Men's experiences with being personal trainers in an image-driven society

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AUTHORS WORD

The most important reason for going from one point in your life to another is to see what's in between, and it took a great courage in doing just that.

I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisor Hilde Bondevik for the useful comments, remarks and engagement through the learning process of this master thesis. Furthermore, I would like to thank the participants in my survey, who have willingly shared their precious time during the process of interviewing.

I would like to thank my loved ones, for their support and tolerance of my absent-minded manners during this period. Whether you like it or not, you are ALL a little part of this paper. I could not have done it without you.

SAMMENDRAG

Bakgrunn: Sertifiserte personlige trenere skal ha kompetanse innen trening, kosthold og helse, og de spiller en viktig rolle i forbindelse med å hjelpe og motivere personer med vektreduksjon og trening. Flere undersøkelser har kastet lys over interaksjoner mellom personlige trenere og deres klienter. Det finnes imidlertid lite kunnskap om hva mannlige personlige trenere selv tenker om kroppene sine, om hvordan de beskriver eget kroppsbilde, om hvordan de tenker den ideelle kroppen bør se ut og fungere og ikke minst hvordan de opplever hverdagen som personlig trener. Formålet med denne studien har vært å utforske hvordan mannlige personlige trenere erfarer å være personlig trener i et samfunn og i en kultur hvor kropp og utseende tillegges stor betydning. I tillegg undersøkes menns treningsrutiner og treningsadferd i relasjon til hva de tenker om utseende, kroppsbilde og maskuline kroppsidealer.

Metode: Datainnsamlingen er basert på kvalitative dybdeintervjuer med 6 menn som er sertifiserte personlige trenere, i alder mellom 23 og 33 år. Datamaterialet er analysert ved hjelp av en fenomenologisk-tematisk tilnærming. Det teoretiske rammeverket inkluderer sosial identitetsteori og "kjønnsteori. Foucaults begrep "docile body" og Connells begreper om maskulinitet ble brukt til å tolke og gi mening til deltakeres svar.

Resultater: Følgende fire hovedtemaer framkom gjennom analysen:

- Personlige trenere er også vanlige mennesker
- Nok er aldri nok
- En ideell kropp koster mye
- Det ligger mye arbeid bak idealkroppen

Konklusjoner: Informantene opplevde at det ikke var en enkel oppgave å være en personlig trener. De følte de hadde stort ansvar og opplevde å være et slags eksempel for andre på hvordan kroppen skal se ut, hvordan den skal trenes, hvilken mat som bør spise. De anerkjente og beskrev et bestemt ideell manns kropp. Deltakelse og engasjement i trening var betydelig og en bemerkelsesverdig del av deres identiteter og livsstil var knyttet til trening. Noen informanter opplevde negative samtaler om kropp blant kolleger. Idealiserte kroppsbilder i media og sosiale medier ble oppfattet som negativ.

ABSTRACT

Background: Personal trainers play a central role in helping people to lose or gain weight, thereby helping people construct their body shape. Until now, research has shed some light on the meaning both personal trainers and their clients give to and associate with fit-appearing physiques and the effects of exercise on the body. It is apparent that weight loss goals and aesthetic motivations are central to personal trainers' construction of the service that they offer to their clients. However, existing research does not address how it is to be a male personal trainer in an appearance-driven society. There is little or no research available today on *how male personal trainers' experience themselves in relation to their work*. How would they describe body ideals, their own body, do they experience body dissatisfaction? So, the purpose of this study is to investigate how male personal trainers experience being a male personal trainer in an appearance-driven society? The study will also investigate men's fitness and exercise behaviour in relation to appearance, body image and the muscular male body ideals.

Method: A phenomenological approach has been used in this study: a qualitative method of employing in-depth, one-on-one interviews has been conducted. Participants in the study included 6 male personal trainers between the ages of 23-33. The theoretical frameworks of Social Identity Theory, Foucault's "Docile Body" and R. W. Connell's concepts of masculinity were used to interpret and give meaning to the participants' responses.

Results: The following four main themes were apparent in the analysis of the data:

- Personal trainers are also human beings!
- Enough is never enough!
- How much does an ideal body cost?
- I know what's behind the picture!

Conclusions: The study showed that to be a male personal trainer is "not an easy task." The respondents felt a great responsibility to "set an example" and to meet the "mental projections and expectations" of their clients on what their body All respondents acknowledged and described a certain "male body ideal". Participation and involvement in exercise was significant and an integral part of their identities and lifestyle. Respondents experienced negative body talk among colleagues. Idealized body images in media and social media was valued negatively.

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DISPOSITION:

The study includes 5 chapters.

CHAPTER ONE introduces the thesis background, purpose and research question.

CHAPTER TWO reviews existing literature and research on the subject and explains what a personal trainer is, what is meant by fitness, masculinity, body dissatisfaction and body image.

CHAPTER THREE describes the methodological approach for collecting data and the theoretical perspectives used in the analysis. The chapter first gives an account of justification for the chosen method and then explain the process for data collection and analysis, including how the data was conducted, organized, refined and interpreted.

CHAPTER FOUR presents the most important results of the study. It will highlight four main themes that became apparent in the study and discuss it in the relation to previous studies/research and/or related literature, and theoretical perspectives.

CHAPTER FIVE will extract the main results, give a summary and conclusion, discuss the study's limitations and offer some notions for the future studies.

1.0. CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

"Crazy workouts. Dangerous diets. Men suffer too – often in silence." (From the Chicago Tribune's RedEye cover story, July 11, 2012) (Engeln, Sladek et al. 2013)

In the last decade, Norway amongst other Western countries have experienced an increase of public interest in health and fitness (Rysst 2010). Media plays a significant role here, especially when it comes its influence on the focus on appearance and body image. Mainstream media exerts a powerful effect on body-image perception (Kelly Rae 2015). As a means of evaluating health, one's appearance has been taken as a sign of well-being or debility. (Hutson 2013). In consequence, many people invest their money, time and emotion in health promoting activities, constantly improving their external looks (Janne Wiken 2015). Men, specifically, have become a target of the fitness industry. They are increasingly spending money on fitness, diet and appearance products (Dworkin and Wachs 2009). Personal trainers occupy a key position in helping people to construct this desirable appearance. The role of appearance as a motivator for physical activity and healthy diet is, however, believed to be under communicated (Rysst 2010).

This Master Thesis will explore how it is to be a male personal trainer in an increasingly body and physical appearance oriented world. It will further explore the thoughts around what constitutes an "ideal body" and the role (social) media play in the creation of "ideal body types" and "body image" disturbances.

In contrast, popular research and scientific literature that exist today most often underline the many benefits of exercise and maintaining a certain level of physical fitness for a healthy body. It is obvious, however, that men's motivations for gym use and fitness activities, male personal trainers' motivations and body image perceptions have been largely unexplored.

Background

Personal trainers occupy a key position in helping people to lose or gain weight, thereby helping them attain a certain body shape. Until now, investigations have shed some light on how high levels of bodily capital within the fitness industry imbue personal trainer-client interactions with a moral and health authority (Hutson 2013). Research does show the

meaning that both trainers and clients associate with fit-appearing physiques and the effects of exercise on the body (Hutson 2013). Weight loss goals and aesthetic motivations are central to personal trainers' construction of the service that they offer to their clients (Donaghue and Allen 2015). However, there is still a lack of knowledge about male personal trainers' experiences at work, their feelings about their bodies, how do they describe their body image, whether they experience body dissatisfaction.

Research purpose and research question

The purpose of this study is to explore men's experiences with being personal trainers in an appearance-driven society. The study will investigate men's fitness and exercise behaviour in relation to physical appearance; body image and the muscular male body ideal.

A deeper understanding of males' experiences with being personal trainers and perceptions of body image may contribute to develop more knowledge about male body image and its disturbances, fitness consumption and motivations.

The study has the following research questions:

Primary question - how do men experience being personal trainers in an image-driven society?

Subordinated questions:

- How do men feel about being a personal trainer?
- How do men personal trainers feel about their bodies in relation to body image and body dissatisfaction?
- How do they describe their bodies, an ideal men's body?
- Does society's cultural standard of muscularity for men play a role in their exercise behaviour?

2.0 CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Men's studies seek neither to replace nor to supplant women's studies; quite the contrary. Men's studies seek to buttress, to augment women's studies, to complete the radically redrawn portrait of gender that women's studies began. (Hopkins and Gorman-Murray 2014)

This chapter will review existing literature and research and describe what a personal trainer is and what is meant by fitness, concepts of masculinity, body dissatisfaction and body image.

2.1. Health, healthism, health promotion

Personal trainers – part of the health promotion

According to the World Health Organization (WHO), health promotion is the process of enabling people to increase control over their health in attempts to improve overall health (WHO 2017). The desire to improve health seems to drive many people to monitor their bodies from a concern for being healthy, eating healthily and behaving in health-enhancing ways (Tinning and Fitzpatrick 2014). Late modernity healthism is concerned with the cohesion of productive bodies and healthy individual citizens; the anxiety to produce "able" bodies as opposed "disabled" bodies (Tinning and Fitzpatrick 2014). The desire to be healthy, avoiding being the "unclean" - the diseased one, paradoxically leads to a continuous tension, a continuous unease with one's own frail humanity, a continuous "dis-ease" (Tinning and Fitzpatrick 2014).

Health is sometimes potentially silent, such as when we are not ill, not in danger of becoming obese, feeling energetic and overall healthy. But if people are always struggling towards the "more health" end of continuum, then health becomes a never-ending story (Tinning and Fitzpatrick 2014). In the "Philosophical Foundations of Health Education", health is typically defined as being multidimensional, the realization of which requires a degree of depth and balance among such diverse elements as physical health, emotional health, intellectual health, social health, and spiritual health (Furney, Graf et al. 2010).

Health educators generally promote physical health as a sufficient end in itself. There is no consideration for some larger, greater or in other words *more meaningful* purpose that might

justify its need in the first place. The functional nature of health, its basic role of serving higher human interests, is thus lost in a fervour of physical health promotion, which implies that good physical health is apparently the greatest achievement there is (Furney, Graf et al. 2010). Health education and promotion have become more behavioural science than medical science with physical education and fitness being an important focus (Furney, Graf et al. 2010).

From the point of view of sports medicine, fitness is a combination of strength, flexibility, and cardiovascular endurance, however it can also be experienced as a physical ability: the strength to lift weights or groceries, to perform a yoga posture or tie a shoelaces; the endurance to power walk or just simply walk to work (Maguire 2008). Nevertheless, fitness can be associated with living up to expectations and looking a certain way; and can be defined as a whole cultural field (Maguire 2008).

Personal trainers (health educators/promoters) are a new group of service professionals, providing exercise expertise in one-on-one sessions with clients (Maguire 2008). They motivate clients by setting goals and providing feedback and accountability to them. Personal trainers play an important role between the health promoting and aesthetic social discourses around weight loss, they construct their client's goals to achieve their "ideal" body (Donaghue and Allen 2015).

The commercial fitness nature of the service means that personal trainers must find ways to promote themselves to recruit and retain more clients, be a frontline service worker, represent and promote employer, implicate in the promotion of the goods and services of the fitness industry (Maguire 2008). Personal trainer's physique is also a promotional resource. Being contributors to the fitness industry, their fit-appearing physics are valued, symbolically representing health (Hutson 2013). They must be conspicuous consumers of the fitness lifestyle, for example, working out during a non-paid time to demonstrate their credibility, loyalty to fitness and display their physical capital to others (Maguire 2008). Throughout the interviews, made in David J. Hutson's study "Your body is your business card", trainers routinely referred to their physicality in terms of credibility (Hutson 2013).

Hence, working out is an obligation for personal trainers, and fitness is not just a simply deep-seated disposition towards physical activity but a mandatory lifestyle (Maguire 2008).

Expressly, health promoting sets them in a duty to have a fit body. Particularly, they can achieve occupational success by developing fitness-specific capital – a fit physique and the persona – a person with a "genuine" commitment to fitness as a way of life (Maguire 2008).

2.2. Men and fitness culture

Appearance-driven culture

The social construction of fitness has largely shifted from fears about protecting the country and its way of life, to fears about warding off disease and keeping up in an appearance-driven culture (Maguire 2008). The function of the body may be considered from the lens of health but the form of the body is typically associated with the outer appearance (Maguire 2008).

A muscular build, bereft of fat tissue and with well-defined muscles, is deliberated to be the modern ideal of the male body (Leone, Sedory et al. 2005). Even action figures of male heroes for children have developed to be increasingly muscular (Baghurst, Hollander et al. 2006). Striving for the body ideal numerous men were discovered to involve in intense resistance training and spend countless hours training at the gym (Choi, Pope et al. 2002). Well-built male exemplifies that the ideal they endeavour for is even more muscular (Guszkowska, Maziarczyk et al. 2015). Therefore, sport has become a leading definer of men's masculinity in culture and delivers continuous presentation of men's bodies in exercising (Connell 2005).

