederique said:

"...I do think body neutrality needs body positivity, because you need to be, uh... You need to see different types of bodies in size, or, uh, bodies with or without hair. Like... All those facets we talked about, you need to see them and accept them. So you need those movements, and then, you can be in the other movements... Maybe, through one movement you can go to the other movement. So, like... You go through body positivity in order to get to body neutrality." Frederique expresses that while the movements emphasize different aspects of diverse bodies and self-acceptance, they are so similar that they could be subgroups of each other.

Even though participants expressed that movements and its content overlapped, participants could still distinguish the content on Instagram. Content on body neutrality was considered different from body positivity, and more limited to certain themes such as mental health. Almost all participants expressed they had never seen content like this on Instagram, and thus, stimulus materials were used.



This could have influenced their ideas of body neutrality. Participants linked this movement the most to a connection between body and mind, and “a healthy mental state”, according to Annabel. This is affirmed by what was found in content analysis, as Instagram posts for body neutrality contained messages for mental health. Moreover, they all believed body neutrality related more to the inner self. Frederique said she thought body neutrality could correspond to the idea of exercising to be healthy, physically and mentally, not to look good, which corresponds to body neutrality content focusing on the body as a functional entity, and less on aesthetics.

Additionally, Manon explained she found body neutrality a “complex movement”, especially in terms of Instagram content. She wondered: “what kind of content would you upload to Instagram that is body neutral? Maybe mothers breastfeeding their children? In a way of: this is what your body was meant to do.” After seeing the stimulus materials, Manon also searched the movement on Instagram, to try and understand the movement better. Based on this search, she also expressed that body neutrality content included posts on gender identity, such as gender fluidity. This idea was also brought up by Sophie: “Maybe it is related to the... more gender neutrality”. Since there is little literature on body neutrality, it is unclear if ideas on gender identity belong to the definition of body neutrality, however, if the movement is constructed in such manner, it could be argued that gender identity could be part of body neutrality, depending on how people interpret and construct the movement. In the content analysis, however, no content was found regarding gender fluidity.

Simultaneously, when looking through Instagram, participants often said that body positivity content was broader as it covered a wider range of themes than the other two movements. Myrthe explained: “I mean, like, body positivity also shows big, fat people, and people more on the skinnier or normal side, but fat acceptance shows fat people only.” This is similar to what emerged in the content analysis, as it was found that while fat acceptance included women of larger sizes on Stunkard’s scale, body positive and body neutral content included women of smaller sizes as well.

#### *4.2.1.3 Critical remarks*

Finally, while participants indicated that movements differed in some ways, participants expressed that body attributes were used interchangeably between the three movements. Annabel expressed that features as cellulite or stomach rolls could be found in body positive, body neutral and fat acceptance content. Manon partially agreed with this, although she added that fat acceptance content included more extreme images of these body attributes. Talking about these body attributes and their presence in the content lead to the discussion regarding diversity of this content. While participants said that the visibility of diverse bodies and these body attributes made them feel more represented, Myrthe and Frederique expressed that other body attributes, especially hair growth and skin conditions such as acne were missing in the content, which could be valuable to increase awareness. On the other hand, Laura believed that content was diverse enough in terms of acne, as she followed accounts that did share this type of content. However, Laura argued that this was very

subjective, as it depends on who you follow. Frederique noted that little disabled individuals were portrayed in the content, which corresponds to the content analysis.

Myrthe argued that even though some content-creators showed a ‘bigger’ body, they were still “conventionally pretty”. In addition, content-creators who posted this content were almost all white and female, and body positive content of people of color was mostly found through bigger accounts that discuss several social issues, or through following artists of color. This is in tune with the analyzed Instagram posts, as majority of these women were white.

Furthermore, Myrthe noticed that the diverse body attributes were never put together in one post. She said: “I mean, there is content about hair and stuff for women... But I would like to see everything together, people who do not fit the beauty standards in terms of body size, and who also have body hair... or... I mean, it never comes together.” Manon added that diverse breast size was not covered on Instagram, which she felt was a missed opportunity in order to increase self-acceptance amongst women. Comparing these ideas with the analyzed content, it can be found that posts featuring body hair, acne and diverse breast size are missing, and different body attributes are rarely pictured together.

This discussion led to participants sharing more critical notes regarding body acceptance content on Instagram. Myrthe stated that the content she was exposed to was too limited. When asked what she meant with that, she said: “Limited that body positivity, and fat acceptance to an extent, is often just about stretch marks, or having rolls on your stomach, and uh, a body is not just stretch marks and fat, it is so much more than that. But at the same time, you do not want it to be too broad, I mean, people are still content creators, so they need to do and share their own thing.”. This explains the difficulty that these body acceptance movements face. When they become too large, and have a large following on Instagram, it becomes increasingly difficult to deliver the message the movements originally stood for, as Instagram relies on user-generated content. Thus, content-creators are free to post what they want and can decide for themselves what they believe fits the body acceptance movements (Leong et al., 2019). In addition, this comment also expresses the hesitation of Instagram to spread body acceptance messages, which is a concern that was expressed often by different participants.

Simultaneously, Manon also expressed skepticism regarding Instagram being the correct place for sharing these posts and she warned for the danger of Instagram, especially for the younger generation.

Frederique also showed criticism towards these movements’ Instagram content. She looked at these movements from a branding perspective, and said that when a brand used plus-sized models or models with disabilities, she would often think it was a strategic move from the brand: “My first opinion when I saw the Hema campaign was... Yeah, good story. Smart, like, to use the trend, the whole body positivity movement strategically, I think.” However, she agreed that this content is needed, and she liked the content, but she remained critical of brands using this type of content. The

idea of the body acceptance movements, and largely the body positive movement, as a trend was widely shared amongst participants. On the one hand, participants believed that the content increased awareness and increased self-acceptance. On the other hand, participants expressed the difficulty to take everything on Instagram seriously, because content-creators and brands might use it as a trend. This concern was especially expressed when discussing professional Instagrammers or influencers. This corresponds to the analysis of Instagram posts. Here, it was found that especially body positive and fat acceptance posts were used in order to advertise a certain product, mainly fashion items. This indicates that the movements are being commoditized and used to influence users on Instagram to buy certain products. Furthermore, Manon expressed that she encountered influencers on her feed and had difficulty believing them being body positive and not using the movements as their brand: “You are always holding in your stomach, and then you post one picture where you show your stomach rolls and suddenly you participate in body positivity”. She argues that the use of body positive messages by influencers diminishes the message of these movements, especially when these influencers make references to the movements in the form of hashtags. She added: “Maybe that is the next step, in body positivity. First, people need to create awareness, make a fuss about it, and then it becomes normal and then, people don’t have to mention anything anymore, because it has all become normal. Which is what you want, in the end.” This view indicates that body acceptance content is not yet as mainstream as perhaps believed when scrolling through Instagram, which would explain the use of captions and hashtags in an explicit way when content-creators post content. Besides, content-creators could use these hashtags as they know posts with these hashtags will generate a high number of views.

Participants’ questioning whether Instagram is the suitable platform to raise awareness and create representation of diverse bodies was also influenced by the use of one particular feature of Instagram: the use of filters. Discussing influencers who posted body positive content, participants were asked if this content would be filter-free, and if body acceptance content could still be called this when the content-creator would use filters. Laura said that she remained critical of Instagram, however thought that body positive content would have little to no filters. On the other hand, Manon remained skeptical and indicated that even if these influencers would not use filters, it would still be unfair to compare yourself to them, “because they probably work with great cameras and light...”. Moreover, this participant expressed that if people use filters or Photoshop on a picture, this picture should not be considered body positive anymore. This raises the question if Instagram is truly the best place to raise awareness of diverse bodies. This relates to Engeln and Imundo (2020) who argued that Instagram, being a visual platform, can lead to negative body image, even though it tries to show representation and create awareness of diverse bodies, and in turn acceptance of diverse bodies as a counter against unattainable beauty ideals that are present in Western society nowadays.

#### 4.2.2 Recognition

This section will discuss the findings that emerged from the main theme **Recognition**. Smaller, initial codes ‘awareness’, ‘exposure’, ‘visibility’ and ‘representation’ were merged to create this theme. Several scholars (Cohen et al., 2019; Tiggemann et al., 2020) indicate that Instagram content creates awareness and representation of diverse bodies by increasing visibility and exposure of these diverse bodies (Cohen et al., 2019; Tiggemann et al., 2020). The authors argue that social media, especially visual media as Instagram, are very suitable platforms to achieve this. While participants acknowledge that Instagram should be regarded critically, as illustrated in the former section, participants agree that Instagram posts showing diverse bodies lead to more awareness of diverse bodies, which in turn, participants argued, leads to more acceptance of your own body and its so-called ‘flaws’. As Frederique pointed out: “I think it is a good thing. Um, it gives people a voice, and it helps people to find their voice also”. Sophie praised Instagram for being a good place to “reach a lot of people in an easy way”, hereby ensuring that a lot of Instagram users have access to this kind of content and can become aware of the movements. More exposure to these movements on Instagram is thus considered a positive development, as it can make sure people feel represented, because they encounter their bodies or deviant skin attributes more often, and other groups, who do not feel represented by these movements, become aware of these diverse bodies, as it becomes more visible.

Furthermore, participants linked the increase in awareness and representation of diverse bodies and other diverging body attributes to societal pressure regarding beauty standards. The fact that both analyzed content as the content encountered by participants almost exclusively featured women, may indicate that body issues and body dissatisfaction are thought to be exclusive to women. While discussing the movements, participants often made connections to the feminist movement, expressing that it was important that women should not be judged for their appearance, and that not fitting within society’s beauty standards have more severe consequences for women than for men, which is in line with Fikkan and Rothblum (2011). Sophie related these high beauty standards and societal pressure women are subjected to on herself and disclosed that she had suffered from being insecure about her body. She said that seeing posts on Instagram where ‘real bodies’ were portrayed, helped in feeling represented. Frederique added that: “it made me realize that these body issues [stretch marks, body rolls] are normal.” Myrthe discussed that to get rid of the “toxic” standards of society, it was crucial to disconnect from unattainable beauty standards, in order to get body acceptance. In the analyzed Instagram content, different posts were found that made connections towards feminism. Thus, it could be argued that the analyzed Instagram posts largely correspond to what participants see on Instagram, both by looking through the hashtags and when looking through their own feed.

In conclusion, it was found that the codes that emerged from the interviews largely correspond with the codes that emerged from the Instagram content. Therefore, it could be said that the content participants encountered corresponds with the Instagram content that was analyzed. First, participants indicated that body acceptance content often consisted of ‘bigger’ bodies, stomach rolls and stretch

marks. This reflects the analyzed Instagram content. Other skin attributes, such as acne and body hair were not often encountered by participants, and neither found in the content. Second, in terms of diversity, participants noted that while people in the content had a 'bigger' body size, they were still conventionally pretty. In addition, body positive content of people of colour was mostly found through following artists of colour or through searching for posts through the hashtags. This is in tune with the analysed Instagram posts, as majority of these women were white.

In terms of constructing the movements, content showed some discrepancies. While all content included women of diverse body size, fat acceptance emphasized 'larger' bodies than the other two movements. Body positivity content especially included content featuring stretch marks. Body neutrality content, however, focused on a functionality perspective.

## 5. Conclusion

In this chapter, the main research question will be answered, guided by the two sub questions.

First, this section tries to answer the main research question: **How are the fat acceptance, body neutrality and body positivity movements on Instagram constructed and perceived?** In order to answer this question, thematic analysis was conducted on Instagram content of the three movements, in order to understand how these movements are constructed on Instagram. Moreover, thematic analysis was also applied on interviews conducted with young female professionals about how they perceived these movements. The combination of analyzing both Instagram posts and interviews makes it possible to look at both the construction of Instagram posts and perceptions of the movements.

The study determined that Instagram posts of the three movements are often constructed in similar ways. First of all, the content shares different similarities, such as the use of different body-related attributes. Different attributes, such as cellulite and stomach rolls, are often featured in content for all three movements. Furthermore, the content also includes ‘bigger’-sized bodies than the bodies that were traditionally not included in the media. However, this could also be due to a general shift that is taking place in society, of creating more awareness of diverse bodies or ‘bigger’ bodies and resisting society’s beauty ideals (Cohen et al., 2020). Nevertheless, differences between the movements can be found in the content as well. Fat acceptance content, for instance, focuses more on ‘larger-sized’ individuals, as it aims to increase awareness of these individuals, and simultaneously tries to counter fat stigmatization that these individuals encounter (Dickins et al., 2011). Therefore, fat acceptance content seems more exclusive to ‘bigger’ bodies. Body positive content, on the other hand, is constructed more broadly, covering a more diverse collection of body sizes, covering mainly ‘smaller’-sized individuals. This is further constructed by the use of skin attributes. Body positive content, unlike the other movements, focuses on stretch marks. Finally, body neutrality is also more diverse in terms of body size, and compared to the other two movements, puts less emphasis on aesthetics, and more on functionality of the body. This corresponds with Alleva et al. (2015), as they argue that body neutrality tries counter society’s fixation with beauty. While body neutrality is a recent development, it can be seen that it is constructed as a movement that focuses on mental health. While this is not supported by literature, it can be argued that it fits the message of body neutrality (Alleva et al., 2015). It is unsurprising that disabilities are considered part of body neutrality movement, as this also fits the theme of ‘functionality’ (Alleva et al., 2015). However, even though these themes are more common in body neutrality than in the other two movements, it is still little content that focuses on these themes. Moreover, body neutrality content also puts more emphasis on changing roles in life and how they influence your body, such as motherhood, and make a more explicit connection between self-love and mental health.

In order to understand the perception of the movements better, it has been found that while participants differed in their knowledge of these movements, they all had heard about the movements, especially about body positivity. Almost all participants had seen content related to at least this movement on Instagram. It was difficult for participants to define the three movements, as the content of the three movements showed several similarities, especially in terms of body attributes and the promotion and awareness of self-love and empowerment of the (female) body. This matches the findings that were discovered when analyzing the Instagram posts.

Participants argued that body positivity might have grown too large, which could increase the possibility of the movement being used as a trend, which was a concern of participants. Again, this is reflected in the analysis of Instagram posts, as it can be seen that body positivity posts are often accompanied with an advertisement or promotion for a product or service. It is argued that these kinds of posts will diminish the original message of body positivity content, which is to create awareness and acceptance of all bodies (Cohen et al., 2019). In addition, since body positivity is the most popular movement, chances are the movement is used ‘wrongly’ by content-creators, who use the hashtag to increase visibility of their posts on Instagram (Cwynar-Horta, 2016).

Despite the movements all advocating for body acceptance and self-acceptance, creating awareness of diverse bodies and marginalized groups, there is little diversity found in terms of models’ gender and ethnicity. While content of all three movements featured Black women from time to time, the majority of the content consisted of white women, and no Asian women were found. This corresponds with participants’ experiences on Instagram. However, this could be due to the fact that body acceptance content is not as popular in Asia yet (Ando et al., 2021). Moreover, participants complain about the lack of men in the content, arguing that it is important that men are featured in this content as well, as they could suffer from body image concerns as well. Moreover, participants thought that more visibility of men could help men understand the issue better.

## **5.1 Limitations and future research**

While this study aimed at answering the main research question as thoroughly as possible, different limitations can be found. First, only eight participants were included in this research. While their insights were useful for the research, only three of these participants had an extensive knowledge of all three movements. In addition, all participants were Dutch, which can also influence their ideas and perceptions of body acceptance movements on Instagram. Next, the unfamiliarity most participants had with the body neutrality movement can also shape the research. It turned out to be hard for participants to come up with a definition of the movement, as the majority of participants were unfamiliar with body neutrality and had no prior knowledge to it. While this is not a particularly bad thing, it is something to take into consideration when doing this research. Participants had difficulties in providing clear distinctions between the three movements, especially because



participants recognized that the movements' content overlapped in certain ways. However, this difficulty can also indicate that the movements are interrelated and can be used interchangeably.

For future research, it could be interesting to focus on only the body neutrality movement first, and gain more knowledge on the movement, and gain deeper understanding of the constructions of only this movement. Then, at a later stage, the body neutrality movement and its content could be compared to the other two movements that were used in this research. Moreover, it could be relevant to examine other groups and their ideas regarding these movements, especially if future research focuses on groups from different cultures. The current research focuses on Dutch young professionals, which emphasizes the 'western beauty ideal'. Moreover, body positivity is a popular theme in the West nowadays. It could therefore be interesting to see how for instance women in Asia look at this, and how they perceive the available content of these movements. Since it is found that these groups of experience body image and awareness in a different way it would be interesting to compare both culture groups (Ando et al., 2021).

Taking into account the western perspective, it is important to reflect on the role of the researcher. Due to cultural background, the researcher also looked at these themes from a western perspective. Besides, as one participant pointed out, the researcher was privileged in two ways, as she was white and 'skinny', which needs to be acknowledged. Doing research on this topic has opened the researcher's eyes to these privileges, and while increasingly becoming aware of it, it is very likely that these privileges have influenced the current research. Simultaneously, since the researcher's cultural background and frame of reference is similar to those of the participants, it is likely that this has aided in understanding the participants better, and in building rapport during the interviews.

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# Appendices

## Appendix A – Interview guide

### 1. Introduction

- Thank participant
- Introduce yourself + research
- Go over informed consent again; ask for permission to tape
- Remind participant of their rights
- Thank participant

### Icebreakers:

- Refer to Covid-19; ask how they are doing; ask about their favourite pastime, hobbies
- Finish off ice-breakers: tell participants they fit the sampled group, perfectly, make a transition to Instagram use: “Based on your profile, you are engaging with Instagram. Let’s start off by talking about this more in detail”

### 2. Use of Instagram

- How often do you use Instagram?
- What activities do you do on Instagram?
- How do you engage with the content of others?
- What kind of accounts do you follow?

### 3. Online social movements

- Do you know any (online) social movements, and, if so, which ones?
  - o Follow up question: ask them to describe these; why are they interested; what is it that makes you interested in these movements?
- Are these also social movements that you follow on Instagram?
  - o Why/why not?
- Do you use other social media platforms (other than Instagram) to keep in touch with these online social movements?
- Are you more aware of these movements (and social issues) due to social media?
- What are your thoughts on social media platforms (such as Instagram) being used as a place to share social movements?
  - o Is Instagram a suitable platform to discuss these issues?
  - o Or to bring attention to these issues?

### 4. Perception of body positivity movement

- What do you think the body positivity movement means?
  - o Give basic explanation if necessary
- Have you seen content on social media related to the movement
  - o If so, can you describe this?



- Do you follow this social movement?
  - o How? (body positive accounts/hashtags /stories etc.)
- Do any of the accounts you follow share content related to body positivity? (e.g. ‘non-perfect’/non-photo shopped pictures; hashtags; stories about body image)
  - o If so, what are your opinions about this?
  - o Do you believe these posts can contribute to an increase awareness of diverse bodies?
- What are your feelings towards this online social movement?
- What are your perceptions of this online social movement?
- Are you conscious of this movement when browsing through Instagram?
- How, in your opinion, can body positivity content on Instagram influence your ideas on diverse bodies?
- How can this movement contribute to the acceptance of diverse bodies?

### **5. Perception of body neutrality movement**

- What do you think the body neutrality movement means?
  - o Give basic explanation if necessary
- Have you seen content on social media related to the movement?
  - o If so, can you describe this?
- Do you follow this social movement?
  - o How? (body neutrality accounts/hashtags/stories etc.)
- Do any of the accounts you follow share content related to body neutrality? (e.g. non-photo shopped pictures; hashtags; stories about body image; functionality over aesthetics)
  - o If so, what are your opinions about this?
  - o Do you believe these posts can contribute to an increase awareness of diverse bodies?
- ➔ *How do you think this movement is being portrayed on social media?*
- What are your feelings towards this online social movement?
- Are you conscious of this movement when browsing through Instagram?
- How, in your opinion, can body neutrality content on Instagram influence your ideas on diverse bodies?
- How can this movement contribute to the acceptance of diverse bodies?

### **6. Perception of fat acceptance movement**

- What do you think the fat acceptance movement means?
  - o Give basic explanation if necessary
- Have you seen content on social media related to this movement?
  - o Can you describe this content?
- Do you follow this social movement?
  - o How? (accounts, hashtags, stories...)
- ➔ *How do you think this movement is being portrayed on social media?*

- What are your feelings towards this social movement?
- Are you conscious of this movement when browsing through Instagram?
- How, in your opinion, can body neutrality content on Instagram influence your ideas on diverse bodies?
- How can this movement contribute to the acceptance of diverse bodies?

Now that we have discussed all three movements, I would like to ask you some questions about the three movements altogether:

- How do you think the movements relate to one another?
  - o Why do you feel/think that way?
- What movement do you perceive best? (Als in, welke voel je je het meest tot aangetrokken)
  - o Why?
- How do you perceive each movement in relation to the others?
- Diversity

**7. Body image (Only if participant brings up this topic herself!)**

- Do you feel insecure when browsing through Instagram?
  - o Why?
  - o What kind of accounts do you follow that make you feel insecure?
    - Why do you follow these accounts, if they make you insecure?
- Do you compare yourself to people you follow on Instagram?
  - o Why?
- Do you actively follow accounts that show a “different/diverse” body type?
  - o Why / why not?
- Do you think the content you follow on Instagram is diverse enough?
  - o Why / why not?
  - o What could change in your opinion, to make content more diverse? (ethnicity, body types, disability etc.)
- How can the movements we discussed before influence or increase the diversity on Instagram?

## Appendix B – Interview transcripts

### Interview 1

[interviewer] Okay, so let's start with the first, some short questions about your use of Instagram.

Okay, because I know that you use Instagram because that's one of the reasons why you were chosen for this interview. So, uh, how often do you use Instagram?

[participant] I think maybe 10 times a day, maybe even more. Like, 10 times when I'm aware of it, because sometimes I open Instagram, when I'm not even aware I just opened I just get my phone to answer a message or anything. And then, and then suddenly I am scrolling on Instagram again. But I think, yeah, 10 times a day.

[interviewer] Okay. And every time you open it, like, how long are you on it? Like from those 10 times?

[participant] Well, I think at least 15 minutes. Okay, I'm watching the stories and scrolling down the feed. And I have multiple accounts. So I check some of them. So at least 15 minutes? Yes.

[interviewer] Oh, you mention you have different accounts, why?

[participant] Yes, one professional account, one personal account.

[interviewer] And which account Do you use when you're like scrolling through?

[participant] That is from my personal account, yeah. Most of times my personal I think like 90% of the times,

[interviewer] And what activities do you do when you're on Instagram, what is it that you do on there?

[participant] Well, I mostly start with watching the stories. And it's just clicking through them. So I'm not really responding unless it's one of my closest friends. And when that's done, or when the interesting stories are done, I will go down to the feed to scroll and... Well, I'm not like the person who likes the most on Instagram, I think. And commenting is also very rare. I I just scroll, actually.

[interviewer] And do you engage in the content of others?

[participant] Well, what I do is, when I see something funny, I will send it to one of my friends or I will post it in my story. But it's only when something is really funny or really shocking, that needs to be shared, like political or something. But otherwise, I just scroll. And like yeah, engaging. I don't know, if I engage in any other way... I don't think so.

[interviewer] Okay. You mentioned something about politics. Do you follow political accounts?

[participant] I think I only follow one or two political accounts. It's called @politiekejongeren. So it's like an Instagram page with topics in politics that are interesting to younger people. And I also follow one or two of the political parties in my city, but that's more because I did some work for them.

[interviewer] Okay. And moving on to the main topic of this research, since it is about social movements. Do you also follow some social movements on Instagram?

[participant] What do you consider... what are the social movement for example, accounts that..?

[interviewer] Hmm, accounts that discuss other social movements, for example, feminism or so for example, like Black Lives Matter or body issues could also be

[participant] well, I follow some charity accounts. But that's a different thing. That's when you're looking for charity. I also follow news accounts that also discuss social issues, kind of?

Oh, well, there's... I see one social movement I follow and it's for it's to make the horticultural sector interesting to young people to professionals. And I follow some of them because there was what I did for my job until recently. And I think it's really great that the horticultural sector is made interesting for young people because they don't consider to work there. And but it's really interesting. I don't know if that's really a social movement though.... So, I think I don't follow any social movements. But I see them in my stories, friends who share them, like on a feminism accounts. And sometimes I click on them, and then I scroll through the feed of such a movement, but I don't follow them because it focuses on one topic. And most of the time, it focuses on what is not going great instead of what is going great. And I like to live more positivity. So I like to focus on what is going great and not on other bad things. Yeah. So I think that's part of the reason why I don't follow so much. Again, it's nice to sometimes click through.

[interviewer] Yeah. And when you see those posts, you mentioned your friend, sometimes sharing those, what kind of posts are those? Like, is it black lives matter? Or is it more like women's issues? Or like body issues?

[participant] Both, I think mostly feminist posts, and sometimes fundamental rights like BLM.

But yeah, she shares them both. And I'm also really interested in Black Lives Matter movement. So yeah, I click on them, and then I go to the page and scroll through the feeds, and well... educate myself, then by what by they posted on Instagram. But then again, I don't follow them, because I don't want a constant reminder of all the things that need to be improved.

[interviewer] You are interested in seeing them from time to time?

[participant] Yeah, yeah.

[interviewer] Okay. So you cannot really, so would you say you keep up? Or like, keep in touch with these or keep up with the social movements? Or like with the social issues?

[participant] Yeah. I keep up with them. And also, because I follow some influencers that are that do follow these movements, and they share a post when something's really important, or Yeah, when something's important, they will share them their story, and then I will keep up. Yeah. So. And I don't directly follow these movements, but I keep in touch with them in other ways. Yeah.

[interviewer] Ok. And do you keep up with these movements in other ways than Instagram?

[participant] Well, yeah, sometimes you read something on Facebook or, or something or you see it on television, you know, talk shows, topics could be about social movements. And sometimes on LinkedIn, you see posts from social companies, or movements or organizations that care about social topics.

[interviewer] Okay, that makes sense. What are your thoughts on Instagram being used as a place to share these issues? Like I know that you don't necessarily follow them, but like, what are your thoughts?

[participant] I think it's great that it has, it's happening there. Because people were not so much into these movements, and are not aware of everything that's going on in the world and are not like big news readers or go to investment now every morning. This is a nice way to also keep those people in touch with the news. So I think it's great that it's being shared there and it creates a lot of awareness, I think, in groups that otherwise would have know about stuff

[interviewer] Let me see. I'm not sure because you mentioned some different social movements. Also feminism and Black Lives Matter, but I'm not sure if you've also heard of the body positivity movement. Yes, you have, you indicated that beforehand already. So what does this movement...What do you think that the body positivity means?

[participant] I think it means that especially women, but also men shouldn't be so worried about how they look. And especially about being a size extra small or extra extra extra large. That it's okay to be who you are. I think that's what body positivity is all about.

[interviewer] And do you think it's more focused on body sizes or larger bodies? Because you mentioned body size?

[participant] Yes, I think it's about body size, but maybe also about disability. So like people having one leg or one arm or...

[interviewer] Oh, interesting. Can you explain?

[participant] For people with disabilities? I think that's also by body positivity. Even if you don't have two legs, or two arms or two eyes, I don't know. You can be happy about your body and who you are.

Unknown Speaker; And do you sometimes see posts on Instagram that relate to this movement?

[participant] yeah. Yes. And that's not only in content of these movements, but also like in memes, you know, and funny videos you see on Instagram, like pages will usually post jokes and stuff. There are also a lot of memes that are about body positivity. And which say it's okay to be super skinny, and it's okay to be a bit a little bit bigger.

[interviewer] Okay. Could you maybe give a little bit more of an example or like a little bit more of an elaboration on these posts on the content specifically, that you mentioned, that are related to body positivity. Like the memes and videos...

[participant] Well, I saw a video filmed yesterday, or the day before that, of a girl standing in front of a mirror. And above the video, there was a text like, I hate my body or something like that. She wasn't happy about her body, and her breasts were uneven, and she had some marks or something, you know. And then later the video changed to a more positive message, and she was happier, and her appearance hadn't changed. So that was a good message. And so, this page that I follow, shared the video to show other people that it's totally okay, when your breasts aren't the same size, and that it's okay to be proud of your body. So that's an example..

[interviewer] Is it something that you saw in your feed? Or was it so this is from an account that you have follow?

[participant] Yeah.

[interviewer] Okay. And it's like a funny page? So they share like jokes or videos for women?

[participant] Yeah!

[interviewer] Yeah. Okay. Interesting. And do they share this kind of content more often? related to...

[participant] Yeah, I think they do. Okay, so it's not really a body positivity or feminist account, but they share topics interesting for women. And so sometimes in in these posts, it is a topic, body positivity, or feminism or black lives matter.

[interviewer] Okay. And do any..., is that the only account that sometimes shares this kind of content? Or do you follow other accounts that sometimes...?

[participant] Well, like news pages I guess? So the Dutch magazine, Linda has also a new Instagram page. And &C, another magazine, they also share topics in a magazine and so in their Instagram accounts, yeah, like on topics of social movements.

[interviewer] Okay, interesting. And you said that beforehand that you mentioned that you followed influencers today also sometimes share content related to body positivity. Do you have any examples of that?

[participant] Let me think... This woman who I follow... she is a wedding planner. And she only has, she has a disability. And her arm is only up to the elbow, so she doesn't have an arm and hand. And she posts a lot about weddings and wedding planning and such stuff, but also a lot about body positivity. And not only about herself, but also about the diversity in bodies in general. So the diversity in skin color, or like some people have spots or something, and then diversity in body size... And well, disabilities or no disabilities... So that's one influencer that shares a lot of body positive content, but I also follow influencers who are more.... This woman, Kiki, she used to be a little bit heavier. And now, the last couple of years since she did some exercising, and now she's smaller, to say it like that. And so she posts something about body positivity.

[interviewer] And because, I imagine that these people that you follow, for example, their wedding planner... do you recognize the body positivity posts? Like one is a regular wedding planner post for example, while the other is about body positivity... something like that?

[participant] Yeah, you can see it in the text. Usually, when the post focuses on body positivity that is also pointed out in the text. And sometimes, it doesn't even have to be in a text. You know, when this wedding planner girl, when she posted a picture of when she's standing there with her arm, and some other girls with other bodies, you don't even have to say that it's about body positivity. But the picture shows it is body positive.

[interviewer] Ok. So are you conscious of body positivity when you're on your Instagram?

[participant] I don't think I am. And also, when I was younger, body positivity wasn't such a topic. So when you saw someone, let's say you saw someone who was fat in the... in the McDonald's, you would have made a joke about it. And now you don't. My mindset has changed. And I think that's also because of the awareness on social media and in the media for instance.

[interviewer] That's interesting. So what would you say are your feelings towards body positivity, especially on Instagram?

[participant] Um, yeah, I think it's great that it's there. It educates people, brings awareness to people. So yeah, I think that is great.



[interviewer] Now, I would like to talk to you about another body acceptance movement that is quite recent. So you might not have heard of it before. It's called body neutrality.

[participant] Yeah.

[interviewer] So what do you think?

[participant] I don't know.

[interviewer] Have you heard of it?

[participant] No... no.

[interviewer] So what do you think the body neutrality movement means? What does it entail?

[participant] That you don't have an opinion about bodies?

[interviewer] Hmm interesting, okay. It basically is the idea that your body should not be based on how it looks, but it should be based on function. It is it is a body and it should be working. So they don't focus on aesthetics as much.

[participant] Oh, that's great. I think that's maybe that's better than body positivity, because body positivity focuses only on looks, and that's what body positivity stands for... like: everybody is beautiful, and I like that message, But still, it's on aesthetics and looks and and actually, yeah, the body is something you need to live. So to give your body what it needs. Hmm.. I like that better.

[interviewer] Yeah, it was way better because?

[participant] Well, because you need to take good care of your body, otherwise it doesn't function. And how can you do that: buy eating and living healthy. So, why think about how the body looks when you can take good care of it! I think it's a good message. And you can distinguish appreciating your body for its looks and for how it feels. So, like... When you stand in front of the mirror, and you're not so happy with your body. It's okay when you feel shit about it. It's not okay, only when society tells you it's not okay. But when you think, Ah, damn, I gained six kilos and I want to lose it. And that's okay as well. Because maybe you know that when you weigh a little bit less, that your body will feel great and that your body is more fit, that you're more healthy. And everything's going easier in your life because you're not weighing so much.

[interviewer] That's... that's interesting. Since you haven't heard of body neutrality before. I'm wondering, have you ever seen content on Social Media related to body neutrality?

[participant] No.

[interviewer] And why do you think that's, that's the case?

[participant] I think... Because Instagram and social media is really a bit focused on aesthetics and looks. And whether it's saying that every look is okay, or just other things like clothes and accessories or whatever... It is based on looks. And I don't think it's focused on health. Sometimes, you find some pages talking about health, but in general it's more about what is popular and trending, which is also what you find in your search page, and not so much health.

[interviewer] Okay, so this is some like... body neutrality content that exists on Instagram. What do you think it looks like? Do you think it's different from body positivity content? Or like, the pictures or the texts?

[participant] I think when I think about body neutrality in the way you explained it to me, I think it's maybe more like from the health side of Instagram, so like, personal trainers and, and sports facilities and maybe therapists for diet. And it it's more like...presented in a more medical way.

[interviewer] Okay, interesting. Interesting. So, well, we already discussed your feelings towards this movement. So lastly, how can his movement contribute to the acceptance of diverse bodies?

[participant] Ah, sorry what was the question?

[interviewer] How can this movement or both movements contribute to the acceptance of diverse bodies?

[participant]I don't know if I think it's...well, sort of good addition, to portray the diversity of bodies. So I think it's important that they keep doing what they're doing, I think, because it's great. Like what I said, to educate people, and like bring awareness on diverse bodies. Yeah. And maybe... or I hope that body neutrality will get a bit bigger than body positivity because body positivity is also great, but body neutrality also thinks of other topics which I think are important to represent more.

[interviewer] Okay. Now the last movement I wanted to talk to you about is the fat acceptance movement. Have you ever heard of this movement before?

[participant] No, but I think it's about accepting people who are bigger.

[interviewer] Have you ever seen content on social media of this movement?

[participant]Not really, no. And I think the title of the movement: fat acceptance... I don't know if I accept that.

[interviewer] Could you please elaborate?

[participant] Yeah, right. Well, I think 'fat' is like an ugly word. It's like, it's like a curse word. Like, oh, you're fat. It has negativity in it. The word 'fat' sounds negative to me. Because that's also what we as a society made it perhaps. And maybe that's also how I was raised or something like that. I think 'fat' is negative. So I prefer the term 'big' or 'large', but 'fat'... it sounds so negative.