Another coherent tendency is that men generally increasing interest in training their bodies at the gym, where the training is often seen as a part of a healthy lifestyle (Magnus 2011). During the recent years, we can see increased interest for discussing and questioning men's relationship with health and poor health. Men have a significantly shorter life expectancy than women, although women usually are being reported in higher form of mental and physical health problems (Schei and Bakketeig 2007). This paradox has puzzled many scientists (Magnus 2011). It is argued that man's role affects men's higher mortality and may be linked to men's masculine identity, men roles and socialization in the society (Schei and Bakketeig 2007).

2.3. Men's masculine identity or what does it mean being a 'male' Maleness

"What is masculinity? This is a notoriously difficult question to answer" (Hopkins and Gorman-Murray 2014). Being male can feel equally painful as pleasurable and joyful (Gaitanidis 2012). Masculinity is not inherent in male body; it is a definition given socially, which just refers to the characteristics of male bodies (Connell 2000).

The social practise that we now call 'masculinity' has started to take shape in the period from about 1450 to 1650 (Connell 2005). Masculinity is conceptualised as both an identity and as an ideology, it provides personal sense of self, and this identity is always constructed in the context of a broader social order (Hopkins and Gorman-Murray 2014). Gaitanidis (2012) objects that masculinity doesn't represent maleness: "maleness is not founded in some 'real male nature' (masculinity), but it is variously produced in transference between any human subjects (however gendered), and follows a specific figurative process of that transference. It variously amalgamates, edits or evacuates bits of male into a composite maleness" (Gaitanidis 2012).

Masculinities are not to be understood as some singular or unitary reality, rather as multiple expressions, expressly - masculinities. Pluralized to accent an anti-essentialist perspective, which accounts for variegations due to culture, class, sexual preference, religion, and other axes difference (Moshin and Jackson 2013).

This 'maleness', 'being a real man', or other social practises associated with 'masculinity', are implicated in usually poorer health outcomes (Robertson 2007). Men are often homogenized within the rhetoric that surrounds the men's health field. They are frequently portrayed either as some "products" of their genetic, physiological and hormonal processes, or as some "containers" filled with socialized shared set of traits with characteristics of appropriate male 'behaviours' (Robertson 2007). Theorists of masculinity largely argue that it is necessary to recognize multiple 'masculinities' in order to understand the lives of men from a range of ethnic backgrounds, social classes or sexual orientations (Lee and Owens 2002), and not just from their physical bodies.

'Hegemonic masculinity' refers to the traditional, patriarchal view of men and men's behaviour; it defines a 'real' man as someone who is essentially different from a woman. This man is characterized by toughness, unemotionality, physical competence, competitiveness and aggression (Lee and Owens 2002). Connell (2005) elaborated this concept of hegemonic masculinity to describe how power relations suffuse the gender order (Connell 2005).

Hopkins and Gorman-Murray (2014) discusses that Hegemonic masculinity was not assumed to be normal in the statistical sense because only a minority of men might enact it but it was certainly some kind of a normative (Hopkins and Gorman-Murray 2014). It embodied the most honoured way of 'being a man', thus it required all other men to position themselves in relation to it, and then it ideologically legitimated the global subordination of women to men (Hopkins and Gorman-Murray 2014).

Hegemonic masculinity needs not to be the most common pattern of masculinity. Other masculinities co-exist, or more precisely, are produced at the same time. These include subordinated masculinities, of which is 'gay masculinity' (Connell 2005). There are also marginalized masculinities, a gender forms produced in exploited or oppressed groups such as ethnic minorities, which may share many features with hegemonic masculinity but are socially de-authorized (Connell 2005). There are also masculinities which are organized around acceptance of the patriarchal dividend, but are not militant in defence of patriarchy. These might be termed complicit masculinities (Connell 2000).

Hyper-masculinity is an exaggeration of male traits, psychological or physical, it is again viewed in a radical opposition to all things feminine. This issue becomes male self-identity, the more insecure the man, the greater his tendency to exaggerate, to proclaim his maleness, suggests Klein (Klein 1993).

The simplest way to understand the formation of masculinities is to look at their extension from the axis of feminine elements. For example, the more distant man is from the feminine axis, the greater he expresses hegemonic masculinity, continuing to hyper-masculinity. The closer man is to the axis of feminine elements, the greater he expresses sub-oriented masculinity, expressly 'feminine men'.

In its modern usage, it means that one's behaviour results from the type of person one is. That is to say that an 'unmasculine' person would act differently: being peaceful rather than violent and the same with an unfeminine person: she would be violent rather than peaceful (Connell 2005). Connell points out that "True masculinity is almost always thought to proceed from men's bodies – to be inherent in a male body or to express something about a male body" (Connell 2005), men are associated to example with muscles and strength, with the hard body and physical violence, many of the masculinity connotations we find today is also about violence, war, heroes and aggressiveness (Magnus 2011). This means that gender is created through the way we appear and express us, it is what we do, not what we are. We are generally "doing" gender (West and Zimmerman 1987).

Models of the body as a gender machine are mainly advanced by men (Connell 2009) and fitness is a great tool to express gender, to "do" masculinity. From this perspective our bodies are objects over which we labour – eat, sleep, clean, diet, and exercise (Connell 2005). But this dominance and aggressiveness by men can be seen not only over feminine gender, but as well over one's own body. Connell illustrates it as the pressure of high level sport obliges professional players to treat their bodies as instruments, even as weapons, and this body as weapon can result in violence against one's own body (Connell 2005).

As a gender identity, masculinity is also conceptualised and constituted through ideas about relations between mind, body and emotions (Hopkins and Gorman-Murray 2014).

2.4. Relationship between men and their bodies

Body image and body dissatisfaction

Cartesian 'mind/body' split had historical impact with men becoming associated with the mind and reason, and women with the body and nature, then in this sense, women are postulated as more embodied and conversely, men are said to have lost touch with their bodies (Robertson 2007). While Longhurst places it that women are considered to be 'in touch' with their bodies and emotions while men are 'hard-bodied' and 'impermeable' (Hopkins and Gorman-Murray 2014). Therefor masculinities studies urged to draw more attention to men's bodies and emotions, as Seidler beautifully positions it:

Our bodies carry our emotional histories and by developing their engagement with their bodies...men could give voice to emotions that would otherwise remain dis/connected (Hopkins and Gorman-Murray 2014).

The term of body image was first coined already in 1935 by the Austrian neurologist and psychoanalyst Paul Schilder in his book *The Image and Appearance of the Human Body (wikipedia)*. Body image is how people feel and what they think when they look at themselves, but also how they imagine other people seeing them (Collins 2013). Body image does not delimit how the person looks, fit or not, but how they feel about the way they look - fit or not. It is a perception people get when they look in the mirror, which impacts their everyday social interactions, including the choices they make in life and participations they want to attend – which people they meet, who they marry to and their overall quality of life. Thus, physical attractiveness is inconsiderably important to us. But, even very attractive people may not be looking in the mirror because of vanity, but out of insecurity (Kate 1997).

Men generally may have a much more positive body image than women, but male body-builders experience a greater dissatisfaction with their appearance that almost any other males (Center, Kate 1997, Engeln, Sladek et al. 2013). Some men suffer from an obsession with becoming more muscular (Engeln, Sladek et al. 2013), a muscle dysmorphia which increases risk for mood and anxiety disorders (Cafri, Olivardia et al. 2008), and potential use of anabolic steroids (Pope, Kanayama et al. 2012).

Body image perception can be positive or negative. Negative body image perception has negative impacts on health, and is commonly termed as body dissatisfaction. Body image dissatisfaction is characterized by negative self-appraisal of one's body and is often accompanied by body size misperception (Ling, McManus et al. 2015). The bigger the difference person describes between his current body size and the ideal size, the more dissatisfied a person is with his body (Kelly Rae 2015). Both men and women experience body dissatisfaction, but differ in the type of body considered ideal (Dallesasse and Kluck 2013, Engeln, Sladek et al. 2013).

Research on the etiology of men and women's body dissatisfaction discovered that media sources may have the potential to impact how men and women appraise their bodies

(Dallesasse and Kluck 2013). Media sources tend to depict idealized images of men and women: thinness for females and muscularity for men (Kim and Makana Chock 2015). An interesting results brings a 3D morphing software and regression analysis study (Crossley, Cornelissen et al. 2012). It likewise shows that the ideals for both sexes have a specific body size (as indexed by BMI) and shape. For both sexes, the primary predictor of female beauty is a relatively low BMI combined with a moderately curvaceous body, whereas the features important for the male ideal are a slightly heavier, muscled body with a specific V-shaped upper body (Crossley, Cornelissen et al. 2012). Additionally, the pressure to exemplify the muscular ideal portrayed in the media may influence some men to develop greater body dissatisfaction (Dallesasse and Kluck 2013). Although body dissatisfaction has been well-documented in women, the picture is much less clear for men (Tiggemann 2004), psychological and social-sciences research into male body image has been around only for the past 15 years (Kelly Rae 2015).

2.5. Men and media

How men are represented

"Popular Miller Lite (bear beverages) ads feature groups of men ridiculing male friends who do unmanly things, like being grossed out by a freshly caught fish or crying when separating from one's girlfriend...the new Wrangler ads are even catering to men by telling them that they need a u-shaped cavity in their jeans to better harness their apparently enormous penis (Moshin and Jackson 2013) /.../ the newest and most popular television shows feature men as police officers or crack dealers, methamphetamine producers, serial killers, and philandering ad men. In short, the masculine, heteronormative, sexist man is not going anywhere (Moshin and Jackson 2013)"

It has been Men's Health Magazine, with an estimated worldwide readership of fifteen million monthly and correspondingly high-traffic web presence, that has emerged as a dominant force presenting men how to preserve a "healthy" masculinity (Fleming and Sturm 2011). What most men's lifestyle magazines sell is a version of masculinity, which is young, white, ripped, and beautiful. Yet men sense the impossibility of achieving that look for themselves, they nevertheless buy into this image in much the same way as women do (Ross

2010). They do recognise the trickery of the digitally enhanced jawline or 'sexily sweaty six-pack' but that does not detract from the successive purchase of protein shakes or tinted moisturiser, especially when endorsed by celebrity athletes (Ross 2010).

One study presents that male students viewing 30 minutes of television with advertisements that feature muscle-bound men were more likely to report feeling dissatisfied with their bodies compared with participants who watched neutral commercials (Kelly Rae 2015). It is contended that the media sends the false message that the body ideal is achievable if one works hard, consequently, some men may falsely believe that this ideal is realistic and easily achievable, although this ideal is often out of reach for the average men (Dallesasse and Kluck 2013).

Social media may be less likely to represent idealized images of models and celebrities, but those "idealized" body images do appear in social media, since people tend to edit and enhance their own images and appearance to look more "ideal" (Kim and Makana Chock 2015), indirectly showing their body dissatisfaction.

Teenage boys are among the most maligned in society. The media portrays them as either drug-crazed, illiterate, unemployable, suicidal, failures at school, sex criminals or vandals (Macnamara 2006). So adults tend to treat them more suspiciously and that causes them (unconsciously) to become angry or frustrated or alienated (Macnamara 2006). Social theory informs us that boys look for role models and benefit from positive role models as they grow up (Joas and Knöbl 2009). Ideally role models and mentors, like fathers, grandfathers, uncles and friends should exist in the physical world. But, in addition, mediated images of men serve as exemplars and role models for boys and mass media portrayals shape their perceptions of what it means to be a man (Macnamara 2006). It is comparatively little by way of positive representations of men in mass media for boys to use as role models (Macnamara 2006). Examples can be when men are shown, albeit in a minority of cases, as commitment-oriented and responsible, protectors and carers, gentle and non-violent, and as a law-abiding responsible citizens (Macnamara 2006) (142).

CHAPTER 3.0. METHOD AND THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

This chapter describes the methodological approach and method of conducting data. It also outlines the theoretical frameworks used in the analysis. An account of justification for the chosen method is given in the beginning of the chapter, before the process for data collection and analysis is described - how data was collected, organised, analysed, interpreted, and represented.

3.1. Qualitative research

The goal of science is to discover the truths that exist in the world and to use a scientific method as a way to build a more complete understanding of reality (Thorne 2000); in contrast to quantitative research which generates the material that consists of sub-elements which can be quantified and processed using various kinds of calculations, typically of a statistical nature (Justesen and Mik-Meyer 2012), qualitative research is often more concerned uncovering knowledge about how people think and feel about the circumstances in which they find themselves (Thorne 2000). A qualitative research is based on the theories of human experiences, and has as a starting point aim to increase understanding of a phenomenon (Kvale, Anderssen et al. 1997), and it is done by uncovering and deconstructing the meanings of a phenomenon, explaining how something operates and why it operates in the matter that it does (Thorne 2000). It provides information about the human side of an issue: behaviours, opinions, emotions, and relationships of individuals.