[interviewer] It's interesting that you mentioned it, because fat acceptance has been around for a long time... But they meant they named it this way, because they wanted to, like stop the stigma around fat. Now that you know this, has this perhaps changed your opinion on the name of fat acceptance? I mean, I influenced you a little here, haha.

[participant] Haha, but yeah, it does. It's like the same like the Black Lives Matter movement. I used to be really feeling Oh my God, I'm saying 'Black', and I felt awkward.. But now that I know that people who are Black, say Black as well, I know that it's okay, that's accepted. And so maybe that's the same for 'fat'.

[interviewer] And where does this negative idea come from?

[participant] I think it's like a lack of education. Because I wasn't raised racist or anything, but I just thought that Black sounded mean, you know? And also have that now with fat... it sounds mean to me. And when those people in society says it's okay to use the word, then it's okay for me.

[interviewer] Okay. So, in that sense, what are your perceptions on fat acceptance?

[participant] So 'fat'. So you then you accept the fact that you are 'fat'?

[interviewer] Yes. And stop the stigma...

[participant] Well, if you are fat because of... like a medical issue and you are being fat for that reason, okay, you can't help it, but to be fat, and to just by sitting around and eating a lot, not exercising... That is not healthy, you know? Like the same as with smoking. Yeah, it's not healthy, then you're risking your health by doing that. So if you ask me if it should be accepted, then I think: No, I think not. Because we also don't accept smoking, or alcoholism. So why accept being fat by choice?

[interviewer] Because for you, like what I hear is because if it's... it's not healthy. Yeah, it's not healthy. Not necessarily, because being fat is ugly or bad or something like that, but more the health concerns are like... serious concerns. Because I am not saying it is ugly. You don't have to be ashamed of your body. Whether it's extra small or extra large or five times extra large. But it's not okay for health reasons. When you look into it, from a health perspective... It's not healthy to be so big, you know?

[interviewer] Yeah, Yeah. So you said that you hadn't seen any fat acceptance content on Instagram or anywhere?

[participant] Anywhere else? No, only like, maybe some campaigns, like, plus size models, you know, when there are models. And then sometimes, when models are plus size, they are like, size 42. And I don't think that's a plus size. I think that's pretty medium you know, like ladies with size 52 or something, you know, that's plus size, and that's okay. You know, that's okay. They, they can also be models? Yes. But it's not healthy. So why accept it?

[interviewer] I get your point. I get what you mean. And how can this fat acceptance movement, help in the acceptance of diverse bodies?

[participant] I think the body positivity movement can bring more awareness and engage people. Because fat acceptance sounds to me like unhealthy acceptance. So I don't think fat acceptance is going to bring more to fat acceptance.

[interviewer] Okay. Thank you. Now, just really short of three movements. How do you think these three movements relate to one another?

[participant] They all are about body diversity. And that it is okay to have different bodies than those that you always see in the media. I wanted to say that it is okay, whatever body you fit in: small or fat or whatever. So yeah, it's about diverse bodies, and a little bit focusing on fat bodies.

[interviewer] We already discussed this a little bit... But like what movement... Do you perceive the best for you personally?

[participant] I think Yeah, the body neutrality thing.

Okay. And why? Because of what you said before?

[participant] Yeah because, from what I saw today, it focuses on the inside more than the other two movements, and on your body.. that it should work properly, instead of just be pretty.

## Interview 2

00:02:25 [interviewer] the first few questions will be about your Instagram use. So, uh, to start, how often do you use Instagram?

00:02:30 [AM] I use Instagram daily, or rather more frequent than daily.

00:02:31 Okay. And you say daily, what do you mean with that? Do you open it a few times a day? Or like how does that work?

00:02:39 Yeah, I open it a few times a day. I interact also quite a lot. I share posts in my stories, although I don't post as much but my aim is to be more interactive in stories.

00:02:46 Okay. So you mentioned you use stories, what other activities do you do on Instagram?

00:02:49 I watch many reels. I watch posts of other people. I send posts to friends. Yeah, that's what I do.

00:02:50 Okay, so you mentioned that you sent posts to other people. So how do you engage with the content of others? Like are you more a passive follower? Do you like stuff? Or are you more activate you react to people's posts or like share them? Or how does that work?

00:03:09 It depends. I mean, I share, and I tried to share posts also from content creators that I think are valid, like there are many pages like for example, the feminist, there's this big Instagram page called the feminist. I know they have great content. But what I also know is that they don't create it themselves. They steal from other content creators, so I actually really try to take care of that.

00:03:21 Oh, that's interesting to know.

00:03:22 Yeah.

00:03:23 Do you also follow other feminist accounts?

00:03:25 Yeah, yes. Actually, what I do, I started to feel I mean, I started with, well, I in the beginning, like in the beginning of my whole feminism phase, I started to follow the feminist Of course, but then I started to take a look at what kind of posts they are sharing. And then I started to follow these people instead of the feminists themselves.

00:03:56 Okay. And the feminist posts are accounts that you follow, and you often share?

00:03:59 Yeah

00:04:03 What kind of feminist topics do they cover? And also like, what's your interest in that?

00:04:13 Well, actually, everything that is concerning feminism, which I like, I mean, mostly about assault and harassment, actually, but also just daily life, like the small details actually. That's also how I got into feminism. It is not because I was harassed or because I got or I went through something very dramatic, dramatic, it's more, like...[is silent] Every day I deal with feminism and just all the time, these little details, this is me, this is me, you know. And that really speaks to me. What also speaks to me is that feminism is not only about women, and this is actually I have to say, even though I don't like the feminist, the Instagram itself, but their content, like they also share, like, they also share things about toxic masculinity and all these kinds of things. And this is really interesting.

00:05:03 Thank you for that. So I can say that you're kind of active in the whole social movement thing. So especially feminist issues, or the feminist movement. Do you also follow other social movements online?

00:05:24 [AM] Uh... Right now, I mean, actually, I mean, concerning your, your topic about your body positivity and body acceptance thing?

00:05:31 Yes.

00:05:32 I follow one girl. Her name is? Well, I don't know, do you need the name?

00:05:39 It's fine, though. No worries.

00:05:43 Okay, well, I follow on girl, and she's actually always showing... like she posts picture with her body like posed, and then in a relaxed form. And the relaxed form, it doesn't look as... I mean, it doesn't look as amazing. You know, and she's showing these kinds of differences. And this is also really interesting to me.

00:06:01 Okay, and do you think that also belongs to the feminist movement in some sort of way? Or is it like a different movement on its own?

00:06:12 Would you repeat that?

00:06:14 Do you think that like the whole, like, what you say the person who shows a real body versus like, post body? Do you think that whole body issues thing is a feminist thing? As in, part of the feminist movement as well? Or is that a different movement on its own?

00:06:20 I actually, well, I actually think that everything is coming from... I mean, everything about positivity, and everything comes from feminism. In the end, I have to say, this girl, although I love her, she's not so much as a feminist as me. But I mean, it's coming from a feminist ideology, you know.

00:06:43 And the feminist accounts that you like, the ones that you mentioned before, like the ones you follow, and you share content of those... Do they also mention or share sometimes post about body image or body positivity?

00:06:51 Yeah, actually, yes, there's this girl, Florence Given, I bought her book, amazing book. And her content is also like, mostly, I mean, her content is not so much about body positivity, but it's also a part of it, you know, it's not about body positivity it itself, but it comes through, you know?

00:07:11 Okay. So you mentioned like, you follow some sort of body positivity, not necessarily body positivity accounts, but like they say, post or share something about that issue. Um, let me see. Do you also know anything about the body neutrality? or fat acceptance movement?

00:07:24 Actually, I didn't. Well, actually, I was like, you sent me the topics before this interview. And I was thinking like, body neutrality... I mean, I was not sure what it was. But actually, I saw some things about it. I mean, not necessarily a whole big movement about it, but just some, some people mentioning it, you know, like, for example, saying, you're also worried about my body, but the body, my body is not the most interesting part about me, you know, these kind of things.

00:07:39 Okay, and then coming across that, did that make you more interested in knowing more about it?

00:07:42 Absolutely.

00:07:43 Okay. And what are your thoughts on social media platforms, such as Instagram, in this case, being used as a place to share these issues, issues related to body image?

00:07:48 I think it's very important, I think, right now, of course, Instagram is famous for having people showing their perfect life, people showing how amazing everything is. And now I think it's already kind of common knowledge, that it's not always the case. Like this is mostly like a social media picture that you want to show. For girls. I mean, I'm not... I don't consider myself a young girl. I'm not so much in an unstable phase...I, I cannot be really influenced more about this, but especially for young girls. I think it's very important that this content is shown to them.

00:08:33 Okay. Thank you. So now I would like to move on and go a little bit more in depth into the body positivity movement on its own. So what do you think body positivity movement means to you?

00:08:46 Actually, it means to me that people should mind their own business. I mean, what happens in that body is okay. Like people get insecure about their own body, of course, because of their own image, their own beauty standard that society created that also lives in people's mind. And what happens also on social media, people comment on everything that you see. So, for example, if there's a girl or a guy, or whatever it was, like, doesn't fit the beauty standard, there are always people saying,



Oh, you're so ugly, Oh, you're so fat, you know, these kind of things. And I think the movement, body positivity came from just not giving a sh\*t about what other people think. And also, like, teaching people not to judge other people without knowing anything about what's going on.

00:09:21 Okay. So we already discussed some of the accounts you follow share content related to body positivity. So what are your opinions on this?

00:09:26 [AM] How do you mean exactly?

00:09:29 What about account sharing body positivity?

00:09:33 As I told you, I think it's extremely important. I think it's really great that people are doing that.

00:09:35 Why?

00:09:37 Well, uh, because it is important to me, because it brings awareness, it's awareness, you know. If, for example, a person is getting very insecure, because they see so many perfect bodies on their feed. And I think if you feel this, like, of course, I'm not saying I'm not judging the people who are sharing these kind of perfect things. But if you mixed it with real, the real life, I think it's like you feel represented as well. And you don't feel like you're weird. 00:09:57 Okay. You also mentioned like the real, showing a real life, do you relate body positivity then also to like showing, you sometimes see bloggers or like instagrammers, showing like, Oh, I have a bad day today; or like, everything is going wrong today, or whatever. Do you also relate that to the body positivity movement? Not just the body?

00:10:32 Actually, I do. I strongly believe that content is created by a person or their for, I mean, how do you say like, I mean, of course, it's about how it's received, obviously, but it's also like, Look, I want to show you something, I want to teach you something. And that's why I'm creating this content. And I think, in that aspect, I mean... I think bad days and depressive days are really part of this. I think this is also like the same as body positivity is the same as showing your fat belly or your stomach whenever you ate a lot. And you have like your super bloated belly, I think this is this is all kind of in the same category.

00:12:04 That's interesting that you mention this. Because a lot of people only think as body positivity being like... about the body. So showing what you said before, like, post a posed body next to like a normal body without filters or whatever. So it's interesting that you mention that you also think it's about showing the real you basically, because I haven't heard that before. So that's an interesting take you have on the... on the movement, I mean. So how do you think that the movement, the body acceptance movement, can contribute to the acceptance of diverse bodies?

00:13:06 I think it's kind of having the opposite reaction many times, like, okay, I'm talking about things in examples, but... For example, like the whole Black Lives Matter movement, like I said, contra reaction, like, people don't want to be pointed out as... [is silent] Maybe people don't want to have pointed out their mistakes. This is always a very sensitive topic of people. So what happens also very often, like now, people show their real bodies, and people are judging them for them. And then these people comment hate things on the real bodies, and then people judge them for them. Like, you should learn that and because they get this criticism, they don't want to change even more, you know.

00:14:06 So how do you like... I get the example, but I don't really see how that relates to how that would work with the body positivity movement. So if you could elaborate a little bit more?

00:14:32 I mean, people are always... Yeah, I mean, people are always determined to their own opinion and wanting to change is a very difficult thing and receiving criticism from strangers basically, or not even stranger, but just in general, receiving criticism is always very sensitive and receiving criticism always kind of triggers the opposite reaction from what you want.

00:14:51 So you think showing these diverse images will reverse that, that that negative response or like... how do you mean?

00:14:57 I think what I mean, what happens is, I'm talking about people who already have their opinion, you know, who are not able and who don't do not want to change. And although I believe this is just a matter of time, I mean, of course, like it takes a few generations or whatever, to change this kind of image and to change this kind of mindset. But what happens now is... if one side is screaming out loud, we want attention. The other side is also screaming out loud, we want attention, you know, like, I want to show my big my fat body. And then the other side is like: "I think it's super disgusting". You know, it's always two extremes screaming at each other. And that's, that's the only negative thing that comes from these progressive movements.

00:15:36 Okay, I understand. Did you hear about body positivity before already, before coming across it on Instagram? Where you're already into the whole body positivity thing?

00:15:52 [AM] I'm not sure. I'm really not sure. I mean, I kind of grew up with Instagram, and I kind of like, I mean, during my whole puberty, I was on Instagram. And I think like, well, I think I was like, kind of 19, that I really started to be really active and be really conscious about what's going on and other things. I'm not sure if I was before Instagram, so much, but I'm not also not sure if Instagram is the source of all my ideology. That's actually an interesting question.

00:16:58 So at least you came across it on Instagram. Do you think that Instagram is also therefore a good source to post these kind of content?

00:17:11 I mean, no, I don't think it's a good source. Um, I don't think Instagram is a good source. I think it's not a good source to create your opinion. I think it's a good source to show exposure to the dilemma to the issue. But it's not... it shouldn't be the base of your opinion. You know, at least that's how I feel it. Maybe people don't agree, because I have to say there's some great content, it's just not very objective content. Because, that's also how the algorithms of Instagram work now. I mean, they show you things that you like, you know, so I got exposed to these issues because I was into it, and I started to read into it, I started to listen podcasts or watch videos or these kind of things. I did some kind of research myself.

00:18:34 That's interesting to hear. Interesting take... Also super good that you do your own research on this topic... I was wondering since you said, like, you have to have a critical stance against some Instagram content, because you shouldn't be using it as a as a source to base your opinion on... Are you also sometimes critical about body positive content that is posted on Instagram?

00:18:58 I mean, actually, I'm not... First of all, I'm biased, of course, because I support the movement, but also maybe not because I don't consider the content is as... I consider the content more as something beautiful that people share, and understand.

00:19:43 But even then, you could still have like a critical, like a critical eye on it. For example, if you see a model on Instagram who is plus size, because you mentioned before, like sometimes it can generate, very opposing reactions to that...Very extreme reactions. So wouldn't you sometimes be critical to that and be like, maybe you shouldn't post things like that...Maybe this is not a very good way to go to have a conflict to start a conversation if you're like posting pictures like that, like really in your face, especially for people who are extremely opposed to it.

00:21:18 Yeah..

00:21:20 So, is Instagram really the platform to start a conversation?

00:21:22 [AM] Good question. And just I mean, as I told you, yeah, because Instagram is not, I mean, in my opinion, Instagram shouldn't be a source to create your ideology or whatever. I mean, nobody's in the end...I mean, it works as follows. I mean, you follow people that you like, you decide not to follow people, because you don't like their content. So in the end, you're, it's kind of like a self-boost and ego boost all the time, because you, like people follow you for your content, and you receive love from them. So it shouldn't be a discussion platform, you know?

00:22:17 Okay. So also not because a lot of this content is created with a purpose or posted on Instagram with the purpose of showing or creating awareness?

00:22:18 [AM] Hmm...

00:22:19 But do you think that, because it's just to create awareness and not to have like a discussion or to form someone's opinion about it, you think every content related to body acceptance is okay, even if it could trigger or sparks on really heavy reactions?

00:22:27 I mean, yeah, actually, yes, I think the problem does not lie with the people who share the content rather than I mean, it lies with the people that react on it. But as I told you, it's not in terms of the platform to get educated, it's a platform to get exposure, and then afterwards, you decide to get educated or not.

00:22:36 Thank you. So for now, we'll move on, we'll leave, we'll leave the body positivity. And we'll move on to the next movement, which is the fat acceptance movement. In your own words, how would you describe the fat acceptance movement?

00:22:44 Actually, this is very similar to the body acceptance, movement. I mean, for me, it's actually not a different thing. It's basically, accept what you have, accept what you're dealing with and love it. Because what I mean, you can change about something about it, or maybe you don't want to change something about it, which is also fine. You know, it's not, it's your own decision.

00:23:16 Okay. And as you mentioned, with the body positivity movement, that it also related to more, not just the body, but also like a state of mind, or like showing the real, real you. Also, if you're having a bad day, show that on Instagram, if you have, I don't know, if you feel your exams, post that on Instagram, whatever. Does that also relate to the fat acceptance movement for you?

00:23:23 Yes. Although I think the reactions are completely different, obviously, because fat acceptance posts will contain triggers and have completely different reactions, and there are always people like: you should go to the gym, you should eat more healthy blah, blah. But the thing is, what happens is that first of all, you don't know sh\*t about this person. There might be a medical condition. And many people, they use the argument of: "it's an unhealthy thing. It shouldn't be shared, like as a body acceptance thing, because it's you shouldn't promote fat, but you should promote unhealthy lifestyles."

But the thing is, being fat or not being fat does not say anything about the healthy lifestyle or not, you know, I can go everyday to McDonald's, I can go I can eat pizza every day. I won't... I mean, of course, I will get fatter, but I will never get the body that you would say, Oh my god, you should really do something, you know? So I mean, you're judging someone without knowing anything just because of their body, their appearance. So yeah...

00:24:32 Have you ever come across that kind of negative? You mentioned like those reactions on a post on Instagram.

00:24:34 Sure, yeah. Yeah. I mean, not on my own posts, obviously. But yes, I follow Lizzo. I love her. She's amazing. And it's really disturbing what kind of reactions she gets.

00:24:40 I was wondering, you mentioned before that you follow some accounts on Instagram that post something related to body positivity or fat acceptance. Do you ever see the difference between those two movements on Instagram? Like not in terms of reactions they spark but like on really the post itself like the picture, whatever?

00:25:12 Do you see the difference between those two movements on Instagram, in terms of posts? So, for example, like a fat acceptance post looks totally different than a body acceptance or body positivity post?

00:25:21 No, I mean, the difference that I see between these kind of, I mean, I think the intention comes from the same ideology, I think it's kind of intersectional that way, but the only difference that I really see is like body acceptance is more about showing you a perfect body and then afterwards, not I mean, show you the same body, but not in a perfect way, you know? Uh, and with the fat acceptance movement, it's not I mean, they don't I mean, it's really stupid to say, but they don't have the luxury to show this perfect body. No. So I mean, so it's more like just... This is it. And that's it. And body acceptance is more about the difference between what you can do with your body and how your body really is.

00:26:19 That makes sense. Okay, I understand now. Yeah. Would you also say that, because of it, the reactions to the fat acceptance movement are different?

00:26:25 Absolutely. I think that's actually true, they are more extreme. Because I think many unaware people when they see content about body acceptance, or they see like two different pictures of the same body, I think this is way easier... way easier for them to understand. Rather than just one thing to show, one body, and be like: "accept me please". And then it's, it's harder for them, I suppose.

00:27:07 Do you actively follow any fat acceptance, movements? Or like you said, you mentioned you follow the Lizzo. Do you also follow because this is also some sort of advocate for plus size?

00:27:12 Yes, she just owns what the body she's in, obviously and she is like an advocate for plus size, shows you what you can do and be in a big body.

00:27:23 Do you follow more people like that?

00:27:25 Well, I follow one more girl. She's a Dutch girl. She's actually the cousin of Gigi Hadid.

00:27:33 Oh, yeah.

00:27:36 Yeah. Though, I have to say she's a plus size model, but I don't see her as Lizzo, they don't have the same body. This is also a different kind of thing. I don't think this is the same as fat acceptance.

00:27:42 Why?

00:27:43 Because the thing, I mean, it is the same, it's from coming from the same movement is just not showing the same content. You know, it's still very fresh and very, our photos are still fair. I mean, it's real. It's, I mean, it's a big body. It's a beautiful big body. It's just not the same as a real body.

00:28:11 Okay, because you mean, like, she still uses filters, or it's still retouched in some way?

00:28:19 Exactly. She is more refined, in a way. I mean, it is, I mean, she's still cast, and this is... don't get me wrong. I'm not judging her at all. But it's just she is a free space. You can say she is plus size, a bigger body, it's just... she was still casted as a model, as a plus size model, which is with which still, you have to still like conventionally pretty in some sense. There's still some require requirements to be like this. Yeah. And fat acceptance in that sense is more realer because the people there are realer.

00:28:47 Okay, that makes sense. I also find it super interesting, because you seem so into this, like, do you actively search for resources yourself? Did you already have like, a lot of knowledge about the fat acceptance movement?

00:29:12 I mean, it's not necessarily only about sex. I mean, as I told you, before, everything comes from feminism and I am.... I'm really diehard feminist, and I read so much about it, and I watch so much content about it and everything, like the funny thing is that everything... I will not go off subject, but everything in this world, everything comes back to feminism, you know, and, you get so much knowledge about so many things because... I mean, I'm not saying everything is about feminism, but like feminism always comes back and all the issues, you know, yes. So I got a lot of information about many, many movements.

00:30:02 Wow, interesting! Well, since it's a part of a feminist issue according to you, like the whole body image body acceptance. Do you think it's also like a women's issue?

00:30:11 No, absolutely not.

00:30:12 And is that also reflected in the Instagram content you encounter, that you see?

00:30:15 I mean, the thing is actually, this is a very interesting topic because I watch only female content.

00:30:18 How...like do you actively only follow females?

00:30:20 Oh no, I mean, I think there's just more exposure from female content. I mean, it's just not a really a male thing. And I think this, I mean, and that's why I think it comes from feminism because feminism came from, okay, we want to be judged for who we are. And so I think like, from this movement came all these ideas like... we are more than just our body and all these kind of things. And I think it's also really important, because this is also the misconception of people. What people always think of feminism is that we only care about women being oppressed. That's not the case at all. Like it's about toxic masculinity that also affects many, many men. And I think people can grow a lot still, in introducing men in this kind of movement. Because I miss it a little bit.

00:31:28 Yeah. Okay, interesting. So now moving on to the last moment, the body neutrality movement. It's kind of new, like a lot of people haven't really heard about it. So I'm curious, in your opinion. So what do you think the body neutrality movement means?

00:31:38 [AM] Yeah, actually, I also didn't hear about it, as I told you before. I suppose it means that you are not your body, you're a person. That's it?

00:31:53. It's kind of something like that. And it also focuses on the body as a biological, biological thing. So like it should work. And basically so like, focusing on the body and if it functions, instead of focusing on aesthetics and how it looks, it should focus on functionality. So the focus is on does the body work? Is it healthy in the sense of everything working, and not focus on how it looks, but more instead, like, you're more than just your body. It's basically just the outside, the case of your whole being. So that's basically what body neutrality entails. So they also focus, they've tried to get the focus away from aesthetics, or from how it looks to draw a really functional approach. So, have you ever seen content on Instagram related to this movement?

00:32:55 I mean, no, not so much. As I told you before, I saw some reels saying like, You're worrying about my body, but my body is the least interesting part about me. That's the only content I saw.

00:33:07 So you would say like, it's more focused on body positivity, fat acceptance than neutrality, the content you see?

00:33:13 Yes.

00:33:14 Okay. So how do you think this body neutrality movement could help in showing diverse bodies? Or the whole issue we were just talking about, regarding body image?

00:33:24 I think it will, I mean, it will focus more on personal relationships, I suppose. Because you're not... It's actually, I don't know, I don't know a lot about it. But what I can imagine is that if you accept your body as a male soul, and as a functioning body that needs sex, for example, and you feel like a very strong sexual attraction to a person, and you can have sex, but if you separate the emotional part from it, you know, so I mean, like... Or the other way around, you know? You don't feel sexual



attraction to a person, but there's a very strong emotional relationship. You know, I think this is going to be a very interesting field to explore and I don't know, I think it can also relate to sexuality, or like your whole connection between mind and body. Yeah, or maybe even like, the disconnect between mind and body. I think that's very cool.

Body positivity is kind of like, loving your own body, which kind of makes your mind connected to your body, but maybe body neutrality kind of wants to separate them, which is also very interesting. See, I'm not sure.

00:35:00 Uh, well it's interesting that you mention that about body positivity, because body neutrality came actually as a reaction to body positivity because they said, okay, people do not always feel great about their bodies. And that should also be a thing you know, you don't always like your body or some days you love it more than others. And a lot of people argue that body neutrality can therefore be more realistic because you can say: "Okay, this is it. This is the body. I don't really like it today, but it is what it is. And it looks like this. And at least it's working." And the idea that it could be helpful in the whole body acceptance body image issue that we're talking about.

00:35:42 Yeah, I don't know. Actually, that's very interesting. I think also body acceptance comes from disconnecting from the beauty standard, I suppose. And maybe if you're like, okay, we don't want to admit it, but everyone is indoctrinated by this beauty standard. It's this this toxic thing of society. And I think if your body acts neutral, I feel...if you're believing in body neutrality, and maybe you just cannot get rid of this beauty standard that has been taught since you were young, and you also kind of accept that maybe you're fine like okay, I will never find myself beautiful because I don't feel represented... I mean, beautiful. Because my body is not being represented as beautiful. And then you just focus on other things with you.

00:36:51 But that could also be kind of well, not lonely, but like somehow, also a little bit negative maybe? Because then you'll be like, okay, I don't see myself being represented anywhere. So I also don't have anything to feel positive about...

00:37:14 Yes, that is a negative idea. Yeah, but it's... [is silent]. I don't know. I mean, it's a negative idea, I suppose, but it's not necessarily the fault of people to think like this so I don't think the movement itself is a negative thing. It is just sad that it had to come there, you know. I think this is also the same with fat acceptance and all this kind of things, like why do you have to expose your body to raise awareness? This is also a very sad thing.

00:38:01 Yeah. Also, I was wondering because fat acceptance, according to you, and also body positivity and fat acceptance are not just about the body but also about the whole: "be real and show negative sides of your different aspects of your life." So for you it might be also different but do you

think they also should focus more on like other things; not just body type but maybe also skin or, like, skincare or like maybe acne or weight loss...

00:38:48 It's actually... It's already... There's a lot of content, trying to accept skin, skin issues and hair growth, and tattoos and piercings... Although, I have to say, piercings or tattoos you can control yourself acne and hair growth not, obviously. But yeah, I sure I think this is very much part of it.

00:39:25 And is that content that you see, related to this, enough?

00:39:29 Well, there is a lot. Although it is not necessarily related to this, to this body acceptance. It's more related to skin care. I am very into skin care, and uh, it's more related to skincare content. So, if on Instagram you go to the explore page, so if I am watching skincare content, all this acne or other skincare issues content shows up as well. Which is a pity, because it shouldn't be part of skincare. Like, sometimes it should also be like, you try everything you can, but sometimes there is not much you can do about it. Like, sure, it comes from the same intention, but it's different that way.

00:40:32 Why?

00:40:35 Well, it should come more from the body positivity movement or like the body acceptance side of things.

Do you then think it should also be part of the fat acceptance movement?

Yes

And the body neutrality movement?

I mean... I don't know enough about the body neutrality movement, so everything I said up until this point is my opinion about it. So I can't answer the question I think.

Okay. So now I would like to put these 3 movements together. We discussed them all, but for you: which of the three would you feel most comfortable in?

More comfortable in which way? [AM]

Uh, well.. That you relate to the most

Uh, body acceptance

Okay, but that is like the more overarching theme, isn't it? Like don't they all strive for acceptance of diverse bodies?

Oh, sorry. Body positivity.

And why?

Because I am not overweight, so I cannot relate to people who are, and to what they experience. I cannot feel what they feel, I don't know what it's like. Uh, I do... everybody always has a point in their life where they don't really like their body, and actually this movement really showed me to not hate my body, you know.

Hmm. It's interesting, because you say that this movement showed you to not hate your body, which is great, but I was wondering, because before you said you couldn't really see the difference between body positivity content and fat acceptance content on Instagram, so how do you... I mean, you know say you feel more relation to body positivity, so there must be a difference somewhere then?

Sure, the difference is the person and the issue that you are showing. I mean, when I said I don't see the difference, is more that it's because it's coming from the same intention, same issue. Though I must admit that people going through...people being overweight, they go through much more than people who are not.

Yeah, like there is also this thing like pretty privilege (JM)...

Absolutely!

Any critical stance on any of these movements? Things on Instagram that you see regarding these movements that you don't really agree with, for instance?

Uh, [is silent], no. The only critical thing that I could say is that it is sometimes too limited, in my opinion.

Limited in what way?

Limited that body positivity, and fat acceptance to an extent, is often just about stretch marks, or having rolls on your stomach, and, uh, a body is not just stretch marks and fat, it is so much more than that. But at the same time, you do not want to be too broad, I mean, people are still content creators, so they need to do and share their own thing.

And what kind of content would you wish to see more of?

What I miss a lot, is body hair, actually. I myself, try not to shave. Although, sometimes when I am around people, I still do, because when I expose it to much I still feel the pressure to shave [laughs]. But, I would just like to see... I mean there is content about hair and stuff for women...But I would like to see everything together, people who do not fit the beautystandards in terms of body, and who also have body hair... or... I mean it never comes together.

Ah, so now, you might see someone with body hair, but whose body type still fits those standards?

Exactly!

So it's never a big person, who has also body hair, it's or-or-or, not and-and-and?

Exactly.

Hmm, that makes sense. In the beginning, we also discussed about this not being limited to a women's issue. So do you think there should also be more content related to body acceptance in men?

Obliviously, representative content is important in any gender, it shouldn't be limited to a specific gender. However, what I told you before, it's like... women are mostly victim of being sexualized, so it's more seen as a women's issue perhaps.

Hmm. And, uh, in terms of diversity, do you see enough diversity in these posts?

Actually, yes. I see a lot of black women and Asian women on my feed. And this is also way more interesting for me, because I am not overweight, and also I am white. So that's already two privileges that I have. So to be able to see what these women go through or experience, is super interesting. To get to know people who don't have these privileges and create awareness for that in this way.

And in terms of disabilities? I don't know if you have heard of the brand Aerie? It's a lingerie brand, and they use normal people as models, for instance a woman who has a stoma... Like non-conventional beauty in a way. So also pigmentation marks, woman in a wheelchair.

Nice.

Do you come across that kind of content on Instagram?

No. Not at all. Like I know it exists, like I read about it, and I know Hema did this campaign. But it is not something I come across in the content on Instagram. Although, like I told you before, I read a lot and I do a lot of research so I know it exists and that it is there, and like there is content, but it's not the content I see.

So based on only Instagram content you see, it would not be as diverse?

No.

Okay. Uh, let me see if I have missed anything, but I don't think I have... Oh, well maybe to make sure... Uh, you don't really see a difference in the content between body positivity and fat acceptance?

No no, you see a difference in the content. It is just coming from the same intention.

Oh okay. And how does this difference... how is that portrayed?

Well, basically it is a whole different body that is represented. The bodies are just completely different.

So body positivity does not show big, fat people?

No, I mean, like, body positivity also shows big, fat people and people more on the skinnier or normal side, but fat acceptance shows fat people only.

Oh, okay.

Body positivity is an amazing movement, but it is coming from people who are suffering from whatever they are suffering from. But fat acceptance is there, also suffering, but suffering more, because they miss that luxury of the privilege of not being overweight.

Okay. I was also thinking of something you said earlier... Oh, do you think body positivity is therefore broader, in a sense? As in, does it cover more issues and topics?

Yes, sure, it covers more issues and topics, but it doesn't make it any better though.

Okay, because what is your opinion on that? Does body positivity movement improve from that, from being so broad?

I mean, yes, sure, because body positivity is something that is really broad, it's not just one thing. But like sometimes I miss more imperfections in one post. And sure, body positivity covers many issues, which is great, because it makes you more aware, but.. it doesn't... I mean... It covers more things, but it doesn't go as deep into the things, because, like, fat acceptance is about someone suffering about being overweight. And, body positivity shows you all these other things, but you cannot... When I search for body acceptance, I cannot relate to everyone, because I don't have the same issues as everyone. And I think all these kind of sub issues, as I would call them, is more for people who want to relate to things or feel represented.

Could that also help in terms of awareness?

Absolutely. Body positivity is easier to relate. Because if you have one issue, and you see that it is being represented in body positivity content, along with other issues, you might think: "oh there are more issues, other issues that people suffer from", and that brings awareness, I think.

Okay, thank you so much!!!

### Interview 3

00:01:53 [interviewer]. Happy to hear you enjoy your job! Of course, having a job is one of the reasons you were invited for this interview, and you fit the group I want to study perfectly. And, uhm, based on our earlier conversation, you also use Instagram.

00:02:03 [participant] Yes, I do! [laughs]

00:02:04 [interviewer] Ok, great! I would like to ask you how often do you use Instagram?

00:02:05 [participant] I think, uh, at least two times a day, and maybe sometimes even ten times a day.

00:02:08 [interviewer] Uh, ok. Is that on specific moments, that you use Instagram?

00:02:09 When I wake up, when I go to bed [laughs]. And when, uhm, when I am bored, or stressed and want to distract myself and my brain [laughs].

00:02:13 Ok, and what kind of activities do you engage in on Instagram?

00:02:15 Uh, I never like anything, I only watch what others post and, uh, never comment on anything. Uhm, I don't post, I only watch, scrolling, and watching Instagram stories. I think I watch more Insta stories than posts [is silent]. Oh, and sometimes I share something with friends. Like, I see an interesting post and I share it with friends via the Insta stories, or I send it directly. Uh, in Insta stories I have a group, like that is called the best friends, those are 15 people or something, something like that, and I share interesting posts that I have come across with them.

00:02:42 You mention you are a passive user, so the things that you share, what things are those?

00:02:43 Sometimes I share an update of my life, if I feel I haven't been in touch [laughs]. Or when I see something on the street, and I think it's funny, I take a picture and share it as well. Or, uhm, and sometimes I repost something, and I think it's mostly like [is silent], uhm, political things.

00:03:02 political how?

00:03:03 Uhm [is silent].

00:03:07 Like a political party, or during elections, or something else?

00:03:10 More like a comment on something that is happening. So, uhm, for example, uhm [is silent], the account @politieke\_jongeren, I follow this account, and sometimes they post something that speaks really true to me, for example that some things are opening, but museums or galleries or theatres are still closed, like why? I want to be culturally involved, and stores can open but museums can't.

00:03:46 So, uhm, are you politically engaged on Instagram? You apparently not just use it to keep in touch with friends?

00:03:54 Uhm, yeah, that is right, yes. Like also as a place to get information, see what is happening in the world, or in the Netherlands.

00:04:04 Do you also follow some other sort of accounts or issues? [is silent]. Oh, uhm I am sorry, let me rephrase that. Do you also, uhm, interact with, or follow other social issues on Instagram?

00:04:09 Uhm, a bit of politics I think, because I like to know what is happening in America for example, when Trump was still in power. So during the elections, I started following some accounts like Biden and the vice-president. And, during the inauguration, a girl, this poet, read her poetry and I found that interesting and I was so overwhelmed, and I liked the way she told these stories, so I started following her. In that way, I start following people that I think are interesting or have something to say about the world and how it is today. So, uhm, I find it hard to understand how the world is, so I like to follow people that in some way explain that or show that to me.

00:05:10 That makes sense

00:05:12 So, uhm to sum up, a bit political, a bit uhm, philosophical, and uhm also something about feminism, and a bit of black lives matter as well, I think.

00:05:17 Hmm, interesting. What is interesting is that you mention that poet during the inauguration, because indeed, it was during a political event, but she discussed societal issues, like race and racism. So in that sense, it could also be a societal issue [is silent]. Uhm, yeah, I think it is just interesting that you mention her. And that you are interested in Black lives matter, or racism issues and also feminist issues. So, uhm, I would like to go a little bit deeper into the uhm, feminist issue, cause, uhm, do you follow any feminist movements or accounts on Instagram?

00:06:01 Uhm, I don't follow movements I think, more uhm, people. An account of, uhm she is called Florence, and she is a forestander/voorstander for uhm [is silent]. Uh, she is a feminist and does not believe in told who she should be, and uh she tries to put things in a different perspective, look at things in another daylight.

00:06:39 Ok, and uh, what do her posts look like? The ones that you are interested in.

00:06:41 Uh, it's been a while..

00:06:42 You can check it on your phone if you want.

00:06:43 Oh, nice! Uh, let's see

00:06:46 Like, what kind of posts does she share, what topics?

00:06:53 I think it's mostly like philosophical questions she asks herself, so it's something that bothers me but I hadn't realised before that it bothers me.

00:07:11 And what kind of issues were that?

00:07:13 It's more the main thing that I am interested in from her account. So for example, toxic masculinity, that is something she discusses in her posts, and that is something that I find important. Like yeah, guys also need to join the feminist movement, because they are standing still at the moment. They do not evolve like we do. We can do and be whatever we want, to a certain point, and boys have to be boys. So, uhm, I think they still have to uhm, gain a lot [is silent]. And, uhm, I think the thing I find the most interesting about the feminist movement is that as a girl you can be whatever you want to be. So it is not about being unsafe as a girl or feeling unsafe, or the feeling that I have to do my make-up or something like that, but more like the feeling that you can be whatever you want to be.

00:08:02 Hmm, that makes sense. Thank you, also for checking her account for me. Does she also share some things about body acceptance?

00:08:06 Yeah.

00:08:07 She does?

00:08:07 Yes. For example, there is a post that she is sitting wide-legged, with her legs spread. And, uhm, she also raises the question why girls have to sit a certain way, straight, with legs crossed, and why can't we not sit like a guy, and why can guys not sit like a woman? And why is there a difference in the way we sit, that doesn't make any sense.

00:08:22 Interesting.

00:08:23 Although I don't think that it is about body positivity, I think it is more about the way of using your body.

00:08:28 Well, that could also be a form of body positivity, depends on how you define body positivity. Uhm, so I was just wondering that when you come across something on Instagram on body acceptance content, is that something you are interested in?

00:08:36 Uhm, yeah. Uh. But I don't necessarily follow those accounts I think. It's more, like uhm, advertisements, or something on the street, or something that pops up in my screen. And, I find it interesting to see, of course, uhm, because I like to see how brands how brands cope with the way of, uhm, like, how, uhm [is silent], how the world is evolving, uhm, or how we are.... [is silent]. People



want to see more diversity in the world and brands need to uhm [is silent], adapt to it. So it's nice to, uhm, I find it very interesting to see which brands adapt, how they adapt, when they adapt and uh, yeah how they deal with it.

00:09:48 Hmm. And do you do that on Instagram? As in, do you follow these brands on Instagram to keep up with that?

00:09:57 I don't keep up with them in that way, but sometimes I see it, and then I click on it to see if it's a campaign or something or an issue they stand for now. For example with Victoria's Secret, it is interesting to see what they are doing, if they change the whole concept. I find it interesting to see how they do it. And I think they haven't done it, so why is that? It's nice to keep up in that sense. So, when they have a show, and I only see thin models on stage, I click to see: are there only thin women on stage; and are there only thin women on the website. So I find that very interesting, but I don't follow Victoria's Secret. I don't follow brands for that, only when I come across it in some way. But then I do like to do some research on it [laughs].

00:10:23 It is interesting to see that you do research, and you find it an important topic in a sense, and you are interested in it. I also find it interesting that you say you don't necessarily use Instagram to keep up with these brands, but uhm... But since we are talking about Instagram in this interview, I was wondering...

00:10:38 Well, I think I don't follow those accounts because it is interesting to see what these brands do and if they adapt, but it is not like.. the brand does not interest me further, to actually buy something for example, so why would I follow them, just for to see if they adapt, just for that? [VF] And then there are people or influencers that are interesting or have a philosophical point of view, so I do follow them for their voice, but I don't want to follow the brands if I don't relate to the brand.

00:11:16 That makes sense. So, uhm, I was wondering, even though you do not use Instagram to check on these brands, has Instagram made you more aware of these issues and movements that are active?

00:11:27 I think, the thing that made me most aware of those movements is when I started studying at the art academy I graduated from.

00:11:33 How, could you elaborate?

00:11:35 Uh, well, because it was a big topic there. It was really important to see the trends and to uh, to use those insights and do something with it. So I think it isn't necessarily Instagram that made me more aware.

00:11:43 Hmm. Was that something that came from the school itself, or peers?

00:11:45 From other students, like peers. Discussions we had and stuff. Oh, and also! Do you know Dove, the Dove campaign? They started when I was way younger with campaigns with different body types and different skin colours, and uh, that was something that caught my eye and the eye of many people, so I think that is when it started from me more or less.

00:12:03 Hmm. Ok. Uh, short question about Instagram again. What are your thoughts on social media platforms like Instagram being used as a place to share these social movements?

00:12:10 I think it is a good thing. Uh, it gives people a voice, and it helps people to find their voice also. And to [is silent], uh. It gives people a voice and it helps people find a voice, so I believe that is the most important thing. And, uh, it also connects people with the same thoughts.

00:12:29 Could that also be dangerous?

00:12:30 Uh, well, yes, maybe. I like to see, when I follow a movement on Instagram, to see who is also following it. So if my friends are following it as well, and stand behind my opinion. I find that very interesting. So you can really see the people in your bubble. [is silent]. Maybe sometimes it can be dangerous yeah, I think, but everything is dangerous. Every place where people come together can be dangerous if you look at it like that.

00:12:48 Ok. So, enough about Instagram and social movements on there. I would like to move on to the body positivity movement specifically. What do you think the body positivity movement means? What does it mean to you?

00:13:02 Uh, ok, so, what does it mean to me or what does it mean in general?

00:13:06 We could first do what it means to you, uh, sorry about that!

00:13:07 Ok. Uh, for me...[is silent]. Uh, well... I think I am lucky that I don't need... I didn't need to adjust as a teenager, because I didn't have any fat [laughs softly], it was easy for me, I think. So in that way, it didn't, uh, it didn't mean a lot. But in another way, like, with the don't shave trend, like you don't always have to shave, or you don't always have to wear make-up, or you don't always need to look pretty, I think in that way, it did help me a bit. To see that it is also normal to be yourself [laughs], instead of another version of yourself.

00:13:48 Hmm. Because, is that what you think the body positivity movement stands for? Like, the whole... you mention fat, shaving, make-up...

00:13:59 Well, that is the first thing that came into my mind...

00:14:02 There are no wrong or right answers here!

00:14:03 Uh, the first thing to come up in my mind was indeed fat, or being big. That was always the whole conversation, but now... Now it is also about owning who you are, I think.

00:14:18 And how far does that go, owning who you are?

00:14:20 Uhm, could you elaborate? FV

00:14:20 Uh, sure. Does it cover only body, or something else, in addition to body concerns?

00:14:22 I think body, and also skin colour, hair colour, do you have brown hair, blonde hair, red hair, it should not matter. Uh, do you have freckles. Uh, I don't see things like acne, that is not seen as a positive thing. I don't follow accounts that are like: oh look at my pimple [is silent]. Maybe a bit, but yeah.

00:14:49 Uh, so to be clear. So maybe some things like freckles who were first maybe seen as something not desirable, or pretty, those ideas are what body positivity is trying to change, however, you don't see that in acne. So things like acne are not part of that conversation? I am not entirely sure what you mean.

00:15:03 Uh, I am not entirely sure either [laughs softly].

00:15:05 Well, because you mentioned freckles as something that is now being accepted, or uh, in the process of being accepted, due to body positivity, so you see that changing now, but...

00:15:11 [interrupts] Yeah, yeah, I see that changing, but when you talk about real acne, I don't think they are really trying to say to people: you are also pretty with acne. I haven't seen that.

00:15:26 Yeah, ok.

00:15:27 Maybe with one pimple, it would be like, oh I have a pimple, look at my pimple, it is ok to have pimples. But with real acne... Although on the other hand, when you have the, uh, pigmentation disease, it is considered something beautiful. So, I don't know...

00:15:36 Hmm, that is an interesting point you make there! Maybe it is a little bit **krom** (crooked), that maybe some things are supported while others are not. Or at least, that is how you experience it?

00:15:38 Yes, indeed!

00:15:39 So, uh, what are your thoughts on that?

00:15:45 [VF is silent]

00:15:45 Is it fair? JCW

00:15:49 [is silent] Well, at the moment I think like, yeah, acne isn't that pretty [laughs softly], so... You cannot make everything pretty, I think.

00:15:59 Yeah, but, uh, what is pretty anyway?

00:16:01 Yeah. First, pretty was like, skinny girls in bikinis... and now it is pretty to be yourself [is silent]. It was always pretty to be yourself [laughs], but uh, I don't know. Maybe at one point we can look at acne and say and believe that it is also pretty, I don't know.

00:16:16 Hmm. Ok. So what would body positivity mean in general? The more general definition

00:16:18 Uh, [is silent]. I think in general, it is more about being yourself.

00:16:24 Ok. And does that only relate to your body? Or...

00:16:26 Well, if we talk about body positivity, I would say it is more related to your body, and about how you feel, uh, good within your own body. And it is more about your, uh, the outer part of yourself, and feeling ok with that. But I also link it to, uh [is silent], I also link it to feminism in a way, now.

00:16:40 Why?

00:16:41 Because [is silent], being ok with your own body and with who you are, is also what feminism is about, I think. Being who you want to be, on the outside and on the inside. So, in that way it connects.

00:16:58 Ok. Uh, have you ever seen content related to body positivity on Instagram? You mention that you don't necessarily follow body positive accounts, but do you ever see something related to it?

00:17:12 Uh, yes [is silent]. On Instagram, I see, for example, let me think... Well, I follow Hema [laughs], and they had a post about a their underwear line, and the first picture, they had a slideshow, the first picture was a picture of a woman with a **stoma**, and some different types of bodies. And people really cheered that on, this way of campaigning, of showing different bodies, and different types of bodies, and people with diseases, and the stoma. That is something that came by... This is from an account that I follow. But sometimes, I don't follow the account and I get curious and look it up. Like, we mentioned Victoria's Secret earlier, so now I am interested in seeing what they are doing in terms of body positivity, and I look them up. I also follow another brand, it's a small brand called Susu, and she also had a campaign about body positivity, and feeling ok within your own body. So it comes across sometimes, but I don't necessarily follow it.

00:18:37 That's totally understandable. Uh, so you come across some not-perfect pictures [uses hands as quotation marks] and also see different types of bodies on your feed. So, what are your opinions on these kinds of images?

00:19:08 [is silent] Well, my first opinion when I saw the Hema campaign was... [is silent], yeah, good story. Smart, like to use the... the trend, the whole body positivity movement strategically, I think. But, it is also good. Like yes, it is strategic, and they know they get a lot of comments on it, but it is good that they show it at least, I think.

00:20:03 Hmm. Interesting point!

00:20:05 So, uh, for the small label, I really like that she lets women share their story, about their relationship with their bodies, how they feel within their body, and how that changed. But I also think it's a little bit an exploited or overused subject. But it is needed, at the same time. And it works, because there are still comments and people are still cheering it on, so that means that people don't see it enough, and are happy to finally see it somewhere. Because, if you see it all the time, (*it being the diverse bodies etc. red*), you don't notice it anymore. But the fact that once a brand uses diverse bodies or something else related to body positivity, it is noticed by a big group of people and that people comment on it, means that it is still needed. So, in that way, it is still needed.

00:21:13 Interesting, good points! So, there might be some critical things to say maybe, about at least brands using body positivity, but perhaps also about body positivity on its own. So, uh [is silent], what are your feelings towards body positivity?

00:21:44 Uh, I think everyone should have... uh, should have the feeling that they are seen and feel addressed. Uh, everybody should be represented within a campaign of a brand. So it is important to have that.

00:22:06 Ok. And, uh, how can body positivity influence your ideas on diverse bodies?

00:22:10 [is silent] Well, uh... Could you explain that? FV

00:22:13 Well, I mean like, uh... Maybe, because you might see it around you more often, has it changed your ideas on diverse bodies?

00:22:20 Uh, yeah maybe [is silent]. I do think I am more open to other body types than I maybe was. Or maybe I wouldn't judge that fast as I would do when you only see skinny girls around. So I think it's good to see diversity, and to see how others can do it. The same as with shaving, if you don't want to shave, don't do it. But it is nice that there are people out there already doing that, so it's more visible. It's like I said before, when brands or whatever campaigns use it, it is noticed by a lot of people, so a movement like this is still needed. And I do think that if it is more visible, so more brands

or people use it, and share it, it will reach more people, whose ideas can also be influenced in that way, so uh, yeah.

00:23:55 Ok, thank you! I would like to move on to the next movement, which is the fat acceptance movement. What does the fat acceptance movement mean according to you?

00:24:06 [is silent] Uh, I think... [is silent], I think it's good, because people should feel ok within their own body. [is silent]. So by showing more diverse body types, also people with more fat, I think it is only a more realistic point of view. So for me, I think it would mean that I also accept more, because I also see more content like that, and I know it is ok to be fat [uses quotations marks], it doesn't mean you are unhealthy, it means that your body works in a different way, and that is ok also.

00:25:03 So what do you think the fat acceptance movement stands for in general? So not based on your own ideas behind it. But the general idea.

00:25:43 I think they stand for [is silent], that brands and campaigns represent more diverse body types, so also big and fat [quotations marks] bodies.

00:26:03 Uh, wait, so brands should?

00:26:04 Yes, brands, and also, uh, in advertisements! So, in advertisements, they should show more diverse body types, so acceptance will be higher, as it will be something we will see more often. And also to show that it is not wrong to have a bit more fat, because that does not necessarily mean you are unhealthy.

00:26:38 Do you ever come across to content related to fat acceptance movement?

00:26:43 Uh, I can't think of any content now that I have seen that uses bigger or fat bodies. I think they are there though, for instance influencers. Or also Florence, she also posts photos of her belly and butt.

00:26:57 Ok. And do you follow any artists that would be considered big or fat? An example I can think of now is Lizzo.

00:27:03 Oh, no I don't! I do like her though. She could also be seen as an example of a cool person in a big or fat body, yeah. And she is cheering it on and is content with her body. She is great. So I think it is good to show confidence in women with more fat, because it shows that you can be cool and confident and have a bigger body. And you shouldn't be not confident just because you are fat.

00:27:48 So you don't really come across a lot of this content on Instagram?

00:27:49 no [shakes head no]

00:27:51 Ok, but how do you think that content would look like? Like, what kind of content would you expect?

00:27:59 Uh, people showing real pictures. Like, unphotoshopped, for example from influencers of plus-size models. And also brands that post underwear with real models, like for example Hema, or Dove, showing real bodies, normal body types.

00:28:09 Hmm. And do you think that there is a difference between body positivity content and fat acceptance content? Since you now mention unfiltered, unphotoshopped, does that only relate to fat acceptance...

00:28:21 [is silent] Uh, I think unfiltered is also... [is silent]. I think fat acceptance is still a bit more, like beautiful pictures, but then with women who have a bigger body size, for example in campaigns, and unfiltered can also be body positivity...[is silent]. I don't know [is silent], good question. I think I don't know that much about fat acceptance because I never had to deal with it, so my interest isn't really there, I think.

00:29:27 That makes sense. So, just in general, I know you don't have a lot of experience with fat acceptance content, but do you think there is a difference between body positivity content and fat acceptance content? Or is it basically the same?

00:29:48 I think there is a difference [is silent]. Body positivity, uh, is way broader, it is more about being ok within your own body, I think, being, uh, feeling ok with your body, and it is also about not shaving...maybe even about the clothes you wear...

00:30:10 So that covers different aspects?

00:30:11 Yeah, and I think fat acceptance is more about: you should be proud of who you are, even though you are not like the skinny, blonde girl, still be proud! I think it is more about cheering on, and also about feeling ok within your body. Uhhhh [is silent]. I think fat acceptance is within body positivity, like a part of it. Not shaving is a part of it, not wearing make-up is a part of it, using unfiltered pictures, uh, wearing clothes that don't fit your body type but who says it doesn't fit your body type... things like that. So you have a lot of different side subjects within body positivity.

00:31:26 And, uh, how do you think fat acceptance can help in, uh, accepting diverse bodies?

00:31:41 Uh, well I guess exposure can lead to it. And you also need to accept your body and all the other parts that go with it.

00:31:58 And uh, do you have any critical remarks or some negative thoughts on fat acceptance?

00:32:01 Uh, I have the feeling that I shouldn't be critical about it...

00:32:03 You shouldn't? Sorry, I did not hear you

00:32:04 Shouldn't. Uh, like there is uh [is silent]. You should still stimulate people to be healthy, sport and enjoy life. But like, if the fat acceptance movement is like, it doesn't matter if you don't sport and eat unhealthy, it's ok... That would be different, because that is not healthy and can also lead to diseases and you can die eventually.

00:32:42 Because that is what you often hear, like ok, glad that you are feeling happy with your body, but this is unhealthy. Those are some messages that you hear a lot, so what are your thoughts on that?

00:32:51 Well, uh, [is silent]. Yeah, I think you should accept people if they choose to be [is silent], fat and unhealthy, because you have to accept everyone and how they are. Uh, but for brands, I wouldn't... well, in the end, if you accept everyone, you also have to them in your campaign [laughs]. But yeah, I think you should not cheer on unhealthy behaviour. it would be like I say: oh I smoke, smoking is so nice, I am so happy that I smoke, everyday I get happier when I smoke. That's unhealthy.

00:33:53 So is there a limit?

00:33:54 Yeah there is a limit, I think.

00:33:55 But where is that limit?

00:33:56 Yeah that is difficult. You were talking about Lizzo, and she is quite fat, right, but she sports, she works out, she dances a lot. So then she shows, I am fat but I also sport, I move, I eat healthy and I work out, so you can work out too. Because people who are fat also have the feeling: I cannot work out, because I am fat. So it's like a vicious circle. So I think then it's ok, because you stimulate healthy behaviour. But it shouldn't be about look at me eating and being unhealthy and then saying but yeah I am happy.

00:35:21 Thank you for your answer! I would now like to ask you some questions related to body neutrality, the last of the three movements we will be discussing today. Have you ever heard of the body neutrality movement?

00:35:43 No [shakes head no]

00:35:44 No? Ok. I'll shortly explain it to you. Body neutrality stands for the fact that body positivity is not super realistic, because sometimes there are days that you don't feel super happy in your body, you are not positive or confident in your body or whatever. So body neutrality, is like, ok, it's more realistic in a sense because we don't try to have everybody love their body, but they try to like, see your body as a thing that needs to be working, and if it works, and if it helps you to be healthy, you



should already be proud of yourself, because you know, your body is a like a casing or envelope, so instead of focusing on the aesthetics, or on how your body looks, it focuses more on; like ok, is it working, and if so, then it's great, because it's a casing for the rest of you. So that is what body neutrality stands for, and it's not weird that you hadn't heard of it before, because it is a quite new phenomenon as some sort of, not necessarily a counter reaction to body positivity, but maybe more into trying to ease people into the whole love-your-body, since that is not always super attainable. So, uh, [is silent], what are your thoughts on this?

00:37:55 Interesting...

00:37:56 Interesting, why?

00:37:57 Uh [is silent], because then it takes away the fat acceptance and the need to be positive about it, because it is only a working... [is silent] if the body works, then it's ok. Yeah, so, but then in the end, you do feel...so, I don't know if it is something that works, in the end.

00:38:16 Why?

00:38:17 [is silent] Uh, because, it is [is silent]... your outer body reacts on your inner body, so can you then say, your outer body isn't you? It's only a mechanism, so if it works, it works, and that's fine. But if it doesn't work, you don't feel ok. So you need it to work in order to feel ok. You don't really... you cant look at the two separately I think.

00:38:59 [is silent] You mean that there are no separate parts, they work together?

00:39:11 Yeah, indeed. But I do think calling it body positivity, is then like, you need to be positive. But I think that, if you talk about neutrality, you don't have to be positive about your body all the time, which is also good, in my opinion.

00:39:41 So you do like that part?

00:39:42 Yeah, I do like that part. But it's not... you cannot separate your inner and outer body.

00:39:55 Ok. So, have you ever seen any body neutrality content on Instagram?

00:40:00 No

00:40:01 Do any of the accounts you follow share content related to this? The account you mentioned, Florence?

00:40:03 No, not that I know of. I don't think I have ever knowingly come across it.

00:40:07 I was wondering, even if you've never seen content related to this on Instagram, uh, how do you think this movement is being portrayed on social media?

00:40:13 [is silent] Uh, I think it's more... I would say it is more about your inner self. But it says body neutrality, so it should also be about your body, so your outer self, but I have no idea how they would portray it. Because it would be something like, look, this is a fat girl, we don't say anything, we don't feel anything, we accept her. But it doesn't matter if you accept her or not, because it's just a working mechanism and her body works... [laughs] so I have no idea how that would work [laughs]. I would be thinking more of a mental thing, like yoga.

00:40:49 I understand how it can be confusing. I do like that you mention the mental state, though, or like how people are feeling, because, uh, in your opinion, do body positivity and fat acceptance relate to the mental state of a person?

00:41:03 Yeah, if someone constantly says, you are enough, you are good as you are, you start to believe it and you will feel better about yourself and accept yourself, I think.

00:41:12 Yeah, but in relation to content, do you think the content of body positivity and fat acceptance focuses on mental health, so more like "let's meditate, or yoga, or inner peace"?

00:41:30 Well, less. I think it focuses more on acceptance. And that inner peace might be achieved once you accept your body.

00:41:42 And body neutrality?

00:41:43 Well, that might focus more on inner peace or mental health but next to eating healthy, working out, and about those things I think. If your body is a machine, you need to take care of it, and then you should do those things and in the end also facilitate your inner self for example by meditating or yoga or whatever. But you also need to sport and go outside because that is not just good for the outside, but also good for the inside, your inner side, your mental health. So it's connected.

00:42:22 And do you like that approach? That everything is connected?

00:42:25 Yeah [nods head yes]

00:42:26 Yes? Is that something you would be more interested in? So the focus on inner health and the connection to the outside, as opposed to the other two movements?

00:42:33 Yes, because I think it is more about how I live, in a way. Because if I don't feel ok, I know that I need to work out, go outside, eat healthy, and then my body feels better, and I feel better. So in a way, I already do it, I think, then [laughs].

00:43:11 Ok. And can body neutrality, uh, contribute to the acceptance of diverse bodies?

00:43:20 I don't know. Because I haven't seen content related to body neutrality, so I can't really tell if that content and that movement helps acceptance. I don't see it now [is silent]. But I do think body neutrality needs body positivity, because you need to be, uh...[is silent]. You need to see different types of bodies, in size, or bodies with and without hair. Like all those facets we talked about, you need to see them and accept them. Because acceptance is also part of the mental state. So you need those movements, and then, you can be in the other movements [is silent]. Maybe, through one movement you can go to the other movement. So like, you go through body positivity in order to get to body neutrality. I don't know though [laughs].

00:44:35 That could very well be, yes [laughs]. Some short round-up questions before finishing the interview. Now that we discussed the three movements, I would like to ask you some questions about the movements together. So, uh, how do you think the movements relate to one another? Earlier, you mention that the movements all share some aspects with each other, and all focus on different aspects.

00:45:19 Yeah, uh. One is about fat acceptance, one about body positivity, which also is about accepting who you are, I think.

00:45:26 Accepting who you are, do you find that more in body positivity than in fat acceptance, for you?

00:45:33 [is silent]. Hmm, no... Uh, accepting who you are is also in fat acceptance, and body positivity is, well, being more positive about your own body, but also, yeah, accepting all parts, so also your fat. It is both, both go about acceptance.

00:45:58 They all try to help accept diverse bodies?

00:46:01 Well, I don't really see it in the body neutrality movement, I don't see it there. As I haven't seen any content on that, so I see it more as a "don't think about your body, it only has to work" kind of way.

00:46:24 Yeah. Which one of the 3 movements are you most inclined to feel positive or nice about?

00:46:27 I think body positivity.

00:46:28 And why?

00:46:29 Because I like the approach of being positive about your body, accepting who you are, being happy with all the parts, so from your hair to your make-up to your nose.

00:46:44 That relates most to you personally?

00:46:45 Yes.

00:46:46 Ok. And for instance, why not uh, why not fat acceptance?

00:46:55 Because I am not fat, sorry [laughs]. So I don't feel a connection to that.

00:47:01 You don't need to apologize for that. And why not body neutrality?

00:47:04 I find it interesting, the whole mental part of it, but I think it is a layer underneath body positivity. If you are positive, you'll accept your body, and then you can work on it in a way of staying healthy.

00:47:11 Oh, so really the focus on healthy, on looking good because it is healthy, not because you'll look good that way? Is that what you mean?

00:47:18 Yes! Like, you don't work out because you want to look good, you work out because you want to be healthy. Staying healthy, feeling good, ok and being mentally ok, because you eat healthy, and you sport and you feel positive about who you are. So I think it is an under layer of body positivity.

00:48:04 Ah, ok, I understand now. And, uh, maybe this question is a bit double, but uh, what movement would you feel most related to, if you had to choose?

00:48:19 Well, now, at the moment, I am very interested in body neutrality, what does it mean, what does it do, how does it work, is it how I see it now, and how can they integrate it into people's lives, and more mainstream as a movement. Yeah, I think it's a layer underneath the other body positivity movement.

00:48:43 Ok. And if you look at it in terms of content you came across? Uh, [is silent] I know you did not come across a lot of this content, but uh [is silent], try to answer it if you can.

00:49:22 I think body positivity.

00:49:24 Body positivity, why?

00:49:25 Because I relate most to that movement. If you take fat acceptance and there is a post only picturing fat people, then I don't relate to that, since I am not big or fat. So I don't relate to it. And I think the whole thing about body positivity is about, uh, that everybody is accepted, both the thick and thin people.

00:49:46 Ok. I just remember that you talked about the girl with the stoma. Does the body positive content you come across with focus mainly on body sizes, types, so thick, thin and hair and the

absence of hair, like you said before in terms of shaving, or does it also focus on different aspects, like ethnicities?

00:50:03 No, no. In the content I see, they try to use people as diverse as possible, so in body types, diseases, make-up, ethnicities.

00:50:14 Ok. And is that diverse enough according to you?

00:50:15 Yeah, the group is so broad, and if your message is “everybody is normal, everybody is accepted”, and then you only focus on a specific group, then that does not work. So it would also not work if you only put people with diseases or disabilities, or specific ethnicities and body types. So it should also not be so transparent, so that people can say “oh you see, they are only using this or this types of people”, you know.

00:50:26 Ok. So it's not just white women you see?

00:50:27 No, there are different ethnicities and body types and everything.

00:50:29 Is the majority women, though, or female-looking?

00:50:31 Uh, yes. I don't actually see men in this content or conversation to be honest. I think men in this regard, especially in body positivity, are way behind. And I think it is important that that changes. Like things as toxic masculinity, women are at least fighting that, or fighting for equality and stuff, and how to feel good about and within our own body. But men... We have gotten from dresses to pants, but why are men not yet moving from pants to dresses? I mean, why... We adapt to men, we fight these battles, and a man is just a man. I think that is wrong.

00:51:12 Interesting take! So we do come back to feminism a little bit, in a sense. There are still a lot of battles to be fought. Anyways, Vera, I would like to thank you very much for your time, and for your answers! Are there any more things you would like to add or some comments you would like to make, maybe because we did not get there in detail?

00:51:36 No, I think this is all right like this [laughs]. No problem, I was happy to help.

#### Interview 4

00:02:16

*Participant:* Ja, BP het meeste en FA denk ik ook wel redelijk, maar die laatste, BN, nog niet helemaal.

00:02:21

*Interviewer:* Dat is niet zo gek, is vrij recent, dus er zijn veel mensen die er eigenlijk nog niet nog nooit van gehoord hebben. Maar ben je er.... Hoe bewust mee bezig? Wat zeg maar, hoe doe je dat?

00:02:39

*Participant:* Ja, ik vond het gewoon wat Insta accounts en ik heb ook wel gewoon vriendinnen die zich er mee bezighouden soms ziet dan wat in storing voorbijkomen of zo, en dan lees ik dat gewoon en soms kun je gewoon YouTube, filmpjes opzoeken over BP en body acceptance en zo acceptatie van je eigen lichaam. Dus het is niet dat ik mega actief ben, maar ik vind het wel interessant om daar dingen over te kijken.

00:03:01

*Interviewer:* Oké, oké, en je hebt ook Instagram toch? Want volg je ook dit soort accounts op Instagram of ben je er via Instagram bewust mee bezig?

00:03:19

*Participant:* Ja, ik denk wel dat ik er met Instagram een beetje ben ingerold zeg maar, want op een gegeven moment krijg je natuurlijk.... een paar jaar geleden al die mensen die perfecte plaatjes lieten zien en zo, en op een gegeven moment hoorde je steeds meer dat dat het gewoon heel slecht was voor lichaamsbeeld van tienermeiden vooral, maar ook gewoon ook voor jongens en andere leeftijdsgroepen en toen kwamen steeds meer mensen die zich ook met body positivity gingen bezighouden de werkelijkheid zeg maar lieten zien. En toen dacht ik van oh, dat vind ik wel heel interessant, want iemand kan tegelijk..., op het ene moment een hele dunne buik en bijvoorbeeld, en dan gaan zitten en dan is het gewoon... dat je ook gewoon een vetrolletje hebt. Dat is hartstikke normaal. En toen dacht ik van: ja, ik was zelf ook onzeker, dus dan vond ik dat heel fijn om mij daarmee bezig te houden zo.

00:04:01

*Interviewer:* Ben er je ook mee bezig, omdat je natuurlijk psychologie studeert, dat je daar nog een link mee legt?

00:04:07

*Participant:* Ja, ik vind dat inderdaad ook wel heel interessant en ik ben ook wel geïnteresseerd, een eetstoornissen en dat soort dingen, en ik denk heel vaak dat als er juist een gebrek is aan BP, en die andere termen van FA en zo dat dat dan echt wel kan leiden tot een eetstoornis. Dat vind ik wel heel interessant, inderdaad, omdat dat met elkaar te maken heeft, maar ik ben nog niet echt per se dieper op ingegaan.

00:04:30

*Interviewer:* Oké, begrijpelijk, goed. ik zou nu even een paar vragen aan je willen stellen over je Instagramgebruik in het algemeen. Ehm, dus voor wat voor dingen gebruik je Instagram?

00:04:48

*Participant:* Ja, eigenlijk gewoon om een beetje te kijken wat vrienden doen natuurlijk. En om zelf soort van op die manier mijn creativiteit nog te delen via foto's en zo, en ook wel gewoon om

inspiratie op te doen van Instagrammers en mensen die gewoon professioneel Instagram doen zeg maar.

00:05:04

*Interviewer:* Oké, en ben jij meer een actieve Instagrammer, of juist passief? Like jij veel of reageer je veel post je zelf veel dingen...

00:05:15

*Participant:* Ik denk wel eerder actief. ik reageer niet heel vaak op dingen, alleen op dingen van mijn vriendinnen en zo, maar ik plaats op zich wel een paar keer per maand wat. En ik like ook wel gewoon veel, dus ik ben redelijk actief in het algemeen.

00:05:28

*Interviewer:* En uit andere interviews bleek al dat er heel veel via Instagram stories werd gedaan. Gebruik jij dat ook veel of gebruik je meer? Je je gewoon echt je account zegmaar?

00:05:42

*Participant:* Maar ja, ik denk dat ik gewoon meer dingen post, als ik het gewoon een leuke foto vind of zo, en als ik het echt wel delen met anderen... Dat het er dan vast opstaat... En mn stories gebruik ik gewoon meer voor wat ik dagelijks doe of soms, dan zie ik inderdaad een post over BP of mental awareness of zo, en dan deel ik dat meestal om mijn verhaal zegmaar... Ja, dat is eigenlijk vooral waar ik mn verhaal voor gebruik.

00:06:07

*Interviewer:* Oké, en wat voor een accounts volg je voornamelijk op Instagram?

00:06:15

*Participant:* Buiten kennissen en vrienden en dat soort dingen denk ik vooral YouTubers die ik vroeger bijvoorbeeld. Dat vind ik dan wel grappig om te zien, ookal kijk ik niet meer op YouTube. Ik denk ook wel gewoon mensen die gewoon echt mooie foto's plaatsen en ook echt zeker wel wat mensen die gewoon heel erg met die BP bezig zijn.... ja, die die daar zo over plaatsen.

00:06:39

*Interviewer:* Mmm.

00:06:40

*Participant:* Verder denkt nog wat sportaccounts, daar ben ik eigenlijk ook wel mee bezig, maar ik denk dat dat de meeste accounts zijn, ja.

00:06:49

*Interviewer:* Oké, en die mensen die jij volgt, waarvan je zegt die volg ik specifiek vanwege de BP content die zij plaatsen, wat voor content is dat?