The main purpose of this thesis is to gain a deeper insight into men's experiences of being a personal trainer in a body image driven society. A deeper insight and new knowledge may contribute to a greater understanding of what it means to be a personal trainer, the challenges, confrontations and feelings they may experience in this occupation; how they feel in their own bodies and how they describe it; what are their opinions about the ideal male body images they are surrounded by in everyday life and what ideals they may consider as valid; and what may influence it.

A qualitative research method, collecting in-depth interviews, was the chosen mean of conducting date for this study. It allowed the participants to share their personal experience and understanding of being a male personal trainer in an appearance driven world in their own words. It also allowed me to ascertain the meaning of the participants about their experiences (Kvale, Anderssen et al. 1997, Justesen and Mik-Meyer 2012).

3.1.1. Semi-structured interview

Qualitative researches can be accomplished by making fields observations, texts and media observations or interviews, depending on research question and purpose. Where researcher is looking for experiences, interview takes a place (Markula and Silk 2011). In most cases, as well as mine, an interview was conducted as a physical meeting at which two people exchange knowledge and experiences (Justesen and Mik-Meyer 2012). As my thesis purpose is both to adopt an exploratory approach that generates new knowledge and to stimulate interviewees' reflections on my pre-selected themes, I chose a semi-structured interview (Justesen and Mik-Meyer 2012). Semi-structured interview is defined by the interviewer working from a guide in which themes are defined in advance, but at the same time leaving a space where interviewees' can come up with their own themes (Justesen and Mik-Meyer 2012). An interview is a way of learning new experiences. We experience the world through hearing, touching, imagining, smelling, and exploring, therefore senses are also an important part of an interview research techniques and can be a powerful portal to accessing those experiences that would otherwise remain unexplored (Harris and Guillemin 2012).

3.1.2. Considerations before choosing this method

In contrast to unstructured interview, where usually the interviewer little or no prior knowledge of the topic of conversation beforehand and the interviewee more or less controls the interview (Justesen and Mik-Meyer 2012), I chose a semi-structured interview where the main intention is to get all of the interviewees to reflect on the same, pre-selected questions (Justesen and Mik-Meyer 2012). I considered it as the most efficient way to get the most out of my topic, since I do, as a dietitian, make day-to-day interviews with my clients and had experienced that without a structured plan it is challenging to get the information you are seeking. But since I additionally wanted to be awed and generally opened to exploring other

topics - interviewees had space to include their own themes as well; therefore I considered a semi-structured interview as the most proper for reaching the purpose of my thesis.

Nevertheless, this interview method is inspired by phenomenological philosophy. Phenomenology is a study of the phenomena: their nature and meanings (Finlay 2008), side 1; as Anna Harris and Marilys Guillemin beautifully places Jeniffer and Katherine Davies (2009) words "it is necessary to literally see, hear, touch, or smell the phenomenon being studied" (Harris and Guillemin 2012). The focus is on the way things appear to us through experience or in our consciousness where the phenomenological researcher aims to provide a rich textured description of lived experience (Finlay 2008). A phenomenological research contains raw data such as participants' quotations providing an opportunity for readers to judge the soundness of the researcher's analysis (Finlay 2008). I will come back to this in the results.

3.1.3. Preparation of the interviews

The preparation for this master thesis project started by attending Research preparatory courses provided by University in Oslo, Health Department. It was challenging to find a project supervisor, as I previously didn't study in Norway and had little knowledge about potential supervisors. I was looking for the one who have been working with a qualitative research and gender issues before. I applied for Hilde Bondevik but since she had no spare time to take in management of my project, she redirected me to another supervisor – Birgitte Ahlsen

Under the preparatory courses I've tried to make an approvable research project plan. To do so I started reading literature with focus on my preselected themes: gender, training, body image and so forth. I chose the themes as I got a great interest in gender roles in health sector, after implementing courses in gender perspectives on health and illness provided by University of Oslo, Health department. My interest concentration were men, since it was a little explored area in my professional life. My customer spectrum consists of approximately 90% of women; therefor I felt the urge to explore the other part of the spectrum to accumulate more knowledge of men's living world in my professional life as well bring it to society.

I started my preparation for the research with a very broad view on what I want to discover. Preparatory courses were tremendously helpful in structuring and purifying the subject I want to disclose. After submitting my project plan, my supervisor had to withdraw from the project. Then Hilde Bondevik and Kari Nyheim Solbrække took over the supervision. We revalued my preliminary project plan, research question and research topic. I reconstructed previous project plan and then applied for the Research Quality Committee in University of Oslo. After implementation of my project plan, I have reported to NSD, and in April 2016 my interviewing process have begun. Projects that collect personal information and are not processed by the IEC, should be reported to the Norwegian Social Science Data Services (NSD).

3.1.4. Interview guide

Interview guide was designed out of a desire to get detailed descriptions of men's experiences being personal trainers. I have formulated an amount of questions which I considered will highlight my research question. Further, my supervisors encouraged me to narrow the quantity of questions and formulate them in a more phenomenological manner, to develop more data out of every participant. To maximise this opportunity, one should avoid closed questions that evoke a discrete response such as yes or no. To facilitate a more meaningful conversation about the topic, the researcher should ask open-ended questions that move the interview dynamically along, like "what do you think..", "how do you feel about..", "could you describe a..." (Finlay 2008, Markula and Silk 2011). The researcher's aim is to empathise with the participant's situation and offer further prompts geared to exploring existential dimensions of that situation (Finlay 2008). Questions can be changed in the process of interviewing and it didn't happen in my case, I have been asking the same row of my questions just with additional questions which came up after interviewing different respondents.

3.1.5. Respondents' recruitment procedure

I delivered project description and information signage to fitness centres close to my living location as I considered it will cost lower traveling expenses. Inopportunely, I couldn't talk directly to any personal trainers as they were occupied with their clients, therefore I talked about the project to people working in administration in regards to contact me if any personal trainer would like to learn some more information before attending the project.

I have been waiting for about two weeks but didn't get any respond. Due to this I decided to revisit the fitness centres. In administrations, I found out that none of personal trainers looked at the project description and the invitation to attend it. I assumed that it was inefficient way to recruit my respondents. Then I decided to contact male personal trainers directly per email. As you can find email address to any personal trainer working in fitness centres, it was a convenient and bright way to recruit. I have sent 65 emails with information about the project. Rapidly I have got responses indicating that some of them are interesting in participating and some of them have no spare time for that. My project target was to collect 5 male personal trainers and 1 extra for the pilot interview. As soon as my aim was achieved I have started scheduling time and place for the interviews with personal trainers.

3.1.6. Inclusion Criteria and target group selection

Inclusion criteria was: male personal trainers working in fitness centres and residents in Norway. Since I sought for the most diverse insights, I didn't want to set any age group, ethnic group or nationality to inclusion criteria's.

The target group of 6 participants, I determined as an adequate size based on my research topic and research question, as well according to my type of research – a presentation for master thesis (Markula and Silk 2011). I evaluated this group size as affordable for my time, for keeping good track of my data, and conducting a thorough analysis.

3.1.7. Implementation of the interviews

Personal trainers expressed the request to be interviewed at their work place where they prearranged us a private room without any disturbances. Those rooms in fitness centres are used for meetings with their new clients. Rooms were not spacious, commonly enough place just for one table and two chairs, but it was enough for an uninterrupted purposeful conversation (Markula and Silk 2011) (90). I was typically seated in front of the interviewee with a table separating us. I sensed that it made them feel comfortable and relaxed, being in the position where they frequently find themselves. One of the participants wanted to meet outside the fitness centre, in a nearby café, where he used his lunch break to eat and talk with me. The participant volunteers his time to provide the information for the researcher, therefor it is important for the researcher to be fully appreciative of respondent's efforts to help the researcher (Markula and Silk 2011), and I expressed it by accepting to have an interview while he is having his lunch. I found the spot at the café's sitting area, outside the café, where we would be less distracted by voices and noises.

All the interviews were carried out in a period of four weeks, throughout the month of May, 2016. An interview lasted from 60 to 75 minutes. One interview was conducted together with my supervisor Hilde Bondevik.

I emphasized to chat a bit about this and that to create a relationship of trust before we started. Before starting interviews, I repeated some of the information from the project invitation letter, introduced myself as the Master student in the University of Oslo and a dietitian, and then I asked the permission to record the interview on a Dictaphone.

I have started interviews with an open-ended question how the journey of becoming a personal trainer has started, which encouraged the participants to talk about their life (Markula and Silk 2011). The second question about their typical day at work and typical training routine usually led to my interview guide's ending questions what kind of conversations do they have with the colleagues and the clients about body ideals and male body images in media and social media. This process of restructuring the sequential order of questions were natural and in my opinion, quite giving. It untied my interviewees to be more talkative about body ideals before starting with the question how do they describe their own

bodies. That I felt was the question which raised the most tension. Interviewees usually responded with a smile, gentle laugh, a short silence break, body position change, like crossing or opening arms against themselves, touching their face and hair with palms, avoiding eye contact.

I had a notebook with me, but I didn't sense the urge to use it. I preferred attentively listen to respondents and keep an eye contact. I felt that making notes during the interviews can be distracting, because of my own personal experience. When I have been interviewed, and I saw an interviewer making notes after my words, it made me wonder if I said something wrong or right. Therefor I chose to leave it as well when me myself was an interviewer. Anyhow, some of men after answering some of my questions asked me *if it is the right answer or is it that what I wanted to hear*. I replied that there is no wrong or right answer to any of the questions, because my intention is to get their viewpoints and experiences, not the wrong or right opinions.

I finished interviews with the additionally added question where do they see themselves in the near future, around in 5 years. Then I rounded up the conversations by asking them if there is something they want to ask or add to the topic. I feel the importance to mention that men were more willing to chat after the interview were finished and the Dictaphone were switched off. Small jokes about that they might be fired from work for "talking too much" at the interview, made me wonder why some of them might distrust my research ethics and compliance; and their honesty to themselves and workplace they are employed at.

3.1.8. Ethical challenges in the interviews

In research interviewing process, it requires the presence of the situation and the ability to balance and not least to end the interview in such a way that the interviewee does not feel undressed or left with a feeling of having revealed more than the desire was (Lyberg, Andvig et al. 2010). I felt the urge to inform some of the informants who were joking about "talking too much", that nothing will or can in any way be used against them. I informed that all the informants getting pseudo names in the results, their workplace or location of it will not be used anywhere in my thesis. I felt the responsibility to reassure them that the research is done to bring new knowledge about the experiences, not to uncover something that may set personal trainers in a position of losing their occupation. According to research ethical

guidelines researcher is required to work from a fundamental respect for human dignity and must therefore respect their informants' integrity, freedom and determination (Lyberg, Andvig et al. 2010), let the respondents speak as opened as they aspire self and let them feel free to withdraw from the research whenever they want (Ruyter, Førde et al. 2014). Ethics is not just a theory, but also a moral knowledge, which is invaluable and irreplaceable (Ruyter, Forde et al. 2014).

I recognised that in dialogues with personal trainers I am also present with my own life, experience, conscious disclosed theoretical and empirical pre-understandings, which may affect what moments for me will seem, be monitored and understood as important (Lyberg, Andvig et al. 2010). I sensed that my professional background aspired to participate in the exchange of experiences and it was both challenging and learning process to distinguish between the roles of dietitian and researcher. Thereby promoting ethical research quality implies me to develop an intimate and reflexive attitude in aiming at refining the perceptual sensitivity to see, hear and grasp the matter as it occurs (Lyberg, Andvig et al. 2010), to step away from my pre-understandings and simply be there as a person who aspires not just to hear but to listen.

3.2. The pre-understandings in the research

Just as my pre-understanding is prejudiced by previous meetings with clients and personal trainers, correspondingly informants' pre-understanding can be influenced by previous encounters with clients, students and dietitians. It is conceivable that informants have made up their minds about what they thought was relevant information based on the presentation of this project. As my own pre-understanding, may have led me to miss opportunities to obtain more detailed descriptions, likewise informants also may have filtered aspects they considered as uninteresting to me. When I presented myself with my professional background and the information about body image in the information letter, it may also be a possibility that the informants had a conscious desire to portray themselves as more satisfied or dissatisfied with their body image than they eventually were. There are many reasons why participants might not disclose things to researchers, it could be that they do not remember, or that they do not believe it is relevant or important, or perhaps they do not want to appear foolish; they might feel vulnerable and believe that it is too risky to tell. (developing sensory awareness). People

orient themselves in a continuous dialectic between self-interpretation and interpretation by others (Nortvedt and Grimen 2004).

Before the interviews with the personal trainers I had a preconception that their splendid physique, standing upright, in a good faith, embracing clients with their knowledge to lead them to a better tomorrow – is a matter of course. They do know how to be fit, eat right and be a role model. Bad days? Wake up early? It is a component of their role *to be fit* and *ready to welcome their clients with a smile*. After interviewing respondents, I got insights that my perception of personal trainer' role may be distorted. Moments from their reflections about everyday life at work, exercise routine and life after work formed the whole topic and new understanding.

My prior perception that personal trainers may be promoters of idealized body image, especially in media and social media, after dialogs were comprehended from a different angle. More about this in the discussion of the results.

3.3. Transcription and systematization of data

I have started the transcriptions of the interviews after all the interviews were over. Though a qualitative researcher is continually interpreting the collected material during the process of each interview, anyhow systematic analysis starts after the interviews are transcribed (Markula and Silk 2011). Consequently, I didn't transcribe interviews right after each dialog, firstly I wanted to be finished with all of them. It was my conscious choice not to transcribe and analyse before all the interviews are done.

The final material consisted of 45 pages of transcribed data. Transcribing can be done 'in verbatim' where all the 'utterances' are included, but writing down all the spoken language can sometimes make the speakers appear incoherent and non-fluent, although in the actual interview situation the conversation flows naturally (Markula and Silk 2011). Thus, I intuitively left just some of the 'utterances' in the transcriptions like 'um', 'yeah' or 'ah', which seemed influential to the understanding of overall meaning.

3.4. Analysis strategy

Tjora (2012) typifies that qualitative analysis aims to enable a reader of research to increase their knowledge of the subject being researched, without going through the data generated during the project (Tjora 2012) or as Leseth (2014) extends that analysis is acting on a utterly general level about supplying more out of the collected data (Leseth and Tellmann 2014). That was my aim by analysis, to increase knowledge and to supply more information than transcribed material represents.

After transcribing my recorded data, I took researches' analysis courses provided by Health Department in University of Oslo. Under the courses I had the opportunity to analyse some of my data and get familiar with the various ways of interpreting the material. Genuinely, before starting the courses I experienced what Tjora (2012) appeals as a researcher's panic "when many questions emerge, one can often be seized by a kind of panic because one do not think that have managed to generate enough interesting data" (Tjora 2012). I felt precisely in this approach. Preparation for the analysis courses just confirmed my despair. Firstly, I have been rereading data several times, noticing and marking the expressions and insights that seemed momentous to me. When this didn't lead me to less despondency, I have sorted out data in seven separate parts, per questions. Seven questions and all the interviewees' responses to each question. Braun V. and Clarke V. (2006) names it as "the worst example of 'thematic' analysis there is, there is not any analysis done at all" (Braun and Clarke 2006).

Subsequently, I decided to step away from my data for some days and then come back to it with a new gaze. Admittedly, this "back and forward" approach was an on-going process throughout the entire year of structuring my thesis. Initially, I was pursuing some sort of the system and frames but together flexibility and rimless. Fortunately, I was introduced to the thematic analysis in the analysis courses. Thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data, it organises and describes data set in (rich) detail (Braun and Clarke 2006).

Furthermore, I crossed over three questions presented by Leseth & Tellmann (2014): what is my data? What is it telling? What is this all about? (Leseth and Tellmann 2014). Remarkably, it was the most significant questions I could ask myself throughout the whole process. I

decided to sweep away my pre-understandings, theories, despair, "knowing it all" and sit face to face with my material, and listen, as I was listening to my respondents. I looked at it once again, with an extensive sight and curious mind aspiring to listen: my data, what are you trying to tell me? What should be brought to the light?

Thus, my insights and themes will not "just 'emerge' like Venus on the half shell" (Braun and Clarke 2006) and their origins will not sound too poetically mystical and incomprehensible to my thesis reader, I indicated as offered by Braun V. & Clarke V. (2006) to make choices and decisions, use a step-by-step guide of thematic analysis and present it (Braun and Clarke 2006).

3.4.1. Choices and decisions in thematic analysis

Primarily, researcher must know what counts as a theme and as Braun V. & Clarke V. (2006) exemplifies it is something important about the data in relation to the research question and not necessarily dependent on quantifiable measures – but in terms of whether it captures something important in relation to the overall research question (Braun and Clarke 2006) (side 10). Thus, it means that I must highlight what through my perspective seems as the key spots of the entire material, instead of trying to represent everything I have managed to collect, which will reflect more of a quantitative manner. Then it comes a decision a researcher has to make: it will be represented rich description of the whole data set or a detailed account of one particular aspect (Braun and Clarke 2006). I didn't want to lose the depth and complexity by representing the entire data and selected an alternative use of the thematic analysis by providing more nuanced and detailed account of particular themes (group of themes) (Braun and Clarke 2006).

This choice led me to another decision I had to make, presented by Braun V. & Clarke V. (2006), select inductive or theoretical thematic analysis. As my aim is to provide less rich descriptions of the overall data, but more detailed analysis of some aspects, I chose an analyst-driven 'theoretical' thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke 2006).

Another decision revolved around the 'level' at which themes are to be identified: at an explicit (semantic) or interpretative (latent) level, and as Braun V. & Clarke V. (2006) implies a thematic analysis typically focuses primarily on one level (Braun and Clarke 2006). Since

my intentions were to represent data results in a manner of a phenomenological perspective with a rich descriptions of experiences, rather than interpret what's lying beyond those descriptions and how they have been or may be constructed (socially constructed), I chose a semantic level (Braun and Clarke 2006). In contrast to latent level, where a researcher is working interpretatively, identifying and examining underlying ideas, assumption and conceptualisations, a researcher working in a semantic level, simply organises data to show patterns in explicit content, summarising it to interpretations, where there is an attempt to theorise the significance of patterns often in relation to previous literature (Braun and Clarke 2006).

After making these decisions, Braun V. & Clarke V. (2006) introduces the step-by-step 6 phases guide which is quite familiar to the other qualitative research analysis types: familiarising with data, generating initial codes, searching for themes, reviewing themes, defining and naming themes, producing the report (Braun and Clarke 2006).

After the first phase, as I represented earlier in this chapter: transcription of verbal data, familiarising with data, repeated reading of data, I started with the second phase - coding. It was a systematic work through the entire data set, by indicating potential patterns, highlighting them and sorting them in a different colours and posts (I coded my material manually) (Braun and Clarke 2006). For me 'coding' meant looking for concepts, that can describe characteristics of my data (Leseth and Tellmann 2014). I sorted concepts into: concepts that I deliberated in the starting research phase - reading literature and previously made studies, and concepts I recognised after repeated reading of my data material (Table 1).

Table 1

Concepts before analysis	Concepts in the process of analysis
Masculinity	Self-representation
Body image	Surveillance
Docile bodies	Social comparing
Body dissatisfaction	Anxiety
Media and social media influences	Embodiment

In the further analysis phases (Braun and Clarke 2006), I sorted different concepts into potential themes. I didn't name the themes after the concepts, rather constructed them in relation to the most momentous expressions by respondents and depicted them as an 'umbrellas' under which the concepts will lie. Each theme is linked back to the overall research question, but each distinct (Braun and Clarke 2006) (Table 2):

Table 2

Themes	Concepts	
Personal trainers are also human beings		
Schedule, challenges and confrontations at	Docile bodies, surveillance, embodiment	
work		
Enough is never enough	Masculinity, self-representation/identity,	
Exercising routine and the body construction		
How much does an ideal body cost?	Body dissatisfaction, anxiety	
Sacrifices		
I know what's behind the picture	Body image, media and social media	
An image driven society	influences, social comparing	

3.5. Theoretical perspectives

It is central to consider which of many research traditions will be chosen in the study, in other words which *theoretical perspective* will form the basis of it (Justesen and Mik-Meyer 2012), which *theories* will be chosen to reflect on the results.

A useful theory is one that tells an enlightened story about a phenomenon, story which gives you new insights and broadens your understanding of the phenomenon (Anfara, Mertz et al. 2006). Poper defines theories as nets to catch what we call 'the world': to rationalize, to explain, and to master it. We endeavour to make this mesh ever finer and finer (Joas and Knöbl 2009). Researcher approaches the world with the set of ideas, a framework (theory, ontology) that specifies a set of questions (epistemology) that he or she then examines in specific ways (methodologies, analysis) (Anfara, Mertz et al. 2006).

My analysis is inspired by a phenomenological approach supported by the theories of Foucault, Goffman and Social Identity Theory. My aim is to explore male personal trainers' experiences in their living world but at the same time enlighten how they are subjected in the society, influenced and shaped considering social and cultural norms.

Social Identity Theory

Identity theory is viewing role-meanings as identities stacked in a hierarchy (Forgas and Williams 2002). Commitment to relationships in culture and groups influences role behaviour and gives an identity higher salience in the hierarchy (Forgas and Williams 2002). People's behaviour is dependent on both social and physiological utility and their physical location in social groups, thereby accounting for their specific experience (Joas and Knöbl 2009).

As I specified in the third chapter that masculinity, maleness and a personal trainer is "something" that can be done/made, gender can be done, men can be made and so forth. It all resonates with the "identity" making, which aims to understand and explain how people can come to adopt and behave in terms of "we" instead of "I" (Forgas and Williams 2002)? Identity is always something that can be done. (Lawler 2014).

Social identification explains the fact that the self can also be seen as belonging to a social group, for instance, individuals can be socially categorised as men and women; and just as the comparison between tables and chairs leads to some conclusions, for example chairs are smaller than tables, so the comparison appears between men and women, men and men and so forth (Forgas and Williams 2002) This *realization* that the self is included in some social categories, and excluded from others (Forgas and Williams 2002) is what makes us different from objects categories in social identification.

To the extent that people care about the groups they belong to, they will be motivated to emphasize the distinct identity of those groups, and to uphold, protect or to enhance the value afforded to those groups and members (Forgas and Williams 2002). Such as men and personal trainers, they do emphasize the main features being in these exemplified social groups. Men express different forms of masculinity or aspects of the masculinity concept in order to be accepted, included or maintained in this particular group. Simultaneously, male personal trainers do uphold and retain the functions a personal trainer is obligated to fulfil.

This process through which separate individuals are clustered into groups is defined as social categorization (Forgas and Williams 2002). When individuals are categorized into the same group, they are thought to share some central group-defining feature, which distinguishes them from others who do not possess this feature. A great example could be constant comparison of masculinity and femininity, how these groups are spaced apart from one another.

Self-categorization is also a theory which introduced the concept of depersonalization, to describe the psychological process through which people come to perceive the self as an interchangeable exemplar of social category, rather than as a separate individual with unique traits (so that the self is defined in terms of social identity rather than personal identity) (Forgas and Williams 2002). People prefer to be included and valued by a specific group rather by the groups in general.

Controversially, impersonation is a process by which we assume characteristics we claim as our own (Forgas and Williams 2002), for instance "real men" are unemotional, strong and wiry, so in order to be that "real man" one must perform these characteristics, even though one doesn't own them. By means of this process, we become social persons through performing ourselves. (Lawler 2014).

Foucault's "Docile body" and Goffman's "Artificial self"

Foucault's idea of the body in society is intimately connected to his theories of discourse and power. Foucault contends that the body is both a biological entity as well as a socially constructed entity (Foucault 1979). He argues that bodies are compelled through disciplines, and that the 'docile' and 'inapt body' can be shaped and ordered towards identity (Welland 2001). Technologies of control and discipline are inscribed in the very structure of disciplinary institutions (training centres is a great example) and can be seen to be features of spatial, architectural and temporal determinants (Welland 2001). The body is very difficult to alter in extreme ways, but cultures have been attempting to manipulate the body in extreme ways for centuries (Foucault 1979, Welland 2001). For Foucault discipline not just act upon but materializes through the fleshy body, it creates what he calls an 'aptitude', a 'capacity' (Godfrey, Lilley et al. 2012), as he places in this example:

Let us take the figure of the soldier as it was still seen in the early seventeenth century. To begin with, the soldier was someone who could be recognised from a far; he bore certain signs: the natural signs of his strength and his courage, the marks, too, of his pride; his body was the blazon of his strength and valour; and although it is true that he had to learn the profession of arms little by little – generally in actual fighting – movements like marching and attitudes like the bearing of the head belonged for the most part to a bodily rhetoric of honour... By the late eighteenth century, the soldier has become something that can be made; out of a formless clay, an inapt body, the machine required can be constructed; posture is gradually corrected; a calculated constraint runs slowly through each part of the body, mastering it, making it pliable, ready at all times, turning silently into automatism of habit; in short, one has got rid of the 'peasant' and given him 'the air of the soldier'. (Foucault and Rabinow 1984)

The idea of the body is central in both Foucault and Goffman, although they have different uses for it in their understandings around body. Goffman's dramaturgy is innovative by using materials in the surroundings when presenting a self that is favourable. By means of barriers to perceptions, the actor can control others' view of him. It is incentive to gain social support by being interpreted as component, while avoiding being discredited. Incidentally, competency is always associated with the same optimisation motives that seem to sustain discursive production. Ritual behaviour is also motivated via competency incentives, while also illustrating the inertia of learning and simultaneous threat and privilege of reciprocity. One gives deference out of fear for not receiving it (Gaitanidis 2012)

Goffman's suggests that all social life is artificial; it is just that we bracket off some aspects as 'real' or 'true' and others as unreal and untrue. Further the performing of identity is an inevitable process and, we could hardly be a part of the social world without it (Lawler 2014). Goffman assumes that only the private self is an unmasked entity, that we are most genuinely ourselves only when we are alone.