00:07:00

*Participant:* Meestal is dat dan iets van, dat ze op de ene foto heel erg gaan poseren. Dat je dan echt ziet van: wow is echt een mooi lichaam en de andere foto ontspannen ze gewoon alles, doen ze gewoon de kleding normaal, en dan geen pose en dan zie je ook, zeg maar, hoe, zeg maar, een lichaam in het echt... in een halve minuut, zo erg van elkaar, een soort van kan verschillen op foto's en dat mensen zichzelf, ehm...., beter kunnen voordoen op internet... Maar ook gewoon foto's van wat vollere vrouwen en zo, en die dan gewoon ehm ja, daar een verhaal over schrijven in de caption, dat je gewoon van jezelf houden en dat soort dingen.

00:07:37

*Interviewer:* En wat versta je onder? Dit is misschien een hele lastige vraag, hoor, maar wat versta jij onder vollere vrouwen?

00:07:46

*Participant:* Ehm.... Ja, ik denk gewoon: zeg, maar die plussize models dan... Ik denk dat de meeste mensen gewoon een beetje gemiddeld gewicht hebben en dat vind ik nog niet vol. Maar ik denk dat wel heel veel mensen denken dat ze een vollere vrouw zijn, omdat je heel vaak alleen maar dunne vrouwen ziet in de media.

00:08:05

*Interviewer:* Interessant, oké, ehm even kijken wat er nog meer vragen gaan over social media.... Dat weten we wel..... Dat je wel bekend met met deze online social movement ehm, omdat je ze ook wel volgt op Instagram. En hoe hebben deze online social movements, die je volgt op Instagram tenminste, jouw kijk op deze social issues veranderd of beïnvloed?

00:08:41

*Participant:* Ehm.... Ja, nou ja, eerst was je het ideaalbeeld van dun zijn en zo en daar groei je ook echt wel een beetje mee op.

00:08:47

*Participant:* En ik denk...

00:08:49

*Participant:* Ja, en heel veel vrouwen zijn niet op die manier dun, en ik denk dat het gewoon heel erg goed is voor de meeste meiden, ook in mijn omgeving, dat dit een steeds groter iets wordt en dat er steeds meer positiviteit komt over je eigen lichaam en dat mensen gewoon hopelijk ook meer van zichzelf gaan houden door niet meer zoiets te hebben van: Ik moet dat ideaalbeeld zijn en dat het ideaalbeeld nu een soort van wordt verbreed naar meerdere lichaamsvormen enzo.

00:09:14

*Interviewer:* Dus een diverse diverser ideaalbeeld die laten zien?

00:09:17

*Participant:* Ja, precies...

00:09:17

*Interviewer:* Interessant, oké, en denk je dat Instagram de goede plek is om dat soort ehm... awareness te creëren? Hoe vind je dat? Is Instagram goede plek daarvoor?

00:09:35

*Participant:* Aan de ene kant wel, de andere kant... aan de andere kant echt totaal niet, want je hebt nog steeds heel veel mensen, die die alleen maar de goede, mooie dingen laten zien, waardoor je toch nog wel een beetje onzeker kan worden. Maar je hebt ook juist er heel veel mensen die echt voor die, ja, die awareness en die body positivity, die echt aan het strijden zijn. Dus aan de ene kant... Ja, het ligt er echt aan welke kant op Instagram je zit... ehm ja, dat een beetje moeilijke vraag. Aan de ene kant wel, want andere kant niet.

00:10:03

*Interviewer:* Nee, begrijpelijk, want die accounts die jij volgt waarvan je net zei, van die wat meer met body positivity bezig zijn. Zijn dat echt van die... Ehm.. Zijn dat influencers of Instagrammers die



daarmee bezig zijn zelf? Of zijn het echt van die soort van, ehm... echte accounts... Echt over body positivity alleen?

00:10:23

*Participant:* Ja, ik volg me wel echt een paar van die accounts zeg maar, die echt gewoon over BP gaan, maar ook wel gewoon influencers.

00:10:29

*Participant:* En je merkt dat ook steeds meer influencers er wel mee bezig zijn. Dus ookal ben ik iemand niet gaan volgen om die reden... Dan gaat diegene het meestal uit zichzelf toch wel doen.

00:10:41

*Interviewer:* En merk je verschil tussen de content van die mensen die dus als Instagrammer wat meer body positivity laten zien, en de accounts die echt voor body positivity staan?

00:10:55

*Participant:* Ja, die accounts zijn over het algemeen, denk ik, vooral een beetje van die soort van tekeningetjes en zo en tekstjes erbij. En ik denk: als je echt naar personen gaat, die BP promoten, dat je dan echt meer foto's van lichamen ziet en echt persoonlijke verhalen en ervaringen en zo, dus meestal hou ik daar ook wel wat meer uit dan zegmaar.

00:11:16

*Interviewer:* Oké, oké, goed, dan zou ik nu even een paar vragen stellen over de body positivity movement specifiek... alleen dat movement. Je zei al dat je er bekend mee was, dus waar staat de body positivity movement voor wat jou betreft?

00:11:34

*Participant:* Dat gewoon elk lichaam geaccepteerd moeten worden... en dat er niet één ideaalbeeld is, zoals ik net zei, dat mensen steeds ja, positiever naar zichzelf gaan kijken en hun eigen lichaam gewoon accepteren, en dan zeg maar, niet kijken naar alle flaws die je hebt, zeg maar, en dat gewoon dingen zoals ze cellulitis en stretch marks en zo, dat het eigenlijk heel normaal is, denk ik ook wel.

00:12:00

*Interviewer:* Oké, oké, dus niet per se alleen lichaamsgewicht maar misschien ook ja wat je net zei: cellulitis en een stretch marks en zo dus ook echt gewoon oneffenheden in die zin, zeg maar?

00:12:13

*Participant:* Ja, soort van alle imperfecties die je in principe zou hebben, terwijl het eigenlijk hartstikke normaal is om te hebben. Eigenlijk hebben de meeste mensen die wel.

00:12:22

*Interviewer:* Oké.

00:12:23

*Participant:* En denk ik ook wel gewoon het besef dat zeg maar, die niet fout is. Maar dat is denk ik meer fat acceptance...

00:12:30

*Interviewer:* Weet ik niet, dat ligt... dat is aan jou denk ik. Vind je dat? Is daar een duidelijk onderscheid in, tussen fat acceptance en BP?

00:12:41

*Participant:* FA, weet ik dan iets minder van, ehm, maar ja, ik weet het niet, eigenlijk... Vind ik moeilijk.

00:12:52

*Interviewer:* Want je zei dat je wel iets van fat acceptance wist... Volg je dat ook op Instagram FA accounts of mensen die dat delen?

00:13:03

*Participant:* Ja, denk één of twee mensen, maar dat komt ook wel op... Ik heb ook, TikTok en daar komt dat ook wel wat voorbij. Dus ik denk dat ik er daar eigenlijk meer over tegenkom.

00:13:12

*Interviewer:* Oké, en zie je duidelijk verschillen dan tussen body positivity content en fat acceptance content?

00:13:20

*Participant:* Ik zie dat het meestal redelijk overeenkomt... Meestal... de mensen die voor body positivity staan, die staan ook FA... ehm, alleen ik neem ik... Ik... Ja... Ik vind het lastig, want FA is op een gegeven moment... Is het niet meer gezond voor iemand om een bepaalde, ja, gewoon bepaalde hoeveelheid vet hebben en ik weet niet of je dat dan nog moet accepteren, dat je dus niet dat diegene minder waard is, omdat diegene een groot lichaam heeft, want het gaat ook echt allemaal niet om het lichaam alleen, maar als het op een gegeven moment ten koste gaat van iemands gezondheid, dan weet ik niet of je dan nog moet accepteren. Dat vind ik echt een heel moeilijk onderwerp.

00:13:58

*Interviewer:* Oké, maar ja.... dus is daarom misschien body positivity... makkelijker te accepteren in die zin?

00:14:08

*Participant:* Ja, ik denk het wel, omdat het gewoon ja, ik weet niet verder... FA is echt op het... op de dikkere mensen bedoeld en dat is ook heel goed, weet je, want dit betekent niet per se ongezond of lui of wat dan ook. Al die stereotypen sturen aan zijn verboden, maar op een gegeven moment is wel, zeg maar, een grens die je moet trekken. Van joh, je moet iemand wel af van, ook wel eens kun je gewoon dood aan gaan.

00:14:28

*Interviewer:* Ja, ja.

00:14:28

*Participant:* Net als dat je ook in gaat grijpen bij mensen die anorexia hebben die te dun worden.

00:14:35

*Interviewer:* En denk je dat dat misschien lastig... zegmaar... waar ligt die grens? Is dat, denk je, is dat makkelijk te bepalen?

00:14:43

*Participant:* Nee, dat is heel lastig natuurlijk, want sommige mensen, die hebben ook gewoon een bepaald gen waardoor ze makkelijker dik worden, of obesitas krijgen of bepaalde gebeurtenissen in het leven, waardoor ze bijvoorbeeld binge-eating ontwikkelen of wat dan ook, en waardoor je dan gewoon obesitas van kan krijgen, bijvoorbeeld. En ja, en dan, ja, ik weet niet, ik vind het gewoon heel

lastig waar je dan die grens moet trekken, maar andere mensen die sporten juist hartstikke veel, meer dan misschien ook hartstikke veel spier. Maar dan zie je niet omdat er gewoon een laagje vet overheen zit, terwijl ze eigenlijk hartstikke gezond zijn in principe. Dus het is heel moeilijk waar die grens moet trekken. Je weet niet hoe mensen echt leven, hoe hun levensstijl is.

00:15:21

*Interviewer:* Nee precies. En wat zou je dan zeggen, is het verschil tussen BP en fat acceptance, als dat er is?

00:15:31

*Participant:* Ehm... Ja, ik denk sowieso dat het verschil klein is. Maar ik denk dat bij BP sowieso over alle lichamen gaat. Gewoon alle lichamen zijn oké en überhaupt niet alleen... Het gaat niet alleen om je lichaam, ehm... en en dat bij FA, ook daarover gaat dat er zeg maar hoe noem je dat ook weer? Fat shaming dat dat gewoon niet oké is en dat je niet weet wat er achter zit bij mensen. Dus ik denk dat daar misschien, ja, ik weet niet, ik vind het lastig wat het verschil precies is.

00:16:02

*Interviewer:* Ja...want net zei je ook BP, die van ook imperfecties zeg maar niet per se alleen maar: hoe groot het lichaam is of... of de size of het lichaam, maar ook dus vetrolletjes, striae, cellulitis... Dus dat soort dingen, is dat ook een onderdeel van fat acceptance?

00:16:27

*Participant:* Ehm, Ja, maar ja, ik denk het wel.... want ja, bijna ja, ik denk dat body positivity sowieso een beetje onder fat acceptance valt. Dus als je fat acceptance zegmaar, dat hebt, dan ben je ook je wel BP, neem ik aan. Maar ik denk niet dat bijvoorbeeld iedereen die BP is, FA is, zegmaar zo. Maar ik denk dus wel dat als jij heel erg met FA bezig bent, dat je ook wel gewoon bezig bent met stretch marks, cellulitis enzo te accepteren.

00:17:04

*Interviewer:* Oké, oké, en merk je verschil, zegmaar, ook omdat je nou deze verschillen een soort van een beetje noemt, ook in de content op Instagram?

00:17:18

*Participant:* Mmm niet per se, want bijvoorbeeld een zo'n plussize model die ik volg, die plaatst in principe gewoon een soort van dezelfde verhalen, maar dan misschien andere ervaringen, maar het komt op hetzelfde neer als mensen die echt niet per se plus size zijn, maar gewoon BP zijn. Ik denk niet dat het de content per se heel veel verschilt.

00:17:40

*Interviewer:* Oké, want een plus model hoort dat... valt dat onder fat acceptance of valt dat onder body positivity voor jou? Zeg maar, waar ligt de grens van wat hoort bij FA, en wat bij BP?

00:17:57

*Participant:* Ik denk... BP... omdat volgens mij aan plussize modellen ook wel weer maten aan verbonden zijn.

00:18:03

*Interviewer:* Oké, en wat voor mensen zou je dan verwachten, die dan vallen onder fat acceptance zeg maar?

00:18:10

*Participant:* Ik denk meer mensen die echt wel obesitas hebben ontwikkeld, zegmaar... ehm maar dat je ze niet moet gaan beoordelen over hun lichaam, hoe groot zijn dat dat misschien een beetje fat acceptance is.

00:18:24

*Interviewer:* Oké, even kijken... oké, dus je zei net dat je het op zich wel een goed ding vond dat dit soort movement op Instagram actief zijn en dat je daardoor meer awareness krijgt, maar dat je tegelijkertijd ook een beetje tricky vond. Hoe zit dat met BP? Die vind je dat ook een beetje tricky om dat op Instagram te laten zien?

00:19:04

*Participant:* Zelf bedoel je?

00:19:04

*Interviewer:* Nou of gewoon in het algemeen, als je dat ziet dat je denkt van: nou, dit is een goede ontwikkeling. Dat stel: Je bent op Instagram even door je feed aan het scrollen en je ziet wat BP content, denk je dan van: oh, dit is goed dat er meer mensen dit te zien krijgen. Of denk je dan ook nog van nou, ik weet niet zo goed op Instagram eigenlijk de goeie plek daarvoor is...

00:19:26

*Participant:* Nee, ik vind het wel heel goed, want ik denk dat Instagram op het moment wel één van de grootste platformen is, waar gewoon de meeste mensen te vinden zijn. Ik denk dat je echt wel het grootste bereik hebt. Ik vind het heel goed dat dat het er op staat zegmaar.

00:19:38

*Interviewer:* Oké, en voor fat acceptance... dat kom je misschien minder vaak tegen, weet ik niet?

00:19:43

*Participant:* Ja, wel nog iets minder.

00:19:45

*Interviewer:* En wat vind je daarvan als je dat voorbij ziet komen op Instagram?

00:19:51

*Participant:* Ja, ook goed, ik kom dat natuurlijk wel iets minder vaak tegen, maar ik ben er ook gewoon mee eens.. Er zijn gewoon zoveel stereotypes verbonden aan grotere mensen en meestal zijn ze heel erg onterecht en en je ziet ook wel eens filmpjes voorbijkomen dat iemand die voller is echt voor gek wordt gezet en dan denk ik van: waar slaat dit op, weetje? En dan ben je gewoon echt aan het fat shamen en dat vind ik gewoon onzin.

00:20:16

*Interviewer:* Oké, oké, duidelijk ehm even kijken. Je noemde net al TikTok.. Gebruik je ook nog andere social accounts waar je dit soort content voorbij ziet komen?

00:20:36

*Participant:* Ik heb Facebook. Maar dat is meer om familie bij te houden... snapchat wordt ook niet heel erg daarvoor gebruikt. Ik zit daar ook niet zoveel veel meer daarop eigenlijk. Ik zit ook op Pinterest, maar daar kom ik niet heel veel tegen. Ik moet eerlijk zeggen: als ik mijn Pinterest open en dan heb je ook gewoon zo'n feed pagina met dingen die jij een leuk zou kunnen vinden en meestal zie

je dan echt alleen maar dunne meiden voorbijkomen. Daar is het beeld heel eenzijdig, wat zegmaar aesthetic is.

00:21:03

*Interviewer:* Ja, ja, interessant om dat verschil tussen platforms te zien, want hoe zit dat Tik Tok?

00:21:11

*Participant:* Op TikTok heb je zo'n "for you page", waar gewoon dingen op komen, die soort van het algoritme denkt die jij interessant of leuk vindt. Dus ja, dat ligt er een beetje aan. Je hebt soort van kanten op Tiktok waar je op kan komen. Dus als je ineens op de BP kant zit, dan krijg je heel veel filmpjes daarvan. Maar soms zie ik er ook weken lang niks over.

00:21:33

*Interviewer:* Is er een verschil tussen de hoeveelheid content op Instagram en Tiktok zeg maar wat betreft body positivity, dat bijvoorbeeld Tiktok meer dat soort dingen laten zien of...?

00:21:47

*Participant:* Ja, dat vind ik moeilijk, want ik weet niet hoe groot Tiktok nou eigenlijk is en ik ben daar ook niet mega veel mee bezig, maar ik kom wel echt wel vaak filmpjes op zich tegen, dat mensen bijvoorbeeld alle imperfecties van hun lichaam laten zien. En dan denk ik van: ja, fijn, ben ik niet de enige die dat heeft, zeg maar. Maar ook gewoon ja, FA en BP, die kom ik ook wel regelmatig tegen. Ik denk dat ongeveer gelijk ligt tussen Instagram en Tiktok.

00:22:16

*Interviewer:* Goed, even kijken dan, nu zou ik even over body neutrality. Wat denk je... als.. Als je dit woord hoort, body neutrality. Waar denk je dan aan? Wat denk je dat het, waar het voor staat?

00:22:28

*Participant:* Ik denk misschien maar niet per se daar om.... maar dat in die beweging niet per se de nadruk op lichaam wordt gelegd, dat het zeg maar niet om de grootte of zeg maar... hoe het eruitziet, maar misschien dat er meer erom gaat van: jouw lichaam is gewoon een machine die jou in leven houdt en je moet eigenlijk hartstikke blij mee zijn.

00:22:48

*Interviewer:* Je bent de eerste die het gelijk gelijk weet, want inderdaad, daar staat het meer voor. Het is een beetje als een soort van tegenreactie op body positivity, omdat ze denken van nou hè, bij BP is meer, zeg maar.... er is meer ruimte om verschillende of diverse lichamen te accepteren. Maar tegelijkertijd ligt er daarom wel druk bij mensen om hun lichaam te accepteren. En zij zeggen van: nou ja, soms ben je niet altijd positief over je lichaam. Soms heb je dagen of momenten dat je denkt van: nou, het is eigenlijk allemaal even niks. Dus BN, die probeert dat een beetje te... te counteren in de zin van: nou hè, je moet gewoon al blij zijn dat je lichaam hebt en het is gewoon een omhulsel... Het is maar een omhulsel. Het gaat eigenlijk niet. Het zou niet altijd om je lichaam moeten gaan als in hoe het eruitziet, want dat is niet het belangrijkste... Dus dat klopt, je hebt het helemaal, helemaal goed! Zie je wel eens content op Instagram wat hier een beetje mee mee te maken zou kunnen hebben, wat hier op slaat?

00:23:49

*Participant:* Ja, ook wel een beetje, maar ik denk dat de meeste mensen nu nog een beetje bij BP hangen, zeg maar, en dat is denk ik, steeds meer naar die BN overgaat... Maar ja, ik zie het wel minder.

00:24:05

*Interviewer:* Is het, denk je, en...

00:24:06

*Participant:* Ik wist er wel een beetje van af..

00:24:08

*Interviewer:* Oké.

00:24:08

*Participant:* Maar ik wist niet echt dat deze term eraan was verbonden.

00:24:09

*Interviewer:* Oh, ja, oh ja.. Hoe wist je ervan af, had je omdat je daar zelf al over had gelezen of hoe...?

00:24:17

*Participant:* Ja, ik denk dat ik er gewoon een keertje over heb gelezen of gehoord, of zo, maar ik lees heel vaak, van die random artikelen, dan onthoud ik soort van wat erin staat, maar niet echt waar het vandaan komt en hoe ik er precies aan kom.

00:24:27

*Interviewer:* Nee, oké. Want denk je dat BN een onderdeel is van BP, of zijn er twee aparte onderwerpen? Hoe zit dat?

00:24:39

*Participant:* Ja, jij zei net het is een soort van reactie op BP, en ik zou ik het niet echt tegenover elkaar zetten per se, want ik ben ook denk ik wel met allebei eens, want je moet... Aan de ene kant moeten je gewoon, acceptatie van alle lichaamsvormen en lichamen komen en imperfecties en zo. Maar de andere kant ligt dat ook weer heel veel nadruk over jouw uiterlijk en je lichaam, terwijl je van binnen ook nog een hele persoonlijkheid hebt die eigenlijk veel meer over een persoon zegt. Dus dat vind ik heel goed aan die neutraliteit maar ja, ik zou niet per se zeggen dat tegenover elkaar ligt... Het is ook weer niet dat het samenvalt zegmaar.

00:25:12

*Interviewer:* Ja, misschien deels overlappend of zo?

00:25:15

*Participant:* Ja, ja, ik denk het. En dat je bij beiden gewoon eigenlijk het besef moet hebben van: joh, alle lichamen zijn oke, maar het lichaam is niet het enige wat er is. Ik heb ook nog een hele... een heel innerlijk.

00:25:26

*Interviewer:* Interessant, oké en ehm, maar in het begin van het interview vertelde je ook dat je soms dingen tegenkomt of zelf dingen deelt in je stories over mental health of mental awareness. Valt dat ook onder één van deze drie movements?

00:25:48

*Participant:* Ehm, dat weet ik niet, maar dan moet je wel... zeg maar meestal, ik ben dan zelf zo'n beetje een voorbeeld van, maar de meeste mensen die voor mental awareness zijn, komen meestal ook wel op voor body positivity. Die zijn gewoon maatschappelijk al actief betrokken en er mee aan de

gang. Ik denk dat het misschien wel bij... Ja, dat is natuurlijk niet echt. Je misschien dat bij BP, zou ik het meeste onder kunnen plaatsen. Maar het is natuurlijk niet, echt je lichaam. Het is heel erg mentaal, het zit in je hoofd, mensen zien het niet echt aan je, ik weet niet echt bij past. Het is ook wel een ander onderwerpen dat ik belangrijk vind, ja.

00:26:19

*Interviewer:* Ja dus jij zou het niet per se bij deze drie bij body acceptance horen of laten horen? Maar meer een apart onderdeel van een apart movement over, bv. mental health ofzo.

00:26:29

*Participant:* Ja, maar je hebt natuurlijk ook eetstoornissen en dat is dan mentaal en lichaam.

00:26:33

*Interviewer:* Dus er zit misschien toch een soort van overlap in, misschien?

00:26:37

*Participant:* Ja, ja, kleine overlap denk ik wel.

00:26:39

*Interviewer:* Want, de content die jij ziet, maakt... zeg maar gerelateerd aan deze drie movements, dus of BP, of FA of BN, gaat dat ooit wel eens over iets anders dan het uiterlijk, als in: wordt daar ook wel eens over mental health of andere maatschappelijke problemen of issues gesproken?

00:26:57

*Participant:* Ook, ja, dat kom ik ook wel regelmatig tegen ehm, ja, want zoals net zei, van mensen die voor BP opkomen, komen ook wel op voor mental health, dus meestal zijn dat wel die accounts, die vallen dan een beetje samen, zeg maar de mensen die ik dan volg, die praten over beide. Dus dat kom ik ook wel tegen en ik zit natuurlijk in de psychologie dus ik vind dat sowieso wel interessant, en volg ook wel een aantal accounts die meer over mental health gaan.

00:27:25

*Interviewer:* En die accounts die je net noemde, die echt, zeg maar specifiek over BP gaan of FA, delen die ook wel eens iets over mental health of awareness, of?

00:27:38

*Participant:* Ja, de meeste wel. Nou, er is een heel groot account: @feminist, ik weet niet of je kent toevallig. Ik volg ze ook en zij plaatsen ook wel gewoon over body positivity en feminisme natuurlijk, maar ook over mental health. Die pakken een beetje al die onderwerpen aan. Je ziet wel vaak dat dat overeenkomt, zegmaar in die accounts.

00:28:03

*Interviewer:* En die content die je net noemt: hoe ziet die er uit? Even kijken of ik dit beter kan kan uitleggen... Wat valt je zegmaar.... Wat is wat je ziet als je bijvoorbeeld... je gaat naar zo'n BP account of naar zo'n Instagrammer die er veel over plaatst, wat voor dingen vallen je dan op aan die posts?

00:28:25

*Participant:* Ehm, ik denk dat bij BP... lichaamgerelateerde onderwerpen, zeg maar, maar het gaat ook weer over ervaringen die mensen hebben en hoe zij er over voelen. En bij mental health, daar heb je natuurlijk ook heel vaak ervaringsverhalen, maar ook heel vaak wel dat mensen gewoon de kennis delen die erover is. Dat je.. Bijvoorbeeld stel, er is een post over depressiviteit en je hebt iemand in je omgeving die depressief is, dat je die posts dan kan gebruiken om die iemand te helpen of hoe je er

mee moet omgaan. Of je ziet vaak manieren van waarop je zo'n iemand zou kunnen ondersteunen en zo. Dus ik denk dat dat meer educatief is, en dat BP meer ervaring is, en op die manier misschien ook wel educatief, maar een soort van via ervaringsverhalen. Dat valt mij het meeste op.

00:29:09

*Interviewer:* Ja ja, en die ervaringen, hoe wordt dat dan geïllustreerd? Zeg maar in een post, heb je dan een before en after foto of hoe zit dat?

00:29:18

*Participant:* Nee, niet per se before en after, want dan.... soort van, bij before after heb je altijd zoiets van dat before niet mooi zou zijn en die after wel. En heb ik zoiets van je lichaam is overal mooi en het is normaal dat je lichaam verandert. Meestal zijn het denk ik gewoon foto's van iemands lichaam, en dan gewoon in de caption eronder of gewoon in de post zelf, dat de foto gewoon een tekstje is.

00:29:41

*Interviewer:* En zijn dat dan geposeerde foto's of juist wat, je net zei, van niet geposeerd, dat je een staande heb en en en daarna een foto van iemand, zeg maar dezelfde persoon die dan ziet, en dat je dan wel een vetrolletje ziet..?

00:29:53

*Participant:* Ja, ik denk dat allebei wel een beetje. Sommige... bijvoorbeeld, plussize modellen, die doen soms geposeerde maar soms ook gewoon, bijvoorbeeld als ze zitten inderdaad, dat je gewoon vetrollen ziet en zo, maar ook wel gewoon dat je zeg maar, twee.. van wel poseer en niet poseer foto's naast elkaar hebt. Denk alles een beetje.

00:30:12

*Interviewer:* En valt je ook nog eens iets op in de zin van gefotoshopte foto's of met filters of zo, is dat iets wat veel wordt gebruikt in die BP content?

00:30:25

*Participant:* Ja, ze zeggen natuurlijk van niet, maar je weet nooit met Instagram... Ja, ik denk dat het wel veel minder wordt gedaan als bij echt influencers en Instagrammers, die echt dat mooie beeld neerzetten, die doen denk sowieso heel veel photoshop. Ik denk dat bij BP accounts... hoop ik in ieder geval dat het veel minder is, want anders zou niet echt helemaal eerlijk zijn. Maar je ziet natuurlijk ook heel vaak dat mensen in hun verhaal zo veel filters op hun hoofd doen, waardoor je ineens grote lippen hebt en grote ogen en dat het niet per se heel erg opvalt dat het een filter is. Dat zet dan wel een beetje een beeld neer van, ja, dat is mooi.

00:31:02

*Interviewer:* Is dat daarom ook denk je... ook één van de redenen waarom je toch misschien een beetje kritisch blijft op dit soort content op Instagram omdat het Instagram is en dat dus bekend staat als de plek waar je mooi moet zijn, en de plek van de filters en photoshop en dat soort dingen?

00:31:21

*Participant:* Ja, ik denk het wel, je blijft toch wel kritisch, inderdaad van: joh, deze foto kan altijd gefotoshopt zijn. Ehm ja, je blijft wel kritisch, maar soort van... Bij BP ga je er ook wel vanzelf al van uit dat het niet op bewerkt wordt. Dus daar let ik er denk ik minder op. Maar als ik... Ik volg ook een paar mensen die er niet per se heel erg mee bezig zijn, dat ze gewoon echt zo perfect lichaampje hebben en dan neem ik wel eens iets van oké, waarschijnlijk is de helft van deze foto bewerkt, en ziet ze er in het echt ook niet zo uit. Dus het verschil per account.



00:31:51

*Interviewer:* En zie je misschien die trend van BP, wat we net zeiden van nou hè, misschien niet geposeerd of zonder photoshop of zonder filters of met minder filters... zie je dat misschien ook al een beetje doordruppelen op normale, tussen aanhalingstekens, Instagramaccounts van bijvoorbeeld influencers, of wat dan ook, die je volgt?

00:32:13

*Participant:* Ja, en ik weet niet of jij Vivian Hoorn bijvoorbeeld kent. Zij had eerst altijd dat gewoon echt een.... Ze heeft nog steeds een mooi lichaam. Maar eerst had ze meer, dat perfecte, dat ideaalbeeld zeg maar, daar zat ze meer tegenaan. En nu is zij ook met dat BP bezig en ze is best wel wat aangekomen. Nog steeds heeft ze echt een heel mooi lichaam eigenlijk. En je merkt op die manier dat mensen steeds meer mee bezig zijn. En ik volg ook weer iemand anders, dat is een soort van een vriendin van haar, die plaatst dan gewoon geproduceerde foto een mislukte foto waar ze een heel raar hoofd trekt bijvoorbeeld, en dat soort dingen, dat zie je wel steeds meer doorkomen in een soort van een normale influencers, dat mensen zich gewoon echt bezighouden van: mijn lichaam is gewoon oké, zoals het is.

00:32:57

*Interviewer:* En is dat een goede ontwikkeling? Of denk je van, het is misschien een beetje trendmatig, of iets anders?

00:33:03

*Participant:* Allebei. Het is natuurlijk ook wel een beetje een trend, eigenlijk. Ehm, ja, ik vind het wel goed, hoor, dat, ik vind het een positieve trend, maar het is wel een trend en ik zie ook bijvoorbeeld nu... Het viel me pas heel erg op dat echt enorm veel mensen gewoon heel veel aan het sporten zijn op dit moment en ik heb echt het idee dat dat ook gewoon een beetje een trend is en sowieso... altijd, mensen zijn altijd veel aan sporten, maar nu heb ik een soort van het idee dat het veel meer is, dat je echt van die sport influencers hebt en dat mensen gewoon een beetje meedoen voor de trend.

00:33:33

*Interviewer:* Maar wat overheerst, denk je van? Nou, het is een trend, dus misschien zijn mensen er niet helemaal super eerlijk in of niet... met met de goede intentie daaraan begonnen, maar aan de andere kant ze laten in het wel zien. Dus misschien wordt het dan wel wat meer genormaliseerd... de echte lichamen.. Wat overheerst, wat voor gevoel?

00:33:52

*Participant:* Ik denk wel gewoon dat dat.. dat het oprecht is allemaal. Het is wel een trend, maar het is denk ik ook een trend dat mensen denken van: wow ja, dit is echt een goede beweging en hier sta ik ook wel achter, en dat ze dan meedoen en dat daarin de trend ook iets groter wordt. Maar dat mensen wel oprecht zijn van: oké. Alle lichamen zijn ook gewoon goed zoals ze zijn. Dus ik denk wel dat de oprechtheid overheerst. .

00:34:12

*Interviewer:* Oké, en terug naar hoe die posts eruitzien.... Ligt de nadruk vooral op lichaam, dus type of gewicht of de grootte van het lichaam, of zie je ook weleens andere soort van probleemgebieden die voorbijkomen om het even zo te zeggen?

00:34:36

*Participant:* Heb je een voorbeeld?

00:34:38

*Interviewer:* Nou, bijvoorbeeld omdat je net al zei van nou, soms zie je ook wel eens cellulitis voorbijkomen of wat dan ook, en dat is natuurlijk nog steeds een onderdeel van een lichaam. Maar de posts die je ziet, zijn die vooral gericht op van: ik ben wat voller vandaag of wat dan ook en dit mag er ook zijn. Of is het wel wat meer gerelateerd op bepaalde probleemgebieden om het even zo te zeggen, tussen aanhalingstekens... ik weet niet of het nou duidelijker wordt...

00:35:07

*Participant:* Meer op de lichaamsgrootte.. Dat ik daar vaker dingen over tegenkom. Je hebt bijvoorbeeld ook weleens fitgirls die dan laten zien hoe ze aan het begin van de dag... hoe dun hun buik dan is, en aan het eind van de dag een soort van bloated en opgezwollen... Dat zie ik denk ook wel veel voorbij bijkomen. En ik denk dat het meer op het lichaam is gericht en dat je ook wel... Ik denk 70 procent lichaam en 30 procent de andere imperfecties die erbij komen kijken.

00:35:34

*Interviewer:* Oké, en imperfecties bedoelen we dan alleen lichaam imperfecties is wat we net al zei, de vetrolletjes of cellulitis of stretch marks. Of valt daar ook bijvoorbeeld ehm pigmentvlekken of... acne of littekens? Valt dat er ook onder?

00:35:55

*Participant:* Ja dat valt er denk ik ook wel allemaal onder, want volgens mij zijn heel veel mensen, ja, ik denk, ik heb zelf ook nog wel eens pukkeltjes of zo en daar ben ik ook af en toe echt wel onzeker over, en heb ik zoiets van: ja, het hoort bij mijn lichaam, ik kan er niks aan doen, ik moet het dus eigenlijk gewoon accepteren. En ja, pigmentvlekken ook. Dat zijn ook gewoon een soort van imperfecties op je lichaam. Ik denk wel dat dat er allemaal bij hoort.

00:36:18

*Interviewer:* En zie je dat ook in die content... wordt dat ook daar daarin ook weerspiegeld?

00:36:26

*Participant:* Ja, dan kom je ook wel tegen... Als ik het zeg maar heb over imperfecties dan zie ik eigenlijk ook wel inderdaad, die acne enzo.

00:36:31

*Interviewer:* En zie je dat vaak genoeg voorbij komen wat jou betreft?

00:36:38

*Participant:* Die imperfecties? Ja, ik denk het wel.

00:36:43

*Interviewer:* Oké, maar ligt de nadruk wel op grotere lichamen of imperfecties in die zin dan op bijvoorbeeld acne of pigmentvlekken?

00:36:52

*Participant:* Ja, maar dat is misschien ook wel persoonlijk zeg maar, wie ik volg, en waar die zich op richt.

00:36:59

*Interviewer:* Oké, nou ja, maar bijvoorbeeld die BP accounts, zeg maar, dus niet de influencers of Instagrammers die er mee bezig zijn, maar echt die grote accounts, delen die ook wel eens een post

over iemand... met iemand met acne of met iemand met pigmentvlekken of iemand met ehm, heel veel lichaamsbehaving als dat er ook onder valt?

00:37:24

*Participant:* Ja, je ziet die lichaamsbehaving dingen... zie je ook wel vaak voorbijkomen en je ziet ook wel vaak dat mensen dan zeg maar een foto met stretch marks, daar dan glitterlijntjes overheen is gemaakt, een soort van tijgerstrepen zijn. En dan wordt het echt een soort van mooi gemaakt. Dan ga je het mooie ervan inzien. Dat zie je inderdaad ook wel vaak voorbij komen.

00:37:42

*Interviewer:* Oké, dus denk je dat de content over deze, zeg maar.. voor deze drie movements dat dat wel divers genoeg is, in die zin van je ziet wel, en lichamen en ook misschien huidgerelateerde dingen en haargroei of dat soort...?

00:37:57

*Participant:* Ja, ja, ik denk dat het wel goed verdeeld is, op zich zo, dat het wel ingaat op alle dingen die meespelen.

00:38:04

*Interviewer:* Oké, en zie je ook wel eens posts over body acceptance, body positivity, over mannen!?

00:38:15

*Participant:* Minder, dat vind ik wel echt... Mannen, hebben niet echt een beeld van dun zijn, maar vooral gespierd zijn. En de laatste jaren was er wel een beetje zo meme-achtig iets "dadbods" en dat dat ook aantrekkelijk is. Maar je ziet wel veel minder. Ik vind dat daar ook wel echt meer over moet komen en ook gewoon over toxic masculinity en zo. En ik merk gewoon op: ja, ik woon natuurlijk in het Westland en je merkt gewoon dat dat hier eigenlijk nog gewoon.... Onder de meiden is het redelijk bekend dat body positivity, dat dat nu een ding is, maar onder jongens volgens mij echt totaal niet. Die houden zich er helemaal niet mee bezig en ik denk dat die voor jongens nog echt wel een stereotype is van je moet groot en gespierd zijn, anders vinden meiden mee misschien niet leuk ofzo. Maar aan de andere kant houden jongens zich er ook misschien wel iets minder mee bezig, heb ik het idee, maar ik vind wel dat je meer over moeten komen.

00:39:07

*Interviewer:* Ja, oké, want je noemde net al dus toxic masculinity. Dat valt ook wel onder een feministisch ding of een issue of een of een probleem, hoe je ook wil noemen. Maar denk je ook dat dat hele body acceptance uit een feministisch perspectief komt, of...?

00:39:26

*Participant:* Ja, ik denk het wel, omdat het zeg maar de meeste vrouwen... dat ideaalbeeld kwam, denk ik wel een beetje van wat mannen mooi vinden aan vrouwen. En je ziet ook wel wat voor in culturen waar volle vrouwen mooi worden gevonden, dat de vrouwen daar vooral vol zijn en bijvoorbeeld in het westen, zie je ook heel veel dunne vrouwen omdat mannen dat mooier zouden vinden. Ehm.. Dus ik denk dat dan echt wel ook wel een beetje uit het feminisme voorkomt van: joh de mening van mannen boeit eigenlijk niet, je kun vooral jezelf mooi vinden. Ehm.. Ja, ik denk ook wel, als je jezelf mooi vindt en van jezelf houdt... dat soort van dat ook wel een soort van aantrekkingskracht uit gaat stralen, dat mensen dan je vanzelf ook aantrekkelijker vinden.

00:40:08

*Interviewer:* Dat is een mooie gedachte.. En, ehm, ik weet niet of je weleens van dit merk hebt gehoord: Aerie. Het is, een soort Victoria's Secret, tenminste het is lingerie ook.

00:40:20

*Participant:* Oh ja!

00:40:22

*Interviewer:* Gebruiken ze "normale mensen" tussen aanhalingstekens ook, want wat is normaal, als modellen. En daar gebruiken ze dus ook mensen die bijvoorbeeld die pigmentziekte hebben, ik weet niet even niet hoe het heet, maar dat je vlekken op je huid hebt, of mensen met een stoma of mensen in een rolstoel, met een geamputeerd been of wat dan ook. Zie je dat soort content, mensen met disability?

00:40:50

*Participant:* Nee niet echt eigenlijk, ik heb wel een paar keer reclame van Aerie eerder voorbij zien komen. Ik volg het niet per se, maar de reclame is dan meestal toch wel weer, zeg maar wel misschien een "normaal" lichaam, maar niet per se iemand met een disability of zo, en dan kom je niet heel vaak tegen. Soms kom ik er iets over tegen, maar ik vind het eigenlijk dat dat ook wel meer moet komen. Ik weet niet of je Ex on the beach kijkt? Ik nu toevallig, maar er is nu dit seizoen ook een jongen met een geamputeerd been en dat vind ik wel echt supergoed en er zijn ook echt wel wat vollere meiden en dan denk ik van: ja, dit is goed, je moet in de media ook gewoon meer in beeld komen. In een vorig seizoen waren er allemaal soort van meer... die perfect lichaampjes met opgespoten lippen, grote borsten en grote billen enzo... Dus ik vind het wel, ehm, ja dan die mensen ook wel echt meer in de media mogen komen. Ik heb zelf ook een vriendin die in een rolstoel zit en ja, daar zie je nooit iets over voorbijkomen, zeg maar, in de media.

00:41:44

*Interviewer:* En dan bedoel je dus niet alleen Instagram, maar dat het gewoon ook echt doorgetrokken wordt naar andere... misschien mainstream media, wat je net zei, tv enzo?

00:41:50

*Participant:* Ja..

00:41:51

*Interviewer:* Oké, je zei net ook "normaal lichaam" en ik weet het zijn hele vervelende vragen, maar: Wat versta je onder een "normaal lichaam"?

00:42:00

*Participant:* Ja, ik vind het zelf ook een beetje een moeilijke term, want geen één lichaam is, zeg maar, normaal. Maar, ik denk gewoon als je straks naar de gemiddelde vrouw in bijvoorbeeld Nederland of gewoon in de wereld zou kijken, dat je dan een beetje ook een normaal lichaam zit. Dus ik gok bijvoorbeeld van maat... S is misschien al minimum, al aan de kleine kant. Tot L, dat je dan een beetje in normale termen zit. Maar ehm, ja, dat is echt lastig, ja, want ik vind heel veel lichamen normaal.

00:42:34

*Interviewer:* Ja, want ik vraag het nu aan jou, maar ik zou het zelf ook niet zo goed weten hoe ik het zo moet omschrijven.

00:42:40

*Participant:* Maar ik denk dat, zeg maar in bijvoorbeeld die mate van, denk ik, de meeste mensen. Ik denk dat je dat het beste normaal kan noemen.

00:42:46

*Interviewer:* Dus jij bedoelt het gemiddelde, als je bijvoorbeeld een lijst zou hebben van alle Nederlandse vrouwen met hun maat en dan daar het gemiddelde, een soort van uit, dat??

00:42:54

*Participant:* Ja, want je hebt echt wel van die hele dunne meiden, maar dat vind ik dan weer niet echt per se normaal. Dat is ja, dat moet toevallig in je genen zitten.

00:43:04

*Interviewer:* Ja.

00:43:06

*Interviewer:* En plussize... Wat versta je daar onder? Nu we toch bezig zijn met wat is normaal, wat is plus...

00:43:16

*Participant:* Ik zag dus een filmpje van iemand die maat 38 ofzo was en zei er werd tegen haar gezegd van: oh, misschien kun je plussize model worden. Toen dacht ik echt van: maat 38 is echt niet plussize!! Dat is gewoon normaal!

00:43:28

*Participant:* Plussize is denk ik wel gewoon.... Ik weet niet precies hoe groot iemand is, maar als je het zeg maar aan maten zou verbinden, dan maat 44 of zo is, maar ik denk volgens mij is dat meestal vanaf die maat, die plussize modellen.

00:43:44

*Interviewer:* Ja.

00:43:45

*Participant:* Het is zeg maar ja, dat vind ik ook wel heel lastig, gewoon een voller iemand met gewoon curves en zo.

00:43:51

*Interviewer:* Het is meer, dus misschien meer curvy? Zou je dat dan misschien zo kunnen omschrijven?

00:43:55

*Participant:* Ik denk meer curvy inderdaad, als je kijkt naar normale modellen zijn die natuurlijk allemaal best wel dun. En dan, plussize is gewoon wat voller en curvy.

00:44:06

*Interviewer:* Oké, want volgens mij zei je net dat je iemand volgt, een plussize model volgt. Ken je haar naam?

00:44:15

*Participant:* Ja, Jo-Ann, en ze heeft toen meegedaan aan die plus-size versie van Hollands next topmodel.

00:44:21

*Interviewer:* Oké.

00:44:22

*Participant:* Ja, dat is volgens mij ook het nichtje van Gigi en Bella Hadid.

00:44:33

*Interviewer:* En ken je toevallig Lizzo, die zangeres?

00:44:37

*Participant:* Oh ja.

00:44:38

*Interviewer:* Waar zou je haar onder zetten? Onder plussize? Of vind je haar.... of gaat zij voorbij plussize?

00:44:46

*Participant:* Nee, ik denk dat zij wel ook gewoon bij plus size zitt.

00:44:49

*Interviewer:* Oké, dus binnen plussize heb je dan nog best wel veel ehm. verschil nog, of variatie.

00:44:55

*Participant:* Ja, grote variatie ja.

00:44:58

*Interviewer:* Oké, en ehm, bij fat acceptance... als je denkt aan fat acceptance wat voor... ehm.. lichaam... wat voor lichaam denk je dan aan? Denk je dan aan Jo-Ann, dat nichtje van Gigi en Bella, of denk je dan aan Lizzo of denk je aan nog extremer... misschien, of wat voor lichaam?

00:45:23

*Participant:* Ja, ik denk gewoon een beetje plussize modellen, en groter dan dat, zeg maar denk ik. Maar fat acceptance is natuurlijk ook gewoon... Ik bedoel, ik heb ook vet, ik heb ook dikke benen bijvoorbeeld. Dat is in principe misschien ook wel fat acceptance... Van het is normaal om vet te hebben, maar ik weet niet precies wat die term inhoudt. Dus misschien dat dat ook wel meetelt, weet je. En dan vind ik, fat acceptance telt eigenlijk voor iedereen in dat opzicht.. Dat vet normaal is om te hebben en dat je buik je organen beschermt en zo. Maar ik denk, als je echt naar FA, naar voorbeelden gaat kijken, dat je dan wel plussize modellen ziet.

00:45:55

*Interviewer:* Ik vind wel interessant dat je zegt dat inderdaad FA, dat dat niet per se gaat om de grootte van het lichaam, zeg maar wat voor wat voor maat maar dat je zegt van nou, het gaat gewoon dat iedereen wel vetjes heeft en dat het eigenlijk daar om gaat, en dat dat geaccepteerd wordt. Dat vind ik echt gewoon een hele leuke manier om dat te zeggen, want bij fat acceptance denken namelijk veel mensen aan echt mensen zoals bijvoorbeeld. Dus is heel veel mensen denken van nou hè, met FA heb ik niks, want ik ben niet zo vol als Lizzo, terwijl jij zegt: van nou, hè, ik heb ook vetjes, iedereen heeft dat. Dus eigenlijk zou iedereen zich bewust moeten zijn van de fat acceptance. Dus dat vind ik wel heel interessante opmerking, want als je zou moeten kiezen: tot welke van deze drie movement die we nou besproken hebben, welke van de drie zou je het meest... Ehm, voel, je het meest aangetrokken... of tenminste aangetrokken is misschien niet het goede wordt, maar waar zou je je het meest comfortabel bij voelen?

00:47:00

*Participant:* Vind ik heel moeilijk, want ik vind ze alle drie gewoon goed. Ik denk dan dat FA zeg maar ja, ik ben zelf niet zo groot als Lizzo bijvoorbeeld, dus daar hou ik mij dan iets minder mee bezig, maar hebt maar misschien, wat ik net zei van: dat het oké vet te hebben, dat dat normaal is, dat meegenomen is naar BP, en dan misschien ook wel ja, die neutraliteit er ook bij betrekken. Dat vind ik ook heel belangrijk. Ik vind het echt heel moeilijk, maar ik denk het meest BP, maar ik vind ze alle drie redelijk belangrijk.. Even belangrijk.

00:47:34

*Interviewer:* Want zou wat je net zei bij vet acceptance van: joh, iedereen heeft vetjes en dus iedereen zou hier mee bezig moeten zijn. Valt dat ook onder BP?

00:47:46

*Participant:* Ja.

00:47:47

*Interviewer:* Dus in die zin overlappen ze wel dan?

00:47:49

*Participant:* Ja, ja... je bent gewoon positief over je eigen lichaam. Je beseft van: joh, het is eigenlijk gewoon mooi en het is er ook om het te beschermen. Dus dan trek je ook weer dat neutraliteit er denk ik bij, van het is ook gewoon voor je gezondheid, dat je het nodig hebt, tot een bepaalde mate dan, natuurlijk, ja.

00:48:10

*Interviewer:* Oké, oké. Oh ja, misschien is dit nog interessant. We hebben het over die 3 movements gehad en dat ze dus best wel overlappen... Maar hoe... als je ze alle drie zou moeten noemen... omschrijven aan van wat zijn de grootste verschillen tussen deze drie movements wat zou er dan? Wat zou dat dan zijn?

00:48:39

*Participant:* BP gaat dan echt dat alle lichaam gewoon geaccepteerd moeten worden en mooi zijn. FA is denk ik dat we een beetje van dat fatphobic en fat shaming af moeten, dat dat... dat je niet weet wat er achter ligt bij iemand anders die voller is, dus je mag er niet over oordelen. En bij dat neutraliteit dan denk ik wel centraal dat je niet alleen op het uiterlijk moet richten, maar ook op je innerlijk, en dat dat ook een hele grote, hoe misschien zelfs een grotere rol in je leven speelt.

00:49:07

*Interviewer:* En omdat dat over innerlijk gaat, denk je dat dat misschien ook wel wat meer met mental health te maken zou kunnen hebben dan de andere twee movements of dat niet per se?

00:49:17

*Participant:* Ik denk het wel, ik had er nog niet echt over nagedacht, maar denkt wel eigenlijk. Maar niet nog steeds niet mega veel hoor. Maar het heeft wel overeenkomsten, zeg maar, want het gaat natuurlijk om van je lichaam is er om jou te dienen en niet dat-ie perfect moet zijn, en mooi en alles.

00:49:36

*Interviewer:* Omdat je net zei: omdat BP misschien ook wel een beetje qua mentale, omdat je ook net had over eetstoornissen. Dat je dat dan zegt misschien heeft het ook met BP te maken... Dus het is misschien lastig ook om de de grens te leggen?

00:49:53

*Participant:* Het is heel lastig, inderdaad, want wat ik kan zeggen, van al die accounts die komen zo erg overheen qua onderwerpen, en weet je, zeg maar.. het is meestal iemand richt zich op BP, en de onderwerpen mental health awareness, en ook racisme komt ook heel vaak voor, zeg maar die drie onderwerpen zie je heel vaak op dezelfde accounts voorkomen.

00:50:12

*Interviewer:* Interessant dat je ook racisme noemt.

00:50:13

*Participant:* Dat wordt ook wel vaak meegenomen, zeg maar dat maar ja, anti-racisme!

00:50:20

*Interviewer:* En waarom denk je dat het die drie onderwerpen zijn? Zeg maar body acceptance , mental health of awareness en racisme. Waarom denk je dat dat vaak tegelijkertijd of samen wordt wordt gepakt?

00:50:34

*Participant:* Mmm... ja... het valt denk ik allemaal, ja, dat vind ik echt moeilijk! Ik denk dat ik sowieso dat meiden zich hier over het algemeen zich meer mee bezig houden, tuurlijk er zijn ook mannen die zich er mee bezighouden, maar ik denk dat meiden deze onderwerpen gewoon interessanter vinden en ik denk dat deze drie dingen ook alle drie momenteel gewoon heel erg spelen. Ja, dat is logisch om hier niet over praten, maar zeg.... maar ja, het is gewoon een ding van mental health is een grote rol gaan spelen, omdat mensen veel stress hebben en veel druk voelen en zo. Dus ik denk dat daardoor is. Maar het is een groter probleem geworden. Dus gaat er ook meer aandacht naar uit. En ik denk dat met racisme gewoon een besef is gekomen van: joh is minder dan bij bijvoorbeeld de slavernij, maar nog steeds is heel erg aanwezig en dat moet gewoon weg, want er is letterlijk geen verschil tussen iemand met een zwarte of lichte huid. En ik denk bij BP dat het ook wel gewoon is dat mensen het een beetje zat zijn dat er één ideaalbeeld is. Ja, ik denk dat het gewoon alledrie speelt. En ja, ik weet niet, ik denk ook gewoon een beetje de interesses van de mensen. Als je interesse bij de ene ligt, dan ligt het denk ik ook wel snel bij de ander, maar ik vind het een moeilijke vraag.

00:51:48

*Interviewer:* Sorry voor alle moeilijke vragen. Nou, ik denk dat dit het wel weer was als ik mijn mijn vraaglijst even doorneem... volgens mij hebben we het meest wel wel besproken, dus had jij nog iets wat je wil dat toevoegen, of dat je denkt van nou, Judith, dat had ik nog graag willen zeggen, maar dat heb je niet gevraagd, of dat je dat onderwerp, daar heb je het niet over gehad of wat dan ook. Maar dat wil ik toch nog graag delen.

00:52:15

*Participant:* Wat voor alles we hebben besproken?

00:52:19

*Interviewer:* Oké, nou, dank je wel. Ben je vandaag druk?

00:52:22

*Participant:* Nee, ik heb vakantie, een weekje.

00:52:26

*Participant:* Sinds Kerst, dus kan het op zich wel gebruiken.



00:52:29

*Interviewer:* Lekker, dus volgende week heb je lekker tijd...

00:52:33

*Participant:* Volgende week heb ik weer nu even een weekje tijd voor mezelf.

00:52:37

*Interviewer:* Lekker!

00:52:38

*Participant:* Nou. Jij nog succes met je scriptie!

00:52:39

*Interviewer:* Bedankt, en jij bedankt dat je hier aan mee wilde werken!

00:52:41

*Participant:* Geen probleem!

## **Interview 5**

00:02:27

*JCW:* OK, this first question. How often do you use Instagram?

00:02:33

*Participant:* I think I use it. I use it on a regular basis.

00:02:36

*JCW:* OK, and what is a regular basis?

00:02:38

*Participant:* I think every day. Every. Yeah, total two hours a

00:02:48

*JCW:* day, OK? And is that two hours together or is it like separate, separate times? Yes. OK, over today. Oh, for today. Two hours. OK, and what do you do when you're on Instagram?

00:03:03

*Participant:* Um, well,

00:03:06

*Participant:* I just scroll in my homepage

00:03:09

*Participant:* and

00:03:10

*Participant:* most of the time in the evening then I will search for the recommended posts.

00:03:19

*JCW:* Is that in your explore page where you go...

00:03:22

*Participant:* Yes, yes. Yes. And then yeah, I'll I'll have a look at that to see if I can find some new posts that interesting.

00:03:32

*JCW:* OK, and do you post something or some things yourself as well?

00:03:38

*Participant:* Um, yeah. Well sometimes. So for example when I did something fun... When there was something special in my life. OK, it's not that I share something in my story.

00:03:54

*JCW:* You don't share stories.

00:03:56

*Participant:* Well not a lot... Sometimes. But that is... if I share something it's when I see something beautiful or something that stands out for me. So the nature. It's not that I share other stories or posts.

00:04:15

*JCW:* OK, yeah. So really your own pictures.

00:04:18

*Participant:* Yes.

00:04:18

*JCW:* OK. And you. OK. Um. And... You don't really post a lot, but you say that you like to watch a

lot of of other people's content, but how do you engage with this content? Do you just like it or do you just scroll by or you don't like or you repost it or reply to it?

00:04:43

*Participant:* Well, I never reply... Only to post of my friends, but none of the... Like general, a general... like accounts, that are like for personal gain. Yeah, I only reply to the posts of my friends and when I scroll in my feed. I like the posts of my friends, and sometimes if there is a post about something that I think is interesting or yeah, what I think is funny, then I will like that as well.

00:05:36

*JCW:* OK. And what kind of posts are those that you like?

00:05:43

*Participant:* I think is when someone. Um, yeah, something about a subject that I think it's interesting...

00:05:58

*JCW:* Do you have an example?

00:06:00

*Participant:* Um, when I was in Australia and there were a lot of bushfires and then it was, I think Leonardo DiCaprio, he shared a lot of stories about the climate change and the bushfires in Australia as a result of the climate change. So, yeah, then, I like it because I think it's good to.... create awareness about things like that. But I also like stuff that I think it's..... videos that are funny that I think I have to like.

00:06:39

*JCW:* OK, so it's like a combination.

00:06:40

*Participant:* Yeah.

00:06:40

*JCW:* It's interesting that you mentioned the whole climate change thing that DiCaprio posts because you could say that is some sort of social issue. So do you engage with more social issues?

00:06:52

*Participant:* Yeah. Well, sometimes it's related to your topic, I think.

00:07:08

*JCW:* Why?

00:07:10

*Participant:* Well, I think it's important that girls or boys as well are not.... that they don't only see the the beautiful girls like the skinny girls. So I think it's important that also other people share their body. So, the normal... in between quotation marks.

00:07:41

*JCW:* And what is... I noticed this is a superhard question... But I have to ask you, what is a "normal" body?

00:07:48

*Participant:* I think that's your own opinion. I like it when someone is just... Similar to me. So when they have pictures, if they sit down, they have a roll... It's not photoshopped and stuff like that, you can see it's a normal body. Yeah, I think and if a person is very skinny from herself, I think it's okay as

well because you have people with a figure like that. But I think it's good that you don't have pictures that are photo shopped.

00:08:29

*JCW:* Okay, so a normal body for you, like a non-photoshopped body in a picture?

00:08:33

*Participant:* Yeah.

00:08:34

*JCW:* But also like... relatable to you as in a sense it's similar to your own body shape and type?

00:08:40

*Participant:* Yeah.

00:08:41

*JCW:* Okay. It's interesting that you already start talking about the different body types, because do you also follow other social movements, something you're interested in?

00:08:53

*Participant:* Well, yeah, I follow the things about climate. Uh, yeah, um. That is a good question... I don't think I follow, like, specific movements like... No.

00:09:19

*JCW:* Yeah, OK. And you just mentioned you already sometimes see pictures of these different bodies. Where do you see that: in your feed or do you really have to go search for them?

00:09:34

*Participant:* I think most of the times I see them in my recommendations page. So, yeah, when you click... when you search... uh, when you open a lot of pictures with the same subject or topic or maybe hashtag, I don't know, maybe it's related to that?

00:09:54

*JCW:* Yeah. Yeah. I don't really know. I guess it has to do with the Instagram algorithm.

00:09:56

*Participant:* Oh yeah. Yeah. Then... It's, you have a lot of pictures with the body positivity, but it's not that I follow a lot of persons that are super active with body positivity. I follow a few, but I can't mention them because I then I have to look at my phone.

00:10:18

*JCW:* You can look in your phone. Yeah, that's fine, if that helps.

00:10:23

*Participant:* Yeah, I think I follow a few... a

00:10:26

*JCW:* because those who you follow are those like big Instagrammers, influencers, like people who do that as a profession?

00:10:32

*Participant:* Yeah..

00:10:35

*JCW:* Ok. And do you also have friends that share some things related to this?

00:10:40

*Participant:* Well, I have a friend that is really into this issue and other social topics... Like she shares

posts about how she thinks, but not too much.. Other than that, I don't really follow friends that share that.

00:10:58

*JCW:* OK, then you see so a majority, what you see on your feed is like people... like real Instagrammers?

00:11:05

*Participant:* Yeah, like Instagram is their business. [checking phone] Um, well, maybe I don't follow a specific account. But I know people that post stuff like that, and then sometimes I... yeah, I'm just... clicking on person and then you will tag another person and then I will go to the other accounts. And sometimes by doing that you know that some people share more about their body... and sometimes I will just search them. So, for example, Vivian Hoorn, sometimes I see her on Instagram, but I don't follow her. But I think it's good what she does.

00:11:59

*JCW:* OK, OK. Because you don't really follow a lot of these people that are like... into body acceptance in a sense that they actively post content about it.. But... you are interested in it because your algorithm shows those posts in explore the page. So yeah.... Are you are you interested in body acceptance?

00:12:27

*Participant:* Yeah.

00:12:28

*JCW:* OK, ok, good.

00:12:54

*JCW:* Right... because you mentioned you follow some of those like Instagrammers. So not really friends who share stuff like that, but like more of the bigger Instagrammers or influencers... But do you also follow, like some more general accounts who talk about body positivity or body acceptance or fat acceptance or body neutrality?

00:13:14

*Participant:* Uh, well, I follow the account: Shit you should care about. I think they share stuff like that...

00:13:24

*JCW:* Is it just body acceptance stuff they share??

00:13:27

*Participant:* No, also more. I think it's more political.

00:13:31

*JCW:* OK. OK, so take a combination of both?

00:13:35

*Participant:* Yeah. But I think I also follow @feminist.

00:13:38

*JCW:* Oh you do?

00:13:39

*Participant:* So I think that's also about you body positive, but also about other things. But I think they also share stuff about... that you are OK, the way you are, as a woman.

00:13:56

*JCW:* OK, so, um, we already went into the whole body positivity thing, but I actually wanted to ask you because you do follow some sort of climate change and you also mentioned you follow feminist and you should care about today also. I follow them as well, so I know what they would post. They also post some other social issues, not just body acceptance. So... is Instagram a good place to share these social movements, to share information about these social movements, not just body acceptance, but also social networks in general?

00:14:39

*Participant:* Um. Yeah, well, I think it's a good way to reach more people. Um, and... People can search what they like, so, um... Can you.. repeat the question?

00:15:03

*JCW:* Do you think Instagram is a good place to share information or content about these social movements?

00:15:15

*Participant:* Yeah, I think so, because you can, you know, like what I said, reach a lot of people in an easy way. I think a lot of people have Instagram. I'm not sure about the numbers, but I think, yeah, if you ask a group of people, I think most of them have Instagram. Um, so I think it's an easy way to share content. Um, but you also have to be careful, um... more like people who follow other accounts... that they follow the right accounts. So the um... verified accounts. But I think because I think it's also easier to share things that are not correct.

00:16:07

*JCW:* not verified accounts you mean?

00:16:08

*Participant:* Yeah yeah.

00:16:08

*JCW:* So like fake news kind of thing?

00:16:10

*Participant:* Yeah. But I think in general, it's a good way to reach people. Yeah.

00:16:17

*JCW:* To try to bring attention. Yeah. OK. And is Instagram a suitable platform to discuss these issues or do you think the discussion thing?

00:16:30

*Participant:* Yeah I think so because, last year with the Black Lives Matter movement. Yeah. You can call it a movement. I think it gained awareness, because a lot of like people, they shared this story in their story about George Floyd. So I think in a very short time, it was a very big news thing all over the world. So I think it's a very easy way to. Wait... You asked if it was an easy way to share it with a lot of people, right?

00:17:20

*JCW:* Well, yeah, you said it before, but I was wondering if it's because some of these social movements or social issues might have people who against it or might have people like they have different opinions about a certain movement... So is Instagram a place for them to have, like, a discussion?

00:17:42

*Participant:* Oh, a discussion... Well, it's possible in the comments, but I... It's difficult, I don't like to

discuss on social media, but I think other people, they like to share their opinion on Instagram. And you also have now the... Yeah, I don't exactly.... I'm not very sure how it works, but maybe with the Instagram live feature, they can arrange discussion. So I think in a life thing and in Lifestream they can have discussions, as well. Um but yeah, I don't really know, I don't do that... I

00:19:12

*JCW:* Never mind. Never mind. OK, so now we already started talking about body positivity but I would like to go a little bit deeper into the body positivity movement, which is the first of the three we will discuss today. So the first question, what do you think the body positivity movement means?

00:19:39

*Participant:* Um. I think, body positivity is a way to... to, um.... [trouble finding the words]

00:20:15

*Participant:* some. I think, body positivity is a way to... You know, you can be who you are, so it doesn't matter how you look or how you... Yeah... And then in a certain way, so your size or whatever does not matter. Yeah. Some people have a disease or something or your skin color or... I think that's body positivity, that you accept how. Yeah. How your body looks like, yeah.

00:21:03

*JCW:* OK, and you already said before that you follow some sort...

00:21:07

*Participant:* Oh, and that you're proud of it. So that you think like: I can be who I am, and that you own it.

00:21:18

*JCW:* OK. you already said that you follow some sort of some accounts or people that share sometimes some content about body positivity... So you have seen some content on it. You already said that you also looked through to explore page or recommended page. So can you describe... the content that relates to the social to this movement, to body positivity, what does this content look like?

00:21:49

*Participant:* Um. Well, I think you have. Yeah, I think what I'm. Um, yeah, the posts that I see most of the time, um. Is about their bodies. So I think Body positivity is very broad, but I think I'm more looking at bodies, because I am always thinking about the body. So I think it's shown that if you have a little bit of rolls or some fat and that that's OK. So you have a picture of someone in a bikini and you don't have to be very skinny and a trained. You don't have to be super fit.

00:22:44

*JCW:* Yeah, and you said it was you think it's very broad, the content. Can you explain that a bit further?

00:22:52

*Participant:* Yeah, well, I think... Sometimes they also post things about like, for example, I don't know the name of this disease, but if you have a lot of red spots on your body, I don't know the name of the disease...

00:23:11

*JCW:* Oh, yeah, maybe psoriasis?

00:23:13

*Participant:* Yeah! And I think that's also some kind of body positivity that you... Um... Because a lot of people will hide it, and I think it's good when you share it, because I think there are also other people that have the same issue, but they don't... They are scared to share it . So I think it helps when

other people share it on a platform like Instagram because then people don't think: oh, I'm alone in this anymore, you know? Yeah, that's another part. But I think maybe not very broad... Yeah, I think yeah.

00:23:55

*JCW:* So it's not just body size or body type, what you think is BP. Can I say that?

00:23:57

*Participant:* Yes. Yeah.

00:24:02

*JCW:* But it's also um... Imperfections in other areas, maybe?

00:24:09

*Participant:* Yeah yeah.

00:24:10

*JCW:* Ok, what else have you seen, what kind of content? You can you can look through your phone if that helps. I mean, You've seen so many things on Instagram. It's hard to know by memory what you've.

00:24:28

*Participant:* Which is about entirely positive. Yeah.

00:24:33

*JCW:* So, for instance, if you would go to those accounts now or to your explore page now, what kind of things would you see?

00:24:42

*Participant:* Maybe pictures without makeup. Like your natural way...

00:25:01

*JCW:* You mentioned before, like no photo shopped, or like, no, no filters... is that also something you see a lot in that content?

00:25:07

*Participant:* Um. Yeah, well. I think you have. Um.... The people that I follow in the Netherlands for example, I don't think a lot of them, um, I don't think they use Photoshop a lot. I'm not sure.

00:25:32

*JCW:* But are these Instagrammers or like normal friends, that you mean?

00:25:36

*Participant:* To Instagrammers, the Dutch Instagrammers..

00:25:38

*JCW:* Instagram.

00:25:39

*Participant:* Yeah, I don't think they use a lot of Photoshop... maybe in the magazines if they share a picture of it, but I think... I'm not sure if that's true. But for example, Kim Kardashian or something or a lot of models, I think they will use Photoshop and I think. And I think it's better that you don't use a lot of Photoshop because it can influence a lot of other people.

00:26:14

*JCW:* OK, OK. And...OK, so would you say that these posts that you encounter can contribute to more awareness of different bodies?



00:26:30

*Participant:* Yeah, because, um. Like also, um. It's not only the pictures that you see in a magazine like a couple of years ago, that was the only way to view models. And I think it's good that you also... maybe especially for the younger generation, that they see, it's not just... it's also OK to be different than the models in the magazines... Wait, what was the question again?

00:27:19

*JCW:* Well, if you think that it can contribute to more awareness.

00:27:22

*Participant:* Oh, yes. So I think in that way it will, because also the more people use Instagram. So I think, yeah, it will contribute to the awareness about different bodies.

00:27:37

*JCW:* Well, it's interesting because you also mentioned like a person like Kim Kardashian and she obviously also has a lot of followers. Do you think that her content can bring awareness to diverse bodies?

00:27:52

*Participant:* Well, in a certain way...

00:27:55

*JCW:* Why?

00:27:59

*Participant:* Well, that's she has a very different body.... Well, that is because she was the one she was the first to be like, yeah. Big booty. Yeah.. But not in a way that I like. Like. It's for me a little bit like...so I think I like more... like the people that are just a little bit more natural, like Rianne Meijer for instance.

00:28:25

*JCW:* Mm. Yeah. OK. So what you explained before, what you think body positivity means and you were pretty on point with that. So what are your feelings towards this online movement towards body positivity?

00:28:44

*Participant:* Yeah, I think it's important.

00:28:46

*JCW:* Why?

00:28:48

*Participant:* And um yeah. Maybe I explained it in the last question. Yeah. Maybe it's a little bit repetitive, but I think it's good that more... Yeah, that you are aware that there are more... that there are a lot of different bodies that nothing is the best body. So, yeah, that you have to accept how you are.

00:29:19

*JCW:* OK. And where you you mentioned, like, sometimes you just go on Instagram and you scroll through your feed. Are you conscious of this movement, of body positivity, when you go on Instagram and just go through your feed?

00:29:34

*Participant:* Yeah, I think so, because I, uh. I think especially in the last few years, it's more on Instagram.

00:29:47

*JCW:* You mean the body positivity content?

00:29:49

*Participant:* Yeah, I think more people want to share that they don't always have a flat stomach, that when you had dinner, afterwards, it's not the same. That you get, like, bloated, and it just happens.

00:30:08

*Participant:* it's like, um. What was the question again?

00:30:13

*JCW:* Um, well... So if you're conscious when you scroll through Instagram of the movement.

00:30:19

*Participant:* Yeah. So I think because I see more pictures and posts about it. Yeah. I think I'm more aware of it.

00:30:27

*JCW:* Even though you don't follow a lot of no body positive accounts...

00:30:32

*Participant:* No. because I think a couple of years ago, like. Um. Like pretty bodies, I don't know how to say that [mooie, afgetrainde lichamen]... Fit bodies, they, uh, you know... all my life they can have a very good influence on me. So, um, when I was younger, if I saw, like, a picture of a very skinny model, I was like, oh, I want to have that. So.... And at that time, I don't think I saw a lot of pictures about body positivity and now you see more that also... what you think are the skinny models, but they also have their curves... Their... their imperfections. I think. Yeah...

00:31:30

*JCW:* That's interesting that you mentioned those models, because what kind of I don't know if you know from the top of your head, but like what kind of imperfections would they they show, like, the really skinny models, which you just mentioned..

00:31:41

*Participant:* Well, that they well, maybe not imperfections, but then they also have their. Yeah, like stretch marks or celullite... Or that they also have the appearance that they don't want to go to the gym and that they don't eat very healthy, meaning that they are a little bit more bloated like. Um, um, somehow a bit heavier then before and yeah, that, um.. I don't know what I was saying anymore.

00:32:24

*JCW:* What kind of things they would show...

00:32:26

*Participant:* Oh, yeah, yeah, so so yes, things like that.