Goffman cites Park, that "In a sense, this mask represents the conception we have formed of ourselves – the role we are striving to live up to – this mask is our truer self, the self we would like to be. In the end, our conception of our role becomes second nature and an integral part of our personality. We come into the world as individuals, achieve character, and become

persons (Whitehead 2006), we become men and women. Then gender and being someone (personal trainer) in the society is the playing of a role, the take up of an identity, the assigning of an identity.

3.6. Scientific requirements

Any research project must meet *coherence* and *consistency*. Coherence means that a study has a transparent correlation between research questions, theoretical apparatus and the methodological choices made along the way (Justesen and Mik-Meyer 2012). Consistency constitutes that concepts, methodology and theories are applied in a consequent manner throughout the project (Justesen and Mik-Meyer 2012) which I was aiming to do.

Validity in qualitative research means that findings must shed some light on research question (Justesen and Mik-Meyer 2012). Validity can be strengthened by being flexible in the interviews with respondents, asking opened questions, letting them to emerge with their own themes and topics. Precisely in phenomenology-inspired study validity also means empathy, a researcher has to adopt a sufficient degree of empathy to obtain qualitative descriptions of the life-world of the subject with respect to interpretation of their meaning (Justesen and Mik-Meyer 2012).

When I discuss previous research and literature findings to existing research findings, this is already one of the steps in the validation process. I have also involved clarification on method I chose in advance and detailed descriptions along the way. I have tried to reflect on what impact this may have had on the results. Although, if it was a male student/former or present personal trainer, or fitness competitor interviewing personal trainers, study would have brought a different light on the research question and generate different results.

Research has to bring new knowledge, which can be used by other researchers and nevertheless – society. It means that knowledge should be relevant, that research questions would not be answered too many times before. Therefor I had an previous research investigation already before the project have started, by preparing project plan.

3.6.1. Research ethics

Hence, my research will be considered as verifiable I must be able to prove that the consent actually is obtained, for example, by presenting signed informed consent (Ruyter, Førde et al. 2014). Consent consisted of information about my project, supervisor, how the data will be generated, stored and eliminated. Respondents were informed that their identity would always remain confidential. All of my interviewees received this informed consent (Attachment 1).

No one were compelled to participate in the research against their will and it was not taken any forms of pressure such as offers of incentives, persuasion and negotiation (Ruyter, Førde et al. 2014). I clarified that participation in the survey is voluntary, anonymous and that the answers will only be used as material for master thesis. That survey will be stored securely while working on the task, all the respondents will get pseudonyms in presenting the thesis, to avoid identifying and protect their identity. All interviews were recorded by audio recorder. Recorded material were kept strictly confidential.

3.7. Presentation of informants

Participants in the study included 6 men between the ages of 23-33 who were residents of Norway. Each participant had education in sports or personal training or both. Two participants holding a bachelor's degree, two holding a Master's degree and two of them took education/courses in PT. All of them attending PT qualification refreshing courses regularly. Their experience in working as a personal trainer varies from 1,5 to 10 years.

Respondents' names are changed to meet the ethical guidelines.

Marcus

A 33-year-old man, with 10 years of experience in personal training. His choice of becoming a personal trainer was random. He was active in athletics at the national level already in children and adolescence age. Consequently, he started studying Bachelor in Sports, in Norwegian Sports College. College was offering PT courses, so he took it in addition to his

Bachelor's degree. He started working as a personal trainer taking Master's degree in sports. He raises one small kid with his cohabitant.

Tobias

A 29-year-old man, with 5 years of experience in personal training. He loved sports since he was a kid. He studied Sports Science in University for about 5 years. After that he decided to take PT courses in addition to his education. And then he started working as a personal trainer.

Stian

A 31-year-old man, with 8 years of experience in personal training. He loved being active and in motion since he was a kid. He studied sports in Norwegian sports College for 4 years. In his 8 years of working as a personal trainer he also had an opportunity working 2 years as a personal trainer's lecture, teaching students in Active Education studies in Bali.

Alex

A 24-year-old man, with almost 2 years of experience in personal training. He engaged interest in sports already in his fifteens. He was training strength. After school, he took Bachelor in Sports Science, in Norwegian Sports College; and personal training courses in addition. He was interested in body, muscle functions and working in service with people.

Jonas

A 28-year-old man, with almost 4 years' experience in personal training. He has education as an electrician and have been working with it for about 10 years. He has been interested in sports since adolescence age, he played football at school. When he was 18, he had his first visit in training studio. Since then his interest in training and food where just expanding. He took personal training courses in 2012, and since 2013 he is working full time as a personal trainer.

Sander

A 23-year-old man, with 1,5 years of experience in personal training. His interest in sports started in military. In military, he had the responsibility for group trainings, endurance tests and so on. After that he took courses in personal training in Bali for 3,5 months. When he came back he continued studying personal training in Active Education and at the same time working as a personal trainer.

4.0. Presentation and the discussion of the results

I will henceforth present the most important results of my study, which also throws an interesting light on my research question. I will represent four themes as informed in the formerly chapter and discuss it in the relation to the previous studies and/or related literature:

- Personal trainers are also human beings
- Enough is never enough
- How much does an ideal body cost?
- I know what's behind the picture

4.1. Personal trainers are also human beings

Schedule, challenges and confrontations at work

My aim with this study is to represent male experiences with being personal trainers in an image-driven society. "Personal trainers are also human beings" theme does not embody feelings around body image or image consumer's society rather enlightens what it means to be a personal trainer.

As represented in Chapter 1, personal trainers gratifying many roles at their work, they are listeners, counsellors, advisers and motivators. They are serving their customers with attention, smile and inspiration. Their credibility to construct a proper exercising or nutritional plan is valued just partially, they are also esteemed how they can serve as "motivators",

"hand-holders" and "babysitters" (Donaghue and Allen 2015). But they are also humans who have ups and downs, good or bad days.

Marcus (33) reflects on his role being a personal trainer and the consistency of it as *something* that must be done:

"Some days I start early, I have customers from 6.30 in the morning and it can take up to 3-4 hours until I can possibly take a little brake. (...) You don't want to be, to show an unrealistic picture of how things work, like being a personal trainer. You must wake up early in the morning; you may be tired and exhausted. You take sometimes "quick fix" decisions, you are not eager to exercise that day but you must. It is a kind of obsessive pattern. And sometimes it is bad periods in life and sometimes-good periods, to me it is challenging – to keep the balance. "

Marcus describes his occupation as a practise/discipline rather than a choice. He *must*. He practises and balances his body into something that can be made - a personal trainer, just as Foucault (1979) places it in "Discipline and punish: the birth of the prison": *A soldier has been something that can be made* (Foucault 1979). Body can be manipulated, shaped, trained, it obeys responds, becomes skilful and increase its forces. It cannot only do what one wishes, but operate as well, with techniques, the speed and the efficiency that one determines; thus discipline Foucault (1979) appeals as a production of subjected and practised bodies, "docile bodies" (Foucault 1979). It reflects the social construction aspect in the Social Identity Theory as mentioned in Chapter 3. Though Foucault used Docile bodies theory to describe the soldiers' obedience, we can recognise it in Marcus (33) experience as well, as he is giving orders to his own body, act and obey to responds which will create a body a personal trainer must have.

Yet, in David J. Hutson's study "Your body is your business card" it is referred to Bourdieu (1984) concept of "bodily capital" (Hutson 2013). Conceptualizing bodily capital as a *resource* explains why individuals invest their time, money and energy into their bodies with an expectation of the return on those investments, for example /../ personal trainers convert their bodily capital into economic and social capital (Hutson 2013).

Stian (31) expresses that working as a personal trainer his day consists basically just of exercising self and teaching others to do that.

"The days can start 6.30 and finish 22.00 at night, and I may be working 12 hours a day. There can be also calm days, just some hours working but mostly it is days with early starts, working 4-5 hours, then I have a break and do exercising, and then in the evening I have working hours with clients again. (...) Mostly my days consist of working and exercising."

Alex (24) told that his business at work depends on week-to-week; sometimes he doesn't find time for exercising self so he is using his spare time on weekends or even refuses his exercising interval. He struggles to eat properly and regularly:

"(...) There are many hours in a row with clients that I don't even catch up to eat, because it is complicated to eat in between the sessions with clients since I have just 5 minutes break between the customers. Then I just have to work with every client; often it is client after client, so maybe I just catch up to grab a banana."

Stian's and Alex descriptions of personal trainer occupation reflects Maguire (2008) concept of personal trainer – that they are "primary producers of fitness service" (Maguire 2008). Occupational success requires developing fitness specific capital - a fit physique and a "fit persona" – a commitment to fitness as a way of life, to participate in fitness activities and invest in physical capital in personal trainers private, and usually non-paid time (Maguire 2008). Maguire (2008) also introduces to personal trainer's emotional exhaustion, which Alex (24) may experience. He mentioned that he was always happy helping people and that is the reason why he loves his job. Not finding time for himself to have a short break to eat between the sessions with clients indicates that he sets clients' needs in a front row, excluding his healthy eating habits, even though he might be telling his clients how important it is to eat regularly. Alex (24) gave me such an impression that he is very emphatic person, caring about his clients and even colleagues. This therapeutic expert in "helping" disposition is an unwritten rule for cultivating personal trainer's credibility but same time increases the risk developing emotional burn out (Maguire 2008).

When I questioned Sander (23) how is his normal day at work? He answered immediately: "Normal day? The thing is that if you are a personal trainer it is never a normal day." And

then he continues about his scattered schedule that he is trying to structure as best as possible. Sometimes he has to wake up early, sometimes late. It all depends on clients' convenience. Sometimes he is taking customers one after another, sometimes-finishing workday late. Sander divulged that it might happen even unpredictable things:

"This occupation can be very exciting and joyful but challenging as well, like today my day at work was out of the ordinary, indeed. It was not so pleasant. (...) Client suddenly got some kind of a stroke, during exercising he had to sit down, fainted and got some form of seizure, lost blood pressure and lost the pulse for a few seconds, and fainted for several minutes, then came ambulance and drove him to the hospital. (...) I didn't know how I suppose to react but had to put myself together and do everything right. But it just says how much can happen at this work. "

An insight that struck me after talking with Tobias (29) that personal trainers may also feel observed and monitored; and experience the pressure from others. The same feelings we get as clients when we start exercising at the gym. Tobias expressed willingness to stay out of this surveillance he experiences at work:

"On the weekends, usually, if I have a chance I always go to some other centre, just to be sometimes for myself, where I don't know anybody. So I just have my one-hour or one hour and a half...like going to church, basically (smiles). Just stay there, do your stuff, nobody is going to follow you and it is your own time."

Tobias (29) experiencing himself as an object which may be observed. He subjectively experiencing gazes (it might be even judging gazes) which discipline his body and behaviour according to expectations implied in that gazes which have implications for his body practises routine (Rysst 2010). He is in a way escaping gazes and the object (his body) he is representing in his formal personal trainer's stage, simply entering the place (random gym) where he is not a personal trainer, but just as like everyone else in the gym. His experience reflects what Baudrilland (1998) exemplifies as consumption of objects (bodies). Body can be used to sell commodities and services as well as being itself a consumed object (Baudrillard 1998).

In this example of surveillance, when Tobias feels observed, we can also recognise what Foucault names as "Disciplinary power - continual application of surveillance"; people are always being observed. Foucault notes that when people are aware of the individualising observation they are under, they start to modify their behaviour accordingly, then this secures the continual effect of disciplinary power (Foucault 1979). As such, then Tobias (29) is trying to escape this power.