00:32:31

*JCW:* OK, so because we mentioned you mentioned before, you see sometimes things are about body types are like a bigger body. You like more hips or more curves. Also some bloated stomachs, not superflat, you also mentioned the skin disease, if we can... just call it that for now. But you also mentioned of the some of those stretch marks, celullite... So it's pretty broad in that sense, then I guess, what you see....

00:33:08

*Participant:* Yeah, yeah.

00:33:09

*JCW:* And that all belongs to the body positivity movement?

00:33:13

*Participant:* Yeah. Yeah I think so.

00:33:14

*JCW:* OK, so now I would like to move on to the fat acceptance movement. So first question for this: what do you think the fat acceptance movement means?

00:33:33

*Participant:* Um, yeah, when you ask me that, I was like, oh, it's quite similar to...

00:33:38

*JCW:* Oh, really? In what sense?

00:33:40

*Participant:* Well, not quite similar, but related to BP...

00:33:43

*Participant:* and how, or why?

00:33:44

*Participant:* Um. Well, BP is that you accept your body the way it is. And I think with fat acceptance, you also accept that if you have more curves than another person.

00:34:00

*JCW:* OK, but then what would be the difference between the two?

00:34:05

*Participant:* Yeah, um. So... [silence]

00:34:20

*Participant:* Yeah, well... Then I think body positivity, um. Yeah, also, more related to other... Yeah... Well, well, maybe, BP... ugh, this is difficult... fat acceptance is more related to your body, so you accept, for example, you're a little bit more curvy than the other person. That you accept it and that you.... yeah.....

00:35:12

*JCW:* And it's not just about the body type then? Or does fat acceptance also relate to what you said about skin diseases or striae...

00:35:22

*Participant:* no, I think... I think that's more... that's more part of the body positivity, And I think fat acceptance is more about your body, but like the size... the amount of fat a person has.

00:35:50

*JCW:* OK, yeah. OK. And if you think of... no. Have you ever come across fat acceptance content on Instagram?

00:36:01

*Participant:* Oh, yes, I think Vivian Hoorn.. Yeah, when I I think when I first saw her Instagram, she was very fit and she ate very healthy and she was very yeah, well in my eyes, she had the most... a bpdy that I would like to have. Um, but now she's more. She just embraced her body like this, so she has a little bit more.. she's a little bit more curvy and I think that's an example of FA. So she also posts pictures that she... well, I think a lot of people wouldn't share pictures like that...

00:36:57

*JCW:* What kind of pictures are those?

00:36:59

*Participant:* She's in a bikini and you see her rolls.

00:37:07

*JCW:* And before you said, like, OK, first one, before she did this whole transformation, it was like a body that I would like to have. Is that still the case now?

00:37:18

*Participant:* Um... Well, personally, I would also... I would like to have a flat tummy, but I think it's... Um, it helps to... to accept who you are, so not... Everybody has the most trained body, and that's... Yeah, that also the famous people have bodies like you have.

00:37:55

*JCW:* Mm hmm. Um, so looking through her content helps you to accept like: ok, my body isn't...

00:38:05

*Participant:* Yeah, well, not like it's not because I'm just her, but I think because more people share stuff like that, I think it helps. Um, yeah. Just to accept who you are. Oh yeah. And when I was younger you didn't have things like that so. Yeah. Yeah.

00:38:23

*JCW:* OK. OK. And uh... Do you see a difference in the contents if you compare fat acceptance content to body positivity content?

00:38:46

*Participant:* Um...

00:38:47

*JCW:* Like if you scroll through your feed, you can be like, oh, yeah, this is a fat acceptance content or oh yeah, this is body positivity content.

00:38:55

*Participant:* Um, well, maybe it's, um. Yeah, maybe with fat acceptance, I think you have. Maybe with body positivity you also have pictures of before and.... No, not the before and after of training, but more before a picture with... No... skip this part [laughs]

00:39:30

*JCW:* No, but like what pictures?

00:39:34

*Participant:* Can you repeat the question again, I am sorry.

00:39:36

*JCW:* If you see difference... If you if you see a difference between the body positivity content and fat acceptance content? So if you go through Instagram, you'll be like, oh yeah, this picture is definitely fat acceptance or oh, this picture is body positivity...

00:39:49

*Participant:* Um... [silence]

00:39:56

*JCW:* You can look through your phone if that helps.

00:39:58

*Participant:* [looks through phone]

00:40:31

*Participant:* Well. Well, I think maybe an example of this [screenshot]. I think this is sort of... like a posed picture and not posed picture. One where it's more a model. Like, everything looks great. And then a picture of the same body as well, maybe five minutes later than you see rolls and marks.

00:41:16

*Participant:* But then I'm thinking, is it more BP or more FA?

00:41:24

*JCW:* Well, it depends on you.. It doesn't have to be different if you figure those two movements correlate...

00:41:28

*Participant:* Yeah, I think it's a little bit combined... Um.. Because I think her she is like, positive about her body in both situations, like you can look like this, but I'm also this person, so, um. Yeah, I think it's a little bit related, but I think when you have pictures about stretch marks, things like that, that's more BP. But yeah, maybe BP can also be... You can also... it's not just about FA maybe, because you can also view it in a way that's, for example, um, a girl that was very skinny. She had, for example, anorexia, and then that she gained more weight. I think that's also BP, because, you're proud that you have a more healthier body, so I think that's different than fat acceptance, because maybe fat acceptance is more... Um... Yeah, that you are more curvey, is that weird to say?

00:43:02

*JCW:* It's not weird to say at all.

00:43:03

*Participant:* And then BP is maybe with different stories behind it, huh. But maybe that can also be the case for FA [laughs].

00:43:17

*JCW:* I don't know! But it makes sense. It makes sense. Yeah. So you mentioned like that story about a girl who had anorexia now had a healthy weight. Are these also stories that are like mentioned in the content you see, like I said, like in the caption or in the picture itself... is things that you come across, like the personal stories behind these women?

00:43:40

*Participant:* Um. Yeah, it's I I don't know the person... I don't remember who it was, it was just in my feed, so I'm not sure about that. But I think, um. Yes, sometimes it has a description about what they went through. And then you can see the dates of each picture.

00:44:05

*JCW:* OK. OK. And Vivian Hoorn, for instance, does.. she does... she talk a lot about her experiences when she posts? Because basically every post with her in the picture would be a body positivity or a fat acceptance post, because of the body she has. But does she also talk about it in that way?

00:44:28

*Participant:* Well, not on her.. I think not on our Instagram, because I was I think a couple of months ago, I was curious about it, because she suddenly shared more pictures about that, but I couldn't find anything about it on our Instagram. She didn't like you know, wrote something about it in our in our posts. So that's why I googled her.. like Vivian Hoorn body positivity or something. And then I came across an article about her in which she explained that she wants to create more awareness... but not really awareness, but that she... I think she mentioned that she didn't want to work out so hard and eat very healthy because It didn't make her happy, and she wanted to be more happy, and in this way she was more happy than how she lived before.

00:45:44

*JCW:* So, yeah, but it's not that in every in every picture of her, she has a caption with BP or like the picture itself?

00:45:54

*Participant:* No, I don't think so.

00:45:56

*JCW:* OK, um, do you know Lizzo. I can show you a picture of you on the singer.

00:46:07

*Participant:* She's the singer. Yeah, Yeah, I think. Yeah, yeah, I yeah, seen at the Grammys.

00:46:30

*JCW:* Oh yeah, that could be... that could very well be. Do you think she's also she could also be this could also be some sort of fat acceptance or BP? Um, because if you don't know her... like she is not ashamed of her body and she always wears these short suits on stage and also posts it on her Instagram, so she shows a lot of her body.

00:46:55

*Participant:* Yeah, I think it's a part of fat acceptance.. Yeah, I think this is part of FA, but I think it's also BP. Like, she's not... she's curvy, so I thinks he accepts her curves, but she also, um, she seems very happy [emphasis on happy] with her body, and I think that's them more related to the body positivity part, maybe.

00:47:47

*JCW:* OK. And because you mentioned, like the other girl you showed there, the one that you screenshot it just now with the blue suit, you also said that she was curvier. And Vivian Hoorn, you also mentioned her as curvy. Is there like a difference in the... curvyness? Like, how would you. Because you mentioned is also curvy, but...

00:48:11

*Participant:* I think it's hard to say someone is 'fat'.

00:48:17

*JCW:* Why?

00:48:18

*Participant:* Because I don't like to say someone is 'fat'.

00:48:20

*JCW:* And why is that?

00:48:24

*Participant:* Because I think sometimes it's going to hurt somebody, so I don't want to hurt someone. Um, yeah.

00:48:32

*JCW:* Well... why would it hurt to call someone fat?

00:48:38

*Participant:* Yeah. Maybe the person is very insecure about her own body. So when someone... Yeah. If someone says you're fat then I will. Yeah. hit you more than if you're positive. I think, maybe with her, I'm not sure... But maybe someone who is very. Yeah... I think Lizzo is very happy with her body like that. She doesn't care what other people say about her body. But I think there are also a lot of persons um, that are very insecure if they have the curves like she has.

00:49:21

*JCW:* So instead of saying fat, you prefer seeing curvy or curves?

00:49:26

*Participant:* And of course, there are like if you're maybe obese. Yeah. Maybe then you're fat... I don't know.

00:49:39

*JCW:* I don't know either, this is interview is about your ideas [laughs]

00:49:42

*Participant:* I am not sure, it's a difficult question.

00:49:46

*JCW:* OK, so you would call both Lizzo and Vivian Hoorn curvy?

00:49:53

*Participant:* Yeah, but...well... But in a different way, and so Lizzo is more curvy than Vivian Hoorn.

00:50:23

*JCW:* Yeah, thank you. We'll move on to the body neutrality movement, so you might not have heard of this. Have you ever heard of it? Oh, no. OK, anyways, what do you think voting neutrality movement means?

00:50:41

*Participant:* Um.

00:50:45

*JCW:* There are no wrong or right answers, you can say everything.

00:50:48

*Participant:* maybe it's related to.. the more gender neutrality...

00:50:57

*JCW:* OK...

00:50:58

*Participant:* I'm not sure. but maybe. That's the body like. The body that you have doesn't have to define you, so sometimes you have curses, that's like, for example, a girl, but in her head she's a boy or she doesn't feel like a boy or a girl. Um, so I,

00:51:29

*JCW:* uh, um, OK. OK, well, it's interesting that you mention like what you said, like your body doesn't reflect the insides. It's because it's somehow what a neutrality is, the way that we should be more neutral in a sense about our bodies, because it came as a sort of a reaction to body positivity, because BP, the people who started the body neutrality were like, OK, but body positivity puts too much emphasis on being positive, which can also lead to more pressure and also lead to more negative thoughts. Because sometimes you don't... You don't always feel positive about your body. So they said, OK, we'll have to look. We have to be more realistic about this whole situation and the whole relationship people have with their bodies, so they said, OK, it's easier for people to accept their body if they just see it as 'a thing', as a case around your home, so it doesn't reflect your while person, it doesn't have anything to do with who you are from the inside, it's just like a case that holds the. So Claire's body is just the case, for the person 'Claire'. So it doesn't put much emphasis on aesthetics, on how you look as the other two movements. Yeah. Means do so they try to have a more realistic outlook on, on, on bodies in that sense.

00:53:15

*Participant:* Then it's more about your.. your insides...

00:53:26

*JCW:* Yeah. So that's a little bit like it's a very new concept. So maybe if it grows bigger, it will be something more broad, like body positivity also. Yeah. A lot of different topics that that are in BP. So maybe that is what will happen with body neutrality as well. But that's a little bit what they what they try to do. So have you ever seen content now that you'd know a little bit about what you try to do? Have you ever seen content about this?

00:53:56

*Participant:* Um. Well, I don't think so. Or maybe I'm not... I was not aware,

00:54:07

*JCW:* That could also be, of course. Sometimes you see pictures of Instagram... I have some sort of pictures like this, like my body does not define me, I define my body. Have you ever come across something like this?

00:54:39

*Participant:* Yeah, maybe on the feminist instagram, but I'm not sure.

00:54:50

*JCW:* OK, but what if you would see this picture? Yeah. Would you think this is body positivity or body neutrality or fat acceptance or all of them? Or none of them or...?

00:55:02

*Participant:* I think how you explain it, that's, uh. Body neutrality, it's more, um, your body. It's just a case of you. So, I think this is more related to body neutrality, because, yeah, it already says I define my body. So it's more about who you are as a person and, like that reflects how and who you you are.

00:55:41

*JCW:* And this one.

00:55:49

*Participant:* But I think this is more related to BP.

00:55:56

*JCW:* Why?

00:55:59

*Participant:* Because it yeah, it says my weight does not define me, so. Yeah. you accept your size. So you're happy. Yeah, it doesn't have influence on who you are as a person. So you accept your body. So, yeah, I think that the emphasis in posts like these is more on you, as a person, and in the post it's about size. So, it puts more emphasis on your appearance, or how you look.

00:56:52

*JCW:* OK, so now I've shown you to the body neutrality posts. Have you ever come across anything like that before, if you can recall?

00:57:02

*Participant:* Well, maybe sometimes, yeah, but I don't actively remember.

00:57:07

*JCW:* OK. OK, so you would have come if you have come across a less than body positive content for instance?



00:57:13

*Participant:* Yeah. Yes.

00:57:21

*JCW:* OK, so what are your feelings now that you know a little bit about what you try to do, what are your feelings towards this movement?

00:57:29

*Participant:* Well, I think it's. A good movement because, um. Yeah, your. It's not, I think, your how you look like is not that important.. like how you are as a person, that's more important to me. So I think. Yeah, what they try to do with the body positivity that you accept who you are, like how you look like it's, um.[silent] I think it's good to have that, but I think. Like the way they started the BN um is a positive development.

00:58:28

*JCW:* Why?

00:58:37

*Participant:* Yeah, I think it's good that there is also a movement that focuses more on, that it's your inside that defines you, and it's not how you look like. I think it's good that that you also, like, embrace your body, but I think. It should not have that much of an influence on you.. Like, it's easy to say, but... You're... like your character and how you are as a person, it's that defines you as a person. Yeah.

00:59:19

*JCW:* But it can also be that your outside, so your body, defines your inside. For example, if you are not feeling well.. If you're not eating healthy or you are not working out and you feel bad because that might also influence your inside in a sense?

00:59:36

*Participant:* Yeah, that's. Yeah, maybe it's a good balance to have the two movements, the BP and BN.

00:59:48

*JCW:* OK, why?

00:59:50

*Participant:* Because what you it was a good example what you said. So I. Well I think yeah. Like.. how you are as a person. That's for me the most important thing about a person, because that's why you can laugh with them, work with them, live with them, yeah, have fun with them. But I think it's also good that you are aware that there is something like a body positivity movement, because what you said, if you're not happy with your body, if you eat very unhealthy...

01:00:54

*JCW:* Yeah, OK, OK. Oh, yeah, do you think maybe. Because we were talking about the inside and how you feel on the inside, is mental health also a part of this, in your opinion?

01:01:17

*Participant:* With body neutrality?

01:01:19

*JCW:* Yeah, or with body positivity also, wherever you think that might or might not fit.

01:01:25

*Participant:* Yeah, I think it fits with both of them

01:01:29

*JCW:* and why?

01:01:30

*Participant:* um,

01:01:32

*Participant:* because in both movements, you. Um. You accept yourself in a certain way, so either you're with your body or you're like how you. Yeah, how you feel from the inside. Um, so I think if you're... You can accept something like that, I think it will. yeah... if you look very skinny or curvy or, um, I think it will also have a positive influence on your mental health.

01:02:19

*JCW:* OK. And do you ever come across any mental health content?

01:02:28

*Participant:* Yeah, I think so, but I can't mention one. I think I've seen some posts about that mental health is more important, because, yeah, a lot of people can hide it, or now with the Corona crisis, you can also have... Although that is not related body positivity. But yeah.

01:02:56

*JCW:* And how can BN content on Instagram, influence the ideas that exist on diverse bodies, in your opinion?

01:03:08

*Participant:* sorry?

01:03:12

*JCW:* How can body neutrality content influence existing ideas on diverse bodies...

01:03:29

*Participant:* Well, I think it can bring awareness... Yeah, well, I think in a positive way because... Yeah, you're... with body neutrality, it focuses more on the person, so. Um, yeah, if more persons accept their. Um. Oof this is difficult in English. [in dutch]: Ik denk dat wanneer meer mensen zegmaar, um, ja als meer mensen zichzelf, meer qua hoe ze zijn, belangrijker gaan vinden, dan zul je dus daardoor ook meer verschillende figuren krijgen, wat dus ook er voor zorgt dat misschien meer mensen zich gezien voelen... Dat meer mensen verschillende lichaamsvormen zien, die dan ook op jou lijken, omdat het beeld diverser is. Dat je dus meer diversiteit ziet, en daardoor dus meer mensen zien van: oh, er zijn meer mensen zoals ik, en dat daardoor andere mensen ook weer positiever worden over hun lijf.

01:05:25

*JCW:* OK, ok. So we've discussed all three movements so I would like to ask you some questions about the three movements all together. So first of all, how do you think the movements relate to each other? Are there differences, are they overlapping or....?

01:05:49

*Participant:* Well, I think the fat acceptance movement, it's like part of BP, because you yeah. You accept your body. So you're I think you're happy within a certain way. So I think. Yeah, that's related. But what I also just said in Dutch, is that with body neutrality, I think that's also somehow related to body positivity because more... Because of that, more you have more different types of bodies will be shown on the Internet. So more people will relate to it, as they see more bodies just like they have.

01:06:51

*JCW:* And that's more body neutrality?

01:06:57

*Participant:* So, yeah. So well, but then it's just that it's also related.

01:07:02

*JCW:* Oh, I see that. Wait. Sorry. Then I misunderstood.

01:07:08

*Participant:* Yeah, it will have an influence on people, so they will because of that, they will be more positive about their body.

01:07:18

*JCW:* OK. OK, and now, that you've hopefully learned a little bit about all the three movements, and you know, a little bit better what they what they stand for, what movement would you feel most? [aangetrokken tot] attracted to? Again, there are no wrong, no right answers.

01:07:44

*Participant:* I think BP.

01:07:46

*JCW:* And why is that?

01:07:47

*Participant:* Because body positivity... It's.. I think you can. Yeah, you can. Have it in different situations, so, um. It's just that you're happy with your body. And I think for with fat acceptance, it's more... Yeah, I think that's more related to people who are more curvier and maybe with body positivity... But it's also related to body positivity, because they are positive about their body. But I think body positivity can also be that your.. You accept that your.... Yeah, that you it's more different. No, I don't know... What was the question again?

01:08:59

*JCW:* It's ok.. Which one of you would be most attracted to and then you said, well, body positivity because this and this, and then you started talking about fat acceptance because she thought, well, you said it was more maybe for more curvier bodies, but then you wanted to link it to body positivity, something like that...

01:09:16

*Participant:* But I don't know, I want to start over. I think body positivity, because I think, um, it's a short answer. I'm always very insecure about my body. But then I think a movement like that is a yeah, for me as a person, um, a good movement that you're like... That you should be happy with how you look like. Yeah. Yeah, that's my answer.

01:09:52

*JCW:* and would you feel anything for body neutrality? Is that something you might be interested to get into?

01:10:00

*Participant:* Well, I think I will have... now that I know that it has a name, I think well, or maybe I'm curious if I see more posts about it now, because I think it's also important, because I don't think only the just a body defines you as a person like.. your character is the most important thing about a person.

01:10:33

*Participant:* So, um, yeah. I think it's. It will I don't know what you asked me.

01:10:42

*JCW:* Well, if BN might be something you might be interested in.

01:10:50

*Participant:* Yeah, I'm more attracted to it now, because I know it exists.

01:10:56

*JCW:* I didn't know it was young. So that whole idea of like the inner self and more of a neutral perspective is something that would appeal to you?

01:11:05

*Participant:* Yeah. Yeah.

01:11:06

*JCW:* OK. OK. And finally, now that we've also discussed the content on Instagram of all these free movements. What do you think about this content in terms of diversity? Do you see a lot of different races, ethnicities, gender, in terms of being able, able bodied, disabled in terms of skin issues, or do you only see stretch marks, cellulite and curvy bodies? Like, what do you see?

01:11:53

*Participant:* I think it can be more diverse. I think what I see on Instagram is most of the time it's like the bodies on how curvy or how. Yeah. How fit you are. Um, and I don't see a lot of pictures about, other things, um, but that maybe that's because I am more interested in post like that. But I think, uh, for a person with a skin disease or something, I don't see a lot of things about that, but I think it can help other people. So maybe in that way, there's not a lot of diversity. Um, but I'm not for a hundred percent sure, because I'm not looking for it, because I don't have a thing like that. Um, I think... what I see most is women. I don't see a lot of men posting stuff like this, I think men, they are more about... you don't see posts with men that are embracing how they are as they are. Well, I think that's where they share more posts about when they are in the gym and about how many muscles they have and stuff. So in that way, I think there are more women who are promoting body positivity and fat acceptance.

01:13:46

*Participant:* Why is that? Do you think that men don't really or you don't? Men are shown in that content.

01:13:55

*Participant:* Maybe because they don't share it... men, maybe this is generalizing, but I think men are not very open about stuff like that. I think that woman are more open to share it. They share their emotions more than men. So I think that's that could be one of the reasons,

01:14:32

*JCW:* OK, and in terms of... well, you didn't bring it up yourself, so I don't think you've really seen it, but it's good to ask you to be sure. Disabled bodies, do you ever come across those in the body acceptance content?

01:14:49

*Participant:* think one time. A woman, she had a husband and he didn't have arms and legs. but I don't see it a lot.

01:15:10

*JCW:* And that was in a body acceptance post?

01:15:16

*Participant:* I mean, uh, you know, it was more like maybe is more related to maybe body neutrality then, because it's it's not about the body but the person. Yeah. So maybe that's more body neutrality.

01:15:36

*JCW:* OK, that's an interesting take. What do you think...

01:15:48

*Participant:* Well, if you... from her point of view, I think it's more of body neutrality because she sees the other person as like the body... how... how he looks like it doesn't define him. It's more about his inner self. And maybe from his perspective, it could be body positivity, because he's happy with how he looks like he doesn't. Yeah, it doesn't it doesn't hold him back in his life, in his personal life because he is happy with her. So yeah.

01:16:43

*JCW:* OK, so there's some sort of overlapping between those movements?

01:16:46

*Participant:* Yeah.

01:16:49

*JCW:* And then at the same time there's also overlap in between body positivity and FA?.

01:16:54

*Participant:* Yeah.

01:16:55

*JCW:* OK,

01:16:55

*Participant:* So I think body neutrality and fat acceptance are both related to body positivity.

01:17:14

*JCW:* And are they both part of body positivity or do they just share similar traits to body positivity?

01:17:24

*Participant:* I think they are different because the idea behind it is different, but it overlaps in some sort of way.

01:17:41

*JCW:* And just for my own memory, it overlaps in how what they stand for, you say. But they also overlap in terms of content on Instagram?

01:17:54

*Participant:* Um. So did you have a picture and it could be like both?

01:18:06

*JCW:* Yeah perhaps..

01:18:07

*Participant:* Um. Yeah, for with the FA and BP, I think that can.. What was the question again...

01:18:24

*JCW:* If you see differences between the movements in the content? Because you say the movements overlap but there is also differences in what they stand for, so I was wondering if you see differences in the content as well, that perhaps show the differences in what they stand for. At the same time you say, ok they share similarities with BP, so they overlap sometimes, but are not part of BP.

01:19:18

*Participant:* Oh, so like a post, if it could belong to more than one movement for instance?

01:19:25

*JCW*: Yes, exactly. Like do you see the differences or overlapping ideas of the movements in the content as well?

01:19:25

*Participant*: So like I see it as a person?

01:19:32

*JCW*: Yeah exactly, because it's obviously a very subjective thing, I think.

01:19:32

*Participant*: [silent]

01:19:32

*JCW*: So is there like a clear and apparent [grens] between the movements; like, ok this is a BP post, this is a FA post and this is a BN post?

01:19:32

*Participant*: Oh no, I don't think so. Because I think that FA is a big part of BP. Because in both situations you accept how you look, and um.. So in that way I think one post could fall under those two movements at the same time. And with BN and BP... Um. Yeah I actually think that could also be the same.. Because your body does not define who you are, um.. so, because of that I think you also accept what your body looks like. Because you tihnk it's more important how you are as a person, and not how your body looks, in a way. And so you also accept what you look like.

01:20:49

*JCW*: Yeah, OK. OK.

## Interview 6

00:00:06

*Interviewer:* Oké, nou, officieel moet ik alles even uitleggen, nou, je weet waar het over gaat, want we hadden elkaar al gesproken. Toch? ja, oké, ik gebruik een synoniem, dus je blijft anoniem. En je mag op welk moment stoppen ook vooral omdat je misschien ook weg moet in verband met je andere afspraak. Het is ook fijn om te weten dat je niet elke vraag hoeft te beantwoorden, stel je vindt een vraag vervelend, dan hoef je niet te antwoorden en mag je de vraag altijd overslaan. Geen enkel antwoord is goed of fout, dus ik vind het vooral interessant om je gedachtes of je mening te horen over body acceptance en zo. Nou ja, zullen we beginnen met een paar vragen over jouw social media gebruik, en dan met name Instagram? Hoe vaak gebruik je Instagram op een dag?

00:01:02

*Participant:* Maar gebruiken is ook, bijvoorbeeld, er doorheen scrollen. Ja, dan denk ik echt heel vaak. En dan denk ik dat iedereen tijdens tijdens werk natuurlijk niet. Wel in mn pauze weleens dan eventjes een beetje scrollen... maar bij mijn ontbijt scroll ik er wel even doorheen en 's avonds zit ik daar ook wel eventjes op natuurlijk. Maar ik zet er zelf echt nooit, bijna nooit iets op, nou eigenlijk bijna nooit alleen als ik op vakantie ben.

00:01:32

*Interviewer:* Alleen als er echt iets leuks is ofzo?

00:01:32

*Participant:* ja, want dan denk ik, ja en soms, ik wil hier kun je een leuke fotootje maken of zo, maar ik kan ook gewoon niet zulke goede fotos maken. Met mijn mobiel zijn de foto's ook altijd net niet goed genoeg of zo. En dat is misschien ook wel wat Instagram doet hè, je wil gelijk een echt iets moois er op zetten of zo.

00:01:50

*Participant:* Maar als ik uurtjes zou moeten zeggen, nou... Het is een beetje een soort van een beetje gemiddeld, denk ik eigenlijk.

00:01:57

*Interviewer:* Ok. Maar je zei ze zelf al dat je dus eigenlijk niet zoveel post, dus wat is dan wat je dan vooral doet op Insta?

00:02:01

*Participant:* Ja kijken eigenlijk

00:02:03

*Interviewer:* Ok, kijken en reageer je dan ook? Of like je dan ook? of

00:02:06

*Participant:* Ik like opzich wel. Vroeger was het gewoon heel veel scrollen door je timeline, maar nu is het eigenlijk vooral verhalen enzo die je bekijkt, die stories.

00:02:15

*Interviewer:* Kijk je dat meer dan je feed?

00:02:16

*Participant:* Meer ja.

00:02:18

*Interviewer:* En reageer je daar nog wel eens op?

00:02:20

*Participant:* Nou niet per se... alleen als bijvoorbeeld van goede vrienden die bijvoorbeeld iets leuks of bijzonders doen, filmpje, dat iets anders spelen, is iets waarvan ik denk: 'Oh wat goed'.

00:02:26

*Interviewer:* En kijk je dan vooral stories van vrienden?

00:02:30

*Participant:* Ja

00:02:31

*Interviewer:* Of volg je ook zeg maar, Instagrammers of influencers?

00:02:40

*Participant:* Hmm, wel wat... Eerst meer maar ik ben daar dus mee gestopt, die Clairerose of Anna Nooshin enzo.

00:02:41

*Interviewer:* Oh ja.

00:02:41

*Participant:* Maar op een gegeven moment dat je daar gewoon echt bij allebei dacht van oh my god, wat zetten zij hier nou eigenlijk op, weet je, wat zit eigenlijk echt te kijken.

00:02:49

*Participant:* Maar ik vind het wel zo'n Rianne Meijer, die met die billettjes.. Die haar billettjes samenknijpt voor de grap... Ik vind dat nog wel geinig. Ik vind haar eigenlijk wel leuk. Dus ik volg er een paar, maar niet niet per se veel ofzo.

00:03:04

*Interviewer:* Ok. En volg je vooral... de mensen die je dan volgt... Zijn dat Nederlandse Instagrammers?

00:03:09

*Participant:* Ja. Ik volg er echt 0 uit het buitenland.

00:03:10

*Interviewer:* Oké,

00:03:11

*Participant:* Ja, de Kardashians, die volg ik echt allemaal [lacht]. Ja, daar heb ik echt een obsessie mee, dat is echt erg. Terwijl, ik ben helemaal niet... Maar hen vind ik echt geinig [lacht].

00:03:21

*Interviewer:* Oké, maar dat is ook wel interessant, dat kan ook nog wel van pas komen zometeen.

00:03:25

*Participant:* Ja toch? Ja, zij hebben natuurlijk lijpe lichamen. Dat is gewoon niet normaal.

00:03:29

*Interviewer:* Maar ik vind het wel grappig dat je hen dan ook volgt. Want bijvoorbeeld Rianne Meijer is dan wel echt anders...

00:03:29

*Participant:* Ja, die is helemaal anders!! Maar ik volg de Kardashians eigenlijk meer door hun serie. Want je kan daar alles van ze zien, en daar zijn ze ook niet altijd helemaal perfect of zo in de serie... Nog steeds wel, bizar... Maar die lichamen, dat kan..., dat vind ik ook niet eens meer mooi zo!



00:03:50

*Interviewer:* Oké, dus die volg je meer omdat...

00:03:51

*Participant:* Ja ik vind dat gewoon geinig en het drama daaromheen is gewoon geinig.

00:03:54

*Interviewer:* Ok, En dan... je liket weleens dingen. Het is niet zo dat je overal heel erg op reageert?

00:04:02

*Participant:* Nee. Maar ik like ook niet echt per se gestructureerd ofzo. Pas als ik het echt leuk vind of soms als... ja, ik weet niet, ik denk dat ik niet heel veel like, bijvoorbeeld van Rianne Meijer like ik eigenlijk niks.

00:04:14

*Interviewer:* Maar je volgt ze dus nog wel,

00:04:15

*Participant:* Ja, dat wel. terwijl... Ik reageer ook niet op die stories of zo, als ze weleens zo'n vraag posten. Nee, dat zou echt nooit doen.

00:04:23

*Interviewer:* Oké, oké, en volg je ook wel eens... volg je ook mensen die dus met body acceptance bezig zijn?

00:04:31

*Participant:* Nou ja, ik vind haar is wel een voorbeeld [Rianne Meijer]. En die Vivian Hoorn.

00:04:35

*Interviewer:* Volg je die ook?

00:04:36

*Participant:* Ja, die volg ik ook. En die vind ik allebei wel tof, omdat die Rianne juist een beetje... Die is gewoon super mager van zichzelf en die trekt dan haar billen samen, om te laten zien van ja... En die laat ook steeds van die voor- en nafoto's zien op Instagram, van dat van Instagram vs. reality. En die Vivian Hoorn, die is juist gewoon... Die was eerst zo'n model, en op een gegeven moment zei ze gewoon 'sorry maar deze levensstijl is echt belachelijk, dus ik ga gewoon normaal doen'.

00:04:59

*Participant:* Alleen vind ik bij haar, dus je ziet ook wel echt gewoon haar lichaam, gewoon langzaam, echt helemaal, zeg maar...

00:05:05

*Interviewer:* Volg je haar al lang?

00:05:05

*Participant:* Ja al best wel.

00:05:07

*Interviewer:* Dus ook toen ze nog...

00:05:08

*Participant:* Ja ook toen ze nog dun was.

00:05:09

*Interviewer:* oké, oké.

00:05:11

*Participant:* En ik vind het dus heel goed dat zij dat doet. Maar soms, bij allebei heb ik soms een beetje dat ik denk: 'ja je hoeft ook niet de hele tijd je billen samen te knijpen'. En bij Vivian denk ik soms: 'je hoeft niet altijd zo een soort van te zitten om je rollen te laten zien'. Terwijl, ik vind het wel, zij moeten allebei, ze hebben allebei hartstikke mooi lichaam, wees er ook gewoon trots op en dat mogen ze ook laten zien. Maar bijvoorbeeld de hele tijd, dat de hele tijd laten zien, dus dat ze rollen hebben, dan denk ik, dat hoeft ook weer niet ofzo.

00:05:37

*Interviewer:* Slaat het daarin een beetje door, denk je?

00:05:37

*Participant:* Ja, dat vind ik... Dus dat het misschien body positvity, dat ik denk, dat slaat misschien een beetje door. Dan is het niet meer alsof je het gewoon... Alsof je er ook helemaal je merk van maakt of zo, denk ik, omdat zij weten: dat werkt goed, dus laat ik gewoon elke keer zien dat ik die rollen hebt.

00:05:55

*Interviewer:* Maar is Instagram dan een goede plek om een soort van awareness te creëren, voor body positivity of voor body acceptance, als je zegt van, nou ze maken er een merk van?

00:06:03

*Participant:* Maar ik vind het wel goed... dus ik vind dat een beetje moeilijk onderwerp, omdat ik ook denk van: ik vind het goed dat zij dat doen, maar soms irriteert het mij, maar ik denk wel, zij zijn wel één van de enige influencers in Nederland die een soort van niet per se het perfecte leventje je laten zien, maar gewoon... en dat het dus wel kan, je kan heel beroemd zijn, op Instagram met een iets ander lichaam.

00:06:26

*Interviewer:* Ja, maar ze zijn we allebei niet zo begonnen.

00:06:28

*Participant:* Nee.

00:06:30

*Interviewer:* Want Rianne meijer was eerst ook veel meer van het perfecte beeld,

00:06:33

*Participant:* Ja, en Vivian ook.

00:06:33

*Interviewer:* Dus dan... Ja, dit bedenk ik ook nu opeens... Dan kun je dan ook afvragen van: kun je ook wel groot worden als je gelijk zo begint met body positvity.

00:06:42

*Participant:* Tja, dat weet ik eigenlijk niet. Maar je hebt bijvoorbeeld ook dat ene model... Maar dan heb je het ook wel over mensen met een soort van perfecte geshapete wat vollere lichamen.. Hoe heet zij ook alweer?

00:06:51

*Interviewer:* Bedoel je dat nichtje van Gigi Hadid?

00:06:58

*Participant:* Nee, dat denk ik niet.

00:07:00

*Participant:* Zij zo... Alice? Met de "A" is het. Nou zei is dus zo'n super model.. Oh, hoe heet zij nou? Ze heeft nu ook een baby'tje.

00:07:11

*Interviewer:* Ja, ik volg haar volgens mij ook. Ik denk dat ik weet wie je bedoelt.

00:07:11

*Participant:* Zij is ook gewoon echt wel vol. En natuurlijk nog steeds gewoon prachtig, weet je, maar die is denk ik wel gewoon beroemd geworden met dat lichaam.

00:07:19

*Interviewer:* Oh, wacht, heet ze niet Ashley Graham?

00:07:25

*Participant:* Ja, inderdaad.

00:07:26

*Interviewer:* Volg je haar ook op Instagram?

00:07:26

*Participant:* Ik heb haar een tijdje gevolgd.

00:07:26

*Interviewer:* Oja, ik volg haar nog. Maar soms heb ik bij mensen, waarom volg ik die eigenlijk nog...

00:07:26

*Participant:* Ja, ik heb dat heb ook heel vaak! En nu heb ik dus een beetje besloten dat als ik dat soms heb, ik stop met volgen.

00:07:39

*Interviewer:* Oké, maar wat wilde zeggen over als je Ashley Graham?

00:07:44

*Participant:* Nou, dat zij dus denk ik wel gewoon beroemd is geworden zoals ze was, dus het kan ergens wel, maar ik... ja, ik vind dat een moeilijke vraag.

00:08:00

*Interviewer:* Oké. En volg je gewoon in het algemeen andere... Gebruik je Instagram ook wel eens als een platform om jezelf te informeren, over andere social movements dus niet per se alleen maar over lichaamsgrootte of lichaamstypes of andere body issues. Dus andere movements?

00:08:14

*Participant:* Ja... Ja, toch, oei. Je bedoelt bijvoorbeeld... Nou ik volg bijvoorbeeld ook allemaal nieuwsdingen via Insta. En dan heb je bijvoorbeeld van Black Lives Matter dingen. Dat vind ik eigenlijk interessanter dan een soort van kijken van: 'oh, wie zitten er nu met zn allen op Ibiza voor Hunkemoller the shooten. Wat Vivian Hoorn en Rianne Meijer nu op dit moment aan het doen zijn.

00:08:35

*Participant:* Het is ook wel... er doorheen kijken, maar dat vind ik... Ik bekijk dat wel, maar daar klik ik wel heel snel doorheen en die andere dingen bijvoorbeeld, als je nu lees wat er in israël en Palestina, dat daar mensen wel wat meer over vertellen, denk ik, dat vind ik dan wel echt interessant, daar stop je even, dan zet je je vinger op je scherm en dan denk je ook moet eens even lezen wat er nou precies aan de hand is.

00:08:52

*Interviewer:* Ja, oké, oké.

00:08:53

*Interviewer:* En volg je ook... want dat zijn dan nieuws account, zei je?

00:08:57

*Participant:* Ja

00:08:57

*Interviewer:* Volg je ook echt van die accounts, zoals BLM account of achter een account of een anti-racism account of een feminst account ofzo?

00:09:05

*Participant:* Van die van BLM, dat dat nog niet, dan denk ik eigenlijk oh, dat zou ik eigenlijk wel moeten doen. Maar wel bijvoorbeeld van feminism, en je hebt zo'n account... hoe heet het nou... zo een jongen die over seksualiteit praat. Altijd soort van wat is wat, wat is goed, je mag overal nee tegen zeggen. Hij gaat dan over allemaal vragen die met seksualiteit te maken, daar geeft hij zijn mening over enzo. Dus dat wel, over feminisme ook wel veel dingen, ook veel seksuologen, omdat ik dat gewoon interessant vind, om daarover te lezen.

00:09:34

*Interviewer:* En die volg je ook allemaal? Zoals die jongen uit je voorbeeld?

00:09:34

*Participant:* Ja.

00:09:38

*Interviewer:* Is hij Nederlands?

00:09:38

*Participant:* Nee hij is... Oei. Engels denk ik? Mijn zus stuurde hem een keer door. Ik vind het erg interessant, vooral omdat het vanuit de man komt. Hij is ook met feminisme bezig. En hoe heet dat ene account, die altijd zeggen: oh, het is beter als je dit weet ofzo..., Oh, Shit You Should Care About. Die vind ik ook echt heel erg interessant.

00:10:07

*Interviewer:* Volg je ook dat account @Feminist?

00:10:10

*Participant:* ja.

00:10:10

*Interviewer:* Oké, oké, dus je bent toch op zich wel mee bezig...

00:10:13

*Participant:* Ja, dan denk ik: waarom niet, ik volg het gewoon en dan zie ik het wel als het langskomt.

00:10:18

*Interviewer:* En als ze langskomt als je het ziet vind je dat dan wel...?

00:10:21

*Participant:* Ja dat vind ik dan leuk, interessant, en dan lees ik het ook wel!

00:10:23

*Interviewer:* Oké, goed. En denk je dat Instagram dan ook voor die accounts een goede plek is om te informeren?

00:10:31

*Participant:* Ja, dan denk ik wel ja.

00:10:32

*Interviewer:* Waarom?

00:10:33

*Participant:* Waarom? Nou ja, ik denk dus dat... anders moet je daar echt naar op zoek gaan, een soort van. Nu komt dat je soms gewoon voorbij waaien... Een soort van aandachtspunt, dat je denkt o ja, dit is inderdaad belachelijk, ofzo. Of, oja, tampons zijn niet gratis, waarom eigenlijk niet? Dus ik denk wel dat het mensen bereikt die je normaal misschien, niet bereikt, want anders moet je ervoor kiezen van: oké, we zetten het op een site, maar dan moet je ergens anders adverteren naar die site.. Het is dan altijd een beperkte groep. Of bijvoorbeeld in de krant of iets dergelijks. Niet iedereen leest de krant en ook niet iedereen leest de Elle ofzo. Daar kun je het ook in zetten, maar ja, ik denk dus dat je een groter bereik hebt.

00:11:14

*Interviewer:* Dus wat democratisch misschien dat iedereen er wat makkelijker, naar op zoek kan ofzo?

00:11:20

*Participant:* Ja. Dan moet je het alsnog wel vinden. Soms denk ik ook hoor, hmm..

00:11:24

*Interviewer:* Dan heb je natuurlijk ook weer te maken met algoritmes..

00:11:25

*Participant:* Ja, dat vind ik dan... Dat is soms wel weer zonde, want je komt natuurlijk wel in die bubbel. Alsnog zit je soms in een bubbel. Maar dat is sowieso het nadeel van social media.

00:11:39

*Interviewer:* Oké, goed, ik zou nu graag even over gewoon alleen body positivity alleen willen hebben.

00:11:45

*Participant:* Oke.

00:11:48

*Interviewer:* Als je het woord hoort, body positivity, of body positivity movement, wat betekent dat dan volgens jou?

00:11:50

*Participant:* Dat betekent dat het niet uitmaakt of je een fotomodellichaam hebt, of iets dunner of iets dikker bent, of geen borsten of grote borsten. Geen billen, wel billen, cellulitis of niet, of.. Dat is het voor mij, denk ik body positivity.

00:12:12

*Interviewer:* Oké. En je zei al: iets doen of iets dikker, wat is dan "iets"? Want zijn er nog, zeg maar, grenzen waarin dat dan valt?

00:12:20

*Participant:* Misschien is dat voor mij... zijn de grenzen aan voor body positivity. Ik denk dat het wel bij die movement hoort, dat het een soort van allemaal moet kunnen. Maar voor mij zitten daar andere grenzen aan... Van tot het niet meer gezond is, ofzo. Maar ja, dat is dus wel wat mijn visie is op wat gezond is, zeg maar. Een heel dun... iemand kan heel dun zijn en gewoon zo geboren zijn en toch gezond zijn, terwijl het misschien in mijn ogen niet gezond kan zijn als je overal je botten ziet ofzo. En heel dik, dat hoort bij mij ook niet meer bij body positivity, omdat dat gewoon te... te ongezond is.

00:12:58

*Interviewer:* En wat valt dan onder "te"? Is het iets... zou je dat kunnen zien? Bijvoorbeeld... Als je iemand dan ziet, zeg je oh, nee, dit is dit dik?

00:13:12

*Participant:* Of, nou bijvoorbeeld als het mesen gaat beperken in hun beweging, ofzo. Ik vind het moeilijk om daar een grens op te leggen... Zegmaar... Maar ik kan bijvoorbeeld binnen mijn al mijn vriendinnen niemand... Daar zitten ook wat vollere meiden tussen en wat mindere volle meiden maar daar vind ik niemand ongezonder ofzo.

00:13:27

*Interviewer:* Hmm.

00:13:28

*Participant:* Ik ken ook niet heel veel, maar als je echt obesitas-achtig, die kant opgaat dat vind ik dan wel iets ongezonds.

00:13:36

*Interviewer:* Dus dat zou dan niet meer binnen body positivity passen omdat je gezondheid beïnvloedt?

00:13:40

*Participant:* Ja, en ik denk dus wel dat het nog binnen die movement past, omdat het een soort van... je moet gewoon blij zijn met je lichaam.

00:13:46

*Interviewer:* Dus je bent dan niet helemaal eens met de movement... of tenminste?

00:13:53

*Participant:* Ik ben opzich wel blij met die movement, maar ik heb daar... soms denk ik dat weleens dat het op een gegeven moment te ver gaat, maar ik denk dat wat meer bij fat acceptance hoort hoor. Want misschien gaat body positivity daar wel helemaal niet over.

00:14:01

*Interviewer:* Nou ja, weet ik eigenlijk niet. Het ding bij body positvity is dat het heel erg breed is, dat er veel wel onder valt. Het is ook wel interessant dat je zegt van nou ja, het is waarschijnlijk breder, maar voor mij... ik trekk het zelf tot zo...

00:14:12

*Participant:* Maar ik vind het wel mooi, want ik vind het ook bijvoorbeeld. Het gaat denk ik ook over dat als bijvoorbeeld iemand ehm een borstamputatie heeft gehad, dat je dan ook nog steeds je lichaam mag laten zien en daar blij mee mag zijn en dat niemand dat gek moet vinden. Of als jij gehandicapt bent.. Dat je daar ook soort van, weet ik veel. Mis je een arm, of dat je in een rolstoel zit, dat je daar ook helemaal blij mee moet zijn. Dat vind ik wel heel mooi, dat het gewoon niet... en dat je niet meer alleen fotomodellen ziet. En toch is dat er ook nog wel heel veel, denk ik. Ook al doen die ook mee aan body positivity, een soort van.

00:14:45

*Interviewer:* Maar dat is misschien hun body positivity [nadruk op hun]?

00:14:47

*Participant:* Ja, en zij werken er ook hartstikke hard voor. Dus zij mogen ook trots zijn op hun lichaam.

00:14:52

*Interviewer:* Ja, dat is ook zo, dat is zo. Ehm. maar je zei net, iemand die gehandicapt is bijvoorbeeld... zie je dat wel eens voorbijkomen in je feed op Instagram of je stories is of de explore page ofzo.

00:15:03

*Participant:* Nou nee, eigenlijk echt weinig, maar ik vond wel zo'n... hoe heet ze... Zo'n dj bij... zij doet iets bij BNN geloof ik, en zij heeft geen onderarmen en onderbenen. Maar dat die zie ik dan wel... en toch soort van, is het natuurlijk gekkig om iemand te zien zonder onderarmen en zonder onderbenen. Maar zij is wel helemaal een soort van... ze leeft een heel gewoon leven. Zij zit ook wel bij van die programmas en zij zit op een podcast bijvoorbeeld. Dan praat ze bijvoorbeeld over hoe zijn gewoon normaal seks heeft met iemand en hoe zij gewoon naar de hele leven gewoon normaal op een rijtje heeft, maar denk ik, wel, van jeetje wat knap dat je dat kan en dat ze dus ook alles laat zien ook.

00:15:48

*Interviewer:* Want volg je haar?

00:15:56

*Participant:* Nee ik volg haar dus niet.

00:15:56

*Interviewer:* Maar hoe zie je haar dan verschijnen?

00:15:57

*Participant:* Nou ik had zo'n podcast geluisterd en daar was zij over aan het praten over hoe zij heeft bereikt wat ze nu al heeft bereikt, hoe ze bij BNN Academy was gekomen.. En zij is ook wel gewoon echt supertalentvol ofzo. En toen dacht ik toch: wel extra knap om dat te bereiken als je gehandicapt bent.

00:16:22

*Interviewer:* En misschien ook omdat je niet in die mainstream past, omdat je toch anders bent?

00:16:28

*Participant:* Ja, moet je nagaan als je een soort van presenteert, zonder onderarmen en -benen... Maar toen ben ik haar dus wel gaan opzoeken, maar dus niet gaan volgen. Ik weet eigenlijk niet waarom.

00:16:44

*Interviewer:* Maar zie je haar weleens gewoon random in je feed verschijnen?

00:16:46

*Participant:* Nee.

00:16:46

*Interviewer:* Oké, dus je moet haar wel echt een soort van opzoeken.

00:16:47

*Participant:* Ik zie weinig mensen met een handicap random in mijn feed verschijnen.

00:16:51

*Participant:* En anders nog door een vriendin van mij misschien het meest. Zij heeft een gehandicapt zusje en zij deelt daar wel veel over.

00:16:56

*Interviewer:* Oh ja, oké. en is dat... Maar zijn er meer dingen waarvan je denkt van nou, daar zouden we eigenlijk nog meer van moeten zien?

00:17:03

*Participant:* Nou wat ik net zei, van die social justice of dingen zou ik nog wel wat meer willen

zien...en bijvoorbeeld, soms denk ik wel eens oh... al weet ik niet of ik dat in mijn Instagram bijvoorbeeld moet, maar van die bepaalde historische geschillen in de wereld, of hoe de situatie in Myanmar is of zo. Daar zou ik wel meer van willen weten. Maar dan tegelijk, als je daar echt meer van wil weten moet je je daar, maar over inlezen, en moet dat dan via Instagram? En qua body positivity, als ik daar dan een beetje een terug moet gaan... dat vind ik moeilijk, een soort van... Want dan denk ik: al die Instagrammers... die Vivian, die vind ik wel, die straalt het wel echt uit van: 'Ik ben helemaal blij met mezelf'. Maar je hebt ook heel veel die er nu een beetje gebruik van maken. Die dan, ik kan nie perse een voorbeeld noemen, maar die dan gewoon een hartstikke supermooi lichaam hebben waarvan je weet, die doen er van alles aan, je hele Instagramfeed is dat je een soort van geperfectioneerd bent, misschien met een beetje een touch-up... hoe heet het.. retoucheren, filter, photoshop. Maar dan wel één foto erop zetten, dat je zo zit [neemt pose naar voren aan] en dat je drie rollen ziet, en dan een soort van zeggen van: 'oké, ik heb ook nog onzekerheden', en dan verder weer gewoon alles perfect laten zien. Dat vind ik wel echt vreselijk.

00:18:22

*Interviewer:* Ja, want?

00:18:23

*Participant:* Ja, dan denk ik oké, own het dan gewoon altijd, ofzo.

00:18:28

*Interviewer:* Hmm, oh oke, jaja. Want valt die body positivity, valt daar dan ook onder van: je moet altijd je echte zelf laten zien, dus geen filters gebruiken of geen photoshop of iets.

00:18:36

*Participant:* Nou weet je, misschien zou ik dat er wel bij willen hebben. Het is natuurlijk: als je die filters gebruikt... Je kunt voor de gein op de bank zitten en dan zie je er echt niet uit, en je hebt dan ook filters dat je dan denkt: oke, ik ben Dus dat je echt denkt oke, ik ben ook een model nu. Waar komt dit vandaan [lacht]. En dat vind ik wel echt gevaarlijk.. Dus als je filters enzo gebruikt vind ik niet echt dat dat bij body positivity hoort.

00:19:02

*Interviewer:* Oké, maar bijvoorbeeld, zou Rianne meijer ook nooit filters gebruiken?

00:19:08

*Participant:* Jawel, denk ik. Ik denk altijd. Ik denk dat ze allemaal hun foto's wat mooier maken, en kleurtjes gebruiken enzo.

00:19:12

*Interviewer:* En is dat dan oké, dan nog?

00:19:14

*Participant:* Weet ik niet. Ik doe zelf natuurlijk ook weleens filters gebruiken, van ja waarom niet? En anders zou het waarschijnlijk ook oneerlijk zijn, omdat zijn waarschijnlijk met prachtige camera's werken en licht...

00:19:25

*Interviewer:* Ja, dus je blijft misschien altijd wel een verschil zien?

00:19:27

*Participant:* Ja, je kunt je misschien nooit helemaal vergelijken met die mensen. Voor wie dat d baan is, weet je. Net als met modellen, ja. het is hun leven.. hun baan om fit te zijn. Net als sporters, ja, die hebben ook lijpe lichaam, omdat ze gewoon.. dat is hun einddoel. En wij hebben ook nog andere dingen in het leven waar we voor moeten werken, of jij nu met je scriptie schrijven. Dan kun je niet de



hele dag burpees zitten doen [lacht]. Dus er zal misschien altijd wel een verschil blijven. En dat is misschien niet zo erg, alleen... Ik vind wel voor... Wij hebben er denk ik wel de bladenissues mee gehad, de leeftijd van nu, die ziet echt alleen maar geweldige dingen op Instagram en social media. Dat is wel echt gevaarlijk, denk ik.

00:20:13

*Interviewer:* Hmm, dus is dat dan moeilijker voor die groep dan hoe wij het vroeger hebben gehad misschien?

00:20:16

*Participant:* Denk het wel ja.

00:20:18

*Interviewer:* Want?

00:20:19

*Participant:* nou ja, oké, wij lazen in blaadjes... en daar zagen we wel, natuurlijk hele mooie meisjes en... op Hyves zag je eigenlijk alleen je eigen mensen, en daar had je ook wel dat je dacht van: oh, die zijn echt mooi. Maar bijvoorbeeld bij Instagram is het echt extreem geworden, natuurlijk, hè. En natuurlijk bij ons zag je op TV next topmodel, dat soort dingen... dat je dacht o, die, zijn echt mooi! Maar ik denk wel dat het nu echt een stuk erger is geworden.

00:20:44

*Participant:* Dat zie je misschien ook als je nu in de brugklas kijkt... ik weet wel toen ik ben in de hogere klassen zat en brugklassers zag, die zagen er niet uit als de brugklassers van nu. Instagram had je toen nog niet eens misschien? Dat begon toen misschien een beetje. En toen had je al van wow, die mensen zien er al zo volwassen uit en willen, al helemaal perfect zijn en er perfect uitzien. Terwijl toen ik in de brugklas zat, had ik nog 3 staarten op mijn hoofd ofzo. Voor mijn gevoel dan he. Misschien was dat toen ook al niet zo maar... Maar ik denk dat.. nu zie je echt gewoon iedereen superhip gekleed in de brugklas al.

00:21:14

*Interviewer:* En het is misschien ook wel moeilijk, want wat je zegt.. Wij hadden dan die tijdschriften of TV-programma's, maar dat was het.. Dan was het programma klaar, of je legde het tijdschrift weg. En dan was het klaar. Maar nu is het misschien constant ofzo.

00:21:28

*Participant:* En ja, wij, onze leeftijd zegmaar, wij waren denk ik toch ook wel onzeker, als je bijvoorbeeld achterliep op de rest, of nog kleinere borsten had of een buikvetje had enzovoort. Ik weet het niet, het is moeilijk. Sowieso ook de leeftijd waarin je zit, maar ik denk wel dat het nu echt moeilijker is. En dan is het wel fijn als je mensen zien die er wat over zeggen. En die misschien dan wel één keer vetrolletjes posten, ook al doen ze het niet altijd. Dus net zei ik dat ik dat vreselijk vond, maar dat hoeft dus niet altijd zo te zijn.

00:21:52

*Interviewer:* Nou ja, maar dat is jouw mening.

00:21:53

*Participant:* Ja, dat is wel mijn mening. Ik vind dat wel. Ja, je zit altijd maar je buik in te houden en dan doe je één keer gewoon je buikrolletjes laten zien en dan ineens, doe je mee aan body positivity.

00:22:01

*Interviewer:* Ja, maar dan wordt dat misschien ook wel een beetje een trend. Dat is dan misschien niet helemaal eerlijk meer.

00:22:07

*Participant:* Ja. Weet je wie ik trouwens ook volg? Die Miljuschka...

00:22:11

*Interviewer:* Oh ja, die kok? Tenminste ook tv-kokdingen doet toch?

00:22:14

*Participant:* Ja, en een nichtje van van Willem Holleeder. En zij is ook heel erg met body positivity bezig. Ze zet zichzelf altijd in bikini op de foto. Terwijl zij wel echt.. wel echt vol is.

00:22:27

*Interviewer:* Oké, oké, dat wist ik niet. Volg je haar?

00:22:30

*Participant:* Ja. Ik volg haar voor de recepten, niet per se voor dat, maar dat krijg je er meer bij en soms denk ik, dus hier volg ik jou niet voor, maar misschien zijn er wel heel veel vrouwen die haar wel daarvoor volgen.

00:22:43

*Interviewer:* Ja, ja. En voelt het bij haar dan als een trend, want je zegt van af en toe kun je er wel bij mensen doorheen kijken. Voelt het bij haar als iets dat ze gebruikt als een merk?

00:22:47

*Participant:* Ik denk, ik denk dat ze het wel een beetje gebruikt als een merk. Zij doet ook dingen met de weight watchers enzo, allemaal van die samenwerkingen.

00:23:01

*Interviewer:* Maar je kan ook zeggen van: ook al is het, of voelt het misschien als een trend of een merk, het misschien wel goed dat er in ieder geval iets wordt gedaan..

00:23:07

*Participant:* Ja en zij struggled ook wel soms, je ziet ook bij haar dan dat ze wel echt een stuk dikker geworden is, en dat zegt ze ook, dat laat ze ook zien en dan zegt ze: ja, dit is niet hoe ik mijn gezond voelt, dus ga ik nu weight watchers doen. En ik denk niet dat zij voor haar plezier 15 kilo is aangekomen en dat er weer af te halen omdat ze een samenwerking met weight watchers heeft. Dus ergens vind ik dat wel goed. Zij deelt wel echt haar fluctuaties zegmaar.

00:23:34

*Interviewer:* Oké, en ben je bewust van body positivity? Als je door je Instagram scrollt, of zo'n account tegenkomt, dat je denkt: oh ja, zij is echt lekker bezig met body positiviteit.

00:24:20

*Participant:* Tja ik denk dus... dat vind ik erg moeilijk om te zeggen... dat vaak is, is als ik iets afwijkends zie aan het perfecte beeld, dat ik dan wel denk: oh ze laat dit wel zien.

00:24:31

*Interviewer:* Oke, e wat is dan "dit"? als in, wat valt je dan op? Wat zijn dan die afwijkende dingen?

00:24:34

*Participant:* Gewoon... Iets dikker of gewoon niet perfect gedraaid, of ik weet het niet.. een onderkinnetje maar wel leuk lachend, zoiets.

00:24:45

*Interviewer:* Hmm. Want wat valt bij jou onder body positivity? Want je zei net al van hé, als je bijvoorbeeld een rolletje of cellulitis...

00:24:52

*Participant:* Eigenlijk dat je gewoon alles durft te laten zien

00:24:55

*Interviewer:* Bijvoorbeeld beharing valt dat er ook onder?

00:24:59

*Participant:* Ja dat vind ik ook wel echt.

00:25:01

*Interviewer:* Oke. En zie je dat wel op Instagram?

00:25:02

*Participant:* Ja, dat zie ik weleens, al denk ik wel te weinig. Ik merk dat ik bij mezelf daar nog wel... ik heb laatst een paar weken niet geschoren, mijn scheermes was kapot. En toch dacht ik de hele tijd oh mijn god, weetje. En ik wilde er niks om geven en toch geef je erom. Dus dat zie je wel minder vaak.

00:25:20

*Interviewer:* En denk je dat dan zou helpen bij jou, als je dan denkt van oh shit, ik heb er drie weken, maar je ziet het vaker op Instagram dat je dan minder.. onzeker erover bent?

00:25:27

*Participant:* Weet ik niet, eigenlijk. Maar ook bijvoorbeeld zo'n Linda de Munck. Ken je haar?

00:25:32

*Interviewer:* Nee.

00:25:32

*Participant:* Die volg ik dus wel ook.

00:25:37

*Interviewer:* En wat doet zij?

00:25:37

*Participant:* Zij was.. ja zij was wel echt een gekkie, sorry dat ik dit zeg. Zij had toen zo'n filmpje gemaakt met haar menstruatiebloed. ik geloof dat zij dat was. Best wel heftig. Dat vind ik dan wel echt ver gaan, zij doet dat waarschijnlijk vanuit, misschien niet body positivity maar misschien wel sexual positivity ofzo, dat dat ook genormaliseerd moet worden. Maar zij scheert dus ook nooit haar oksels, zij draagt nooit een bh, nooit. En heeft ze soms wijde shirts aan. En dan merk ik dus wel dat ik soms denk: o ja, ze heeft nog steeds geen bh, ze draag nooit een bh. Maar dat vind ik dan wel een soort van een soort van.. van oja, daar kun je ook voor kiezen. Als je helemaal niet zulke grote borsten hebt, weet je, dan hoeft je niet per se een bh aan voor ondersteuning. Het is meer een soort esthetisch. Terwijl zij zegt gewoon, daar heb ik geen zin in, ik heb toch weinig borst, dus.. en in een bloes zie je het niet en in een strak shirtje vind ik het eigenlijk wel leuk, dat er ook twee tepeltjes doorheen komen.

00:26:32

*Interviewer:* Oja, ik moet zeggen dat dat je dat wel vaker ziet op Insta, in mijn ervaring. Zegmaar van die Instagram maar dan met een heel strak shirt en die twee tepeltjes.

00:26:41

*Participant:* Ik vind dat ook wel leuk eigenlijk. En ook wel geinig want dat was vroeger gewoon hip. mijn moeder zei, wij deden dat vroeger ook, zo'n heel strak tanktopje zonder bh.

00:26:48

*Interviewer:* Ja

00:26:50

*Participant:* En ook mensen met hele volle borsten deden dat.

00:26:51

*Interviewer:* Ja.

00:26:53

*Interviewer:* Volgens mij van de... ik denk van eind jaren 90 opeens. Want vroeger had je dan ook gewoon niet-voorgevormde bh's en opeens, jaren 90 misschien, moest iedereen allemaal dezelfde soort vorm borst hebben ofzo.

00:27:03

*Participant:* Ja en dat vind ik dus ook bij body positivity horen. Dat dat dus niet meer zo is. Dat je ook gewoon... Daar was ik vroeger best weleens onzeker over. Over borsen enzo. Nu mogen ze ook een beetje puntig zijn, ja, lekker boeiend, weet je. Ja, dat zijn ook gewoon borsten.

00:27:22

*Interviewer:* Oké, maar dat valt misschien ook wel een beetje onder een feministisch onderwerp of zo?

00:27:29

*Participant:* ja, misschien ook wel een beetje, ja. Maar ja is het feministisch, want het gaat alleen over vrouwen. Maar inderdaad, ik vind wel dat mannen die moeten zijn natuurlijk..., want mijn vriend zegt soms ook weleens iets gekks over bijvoorbeeld mijn beenhaar, dat ik dan denk: ja jij hebt daar niks over te vinden, soort van. En tuurlijk, ik vind zelf ook dat het er af moet, maar ja, als ik geen zin heb om het te scheren dan scheer ik mij toch niet, ja.

00:27:47

*Interviewer:* Hoezo zeg je tuurlijk, ik vind ook dat het eraf moet?

00:27:49

*Participant:* Nou, meer omdat ik dat gewoon ik heb heel vaak een beetje blond beenhaar, maar die keer, toen was het echt erg, overal. En dat vind ik gewoon niet prettig zelf, dus daarom zei ik "tuurlijk". Hij [vriend] wist ook dat ik het er eigenlijk af wilde. Maar ik vind nog steeds dat hij daar niks over mag zeggen.

00:28:12

*Interviewer:* Want zei, het is wel een beetje een vrouwen issue... tenminste body positivity, zie je ook wel eens mannen?

00:28:16

*Participant:* Oh, nee, ik vind het body positivity geen vrouwenissue. Ik bedoelde meer toen we het over borsten en bh's hadden. Ik vind: natuurlijk moeten mannen daar ook nog, maar, maar ik vind het meer is misschien wel feministisch. Ik, dat vind ik lastig, maar ik denk wel dat ze onder vrouwen toch ook vooral een beetje. Weet ik eigenlijk niet, maar dat denk ik.

00:28:31

*Interviewer:* Nee, maar ik bedoelde meer eigenlijk body positivity...

00:28:34

*Participant:* Oh nee, dat vind ik ook voor mannen!

00:28:34

*Interviewer:* Want zie je dat dan weleens op Insta of..?

00:28:37

*Participant:* Nee, en dat ik... ik denk dat zij daar in achterlopen.. Want laatst had je wel, geloof ik Rihanna met haar merk, ofzo... Of was dat niet Weekday of zo, die hadden ineens mannen ook met een buikje in hun campagne. En toen dacht ik, oh dat is echt heel goed, want bij mannen zie je echt nog alleen maar van volgepompte in onderbroeken, dat je denkt: sorry maar zo ziet een normaal mannenlichaam er echt niet uit.

00:29:06

*Interviewer:* Dus daar is nog winst op te behalen denk je?

00:29:08

*Participant:* Ja! Heel veel denk ik. Ja, zij lopen daar echt in achter eigenlijk. Vind ik. Misschien volg ik dat ook niet, soort van, en zie ik er dus ook weinig van. Maar dan had ik er wel iets van gehoord denk ik. Net zoals dat van Weekday.

00:29:21

*Participant:* Er zijn natuurlijk ook wel gewoon mannen met bijvoorbeeld... hoe heet het... die Manuel Broekman, die volg ik, en hij had ook een beetje een buikje gekregen, en dat laat-ie wel gewoon zien, maar dat schreeuwt-ie hij er niet bij van: hé, ik heb een buikje, en ik ben ook oké.

00:29:40

*Interviewer:* Maar is dat dan misschien wel..? Gebeurt dat wel bij vrouwen?

00:29:43

*Participant:* Ja, dat vind ik wel. Die zetten er dan wel vaak iets onder... Of bijvoorbeeld die Vivian Hoorn, die heeft wel een paar keer gezegd... zo een statement gemaakt van vroeger was: ik dit, nu ben ik zo. Ik ben nu heel blij met mn leven en toen was ik dat niet zo.

00:29:57

*Interviewer:* Wat vind je daarvan.. dat zeg maar bij een vrouw of tenminste eigenlijk wat anders soort statement, een bij wordt gemaakt?

00:30:04

*Participant:* Ja, weet ik eigenlijk niet, ik snap niet zo goed waarom dat anders is. ik vind het moeilijk.

00:30:07

*Interviewer:* Maar denk je van: hmm, oke leuk, of denk je van: waarom moet dit erbij? Of...

00:30:11

*Participant:* Nou ja, ik... Opzich mag ze dat prima delen, vind ik wel.

00:30:17

*Interviewer:* Maar als je dat dan leest, wat denk je dan?

00:30:22

*Participant:* [stilte] Ja, dan denk je oh nou wel interessant. Dat vind ik echt zo, maar ik hoef niet 100 keer te lezen. Dus niet, wat ik net al zei echt, echt je brand van te maken. Terwijl eigenlijk maakt het niet uit als je dat wel wilt, maar het is misschien wel authentieker als manuel broekman zijn buik laat zien en niks erbij zet, van nou dit ben ik punt. Misschien is dat wel de volgende stap, hè, in body positivity. Eerst moeten mensen een beetje zo awareness creeren, en soort drammen, en dan wordt het gewoon normaal en dan hoeven mensen er niks meer over te zeggen, want het is allemaal normaal. Dat wil je eigenlijk.

00:30:54

*Interviewer:* Dat zijn nu dan een beetje de pioniers?

00:30:58

*Participant:* Ja, dat denk ik wel. De eersten moeten even het verhaal erachter delen.

00:31:03

*Interviewer:* Oké, en wat vind je dan van bijvoorbeeld... We hadden het net over beharing, wat vind je dan bijvoorbeeld van huiddingen... Of tenminste dat vind ik een lastig woord. Maar in het Engels noem ik het meestal skin issues, maar ik bedoel bijvoorbeeld vlekjes of vlekken op je huid, bijvoorbeeld die huidziekte, of wijnvlekken of acne of littekens. Valt dat ook onder body positivity, of gaat dat echt alleen over gewicht en de vorm van je lichaam?

00:31:25

*Participant:* Nee, ik denk echt alles eigenlijk wel.

00:31:27

*Interviewer:* Oké, en zie je dat soort dingen?

00:31:28

*Participant:* Mjaa, dat zie ik wel.. Acne eigenlijk te weinig denk ik. Terwijl, daar hebben zoveel mensen natuurlijk last van. In mijn feed komt dat eigenlijk nooit voor. Terwijl ik denk: nou, dat zou wel goed zijn als je gewoon zo'n pukkel laat zien, ja, het is gewoon super normaal.

00:31:47

*Interviewer:* En die huidziektes of vlekken enzo, zeg maar vlekken of zo, dat zie je wel vaker? die werden,

00:31:52

*Participant:* Nou nee, ook niet echt.. Wel het model die ook die ziekte heeft, dat zie je wel eens. Verder zie ik ook niet zo heel veel.

00:32:05

*Interviewer:* Ik denk dat je Winnie Harlow bedoelt, dat model? [participant knikt ja]. Oke. Want verder valt zij wel heel erg in het perfecte plaatje qua lichaam, of in wat we nu "mooi" noemen of vinden.

00:32:08

*Participant:* Ja.

00:32:09

*Interviewer:* Dus zie je ook wel eens, zeg maar: en en. Dus dat er in één lichaam zeg maar verschillende van dit soort afwijkende dingen... tenminste die afwijken van de norm.. te zien zijn?

00:32:14

*Participant:* Nou, nee, eigenlijk niet... Niet dat ik weet, dat ik dat steeds zie, maar ik denk dat die er wel zijn. Toch? Of heb jij het idee dat mensen, dat ze er voor kiezen, van: Ik ga dit laten zien?

00:32:39

*Interviewer:* Nou, dat weet ik niet, maar misschien... ik weet niet eigenlijk. In mijn feed, als ik dan iets zie, dan is het vooral één ding.