Another insight I got after speaking with personal trainers is that after a while working in fitness industry they may start to project the body as an entity of measurements. It is a form of body objectification. When they see a client and even themselves, they evaluating it by weight, height, waist, arms or legs circumferences. Marcus (33) names it as a *screwed* - *distorted perspective*:

"I think after working in this industry for a longer period of time, even we mean it is a good thing but at the same time we are at risk to develop a screwed outlook on body, maybe not only body generally but also on our own bodies."

Sander (23) expressed feeling pressure from his colleagues when it comes to his exercising routine:

"There are some people who disagrees with my exercising routine sometimes, because I want to gain a muscle mass, simply because I feel better then. While other means that I have to exercise more functionally and do it like they do that. I think as long as you are exercising and find exercising form that fits you – it is enough."

Tobias (29) mentioned it as well, indirectly and with caution:

"Sometimes they are teasing me a little bit when it comes to my legs, to that part, because I always struggle to put a little bit more size on my legs (smiles). But I think it is fun, I don't take it personally, but at the same time I probably wouldn't make fun of them if they had a little bit more fat. (...) I know by what they say to me and if I said the same thing to them it probably would affect them, so I just...I really don't care."

Sladek (2013) suggests that men who frequently participate in negative body talk may be at greater risk for body image disturbance (Engeln, Sladek et al. 2013), when Chow and Tan (2016) in their recent study about negative body talk among male friends, presents that negative body talk is useful in clarifying the association between weight status and body dissatisfaction (Chow and Tan 2016). This study also enlightens that men who have thinner friend (male), might suffer from more body image issues (Chow and Tan 2016). Interdependence theory also suggests that characteristics of one friend would exert influence on their outcome of another partner, which means that the person is not only depended on his own weight status but also their friend's weight status, thus could have an impact to their body image perception (Chow and Tan 2016). Consequently, friends and colleagues' opinions, remarks, advices in constructing the body can have both positive and negative impact, increasing body image satisfaction or damaging body image perception. It differs according to person's already experienced perception of body, if there are already some disturbances with body image, then remarks may be digested as something negative and annoying. From Tobias (29) and Sanders (23) experiences I assume that colleagues' remarks collide with their own perception of how their body should look like or how they will exercise.

4.2. Enough is never enough

Exercising routine and the body construction

Speaking to respondents I noticed that not only their working schedule is intense but exercising routine as well. And ultimately they doing it to construct this body they carry from day to day. Their descriptions of body ideals and body practises illustrates how body is being objectified, disciplined by judging gazes and related between the healthy body and good looking body: not too thin or too fat, not too trained neither untrained, as respondents refer "keeping the balance".

Tobias (29) is working out around 6 times a week and takes just Sundays off. He is exercising for about 1,5 hour every time and as he underlines and repeats a couple of times: he always tries to do it *as efficient as possible*.

"With myself I am very demanding, so...enough is never really enough. And I know that it is good in a way, because I always try to achieve more and more. But it can become a little bit too much sometimes, and I realise that, but I don't know...I always try to get the best shape I can get. Sometimes I am happy; sometimes I am not."

By trying to achieve more and more he illustrates that he is not satisfied with his current body image, even though he tries as efficient as possible. Tobias also struggles defining his own body: "well...shape...it is pretty standard, like...mm...definition having that six-pack thing and so on. I never liked being too big or oversized in terms of muscles, I like to keep the balance". When he is being asked to define an ideal man's body he does it clearly: "I like this balanced, well-toned bodies, when you see everything (...) that aesthetic body, not too big, not too small, just right in the middle, well-shaped proportions. This is, I think an ideal type of body."

Body image dissatisfaction is clearly represented in his descriptions. As mentioned in Chapter 2 body image dissatisfaction is characterized by negative self-appraisal of one's body and is often accompanied by body size misperception, in terms of underestimation and overestimation of one's actual body size (Ling, McManus et al. 2015). He can clearly describe an ideal body image but considering his own it is "never there", never good enough. What it appears he is trying to communicate that it is never just right in the middle, it is not balanced. Though Connell (2000) states that sports performers do have precise knowledge of their body and its capacities (Connell 2000), in contrast, Tobias (29) is struggling précising it.

Alex (24) is exercising up to 6 times a week; he does strength training for a 1,5 hour and jogging for 20 minutes, each time. He claims that he has always been this "heavier than average" person. Alex describes himself as a tall and better-trained body than average. He doesn't see himself as an athlete neither a typical man in the street but the one in the middle. He feels great in his body, there is nothing he would have changed, he says. When Alex describes how an ideal body looks like he mentions similar definitions to his own body description: tall, around 185 cm, with not too much fat and a little hint of defined muscles. He expresses that you don't have to look ripped so others understand you are exercising, because your body reflects your lifestyle:

"I mean if a person is extremely thin or has an extremely well trained body, with a very low fat percentage, doesn't mean it just comes naturally – he has to force himself. Man cannot have low fat percentage and be thin without simply restricting his food and having a very very very strict nutrition. (...) That's why for me, a good body appearance is when person has a little bit fat, it means he has a healthy lifestyle: eats cake when its someone's birthday and hotdogs when its summer, isn't it?"

Marcus (33) is exercising around 6-7 times a week, 1-2 hours jogging and around 75 minutes strength training, each time. He expresses that it is extremely fun for him to exercise and he has done that in many years, to maintain this body he achieved so far. When I questioned him what he achieved so far, Marcus replied:

"Like many out there are little bit self-critical, so I can be as well from time to time but mostly and objectively I think I am totally okay. (...) I am not so interested in my weight but when I gain weight I feel what is going on with my body and I don't enjoy it particularly. (...) I can feel little bit anxious if I recognise that I am becoming weaker and I don't like it."

Marcus expresses that there is no such thing as an ideal or perfect body and it is impossible to describe it. He articulates that the most important thing is that body will be useful and work properly, it can run freely, exercise effectively. In order to do that, it must be not overweight, he says. But when it comes to idealizing his own body, Marcus admitted he could be 5-6 cm higher, because he has wide shoulders and wide waist, so even he is exercising a lot he never achieves this male body ideal – wide shoulders - narrow waist:

"It is those typical things I would have changed if I was in this "ideal world", it's not because it means something to me, just if I could "Photoshop" myself – I would make these changes."

So how does this "ideal" Photoshoped man's body look like? Jonas (28) answers straight away and precisely: wide shoulders, narrow hips, wide back, defined abdomen muscles and large chest. A time-glass form is a form for an ideal body, he says. And then Jonas continues defining ideal body but in other words:

"If you have asked how an ideal body looks like so I think that many would have answered that it is V formed, wide shoulders, narrow waist, big thighs and arms. (...) If you have asked 100 men I think 80-90 % would have answered you – defined abdomen muscles."

Even though Jonas (28) exercises 5-6 times a week for about 90 minutes each time, he means that his body looks quite fine when it comes to narrow waist and wide shoulders but he wishes to attain bigger arms and thighs, more defined abdomen muscles.

Following Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinity, we can see reflections of it in the respondent replies. Men who embody hegemonic masculinity express their desire for a well-functioning body for the purpose of work, sport, and everyday life (Groven, Galdas et al. 2015). And along with functionality, body shape and appearance also plays a noteworthy role (Groven, Galdas et al. 2015). Practices linked to masculinity can be harmful to men's health, for example hegemonic masculinity is associated with risk taking, and it can be everything from drinking and driving, to extreme diets and sports (Hopkins and Gorman-Murray 2014), but even it is harmful to men's health, it is arguable because at the same time, rates of mortality and morbidity differ significantly among men, which reflects varies resources where men aspire masculinity forms (Hopkins and Gorman-Murray 2014).

Muscularity is linked to physical potential. If men view their bodies functionally, as Marcus (33) does, as an instrument, then those with power will be more useful, and, by extension those with powerful builds will be more dominant, self-confident, and independent (Klein 1993). But then again this constitution of masculinity through bodily performance means that gender is vulnerable when the performance cannot be sustained – for instance, as a result as physical disability (Connell 2005). In contrast, we can discuss that if there are appearance-based motives to exercise but not performance based, disability or injury wouldn't be an obstacle. Donaghue and Maddison (2015) apprise that appearance-based motives for exercise have been associated with a range of negative outcomes like poor body image, self-objectification and disordered eating (Donaghue and Allen 2015), which again we can see in Jonas (28) described gap between his own body image and the ideal body image he defines. Jonas (28), a former fitness competitor conceiving his body as a separate entity, as something to be worked on, which resonates with Klien's (1993) account on analysing bodybuilders experiences, motives and actions. Bodybuilders go about training and experimenting on them to shape themselves into approximate idealized look; they do even use language as expression

of self-obligation, where arms, legs, and so forth are separated out and worked on individually (Klein 1993). Days of the week are devoted to exercising one or another body part, even named after that part "Tuesday is a leg day" (Klein 1993). Anyhow, it is worth mentioning that generally men who participate in sports have a more positive body image than those who don't (Collins 2013). However, as suggested by Collins (2013) male bodybuilders experience greater body dissatisfaction with their appearance, because they are considered vain and suffer from low self-esteem combined with high perfectionism (Collins 2013).

4.3. How much does an ideal body cost?

Sacrifices

As we already see, men most frequently endorse the mesomorphic body type, which is well-proportioned, average build, well-developed chest and arms, wide shoulders, narrow waist; and in fact, some men are willing to go extreme lengths, even give up many years of their lives in an effort to achieve this muscular ideal (Dallesasse and Kluck 2013). After conversations with male personal trainers and rereading the transcriptions I noticed a tendency of using the word – *sacrifice*. Sacrifices to achieve an ideal body, or in other words: ripped body. Ripped man's body has well defined abdomen muscles - six pack, big arms and thighs, wide shoulders, narrow hips. Respondents spoken about those sacrifices they had to make.

Jonas (28) as mentioned is a former fitness competitor. He enlightened that in this sport you are judged by how you look, how your body looks like. Jonas aimed to experience it. But at the same time, he reflects that creating the perfect appearance doesn't create the perfect inner world. He noticed that it might be even the opposite:

"You become so exhausted, you can't bear those normal things anymore because you just focus on the perfect. Everything revolves around food, exercising, everything is all about one thing in life; you have to sacrifice all other things.

It was two years ago he competed in this sport, when I asked Jonas if he is planning to do it again, he responded that he might, but for now he doesn't have any intentions to do that. Then

I questioned him why did he started at the very beginning? He replied that earlier he assumed if *you look perfect you feel perfect*, motivation was – perfection:

"It was a huge motivational force but then I experienced that the closer I get to it the lower it is. The better you looked the worse you felt. Me personally. I had no energy to do other things, things you are able to do in a day is just making food and exercising, I had to go to work as well, of course, but I just turned on an "autopilot" there."

Sander (23) expressed that when he was younger he had narrower values, when it comes to body image and how the body should appear. But after a while he recognised that he struggles a lot, he noticed how dull is his everyday nutrition and how much he had to exercise. Sander admitted that he got great results considering his appearance, but on the other hand he had to sacrifice his social life or in other words, pay this price for the perfect body:

"Then in the end I thought – it is not worth it, to have six-pack and be big, look ripped. I realised that it is not such a huge value. If I am healthy and have strong body, so it is that what counts. And it is important to feel good in your own body. I feel much better now with some extra kilograms, and I can eat and drink what I like without thinking about it or even struggling that everything will be as healthy as possible."

Alex (24) means that all this struggling and sacrifices are an overcharged price for the perfect body. He expresses that not only clients but colleagues as well value body appearance over the strong and healthy body. Alex sees no point in having six-pack or big arms, since it is not the arms that adapt your body in everyday life but the strong back and strong legs:

"I want to convince my colleagues to exercise considering health perspective, because I mean it is not healthy to always struggle so much to look perfect, to have six-pack or big arms. It gives you nothing else just an attention from others. But think, how much it takes. One is sitting and crying when he is eating, because it is so dull food, but you have to do it because you will achieve ripped body. And I am almost crying for him because it is so sad to see it."

Alex (24) reinforces Donaghue and Allen (2005) suggestions that personal trainers should expand view of "success" beyond aesthetically motivated weight loss by including other benefits such as (...) improved energy, better sleep, lower blood pressure and so forth

(Donaghue and Allen 2015). Use exercising to gain health assets rather than appearance achievements.

Stian (31) mentions as well this price – sacrifices, for the perfect body. He claims it's a pity that people want to achieve this body just for showing it off, just to feel accepted. Stian experienced that there are many clients who want this six-pack but doesn't realise how much they have to sacrifice for it, like eating strictly and exercising really hard. They are not willing to pay this price:

"In the beginning they want it but then they realise they may not be ready to do what it takes, like to lose 4-5 kilograms more. (...) It is very easy to wish for the things but it is another thing to actually do it."