00:32:50

*Participant:* Ja, oke. Dan denk je, ik heb het idee dat mensen toch wel voor kiezen van oké, hier ga ik mij op focussen.

00:32:55

*Interviewer:* En je kan natuurlijk ook niks aan doen. Bijvoorbeeld kijk, als je niet gehandicapt bent,

maar je bent wel "dikker", dan ga je niet je arm eraf hakken om te kunnen zeggen: ik ben gehandicapt en wat "dikker"

00:33:04

*Participant:* Nee. En misschien zie je ook... als bijvoorbeeld iemand wat dikker en gehandicapt is, dan zie je die wat sneller dan iemand die wel "dikker" is maar niet gehandicapt. Dat dat meer opvalt ofzo... Ik weet het niet.

00:33:14

*Interviewer:* Zou dan denk je goed zijn als daar meer te zien van zou zijn?

00:33:18

*Participant:* Ja, ik denk dat het gewoon altijd het beste is als alles te zien is op Instagram. Gewoon hele normale mensen... Wat ik ook wel bij de body positivity movement vind horen, is dat ene programma. Ik heb nog nooit gezien, maar dat was heel veel ophef over zo. Over die kinderen die vragen konden stellen aan naakte mensen. Dat vond ik erg goed. Gewoon zien hoe een normaal lichaam eruit ziet, gewoon alles laten zien.

00:33:45

*Participant:* Ik vind dat wel goed.

00:33:46

*Interviewer:* Want dat hebben, want mijn scriptie gaat ervan niet over tijdschriften, maar vroeger was natuurlijk, wat je al zei, van dat vergelijken met de tijdschriften...Is daar iets in verandert?

00:33:56

*Participant:* Ik denk dat ik niet genoeg tijdschriften lees om dat te weten, maar je ziet wel dat er meer bijvoorbeeld zwarte modellen worden gecast. Dat vind ik wel heel goed, en ook wel dat er wat vollere modellen worden gebruikt. Maar ik kijk en lees niet genoeg tijdschriften om dat echt te weten.

00:34:16

*Interviewer:* Oke, je noemt zwarte modellen, zie je die wel voorbij komen op je Instagram?

00:34:18

*Participant:* Ja, dat wel, en dat valt ook wel onder diversiteit en body positive. Al vind ik dat misschien wel meer bij diversiteit horen... Ja... want dat is een beetje gek als van in... tja... hmm, huidskleur.. Ik weet het niet. Maar, dat vind ik wel belangrijk, dat dat gewoon geaccepteerd wordt. Maar dat is misschien meer een ander onderwerp. et was misschien weer een andere.

00:34:40

*Interviewer:* Oké, goed. Ik zou het nu graag over body neutrality willen hebben. Weet je een beetje wat dat inhoudt?

00:34:52

*Participant:* Nouja je had al iets uitgelegd, maar ik vind dit is een hele complexe movement. Want dan denk ik: ja, want zeker bijvoorbeeld bij Instagram, wat zet je er dan op?Is dat bijvoorbeeld dan moeders die kinderen borstvoeding geven, van: Hier is je lichaam voor bedoeld.

00:35:13

*Interviewer:* Ja misschien. Maar het kan misschien ook zijn dat die mensen ervoor kiezen van: dit is meer body positive. Dit is volgens mij heel erg subjectief. Dus daarom: als jij body neutrality hoort, waar denk je dan aan?

00:35:22

*Participant:* Ja, dan denk ik dus aan je lichaam als functioneel iets, ofzo.

00:35:30

*Interviewer:* Oke, en wat versta je dan als functioneel?

00:35:36

*Participant:* Jeetje wat moeilijk, van ja met je benen moet je lopen, maar ja hoe zet je zoiets dan op Insta? Ik zal niet... ik snap... Ik kan me niet voorstellen wat ik zou zien op Instagram wat dan onder body neutrality valt.

00:35:45

*Interviewer:* Oké. En als je gewoon niet nadenkt over Instagram, maar als je dan gewoon denkt aan de movement alleen? Ik weet niet of dat helpt..

00:35:51

*Participant:* Ja... en misschien bij body neutrality, weet je, je hebt natuurlijk ook man, vrouw, transmannen, transvrouwen. Zoals gender fluid of binair. Dat vind ik daar ook wel een beetje onder vallen, van: oké, het is gewoon mijn lichaam en ik wil me niet per se ergens aan....verbinden.... Van, ik identificeer me ergens bij, dus dit is gewoon mijn lichaam, punt. Dat zou dat zou ik daar ook nog wel bij vinden passen.

00:36:21

*Interviewer:* Oké! Dat vind ik wel interessant dat je dat noemt, want het was eigenlijk een beetje wat je als zei van het lichaam... Het gaat erom dat dat eigenlijk functioneert en je moet er minder op focussen hoe het eruitziet maar gewoon van hé, het werkt en dat functioneert en het doet het moet doen.

00:36:35

*Participant:* En je moet het gezond houden.

00:36:36

*Interviewer:* Ja, zoiets bijvoorbeeld. En het was ook een beetje een soort van tegenreactie op body positivity. Want body positivity, dat woord positivity, kan mensen ook een soort van stress opleveren, van: je voelt je niet altijd fijn in je lichaam, je voelt je niet altijd positief, want soms heb je misschien dagen dat je denkt van: nou, ik zie er niet uit, en dat dat woord positief, daardoor dus ook best wel veel kan geven aan mensen, omdat het de indruk opwekt dat je dus altijd tevreden en blij moet zijn met je lichaam, terwijl dat misschien ook niet helemaal realistisch is.

00:37:01

*Participant:* Oh ja, dat je altijd blij moet zijn met je lichaam. Dus ook dat je bijvoorbeeld mag denken: gatver die rol, die wil ik weg, terwijl dat je niet altijd hoeft te denken: ja, het is mijn rol en ik ben er blij mee, want het is mijn lichaam.

00:37:11

*Interviewer:* Ja, bijvoorbeeld. Dat je denkt: he bah die rol, maar dat je dan ook denkt: nou ja, die rol zit er, , maar ja, die zit daar maar verder doet alles het prima.

00:37:16

*Participant:* Of ondanks dat-ie er zit, mag je die rol wel haten, ofzo. Of die pukkels, of de cellulitis.

00:37:17

*Interviewer:* Nou, ik weet niet of het perse gaat om "haten", dat eigenlijk niet... Maar meer dat je denkt van nou oké, die pukkels zijn er, of die rol zit er, maar verder ben ik wel gezond. Daar draait het iets meer om...

00:37:29

*Participant:* Oh ja zo.



00:37:30

*Interviewer:* ...En misschien vind ik die rol niet mooi.. Dus "haten" is misschien wel een groot woord, maar meer dat je denkt van nou: daar ben ik niet superblij mee. Maar mijn lichaam... verder kan ik er alles mee doen.

00:37:41

*Participant:* Ja, ik snap wel, ja, dat is ook wel... Ja, ik heb daar niet per se een supersterke mening over, maar ik kan me wel voorstellen dat mensen dat je door body positivity, weet je... Ja, je mag je soms ook wel eens niet goed voelen.

00:37:55

*Interviewer:* Want voel je dat zelf weleens dan, dat je soms denkt van: nou BP, hallo, ik voel me vandaag helemaal niet positief?

00:38:02

*Participant:* Nee, dat heb ik eigenlijk nooit zo...

00:38:04

*Interviewer:* Oké.

00:38:05

*Participant:* Ik zie dat dan dan denk ik bijvoorbeeld... dan zie ik zo een foto, die daar een beetje bij hoort, bij body positivity, en dan denk ik: Oh ja, nou goed dat je dat deelt. Ik heb nooit een soort van dat ik dat op mezelf betrek denk ik... Alhoewel, misschien onbewust wel... Maar nee, ik word niet doordat ik die foto's zie, dat ik dan ook opeens denk van: oja ik moet nu ook mijn lichaam mooi vinden.

00:38:23

*Interviewer:* Oh op die manier, oke.

00:38:28

*Participant:* Maar ik vind dat wel een complexe movement, want wie horen er bijvoorbeeld een beetje bij?

00:38:33

*Interviewer:* Bij BN? Dat weet ik eigenlijk niet. Ik kan wel een paar voorbeelden geven van wat voor posts er worden gedeeld met hashtag body neutrality, wat voor posts er een beetje bij horen... [laat posts zien, zie screenshots + zet in methodology]. Bijvoorbeeld "i am not fat, i just have fat" of "my body does not define me". Meer dat soort dingen.

00:38:57

*Participant:* Ah oke, van het is mijn lichaam... maar genderfluid zou er ook bij passen dan, denk ik. Want als je je voelt als een vrouw, maar je bent geboren in het lichaam van een man.. Dat dat je dus niet definiëert.

00:39:12

*Interviewer:* Heb je wel eens dit soort dingen gezien op Instagram?

00:39:15

*Participant:* Niet echt, nee.

00:39:16

*Interviewer:* Ik zou eerlijk gezegd ook niet zo goed weten wat voor influencers of instagrammers daar dan bij horen of zo, hoor. En het is ook lastig, want wat is dan het verschil tussen de movements, ook bijvoorbeeld met fat acceptance...

00:39:27

*Participant:* Ja, maar ik heb bijvoorbeeld wel, een kennis, via via eigenlijk, ik ken haar niet zo goed, die is transgender. Zij post weleens dit soort dingen. Dus ik zie het misschien wel een beetje, meer richting BP, heb ik het idee. Zij post namelijk wel van die dingen als mijn lichaam definieert mij niet. Ook niet nu ze dus de transformatie naar vrouw heeft gemaakt.

00:39:52

*Interviewer:* Heeft ze een totale transformatie gedaan?

00:39:52

*Participant:* Ja, helemaal. Al heeft ze nog wel een beetje een mannelijk lichaam, maar dat is dus van, definieer mij niet... Zij heeft ook gekozen om niet lipje borstimplantaten en lippen enzo te nemen, want daar kunnen ze natuurlijk wel voor kiezen gewoon.

00:40:10

*Interviewer:* Oké, interessant. En denk je dan dat Instagram een goede plek is om dit soort dingen dan, bijvoorbeeld om ook meer awareness te creëren?

00:40:17

*Participant:* Ja, ik denk het wel, al denk ik dat bij haar... dat ze toch wel heel erg in haar eigen kringetje zit. Dus ik denk wel dat het een goeie plek is, al denk ik alleen niet dat je daar iedereen mee bereikt, soort van.

00:40:29

*Interviewer:* En denk je dat nu BN misschien ook een beetje een soort apart staat? En dat misschien niet iedereen in zich daar mee identificeren?

00:40:36

*Participant:* Ja, ik denk dat eigenlijk dat BN niet zo groot is.

00:40:53

*Interviewer:* Ja, het is ook vrij nieuw, dus misschien ook nog redelijk onbekend.

00:40:54

*Participant:* Ja. Ik vind het wel goed, alleen voor mij is het nog een beetje, want ik vind ook dat moet.... want ik kan me heel goed voorstellen dat je inderdaad in zo'n positie, zit dat je niet helemaal, soort van, je thuis voelt, of gedefinieerd voelt door je lichaam... Alleen, dat... dat is zo'n nog wat verder van je bed show, omdat je dat zelf wel hebt, denk ik.

00:41:19

*Participant:* Maar misschien dat je niet per se altijd positief hoeft te zijn over je lichaam.. Dat alles perfect moet vinden, dat misschien wel.

00:41:27

*Interviewer:* Ja dus het zal misschien niet zozeer passen bij "normale" tussen aanhalingstekens die wat meer in...

00:41:34

*Participant:* Ja, maar ik denk wel dat ook "normale" mensen er over kunnen leren, dat je weet dat er mensen zijn die zich zo voelen.

00:41:39

*Interviewer:* En denk je dan dat de Instagram een goede plek is daarvoor, om daar dingen te leren?

00:41:45

*Participant:* Ik denk wel dat een goeie plek is om mensen voor de eerste keer, een soort van... dat ze

ermee in aanraking komen.. En als je er echt meer over wil weten, moet je misschien ook nog meer daar in gaan verdiepen, in andere dingen, boeken ofzo.

00:42:01

*Interviewer:* Goed.

00:42:04

*Interviewer:* Vond het wel heel interessant dat je het over genderfluid had. En wat vond je dan van dat wat ik je net liet zien? [screenshot stimuli, zie hierboven].

00:42:15

*Participant:* Ja, moeilijk... want dan denk ik aan "i have fat" dus ik heb vet, niet "i am fat" van ik ben vet. Ik vind het altijd wel iets groots om te zeggen: ik ben dik..... Of dan zeg je dus in Nederland, ik heb vet, ik ben vet....

00:42:30

*Interviewer:* Het is natuurlijk in het Engels ook anders dan hoe je het zegt in Nederlands...

00:42:32

*Participant:* Maar dan zeg je misschien, ik heb buikvet.... Maar je zeg toch eerder ik ben dik... ik heb vet.... Ik vind het moeilijk. Ik snap het wel hoor, wat die post bedoelt in het Engels, maar in het Nederlands vind ik dat lastig. Ik weet niet zo goed wat ik daarvan vind, ergens heb ik echt zoiets van ja.... ik vind wel dat er een verschil zit. Iedereen heeft, iedereen heeft vet, maar niet iedereen is dik, een soort van. En dik is wel een subjectief woord...

00:43:03

*Interviewer:* Ja, want wat is dik?

00:43:05

*Participant:* Ja, jeetje....

00:43:08

*Interviewer:* Wat is dik voor jou, wat betekent dat voor jou?

00:43:11

*Participant:* Dik vind ik wel echt gewoon.... [is stil].

00:43:15

*Interviewer:* Vivian Hoorn, vind je die dik?

00:43:17

*Participant:* Nee, ik vind haar niet dik, maar ik vind haar wel vol.

00:43:19

*Interviewer:* Dus er zit ook een verschil tussen vol en dik?

00:43:21

*Participant:* Dik vind ik zo iets negatiefs, snap je? Als ik iemand echt dik vind..dat vind ik echt negatief, dus dan wordt het een beetje de ongezonde kant, dan gaat het die kant op. En ik vind, vol, kan zeg maar, dat is minder... Dan is het dus voor mij niet meer mooi, echt dik, snap je.

00:43:36

*Interviewer:* Aha. Ken jij Lizzo?

00:43:38

*Participant:* Ja, ik vind haar wel dik. En ik vind haar wel cool dat zij, zeg maar echt in strings met haar billen zit te shaken. Die volg ik dus wel ook, ja. En altijd best wel shocking gewoon, maar ik vind

haar wel dik, en ook wel ongezond dik, soort van. En dat laat ze ook zien he, want ze laat ook zien dat ze, weet ik veel, allemaal friet naar binnen loopt te werken...

00:44:03

*Interviewer:* Maar ja, dat doet ze misschien ook niet elke dag.

00:44:04

*Participant:* Nee, ik zit ook weleens aan zo'n snacktafel te eten met vriendinnen.

00:44:09

*Interviewer:* Ja.

00:44:10

*Participant:* En dat film ik ook en post ik op Insta, of mijn vriendinnen bijvoorbeeld. Dus ergens, want je weet natuurlijk... en dat vind ik wel moeilijk, want ook als iemand dik is en obesitas is... bij sommige mensen is het ook puur aanleg he, dat soort van genen die tegenzitten, en hoeveel ze ook zullen sporten, ze zullen er nooit vanaf komen.

00:44:27

*Interviewer:* Nee, maar die zouden dan dus bijvoorbeeld nooit een snacktafel op social media mogen zetten...

00:44:32

*Participant:* Jawel, jawel, jawel. ik vind het van haar ook tof dat ze dat doet. Maar ik vind dus wel... Mijn associatie, daarmee is wel van, ik vind haar wel..best wel...voor mij is zij wel dik.

00:44:43

*Interviewer:* Oké, en dan ook ongezond?

00:44:45

*Participant:* Ja, ik vind haar niet gezond eruit zien. Terwijl zo'n Vivian Hoorn.. dat vind ik.. dat is gewoon normaal, weet je. En dat vind ik wel erg eigenlijk, dat ik daar nog een verschil in maak, maar daar ben ik dan misschien nog net niet woke genoeg voor.

00:45:00

*Interviewer:* Maar ik denk dat er best veel mensen zijn die jouw mening delen. k weet niet of dat Lizzo's doel is, maar misschien is het ook wel een beetje haar doel om te shockeren.

00:45:06

*Participant:* Ik denk dat zij wel wil shockeren, en gewoon mensen wil laten zien van: dit kan ook. Dit soort lichamen zijn er ook en ik mag het gewoon laten zien, want het is mijn lichaam. En dat vind ik ook echt goed, dat ze dat doet.

00:45:15

*Interviewer:* Ja? Dat vind je dan niet, zoals we net zeiden van: nou, sommige mensen gebruiken het als hun brand of als hun merk. Dat heb je bij Lizzo niet?

00:45:23

*Participant:* Nee, huh vreemd, nee bij haar heb ik dat eigenlijk niet. Misschien ook omdat zij niet de hele tijd zegt: Ik ben dik of, I am fat. Gewoon.. zij laat gewoon zien: Ik ben dit, ik ben cool.

00:45:35

*Interviewer:* Van haar... wat je zegt, van hé, dit is wat het is. Ik laat mijn lichaam zien zoals het is en ik ben gewoon wie ik ben... Valt dat... Vind je dan dat zij ook onder BP valt?

00:45:45

*Participant:* Ik vind wel dat het onder BP valt, maar ik vind het is ook, want ik denk dat we daar straks heen gaan, naar fat acceptance. Dat ze daar ook ondervalt.

00:45:54

*Interviewer:* Oké, waarom, want wat is dan fat acceptance volgens jou?

00:45:55

*Participant:* Voor mij is dat wel, dat je echt gewoon, wat dikker bent en dat gewoon helemaal accepteert.

00:46:08

*Interviewer:* Wat is dan met "wat dikker", bedoel je daar Vivian Hoorn mee? Of onee, want die vond je vol...

00:46:11

*Participant:* Ja, precies, ik vind haar vol, dus dat vind ik meer body positivity. Maar, fat acceptance, daar ben ik ook niet zo bekend mee. Dan zou ik dus inderdaad eerder aan Lizzo denken, dat vind ik dan wel het voorbeeld daarvoor.

00:46:23

*Interviewer:* Oké, dus het gaat bij jou dus niet om het concept vet, zeg maar van mensen die gewoon een beetje vet hebben, maar...

00:46:32

*Participant:* [knikt] Maar echt op de wat extremere kant. In mijn gevoel is dat de wat extremere kant. En ik vind het ergens wel goed.. weet je van: je mag laten zien dat je gewoon trots bent op je eigen lichaam en te accepteren dat je zo bent. Alleen, ik ben... ik heb daar nog wel een beetje een ongezonde associatie mee. Dat ik denk van: ja, het gaat op een gegeven moment ook bijna te ver. En moet je iets normaal vinden waar je een soort van voor je 40e aan kan overlijden? Of dat je een maagverkleining moet hebben. Moet je dat normaliseren?

00:47:07

*Interviewer:* Dat is een goeie vraag.

00:47:08

*Participant:* Dat ik, dat vind ik daar moeilijk mee. Maar ja, ik heb wel zoiets ja, als jij zo uitziet en je bent er trots op, laat lekker zien dan!

00:47:13

*Interviewer:* Dus het werkt misschien een beetje twee kanten op, dan?

00:47:21

*Participant:* Ik denk ook: laat lekker zien dan! maar het is wel een beetje... Moeten we dit als samenleving helemaal normaliseren dat we daar ook niks meer over durven te zeggen straks, van weet je... kunnen wij straks ook niet meer zeggen, van: ja, sorry maar je bent echt ongezond dik, je moet afvallen.

00:47:40

*Interviewer:* Maar, zijn er objectieve manier om om te zeggen: je bent te dik?

00:47:43

*Participant:* Ja, ik denk dat BMI of zo wel kan.

00:47:46

*Interviewer:* oké.

00:47:46

*Participant:* Toch? Stel, je gaat het dan heel erg op zorg houden dat je echt zeggen van inderdaad, wij leerden vroeger Body mass index, van nou oke, zit je boven het oranje of geel zit je in overgewicht, zit je in rood dan ben je gewoon te dik en zit je tegen obesitas aan, ofzo.

00:47:55

*Interviewer:* Hmm, oke. Maar valt oranje dan al onder FA, of is dat dan nog "vol" en is het BP.

00:48:05

*Participant:* Tja, ik zou dan niet zo goed weten wat voor lichaam er dan precies bij hoort en wat voor lichaam ik me moet voorstellen.

00:48:18

*Interviewer:* Het is ook een beetje gek, want ik weet dat mijn vader ook wel eens richting einde geel zat, terwijl hij is altijd best slank geweest, niet iemand waarvan je zou zeggen, hij is dik of vol. Dus misschien kan het ook afhankelijk zijn van andere dingen.

00:48:35

*Interviewer:* Ja, want dat is een beetje met bmi want kijk bijvoorbeeld daar niet naar waar je vet zit bijvoorbeeld, terwijl dat ook consequenties heeft voor je gezondheid.

00:48:38

*Participant:* Nee..

00:48:49

*Interviewer:* Dus dat, dat is misschien ook een beetje, maar in het algemeen als we aan BMI denken, is zeg maar, oranje/rood, is die zeg maar als wij aan bmi denken, dat je dan bij oranjerood dat je lichamen die onder fat acceptance zit, bedoel je zoiets?

00:49:01

*Participant:* Ja precies, of dat dat dan de mensen zijn waar tegen je mag zeggen van, misschien is het beter om wat af te vallen, ofzo, omdat het ook gewoon gezonder voor jezelf en je levensverwachting enzo, dat soort dingen. Maar ja, ik vind ook.. ik vind het wel goed dat we zien, dit is er ook. Er zijn misschien ook mensen bij FA die zeggen: ik struggle hiermee, met mijn gewicht.

00:49:19

*Interviewer:* Ja, oké, maar ergens ben je misschien wel bang dat als je... tenminste je moet maar zeggen of dit klopt of niet, dat als je het is heel erg laten zien op Instagram, bijvoorbeeld dat je dan misschien ook oh, dat je het een soort van normaliseert misschien of promotoot ofzo.

00:49:32

*Participant:* Ja precies. Misschien vind ik dus wel dat mensen dan ook wel moeten delen van welke complicaties er bijvoorbeeld bij zitten, van: ik ben te dik, ik heb het helemaal geaccepteerd, het hoort bij mij, bijvoorbeeld. Ehm, maar ik kan hierdoor wel bijvoorbeeld maar een uur lopen, of zo... weet je dat er dan echt mensen met echte obesitas, die hebben die complicaties misschien wel, of die van die plekken onder hun borst enzo.

00:50:03

*Interviewer:* Maar aan de andere kant, het is dus goed dat mensen het kunnen laten zien, dat andere mensen weten, ik ben niet alleen...

00:50:04

*Participant:* Ja, het is dus goed dat mensen het laten zien, maar je moet dan misschien wel meer achtergrond of info of het echte verhaal laten zien ofzo.. En ik denk niet dat dat dat leidt tot mensen die denken: oh ik ga mij ook helemaal volstoppen met eten ofzo, hoor.

00:50:16

*Interviewer:* Oké, dan kort nog even, als je aan die drie movements denkt die we net hebben besproken, denkt: hoe, hoe denk je dat ze tot elkaar in verhouding staan?

00:50:25

*Participant:* Hoe bedoel je tot elkaar verhouden?

00:50:27

*Interviewer:* Dat nou..

00:50:27

*Participant:* Nouja, ik denk wel dat BP ook wel een beetje met FA te maken heeft.

00:50:35

*Interviewer:* Staan ze los van elkaar, de 3 movements?

00:50:37

*Participant:* Ehm, nee, want ik denk eigenlijk, als je bij FA hoort, of daarbij betreft, dat je dan ook wel bij BP hoort, omdat in de kern toch is van: embrace je lichaam en hoe je eruit ziet.

00:50:39

*Interviewer:* Oke, en is FA dan bijvoorbeeld een onderdeel van?

00:50:50

*Participant:* Vind ik ook ja. En BN ook, al staat dat er misschien ook wel een beetje buiten, als soort van reactie op BP, maar er is wel overlap denk ik. Ook al definieer ik mijn lichaam niet zo aan de normen ofzo, ben ik wel oke ermee, ofzo. Dus ik denk dat het wel allemaal bij elkaar hoort.

00:50:57

*Interviewer:* Oke. En nu je iets meer weet over de 3 movements, en we ze besproken hebben, als je nou bij jezelf zou moeten denken van bij welk van die drie movements voel ik het meest bij?

00:51:15

*Participant:* Nou dat zou dan wel BP zijn, ook omdat ik daar het meest van weet. Maar BN... ik denk dat ik daar iets meer van zou moeten weten, maar dat ik het daar op zich ook nog wel mee eens ben.

00:51:27

*Interviewer:* En dan van BP, het hele BP spectrum, of binnen de grenzen die jij aan het begin al aangaf binnenin BP?

00:51:34

*Participant:* Pfoe, ja misschien ook wel het hele spectrum eigenlijk... Ik zou niet zo goed weten waar ik het dan uit zou moeten stoppen ofzo.

00:51:47

*Interviewer:* Nou ja, als jij denkt dat bijvoorbeeld FA ook onderdeel is van BP...

00:51:49

*Participant:* Ja, oke, dan zou... dat is inderdaad dan, ja, dan is het is misschien bepaalde grenzen wel, maar ik zou die nu nog niet zo goed kunnen definiëren.

00:52:15

*Interviewer:* Kort nog, in terms of diversity; je zei al wel dat je weinig mannen ziet en zo, maar voor de rest. Wat denk je van... Zie je verschillende issues, body issues?

00:52:29

*Participant:* Hmm, ja, maar ik denk... Ja, maar je ziet vaak natuurlijk bijvoorbeeld: cellulitis, of je

buik, of striae. Maar je zou ook nog wel, nou... met pukkels, huidproblemen, of ja.. wat zou ik zelf nog missen... Ja, ik weet het niet, misschien hele korte beentjes, hele lange benen? Allemaal dat soort dingen die je eigenlijk nooit ziet toch?! Ja, ik vind wel, het is nu wel vaak op cellulitis en buik gefocust enzo. en ook niet perse op borsten maar mensen mogen op Instagram ook helemaal geen blote borsten laten zien, terwijl misschien, als dat wel zou kunnen, er misschien mensen kunnen laten zien van oké als je borsten zo of zo zijn.

00:53:14

*Participant:* Nu mag je natuurlijk geen vrouwelijke tepels laten zien op Instagram, echt compleet belachelijk, Maar dat is weer een andere discussie. Terwijl ik zou het leuk vinden om daar ook meer van te zien, als iedereen dat ging doen, zoals nu dus met buik of cellulitis.

00:53:33

*Participant:* Dus er kan nog wel wat aan de verschillende "probleemgebieden" gewerkt worden, in terms of zichtbaarheid zegmaar?

00:53:33

*Participant:* Ja, absoluut!

00:53:33

*Participant:* Oke. Fijn. Genoeg te doen dus! Ik wil je heel erg bedanken voor je tijd en het inzicht dat je mij gegeven hebt in dit onderwerp. Vond het heel interessant, wat je allemaal verteld hebt, dus nogmaals bedankt.



## Appendix C – Informed consent form

### CONSENT REQUEST FOR PARTICIPATING IN RESEARCH

#### FOR QUESTIONS ABOUT THE STUDY, CONTACT:

Judith Campiña Wasmus; [544393jc@student.eur.nl](mailto:544393jc@student.eur.nl); +31648810480  
Charlotte de Bourbonlaan 11B, 3062GA Rotterdam

#### DESCRIPTION

You are invited to participate in a research about three different body acceptance movements on Instagram. The purpose of the study is to understand how young female professionals perceive and make sense of these movements and their corresponding Instagram posts.

Your acceptance to participate in this study means that you accept to be interviewed. In general terms, the questions of the interview will be related to your perception of body acceptance movements, your understanding of these movements, and their content on Instagram.

Unless you prefer that no recordings are made, I will use a tape recorder for the interview.

You are always free not to answer any particular question, and/or stop participating at any point.

#### RISKS AND BENEFITS

A. As far as I can tell, there are no risks associated with participating in this research. Yet, you are free to decide whether I should use your name or other identifying information, such as place of residence, professional occupation and other personal information not in the study. If you prefer, I will make sure that you cannot be identified, by using a pseudonym, or by giving a general identification, only mentioning your age and gender.

B. I am aware that the possibility of identifying the people who participate in this study may involve risks for your reputation, or risks regarding your social relations. For that reason—unless you prefer to be identified fully (first name, last name, occupation, etc.)—I will not keep any information that may lead to the identification of those involved in the study. I will only use pseudonyms to identify participants.

I will use the material from the interviews and my observation exclusively for academic work, such as further research, academic meetings and publications. Moreover, your data will be safely stored in a USB.

#### TIME INVOLVEMENT

Your participation in this study will take approximately 45 minutes to one hour. You may interrupt your participation at any time.

#### PAYMENTS

There will be no monetary compensation for your participation.

#### PARTICIPANTS' RIGHTS

If you have decided to accept to participate in this project, please understand your participation is voluntary and you have the right to withdraw your consent or discontinue participation at any time without penalty. You have the right to refuse to answer particular questions. If you prefer, your identity will be made known in all written data resulting from the study. Otherwise, your individual privacy will be maintained in all published and written data resulting from the study.

#### CONTACTS AND QUESTIONS



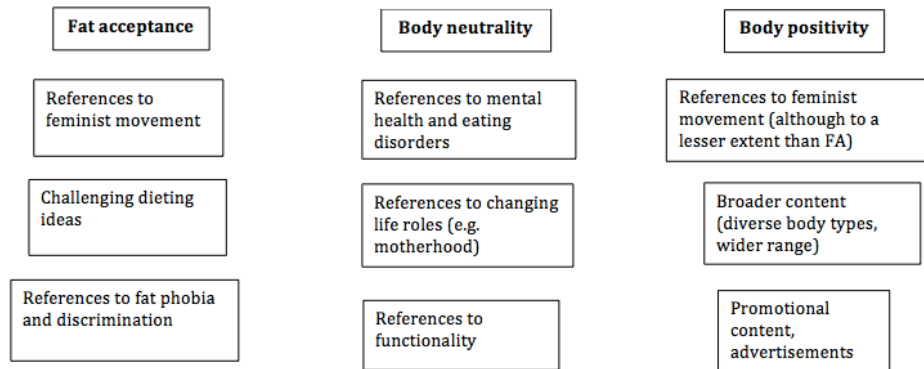
## Appendix D – Thematic map

### 1. Themes emerging from Instagram content

(SQ: How are Instagram users constructing the three body acceptance movements?)

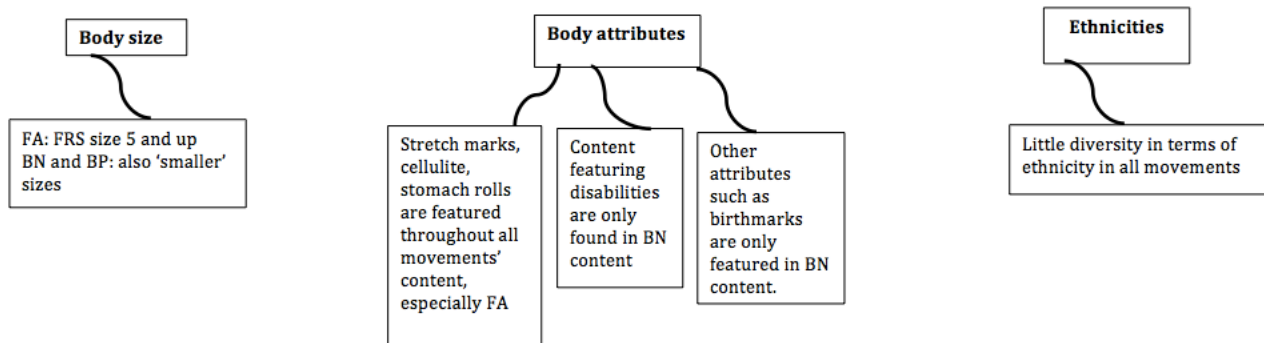
#### 1. Defining the movements' content

While the movements overlap (content of all movements feature women who do not fit the dominant beauty ideal – bigger body size, different body 'attributes' that are not covered by traditional media), the movements put emphasis on different aspects:



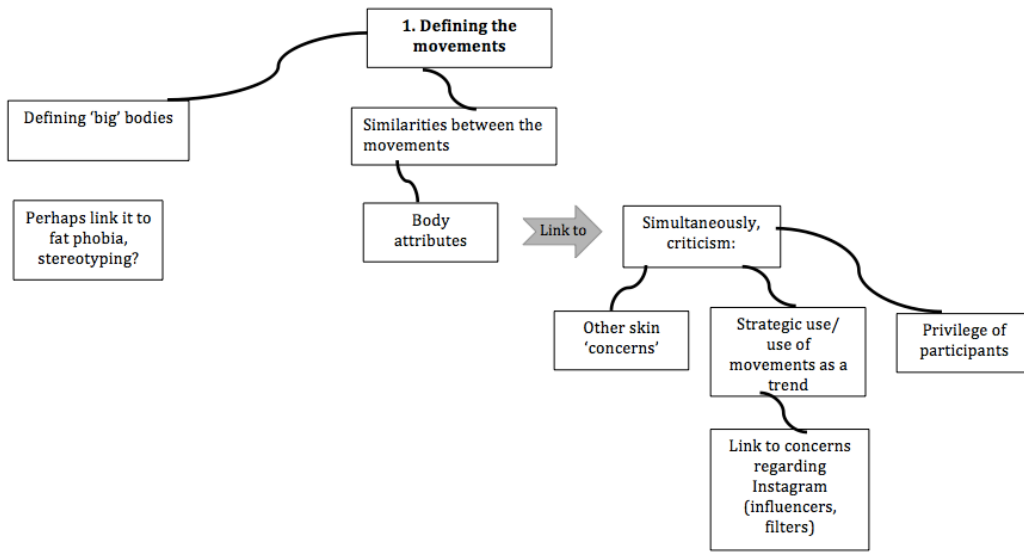
#### 2. Diversity

In this theme, we will take a closer look at the components that are often featured in body acceptance content, especially body size, body attributes and ethnicities. It can be found that little diversity is found in terms of these three features in the content of all three movements. In addition, we will focus on the differences between movements' content.



2. Themes emerging from interviews

(SQ: How are these three body acceptance movements on Instagram perceived by young female professionals?)



**2. Recognition**

Instagram content creates awareness and representation through visibility and exposure of diverse bodies

Link to

Participants express the connection with societal pressure, beauty standards, 'toxic' standards of society, pressure women feel to look 'good'