Marcus (33) expresses that he always had issues with his weight, it is going up and down from time to time. Once he weighted a lot, when he was a competitor in bodybuilding and after a while he lost all those kilograms. He means that his body is inasmuch okay, it is not perfect but he doesn't want it to be perfect, because he knows that to accomplish it - he must make sacrifices:

"For example, I would like to have lower fat percentage if it didn't cost that great sacrifice, because it is not good. I kind of made a choice, I've become older, I'm over my thirties, I have a kid and I decided that it should not go beyond social thing or family thing."

In the etymological sense of the word, sacrifice is nothing other than the production of sacred things (Tuncel 2015). Respondents articulates sacred things as favourable foods, time with friends and other aspects they would rather choose instead of excessive hours of exercising and similarly. There are many examples where athletes in their pursuit of excellence made sacrifices and have been exposed to some kind of abuse by coaches or parents (Reynolds 2000) and in this case by men themselves. In the article "A theoretical exploration of the relationship between the expectations of sports coaches and the physical and emotional health of athletes" is presented how sport ethic provides an insight why athletes are motivated to take risks and play through pain and make huge sacrifices for the sake of sport (Reynolds 2000). While negative deviance can be controlled to an extent, positive deviance is more difficult especially when the sport ethic includes values exemplifying extreme dietary and

training regimes which are perceived as the price to be paid for gaining success in the sports world (Reynolds 2000). Article "Defeat, loss, death, and sacrifice in sports" reviews behaviours where athletes may train for excessive amounts of time (Tuncel 2015). It conducts that such a behaviour may lead to physical stress or psychological problems and therefor it is the problem of concern as it is often condoned and encouraged through the athletes' perceptions that it is the only path for ultimate success in sport (Tuncel 2015). In this study, informants also articulated that excessive training is a way to achieve an ideal body but at the same time they argued that it is not a healthy choice.

Respondents communicated that restricting their diet for an ideal body is a great price to pay for this desirable look. They were conscious or experienced it consciously after a while that such a sacrifice is not useful wherefore it produces desirable look but eliminates the body empowerment which is also one of the goals. Restricting food for the sake of appearance appears particularly paradoxical when the actual activity demands an adequate intake of fuel to maintain good performance (Currie and Morse 2005). A study exploring how to manage the risks of eating disorders among athletes mentions that sport is not to blame for eating disorders (Currie and Morse 2005). An underlying, general, and non-sports-related vulnerability is necessary for the development of such a multifaceted and multifactorial disorder in an athlete (Currie and Morse 2005). To blame sports organizations and especially sports coaches may lead to marginalizing the illness (Currie and Morse 2005). Another study on influences on one's own body weight reported that all forty six percent respondents would be willing to give up at least one year of life rather than be obese, and 15 % reported that they would be willing to give up 10 years or more of their life (Schwartz, Vartanian et al. 2006). Giving the intense stigma of obesity and the various health conditions that are associated with excess weight, one might expect that heavier individuals would be particularly willing to make sacrifices to not have the burden of being obese (Schwartz, Vartanian et al. 2006). It is important to note that my study's respondents were not obese but anyway willing to sacrifice some parts of their everyday life for a better body appearance; and might have been at risk of developing eating disorders. So, if we look from this standpoint, weight has a little impact on willingness to make sacrifices, as personal trainers were not obese. Even well-shaped personal trainers were willing to make sacrifices for the sake of even better body appearance.

4.4. I know what's behind the picture

An image-driven society

We became a "body image community", declares Jonas (28). He articulates not being impacted by how body is represented in nowadays media and social media resources. On the contrary, Jonas means that there should be a platform where people can express themselves and publish what they like. He implies that it is our own choice to be affected by the published body pictures or not; it is just a choice we take and we should learn to deal with this pressure on how our body should look like. Jonas has been impacted by body images earlier in his adolescent age, therefor he expresses the worry over the adolescent boys, *they are little bit weak and vulnerable*, he says. He encourages them to focus on healthy and strong body, because the pictures they see are not real:

"It is just Photoshop and the right lighting. I know how the things work, because my body's photographs have been photoshoped, I know how the pictures were made; I am kind a part of it. (...) Also the last week before the picture shooting people are manipulating with liquids: you drink less water last days before shooting, for example you wake up looking thinner than the evening before; this is because in evening you have more liquids in your body so you don't look as defined as you do in the morning. Also, Photoshop comes in play with displaying more shadows and lights where it is necessary. (...) Body in the pictures is made perfect and it is not so many out there who think over that."

Sander (23) defines this image driven society as a body hysteria, he noticed even how action figures for boys have changed. Sander utters that a well-trained body has been transformed into something out of reality:

"I know that people who are standing for magazines and alike, don't look like this in reality. First of all, they get make up to look better, they have different body paintings and set a correct light for shooting and in addition – Photoshop. (...) You just don't have to be affected by it and understand the reality behind the picture; this is not how well trained body looks like. I think it gives a tremendous press on young boys and especially increased press to use illegal supplements, dietary substitute."

To Marcus (33) opinion, this body image driven society phenomena is destructive and unrealistic, representing the unrealistic picture:

"I think it is very destructive, I understand of course that, in a way, it is helping to build up a kind of notion of what is normal but it is not normal. But of course, that type of advertising always shows a more ideal world."

Tobias (29) apprised me that he had clients who came with the exact picture of how their body should look like. After my surprise, I immediately questioned him, what he speaks to his clients in this situation. Tobias replied that he is not trying to convince them but rather inform them that they cannot achieve this body. All they can do is to work the best they can on their own body, he says. Tobias articulates that it is important to educate and raise awareness on this issue - pictures of ideal body:

"I know it is not the real image, because I train and I know how it works, so it doesn't affect me as much as a person maybe who doesn't know much about training. Cause if you look to the media bodies and you see guys or girls or whatever, to those perfect bodies, those are the bodies that you probably going to have for one or two days, because it is impossible to maintain a body like that for a longer period of time. You cannot be under amount of percentage of body fat, because it is not even healthy."

Alex (24) expresses a similar point of view and conveys the worry over adolescents, who are the most vulnerable age group and those body pictures can do a huge impact on them, he says:

"People published in media are...had a long run strict nutrition, strict training routine and so on. And for the 95% of population who lives in Norway it is very difficult to achieve it. (...) And what is a problem with these images that you see them all the time and after a while you may think it is a way it should look like. Because many doesn't realise that these images are edited before they are published, so they published body images don't exist in reality."

In contrast to Alex opinion, study on 'The effects of exposure to muscular male models among men" introduces authors who suggests that some adolescent boys reported greater satisfaction with the shape of their bodies after viewing idealized images (Halliwell, Dittmar et al. 2007). It is proposed that adolescent boys may respond to media exposure differently to

adult men as they expect their bodies to become more muscular as they mature, therefor this comparison with muscular ideal may not be so threatening (Halliwell, Dittmar et al. 2007). However, in this study, comparing male gym users with men who are not the gym users, showed that the last mentioned expressed higher body-focused negative affect after exposure to male models (Halliwell, Dittmar et al. 2007).

About what is behind the picture and the impact of it Stian (31) even had a discussion with a colleague:

"I think it is so many unhealthy things out there. As a personal trainer, I think we should be faced away from this focusing on body and taking pictures every time you exercise, with small amount of clothes, because it is a bad trend and fairly negative. (...) I even had a discussion on it with my college, he claims that if it is ok that person who obtains a lot of money, buys a Porsche and posts a picture of it, so why then those who exercise a lot and get a six-pack doesn't have a right to post an image of their body. I don't agree with that. "

Since it is a qualitative research, I cannot declare that all personal trainers "knows what's behind the picture" and they are not impacted by the body image presentations in media and social media, even though all my study's respondents answered negatively about media influencers.

Tobias (29) remark exemplifies how men (especially young boys) may perceive public men images as something achievable. This is in line with the hypothesis in study "Before and After diet advertisements escalate weight stigma" that exposure to "before and after" diet ads increases the belief that weight is easily controllable (Geier, Schwartz et al. 2003). But this is again arguable and dependable on how men perceive attainability of success to achieve this image ideal. Some can identify this image as a role model and some as an unattainable ideal (Geier, Schwartz et al. 2003), which can cause issues with body image and body dissatisfaction.

It also discussed that not only personal trainers are trying to maintain balance between what is a healthy body image and what is not, magazines as well struggle with it by publishing some articles how to be happy with the body you already have and the others how to change your body and its appearance (Gauntlett 2008). David Gauntlett (2008) also exemplifies that it is not so "stable" time considering male identity (Gauntlett 2008), if in the past it was obvious for every man how to be a "real man" because they already were, now men are seeking to find what is this contemporary man ideal.

Our societies increased exposure to half naked male bodies that we commonly see in magazines advertisements, television advertisements or social media, formed an abundant resource to find out how the man should be, look and act today. But even mass media have become a powerful transmitter to sociocultural body ideals (Dallesasse and Kluck 2013), the same time they sending the false message that the ideal is attainable if one works hard enough and uses the proper techniques (Dallesasse and Kluck 2013).

The biggest engine of social media – Facebook, is not an exception. In study "Ideal image 2.0: Associations between social grooming on Facebook and body image concerns" it was suggested that people tend to post "idealized" images of themselves, by enhancing their attractive images, which may contribute to body image concerns (Kim and Chock 2015). The same study resulted that the higher levels of social grooming behaviours on Facebook were positively associated with a greater drive for thinness as well as appearance comparison (Kim and Chock 2015). Personal trainers thereby are a great authority on "how your body should look like" in social media where others can easily compare themselves to.

Therefore, I chose Marcus (33) remarks to round up the results. He was especially considered, how personal trainers represent themselves in social media:

"It is how we represent ourselves, especially in social media, both when it comes to body and nutrition (...) it is this balance, you want to be honest. So, I'm using quite a time to convey the truth, like we always have pizza on Fridays. Then I am posting something on Instagram like we are sitting and eating pizza, and I emphasize that it is not some kind of a healthy sweet potato or spelt flour pizza, but usual, with wheat flour. And I think it is ok and it is being understood. (...) but then again if I do it too often people may think that they can throw any kind of food they like into themselves. It is challenging to keep this balance. (...) like in summer, on the beach. I don't think it's something wrong posting a picture of myself being shirtless. I may well refrain from doing it, because I know that we should be careful by doing stuff like that. At the same time, it is not fare either. For example, in summer you anyway have

less clothes on, that's why there are more pictures being shirtless. So, if I am publishing pictures of myself the whole year-round you can see variations of my body as well. Also, important to mention, that when people post pictures of themselves they post what they like about themselves, not what they don't like."

5.0. Conclusions

The lived body is someone's "grasp of the world". It is "not just one thing in the world, but a way in which the world comes to be". In this sense, my lived body is the "here" from which I see the world of far and near distances and the now in which I interpret my past and reach for the future (Zeiler 2010).

Zeiler (2010), in his phenomenological analysis of bodily self-awareness, makes the statement that the body becomes appearing to us only if and when we experience pain or pleasure. He also claims that as soon as the subject attends to her or his body and its functions, she or he experience the body as another (object) (Zeiler 2010). In my perception, yes – the subject may attend to his or her body reflectively or pre-reflectively. And, this may be done without it resulting in alienation or discomfort (Zeiler 2010). It is apparent, however, that we should more often encounter our bodies and its functioning reflectively, long before the pain hits or the pleasure welcomes. This because the body is here from where we see the world and the now in which we live.

The aim of this study was to explore *men's experiences with being personal trainers in an image-driven society*. The study reflects and uncovers *how it is to "be a male personal trainer"* and *gives us their understanding of the importance of body appearance/image*. I hope that our conversations influenced them in a positive way; that the way they perceive their bodies have altered and that they understand the importance of being mindful of the bodies at all times throughout the day (they look at their everyday life reflectively).

As already acquainted, the body, in particular, the male body has become the last domain for alteration, manipulation and discipline. The postmodern, as opposed to the modern, world sees the body as transformable in any way with the appropriate amounts of discipline.

Continual perfection of the body is seen as mandatory in a society obsessed with physical appearance (Baudrillard 1998). Physical appearance has become linked to health in society and the maintenance of the outer facade of the body is seen as part of a healthy lifestyle and key component to overall bodily health (Baudrillard 1998). The discipline of the body is reflective of overall social order as described by Foucault (Foucault 1979). Coercing and manipulating the body through exercise and diet has become reflective of taking pride in one's appearance and the neglect of the body has come to signal inadequacy in society.

In summary, personal trainers serve the role as motivators, achievers and role models. They do get exhausted at times and opt for quick fix decisions; like working long hours, skipping their exercising hour, sometimes choosing unhealthy eating choices or habits. It seems like are willing to eat more flexible rather than strictly: "eat cake when its someone's birthday and hotdogs when its summer". I noticed as well, that some of the participants experience irregular eating habits due to irregular working hours with clients. Cultural norms state the importance of eating appropriate healthy food at the right times during the day, not just for health reasons but for the purpose of manipulating the body to achieve a desired goal (i.e. body shape). None of the participants show signs guilt for not participating in dieting which is a reflection of society's obsession with food and its portrayal as the enemy when not controlled (Carlat, Camargo et al. 1997)

The scattered working hours schedule was evaluated differently among the participants. Having time to rest and for exercise during the day were the main reasons some of the participants were positive to the irregular working hours. Whereas those that were negative to the scattered working hours mentioned that they did not enjoy the fact that they had no set time for eating and exercising.

Exercise routine, on the contrary, seemed to be the mandatory part of their life. They are building bodies as representative objects to sell their services. Informants day consists mainly of exercising and teaching others to exercise. Participants' feelings about exercise reflected the importance exercise has in their lives in maintaining overall health and fitness. Physical activity levels of participants as children also served as indicators of the level activity participants engaged in as adults.

Body as an object or "the other" was experienced in surveillance, when body is consumed through the eyes of clients and/or colleagues. This seemed to lead to tension and willingness to escape from those gazes. Body as an object or "the other" also seemed to be existing in personal trainers' descriptions of their clients, which was mentioned as a distorted perspective on the body image. As expressed by one respondent, personal trainers develop this distorted view on clients' bodies while working many years in body-constructing industry.

Some respondents experience negative body talk among colleagues. Colleagues are commenting and/or disagreeing with the exercising routine. As suggested by previous studies, it differs per person's experienced perception of body. If there are already some disturbances with body image, then other peoples' remarks may be digested as something negative and annoying, if quite the reverse - there are no disturbances, then it may be perceived as encouraging comments.

The men in this study acknowledged and described a certain male ideal that is prevalent in media and popular culture but as expressed it does influence their ideas about exercising and engaging in fitness activities. Many expressed that the media did not have an influence in some facet of their exercise and fitness identities and they didn't use the muscular male ideal as a standard for personal fitness goal setting.

Body image dissatisfaction was present in some of the personal trainers' descriptions, by negatively self-appraising of their body, accompanied with body size misperception. Gaining some unwanted extra kilograms was described as something uncomfortable, undesirable, a weakness. Some respondents expressed the willingness to correct their outer look: *I wish I had bigger arms and thighs, more defined abdomen muscles; I could be 5-6 cm higher; I struggle to put a little bit more size on my legs*.

Informants differentiated in descriptions of an ideal body appearance, some depicted it as *V* formed, wide shoulders, wide back, narrow waist, big thighs and arms, large chest. Other claimed that there is no definition for an ideal body. One respondent described that a good body appearance is when person has a little bit fat, it means he has a healthy lifestyle. Nonetheless, some articulated that the most important thing is that body will be useful and work properly, it will run freely, exercise effectively.

But then again, some respondents seemed to experience body appearance dissatisfaction. So, to say that body is created for running freely, work and live effortlessly, exercise effectively, how can then defined-abdomen muscles or big arms contribute to it? Respondents' statements crosses with one another and make the whole picture unclearly puzzled.

Looking at the phenomenon that a "healthy body is a fit body" through a postmodern lens, participants have realized that the looks of their body are seemingly correlated with the overall health of their body, reinforcing the idea that the unsightly body is not a healthy body and must be altered and/or maintained to prevent "health" problems. The discipline of the outer facade of the body has become symbolic of the discipline individuals have in other areas of their life and symbolizes strength of character and moral virtue.

What seemed to be plainly described that achieving a well-defined men's body silhouette is demanding a great amount of work. It was also communicated as sacrifice. Sacrificing the social life, favourable meals, spare time.

Increased interest in body appearance and its images in media channels was valuated as a body hysteria. Most of the participants acknowledged and were aware of society's cultural standard and were consistent in their responses describing a lean, muscular ideal for men is prevalent in popular culture and media. They considered it as something out of reality. Respondents seemed to be conscious about the elements laying behind the published ideal body pictures: I know it is not the real image; I think it is very destructive; I know that people who are standing for magazines and alike, don't look like this in reality; People published in media are...had a long run strict nutrition, strict training routine and so on; I think it is so many unhealthy things out there.

Most of the participants acknowledged and were aware of society's cultural standard and were consistent in their responses describing a lean, muscular ideal for men prevalent in popular culture and media.

What surprised me the most that according to one respondent's experience there are people who come with a certain body picture they want to look like. What amazes even more is that personal trainer seemed to be very careful in explaining to customer that this image is

unachievable. Simply because people bear an individual anatomy and physiology and this dreamy body picture is far from the one he would ever manage to achieve. However, personal trainer just explained to client that they will work on it with hope that customer will change his mind and forget the primary misconception how his body should like.

Although some of respondents experience a body dissatisfaction they mean that following the socially created ideal body-image leads to suffering and demands certain sacrifices. Respondents shared the common view that body should not be valued by the appearance but the efficiency and practicality. It should be strong, run freely, be accommodated in everyday life as an engine to live comfortably rather than a concept to integrate the self-worth. Respondents expressed the worry how media channels negatively influence adolescents and people with a low self-esteem and/or negative body image. They uttered the responsibility they feel being personal trainers who represent those images as well.

Looking at the discipline of the body as a reflection of life discipline through a socio-cultural lens, it could be said that participants' association of the fit, disciplined body with discipline in life is a reflection of an attempt to hold onto one of the last strongholds of male identity (Dittmar 2005). As gender roles become blurred (Dittmar, 2005) and men lose the ability to distinguish themselves as provider and head of the family unit, developing a fit, athletic and muscular body is an easily identifiable way to distinguish oneself as male and masculine. In combination with society's expectation for an attractive body, men engaging in fitness and exercise to achieve a fit, lean and muscular body is the easiest and most economical way to do live up to two important cultural expectations: achieving an attractive body and expressing male identity.

This study's findings contribute to broader understanding what does it mean being male personal trainer in an image-driven society. That personal trainers as well as other men may also experience a body dissatisfaction, are willing to achieve a sociocultural produced male body ideal and confirm their masculinity identity by being disciplined and bearing a fit appearance physique.

Limitations and future research:

As with any study, there are limitations. Firstly, a sample size of respondents is not representative of the general Norway's population to prohibit generalization of findings to other groups or society at large. Secondly, the use of interviews may pose an issue of honesty and openness on behalf of the participants, in particular, discussion of uncomfortable or personal feelings related to the body and its appearance. The potential lack of the openness could be enhanced by the female gender of an interviewer. Lastly, interviews might have produced more descriptive data if the interviewer were a former personal trainer or sports competitor.

Research identifying differences in personal trainers living world and body-image perspectives according to age or nationality would provide interesting avenues for research. A study comparing and/or paralleling women and men as personal trainers and their understandings about body would also be the research of interest. Research which identifies how personal trainers with body-image disturbances and/or experiencing body dissatisfaction may influence interactions with clients or how does it influence clients' perceptions of body-image, would also provide an interesting study.

Attachment 1. Request for participation in research project

UiO Det medisinske fakultet Universitetet i Oslo

Forespørsel om deltakelse i forskningsprosjekt

Dette er en forespørsel om deltagelse i et mastergradsprosjekt ved Avdeling for helsefag, Universitetet i Oslo, der formålet er å øke kunnskap om mannlige personlig treneres oppfatninger av kropp, kroppsidealer og trening. Du har fått denne forespørselen fordi du er mann og har et yrke som personlig trener. Veileder for prosjektet er førsteamanuensis Hilde Bondevik og førsteamanuensis Kari Nyheim Solbrække, begge ved Avdeling for helsefag, Det medisinske fakultetet, Universitetet i Oslo. Prosjektet utføres av ernæringsfysiolog og masterstudent Toma Eroglu.

Sertifiserte personlig trenere skal ha kompetanse innen trening, kosthold og helse og spiller en viktig rolle i å hjelpe personer med motivasjon i forbindelse med trening og vektreduksjon. Flere undersøkelser har kastet lys over interaksjoner mellom personlig trenere og deres klienter. Det finnes imidlertid lite kunnskap om hva mannlige personlig trenere selv tenker om kroppene sine, om hvordan de beskriver eget kroppsbilde, om hva eller hvem som påvirker det og om hvordan de tenker den ideelle kroppen bør se ut og fungere.

Hensikt og problemstilling

Hensikten med denne studien er å utforske gjennom intervjuer hva mannlige personlig trenere tenker om kroppsidealer, og hvordan dette innvirker i yrkesmessige relasjoner med klienten. En dypere forståelse av personlig treneres kroppsidealer kan bidra til å utvikle mer kunnskap om hvordan forståelse av kropp, helse og trening kommuniseres og påvirker treningsforholdet, og dermed på klintenes motivasjon, selvforståelse og eget selvbilde. En slik kunnskap kan også bidra inn i en større samfunnsmessig debatt om forholdet mellom vår tids kroppsidealer og forståelsen av helse og trening.

Følgende problemstilling er formulert:

Hvordan oppfatter og beskriver mannlige personlige trenere sin egen kropp, og hvilke kroppsidealer verdsettes som fordelaktige?

Hva innebærer deltakelse i studien?

Dersom du samtykker til å delta i denne studien vil du bli kontaktet av masterstudent Toma Eroglu ved Universitet i Oslo for å avtale tid og sted for et intervju. Du vil bli intervjuet om hvordan du beskriver dine kroppsidealer, hva du føler om din kropp og hvordan du erfarer hverdagen som personlig trener. Hvert intervju vil vare mellom ½ til 1 time og tas opp på lydbånd. Intervjuene vil utgjøre datagrunnlaget for masterstudien.

Mulige fordeler og ulemper

Fordelen ved studien er at du kan bidra inn i en større samfunnsdebatt om kroppsidealer og helse. I løpet av intervjuet kan det tenkes at temaer det blir snakket om kan sette i gang både positive og negative tanker hos deg.



Institutt for helse og samfunn Avdeling for helsefag Telefaks: 22 84 53 83 Postadr.: Postboks 1089 Blindern, 0317 Oslo postmottak@medisin.uio.no Besøksadr.: Forskningsveien 3a, Harald Schielderung hus, inngang o

Telefon: 22 84 53 78 www.med.uio.no/helsam Org. nr.: 071 025 854

UiO 3

Hva skjer med informasjonen om deg?

Informasjonen som registreres om deg skal kun brukes slik som beskrevet i hensikten med studien. Alt som det snakkes om i løpet av samtalen vil bli behandlet på en respektfull og fortrolig måte. Alle identifiserende opplysninger vil bli endret eller fjernet, og anonymisering opprettholdes så langt det er mulig. Det betyr at når studien og dens funn blir presentert i masteroppgaven vil det ikke bli anvendt navn eller andre opplysninger som gjør at andre kan gjenkjenne deg. Dette gjelder også dersom det skrives en fagartikkel med utgangspunkt i masteroppgaven. Lydopptak og informasjon som navneliste på deltaker vil bli oppbevart og adskilt i låst skap ved UiO. Det er kun ernæringsfysiolog Toma Eroglu og hennes veiledere som vil ha tilgang på opplysningene.

Frivillig deltakelse

Samtykke til deltakelse i studien

Det er frivillig å delta i studien, og du kan når som helst trekke ditt samtykke uten å oppgi noen grunn. Dersom du ønsker å delta, undertegner du samtykkeerklæringen. Dersom du i etterkant av intervjuet helst ser at informasjon du har gitt under samtalen ikke skal inngå i studien har du rett til å kreve deler av eller hele samtalen slettet. Dersom du ønsker å delta eller har spørsmål til studien, kan du ta kontakt med Toma Eroglu på telefon: 47202168 eller epost adresse: toma.eroglu@studmed.uio.no.

Studien er meldt til Personvernombudet for forskning, Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste AS.

Jeg har mottatt informasjonen om studien, og er villig til å delta.	
Sted og dato	Deltagers signatur
Jeg bekrefter å ha gitt informasjon om prosjektet.	
Sted og dato	Rolle i prosiektet, signatur

Attachment 2. Interview guide

Interview guide

I will start the interview by introducing the project and myself. Then I want to clarify demographic facts about the participants: age, marital status, and education. The questions that follow will be those that provide the bulk of the data in the interview context. During the interviews I will note impressions and observations on a block and transcribe it with the interview.

- 1. Can you describe how your journey of becoming a personal trainer has started?
- 2. Can you describe your typical day at work and your typical workout routine?
- 3. Can you describe how do you see your body and what do you feel about it?
- 4. Can you tell me how does ideal male body look like?
- 5. Can you describe how do male body images represented in the media and social media makes you feel like?
- 6. Personal trainers tend to talk about the body ideals with clients as well among the colleagues. Can you describe what type of content is typically included in these conversations?

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